

THESIS

MASCULINITY IN A NINETEENTH CENTURY WESTERN MINING TOWN:  
GENDERED RELATIONS OF POWER IN A RED-LIGHT DISTRICT,  
THE VANOLI SPORTING COMPLEX (50R30), OURAY, COLORADO

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Summer 2014

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## ABSTRACT

### MASCULINITY IN A NINETEENTH CENTURY WESTERN MINING TOWN: GENDERED POWER RELATIONS IN A RED-LIGHT DISTRICT, THE VANOLI SPORTING COMPLEX (5OR.30), OURAY, COLORADO

The historical artifact collection recovered from the Vanoli Sporting Complex site (5OR30), a brothel district adjacent to the Second Street red-light district in Ouray, Colorado, in the United States, has stimulated a number of anthropological questions regarding the social processes enabling the rapid growth and long-term sustentation of sporting-male commerce in Colorado mining towns in the latter-half of the nineteenth-century.

Potentially representing the real economic engine responsible for the viability of tenuous western mining towns, prostitution was tacitly accepted by moral Victorian elites, underscoring the entrenched nature of masculine ideologies and customs. The class-based regulatory structures adopted to exploit and control the illicit commerce would have an alienating influence over the lives of prostitutes, significantly altering the relations of power forged between men and women in these urbanized mining towns.

Ironically, the pervasiveness of long-standing homocentric paradigms in western historical literature has continued to mask the socio-cultural and economic significance of masculine social institutions in numerous industrial sub-regions emerging in the mining west. Benefiting from the advances made in the discourse on gender and power, this archaeological study assesses the changing life ways of prostitutes within a brothel district, providing a unique perspective on gendered relations of power in a western mining context.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Dr. Jason LaBelle for accepting me into the Anthropology Department at Colorado State University. It is to my misfortune that I could not contribute to his very inspiring plains-mountain transhumance project. I recall being asked by Jason if I considered myself a generalist or a specialist, and I replied “generalist,” as it has always been my contention that an archaeologist must possess expertise in a broad number of sciences and disciplines in order to properly assess, synthesize, and interpret complex cultural data (regardless of the time period in human history). I can think of no better test of this statement than the abrupt switch made from Paleoindian archaeology to historical archaeology - dramatically shifting my scholarship goals and research focus. This transition was only made possible by the guidance, patience, and friendship of Mary Van Buren.

The spirit of cooperation developed by Mary has led to many interesting insights and perspectives on the artifact collection recovered from the Vanoli sporting complex, and this study was inspired by that energy. However, the more refined development of this study could not have been possible without the assistance and efforts of my committee members: Lynn Kwiatkowski’s insightful cultural expertise helped solidify the theoretical perspective and Jared Orsi’s keen historical perspective provided the ideal counterweight needed to properly shape this study.

This investigation was greatly aided by the support and assistance from the staffs of the Colorado Archaeological Society (Alice Hamilton Scholarship Fund), Colorado Historical Society, Office of Historical Preservation, Ouray Historical Society, Ouray County Courthouse (Michelle Nauer), and the Denver Public Library. Much thanks to Emily Ainsworth O'Brien for

artifact photos. A very special thank you goes to Christa Myers for being there throughout the process.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated in loving memory to

My Father

My continued education would not have been possible  
without his unwavering support and encouragement

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

During the American nineteenth century, the development of two class institutions, the American working- and middle-class, would significantly alter the social structures of the nation during a period of extreme political turbulence, industrial growth, and territorial expansion. The ideological battlefield negotiated between men (and the subsequent effects on women) within these class structures would result in the renewed definition of manhood, or more precisely, the particular values and practices representative of this redefined masculinity. Facilitating this renewed masculine ideology were the numerous gold rushes to the West after 1848.

The customs, social habits, and practices adopted by emigrant miners and prospectors in Colorado mining camps after 1858 were highly reflective of the changes in masculine ideology in nineteenth century America. Due to the sheer numerical dominance of men in these remote, industrial enclaves, men were more capable of crafting and organizing the social relations and institutions that propagated their dominance. It is within these historically-specific social structures that gendered relations of power, negotiated between individuals and between groups, are articulated. The appearance of prostitutes in these male dominated mining centers would significantly alter social relations and represents a central focus from which to assess the changing nature of power over time between gendered actors.

According to Julia Laite (2009:743), "the study of commercial sex in mining communities not only tells us something about the social [and gender] history of mining: it can also make a significant contribution to the broader history of prostitution and its control." Following Laite and others (Simmons 1989; Vermeer 2006), it is argued here that the appearance of prostitutes and the development of red-light districts had radically altered the dynamics of

power between gendered groups in Colorado mining towns. Utilizing historical sources and the archaeological record, this study assesses the changing life ways of prostitutes on the Vanoli sporting complex in order to better comprehend the changing nature of relations of power which may contribute to, and are informed by, the gendered social processes operating on a broader societal scale.

Michel Foucault's (1977; 1978) postmodernist concepts on modern 'power' is a useful model from which to assess relations of power in a western mining context. Foucault's model provides a compelling theoretical framework from which to analyze male domination and female subjugation, which may be "reproduced voluntarily through self-normalization to everyday habits of masculinity and femininity" (Bordo 1993:191). Although Foucault does not specifically address gender in his discussions on power/knowledge, masculinity and femininity are conceptualized here as "produced, contested, and transformed through discursive processes, and therefore embedded within and productive of power relations" (Schippers 2007: 94).

A gendered analysis emphasizing relations of power in a western mining context offers an opportunity to assess the range of masculinities existent, the "reconstitution of gender over time, [and] the *directionality* of changes in gender relations" [emphasis mine] (Kimmel 1987: 123). Unfortunately, our ability to assess how gender is socially constructed in nineteenth century western mining districts is constrained by the homocentric paradigms prevalent in the academic and historical literature.

### Male Bias, Second-Wave Feminists, and the New West Paradigm

The strong reactions of second wave feminists to male bias in the disciplines of anthropology and history have had a profound influence on how we now approach gender in a



western historical context. For example, M.Z. Rosaldo (1980) was one of many social scientists in the 1970's who shed light on the static nature of a 'Victorian theory,' an academic paradigm responsible for entrenching public/domestic social categories negotiated between men and women. Pointing directly at the homocentric bias in historical and anthropological literature, Rosaldo also considered how male authors had "cast the sexes in dichotomous and contrastive terms" in support of an ideology that "opposed natural, moral, and essentially unchanging realms to the vagaries of a progressive masculine society" (Rosaldo 1980: 404).

The protestations of like-minded feminist scholars against centuries of male-dominated history would result in a tidal wave of research that placed increasing emphasis on issues concerning subaltern groups subjugated or dominated by men, effectively narrowing the scope and attention given to the import of masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). The continued efforts of feminist scholars to de-construct static gender binaries and reformulate the constructions of gender relations would also find applications in the field of archaeology.

Written almost thirty years ago, the work by the archaeologists Conkey and Spector (1984) is an instructive resource from which to approach a gendered analysis of archaeological data. In response to the androcentric bias seen in the archaeological literature of the 1970's, the authors approach the gendered nature of material culture by stating:

"...feminist scholars conceptualize gender as a complex system of meaning - that is, as a social category that lies at the core of how people in particular cultures identify who they are, what they are capable of doing, what they should do, and how they are to relate to others similar to and different from themselves. Like the social category, family, gender is a system of social rather than biological classification that varies cross-culturally and changes over time in response to a constellation of conditions and factors that are as yet poorly understood. It is in this very area of cultural diversity and change through time that archaeology might make a most important contribution to the study of gender, and vice versa" (Conkey and Spector 1984:16).

The major advancements in the gender discourse since 1984 (reviewed in Chapter Two) has clearly dated the work developed by Conkey and Spector. However, their unequivocal response to assumptions about gendered roles and relationships strongly reflects the growing concerns of feminist-inspired anthropologists in that period. Cautioning against the perpetuation of sexism and gender asymmetry derived from gender bias in academic scholarship, these themes would gain traction among western historians, possibly influencing the emergence of the New Western History in the late 1980's and early 1990's (see Slotkin 1985; Limerick 1987; White 1991; Cronon, Miles and Gitlin 1992).<sup>1</sup>

The highly visible New West movement was most effective in shifting the focus away from men and their institutions toward an emphasis on "race, class, gender, and the environment in specific communities marked by change and conflict" (Rico 2013: 13). Understandably, this orientation would also result in a "small mountain of [historical] scholarship on women in the West," emphasizing the differences between gendered subjects operating within the white, masculine domain associated with the American West (Johnson 1993: 496). These studies only served to move "gender further away from the central category of analysis" (Johnson 1993: 499), providing only limited insight on the gendered relations of power responsible for shaping the localized parameters of oppression and domination.

This paradigm shift in western studies, one that has deeply permeated the sub-discipline of historical archaeology, might explain why archaeologists studying the mining frontier have continued to embrace an orientation that emphasizes *differences* between historical or gendered subjects without considering the reasons why these differences existed. This somewhat rigid

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<sup>1</sup> The philosophical orientation of the New Western History movement is outlined in the edited volume *Trails: Toward A New Western History* (Limerick, Milner, and Rankin, eds. 1991)

orientation seems particularly prevalent in western historical archaeology and is exacerbated by neglecting the potential fluidity of gendered social relations.

Emphasizing a number of feminist-inspired issues, historical archaeologists have produced a number of noteworthy studies that inform a gendered analysis in a western mining context. These include: recognizing gender in the archaeological record (Spude 2005); ethnic and racial inequality (Dixon; 1989; 2005; Hardaway 1998; Fosha and Leatherman 2008); female privacy in red-light districts (Horobik 2011); class and community (Hogan 1990; Douglass 1998); settlement patterns (Simmons 1989); power relations (Hardesty 1998a); prostitution-related artifact assemblages (Blee 1991); and prostitution in relation to world systems theory (Vermeer 2006).<sup>2</sup>

There is little question that this research has increased our understanding of the potential life ways of individuals and groups on the western industrial frontier. However, it could also be argued that each of these mining-related archaeological treatments adheres closely to the 'New West Paradigm.' Derived from the feminist backlash as a result of homocentric historical treatments, such an orientation places strong emphasis on subaltern groups as well as those individuals that have been subsumed in the pages of western mining history.

In Colorado mining centers, interpreting the gendered nature of material culture relies on our ability to objectively assess the complexities of gender continually negotiated within a predominantly male, industrial context. Recognizing the entrenched nature of masculine ideologies in these hyper-masculine environments, it is also important to note that relations of power negotiated between gendered individuals and groups are changing over time. Such a

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<sup>2</sup> Most notable is the edited volume, *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: the Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining* (Knapp et al. 1998), representing an excellent resource that covers the range of human activity in an industrial mining context.

perspective is essential when assessing the material culture recovered from the Vanoli Sporting Complex – which represents an oasis of women in a sea of men.

Several contemporary historical works have provided much-needed context for this study on issues related to gender, class, ethnicity, and masculinity operating on the Western frontier. These include Susan Johnson's (2000) *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the Gold Rush*, which has enriched our understanding of hierarchical structures, class struggles and ethnic social processes resulting from the male-dominated geo-economic wave of emigrants to the southern mining districts of California. Similarly, David Emmons' (2010) *Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845-1910* rigorously explores the gendered, class, and ethnic struggles of the cohesive Irish groups settling into the mining town of Butte, Montana.

Successfully incorporating contemporary gender discourse in an exploration of transnational masculine ideologies is Monica Rico's (2013) *Nature's Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth-Century American West*. Rico examines the gender-specific cultural codes developed by elite British and American males operating on the western frontier. These cultural codes were adopted by elite men as a means of regulating and defining aspects of class and race on the western frontier that were instrumental in propagating the production of hegemonic masculinities.

Another notable source is Jacqueline Moore's (2010) *Cow Boys and Cattle Men*. Moore's analysis of the patrilineal hierarchy on the frontier ranch, though informative, makes clear the stark contrast between the cowboy experience and the lives led by the mountain miner. Over time, the male occupation of ranch hand or the iconic cowboy figure would become particularly attractive to young boys at the turn of the century (see also Garceau 2001). Such iconic allusions

are not afforded the frontier prospector or miner, perhaps muting the popular and academic interest in this frontier archetype.

By de-emphasizing men, as well as their ideologies and institutions, the New West movement further dimmed the experience of western miners, overlooking the fragile and tenuous societies built upon their organizational practices. For many emigrant men, the journey to the western ranch, farm, lumber camp, or mining district would become a true test of manhood and self-worth. However, of these western industrial occupations, only one offered the potential for an individual to rapidly attain financial independence - precious metal mining. This fact alone separates mining societies from other western industrial centers, and is what attracted young, highly mobile men to the successive gold rushes in the West. The southern Rocky Mountains represent just one sub-region where men sought a destiny "superior to fortune" (Payson 1970: 239).

#### Defining the Cultural Sub-Region: The Colorado Mineral Belt

The frenetic in-migration of gold-seekers to the southern Rocky Mountains after the discovery of gold in 1858 would share many commonalities with the rush to California ten years earlier. The speed with which mining districts were formed in Colorado underscores the successful dissemination and implementation of miner's laws that were established in California mining camps (see Clay and Wright 2004; Reid 1997). Miner's laws, possibly of Cornish origin (Benton-Cohen 2009), represent a set of instructions that guided the conduct of miners while establishing the geo-economic regulations needed for uncontested mineral production (Shinn 1965; Mucibabich 1977). The adherence to Miner's laws is a common thread that links all mining rushes after California.

Primarily a placer mining economy in the earliest phases of colonization, the true test and effectiveness of miner's laws in Colorado came during the transition to lode or hard-rock mining soon after 1865. While both men and women participated in placer mining, the more physically demanding work of hard-rock mining was primarily an occupation assumed by men. As miners and prospectors advanced across the Continental Divide, accessing the recesses of the southern Rocky Mountains, the recognition of a distinct mineral belt running through the mountain zone was soon realized (Digerness 1978; Watkins 1971). Figure 1 (below) shows the approximate outline of this industrial sub-region which represents the primary hard-rock mining zone within the State of Colorado. The San Juan mining district and the mining town of Ouray are situated in the southern most segment of this belt.

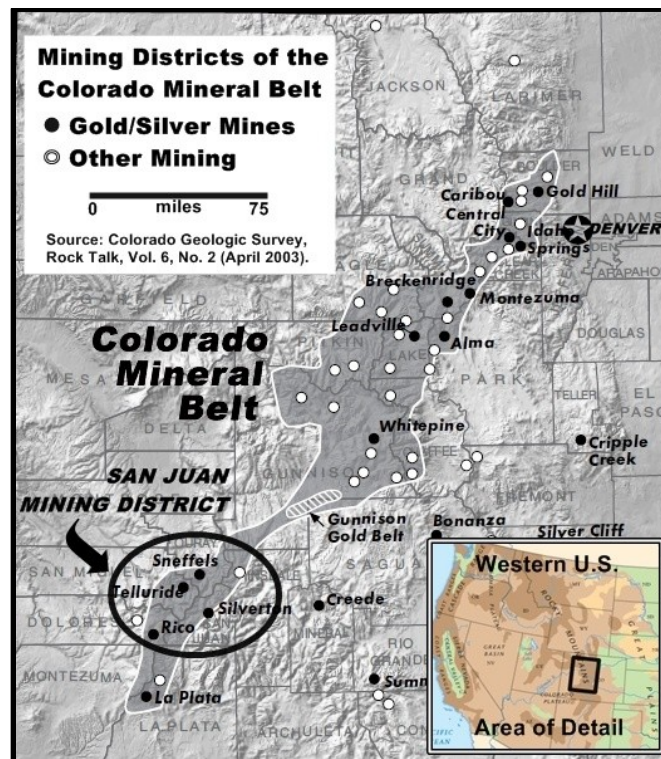


Figure 1. Map of the Colorado Mineral Belt. Online Resource.  
Source: <http://geosurvey.state.co.us/pubs/Documents/rtv6n2.pdf>

Following a growth trajectory common throughout the early history of the mining West, the socio-economic development in the Colorado mineral belt would occur in two very distinct phases (see Paul 1963). The first phase, or the early colonization phase, represents the appearance of predominantly-male, mining camps and settlements – dominated by highly mobile, unskilled, working-class men. The second phase, or the urbanized town building phase, would see eastern elites assume control of the political economy from the colonizing workforce. I argue here that the masculine ethos adopted in the first phase of Colorado's industrial colonization is central to our understanding of the institutional forms that would flourish in the second phase. Between 1858 and 1880, this two-stage societal growth process would become accelerated, blurring the lines between colonization and town building phases, altering some social structures while retaining others. This process is most readily seen in the development of the San Juan Mountain mining district.

### San Juan Mining District

John Baker, one of the first adventurers to the region, called the San Juans “the wildest most inaccessible region in Colorado, if not North America” (Bancroft 1890: 495). Due to the remote location, extreme physical landscape, and strong resistance by the Ute Indian tribes, over a decade would pass before Anglo-American men gained a foothold in the San Juan Mountains in yet another frenzied search for gold in Colorado around 1870. The industrial colonization of the San Juan Mountains saw the establishment of four geo-economic hubs - separated by imposing mountain peaks. The four main economic hubs (and eventual County Seats), Silverton

(San Juan County), Telluride (San Miguel County), Ouray (Ouray County<sup>3</sup>), and Lake City (Hinsdale County), each shared relatively similar geo-economic conditions, workforce nativity, and socio-economic institutions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the early 1870's, the geo-economic hub of Silverton was established, representing the convergence of mining activity along a twelve mile stretch of the upper Animas River (Bancroft 1890). Several years later, the mining town of Ouray was established, representing the central convergence of mining activity along the Uncompaghre River. The incorporation of Ouray in 1876, less than a year after its initial discovery, came only three years after the Brunot Agreement<sup>4</sup> was enacted. Far more isolated than the already established mining centers of Silverton and Lake City, Ouray colonizers faced added economic, geographic, and physiographic challenges compared to their district neighbors. These challenges were somewhat counterbalanced by the extraction of ore containing high assays of silver, gold, lead, copper, and zinc (Luedke 1981). Though requiring innovative smelting techniques needed to refine efficiently, this fortuitous metallurgical anomaly became advantageous when precious metal spot prices fluctuated or crashed (Brown 1968; Hogan 1990).

Although the rich mineral ore present in the ring-fracture zone of the San Juans, known as the Silverton Caldera (Luedke 1981), proved beneficial to the long-term survival of the isolated San Juan mining district, the region nevertheless experienced an atypical economic development (Paul 1963; Smith 1979; Mehls 1982). Atypical in an historical sense. In other words, the San Juans did not initially experience a sensational boom phase of expansion which

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<sup>3</sup> "In 1874 the San Juans were divided into La Plata, Hinsdale, and Rio Grande counties. Two years later (1876) San Juan County was carved out of La Plata, and the next year (1877) Ouray was created from the northern portion of San Juan" (Smith 2000: 61).

<sup>4</sup> The Brunot Agreement was ratified in 1874 and was the result of continuous efforts by the Los Pinos Agency (the Indian agency ultimately tasked with the removal of the multitude of Ute Indian bands residing in southwestern Colorado) seeking to purchase the lands representing the San Juan mining region. This agreement is still being contested today by Utes over hunting rights in the area.



saw venture capitalists from the East or Europe dominate the economic landscape. More simply, a capital-expansion phase did not immediately follow the rush of prospectors in the San Juans. This was due to a complex set of factors which include: the continued harassment of miners by disgruntled Ute Indians, the inhospitable winter seasons at high elevations, extreme remoteness of the mining district to vital supply and processing centers, and the rising attraction of mining booms occurring closer to the growing supply center of Denver, Colorado (Bancroft 1890). These factors also directly contributed to the excessive numbers of men occupying the region.

P. David Smith (2003: 42-43) has examined the development of mining activity in Ouray County, suggesting that the region was primarily populated with small operators (individuals or small groups), and a few large mines. Due to the remote locations and complications in the refining process, the majority of the mining claims in the district could not be mined on any large scale at any substantial profit. Discussing the presence of eastern capitalists in the region he states, "In 1878, not a single mine in the Uncompaghre district was owned by capitalists" (Smith 2003: 42-43). This was two years after Ouray's incorporation, and two years before the first census of the new County was taken. The atypical geo-economic development in the San Juans is noteworthy as it confirms that not all sustainable mining economies on the industrial frontier followed similar geo-economic trajectories. This also has particular relevance to this study as these economic variations had little effect on the proliferation of sporting-male commerce and red-light district adoption.

#### Ouray's Second Street Red-Light District

Having reviewed the spatial and socio-economic development of the Second Street red-light district in Ouray, Colorado, one perplexing question arose (ultimately leading to the

conceptualization of this study): why did the purportedly lawless and immoral sporting club commerce in Ouray *increase* over time? After some research it was soon discovered that the revenue generated by sporting district commerce was essential to the financial viability of most Colorado mining towns (Paul 1963, Noel 1982; Blair and Churchill 1997; Smith 2000). As an example, the development of the Second Street female boarding structures, aided and abetted by the town council (in full violation of their own ordinances against prostitution), places in focus the entrenched nature of the recreational practices of miners, the forms of resistance organized against it, and the tacit acceptance of the illicit commerce by those individuals still vigorously opposed on moral grounds. It is this entrenched social paradigm, one loudly reflecting the ideological constructs of masculinity and manhood, which would endure long after the initial colonizers had departed.

Over time, the primary recreational forms of Colorado miners were drinking, gambling, competitive games, and prostitution; these activities would flourish in the saloon, fraternal organization, gambling house, dance hall, and brothel.<sup>5</sup> The long-term sustenance of gambling and sex commerce in Colorado mining districts, surviving well after the entrenchment of civic-minded, eastern elites, strongly suggests that sporting-male activities were indeed embedded into the fundamental social institutions adopted in western mining centers. The professional elites, represented by the professional and educated classes adhering to a Victorian moral code, certainly established strong resistance to these male practices. However, in the final analysis, their efforts to curb this commerce were ineffectual – until the enactment of Prohibition in 1916.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The astonished reactions of emigrant men greeted by this foreign and self-indulgent form of sporting manhood has been well-chronicled (Lord 1884; Payson 1970; Smith 2000; West 1979).

<sup>6</sup> Blair (1993) has revealed that after the passing of Prohibition in 1916, residents of the mining town of Silverton, Colorado continued to keep these social institutions open, eluding state and federal marshals with the establishment of messengers or runners posted at the central train station in Durango.

The taxes, fines, and fees imposed on such commerce represented a negotiated compromise by the political class, one that morally justified their complicity in propagating sporting-male commerce for the male workforce their survival relied upon (Noel 1982). The understanding that fledgling Colorado mining towns relied quite heavily on sporting-male commerce to fund their growth is also very instructive, and represents a research topic deserving further analysis. Acknowledging this inseparable link between the elites and the labor force provides a deeper understanding of how certain masculinities were maintained, with the additional knowledge that single men in these societies faced few, if any, criminal repercussions when indulging in their vices. This clearly biased *gender order* would have an undeniable effect on the relations forged between gendered subjects.

## Summary of Chapters

The changing gender ideologies in nineteenth century America saw the rise of a new form of working-class masculinity that cast Victorian manhood as effeminate and docile. Many socio-cultural institutions in the mining West would embody this manly, working-class ideal, and the popularity of saloon culture, fraternal orders, and muscular sporting events would seem to reflect this ideology. Highly reflective of this redefined working-class masculine milieu, predominantly-male, western mining towns would see a ubiquitous proliferation of saloons, gambling and dance halls, and brothels. There is little question that these seemingly entrenched working-class masculine recreational forms represented ground-zero for the social life of western miners.

The study of masculinity provides a pragmatic theoretical framework from which to examine acceptable organizational behavior in male-dominated, western mining towns. In order

to evaluate the social structures of mining towns, a theoretical construct is needed to explain the gendered organization, power articulation, and institutional practices that embedded working-class masculine recreational forms in industrial frontier society. There is little question that social constructions are neither arbitrary nor the product of consensus among social groups. In fact, they are rooted in power and reflect the ability of the powerful to “fix” meaning in ways that privilege those forms of reality that serve the interests of the powerful (Mumby 1998: 167-168). In the male-dominated mining town, power is disseminated through the socio-economic institutional forms that continue to embed their ideology.

Incorporating a more holistic approach to the gendered analysis of archaeological data within a western mining brothel complex, a more informed understanding of miner recreational practices at the local level and an understanding of the broader socio-economic forces regulating their activities is essential. These processes clearly involve a power dynamic that is negotiated through relations forged between individuals and between groups. In a western mining camp dominated by men, these gendered social processes might be characterized as hyper-masculine in force and hegemonic in form.

Outlining the theoretical approach to this study, Chapter Two evaluates the multi-decadal evolution of masculinity studies within the broader framework of feminist theory. Studying men and masculinity in a western mining context provides a valuable perspective from which to assess the knowledge already amassed on women and subaltern groups. Such an approach also provides clearer insights into the numerous questions still left unanswered concerning power relations between men and women as well as the relations between dominant men and subjugated or complicit men (Wicks 1996). Clearly, understanding the multiple complexities of gender dynamics requires the recognition of the agency of both dominant and subordinate

groups, a task that can only be accomplished by "incorporating a more holistic understanding of gender hierarchy" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 848).

In a western mining context, an analysis of gender hierarchy requires an understanding of how power is articulated through gender. Michel Foucault's (1982) conceptualizations of power/knowledge offer an insightful perspective that helps elucidate how power may be unconsciously transmitted through individuals and social groups. Likewise, Pierre Bourdieu's (1977; 2001b) postmodernist concept of habitus also provides insights into the inherent aspects of these subconscious cognitive processes.

By incorporating postmodernist conceptualizations of power and practice theory, it becomes apparent that individual performance of a familiar practice, representing an application point of power, may not be fully conscious nor reflective, and is always subject to change. Theories of practice which emphasize processes like habituation, routine, practical consciousness, tacit knowledge, and tradition help explain the interconnected relationship between individuals and the society of which they are a part. More importantly, male practices observed in western mining centers often have their own distinct, institutionalized and collectively regulated conventions. Therefore, the application of practice theory on urban mining societies may be constructive as the answers we seek in understanding red-light district development, for example, are primarily historical and institutional.

Chapter Three examines the American ideological renovation of manhood and masculinity in the nineteenth century leading up to the California gold rush. The changing definitions of manhood in the latter-half of the nineteenth-century created a conflict among many men who would lose control of their labor prospects in a tumultuous economic growth period. Such a transformation depended on firm definitions of masculinity and femininity which would

have major implications for both men and women. In a resounding rejection of the cultured Victorian milieu, men aspired to a life of achievement and independence, seeking out homosocial environments from which to publicly exercise their re-inspired manly vices.

The California gold rush, and successive gold and silver rushes into the western interior, provided the perfect outlet for this newfound working-class masculine ideology for both domestic and foreign men. Seeking to satisfy their yearnings for self-achievement and financial independence, single men ventured to the western mining districts by the tens of thousands. Highly reflective of this revitalized working-class masculine ethos, saloon and sporting-male culture would proliferate in western mining centers.

Representing more than a physical space, the saloons, and the numerous entertainment forms that appeared in Colorado mining towns, illustrate the blunt force of masculine power applied to the development of societal institutions. At the center of this ideological fluorescence was the merchant or entrepreneur. Besides supplying the mining workforce with essential equipment and foodstuffs, necessities that miners or prospectors had difficulty obtaining on their own, the merchant class also supplied much desired recreational forms such as saloons, gambling, dance halls, and prostitutes.

The saloon, by necessity, played a primary role in the organizational foundations of all mining camps. Such reliance on a social institution speaks to the priorities and practices adopted by the men in these remote outposts. The recreational forms in western mining districts were well established by the time of the San Juan colonization after 1870. Strongly associated with saloon commerce, gambling and myriad forms of betting and competitive events would dominate the activities within these homosocial domains. The introduction of women into the social sphere

of men would add yet another complex layer of gendered identity into these hyper-masculine societies.

Due to the nature of the industry and the public cautiousness of both parties engaging in these private acts, very little is known of the early interactions between miners and prostitutes in these often remote mining centers. Many women in the West, with few prospects to earn a respectable living wage, saw economic opportunity in the mining camps and towns. Their presence became central to the recreational activities of miners and would also prove vital to the mining town as a revenue source. This socio-economic process was followed in the mining town of Ouray.

Chapter Four analyzes the class-based development of the Second Street red-light district in Ouray, Colorado. The early arrival of professional and educated elites to Ouray would alter the gender/power dynamics negotiated between members of the society. This social process facilitated a Victorian societal structure, placing men in traditional positions of power while creating divisions along class lines. The increased alienation of prostitutes and the spatial segregation of the town, verified through the inspection of Sanborn fire insurance maps, are results of this process.

The regulatory structure developed in Ouray represents a well-known strategy in Colorado mining towns which targeted sporting-male commerce as a revenue source while controlling the illicit activity. These actions served several purposes: the division of the population by class, security concerns, and regulation. More importantly, these actions specifically targeted prostitutes and would have been felt by women operating on the Vanoli sporting complex.

Chapter Five examines the material culture recovered from the Vanoli Sporting Complex site (5OR.30). This examination is augmented by the cultural history and construction sequences of this brothel complex, providing much-needed historical context to the structures on the complex, the specific actors operating on the block, and the range of activities taking place. Seeking provenience for the well-preserved artifact collection recovered from the inner yard of the brothel complex, Steven Baker's excavations of the site is reconstructed in order to place the excavation units in proper spatial context in relation to prominent structures on the complex.

A critical review of the excavation field notes in the inner-courtyard of the site reveals two deposits of artifacts selected for a comparative analysis: a trash midden deposit at the rear of the boarding house constructed in 1877, representing the earliest material culture on the complex, and the original stone-lined privy of the Gold Belt Variety Theatre, constructed between 1886 and 1888. A comparative analysis of these artifacts provides the means with which to assess the change in material expression over time. The temporal range of the archaeological data coincides with the earliest confirmed brothel activity in Ouray, and continues until the enactment of the Colorado prohibition law in 1916.

The artifacts recovered from these excavations represent the refuse deposition of consumer goods by male patrons, prostitutes, and the associates and employees of the business operations on site. The comparative analysis of artifacts between the boarding house and the Gold Belt attempts to assess the nature of gendered relations of power negotiated between individuals and between groups over time. Seeking a better understanding of the life ways and activities at the local level, the comparison of material culture from two well-defined features on the complex also considers the broader societal forces influencing the material signature.



The analysis of artifacts more closely examines those items that are definitively gendered or designated as personal. This category of artifact includes the sub-categories of recreation, clothing, hygiene, and personal items. The focus on artifacts that are classified as personal provides an opportunity to gauge the changes in life ways of prostitutes as well as their interactions with males on the complex. When possible, artifacts that are specifically gendered are more closely scrutinized, but due to the fact that the majority of occupants on site were females, many items, such as the large volume of alcohol-related bottle glass, must be considered gender neutral.

The relationship of bottle glass to personal items recovered from each deposit under analysis has provided added interpretive context to the changes in the material signature over time. The conclusions of the analysis reveal a distinct change in material expression between the two deposits and may suggest an alteration in the life ways of prostitutes on the complex. To better evaluate how gendered relations of power might be socially constructed in a western mining brothel context, we must consider how gender identity is constructed and how power might be articulated between individuals and between groups.

## CHAPTER TWO: GENDER, MASCULINITY, POWER AND PRACTICE

*Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application.*

- Michel Foucault (1980)

The gendered analysis of material culture affords us that rare glimpse of the potential relations negotiated between gendered subjects in a complex social environment. Drawing upon the feminist discourse on gender, contemporary studies on masculinity, and postmodernist conceptualizations of relations of power, this chapter outlines the theoretical orientation from which the gendered relations forged on the Vanoli Sporting Complex might be culturally and historically evaluated. Such an orientation acknowledges gender as the primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated (Scott 1986; Acker 1990). As R. W. Connell (2002: 9) has reminded us, "gender is, above all, a matter of the social relations within which individuals and groups act." Recognizing that the differences between gendered subjects are often *created* through gendered relations, in a predominantly-male, western mining context, we must also consider how these personal interactions influenced the relations of power negotiated between individuals and between groups.

This chapter is divided into four sections. First, a brief review of feminist theory traces the evolving scholarship on gender which formed a strong theoretical foundation from which masculinity studies emerged. Second, the contemporary discourse on masculinity is examined and the potential applications to western mining societies are more thoroughly explored. The concept of hegemonic masculinity, defined broadly as an "ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 832), is also addressed in this

section. Third, following Michel Foucault's (1978; 1980; 1982; 1994) intuitive perspective of the ubiquitous nature of power, a theoretical construct is developed that addresses the nuanced dissemination of power in a male-dominated, western mining context. In addition, aspects of practice theory are introduced in an attempt to illuminate the interconnectivity of societal organization and individual agency in these masculine industrial centers.

Few would argue that western mining centers were socially structured to the benefit of a predominantly-male workforce. Therefore, an assessment of relations of power in western mining centers must recognize that "Gender is not an addition to ongoing processes,...but an integral part of those processes, which cannot be properly understood without an analysis of gender" (Acker 1990: 146). In order to elaborate on masculinity as it applies to relations of power, an examination of the evolving discourse on gender is required.

### Feminist Discourse on Gender

Searching for the mechanisms responsible for the subjugation of individuals through the forces of power and dominance, many first and second wave feminists were influenced by the works produced by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. However, the search for a materialist explanation for gender, through changing class-based economic structures, may have limited the theoretical lines of analysis for Marxist feminists. This conundrum was addressed by Joan Kelly (1979: 61) who argued that economic and gender systems may operate "simultaneously to reproduce the socio-economic and male-dominant structures of particular social order[s]." This is especially relevant for Colorado mining societies, which saw white, male laborers and merchants compete for the available local surplus while "resisting the intrusion of national monopoly capital and the imposition of federal authority" (Hogan 1990:1). More importantly, such

breakthroughs in feminist thought have enabled scholars to see gender as a complex product of a variety of social forces, not just a hierarchical system of production (Rosaldo 1980).

Advanced theoretically by the works of Foucault and Bourdieu, and postmodernist and poststructuralist thought, the second wave of feminism still struggled with issues concerning essentialism, which framed women in universal terms, effectively normalizing and privileging specific forms of femininity (see Nash 1997:19). Today, it is now understood that essentialist assumptions concerning ultimate origins or root causes of women's oppression should be rejected or dismissed. In their place, a more useful holistic approach has evolved which recognizes that women's specific experiences are generated by a number of intersecting structures which may derive from any social realm, be it culture, economics, politics, religion or ideology (Maharaj 1995:57).

As conceptualizations of gender identity and gender relations matured in feminist discourse, Joan Scott (1986) suggests that universal gender terminology had emerged in the academic literature. In a rejection of the biological determinism of terms such as 'sex', Scott suggests that American feminists began to apply universal terminology related to gender. In the 1980's, the feminist literature would see both descriptive and causal gender categories, which essentially substitutes "gender" for "women," resulting in the enhanced use of the term 'gender.' This terminology represented a reaction by feminists regarding the "inadequacy of existing bodies of theory for explaining persistent inequalities between women and men" (Scott 1986: 1066). In order to avoid such universal gendered terminology, Scott calls for the need to scrutinize methods of analysis, clarify operative assumptions, and explain how change occurs in a gendered discourse. This revised methodological framework would prompt a renewed interest in the connective structure of gender relations.

According to Joan Acker (1990), feminist attempts to posit organization as gender neutral or asexual in the analysis of organizational structures were found to be too constraining and offered little to account for gendered structuring in organizations. Understandably, a gender-neutral analysis would inhibit a broader understanding of the institutional forms developed in male-dominated mining towns. In a study on gendered organization in frontier agrarian societies, Lynn Harter (2004: 92) states that “emerging literature on gendered organizing is interested in problematizing the processes through which certain definitions of masculinity and femininity have come to hold sway over competing definitions—the routine and contested practices through which gendered identities become hegemonic.” Such research has shifted the attention of gender theorists as it becomes clear that the differences between men and women are in fact *created* by gender relations.

Equally relevant is the embedded nature of gender, both as a material, social institution and as a set of ideologies (di Leonardo 1991: 30). The recognition of embeddedness in feminist analyses requires an understanding that “women [/men] must be seen not only in relation to men [/women] but to one another,” and that embeddedness “constructs ‘difference’ inside the logic of analysis rather than appropriating it as an inorganic addition” (di Leonardo 1991: 30).

The assimilation of postmodernist, poststructuralist, and psychological theoretical models by feminist scholars has shifted the focus from static gender binaries and essentialist constructs to one that accepts the premise that dominant or even hegemonic masculinities can be fluid, socially and historically constructed, and constantly changing (Gardiner 2002). The commonalities evident between masculinity studies and feminist theory have revealed that gender, either in its masculine or feminine subject position can no longer be characterized as static, monolithic, or undifferentiated. Simplifying the concept of gender in terms of

relationships of power, through human agency and within and between sexes, the development of masculinity studies in the broader field of gender studies has slowly gained acceptance and relevancy.

### Critical Studies on Men

Based on the research of Australian sociologist R. W. Connell (1985; 1993; 1995; 2000; 2002), the study of masculinity has received considerable attention among social scientists. Connell's work has expanded the discourse on gender studies by providing a firm theoretical basis on which to re-examine gender identities and the previously disregarded aspects of manhood and masculinity. Connell's insightful arguments, constructed from the theoretical analyses of feminism, sociology, and psychology, were instrumental in displacing the previously entrenched concepts of sex-role theory and patriarchy. Briefly summarizing these concepts, sex-role theory represents a form of social determinism which "rests on a superficial analysis of human personality and motives" (Connell 1993:599). Patriarchy, a long-standing gendered concept in the social sciences, is now considered to be ineffective in elucidating the resistive forces of agency (Connell 1993).

Connell (1995:71) conceptualizes gender as the ways in which the "reproductive arena," which includes "bodily structures and processes of human reproduction," organizes practice at all levels of social organization from identities, to symbolic rituals, to large-scale institutions." In terms of gendered relations, masculinity is then defined by Connell as "simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices on bodily experience, personality and culture" (Connell 1995:71). Therefore, masculinity is an identifiable set of practices that occur across space and over time

and is absorbed and enacted collectively by groups, communities, and societies (Connell 1995: 71). Masculinity then becomes a social position, a set of practices, with the collective embodiment of those practices influencing everything from single individuals, relationships, institutional structures, and global relations of domination (Connell, 2000).

Contemporary social theorists expanding on Connell's work have begun to recognize the interconnected nature between masculine ideology, domination, and systems of power. Placing this ideological process in the context of manhood in the mid-nineteenth century, Gail Bederman (1995) states:

To define manhood as an ideological process is not to say that it deals only with intellectuals or ideas. It is, rather, to say that manhood or masculinity is the cultural process whereby concrete individuals are constituted as members of a preexisting social category – as men. The ideological process of gender – whether manhood or womanhood – works through a complex political technology, composed of a variety of institutions, ideas, and daily practices. Combined, these processes produce a set of truths about who an individual is and what he or she can do, based upon his or her body. Individuals are positioned through that process of gender, whether they choose to be or not. Although some individuals may reject certain aspects of their positioning, ...[ultimately] individuals have no choice but to act upon these meanings – to accept or reject them, adopt or adapt them – in order to be able to live their lives in human society. (Bederman 1995: 7)

In a gendered social context characterized by male dominance, especially one with highly unbalanced male to female sex ratios like the industrial frontier, economic and political power is seized and controlled by men. In order to comprehend the social connectivity of gendered organizational power, social scientists have begun to revisit the Gramscian concept of hegemony.

### Hegemonic Masculinity(s)

The concept of hegemony can be traced to the work of Antonio Gramsci who was preoccupied with the “winning and holding [of] power and the formation (and destruction) of social groups in that process” (Donaldson 1993: 644). Gramsci conceptualized hegemony as

involving persuasive societal forces and the organization of social institutions in ways that appear natural or normal (Carrigan et al. 1985).

“Gramsci’s writing focuses on the dynamics of structural change involving the mobilization and demobilization of whole classes. Without a very clear focus on this issue of historical change, the idea of hegemony would be reduced to a simple model of cultural control. And in a great deal of the debate about gender, large-scale historical change is not in focus” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2007: 831).

Gramsci separated hegemonic masculinity from other masculinities by considering the concept as a universal social advancement, not just the control of women. Men benefit from the control of women, but equally important and particularly relevant to this study, hegemony enables the control of other men (Gramsci and Hoare 1971). Gramsci’s ideas regarding the control of oppressive power, especially when exercised by state authority, significantly influenced Marxist ideology. However, as the Marxist-feminist Joan Kelly (1979) has suggested, oppressive power, in both the public and private sphere, is not primarily the maintenance and reproduction of economic relations, but may act as a repressive relation of force for both women and men.

Dennis Mumby (1998) defines hegemonic masculinity as a "socially constructed, institutionalized system of power that simultaneously privileges a certain definition of masculinity and marginalizes other competing forms" (Mumby 1998: 165). The assertion is that hegemonic masculinity - a certain dominant and distinct form of masculinity developed through acceptable human actions and behavior - gives rise to an active and contested struggle for power and dominance, which may or may not be consciously recognized by the actors involved (Mumby 1998).

Assessing the theoretical development of hegemonic masculinity studies in the 1980's, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:832) state that "the analysis of multiple masculinities and the concept of hegemonic masculinity served as a framework for much of the developing research



effort on men and masculinity." Summarizing the development of the concept of hegemonic masculinity in the 1980's, Connell and Messerschmidt state:

"Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2007: 832).

To summarize, hegemonic masculinity represents a dynamic, fluid, and often contested organization, and presumes the subordination of non-hegemonic masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 846). This may or may not include the use of force, and is often represented through formal organizations and institutions which are most clearly visible in social environments (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 832). This social action requires all men to position themselves in relation to it, and often results in the ideological perpetuation of women's subordination (Connell 1987:185). In effect, hegemonic masculinity represents a continually changing process of gender order that is defined broadly as subordinating and complicit. This social construct, often influenced or coerced by unseen force, shapes the overall framework of gender relations. Behaviors that challenge this order are simply denied legitimization as masculine.

The perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity is most clearly observed within male homosocial interactions. Sharon Bird (1996: 121-123) suggests that homosociality promotes clear distinctions between hegemonic masculinities and nonhegemonic masculinities by the segregation of social groups. Interviewing men in a small northwestern city of the United States, Bird identifies three primary factors that can contribute to hegemonic masculinities: emotional detachment – the withholding of emotional expressions to maintain control; competitiveness – facilitating hierarchy in gendered relationships; and sexual objectification of women – where

male superiority is maintained. Many of these traits are seen in predominantly-male mining communities, examples of which are illustrated in chapters three and four of this study.

Jeff Hearn (2004) examines aspects of hegemony under a research direction he calls “Critical Studies on Men,” as opposed to men’s studies. Hearn states that hegemony

“connects with a range of general questions in social theory, feminist theory, and contemporary theorizing of power and resistance. Insights around power and resistance in feminist, poststructuralist, postcolonialist and other critical theoretical politics urgently need to be directed to the examination of men’s gendered power relations to women, children and other men. This includes men’s construction of force and consent, and men’s own consent to that force and consent” (Hearn 2004: 63).

Is this hegemonic ideology considered, as Hearn implies, a gendered *cultural* power? In his seven-point outline of the hegemony of men, he concludes that men are both a social category formed by the gender system and dominant collective and individual agents of social practices.

### Power Relations and Normalization Processes

The feminist discourse on power follows a similar evolutionary trajectory seen in the discourse on gender. In the 1960's, led by women's liberation groups, the construct of social power became synonymous with male power and the entrenched patriarchal systems that explained the oppression of women (Connell 2002). This reactionary position saw the institutions of men as primarily responsible for the perpetuation of women's oppression. However, the introduction of postmodernist and poststructuralist thought on the gender/power discourse in feminism would conceptualize power, very much like gender, as created through the relations between individuals and between groups.

Susan Bordo (1993) credits postmodernists like Michel Foucault for offering a more robust examination of the ubiquitous nature of power, viewing his work as responsible for highlighting the inadequacies of feminist theory in the late 1970's while offering a theoretical

framework with which to reconstruct it. In numerous treatments on the subject of power, Foucault (1977; 1980; 1982) suggested that relations of power are the fundamental conduit through which this omnipresent force courses through humanity. Power is not a central point of organization and domination, but in fact covers all human interactions (Caputo and Yount 1993). In this all-encompassing human process, power "operates on the field of possibilities in which the behavior of active subjects is able to inscribe itself" (Foucault 2000 [1982]: 341). In a clear and useful summary of Foucault's concepts of power, Bordo elaborates:

"we must first cease to imagine 'power' as the *possession* of individuals or groups, but as a network of non-centralized forces;" second, that these "forces are *not* random or haphazard, but configure to assume particular historical forms;" third, that the "dominance of those forms is achieved, not from magisterial decree or design, but through multiple processes, of different origin and scattered location;" and lastly, that "these prevailing forms of selfhood and subjectivity are maintained not through physical restraint and coercion, but through individual self-surveillance and self-corrected norms" (Bordo 1993: 190-191).

For Foucault, "power is not primarily the maintenance and reproduction of economic relations, but is above all a relation of force" (Foucault 1980: 12-13). This suggests that while power can be repressive - repressing nature, instincts, individuals, a class of people - it is still never exclusively possessed or controlled by anyone. Individuals and groups are simply positioned or aligned differently within it.

Power, and to a lesser extent, normalization, are recurrent themes that appear in this gender-based analysis on western mining masculinity. Understandably, normalization, representing a homogenizing process, cannot occur without the exercise of power. As shown in chapters three and four, the redefined male ideologies of the nineteenth century, and the recreational forms appearing in western mining centers, had a significant effect on the social institutions adopted and maintained in the West. Based on Foucault's arguments, it becomes clear that this gendered process, rooted in relations of power, had the capacity to become normalized

as an accepted practice. However, this is only one result of the relations of power, one that nevertheless may have bearing on the social constructs appearing in male-dominated, western mining camps.

As an example, in the California diggings, this power may have been expressed by the formation of rules of conduct or "government." Following Foucault, "government" is representative of "the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed" (Foucault 2000: 341). The development of rules of conduct and "law-mindedness" is a central characteristic of life in the mining camps, and John Phillip Reid (1997: 11) has concluded that the "habits, actions, and values of nineteenth-century American [frontier] society were formed by a behaviorism based on law."

Similarly, miner's laws were established in almost all mining camps, often with some variation particular to the locale or groups drafting the by-laws. Often called the ten commandments of the western miner, Darlene Mucibabich (1977) places the construction of these laws in greater perspective, stating:

These "Ten Commandments" were the unofficial, but mutually agreed upon summary of the beliefs and practices of the miners. They expressed their often inarticulate feelings and helped to explain the motivations behind much of their comradeship and humanitarianism. Many things have been written concerning the miners' ruggedness, lawlessness, and vigilante vengeance, but these "Commandments," I feel, represent what the miners thought of themselves and the reasoning behind many of their actions. Accompanying the miners' unofficial and agreed upon practices of comradeship, humanitarianism, ruggedness, and justice, one can observe the miners' unofficial but agreed upon routine patterns of living. (Mucibabich 1977: 13-17)

Clearly, the timely organization of a "government" structure in mining camps was based on one basic premise, "that all profited more in a world characterized by order rather than chaos" (Rohrbough 1997: 87). Understanding that relations of power, especially those operating in hyper-masculine social structures, has direct implications for the conduct of individuals or groups and helps explain how human action may become normative over time.

The conceptualizations of one social scientist may be inadequate to address the myriad contexts in which power is instilled, disseminated, or controlled. Nevertheless, Foucault's work does provide a framework that has particular relevance to the power relations in operation in predominantly-male, western mining societies. More importantly, his concepts of power offers a theoretical model from which a gender/power dynamic can be examined in an historical context. Analyzing how the unseen forces of power move through a society calls for a more refined understanding of the practices shaping human action.

### A Practice Approach

The fragmentation of anthropology into numerous sub-disciplines in the 1980's prompted a call for a more comprehensive theoretical approach that accounted for the determining factors affecting human action. Practice theory, or a practice approach, establishes a less-structured middle ground between anthropological and sociological methodologies that studies the processes of individual action on society as well as society's effect on individuals. Joseph Rouse (2006: 499) suggests that "practices range from ephemeral doings to stable long-term patterns of activity," and that the "applications of the practice idiom extend from the most mundane aspects of everyday life to highly structured activities in institutional settings." Of particular interest to this study are those aspects of practice theory concerning any "conception of social life and understanding that emphasizes rules, norms, conventions or meanings" (Rouse 2006: 502).

The development of practice theory can be traced to several schools of anthropological thought: symbolic anthropology, cultural ecology, structuralism, structural Marxism, political economy, and postmodernism (Ortner 1984). This meta-theoretical approach has gained traction among feminist scholars seeking to understand the relationship between individuals and the

social and economic structures in which they operate. According to Alan Warde (2005: 139-140), practices have a trajectory or path of development, a history. Theories of practice also emphasize processes like habituation, routine, practical consciousness, tacit knowledge, and tradition. Performance of a familiar practice is often neither fully conscious nor reflective, and is always subject to change. In a very simplified formulation, by understanding the structure and influence of power relations that guide particular conduct and behavior, we can begin to understand why individuals act the way they do in society. This could be something as mundane as styles of clothing and appearance, speech patterns and mannerisms, or specific habits and customs.

One proponent of practice theory, Sherry Ortner, views it, at least in its earlier conceptualization, as based on the understanding of a “system,” which relates to a structural whole that encompasses all aspects of human agency (Ortner 1984: 149). This system, therefore, is comprised of “specific realities of asymmetry, inequality, and domination in any given time and place,” and establishes a basis that harbors the relationship between individuals and the social and economic structures in which they operate (Ortner 1984: 149). This bi-directional relationship between structure and agency (or between society and individual) was first considered by Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 2001a; 2001b).

Bourdieu recognized that the ‘system,’ or ‘field,’ has a powerful effect on shaping human action, and he sought theoretical concepts that helped explain how individuals maneuvered within these systems. The ‘system’ in this sense, is constituted by organizational schemes, often embodied by social institutions, cognitive structures, and moral systems (2001b). His practice approach envisions how systems may operate, how changes can occur, and the influence these systems had on individual action (Bourdieu 1977).

Understanding that human actions are relational, social structures are produced and reproduced through *habitus*, which is continually being developed through experience. However, because habitus exists in the realm of the unconscious, it cannot be directly manipulated or acted upon by individuals who are constantly allowing or blocking aspects of knowledge and coercion (Bourdieu 2001a). This represents the subconscious realm in which domination continually operates. In this sense, habitus, which is considered a replacement of the concept of culture, is both an obstacle and a prerequisite to social change (Bourdieu 2001b). Therefore, habitus is not society as second nature, but represents society as the *only* nature. In the early stages of industrial frontier colonization, this ‘nature’ forms specific habits, practices, ethos, and beliefs that are constructed by men. This may help explain why the social genesis of institutions may be reflective of the actions of individuals within that system over time. It is the resulting structure that becomes normalized, as the original purpose of that behavior or belief can no longer be recalled, and becomes socialized into individuals of that culture (Bourdieu 2001b).

Bourdieu’s concept of the habitus grasps the “orderliness and predictability of people’s actions when faced with apparent choices, both within a particular practice and across different practices” (Warde 2005: 140). For clarification, ‘practice’ represents the social, or the whole of human action. ‘Practices’ represents routinized behavior which interconnects bodily and mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge (Reckwitz 2001: 249). The individual acts as the carrier of patterns of bodily behavior, but also of certain ways of understanding, knowing how and desiring (Reckwitz 2001). Because practices have their own distinct, institutionalized and collectively regulated conventions, they partly insulate people from outside forces (Warde 2005).

Practice theory seems ideally suited for understanding the human actions within isolated frontier mining communities as the answers we seek in understanding red-light district development are primarily historical and institutional. This opinion would seem to be shared by Ortner who has recently concluded that "a theory of practice is a theory of history," and therefore, social practices can only be understood in their articulations with historical events (Ortner 2006). The application of practice theory in a western mining context may be useful in illuminating the interconnectivity between the long-term sustentation of social institutions like gambling halls and sporting clubs, and the shock and astonishment of outsiders entering these insular, yet highly organized, masculine domains of social activity.

## Summary

The development of masculinity studies has seen increased application in numerous industrial and urban contexts. The increased use of the concept of masculinity in understanding social organization around the globe attests to the utility of the approach, and its application in western mining societies is long overdue. The concept of hegemonic masculinity, which is considered socially constructed, fluid, and subject to resistance, involves persuasive organization of social institutions in ways that appear natural or normal. Through the utilization of Bourdieu's postmodernist definition of habitus, which are behaviors that are produced and reproduced through unconscious experience, the formation of normalized institutions might be more easily explained. The mechanisms responsible for the developments of these institutions, assuming they can be clearly identified, might ultimately be found in the discourse on power.

Providing a compelling theoretical framework from which to understand masculine domination over women, as well as men's domination over men, Michel Foucault (1978; 1980)



suggested that the application and resistance of power rests squarely on the "relations between individuals (and between groups) (Foucault 1994: 337). Neglecting to incorporate "gender" in his analysis of power, Foucault instead trains his focus on sexuality and the "social discourses [that] constitute sexuality as a cultural form" (Connell 2002: 93-94). Understanding that the power relations are rooted in the "whole network of the social," Foucault argues that domination represents "a general structure of power whose ramifications and consequences can be found reaching down into the fine fabric of society" (Foucault 1994: 347-348). Therefore, in order to comprehend the various application points of power among groups, occasionally leading to domination, we must also comprehend such power processes at the level of the individual.

Practice theory represents an approach that scrutinizes the processes of individual action in society (practices) as well as society's effect on individuals (practice). This approach conceptualizes a 'system,' or 'field,' which is characterized by social institutions, cognitive structures, and moral systems. Theories of practice place emphasis on processes like habituation, routine, practical consciousness, tacit knowledge, and tradition to explain the organization of institutions within a societal structure. These practices have a history, and as Alan Warde (2005) has suggested, these forms are conditional upon the institutions that are developed in any given society. From this theoretical position it is not difficult to envision how the social institutions of miners were sustained for so long.

For western mining towns, these foundational institutions can be traced to the earliest migrations by emigrant pioneers. Understanding the behavior of individual actors in mining communities over time requires an examination of the character, identities, and ideologies of the men moving westward in the latter-half of the nineteenth century.

### CHAPTER THREE: MANHOOD, SPORTING-MALE CULTURE, AND WESTERN MINING

The American nineteenth century is marked by tremendous transformations in American social, cultural, political and economic identity. As America moved from "moral rigidity to liberalism, from tradition to modernity," stylized constructions of the self-made man and the middle-class would begin to emerge (Robert 2000: 13). For men and women, the formation of class in America had very tangible effects on status, privilege, and upward mobility. However, according to Chris Blazina (2003), the redefinition of manhood (and corresponding definitions of femininity), one championing the virtues of strength, competition, and individuality, may have done more to alter the course of American history.

During this period, participation in saloon culture became an acceptable form of expression for single men and became particularly entrenched in the mining West. Regardless of the environmental, geographic, or cultural challenges emigrant miners may have faced in mining camps and settlements, saloon culture flourished to become a vital and fundamental social institution. With few regulatory agencies and limited judicial authority to keep the gambling and sporting-male activity in these masculine recreational domains in check, the growth of gambling saloons and brothels in these mining centers was essentially unbridled, placing these recreational institutions at the very epicenter of social and cultural activity for men (Powers 2006).

Associating the distinct masculine recreational forms appearing in western mining towns to the changing definitions of masculinity and manhood in nineteenth century America, this chapter provides historical context for the masculine recreational forms ultimately established in Ouray, Colorado. This historical background is valuable when attempting to assess the potential association between gender, class, and power operating in these male-dominated social

institutions. Central to this discussion are the broader socio-economic mechanisms that enabled the ubiquitous development of these masculine social institutions, as well as the potential interactions, activities, and relations forged between men and women operating in these hyper-masculine industrial centers.

### Development of Nineteenth Century American Manhood

The changing definitions of masculinity and manhood in America and northern Europe would have a profound effect on the self-identity of those resolving to journey west. This period of remasculinization is described by historian Amy Greenberg (2005) as reflective of "two preeminent and dueling mid-century masculinities: restrained manhood and martial manhood" (Greenberg 2005: 11). According to Greenberg, martial manhood, describing men embracing the qualities of physical strength, domination, aggression, and violence, "represents a rejection of the Victorian moral standards that guided restrained men or those that valued responsibility, religion, temperance, and the domestic influence of women. This [in turn] provided the means with which men sought new identities based on a revised ideal of masculine dominance and power" (Greenberg 2005: 11-12).

This upheaval posed a number of challenges to men who felt compelled to re-examine their male identities. Men began to "formulate new ideologies of manhood – ideologies not of 'manliness' but of 'masculinity'" (Bederman 1995: 16). Describing this redefined masculinity, Bederman states:

"Throughout the nineteenth century, many working-class men had embraced a "rough" code of manhood formulated, in part, to resist the respectable, moralistic manliness of the middle class. This rough, working-class masculinity had celebrated institutions and values antithetical to middle-class Victorian manliness – institutions like saloons, music halls and prizefights; values like physical prowess, pugnacity, and sexuality. Since the 1820's, advocates of this rough working-class manhood had ridiculed middle-class

manliness as weak and effeminate, while respectable middle-class men had derided this rough masculine ethos as coarse and backward. By the 1880's, however, as the power of Victorian manliness eroded, many middle-class men began to find this rough working-class masculinity powerfully attractive" (Bederman 1995: 17).

The social and political changes in nineteenth century America were fueled in large part by the soaring rhetoric surrounding America's call to Manifest Destiny, which Carolyn A. Haynes (1998) characterizes as a "divinely ordained spread of democracy, individualism, capitalism, and civilization throughout North America" (Haynes 1998: 1-2). In the introduction to her study on the effects of Protestantism on gender and race during this period, Haynes also identifies the equally amplified rhetoric surrounding women's domesticity, which "codified 'natural' differences and duties of American men and women" (Haynes 1998: 2). The two rhetorics are considered interrelated and "universal in their application and appeal," and Haynes suggests that "both were firmly undergirded by a belief in masculine Anglo-Saxon American superiority" (Haynes 1998: 2). Due to the rise in temperance and suffrage movements initiated by women, the rhetorics discussed by Haynes only increased the tension among men, creating what Michael Kimmel (1987) has characterized as a crisis of masculinity.

In addressing this crisis, Kimmel suggests that men had three main responses to the rise of nineteenth century feminism – anti-feminist, masculinist, and pro-feminist – which essentially represented strategies for the reconstruction of masculinity. Kimmel states:

"The rise of feminism in late nineteenth-century United States provoked a variety of responses among American men and prompted what we might call a crisis of masculinity, because the meanings that had constituted traditional gender definitions were challenged. Men's responses included a frightened retreat to traditional configurations, the demarcation of new institutional spheres for the vigorous assertion of a renewed masculinity, and men's support for feminist claims" (Kimmel 1987: 262).

Although obscured in the historical literature (and feminist literature), the pro-feminist response discussed by Kimmel represents a small but vocal group of men that supported the new claims of women for suffrage and sexual autonomy. Pro-feminist men included scientists, writers, and

some politicians who supported the feminist call, with Walt Whitman and the abolitionist Frederick Douglass among those supporting women's liberation (Kimmel 1987: 272).

The crisis in masculinity and the responses evoked suggests that men were actively engaged in the process of remaking manhood during profound structural transformations. These transformations would have very different meanings for men and women. However, the advantages ceded to men in this ideological arena had a strong influence on the directionality of gender relations moving forward. There is no coincidence that during this period Theodore Roosevelt transformed himself into a vigorous outdoorsman in the Badlands of North Dakota, millions of men joined fraternal orders, the Boy Scouts and YMCA were being conceived, muscular sporting events became glorified, and gambling saloons flourished (Bederman 1995). These nineteenth century symbols of manhood have managed to endure even today.

In an analysis of American manhood, E. Anthony Rotundo (1993) considers the influence of male reason and authority that was launched in the mid-nineteenth-century. This rising tide became cemented in the societal fabric soon after masculine institutions reflecting the customs and beliefs of men became firmly embedded (Rotundo 1993: 8-9). During this phase, leisured entertainment became approved activities for men, and "consumer choice became a form of male self-expression," creating a complex male identity that was no longer defined only in the workplace (Rotundo 1993: 6). As a result of these upheavals, America would see a precipitous rise in bachelorhood.

## Bachelorhood

The dramatic increase in bachelors in the latter-half of the nineteenth century speaks to the appeal this redefined form of manhood had on young, unattached men. In eastern

metropolitan cities, the rise of commercial amusement helped precipitate this rise in bachelorhood, drawing grave concern from community leaders who felt that such "contagion" would eventually erode the moral fabric of society (Chudacoff 1999: 73). During this period bachelorhood represented a clear path to self-sufficiency and individualism, strong character traits of the self-made man. Howard Chudacoff (1999: 65) also suggests that "opportunities for economic, social, and sexual independence [in the late-nineteenth-century], could have influenced individuals – in this case men – in a manner such that they would prefer to forego or delay marriage as a means of attaining personal satisfaction."

Expounding on the very real challenges facing bachelors during this period of transformation and changing identity, Chudacoff (1999) states:

Bachelors...embodied one of the principal threats to traditional manhood in that their increasing numbers and percentages within the overall population made them "others" in a society that privileged married men. On the other hand, as men, bachelors operated within the male sphere, and at least some parts of their own experiences were inextricably tied to the experiences of all men. Thus bachelors, like married men, also encountered the challenges that the era posed to manhood. Moreover, their particular subculture of autonomy and male-centered sociability offered a model for those wishing to remake manhood. How bachelor subculture meshed with and diverged from general male culture involved complicated patterns of definition and identity, including the ways that men, married or not, related to women and to each other" (Chudacoff 1999: 217-218).

It is only natural that large numbers of men seeking out homosociality would precipitate an entire industry from which they (and soon others) could act on their sense of individuality and manhood. Madelon Powers' (1998: 46) suggests that many bachelors "valued free gendered space free of heterosexual tensions." Such practices made the virtuous, moral woman seeking a partner something less than desirable. Many of these single men journeyed west and took these newfound ideologies with them. Once there, Richard Erdoes (1979: 186) indicates that rather than deal with the complications of having a wife, miners "were more at ease with the fancy women and the hurdy-gurdy girls who made their living playing up to their machismo."

## Sporting Men

Young, single, white males would represent the primary demographic of those migrating west from the eastern States. Represented among these groups are those that would consider themselves 'sporting men.' According to Richard Stott (2009: 120), quoting an 1885 *New York Tribune* article, sporting men were comprised of "shoulder-hitters' [pugilists], dog-fighters, gamblers, actors and politicians." Often highly mobile and unmarried, 'sports' were identified by their passion for gambling, pugilistic endeavors, and exploits with sporting females. Over time, sporting men would become a celebrated national icon of virile masculinity. To be clear, western miners were not all sporting men. However, the unrestrained masculine values instilled within this sporting-male culture were certainly respected and emulated by many men migrating westward.

Richard Stott (2009) examines the rise of this sporting fraternity on the Atlantic Coast, which quickly emerged throughout North America as a sub-cultural movement. He states,

"By the 1850's, sporting men could be found in the vice districts of Boston, Philadelphia, and other major cities and even in smaller places such as Troy and Buffalo. There were, by 1880, sports in virtually every city in the nation, large and small, as well as in western mining camps and cattle towns. The total size of "sporting society" is impossible to determine, but in Manhattan there were estimated to be fifteen hundred to three thousand sports in the 1870's and by the next decade five to ten thousand. As the number of sporting men expanded, a sporting subculture with its own institutions and traditions emerged" (Stott 2009: 215)

Perpetuated by the popular resurgence of this manly ideal, by 1880, sporting-male culture would be vaulted into a national iconic symbol of manliness. Stott examines the appeal of the masculine ideology displayed by "sports" that struck a chord with male miners. He states,

Sporting men believed what bound them together was not just an occupation, common history, nicknames, and dress. They believed they shared a collective outlook. "Sporting men are, in a certain sense, detached from the outside world," former gambler Mason Long explained.... Their perceived affinity for this older male emotional style, once so familiar, now set sports apart. They ostentatiously personified values that many scorned

but that some still found exhilarating and many others intriguing. Accounts of sporting men highlighted this archaic connection..." (Stott 2009: 228).

Clearly, most self-identified sporting men were bachelors and found solace in the company of other like-minded men. The examination of the percentages of single males in the West in 1890 for both San Francisco and Denver, the two major western cities bracketing the mining West, reported "more than half of all adult males [as] single, figures [which were] significantly higher than the national average" (Chudacoff 1999: 49). Based on federal census data, the percentage of single men in western mining districts from 1860 to 1890 may have exceeded 70% or more of the *total* population (U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Census Office 1895).

. Due to the high transience of western miners and the sparse historical documentation, the motivations, values, and ideologies of the emigrant men appearing in western mining camps is largely conjectural. However, the thread of masculine identity woven between the reconstructed virtues of American manhood, bachelorhood, and sporting fraternities in the nineteenth-century certainly represents a plausible composite of the masculine identities that may have been assumed by emigrant miners and prospectors in western mining camps and towns. These masculine ideals would have direct implications for the power structures established in these hyper-masculine, industrial enclaves, and would also directly influence the social institutions ultimately adopted.

### Gender, Class, and Western Migration

The global reach of capitalist enterprise and technological innovation, coupled with the agrarian emergence in the Great Plains region, contributed greatly to America's economic and territorial expansion. However, to suggest that the California gold rush was simply an extension of this economic awakening only obscures the agency of the thousands of men participating in



this historic campaign. Clearly, the fantastic tales of gold discoveries disseminated to the East and abroad had a major influence on those venturing West. Although wealth was a motivating factor for many, for others the gold rush symbolized a form of rebellion against middle-class values (Roberts 2000). More importantly, the masculine ideologies that prompted the in-migration to the California gold diggings would in turn establish a distinct western mining ethos and identity that would be closely adhered to by miners and prospectors as the search for gold expanded into the intermountain West.

According to Susan Johnson (2000: 73), the staggering in-migration of people to California in a few short years occurred "when the languages of class and the languages of individualism were only beginning to diverge." Johnson points to the conflict existent during this period between the emergent middle-class bourgeoisie, characterized by faith, family, status, and diligent work ethic, and the ethos of the self-made man. This internal conflict experienced by the male members of both dispositions has been described by Nancy Cott (2000: 210) who suggests that "the resulting opportunity and anxiety...created a tension between the model of the free individual and man's need for certainty that a group existed in which to anchor male identity" (Cott 2000: 210). For many working and middle class men this conflict may have manifest itself as an "ideological tension felt in terms more of gender than of class" (Leverenz 1989: 78).

The competitive spirit and liberal individualism of self-made men, unfortunately manifesting itself as ambition, rivalry, and aggression, was forcefully promoted in the United States, placing many men on the threshold of an ideology grounded in the fear of weakness, idleness, and humiliation. For many young men, the fear of humiliation as men, coupled with the quest for self-achievement and economic autonomy, could be resolved by venturing to the

California gold diggings. Addressing the powerful effect of humiliation in shaping this new masculine ideology, Leverenz has suggested that,

"The ideology of manhood emerging with entrepreneurial capitalism made competition and power dynamics in the workplace the only source for valuing and measuring oneself. Manhood therefore became much more fundamental to a man's unconscious self-image" (Leverenz 1989: 85).

Due to the invention of the cylinder press in 1847, the literary works derived from the gold rush experience are quite voluminous, underscoring the zeal with which literary men recorded their adventures and the appeal these autobiographical accounts had on general audiences (see Roberts 2000). With very few exceptions, the gold rush literature documents the shocking encounter with a primitive form of masculinity at the diggings, characterized primarily by greed and competition. In such circumstances both men and women were thrust into a hyper-masculine society that would come to represent a "pure" or "ideal" manhood, one imbued with the renewed masculine constructs of competition, self-control, and economic autonomy (Kimmel 2006). The masculine institutions established in these early mining camps naturally reflected these ongoing ideological processes.

From this perspective, the allure of easy wealth in the West would become a clarion call to self-achievement and identity for many young men growing up in the eastern states eagerly seeking to break free from the generational responsibilities of family and home. This quest has been chronicled by George Payson in his autobiographical *Golden Dreams and Leaden Realities* (1970 [1853]). Self-identified as a well-educated, "Yankee" gentlemen, Payson's three year journey to the California diggings, one somewhat inspired by Defoe's eighteenth-century classic *Robinson Crusoe*, could be considered an ethno-historic case-study on the transformative force of masculine ideology during a journey to the predominantly-male California mining camps.

According to Shawn Thomson (2009), the fascination with the fictional adventurer Crusoe is reflective of the power this iconic figure had on young men during this period in American history. Crusoe would come to exemplify the "ethos of the self-made man who valorized the youthful impulse to seek adventure and fortune and to prove himself by returning home as a man of wealth and achievement" (Thomson 2009: 17). Payson's sense of achievement in the California diggings, accomplished using ingenuity and a diligent work ethic, struggles with the classless homosocial form of masculinity discovered there – entering what Edley and Wetherell (1996: 106) have termed an "ideological battlefield" - where rational self-interest and base desires would proliferate unchecked. Although Payson does not easily relate to the masculine ethos he encounters, most notably the degenerate overindulgences he briefly describes in the brothels and saloons, he nevertheless is compelled to immerse himself in this brutalizing manhood if only to attain his goal of wealth, self-worth, and achievement. Payson eventually recognizes Crusoe as "an archaic figure whose spiritual and moral dimensions have no currency in global capitalism" (Thomson 2009: 164).

The predominantly-male mining camps of California would see thousands appear sharing Payson's idyllic motivations of achievement and self-worth only to encounter the harsh masculine denominator of greed, desire, and debasement quite foreign to their past collective cultural experience. The distinct masculine ideologies developed in the diggings represented a negotiated social process in which emigrant men and women brought a "culture specific to the time and place they were fleeing, interacted with the cultures they found, assessed the limits or opportunities of the new environment, and negotiated ongoing cultural and ideological changes" (May 1994: 3). As George Payson soon discovered, ideological change in this intimidating, hegemonic environment was often a one-way street. Fueled by a profit motive, even Payson's

intellect and up-bringing would have little effect on the rough, masculine ethos established in these mining enclaves. Those who did not readily conform to this highly ordered societal construct would be left to their own devices, punished, or forced out.

The hardships of isolation and rigorous physical labor in the California mining camps would certainly test the mettle of a disparate coalition of self-made men who quickly became indoctrinated into a new school of learning which was unmatched in speed and assimilation (Smith 2000). This would lead one to conclude that western mining districts, in stark contrast to the rural agrarian frontier, and the more "civilized" towns and cities of the East, represented a highly organized economic process formulated under distinct ideological circumstances. The establishment of rules of conduct is particularly instructive and might corroborate Foucault's conceptualization of power in the form of "government."<sup>7</sup>

The tendencies toward organized self-regulation in early California mining camps is addressed by Charles Shinn in *Mining Camps: A Study in American Frontier Government* (1965 [1884]). Focusing on the origins of institutional formation on the far western frontier, Shinn draws attention to the powerful organizational influence of self-made men in mining camps. He states,

“... American pioneers have shown their hereditary fitness for self-government under exceptionally trying conditions. They have wrought out, and are still extending into new regions, local institutions in the highest sense their own. Their state-life, growth of law, crystallization of society, largely came from small settlements known as mining camps, and from social organization presenting remarkable political and economic features. So strong, natural, and impressive has been the display in these camps of a capacity for organization of the highest order, that the episode known in the West as ‘the mining-era’ deserves to be called a stanza in the political epic of the Germanic race to which we belong” (pp: 3).

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<sup>7</sup> The conceptualization of the exercise of power through relations that establish forms of conduct or "government" is taken from Foucault's "The Subject and Power" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982), reprinted in *Power* (1994: 341-342).

Regardless of Shinn's Anglo-European conceptualization of frontier social development (drawing attention to the ethnic makeup of the white, male in-migration), his observations strongly contrast with the popular myths of unbridled chaos reigning in California mining camps.<sup>8</sup> It would seem that the negotiation of extralegal jural mining agreements and modified moral codes of conduct were essential to secure mineral claims, vital economic and natural resources, and fundamental communal and civil rights (Paul 1963; Shinn 1965; McGrath 1989; Ellis 2005). More succinctly, these men sought guarantees for a non-contested investigation of mineral resources while developing a support structure needed to ensure survival in an unknown and unpredictable landscape. The economic, political, and social institutions established in these early camps would have an enduring impact on the societal structures eventually adopted in mining districts throughout the western theater.

### The Colorado Gold Rush

The rush to the Rocky Mountains (Kansas Territory) after 1858 shared many of the same ideological and economic incentives for men ten years earlier in the gold rush to California. Again, the dissemination of claims of wealth in the new El Dorado, aided by the invention of the printing press, would prove irresistible for those men determined to set their mark in life. However, in stark contrast to the multi-cultural makeup of California, this migration was comprised primarily of white, English-speaking Anglo-Americans from the East and Midwest, as well as those hailing from northern Europe.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The raiding *banditos* and criminal elements in the society arriving at the decline of the rush has clearly obscured the perception of the California diggings over time; however, the larger point is that emigrant male colonizers had in fact established well-ordered societal structures.

<sup>9</sup> Only a small percentage of those from the South ventured to the Colorado mining districts. The exact reasons for this are not entirely clear. Johnson (2000: 69) does expound on the issue of slavery and the gold rush to California, suggesting that southern slavery and King Cotton did move west, but mainly to Arkansas and Texas. It is also

Unlike California, most Native Americans tribes in Colorado were effectively eradicated from the region.<sup>10</sup> The Chinese, numbering in the thousands in California, saw a total population in Colorado of only 7 in 1870<sup>11</sup>. Lastly, African-Americans from the South were marginalized or saw restricted upward mobility.<sup>12</sup> It is certainly interesting that these "non-white" groups were effectively shut-out of the Colorado geo-economy, as these subaltern groups all experienced some measure of economic and upward mobility in California (Johnson 2000), the Northwest Pacific regions, the southern borderlands (Benton-Cohen 2009), and most northern Rocky Mountain mining districts (Mann 1984; West 1982). The acute marginalization of Asian, Hispanic, Native American, and African-American groups in mining districts situated in the Colorado mineral belt serves as a reminder of the pervasiveness of racial discrimination by these English-speaking groups while also narrowing the cultural and ethnic parameters embedded into the masculine ideological forms taking root in the Colorado mines. The traditions, practices, and habits of this white, emigrant population, largely represented by those of Irish, British, Scottish, Welsh, Cornish, Scandinavian, and German descent, would have a significant impact on the institutional forms established in Colorado mining districts.

The relatively successful geo-economic and political models established a decade earlier in California were also implemented in Colorado, albeit with some slight modifications reflective

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entirely possible that southern men, enmeshed in the same ideological conflicts of manhood experienced by their northern counterparts, chose the middle-class virtues that followed the "moral self-discipline, sobriety, and seriousness of Evangelical Protestantism" (Griffen 1990: 185). Whatever the reasons, based on the census statistics in the first two decades of mining colonization, few pro-slavery southerners would have found the ethnic homogeneity of the mining towns established within the Colorado mineral belt particularly offensive.

<sup>10</sup> The eradication of indigenous tribes was a result of the near genocidal destruction of these tribes through disease and war inflicted upon all tribes in the region based on the aggressive actions of those defending their natural resources.

<sup>11</sup> West (1982) suggests that many Chinese laborers were not included in the censuses taken in Idaho as they were working and residing outside the town, potentially obscuring their numbers.

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the city of Denver, Colorado boasted a sizable population of African-Americans (skewing the population statistics for this demographic in the State), earning their right to suffrage in 1867; well after the incorporation of Denver and Colorado statehood (see Billington and Hardaway 2001; Noel 1982). Nevertheless, based on the census data, African-Americans were not well represented in the mines or mining districts of Colorado.

of the economic, political, and physiographic circumstances. Attesting to the perseverance and highly mobile nature of western miners, the knowledge of mining codes, rules of conduct, and institutional forms established in earlier western mining districts could only have been disseminated by those who participated in those mining rushes. This disseminated knowledge made it possible for well-organized mining settlements and camps to appear in the southern Rockies almost overnight, swiftly bypassing the often muddled political and economic barriers facing large groups of emigrant men in a foreign and highly competitive environment. This useful structural foundation enabled backwater industrial settlements to grow into industrial cities with amazing alacrity. At the social center of these predominantly male, urbanized, industrial towns were the saloons.

One of the more enduring masculine institutions in western mining districts was the saloon - and the associated gambling/sex trade which thrived in these multi-faceted, male recreational domains. Many of these recreational institutions had seen a rise in nineteenth-century metropolitan cities east of the Missouri River, and were well-established in the western port of San Francisco after 1849. These social institutions would become deeply embedded into the social fabric of Colorado mining centers.

### Masculine Recreational Institutions

Tracing the history of the saloon in America from British colony to transcontinental nation, it is clear that the public house, draw shop, pub, and saloon were important bastions of tradition and became common ground for men of all backgrounds, social ranks, and economic status (Duis 1983; Powers 1998; West 1979). In the West, saloon culture began with early fur trapping posts and mountain men trading networks, as adventurous merchants and entrepreneurs

quickly recognized the profit potential in providing alcohol and trade goods to the indigenous populations and westward-bound emigrants (Paul 1963).

In the early mining settlement, one more than likely devoid of the presence of women, the main forms of leisure and recreational activities involved alcohol consumption and gambling – more often than not separated along linguistic, fraternal, and ethnic lines (Smith 1992). For the transient prospector arriving in an isolated mining region, the rudimentary saloon represented comfort and familiarity, providing food, warmth, shelter, basic hygiene, livery services, news and information, social interaction, and recreational games of chance (West 1979).

The presence, or absence, of saloons did vary in certain mining regions in the West. For example, the industrial towns of Silver Reef and Park City, Utah and its Mormon population severely limited such activity (Smith 1992). Similarly, the citizenry of Colorado Springs, Colorado were successful in banning the sale of alcohol and sex commerce (MacKell 2004). While many early industrial settlements in the Western Territories lacked enforceable governmental regulations and judicial authority, making “public opinion the only code of laws” available (Richard 1932: 262), the examples in Park City and Colorado Springs confirm that residents of these industrial districts did in fact influence the establishment, limitation, or abolishment of specific forms of social activity. However, the more typical socio-economic trajectory in the Intermountain West recognizes an explosive proliferation of regulated (and unregulated) saloons and sporting clubs in urbanized mining centers.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> To place this frenzied building construction in perspective, the mining town of Leadville, Colorado provides but one specific example. Only two years after the silver boom began there and one year after official incorporation, a Census of Businesses taken in 1879 lists “4 banks, 4 churches, 10 dry goods stores, 31 restaurants, 19 beer halls, 120 saloons, and 118 gambling houses & private clubs selling liquor” (Erdoes 1979: 37). A personal account given by Cass Carpenter, an unconfirmed source, in that same year reduces the numbers of “wet merchants” and sporting clubs slightly by stating there were “19 hotels, 41 lodging houses, 82 drinking saloons, 38 restaurants, 13 wholesale liquor houses, 21 gambling houses, and 36 brothels” (Southworth 1997: 97). The multi-faceted business models may account for the discrepancy in numbers from the two sources, but regardless of the actual number, it is clear that saloon culture represented a staggering percentage of the merchant economy in Leadville.



Citing sociological findings of his period, Elliot West (1979: 4) suggests that the large quantities of whiskey, rum, brandy, and beer consumed in western mining centers were needed to alleviate stress and often soothed the frustration of unfulfilled hopes in a highly competitive society. West also adds that the competition, mobility, and instability that encouraged mass drinking can leave societies “without deeply rooted moral consensus, backed by family and church, that in the past has effectively controlled the disorder that often follows when liquor is consumed in large amounts” (West 1979: 4-5). This may be true, however, the saloon represented more than access to drink and fraternal disorder in western mining centers, as the distinct recreational forms developed would be shaped exclusively by the masculine ideological forces congealing there.

For miners, the gambling saloon represented hallowed ground and is indicative of the strong bond men found in these homosocial domains. The effect of the saloon on individuals at the turn of the century is succinctly summarized in a sociological paper from E. C. Moore (1897) who states:

[The Saloon] transforms the individual into a *socius* where there is no other transforming power. It unites the many ones into a common whole which we call society, and it stands for this union amid conditions which would otherwise render it impossible, and intemperance is but its accident (Moore 1897: 4).

Saloons also represented approved zones of ethnic fraternization, catering to the leisure and recreational activities of those sharing similar language and ethnic traditions (Erdoes 1979; Powers 2006; Smith 2000; Stott 2009). For example, the brewing traditions of German migrants, wine drinking from southern Europe, and the distilling techniques brought by the Irish and Scottish had a profound effect on the production and consumption of alcohol on the western frontier (Noel 1982; West 1979). Eliot Lord (1883), an eyewitness to the rise of Virginia City,

Nevada, makes special note of the relationship between emigrant miners and the particular establishments in which they congregated. In his report he mentions that:

“Men of different nationalities, working side by side under-ground, here first exhibited a clannish disposition: the Italians had their favorite meeting place; the French their ‘Café de Paris;’ the Germans their beer cellars” (Lord, 1883:93).

While some miners often had little choice regarding the people they were forced to work and bunk with, in a recreational setting, it certainly makes sense that foreign men would be inclined to socialize with those of their native tongue while participating in their native traditional forms of leisure, which more often than not centered around gambling and alcohol consumption (Powers 2006).

According to Larsen and Branyan (1971), the cultural milieu of four western cities greatly influenced the character of the frontier saloon. These cities, which had once represented the far western advance of American civilization, include New Orleans, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco. Each city represents important commercial and cultural centers from which western mining spatial organization and saloon culture was modeled (Erdoes 1979; Larsen and Branyan 1971; Reps 1981). Those emigrants leaving one of these cities before moving into the western interior might find the mining town saloon comforting and familiar as chances were that the alcohol bottles, furnishings, barroom decor, bartenders and customers may all have originated from one of these cities. The saloon free lunch was started in New Orleans, and soon sardines and oysters would become a staple in the western saloon (Carson 1963). Another popular eastern recreational form quite popular in the mining west was the all-male fraternal order. A brief examination of this social institution offers some insight into the passionate bonds formed between men in Colorado mining districts.

## Fraternal Orders

The rise of fraternal organizations, clubs, lodges, benefit societies, and political organizations in mining districts grew precipitously in established mining towns and would become closely associated with saloon culture (Erdoes 1979; Smith 1992; 2000). These fraternal orders and social clubs could also have deep ethnic affiliations. Many of these fraternal societies were adopted (and often modified) reflecting the masculine ideological milieu as well as the ethnic (and even racial) persuasion of these like-minded groups.<sup>14</sup> Citing W.S. Harwood's *The Golden Age of the Fraternity*, Michael Kimmel (2006) examines the rise of lodge and order membership and suggests that by the turn of the century,

"over three hundred different fraternal orders boasted a total membership of 5.5 million American men out of a total adult male population of about nineteen million. This included 810,000 Odd Fellows, 750,000 Freemasons, 475 Knights of the Pythias, 165,000 Red Men, as well as members that gathered weekly at the more than 70,000 fraternal lodges nationwide" (Kimmel 2006: 114).

In the San Juan mining districts, the Grand Army of the Republic (which catered to war veterans), the Order of Odd Fellows<sup>15</sup> and International Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.), and the Mason's were all well-represented (Smith 2000: 119). In Ouray, several fraternal organizations were begun shortly after town incorporation. These include the A. F. and A. M. No 37 (Ancient Free and Accepted Masons), whose charter dates to 1877, the Crystal Front Lodge No. 30, and I.O.O.F. (Gregory 1995: 85). These fraternal organizations would expand in the coming decades to include the Elks Club, A.O.U.W., Knights of Pythias, the Modern Woodmen of America, and Redmen (Gregory 1995: 85). Women's auxiliary groups associated with fraternal lodges were first introduced in 1883 - these included: the Order of the Eastern Star (Mason's), Mount Hayden

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<sup>14</sup> As an example, the relaxed disposition and camaraderie of once competing Irish fraternal orders and social groups in late-nineteenth-century Denver, Colorado illustrates the interconnected nature between ethnicity, fraternal organization, and saloon culture in the mining west (Powers 1998).

<sup>15</sup> The American Order of Odd Fellows would split from their English counterparts to form the International Order of Odd Fellows, a consequence of their dispute over the length of their complicated rituals (Chudacoff 1999).

Rebekahs (I.O.O.F.), and the Neighbors of Woodcraft (Modern Woodmen) (Gregory 1995: 85). Each of these lodges and orders would find public expression (in full regalia) during public ceremonies and parades (Smith 2000: 120).

The elaborate rituals and ceremonies associated with these primarily masculine organizations were often draped in "medieval mysticism and symbolic frontier naturalism" (Kimmel 2006: 114), often confounding historians as to the particular attraction of these organizations to men. Originally framing his research on Victorian-era fraternal orders in America within theories of class, urbanization, and industrialization, Mark Carnes (1989) concludes that men in the late-nineteenth-century were drawn to lodges in order to "share similar concerns about gender...during young men's troubled passage to manhood in Victorian America" (Carnes 1989: 14). Similarly, Chudacoff (1999) suggests that secretive initiation rituals became a "structured source of fellowship and camaraderie" for bachelors, symbolizing a "rebirth into the family of brethren as well as a rite of passage, rewarding a man's worthiness for membership" (Chudacoff 1999: 153). Although the exorbitant and rising cost of elaborate costumes, dues, and fees could only be afforded by middle- and upper-class men, tangible advantages for working-class men included sickness and death benefits, an important membership perk guaranteed to those men working hazardous occupations like mining.

Cleverly imbued with "ancient" wisdom and teachings, many of these modern institutions offered a brand of 'theology' that "contrasted sharply with the milquetoast moralism of feminized Protestant doctrine" (Kimmel 2006: 115). While many of the prestigious fraternal orders espoused sobriety and moralistic behavior, many early lodges in the mining west were less inclined to forego these recreational impulses. However, a pastime shared by most men in the West, regardless of lodge membership, class status, or financial standing, was gambling.

## Gambling

The frenetic attraction to gambling for many western miners is certainly worthy of note. In fact, one could make the case that prospecting and mining might be viewed as a form of gambling. In the California gold camps (away from the diggings), Richard Erdoes (1979: 168) names "wrestling, prize fighting, bare-knuckle contests, badger fights, bearbaiting, hunting coyotes on horseback, rifle-shooting and drinking contests" as popular events involving betting. It is highly probable that many of these contests, or variations thereof, were also seen in the southern Rocky Mountains. Rock drilling contests, often with friendly wagers associated to the contests, were particularly popular in Colorado mineral belt mining communities (Smith 2000).

As a consequence of the ubiquitous nature of betting and gambling in mining camps and settlements, there could be very little difference between a saloon and a gambling house. The ubiquitous nature of gambling in western saloons certainly places in better perspective the recreational forms men may have enjoyed in the frontier saloon. Clearly, the ready supply of gold dust, a common currency in mining societies, did much to fuel this passion among men. Richard DeArment (1982) places this passion in the context of western industrial towns by stating,

For those too impatient to wait for the claim to produce a bonanza in gold, the cattle to multiply, or the town to develop, the gambler's table offered an opportunity for instant riches. It was a time of almost unlimited personal freedom and it was a loose, tolerant society with few to say that gambling was a sin, a crime, or folly (DeArment 1982: 4).

The most common recreational forms in mountain west mining camps and towns that might involve betting include: card games (draw or stud poker), billiards, dice (craps or poker dice), board games (backgammon), contests between men, and contests between animals (Erdoes 1979; West 1979). It is important to separate the drinking saloon that allowed betting and cards from the gambling saloon, the latter offering high-stakes gambling games (Chudacoff 1999). The

appearance of establishments with keno, faro<sup>16</sup>, three-card and Spanish monte, and roulette wheels, all requiring large equipment and run by croupiers, made this delineation clear.

In western cow-towns and mining camps, as well as the cities of San Francisco and Denver, women also participated in gaming activity. As an example, after the death of her husband in the mines in 1876, "Poker Alice" Ivers began her life-long gambling career in the San Juan mining town of Lake City, Colorado (DeArment 1982),<sup>17</sup> Quite accomplished in poker and the game of faro, the winnings earned from her acumen in these games have been documented in the mining towns of Leadville and Creede, Colorado. However, women gamblers were more the exception than the rule. In the transcripts of an interview in her posthumous biography, she explains why women were not often seen at the gaming tables:

"There were few women gamblers in those days, for women have too many nerves: there are too many temptations which make them display their emotions – feminine instinct prohibits the usual poker face. One must have a countenance that can remain immovable hour after hour" (DeArment 1982 quoting Nolie Mumey 1951).

Supported by Poker Alice's statement, it becomes clear that the presence of women gamblers in these masculine domains should be considered atypical. However, those women who had access to these establishments would find themselves within a homosocial sphere where men viewed women with respect, fear, passion, or disgust. Historical accounts of women in hyper-

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<sup>16</sup> Faro became an especially favored game among miners in the Rocky Mountains. This game was well-known in Ouray during its boom years in the late-1880's and 1890's. With cards dealt from a "shoe" or box, faro was relatively uncomplicated to play, and visually understandable on a table layout. Faro was trusted by most miners as "square" and straight, offering the chance for any number of individuals to win against the "bank," representative of the individuals or groups funding the gaming operation (Fabian 1990). Perhaps substantiating these claims, Ann Fabian (citing the statistical results of Jonathon Harrington Green) indicates that an honestly played game of faro gave the house no more than a three percent advantage (Fabian 1990: 21). However, as the odds were often manipulated by crooked dealers, this game would lose favor toward the turn of the century becoming known as a confidence scam (Fabian 1990).

<sup>17</sup> The life histories of men and women gamblers operating in the west in the latter-half of the nineteenth-century have been described by Robert DeArment in his book *Knights of the Green Cloth* (1982).

masculine social institutions provide a rare glimpse of gendered relations between working men and working women in these environments.

### Good Women and Bad Women in the Mining West

The western historical literature is rife with descriptions of the first appearance of women in a mining camp, one that often stirred tremendous excitement and curiosity (Paul 1963; Shinn 1965; Erdoes 1979; Smith 1992; Johnson 2001). This interest and anxiety may have been a result of men living and working together for long periods in remote outposts - no longer at ease associating with females. From a gendered perspective, it would seem the fluid co-existence of men and women in these well-structured homosocial environments most likely hinged on the identity women were *forced to adopt*. These constricted definitions of feminine identity by a predominantly-male populace would place womanhood in divergent categories – good women, represented by domesticity and family values inherent in the moral, up-standing lady, and bad women, representing those female identities that were viewed as immoral and corrupt. With little need for debate, many miners understood the difference and acted accordingly.

Some men obviously did not support these constructions, however, it should be noted that these polarizing feminine constructs were more formally developed by *women* in western mining towns, especially those women associated with the moral Victorian elite. The construction of prostitute identities in western mining towns by the female elitist class is discussed by Simmons (1989) in her study on prostitutes in the American West in which she states:

"The deficit of ordinary or respectable women resulted in limited functional separation of disreputable and reputable women. The actual labeling of ladies of ill fame was concurrent with the arrival of a substantial number of respectable women and their families. Prostitutes on the frontier posed an interesting threat not only to Victorian sexual mores, but provided competition for social status gained through charitable work" (Simmons 1989: 64).

The establishment of hurdy-gurdy houses, a western invention that involved men paying for a drink and a timed dance with a woman, provided the means with which women were first introduced into the masculine domains of recreation (Erdoes 1979; MacKell 2004). The market for female companionship in male-dominated mining towns would prove an irresistible lure for saloon owners who sought to expand their profits in regions that were initially unconstrained by government regulation. Such opportunities secured the means with which many women could provide for themselves (and families), a circumstance resulting from the finite number of low-paying, menial jobs available to them (Butler 1987; Laite 2009). Although many women were capable of doing men's work, few men reciprocated in kind due to the prevailing attitudes about sexuality and labor. As seen with Poker Alice, many women did manage to break through these barriers and assume traditionally-male occupations, competing with men in their environments as "bullwhackers, mail carriers, saloon and hotel keepers, bartenders, hunters, gamblers, prospectors, bandits, cattle rustlers, and owners of businesses" (Erdoes 1979: 186).

At face value, the integration of prostitutes in the mining west would seem to represent a well-suited relationship based on divergent interests – one economic, the other recreational. However, the complexities of this relationship are more apparent when viewed from a gender/power dynamic. Understanding that the mining camp or town was socially and economically dominated by males, the gendered constructs developed in these environments often shared little common ground between men and women. For example, some prostitutes in mining towns referred to themselves as members of the *demi-monde* or working-class. Depending on the specific mode of employment they adopted, miners, in contrast, might call these same women "pretty waiter girls," "soiled doves," "fancy girls," "bloomers," "hurdy-gurdy



girls," "fallen angels," "painted cats," "honky-tonk gals," "beerjerkers," "box rustlers," or more crudely, whores (Erdoes 1979: 189; MacKell 2004).

Jan MacKell (2004) also makes clear that Colorado prostitutes sought the protection and security of male patrons, providing numerous examples of marriage bonds secured through their occupation. There seems to be little question that many miners also sought out relationships with prostitutes, regardless of the social stigma attached to the profession, although very little statistical information exists that would help quantify these arrangements. Due to the discreet nature of these interactions, details on the relationships forged between men and women in these settings are largely absent from the historical literature, but nevertheless remain a primary interest of this study.

## Summary

The transformation of masculine ideologies in nineteenth century America coincided with a period of explosive industrialization and territorial expansion. According to Michael Kimmel (1987), the West represented freedom to many men who were increasingly losing control of the labor process during this turbulent economic growth period. He adds that "the postbellum era witnessed several important structural changes that transformed the social institutions in which gender relations were negotiated and that led of profound changes in the cultural conception of masculinity" (Kimmel 1987: 138). These ideological upheavals saw an increase in the commercial amusements available to young, unmarried people, creating a "diversion that may have temporarily curbed their willingness to marry" (Chudacoff 1999: 66-67). The iconic stature of sporting men underscores the influence these changes would have on the identities of young men.

The exodus to the California diggings was largely propelled by these cultural and ideological changes, providing a viable outlet for many young men determined to act on these newly defined constructs of manhood. Although considered by Chudacoff (1999) to be a primarily middle-class movement, the gold rush would come to embody the construct of the self-made man and his relentless search for self-achievement and economic autonomy. It is these ideological transformations, experienced by many working class and middle class men and women who ventured there, that have particular relevance to this study.

Clearly, the hegemonic forms of masculinity developed in California mining camps were highly reflective of the ideological milieu that permeated these competitive environments and would have an enduring effect on the institutions established there. Contrasting with the popular myths regarding the chaos and violence prevailing in the California diggings, mining districts were more often highly structured, well-organized, and relatively peaceful. The institutional models established in California would also have far-reaching consequences for mining districts established in the western interior as miners expanded their search for gold and silver. The discovery of gold in Colorado ten years later would repeat the cycle seen in California, adding new dimensions to the gender/power dynamic – race, ethnicity, and class.

In stark contrast to the multi-cultural diversity seen on the west coast, Colorado mining centers were colonized primarily by white, English-speaking groups. Seeking to resolve the same ideological conflicts as those preceding them to the West, the extreme percentages of young, single, white men arriving in Colorado would have a significant effect on the gender/power processes that would appear – distinctively hegemonic in form and masculine in character. Few institutions are more reflective of this masculine ideological milieu than the male domains of the saloon, gambling room, or brothel.

The story of the Rocky Mountain barroom reminds us of the special conditions inherent in the mining frontier and of the saloon as a national institution (West 1979: 143). More importantly, the saloon represented a familiar urban social environment for transient men who were far removed from their friends, family, and loved ones (assuming they had them). The long-term entrenchment of these recreational forms, lasting multiple decades until the enactment of Prohibition, strongly suggest an economic strategy by the ruling classes in mining towns that not only tolerated, but assisted in the maintenance of saloon and sporting club activity.

## CHAPTER FOUR: PROSTITUTION, CLASS FORMATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RED-LIGHT DISTRICT IN OURAY, COLORADO

The distinctions between a mature mining camp and a fledgling mining town are not easily defined. This transition, which could transpire overnight depending on the mineral resources discovered, often resulted in the arrival of eastern elites of the professional and educated classes. Typical of most promising mining camps in the Colorado mineral belt (as well as the mining West), the miners and prospectors colonizing the Uncompahgre mining district<sup>18</sup> simply delegated town building duties to a board-of-trustees (Smith 1996; Smith 2000). Aside from handling the pressing day-to-day affairs of the town, the men elected to Ouray's first town council<sup>19</sup> would essentially act as mediators between the workforce majority and town residents seeking to establish a civic town constitution. As the political and economic control was wrested from the initial colonizers, the governing elites would transform Ouray, significantly influencing the institutional forms appearing, and result in the formation of a class-based social structure.

Utilizing census data, Sanborn fire insurance maps, and the historical literature focused on the mining town of Ouray, this chapter examines the association between the governing elites, the formation of class divisions, and the formal development of a red-light district in Ouray's early development. The spatial segregation of the town by class institutions and the sub rosa revenues generated by sporting-male commerce only serve to support this class-based development in Ouray and help explain the development and long-term sustentation of the

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<sup>18</sup> The growing mining district being developed along the Uncompahgre River south of Ouray - which was initially called Uncompahgre City (Smith 1996).

<sup>19</sup> In the San Juans, the elected town council (or town board) was presided over by a town clerk, who managed the affairs of the mining town. The other important position was the town constable (or sheriff) who was responsible for enforcing the ordinances passed by the council (Smith 2000:62-63). The town council also had the responsibility to appoint a city attorney, street commissioner, justice of the peace, fire warden, and night watchman (Smith 2000: 63); all of these positions were exclusively controlled by men. Meetings were held monthly (or as needed on a seasonal basis), open to the public, recorded, with the pertinent topics and petitions often published in the local paper.

Second Street red-light district. Central to this discussion are the presence of prostitutes in this male-dominated mining town, their economic contribution to the stability of the mining community, and the political structure regulating their activities. By illustrating the effects of class- and gender-based relations of power at the municipal level, some insight into the potential class and power relations operating within the Vanoli sporting complex is provided.

### Prostitution and Ouray's Early Development

The lack of references to prostitutes in western mining towns in the late-nineteenth century represents a serious challenge for historians, social scientists, and historical archaeologists seeking to glean information about their activities (see Vermeer 2006: 132-133). While it is highly probable that prostitutes were active in Ouray's early history, we have few resources available that can substantiate this claim. The scraps of information that are available would certainly suggest that prostitution may have been a significant component of sporting-male culture in Ouray before its formal incorporation in 1876.

According to P. David Smith (1996), in January of 1877, papers filed with the United States Land Office listed over 400 residents<sup>20</sup> and a number of structures which included: "214 cabins and tents, a school, two blacksmiths, two hotels, a sawmill, an ore sampling works, a post office, four general merchandise stores,"... as well as "seven saloons and more gambling places and houses of prostitution than the civilized inhabitants cared to count" (Smith 1996: 23). Unfortunately, there are no historical records or personal accounts available to substantiate Smith's statement regarding such an early presence of prostitutes in Ouray. One of the few

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<sup>20</sup> The population total does not include the hundreds of miners working in the surrounding mountains visiting the town on weekends.

sources of information of Ouray's early history from which we can assess sporting-male commerce comes from the Town's first newspaper, *The Ouray Times*.

Established in June of 1877 by Henry Ripley, the weekly edition of *The Ouray Times* was a conduit of information for residents seeking news outside of the town's local sphere while acting as a booster to lure potential investors to the mining region. In such a capacity, local news was disseminated to the outside world with an emphasis placed on the political, geo-economic, social, and cultural advancements of the fledgling town. Not surprisingly, prostitution and gambling were rarely covered, and references to such activities were found only in relation to specific disturbances of an egregious nature.<sup>21</sup> In contrast, the affairs of business men and the social activities of elite women dominated the local news, creating a strong impression that Ouray's Victorian elites had indeed gained a strong foothold in the town's early economic and socio-cultural development. Although illicit activities were rarely mentioned, the occasional references to fighting, noise disturbances, lack of a proper prison facility, and the rare shooting incident suggests that miners had continued to exercise their recreational activities in Ouray despite the social and cultural advancements of the town. These activities undoubtedly included sex commerce.

Lacking verifiable historical sources with which to assess prostitution in western mining towns, the presence of prostitutes in western mining towns might be more effectively analyzed in economic terms. Economically, the arrival and departure of prostitutes might be viewed as a litmus test for understanding and interpreting changes of the economic strength, social structure, and organization of a mining town (Johnson 2000; Laite 2009; Petrik 1981; Simmons 1989; Vermeer 2006).

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<sup>21</sup> The first mention of a house of prostitution in Ouray was found on December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1879 in relation to a "disgraceful occurrence" by men disturbing the peace.

Andrea Vermeer (2006) considers prostitutes as among the “strongest female contributors to the economic development of the mid to late 19th-century mining West, and by extension, the capitalist world-economy” (Vermeer 2006: 15). In describing the process by which prostitutes stimulated mining economies, Vermeer states,

Prostitutes ... supported western-U.S. economies by providing an added attraction to other businesses of entertainment, by the payment of fees and fines, and perhaps most importantly as consumers of goods and services provided by local businesses. In these ways, prostitutes kept the money of miners circulating locally, thereby fostering a strong economy in mining communities suffering from a lack of extra-local investments (Vermeer 2006: 15).

As evidenced in Virginia City, Nevada, few women, especially prostitutes, arrived to the fledgling camp until it was assured the mining town could be economically sustained (James 2012: 73). Likewise, as seen in the California foothills, prostitutes left the area as the region's fortunes fell into decline (Simmons 1989). From this perspective, it would seem prostitution did in fact add value to the western mining economy.

There is very little question that prostitution would become an essential component of Ouray's local economy, but precise information regarding the early establishment of prostitutes in the town are sparse. The significance of prostitution in Ouray's formal development is more clearly understood during the development of the Second Street red-light district. It is during this period that the town council, in need of revenue sources to upgrade core infrastructure, would target prostitution as a revenue source. The investigation of town records detailing this tax system falls outside the scope of this study, however, the regulatory structure employed was most likely modeled after the one initially developed in the city of Denver, Colorado a decade earlier

## Colorado's Hidden Economy

As a central transit point for those travelling to and from southern Rocky Mountain mining districts, the boom town of Denver maintained a robust vice district. Seeking new revenue sources for the city's growing infrastructure, Denver authorities targeted these popular vice districts, alleviating the need to impose new taxes on the citizenry. This system was also rife with corruption, as Denver politicians and lawmen took advantage of the often subjective enforcement of the city's ordinances (see Secrest 2002). Thomas Noel (1982) examines the tax system developed in Denver that would become a model for mining centers along the Colorado mineral belt.

Denver's first city charter in 1861 gave the municipality authority "to license, restrain, regulate, prohibit and suppress tippling houses, dramshops, gambling houses, bawdyhouses, and other disorderly houses." Initially only gambling halls paid annual license fees of \$50 to \$100. By 1862, however, tavern keepers were required to post a \$150 to \$300 bond and pay an annual license fee of \$50 to \$100, depending on whether they served just beer and wine or sold hard liquor as well. Four years later the license fee was raised to \$200 for spirituous liquors and \$140 for malt liquor. By 1875, Denver was collecting roughly \$35,000 a year in liquor license fees. By 1900, liquor license revenue had risen to \$215,538, which amounted to almost a fourth of the city's expenses that year (Noel 1982: 35).

The tax system imposed on vice commerce in Denver was implemented with great success in predominantly-male, Colorado mining towns. As an example, Leadville generated two-thirds of its municipal revenue from saloon commerce (Blair 1980; Smith 1992). Similarly, in the San Juan mining district, Silverton, Colorado collected as much as 90% of its revenue from the taxation of the notorious Blair Street red-light district (Bird 1993; West 1979).

Probably the most influential aspect of saloon culture in the city of Denver was the political power wielded by the saloon voting bloc.

As the first, largest, and most ubiquitous public meeting places, saloon halls were birthplaces of self-government and housed city councils, courts, and legislatures in their early years. Government not only found a home in the liquor houses but also developed



close ties with the liquor men during the territorial period. Indeed, reformers spent much of the three decades following Colorado statehood trying to get the saloon out of politics and then to get the bars out of business altogether (Noel 1982: 33).

The political weight of those who controlled the saloons, gambling halls, and prostitution in Denver was considerable, and their influence on Denver's elections was equally significant. Corrupt politicians often resorted to illegal tactics such as bribery and election fraud to maintain their power and control (Noel 1982: 36). Many of these tactics included "election day libations" and ballot box stuffing (Noel 1982 40). The saloon and gambling lobby may have had good reason to align with corrupt politicians. Their participation in electing corrupt officials may have been a form of protection and perhaps lessened the amount of licenses, fees, and criminal prosecutions that were steadily climbing in the city.

The revenue-generating regulation of sporting-male commerce also served another purpose – class division, and the marginalization of those participants, both women and men, who indulged in this illegal commerce. Although discussing a broader trend in urban American societies, Shumsky's (1986) comments on the tacit acceptance of red-light district development by an elite class have particular relevance to western mining towns.

They tolerated it as long as they also believed that it could be segregated and restricted to a certain segment of the social order. At the same time, they saw social benefits to be derived from the existence of a separate red light district. It served, in their eyes, as a means of controlling the lower and working classes and of protecting respectable women from the supposedly rampant sexuality of immigrant men. Such a district helped establish the boundaries of proper behavior; those who accepted the sexual norms of proper society avoided the district while those who rejected propriety frequented it (Shumsky 1986: 665).

The tacit acceptance of sporting club activity by a formidable, moral Victorian minority is reflective of the ever-changing gender/power struggles operating in western mining towns. Those vociferously engaged in eradicating the immoral practices seen in gambling halls, brothels, and

dance halls were instrumental in creating a castigatory social system serving to effectively regulate, control, and even punish those participating.

Additional revenue was also collected from a seemingly punitive system of fines for those establishments in violation of local ordinances (Smith 1992). For men, these penal codes usually amounted to nothing more than a fine for drunken behavior or disorderly conduct (which collectively could be a quite substantial revenue source). While these forms of punishment often amounted to no more than a slap on the wrist for those prosecuted, these actions nevertheless had the appearance of policing the activity while providing another stream of revenue to town treasuries. Duane A. Smith (1992) explains the value of these fines to Colorado mining towns:

"While the chief source of revenue remained the business tax, another source, fines, augmented it. Fines were collected for varied offenses, most, as penalties for breaking some ordinance, but some simply for the purpose of raising money. In those camps which passed ordinances against prostitution and dance halls, and then tacitly allowed them to operate without interference, a steady flow of money was provided for the treasury in monthly fines. This amounted to little more than a tax on the establishments under the letter, if not the spirit, of the law. In Leadville, Colorado, for example, this [fine system] became one of the more important sources of revenue" (Smith 1992: 147).

As Smith intimates, the system of fines imposed on those establishments participating in sporting-male commerce represented a substantial revenue source for Colorado mining towns. In 1879, Silverton, Colorado established numerous ordinances forbidding prostitution within town limits. These ordinances targeted establishments for employing or harboring prostitutes, dance hall girls, waitresses, and barmaids, stipulating a range of fines that were dependent on the severity of the offense. Table 1, below, lists the ordinances and fines related to prostitutes and the establishments employing their services (from Blair 1993: 4-5):

Table 1. 1879 Silverton, Colorado Town Ordinances Related to Prostitution

Sec. 3. Any person who shall keep a bawdy house, house of ill fame or assignation or shall knowingly lease or permit property in his possession or under his control to be used for any such purpose, shall be declared guilty of a

misdemeanor and upon conviction be fined not less than \$50 nor more than \$300.

Sec. 4. Any prostitute who shall be an inmate of any such house mentioned in the last proceeding section, for the purpose of prostitution or who shall commit acts of prostitution in any place in this town shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction be fined not less than ten nor more than \$100.

Sec. 5. Any keeper of a draw shop, beer house, ale house, saloon, or hotel or other place of public resort who shall employ a lewd woman or any woman having the reputation of a prostitute as a carrier of beer or any other article or to sing or dance in a lewd or indecent manner or permit any such lewd woman to act as bartender in any such house or place shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction be fined not less than \$70 nor more than \$100.

Sec. 6. Any person who shall keep in this town a house where lewd or disorderly persons assemble for dancing shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction be fined not less than \$50 nor more than \$200.

Much like Silverton, Ouray also banned prostitution within city limits after roughly five years of existence – likewise, with little or no effect on the trade. Early newspaper clippings reveal the level of resistance to the activities in Ouray's saloons and gambling halls well-before the formal creation of a red-light district. Providing some insight into the deft maneuvers of the town council to appease those parties for, and against, the activities in Ouray's saloons, Smith (2000) states:

"...signs of change were evident in ordinances regulating gambling, disorderly houses, shows, exhibitions, and amusements, and one controlling vagrants and beggars. Petitions from worried citizens originally prompted the city fathers to inspect gambling and other social evils, which meant dance halls. The definition was expanded to include all shows and amusements in the ordinance...The complete enforcement of the statutes that appeared on the books [were not always] secured. Although prostitution was banned in town [Ouray] and within three miles of its boundaries, nevertheless it flourished. Perhaps the fines levied against it provided a premeditated but clandestine source of revenue, the available sources discreetly avoid such an admission. Social needs and public morality clashed on this question; the former continued to win out" (Smith 2000: 122-123).

The adoption of ordinances and corresponding fines in Ouray speaks not only to the economic benefit prostitution brought to town, but also the power wielded by the elites that

sought to regulate and constrain their activities. Existing in a realm of legal uncertainty, prostitutes struggled to stay clear of the law (and accompanying fines) that would become a threat to their security, freedoms, and livelihood. Without question, the economic incentives to employ prostitutes would often lead to unscrupulous practices that would result in a form of indentured servitude (Butler 1987).

Ann Butler's (1987) historical treatment of prostitutes in the American West certainly paints a grim picture of the prospects awaiting those women entering the western sex trade. Although providing few statistical data to back up her claim, Butler suggests that "the almost universal poverty of prostitutes showed profits were sparse or nonexistent, and, unlike many occupations, prostitution did not promote employees for experience and longevity" (Butler 1987: 51).

Disarming Butler's central premise that life as a prostitute was a destructive process for women, Julia Ann Laite (2009) considers the agency and economic importance of prostitutes in western mining towns. She concludes that prostitution represents both a strategy of resistance by women and is a direct result of the mechanisms inherent in the masculine social and economic development of mining towns.

Following Laite, one must also recognize that prostitutes also possessed and wielded forms of power, whether it was over the course of their own destinies, against the class-based structures regulating their activities, or over the fortunes of those unsuspecting or naïve male initiates to sex commerce. The financial success (or demise) of many prostitutes was often relative to their particular status or position in the trade. Understandably, women working in brothels generally maintained a much higher status, and monetary income, than their street-walker or crib girl sisters. Clearly, many women did earn enough money to expand their life prospects, with many

prostitutes becoming madams of their own brothels (Vermeer 2009). Simmons (1989) expounds on this complex social dynamic in western mining towns:

"The crib prostitute and the madam lived very different, but contemporary lifestyles in the same community as members of the same socio-economic group...The community and its residents rode the tide of an economy based on a single resource. The settlement pattern of the various classes of prostitutes in a town reflected the structure of the mining community and its variable economic, demographic and social patterns as they changed over time" (Simmons 1989: 69).

In Ouray, the social landscape for prostitutes did change over time as Ouray's mining economy gained strength in the latter-half of the 1880's. What may have started as a fairly innocuous recreational practice by male miners in the first five years of the town's struggling existence soon became a serious nuisance to the Victorian elites as the numbers of prostitutes in the town increased. It would not be long before "disreputable women" living in reputable neighborhoods were prevented from walking the streets in daylight (Smith 2000: 121). Sadly, a closer examination of the interactions between individual prostitutes in Ouray and those vocally opposed to their practices is made difficult, if not impossible, by the limited historical material available. Although their presence was surely felt throughout Ouray's early history, specific individuals active in the trade in Ouray are only first identified in the 1885 state census of Ouray (listed as "sporting women"). The 1880 and 1885 census data of Ouray provide demographic snapshots of the groups residing in town during an unsettled period of conflict between the elites and local prostitutes.

#### 1880 10<sup>th</sup> U.S. Census for Ouray, Colorado

The total population in Ouray County in 1880 (10<sup>th</sup> census<sup>22</sup>) was reported at 2,669, and includes a total of 402 women.<sup>23</sup> In the town of Ouray, 1,061 residents were counted, and of this

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<sup>22</sup> The instructions for the 10<sup>th</sup> census for Ouray County can be found in Appendix I.

total, 184 females were reported: 77 children, 92 listed as "wife," four "head of household" (most likely representing property holders), and eight others listed as extended family members (U.S. Dept. of Interior 1883). The census reveals that most women in Ouray assumed supporting economic roles, such as running households, as part of the merchant class, or by maintaining boarding houses, restaurants, and laundries. There are few obvious indications on the 1880 census that would suggest females worked in the saloons or as prostitutes (although several possible prostitutes have been identified in the Silverton data). We know from primary sources that their presence was confirmed a year earlier. (For a more thorough discussion of the Ouray County census precincts and instructions see Appendix I.)

The difficulties in assessing accurate numbers for prostitutes using census data has been addressed by several scholars (Laite 2009; Shumsky and Springer 1981; Smith 2000; Vermeer 2006), pointing to the negative stigma attached to the profession, and the difficulties of census takers in accessing these women. Discussing the difficulty in obtaining reliable census data, Ashworth et al. (1988) expounds on a phenomenon well-known in Europe and applicable to the Ouray census data:

"It is in a sense a 'crime against the moral order'. Convictions or cautions for prostitution-related offences are instigated almost exclusively by the police rather than the public, and are therefore highly susceptible to fluctuations in policing policy. The uncertain legal status of the activity often leads to obfuscation and uncertainty in definition which complicates the gathering of data from other sources, such as observation, advertisements and trade directories, and renders questionnaire techniques unreliable and on occasion dangerous" (Ashworth et al. 1988).

Representing less than 20 percent of the town population in 1880, women had no known influence on the development of the County's mining economy. This is not to say they did not

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<sup>23</sup> In the total population, 510 are listed as foreign-born with 352 arriving from the British Isles, 78 listed as German, 27 Scandinavians (Swedish and Norwegian), 5 French, 3 Swiss, and 3 Chinese. The notes for the 10<sup>th</sup> Census indicate the difficulty in ascertaining the ethnic heritage of those listing themselves as American. Upon closer inspection we see the in-migration of those arriving from the eastern states listed as American-born coming mostly from (in order) New York, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois (U. S. Dept. of Interior 1883).

participate.<sup>24</sup> Of the 184 women in the greater Ouray Town area, 82 did not list an occupation (listing themselves as wives only) or were at school, 95 women were "keeping-house," there were two dressmakers, one "assisting," three keeping a boarding house, and Mrs. Eliza Marsh, a widowed Irishwoman, 49, who listed herself as restaurant keeper (possibly associated with the Esorser family) (U.S. Dept. of Interior 1883). By 1885, the Ouray census reports 12 women who identified themselves as "Sporting Women" and at least 6 others associated with saloon commerce (U.S., Bureau of the Census 1885).

#### 1885 Colorado State Census, Ouray, Colorado

In the greater Ouray area, the demographic trends seen in 1880, such as age, sex ratio, and ethnicity, had changed very little in five years. The census data of 1885 are very telling in terms of the sex ratio percentages in different areas of Ouray County. Although the entire County reported a total of 73% in excess of males, this percentage is skewed by the small agricultural belt north of Ouray that reported a much higher female percentage than the Town of Ouray. This skewed the sex ratios for the County and masked the dominance of the male population existing in the surrounding mountains. As an example, although the sex ratios in the greater Ouray area was calculated as 65.54% in excess of males (n=830), this is in stark contrast to the sex ratio of 96% in the Ironton and Red Mountain mining district precincts, with only 23 total females reported (n=656).

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<sup>24</sup> Mrs. H. G. Parcell listed herself as a miner in Ouray. Age 38, white, widowed, born in Michigan, with both parent's born in New York.<sup>24</sup> However, Mrs. Parcell is the only exception seen in Ouray. Following the route of the census taker, Mrs. Parcell's entry is listed just below the household of W. W. Stoddard, the County Treasurer, who may have boarded a Mr. William Weston, known for his 1884, *Descriptive Pamphlet of Some of the Principle Mines and Prospects of Ouray & San Miguel Counties 1882-3 in the San Juan Gold and Silver Region*. The head of Mrs. Parcell's home was a Mr. J. B. Ingran, miner, 26, listed also as partner. Below Parcell is a Mr. Edward A. Howard, miner, 36, listed as partner. Most of the persons listed in this group all have roots in the East, with New York particularly prominent.

Table 2. Reported Occupations of Men and Women in Ouray 1885 (Colorado State Census)

1885 Ouray Men Occupation				1885 Ouray Women Occupation	
Assayer	3	Justice of Peace	1	At Home	4
Baker	4	Keeps House	1	At School	1
Barber	1	Laborer	4	Boarding House	3
Barkeeper	1	Laundry	6	Col ?	2
Blacksmith	5	Lawyer	7	Cook	1
Boilermaster	1	Liquor Dealer	2	Domestic	8
Bookkeeper	2	Livery Stable	2	Dressmaker	3
Brewer	2	Lumberman	3	Hotel Servant	3
Brickmason	3	Mear?	1	Housekeeper	1
Cabinet Maker	1	Meat Market	1	In Saloon	1
Capitalist	2	Merchant	13	In Store	1
Carpenter	9	Milkman	1	Keeps House	133
Cashier Banker	1	Millwright	1	Laundry	3
Cigar Maker	2	Mine Superint.	5	Millnery	2
City Marshall	2	Miner	504	Restaurant	1
Civil Engineer	5	Musician	1	Seamtress	1
Clerk	7	Newsman	3	Sews	1
Coachman	1	Packer	6	Sporting Women	12
Cook	3	Painter	2	Student	32
County Clerk	1	Photographer	1	Visitor	3
County Judge	1	Physician	3		
County	1	Postmaster	1	<b>TOTAL 216</b>	
Dentist	1	Printer	2		
Deputy P?	1	Prisoner	1		
Druggist	1	Prospector	3		
Engineer	1	Real Estate	1		
Familial Man?	1	Restaurant	1		
Farmer	4	Saloon Keeper	6		
Furniture	1	Saw Millman	1		
Grocer	3	School Teacher	1		
Hardwareman	1	Sheriff	1		
Harness Maker	3	Stage Rider?	1		
Hotel Clerk	1	Stockman	1		
Hotel Keeper	3	Stonemason	1		
Hotel servant	4	Student	21		
Jailer	1	Surveyor	1		
Janitor	1	Teamster	6		
Peace	1	Transportation	1		
<b>TOTAL 702</b>					

The occupational status of women in Ouray in 1885 also provides some indications of the constraints placed on their participation in the geo-economy. We know from historical sources and the census data that women were an important part of the non-laboring class and several did own mines and property (Reyher 2000). In addition, women in both Silverton and Ouray were owner/operators of commercial property in the red-light districts of each town, often achieving comparable status to their male saloon and gambling house counterparts. While it is clear that



women were involved in the mining economy, they generally did not work as miners. Quite similar to 1880, over half of the 216 women reporting occupations in the Town of Ouray are "keeping house," with the remainder associated with the merchant economy, boarding houses, restaurants, or domestic occupations like laundry or servant. The Ouray occupation totals of both men and women in 1885 are listed in Table 2, above.

As holders of property and assets (in the form of durable goods), the important merchant class wielded forms of power over the working class and those residents of the town requiring housing, recreation, foodstuffs, clothing, raw materials, and equipment. However, based on a review of *The Ouray Times*, it appears only the wealthier merchants had any tangible influence on the town's day-to-day affairs. Italians were not noticeably present in the Ouray merchant class by 1885 – a year marking the arrival of the Torino-born John Vanoli to the town. Several prominent merchants, such as Charles Rawles<sup>25</sup>, were active participants in town board meetings, but for the most part, the town council was comprised of the professional and educated classes. This elected group, all-male and mostly hailing from the northeast, would hold held the reins of power through Ouray's boom period in the late 1880's and set the course for the judicial, economic, and regulatory decisions during the development of the Second Street red-light district.

#### Development of Ouray's Second Street Red-Light District

The period between 1885 and 1890 represents one of the first boom periods in Ouray County. As mining production increased and more refined smelting techniques were developed,

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<sup>25</sup> Charles Rawles was a prominent merchant in Ouray, advertising his dry goods store often in the *Ouray Times*. Mr Rawles is also cited often in the paper as an active participant in town board meetings. However, even Mr. Rawles and four other prominent merchants, could not avoid being charged with selling liquor without a license in an assumed crackdown on the licensing fees associated with the trade (*Ouray Times*, July 6, 1878).

Ouray, along with the entire San Juan mining district, witnessed a boom period prompting a precipitous influx of people into the region. By 1890, the population in Ouray County was well over 4,000 people.<sup>26</sup> As Ouray's mining economy expanded, the governing elites were compelled to join forces with entrepreneurs in the laboring and merchant class to stimulate their economic prospects. Despite the increasingly vocal protestations of the moral Victorian citizenry, the lucrative revenue generated by sporting-male commerce would ultimately sway the governing elites to expand the recreational institutions patronized by the vital male workforce (Smith 1992: 39-40). With the anticipated arrival of the Denver and Rio Grande Western rail line in 1888, Ouray's town council began preparing for the construction of a formal red-light district.

Based on Sanborn maps, vacant lands directly across the river from the train depot (along Second Street) were targeted for the new red-light district. The location of the Second Street red-light district directly adjacent the train depot was typical of most Colorado mining towns (Noel 1982). However, one must consider the spatial segregation of the district as well as the complicity of the town council in constructing this district, violating its own ordinances against prostitution within town limits.

Physically constricted by steep terrain to an area less than a half square mile, Ouray had little room for expansion (see Figure 2, below). The small size of the downtown, and the tilt downward from southeast to northwest, toward the Uncompahgre River, would divide the town on this axis from respectable residential and civic buildings above (or east of) Main Street, and the lower classes below (or west). Much of the human traffic flowing through the town occurred around the downtown business district on Third Street (or Main Street). Wide enough to accommodate the long lines of pack horses and mules trafficking through town, Ouray's main

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<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, the 1890 U.S. population census data was destroyed due to a fire. This prevents a more robust census-based analysis to track specific individuals or groups over time. The lack of 1890 census data also prevents identifying specific individuals associated with the Vanoli sporting complex, which was in full operation by 1890.

thoroughfare represented the center of the merchant and geo-economy. By 1885, Main Street had a variety of essential businesses intermingled with residential dwellings, carpenter shops, liveries, as well as a number of saloons and gambling houses.

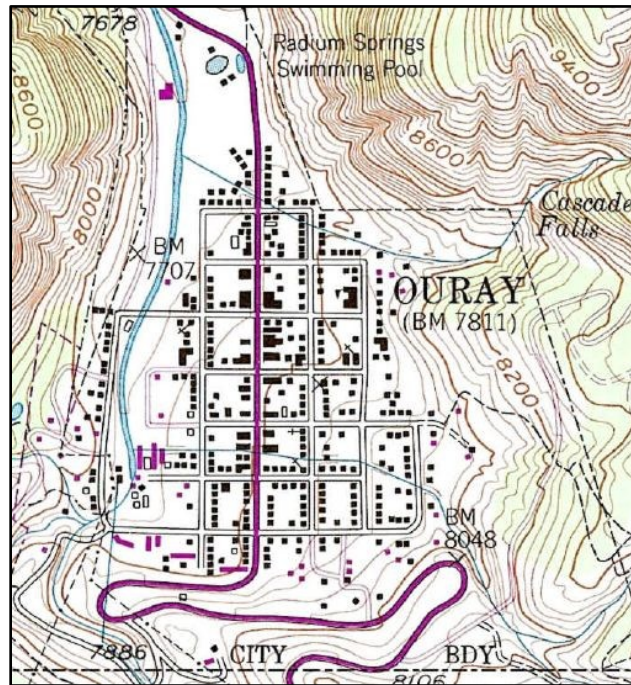


Figure 2. Topographic Map of the Town of Ouray, Colorado – no scale, top is north (United States Geological Survey 1987)

### Spatial Segregation of Sporting-Male Commerce

Constructing red-light districts near the local train depot was a fairly common practice in most urban mining towns. Seeking to divest male tourists and visitors from their pocket money after a long journey, the vice district was often found within walking distance from the depot.<sup>27</sup> In Ouray, more respectable visitors were diverted from this district by a horse-drawn carriage that would take a more circuitous route to the center of town (Gregory 1995). Although unsubstantiated, it is entirely possible that the Ouray train depot and the red-light district (both

<sup>27</sup> In Denver, the vice district was moved when the main train line into town was diverted to another section of town (Noel 1982)

constructed at about the same time) were purposely planned to be adjacent one another. More importantly, the construction of an entire red-light commerce zone underscores the tacit acceptance of masculine social practices and informs us of the socio-economic strategies employed by the town council.

The analysis of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps have been quite effective in analyzing urban center spatial patterning and the direct effects on status and class segregation in both an historical context (Rose, 1974) and an historical archaeology context (Feit, et al 2003). An examination of Ouray's town planning and red-light district spatial organization is made possible using Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for the years 1883, 1886, 1893, and 1900. Although these maps do not cover the first seven years of Ouray's building construction, they do provide specific detail on the structures built during the phases of red-light district formation. Of particular interest is the growth period between 1886 and 1890 which represents the establishment of a distinct brothel zone constructed on Second Street.

Ouray's red-light district was limited to just portions of four city blocks (see Figure 3, below), which also happens to be the area in town where the liveries and stables were funneled, and not surprisingly, an area most susceptible to flooding and debris slides (Jochim 1986).

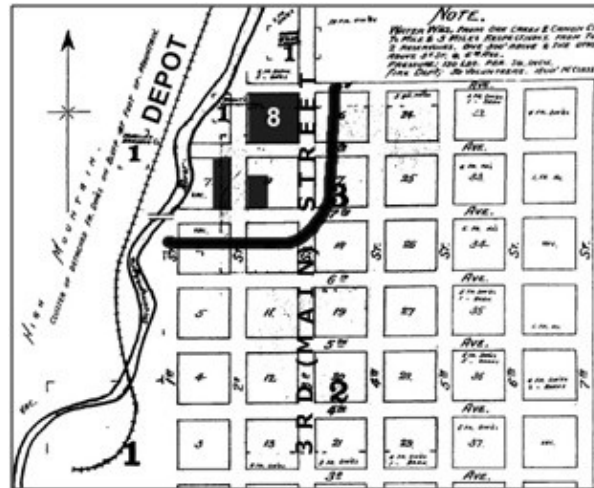
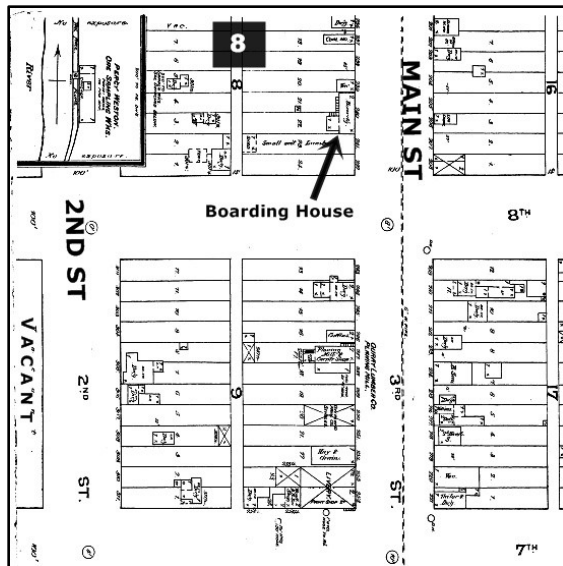
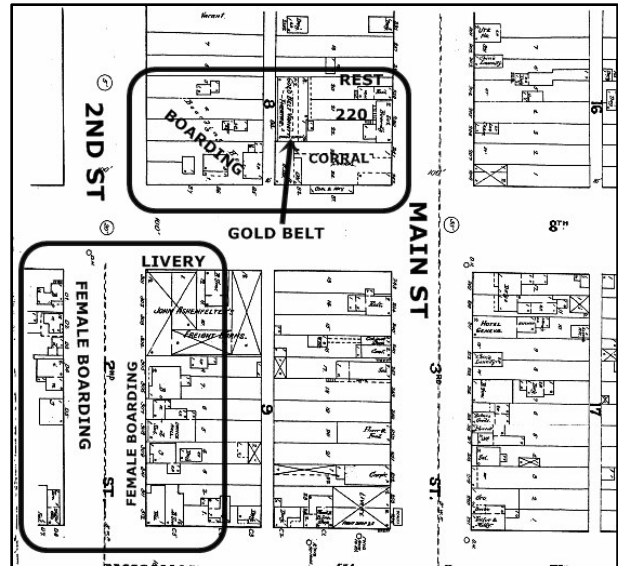


Figure 3. Modified 1890 Sanborn Map Legend of Ouray.

The Ouray Sanborn maps of 1886 and 1890 provide good visual evidence of the rapid construction of the Second Street red-light district. Figure 4 (below) is an exploded view of the city blocks associated with the red-light district, depicting the new construction on Block 8 (the Vanoli sporting complex) as well as the boarding house and saloon construction on Block 9 and the eastern-half of Block 7 on Second Street. The 1886 Sanborn map shows mostly vacant lots or un-zoned parcels on Second Street. In comparison, the 1890 Sanborn map (Figure 4, right) reveals new building construction along Second Street and Block 8, as well as the large Ashenfelter Livery. The eastern half of Block 8 shows the appearance of the Gold Belt Theatre and the Roma Saloon, in addition to the existing 220 boarding house. On the western side of Block 8, there is also a proliferation of female boarding houses. By 1890, Second Street has ten new structures (shown in Figure 5, below), the majority of them listed as "boarding" in the 1890 maps, and changed in 1893 to "female boarding."



1886



1890

Figure 4. Modified 1886 and 1890 Ouray Sanborn Maps

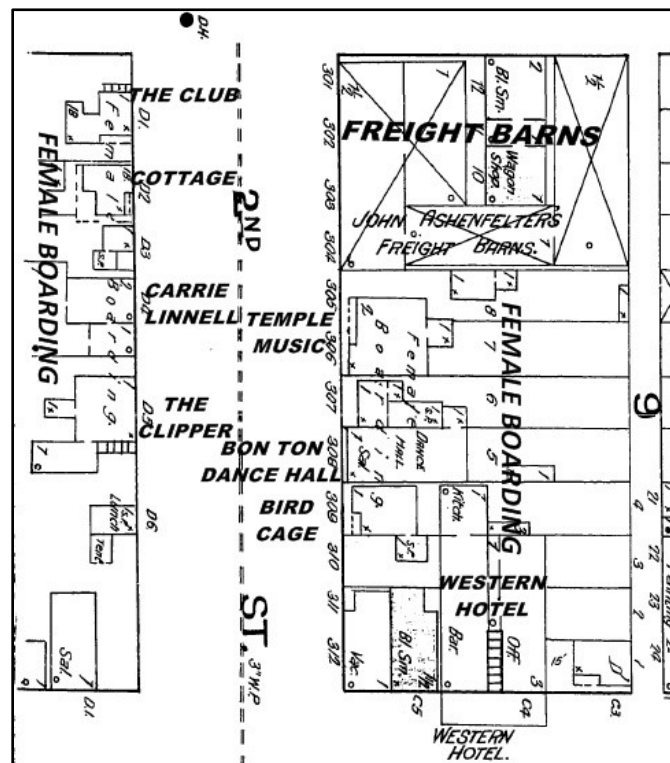


Figure 5. Modified 1893 Ouray Sanborn Map of Second Street (from Gregory 1995: 137).

Appendix II shows two Sanborn maps in the years 1886 and 1890 that utilize color-codes that differentiate structures by primary-use category. The Sanborn series provides visual confirmation of several important patterns in Ouray's spatial development. Well before the development of the Second Street red-light district, the town was clearly divided along an axis that would delineate the town along class-based lines. It is clear from the earliest 1886 Sanborn map that a conscious effort was made by the town council to separate the civic buildings east, and above, the main thoroughfare. Much like Virginia City, Nevada (on a much smaller scale) and numerous other western mining towns, the successive maps indicate that the spatial segregation of the town, based primarily on class divisions, was strictly followed in Ouray.

The purpose of this segregation served several purposes. First, red-light district commerce could be easily policed and controlled. But as Shumsky and Springer (1981) have noted, this also provided patrons and prostitutes in these vice districts a level of anonymity as well as security against fines and arrest. Another reason, one more applicable to the Victorian-influenced morality in maturing mining towns, was the clear delineation of class and status (Simmons 1989). Clearly, eastern elites and the political class appearing in western mining towns had very tangible effects on the spatial segregation of red-light districts.<sup>28</sup>

The reasons for the development of segregated zones of sex commerce in the late nineteenth century has been discussed by Shumsky (1986) who elaborates on his concept of "tacit acceptance" through the lens of Victorian ideology:

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<sup>28</sup> An excellent example of such class-based spatial segregation can be seen in the growth of Virginia City, Nevada and the establishment of the D Street red-light district. The grid-like division of the town in 1862 would essentially delineate members of the new society by class and ethnicity. In the upper (read higher) sections of town resided the mine superintendants and successful merchants. Below C Street or Main Street, were D Street and the red-light district. Prostitution and sporting clubs were restricted to D Street. Characteristic of the relationship between local government and miner social institutions, two rows of white cabins were built by the town for prostitutes, with cribs situated just below (Lord, 1883: 199; Symanski 1974). An area was established for the Chinese laborers just below D Street. Below the Chinese district the "Paiutes and Washoe Indians were located in something analogous to a shanty town" (James 1998).

"None of the explanations accounts for the almost universal willingness to sanction the existence of urban prostitution so long as prostitutes confined their activities to a distinct area, usually located on the fringe of the Central Business District. Americans considered prostitution to be evil, animal, and unhealthy - but also inevitable. They tolerated it as long as they also believed that it could be segregated and restricted to a certain segment of the social order. At the same time, they saw social benefits to be derived from the existence of a separate red light district. It served, in their eyes, as a means of controlling the lower and working classes and of protecting respectable women from the supposedly rampant sexuality of immigrant men. Such a district helped establish the boundaries of proper behavior; those who accepted the sexual norms of proper society avoided the district while those who rejected propriety frequented it" (Shumsky 1986: 665).

As Shumsky suggests, the tacit acceptance of sporting-male commerce in Colorado mining towns by Victorian elites would have an indelible effect on the institutional forms appearing in the town while transforming the social status of those participating in the commerce over time. Such acceptance of sex commerce also speaks to the necessity of appeasing the male workforce as well as the social problems that occur in predominantly-male mining societies governed by an elite class. As Julia Laite (2009:744) explains, "examining the different reasons why commercial sex was tolerated, controlled, and repressed can provide us with models of how and why societies in general intervene in prostitution." Narrowing our focus to the Vanoli block, the class-based social structure adopted in Ouray would have very real consequences for the management, male patrons, and prostitutes operating within the complex.

## Summary

As geo-economic mining districts congealed around urban mining towns, the male recreational forms developing in these urbanized centers were particularly reflective of the social institutional forms known in the regional mining rushes that came before. This pattern of socio-economic organization can be identified in California and Nevada, the northern Rocky Mountain mining districts, the Colorado mineral belt, and was successfully implemented in Ouray.



As the professional and educated classes assumed control of the political economy, the process of regulatory control of sporting-male commerce provided a lucrative revenue stream to the fledgling municipality. There seems to be little question that regulatory control of saloon and sporting-male commerce represented a *sub rosa* revenue stream, providing the means from which a municipality obtained much needed revenue while effectively defining the social status of the patrons and service employees operating in these spatially segregated vice districts. This successful strategy served to assuage the concerns of upstanding citizens, propagated the recreational institutions of the vital male workforce, while providing much needed revenue for town coffers. Unfortunately, this economic compromise placed prostitutes in a particularly vulnerable position, as their activity became highly regulated – infringing upon their freedoms and effecting their status in the towns social hierarchy.

As the sex trade in western mining towns became strictly regulated, the development of delineated red-light zones to establish class and status boundaries comes as little surprise. In many western mining districts, the arrival of an eastern professional class, described by Hogan (1990) as "boosters," simply expedited the development of red-light districts, which served to solidify their own financial standing while appeasing the laboring and non-laboring classes. In Colorado and the San Juans, this class division, often delineated by education, ethnicity, and profession, was most strongly felt by prostitutes and those of color.

The rapidity with which the red-light district was constructed in Ouray after 1886, requiring the re-zoning of vacant land along the river, would suggest a conscious effort by the town council to exploit the expected tourist traffic generated by the rail line. The allowance of a formal red-light district would seem to be in direct violation of many of the town's own ordinances. Clearly, the responsibilities of a mining town grew as the economy surged, and

based on Smith's (2000) work on the expenditures of the Ouray town board, we can appreciate the rising costs of Ouray town maintenance over a decade of existence. As seen in many other Colorado mining towns pre-dating Ouray, as prostitution and gaming increased, so did the revenue stream from this hidden economy. The development of the Second Street red-light district, therefore, served primarily as a revenue source, although the segregated class divisions cannot be ignored.

The formation of red-light districts, an economic and class-based process initiated by governing elites, sheds light on the changing gender/power dynamic in a mining society, and continues to illustrate the interconnectivity between gender, class, status, race, sex, and power. The development of the Second Street red-light district in Ouray would seem to exemplify these social processes. As our scope is narrowed to the Vanoli sporting complex we have a much firmer understanding of the social structure and class divisions that may have influenced the activities, relations, and behavior of those operating on the complex.

For miners, the abundance of saloons, gambling houses, and sporting clubs in western mining towns indicated the wealth and permanence of a western industrial town (West 1979). However, the arrival of prostitutes to these urban centers may have been the true barometer of a town's stability and solvency. The contribution of prostitutes to the economic growth in western mining districts is an important research direction that has numerous implications for a gendered analysis of masculinity. Unfortunately, the evidential sources describing the life ways and practices of those women choosing this occupation are fleeting and scattered. Pinpointing their integration to western mining camps and towns can be a difficult task as their numbers are often masked or obscured in the census data collected.

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD OF THE VANOLI SPORTING COMPLEX (5OR30)

Situated on Block 8 directly adjacent to Ouray's Second Street red-light district, the Vanoli Sporting Complex denotes a number of establishments that catered specifically to sporting-male commerce. Between 1877 and 1885, a hotel or boarding house on lots 21 and 22, at various times called the Ouray House, Grand Pacific, and 2:20, operated in various capacities as a hotel, saloon, gambling and dance hall, and brothel. In 1885, the Torino-born businessman John Vanoli took ownership of the lots and existing structure, establishing the 220 Boarding House. After 1885, John Vanoli and his Italian business associates expanded the number of establishments on the block, creating a profitable brothel complex until state prohibition was enacted in 1916. The history of the complex and the chronological building sequences is provided in Appendix III.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, the Vanoli Sporting Complex site (5OR30) was excavated by Steven Baker (Centuries Research, Inc.). Following Parks Canada methodology, Baker would open a total of twenty-one separate units on Block 8. The voluminous and well-preserved material culture recovered by Baker is bracketed temporally between 1877 and 1916.<sup>29</sup> These artifacts are currently stored at the Colorado State University and remain a central resource for studies investigating the past life ways of this historic brothel district.

Focusing on changes in the activities of men and women operating on the complex over time, specific artifact groups recovered from two prominent features on the compound are subjected to a comparative analysis. These features include the original boarding house trash

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<sup>29</sup> This temporal range is given with a caveat. While the public gambling and drinking stopped after Prohibition was enacted, it is quite possible that these activities had continued privately after this ban - as seen in Silverton - see Bird (1993). In addition, several structures on Block 8, most notably the Roma Saloon, Restaurant, and 220 Boarding House, served as private residences well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

midden, representing the earliest refuse on the complex, and a deep, stone-lined privy built alongside the Gold Belt Variety Theater, constructed by John Vanoli contemporaneously with the Second Street red-light district. While the smaller, more intimate boarding house and the larger, more public variety theater are very different in many fundamental respects (business model, recreation offered, class of patron, and potential consumer goods offered), the material signatures of each sheds light into the activities of groups and individuals at these specific locations. The examination of artifacts categorized as “personal” (recreation, hygiene, clothing, and personal items) offers an opportunity to more closely assess how the personal life ways of prostitutes may have changed over time.

A central focus of this analysis is placed on the potential effects the newly created red-light district had on the activities of prostitutes operating on the complex. Based on the class-based structures forming in Ouray during this period, the increased regulatory controls imposed on prostitutes would have potential ramifications on the relations of power negotiated in these locales. It is possible that these restrictions to personal freedoms might be seen in the archaeological record. The managerial practices of John Vanoli and his associates on the lives of the female prostitutes under their employ must also be considered.

The first section of this chapter briefly examines Steven Baker’s method for excavating the Vanoli site (5OR30). The reconstruction of Baker’s excavations in the inner courtyard of the complex has provided useful spatial and stratigraphic context for the two features targeted for analysis. The methods used to reconstruct Baker’s excavations, and a more detailed examination of the excavations in Operation 3 (rear of boarding house) and Operation 18 (trench excavations along the Gold Belt) are provided in Appendix IV, V, and VI, respectively.

The second section briefly outlines Baker's previous attempts to classify the Victorian-era material culture on the Vanoli site. Outlining a slightly divergent perspective for the analysis of artifacts recovered from the site, a general framework for a gendered analysis is presented and the difficulties of such an approach in this setting are explained.

The third section quantifies and compares the material culture of the two deposits. Personal artifacts that are expressly gendered are specifically emphasized; however, the majority of artifacts used in the analysis must be classified as gender neutral. The association of personal artifacts with the large quantities of alcohol- and medicinal-related bottle glass in each deposit, which are also gender neutral in this analysis, offers added interpretive context for each deposit. Each artifact group (recreation, clothing, hygiene, and personal) in the analysis is summarized and any differences observed between the deposits are assessed. An additional deposit, the privy overburden, representing the most modern refuse deposited at the Gold Belt privy, is also included in the analysis to extend the chronology of refuse deposition at the Gold Belt.

Lastly, a comparison of artifacts between the two features is broadly summarized, revealing the fundamental differences in material signatures. The comparison of material culture, admittedly imperfect due to the inherent differences between the establishments with which these features are associated are still well-dated, offering a rare opportunity to assess the potential changes in life ways over time on the complex. The results of the comparative analysis also provides an ability to assess the relationship of material culture to the historic timeline of events transpiring in the town, and a more precise understanding of life on the complex both before and after the appearance of John Vanoli and his business associates on Block 8.

## Reconstructing The Vanoli / Ouray Project Excavations (site 5OR.30)

Baker's field methodology was modeled on the Parks Canada system of archaeological provenience.<sup>30</sup> While no comprehensive plan map (of a common scale) of the dig was available, Baker's field notes and three datum maps did make it possible to place the excavation units in relation to the structures encompassing the inner yard. Figure 6, below, depicts the excavations in the inner yard in relation to the structures on the complex.

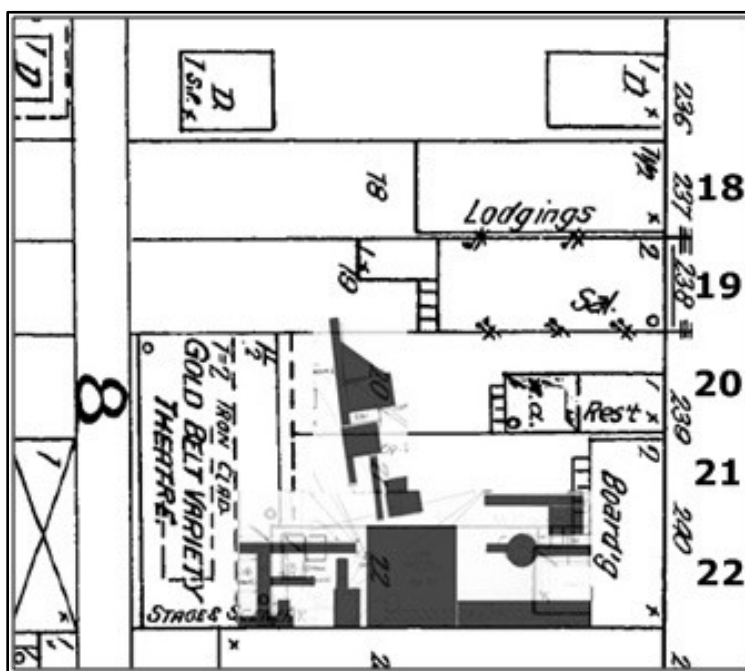


Figure 6. 1893. Modified 1893 Ouray Sanborn Map with inner court yard excavations

Methodologically, although Baker did adhere to Parks Canada protocol in excavating a cultural deposit until its transition to a new horizon, ground slope was not taken into account, and the exact dimensions and depths of many of these units (or sub-operations), as well as their

<sup>30</sup> The Parks Canada system of provenience measures distance in tenths of a foot, and excavation pits and trenches are numbered in a sequential order of Operations (of arbitrary dimension and depths); normally associated with rational cultural research questions or strategies. The nomenclature of excavation units involves a series of Operations, which represent cultural areas of interest, Suboperations, which divide the area of cultural interest into smaller units of excavation, and Lots, a numbered system designed to reflect the stratigraphy of a suboperation. For example 1C1 represents Operation 1, the area around the public privy in the southwest corner of the inner courtyard, suboperation C, which represents the privy itself, and Lot 1, indicating the surface layer of the excavation unit.

relationship to neighboring excavations units, are often unknown. Appendix IV details the process needed to reconstruct a plan map of Baker's excavations.

### Main Operations in the Inner Courtyard

Figure 7, below, shows the post-1908 configuration of the complex on the eastern-half of Block 8 in association with the excavations undertaken by Baker. This plan view highlights the main excavation units in relation to several key structures on the complex: Operation 3, which is situated directly adjacent to the western wall (or rear) of the 220 boarding house, and Operation 18, representing the trench excavations along the southeastern section of the Gold Belt Variety Theatre. A reproduction of Baker's original field notes for Operation 3 and Operation 18 can be found in Appendix V and Appendix VI, respectively.

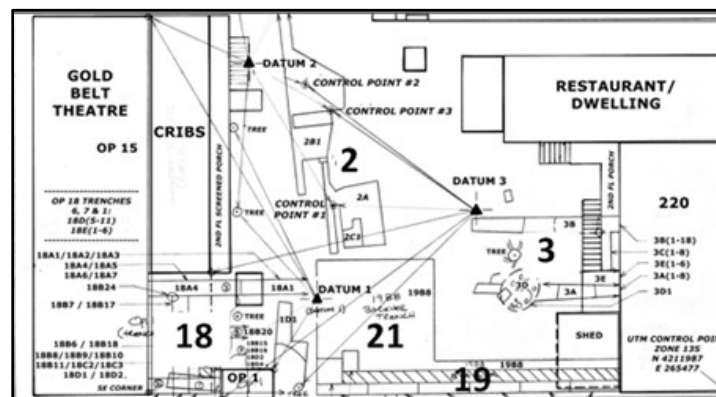


Figure 7. Main Excavation Operations Lots 20, 21, and 22 of Block 8, Ouray, CO.

The spatial provenience of Baker's Operation 3 excavations near the boarding house has provided a firmer understanding of the structural configuration at the rear of the building. The main trash midden, which was below a wooden floor level (3C4), corresponds to the Lots 3C7, 3C8, and 3B6. Figure 8, below, shows a plan-view reconstruction of Operation 3 and the location of the 3B/3C trash midden.

A series of excavation trenches along the Gold Belt Variety Theatre (Operation 18) exposed the original stone-lined privy of that structure, which was given the Sub-operation designation 18D<sup>31</sup>. Figure 9, below, shows the location of the trench system and privy feature in relation to the Gold Belt Theater. The building construction between the boarding house (built in 1877) and the Gold Belt (built around 1886-1888) are offset by approximately ten years.

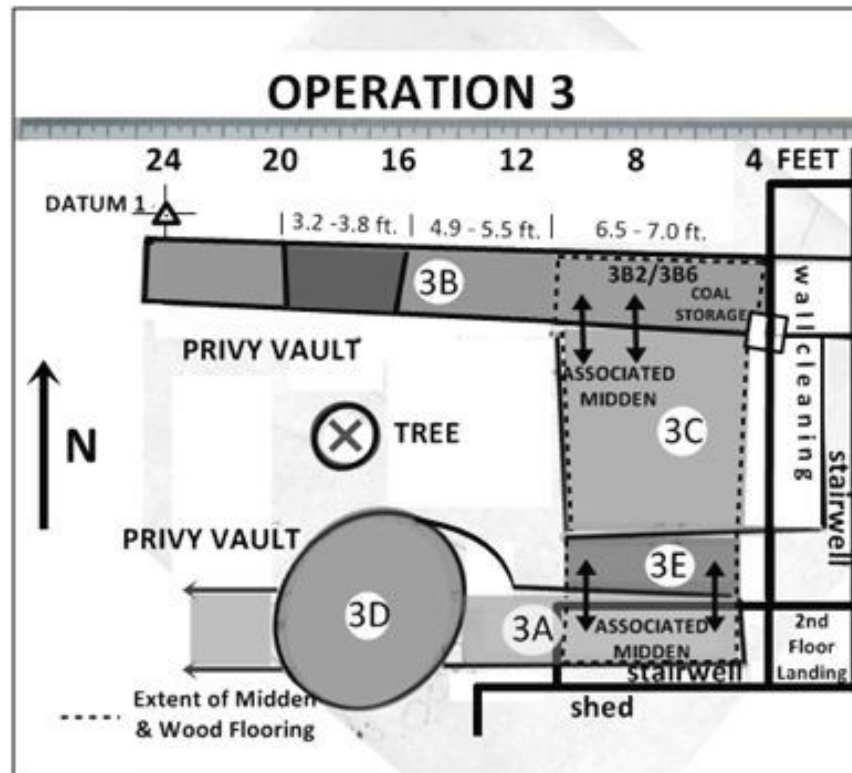


Figure 8. Reconstructed Plan view of Operation 3

<sup>31</sup> The Sub-operations and Lots that designate the stone-lined privy can be confusing. The artifacts recovered from the privy fill (18D3-18D11) will primarily be used in the comparative analysis with the boarding house trash midden (3B/3C). However, above this fill, a modified privy vault was discovered (18D2), and artifacts recovered from this vault are occasionally referenced to the privy fill. Above and surrounding the modified privy vault, Baker delineated an overburden horizon. These Sub-operations and Lots correspond to the Lots (18B3-18B15, and 18C1-18C3). A more thorough explanation of the excavation of the privy feature is found in the Appendix.



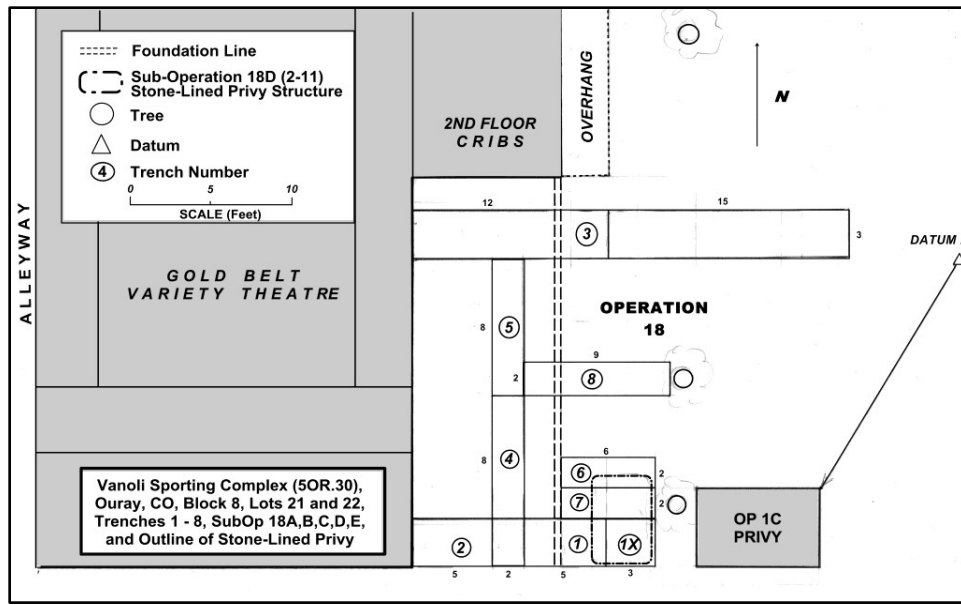


Figure 9. Reconstructed plan view of Operation 18 trench system

A temporal analysis performed on artifacts from the boarding house trash pit and the Gold Belt privy confirms the chronological integrity of these deposits (see Appendix V, Table 7 and Appendix VI, Table 9, respectively). Chronologically, the capped midden deposit at the boarding house most likely represents the earliest material culture on Block 8. The stone-lined privy fill of the Gold Belt represents the deposition of refuse ten years later, and the modified privy vault and overburden deposition episodes above the stone-lined privy feature follow that<sup>32</sup>. Understanding the sequence of refuse deposition over time provides a useful timeline needed to assess the changes in activities between men and women in these diverse settings.

### Assessing the Archaeological Record

Following Stanley South's (1977) British Colonial frontier pattern, Steven Baker saw the archaeological assemblage of the Vanoli site, and the material culture recovered from other

<sup>32</sup> A detailed look at the artifacts recovered from the overburden lots can be found in Appendix VII. The artifacts analyzed from the overburden Lots revealed an increase in the number of personal artifacts recovered.

nineteenth-century Colorado mining towns, as belonging to a broader ideological system classified as American Victorian culture (Baker et al. 2007). This Victorian pattern of material culture is considered by Baker as representative of a "Victorian culture period in America" or "American Victorianism" (Baker et al. 2007: 155-158). This cultural period is roughly placed between 1865 and 1900, flourishing in Colorado mining districts after the arrival of the railroad and prompting an inundation of consumer goods imported from the East. Breaking the assemblage down to functional categories and subcategories, Baker suggests that quantifiable patterns in the Vanoli data conform to a regionally-specific Victorian culture horizon.

There is little dispute that the material culture recovered from the Vanoli site was produced during an American Victorian cultural period, but the context of the material culture, and the majority of consumer goods reflective of the activities in this sporting complex, do not suggest refined Victorian-styled culture. While most consumer goods appearing in early Colorado mining towns were initially imported from East of the Missouri River, the appearance of goods manufactured in the West (for example alcohol-related products, equipment, clothing, and food) well before the arrival of railroad lines (Hardesty 1985; Paynter 1985; Church et al 2007), speaks more to the self-sufficient economic processes developing in growing regional centers. This economic process is also quite evident in the Vanoli artifact assemblage.

Additionally, one might also question the variety and use of specific artifact classes and subclasses in the context of red-light district commerce. The large quantities of alcohol and medicinal bottles, food-related containers, armaments, and undecorated, restaurant-grade whiteware might suggest an alternative cultural hypothesis as to the nature of activities in this non-traditional Victorian setting. Taking this line of reasoning one step further, it would be

difficult to imagine the archaeological assemblage of a midden or privy in the elite, residential section of Ouray expressing a similar material signature as the Vanoli data.

Although many of the recreational pursuits of sporting men are well known, it is important to recognize that men sought the rare pleasures of women as part of their recreational *practice*, one that also included gambling and imbibing with their male associates in homosocial domains. While the activities of men in a red-light district may be considered self-explanatory, in reality, the specific details of men's recreational activities in western mining towns are anything but clear. The primary reason we do not have much information on men's recreational activities is due to the fact that men hardly ever wrote about their recreational activities in these locales (Johnson 2000).

Surprisingly, archaeologists interpreting the refuse of male-dominated western industrial centers have rarely considered the assignment of gender in their investigations, and no attempts to assess relations of power in these contexts have been discovered to date. The reasons for this are varied, but often stem from the lack of historical background and cultural context at the local or sub-regional level.

Often satisfied to seek generalized patterns derived from pre-conceived notions of group behavior, historical archaeologists continue to compile quantitative summaries without considering the broader cultural and ideological factors influencing their data (see Cleland 2001, Dixon 2006). This orientation is especially prevalent in a western mining context, and particularly challenging in a brothel setting considering the number of women residing and operating in these locales. For those seeking to interpret the gendered expression of material culture and the implications of power in an urbanized mining context, an awareness of *changes* in identity and ideology occurring over time must also be considered.

Equally relevant for this study are insights into the leisure activities of women operating in red-light districts. In an interesting juxtaposition, very little is known of the recreational practices of prostitutes. This has implications for any attempt to assign a gendered character to specific artifacts in a brothel setting. As an example, specific artifacts related to recreation, such as gaming pieces and dice, or firearm cartridges, might not necessarily be attributable to men, obscuring the gendered nature of activities forged in this setting.

### Comparative Artifact Analysis

The boarding house trash midden and the Gold Belt privy represent the primary deposits used in the comparative analysis of artifacts. The Gold Belt privy, which temporally follows the deposition of the boarding house midden, is divided into three main deposits: the privy fill, a privy vault, which sits atop the fill, and the overburden, which sits adjacent to and above the privy vault. The infamous history of the boarding house (found in Appendix III) would suggest long-term occupation of the building by both working-class men and women at the earliest stages of Ouray's development. In contrast, the Gold Belt Variety Theater (Appendix III) , built contemporaneously with the Second Street red-light district, represents a larger entertainment establishment that catered to working-class and elite men (Gregory 1982). It remains unclear if prostitutes had lived in the Gold Belt, but their presence is clearly seen in the privy material culture.

When possible, artifact inventories will be analyzed based on gender; however, such determinations are not easily made. Female gendered artifacts are most prevalent and more easily distinguishable. For example, items related to hygiene and clothing, such as hair brushes, milk glass jars, jewelry, perfume bottles, garter belt snaps, sewing notions, high heeled shoes, and

several items classified as personal adornment are given a female designation (see Gensmer 2012). There were only a few items analyzed that have a specifically male designation. The majority of the artifacts, however, must be considered gender neutral.

Gender neutral personal items include: musical instruments, medicinal- and pharmaceutical-related bottle glass, gaming pieces, medicinal apparatus, tobacco-related artifacts, writing implements, and several items related to clothing such as common Prosser and shell buttons, shoes fragments, and belt buckles. The high volume of alcohol- and medicinal-related bottle glass recovered from each deposit, also considered gender neutral in this setting, provides useful interpretive context and will be referenced throughout the analysis.

Artifacts in the collection categorized as "personal" represent the main artifact category in this comparative analysis. Personal artifacts represent a fairly broad category that is divided into four main sub-categories: recreation, hygiene, and clothing, and personal items. These are further broken down into specific artifact groups. For example, poker chips fall under Personal – Recreation – Gaming Pieces. Ammunition cartridges and tobacco have also been designated as recreation. Surprisingly, tobacco-related artifacts were not particularly prevalent in either deposit. Photographs of select artifacts in this category can be found in Appendix VII.

Personal artifacts lacking gender specificity are of course included in this analysis as they also provide some useful insights into the private and public activities of the groups and individuals operating at each locale. In addition, items that are fragmented, but belonging to one specific item are reduced to reflect the singular artifact. This helps offset the large percentage of milk glass and jewelry glass fragments, and rubber tubing pieces that might skew the results of a specific sub-category. Figure 10, below, depicts the inventory of artifacts recovered from the

boarding house trash midden and the Gold Belt privy fill that fall under the category of personal artifacts (recreation, hygiene, clothing, personal items).

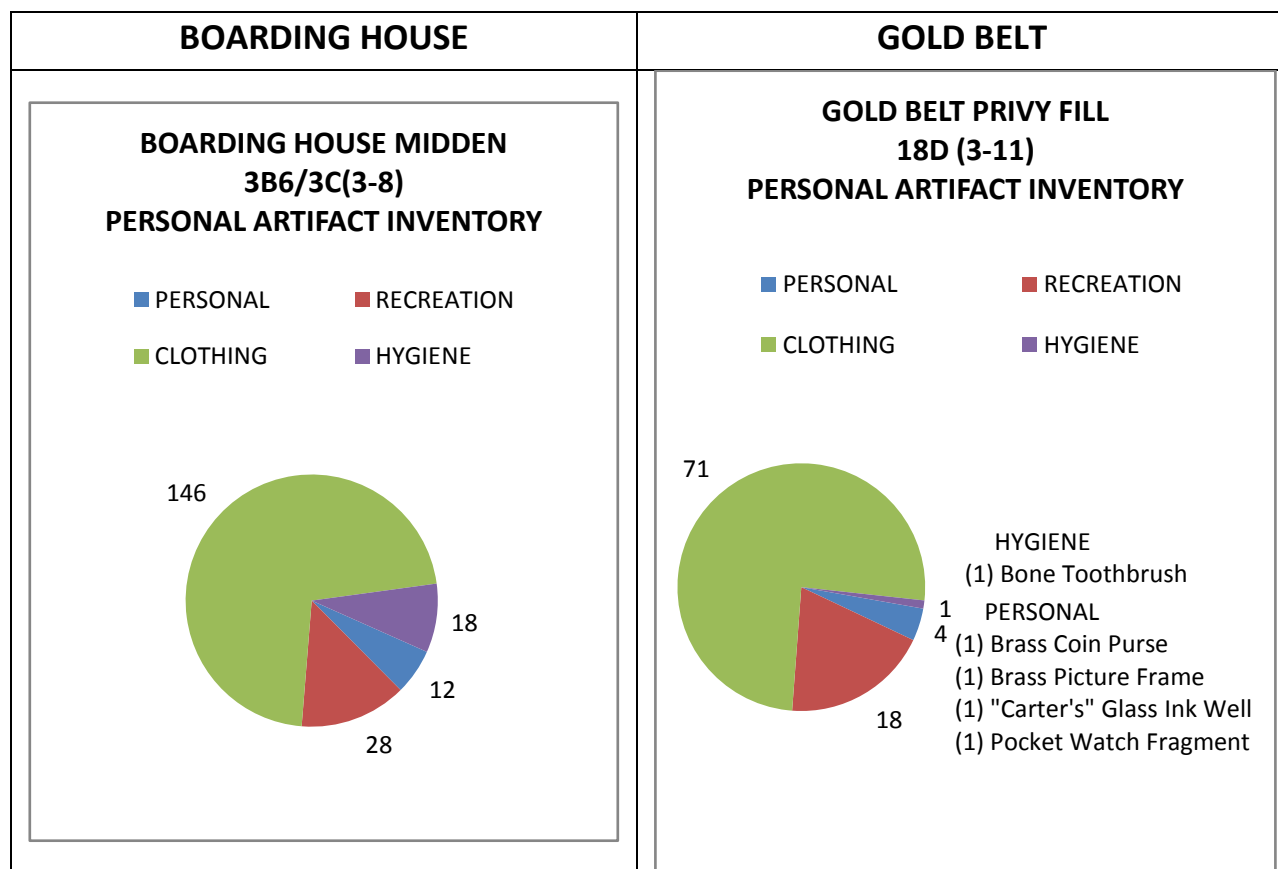


Figure 10. Personal Artifact Inventory Comparison

#### Personal - Recreation – Gaming Pieces

A number of poker chips (n=25) were recovered behind the boarding house, several made of bone and ivory. The spatial distribution of poker chips, which are scattered across the rear of the structure, strongly suggests that card games were played outside upon the wooden floorboards (see Appendix V, Figure 45 and 46). Based on the high occurrence and broad distribution of the poker chips at the wood floor horizon, it is highly plausible that these chips fell through the floor boards and were not simply deposited into the trash dump. Poker chips

represented currency at the establishment where the game was being hosted, and were not typically swept away.

The relatively secluded environs of the inner courtyard (see figure 35 photo in Appendix III) and the seemingly private space at the rear of the boarding house would seem conducive to recreational activities. Based on the high numbers of women on the complex, a case could be made that women may also have participated in this activity, either with men or amongst themselves. Those gambling at the back of the boarding house must have done so during the earliest phases of building occupation. This assumption is based on the age of the bone and ivory chips, which were no longer manufactured after 1880.<sup>33</sup> A summary of the poker chips and other items falling under the recreation sub-category are seen in Figure 11, below.

Poker chips were found in far less occurrence (n=4) in the stone-lined privy deposit associated with the Gold Belt. This would seem consistent with the different business model of the Gold Belt, which was not known as a gambling hall. One red ceramic poker chip (with an incised circular groove) was recovered from the lowest (or earliest) level of the privy (Lot 18D11), and three other red ceramic chips were recovered from the masonry wall cleanings (Sub-op. 18E), which lack useful provenience. A summary of poker chips and other items falling in the “recreation” category recovered from the privy fill of the Gold Belt is found in Figure 12, below. The upper levels (or overburden) of the privy, representing the most recent deposition episodes in this locale, yielded few items that could be categorized as personal/recreation – with the exception of ammunition cartridges.

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<sup>33</sup> The switch to the quieter, composite chip (made of cellulose nitrate) after 1880 was welcomed by gambling saloons as the reduction in noise was needed to mask the illegal activities from authorities (The American Stationer 1876).

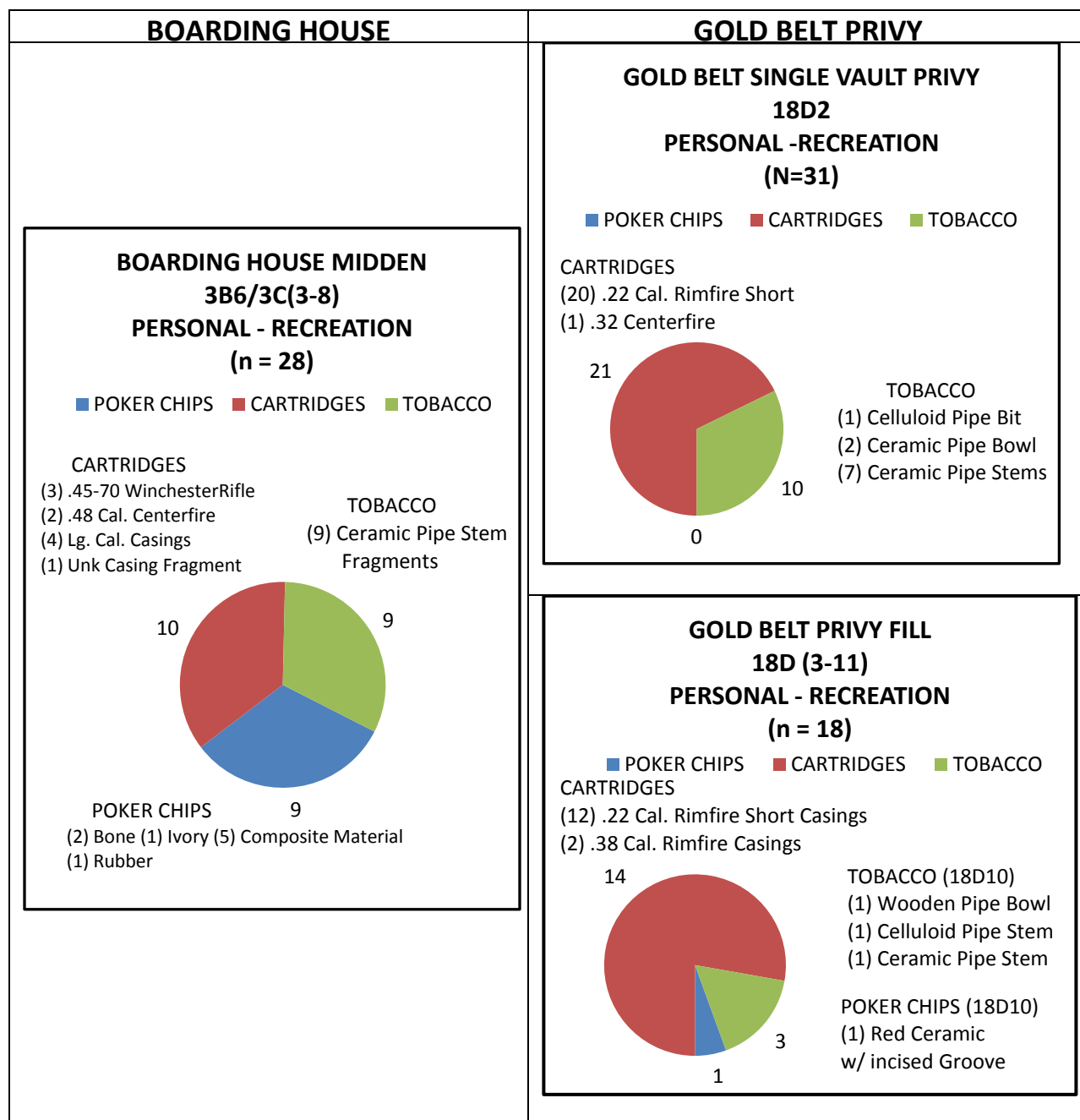


Figure 11. Relative Proportions of Personal-Recreation Artifacts at Boarding House / Gold Belt

#### Personal - Recreation - Cartridges

Aside from a few small-caliber rounds, the midden associated with the boarding house included primarily cartridges of .32 caliber and above, in addition to several large caliber, big-game hunting cartridges. The distribution of cartridges and several unexpended bullets is fairly



uniform at the rear of the boarding house. The unexpended munitions casings and lead bullets in the midden deposit might suggest that ammunition was manufactured in the boarding house, either by guests or residents.

At the boarding house, based on the lots (3B6/3C3-3C8) from which cartridges were recovered it would seem many of the ammunition rounds may have been swept into the two associated midden deposits identified at the rear of the boarding house (see Figure 8, pg. 91). The Operation 3 excavations behind the boarding house also recovered two rimfire cartridges: one recovered in the 3D privy vault (.32 Stevens rimfire), and one at the lower levels of the 3A trench (Lot 3A6). Apparently fired near the boarding house were rounds from a 45-70 Winchester repeating rifle, .38 and .45 caliber weapons, a .38 Special pistol, and a .44 Smith and Wesson pistol. In addition, several larger caliber cartridges were recovered: two .48 caliber centerfire cartridges, and another round from a similarly large caliber, most likely indicative of high-powered, big-game hunting rifles. The kick or discharge of the heavier weaponry would suggest male activity, or at least male ownership of the weaponry, as women owning, carrying, and firing such heavy weapons was not a common practice in late-nineteenth century, urban industrial towns.

In the earlier, lower levels of the Gold Belt privy fill (Lots 18D11-18D7), below the non-organic rubble cap in Lot 18D5 (see Figure 12, below), only two cartridges were found, fired from a .38 caliber rimfire pistol (18D11). At least twelve .22 rimfire cartridges were recovered in the highest levels of the privy fill (18D3-18D6), within and above the rubble cap. However, these cartridges are most likely associated with the large quantity (n=73) of .22 rimfire cartridges recovered in the associated overburden. In the overburden lots and privy vault (18D2), several clusters of expended .22 rimfire cartridges were recovered from the closely associated Lots 18D1

(34), 18D2 (20), 18C1 (10), 18D5 (5), and 18D6 (4), suggesting that these expended casings most likely reflect at least one or more dumping episodes in a relatively short period of time. The clusters of .22 rimfire cartridges recovered from the later, upper-levels of the Gold Belt privy strongly suggest target practice from that side of the courtyard and successive dumping episodes immediately following the discharges.

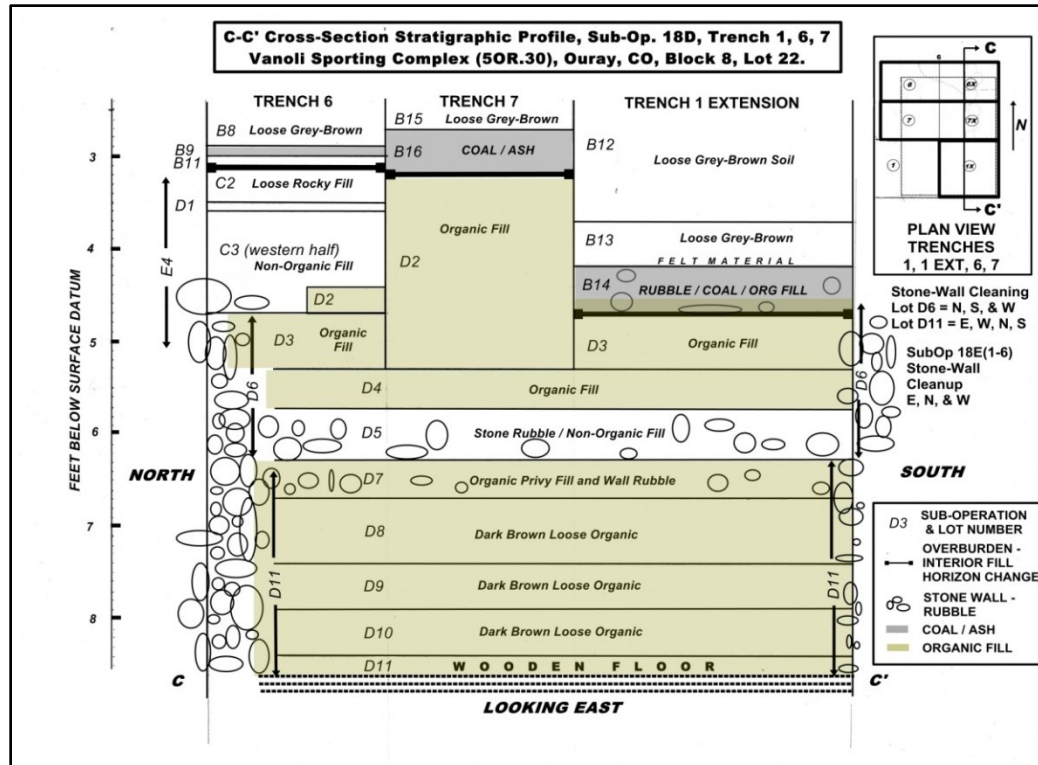


Figure 12. Stratigraphic Profile Reconstruction of Sub-operation 18D - stone-lined privy

The Lot 18B14, considered the lowest level of the overburden, also contained five .22 rimfire cartridges. This lot also revealed two expended and one unexpended .32 rimfire cartridges, and a .32 centerfire cartridge. The remaining large caliber cartridges found in the overburden include a .38 caliber casing, an unexpended .38 caliber, and two expended cartridges fired from a .32-20 rifle or pistol.

In summary, the average caliber of the ammunition in the Gold Belt privy is generally smaller than those discharged near the boarding house. The heavier weaponry indicated at the boarding house might suggest male activity; however, a much stronger argument could be made for female participation in target practice from the Gold Belt privy area. The .22 caliber rimfire rounds were generally considered less destructive, in terms of bullet velocity over distance, and could be fired from both rifles and pistols (Barnes 1980).<sup>34</sup> The lack of munitions in the lower levels of the privy fill might indicate a cessation of gun use from the Gold Belt side of the yard at the earliest phases of occupation. This clearly changed over time, as the large number of .22 rimfire cartridges recovered from the overburden of the Gold Belt privy would suggest repetitive target practice activity. Unfortunately, no discharged bullets were recovered in the Block 8 excavations. Potential reasons for discharging firearms came on holidays and special celebrations (Smith 2000). The absence of discharged bullets in the courtyard excavations, of any caliber, might support this activity.

#### Personal - Hygiene

The boarding house trash dump (Lots 3B5-3B7 and 3C3-3C8) revealed a rich diversity of artifacts related to household goods, building materials, dinnerware, and alcohol-related glass. This material signature would seem consistent with boarding house occupation or long-term residency. Based on the early history of this structure as a hotel/saloon/gambling house/brothel, it was not particularly surprising to find large quantities of pharmaceutical- and medicinal-related

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<sup>34</sup> Rimfire cartridges are quite prevalent at the boarding house and the Gold Belt privy. According to Smith and Smith (1973: 45-46), the .22 rimfire cartridge was mass-produced by the Smith and Wesson Company after 1857, and saw some use in the Civil War. Due to the unreliable nature of the primer detonation, this cartridge became useful only in small-bore, low-powered weapon designs, as the centerfire cartridges gained recognition as superior technology. Although ammunition would eventually become scarce for the larger caliber rimfire weapons still in circulation by the turn of the century, the .22 rimfire cartridge managed to endure and is still used today.

bottle glass and apparatus. Figure 13, below, summarizes the artifacts associated with hygiene recovered from the boarding house trash midden.

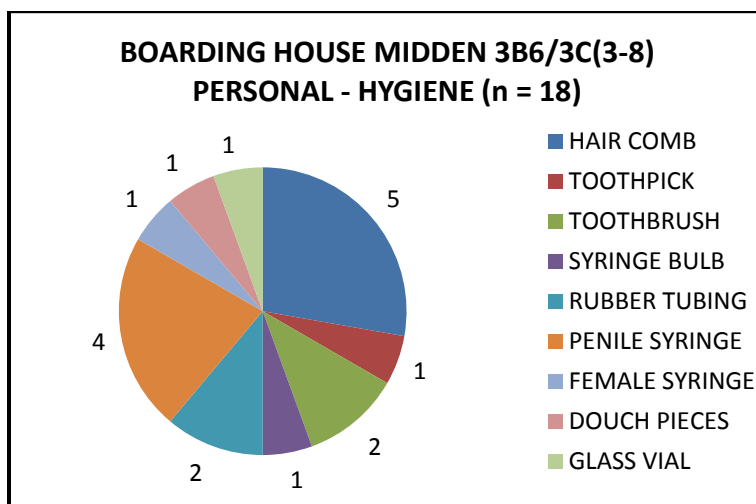


Figure 13. Boarding House Hygiene Artifact Inventory

The artifacts associated with personal hygiene recovered from the boarding house include glass vials, medicine or perfume droppers, syringes, rubber syringe balls, rubber tubing, as well as a penile syringe and possible female douche applicator fragments. It should be noted that the penile syringe and douche fragments were recovered in close association with an "Injection Brou" bottle (discussed in the temporal analysis of Op. 3 in Appendix V, Table 7). These artifacts suggest that sexual activity at the boarding house was quite prevalent and that both men and women living in the boarding house suffered from sexually transmitted diseases.

In stark contrast, there were no personal artifacts associated with hygiene recovered from the Gold Belt privy fill besides a few milk glass fragments. Only a few (n=4) prescription medicine bottles were recovered from the lower levels of the stone-lined privy. These include three complete bottle finishes related to medicine or prescription in 18D10, and a complete,

cobalt-blue, medicine/chemical bottle ("Dr. C.J. Weatherby, K.C., MO") from Lot 18D9.<sup>35</sup> The bottle glass types recovered from the lower levels of the Gold Belt privy were comprised primarily of beer/ale, wine/champagne, soda water (Irish "torpedo" soda water bottles), and liquor. It should be noted that the high quantity of beer/ale bottle bases in the privy contributed greatly to the dating of that deposit.

The minimum number of prescription medicine bottles counted in the Operation 3 excavations behind the boarding house was 24.<sup>36</sup> Several medicinal bottles had contained cough medicine, eye water, and seltzer (in cobalt blue bottle glass). The appearance of at least five "Dr. King's New Discovery" bottles, a popular cure-all for numerous ailments, suggests this was the primary medicinal used in the boarding house. Several more bottles were recovered in Operation 19, a dumping area associated with the boarding house.<sup>37</sup> Artifacts related to toiletry include tooth comb fragments (potential male ownership) as well as several toothbrushes (one of bone), and several items related to women - two intact perfume bottles (one imported from Paris), and milk glass fragments (creams and skin lotions).

Summarizing, the personal hygiene material signature of the boarding house trash midden clearly suggests residential occupation. Based on the large quantity of medicinal bottles, there is little question that health issues among the residents and guests of the boarding house were

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<sup>35</sup> The only reference available to Dr. C.J. Weatherby of Kansas City, Missouri comes from the *Twentieth Annual Kansas Insurance Report* (Wilder 1891: 52) in which Weatherby, a vice-grand hierophant of the Kassidean Knights national chapter in that town, was convicted of insurance swindling. Little information can be found regarding the medicinal manufactured under his name.

<sup>36</sup> The majority of these bottles were recovered from the primary trash pit. Many of these bottles had no maker's mark's, but the bottle finish, glass color, and body types confirm these as medicinal or pharmaceuticals bottles. The minimum number of medicinal vessels counted in the Gold Belt Operation 18 trenches was 30, slightly greater than the 24 medicinal bottles counted in the Operation 3 boarding house. Additionally, there were 32 medicinal bottles counted in Operation 19, excavations that run parallel to the southern property line of Block 8, Lot 22, most likely representing an associated dumping area for the boarding house.

<sup>37</sup> Operation 19 had some of the highest frequencies of items under personal hygiene. These include cosmetics, toiletry items, pomade, and four jars of "Chesebrough Vaseline." Also identified was cod liver oil, vaporizing inhaler, citrate of magnesia, "Mexican Mustang Linament," and medicinals used for the treatments of "constitutional humors."

prevalent in the earliest phases of occupation. The medicinal apparatus related to sexually transmitted diseases and possible drug use are also somewhat revealing of the life ways of those occupying the boarding house.

In contrast, the complete dearth of similarly related artifacts in the Gold Belt privy was surprising. It is certainly possible that the more public variety theater (with internal cribs) represented a business location where women did not reside – perhaps appearing only during business hours. This might account for the lack of household goods, personal hygiene artifacts, and medicinal-related bottle glass in the Gold Belt privy. However, the lack of personal hygiene artifacts, especially those related to drug use and medicinals, might also reflect a more business-like management style that strictly regulated health and well-being of prostitutes.

#### Personal - Clothing

A significant number of personal clothing artifacts were identified from the boarding house trash dump and include such items as clothing textiles, shoes, buttons, snaps and rivets, garter belts, hose supports, and buckles. Comparable clothing signatures were recovered from the Gold Belt privy fill. However, one must consider the larger volume of privy fill when comparing the quantity of clothing items recovered from the boarding house trash dump. Taking this into account, the overall prevalence of clothing items from the Gold Belt is somewhat less per volume of fill when compared to the boarding house. Figure 14, below, summarizes the inventory of clothing-related artifacts from both the boarding house and Gold Belt.

Buttons are the largest group of clothing items recovered from both deposits. Kristin Gensmer's (2012) research on textiles and clothing recovered from the Vanoli complex has broadened our understanding of the clothing worn by those associated with the complex,

providing the means with which to assign gender to clothing items recovered from these deposits. However, based on her analysis, none of the buttons recovered from the boarding house or Gold Belt privy were female specific (Gensmer 2012: 92-93). Only one button from the Gold Belt privy was male-specific. Figure 15, below, summarizes the buttons recovered from the boarding house and Gold Belt.

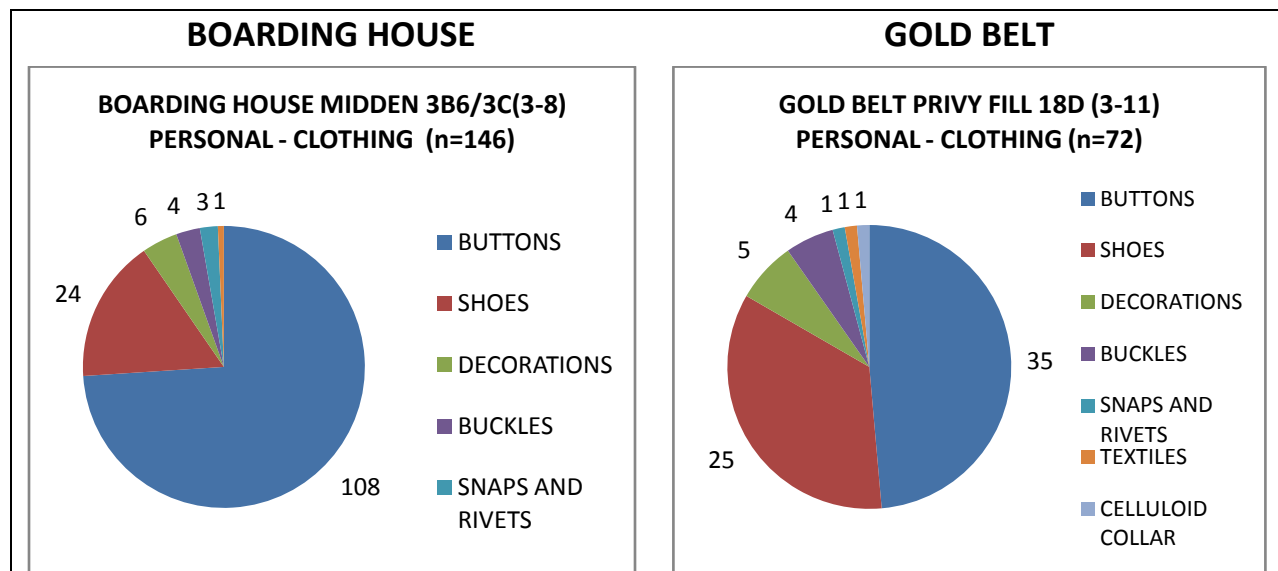


Figure 14. Boarding House / Gold Belt Clothing Comparison

In the boarding house trash midden, there is a very high occurrence of shell buttons. There are also a number of decorative glass buttons and several mother-of-pearl buttons that might suggest female clothing. One black glass loop shank button was recovered with a silver luster and dog motif, possibly suggesting male association. The second highest total of button type at the boarding house was the more common Prosser dish-style button. These buttons were quite common on both male and female garments in the nineteenth century. According to Gensmer (2012), Prosser and shell represent the most common button types recovered in the Vanoli archaeological assemblage.

The type of garment these buttons were attached to may also provide some insight into the gendered nature of the buttons recovered or the predominant clothing types worn in each locale. Figure 16, below, shows the types of garments (inner, outer, or unknown) that the buttons recovered were associated with.

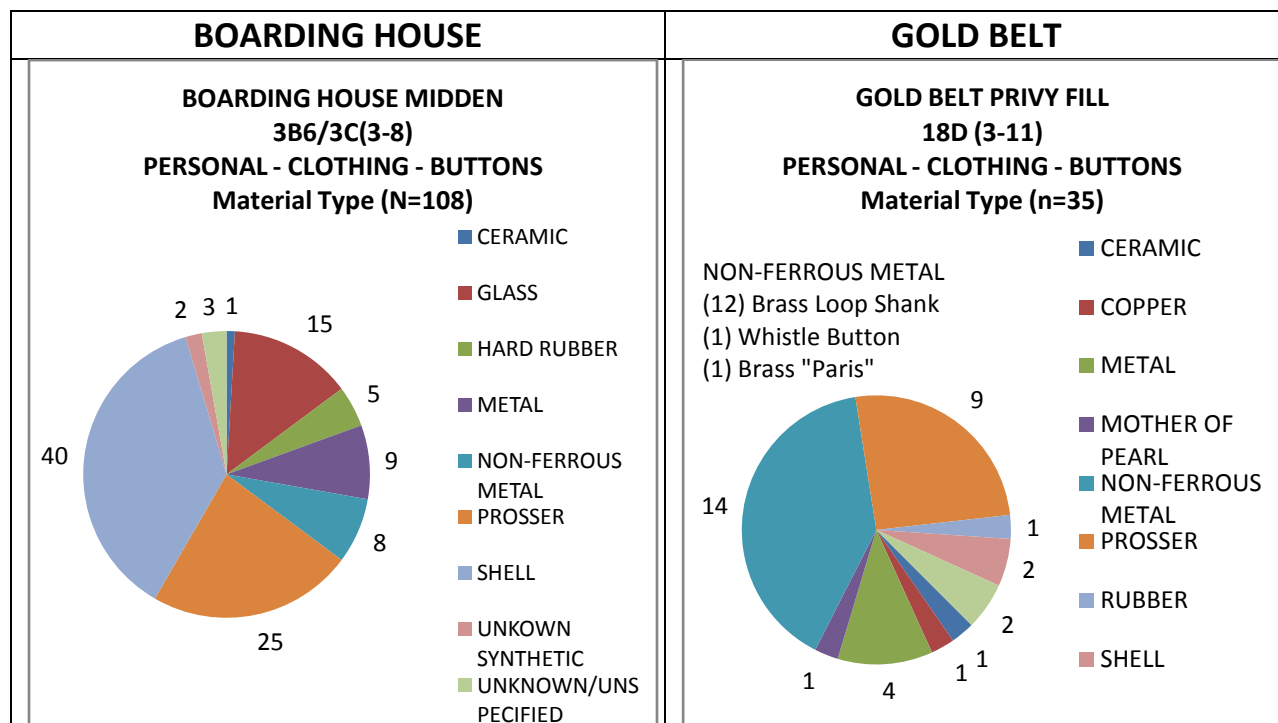


Figure 15. Boarding House / Gold Belt Clothing - Button Comparison

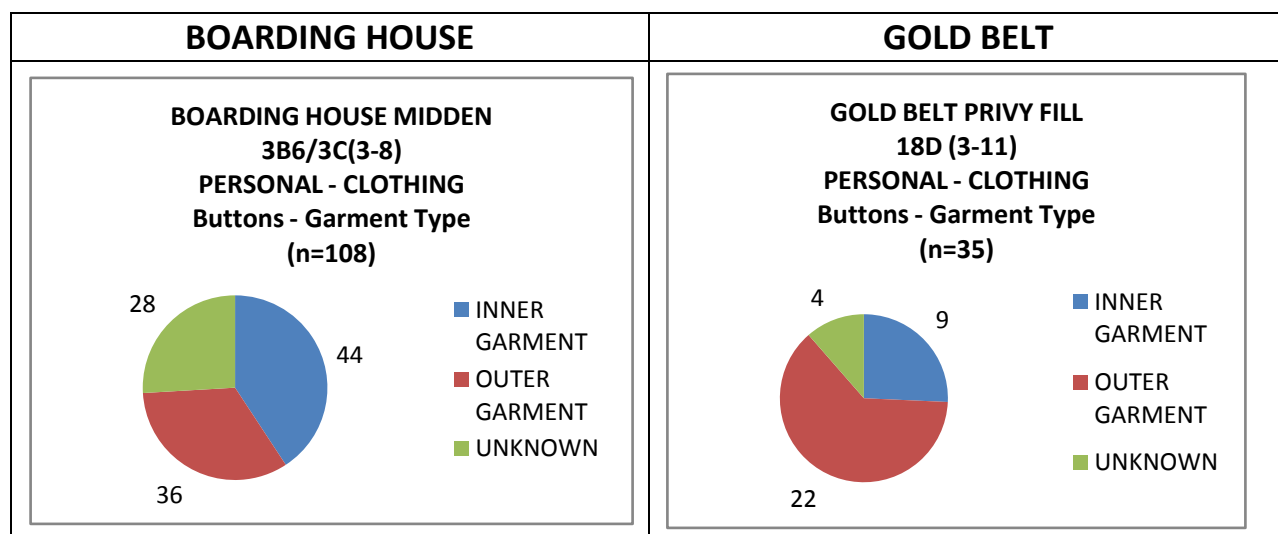


Figure 16. Boarding House / Gold Belt Clothing – Button – Garment Type



In the Gold Belt privy, only two shell buttons were recovered, with the majority of buttons of a non-ferrous metal type. Several of the more decorative non-ferrous buttons and a mother-of-pearl loop-shank button may have been associated with a female garment. One non-ferrous whistle-button was recovered with “Canavan Leadville” stamped on it, indicating an origin from the M.J. Canavan and Son men’s clothing store on Ouray’s Main Street. The recovery of this button near the lower levels of the privy (18D7) suggests that a male patron or employee of the Gold Belt had a garment repaired or made at the more upscale tailor shop in town. Only one other male-specific button was recovered from the privy feature, found in the overburden. This was a civil war era button recovered in Lot 18B13.

The garment types are particularly variable in each setting. The majority of the buttons recovered from the boarding house belong to inner garments. Buttons from inner garments are usually much smaller and may have been attached to dresses, underwear, sweaters, shirts, or vests. The majority of buttons recovered from the Gold Belt are from outer garments. These buttons are larger in size and would have been associated with suits, coats, and jackets. Those buttons with unknown garment associations may have been fragmented, unusual in style, material, or shape, or fall between the sizes representative of inner and outer garments.

In summary, the most evident differences between the boarding house and the Gold Belt are the quantities and difference in button types and the garment types on which these buttons were once attached. The high prevalence of buttons in the boarding house trash midden, as well as the relatively high occurrence of glass and shell buttons is not seen at the Gold Belt privy. As the boarding house was more residential, it is understandable that more buttons might be discarded there. However, the visible drop-off of shell and decorative glass buttons is obvious between the two deposits, and may reflect a change in styles over time, or perhaps indicates the

availability of cheaper non-ferrous metal buttons. It should be noted that many of the non-ferrous metal buttons are associated with outer garments.

The large number of buttons belonging to inner garments at the boarding house might be indicative of patrons and long-term occupants undressing often. In contrast, the large number of outer garment buttons recovered from the Gold Belt would seem to indicate a more public sphere where patrons and employees did not remove their jackets and coats. The clear change in button types from the boarding house to the Gold Belt provides one clear contrast between the locales and would seem to confirm the difference between the establishments.

#### Personal – Personal Items

Personal items represent a sub-category of artifacts that had an individual owner or had some particular symbolic meaning for the owner. Only a few artifacts in this category had gender specificity, and most of these artifacts were recovered from the boarding house trash midden. Female specific artifacts from the boarding house include a hair clip, a fan, and a brass thimble (which fall under the artifact group of sewing notions). Several other personal items were associated with women. These include a decorative glass box (boarding house), fragments of a brass picture frame, and a coin purse (both recovered from the Gold Belt privy). Fragments of a lined, slate writing-board were recovered in the lower levels of the boarding house trash dump (Lots 3C6 and 3C7). This discovery might suggest that writing and/or reading instruction was undertaken in the earliest phases of occupation. A summary of the personal artifact inventory from both deposits is found in Figure 17, below.

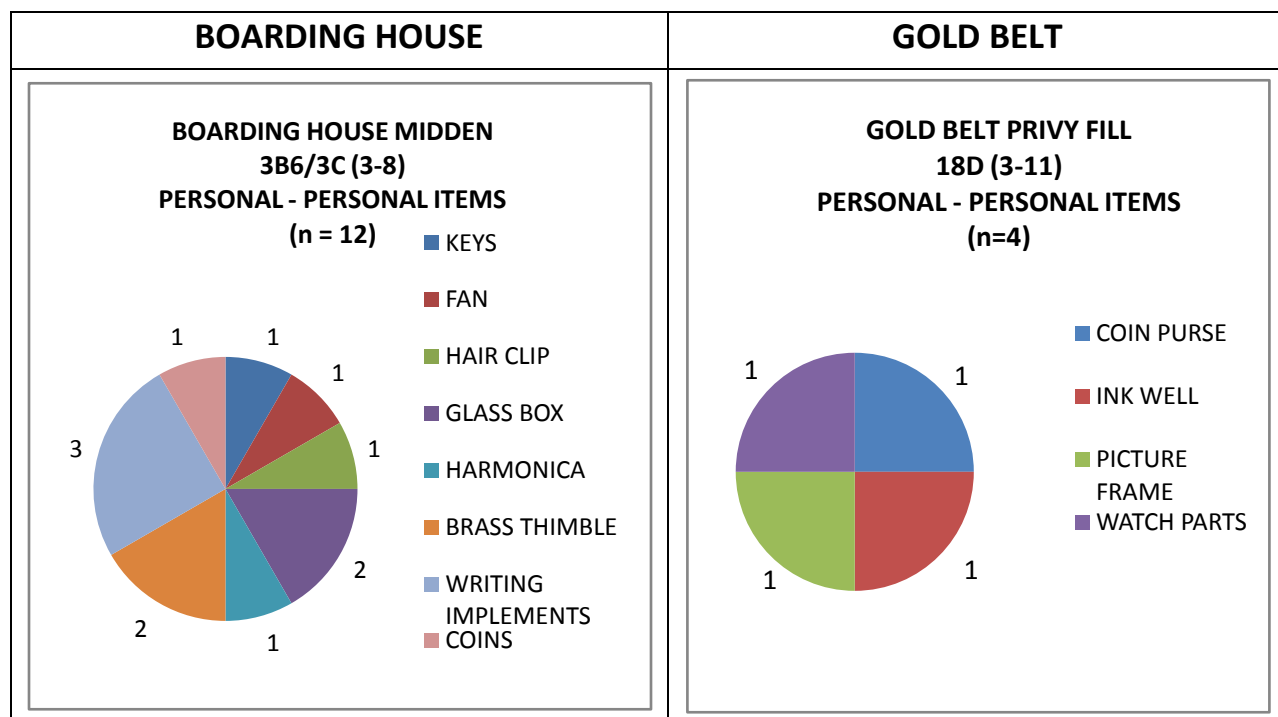


Figure 17. Personal Item Comparative Summary

### Gendered Artifacts

The majority of artifacts that are clearly related to a specific gender were recovered from the boarding house midden. Most of the items (n=20) used by females belong to the personal item sub-category. Only six female artifacts were identified in the Gold Belt privy fill. Figures 18 and 19, below, compares artifacts related to women from both deposits. In the boarding house, the majority of items belong to clothing (decorative clothing, snaps and rivets) and hygiene (hair comb fragments and hair clip, douche apparatus, female syringe). Unfortunately, the douche apparatus and syringe are not in the possession of C.S.U. The six items identified as belonging to women in the Gold Belt are predominantly clothing related.

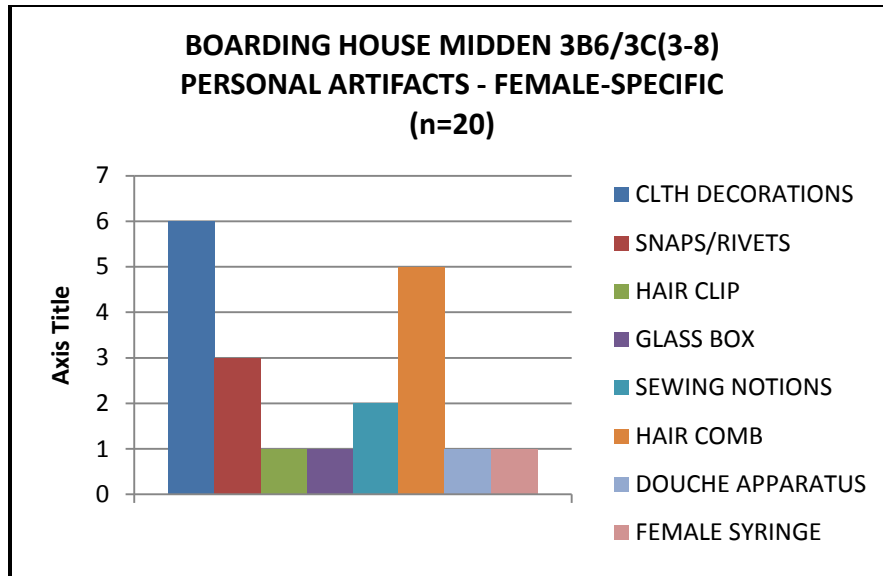


Figure 18. Female Artifact Inventory – Boarding House

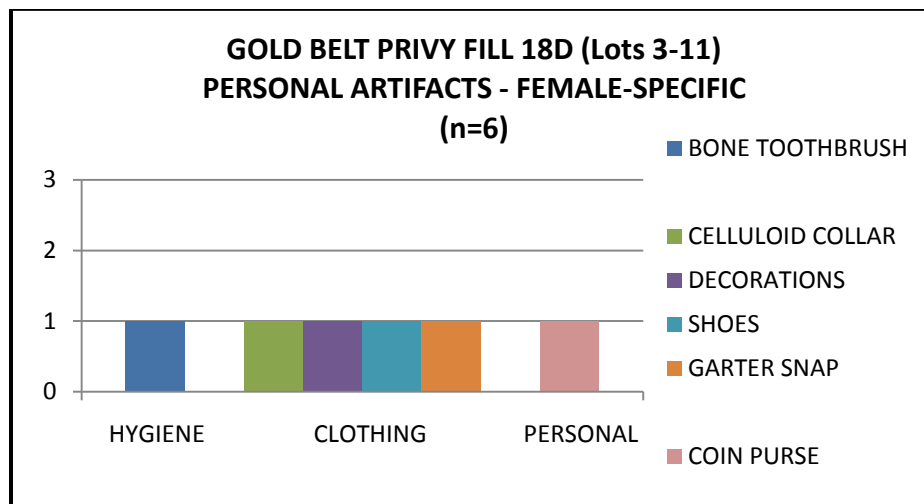


Figure 19. Female Artifact Inventory – Gold Belt

Artifacts that were definitely used by men were extremely limited. Only one artifact, related to hygiene (hair comb), recovered from the boarding house had potential male ownership. In the Gold Belt privy, only the male “Canavan” button found in the privy fill could be determined as male. A chart showing the gendered artifact inventory from the boarding house is shown in Figure 20, below.

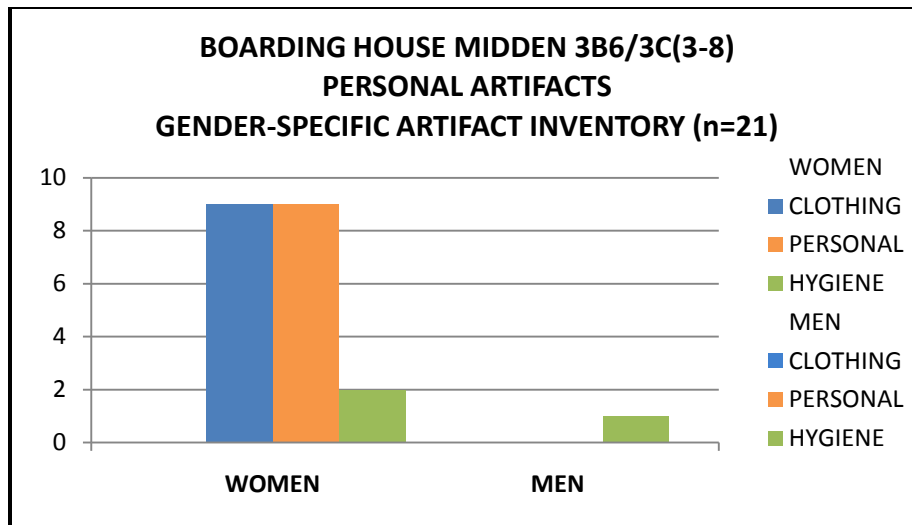


Figure 20. Gendered Personal Item Inventory – Boarding House

In summary, the difficulties in determining the gender association of personal artifacts have been borne out by this analysis. The presence of females is obvious in both deposits, however, a female material signature is particularly robust from the boarding house. Unfortunately, being unable to definitively assign gender to the large quantity of buttons recovered from both deposits has limited the interpretive value of these artifacts in the comparative analysis. Nevertheless, based on the material, style, and associated garment types of the buttons analyzed, a clear distinction was made between the two deposits, revealing the private and public nature of each establishment.

#### Bottle Glass and Personal Artifacts

The gendered analysis of artifacts in the comparative analysis was hindered by the lack of gender specificity for a broad range of artifact types. Making use of the large volume of bottle glass data recovered from the deposits under analysis, additional interpretive context is provided on the activities deduced from the personal artifact comparison. Comparing bottle glass weights per lot to the personal items recovered in each deposit, a correlation begins to emerge as to the

nature of activities in each setting. Figures 21 and 22, below, provides a more visual indication of the quantity of bottle glass in relation to the total number of personal artifacts recovered per lot in each deposit.

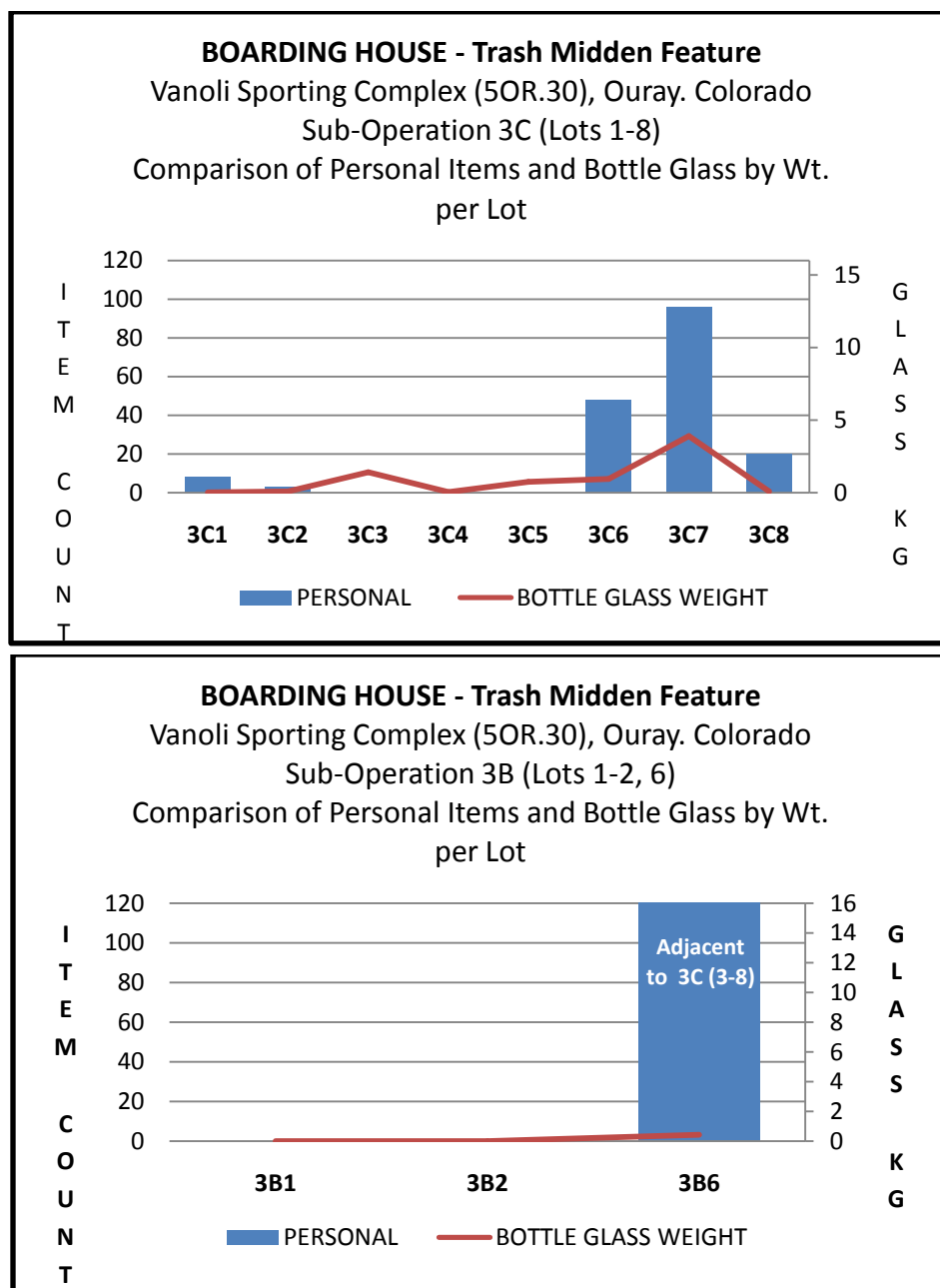


Figure 21. Boarding House Midden – Personal Artifacts and Bottle Glass<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> The boarding house Operation 3 excavations were performed using a series of trenches. The trash midden was first discovered in Sub-operation 3B. After opening Sub-operation 3C, the true extent of the midden was known. Unfortunately, the precise depths of the lots comprising the trash midden are unknown. In order to properly assess

The graphs in Figure 21, above, place the personal artifacts recovered from the lots associated with the boarding house trash midden in direct relationship to the volume of bottle glass deposited there. The high quantity of personal artifacts at the boarding house midden is due to the high percentage of clothing artifacts recovered. This was followed by artifacts related to recreation. The bottles glass recovered are mostly related to alcohol, medicinal, and pharmaceuticals, which help clarify the type of occupation and activities transpiring in this locale. In comparison, the relationship between personal artifacts and bottle glass recovered from the Gold Belt privy is seen in Figure 22, below.

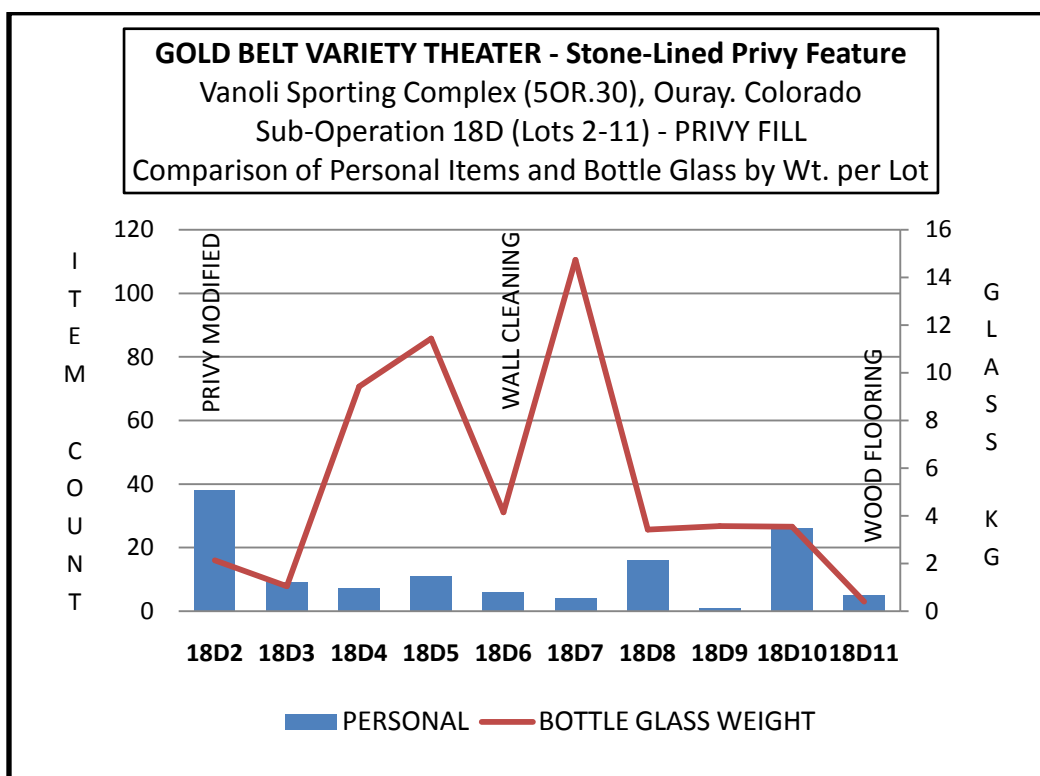


Figure 22. Gold Belt Privy – Personal Artifacts and Bottle Glass

The Gold Belt privy material culture reflects more robust saloon commerce in which beer/ale, champagne, liquor, wine, and bottled water were consumed in far greater quantities. In

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an association of the two trenches comprising the trash midden, these charts reflects the personal artifacts and bottle glass weights in both 3B and 3C.

comparison to the boarding house, personal artifacts in relation to bottle glass are relatively low. This material signature is certainly reflective of a large entertainment venue, and has distinct implications on the working lives of those employed there. The highest quantity of personal artifacts seen in Figure 22 was recovered from the lot 18D2, the modified privy vault.

Separating this single privy vault (lot 18D2) from the privy fill (lots 18D3-18D11), and adding the overburden deposit (Sub-operations 18B & 18C), three deposits are identified, allowing for a closer look at the relationship of bottle glass to personal artifacts over time at the Gold Belt. The addition of the boarding house midden provides four deposits from which to examine the relationship of bottle glass to personal artifacts over time. Figure 23, below, provides a summation of all personal artifacts in relation to the bottle glass by weight in each deposit.

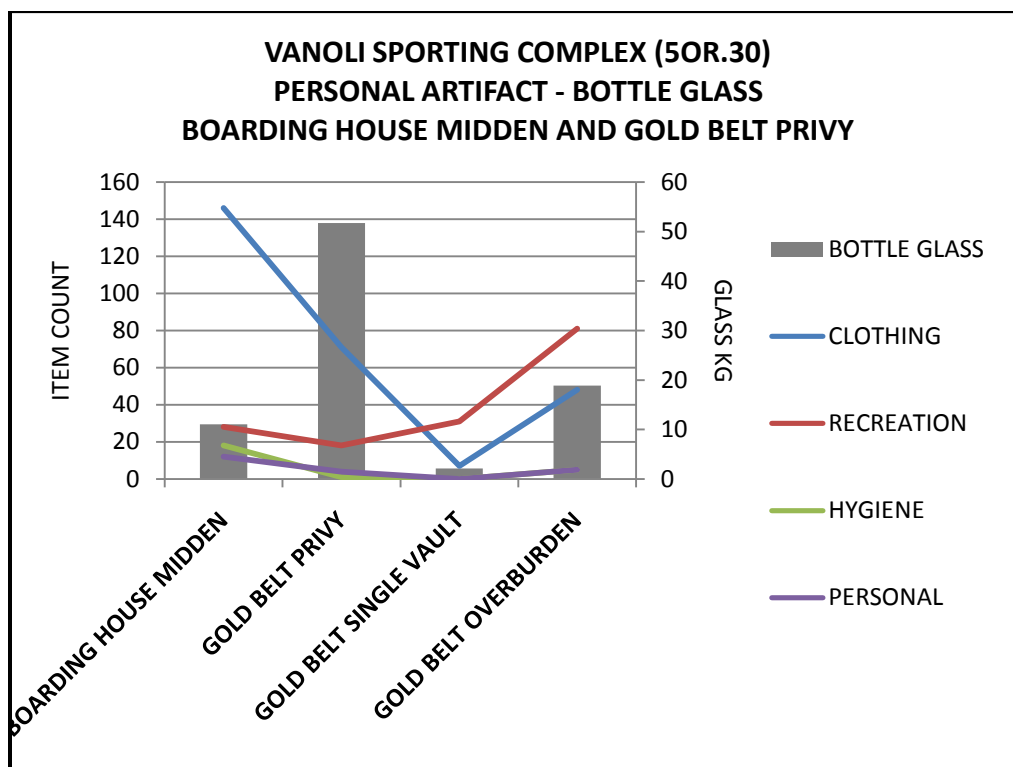


Figure 23. Potential Timeline of Bottle Glass and Personal Artifact Deposition of Four Deposits



The comparison of personal artifacts to bottle glass weights in figure 23 above, show several clear chronological trends. Moving from left to right, the trash midden of the boarding house, which was constructed in 1877, reveals the rich diversity of personal artifacts in relation to the bottle glass weight in the material signature. Constructed between 1886 and 1888, the Gold Belt privy fill shows a far greater percentage of bottle glass and a corresponding reduction in personal artifacts. The reduction in items related to hygiene and clothing are particularly noteworthy. Based on the large capacity of the stone-lined privy, the reduction in all personal items is particularly striking.

At some point, the Gold Belt privy was modified to a single privy vault, situated above the privy fill (see figure 12). The refuse recovered from the privy vault indicates a decrease in personal artifacts (with an increase of cartridges recovered) and a corresponding reduction in bottle glass. This may indicate that the modified privy vault was not used for dumping refuse. It appears the refuse may have been dumped alongside the privy vault in the overburden deposit. In the overburden, which sits atop the privy fill and alongside the privy vault, a sharp increase in personal artifacts (recreation – tobacco/cartridges) is evident, with a corresponding increase in bottle glass.

Figure 23 provides a much better understanding of the relationship between bottle glass and personal artifacts at the Gold Belt privy feature, and based on the inclusion of overburden data, it is clear that personal artifacts (especially recreation and clothing) from occupants of the Gold Belt were in fact dumped in this privy feature at some point. Clearly, the increase of recreational items in the privy vault and overburden is due in large part to the relatively high quantity of .22 rimfire cartridges deposited there, but this recreational activity was certainly not evident at all in the privy fill deposition. The sharp uptick in recreation in the overburden might

suggest that a change had occurred at the Gold Belt that may have allowed for more free-time activities not seen in the earliest phases of operation.

### Summary of the Artifact Analysis

At the boarding house midden, the diversity of artifacts and the robust female material signature strongly suggest long-term occupation and mixed gender co-habitation. The household goods, diversity in recreational artifacts, clothing items, and the male and female artifacts related to hygiene, especially the high quantity of medicinal-related artifacts, would seem to support this conclusion

The large number of personal items belonging to females at the boarding house, and the lack of male personal items, might also speak to the long-term residential status and power position of females in the boarding house. Based on the historical research, we know that two women, Tiamantha Brown and Martha Johnson, were one time owners of the boarding house (although their ownerships were relatively short-lived and somewhat inexplicable). Even though gender specificity could not be assigned to the large quantity of buttons recovered at the boarding house, the high quantity of inner garment buttons, as well as the high quantity of buttons made of shell and glass, would also seem to indicate a strong and long-term female presence.

At the Gold Belt privy, constructed with great planning by John Vanoli and his business associates, the material signature differs considerably from the one seen at the boarding house. Again, this may be indicative of the public setting of the much larger, multi-entertainment theater, but missing are artifacts associated with recreation and hygiene – especially those items related to health. While the clothing articles recovered also indicate a female presence, the

extremely high volume of alcohol-related bottle glass in proportion to personal artifacts indicates a much different commercial model than seen at the boarding house.

Knowing that the interior configuration of the Gold Belt was designed to showcase prostitutes (see Appendix III), it is nevertheless clear that a large percentage of the business generated at the Gold Belt came from alcohol sales. Without question, the material expression of the artifacts recovered from the lowest levels of the Gold Belt privy seems more "business-like" compared to the general-purpose material culture from the boarding house trash dump. There are hardly any household goods, few personal items, and only a few items related to recreation. Far more prevalent in the privy are commercial or restaurant-grade shot glasses, beer mugs, and stemmed glassware.

Clearly, the Gold Belt privy material signature is far more service-oriented, with an abundance of champagne vessels, beer/ale, soda water, liquor, good-quality glassware, as well as personal clothing items reflecting the presence of prostitutes. Based on the lack of medicinal, recreational, and personal items recovered from the lower depths of the privy, one might conclude that the change in management direction, toward a more efficient (and profitable) business model, may have had direct ramifications on the lives of the women operating on the sporting complex.

Over time, we begin to see some forms of recreation related to the Gold Belt Theatre privy that might be attributable to women, namely target practice with a .22 rimfire rifle or pistol (found at the transitional levels of the privy fill and overburden). The appearance of children's toys (marbles) in these upper levels has also been confirmed. The increase in artifacts related to female personal adornment in the overburden might also suggest a relaxation of dress codes for women. From this perspective, the artifacts found in the privy overburden might suggest that

women may have enjoyed more freedom and control over their lives on the complex. It is also quite possible that the increased number of females on the complex post-1900 may have provided a level of solidarity among women not seen in the earliest phases of the Gold Belt.

Lastly, one must consider the development of the Second Street red-light district in relation to the neighboring Vanoli sporting complex. Built with the blessings of the town council, despite the opposition of a vocal, moral minority, the increase of ordinances regulating sporting-male commerce (circa 1885) may have had very real implications for the women participating in this commerce. Perhaps reflecting this class-based control, it is certainly plausible to consider the reduction in personal artifacts in the Gold Belt privy as resulting from this new regulatory era of red-light district commerce established in the town. Clearly, John Vanoli profited greatly from the creation of the vice district. Based on his acute business acumen regarding sex commerce on the block, it is certainly conceivable that Vanoli had imposed strong restrictions on certain freedoms prostitutes under his employ may have previously enjoyed - perhaps following the dictates of the towns governing elites controlling and regulating his business.

This development might seem consistent with the highly profitable sex commerce that was enabled in many western mining towns as red-light district zones were established. The transition from mining camp to mining town had very clear class-based ramifications for prostitutes, and this change in societal structure might be observable in the archaeological record. The opportunities to excavate a brothel complex in a western mining center existing during such a transition in mining center development are understandably limited, however, it is posited here that this hypothesis may be testable.

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## Summary

The reconstruction of Baker's excavations of the Vanoli Sporting Complex (5OR30) was a formidable step in determining spatial provenience in the inner courtyard. Understanding the precise locations of excavation units in relation to the boarding house (Operation 3) and the Gold Belt (trench system of Operation 18) has provided the means to more accurately assess the deposition episodes near these prominent structures on the complex. This reconstruction required a rigorous examination of Baker's field notes, resulting in the discovery of the capped midden deposit at the rear of the boarding house and the stone-lined privy of the Gold Belt. This offered a unique opportunity to produce a comparative analysis of artifacts needed to assess the relations of power effecting prostitutes operating on the brothel complex over time.

The assessment of the archaeological record of the Vanoli site must certainly consider the predominance of men active on the block over time. There is no question that the high flow of males patronizing the Vanoli sporting complex has left an indelible mark on the type and quantity of consumer goods deposited on the site. However, due to the fact that this brothel setting was primarily occupied by women, many of our preconceived notions of male material signatures in midden and privy deposits must be re-evaluated. Additionally, based on the class-based structures that would spatially segregate and strictly regulate red-light district commerce, attempts to place artifacts recovered from these settings into a refined Victorian culture period would seem somewhat incongruous with the more working class culture history of these environments.

Based on the results of the temporal analysis, it is reasonable to assume that the lowest levels of the boarding house midden are associated with a pre-Vanoli period. Almost eight years would elapse until full ownership of the boarding house and property was attained by Vanoli in

1885. Prior to John Vanoli's control of the property, the boarding house went through a number of transitions. Based on newspaper accounts, it would appear that life in the boarding house, at least in its earliest manifestations, could be characterized as a seemingly lawless social environment that catered to the base recreational pursuits of members of the regional mining fraternity. The material signature also indicates women were long-term occupants of the house and it is certainly possible they may have enjoyed recreational activities typically attributed to men.

A decade would pass between the construction of the boarding house and the Gold Belt Variety Theatre. Due to the size and depth of the Gold Belt privy, it is assumed that the well constructed, stone-lined feature represented the central, ground-floor toilet/dump for the employees, patrons, and the touring acts appearing there. In contrast to the residential occupation and mixed gender, co-habitation of the boarding house, the Gold Belt Variety Theatre indicates a more public, service oriented, entertainment hall that catered to large crowds. Based on the internal configuration and inner cribs, I believe it is clear that the main commerce of this establishment was prostitution; however, the high volume of alcohol-related bottle glass recovered from the privy would suggest that alcohol sales were an important component of the business.

The comparative analysis of artifacts recovered from the boarding house trash dump and the stone-lined privy feature of the Gold Belt provides a chronological roadmap revealing a glimpse of the refuse deposition of men and women active in these locations. The analysis would seem to confirm long-term residential occupation by prostitutes at the boarding house; however, questions still remain on the continuous occupation of prostitutes at the Gold Belt in the earliest phases of business. By adding the privy overburden horizon to the analysis, it becomes clear that

the privy was in fact used to discard personal refuse over time. The question remains as to why personal refuse (namely recreation and hygiene) was not seen in the privy fill.

Assessing the change in material culture between these deposits, especially those artifacts related to females, it would appear that activities between the two establishments may have been altered. If one assumes that females working at the Gold Belt had lived elsewhere (such as the female boarding housing directly across the alley in the eastern-half of Block 8), this might account for a decrease in personal items deposited in the privy. However, the increase of personal items in the upper levels of the privy fill and privy overburden suggests a change in the life ways of prostitutes at the Gold Belt had indeed occurred.

Without question, the comparative analysis of personal artifacts between the boarding house and Gold Belt is not ideal based on the commercial business models of each establishment, which might account for differences in refuse deposition activities. However, the relationship of bottle glass (which is not gender specific in this setting) to personal artifacts in two distinct deposits (which includes three horizons of the Gold Belt) does shed light on the nature of refuse deposition over time. The dearth of artifacts associated with hygiene and recreation in the Gold Belt privy fill might be suggestive of a new managerial style, one that may have prohibited tobacco and drug use while placing restrictions on free-time activities. This may also be reflective of the regulations imposed on prostitutes in the town. This seemed to have changed over time as the upper levels of the privy overburden show a clear increase in personal artifacts, perhaps indicating a relaxation of regulations that allowed for more recreational time.

Based on the timing of red-light district construction, which corresponds to the establishment of the Gold Belt Theater, the relations of power negotiated on the Vanoli sporting complex between prostitutes and the management may have an inherent association with the

class-based processes developing at the municipal level. The success and profitability of the Vanoli sporting complex was inherently tied to the actions of the Ouray town council in accelerating sex commerce in the municipality. The mining boom-town businessmen and merchants profiting from this lucrative revenue stream underscores the entrenchment of masculine social institutions, and the power wielded to expand and regulate this commerce would have been felt by those employed by Vanoli. The analysis of material culture from the Vanoli Sporting Complex may provide a small glimpse of these processes at the local level.



## CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND DISCUSSIONS

### Conclusions

How significant were masculine ideologies in shaping the fundamental institutions on the industrial frontier? Based on the dearth of research by social scientists, historians, and archaeologists on the subject, one might conclude that masculinity had little, if any, influence. This conundrum is a result of theoretical and historical paradigms which have restricted a broader understanding of the social processes emerging in predominantly-male, western mining centers.<sup>39</sup>

The emergence of masculinity studies, which have matured with the advance of feminist discourse and postmodernist conceptualizations of power and gender, provides a useful theoretical framework from which to analyze the relations of power negotiated between gendered actors and groups in western mining centers. This orientation underscores the influences of power, class, ethnicity, race, and gender on the social structures that developed on the industrial frontier. The increasing global application of masculinity studies confirms the utility of this approach in male dominated societies (Connell 1995; 2002), and the application to nineteenth-century western industrial centers is long overdue.

The neglect of the industrial frontier by anthropologists is due to the fact that early western mining camps and settlements are not particularly conducive to community-based or census-based analysis. This problem has been acknowledged by a number of scholars (Hogan 1990; Faragher 1992; Douglass 1998) who have noted the high population transience and lack of historical sources with which to gauge the life ways of non-elite individuals through time. Based

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<sup>39</sup> Several modern works in western history have recognized the import of masculinity in a mining context: Thomas Andrews (2008) *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest labor War* and Katherine Benton-Cohen's (2009) *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands*.

on the tenuous nature of mining camps, often the archaeological record is all that remains, providing only fragments of information regarding the societies developed in these often short-lived, industrial enclaves.

With few exceptions, fundamental institutions established in western mining districts were adopted reflecting a strategy, or tactical convenience, that sought primarily to maximize profit potential. Several well-documented examples have been discussed in this study. For example, the pragmatic rules of conduct developed in the California diggings (Paul 1963; Shinn 1965), the segregated spatial organization of the populace in Virginia City (Lord 1883; Symanski 1974; James 1998), and the revenue-generating taxes imposed on saloon and sporting club commerce in Denver (Noel 1982) and followed in Colorado mining districts. These strategies all represent successful modifications to political, social, and economic institutions originally developed by early western prospectors. Central to this development are masculine recreational institutions. This study makes clear that well-patterned masculine recreational practices were adopted regardless of geographic location, physical environment, workforce nativity, and capitalistic intrusion. There is little doubt that these practices were well understood by those men colonizing the San Juan Mountains.

The long-term occupation by small-time mining operators in the San Juans, typical of most mining districts in the Colorado mineral belt, does not necessarily conform to the rapid growth experienced in highly profitable mining boom-towns like Leadville and Virginia City. In small mining districts like Ouray, which were dependent on the labor of individuals and small groups for their survival, the well-established social customs and traditions of the laboring class were not so easily modified or altered. In effect, the sustenance of masculine recreational

institutions enjoyed by the Ouray's mining population would seem to have far outweighed the moral sensibilities of the Victorian ruling class.

The red-light district, as a social institution, was not simply established to fulfill the recreational needs of young, male miners, but actually represented a successful socio-economic strategy negotiated between the male workforce, merchant class, and the governing elites.

Illuminating the association between masculine social traditions, the profitability of gambling and prostitution, and the class-based regulatory structures controlling this commerce, this study has revealed the true economic engine responsible for the viability of most western mining towns. Such a process only served to more deeply entrench masculine recreational forms.

The strong resistance to masculine recreational practices by the moral Victorian elites would have very clear ramifications for those who participated in this commerce, most notably prostitutes. The struggle of women to define their own public and private roles in a mining society represents one of many resistive agents that would permeate the deeply-embedded institutional forms constructed by men in mining districts. The most significant economic contribution of women to the earliest phases of mining society formation is undeniably their active participation in red-light district commerce as property holders, managers, entertainers, and prostitutes. The marginalization of prostitutes began with the arrival of the elite class, especially elite women. Physically restricted to specific zones and under constant threat of fines, it is difficult to envisage the type of "community" the majority of these women could have been a part of.

In Ouray, it is clear that the professional and educated class gained an early foothold in the cultural affairs of this fledgling municipality. However, the petitions drafted against those participating in sporting-male commerce and the ordinances eventually adopted did little to

impede the brothel and gambling activity targeted. While the development of civic institutions and churches was rapid, the spatial organization of these structures would imply a conscientious effort of the elite class to place their buildings on the opposite side of town from vice district activity.

This spatial delineation speaks to the broader class-based social structure that was being developed by the ruling elites in Ouray, a common practice in mature western industrial centers. More importantly, it would seem this process only served to *increase* sex commerce in Ouray. The selective enforcement of town ordinances, making all forms of prostitution and gambling illegal, served to regulate these activities, restrict them to spatial zones in the town, and target the commerce as a revenue source. These actions would significantly alter the personal freedoms of prostitutes operating in the Second Street red-light district.

The studies completed by several of my colleagues (Gensmer 2012; Horobik 2011; Knee 2012) have shed much light on the potential life ways of those actors operating on the Vanoli complex, providing unique perspectives on identity, female privacy, and Chinese material culture, respectively. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the nature of activities *over time* within this sporting complex is limited. Having exposed the class-based regulatory structure dictating the development of the Second Street red-light district, the possibility of verifying the effects of this social process on prostitutes in the archaeological record seemed possible. Such an endeavor was only achievable by adding historical context and archaeological provenience. The background on specific actors associated with the complex, the chronological building sequences on site, and the reconstruction of Steven Baker's excavations all served to enable a critical analysis of material culture from two distinct features on the complex.

The identification of two, well-dated midden deposits, the original trash dump of the boarding house, and the stone-lined privy feature of the Gold Belt Variety Theater, has provided an opportunity to closely examine the refuse deposited by male patrons and prostitutes during a period marked by the establishment of the Second Street red-light district. The analysis of personal artifacts (recreation, clothing, hygiene, and personal items) and gendered artifacts offers a glimpse of the refuse deposited by prostitutes and male patrons in each locale and verifies the fundamental differences between the business establishments.

The trash midden deposit at the rear of the boarding house most likely reflects the refuse of those operating at the locale *prior* to John Vanoli's ownership. The ownership history strongly suggests that sporting club commerce may have been established in the earliest phases of operation. The high quantity of household goods and personal items recovered from this trash dump is also indicative of long-term residential and mixed gender co-habitation. The material signature included a high volume of alcohol- and medicinal-related bottle glass, medical apparatus, perfume bottles, musical instruments, gaming pieces, and personal items belonging to both men and women.

The wooden floor boards (uncovered in lot 3C4) at the rear of the boarding house would seem to represent a makeshift porch. Due to the ubiquitous material signature of women seen in the boarding house trash dump, it is plausible that this potential patio feature represents a heterosocial recreational space. However, the difficulty assigning gender to artifacts related to recreation, like poker chips, cartridges, and musical instruments, makes this determination inconclusive. Nevertheless, the undeniable female material expression might suggest that the activities taking place on this patio might not easily comply with the behaviors expected of men (and women) in a brothel context.

The stone-lined privy feature associated with the Gold Belt Variety Theatre provides a glimpse of the refuse deposition of those actors appearing on the sporting complex now firmly controlled by the Vanoli management group. In stark contrast to the boarding house, the material expression of the Gold Belt privy feature appears far more service-oriented and indicative of a large, multi-entertainment venue. In addition, there are very few personal artifacts recovered that would reflect leisure activities, and hardly any artifacts related to hygiene. The first clear indication of recreational activity comes at the transition zone between the privy fill and corresponding overburden.

Bottle glass also significantly aided in the interpretive analysis of artifacts recovered from each feature. The datable beer bottle bases contributed greatly to the temporal analysis of each feature, and the type and quantity of bottle glass recovered provided valuable context for the personal artifacts analyzed. Quantifying the relationship between bottle glass and personal artifacts in four distinct deposits has also provided a rough chronology of refuse deposition. This analysis has shown a distinct change in material expression between the two deposits, underscoring the difference in establishments, and a visible change in expression within the Gold Belt privy, possibly indicating a change in the life ways of prostitutes over time.

The dramatic change in material expression between the two features may have resulted from the highly organized management style of Vanoli and his associates. It is certainly plausible that women under John Vanoli's employ had more restrictions placed on their personal freedoms, as emphasis would seem to have been placed on the profitability of sex commerce, beverage sales, and entertainment. The possible restrictions in personal freedoms might also be a result of the regulatory regime controlling the activities of prostitutes in the vice district. Over time, we see a change in the material expression, which may reflect the increased power of the collective

majority of women on the complex, or perhaps the change in management style after Vanoli's passing in 1895. The appearance of children's artifacts in the material expression of the privy overburden, as well as the re-appearance of potential heterosexual recreational activities in these levels, might support either of these hypotheses.

Unfortunately, the clear distinctions seen between the two deposits offer only a limited perspective on the changing life ways of prostitutes while restricting an interpretation of the relations forged between gendered actors over time. This is due to the very diverse settings of refuse deposition in each locale and the difficulties assigning gender specificity to artifacts in this brothel setting. Nevertheless, the distinct material expressions identified at the boarding house and Gold Belt do provide a clearer understanding of activities in each locale, revealing very different behaviors and lifestyles, and offers a rare opportunity to gauge the activities of prostitutes and male patrons at the local level over time. Additionally, one cannot ignore the fact that the Gold Belt Theater was built contemporaneously with the Second Street red-light district, and the lives of prostitutes on the complex during this period may have been altered by the class-based regulatory processes implemented in the town.

The conclusions related to gendered relations of power derived from this study may be indicative of a well-known class-based process seen in the socio-economic development of the Colorado mining towns. This process would appear to be strongly influenced by class formation, initiated by governing elites assuming control of mining town political economies from the colonizing workforce. Understanding the social, political, and economic changes that would be implemented due to the arrival of eastern elites to western mining towns, it becomes clear that the relations of power negotiated between men and women in these mining towns are subject to change – often to the detriment of prostitutes. I believe this process, which is inherently tied to

gender, class, race, ethnicity, and power, could be recognized utilizing the material culture recovered from brothel settings in nineteenth-century, urbanized, mining towns throughout Colorado and the mining west.

## Further Discussion/Future Research

### Census-based Analysis

Much time (and energy) was devoted to examining the sex ratios, nativity, and race of populations colonizing the Colorado mineral belt in the nineteenth-century. This research has revealed that Colorado, unlike many other mining regions in the West, had a very distinct demographic population that was overwhelmingly male and consisting primarily of white, Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Europeans. It was (and still is) my contention that race had played a major factor in the relations of power operating in Colorado, strongly influencing the institutional forms appearing in Colorado mining towns. This data, which was admittedly outside the scope of my thesis, was eventually dropped from the overall study.

We simply do not have a clear understanding of sex ratios in the West (Boeckel and Otterstrom 2009), and the influx of predominantly-male, white colonizers and elites appearing in Colorado after 1858 would have a significant impact on the institutional forms ultimately adopted. Based on my research, much of the census data on sex ratios in states with large mining populations have been totally obscured by the presence of women in large, urban cities and towns. However, in the remote mining district, it was not uncommon to see sex ratios in excess of 95% males. Providing an excellent example of the predominance of males in mining



communities, Table 3, below, provides a glimpse of the sex ratios in the early colonization of Colorado.

As mentioned, race was also a significant factor in the colonization of Colorado. Up until 1880, the total percentage of those listed as colored, Asian, or Native American was approximately 2% of the total state population. There is every reason to suspect that these percentages were even less in mining communities. The 1880 census statistics for Colorado reveals an extremely low percentage of those listed as "colored," representing less than 2% of the total population. While Colorado was considered a free state, or more precisely, given the right to choose their own direction on the issue of slavery, there was nevertheless strong resistance by white, Anglo-Americans against Asians and people of color. This is not to imply there were no Asians or African-Americans in Colorado mining districts, there were, but the proportion of these subaltern groups is miniscule compared to the majority white population.

Table 3. 1860 (9<sup>th</sup> Decennial) Census, Territory of Colorado  
(U.S. Department of Interior 1863: 548)

1860 COLORADO TOWNS, REGIONS, AND MINING DISTRICTS*	White		Percentage Male
	Male	Female	
California Gulch	2,000	36	98.23
Central City	522	72	87.88
Denver	4125	601	87.28
Golden City	893	121	88.07
Mountain City	733	102	87.78
Nevada Gulch	755	123	86.00
South Clear Creek	5,888	78	98.69
South Park	10,512	91	99.14
Tarryall and South Park	987	13	98.70
Valley of the Platte	3,701	10	99.65

\* Only those enumerated districts with 500 residents or more

Table 4. Race Statistics of States and Territories with Significant Mining Activity  
(U. S. Department of Interior, Census Office 1864; 1872; 1883)

	WHITE			
	1880	1870	1860	1850
California	767,181	499,424	323,177	92,597
Colorado	101,126	39,221	34,231	---
Idaho	29,013	10,618	---	---
Montana	35,385	18,306	---	---
Nevada	53,556	42,491	6,857	---
	NATIVE AMERICAN*			
	1880	1870	1860	1850
California	16,277	29,025*	*	*
Colorado	154	7,480	---	---
Idaho	165	5,631	---	---
Montana	1,603	19,457	---	---
Nevada	2,803	16,243	---	---
(*) There are some unresolved discrepancies between the 9 <sup>th</sup> and 10 <sup>th</sup> census on Native American populations				
	CHINESE			
	1880	1870	1860	1850
California	75,132	49,310	34,933	---
Colorado	612	7	---	---
Idaho	3,379	4,274	---	---
Montana	1,765	1,949	---	---
Nevada	5,416	3152	---	---
	"COLORED"			
	1880	1870	1860	1850
California	6,018	4,272	4,086	962
Colorado	2,435	456	46	---
Idaho	53	60	---	---
Montana	346	183	---	---
Nevada	488	357	---	---

Table 4, above, shows the presence of Chinese groups in Colorado as numbering no more than a few hundred for the entire State in 1880. This pales in comparison to the tens of thousands existent in mining centers in or near California, Nevada, and Montana. Table 4 also lists the race

statistics in States and Territories with active mining centers in the period between 1860 and 1880. African Americans were also shut out of central Rocky Mountain mines or simply did not migrate to Colorado in great numbers even after their right to suffrage in 1876.

In San Juan mining districts, these demographic trends were also quite prevalent. The ethnic make-up and shared linguistic heritage in the San Juans is describe by Duane Smith (2000: 108),

"Native-born Americans predominated, their numbers swelled by the rising percentage of Colorado-born children. Regionally, the East and Midwest sent the most. The largest foreign element emigrating from the British Isles, trailed at a considerable distance by the German states. The San Juaners were overwhelmingly white, northern European stock, possessing a common cultural and linguistic heritage, English."

Understanding that the historiography surrounding the quantity and character of western in-migration is a contentious one among historians and historical geographers, a census-based analysis examining the demographic trends in the mining regions of Colorado could add useful information to the institutional forms ultimately adopted, the recreational forms appearing, and the prospects for upward mobility of non-white laborers.

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## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX I - OURAY COUNTY CENSUS INSTRUCTIONS AND PRECINCTS

The instructions for the Tenth U.S. Census of 1880 are useful in understanding the fragmented County census data available to investigators. In Colorado, counties are divided into election precincts. This has Ouray County data accumulated in the towns of Ophir, Rico, and San Miguel, which are each separated from Ouray by the imposing San Miguel Mountains (see Table 5, below). These areas were eventually carved off of Ouray to form Dolores and San Miguel Counties. Similarly, Silverton census data includes the former mining towns of Eureka, Gladstone, Grassy Hill, and Howardsville, all now ghost towns along the Las Animas River headwaters northeast of Silverton. Much of the data analyzed will focus on the greater Ouray Town area, as many of the other census precincts were male-dominated mining districts with limited urban infrastructure.

The censuses include the 10<sup>th</sup> United States census of 1880, and the Colorado State census of 1885. From preliminary investigation, it would seem there were few minority groups of color in both Silverton and Ouray. In 1880, the number of people reported as "colored" in Ouray County was 6 (all Chinese). That total was doubled to 12 in 1890 (U. S. Dept. of Interior, Census Office 1993). By 1900, Sanborn maps do show a proliferation of Chinese laundry's in the town, verifying the resilience of that ethnic group in Ouray after more than 20 years of Anglo-American oppression.

Table 5. 1880 Ouray County Election Precincts and Census District Schedule

PAGES	AREA	FILE NAMES	INFO
<i>153A-158D</i>	<i>Town of Ouray</i>	<i>091-153a.txt</i>	<i>Ouray City</i>
159A-162D	Town of Park	091-159a.txt	San Miguel County
163A	San Miguel & Ophin	"	Ophin = Ophir
165A-165B	Ophin	"	Ophir
165A-165B	San Miguel	"	Region along the San Miguel River
166C-167A	Columbia	091-166C.txt	Telluride
167B	Amoy	"	?
<i>168A-168B</i>	<i>Sneffels Precinct</i>	"	<i>Mining District South of Ouray</i>
<i>169A-172D</i>	<i>Town of Ouray</i>	"	<i>Ouray City*</i>
174A-178A	Rica	092-174a.txt	Rica = Rico
178B-182b	Rica	092-178b.txt	Rico
<p>NOTES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bold/italics indicate those precincts examined in the census-based analysis in this study.</li> <li>- San Miguel County was split off from Ouray County in 1883. This new county included the towns of Telluride, Ophir, Rico, and those settlements along the San Miguel River.</li> <li>- It is unclear where the Amoy precinct is located.</li> </ul> <p>* Census notes indicate that the second trip to Ouray was made to count those miners arriving in town from remote areas not reported.</p>			

(Electronic Source: [files.usgwarchives.net/co/ouray/census/1880/townnote.txt](http://files.usgwarchives.net/co/ouray/census/1880/townnote.txt))

## APPENDIX II – TOWN OF OURAY SANBORN INSURANCE MAPS



Figure 24. 1886 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Ouray, Colorado - Sheet 1 and 2, (Blue=Dwellings, Red=Saloons and Restaurants, Green=Merchant/Professional, Black= Boarding Houses, Brown=School/Govt/Church)





Figure 25. 1890 San Fire Insurance Map Oury, Colorado – Sheet 2 & 3  
 (Blue=Dwellings, Red=Saloons and Restaurants, Green=Merchant/Professional,  
 Black= Boarding Houses, Brown=School/Govt/Church, Pink=Female Boarding)

### APPENDIX III – CHRONOLOGIC HISTORY OF THE VANOLI SPORTING COMPLEX

The chronological histories of the prominent structures on the complex sheds light on the building sequences on the complex as well as provide information on specific individuals associated with these establishments. Much of this information is gleaned from primary sources (municipal documents, Sanborn maps, the census data, and local newspapers) and the historical literature focusing on the town of Ouray. The earliest history of the boarding house, which was the first structure on the block, is particularly scrutinized to provide much-needed historical context for the trash midden discovered at the rear of the structure. Likewise, the history and structural layout of the Gold Belt Variety Theater is closely examined in order to provide some historical context to the stone-lined privy under analysis in the following chapter.

Understanding the timeline of construction and renovations of the structures on the Vanoli Sporting Complex are of tremendous value to interpreting the archaeological data. Much of what is known regarding the property transactions on Lots 21 and 22 on Block 8 comes from Doris Gregory's (1998) research. Seeking to verify Gregory's work while providing added depth to her thorough research, Ouray County Courthouse records were inspected, and where possible, information has been embellished with biographical information gleaned from local newspaper articles, the Ouray County Historical Society, and Ouray Town census data for 1880 and 1885.

#### Historical Analysis of the Vanoli Sporting Complex

As evidenced by the well-balanced business operations in place on Block 8 by 1890, one that included a brothel/saloon/gambling/boarding house, a large-capacity theatre/dance hall with attached cribs, and a refurbished restaurant, it is clear that Vanoli and his associates understood

the business of sporting-male commerce. The subsequent construction in 1893 of a two-storied, brick-built Roma Saloon (a known brothel) most likely reflects the success and profitability of sporting-male commerce by the Italian management group of the complex.

Although difficult to quantify, it can be assumed that at the apex of brothel activity in the 1890's this sporting complex may have employed anywhere from 12 to 50 persons on a semi-permanent or seasonal basis, with a core group responsible to the Vanoli family interests.<sup>40</sup> The number of employees could plausibly be doubled during peak business periods; for example, weekends, holidays, and dates during the month when miner's in large numbers were expected in town. Unquestionably, the majority of those employed at the complex were women. Looking at the growth of the complex chronologically, it becomes clear that the primary business establishments developed by Vanoli and his associates was sex commerce. The business operations established by Vanoli would continue and expand the type of business already established in the boarding house structure on Lots 21 and 22 of Block 8.

### Boarding House

The early history of the boarding house on lots 21 and 22, prior to John Vanoli's ownership of the property and structure, is of particular interest to the archaeological investigation. Representing one of the first hotels in the town, there are some questions as to when this establishment was converted to a gambling hall and brothel. Having identified a trash midden behind the structure that potentially corresponds to the earliest occupation on the block, the history and timing of this establishment operating as a brothel/gambling hall is extremely valuable. Figure 26, below, depicts the eastern-half of Block 8 from the 1886 Ouray Sanborn

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<sup>40</sup> There is no way to know how many persons worked on the complex throughout any one season and the years it was in operation. The minimum number is based on the known number of crib rooms, and a plausible number of managing personnel. The numerous establishments on the complex could possibly allow for 100 women on site.

map that shows this structure as well as a vacant one-room building on Lot 20. Table 6, below, represents a summary of the ownership transactions for the structure and property. This table lists the entries, dates, and specific persons involved with Lots 21 and 22 and structure on Block 8 in the Town of Ouray, Colorado.

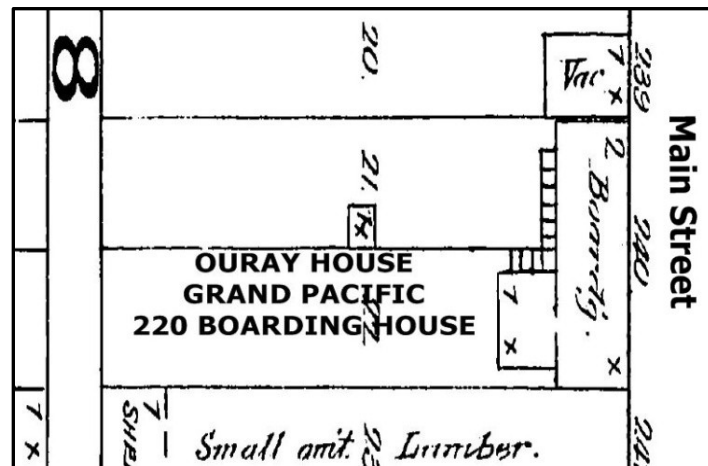


Figure 26. Modified 1886 Ouray Sanborn Map of Lots 20-22 of Block 8, Ouray, CO.

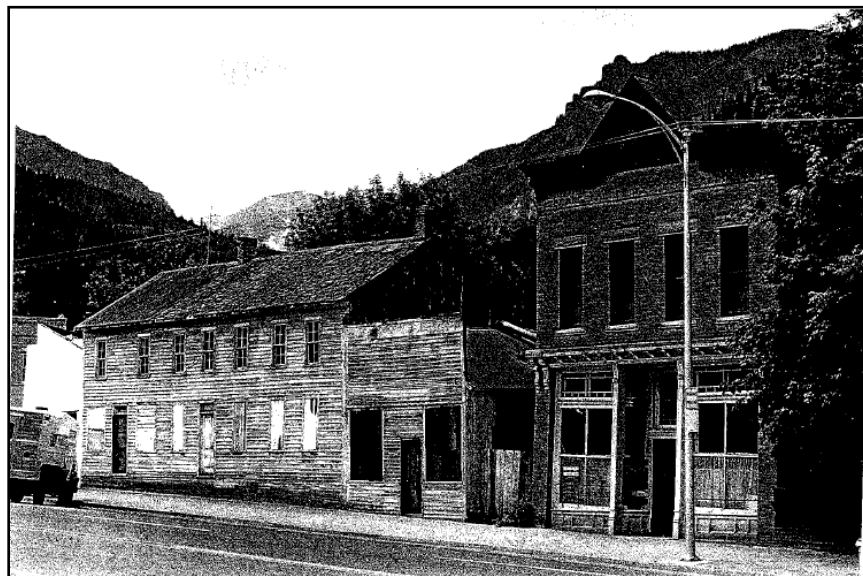


Figure 27. 220 Boarding House (Left), restaurant, and Roma Saloon (Steven Baker, 1970)

Table 6. Ouray County Courthouse records from 1877 to 1885 for Lots 21 and 22, Block 8.

OURAY COUNTY COURTHOUSE RECORDS – LOTS 21 & 22, BLOCK 8				
<b>Seller/Defendant/ Administrator</b>	<b>Buyer/Plaintiff</b>	<b>Record</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Price/Lien</b>
	J.W.”Jesse” Benton (Town Father)	n/a	n/a	n/a
J.W. Benton	L.E. Russell (Humboldt, Iowa)	Quit Claim Deed	Aug.13,1877	\$500.00
<i>Ouray House established (Sept. 15,1877), Proprietor: “Major” James Call</i>				
L.E. Russell	Enos Hotchkiss (NY) & Henry J. Hammond	Mechanic’s Lien	Oct.18,1877	\$108.51
L.E. Russell & D.P. Russell (Wisconsin)	Tiamantha Brown	Property Sale	July 15, 1879	\$1,500.00
<i>Ouray House becomes Grand Pacific</i>				
Ouray Sheriff (Adelbert Parcell)	Preston Hotchkiss (Lienholder)	Auction	Sept.29, 1879	\$389.90
Preston Hotchkiss	Martha Johnson	Property Sale	Jan.1,1881	\$750.00
<i>Martha Johnson dies (1881)</i>				
R.W. Roberts (for Martha Johnson)	Robert “Bob” Porteous (Indiana)	Deed	July 27, 1881	\$250.00
Robert Porteous	John “Johnny” Castagno (Italy)	Property Sale	Oct. 11, 1881	\$3,100.00
<i>Missing Property Data?</i>				
J.P. Cassidy (Ohio)	Antonio Piastra (Italy) & John Castagno	Lease (6 Months)	May 24, 1884	\$1,000.00
W.W. Randall (New York)	J.P Cassidy (property leased from Castagno)	Promissory Note	June 1884	\$199.00
<i>Grand Pacific becomes 2:20, Proprietor: John L. Lawler</i>				
John Castagno	John Vanoli (Torino, Italy) & Antonio Piastra (Italy)	Quit Claim Deed	June 23,1884	\$1.00
Antonio Piastra	John Vanoli	Quit Claim Deed	Mar. 7, 1885	\$1.00
<i>2:20 becomes the 220 Boarding House, Proprietor/Owner: John Vanoli</i>				

## Boarding House Ownership Summary

Lots 21 and 22 on Block 8 were sold to L.E. Russell by town father Jesse Benton, a future sheriff of the town, for \$500 on Aug. 13<sup>th</sup>, 1877. Between August and October of 1877, L. E. Russell would construct a hotel on the property facing Third Street (Main Street). The building materials for the structure were provided by two wealthy speculators from New York, Enos T. Hotchkiss and Henry J. Hammond. An advertisement placed in the Ouray Times on September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1877 reveals that this structure was known as the Ouray House with the proprietor being “Major” James Call<sup>41</sup> (see Figure 28, below).

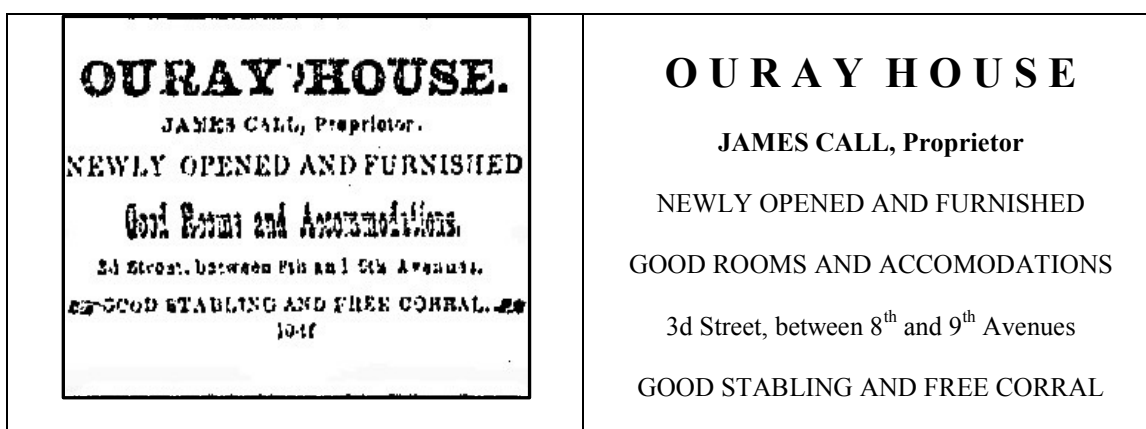


Figure 28. Advertisement of the opening of the Ouray House (Ouray Times, Sept. 15<sup>th</sup>, 1877)

On October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1877, Hotchkiss and Hammond would press a mechanic's lien on L.E. Russell after the building was constructed, providing verification of the establishment of the Ouray Hotel.<sup>42</sup> The entry reads as follows: "...hereby hold and claim a lien upon the house situated upon Lots 21 and 22 Block 8...which house is known as the Ouray Hotel. The paid lien being claimed for and on account of material furnished for the erection of said building" (Ouray County). A few days after this lien was recorded in the Ouray County court house, on October

<sup>41</sup> It is important to note that the advertisement mentions use of a free corral. Records indicate that L.E. Russell also owned Lots 13 and 14 on Block 8, indicating an association with the corral on the northwest corner of the Block – a structure that is still standing today.

<sup>42</sup> This was an early hotel in Ouray, but not the first. The Dixon Hotel, a much larger boarding house built in the more respectable portion of town, was constructed a few months before.

21<sup>st</sup>, James Call was involved in a shooting incident at the establishment with a “Colonel” George A. Scott<sup>43</sup> (see Figure 29, below).

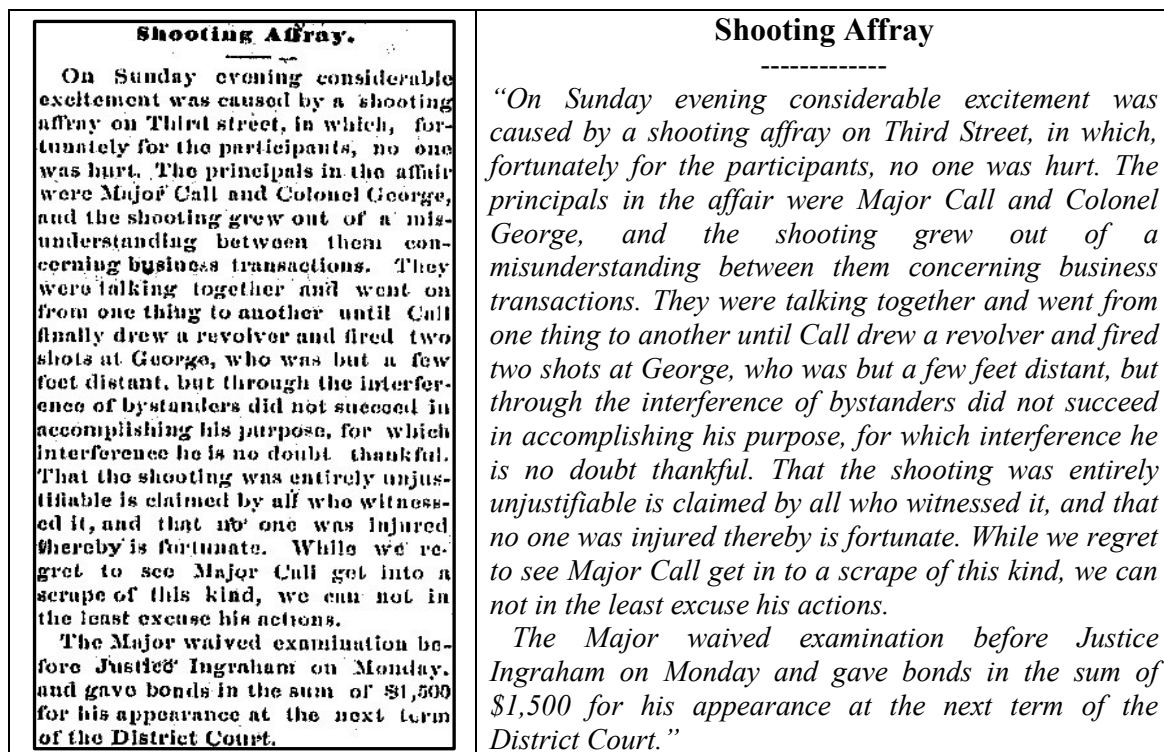


Figure 29. Shooting incident at the Ouray House (Ouray Times, Oct. 27, 1877)

Between June 13<sup>th</sup>, 1878 and May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1879 (eleven continuous months) the Ouray House would be listed for sale in the Real Estate column of the Ouray Times and simply states: "For Sale: That very desirable hotel property on 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, Ouray House." On June 7<sup>th</sup> of 1879, the Ouray Times prints a delinquent tax list of those persons in arrears for property taxes owed to the town. L.E. Russell is listed as owing a total of \$115.91 for Lots 13 and 14 (\$56.85), and Lots 21 and 22 (\$59.06). The properties are valued at \$1,750.

According to Ouray County property records, on July 15, 1879, Russell, and presumably his brother, the self-proclaimed "speculator" from Wisconsin, D.P. Russell, sold the Lots, building, and furnishings to Timantha Brown for \$1,500. The price paid by Brown for the Ouray

<sup>43</sup> The Ouray Times, October 27, 1877 (Vol.1, No. 20, page. 3)

Hotel is certainly noteworthy, and may suggest that the Ouray Hotel represented a sporting club or brothel complex. In any case, the purchase price clearly reflects that this boarding establishment was a successful one. Sometime during this period the Ouray House was renamed the Grand Pacific. However, a month later, in August 1879, the Ouray Times<sup>44</sup> posts a sheriff's sale for the property and structure erected on Lot 21 and 22 of Block 8 (see Figure 30, below). Oddly, the owner's are listed as the Russell brothers, not Tiamantha Brown. This sale was a result of a lien pressed upon the Russell brothers by Preston Hotchkiss and H.P. Hammond for the lumber needed to construct the building. It is also in August of 1879 that a summons for L.E. Russell appears in the Ouray Times<sup>45</sup>. This court order regards a claim by "Colonel" George A. Scott (involved in the shooting incident) for an unpaid promissory note (\$80) on Lots 13 and 14 on Block 8. On September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1879, the property was auctioned by the sheriff to Preston H. Hotchkiss, brother of Roswell and Enos Hotchkiss, for a sum of \$389.90.

On Jan 1, 1881, Preston Hotchkiss sold the lots and building to Martha Johnson for \$750. Martha Johnson is not seen in the 1880 Ouray population census, and most likely arrived in town shortly after the census was taken. In July of that same year, less than 7 months later, Martha Johnson suddenly died. Through her estate administrator, R. W. Roberts, the Lots and existing structure were deeded to Robert "Bob" Porteous<sup>46</sup> on July 27, 1881. The character of the Grand Pacific as a particularly rough sporting club is verified only several days after this transaction in an article in the Ouray Times detailing a shooting incident at the establishment<sup>47</sup>. At least one more shooting spree at the establishment was reported in 1881.<sup>48</sup> This shooting incident

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<sup>44</sup> The Ouray Times, August 30, 1879, (Vol. 3, No. 11, page 4). The auction would take place on September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1879.

<sup>45</sup> The Ouray Times, August 23, 1879 (Vol. 3, No. 10, page 4)

<sup>46</sup> Robert Porteous is mistakenly identified as Robert Porteous in the 1880 Ouray Town census. In 1880 he was listed as a miner, 36, hailing from Ohio, and married to Charlotte, age 30.

<sup>47</sup> Ouray Times 1881

<sup>48</sup> Ouray Times (July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1881)



prompted the town board to consider taking action against the establishment (Gregory 1995: 7-9).

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>STATE OF COLORADO, OURAY COUNTY.</b></p> <p><b>BY VIRTUE</b> and authority of an execution to me directed from the County Court of Ouray county, state of Colorado, in favor of Preston Hotchkiss and H. J. Hammond and against L. E. Russell and D. P. Russell whereby I am commanded to make the sum of two hundred and ten dollars and the further sum of sixty-two dollars and cents, with interest from June 18th 1878, and all accruing costs, I have levied upon and will sell at the front door of the Court in the Town of Ouray county and state aforesaid, on</p> <p><b>Monday, the 29th day of September,</b></p> <p>A. D. 1879, between the hours of 10 o'clock A. M. and 2 o'clock P. M. of said day, to the highest and best bidder for cash, all the right, title and interest of the above named L. E. Russell and D. P. Russell in and to the following described real estate situate in the Town of Ouray county and state aforesaid, to wit:</p> <p>Lots twenty-one (21) and twenty-two (22) in block eight (8) in the Town of Ouray county of Ouray and state of Colorado, being the same lots on which the Ouray House was erected, now called the Grand Pacific, together with all the hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">A. PARCELL, Sheriff. P. F. Watson, Deputy.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Sheriffs Sale</b></p> <p>-----</p> <p>State of Colorado Ouray County,</p> <p>By virtue and authority of an execution to me directed from the County Court of Ouray county, state of Colorado, in favor of Preston Hotchkiss and H.J. Hammond and against L. E. Russell and D. P. Russell whereby I am commanded to make the sum of two hundred and ten dollars debt, and the further sum of sixty-two dollars --, with interest from June 18<sup>th</sup> 1878, - all incoming costs, -- have levied upon and -- sell at the front door of the Court -- in the town of Ouray county and state --, on</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Monday, the 29<sup>th</sup> day of September</b></p> <p>A.D 1879, between the hours of 10 o'clock A.M. and 2 o'clock P.M. of said day, to the highest bidder for cash, all the right, title, and interest of the above named L.E. Russell and D.P. Russell in and to the following described real estate in the Town of Ouray County and state aforesaid to wit:</p> <p>Lots twenty-one (21) and twenty-two (22) in block 8 in the Town of Ouray county of Ouray and state of Colorado, being the same lots on which the Ouray House was erected, now called the Grand Pacific, together with all the -- and appurtenances therein to belonging.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">A. Parcell, Sheriff. --- P. F. Watson, Deputy.</p>
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Figure 30. Sheriff's sale of structure and property on Block 8, Lots 21 and 22 (Aug, 1879)

It is difficult to reconcile how Bob Porteous, listed as a married miner in the 1880 census, could have turned the Grand Pacific into a notorious sporting club in three days, which strongly implicates Martha Johnson and Preston Hotchkiss as owners of a brothel/gambling hall. This information also casts some suspicion on the Russell brother's involvement in sporting-male commerce at the establishment, as well as the mysterious Timantha Brown, who purchased the presumably successful boarding house for a considerable sum two years hence. Timantha Brown is also not seen in any Ouray census records. There was also another shooting spree that was

reported in 1881.<sup>49</sup> This shooting incident prompted the town board to consider taking action against the establishment (Gregory 1995: 7-9).

In less than three months, on October 11, 1881, Porteous sold the Lots and structure to John Castagno, a very active Italian businessman and speculator in Ouray, for the princely sum of \$3,100. This purchase marks the entrance of Italian business connections on Block 8.. After Castagno purchases the Grand Pacific in 1881, J.P. Cassidy's<sup>50</sup> name appears as a trustee of the property and leased Lots 21 and 22 to Antonio Piastra and Castagno. In Jan 1882, the name of the establishment was changed from the Grand Pacific to the 2:20, with John Lawler named as proprietor. It appears Castagno had lost control of the property sometime after 1882, only to lease it again in early 1884 from Cassidy for a 6-month period for \$1,000 with Piastra. The next entry is a request for payment on a promissory note in 1884 against W. W. Randall. This transaction has Castagno as property owner, which is in turn leased to Cassidy, who rents the Grand Pacific to W. W. Randall<sup>51</sup>.

On June 23, 1884, John Castagno settles a debt with Piastra and John Vanoli and issues a quit claim deed on Lots 21 and 22 for \$1.00. John Vanoli would assume full ownership of Lots 21 and 22 on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1885, after Piastra offers Vanoli a quit claim deed, also for the minimum amount of \$1.00. After John Vanoli took control of the 2:20, he changed the name to the 220 Boarding House. The 1890 Sanborn map of the structure lists the establishment as “Saloon/Boarding.” The only other event of note to the archaeological investigation, sometime

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<sup>49</sup> Ouray Times (July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1881)

<sup>50</sup> Ohio. Records have verified that Cassidy represented Castagno in several litigation suits. He is also listed as both a leasee and a trustee in the Ouray County property records associated with Lots 21 and 22.

<sup>51</sup> Randall is listed in the 1880 census as a packer, married, age 34, and hailing from New York. His wife is not present in the census data, and the records indicate he resides with Edward Knight, a contractor, age 30, also from New York. Sometime during this period the Grand Pacific is called the 2:20, with John L. Lawler named as proprietor.

between 1900 and 1908, the Sanborn maps indicate that the 220 Boarding House had been renovated, with a full redesign of the porch and stairwells at the rear of the building.

### The Restaurant

Little is known of the structure situated on Lot 20 of Block 8 (see Figure 31, above). Property records indicate that this Lot (and structure?) was once owned by R.W. and A.J. Morrison and sold to D.G. Hartwell<sup>52</sup> on Aug. 8, 1881 for \$275. On April 9, 1887, Lannie Davis would sell the Lot and structure to John Vanoli for \$150 (Gregory 1982). Sometime before 1890, Vanoli had expanded the structure to a two-room restaurant with new, iron clad roof. Though conjectural, it is quite plausible that this was an Italian restaurant. This kitchen may have also have been used to feed the employees working on the block.

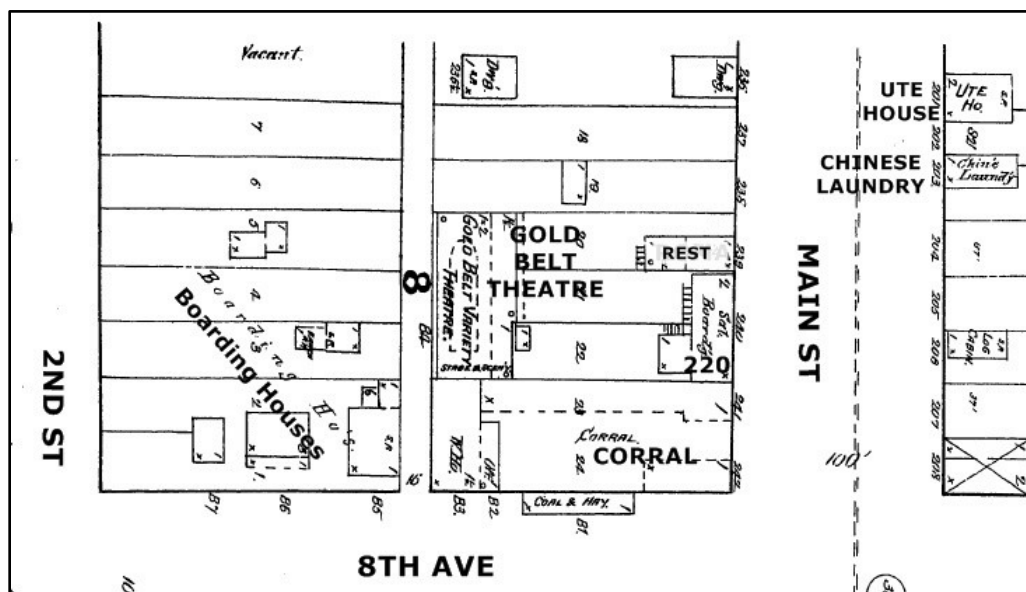


Figure 31. Modified 1890 Ouray Sanborn Map – Sheet 2.

<sup>52</sup> D.G. Hartwell is listed in the 1880 Ouray census records as a merchant from Massachusetts, single, age 38. This building may have served as his store.

## The Gold Belt Variety Theatre

It is unknown exactly when the Gold Belt Variety Theatre was constructed. The timing of the railroad line and female boarding construction on Second Street would suggest a construction date between 1886 and 1888.<sup>53</sup> According to the 1890 Ouray Sanborn maps (Figure 31, above), the main business establishments controlled by John Vanoli on Block 8, Lots 20, 21 and 22 included the 220 boarding house, adjacent restaurant, and the Gold Belt Variety Theatre. The boarding houses seen in the western-half of Block 8, directly across the alley from the Gold Belt, most likely represented female boarding. These buildings would be demolished sometime between 1893 and 1900. Figure 31, above, also shows a corral on Lots 23 and 24 which would be part of John Ashenfelter's livery holdings.

The Gold Belt Variety Theatre was a very popular attraction in Ouray's social scene. Impressive for its size and capable of accommodating large crowds, popular music groups and vaudeville acts played before the local populace in a series of promoted engagements. The east side of the rectangular theatre includes two floors of interior cribs totaling eight rooms (Baker 1972). Figure 32, below, provides profile views of the architecture of the Gold Belt, revealing a well-planned, multi-use entertainment venue. The open, two-story interior design of the Gold Belt was constructed with second-floor catwalks and windows to enable prostitutes occupying the second floor to attract male patrons down below. From all indications, based on the size and entertainment value, the Gold Belt Theatre was patronized by both the working class and upper class men residing in the town (Gregory 1998). It should also be noted here that the opening of

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<sup>53</sup> The Gold Belt is not seen in the August 1886 Ouray Sanborn map, but does appear in the 1890 map. Based on the consistent early date ranges of a temporal analysis of bottle glass recovered from the Gold Belt privy, the construction of the Gold Belt may have begun as early as Sept. 1886. It is most likely that the Gold Belt was constructed before the arrival of the train line to the city in December of 1888.

the Gold Belt coincided with the opening of the Wright Opera House (built in the center of town), which catered almost exclusively to the elites.

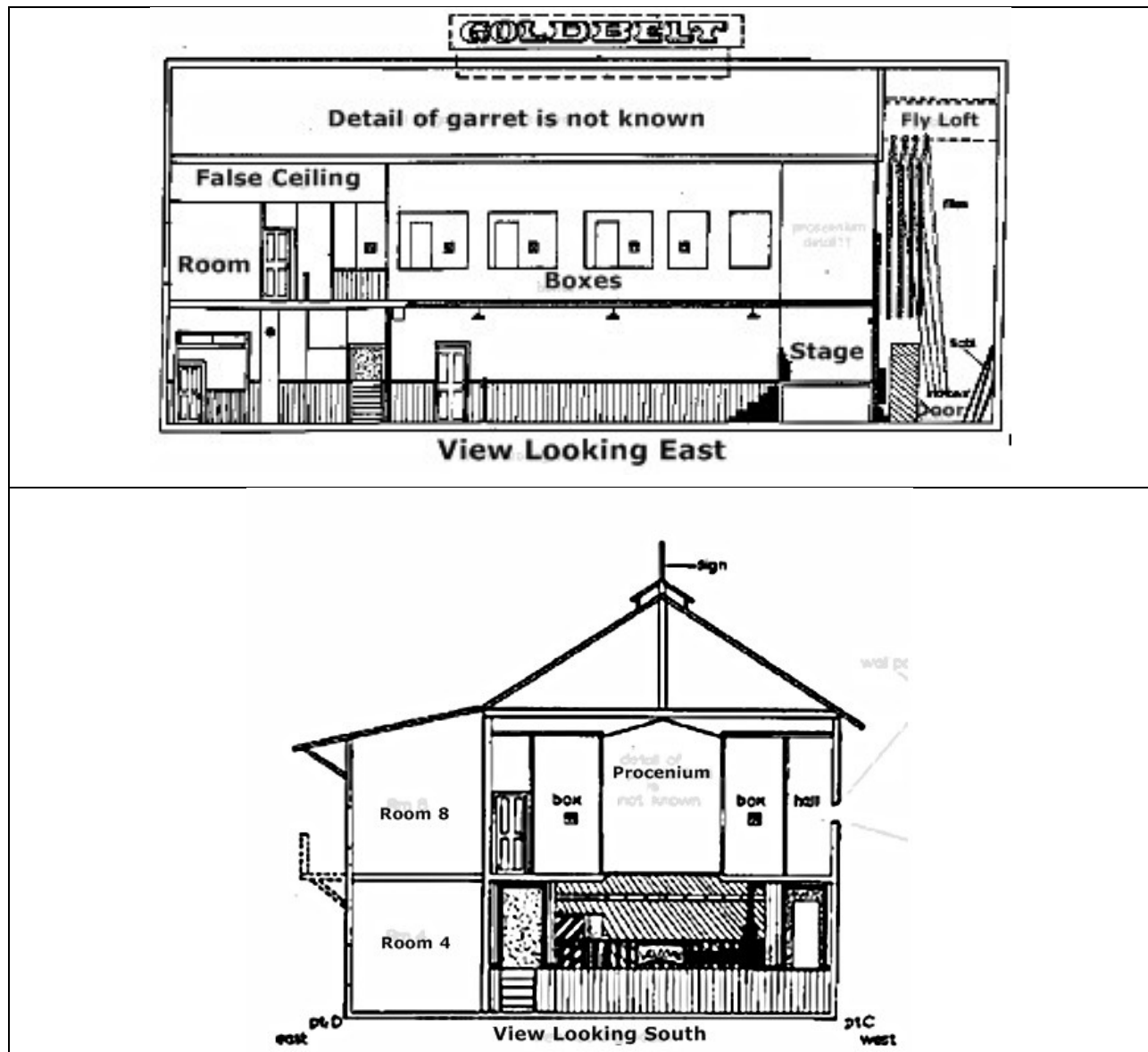


Figure 32. Profile Views of the Gold Belt Variety Theatre (Baker and Clum 1970)

### Roma Saloon

In 1891, the Vanoli brothers constructed an impressive 25' x 60', two-story brick building with a basement on Lot 19 named the Roma Saloon (Gregory 1998: 29). According to the 1893 Sanborn map (see Figure 33, below), this well-constructed building was wrapped with windows

on each floor, and included store front windows, a metal cornice frontispiece, swinging doors, and a firewall installed 18 inches above the roof. The quality of the structure is in stark contrast to the vernacular structures built in the northern half of town, as most of the two-story brick buildings with second floor windows were located in the southern and eastern half of town, areas representing the elite section of Ouray. Although the source is unknown, Gregory states that the rooms upstairs in the Roma were occupied by prostitutes, and reports from local newspapers concerning the raucous activities surrounding the Roma make clear that the establishment was not a gentleman's parlor (Gregory 1998: 30). Sometime between 1900 and 1908, the rear of the Roma Saloon was renovated to include an exterior, two-story, covered stairwell, and a small, separate one-story domicile behind the building.

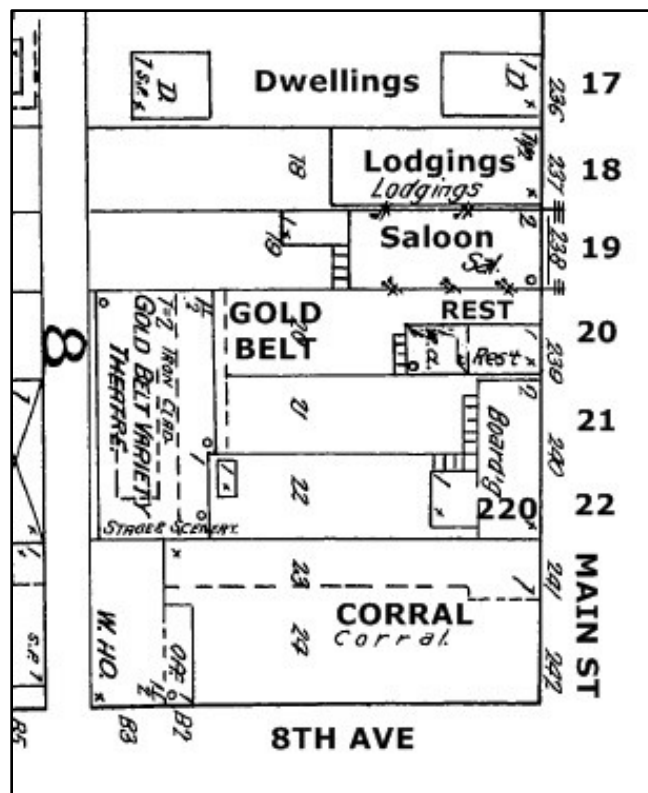


Figure 33. 1893 Configuration of the Vanoli Sporting Complex.  
Modified 1893 Ouray Sanborn Map, Sheet 3.

As shown in Figure 34, above, just north of the Roma, on Lot 18, the 1893 Sanborn map depicts a 1 ½-floor wooden frame structure listed simply as "lodging"<sup>54</sup>. This lot and structure was not held by the Vanoli family, but would have Italian-ownership connections through the Cresto brothers, John and Lorenzo. The stately construction of the Roma Saloon, the large men's entertainment hall, restaurant, and bawdy boarding house/saloon would represent a profitable island of brothel activity in Ouray's red-light district.

By 1894, John Vanoli's holdings throughout the San Juans might also be considered formidable. Besides the Ouray sporting complex, Vanoli reportedly owned dance halls in Telluride and Trinidad,<sup>55</sup> possessed several paying mining claims in Poughkeepsie Gulch and Mt. Sneffles mining districts valued at \$15,000 to \$25,000 (Gregory 1998: 37-40), and held a number of saloon and sporting club properties in the San Juan mining district in Red Mountain, Silverton, and Ridgeway (Gregory 1998: 32).

In 1895, John Vanoli spent several months in jail for a shooting at the Gold Belt, and died later the same year in Oakland, California from a self-inflicted gun-shot in the home of his friend, A. Bacillieri.<sup>56</sup> His entire estate at the time of incarceration was transferred to his brother Domenick. This included all of his property holdings and mining claims. Aside from the closing of the Gold Belt for a brief period, it appears John Vanoli's misfortune did little to alter operations on the Vanoli complex.

The seemingly fluid transition after John Vanoli's passing underscores the capable presence and strong bonds of family, associates, and personnel in charge of his business interests in Ouray. The brothel district was soon under the control of Domenick Vanoli and the Italian—

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<sup>54</sup> This structure was converted to a saloon (possibly the Geneva Saloon) sometime before 1900, as depicted in the Ouray Sanborn map (see Figure 16).

<sup>55</sup> Rocky Mountain Sun 1895

<sup>56</sup> Ouray Herald, December 29, 1895

born Cresto brothers. Lorenzo Cresto was in fact appointed acting administrator of John Vanoli's estate, and when he put the Roma Saloon up for auction to settle John Vanoli's affairs, it was Domenick's son, Tony Vanoli, who purchased the property as the highest bidder (Gregory 1998: 42).

By 1900, the eastern half of Block 8 had been largely incorporated into the brothel complex (see Figure 34, below). Notable additions include the lots owned by John Cresto, which include four, one-room cribs and the Chinese laundry on Lot 17. The lodgings on Lot 18, north of the Roma, would be converted to a saloon (quite possibly the Geneva Saloon) and probable brothel. The simultaneous appearance of the Chinese laundry and the cribs on Lot 17 is noteworthy, as the evidence of opium consumption in the archaeological record clearly suggests that opiate drug-use was known on the block.

Based on the closed configuration of the structures (see Figure 35, below), the inner courtyard of the Vanoli complex seems relatively secluded from the streets. This photo, as well as a pre-1888 photo of the rear of the boarding house, confirms the original dimensions of the boarding house which drops below the Third (Main) Street ground level, indicating an accessible basement from the rear of the structure. Access to the sporting complex was accomplished using an elevated walkway along an alley on the western side of the Gold Belt. This walkway would usher any prospective "John" to the front door of the Gold Belt and directly into the inner courtyard of the sporting complex.



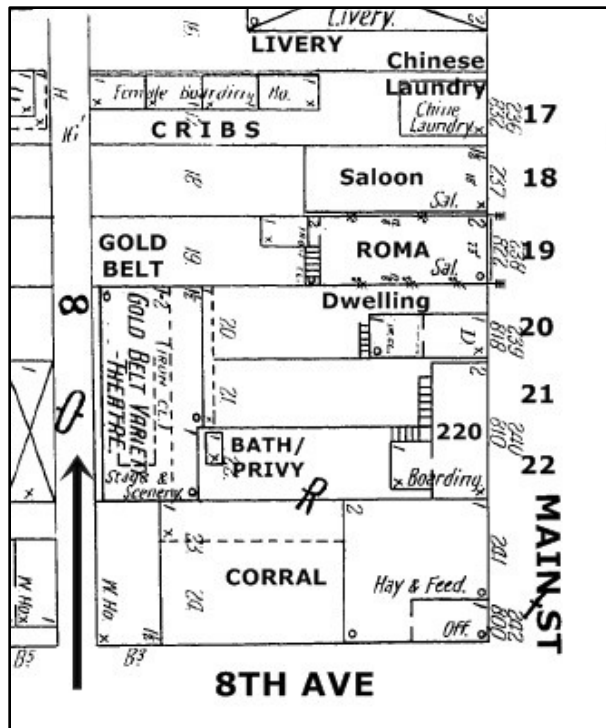


Figure 34. 1900 configuration of Vanoli Sporting Complex.  
1900 Ouray Sanborn Map, Sheet 3.

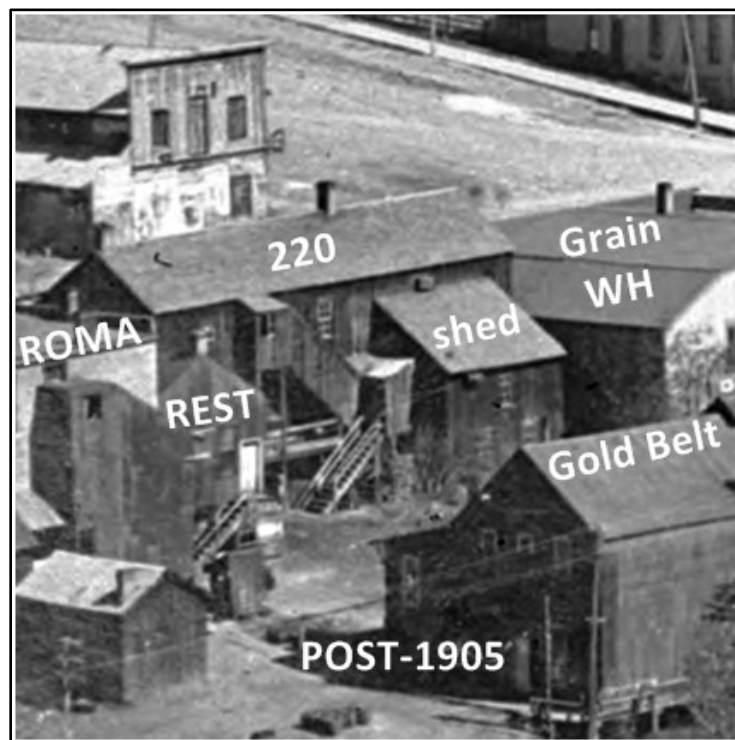


Figure 35. Modified photo of Vanoli Sporting Complex.  
Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Digital Collections, Call No. X7927

The multitude of trash middens revealed in this courtyard suggests that people routinely used this area for refuse deposition. Every structure surrounding this courtyard had access to this inner yard, and refuse dumping by residents must have been practiced. However, the high quantity of alcohol-related bottle glass scattered throughout the courtyard might also suggest that this yard had seen heavy consumer traffic. The northern outside stairwell attached to the Gold Belt brought patrons directly to the second floor cribs from this yard. Access to this inner yard had changed over time due to the construction sequences. It is assumed most patrons accessed the inner yard via the alleyway (from the north or south), but the opening just north of the restaurant along Main Street may have been used as an entrance way.

The well-aligned trees running north-south along the eastern side of the Gold Belt and several others in the inner yard may indicate a conscious attempt by the Vanoli family to add landscaping features to the yard - making it more attractive for patrons and employees (see Appendix IV, Figure 37). The existence of a possible bath house in the southeast corner of the yard, clearly incorporated into the Gold Belt building construction (see Figure 34, above), might also support this perspective. There are numerous examples which indicate that the Vanoli family had considered the complex infrastructure.

Reviewing the chronological sequence of building episodes on the block, the structures surrounding this inner yard include: the expansion and addition of an iron-clad roof on the restaurant; the exacting specifications of a high-capacity variety theatre with built-in cribs and second-floor walkways; stone-lined privy's and vaults; the stately stone construction of the Roma Saloon with enclosed outer stairwell, and the complete reconfiguration of the rear stairwell to the 220 boarding house with enclosed outer stairwell. These are not the actions of an uncaring

property owner. In fact, I believe this also speaks to John Vanoli's (and associates) adept aesthetic; at the very least improving the environment for those who lived and worked there.

The access ways to the inner yard, the refuse dumping of residents, the potential traffic flow of patrons, the potential number of women using the yard, and the organized management style paints an opaque backdrop from which to gauge the type and level of activities transpiring in this yard. Placing the refuse deposited in this yard in context with specific structures only increases our understanding of the activities in these specific settings. The reconstruction of Steven Baker's excavations has provided much needed spatial context for the material culture deposited in this yard.

## APPENDIX IV - BAKER'S EXCAVATION RECONSTRUCTION

### Baker's Plan Map Reconstruction

Many of Baker's available plan maps and field notes had no scale or north orientation, and the copied enlargements available (70% greater than original size) greatly distorted the original 1" to 30' scale, preventing an accurate 1:1 measurement of visible excavation outlines. However, the central points from which these radiating lines emanated did represent datum points (although they were not labeled as such).

Baker must have used a compass at the datum locations and line-sighted references, measuring this distance (in tenths of a foot) to several structural and natural landmarks in the yard. As an example, the first panel in Figure 36 (on the far left) has an inscription that says "37.8' to SE CORNER OF GOLDBELT." Using an engineer's scale (with tenths of a foot), the datum points had found several anchors to building corners, the public privy, and several trees.

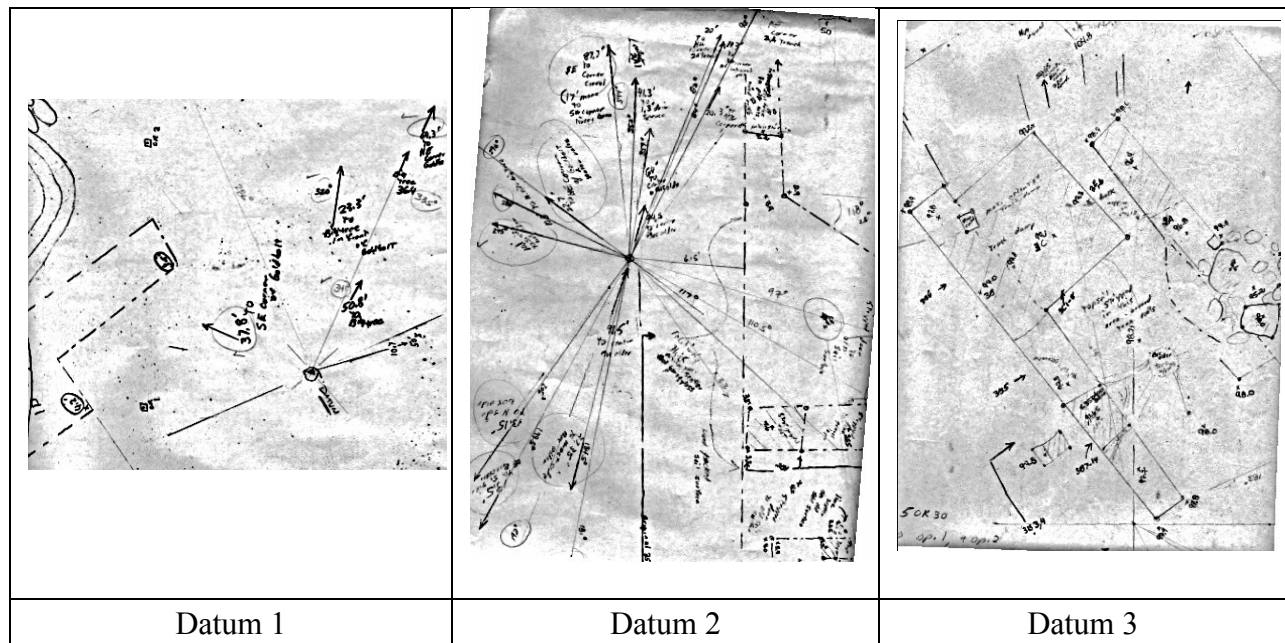


Figure 36. Hand Drawn Maps of Stephen Baker Depicting Datum Points 1, 2, and 3.

The precise location of the datum points were not marked on the hand drawn maps. These datum points also referenced numerous large diameter trees in the yard which were discovered independently through photographic evidence. Figure 37, below, shows these trees in relation to the Gold Belt.

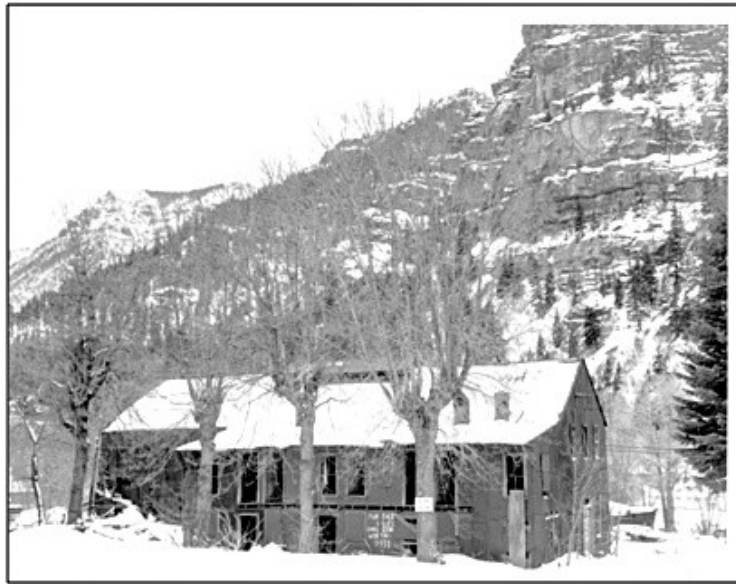


Figure 37. The Gold Belt Theatre and a Line of Trees on East Side.

Datum points were also used as a central point for measuring the depths of excavation unit corners – presumably using a rod and a level line to corners of Sub-operations. Baker also references three control points in two of the datum maps, providing some relationship between the three datum points. However, besides these two control points, no references were made to any other excavation units in relation to these datum points. It was clear that once the scale of each map was established, it was then only a question of measuring distances on these maps to place the location and outlines of the excavation to exact locations in the inner courtyard.

As there was no compass orientation on the hand-drawn maps, tracing paper marked with these radiating lines was rotated in order to align the datum points with the structures referenced

on the Vanoli 1:10<sup>57</sup> map. This process proved successful in positioning the locations of datum 1 and 2. The placement of two control points (control point 1 and control point 2) visible on the datum 2 map provided the means with which to properly align datum 3. Figure 38, below, is an example of the process used to place Baker's Datum 1 point in relation to the structures depicted on the Vanoli 1:10 map. Figure 39, below, is an expanded view of all three datum points in relation to the two control points referenced by Baker on his hand drawn plan maps.

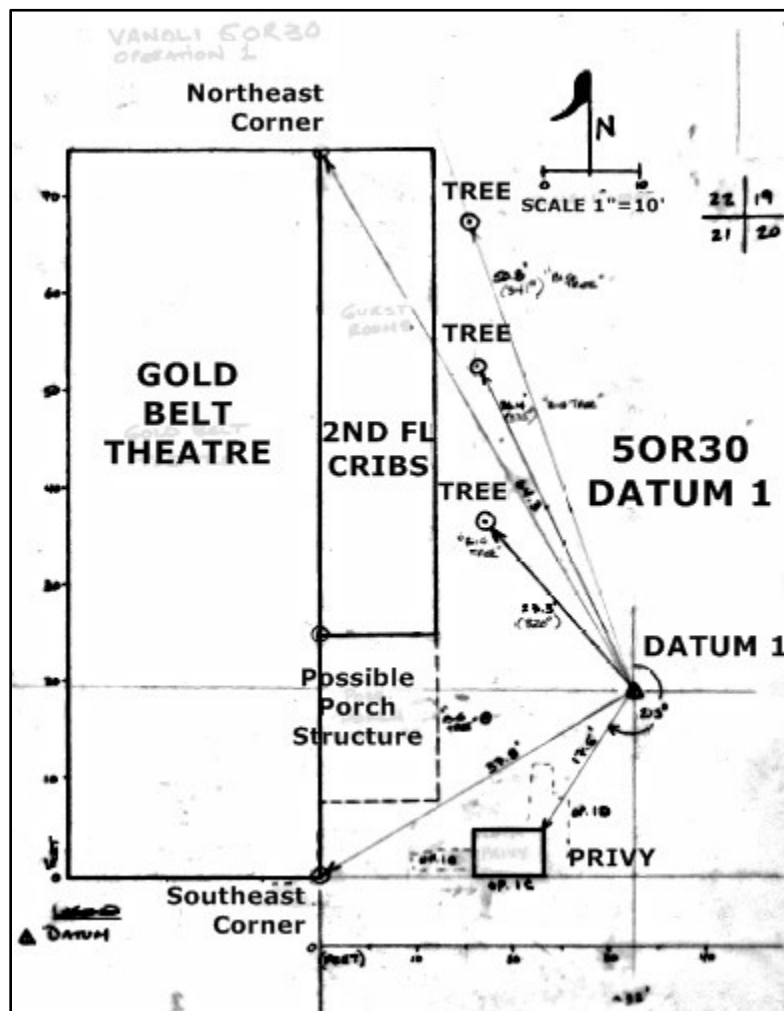


Figure 38. Location of Datum 1 in relation to Gold Belt Theatre, trees, and the privy.

<sup>57</sup> The Vanoli 1:10 map (my designation) is a map contracted out by Baker. The map depicts a plan view of the south-eastern-half of Block 8 that included several structures that were still standing at the time of the excavation. The map creator had used a scale of 1 inch = 10 foot, a scale Baker used in his excavation measurements. While there were several egregious errors discovered in this map, the reconstruction of Baker's excavations could not have been possible without this map template of the complex.

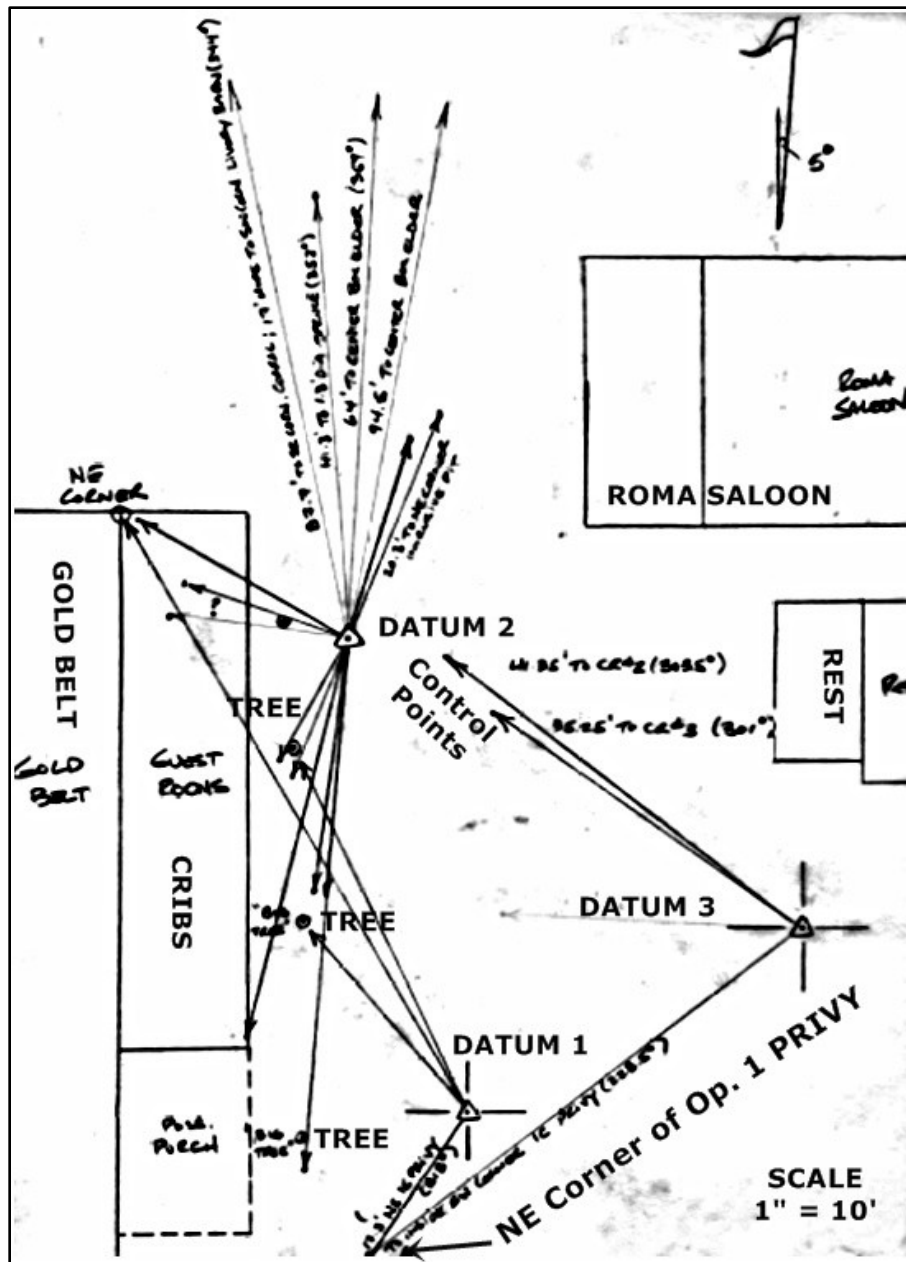


Figure 39. Location of Datum Points 1, 2, and 3 on the Vanoli 1:10 Map.

The final reconstruction of Baker's excavation in the inner courtyard of the Vanoli complex is shown below in Figure 40. All of the structures in the lower half of the reconstruction are based on the Vanoli 1:10 map and conform to a period on the complex after 1908. Noteworthy changes to several structures from the earlier configuration include the redesign of

the stairwell at the rear of the boarding house, the slight modification to the second floor porch on the Gold Belt, and the Operation 1 privy in the southwest corner of the yard.

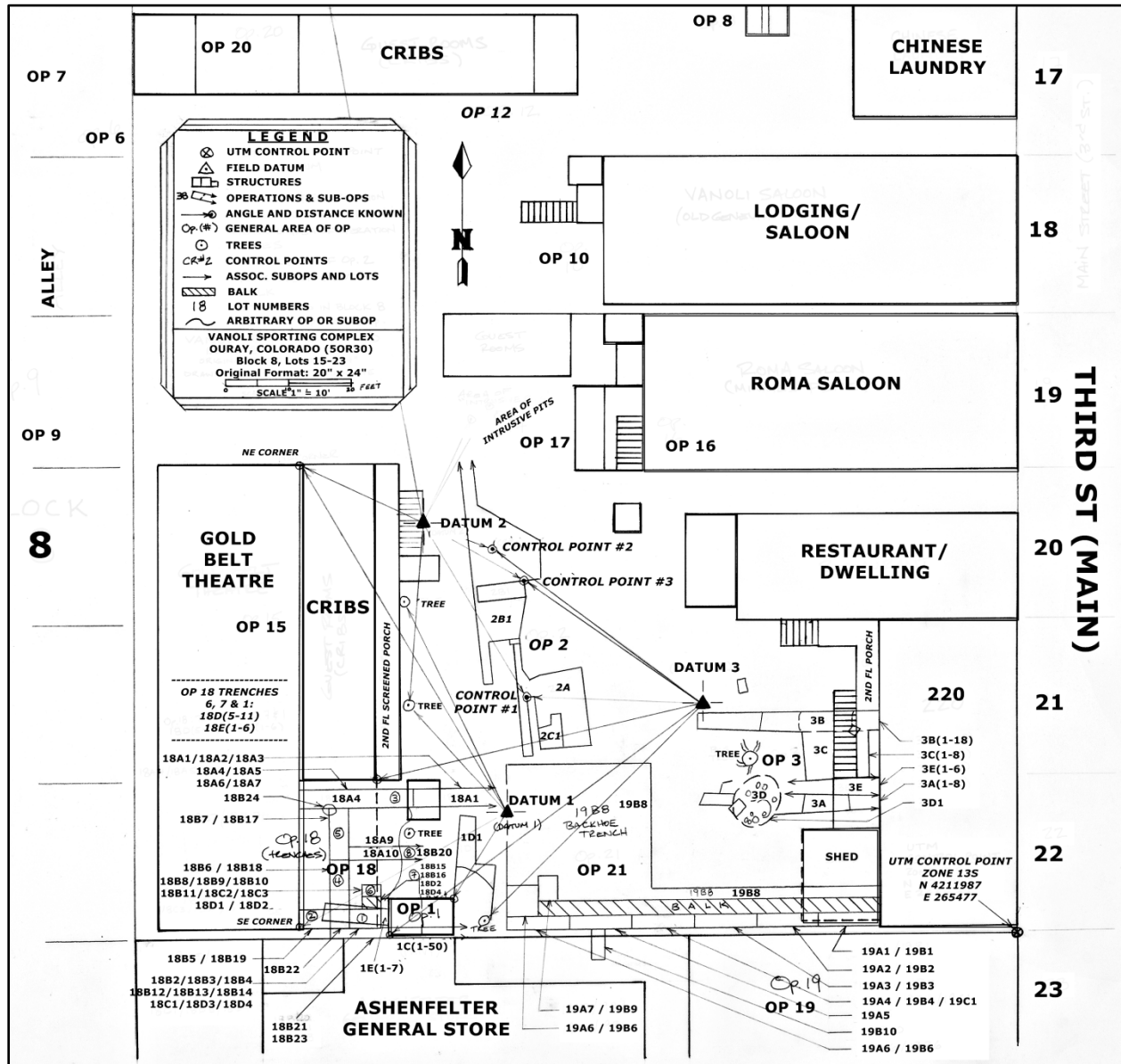


Figure 40. Plan View Reconstruction of Steven Baker's Excavation of the Inner Courtyard of the Vanoli Sporting Complex (5OR30). Structures c. 1908. (Burnette 2011b)



## APPENDIX V - OPERATION 3

### Investigation of Operation 3

In his second field season (1976), Steven Baker focused his attention on the rear of the 220 Boarding House. He was looking for a main privy vault, and in his first two East-West trenches (3A and 3B) discovered the outlines of two. It is unclear exactly which privy vault may have been constructed first. Baker suggests the main privy, a "two-story outhouse," was found in Sub-operation B. The solid stone-lined construction of the 3D vault might also suggest a more robust above-ground structure, one built for permanence. In his field notes, Baker makes note that he was sure both privies had been professionally cleaned.

Baker also discovered several rich midden deposits that were buried under a wood floor at the rear of the boarding house. This flooring was often found in context with coal and ash deposits. Figure 41 (below) depicts a reconstruction of the 2-story boarding house (with complete basement) in its earliest configuration (c. 1877 to c. 1900). In 1908, the Sanborn maps indicated that the rear of the Roma Saloon and the stairwells of the 220 were renovated. Figure 27 (below Fig. 42) shows the plan view (with scale) of Operation 3 situated against the back wall of the boarding house in its original construction.

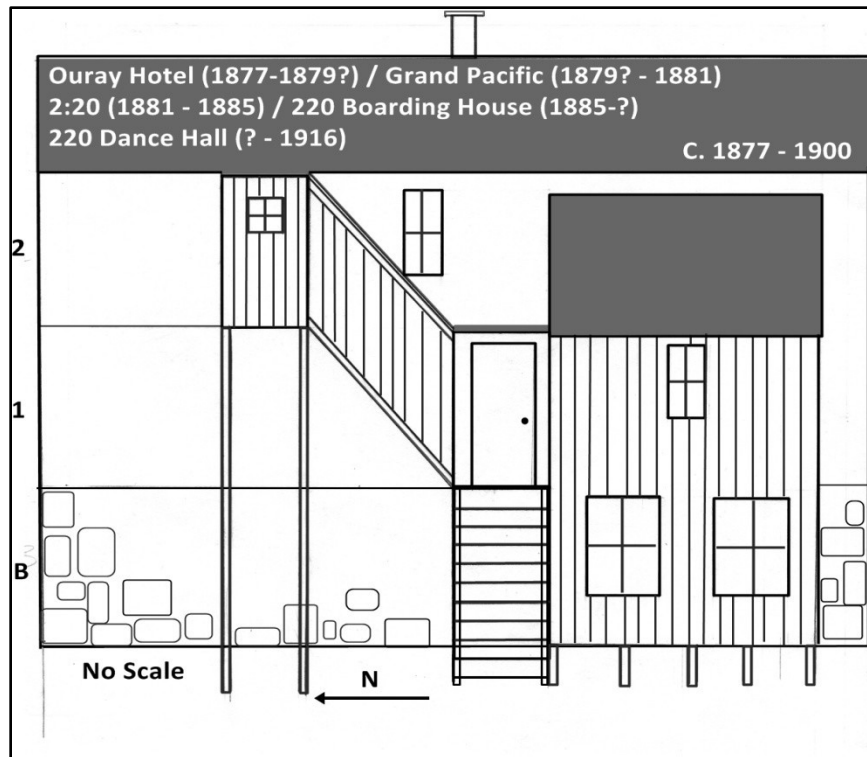


Figure 41. Structural representation of the Boarding House

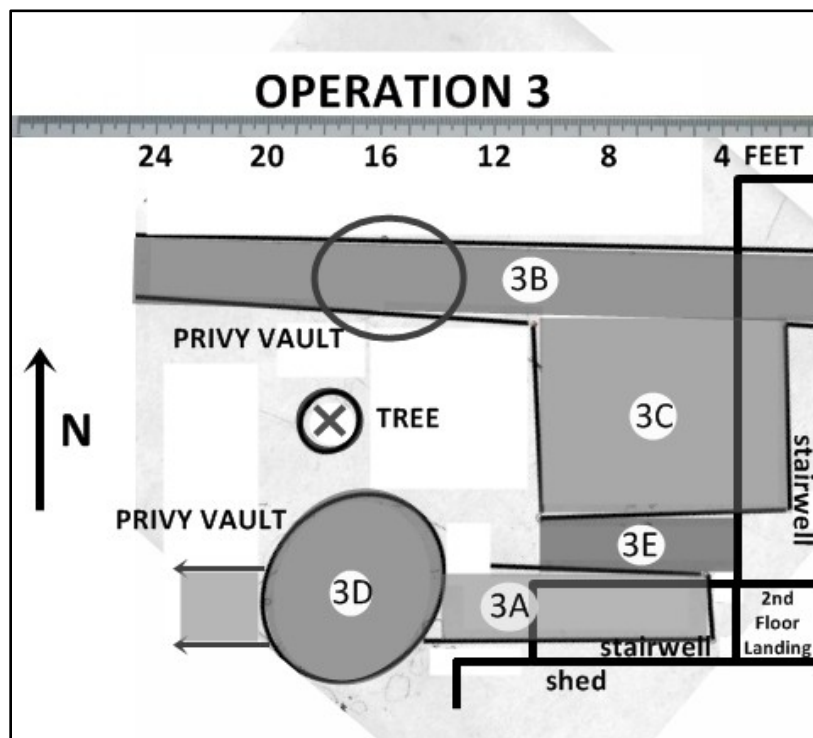


Figure 42. Plan-view reconstruction of Operation 3.

There are five total Sub-operations in Operation 3. Each one was excavated in alphabetical order. As the focus of this section is on isolating homogenous midden deposits for a comparative analysis, only Sub-operations 3B and 3C will be reviewed here.

### Sub-Operation 3B

Baker's second east-west trench, Sub-operation 3B, measures 3 ft. wide by ~23 ft. long and intersects a second privy vault. Based on the accuracy with which this trench intersects the privy vault, it can be assumed that Baker was aware of its location after a ground-surface inspection. The privy vault was excavated to a depth of 6.5 ft below the surface, represented by Lots 3B (7-16). Figure 43 (below) is Baker's hand-drawn profile of the Lots associated with 3B. At the east end of this trench, similar to the 3A trench - although they are separated by unit 3C, a layer of coal and ash was uncovered just below the topsoil and underlain with a wood floor. Below this floor was a stratum of clean rubble with midden debris below.

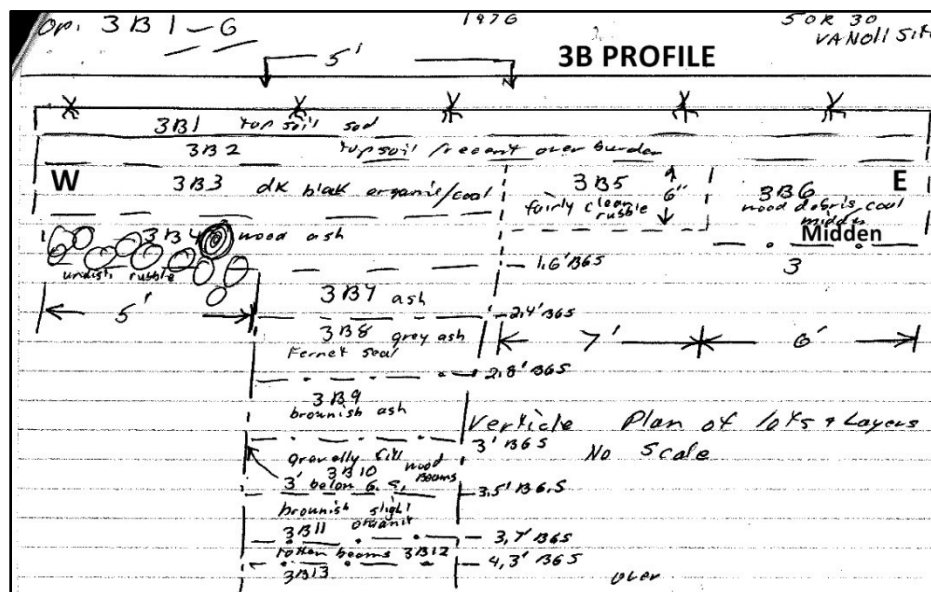


Figure 43. Baker's hand-drawn profile map of the Lots in SubOperation 3B (Baker 1976). Looking North. The structure is located to the East (right).

Based on the profile of 3C (found in the section below), revealing a purposely built, bi-level substratum of rubble, we can conclude that the eastern end of 3B represents a portion of a capped midden deposit. Specifically, Lot 3B6 and the northern end of 3C7/3C8 may represent the earliest deposition episodes on Block 8.

### Sub-Operation 3C

The Sub-operation 3C was opened by Baker after he had ascertained that the privy vaults had been compromised – due to cleaning. According to Baker, the Sub-operation 3C was opened to 'increase artifact sample associated with occupation of this structure in light of the fact that main privy vault had been cleaned and no material culture sample had been obtained from this structure" (Baker 1976). It is unclear why Baker came to this conclusion, especially based on the absolute dates recovered, and the approximate dates of manufacture now known for the bottle glass in the eastern sections of the 3A and 3B trenches. One can only surmise that Baker was determined to develop a clear material foundation from which to support his evolving "American Victorianism" supposition (Baker 1977; 1987; Baker, et al. 2007).

It is telling that in his first field season (1975) Baker chose to excavate a post-1900 privy (Operation 1C in the southwest corner of the courtyard) before examining privies or midden deposits that may have been associated with the earliest occupation on site. In fairness, the recovery of absolute dates were clearly important, as circled asterisk's are seen in Baker's field notes alongside the coins recovered (missing from the physical collection), with their approximate positions clearly indicated within the profile maps drawn for Operation 3. However, the fact remains that a more rigorous temporal analysis of the material culture recovered from Operation 3 was never undertaken.

According to Baker's field notes, the 3C excavation unit measures 9 ft. (E-W) by 7 ft. (N-S). The actual shape of Sub-operation 3C, gleaned from his datum 3 plan map, is more rhombozoidal. It has been useful throughout this process to recognize that in the Parks Canada system specific Lots and Sup-operations often conform to the extent of a relatively homogenous cultural/natural horizon. In the case of Sub-operation 3C, the dimensions of specific Lots correspond to the limits of the wooden platform and midden deposits along the rear of the boarding house. The shape of the midden deposit in Lot 3C7 is also informative, as Baker makes clear that the main midden deposit is situated at the northern end of the Lot. This would place the 3A7 midden deposit and overlying wood and coal layers in association with Sub-operation 3B. Figure 44 (below) is Baker's hand-drawn plan map of Sub-operation 3C with the "rich midden deposit" in Lot 3C7 highlighted (Baker 1976). Note the designated locations of the coins recovered from this unit.

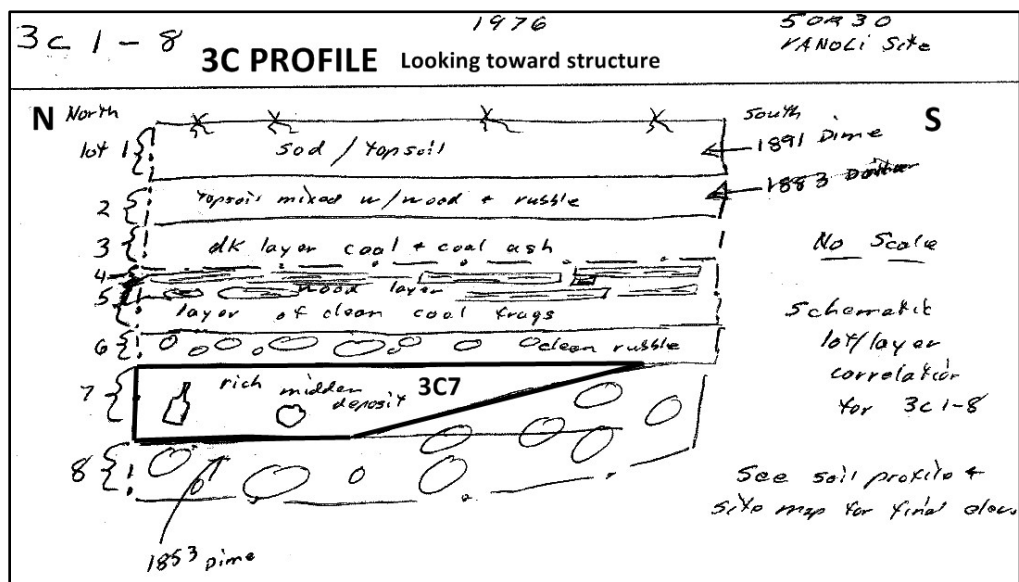


Figure 44. Steven Baker's hand-drawn profile map of SubOperation 3C with midden deposit highlighted (Baker 1976).

### Summary of Operation 3

The renovation of the stairwell at the rear of the boarding house after 1900 would have a considerable effect on the traffic flow, storage locations, and trash pits at the rear of the building. Keeping our attention focused on the original configuration of the stairwell, Operation 3 has revealed at least two capped midden deposits in direct correlation with the boarding house. Figure 45 (below) shows the locations of these deposits in relation to the Sub-operations excavated.

All of Baker's hand-drawn profile maps indicate that a wood floor layer was laid down behind the structure, quite possibly since its early construction. The eastern half of the trench excavations or those Lots closest to the structure (Lots 3A1 / A4 / A6; Lot 3B2 / B6; Lot 3C7; and Lot 3E4) all depict wood flooring above a midden in direct association with coal.ash. Spanning an approximate width of six to nine feet away from the westward sloping rear of the structure, these running boards may have served several purposes: fuels storage, patio, midden and thrash pit coverings, and general footing needed to access the privy, trash dumps, and coal deposits in inclement weather. The presence of coal and ash above the floor indicates that coal was stored on top of this flooring and that coal ash was routinely thrown upon it. Coal was also stored in a covered depression or bin, between the basement foundation and the posts supporting the enclosed second floor stairwell (indicated in Figure 45, below). The mixing of artifacts within the wood floor layer also suggests general deposition of trash upon the surface. Figure 46, below, also shows the potential wooden flooring plan at the rear of the boarding house in its originally constructed stairwell configuration.

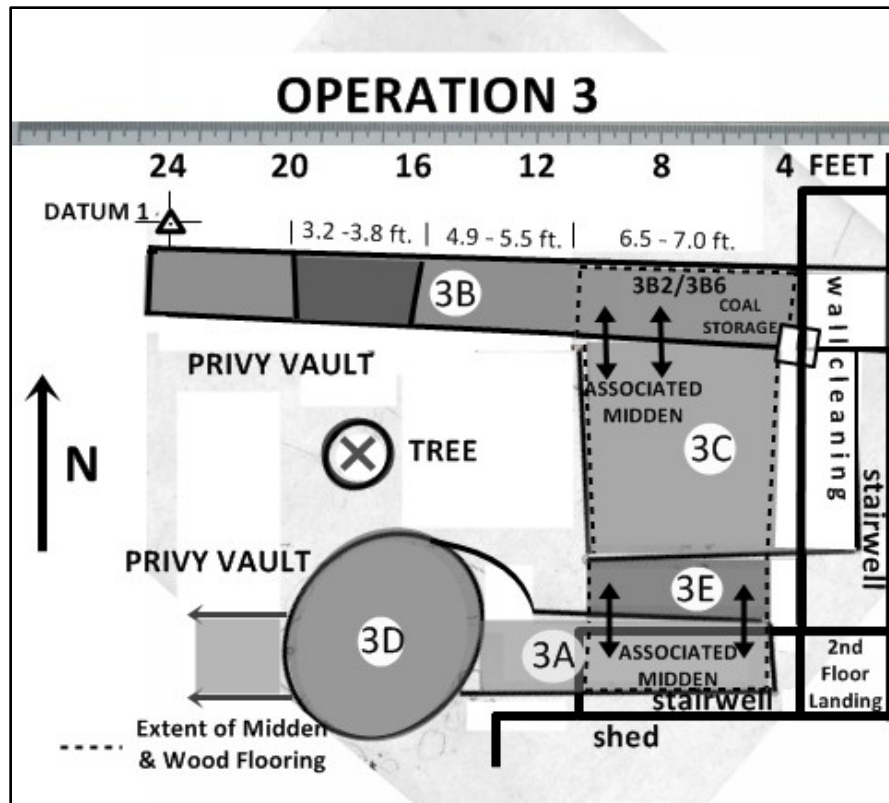


Figure 45. Plan view of Operation 3.

The renovation of the rear stairwell between 1900 and 1907 has produced large quantities of construction debris (nails/screws/brackets/etc.) in the upper levels of the excavation units near the boarding house. Understandably, the highest levels of building debris were found in Sub-operation 3A – the trench running parallel to the 2-story shed and associated stairwell. Figure 46 (below) is a slightly expanded view of Lots 21 and 22, with Operation 3 superimposed onto the 1886 Sanborn map. This figure also shows the extent of wood flooring in relation to the main structure. The exact dimension of the shed at the rear of the boarding house has been a matter of consternation. Through photographic evidence it has been confirmed that the variability in size of this shed seen on the Sanborn maps have obscured the actual size of this structural feature. Figure 46 shows the probable extent of this shed, which most likely abuts against the 3A trench.

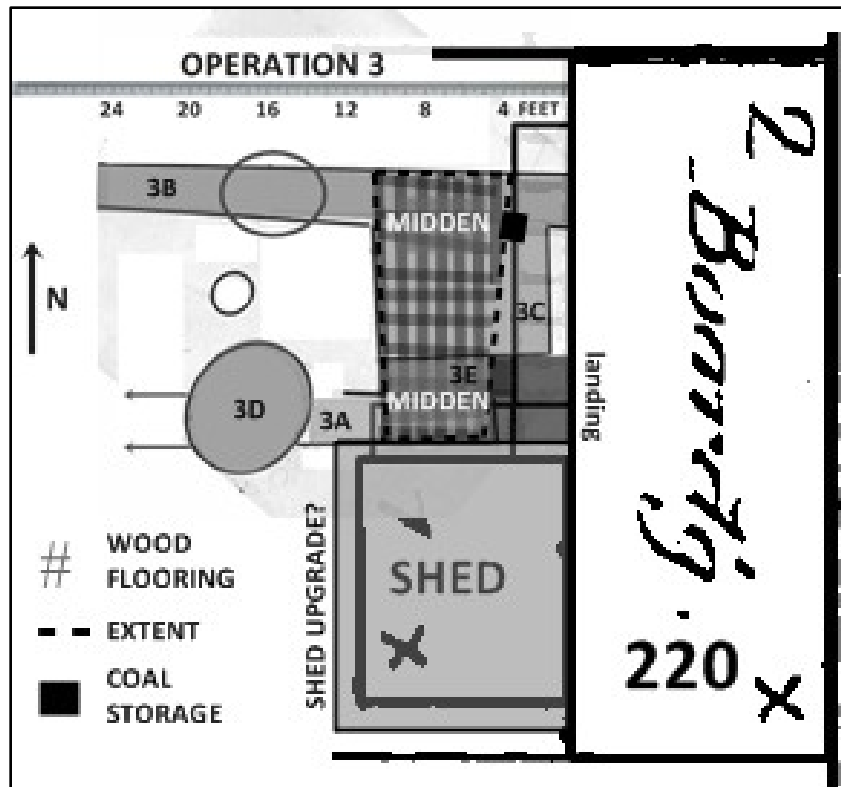


Figure 46. Operation 3 and boarding house (Modified 1886 Ouray Sanborn – Sheet 2).

In addition to building materials, Operation 3 has some of the highest frequencies on site of personal items (sewing notions/coins/keys), household goods (lamps/kitchen), food consumption (stemware/drinking/dinnerware glass), articles of personal hygiene (brushes/syringes/vials/milk glass), writing implements, clothing (belts/buckles/shoes), and recreation (musical instruments/gaming pieces/poker chips/dice). Tobacco tin fragments were found, as well as a number of syringes and rubber syringe balls. Having identified the Lots which comprise the earliest trash pit of the boarding house, a temporal analysis can confirm the homogeneity of the trash deposit and help clarify deposition episodes at the rear of the boarding house.



### Temporal Analysis of Operation 3

It is clear from Baker's drawings that the lowest levels of Sub-Operations 3B and 3C had exposed a rubble substratum that seems intentionally constructed as a midden pit. This trash dump was capped with wooden boards and often had coal stacked above. A similar midden association was made between the 3A trench and the 3E balk. Sub-operation 3D, the stone-lined privy vault, did not have any datable artifacts. There were also no datable artifacts recovered from the privy vault excavated in Sub-operation B. The temporal analysis of artifacts deposited in at least two trash pits along the rear of the boarding house provides an opportunity to associate the distinct units of material culture to specific time periods of boarding house occupation. Needless to say, the association of specific Lots to chronologically consistent deposition episodes would greatly enhance the interpretative value of the material culture recovered.

The majority of artifacts selected for this analysis are based on known dates of manufacture derived from researching maker's marks on bottle-glass and ceramics. Much of this lab work is attributable to the students of C.S.U. Absolute dates are derived from coins, and maker's marks on artifacts with legible or known date of manufacture. The coins, and in many cases their placement in the excavation unit, have been gleaned from Baker's Operation 3 field notes (1976). The age-range of the 2-hole, hard-rubber button has been determined by Gensmer (2012). Artifacts with an exceptionally-wide relative date of manufacture (more than 50 years) have been excluded from the sample.

In Table 7 (below), most obvious are the close frequency of date ranges in Sub-operation 3B, most likely corresponding to an early trash pit established during the construction of the building in 1877. This midden deposit, namely Lot 3B6, does have an association with the northern-half of Lot 3C7 (No. 8, Earthenware saucer – Knowles, Taylor and Knowles - refit of

pieces collected from both Lots). Several anomalies are also apparent in Table 7; most obvious are the 1837-dated coins (penny and dime) in Sub-operation A. Although the excavation trench from which these coins were recovered was located along the back entrance to the structure, the chance that two coins of the exact same early date are found just below the topsoil horizon (3A4) is certainly an odd coincidence. Besides these coins, Sub-operations 3A and 3E have few datable artifacts. In addition, the spatial contexts of these units are not entirely clear<sup>58</sup> in relation to the shed and stairwells, which were reconstructed sometime after 1900. For these reasons, these Sub-operations 3A and 3E will not be examined in any great detail.

Table 7 by no means should be considered a definitive temporal reference for the artifacts recovered from Operation 3, as there are a number of fairly unique, undated artifacts in this Sub-Operation that have not been exhaustively evaluated by the author or others. This is not the fault of the analyst or the analytical process. Due to the number of glass maker's in operation between 1860 and the turn of the century, in the United States and abroad, the lack of definitive reference material on historic bottle glass can be problematic.<sup>59</sup> Also, the date of manufacture for some bottles can be difficult – due to the symbols and initials shared by multiple glass makers over time.<sup>60</sup> The effort to decipher these markings and symbols throughout the bottle assemblage, as well as placing these artifacts in context with known structures on the Vanoli complex, is now the task of future archaeologists.

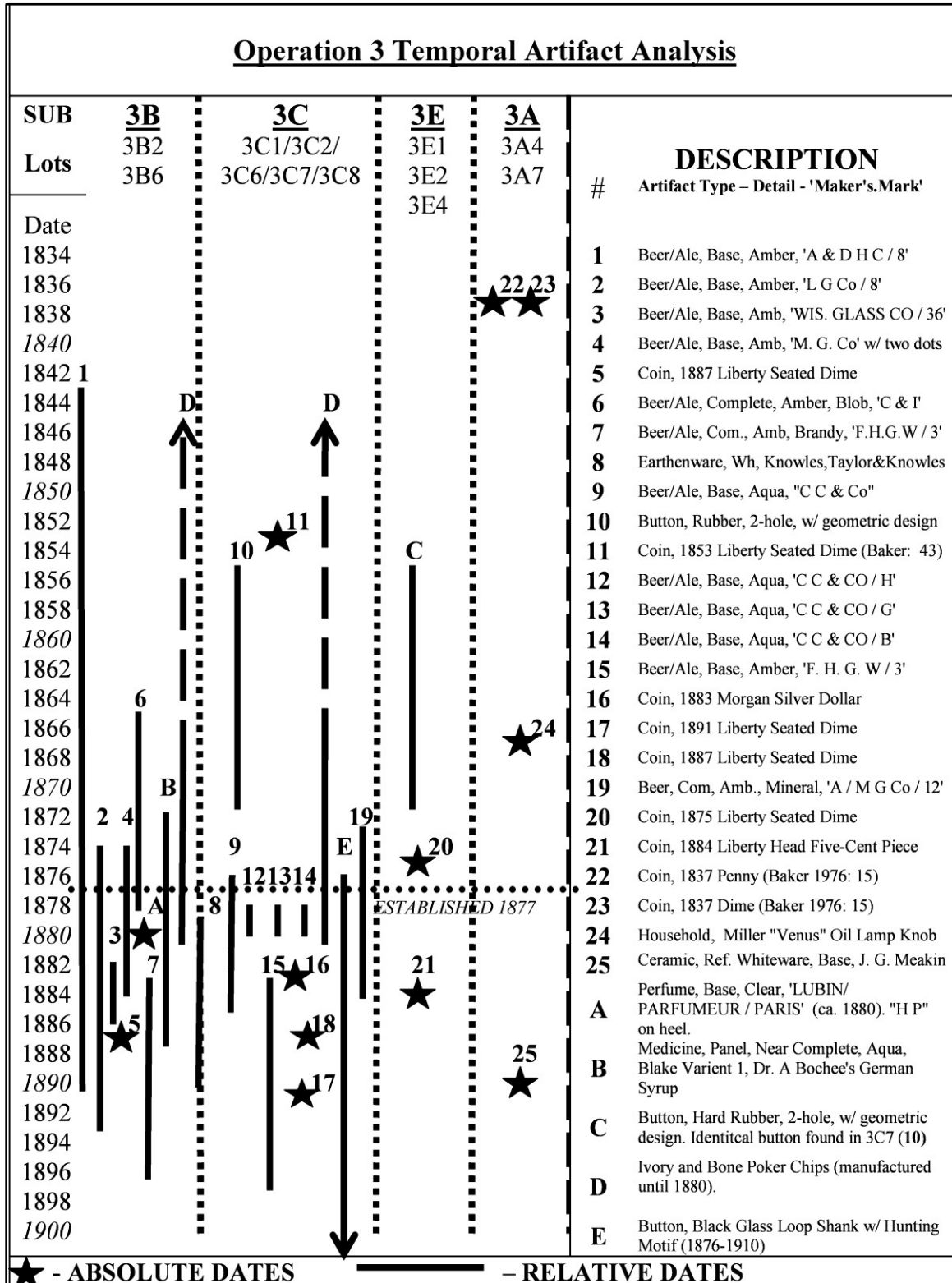
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<sup>58</sup> It is quite possible the Sanborn map shed dimensions for the boarding house are incorrect or imprecise. Several Sanborn maps at various time periods of the house and shed were overlain on each other to reveal varying dimensions of this structural feature.

<sup>59</sup> As an example, the outstanding bottle-glass analysis by Horobik (2011) included a complete “Injection Brou” medicinal bottle from Paris, France, recovered from Sub-operation 3B6. This medicinal was used for the treatment of genital diseases for both males and females. This medicinal has been confirmed in context with a penile injector. After a lengthy investigation into the earliest date of manufacture, it was discovered that this medicinal was shipped to dozens of countries around the world since at least the 1840's – using a patent obtained in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>60</sup> One bottle listed in Table 9 had multiple date ranges of manufacturer (No. 4 – Mississippi Glass Company, c. 1874-1884, or the Missouri Glass Co., c.1859-1911). As one Mississippi Glass Co. bottle was positively identified (No. 19), I took the liberty of identifying bottle No. 4 as 'Mississippi.'

Table 7. Temporal Analysis of Operation 3 artifacts.



## APPENDIX VI – OPERATION 18

### Investigation of Operation 18

It is unclear exactly what year Baker and his team excavated the area adjacent to the Gold Belt Variety Theatre. Based on the sequential Operations undertaken (totaling 21), Op. 18 was most likely excavated in the last field session in the early 1980's. Seeking trash middens and some clarification on the foundational outline of the Gold Belt, especially the open section of the southeastern corner of the building - removed at the time excavation, Baker opened a series of trenches to expedite his search. There are a total of five Sub-operations (18A/18B/18C/18D/18E) situated within the 8 trenches, ranging in width from two to three feet.

Figure 47, below, represents a reconstruction of Baker's trench system along the Gold Belt. Beginning at the eastern end of the to-be-designated trench 3, Baker opened Sub-operation 18A1 – 18A3, a 3 ft. x 15 ft. trench to resolve issues concerning a reported bath house/privy purposely designed into the Gold Belt. Finding little of the above-ground structure depicted in Sanborn maps, he extended the trench toward the Gold Belt. The upper levels of a mound (Sub-op 18A4 – 18A6) within the interior of the building (the configuration and use of this space, once part of the original structure, is still not totally resolved) revealed a trash horizon and a line of planks bisecting the trench. The planks may indicate a walkway that was traversed from the rooms below the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor cribs. The sequences of trenches, and the corresponding Sub-operations and Lots, are listed in Table 8, below.

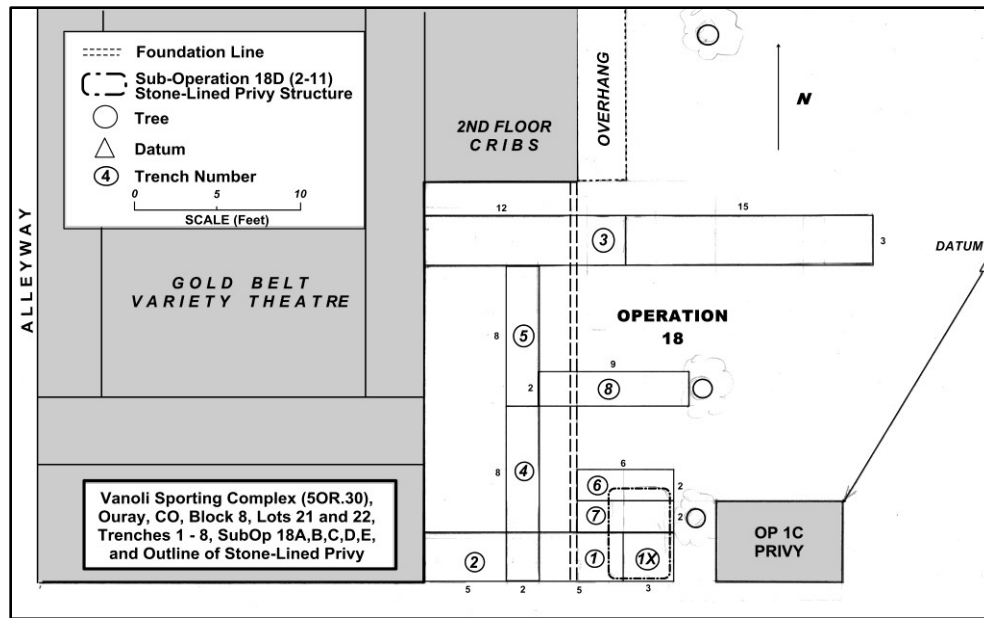


Figure 47. Operation 18 Trench System near Gold Belt Variety Theatre

Table 8. Operation 18 Trench / Lot Correlations in general order of excavation

Trench #	Sub-operation	Associated Lots	Dimensions	General Location
Trench 3	18A	A1, A2, A3 (East) A4, A5, A6, A7, A8, A10 (West)*	2' X 27' (E-W)	Northern-most E-W Trench of Op. 18
Surface	18B	B1	Op. 18 Area	Entire surface clean of Op. 18 excavation area
Trench 1	18B 18C	B2, B3, B4, C1, D4-11**	3' x 5' (E-W)	Southeast corner of Gold Belt
Trench 2	18B	B5, B19	3' x 5' (E-W)	West of Trench 1 and balk
Trench 4	18B	B6, B18	2' x 8' (N-S)	Running north of balk dividing Trench 1 and Trench 2
Trench 5	18B	B7, B17	2' x 8' (N-S)	Continuing north of Trench 4
Trench 6	18B 18D	B8, B9, B10, B11, D1-11**	2' x 3' (E-W)	North of trench 1, separated by Trench 7 balk
Trench 1X	18B	B12, B13, B14, D4-11	3' x 3'	Directly east of Trench 1
Trench 6X	18B 18C 18D	B8, B9, B10, B11, C2, C3, D1-11**	2' x 3' (E-W)	Directly east of Trench 6
Trench 7	18B 18D	B15, B16, D2, D4-11**	2' x 3' (E-W)	Situated between Trench 1 and Trench 6
Trench 7X	18B 18D	B15, B16, D2, D4-11**	2' x 3' (E-W)	Directly east of Trench 7
Trench 8	18B	B20, B21	2' x 9' (E-W)	Running east & perpendicular to Trench 5
BALK	18B	B22, B23	2' x 3' (N-S)	Balk between Trench 1 and Trench 2
* A9 is a backhoe trench from 18A1 to the southwest ** Lot 18D6 represents wall cleanings of the stone-lined privy Sub-operation 18E represents wall cleanings above and within the stone-lined privy feature				

## Sub-Operations 18B / 18C / 18D / 18E

Creating a new Sub-operation - 18B, Baker had the surface of the Op. 18 excavation area cleared (18B1) then turned his attention to the southeastern corner of the building and opened trench 1, which runs parallel to the southern wall and bisects the eastern wall in this corner. The eastern-half of trench 1 revealed a change to organic soil and a midden deposit to a depth of two feet below surface level. Baker stopped there, opening Trench 2 (18B5) to the same depth as trench 1. The moderate artifact density in trench 2 prompted the opening of several trenches to locate middens at this depth. Trenches 4 and 5 (18B6 and 18B7) were subsequently opened.

Returning to the organic deposit discovered in trench 1, Baker then decided to open trench 6 (B8-B11), a 2ft. x 3 ft. unit several feet to the north of trench 1 (see Figure 39, above). Extending the trench eastward (extension 6X), Baker excavated down until a loose, non-organic, rocky fill was encountered (later designated as Sub-op. 18C). An extension to trench 1 was opened to the east, trench 1X (18B12-18B14). Stopping at a layer of coal/ash and organic fill, Baker then opened trench 7 (B15 and B16), the 2 ft. balk between trench 1 and 6. Through this process the extent of the stone-lined privy feature was understood. The excavation of the privy fill was given the Sub-operation designation 18D (Lots 18D2-18D11), excavated to a depth of over 6 feet below the surface.<sup>61</sup> Sub-op. 18E was used for the stone wall cleanings of the privy,

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<sup>61</sup> To much consternation, the exact level of the datum line above the surface is unknown. For Operation 18, it is assumed this level line is situated several feet above the surface. Therefore, the depths given in Baker's field notes are not to the surface, but to the datum level line. For example, the lowest level of Sub-op 18D (18D11) is almost 9 feet below the datum line, but is most likely no more than six or seven feet below the surface.

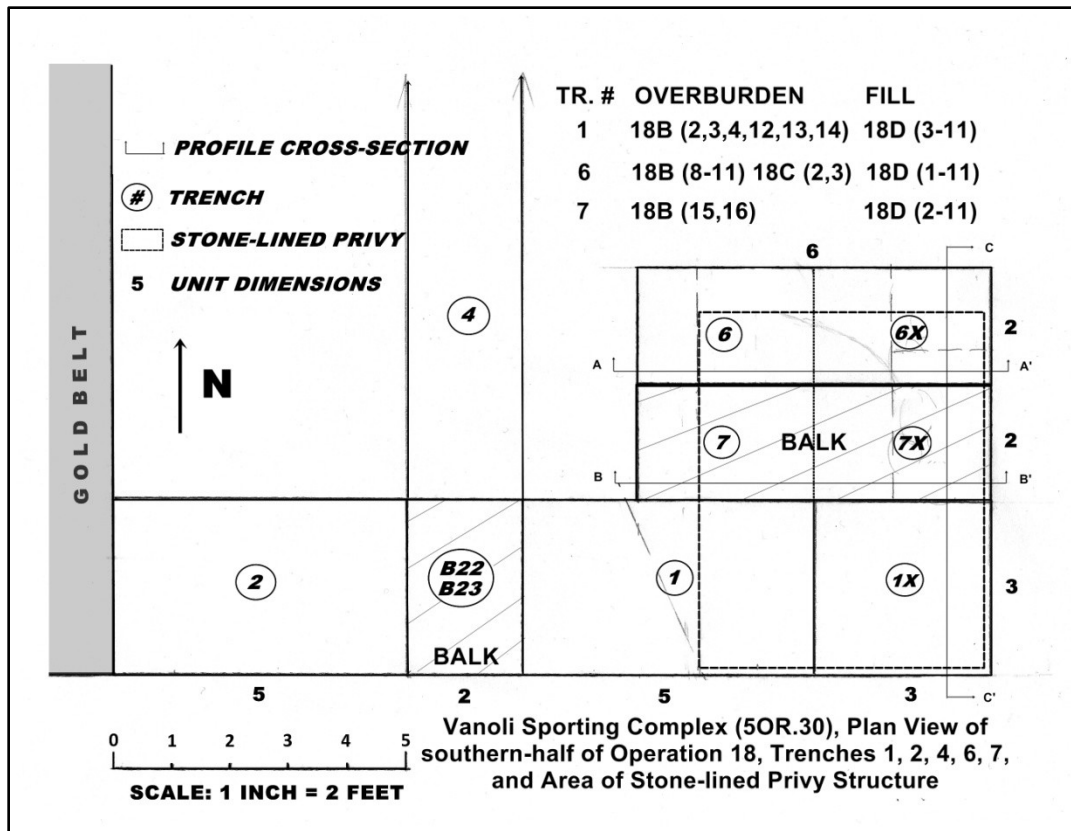


Figure 48. Sub-operations 18B, 18C, 18D, and 18E and trenches 1, 1X, 6, 6X, 7, 7X.

Figure 48 (above) represents a closer look at the southern-half of Operation 18. Focusing more closely on the trenches 1, 6, and 7 (and their eastern extensions), these excavation units encompass the extent of a rectangular, stone masonry feature. The western thirds of trench 6 and 7 were unexcavated as these areas represented the western wall of this stone-lined feature (and potential building foundation line).

Once Baker understood he was dealing with a stone-lined privy, he changed the Sub-operation to 18D. 18D1 represents the first Lot in which organic fill was encountered. 18D2, which became known as a modified privy vault, was given the designation 18D2 (trench 7). 18D3 represents the first layer of organic fill encountered in trench 1 and 1X. Understanding he was dealing with a large rectangular privy, Baker opened lot 18D4, which would encompass the fill of the entire stone-lined privy. Beginning with Lot 18D4, each subsequent level thereafter

(D5-D11) would have an approximate area of 6 ft. north-south by approximately 4 ½ ft east-west, representing the organic fill of this privy feature. Figure 50 (below), is a N-S cross section (C-C') of Sub-operation 18D which bisects the eastern extensions of trench 1, 6, and 7. The reconstruction of the privy profile in Figure 49, below, showing the lower levels of Sub-operation 18D, was reconstructed based on the depth measurements to the datum level line (unknown), and the soil descriptions of each Lot found in Baker's field notes.

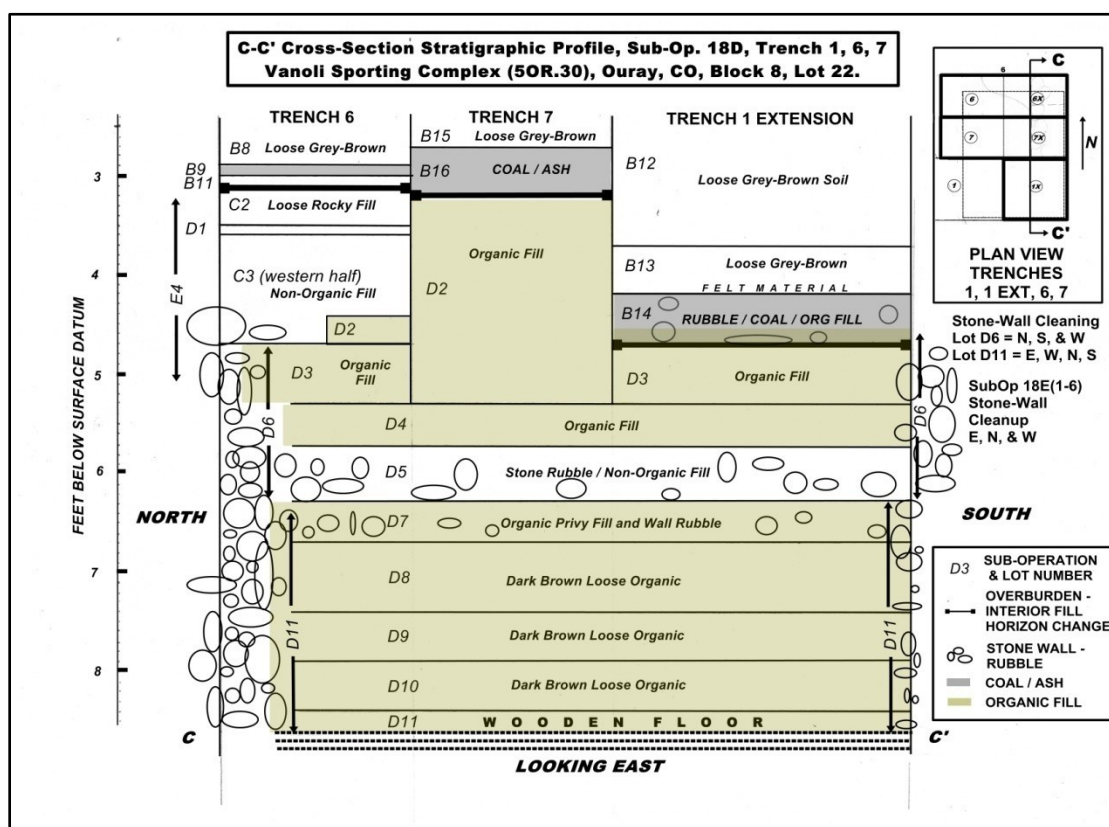


Figure 49. Reconstructed profile view of Sub-operation 18D (stone-lined privy).

The E-W cross-sections A-A' and B-B' indicated in Figure 49 (above) represents the profiles drawn by Baker of the upper levels of trenches 6 and 7, respectively. The delineation between the overburden and stone-lined privy fill is indicated in both profiles (see Figures 50 and 51, below). No profile maps were discovered of the lower levels of the privy fill (D4-D11).



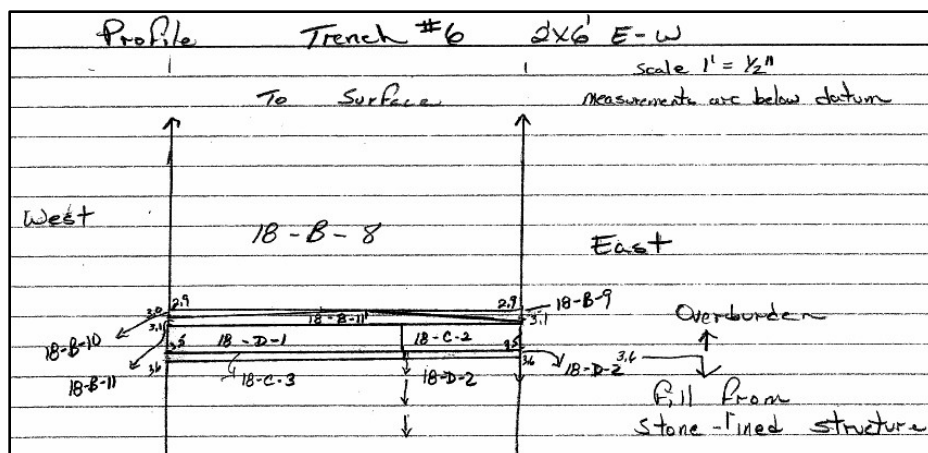


Figure 50. Steven Baker's (no date) hand-drawn profile map of the upper levels of trench 6, looking north.

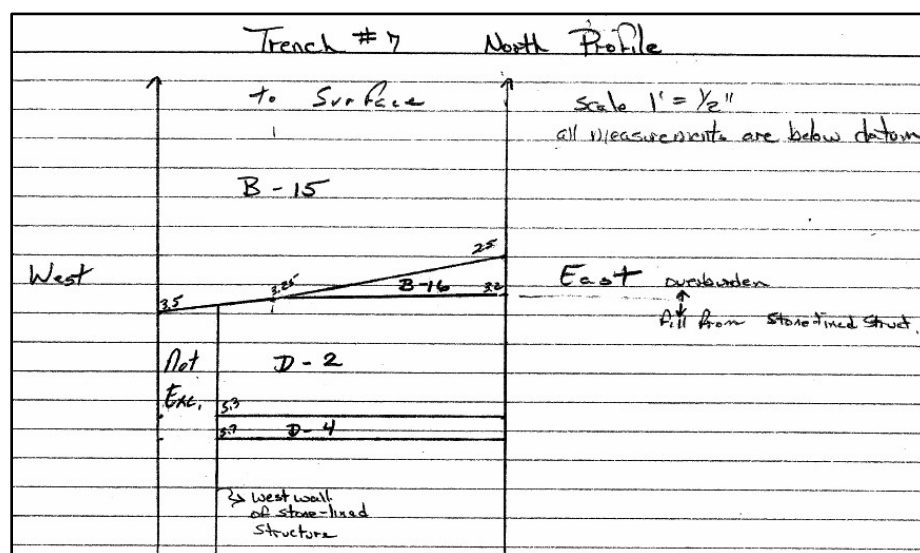


Figure 51. Steven Baker's (no date) hand-drawn profile map of the upper levels of trench 7, looking north.

## Summary of Operation 18

The highest concentration of artifacts recovered from Operation 18 come from the overburden and fill of the stone-lined privy feature. The three trenches that encompass this feature are Trench 1, 6 and 7 (and their eastern extensions). The privy measures over six feet in depth, with an area of 6 ft. (N-S) and ~4.5 ft. (E-W). Fairly well defined to the west, north, and east, the western wall of the privy most likely abuts the foundation or wall line of the Gold Belt in the southeastern corner of the structure. The southern wall is less well-defined, as the wall encountered was in the upper levels of the privy fill, dissipating at the lower levels. This anomaly might suggest that the southern side was not originally walled with stone-masonry, and possibly shored up some time after construction and use. Once the extent of the privy was known Operation 18D was established, with each Lot (18D4-18D11) representing the privy fill within the stone-lined feature.

From Baker's field notes it was possible to glean the soil composition of each Lot. Only one, non-organic horizon was revealed, Lot 18D5. The soil composition of this horizon (~8 inches) was stone rubble and non-organic fill. This would suggest a cap on the lower privy fill deposit (Lots 18D6-18D11). Based on a temporal analysis on the 18D Sub-operation, the non-organic fill of 18D5 revealed consistent dates with the Lots above and below, marking this horizon as fairly homogenous to the deposition episodes of the privy. All of the artifacts used in the temporal analysis (Table 12, below) come from the Lot 18D5 (non-organic cap), or below (original privy fill).

## Temporal Analysis of Operation 18D

Much like the temporal analysis performed on Operation 3, many of the artifacts that could provide relative dates of manufacture from the Gold Belt privy came from bottle glass. Date ranges extending beyond 50 years were omitted. Only one absolute date was recovered from the privy, a button with the name of a local tailor, James Canavan, arriving in Ouray in 1889. The temporal analysis for Sub-operation 18D is seen in Table 9, below.

The exact date of the Gold Belt construction is unknown. The August 1886 Sanborn map of Ouray show no structure on the western side of Lots 21 and 22, and the first appearance of this structure is on the 1890 Sanborn map of Ouray. It had been assumed that the Gold Belt was constructed on or slightly before 1888, in time for the arrival of the train line to Ouray. However, the consistent dates of the bottle glass recovered from the privy might suggest an even earlier construction date. It is certainly possible that the Gold Belt was constructed between Aug of 1886 and the close of that summer season. As an example, the boarding house, which has three floors and more space per square feet than the Gold Belt, was built in only three months. The fairly tight range of dates for bottle glass (beer/ale) in the Gold Belt privy would certainly suggest an earlier construction date.

Table 9. Sub-Operation 18D Temporal Analysis.

Sub-Operation 18D Temporal Artifact Analysis Vanoli Sporting Complex (5OR.30), Ouray, CO, Block 8, Lot 22							
Op Lots	18 D5	18 D6	18 D7	18 D9	18 D10	#	DESCRIPTION Artifact Type – Detail - 'Maker's.Mark' - State
Date							
1840					27	1	Beer/Ale, Base, Green, 'BREMEN / H. HEYE' GER
1842						2	Water, Base, Aqua, 'Cochran & Cantrell/Belfast' IRE
1844						3	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, ' L G Co' w/ Anchor MO
1846						4	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'D.O.C.' Pittsburgh, PA
1848						5	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'WIS. G. Co. / MILW' WI
1850						6	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'C.V.Co No 2 / MILW' WI
1852						7	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'F.H.G.W' St. Louis, MO
1854						8	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'S B & C Co / N' Streator, IL
1856				22		9	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'F H G W. / 37' St. Louis, MO
1858						10	Water, Base, Aqua, 'Cochran & Cantrell/Belfast' IRE
1860						11	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, ' S B & G Co.' Streator, IL
1862						12	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, ' F H C W/19' St. Louis, MO
1864						13	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, ' B G Co.' Belleville, IL
1866						14	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, ' L G Co./15' Louisville, KY
1868					24	15	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, ' L G Co./23' Louisville, KY
1870						16	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'F H G W / 33' St. Louis, MO
1872						17	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'B.G.Co.' Belleville, IL
1874	3		1415			18	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'S.B. & G. Co' Streator, IL
1876				2021		19	Bev, Base, Grn, 'COLO / G.W.CO.' CO
1878	2	6	9	18		20	Bev/Food, Lt. Grn, 'J D / 18 / S' New York, NY
1880	4 5	8	10	11 13		21	Water, Base, Aqua, 'ROSS'S/BELFAST' IRE
1882		7	12	16		22	Med., Com, Co-Blue, ' W. T. & CO.' Millville, NJ
1884						23	Beer/Ale?, Base, Aqua, 'F.H.G.W. /34' St. Louis, MO
1886				A 19		24	Water, Base, Aqua, 'Cochran & Cantrell/Dublin' IRE
1888	.....	.....	.....	.....	EST?	25	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'B.G. Co. / T' Belleville, IL
1890				★		26	Beer/Ale, Base, Amb, 'B.G. Co' Belleville, IL
1892						27	Unspec., Base, Clear, 'McC' Pittsburgh, PA
1894						28	Perfume, Com, Aqua, 'FLORIDA WATER / MURRAY & LANMAN
1896						A Button, Com, Brass, "CANAVAN LEADVILLE" James "Jimmy" Canavan appeared in Ouray, CO in 1889 after 10 years as a store-owner and tailor in Leadville, CO. (Sanders and Jones 2010: 94)	
1898							
1900							
1902							
1904							
1906							
1908	↓	↓		↓	↓		

## APPENDIX VII - GOLD BELT PRIVY EXCAVATION

The overburden represents the most recent deposition episodes of the Gold Belt privy feature. Baker began his excavations within the overburden, designating it Sub-operation 18B. The soil composition in these 18B overburden levels is generally described as "loose, grey-brown soil" (Baker n.d.b.). When Baker reached a loose rocky fill, he changed the Sub-operation to 18C<sup>62</sup>. Soon thereafter, Baker opened a series of trenches, designated trench 1, 6, and 7, respectively. When Baker eventually discovered the parameters of the stone-lined privy he extended these trenches to create 1X, 6X, and 7X in order to excavate the entire feature. The Sub-operation would change to 18D when he reached the organic privy fill.

Based on the profile of trench 7 (see Figure 51), it would seem the privy may have been converted to a single-user privy, approximately 2 ft. wide.<sup>63</sup> This modified privy vault was given the Lot designation 18D2. It appears that both sides of this modified vault was used for refuse deposition and maintains the Sub-operation 18B designation. When the extent of the privy fill was known, Baker started 18D3 which begins the excavation of the privy fill based on its original dimensions. The privy fill encompasses the Lots 18D3-18D11.

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<sup>62</sup> Sub-operation 18C represents a clean rubble horizon demarcating the overburden and fill. The Lots in this Sub-operation is divided between trench 1 (18C1), and trench 6X (18C2 and 18C3). Aside from large quantities of bottle-glass fragments, comprised of liquor, beer, and soda water, only a few personal items were recovered (buttons).

<sup>63</sup> The depth of the organic fill revealed in trench 7, represented by the Lot 18D2, and the westward sloping organic fill profiled in the extreme eastern end of trench 6 (also designated Lot 18D2), would support this assumption. As it is unclear at what depth the stone masonry of the privy begins, it is believed that the 6 ft. x 4.5 ft. hole for this privy at the top of the stone-lined feature was still several feet below the ground surface and used as a privy and a trash dump.

## Gold Belt Overburden Artifact Analysis

For comparative purposes, the third deposit of interest is the overburden above the stone-lined privy feature. The abundance of artifacts recovered in the Lots considered overburden by Baker, which represents the most recent deposition episodes of the privy feature, strongly suggest a trash dump had existed along each side of a central privy seat or vault (18D2) – which represents a modification to the privy feature. The artifacts in this third deposit are briefly summarized if only to ascertain any perceptible changes in the material expression over time.<sup>64</sup>

At the lowest levels of the Lots deemed overburden by Baker (18B15 ad 18B16), several prescription medicine bottles were recovered, a near-complete "Dr. King's New Discovery," a common medicinal found on the complex which was used for treatment of consumption<sup>65</sup> (otherwise known as tuberculosis), and multiple fragments of a large, cobalt-blue prescription bottle manufactured for "J. Personeni," a chemist from New York. There were at least two of these bottles in the privy fill, and fragments of this distinctive chemist bottle were found in abundance in 18B15 (overburden of trench 7), the organic privy fill directly below (18D2), and the Lots 18B11 (trench 6).

In trench 1X, the personal items recovered from the lower overburden Lots (B12-B14) include a clear glass vial for medicinal use, another "Dr. Kennedy's Medical Discovery" bottle (18B12), and several items attributable to women. These include a number of artifacts related to clothing (decorative accessories, clothing trim, glass beads, buttons, shoes), personal hygiene (hair brush fragments), and personal items (mirror fragments, jewelry). Multiple fragments of

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<sup>64</sup> For clarification, the privy fill (18D3-18D11), represents the lower portions of the stone-lined privy. The modified privy vault (18D2), sits atop the privy fill. The Lots considered overburden, designated 18C and 18B (2-16), are situated alongside and atop the modified privy vault. 18C and 18B (2-16) are divided into three separate trenches (1, 6, and 7, and corresponding extensions).

<sup>65</sup> The "Dr. Kennedy's New Medical Discovery" was a popular medicinal in the nineteenth century that cured "every kind of humor, from the worst scrofula down to a common pimple" (Kennedy 1871).

copper dress trim were found in trench 1X, trench 7X (18B16), and trench 1 (18B2). The limited personal items identified as male include some fragments of a heavy-duty boot, and a single, civil war era button (recovered in 18B13).

In trench 6X, represented by the overburden Lots 18B8 and 18B9, liquor bottles, champagne, and beer are found in association with a decorative jar and leather footwear. At the highest levels of the overburden Lots in the southwestern corner of the privy, namely 18B2-18B4 (trench 1), large quantities of fragmented bottle glass (beer/ale, liquor, soda, wine and medicinal) were found in association with personal items that include writing pen or stylus fragments, buttons, safety pins, leather gloves, shoes, celluloid collar fragments, and a phonograph record.

## APPENDIX VIII – ARTIFACT PHOTOGRAPHS

### BOARDING HOUSE



Figure 52. Wooden Gaming Piece – 3B6 (3B6.4.6.105)



Figure 53. Harmonica Fragments 3C7 (3C7.4.8.157)





Figure 54. Metal Sewing Thimble – 3C7 (3C7.4.8.162)



Figure 55. Large Caliber Cartridges (Sub-Op 18D) (4.8.146 & 4.8.772)

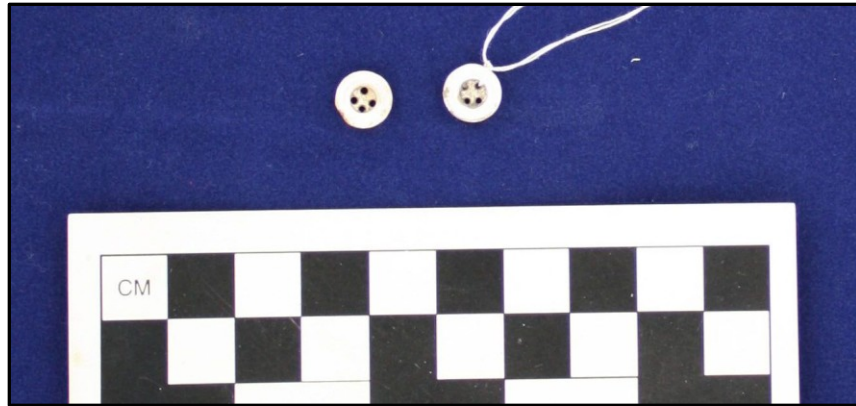


Figure 56. Prosser Shell Buttons – 3C7 (3C7.4.8.1167)

# GOLD BELT VARIETY THEATER

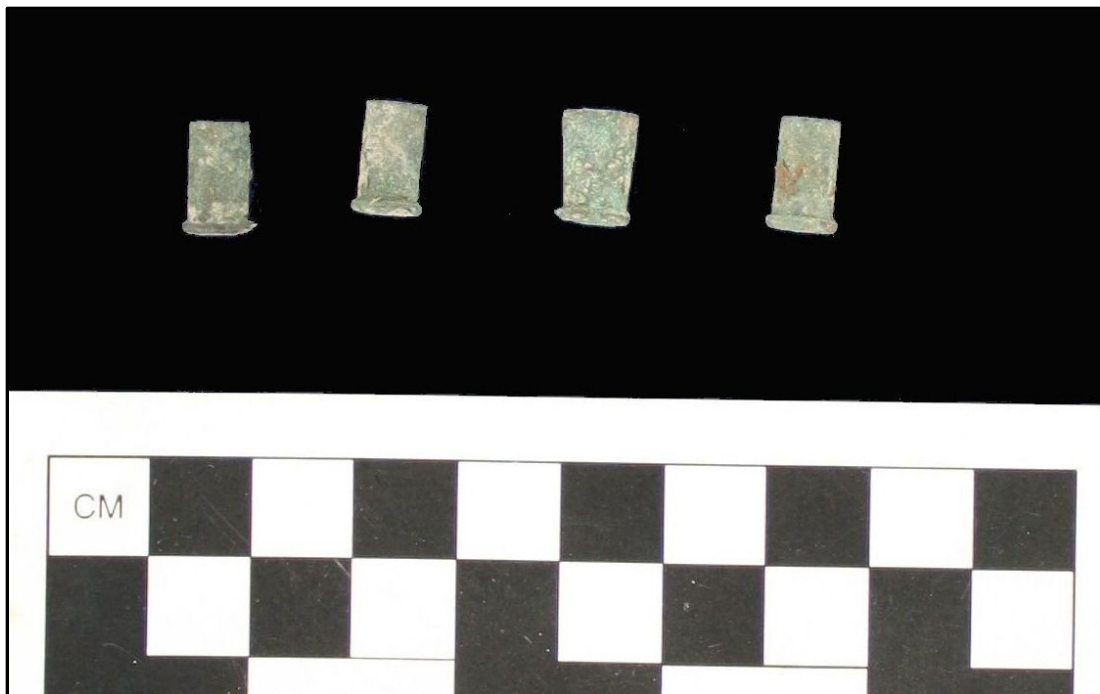


Figure 57. .22 Caliber Rimfire Cartridges – 18D6 (18D6.4.8.622)



Figure 58. "Canavan" Button – 18D7 (18D7.4.8.258)



Figure 59. Outer Garment Buttons – Sub-Op 18D (4.8.457)



Figure 60. Metal Hose Supporter – Sub-OP 18D (4.8.891)



Figure 61. "Ross" Torpedo Soda Bottles – 18D7 (18D7.4.1.3473)