

GOLDEN NOTES

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Sacramento's
Sophisticated Ladies
Prostitution in 1860

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A Year in the Trade
An Overview of Prostitution
in Sacramento in 1860

By Cindy L. Baker, MA



Sacramento County Historical Society

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PREFACE

Not too many years ago, it would have been quite unlikely for a respected historical society to publish a monograph on prostitution. Changing mores have brought a realistic acceptance of this class of entrepreneurs. And the truth is the topic is titillating. At a meeting of the Sacramento County Historical Society members in the early 1990s, this was the speaker's subject and the largest attendance ever was recorded.

Certainly the women who sold their personal services were a part of the history of this community. They were probably as well known as the merchants, the money lenders and, yes, the ministers. It has been written that the "...rougher the frontier, the higher the position of the 'ladies'."

In this well-researched article, the author has fleshed out the dull statistics with the human drama surrounding four of the best documented women in Sacramento in 1860. Their "good" days and their eventual fate in many ways paralleled that of numerous miners in pursuit of gold.

Further, the author has astutely laid out the material to capture the "reading for pleasure" audience and serve future researchers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The photographs are part of the collections at the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center. The Society is indebted to Charlene Gilbert Noyes, collections archivist, who gave invaluable assistance and much time to researching and selecting the pictures.

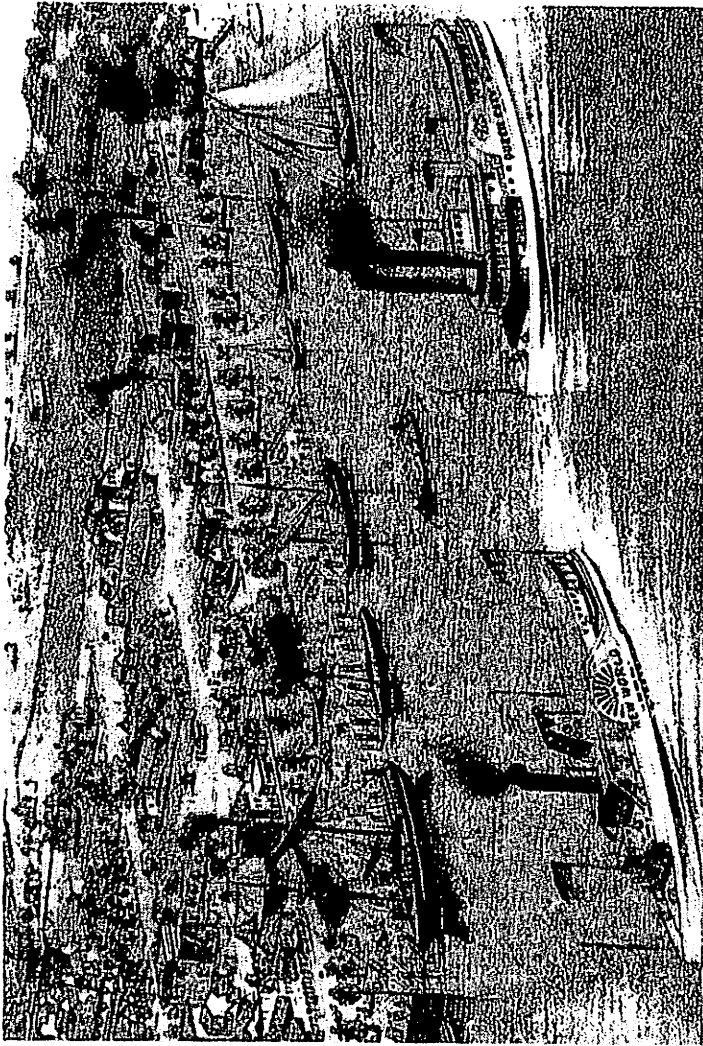
The Katharine Gerken tombstone photograph was taken especially for this story by Frances Pendleton, longtime member of the County Historical Society and faithful volunteer at the Sacramento Old City Cemetery for the past decade.

Printing was made possible by a bequest from Evelyn B. Day and the assistance of Scott Filbrant, manager of Copy House.

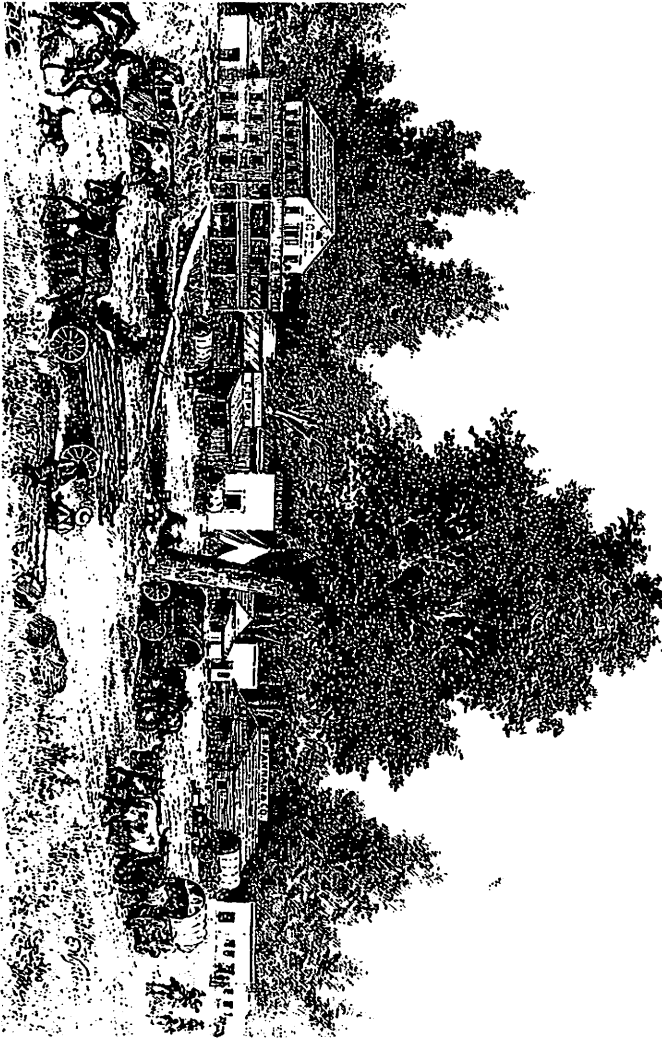
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Cindy L. Baker is a professional historian, who works with environmental consultants in the Sacramento area. She graduated with a Master of Arts degree in Public History from the Capital Campus Public History Program at California State University, Sacramento.



RIVER CITY's earliest days. The San Francisco to Sacramento waterways brought civilization to the valley with John Sutter's arrival in 1839 and all accouterments demanded by the exploding growth in the decades that followed. The boat *New World* (foreground) carried the news to Sacramento on October 19, 1850 that Congress had admitted California into the Union. *Photo from the Eleanor McClatchy collection at the Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*



FRONT STREET early on became the focal point of Sacramento's life, good and bad, and remained so for many decades. Note the little building bearing the sign *Eagle Theatre* located just to the left of the center tree. Farther left is the three-story *City Hotel*. Photo from *California State Library Collection* courtesy *Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center*.

**A YEAR IN THE TRADE:
AN OVERVIEW OF PROSTITUTION IN
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, 1860**

By Cindy L. Baker, MA

INTRODUCTION

This manuscript is a companion to a computerized directory of prostitution in Sacramento in 1860. The study presents a brief demographic and social profile of those directly involved in the business. It includes prostitutes, madams, their children, husbands and boy friends, as well as their pimps and their attackers.

Also included is a generalized description of four neighborhoods in Sacramento's first and second wards, as well as a description of the prostitutes' daily living conditions. The study concludes with research information addressing resources available to historians and others interested in uncovering the history of prostitution in early Sacramento.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Prostitution has always been a grim trade. Too often these women are stereotyped and minimized in historic literature and the media. Yet each woman was an individual with a life and a story all her own. The following sketches of four women, whose lives could be traced through newspaper stories and other documents, offer insight into the realities of prostitution in Sacramento in 1860.

Kate Allen's humorous story is one of indomitable spirit. Katharine Gerken's reminds us of the intrinsic danger of the trade. The lives of Sarah Jane Carroll and Julia Cummings

offer examples of resourcefulness and dignity in a difficult environment.

CATHARINE "KATE" ALLEN

Kate Allen was a free spirit roaming California in the 1860s, taking advantage of new social freedoms to make her way. She was also apparently difficult to pin down. She does not appear in the 1860 federal census or in city directories. She was youthful and probably white as newspapers, which always noted if their subjects were non-white persons, never commented on her race. She may have arrived in Sacramento during August 1860 since she appeared in police court about once a month thereafter.



Kate was probably young and certainly precocious. One hot August day, she wandered into Mrs. Blood's Millinery Shop on J Street between Fourth and Fifth streets. Trying on a stylish flat hat with a Black ostrich feather plume, she stepped out the door to "get her husband" and promptly disappeared. Police immediately began searching and finally found her hiding in the baker's cubby on the *Queen City*, hoping the riverboat would leave for San Francisco before she could be found and arrested.

About a week later Kate was again arrested, once again on a steamship, heading off on a Friday night cruise to San Francisco. This time her "offense" was dressing and wearing her hair in a man's style.

Kate became quite familiar with the city jail and jailers. In September she tried playing both ends against the middle.

One night at Baldwin's Mexican Dancehouse near the Embarcadero, Kate asked a stevedore, Joseph Case, for "a

treat”—in 19th century vernacular a flirtatious request to buy her a drink. Case declined, saying he had only two \$50 gold pieces, which he made the mistake of showing Kate. She promptly snatched them from his hand and high-tailed it, of all places, to the city jail. Apparently some one at the jail let her slip in. When questioned, Kate claimed she had been in jail for a week and, therefore, had to be innocent. Unfortunately, the newspaper failed to follow up on the case, leaving its outcome a mystery.

By November Kate had found an equally irrepressible friend, Patrick Cunningham. The two decided to play a trick on the town. Hiding near the bridge north of the slough, they began screaming “murder,” probably rolling on the ground with laughter, until they were arrested for disturbing the peace by would-be rescuers.

Kate offers a spirited example of the adventure and freedom a young, resilient white woman in Gold Rush California could find, even if only temporarily, but her story reveals none of the harsh realities prostitutes faced.

KATHARINE GERKEN

Katharine Gerken presents quite a different side to prostitution during the same period. Unfortunately, her tragic tale is all too familiar to us today. She was violently murdered in her home by a deranged customer. Prostitutes, by nature of their trade, often conduct their business in private, isolated locations and thereby fall victim to assault and murder.

Katharine, a 33-year-old Swiss prostitute, lived on L Street between Second and Third streets in a small wood-framed home. Although married to a grocer in San Francisco, she also had either a lover (as the *Sacramento*



KATHARINE GERKEN's tombstone in Old City Cemetery, Sacramento. *Photo by Frances Pendleton.*

The stone is among many in the cemetery that has been vandalized. The eroded German inscription is roughly deciphered as follows...

KATHARINA GERKEN
geb. Bergdorf
Gest. am 4 Januar 1861
32 Jahre alt

Selig sind die Toten die im
Herren sterben ... sie ruhen...
Sie aus von ihren
Muhen und ihr werke folgen nach.

Off. 14,13

The translation is cursory due to weathering and probable errors by stone carver's inability to read the original German script.

Blessed are the Dead which in the
Lord died... she rests...
She is out of her
Pains and her works shall follow her.
Revelations 14:13

BEE described him) or a pimp in Sacramento, Charles Wilson. She was murdered by Louis Kahl, a German immigrant, in the first days of 1861. Kahl had tied Katharine to the bed, beaten and kicked her severely, then strangled her with the red silken sash restraining her hands. After Kahl was apprehended and arrested at the Father Rhine House, another prostitute testified he had previously tried to strangle her with a red sash as well. Just as today, prostitution puts women in compromising situations with total strangers. Katharine, living alone in an isolated house, was at greater risk than prostitutes who lived in hotels or apartments.

Katharine was an apparently successful prostitute. Investigators found \$804 in cash, a \$2,000 certificate of deposit and \$300 worth of jewelry in her room after her death. Like Kate Allen, she does not appear in the Eighth Census of 1860 or the city directories, therefore, may have been a traveling prostitute. Her burial site today is a favorite spot for visitors to the Sacramento Old City Cemetery at 10th and Broadway.

SARAH JANE CARROLL and JULIA CUMMINGS

Sarah and Julia were two African-American women able to acquire property, independence and dignity from their lives as prostitutes, yet their lives were cut short by illness, another common occupational hazard of the trade. Their story is more remarkable considering the conditions facing Black Americans throughout the United States as the Civil War raged in the East.

Sarah and Julia were both from Georgia. In 1860, Sarah gave her age as 28. Julia was 27. Both women saved enough money to buy improved property in Sacramento. Sarah also owned a building in San Francisco near

Stockton and Sacramento streets.

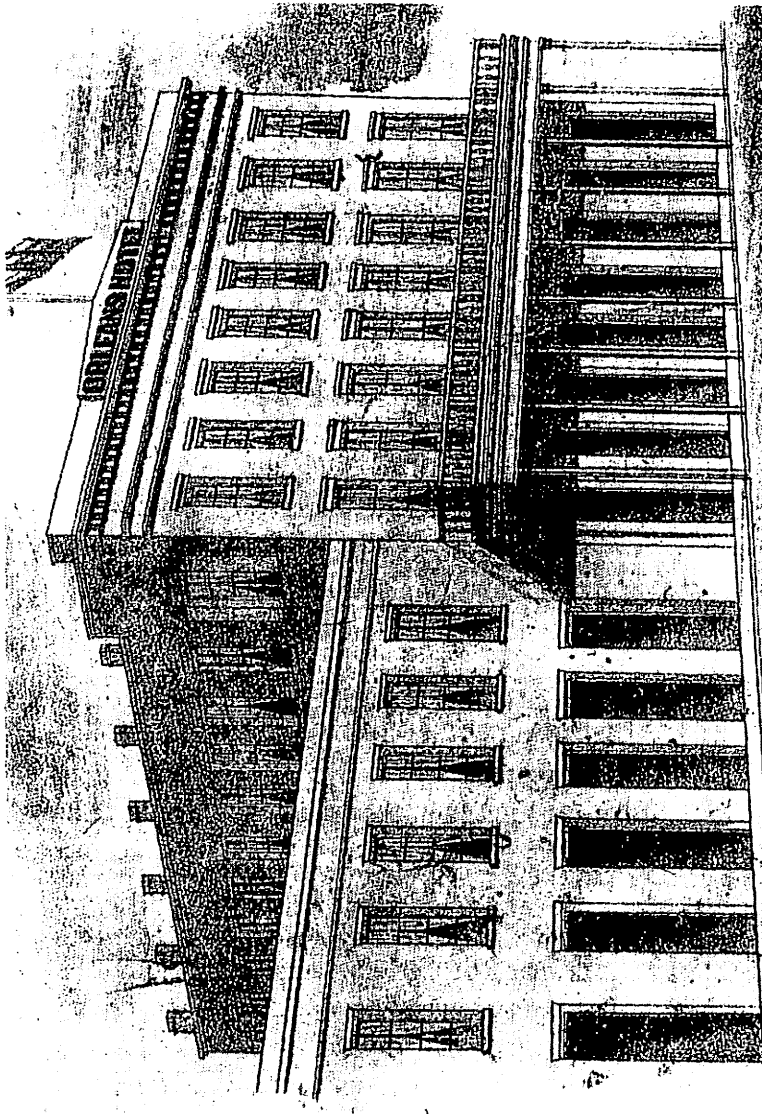
When Sarah died in 1868, her estate included \$150 in furniture in Sacramento and \$100 in personal property in San Francisco. She may well have been a madam operating small brothels at either end of the riverboat line.

While in 1860 Sarah lived with James Folsom, a saloon keeper at the Orleans Hotel, she died eight years later single and alone. However, four women, including Julia Cummings, were named in her will. The remainder of the proceeds from her estate provided for her rather expensive and elegant funeral.

Sarah's funeral was handled by undertaker Elizabeth "Lizzie" Reeves, who dressed her in a merino wool shroud accented with satin trim. On her hands were fine satin gloves. She was buried in a rosewood coffin adorned with eight shiny brass handles. Her body was carried to the New Helvetia Cemetery in a funeral procession of four hired carriages, one of which must have carried Julia.

Julia died four years later. She was in San Francisco, being treated for an unidentified illness that required "cupping" along with other almost daily treatments. Both she and Sarah were visited regularly by doctors for weeks before they died, indicating prolonged suffering and probably awareness of their impending demise. While Julia's body was dressed in a simple gown, it was placed in a lined and trimmed casket with engraved plates, then placed on a riverboat for a last ride to Sacramento.

While Julia was illiterate, both she and Sarah Jane were able to create some sense of economic stability in their lives. Yet both also seemed to struggle to get by. Both had taken out second mortgages against their properties. Both died at a relatively young age. Sarah was 36 years old and Julia was 39. Both died after long illnesses requiring



LOCATED on 2nd Street between J and K, the Orleans was the most imposing hotel in the city, with billiard room, reading room, saloon, parlor, family rooms and chambers. *Photo from V. Aubrey Neasham collection at Sacramento Archives Museum Collection Center.*

constant medication and almost daily doctors' visits in their final weeks. Such was the relative success a prostitute could hope to achieve.

NEIGHBORHOODS AND DAILY LIVING CONDITIONS

Most of Sacramento's prostitutes in 1860 lived along Front, Second, Third, and I streets. Each street comprised a different blend of ethnicity, commerce and activity.

The Chinese lived in a segregated community along I Street, extending from Second to at least Fifth Street. According to Sacramento newspapers, non-Chinese society viewed the "celestial" neighborhood as exotic and degraded. Columnists warned fathers that while Chinese festivals, with their fireworks, parades and music, were colorful and exciting, they were inappropriate as family entertainment. Yet the fact that the Chinese continued to celebrate their traditional New Year's festival far from their native land seems to indicate the vitality and cohesiveness of their community.

Front Street was quite the opposite of the homogeneous Chinese community, more a transient area than a neighborhood. With the riverfront embarcadero as its door step, Front Street catered to the fancies and needs of travelers, absorbing the brunt of the bustling activity. Boarding hotels full of single transient laborers, restaurants catering to all classes of society awaiting the arrival of river boats, boisterous saloons that grew louder with the arrival of thirsty men ready for recreation in the city, storerooms and business offices: these are the images of Front Street.

Off to the sides of the main embarkation zone, cheap entertainment in the form of the Eagle Theatre, the Nag's Head Saloon and Baldwin's Mexican Dancehouse beck-

oned miners and laborers. At the Nag's Head in February 1860, five women (at least one prostitute among them) and two men were charged with disturbing the peace after keeping nearby boarders awake until four a.m. drinking, shouting and dancing. One cheerful, if aging, prostitute appalled the "decent" citizenry by dancing a jig in broad daylight in full view of disembarking riverboat passengers. Front Street was not drenched in a sense of community.

One street east was a remarkably different area. Just off the main entry point to the city, Second Street catered to Sacramento's movers and shakers, not its laborers. Its mix of occupants and occupations varied from block to block. Between K and J streets stood the larger, fancier hotels (like the Orleans, the site of many rousing political meetings), the *Pioneer Telegraph* and Wells Fargo & Co. and the chambers of the State Supreme Court. Just across the street were the offices of the prominent *Daily Union* newspaper. This was clearly the domain of Sacramento's more influential and powerful men.

Staying near their affluent clientele, French prostitutes lived just down the street, on Second between L and K streets. Their most prominent neighbors were the men of the Sacramento Engine Company, Number 3, a socially active and colorful group, heralded as brave and valiant heroes in Sacramento city directories.

A block north of the Supreme Court, along Second from J to I streets, businesses offered a comfortable variety of services for men. A bathhouse guaranteed fresh bath water after every 10th customer. Other facilities included various saloons, a grocery store and Johanna Hiegel's cigar store and brothel. The planked sidewalks along at least these three blocks of Second Street stayed in fairly good repair.

Farther from the riverfront, away from the bustle of

arriving steamships and the fancy carriages along Second Street, Third Street kept a quieter character. Many prostitutes lived throughout a three-block area along and near Third Street and the alleys between N and J streets.

Along with two saloons owned by Black men, the Black Gipsy and the Hole in the Wall, were the City Hotel and Lafayette Hall, where two imposing Charles Nahl paintings hung in the saloon and billiard parlor. A Mexican restaurant stood near prostitute Kate Hinkle's house on L Street, just off Third, where she lived with a five-year-old girl and an Austrian laborer. Across the street lived Sophia Lumley, who accused four prostitutes, including Kate and Julia Cummings (Sophia's next door neighbor), of "bedaubing" her doors and windows one night with filth. Kate was assaulted later in the year by another neighbor, Chilean prostitute Rita Campos, and a second woman.

No discernible pattern of segregation appeared in the residences and business places of Anglo, African-American or Hispanic populations in this neighborhood. Judging by court and probate records, Black and white prostitutes often associated together, although French and Latin American prostitutes usually kept to themselves.

Street conditions eroded in this neighborhood. Newspapers frequently commented on dangerous holes in boardwalks, as well as fires and bricks that fell from crumbling walls. Runaway horses periodically dashed through the streets. Unsanitary conditions were probably the norm. In the alley behind the Alhambra Hotel, a fine hotel facing the Supreme Court building, a growing pile of rubbish offended the residents on Third Street. Around the corner from Kate Hinkle's house, a decaying heap of animal carcasses presented another lamentable public nuisance. Dusty and muddy streets littered with animal feces, outhouses, and

uncollected garbage contributed to a generally unglamorous environment, even according to the standards of early western towns.

WOMEN IN THE TRADE

Who were Sacramento's prostitutes? Where did they come from and where did they live? Did they live alone or with family? Could they earn a living? The answers to these questions are found in our written records such as the federal census, court documents, newspaper accounts and tax assessor's rolls.

Where did they live? Prostitution was common close to the commercialized embarcadero zone. The number of prostitutes decreased dramatically moving away from the river toward the middle-class residential neighborhood where the majority of Sacramento's residents lived.

The census takers, using Sacramento's four electoral districts as a guide, divided Sacramento into four wards. Women identifying themselves as prostitutes resided only in the first and second wards. Therefore, this report deals exclusively with these two wards, located between Front and Seventh streets, and between I and M streets.

According to the 1860 federal census, 14 percent of all the women living in Sacramento's first and second wards were prostitutes. Nearly a third of all women in the first ward, which included the embarcadero, listed their occupation as prostitute, while five percent of the women in the second ward farther to the east made the same claim.

Where did they come from? Eighty percent of all prostitutes were foreign born. That figure is deceiving since it includes the unusually high number of Chinese women forced into prostitution in California to service the large population of Chinese men working here. If Chinese

prostitutes are excluded, only 60 percent of Sacramento's prostitutes were foreign born and 40 percent were born in the United States. These ratios somewhat mirror the general population. Forty-one percent of California's population was born in the United States, 39 percent in foreign countries and 20 percent in California.¹

California's population was young and mostly male, even a decade after the Gold Rush. Women, therefore, were still few and far between, especially those old enough to marry. Fifty-five percent of Sacramento county's non-Chinese population was between 20 and 30 years old, an average of 10 years younger than the rest of the West.² Excluding the Chinese, 20 to 40-year-old women comprised only 14 percent of the population.³ Out of the 20-something age group, there were only 1,737 women to 6,320 men.⁴

OVERALL STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF PROSTITUTION IN SACRAMENTO

28%	of all females in first ward were prostitutes	158:568
5%	of all females in second ward were prostitutes	67:1302
14%	of all females in both wards combined were prostitutes	270:1870
60%	of all non-Chinese prostitutes were foreign born	65:109
40%	all non-Chinese prostitutes were born in the United States	44:109
80%	of all prostitutes were foreign born	175:219

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF STATE POPULATION

39%	of California population foreign born	146,528:379,994
41%	of California population born in the United States	154,307:379,994
20%	of California population born in California	77,707:379,994

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SACRAMENTO COUNTY POPULATION

29%	of white population was 20-29 years old	6,320:21,692
26%	of white population was 30-39 years old	5,721:21,692
27%	of white 20-29 year olds were female	1,737:6,320
21%	of white 30-39 year olds were female	1,242:5,721

VIOLENCE AND CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

Even in rough-and-tumble Gold Rush society, where women were a precious and protected minority, prostitutes were often the victims of assault. Unfortunately, community authorities, guided by the prevailing social standards, did not offer them the same protection as "real ladies." While men who merely leered at or addressed "decent" women with improper language could expect to be attacked and chastised in the papers, men who physically assaulted prostitutes were arrested and released with either a \$25 fine or none at all.

In 1860, according to newspaper reports, there were 19 physical assaults by men on prostitutes. For example, Lafayette Andrews was charged with assaulting prostitutes on April 20, June 4 and December 5. He was fined \$25 for

the attack in December.⁵ Swiss prostitute Katharine Gerken was beaten, then strangled to death by a German man who had previously tried to strangle another prostitute.⁶ The *Daily Bee* took a noticeably humorous approach in reporting the case of a prostitute who ran screaming into the street in her night clothes after nearly being stabbed by a drunken, violent customer.

According to newspaper coverage of Sacramento's crime scene, prostitutes reported four cases of theft by men during the year. Three more cases were brought by men against women. In most cases men either refused to pay or, befuddled by alcohol, forgot they had contracted prostitutes for their services. Such was the case of Hugh Ward who charged Louisa Goodwin with the theft of \$73 during his visit to Sacramento from Placer County. Ward apparently, "got tight, and while in that state committed sundry indiscretions for which he dearly paid."⁷

Judges in these cases often found for the women. The court even ordered one man to pay a prostitute all his cash on hand, then spend a day in jail for every \$2 remaining on his bill.⁸

Prostitutes themselves often created problems. Forty faced charges of disturbing the peace in 1860, one woman on five separate occasions. Five were charged with assaulting other women. Two women were charged in the District Court of Summons for rolling young Thomas Arnold.⁹ After he had been lured to their home by an unidentified man, the women served Arnold a few sedative-laced gin and tonics, then relieved him of his wallet and some personal items. Disturbing the peace was sometimes further described as "in the night time" but soliciting, indecent exposure or lewd behavior charges never appeared in the record. Apparently the Sacramento police did not

arrest for prostitution, although they often charged prostitutes with disorderly behavior, fighting or being a general nuisance.

The usual fine for these offenses was \$20 to \$25, no small sum in 1860. A fine of \$25 might equal the income from five to 15 customers. According to the Eighth Census, if a laborer whose board was provided paid a day's wages to a prostitute, she earned about \$1.90. A carpenter parting with a day's wages could pay \$4.43.¹⁰ Therefore, a prostitute receiving one customer a night, a typical practice during that era, would need to work from five to 13 nights (or days) to pay the fine.

Most Sacramentans may have tolerated prostitutes as a necessary if distasteful evil but did not defend them. Prostitutes protected themselves in most cases by living together. If their aggressors were disorderly ruffians, authorities were responsive. However, if their aggressors were white, upstanding members of the community, public sympathy lay with the men.

A telling case is that of James Sears. While out drinking one night Sears decided to contract the services of a prostitute. A friend went along to make sure Sears got home at the end of the evening. Once in the prostitute's house, Sears began to argue drunkenly with the woman and then beat her. A cook who lived in an apartment in the rear of the building heard her screams and rushed to help her. When he entered the apartment, Sears turned and shot him. When the case appeared in court, the papers described Sears as an upstanding young man and a prime example of the evil mix of alcohol and guns. Apparently Sears was considered the real victim in this case.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY

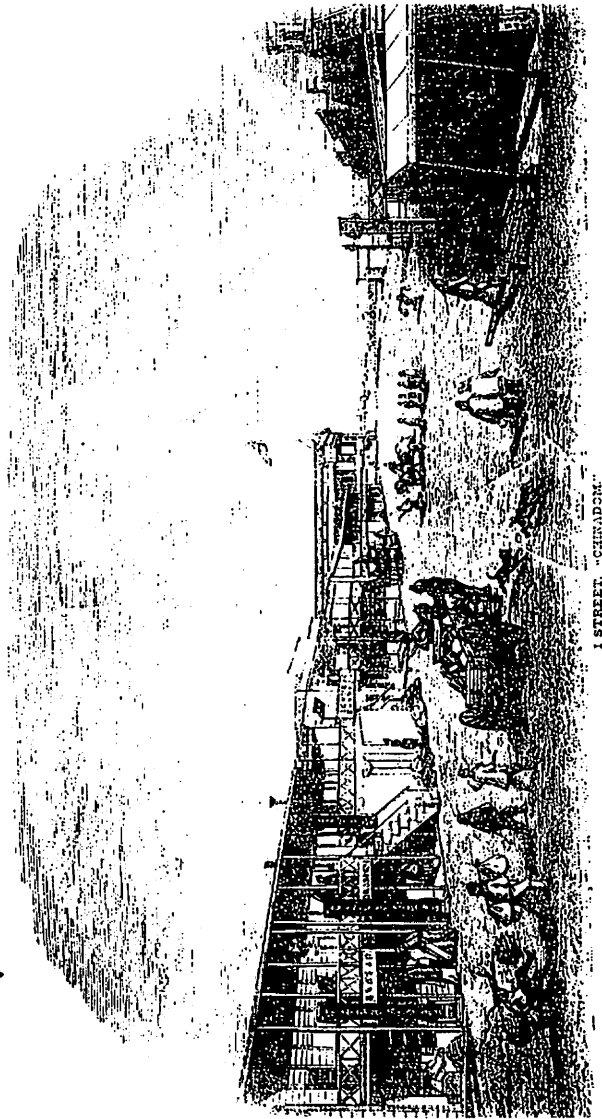
In 1860, a prostitute's life-style depended greatly on her race. A Chinese prostitute's living conditions and expectations varied greatly from those of a German prostitute. Ethnicity, and perhaps cultural norms, seemed to play a part in whether women lived alone or with family, if they succeeded financially and even if they married.

Surprisingly, stereotypes of Gold Rush prostitution were not the norm in Sacramento. For example, French women were not the wealthiest prostitutes. Also, African-American women in the pre-Civil war era developed financial networks and acquired real property; they became self-determined rather than remaining powerless.

Thirty-eight women in this study identified as prostitutes in newspaper or court records did not appear in the Eighth Census. These women reveal two basic problems in trying to study a distinct population of prostitutes. First, target groups did not hold still. California had a largely transient population, especially after January 1860, when many residents moved to the booming Comstock mining region nearby. Second, some prostitutes used aliases, further confusing newspaper and court reporters trying to phonetically spell out foreign names spoken with unfamiliar accents. Including this group of individuals lessened or "softened" the accuracy of the statistical analysis, although creating a more thorough social history. As a result, all statistical data should be regarded as approximate information.

CHINESE PROSTITUTES AND THEIR COMMUNITY

Most Chinese women lived in Sacramento to service the needs of the much larger number of Chinese men who



I STREET was known as “Chinadom.” Starting with some 50 men and one woman in 1849, the Chinese population in California had grown to over 40,000 by 1855. *Photo from Anna W. Lee collection at Sacramento Archives & Museum Collection Center.*

worked both around and outside of the city. In Sacramento County, 88 percent of the Chinese population was male while only 12 percent was female.¹¹ Eight children lived with Chinese prostitutes, all but one born in California. The future of these children was doubtful, with girls looking forward to a life of prostitution or servitude. Some Chinese boys worked as servants to white prostitutes, although laborers of all kinds were still in demand in the West. Nonetheless, hostility against the Chinese continued to grow throughout the remainder of the 19th century.

Nearly 75 percent, 110 out of 148, of all Chinese females were prostitutes. Over half were between 15 and 20 years of age, although ages ranged from 12 to 60. While some lived alone, most lived with two to four women, sometimes with an older man or woman. Not one of them owned property.

While Chinese prostitutes lived within the segregated Chinese community area along I Street, their clients were not exclusively Chinese. For instance, one young boy with a Chinese name living with Chinese prostitutes was listed in the census as white.¹² A disturbing example of non-Chinese patronage involved a brutal attack by a white client on a Chinese prostitute. The man attacked the woman and nearly bit her ear off, yet was soon released from jail without fine.¹³

Violence within the Chinese community only came to the attention of city authorities in extreme cases. For example, police arrested a Chinese pimp for murdering a Chinese patron who had repeatedly threatened and attacked his prostitutes. Only after the patron assaulted a woman and set fire to the house did the pimp finally and calmly stab him, drawing the attention of the police.¹⁴

These Chinese women, far from their homeland, had

little to look forward to. While some could hope to become wives or join a traveling musical troupe, retirement occupations for women ranged from gardening to fortune telling. Judging by the number of older women living with teenaged prostitutes, it is likely aging prostitutes managed the business of those less experienced.

STATISTICAL INFORMATION OF CHINESE PROSTITUTES, SACRAMENTO, 1860

74%	of all Chinese females were prostitutes	110:148
52%	of all Chinese prostitutes were 15-20 years old	59:110
7%	of all Chinese prostitutes lived with children	8:110
0%	of all Chinese prostitutes had property	
41%	of all prostitutes were Chinese	110:270

AFRICAN AMERICAN PROSTITUTES

African Americans lived throughout the city and county. But since prostitutes appeared only in the first and second wards, this study considered only those living within this area. Black prostitutes appear to have found considerable economic opportunities in Sacramento, ranking second behind Germans in terms of percentage of property ownership. Out of 86 Black women, 10 (or 12 percent) were prostitutes. Out of those ten, two (or 20 percent) owned property. Sarah Jane Carroll, for example, paid for her own rather elegant and expensive funeral with proceeds from the sale of her real estate holdings in Sacramento and

San Francisco.¹⁵

All but one of Sacramento's Black prostitutes had come from a Southern state. Six came from Georgia (more than all other states combined), while others hailed from Virginia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Pennsylvania. This ratio deviates from overall immigration patterns to California, since there were only 1,111 Georgians in the entire state in 1860.¹⁶ Without doubt certain segments of Georgia's population could anticipate different opportunities in California, especially at the dawn of the Civil War.

The ratio of Black men to Black women varied tremendously between the first and second ward, as it did with all racial groups. In the first ward, men made up 84 percent of the Black population. In the second ward, they comprised a more equitable 54 percent (83 out of 155).¹⁷

A few Black men owned or operated saloons in the city, such as the Gipsy Saloon and The Hole in the Wall. Black women developed a network of financial support. When Julia Cummings died, Anna Tryon placed a claim against her estate for money owing on a note and a second mortgage that Cummings had secured with property in Sacramento.¹⁸ The wills of Sarah and Julia named Black women among their heirs. While more research is needed to draw conclusions with any certainty, it is clear that Black prostitutes maintained social and economic networks.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN STATISTICAL DATA

12% of Black females were prostitutes	10:86
20% of Black prostitutes lived with children	2:10
20% of Black prostitutes had real property	2:10
16% of Black population in first ward was female	
46% of Black population in second ward was female	

MEXICAN, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN PROSTITUTES

Since Mexico is the closest foreign nation to California, it is not surprising that more prostitutes came from Mexico than any other country aside from China. Twenty-three percent of non-Black, non-Asian ("white" according to the 1860 census) prostitutes were from Mexico (23), Chile (8), Peru (1), Ecuador (1) and Honduras (2). Latin American prostitutes comprised 21 percent of non-Chinese prostitutes, yet less than one percent owned property.

There are many possible reasons why Mexican women did not own property. They may have been expecting to return to Mexico and had no reason to purchase real estate or considerable personal property available at lower prices at home. Also, these women did not come from industrialized, therefore, well-capitalized nations as did European prostitutes. Once in California, men and women from south of the border faced racism dating back most notably to the Mexican War. Their entrance into Sacramento's financial network may have been hindered to some degree by discrimination.

Latin American prostitutes appear to have suffered low status among prostitutes. Newspaper reporters described crimes involving Mexican prostitutes, especially those occurring close to Front Street and Baldwin's Mexican Dancehall, with an especially degrading, sarcastic tone.

Yet while these women may have been poorly regarded, they maintained the most "normal" households of all Sacramento prostitutes. In fact, they owned more real property and had more children than the typically more prestigious French prostitutes. Twenty-two percent of Mexican prostitutes, five out of 23 women, had one or more of their children at home. For example, Costema

Carmona, a 36- year- old prostitute, lived with five members of her immediate family including her 28- year- old brother, a 40- year- old prostitute sister and her two children, who both attended school. Another 40- year- old prostitute lived with a 23- year- old Chilean man (a farmer), and her eight - year- old daughter, who probably attended the same school as Costema's children.

Only Mexican women who were mothers and daughters lived together while both worked as prostitutes. Prostitute Camacion Brage lived with her prostitute daughter and five- year- old granddaughter, Margarita. Another household contained prostitutes Valdo Avarillo and her daughter, her two- year- old grandson, Valecito, and Ed, a 28- year- old laborer from New York. Even outside of the family, Mexican prostitutes seemed to enjoy each other's company at home and at work, rarely living alone and often appearing in court together.

LATIN AMERICAN PROSTITUTION STATISTICAL INFORMATION

13%	of all prostitutes were from Latin America	35:150
23%	of white prostitutes were from Latin America	35:270
22%	of Mexican prostitutes lived with children	5:23
.5%	of Latin American prostitutes had property	1:35

DAUGHTERS OF IRELAND

After Chinese and Mexican women, Irish women were the third largest group of foreign-born prostitutes. Irish women also ranked third largest in percentage of property owners, behind Germans and African-American women.

Yet these figures are misleading. Eleven of the 150 white prostitutes in Sacramento were Irish and only two of them had property. Only one, Rosanna Hughes Keenan, lived in a household with children, three of whom were adopted Indian children and the other possibly her husband's child by a previous marriage.

Irish prostitutes were rare among the large number of Irish immigrants in California. The Eighth Census recorded 33,147 Irish immigrants in the state, far greater than the 21,646 German immigrants, the 12,227 immigrants from England or the 9,150 from Mexico.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF IRISH PROSTITUTES

7%	of white prostitutes were Irish	11:150
4%	of all prostitutes were Irish	11:270
18%	of Irish prostitutes owned property	2:11

GERMAN PROSTITUTION

Like the Irish, German women in the trade were few compared to the large number of immigrants from German states. German prostitutes appear to have been successful businesswomen. Only four out of 150 white prostitutes were German. Two of the four owned property, giving German prostitutes the distinction of being the highest ranked in terms of financial well-being.

Johanna Hiegel, probably the best-known prostitute in Old Sacramento, was from the German State of Wurtemberg. Her career in Sacramento as a prostitute, madam and cigar dealer lasted through three decades, giving every indication of being well managed and quite well established.¹⁹

GERMAN PROSTITUTION STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

2%	of all white prostitutes were German	4:150
1.5%	of all prostitutes were German	4:270
50%	of German prostitutes had real property	2:4

FRENCH PROSTITUTES

While French prostitutes are depicted romantically in the popular history of prostitution in the West, they appear to have done poorly in Sacramento. Of the 10 French prostitutes living in Sacramento, none had property, a distinction shared only with the Chinese. None had children either. But they did have two things—each other's companionship and notorious prestige.

Most French prostitutes lived close together in an area between L and K streets and 2nd and 3rd streets. Many of them lived and worked in the finer hotels near the firehouse. Whether sipping champagne and eating oysters with patrons in a gas-lit parlor or drunkenly staggering the streets in broad daylight with half-dressed men, French women enjoyed the courteous, if condescending, attention of newspaper reporters.

Both local newspapers published information important to a social history of French prostitutes. Especially revealing is a long series of various cross-filed charges among French prostitutes near the end of 1860. Living as closely as they did, they may have viewed each other as rivals.

Despite the notorious "prestige" French women enjoyed, none accumulated real or personal property according to the census taker's data. There are two possible reasons. First, with the Comstock mining boom in full swing in

Nevada, the more professional and prosperous prostitutes may have left for the mines. Second, they may also have retreated to the more cosmopolitan financial center of the Comstock boom in San Francisco. An intelligent woman with a desirable commodity might have sought a wealthier clientele in the City by the Bay, rather than miners and laborers in hot and dusty Sacramento.

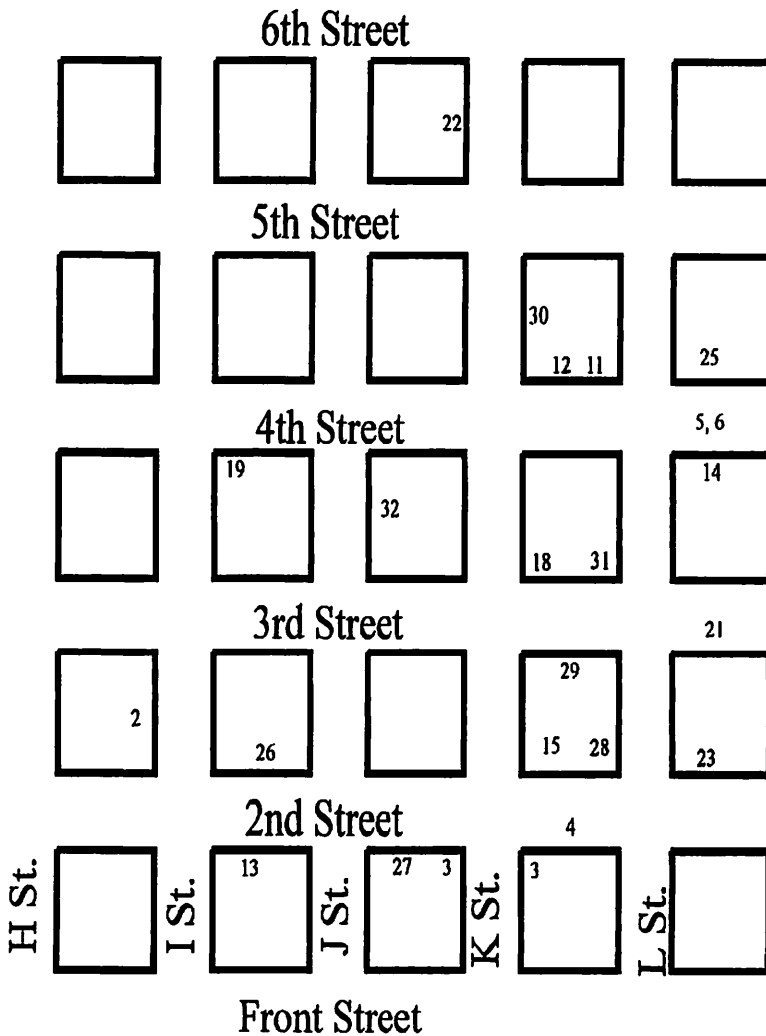
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF FRENCH PROSTITUTES

6%	of white prostitutes were French	10:150
3%	of all prostitutes were French	10:270
0%	of French prostitutes had property or children	

IN CONCLUSION

It is tempting to trivialize prostitutes, especially those in our colorful past, as the humorous, saucy women portrayed in the popular media on the screen and on television. However, their lives could be both brutal and dangerous. Then, as now, prostitutes in Sacramento concentrate in more commercial, transient neighborhoods away from larger residential areas. Then, as now, prostitutes working in private and viewed as lower status citizens are constantly threatened by violence.

Prostitution has always been a part of Sacramento's history. It should be understood as it truly exists, rather than as we would like it to be.



MAP-- Numbers in the various blocks indicate locations where prostitutes lived along with happenings as listed under "Trivia" on pages 35 and 36.

TRIVIA GLEANED FROM NEWSPAPERS, ETC. WHILE RESEARCHING PROSTITUTION IN 1860

1. \$150 stolen from prostitute working at corner of alley of 3rd St. between K and L.
2. Ah Sook killed Ah Sow over dispute with two Chinese prostitutes, I St. between 2nd and 3rd.
3. J.S. Remley fined \$20 for Disturbing the Peace with prostitute at 2nd and K streets.
4. "Madame" Julia assaulted by ex-boyfriend August Weiss at her home on 2nd between L and K. Neighbor of C. Pico, 39, French prostitute.
5. Accumulating pile of dead animals in the street, 4th between L and M streets.
6. Julia Cummings, Black prostitute, living with 2-year-old son and W. B. Alexander, 40, a white trader/butcher from Georgia. Living on 4th between L and M.
7. Baldwin's Old Mexican Dancehall, frequented by Hispanic prostitutes. On 1st Street on levee.
8. J. Stewart, 28, Scottish prostitute living with D. Bell, 28, male fisherman, on Front Street between Broadway and Sacramento streets.
10. What Cheer House, prostitutes living there as boarders including Georgia Sansfield, 27, and son, Thomas, 6, on Front Street.
11. M.J. Bould, 27, French prostitute, living at 78 4th.
12. Johanna Hiegel, prostitute, 80 4th.
13. Sally Bush, 27, Illinois, and Blanch Clayton, Virginia, both prostitutes.
14. Sarah Jane Carroll, noted Black prostitute, living at 117 4th Street.
15. Prostitutes Jennie Willis, 23, Irish, Fanny Garret, Minnie Greenwood, Mary E. Hughes, M.C. Marhn, Alice

Stewart, Clara Wheelock and Amma Place, 29, Chinese, living with a Chinese servant, a Black porter and a Black cook. Three of these prostitutes had both real estate and personal property assets.

16. Prostitute Fanny Clark assaulted by John Roberts.
17. Julia Cummings, noted Black prostitute, living at 88 L Street.
18. Three American prostitutes and a 37-year-old cook from New Jersey.
19. Three Hispanic prostitutes and Thomas Fulton, 25, England, saddler by profession, living together.
20. Katherine Gerken, noted prostitute, killed here.
21. Car. A. Green, prostitute from Georgia, 3rd Street between L and M streets.
22. Prostitute Elizabeth Fanny Hall, 21, living at saloon.
23. Lizzie Harris living with two other Black prostitutes and two 14-year-old male servants, one Chinese, one white from Georgia.
24. Mary "Kate" T. Hinkle, prostitute.
25. Maria Kennedy, 25, Ireland.
26. Louise Latcher, Black prostitute from Louisiana, living with 58-year-old female servant from Virginia.
27. Anna McDonough, probable madam.
28. Prostitute Ellen Melving, 20, Oklahoma, 92 2nd Street.
29. Elizabeth "Eliza" Petitjean, French prostitute, 3rd Street west side between K and L. Jules Martinenot, who lived in the rear of building, was shot coming to her aid while she was being assaulted.
30. Prostitute assaulted here.
31. Mary Long, prostitute, 82 3rd Street.
32. Elizabeth "Lizzie" Anderson, prostitute, living at International Hotel, 92 J Street.

33. Elizabeth Ford, 38, prostitute, living with daughter, Caroline Williams, 9, and Isaac Ford, 30, Black cook from Missouri at saloon at 73 L Street.

ALSO

A. Woods, a prostitute, lived at Palace Hotel with four single women ages 20-26, and four male boarders.

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