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TRACKING THE “SOILED DOVES”: A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF SEX WORK
IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA FROM 1880-1939

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Historic Preservation

by
Rachel Elizabeth Fore
May 2024

Accepted by:
Dr. Jon Marcoux, Committee Chair
Dr. Laurel Bartlett
Katherine Pemberton

ABSTRACT

Sex work in the United States has become a more widely studied subject in the last twenty years. Most of these studies focus on the historical or archaeological evidence left behind by sex workers. Many of these studies focus most heavily on sex work in the western United States. Studies have looked through a variety of different lenses including gender, race, and economic impact. Despite these varied lenses, little attention has been paid to sex work in Southern cities such as Charleston, South Carolina. The purpose of this thesis is to add to the basic understanding of the prevalence, placement, policing, and composition of brothels in Charleston, South Carolina from 1880 to 1939.

Charleston City Directories, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, the 1902 Charleston Blue Book, the Thomas P. Stony Papers, and the Law and Order League Papers provided addresses for analysis. The Charleston City Year Books provided information on arrests rates and death rates from syphilis which were used to help identify patterns of policing. This study found that the area known as the red-light district (the area between Queen Street, King Street, Beaufain Street, and Logan Street) in the early part of the twentieth century was the densest area throughout the entire study period. Brothels spread upwards towards the Neck of Charleston and east to the water on East Bay Street between 1880 and 1929. Additionally, this study found that brothel locations were heavily impacted by the political agenda of the sitting mayor with the amount of brothels and location of brothels ebbing and flowing alongside the sitting mayor's stated moral agenda. The policing of brothels and brothel workers when compared against City Directory data

suggests that sex workers of color were more heavily policed than their white counterparts.

This thesis adds to the existing field of the study of sex work in Charleston, South Carolina. It is perhaps the most comprehensive list of brothel locations throughout the late nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries and among the first to examine the efficacy of policing attempts on the peninsula of Charleston, South Carolina.

DEDICATION

To the common person, may their story never be lost.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A huge thank you to my committee. To my committee chair, Dr. Jon Marcoux. I would not have been able to do it without the weekly meetings, pep-talks, and Stargate tangents to keep me sane. Thank you for your patience, advice, and continual support.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

Brothels in Charleston, South Carolina, pose something of a conundrum. Brothels operated for hundreds of years within Charleston, but no one can definitively say the boundaries of where they were or out of which buildings they operated. Some are better known than others, but no full accounting exists. This thesis is meant to chart the movement of brothels in Charleston, South Carolina throughout the late nineteenth and into the mid-twentieth century, generating a more complete cultural landscape. It also provides a more complex and nuanced view of Charleston's built environment. By understanding the physical spaces brothels occupied and how they changed through time, especially between 1880 and 1940, the height of the moral reform movement in Charleston, scholars can better understand how the moral reform movement affected the physical landscape of the city.

Sex work as a profession spans the length of human history. As far back as collective memory goes, sex work has been present. Known as the oldest profession, until recently it has also historically received little to no attention as a valid field of study.¹ As an area of vice that citizens globally look away from and have been hesitant to voice, let alone study head-on, it has been unfairly neglected. More recent studies, especially within the last fifty years, have begun to correct this oversight, but large blanks still remain. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Charleston, South Carolina.

¹ *Historical Sex Work: New Contributions from History and Archaeology*, edited by Kristen R. Fellows, Angela J. Smith, and Anna M. Munns, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2020).

Founded by English colonists at the present site in 1680, Charleston has a long history of vice and sex work. Although never officially regulated, vice in Charleston was an accepted and well-known phenomenon throughout its history, with unofficial boundaries to what was then known as the red-light district.² The red-light or “segregated district” (as Mayor Grace referred to it in his 1921 City Yearbook report) was an informal area loosely bounded by King Street, Queen Street, Logan Street (alternatively known as Mazyck Street), and Beaufain Street. Within this boundary, officials turned a blind eye to sex work. Red-light districts throughout the country existed in this time. Sometimes legal, sometimes illegal, they were know areas where illicit activities such as sex work, gambling, and alcohol sales took place. The red-light district in Charleston, operated with little real regulation or crack down until the 1920s when the federal government finally stepped in as Charleston became a more prominent Navy base and forced the closure of the red-light district. Despite this official closure, brothels continued to operate into the 1940s when the Federal government pushed a harder line, eventually closing most brothels on the peninsula of Charleston. This, coupled with modern technological innovations, such as the automobile, transitioned sex work into more transient forms such as pickups in restaurants, taxicabs, and short- stay hotel rooms.³

Despite government officials’ willingness to look the other way, private citizens and more national social reform movements placed periodic pressure on the city to clean

² Laws regulating prostitution throughout the nineteenth century were vague at best. Prostitution itself was never officially outlawed but brothels could be fined and madams arrested for being “nuances.” Most arrests throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century were recorded as “keeping a disorderly house.” Krystle Kline, “Social Evil in the Holy City: Prostitution in Charleston, SC, 1900-1920,” (Charleston: The College of Charleston and the Citadel, 2011), 53.

³ Krystle Kline, “Social Evil in the Holy City,” 20.

up Charleston. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the United States experienced periods of social reform. Known today as the Social Reform Movement, they took various forms across the country. They were aimed at improving society and helping the unfortunate. Common aims throughout the country included governmental reform, welfare, health and hygiene, temperance, and suffrage. One of the primary forms it took was moral reform.⁴

The moral reform movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was a push by primarily upper- and middle-class white women seeking to help improve society through the abolition of sinful acts such as sex work, alcohol consumption, and other vices. The movement had a distinct anti-immigrant sentiment and worked to protect the “real Americans.”⁵ However, in Charleston, a city largely known for its vices, the movement’s effectiveness is still unclear.

As a city, Charleston was economically depressed following the Civil War and the end of slavery. Like much of the South, Charleston lost most of its Antebellum industries. As a result, few people, especially immigrants, were moving to Charleston. Immigrants coming to the United States tended to favor larger cities such as New York, Boston, or Chicago. With no real immigration to the city, Charlestonians perceived the moral reform movement and the forces it was reacting to differently. Throughout the end

⁴ Heidi Elizabeth, Carbaugh, “A Murder for a Diamond’: Digitally Mapping Prostitution in Gilded Age Baltimore, 1868-1910,” (Baltimore: University of Maryland, 2017). Brian Donovan, *White Slave Crusaders: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism, 1887-1917*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006). Sarah Henkel, “A Court of Public Opinion: American Sex Work in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.” (Kansas City: University of Missouri-Kansas, 2018).

⁵ Jacqueline Shelton, “Evil Becomes Her: Prostitution’s Transition from Necessary to Social Evil in 19th Century America,” (Tennessee: East Tennessee State University, 2013).

of the nineteenth century, the movement received little attention from city government or the wider public. As a result, little was done to curb sex work in Charleston and the moral reform movement was largely ignored. However, as the twentieth century wore on, Charlestonians actively campaigned against sex work and for cleaning up the red-light district. Popular understanding indicates that despite the pressure from its citizens, Charleston remained blind to its vice until sex workers and vice attracted the attention of the federal government. By the 1920s the red-light district was more heavily regulated by city officials through acts of policing (arrests) until it was finally raided and vice was declared eradicated in Charleston.⁶ Was it really pressure from the federal government in the 1920s that pushed city officials to crack down or did the social reform movement in the Progressive Era succeed when others across the country failed to enact lasting change?⁷

The period from 1880 to about 1939 offers insight into this question. This period encompasses the height of the moral reform movement and brothels in Charleston and continues up until the final closure of brothels in the city.⁸ By tracking the locations of brothels through this period it is possible to establish a baseline of active brothels in the beginning of the social reform movement in Charleston and track it throughout the social reform period up to 1939. 1880 is also the beginning of more consistent sources that can span the entire study period. 1939 was chosen as the end date because the 1940s mark a

⁶ *Year Book City of Charleston 1921*, City Year Books for Charleston, South Carolina, 1880-1940, South Carolina Historic Society Archives, (1921), xxxi.

⁷ Walter L. Peters, "Letter to Hon. John P. Grace, Mayor" in folder "Charleston Navy Yard, 1921-1922 Box 11-118 / Mayor Grace Folder 51" from City of Charleston Records Management, October 14, 1921.

⁸ Kline, "Social Evil in the Holy City," 20.

clear shift in sex work in Charleston from brothels to hotels, cars, and other less permanent means. Additionally, by the 1940s sex work is concentrated most heavily around the Navy Yard in North Charleston.⁹

This policing, and the larger spatial movement of brothels has not been extensively studied. The few studies that have focused on sex work in the city focused primarily on specific female sex workers and/or the interplay of sex work and brothels as a form of economic agency at a time when women were allowed few real professional options outside the home.¹⁰ Although these studies are important and offer insight into some of the economic and social aspects of sex work in nineteenth and twentieth century Charleston, a larger overview has never been conducted. Tour guides in the city may tell tales of vice and “immoral” actions performed by sex workers in specific areas of the city but brothels have not been officially mapped throughout the city. There is a general understanding that brothels moved throughout the city’s history but the forces that prompted the moves, as well as the actual moves themselves have never been charted or studied in-depth.

By mapping brothels through time and charting their movements, larger patterns can be identified which can deliver greater understanding of the forces that drove sex

⁹ A.H. Robertson, Rear Admiral U.S. Navy Commander Destroyer Squadrons, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, “My Dear Mayor Grace” in folder “Charleston Navy Yard, 1921-1922 Box 11-118 / Mayor Grace Folder 51” from City of Charleston Records Management, March 20, 1922. Rev. P.M. Pridgen, “What is the Truth About the Vice Conditions In Charleston?”, *The Truth: Independent Voice* in folder “Vice, 1941-1942/ Mayor H.W. Lockwood” ” from City of Charleston Records Management, October 4, 1941. *Charleston City Year Book, 1921*, xxxi.

¹⁰ Cynthia Kennedy, “Nocturnal Adventures in Mulatto Alley’: Sex in Charleston, South Carolina,” In *Searching for Their Places: Women in the South Across Four Centuries*, edited by Thomas H. Appleton and Angela Boswell. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 39. Sarah Pillman Amundson, “A Woman Lies Bleeding on the Ground: Prostitution and Underground Economy in Nineteenth Century Charleston,” (Ames: Iowa State University, 2017). Kline, “Social Evil in the Holy City.”

work and the vice district in Charleston. Additionally, by charting brothels' movements around the city, questions such as is there spatial patterning in the distribution of brothels and does the distribution or location really change through time can be answered. Other questions such as whether or not there is a temporal pattern to the brothels and the eventual crack down on brothels and whether or not that pattern can be seen through arrest records or other mediums can hopefully be answered as well. To fully answer these questions as well as other related questions, boundaries had to be established to corral the research. The time period of 1880 to 1940 was selected as it was the height of the Charleston brothels and corresponds to the height of anti-sex work fervor of the moral reform movement in the United States. While 1940 is the end of brothels in Charleston and marks the transition to more transient forms of sex work.¹¹ It also builds on other studies conducted in other areas of the county, allowing for future comparison between regions.¹² Additional patterns will be noted as to the residents of the brothels including gender and race for future further study.

Data collected from City Directories, City Year Books, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, the Charleston Blue Book, and records from Charleston anti-vice groups were used to generate maps of brothel locations through time using Geographic Information Software (GIS). Arrest reports and deaths from syphilis recovered from City Year Books were also compiled to create frequency diagrams. These diagrams help determine a correlation between an increase in vice-related disease (syphilis) and anti-vice arrests.

¹¹Henkel, "A Court of Public Opinion," 15.

¹² Carbaugh, "A Murder for a Diamond," 10.

Sex work, especially before the late twentieth century and modern decades, was not well or obviously documented. Because of this, tracing brothels is a study in the history left unsaid. As a largely unreported phenomenon, the researcher must investigate multiple lines of evidence, which can be nuanced. It requires looking at the evidence left behind and seeing what is not clearly laid out. The assumptions made by writers that readers of the time would intuit. The abbreviations made on maps that were euphemisms of the time. Tracking the movements of brothels means finding the hidden history and the stories people may not have wanted to tell or publicize.

A note on the terminology used. Historians and other academics have used a variety of terms to describe sex work and their studies on it. Today, most sex workers prefer the term sex worker over other terms such as ‘prostitute’, ‘whore’, or another, perhaps more historical term.¹³ These terms, while more historical, carry a heavier social stigma and moral judgement. In an effort to respect the lives of these women and men who lived and worked in the brothels, I follow modern sex workers’ preferences of identification and terminology, using words such as ‘sex work’ or ‘sex worker’ unless quoting directly from a source of the time. While no longer living, the people in this study deserve respect and care. Their stories help deepen our modern understanding of life in nineteenth and twentieth century Charleston. To deny them the respect modern sex workers deserve is to do them a disservice and ignore their humanity. It is their humanity

¹³ Stella, “Language Matters: Talking About Sex Work,” 2013, <https://www.nswp.org/sites/default/files/StellaInfoSheetLanguageMatters.pdf>.

that makes the research worthwhile and is what will ultimately teach us the most of life in nineteenth and twentieth century Charleston.

This thesis is constructed in the following manner: chapter one is a more in-depth review of the literature on sex work, specifically in the United States and Charleston, South Carolina. Chapter two explains more in-depth the methodology used to collect the data on brothels and how the maps and frequency diagrams were generated. Chapter three examines the data gathered and analyzes patterns that emerged from the maps and frequency diagrams. Chapter four provides a conclusion and offers suggestions for further research and study.

Despite the continued campaigns by private citizens to regulate vice in the city and clean up the district the gathered data suggests that the opposite happened into the 1920s. The red light district is disbanded in the early 1920s yet data shows that when it comes to brothel locations and rates of deaths from syphilis in the following years the only metric that suggests a success is arrest rates. It is also one of the most easily controlled by officials demonstrating that while the federal government may have provided the pressure to shift the locations of sex work within Charleston, it did far from remove it. The social reform movements, hoped for by the average citizen, were scorned by city officials and only given a cursory attempt at implementation at best to control sex work.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

While the sex work industry itself spans centuries, the study of the industry only spans decades with scholars largely neglecting Charleston - one of the United States' oldest cities. As one of the most infamous professions, it was considered a major taboo to record or analyze, let alone even mention sex work. Because of this, it was kept to the fringes of society, never fully analyzed. However, in the latter half of the twentieth and into the mid-twenty first century, its eradication was part of political agendas bent on creating a more moral society. Only in the last fifty or so years have scholars truly begun to study the lives, work, and contributions of sex workers and how they have affected the United States. To fully evaluate the effectiveness of the of the social reform movement, it is important to understand how sex workers were viewed through time as well as how the social reform movement and sex work intersected in other areas of the United States.

Scholarly sources relevant to this study are subdivided by discipline rather than theme or chronology. The three major disciplines who contributed studies related to this thesis are history, archaeology, and historic preservation. In addition, I have added a fourth category of Charleston-specific studies related to sex work within the city.

Historians have analyzed the global history of sex work and how intersectional identities impacted perceptions of sex workers throughout time. Historians also looked at how sex workers within the United States lived and worked and how their contributions helped shape their societies. Archaeologists examined the material culture left behind in buildings that had once been brothels and preservation professionals utilize the buildings

of the brothels themselves as the material culture and its preservation to tell the history of its prior inhabitants. The following chapter is divided into separate discussions of each of these areas.

History

Historians have long studied sex work, but few have studied sex work within the Southern United States and even fewer have studied it within Charleston. For many years, historians took a distant view of the history of sex work, focusing on ancient history rather than even the century or so surrounding their own. Ancient cities were the subjects of the first studies, with sites such as Pompeii and Ancient Rome more prominent.¹⁴ Slowly, historians took a more global view of sex work as publications such as the 1994, *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution*, which provides a comprehensive and in-depth look at sex work in the Ancient World.¹⁵ *Love for Sale* summarizes the major conclusions historians have drawn since they first began studying sex work. *Love for Sale* explores the relationship between morality, sexuality, sex workers, and motherhood throughout the world.¹⁶ Ringdal begins with a brief explanation of Victorian womanhood and how its moral imperatives pushed sex workers further outside of society. He then begins with a chapter on the ancient societies and their major female deities and villains, from the Whore of Babylon in Gilgamesh to Ishtar, Mesopotamia, and the Sumerians before touching on the ancient Greeks and Romans. He

¹⁴ Nils Jordan Ringdal, *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution*, (New York: Grove/Atlantic, Incorporated), 2005).

¹⁵ Nils Jordan Ringdal, *Love for Sale*, Introduction.

¹⁶ Nils Rindgal, *Love for Sale*, Introduction.

explores the societies and how women typically moved through those societies through mechanisms such as doweries and marriages. He moves throughout the world and history, eventually reaching the modern day and the AIDS epidemic. Throughout this exploration, he centers how women and specifically sex workers were viewed in their time and place. Where possible, he draws connections between the times and places but ultimately Ringdal provides a comprehensive look at sex work throughout history.¹⁷

Eventually, more historians began to write about the impact of intersectional identities, such as class, race, gender, and larger social movements and the impact these different identities had on the lives and experiences of sex workers beyond the types of historical survey work historians such as Ringdal provided.¹⁸ *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*, looks at the intersection of sex work and colonialism at a more global scale.¹⁹ In it, Philippa Levine argues that the British Empire's desire to suppress dissent and rebellion from its colonies, factored more heavily into the Empire's policing of sex work in the colonies than a true desire to protect the health of its soldiers and citizens. Levine studied colonial contagious disease legislation in four British colonies: Hong Kong, India, Queensland, and the Straits Settlements. Levine analyzes how the different colonies experienced and internalized colonial rule and nationhood by examining their implementation of the British

¹⁷ Nils Ringdal, *Love for Sale*.

¹⁸ *Historical Sex Work: New Contributions from History and Archaeology*, edited by Kristen R. Fellows, Angela J. Smith, and Anna M. Munns, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2020), 1. Margaret J. Kavounas, "Feeble-mindedness and Prostitution: The Laboratory of Social Hygiene's Influence on Progressive Era Prostitution Reform," (New York: Sarah Lawrence College, 1992).

¹⁹ Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*, (Taylor & Francis Group, 2003), 16.

contagious disease legislation and how they dealt with venereal diseases, especially those contracted through sex work. She found that within the colonies, the British government permitted sex work, particularly for those in the military because of the views of the sex workers. Seen as the “most degraded of women” they offered a better, less permeant solution to white male sexual desire than other sexual arrangements such as concubinage. The global desire to enforce social norms and regulate a population is evidenced in Levine’s work but it is also a desire that affected the policing of sex work elsewhere in the world.²⁰

Although most of these works largely focused on the eastern and western United States, few have looked at the Southeastern United States. Scholars such as Brian Donovan and Sarah Henkel endeavored to explain the impact the moral reform movement had on sex work.²¹ All of these studies are important to understanding the goals of the moral reform movement as well as how sex workers were viewed during the period. Donovan argues that the early twentieth century moral reform movements in the United States were a product of white anxieties spurred by the fears of changing racial and social classes that culminated in the idea of “white slavery” and ultimately strove to retain and reinforce existing lines between the social racial and social classes.²² “White slavery” was the idea that white American citizens, especially women, were being sold

²⁰ Levine, 177-199.

²¹ Kavounas, “Feeble-mindedness and Prostitution,” 3. Shelton, “Evil Becomes Her,” 2. David J. Pivar, *Purity and Hygiene: Women, Prostitution, and the “American Plan,” 1900-1930*, contributions in *American History*, no. 193. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002). Marion Horan, “Trafficking in Danger: Working-Class Women and Narratives of Sexual Danger in English and United States Anti-Prostitution Campaigns, 1875-1914,” (Binghamton: Binghamton University State University of New York, 2006). Henkel, “A Court of Public Opinion,” 10. Donovan, *White Slave Crusaders*, 4.

²² Brian Donovan, *White Slave Crusaders: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism, 1887-1917*, 5.

into industries such as sex work against their will. “White slavery” was used as a tactic to promote segregation and consolidate a white American ideology by portraying white female sex workers as helpless victims forcibly debased.²³ These workers were contrasted against the non-white workers who were portrayed as being intentionally engaged in immoral behavior.

This idea of “white slavery” and the helpless eternal victim was codified in the American consciousness by Dr. William Sanger in 1832.²⁴ Dr. Sanger was a physician in New York, tasked with discovering why syphilis was running rampant on Blackwell Island, where the penitentiary and hospital he worked at were located.²⁵ Dr. Sanger, a product of his class and time, did not doubt it was due to the sex workers on the island. As a part of his study, he got the mayor of New York City to authorize a census of the sex workers in the city, in the process creating one of the most comprehensive studies of prostitution to date. Dr. Sanger asked a lot of questions on a variety of topics from the occupations of parents to why the women choose this profession. He was astounded to find that almost as many women answered that “inclination” for taking on their profession as those who answered “destitution.”²⁶ This was a fact Dr. Sanger could not rectify with his world view and one that contrasted heavily with the entire mythos of “white slavery” and sex workers as eternal victims. Another product of the census, Dr. Sanger created a table classifying sex workers from high class mistresses down to those

²³ Brian Donovan, *White Slave Crusades*, 7

²⁴ Yamin and Seifert, “Chapter Two,” *The Archaeology of Prostitution*, .

²⁵ Yamin and Seifert, “Chapter Two” *The Archaeology of Prostitution*.

²⁶ Yamin and Seifert, “Chapter Two” *The Archaeology of Prostitution*.

who walked the streets. That table offers some of the most telling insights into the structure of sex work in New York City and by extension in the United States.

Since Dr. Sanger's 1832 study, many other case studies have been conducted, especially by historians and archaeologists. Their findings have shown that the hierarchies of sex work, while generally following the table laid out by Dr. Sanger, vary from region to region. Certain types of sex work such as a mistress or the ultra-fancy parlor house setting may be absent in the Western United States but present in other towns along the East Coast. Of the case studies Yamin and Seifert relay, none are from the Southeastern United States. Other case studies conducted in the United States while looking at the same time period of findings, also were located outside of the Southern United States.²⁷

Sarah Henkel ties the moral reform movements back to the physical space and argues that although the moral reform movement built throughout the Gilded Age (1877-1900) and Progressive Era (1896-1917) as it increasingly focused on the eradication of sex work, it was ultimately ineffective, especially when it came to long-term reforms.²⁸ Henkel argues that as sex workers lost more respectability and the general public became increasingly against their visible presence in a city, they became more socially ostracized. Although Henkel does not cover the explicit movement of brothels it is implied that the brothels were moved further to the fringes of a city. However, Henkel argues that

²⁷ Catherine Holder Spude, "Brothels and Saloons: An Archaeology of Gender in the American West" *Historical Archaeology*, 2005, Vol. 39, No. 1, Sin City (2005), pp 89-106. Michael S. Foster, John M. Lindly, and Ronald F. Ryden, "Soiled Doves of South Granite Street: The History and Archaeology of a Prescott, Arizona Brothel, *Kiva*, Summer, 2005, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Summer, 2005), pp. 349-374.

²⁸ Sarah Henkel, "A Court of Public Opinion," 2.

Progressive Era reformers in Kansas City, failed to create lasting reform because they were never able to adequately focus on the root causes of vice and sex work. Instead, they overly exaggerated their claims and arguments but failed to back them up with evidence or lasting change. As a result, vice continued to thrive into the twenty first century in Kansas City and remained fairly visible.²⁹ The movement's overall inability to create a lasting reform helps situate the Charleston moral reform efforts within the context of the larger country. Her analysis of the public's anti-sex worker mentality ties back to ideas of physical space.

This notion of the moral reform movement pushing out sex work to the fringes of society, whether socially or physically is echoed in other studies by scholars who focused on Westward Expansion settlement cities. Gwinneta Malone Crowell explored the history of the red-light district, the "Boggy Bayou" in Dallas, Texas during the Progressive Era. Malone Crowell charts the rise and fall of the "Boggy Bayou" and the ultimate ineffectiveness of the moral reform movement in Dallas. Once again, the district was pushed to the fringes of society, this time physically as well as socially. The moral reform movement built over the course of several decades, impeded originally Malone Crowell argues, by the gender imbalance of boomtown Dallas. This imbalance created a predominantly male population that allowed and even encouraged sex workers in the city, allowing them to become entrenched within Dallas by the turn of the century. By 1913 Dallas' government "abandoned all efforts to regulate [sex work]" in the face of both pro-

²⁹ Henkel, "A Court of Public Opinion," 47.

sex work and pro-reform movement groups who both opposed finding a middle ground: the district on the edge of town.³⁰

Another case study, “Down on First Street: Prostitution in Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1900-1925” by Shelly Lynn Lemons, argues that the efforts at reform, few though they were, were pushed by the wealthy elite of Tulsa and again, had very little impact on end of sex work in the city.³¹ Lemons explains that the “boom town” nature of Tulsa heavily contributed to its long-lasting vice and red-light districts. Because the red-light district, known as First Street, was centered right off of the rail road depots into town, they received a lot of business. Additionally, the geographic location of the red-light district provided a buffer zone between the white and Black portions of Tulsa, providing an area of town for the two races to intermingle without extreme consequences during a period of time when race relations in Tulsa were heavily strained.³² While Tulsa’s strained race relations seemingly helped to preserve the red-light district, it is notable that it was the geographic location of the district that played such an important role in its preservation. This study helps to develop how the physical locations of a red-light district or brothel contribute to the landscape and wider history and development of the city.

This trend continues with other case studies from Fargo, North Dakota to Iowa.³³ All over the Western half of the country, the moral reform movement took the same

³⁰ Gwinnetta Malone Crowell, “To Keep Those Red Lights Burning: Dallas’ Response to Prostitution, 1874 to 1913,” (Arlington: The University of Texas, 2009), 3.

³¹ Shelly Lynn Lemons, “Down on First Street: Prostitution in Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1900-1925,” (Oklahoma: Oklahoma State University, 2004), 2.

³² Lemons, “Down on First Street,” 20-30.

³³ Hope Mitchell. “Sacrificing Our Daughters: Changing Perceptions of Prostitution in Iowa, 1880-1915” (Ames: University of Iowa, 2014), 3. Anna Marie Munns, “Money and Ill Fame: Interpreting a Prostitution

shape and made many of the same arguments against sex work. Initiated by the white, wealthy, elite looking to enforce social classes through the enforcement of respectability and morality. In each city, the movement failed at lasting reform. However, each city was also experiencing rapid growth. The cities in these case studies were just beginning to be settled and established with more people arriving by the day.

Archaeology

Rather than relying solely upon documents, archaeologists focused their studies on the material culture found in the remnants of brothels. As Rebecca Yamin and Donna Seifert explain in their book, *The Archaeology of Prostitution and Clandestine Pursuits*, the items left behind, thrown in privies, cisterns, and often lost to new development, offer a host of important information. These sites offer exciting and illuminating artifacts, which, without the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) would have been missed. Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) requires federal agencies to “take into account the effects of their actions on historic properties.” As part of this, the material remains of brothels are more likely to be discovered. As Yamin and Seifert note, brothels are not a thing most scholars search out. Due to the nature of Section 106, archaeologists are more likely to be tasked with examining a brothel. This approach coincides with the rise of social archaeology and its

Hierarchy in Fargo, North Dakota’s Historical Red-Light District.” (Fargo: North Dakota State University, 2017), 1.

emphasis on bringing the life of the unknown and uncelebrated individual to light rather than focusing on the larger amorphous whole as scholars have done in the past.³⁴

Scholars used the material items recovered through archaeology to primarily focus on the lives of the people within the brothel. By looking at things such as perfume bottles, alcohol bottles, hair pins, and other female products, archaeologists have been able to assemble a deeper understanding of the lives of brothels' inhabitants. Through the material culture archaeologists are able to reconstruct some of the narratives of a brothels inhabitants and through that reconstructed narrative, dispel some of the dominant themes today of sex workers as eternal victims.

Alexy Simmons, one of the first archaeologists to study brothels in the Western United States, employed archaeology to trace the development pattern of brothels within a town as the town also grew. Simmons found that, across five separate mining towns, typical patterns emerged. In the first or boom phase of a town, brothels went largely unchecked and were located throughout the town. In the second or bonanza phase, the number of brothels would grow and they would be in more residential areas. In the third or consolidation phase, brothels were often regulated through economic depressions and arson to a section of a town. In the final phase, brothels were often repressed and segregated into a more isolated section of the town.³⁵

³⁴ Rebecca Yamin and Donna J. Seifert, "Chapter One," *The Archaeology of Prostitution and Clandestine Pursuits*, (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2019), 2.

³⁵ Yamin and Seifert, "Chapter Four," *The Archaeology of Prostitution*.

Spatial Analysis Studies

While historians have largely looked at the social ostracization of sex workers, touching on their movement to the fringes of society physically, they focused most of the social implications of that move. Archaeologists focused less on the building itself and more on the material artifacts that could be recovered from a site to reconstruct the lives of sex workers who lived there. Another area of study that has contributed to the larger body of research on sex workers is those who perform spatial analysis studies as well as historic preservationists. Scholars performing spatial analysis come from many different backgrounds from history to sociology to historic preservation.

One study, titled *Mapping Society: The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography* conducted by Laura Vaughn, an architecture professor based in the United Kingdom who specializes in urban form and mapping, devotes an entire chapter to mapping crime and vice around the world. Vaughn looks at maps in Paris, France, London, England, and Chicago in the United States, as well as one map published by Michael Ryan in 1839 which compared brothel locations in all three countries.³⁶ Each country had a different view of how brothels should be either policed or regulated. Her study did not create new maps or attempt to map more brothels in a given period but does further the study of the social and spatial ostracization sex workers experienced throughout the twentieth century. Each cartographer believed that the moral degradation of a city could be seen through the degradation of the landscape and buildings within it. Each one associated the rundown

³⁶ Laura Vaughn, "Chapter Six: Crime and Disorder," *Mapping Society: The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography*, (UCL Press: Cambridge, 2018), pp. 173.

areas outside of the main city fares as problematic vice areas, suggesting that vice is often segregated and, in the eyes of the cartographers, left to grow.³⁷

Other studies in spatial analysis include Daniel Bluestone's "Charlottesville's Landscape of Prostitution, 1880-1950" and Heidi Elizabeth Carbaugh's "A Murder for a Diamond': Digitally Mapping Prostitution in Gilded Age Baltimore, 1868-1910."³⁸ Through the use of Charlottesville arrest reports, personal journal articles, letters, and other correspondence, Bluestone analyzes the relationship between white male students at the University of Virginia and the sex workers around the campus. Bluestone focuses on a specific madame, Mattie Thompson who was a former slave. Through her work as a madame, Thompson continued to provide sexual services to the family of her former masters post-emancipation. The focus of the article is on the intersection of the social, architectural, and urban form of sex work in the period. While a smaller-scale study due to the geographic size of the campus and population of the town, Bluestone's analysis adds depth and dimension to the complex identities of the sex workers who occupied the brothels and the even more fraught relationships that could exist between customer and worker, especially when they are further complicated by race and social class differences. Bluestone did not provide a physical map but his article does create broader written generalization of the landscape around the University of Virginia campus and the buildings that made up the brothels by detailing the interior and architectural makeup of the several of the brothels around the campus.³⁹

³⁷ Vaughn, "Crime and Disorder," 170-176.

³⁸ Daniel Bluestone, "Charlottesville's Landscape of Prostitution, 1880-1950," *Buildings & Landscapes* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 36-61. Carbaugh, "A Murder for a Diamond", 36-41,.

³⁹ Bluestone, "Charlottesville's Landscape of Prostitution," 52-55.

Those fraught relationships are further exposed in Heidi Elizabeth Carbaugh's "A Murder for a Diamond" which maps the distribution of brothels in Gilded Age Baltimore while also examining the impact of the social reform movement on those brothels. Carbaugh finds that societal pressure resulted in the government-sanctioned creation of a red-light district to confine sex work to a set area. However, that district did not last long and eventually was closed down by the moral reform movement, forcing sex workers to once again disseminate throughout the city, this time without the protection typically afforded to them by brothels.⁴⁰ This study was the only one similar to this thesis. The efforts to map the brothels and compare their locations over time to examine the efficacy of the social reform movement in the city parallels this current study. However, it is the only one of its kind and it focused on Baltimore rather than a Southern city.

Historic Preservation

Outside of case studies, within the larger context of historic preservation in the United States, very few of the numerous brothels that once existed are listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Those that have been placed on the Register are located primarily west of the Mississippi River and include sites such as the Rose Kirkwood Brothel (Nebraska), Kirby Jail and Town Hall (Wyoming), the Silver Dollar Café (Texas), and the MPS Italian Hotel (California).⁴¹ Many of these brothels were nominated for things other than their tenure as a brothel and instead the nominations focused on their histories as boarding houses, hotels, bars, taverns, or their links to other

⁴⁰ Carbaugh, "A Murder for a Diamond," 3.

⁴¹ For a full listing of brothels that appear on the National Register of Historic Places, please visit the National Archives Catalog at <https://catalog.archives.gov/search>.

historical events such as prohibition. Their period as a brothel is given only a sentence or two in the nomination. The search of the National Register database returned less than a hundred possible brothels out of more than 90,000 properties on the National Register, furthering the notion that brothels, while historically widespread, have had their histories largely overlooked.

Outside of the National Register, historic preservationists have not published articles focused on brothels. This is understandable as historic preservation as a field is less inclined to the traditional academic research and publishing schedules unless it is for conservation studies. Historic preservationists focus more on the actual work of saving a building or documenting its history for a specific private client or in the case of house museums, for the larger public to visit and experience.

Charleston, South Carolina Specific Studies

As previously discussed, most of the above case studies do not focus on Southern cities and their brothels. There are a few scholars who have examined sex work in Charleston. These studies, by scholars Sarah Pillman Amundson, Krystle Kline, and Cynthia Kennedy do study sex work, vice, and the to some extent the moral reform movement in Charleston. All three scholars examine Charleston's brothel scene through a historian's lens and focus on understanding the complexities around women's economic agency at the time, especially in regard to class and race.⁴² Kline and Amundson focus on the lives of two infamous madams who worked in the same house, just a decade apart:

⁴² Sarah Pillman Amundson, "A Woman Lies Bleeding on the Ground: Prostitution and Underground Economy in Nineteenth Century Charleston," (Ames: Iowa State University, 2017). Kennedy, "'Nocturnal Adventures in Mulatto Alley,'" 47. Kline, "Social Evil in the Holy City, 45.

Franny Cochran and Grace Piexotto. Both women operated out of 11 Fulton Street. Grace Piexotto was an incredibly well-known and beloved sex worker in Charleston at the turn of the twentieth century while Franny Crochran was a madame who rose to power following Piexotto's death until she was murdered by her lover in the doorway of 11 Fulton Street. Kline's focus is on exploring the social position of madams in Progressive Era Charleston. As such, she examines their political power as Mayors such as Mayor Grace campaigned for laws that were meant to "regulate crime, not sin" and how madams were able to operate brothels outside of the established red-light district.⁴³ She also examines how madams in Charleston stepped outside of their traditional gender roles and in doing so, achieved a higher degree of agency through property ownership, entrepreneurship, and other business avenues.⁴⁴

"Nocturnal Adventures in Mulatto Alley: Sex in Charleston, South Carolina" takes a different approach to sex work in Charleston, instead focusing on the slave South and how enslaved women were involved in the sex trade. While this period is early than this thesis' study period, it is worthwhile to note as it provides insight into how the racial dynamics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century came about. Kennedy notes that most Charlestonians did not "overtly condone or tolerate sexual liaisons between people of color and white people."⁴⁵ Despite this, enslaved women of color were still hired out as sex workers as well as domestic servants.⁴⁶

⁴³ Kline, "Social Evil in the Holy City," 23-25.

⁴⁴ Kline, "Social Evil in the Holy City," 23-25.

⁴⁵ Kennedy, "Nocturnal Adventures in Mulatto Alley," 47.

⁴⁶ Kennedy, "Nocturnal Adventures in Mulatto Alley," 47.

Another scholar, Harlan Greene, published a book entitled *The Real Rainbow Row: Explorations in Charleston's LGBTQ History* which provides some important insight into sex work in the twentieth century, especially in regards to male sex workers. Greene details the intersections between gender, sexuality, and race relations examining brothels that catered to a male clientele serviced by men both white and Black and the unequal treatment each received.⁴⁷ Greene primarily used newspaper articles printed in a New York scandal sheet which recorded arrests from around the country. His period of focus for male sex workers was the early nineteenth century, before the study period of this thesis. While the focus of *The Real Rainbow Row* centers less on sex work and more on the varied lives of homosexual men in Charleston, it does still help to contextualize how Charlestonians dealt with sex work in the nineteenth century: city newspapers chose to not report on those arrested for sex-related crimes.⁴⁸

Each of these works contributes heavily to the knowledge around sex work in Charleston but none have mapped the city's brothels to examine change over time and how the brothels contributed spatially to the city's makeup.

Conclusion

Scholars of all different disciplines continue to study sex work. This thesis bridges the gap between the standard historical view of sex work, the archaeological investigations, and the sociological/architectural spatial mapping done to create a usable record of Charleston's brothels while also examining the social reform movement

⁴⁷ Harlan Greene, *The Real Rainbow Row: Explorations in Charleston's LGBTQ History*, (Charleston: Evening Post Publishing Company, 2022).

⁴⁸ Greene, *The Real Rainbow Row*, " 340-350.

impacted the physical locations of the brothels over time. From the late nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, sex work in Charleston underwent heavy scrutiny just as in other areas of the country. That scrutiny has been detailed by past scholars but its effects on the physical fabric of Charleston has not been mapped. Once mapped, that data can be used to further study the occupants of the brothels and better understand how they moved through society. Furthermore, by mapping Charleston's brothels questions such as are areas of sex work central to downtown or are they at the spatial "edges" of town, are brothels spatially clustered or spread out, and do they move through time? If they are scattered, is it an immediate change or do they slowly transition throughout the city?

Charleston by contrast, did not have the same social atmosphere and rapid growth occurring. While these case studies offer good insight into the rest of the country, the lack of these same types of studies in the Southeastern United States in the same period is an oversight. However, the notion that the moral reform movement was pushing sex workers both socially and physically to the fringes of cities is a concept that was most likely repeated in Charleston. While historians throughout the case studies mention the movement of brothels and, for certain cities know where the brothels were generally moved from and to, they do not have specific addresses outside of the most notorious brothels and their studies overall focused primarily on the idea of movement rather than the physical relocation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

To understand and categorize the locations of brothels through time and identify any possible patterns in those locations or time periods, certain methods of data collection and analysis were employed. The data collection methods for this thesis research were tripartite – a study of the yearly arrests in the Charleston City Directories from 1888 to 1940, concentrating on those charged with “keeping a disorderly house” and other variations thereof⁴⁹, a study of the yearly deaths by syphilis as recorded in the City Directories for the same years, and a compilation of brothel locations as recorded in several historic sources, to be explained more in depth below.

These three sources of data allow me to identify and characterize temporal trends in the landscape of sex work in Charleston and allow for the dynamic nature of this landscape. Exploring temporal trends in arrest and death data provides a window into the causal relationship between the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and crackdowns on brothels. The sources chosen for the second prong of the data collection allow insight into the movement of brothels throughout the end of the nineteenth and into the mid-twentieth century. Any movements can then be related to the arrest and death data to test for relationships.

Other thesis research done on this topic, especially a case study conducted on the red-light district in Baltimore, provided some clues as to how to go about formulating an

⁴⁹ This thesis tracked arrests for “keeping a disorderly house”, “running a disorderly house”, and other variations of the same.

effective research and collection method.⁵⁰ The Baltimore case study also looked at arrest records, specifically those from newspapers of the time to locate brothels and track their movement. While this research uses an effective method, Charleston newspapers did not report sex worker arrests in an easily identifiable way, if at all, making it impossible to replicate those methods for this thesis. Instead, a set of specific sources including Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Charleston City Directories, Charleston Yearbooks, the Law and Order League's records, Thomas P. Stony papers, and the Charleston Blue Book were chosen for their breadth of time, most spanning several decades if not the entirety of the research period.

The variety of sources was chosen because no one source can offer a complete narrative of brothels throughout Charleston's history. Sex work has long been considered an illicit affair that most people either looked away from or only selectively reported. Because of this, a variety of sources is needed to cover the study period, with some sources offering insight into only certain periods. The lack of continuous coverage by the same source throughout the study period is in itself enlightening and suggestive as to the motives and social/ societal pressures of the time. The periods when brothels were hardest to track and the least visible in the study period is another pattern that is discussed in later chapters. While this study includes a robust and diverse set of sources, time constraints precluded the incorporation of several potentially valuable sources including Orphan House records and individual arrest reports. Due to the time constraints of the thesis timeline, the number of sources had to be set at a volume that would allow

⁵⁰ Carbaugh, "A Murder for a Diamond," 1.

maximum reach throughout the period while also being searchable within an academic year. Below is a table detailing the sources used and which areas of research they most heavily contributed.

Source	Prong of Tripartite Research Method	Citation
Charleston City Year Books	First and Second Prong – arrests, syphilis deaths, general background and context	<i>Year Books City of Charleston</i> , City Year Books for Charleston, South Carolina, 1880-1951, South Carolina Historic Society Archives
Charleston City Directories	Third Prong – lists madam as an occupation from 1886-1930 with some gaps.	“Charleston, South Carolina,” <i>US City Directories, 1822-1995</i> accessed through <i>Ancestry.com</i> , https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/2469/ .
Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps	Third Prong – Provides locations of brothels in 1902 although the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps collection covers the entire study period.	Sanborn Map Company. <i>South Carolina: 1884, 1888, 1092, 1902 (Revised 1944), & 1902 (Revised 1955)</i> . (Scale: 50 ft. = 1 in.) “Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps.”

Law and Order League Papers	Third Prong – provides insight into the locations of brothels and some of the madams in the 1910s.	<i>Special Report of the Law and Order League of Charleston, S.C.</i> , from South Carolina Historical Society Archives, 1913
Thomas P. Stony Papers	Third Prong – provides insight into the efforts to eradicate vice in the city as well as the locations of brothels in the 1910s – 1930s.	“Thomas P. Stony Papers” from South Carolina Historical Society Archives, Charleston, South Carolina.
Clemson MSHP Research Methods Class, Fall 2022	Third Prong – provides insight into brothels in the Fourth Ward throughout the study period.	Varied, Clemson Class of 2024 Fall Research Methods Final Papers, December 2024.
Charleston Blue Book	Third Prong – provides insight into some of the brothels and sex workers in 1902.	Jones, Mark R., <i>Wicked Charleston Volume 2: Prostitutes, Politics, and Prohibition</i> , (History Press: South Carolina, 2006).

Table 3.1 Source and Branch of Research

The scope of this thesis was limited to a set time period (1880-1940) for several reasons. The moral removements around the country gained prominence in the latter part

of the nineteenth century, generally accepted to begin around the 1880s.⁵¹ Additionally, the City Year Books and City Directories begin being consistently printed in the 1880s. By 1940, sex work in Charleston had completely changed its look. Due to the advent and rising prominence of automobiles as well as the City's attempts to close down brothels, sex work moved away from brothels within the city and into more mobile methods such as automobiles and hotel rooms.⁵²

Data Collection for Frequency Diagrams

City Yearbooks

City Yearbooks are yearly reports put out by the City of Charleston that detail the mayor's agenda for the year, reports from all the major city departments such as the Department of Health, the Police Force and Fire Department, the Tax Assessor, and others.⁵³ Among the information recorded by the Department of Public Health includes the number of deaths each year, broken down by cause of death. From 1880 to 1906, the Department of Public Health recorded deaths by month, separating out within each month the number of white citizen deaths and the number of Black citizen deaths. After 1906, each cause of death records the number of white men, white women, Black men, and Black women who died that year rather than breaking it down by month. Among the causes of death consistently listed is syphilis. The numbers for deaths by syphilis was

⁵¹ Carbaugh, "A Murder for a Diamond," 3. Donovan, *White Slave Crusaders*, 8. Henkel, "A Court of Public Opinion," 14.

⁵² Folder "Vice, 1941-1942/ Mayor H.W. Lockwood" from City of Charleston Records Management, October 4, 1941 details almost exclusively restaurants, hotels, and taxicab drivers who are enabling vice and sex work within the city.

⁵³ *Year Books City of Charleston*, City Year Books for Charleston, South Carolina, 1880-1951, South Carolina Historic Society Archives.

recorded from each City Yearbook in an Excel spreadsheet with columns for the year, the listed cause of death (syphilis, congenital syphilis, tertiary syphilis, hereditary syphilis, or syphilitic gumma of the brain) of the number of white men, white women, Black men, and Black women who died, a column for the total number of white deaths, a column for the total number of Black deaths, and a final column for the total number of all deaths.

The Police Department also records within the City Yearbook the number of arrests each year, broken down by crime. These statistics are then categorized into the number of white men, white women, Black men, and Black women arrested for each crime. Among the crimes, “keeping a disorder house” or some variation thereof is frequently recorded.⁵⁴ This information was entered into a different sheet on the same Excel spreadsheet as above with columns for the year, the reason for the arrest, the number of white men, white women, Black men, and Black women arrested, and the total of white arrests, Black arrests, and the combined total of all arrests.

Data Analysis for Frequency Diagrams

From these City Year Books, frequency diagrams tracking the yearly arrest numbers for “disorderly houses” and the like phrases were produced using Canva. Graphs were made of the total number of arrests as well as the number of arrests broken down by race and gender. Graphs were also made of the number of arrests for violation of the Mann Act and were broken down by race and gender. Frequency diagrams in the form of

⁵⁴ The charges counted in this study were: "Disorderly House," "Disorderly House, Keeping," "Disorderly Houses," "Disorderly Place," "Inmates of House of Ill Fame," "Keeping a Disorderly House," "Keeping a House of Ill Fame," "Keeping Disorderly Houses," "Running Disorderly House, and"Vio. Section 615-B (reference disorderly house)". "Violation Mann Act," and "Vio. U.S. Mann White Slavery Act."

line graphs were also produced in Canva for the number of deaths from syphilis. These graphs detail the total number of deaths by year, by race, and by gender. Together, all of these frequency diagrams were used to examine if any patterns between the rate of arrests and the rate of the death from sexually transmitted diseases were connected. The findings from these diagrams are discussed in the next chapter.

Data Collection for Geographic Spread of Brothels

For the larger portion of this thesis study tracking the locations of brothel in Charleston from 1886 to 1940, a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet was used to record the information. This sheet recorded the year, the source of the information, the street address of the brothel, the city, and state, whether or not a madam was listed, and a general notes column (See Appendix for the data from the Excel spreadsheet). For the purpose of this thesis, each time a brothel was mentioned, it was recorded in the Excel spreadsheet. This allows for a deeper understanding of the visibility of brothels throughout the study period in addition to determining where they were located throughout the city.

Charleston City Directories

The Charleston City Directories from the 1886 up to the 1940s were examined for any notations of madams in the residential and business portions of the directories. The directories for 1886-1930 do list various women with the notation “madam” next to their name and address, marking them as madams. Later directories do not have this notation and make no obvious mention of whether or not a woman was working as a madam or other kind of sex worker within the city. While “madam” can have different connotations, City Directories throughout the study period typically list married women as “Mrs.”

rather than “madam.” The addresses of the women indicated as “madam” were often repeated throughout the study period sometimes with the same woman listed as a “madam” sometimes with different women. Additionally, the addresses are often times within an area of the city that other sources such as the Charleston Blue Book, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, or Thomas P. Stony Papers have identified as containing brothels, even mentioning the same address at times. Finally, several women within a year’s City Directory may be listed as a madam at the same residence. In the few instances where a teacher was listed as a “madam” they were omitted from this study.⁵⁵

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps

The Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps were created by the Sanborn Map Company and were published periodically throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Sanborn maps made for Charleston span from 1886 until 1955, although only those from 1888 to 1940 were consulted for this thesis.⁵⁶ The maps were designed to be used by insurance companies writing fire insurance and other property insurance policies. This meant that the maps listed details other contemporary maps may have missed including lot lines, the number of stories in a building, and even the materials used to construct the building. One of the most intriguing notations made on some of the Sanborn maps, especially the one from 1902, is that some buildings were designated as “female

⁵⁵ “Charleston, South Carolina,” *US City Directories, 1822-1995* accessed through *Ancestry.com*, <https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/collections/2469/>. In these instances, the women would be listed as “madam” and within the same listing the name and address of an academy or music school would be listed as well.

⁵⁶ Sanborn Map Company, *South Carolina: 1884, 1888, 1092, 1902 (Revised 1944), & 1902 (Revised 1955)*. (Scale: 50 ft. = 1 in.) “Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps,” https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.ccpl.idm.oclc.org/browse_maps/41/8100/39549/41456/564475?accountid=57991

boarding” or “fb”. This is how the Sanborn Company distinguished brothels at the time. The 1902 Sanborn the only Sanborn for Charleston that includes this designation although all other maps within the period of study were checked to see if the notation was made in other years as well. This lack is interesting in its own right as well and begs the question of why 1902 was such a special year that brothels were included in official insurance documents. A potential answer is presented later in this thesis while discussing the results of my findings and their impacts.

The Charleston Blue Book

The Charleston Blue Book is a pamphlet that circulated around Charleston in 1902 during the South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition.⁵⁷ The Fair lasted from December 1 1901 until June 20, 1902. The Blue Book is a small book only nine pages long that was put out by madams of the period to advertise their services. As such, the book is filled with the names sex workers and the addresses of the brothels where they worked.

The Law and Order League

The Law and Order League operated in Charleston during the early twentieth century. It was a direct response to the pressures of the moral reform movement and was tasked with rooting out vice and immorality in Charleston. While no lasting laws or even societal changes were sparked by this League, they did publish a pamphlet on their

⁵⁷ “1902 Charleston Blue Book” in Mark R. Jones, *Wicked Charleston Volume 2: Prostitutes, Politics, and Prohibition*, (History Press: South Carolina, 2006).

findings.⁵⁸ The pamphlet details blind tigers (secret bars illegally selling alcohol) and the addresses of several brothels as well as the owner of the property and/or the madam of the brothel. The report does make a note that the brothel findings in the pamphlet were but a small portion of their total findings. An additional report is mentioned but it has not been located by the researcher to date.

Thomas P. Stoney Papers

The Thomas P. Stoney Papers are held at the South Carolina Historical Society Archive in the Addlestone Library on the College of Charleston's campus.⁵⁹ They span the 1910s to the 1930s with most information concentrated between 1912-13 and 1922. During this period, another commission aside from the Law and Order League was operating. They were known as the Commission on Public Hygiene and were also a response to public pressure stemming from the same fears and ideas that populated the social reform movement. As a part of this organization, the Commission on Public Hygiene endeavored to track the sex workers in Charleston by having them take surveys. These surveys include the sex worker's name, age, where and what year they first began sex work, where they work now, all previous places of employment, among other information. Many of these surveys are included in the Thomas P. Stoney papers. For the purposes of this thesis, each mention of a brothel was recorded as a separate occurrence or "mention."

⁵⁸ *Special Report of the Law and Order League of Charleston, S.C.*, from South Carolina Historical Society Archives, 1913.

⁵⁹ "Thomas P. Stoney Papers" from South Carolina Historical Society Archives, Charleston, South Carolina.

Also among the papers are court records from when select brothels were charged and brought to court. These tend to include the names of several of the sex workers as well as the address of the brothel and sometimes surrounding brothels.

Clemson University 2022 Research Methods Class Reports

In 2022, the Clemson University Master of Science in Historic Preservation Class of 2024 cohort did extensive house history research on properties within Ward Four in Charleston. Students researched the chain of title for sixteen properties back as far as possible, in several cases all the way back to the Grand Model when Charleston was first colonized by the British.⁶⁰ While not all of the sixteen properties were brothels, many of them did operate as brothels at different periods. The findings of these reports for the period of study were taken and entered into the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet.

Each of these sources offers insight into a particular subsection or period when brothels were heavily scrutinized. By combining the information from all of these disparate sources a more complete history of sex work in Charleston is formed. While these are far from the only sources, they offer the largest swath of time periods while still providing the most detailed information. They also offer the ability for future researchers to easily pick up and expand upon the brothels listed in any number of ways, whether that is through more detailed analysis of the workers within the brothels, the relations between brothels, the ownership of these properties, etc.

⁶⁰ Varied, Clemson Class of 2024, "Fall 2022 Ward Four Research Papers," December 2022. See bibliography for a full citation of all authors and individual papers.

Data Analysis for the Geographic Spread of Brothels

Once the data was collected and entered into the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet it was then exported into ArcGIS. ArcGIS is a software that enables geographic mapping and overlays. Each mention of a brothel was mapped as a pinpoint on an aerial overlay of Charleston for the corresponding year. The data was separated into six map layers. Each map layer is a decade. The first layer is made up of the brothel mentions found from 1880 to 1889, the second layer is made up of the brothel mentions from 1890 to 1899, the third layer is made up of the brothel mentions from 1900 to 1909, the fourth layer is made up of the brothel mentions from 1910 to 1919, the fifth layer depicts the brothel mentions from 1920 to 1929, and the sixth and final layer depicts the brothel mentions from 1930 to 1939. Map layers can also be turned off or isolated so that only that layer is visible. They can also be seen altogether, creating a visual representation of the geographic locations of all the data collected throughout the study period. Because each data point recorded is a mention of a brothel, some addresses are seen repeatedly, not only through the decades but also within a decade. This allows deeper insight into the overall visibility of brothels during the study period. Displayed next to each other, the different map layers show the visual changes in the pattern of brothels between decades as well as changes in the overall visibility of brothels throughout the study period.

Once the points were mapped, heat maps were created in ArcGIS to provide a better visual of the geographic spread of the brothels in a given decade and of the brothels' visibility within that decade.

In addition to the ArcGIS point and heat maps that were generated, graphs of other data collected from the same primary source materials used to create the point and heat maps were also developed. Among these include graphs detailing the number of madams recorded throughout the study period, a breakdown of the racial makeup of the madams found in the Charleston City Directories, the number of brothels that appeared throughout the study period, the amount of times a brothel appeared throughout the study period, and others. All of these graphs as well as the point and heat maps can be found in the following data analysis chapter.

Conclusion

From the temporal frequency diagrams of the arrests and syphilis deaths and the data from the analysis performed in ArcGIS, several patterns emerged that provide insight into the interplay between brothels' movements within Charleston and the policing of brothels. In addition, a tentative link between syphilis deaths and arrests for keeping a brothel was found. These results, as well as how they relate to the peak of the social reform movement in Charleston, will be explained in more detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Presentation of Data

This thesis seeks to better understand the landscape of sex work in Charleston from 1880 until it was pushed off the peninsula and into the Navy Yard area of North Charleston around 1940. A series of research questions were devised to help organize the research. The main question this thesis seeks to answer is to what extent the social reform movement in Charleston between 1880 and 1940 was effective at targeting and eliminating vice, specifically sex work, on the peninsula. Along with this driving question other questions such as is there a pattern to the geographic spread of the brothels and can any temporal patterns be identified? Other questions that arose throughout the data collection phase included: Do the death rate of syphilis and the arrest rate for keeping a brothel align with any larger political trends in Charleston during the time period? Did brothels operate continually at one address throughout the time period or time went on, did they move from one area of the city to another, vacating the prior area completely? Did death rates fall following a spike in arrests for keeping a brothel?

In order to answer these questions data was collected from the variety of sources mentioned in the prior chapter. The current chapter begins by presenting the data from the City Year Books for arrest rates then death rates from syphilis before discussing the results of the larger data collection from the other sources and the graphs that were produced from them. The chapter then examines the point and heatmaps that were generated in ArcGIS to track the mentions of brothels throughout the time period and across the primary sources. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the data presented.

Arrest Rate Data

The question of whether or not the social reform movement impacted how Charleston policed brothels required a different approach than the other aim of this thesis focused on locating brothels. To assess if any correlation existed between the social reform movement and how brothels were policed, the City Year Books offered the best measurement because they reported yearly arrest rates. The City Year Books run throughout the entirety of the study period, allowing for a consistent data source to examine how one specific source approached vice throughout time. By comparing the arrest rates for running or keeping a brothel against the death rates for syphilis in the city, my hypothesis was that the arrest rate for keeping a brothel and the death rate for syphilis would be connect. One possibility was that, as the arrest rates went up, the death rates would begin to fall. Alternatively, it was possible that arrest rates could increase after a significant spike in the death rate as a result of the public calling for action. Additionally, I suspected that the height of the syphilis deaths would mark the beginning of a noticeable and concentrated policing effort which would eventually lower syphilis deaths, and result in a healthier population.

Figures 4.1 through 4.5 (below) show number of arrests for “keeping a disorderly house” between 1880 and 1940, broken down by various metrics such as gender and race.⁶¹ No data was available in the City Year Books for the following years: 1884, 1889,

⁶¹ Arrests considered for this study were termed as "Disorderly House," "Disorderly House, Keeping," "Disorderly Houses," "Disorderly Place," "Inmates of House of Ill Fame," "Keeping a Disorderly House," "Keeping a House of Ill Fame," "Keeping Disorderly Houses," "Running Disorderly House, and"Vio. Section 615-B (reference disorderly house)," "Violation Mann Act," and "Vio. U.S. Mann White Slavery Act."

1897, 1930, 1931, 1939, 1940, so data for those years was not recorded. For the years 1932 to 1935 the City Year Books were published as one collective yearbook in 1935. As such, it does not include the same level of detail as the previous and following years but it does still record the number of arrests for keeping a disorderly house. Those numbers were not broken down in by gender and race as the previous years' had been.

As Figure 4.1 shows, throughout the study period there are several peaks and valleys in the arrest data. Throughout the late nineteenth century, less than ten arrests a year were made on average. The very beginning of the twentieth century saw even fewer arrests between 1900 and 1907. From 1907 onwards, the number of arrests increased overall until 1924. Between 1924 and 1932 there were zero arrests made for keeping a disorderly house. Arrests picked back up in 1932 and continued until 1938 when they disappeared entirely.

As Figure 4.2 shows, although there are spikes between years, there was also a greater number of arrests of women over men. These gender disparities in arrests suggest that women primarily were responsible for operating brothels. City Directory information corroborates this, as no label for a male brothel keeper has been noted while women were consistently identified as madams throughout the City Directories.

Figure 4.3 shows a greater number of Charlestonians of color being arrested throughout time. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 compare arrest data by both gender and race. Figure 4.4 shows that overall, women of color were arrested more often than any other demographic. This would suggest, based on the arrest data alone, that women of color were more likely to operate brothels. However, white women were overwhelmingly listed

as madams in the City Directories. Figure 4.5 shows the arrest data for men broken down by race and suggests that men of color were more heavily arrested than white men. Once again, it would appear from the data alone that men of color operated brothels more often than white men. The arrest rate difference is most likely attributable to other factors such as racism that overwhelmingly targeted people of color operating brothels throughout Charleston's history.

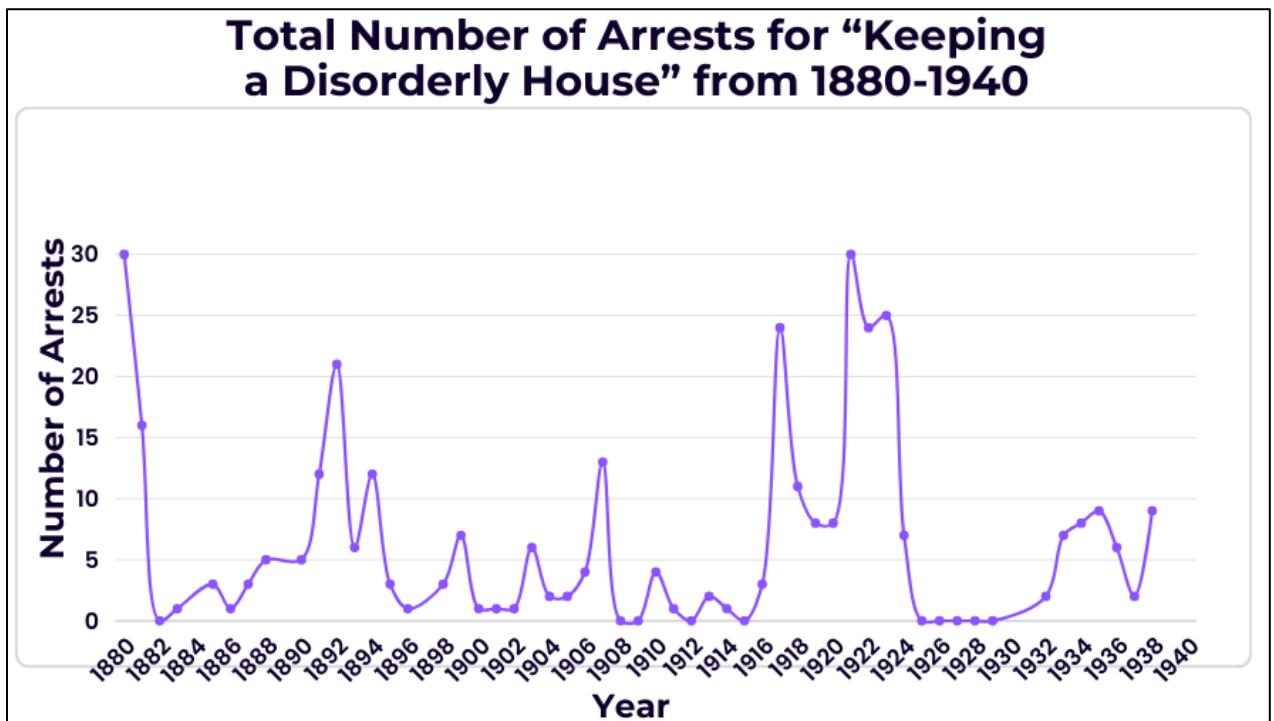


Figure 4.1: Line graph of the total number of arrests for “Keeping a Disorderly House” between 1880 and 1940 from the Charleston City Year Books.

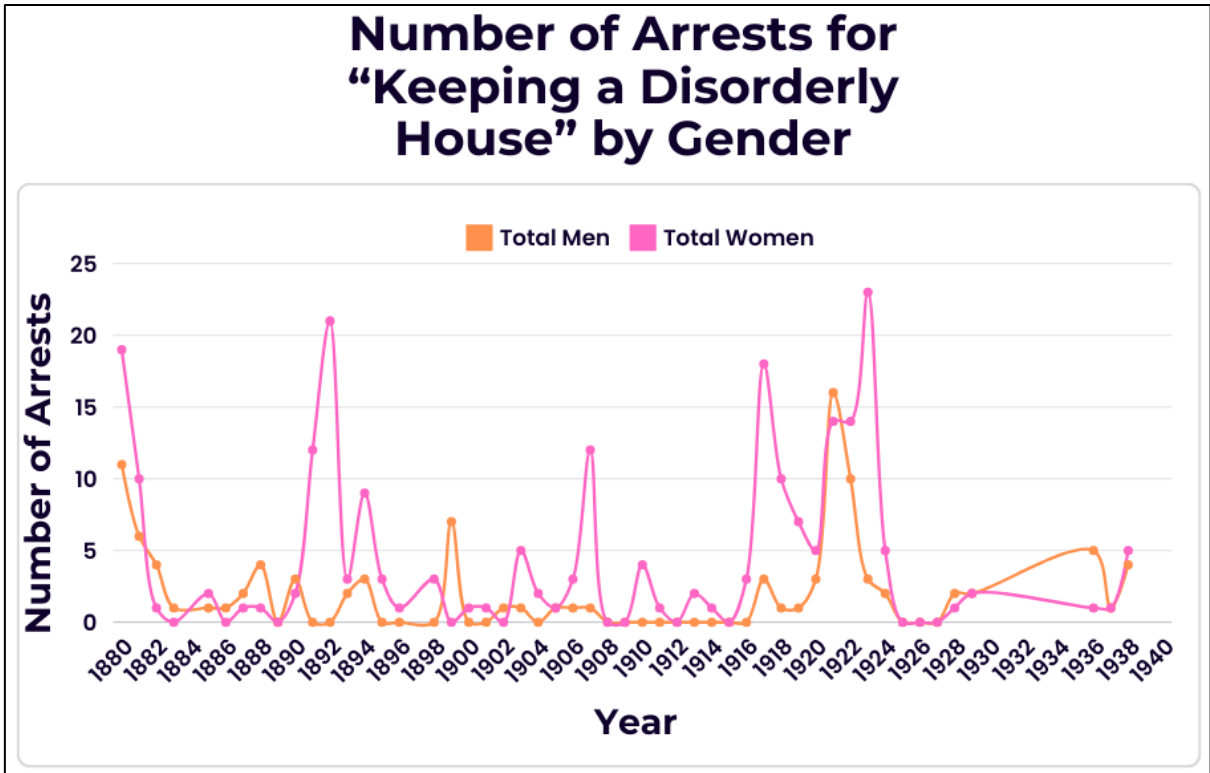


Figure 4.2: Line graph of the number of arrests for “Keeping a Disorderly House” between 1880 and 1940 distributed by gender.

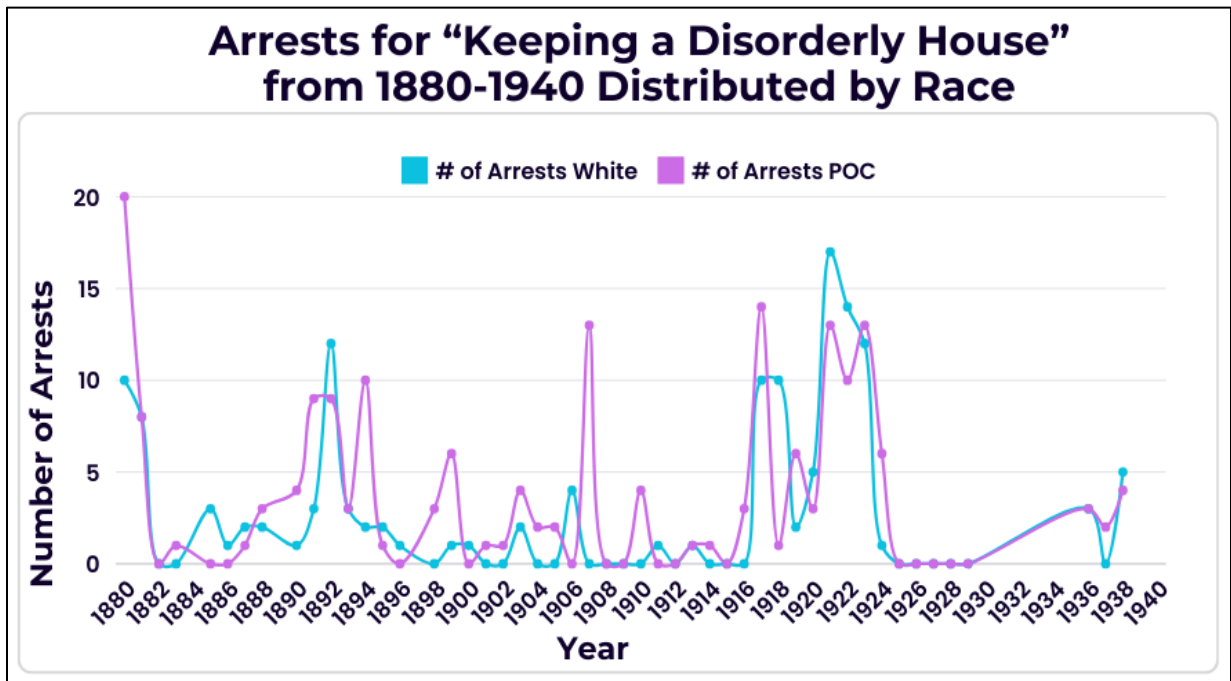


Figure 4.3 Line graph of the number of arrests for “Keeping a Disorderly House” between 1880 and 1940 distributed by race.

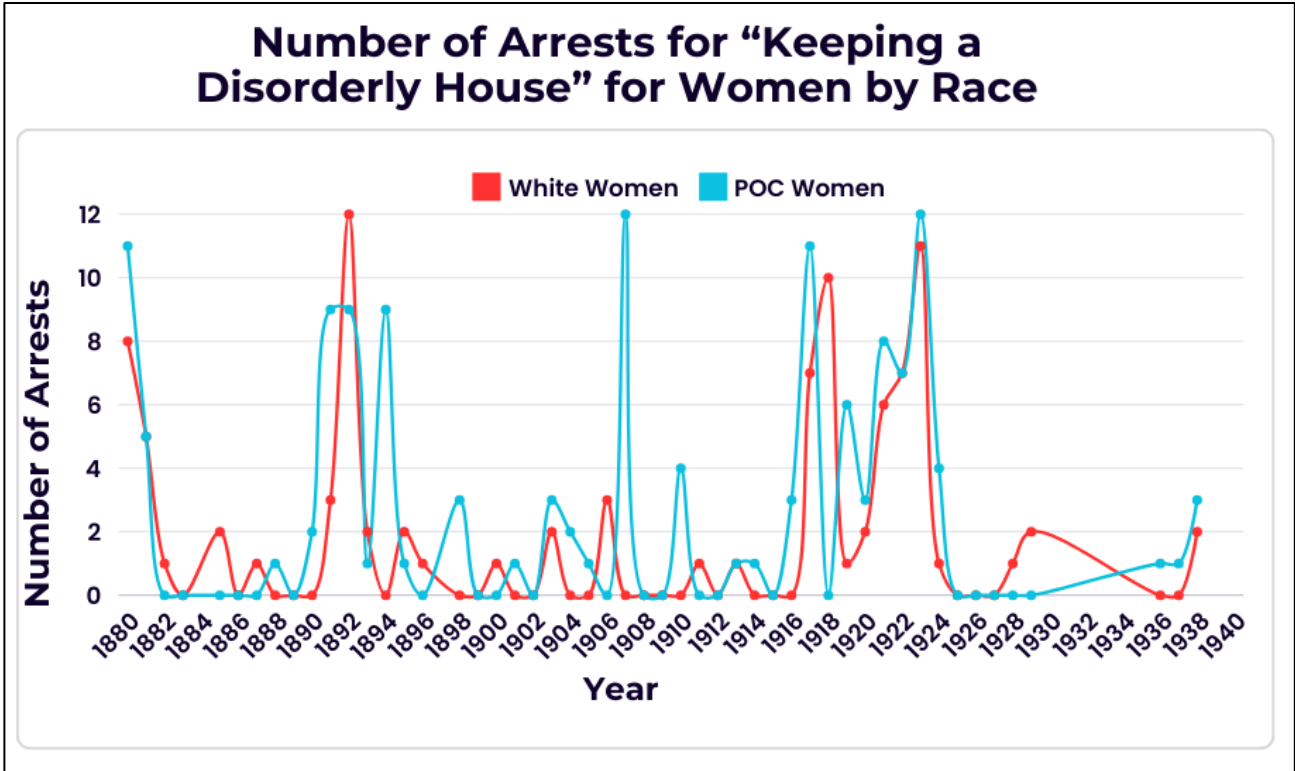


Figure 4.4: Line graph of the number of women arrested for “Keeping a Disorderly House” between 1880 and 1940 distributed by race in Charleston, South Carolina.

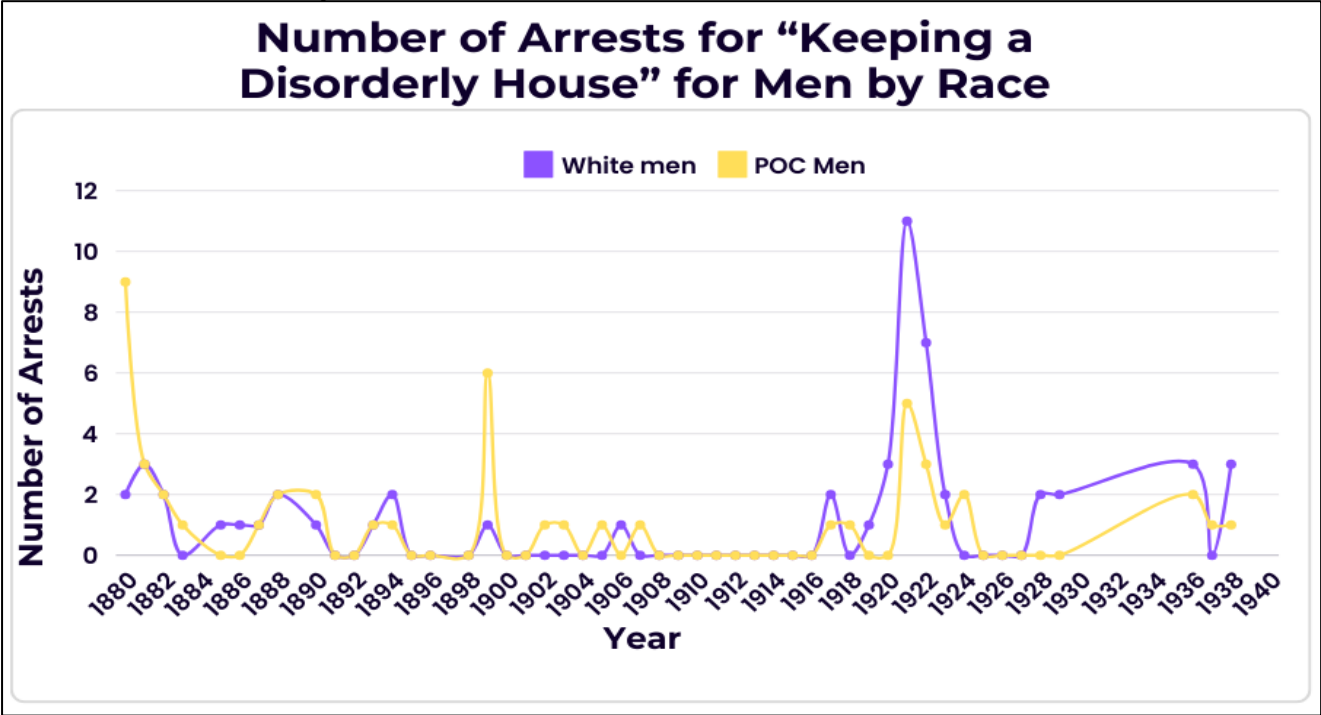


Figure 4.5: Line graph of the number of men arrested for “Keeping a Disorderly House” between 1880 and 1940 distributed by race in Charleston, South Carolina.

Syphilis Death Data

The Department of Public Health published their yearly death rates from syphilis in the City Year Books.⁶² Figure 4.6 shows the total number of deaths from syphilis from 1880 to 1935, when the City stopped recording deaths from syphilis in the City Year Books. The City Year Books stopped reporting syphilis deaths as of 1935, causing the graphs in Figures 4.6 and 4.7 to be truncated compared to those for the arrests for “keeping a disorderly house” which span the entire study period from 1880 to 1940. Despite this, Figure 4.6 clearly shows an overall increase in syphilis deaths throughout the available period. From 1880 to 1915, the yearly death rate increased from about eight

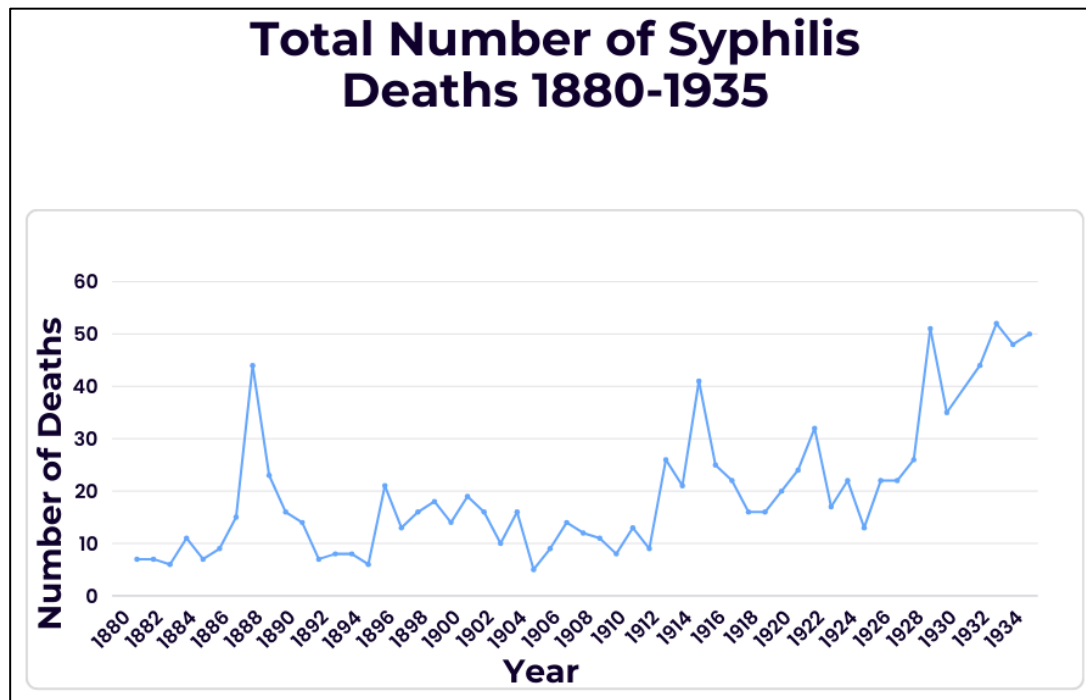


Figure 4.6 Line graph representing the total number of deaths from syphilis between 1880 and 1925 in Charleston, South Carolina.

⁶² 1880 and 1931 were the only two years that the City Year Books did not have data available on the death rate from syphilis and so have been omitted from the graphs. Furthermore, the City did not report syphilis deaths in the City Year Books after 1935.

people a year to fifty with only small dips between certain years. By comparison, the yearly arrest data from Figure 4.1 shows spikes in 1880, 1892, 1917, and 1920-24 rather than a steady increase or even decrease. In each year of the arrest rate spike expect for the 1920-1924 period, deaths from syphilis appear to decrease only to again increase within five years.

Figure 4.7 details the number of syphilis deaths distributed by race. There is a stark contrast between the white deaths and deaths of people of color in Charleston. Throughout the study, people of color were reported as dying of syphilis as many as five times as often white people within a given year.

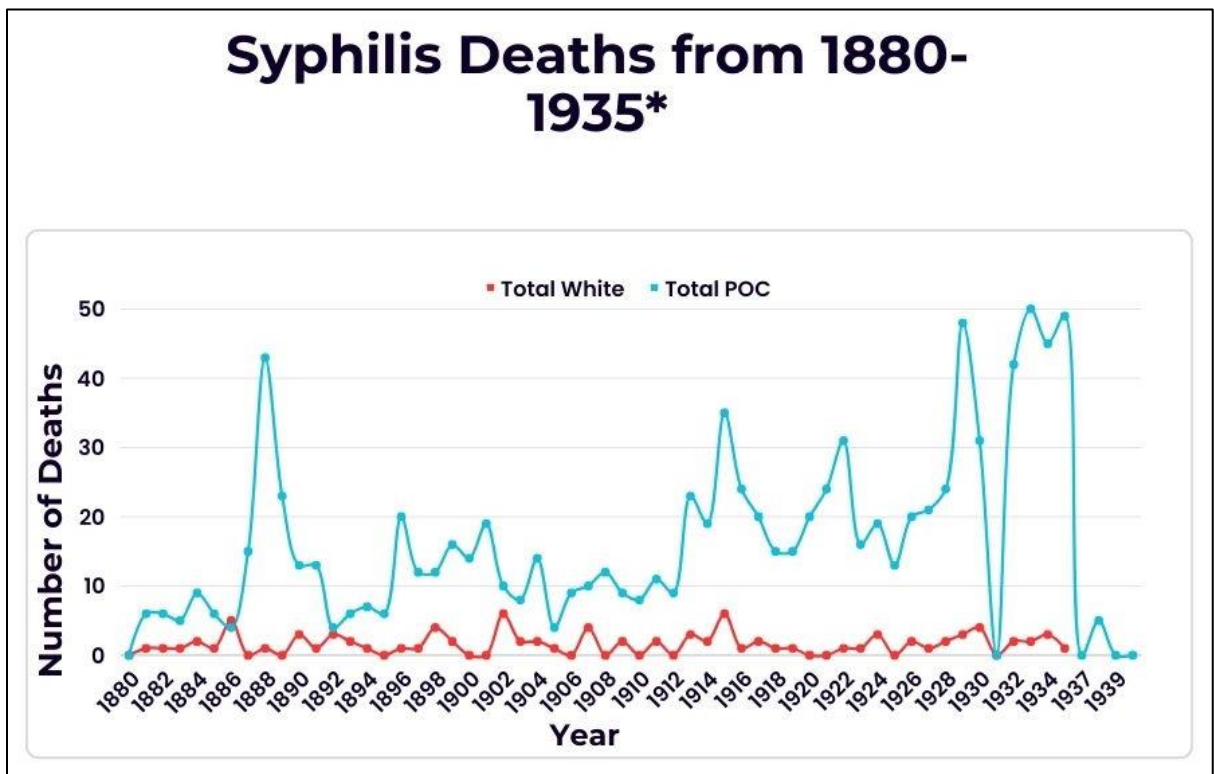


Figure 4.7: Line graph representing the total number of deaths from syphilis between 1880 and 1935 in Charleston, South Carolina distributed by race.

With the yearly death rate consistently increasing with only small decreases following arrest spikes, the City Year Book data suggests that despite the City's efforts, sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis were too prevalent to consistently eliminate or even consistently contain within the city. When the racial data component is taken into account as well death rate data suggests that people of color in Charleston died in greater numbers than their white counterparts from sexually transmitted diseases. While it appears they did die in much larger numbers this is likely due to the disparity between people of color and white people in Charleston when it came to housing and healthcare. It is highly probable that the large difference in death rates between white people and people of color is visible throughout the rest of the death rate data reported in the City Year Books throughout the same period.

Brothel Location Data

Point and heat maps were generated from the address data collected through the various sources mentioned in the methodology section. Point maps offer a visual representation of each mention of a brothel throughout the study period. Heat maps are generated from point maps and offer easier insight into density information. The denser the area, the brighter the color around it. For the purposes of this study, density information corresponds to visibility because this study tracked mentions of brothels rather than only addresses. This means that each time a brothel was mentioned across all of the source material it was recorded as a mention, allowing for the same address to be recorded multiple times within the same year. Each time an address was mentioned, it was recorded in an Excel spreadsheet, available in Appendix B. Data for each decade was

then plotted on a different layer of an aerial map of Charleston to track the movement of brothels throughout the city throughout the study period. The table below details the breakdown of how each source contributed to the study. The City of Charleston Directories offered the most insight across the study period with 589 brothel mentions between the years 1886 and 1917. The Charleston Blue Book offered the fewest mentions at only 7. Additionally, the Charleston Blue Book data was confined to 1902.

Brothel Mentions By Source		
Source	Number of Brothel Address Mentions	Years Mentioned
City of Charleston Directories	589	1886-1917
Thomas P. Stony Papers	139	1913-1938
Clemson MSHP Student Research Papers	101	1890-1940
Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps	40	1902
Law & Order League Report	25	1913
Charleston Blue Book	7	1902

Table 4.1: Brothel Mentions by Source

Figure 4.8 below details the breakdown of brothel mentions by address and number of mentions. 192 individual addresses were identified across the study period. The remainder of brothel mentions were instances of the same addresses coming from either different sources and/or across the study period. Of the 192 addresses identified, 79 were mentioned only once while the other 113 were mentioned twice or more. One

property, 9 Fulton Street, was mentioned 58 times throughout the study period between 1890 and 1920. 11 Fulton Street was mentioned 40 times between 1886 and 1935 making it the property with the longest span of time during which it was mentioned. 10 West Street followed close behind with 24 mentions between 1887 and 1935. Figure 4.9 shows number of brothels that operated at a single address throughout the study period.

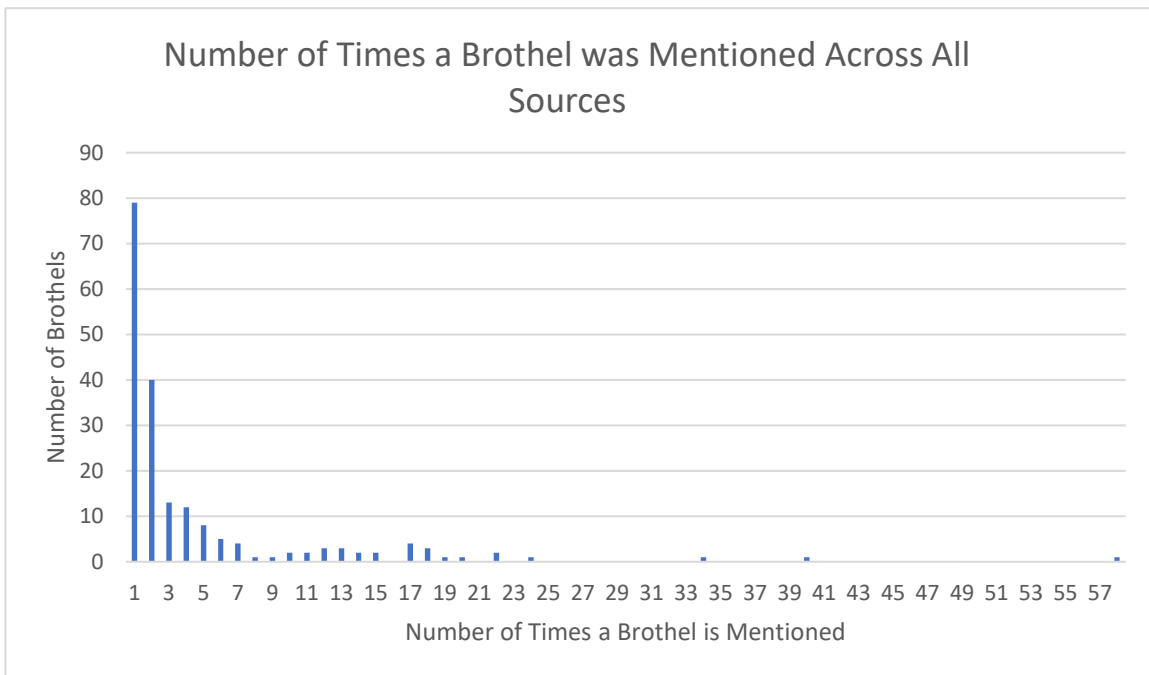


Figure 4.8: Line graph showing the number of times a brothel was mentioned in the research data across all sources in Charleston, South Carolina between 1880 and 1940.

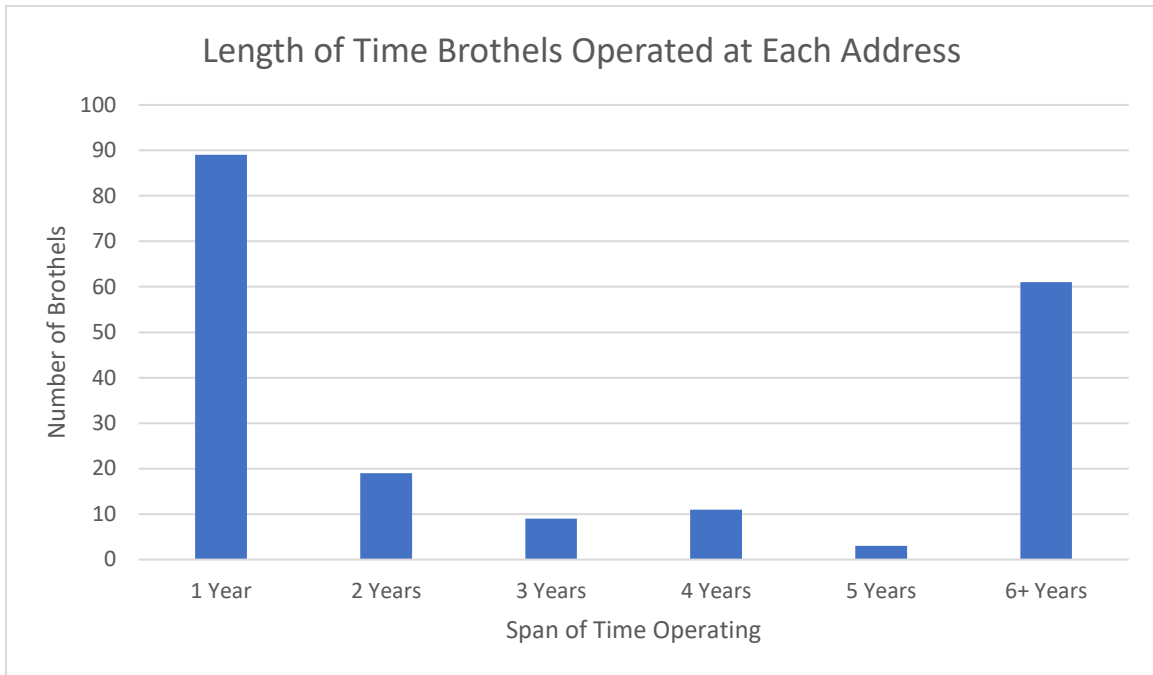


Figure 4.9: Bar graph showing the length of time brothels operated at each address in Charleston, South Carolina between 1880 and 1940 based upon the years they were mentioned across the source data.

Between all the sources, 704 mentions listed either madams or occupants of the brothels. While some of the Law and Order League and Commission on Public Hygiene reports made vague mentions of men working at the brothels, no addresses were supplied.

City Directory Data Breakdown

The City Directories, in addition to recording addresses, also listed race until the 1910s. Women of color were listed as “c”, meaning “colored.” Of the madams listed in the City Directories between 1886 and 1909, 413 were identified as white while just 48 were identified as women of color.

Of the 704 mentions throughout all of the sources listing madams or other sex worker occupants, all 589 of the City Directory sources listed at least one occupant or

madam. Several brothels throughout the study period list multiple women within one City Directory who are at the same residence. In total, 253 individual women are mentioned in the City Directories throughout the study period. Figure 4.10 details the number of times a specific madam was mentioned in the City Directories throughout the study period. Of the 253 individual madams mentioned, over half of them appeared only once (158 women). Most women were mentioned between one and three times. Only one woman, Mattie Sherman, was mentioned 19 times, the most of any that appeared in the City Directories. For the purposes for this study, every different spelling of a name was listed as a different madam. It is possible that women were listed more than accounted for below but due to different spellings of their name or a changing alias, have been counted as different women for this study.

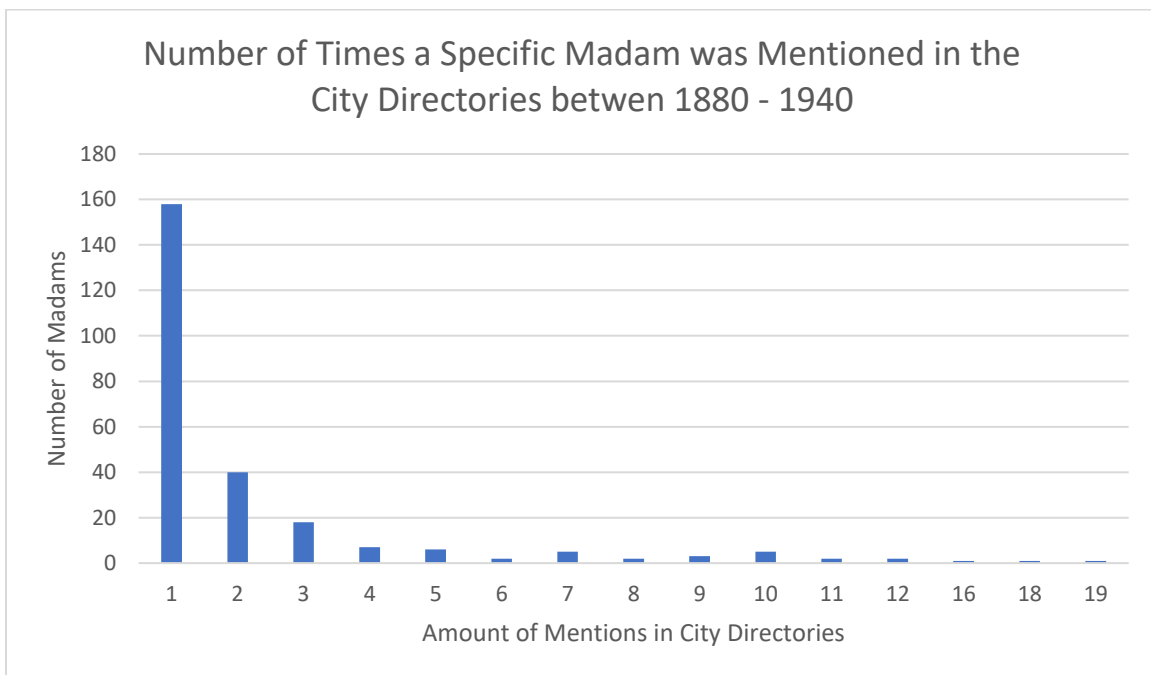


Figure 4.10: Bar graph depicting the number of times a madam is listed in *the Charleston City Directories between 1880 and 1940*.

The City Directories provide more insight into the visibility of brothels and sex workers. Rather than only the madam running the house advertising herself and the business, other women within the brothel also advertised themselves in the City Directories. Female sex workers appear to have been very open and visible to the larger public. They were not hiding from the 1880s into the 1920s. This is in line with the vague legal codes of the periods which did not outright prohibit sex work in the city. While the city did not prohibit sex work, it does appear, especially based on the City Directory data, that white women operated in the sex trade industry, if not more, than certainly more *openly*.

GIS Map Results

Point and heat maps were generated by decade using the location data from the Excel spreadsheet and were geo-referenced on different layers of an aerial map of modern-day Charleston using ESRI ArcGIS. Layers were referenced by decade with all mentions of each brothel and made into point and heat maps. The point maps offer insight into the locations of the brothels and how the physical landscape changed over time. The heat maps offer insight into the density and visibility of the brothels active in each decade. Additional point maps were generated showing only the locations of each brothel mentioned once and compared against each other to see temporal changes in the locations of the brothels. Heat maps show the number of mentions each brothel received across all the source data, depicting the visibility of the brothels through their advertisements or public mentions.

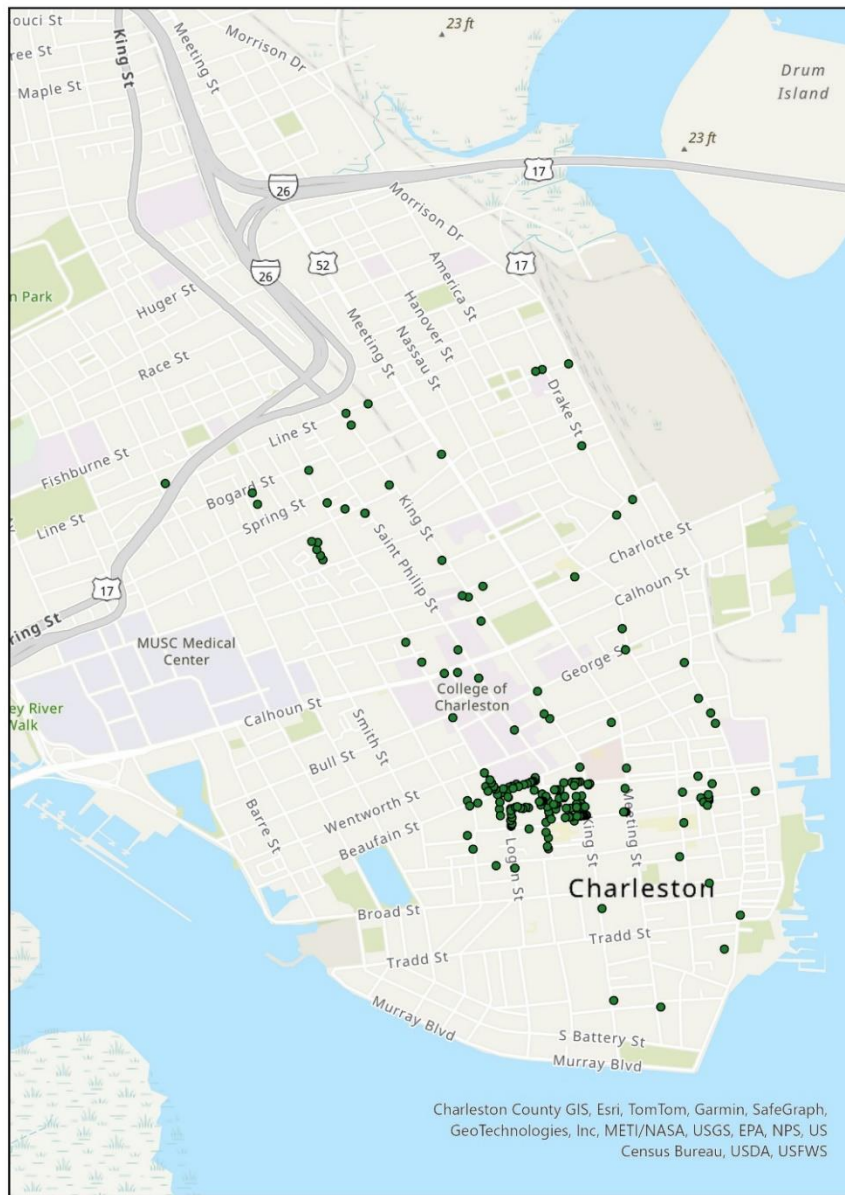
Overall Maps:

Overall, brothels were concentrated in the red-light district in the middle of the lower peninsula bounded by King Street, Queen Street, Logan Street, and Beaufain Street. The highest density of brothels throughout the study period is in this area indicating that throughout the study period, the red-light district remained the most visible areas of sex work in the city. However, the maps show that brothels are located throughout the peninsula, heading north into the Charleston Neck as time goes on before once again being concentrated in what was once the red-light district.

Figure 4.11 shows every brothel location mentioned throughout the study period while Figure 4.12 shows the density of every brothel mention in the study period. Both

maps indicate that the red-light had the heaviest concentration of brothels throughout the study period and even as the moved up the Neck of the Charleston Peninsula, the area within the red-light district remained an active and visible area of sex work in Charleston.

Point Map of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1880-1939



1880-1939 Brothel Locations

- 1880-1939 Brothel Locations



0 0.130.25 0.5 Miles

Figure 4.11: Point Map of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1880-1939. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1880-1939

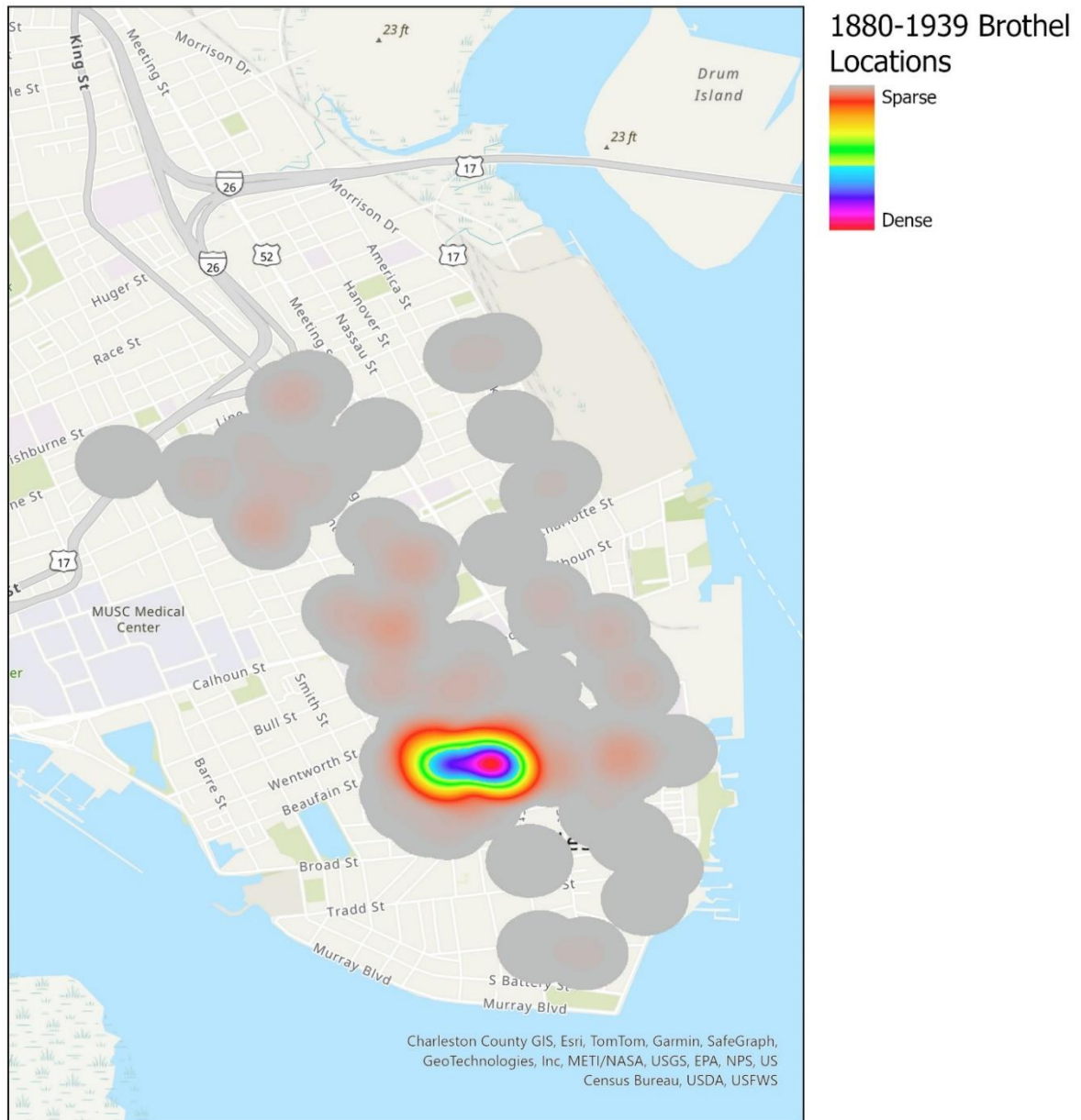


Figure 4.12: Heatmap of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1880-1939. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

1880s Maps

The 1880s maps shows a concentration of brothels within the area between Clifford Street and Market Street and King Street and Logan Street. This area was within the bounds of the segregated red-light district. Figure 4.13 shows that there were six brothels outside of the aforementioned area. All of those brothels were located around Coming Street, Chalmers Street, Calhoun Street, and East Bay Street. Figure 4.14 shows that the highest density for the period was also within the red-light district. While some brothels did reside outside of the district, those within the district received the most visibility at the time, resulting in a higher density of mentions in the data for this study.

Point Map of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1880-1889



Figure 4.13: Point Map of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1880-1889. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1880-1889

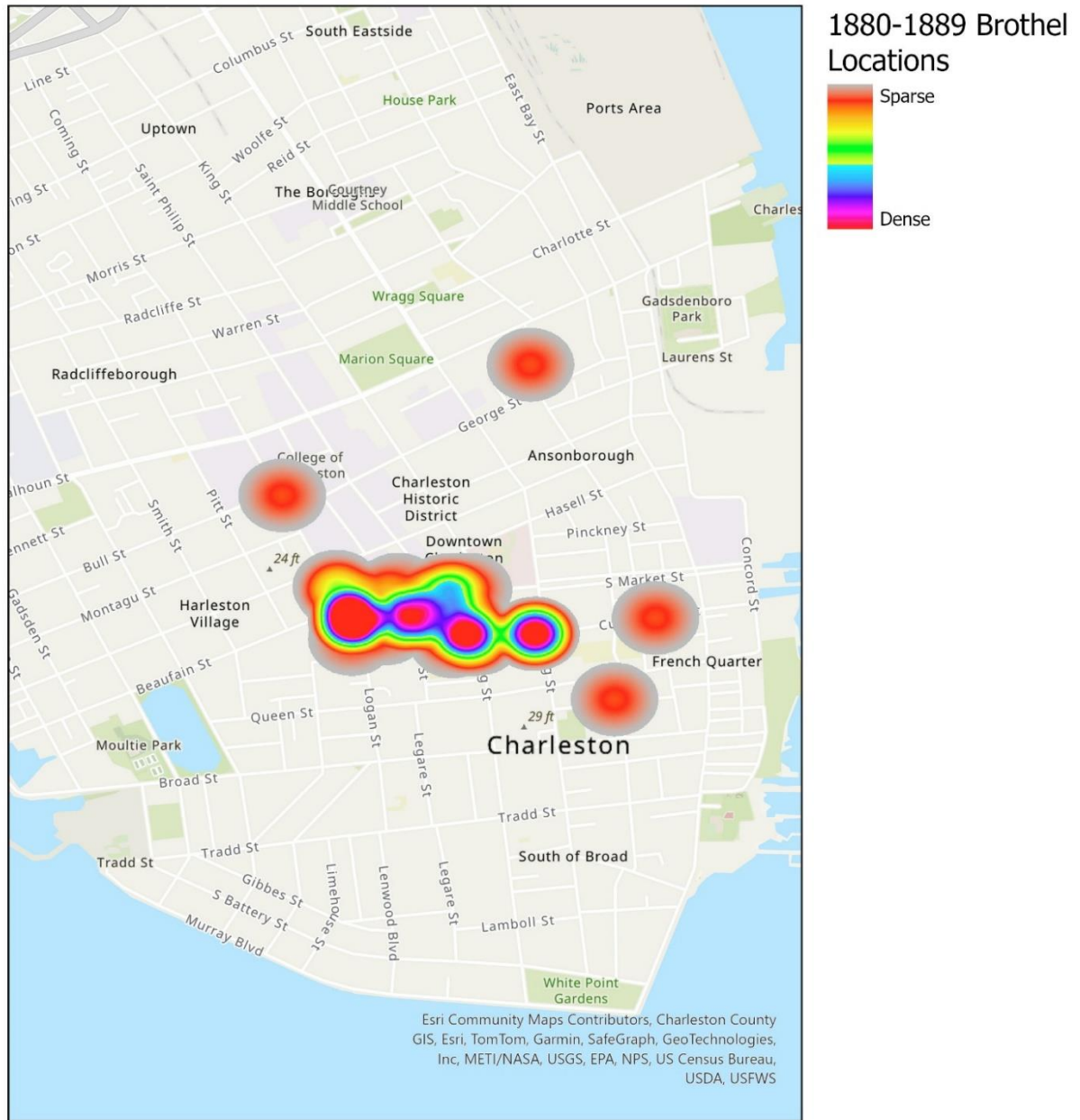


Figure 4.14: Heatmap of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1880-1889. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

1890s Maps

The 1890s maps shows a greater spread in the locations of the brothels, with more brothels outside of the red-light district. Figure 4.15 shows most brothels are now mapped as concentrated between just north of Beaufain Street, Queen Street, King Street, and Logan Street. The outer lying brothels are now shown stretching from Spring Street to Queen Street and East Bay with fourteen brothels outside of the main concentrated area. Figure 4.16 shows that the highest density area is still the accepted red-light district. However, the density has lessened within that district since the 1880s and shows a shift in density to the southeast.

Point Map of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1890-1899



Figure 4.15: Point Map of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1890-1899. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1890-1899

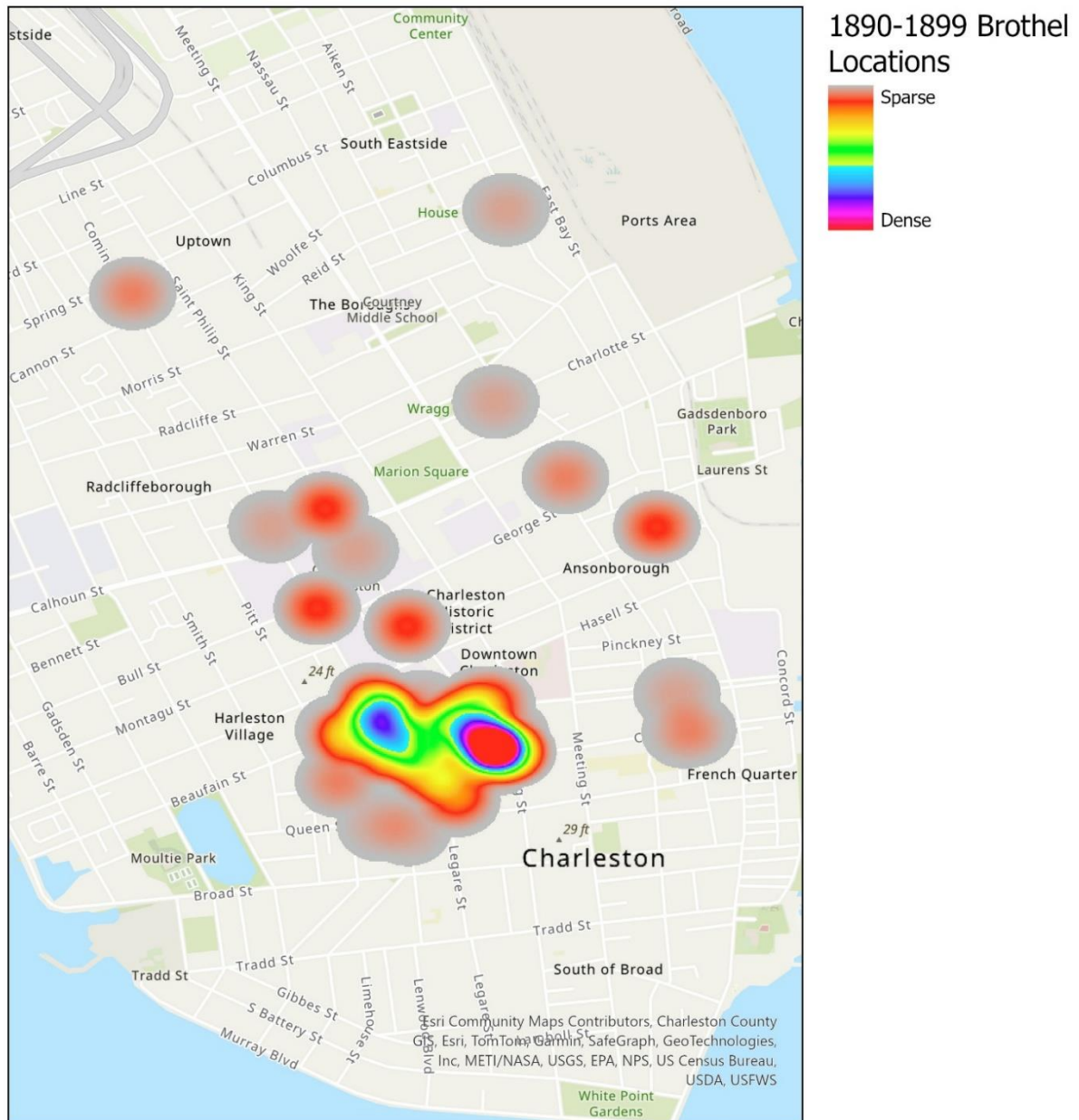


Figure 4.16: Heatmap of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1890-1899. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

1900s Maps

The 1900s heatmap shows the same clustering between King Street, Queen Street, and Beaufain Street, but by this time the brothels had also begun to push further out, expanding to the other side of Logan in addition to the north side of Beaufain Street. Additionally, as Figure 4.17 shows, outlying brothel locations were moving further up to the Neck of Charleston, now on the north side of Spring Street.⁶³ The outlying brothel locations now numbered ten outside of the central cluster of the red-light district. Figure 4.18 shows that the density and visibility of the red-light district had shifted ever so slightly northward but sex work in Charleston was still primarily concentrated, or at least primarily advertised, in the red-light district.

Figure 4.17 also shows the most locations of active brothels with 77 brothels on the map. This increase could be due in part to the South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition which was hosted in Charleston in 1902. The large influx of visitors may have prompted the increase in brothels as booklets such as the 1902 Charleston Blue Book were created for sex workers to advertise to non-locals.

⁶³ The Neck of Charleston is the northern end of the peninsula and from 1849 onwards was considered the north side of Mt. Pleasant Street upwards, stretching into what is today, North Charleston. The Neck was slowly settled throughout the nineteenth century. Nic Butler, "Squeezing Charleston Neck, from 1783 to Present," *Charleston Time Machine*, Charleston County Public Library, <https://www.ccpl.org/charleston-time-machine/squeezing-charleston-neck-1783-present>.

Point Map of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1900-1909

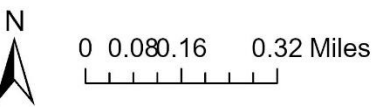
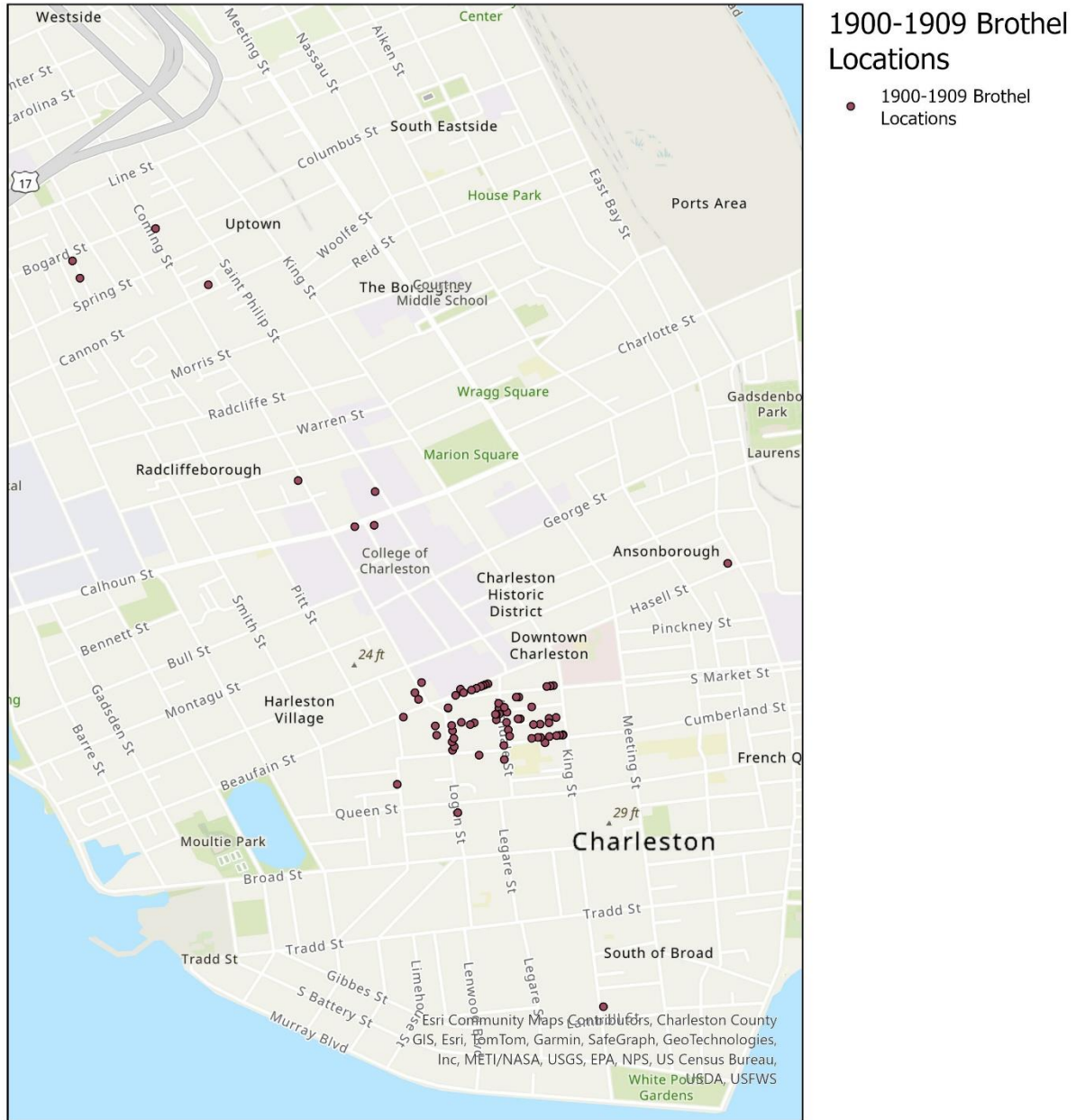


Figure 4.17: Point Map of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1900-1909. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1900-1909

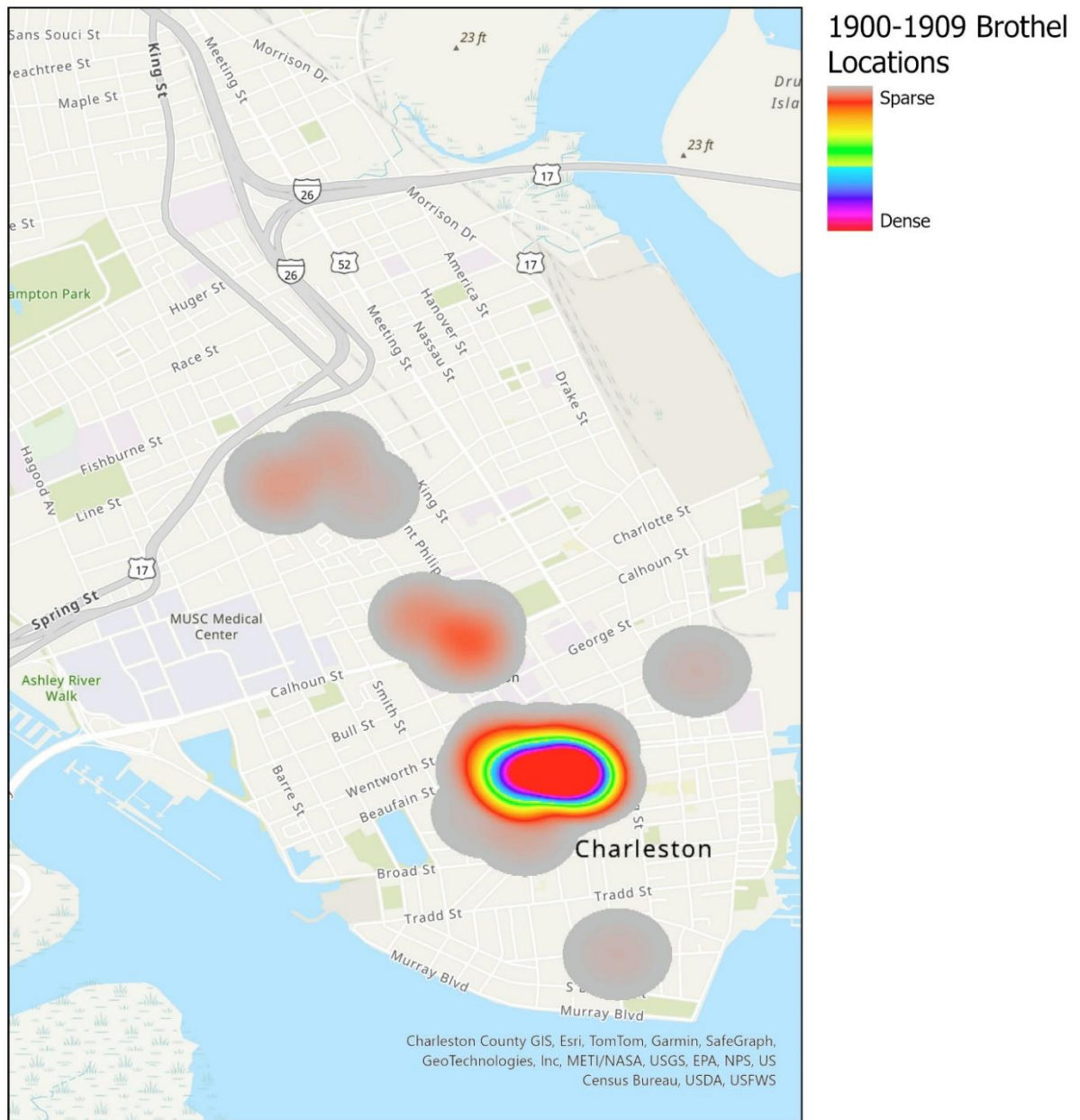


Figure 4.18: Heatmap of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1900-1909. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

1910s Maps

The 1910s maps show a smaller distribution area than the 1900s map but Figure 4.20 shows that the density of the brothel mentions has not significantly decreased. Additionally, the red-light district has a higher density of mentions than the decade before and covers more of the accepted area. This suggests that while there may be fewer physical brothels operating in this decade, those that are still operating are centered in the red-light district and had a higher visibility throughout the decade those in the 1900s. Figure 4.19 shows there are now brothels shown just below modern-day Fishburn Street, much further up the peninsula than before. The area just under Cannon Street also shows a greater density of brothels than in prior decades. This furthers the notion that the brothels of the 1910s were better advertised or listed than those of those of the prior decade. They also have a larger geographic spread.

Point Map of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1910-1919

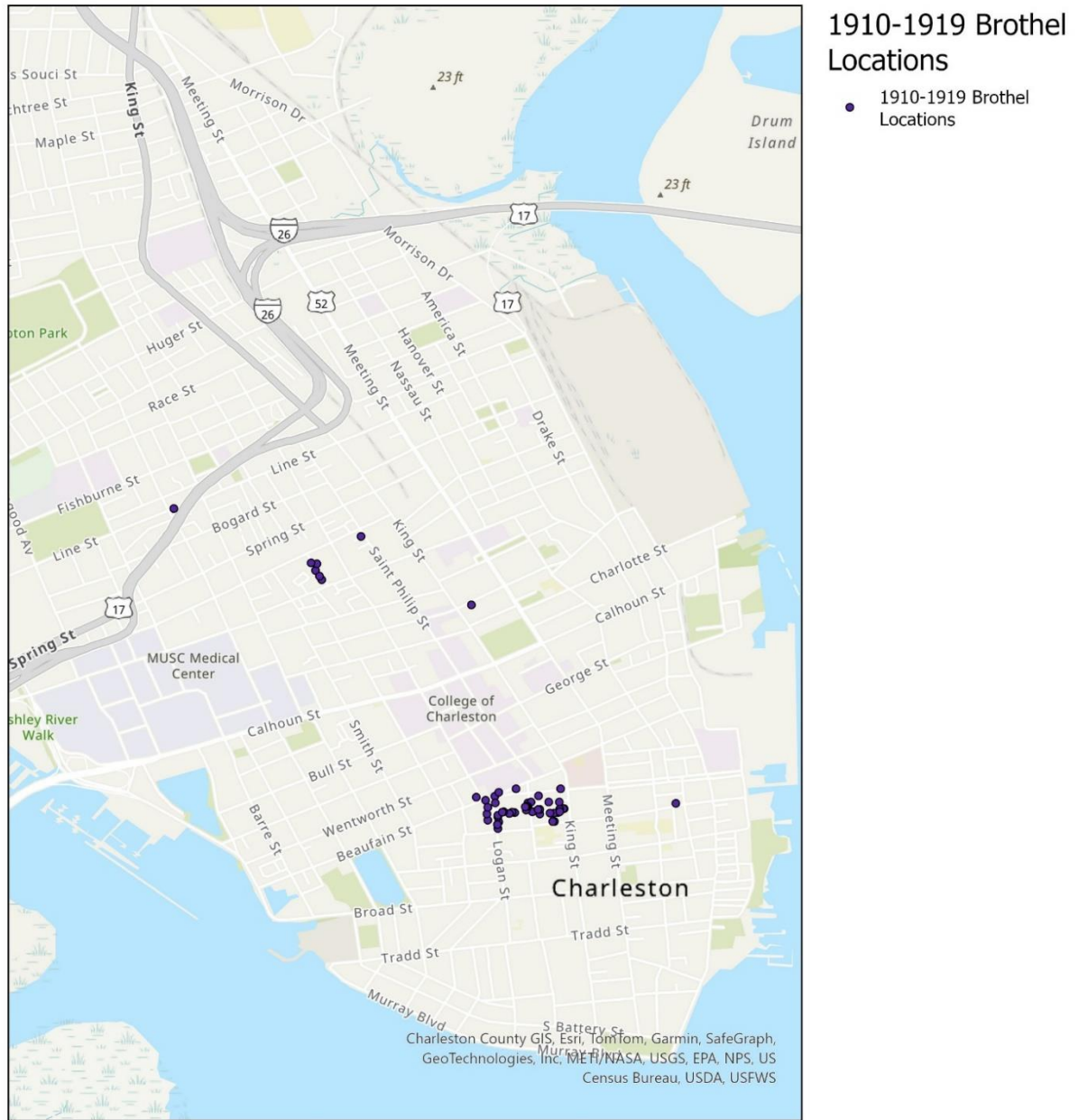


Figure 4.19: Point Map of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1910-1919. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1910-1919

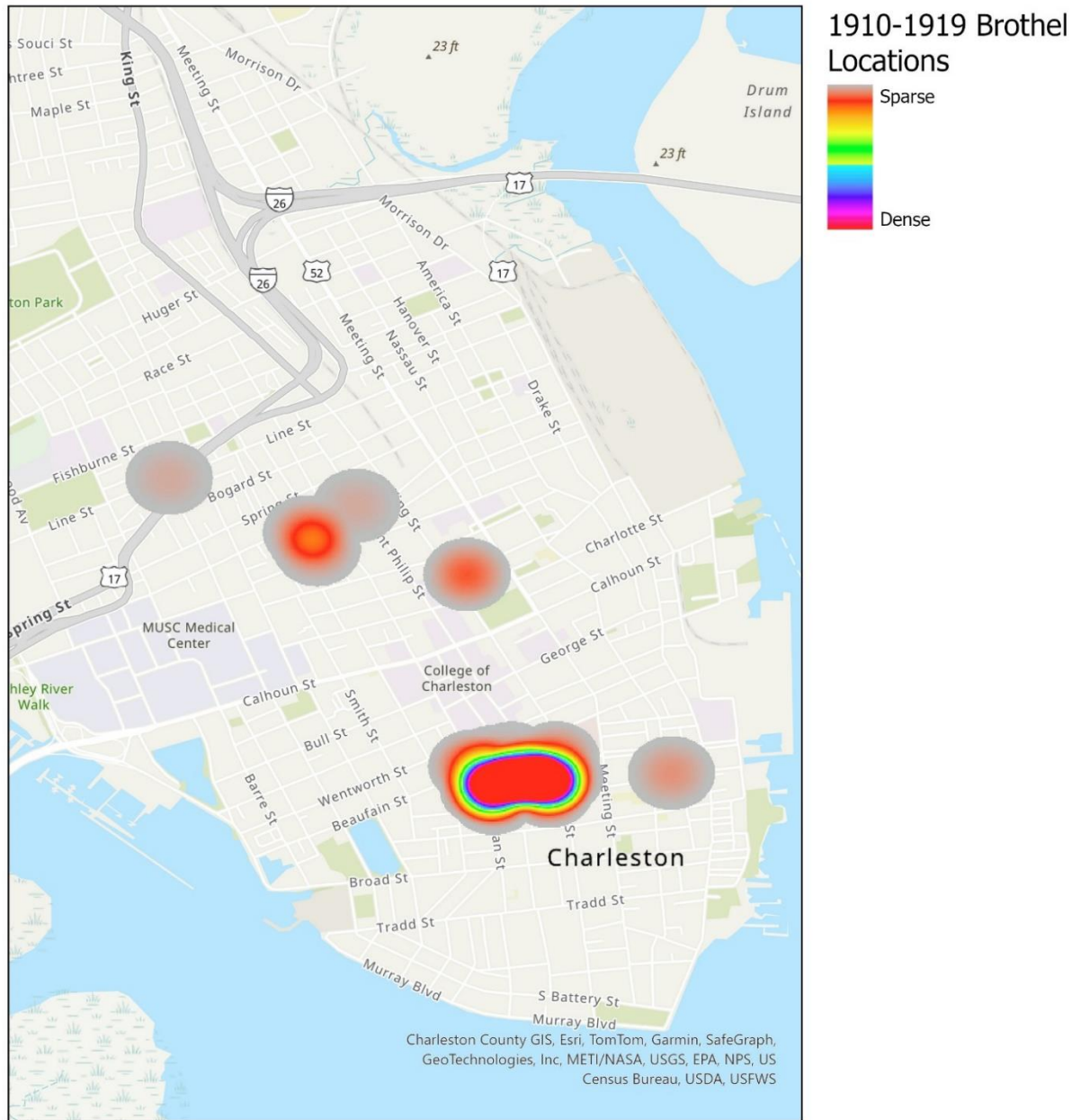


Figure 4.20: Heatmap of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1910-1919. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

1920s Maps

The 1920s maps show a significant increase in the number of brothels on the peninsula and the spread of their distribution. Figure 4.21 shows that brothels were located up to Line Street and as far south as Lamboll Street. Rather than a concentrated area with relatively few outlying brothels, the Figure 4.22 shows brothels still with a high density in the red-light district but also scattered throughout the rest of the peninsula. The density is highest in the red-light district, however, there is noticeable density within the area north of Calhoun Street as well. On these maps, brothels stretch from the edge of the peninsula on East Bay to almost South Battery Street. The data collected for the 1920s maps is limited to 1920-1923. Beyond this period, no brothel data could be gathered due to the increase in police crackdowns. However, the heavy density of brothel mentions in this period suggests that prior to the crackdown, brothels were not only incredibly widespread, but they were also highly visible.

Point Map of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1920-1929

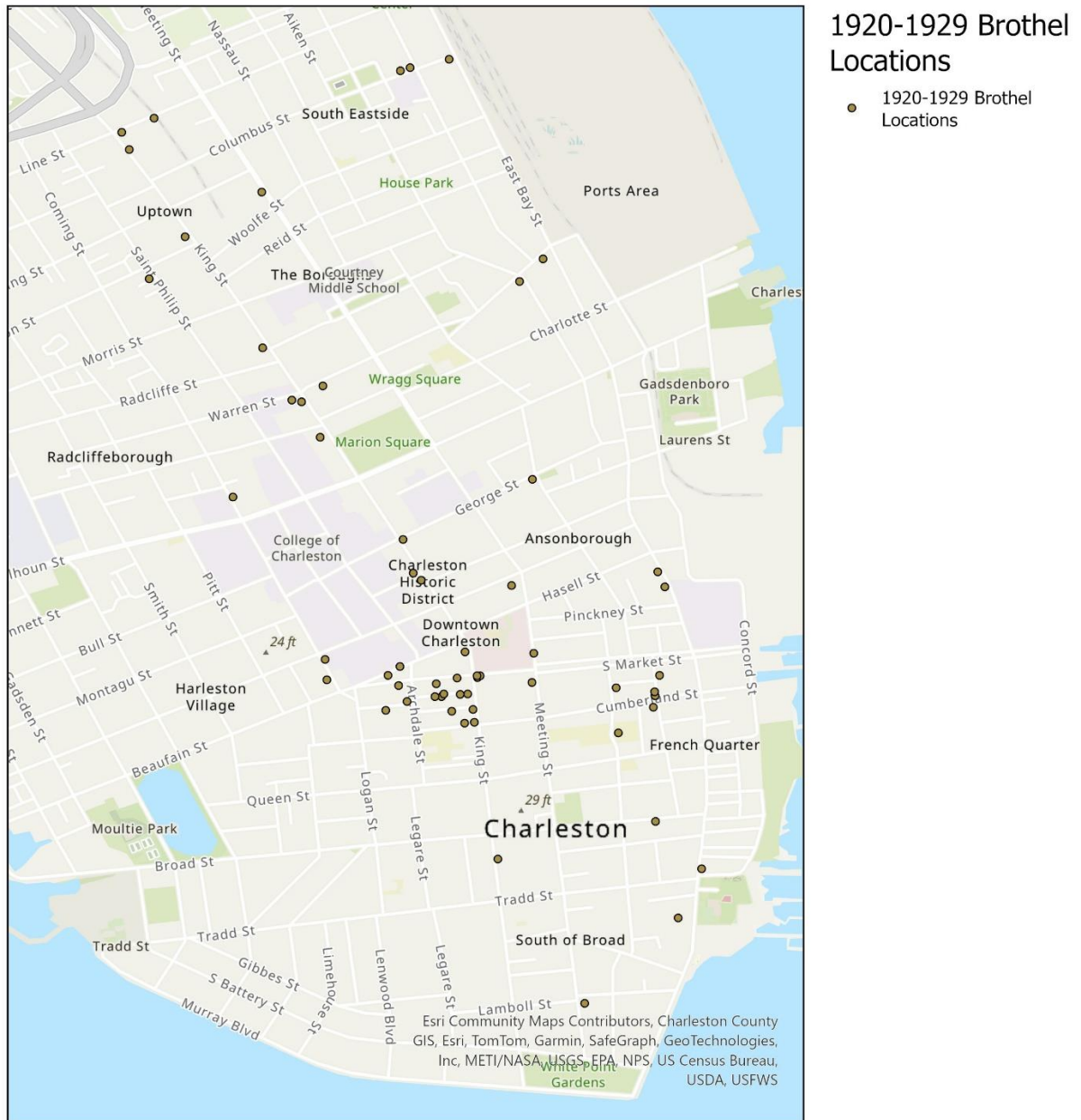


Figure 4.21: Point Map of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1920-1929. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1920-1929

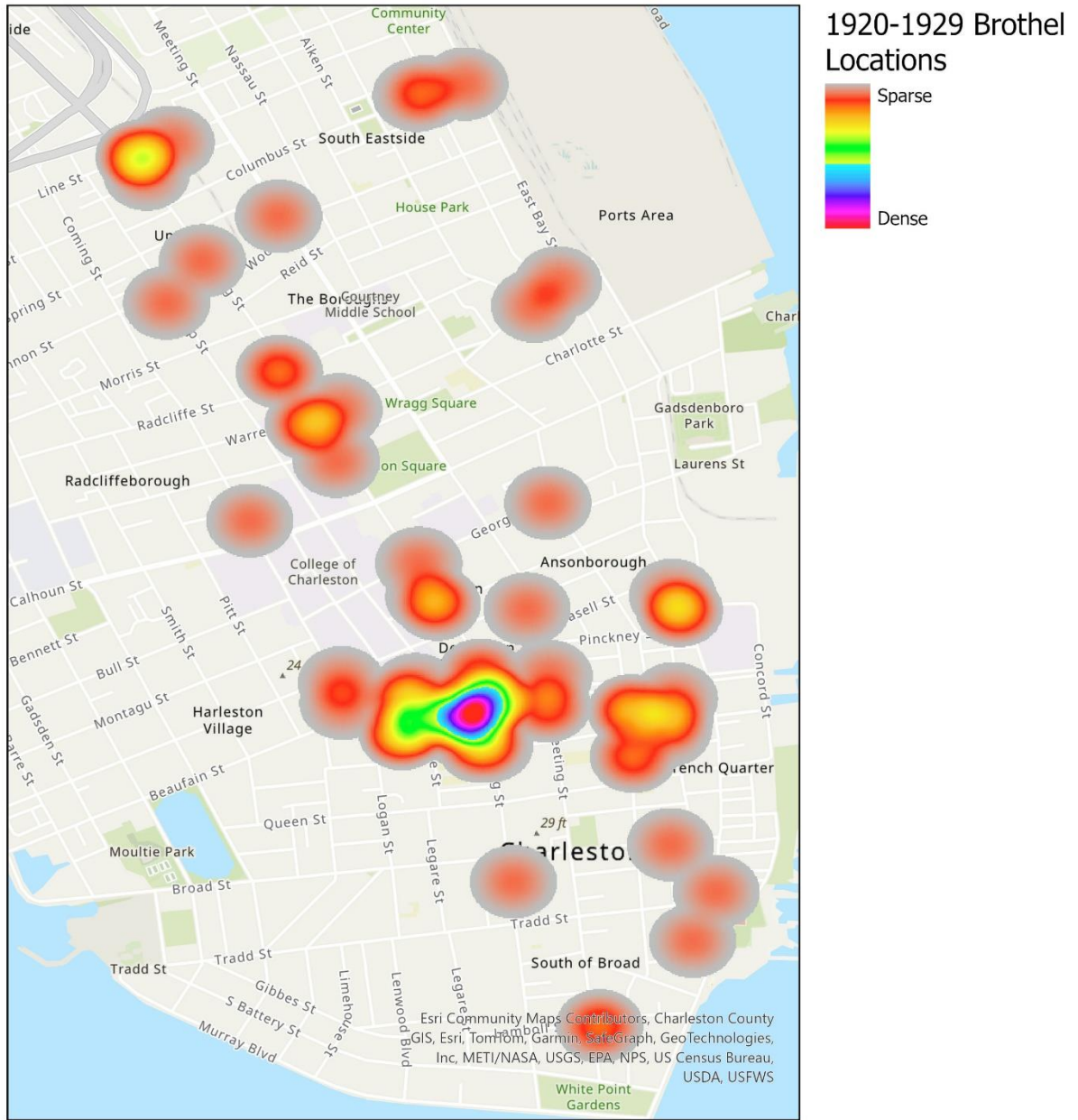


Figure 4.22: Heatmap of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1920-1929. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

1930 Maps

The 1930-1939 maps show few brothels, especially in contrast to Figures 4.21 and 4.22. The few noted in Figure 4.23 are once again within the red-light district. As Figure 4.24 shows, the density in this period is highest on the west side of the area once known as the red-light district. There is only one other location shown outside of the red-light district on East Bay Street. With only seven brothels listed, it appears that while the police crackdowns were not fully effective, they did have a heavy impact on the visibility of sex work in Charleston. They were able to seemingly contain it once again to the red-light district area and to limit the amount of brothels visibly active within that area. Figure 4.24 furthers this idea as the density in Figure 4.24 is much less than the density seen in Figure 4.22.

Summary

Overall, throughout the study period, brothels increased not only in their geographic spread and overall number, but also in their visibility. The heatmaps for each decade leading up to the 1930s get progressively denser and their geographic spread increases. While the overall number of brothels active in a decade peaked in 1900s they continued to spread northward up the peninsula until the police crackdown in the 1920s. Following that, the 1930s maps show that while brothels did continue to exist they were primarily back in what was once considered the red-light district and they were much less visible and most likely fewer in number.

Point Map of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1930-1939

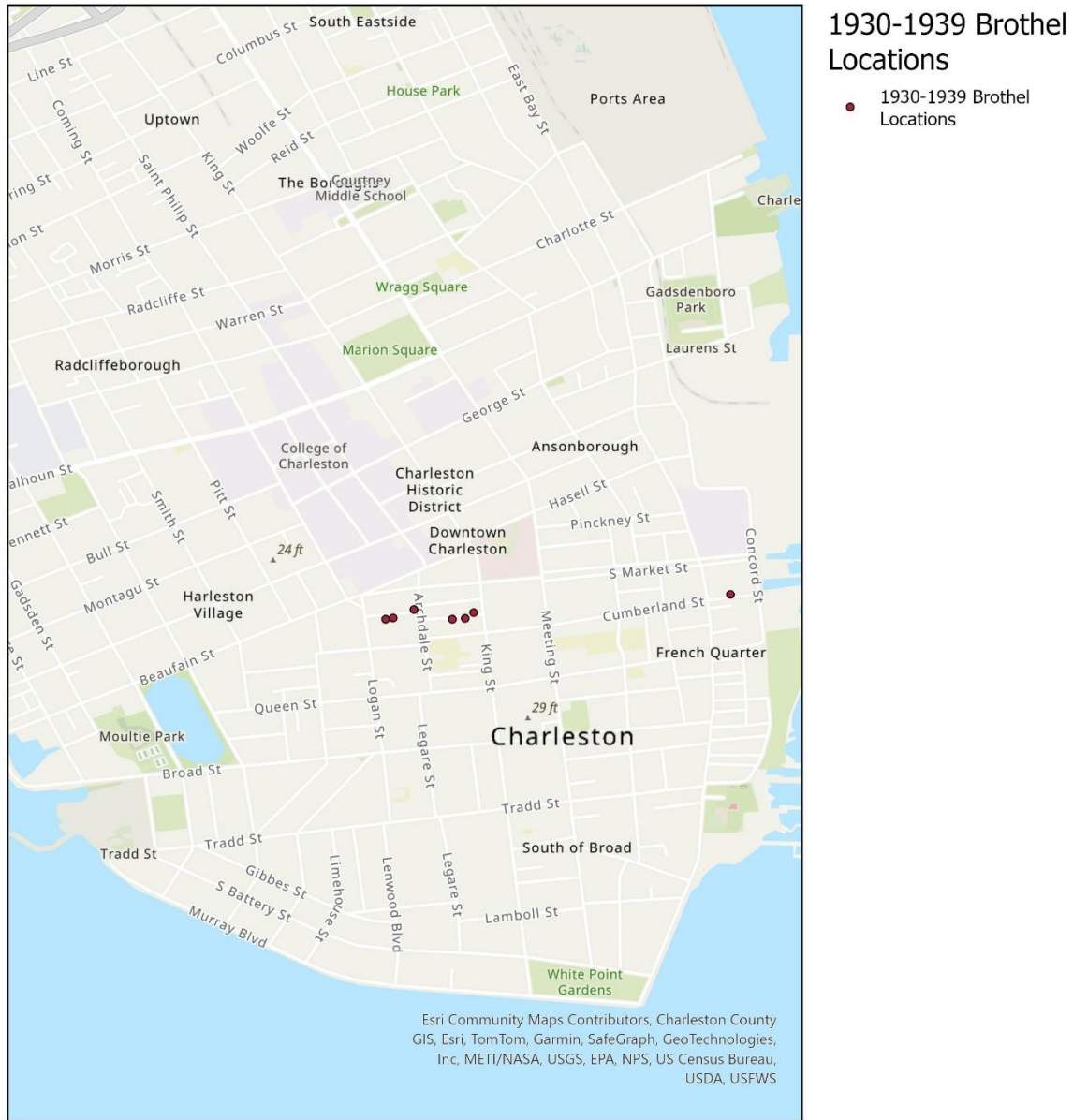


Figure 4.23: Point map of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1930-1939. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1930-1939

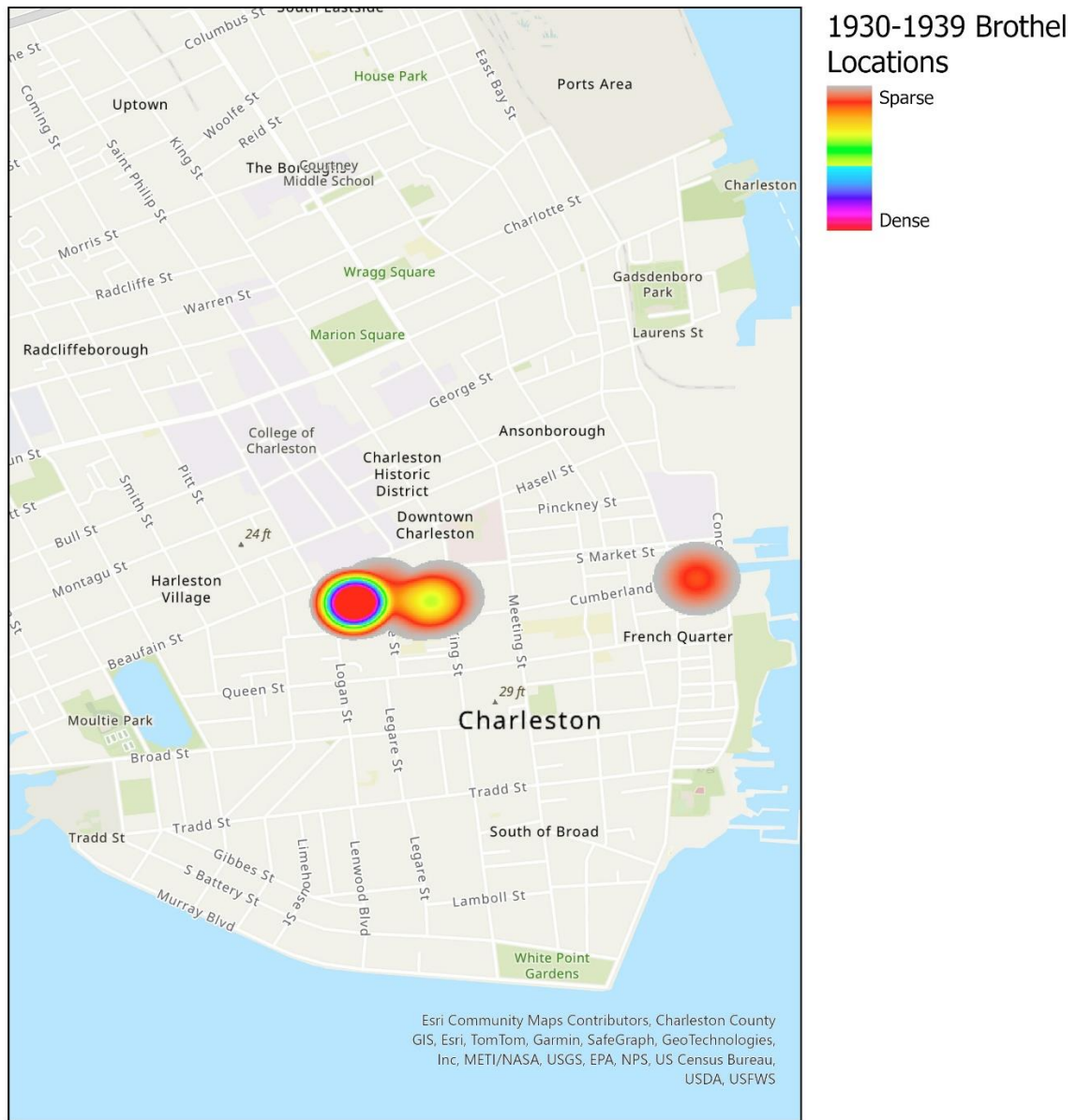


Figure 4.24: Heatmap of brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina, from 1930-1939. Generated using ArcGIS Pro.

Analysis

When taken separately, each branch of this study's research help illuminate a portion of the larger research question: how effective was the moral reform movement at eliminating sex work on the peninsula in Charleston? When taken altogether, the three branches come together to illustrate a more comprehensive and extensive understanding of sex work and vice in Charleston throughout the social reform years.

The arrest data on its own presents interesting conclusions. While women are arrested more than men for keeping a disorder house (see figure 4.25), women of color are arrested at an even higher rate than white women. Taken at face value, this would seem to indicate that women of color were more likely to operate a brothel. However, when taken with the City Directory data which suggests that white women were almost nine times more likely to operate a brothel on the peninsula it seems unlikely that the City Directories would be skewed so heavily in favor of white sex workers. More plausible is the conclusion that women of color were policed at a much higher rate than their white counterparts across the study period.

In addition to women of color being policed at a higher rate, the arrest data also shows that, when compared to the syphilis death data, attempts to root out vice in the city where ineffective at best. Throughout the study period, arrests climbed until the 1920s when they suddenly disappeared altogether for six years before they reappeared (see Figure 4.25). Their reappearance suggests sex work was never fully eliminated from the city; it was just less visible. This becomes especially apparent when the syphilis death data is examined. One would expect that the annual deaths from syphilis would begin to

fall after 1921 when vice was declared eradicated in the city. Instead, although there was a small dip in the latter part of the 1920s, death rates did not fall in a large way and in fact they once again began to climb into the 1930s, reaching an all time high in 1932 (see Figure 4.26). When the two Figures are compared against each other, the spikes of arrests throughout the study period noted earlier in this chapter and the small drop-offs in the death rate from syphilis do seem to relate to each other as expected. From 1880 until the 1920s the spikes in the arrest data (Figure 4.25) correspond to fewer deaths from syphilis in the following years. One spike in arrests in 1892 does act slightly different. In 1888 there is a large spike in the death rate of syphilis (see Figure 4.26). After 1888, the arrest rate begins to steadily climb until 1892 when it reaches a high of 23 people arrested for “Keeping a Disorderly House.”

However, the city was never able to maintain the decrease in the death rate, with deaths from syphilis rising again each time within a five year period following the spikes in arrests (see Figure 4.25 and 4.26).

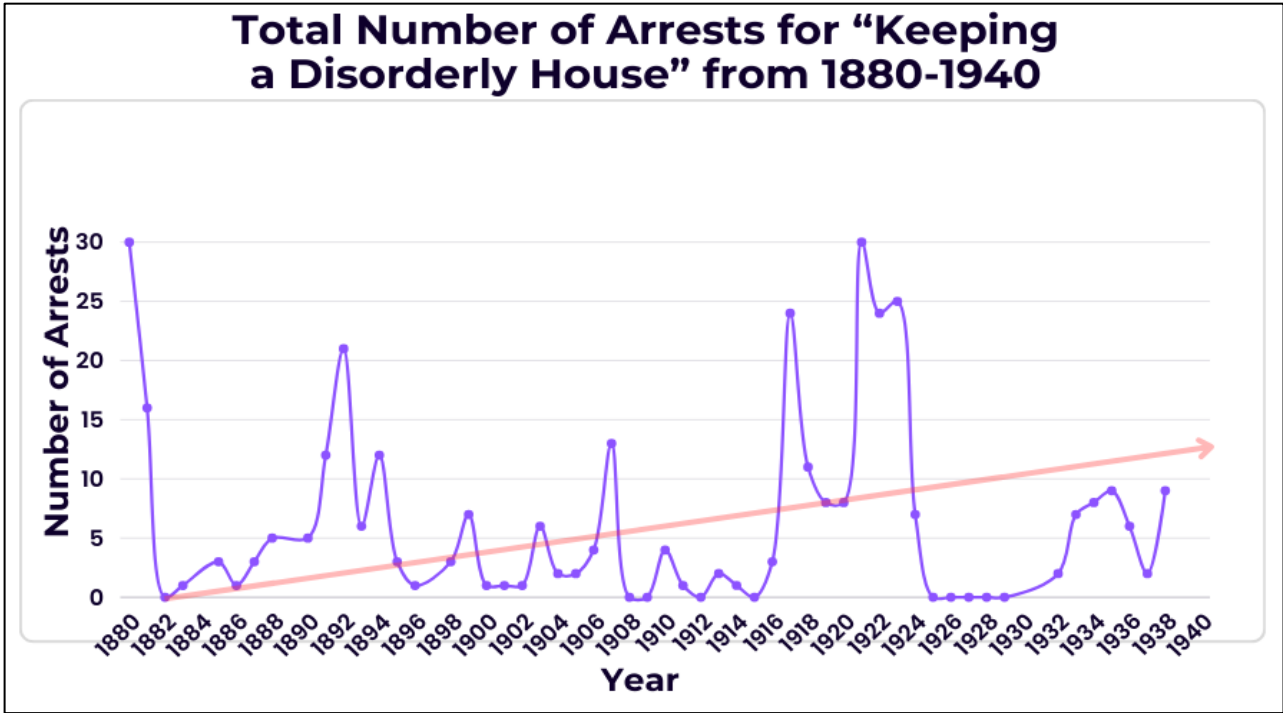


Figure 4.25: Line graph depicting the total number of arrests for “*Keeping a Disorderly House*” in Charleston, South Carolina between 1880 and 1940, with a red trend line.

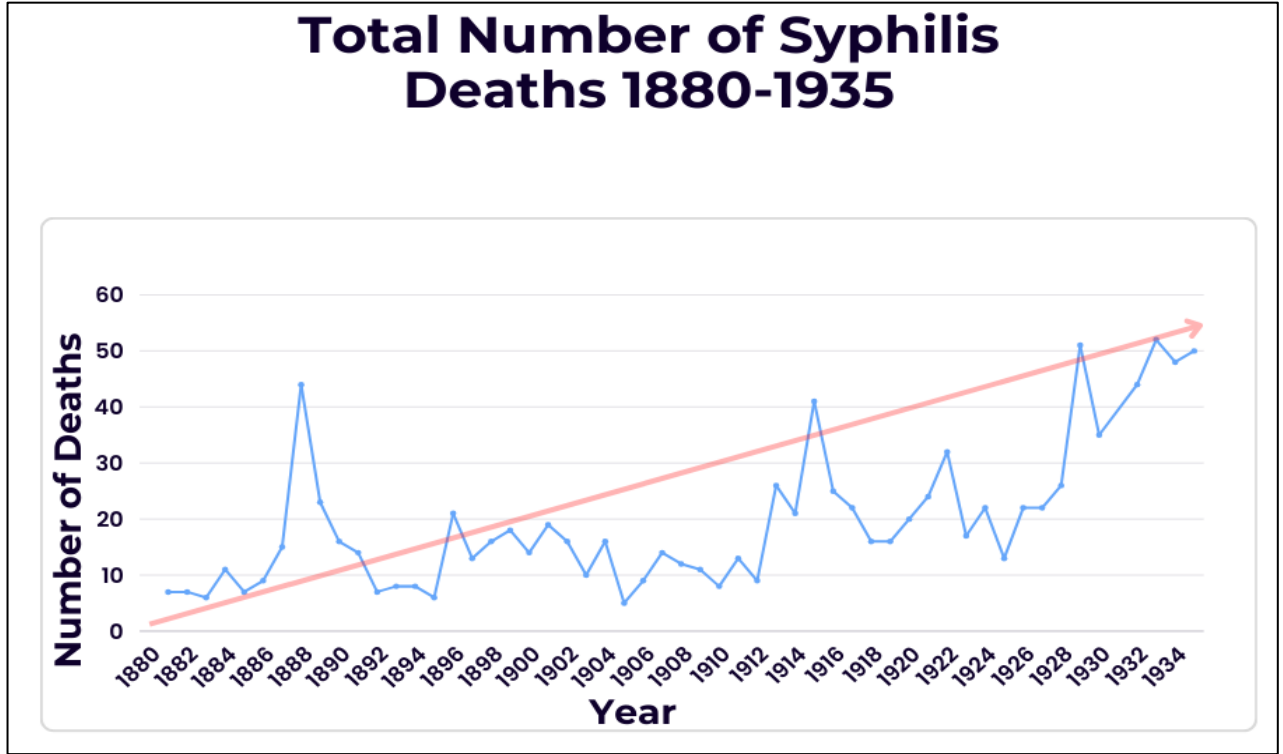


Figure 4.26 Line graph depicting the total number of deaths from syphilis in Charleston, South Carolina, between 1880 and 1935, with a red trend line.

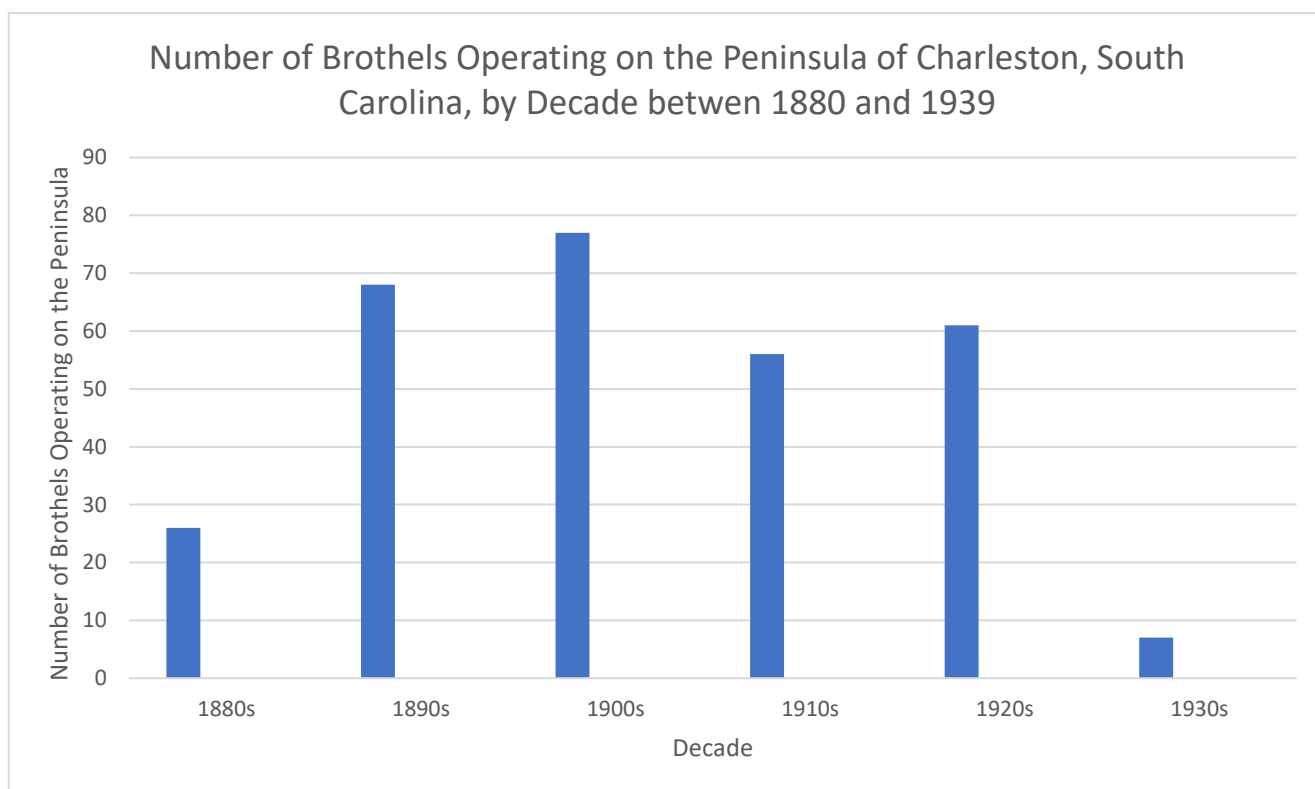


Figure 4.27 Bar graph depicting the number of brothels operating in Charleston, South Carolina between 1880 and 1939.

Additionally, as Figure 4.28 shows, in the 1920s there was a large density of brothels operating within the red-light district and which presumably spread throughout the city following the closure of the red-light district in 1921 (see Figure 4.27). However, despite the widest distribution being in the 1920s, the 1900s saw the most active brothels in a decade (Figure 4.27). By the 1920s, brothels had spread throughout Charleston and were rising from the 1910s actively but were still not on par with the activity seen in the 1900s. Even though the city government did shut down many of the brothels scattered throughout the peninsula in the 1920s, by the 1930s there were still brothels in the city. The brothels were located primarily within the red-light district, which was still officially closed (see Figure 4.26). The large jump in geographic spread from the 1880s maps to the

1920s maps suggests that closing the red-light district, at least initially had the opposite effect as intended. Furthermore, at least one brothel has mentions throughout almost the entire study period from 1886 to 1935: 11 Fulton Street. This brothel is the only one mentioned throughout the entire period, but several others have mentions that span decades such as 9 West Street, 12 Clifford Street, 8 West Street, and 139 Logan Street (see Appendix A for a full list of all brothels and the years they operated). With several of these brothels operating for almost twenty years or more, it is highly likely that other brothels did the same, they just were not visible in the public sources, allowing them to better evade policing.

Instead of eliminating brothels, shutting down the red-light district and policing brothels created a much larger proportion of the peninsula that was exposed to brothels. In both Figures 4.26 and 4.27 the approximate area of the red-light district is highlighted with a red box. While the density within the red-light district has lessened by the 1920s, the increase in the geographic spread suggests that there are more brothels operating in the city since the closure of the red-light district, they were just less visible and advertised to the public than they had been in previous years.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1880-1889

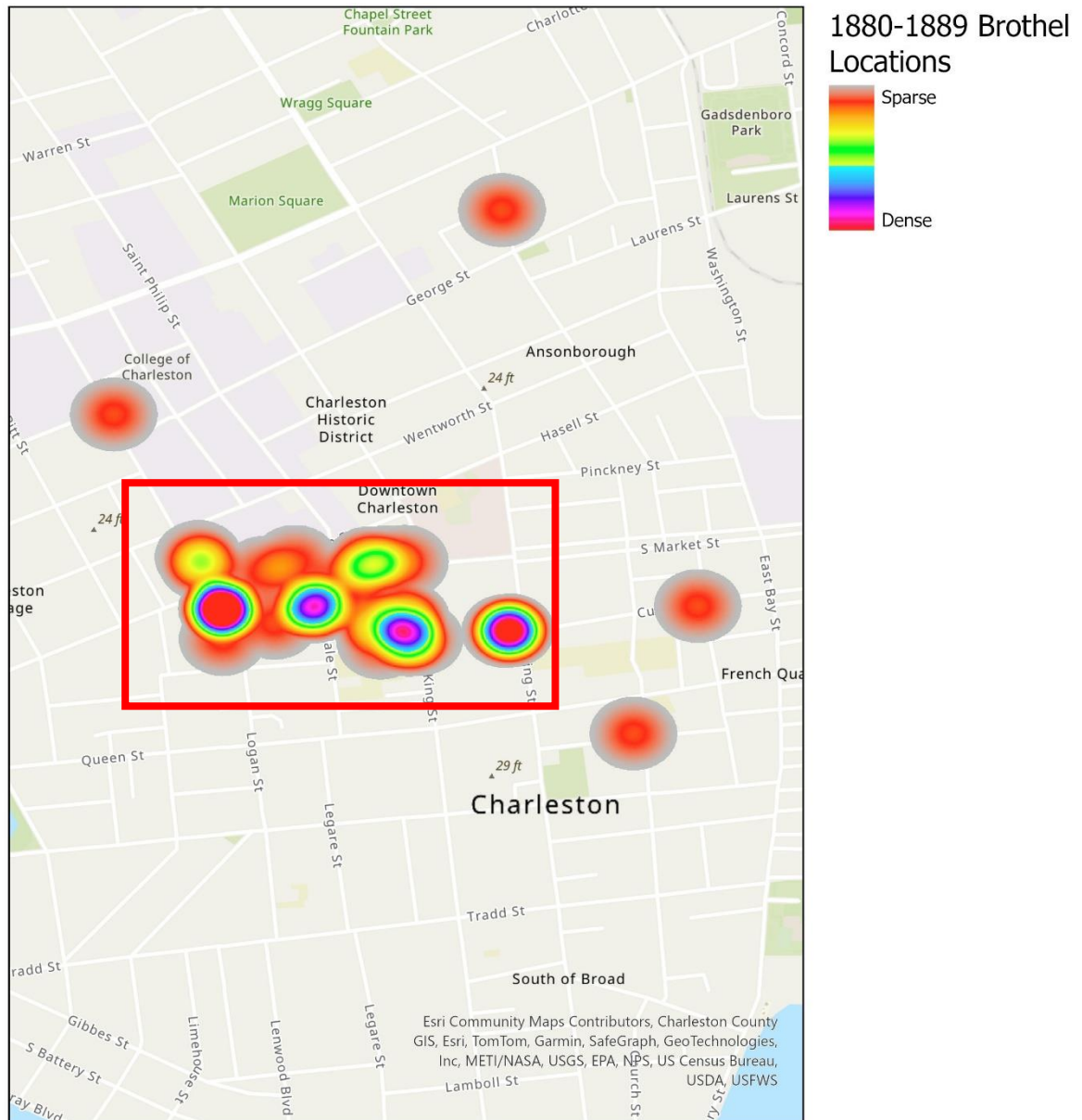


Figure 4.28 Heatmap of 1880-1889 brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina with a red box indicating the high density.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1920-1929

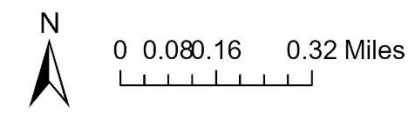
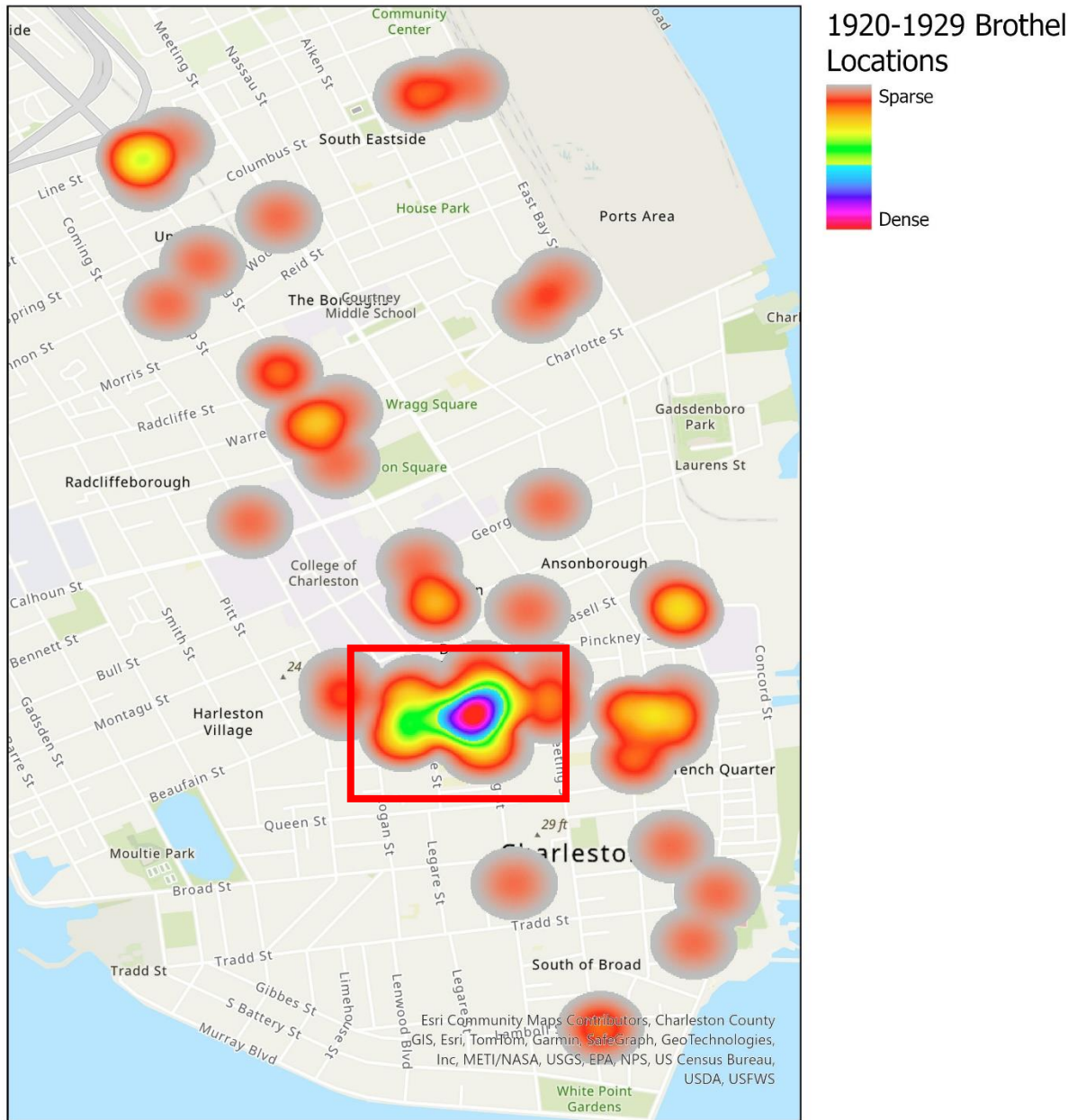


Figure 4.29 Heatmap of 1920-1929 brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina with a red box indicating the high density.

By the 1930s, as the arrest rates and syphilis deaths show, rates began to climb within the city limits once again (see Figures 4.25 and 4.26). Figure 4.30 shows seven brothels still operating within the city limits in the 1930s, with the highest density in the former red-light district. The extreme and dispersed level of brothels present in the 1920s map has disappeared. However, because brothels were still operating within the area that once was the red-light district, it suggests that the city was never fully successful in closing the district, despite their claims.

Heatmap of Charleston, South Carolina, Brothel Locations from 1930-1939

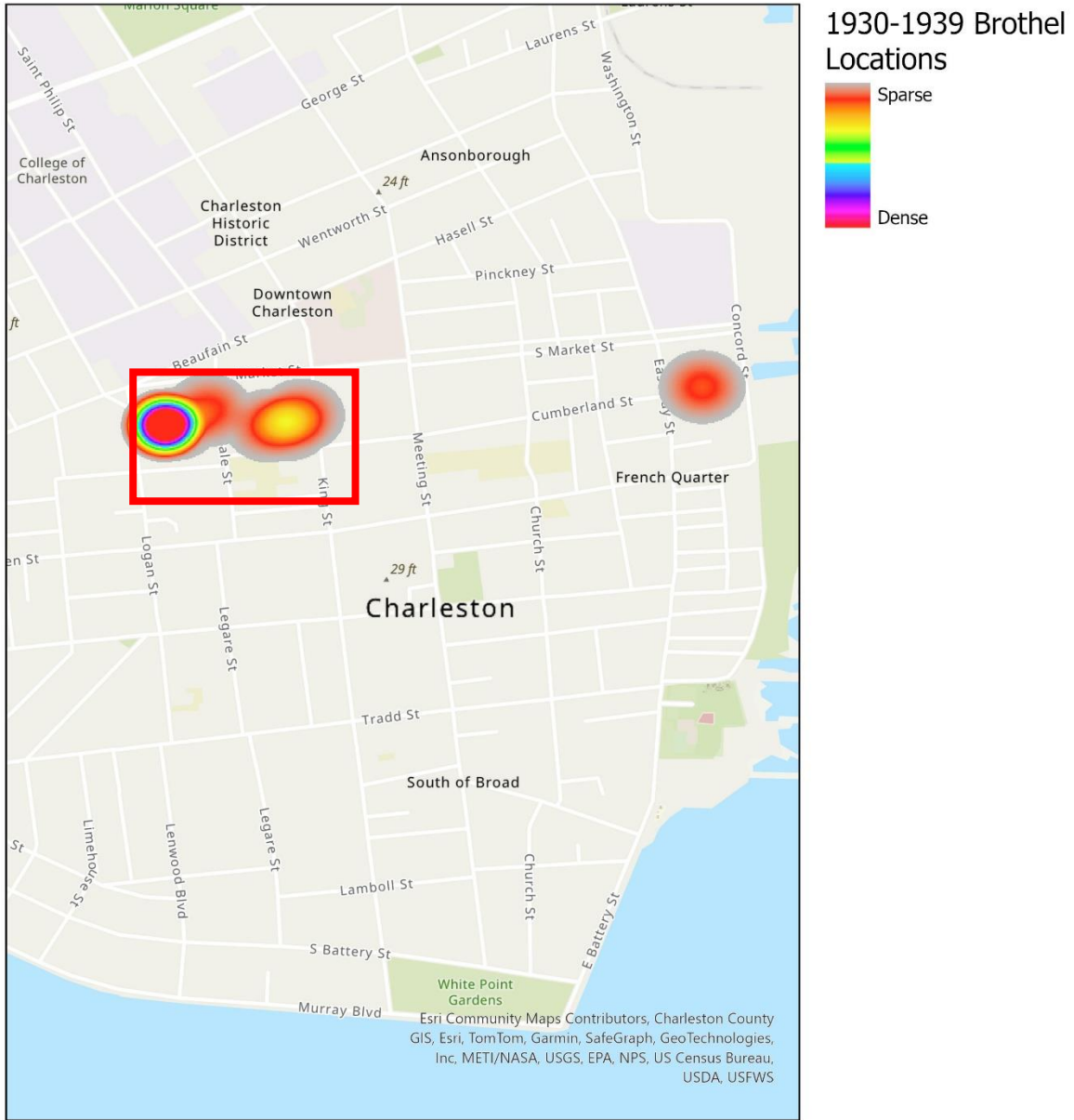


Figure 4.30 Heatmap of 1930-1939 brothel locations in Charleston, South Carolina with a red box indicating the high density.

The social reform movements goals throughout this period also run counter to the evidence. Social reformers wanted an end to sex work in the city. They believed that by closing down the red-light district vice in the city would disappear.⁶⁴ As previously discussed, the 1920s maps suggest the opposite happened initially. The 1930s heatmap shows that by the end of the 1930s, sex work in Charleston was back in the same locations and generally within the same bounds as before major policing efforts. Social reformers and the federal government could be satisfied that the levels of the active brothels had dropped within the red-light district, as the density on figure 4.28 depicts. Additionally, social reform pressure appears to have been surface level at best. The Mann Act was passed in 1910 and was a federal policy aimed at preventing white slavery. White slavery as considered to be one of the most pressing dangers for young white women as it was often believed to force them into sex work. Despite this national worry and the passage of the Mann Act, between 1910 and 1939, only two arrests were made in the city of Charleston in conjunction with the Mann Act or white slavery more generally. This furthers the notion that city officials in Charleston were less worried and preoccupied with eliminating vice and following the national influence of the social reform movement.

Furthermore, the above trends follow the established history of policing vice in the city. City Year Books from the 1920s reference the prior administrations' willingness to overlook vice districts in the city. This is further corroborated by the meeting minutes

⁶⁴ *Year Book City of Charleston 1921*, City Year Books for Charleston, South Carolina, 1880-1951, South Carolina Historic Society Archives, (1921), xxxi. "Memminger Home & School Association. Meeting held before Committee from City Council June 6, 1913", in folder "Memminger Home & School Association, 1913 / Mayor Grace Folder 28" from City of Charleston Records Management, 1913.

for the Memminger Home for Girls from 1913. Originally located within the red-light district, the school was attempting to force Mayor John Grace's hand and galvanize the city into "cleaning up" the area. As evidenced in the meeting minutes, Mayor Grace was wholly uninterested in removing or otherwise policing the red-light district. He believed that the red-light district created a safer city by containing vice to one specific area. He was a proponent of sacrificing the one for the many.⁶⁵ His desire to maintain a vice district appears to have won out. As Figure 1 shows, while he was in office between 1911 and 1915, very few arrests were made, even as organizations such as the Law and Order League were established to root out vice in the city and associations such as the Memminger Home campaigned for a cleanup.

Mayor Grace's successor, Tristram T. Hyde took an opposite stance and worked to eliminate the red-light district throughout his time in office (1915-1919). He believed in working to create a more moral society. As Mayor Grace recounts in his annual report in 1921, Mayor Hyde did succeed in shutting down the red-light district. However, as Mayor Grace argues, this only succeeded in spreading vice throughout the city. Figure 4.1 shows that higher numbers of arrests were recorded following Mayor Hyde's term in office. This, in conjunction with the heatmaps, suggests that he did end up creating a more widespread vice area which needed to be more heavily policed rather than eliminating vice and sex work altogether.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *Year Book City of Charleston 1921*, City Year Books for Charleston, South Carolina, 1880-1951, South Carolina Historic Society Archives, (1921), xxxi. "Memminger Home & School Association. Meeting held before Committee from City Council June 6, 1913", in folder "Memminger Home & School Association, 1913 / Mayor Grace Folder 28" from City of Charleston Records Management.

⁶⁶ "Folder 3" in Tristram T. Hyde Mayoral Papers, 1906-1919 from the City of Charleston Archives and Records Management.

The years 1924 to 1926 reflect a period of time when official correspondence from the Mayor and other official government reports as well as the 1921 City Year Book discussed the efforts to completely eradicate vice in the city. Indeed, by October 1921, the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board Field Representative, Walter Peters reported to Mayor Grace, “[y]ou can quote me as saying that the City of Charleston is at the present time as free from vice as it possible for any community to be.”⁶⁷ A letter to Mayor Grace from the Rear Admiral of the Destroyer Squadrons provides further pressure put on Mayor Grace by the U.S. government to help curb the venereal disease sailors were contracting from sex workers in the city.⁶⁸ This helps to explain the spike in 1920 and the subsequent fall. As the heatmaps show, the efforts to eradicate vice were at best, only effective for a period of about six years. Despite this, the City reported as though efforts had been completely effective. Later correspondence between the office of the Mayor and the Navy Yard in the 1930s suggest that vice and sex work were far from eliminated in Charleston and this is further corroborated by the 1930s heatmap (see figure 4.28).⁶⁹

Despite the desires of social reformers and the federal government, Charleston’s internal political machinations, especially the desires of the acting mayor of the time, held sway. As the arrest reports, syphilis death rates, and temporal maps demonstrate, sex

⁶⁷ Walter L. Peters, “Letter to Hon. John P. Grace, Mayor” in folder “Charleston Navy Yard, 1921-1922 Box 11-118 / Mayor Grace Folder 51” from City of Charleston Records Management, October 14, 1921.

⁶⁸ A.H. Robertson, Rear Admiral U.S. Navy Commander Destroyer Squadrons, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, “My Dear Mayor Grace” in folder “Charleston Navy Yard, 1921-1922 Box 11-118 / Mayor Grace Folder 51” from City of Charleston Records Management, March 20, 1922.

⁶⁹ Rev. P.M. Pridgen, “What is the Truth About the Vice Conditions In Charleston?”, *The Truth: Independent Voice* in folder “Vice, 1941-1942/ Mayor H.W. Lockwood” ” from City of Charleston Records Management, October 4, 1941. *Charleston City Year Book, 1921*, xxxi.

work within the city of Charleston could not be fully stopped and efforts to eliminate it resulted in a more wide-spread dispersion of sex work throughout the city. Creating and maintaining a red-light district in Charleston offered the best results, keeping it contained to one section of the city and making it more manageable.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study compiled and analyzed data from disparate sources throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth to determine how effective the social reform movement and policing efforts were in Charleston in regards to eliminating brothels and sex work. To answer this question, a landscape of sex work in Charleston through time needed to be determined and analyzed for spatial and temporal patterns. In the process of this study, a deeper understanding of the landscape of sex work in Charleston was uncovered and several areas for future study were determined.

The data did reveal patterns in brothels' locations throughout time. The temporal patterns that were originally expected were only somewhat present in the study's heatmaps. There was a consistent high density throughout the study period in the area bounded by King Street, Queen Street, Logan Street, and Beaufain Street, known historically as the red-light district. Outside of this expected pattern other temporal trends show that brothels slowly moved north towards the neck of the peninsula throughout time, culminating in the disbursement of brothels throughout the city in the 1920s. This shift outside of the established district was most likely hastened by Mayor Hyde's campaign to close the red-light district between 1915 and 1919. Mayor Hyde's success in closing the district appears to have had the opposite effect and scattered brothels throughout the city. Additionally, the arrest rate trends and syphilis death rate appear to spike in and around election years.

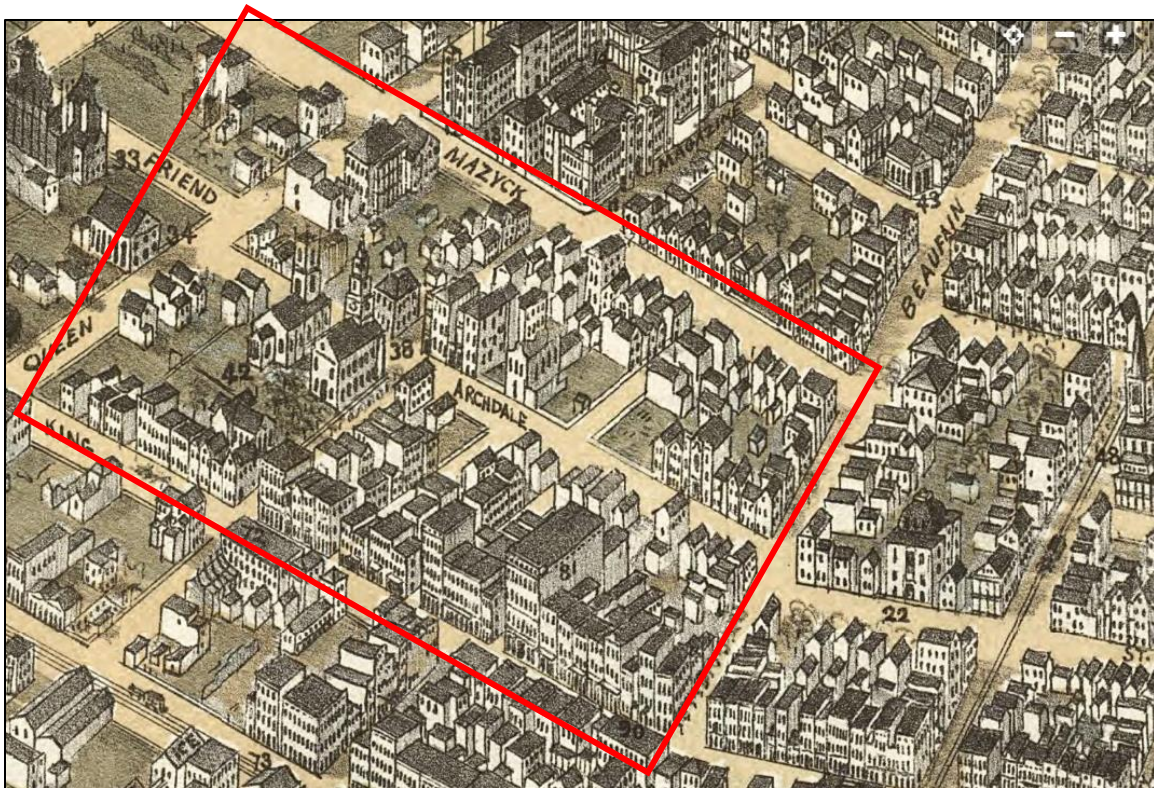


Figure 5.1 1872 Bird's Eye View Map of Charleston, South Carolina with the red-light district demarcated with a red box.

Figure 5.1 shows the years the different mayor took office between 1879 and 1938. Table 5.1 shows the major campaign promises from each mayor during their campaign. Together they depict the major goals of each mayor and the timeline of their succession in office. When taken into consideration alongside the data collected from

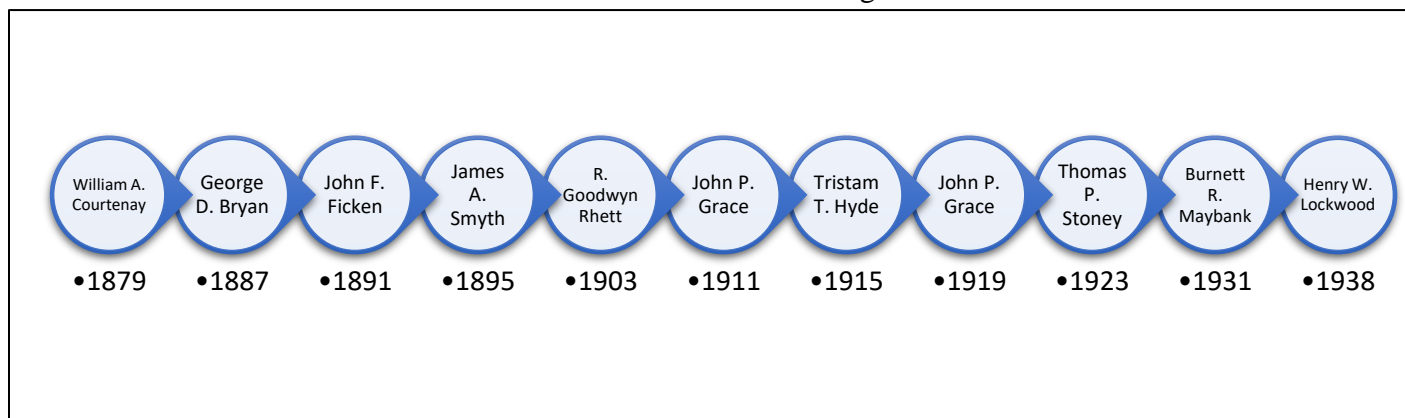


Figure 5.2 Timeline of mayoral elections in Charleston, South Carolina from 1879 to 1938.

arrest rates for keeping a disorderly house as well as the death rates from syphilis, it becomes apparent that the spikes in both arrest rates and death rates could be related to the election years of the mayors. Figure 5.2 shows the election years for the mayor circled in red on the line graph for the overall arrest rate for “keeping a disorderly house.” There are spikes in arrests in either the election year itself or the year immediately following. In the cases where the spike coincides with an election year it suggests that the mayor was attempting to police vice and get the city more in order to make a better political showing. In the cases where the spikes happen in the following year, it suggests that in case of Mayors such as Hyde and Stoney, they were attempting to follow their campaign promises and root out vice. Figure 5.3 shows the death rate from syphilis with the election years for mayor circled in red. The valleys for deaths from syphilis line up fairly well with election years, suggesting that mayors were actively policing and treating syphilis up to the election year, ostensibly gaining a handle on vice and its effects. However, the overall trend upwards suggests that any handle they were able to gain was not maintainable and ultimately shows that vice continued to spread.

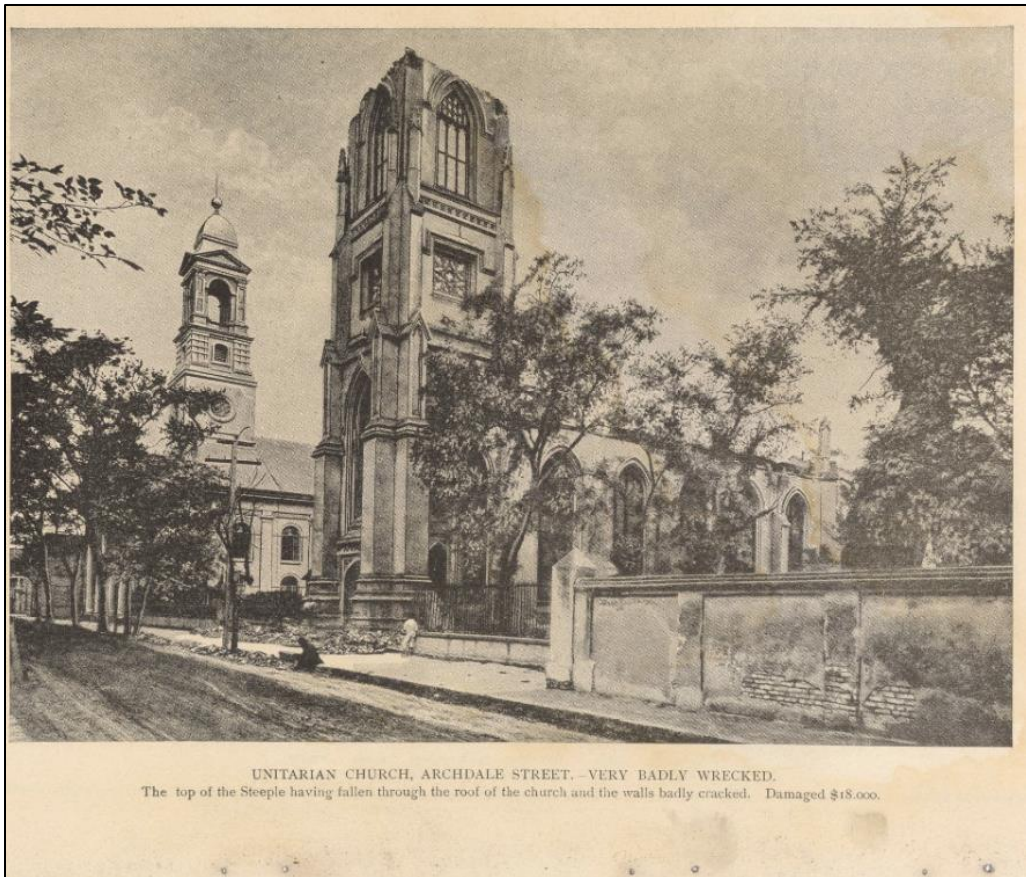


Figure 5.3 Unitarian Church on Archdale Street after the 1886 Earthquake. Library of Congress

Mayor	Term	Campaign Promise⁷⁰
William A. Courtenay	1879-1887	Focused on commerce, industry, modernizing government, and helping to repair the city after the 1886 earthquake.
George D. Bryan	1887-1891	Focused on the aims of the Democratic party, continued economic efforts
John F. Ficken	1891-1895	“Reform Democrat” who appealed to working-class Democrats, targeted illegal saloons, suppressed the African-American vote.
James A. Smyth	1895-1903	Focused on bringing the Navy shipyard to Charleston and secured the 1902 South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition.
R. Goodwyn Rhett	1903-1911	Focused on improving city infrastructure (restructured the police and fire departments) created the Board of Public Works, and helped establish Roper Hospital, Union Station, and the Julian Mitchell School.
John P. Grace	1911-1915	Populist, for the working-class, focused on bringing new industry to Charleston.
Tristram T. Hyde	1915-1919	Focused on targeting bootleggers and other vices in the city and cutting taxes.

⁷⁰ “Intendants and Mayors of Charleston,” *City of Charleston, South Carolina*, City of Charleston, accessed April 10, 2024. <https://www.charleston-sc.gov/2354/Intendants-and-Mayors>. “95 Ashley Avenue (Mayor William A. Courtenay House)” *Historic Charleston Foundation Archive Record*, Historic Charleston Foundation, accessed April 10th, 2024, <https://charleston.pastperfectonline.com/Archive/4706D0A8-617C-4E6D-8C37-077880222794>. “William Ashmead Courtenay” *Courtenay Society*, The Courtenay Society, accessed April 10th, 2024, <https://courtenaysociety.org/wac.htm>. *Charleston News and Courier* (Charleston, South Carolina), December 17, 1887: 3. *NewsBank: Access World News – Historical and Current*. <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ccpl.idm.oclc.org/apps/news/document-view?p=WORLDNEWS&docref=image/v2%3A13CCA871AD118D5A%40EANX-141DB946C5182C9A%402410623-141D75A7713C875B%402-141D75A7713C875B%40>.

John P. Grace	1919-1923	Populist, for the working-class, focused on bringing new industry to Charleston. Took a harder line against prostitution after federal government focused on eradicating venereal disease.
Thomas P. Stoney	1923-1931	Progressive, focused on transparency in government in regards to spending, lowering taxes, and economic development for the citizens. Enforced Prohibition and targeted vice.
Burnett R. Maybank	1931-1938	Focused on economic improvement for the city following the Great Depression and People's Bank crash. Encourage tourism and public works programs including Works Progresses Administration programs.
Henry W. Lockwood	1938-1944	Focused on military buildup for World War II (and the federal desire to eradicate venereal disease and sex work), and the Works Progress Administration.

Table 5.1 Charleston’s mayors from 1879-1944 and their political campaign goals.

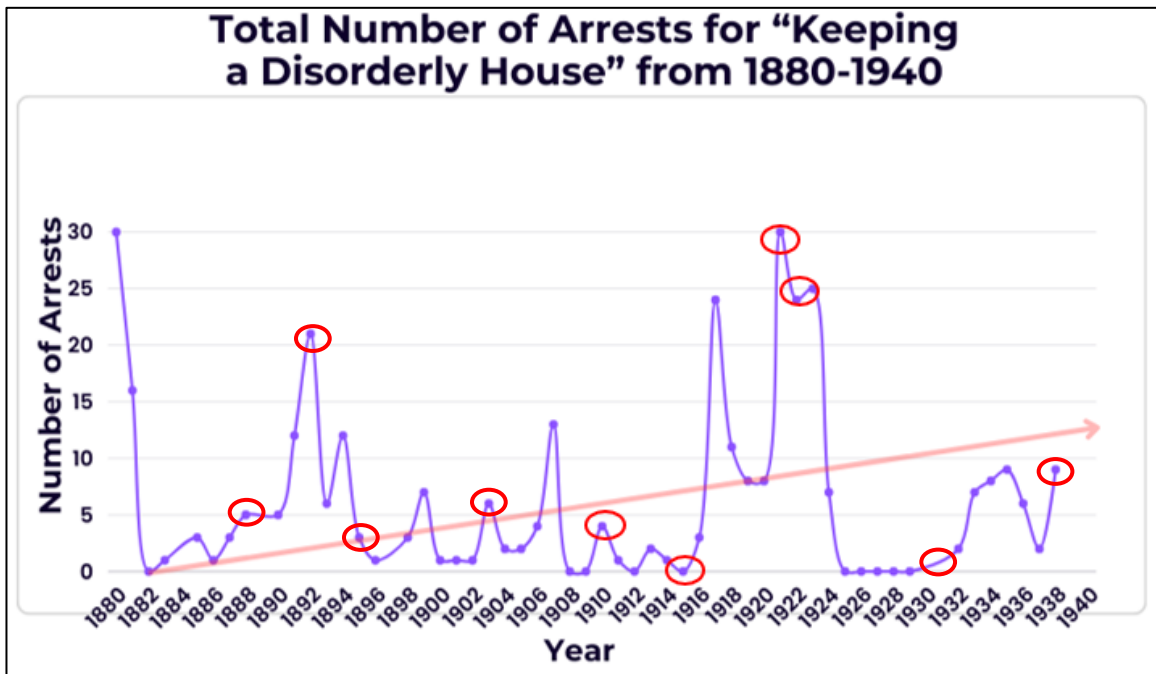


Figure 5.4 Line graph depicting the total number of arrests for “Keeping a Disorderly House” between 1880 and 1940 with mayoral election years circled in red with a red trend line.

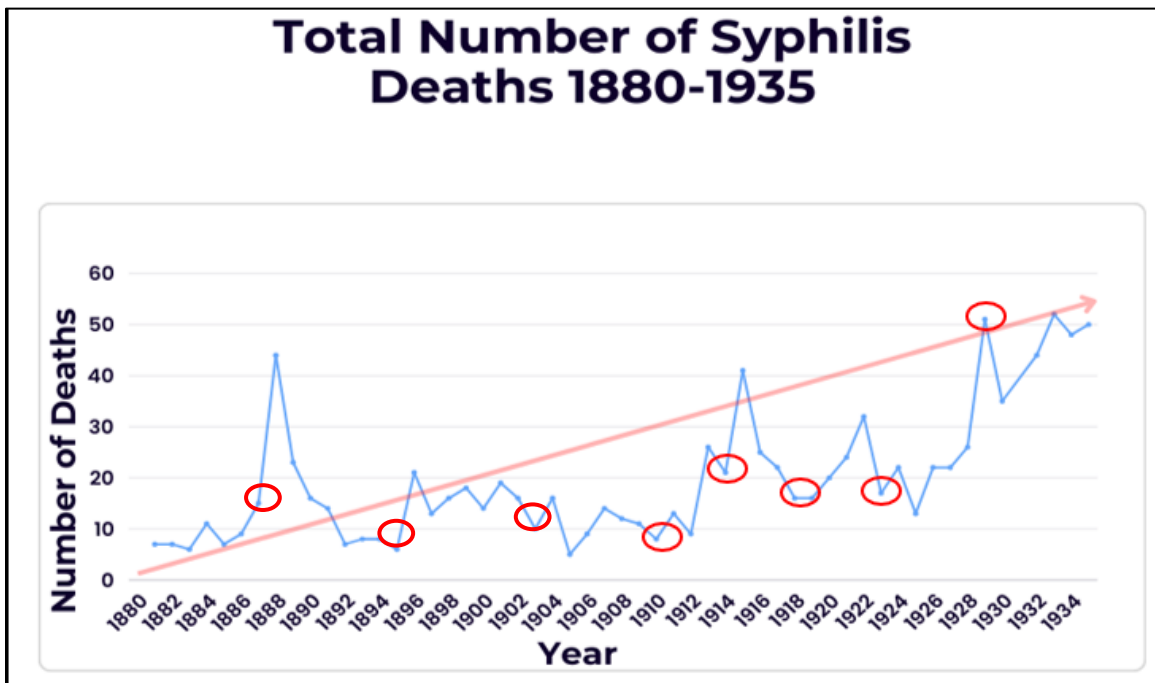


Figure 5.5 Line graph depicting the total number of deaths from syphilis between 1880 and 1935 with mayoral election years circled in red with a red trend line.

Despite the efforts of earlier mayors, as early as 1905 there were complaints to the mayor about the red-light district. Mayor Rhett had residents of the district writing to complain about the bawdy, loud, and disturbing noises around their home. By 1913, official pressure was being placed on the mayor, then Mayor Grace, to clean up the red-light district. The minutes of the Memminger Home for Girls from June 1913 clearly demonstrates Mayor Grace's stance and reluctance to close the district. Rather than agreeing to try and close the red-light district or increase policing in response to the Memminger Home's plea, Mayor Grace implied that the Memminger Home was just looking to better their property values.⁷¹ The same apathetic attitude appeared during Mayor Rhett's term as well. In a file of complaints from 1905 is a letter written in response to Mayor Rhett's request for a list of all brothels and bawdy houses. The police chief wrote the cover letter to the list, which is in the file today although the list itself does not survive. It can be surmised that a complete list was delivered to Mayor Rhett. The police chief's ability to generate a list on request of all brothels in the city speaks to their acceptance within the city.

⁷¹ Memminger Home And School Association Meeting Minutes, May 27, 1913, 7.

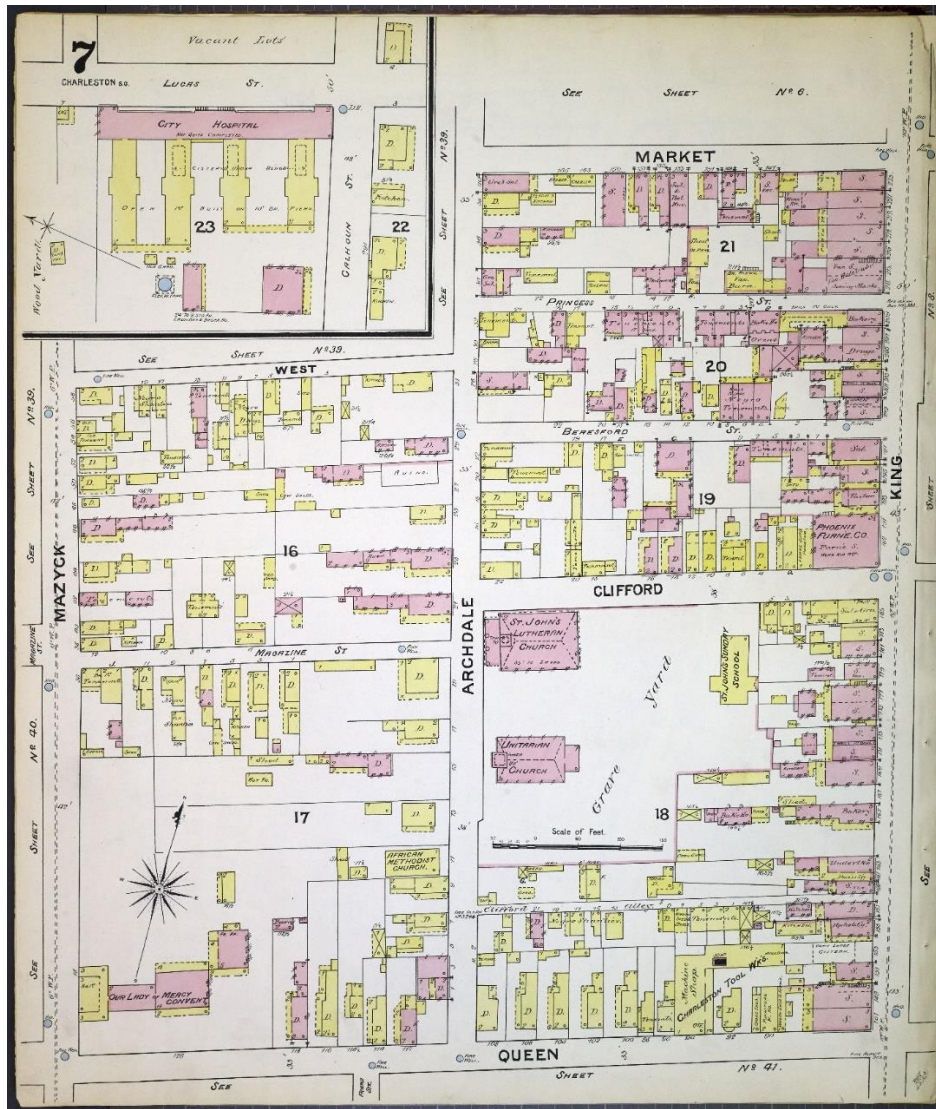


Figure 5.6 1902 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the majority of the red-light district in Charleston, South Carolina.

Publications such as the Charleton Blue Book and the City Directories listed madams by their profession demonstrating that brothels were not hidden throughout the city in this period. They were flagrantly operated up to Mayor Grace's term without too much protest. The establishment in 1913 of the Law and Order League marked the beginning of something different.

Founded in 1913 by private citizens following “the indignation and humiliation felt by so many after [a] race track, in the face of a specific law of the State leveled against it, was brazenly opened and without the least legal resistance or opposition, successfully run to the end of its advertised period” the League endeavored to make a full account of vice in the city and recommendations of what should be done.⁷² This Progressive-era League took a moral stance, believing that gambling and alcohol were two of the most persistent issues that stood a chance of being changed. Brothels and sex work on the other hand, seemed out of their ability to change.

In their 1913 pamphlet, the League mentions that many of the brothels they have identified are owned if not operated by high ranking members of society and that fact ties their hands. The League went so far as to print most of the brothel information, including a full listing of the brothels they located in a separate pamphlet. This required any interested party in 1913 to mail in a special request to the Law and Order League and they would be mailed the list.⁷³ The arrest rate for 1913, when the League was most active, noted only three arrests for keeping a brothel that year. Taken together, these two facts suggest that especially during Mayor Grace’s first term, no matter the pressure placed on the city, officials were either not interested or not able to stop sex work on the peninsula. The League embodies the social reform ideology of the time. Its ultimate inability to create lasting change in regard to the brothels is also in keeping with many

⁷² *Special Report of the Law and Order League of Charleston, S.C.*, from South Carolina Historical Society Archives, 1913, 7.

⁷³ *Special Report of the Law and Order League*. This additional brothel-specific pamphlet was not able to be recovered for this study.

social reform movements around the country which tended to fizzle out before lasting change could be enacted.

By the time Mayor Hyde took office in 1915 he was known to take a hard line on bootleggers and other immoral characters. He oversaw the Anti-Saloon League which was responsible for closing down the -light district and operated heavily in 1916 which aligns with the high arrest report, 24 people, that year for keeping a disorderly house.⁷⁴

However, after Mayor Grace won re-election and ousted Mayor Hyde in 1919, the U.S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board moved into Charleston. The Board was founded in 1918 following the end of World War II by the United States federal government. Since the war, cases of venereal disease had increased drastically, especially among soldiers and the Board was created to combat this through aid to states, universities, and other associations to treat and reduce venereal diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhea.⁷⁵ In Charleston, the Board focused on aiding in eliminating venereal disease by targeting brothels. They worked alongside the Women's Bureau of the Charleston Police Department as well as the larger Charleston Police Department.⁷⁶ By 1921 the Board reported that Charleston was "as vice free as is possible for any community to be."⁷⁷ This coincided with the highest arrest record of the study period, 30 arrests in a year. The following year, 2 arrests were recorded, suggesting vice was still

⁷⁴ "Folder 3" in Tristram T. Hyde Mayoral Papers, 1906-1919 from the City of Charleston Archives and Records Management.

⁷⁵ "Request for Records Disposition Authority" *Archives.gov*, May, 12, 1989, https://www.archives.gov/files/records-mgmt/rcs/schedules/departments/department-of-health-and-human-services/rg-0090/n1-090-89-003_sf115.pdf.

⁷⁶ "Report of Women's Bureau Police Department," in Folder Police Department Women's Bureau, 1922-1923, Box AA-118, City of Charleston Archives and Records Management, July 1922.

⁷⁷ Walter L. Peters, "Hon. John P. Grace" letter, October 14, 1921.

present in the city in 1922. The Board of Public Hygiene lost funding the following year and was closed down. Following its closure, there was a steep drop off in arrest reports. By 1926 people were not being arrested for brothel-related charges although other arrests still appear in the city directories. Despite the lack of arrests, the 1920s heatmap clearly depicts a wide array of brothels all across the city.

Thomas P. Stony was elected mayor following Mayor Grace in 1923 and held office until 1931. He took an even harder stance as a progressive, working against corruption in the city. From 1925 to 1931 there were zero arrests for keeping a brothel in the city of Charleston. City Directory entries noting madam as a profession do not continue beyond the 1917 City Directory. It appears that Mayor Stony was the first mayor to effectively eliminate brothels in the city. However, records of madams in the 1930s, as seen in the heatmap for 1930-1939, do exist and arrest records began again in 1931. However, there were significantly fewer brothels mentioned in the 1930s – only 16 total mentions, spread between 6 addresses, as compared with 70 mentions in the first three years of the 1920s.

Of the six addresses indicated in the 1930s, four of them predate the 1920s. Of the four that predate the 1920s, two have the longest span of mentions in the collected data – 11 Fulton Street and 10 West Street. 11 Fulton has 40 mentions that it was used as a brothel beginning as early as 1886 and continuing until 1935. 10 West Street has 24 mentions beginning in 1887 and ending in 1935. Although each address had fewer mentions than the total span of years, they both had enough mentions that it is highly

likely both brothels were operated continuously as brothels throughout the entire period, 1886-1935 and 1887-1935 respectively.

1930-1935 Brothel Addresses		
Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
8 Cumberland Street	1	1935
7 Fulton Street	2	1916-1935
11 West Street	15	1931-1944
7 West Street	17	1891-1935
10 West Street	24	1887-1935
11 Fulton Street	40	1886-1935

Table 5.2 Table illustrating the six brothels operating in the 1930s.

As the 1930-1939 heatmap shows, these brothels were also once again located within the area of what was once the red-light district. Mayor Stony may have succeeded in closing down most of the brothels in the city but, as the 1930s heatmap suggest, it is more likely he drove them much further underground and out of the very public space they had previously occupied in City Directories, booklets, word of mouth, and other sources.

As this thesis study has shown, data from the Charleston City Year Books, City Directories, and other sources offer a deeper insight into the landscape of sex work in

Charleston throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Sex work's illicit position coupled with its proliferation throughout the city help shape our understanding of Charleston's political and social history. Sex work was prolific, popular, and well-established in Charleston from the 1880s onwards. In the end, the ideology of the social reform movement in the form of Mayor Stony's Progressive stances may have helped move the needle and close down brothels in Charleston but the grassroots efforts by citizens that came in the form of the Law and Order League and impassioned pleas by groups such as the Memminger Home and Association, did little to effect change in the landscape of sex work in Charleston, both in their own time and beyond. Rather than citizens' efforts, campaign promises and other political motivations appear to have held sway.



Figure 5.7 View down Archdale Street, 1938. Library of Congress.

Further Research and Recommendations

This thesis lays the groundwork in establishing a more comprehensive list of both sex workers and the brothels they worked at in Charleston, South Carolina. The geographic focus of the thesis and the time constraints on it, precluded more in-depth research in the women who occupied the brothels. Their names, races, and sometimes ages, have been noted through City Directories and their own intake forms kept in the Thomas P. Stony Papers at the South Carolina Historical Society Archives. Their lives, as well as their movements between brothels need to be further researched.

Additionally, the analysis of census data was beyond the scope of this thesis but with the specific addresses and the years they were used as brothels, it is possible to dig deeper into the world and economy of the brothels themselves. Who owned them, how many women lived in a brothel at one time, what was the racial makeup of the brothels? Did women often move between brothels or only as they moved to open their own?

Furthermore, for the brothels themselves, are there specific typographies that brothels tended to use? Were they primarily Charleston single houses or Georgian brick mansions? Was the whole building used exclusively as a brothel or were other businesses run out of it? These along with many other questions still need to be answered.

Additionally, there is now the chance to better memorialize this history and the people who lived it. In searching for photos and other historical images of the neighborhood and homes mentioned in the data, especially those in the red-light district, almost no historic photos could be found. One from the 1886 earthquake damage survey (Figure 5.4) was one of the only dating to the late nineteenth century. It is possible many images were mislabeled or lost, but lack of photographs in the twentieth century is staggering and speaks to the subtle ways the people and built environment were overlooked. Further study into the larger history of the red-light district should be conducted. Plaques or even a red-light district centered walking tour where people could walk the neighborhood and learn about the homes and those who lived in them would be a wonderful way to memorialize the neighborhood's past.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Number of Times a Charleston Brothel Address is Mentioned from 1880-1944

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
1 Geroge Street	1	1822
1 Warren Street	2	1921
2 Clifford Street	7	1888-1900
2 West Street	8	1901-1910
3 Clifford Street	11	1892-1921
3 Coming Street	14	1890-1913
3 Felix Street	2	1912
3 Magazine Street	17	1891- 1906
4 Coming Street	1	1895
4 West Street	11	1913-1916
5 Clifford Street	9	1895-1904
5 West Street	4	1913-1916
6 Coming Street	4	1891-1895
6 Liberty Street	1	1922
7 Archdale Street	1	1896
7 Coming Street	3	1904-1921
7 Felix Street	1	1913
7 Fulton Street	2	1916-1935

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
7 Princess Street	2	1921-1922
7 West Street	17	1891-1935
8 Clifford Street	4	1902-1906
8 Coming Street	1	1894
8 Cumberland Street	1	1935
8 West Street	18	1886-1916
9 Archdale Street	4	1890-1893
9 Cumberland Street	1	1897
9 Clifford Street	1	1893
9 Fulton Street	58	1890-1920
9 Princess Street	3	1921-1922
9 West Street	7	1888-1913
10 Clifford Street	18	1894-1913
10 Coming Street	7	1886-1897
10 Cumberland Street	2	1912-1913
10 Fulton Street	10	1891-1913
10 Horlbeck Alley	5	1886-1888
10 Princess Street	1	1902
10 West Street	24	1887-1935
11 Clifford Street	1	1893

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
11 Felix Street	1	1913
11 Fulton Street	40	1886-1935
11 Princess Street	1	1921
11 Rose Street	2	1904-1905
11 West Street	15	1931-1944
12 Clifford Street	17	1888-1913
12 Fulton Street	2	1911-1915
12 Horlbeck Alley	2	1886-188
12 West Street	1	1887
13 Archdale Street	2	1892
13 Cumberland Street	1	1886
13 Fulton Street	3	1886-1889
14 Beaufain Street	1	1922
14 Clifford Street	15	1886-1906
14 Coming Street	6	1888-1905
14 Princess Street	1	1921
15 Chapel Street	1	1922
16 Archdale Street	2	1900
16 Clifford Street	4	1892-1902
16 Fulton Street	2	1906-1907

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
16 Horlbeck Alley	2	1886-1887
16 Princess Street	1	1910
16 South Street	1	1890
17 Archdale Street	1	1902
17 Cumberland Street	1	1890
17 Fulton Street	2	1913-1914
17 West Street	10	1895-1917
18 Clifford Street	1	1897
18 Felix Street	2	1912-1913
18 Fulton Street	12	1900-1915
18 King Street	1	1902
18 Meeting Street	2	1922-1923
18 Princess Street	1	1922
18 4 th Street	1	1920
19 West Street	1	1917
20 Archdale Street	1	1902
20 Chalmers Street	1	1889
20 Clifford Street	2	1920-1922
20 Fulton Street	2	1916-1917
20 Princess Street	3	1913-1915

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
21 Felix Street	2	1912-1913
21 Princess Street	6	1912-1921
21 St. Philip Street	4	1891-1895
22 Archdale Street	3	1902-1911
22 Clifford Street	2	1895
22 Coming Street	1	1921
22 Fulton Street	14	1900-1917
23 Fulton Street	12	1904-1913
23 Rose Street	1	1904
24 Clifford Street	3	1893-1896
25 Beaufain Street	1	1902
25 Chapel Street	1	1921
26 Clifford Street	1	1902
27 Beaufain Street	1	1904
29 Beaufain Street	2	1887-1901
29 Broad Street	1	1921
30 Cannon Street	1	1906
30 Hasell Street	1	1900
30 West 5 th Street	2	1920
31 Archdale Street	13	1901-1912

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
31 Beaufain Street	2	1901-1913
31 Franklin Street	2	1896-1897
32 Archdale Street	1	1902
34 Beaufain Street	1	1902
35 Beaufain Street	3	1901-1922
35 Columbus Street	1	1921
37 Archdale Street	22	1896-1916
37 Beaufain Street	2	1897-1901
37 Charles Street	1	1917
38 Archdale Street	1	1902
39 Franklin Street	1	1900
40 Charles Street	1	1921
41 Archdale Street	1	1902
41 John Street	5	1912-1921
43 Beaufain Street	3	1887-1901
43 State Street	1	1920
44 Archdale Street	6	1910-1913
44 Beaufain Street	1	1911
46 Archdale Street	2	1902
48 Archdale Street	2	1900-1902

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
49 Beaufain Street	1	1902
49 Market Street	1	1897
49 State Street	1	1921
50 Beaufain Street	1	1897
51 Line Street	1	1921
51 State Street	1	1921
53 East Bay Street	1	1921
55 Beaufain Street	1	1913
56 Coming Street	5	1886-1896
57 Beaufain Street	1	1899
58 Beaufain Street	5	1895-1898
59 Charlotte Street	1	1898
61 Beaufain Street	3	1910-1914
62 Columbus Street	1	1922
63 Line Street	4	1921-1922
64 Columbus Street	1	1922
69 Beaufain Street	13	1890-1903
70 State Street	1	1921
73 Beaufain Street	3	1891-1895
74 Beaufain Street	1	1897

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
81 St. Philip Street	7	1898-1901
88 East Bay Street	1	1922
100 King Street	1	1922
102 Coming Street	2	1895-1921
103 Anson Street	2	1896-1897
106 Logan Street	1	1902
108 Logan Street	1	1914
110 Logan Street	2	1904-1905
111 Anson Street	1	1886
116 Logan Street	20	1900-1916
119 Coming Street	4	1904-1906
122 Logan Street	22	1899-1917
125 Logan Street	34	1887-1917
126 Logan Street	1	1898
128 Logan Street	12	1902-1916
129 Logan Street	13	1900-1914
130 Logan Street	6	1896-1916
132 Logan Street	1	1908
139 Logan Street	19	1886-1911
146 Logan Street	17	1898-1917

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
147 Market Street	2	1921-1923
148 Logan Street	4	1899-1901
149 Market Street	1	1921
149 Queen Street	1	1895
150 Market Street	5	1886-1895
151 Market Street	2	1922-1923
152 Market Street	6	1886-1892
154 Church Street	2	1920
154 Market Street	2	1886-1904
155 Market Street	4	1890-1902
156 Market Street	5	1902-1913
157 Market Street	18	1887-1912
158 Market Street	5	1904-1906
160 Church Street	3	1920-1921
163 Market Street	2	1921-1922
165 Market Street	1	1921
168 Line Street	1	1916
175 Calhoun Street	5	1900-1903
177 Meeting Street	2	1921-1922
197 King Street	1	1921

Address	Mentions	Years Mentioned
218 Coming Street	2	1897-1898
220 King Street	3	1920-1923
239 King Street	2	1921-1923
247 Meeting Street	1	1922
250 Coming Street	2	1904
259 East Bay Street	4	1921-1922
295 King Street	2	1921
297 East Bay Street	4	1895-1898
405 King Street	1	1921
427 King Street	1	1922
477 King Street	2	1921-1922
577 King Street	1	1922
624 King Street	1	1921
142A Logan Street	3	1896-1906

Appendix B

Excel Spreadsheet Data Collection Table for Brothel Mentions 1880-1944

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
1	East George Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
1	Warden Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Nellie price. Possibly 1 Warren Street	
1	Warren Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Ada Clark	W		
10	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1894	1894 City Directory	Agnes Cameron	W		
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
2	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
10	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
10	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Agnes Campbell	W		
6	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Alene Harvey	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
6	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Alene Harvey	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Alice Counts	C		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Alice Counts	W		
11	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	Alice Hall	W		
21	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Alice Key			
148	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Alice Pool	W		
6	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Allie Evans	C		
50	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Allie Harvin	W		
110	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Allie Harvin	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Charleston Blue Book	Miss Irene Warner		Miss Gladys Greye, Miss Ethel McDonald, Miss Bertha Lippencott	
110	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Allie Harvin	W		
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920-1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
126	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Allie Harvin	W		
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Allie Harvin	W		
155	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Amelia Smith	W		
74	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Anna Cook	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
14	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Anna Osborne	W		
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Anna Porcher	C		
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Anna Porcher	C		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Annie Cushington	W		
58	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Annie Goodlett	C		
58	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Annie Goodlett	C		
58	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Annie Goodlett	W		
58	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Annie Goodley	C		
58	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Annie Goodley	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
3	Comings	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Jane Sanford	
3	Felix Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Nellie Ashby Report	
3	Felix Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Iris Lewis	
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1894	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	Rachel Fore Paper				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 54	
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	Rachel Fore Paper				
3	Magazine Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	Rachel Fore Paper				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
16	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Annie Grant	W		
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Elizabeth Marion Landgraf, Proprietor	
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Jenoiene Willins Report	
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Loua Williams	
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Violet Todd	
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Ruth Reenea	
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Thia Marshall	
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Mildred Fang	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
150	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Annie Hardy	W	appears in business listing and personal directory	
150	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Annie Hardy	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Annie Kelly	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1889	1889 City Directory	Annie Kessler	W		
73	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Annie Klinefelder	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Annie Smith	W		
218	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Annie Strickland	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
218	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Annie Strickland	W		
13	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Arabella DuBoise	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Aurelia Smith	W		
17	Cumberland Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	B. Ardeen	W		
20	Chalmers Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1889	1889 City Directory	B. Ardeen	W		
21	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Beatrice Clarke			
5	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Emilie V. Solterrie, Proprietor	
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Bell Brandon	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Belle Barbot	W		
12	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Belle Barbot			
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Belle Barbot			
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Belle Brown	W		
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Belle Brown	W		
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Belle Brown	W		
6	Liberty Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Belle Brown	W		
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Belle Brown	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Belle Brown	W		
7	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Assignment.	
7	Felix Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Rebecca Boyd, Proprietor	
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Belle Brown	W		
7	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1935	Thomas P. Stony Papers			1938 Board of Public Health Report	
7	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
7	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
5	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Belle Brown			

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
5	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Belle Brown			
20	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Belle Brown			
20	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Belle Brown			
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Belle Brown			
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Belle Hoyt	W		
10	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Belle Ivey	W	bds Madame St. Clair	
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Belle Percival	W		
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Belle Percival	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Anna Louise Pincel, Proprietor	7 Beresford becomes 7 Fulton
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Marie Riley	7 Beresford becomes 7 Fulton
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Belle Percival	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Minnie Wallein.	9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1923	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Run by Minnie	9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1935	Thomas P. Stony Papers				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
8	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Belle Percival	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Belle Percival	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
61	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Belle Percival	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Belle Percival	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
8	Cumberland Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1935	Thomas P. Stony Papers				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Belle Percival			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
61	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Belle Percival			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
61	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Belle Percival			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	Belle Roberson	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
142A	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Belle Roberson	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Belle Scott	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
250	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Belle Wille	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
250	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Belle Willie	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
2	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Bertha Smith	C		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
102	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Bertha Smith	C		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
46	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Bertie White	C		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Bertie White	C		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Bertie White	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Elizabeth Marion Landgraf, Proprietor	9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Bertie White	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Bertie White			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Bertie White			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Bertie White			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Bertie White			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
2	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Bessie Cole	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Bessie Cole	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
5	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Bessie Ward			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Birdie White	C		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	Chris Cone Paper				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Birdie White	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1894	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Birdie White	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Blanche D. Williams			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Blanche D. Williams			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Blanche Williams			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Blanche Williams			9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	Chris Cone Property History				9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Camille Harris	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Camille Harris	W		9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	9 Beresford becomes 9 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Charleston Blue Book	Miss Agnes Campbell		Miss Nettie Davis, Miss Ridia Brown, Miss Ruth Allen, Miss Willie Black, Miss Marie Nash, Miss Helen Crawford, Miss Mae Vernon, Miss Violet Hastings	10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Chris Cone Property History				10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Camille Harris	W		10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	Chris Cone Property History				10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton
37	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Camille Harris	W		10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	Chris Cone Property History				10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Camille Harris			10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Camille Harris			10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Camille Harris			10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	Chris Cone Property History				10 Beresford becomes 10 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Camille Harris			11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Camille Harris			11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Camille Harris			11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1909	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Camille Harris			11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Carrie Kellermann			11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Carrie O'Day			11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			J. Florian and Augusta Wray, Proprietors	11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Carrie O'Day			11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Cecil Gordon			11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Clara Folsom	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Clara Folsom	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1918	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1919	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Chris Cone Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
9	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Run by three negro women, Lana Colds, Queenie Colachess, and Nora Kennedy.	11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Clara Folsom	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1889	1889 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1894	Lyrk Castro - Bailey Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	Lyrk Castro - Bailey Property History				11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		11 Beresford becomes 11 Fulton
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	12 Beresford becomes 12 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		12 Beresford becomes 12 Fulton
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	Lyrk Castro - Bailey Property History				13 Beresford becomes 13 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Clara Hayes	W		13 Beresford becomes 13 Fulton
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	Lyrk Castro - Bailey Property History				13 Beresford becomes 13 Fulton
7	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Clara Innes	W		16 Beresford becomes 16 Fulton
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	Lyrk Castro - Bailey Property History				16 Beresford becomes 16 Fulton
12	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Clara Manette	W		17 Beresford becomes 17 Fulton
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Clara Morris	W		17 Beresford becomes 17 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1909	Lyrk Castro - Bailey Property History				18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	Lyrk Castro - Bailey Property History				18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
18	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Cora Foster	W		18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Nannie K. Litschgi, Proprietor	18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
158	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Daizy Kayoama	W		18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
2	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Della Cook	C		18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
2	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Della Cook	W		18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Della Cook	W		18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Della Cook	W		18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Dolly Harris	W	bds Madam Clark	18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
9	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Dora Jewett	W		18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
9	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Dora Jewett	W		18 Beresford becomes 18 Fulton
10	Cumberland Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Pauline Wells Report	20 Beresford becomes 20 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
10	Cumberland Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Vincent Chicco, Proprietor	20 Beresford becomes 20 Fulton
49	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Dora Johnson	C		22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	E St. Clair	W		22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Edna O'Brien	W		22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Effie May	W		22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
73	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Effie McDonald	W		22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1889	1889 City Directory	Effie McNolan	W		22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Edgar Levy, Proprietor	22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Alice Tarueia Report	22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Jessie Horton	22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Elise Cameron			22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Ella Boykin			22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
31	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Ella Mason	C		22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
27	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Ella Mason	W		22 Beresford becomes 22 Fulton
150	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Ella Morris	W		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
10	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
2	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Ella Wade	C		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
2	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Ella Wade	C		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Ella Wade	C		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Ella Wade	C		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Ella Wade	C		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Ella Wade	C		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Ella Wade	W		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Ella Wade	W		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
8	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Ella Wade	W		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
8	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Ella Wade	W		23 Beresford becomes 23 Fulton
8	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Ella Wade	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Ella Way	W		
16	South Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Ellen Lewis	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Ellis Fannie	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Elizabeth Marion Landgraf, Proprietor	
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Lend Yoff	
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1935	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Felix Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			A.S. McCullough, Proprietor	
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
13	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1889	1889 City Directory	Elsie Cameron	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Elsie Cameron			

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
2	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
10	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56, has three separate buildings operating as brothels at the same time	
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Charleston Blue Book	Miss Elsie Cameron			
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
16	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Bertha Williams	
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	Emma St. Clair	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Beulah B. Baker, Proprietor	
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Jenoiene Willins Report	
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Alice Tarueia Report	
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Gwendu olyn Tarnein	
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			M. Mable	
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Emma St. Clair			
2	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Emma St. Clare	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Emma St. Clare	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Emma Stevenson	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1935	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
11	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Colored prostitutes,	
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Emma Stevenson	W		
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Emma Stevenson	W		
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1931	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1932	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1933	Jack Sutton Property History				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1934	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1935	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1935	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1936	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1937	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1938	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1939	Jack Sutton Property History				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1940	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1941	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1942	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1943	Jack Sutton Property History				
11	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1944	Jack Sutton Property History				
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Emma Stevenson	W		
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Emma Stevenson	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
150	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Emma Wallace	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1894	Sarah Gaston Property History				
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Ethel Charles	W		
16	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Ethel Childs	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Ethel Lee	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Ethel Lee	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Ethel Lee	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1909	Sarah Gaston Property History				
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Etta Way	W		
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Etta Way	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Sarah Gaston Property History				
155	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Etta Way	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Nannie K. Litschgi, Proprietor	
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Eva Gibson	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Eva Harris	W	bds Madam Clark	
12	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1935	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
10	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Eva Morris	W	bds Madam Lanier	
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Eva Rivers			
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Eva Stokes	W		
23	Rose Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Eva Stokes	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Eva Stokes			
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Eva Stokes			
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Eva Stokes			

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Eva Stokes			
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Eva Stokes			
14	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Assignment House.	
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Eva Stokes			
130	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Eva Stokes			
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Evelyn Mingo	W		
44	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Evelyn Wright	W		
44	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Evelyn Wright			
149	Queen Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Fannie Banks	C		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Fannie Ellis	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Fannie Gannon	W		
14	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Charleston Blue Book	Miss Edith Randolph		Miss Sadie Brooks, Miss Edith Randolph, Miss Marion Mallard	
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Fannie Gannon	W		
56	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Fannie Jackson	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
14	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Several women, listed as 14-16 Princess Street	
15	Chapel Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Central Hotel. \$1	
16	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	Winter Hein Property History				
43	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Fannie Morris	C		
43	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Fannie Morris	C		
43	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Fannie Morris	W		
4	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Fanny Morris	C		
16	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insura			Sheet 56	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
						nce Map				
130	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Gene Roland			
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Georgia Ford	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	George Ducey	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	George Ford	W		
16	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Several women, listed as 14-16 Princess Street	
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Gladys Wells	W		
17	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 54	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Grace Baker			
17	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League				
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Samuel Solterier, Proprietor	
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Hattie Ferris	W		
73	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Hattie Hermann	W		
18	Felix Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Nettie Myers	
18	Felix Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Claudie Wood	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Cumberland Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Hattie Johnson	W		
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
19	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Hattie Sparks			
12	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Helen M. Wells	C		
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	I Osborn	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Ida Montague	W		
119	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Ida Shaver	W		
119	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Ida Shaver	W		
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order			Thomas Reedy, Proprietor	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
						League				
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Cleo Horn	
2	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Inda Osborne	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Inda Osborne	W		
18	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56, possibly acutally 2 addresses on Clifford or 185 King B & C	
18	Meeting Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Mrs. Cox	
18	Meeting Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1923	Thomas P. Stony Papers				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
18	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
18	4th Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers			From Affidavit by Joseph Wynn Smith, April 1920	
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	India Osborne	W		
20	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
2	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	India Osborne	W		
20	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Madam Minnie Calhoun	
20	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Assignment.	
2	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	India Osborne	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
2	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	India Osborne	W		
2	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	India Osborne	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	India Osborne	W		
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Irene Austin	W		
21	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	
21	Felix Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Pauline Wells Report	
21	Felix Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Hassie Parks, Proprietor	
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Irene Warner	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Irene Warner	W		
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Irene Warner	W		
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Irene Warner	W		
21	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Run by a negro woman by the name of Maude Muller. Living with a white man named Frenchie.	
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Irene Warner	W		
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Jacqueline Jutzler	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	Jane Jackson	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Janie Noisette	W		
21	W Princes Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Maud	
22	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
9	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Jeannette Lamar	C		
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Jeannette Lamar	W		
13	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Jennette Lamar	W		
150	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Jennie Truet	W		
22	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
154	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Jennie Truett	W		
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Jennie Truett	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Jennie Truett	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Jennie Truett	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Jennie Truett	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Jennie Truett			
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Jennie Truitt	W		
13	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Jennie W. Lawrence	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Jewitt Dora	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Josephine Arthur			
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Josephine Engles	C		
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Josephine Engles	W		
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Josephine Engles	W		
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Julia B. Lambert			
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Bell Brown, been at 23 for 13 years, Bell Brown Report	
23	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Louise Card	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Julia B. Lambert			
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Julia Lambert			
24	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	Deryn Candelaria Property History				
24	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	Deryn Candelaria Property History				
14	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Julia Wellington	W		
14	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Kate Bausan	W		
25	Chapel Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Central Hotel.	
26	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Kate Clark	W		
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Kate Clark			
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Kate Clark			

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
29	Broad Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Third Floor Cleo Horn & Sailor Cleveland Mr. & Mrs. Hans Anderson - Owner of property reports sailors visiting place, police searching for a Mrs. Anderson. Parties suspected forgery check B.I. Simmons.	
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Kate Clark			
14	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Kate Dausan g	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
30	West 5th Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Picked up in Charleston and taken to Navy Yard \$5 for service, \$2 for the room.	
30	West 5th Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
10	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Kate Simmons	W	bds Madam Lanier	
17	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Katherine Simmons			
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Hannah St. Onge Property History				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
7	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Kathryn Boyer			
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	Hannah St. Onge Property History				
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	Hannah St. Onge Property History				
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	Hannah St. Onge Property History				
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Kitty McGrath	W	bds Madame Ray	
155	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Laura Bellmont	W		
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Lessie Bass	W	Bds Madam Cook	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Hannah St. Onga Property History				
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Lillian Austin			
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Lillie Campbell	W		
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1889	1889 City Directory	Lillie Clark	W	bds	
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Lillie Mack	W		
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Lillie Mack	W		
32	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
34	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	Lillie Mack	W		
35	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Kings Hotel.	
35	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers			King Hotel. Rooming House. Sears and Helen.	
35	Columbus Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			David Hotel. Assignment	
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Lillie Madame	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Lillie Swinton	W		
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Lillie Swinton			
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Lillie Swinton			

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
10	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Lillie Williams	W	bds Madam Lanier	
57	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Lillie Wormser	W		
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Charleston Blue Book	Miss Marie Manning		Miss Marie Taylor, Miss May Odell, Miss Beatrice Mentell, Miss Ida Lavelle, Miss May Clark, Miss Lettie Pick	
37	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Lizzie Mazzyck	C		
142A	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Lizzie Mazzyck	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mama Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Lottie Peck	W		
111	Anson Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Lottie Ross	W		
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Lottie Wellberg	W		
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Lottie Wellberg	W		
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Lottie Wellbrock			
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Lottie Wellbrock			
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Nellie Garrett	
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Lottie Wellbrock			

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Joseph del Guidice, Trustee, Proprietor	
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Lottie Wellbrock			
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Lottie Wellbrock			
56	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Lou Baring	W		
56	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Lou Barington	W		
56	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Lou Barrington	W		
9	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Lou Ford	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Louisa Wilson	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
37	George Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Bridgeport Hotel. Madam Ollie Sailor, 4 inmates, 3 & 5.	
38	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
13	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Louise Crook	W		
40	Charles Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Two girls	
41	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	
41	John Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Pauline Wells Report	
41	John Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			North King Street Corporation	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
41	John Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Evelyn Wright Report	
41	John Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Nettie Myers	
41	John Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Lucille Wineman	W		
25	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Lucy Hicks	C		
35	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Lucy Hicks	C		
43	State Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Rosalie Crosby Morris, alias	
10	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Lucy Robbins	W		
44	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Gladys Wells Report	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
44	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Inferred based on other sources. 44 --- is the actually entry	
44	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Maggie Verman	
29	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Lula Pills	W		
44	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Evelyn Wright Report	
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Lula Williams	W		
46	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 55	
10	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Lulu Williams	C		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
48	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Bell Brown Report	
48	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 55	
49	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Charleston Blue Book	Miss Belle Percival		Miss Blanche Clark, Miss Marie Wallace, Miss Audrey Hasting	
152	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	M Cochran	W		
49	State Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Mrs. Varrie Barker	
152	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	M Cochran	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
51	Line Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Graham Hotel. It is a negro place... There are four or five young colored prostitutes soliciting here and take men to the rooms upstairs. \$1	
51	State Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Gertrude Blocker	
53	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Mrs. Ehrens, "The Trellis"	
55	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Madge Thomas	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
22	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	M Lanier	W		
24	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	M Lanier	W		
132	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Mabel Fludd	W		
30	Cannon Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Mabel Reynolds	W		
9	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	Mable Wilson	W		
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Madge Oliver	W		
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Maggie Knowlton	W		
10	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Maggie Lanier	C	not listed as a madam in her city directory entry	2 Mazyck Street becomes 106 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mama Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
10	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Maggie Lanier	C		4 Mazyck Street becomes 108 Logan Street
9	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	Maggie Lanier	W		8 Mazyck Street becomes 110 Logan Street
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Mamie Bent	W	bds Madam Clark	8 Mazyck Street becomes 110 Logan Street
156	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Mamie Cooper			10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
156	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Mamie Cooper			10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
29	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Mamie Green	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mama Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
152	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Mamie L. Cochran	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
62	Columbus Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
63	Line Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			one inmate	10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
63	Line Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
63	Line Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
63	Line Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mama Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
64	Columbus Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Mamie Patrick	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
11	Rose Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Mamie Schroeder	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
31	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Mamie Smith			10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Mamie Williams	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Mamie Williams	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mama Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Mamie Williams	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Mamie Williams	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Mamie Williams	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Mamie Williams	W		10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Mamie Williams			10 Mazyck Street becomes 116 Logan Street
69	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	13 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mama Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
										other lots
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Mamie Williams			13 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Mamie Williams			13 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
70	State Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Suspicious person	13 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mama Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Mamie Williams			13 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Mamie Williams			13 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Mamie Williams			13 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
7	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Marcel Morell			13 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mada me Listed	Ra ce	Notes	Address Change Inform ation
129	Logan Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	191 0	1910 City Direct ory	Marcel l Morell	W		13 Mazyck Street become s 125 Logan Street with other lots
7	West Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	191 1	1911 City Direct ory	Marcel l Morell			13 Mazyck Street become s 125 Logan Street with other lots
9	West Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	191 1	1911 City Direct ory	Marcel l Morell			13 Mazyck Street become s 125 Logan Street with other lots
9	West Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	191 2	1912 City Direct ory	Marcel l Morell			13 Mazyck Street become s 125 Logan Street with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mada me Listed	Ra ce	Notes	Address Change Inform ation
9	West Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	191 3	1913 City Direct ory	Marcel l Morell			13 Mazyck Street become s 125 Logan Street with other lots
7	West Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	191 3	1913 City Direct ory	Marcel l Morrel l			13 Mazyck Street become s 125 Logan Street with other lots
22	Cliffor d Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	189 5	1895 City Direct ory	Margar et Lanier	W		13 Mazyck Street become s 125 Logan Street with other lots
88	East Bay	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	192 2	Thom as P. Stony Papers				13 Mazyck Street become s 125 Logan Street with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
100	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Marie Johnson	W		14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
102	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Marie Manning	W		14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Marie Manning	W		14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
106	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Marie Manning	W		14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Marie Manning	W		14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Marie Manning	W		14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Marie Manning	W		14 Mazyck Street becomes 128 Logan Street
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Marie Manning	W		15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
20	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Marie Williams			15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
20	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Marie Williams			15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
20	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Marie Williams			15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
168	Line Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Marie Williams			15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
14	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Marion Maillard	W		15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
81	St. Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Mary DeSaussure	C		15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots
81	St. Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Mary DeSaussure	C		15 Mazyck Street becomes 125 Logan Street with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
81	St. Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Mary DeSaussure	C		16 Mazyck Street becomes 130 Logan Street
81	St. Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Mary DeSaussure	C		16 Mazyck Street becomes 130 Logan Street
81	St. Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Mary DeSaussure	C		16 Mazyck Street becomes 130 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Ethel Roberts	16 Mazyck Street becomes 130 Logan Street
81	St. Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Mary E DeSaussure	C		18 Mazyck Street becomes 132 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mada me Listed	Ra ce	Notes	Address Change Inform ation
116	Logan Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	191 3	Law & Order Leagu e			Martha Stevens on, Propriet or	21 Mazyck Street become s 129 Logan Street along with other lots
116	Logan Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	191 3	Thom as P. Stony Papers			Ruby Morthin gham	21 Mazyck Street become s 129 Logan Street along with other lots
12	Clifford Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	188 8	1888 City Direct ory	Mary Spence r	C		21 Mazyck Street become s 129 Logan Street along with other lots
130	Logan Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	189 7	1897 City Direct ory	Mary Tiede man	C		21 Mazyck Street become s 129 Logan Street along with

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
										other lots
130	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Mary Tiedeman	W		21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with other lots
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Mattie Bert	W		21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with other lots
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Mattie Curtis			21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Maddame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
158	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Mattie Mattingly	W		21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with other lots
158	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Mattie Mattingly	W		21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with other lots
56	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with other lots
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	Megan Adornetto Property History				21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
										other lots
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	Megan Adornetto Property History				21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with other lots
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	Megan Adornetto Property History				21 Mazyck Street becomes 129 Logan Street along with other lots
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Megan Adornetto Property History				23 Mazyck Street becomes 139 Logan Street along with other lots

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	Megan Adornetto Property History				28 Mazyck Street becomes 142A Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	Megan Adornetto Property History				28 Mazyck Street becomes 142A Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1909	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	Megan Adornetto Property History				32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		32 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		34 mazyck Street becomes 148 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Charleston Blue Book	Miss Mattie Sherman		Miss Vina DeVon, Miss Fannie Harris, Miss Stella Lewis, Miss Leona Harris, Miss Marie Hollander, Miss Lillie Carson	34 mazyck Street becomes 148 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		34 mazyck Street becomes 148 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		46 Mazyck Street becomes 122 Logan Street today,

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Maddame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	46 Mazyck Street becomes 122 Logan Street today,
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		46 Mazyck Street becomes 122 Logan Street today,
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		50 Mazyck Street becomes 126 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Maddame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street
122	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Mattie Sherman	W		51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Mattie Sherman			51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Mattie Sherman			51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Mattie Sherman			51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Mattie Sherman			51 Mazyck Street is 125 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Maddame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Mattie Sherman			54 Mazyck Street becomes 130 Logan Street
116	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Mattie Sherman			54 Mazyck Street becomes 130 Logan Street
148	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Mattie White	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
148	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Mattie White	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
148	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Mattie White	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Samuel Solterrie, Proprietor	57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
12	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Maud Emerson	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Maud Frost	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Maud Frost			57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Maud Martin			57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
130	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Maud Martin			57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Maud Riley			57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Maude Frost			57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
9	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Maxey Summons	C		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
44	Beaufain Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Maxine Berry			57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	May Bryan	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	May Harris	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	May Harris	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	May Wilson	W		57 Mazck Street is 139 Logan Street today
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	Chloe Martin Property History			16 Mazyck Street	64 Mazyck Street becomes 142A Logan Street
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	Chloe Martin Property History			16 Mazyck Street	68 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
18	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Mercedes Shaw	W		68 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street
11	Rose Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Meta Ludewicks	W		68 Mazyck Street becomes 146 Logan Street

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
17	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Mildred Weld	W		70 Mazyck Street becomes 148 Logan Street
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Nellie Ashby Report	
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Mildred Weld	W		
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Sarah Ann Webb, Proprietor	
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Elsie Smith	
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Mildred Weld	W		
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Mildred Weld	W		
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Mildred Weld	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Mildred Weld			
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Mildred Weld			
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Mildred Weld			
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Mildred Weld			
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Mildred Wells			
37	Charles Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Mildred Wells			
39	Franklin Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Minnie Belmont	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			Mary J. Schwarz, Proprietor	
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Adelase Taylor	
129	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Vera Williams	
2	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Minnie Burns	W		
16	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Minnie Phillips	C		
130	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League			A.F. Doscher, Proprietor	
16	Horlbeck Alley	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Minnie Phillips	W		
103	Anson Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Minnie Zippeer	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
103	Anson Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Minnie Zipper	W		
59	Charlotte Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Minnie Zippur	W		
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Miss Clara Hayes	W	bds Madam Clark	
139	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Miss Maud Howard	W	bds Madam Clark	
13	Cumberland Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Mollie Rivers	W		
119	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Mollie Smith	W		
175	Calhoun Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Mollie Smith	W		
175	Calhoun Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1901	1901 City Directory	Mollie Smith	W		
175	Calhoun Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Mollie Smith	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
175	Calhoun Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Mollie Smith	W		
119	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Molly Smith	W		
16	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Nancy Goodlett	C		
152	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1888	1888 City Directory	Nellie	W		
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Nellie B Warren			
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Nellie B. Warren	W		
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Nellie B. Warren			
6	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	Nellie Brown	W		
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1899	1899 City Directory	Nellie Harris	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Nellie Harrison	W		
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Nellie Harrison	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Nellie Ray	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Nellie Ray	W	appears in business listing and personal directory	
30	Hasell Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Nellie Ray	W		
297	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Nellie Ray	W		
297	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Nellie Ray	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
297	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Nellie Ray	W		
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	
297	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	Nellie Ray	W		
12	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Nellie Rhea	W		
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Nellie Thorne	W		
31	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Nellie Warren	W		
21	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Nettie Doscher			
21	Princess Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Nettie Doscher			
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Nettie Mims	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
5	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Pauline Hall	W		
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1890	1890 City Directory	Pearl Kauffmann	W		
16	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Pearl Kauffmann	W		
3	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Pearl McKinney	W		
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Pearl McKinney	W		
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	Law & Order League				
147	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1923	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Negro house	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
147	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Mrs. Grace Hughes, very suspicious, Mrs. Etta Stokes, Record.	
10	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Pearl McKinney	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Pearl Taylor	W		
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Pearl Taylor	W		
8	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Pearl Trevont	W	bds Madame Ray	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
149	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Janie Barnett, diseased prostitute. May Pfoffer Living in adultery with Fred Randal.	
7	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Pearle Taylor	W		
7	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Pearle Taylor	W		
16	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Ray Ennis	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	RF Bracco			
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Riedie Brown	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Riedle Brown	W		
151	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
151	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1923	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Negro house	
9	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Riedle Brown	W		
8	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1894	1894 City Directory	Rosa Adams	C		
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Rosa Moore	C		
37	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Rosa Moore	W		
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	1902 City Directory	Rosa Moore	W		
146	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Rosa Moore	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
154	Church Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Affidavit by Joseph M. Frey, Mrs. James W. Lentz, Madame . Formerly ran a brothel on West St.	
154	Church Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
154	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Ruby Lee	W		
158	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Ruby Lee	W		
158	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Ruby Lee	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Ruby Marlowe			
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Ruby Marlowe			
155	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	
156	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 55	
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Ruby Marlowe			
4	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Ruby Marlowe			
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Sadie Brooks	W		
10	West Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Sadie Brooks			

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Sadie Brooks			
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Sadie Brooks			
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Sadie Brooks			
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Sadie Brooks			
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Sadie Brooks			
31	Franklin Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1896	1896 City Directory	Sidney ME Browne	W		
152	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Sophia McAlpin	W		
152	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1887	1887 City Directory	Sophie McCalpin	W		
157	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 56	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
22	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Stella Sheppard	W		
156	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Stella Sheppard	W		
156	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Stella Sheppard			
22	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1910	1910 City Directory	Sylvia Chestnut	W		
14	Clifford Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1886	1886 City Directory	Susie Livingston	W	bds Madame Cook	
21	St Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1895	1895 City Directory	Sydney ME Browne	W		
31	Franklin Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1897	1897 City Directory	Sydney ME Browne	W		
22	Archdale Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1911	1911 City Directory	Sylvia Chestnut			
21	St Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1891	1891 City Directory	T. Isaacs	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
21	St Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	T. Isaacs	W		
21	St Philip Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1893	1893 City Directory	T. Isaacs	W		
11	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1892	1892 City Directory	Vadelle Stellers	W		
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Vera Richards	W		
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1903	1903 City Directory	Vera Richards	W		
160	Church Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Affidavit by Joseph M. Frey, Bessie Walker	
160	Church Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
160	Church Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Affadavit from Joseph Smith	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
163	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			"One inmate, Minnie" price \$5	
163	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
165	Market Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Juanita Berry, Living with Red Hood - pimp.	
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Vera Richards	W		
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1904	1904 City Directory	Vera Richards	W		
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1905	1905 City Directory	Vera Richards	W		
175	Calhoun Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 41	
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1906	1906 City Directory	Vera Richards	W		

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1907	1907 City Directory	Vera Richards	W		
177	Calhoun Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 41	
177	Meeting Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Carolina House. Assignment and bawdy house. Started by WM Durant from Greenville St.	
177	Meeting Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
197	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Beaver House. Finished rooms. Suspicious place.	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
3	Coming Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1908	1908 City Directory	Vera Richards	W		
108	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1914	1914 City Directory	Viola Banker			
220	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Corner of Market and Charles Streets. Second floor, charged \$5. From Affidavit by Joseph Wynn Smith, April 1920	
220	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1923	Thomas P. Stony Papers				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mada me Listed	Ra ce	Notes	Addres s Change Inform ation
220	King Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	192 0 - 192 1	Thom as P. Stony Papers			2nd Floor Mildred Orvin, Ida Wardell, Elizabeth Judy - out of town, Lillian Gray, Mrs. Simpson , young curly headed girl - investig ate. All from police record	
239	King Street	Charle ston	Sout h Carol ina	Unite d State s	192 3	Thom as P. Stony Papers				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
239	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Stag Hotel. Ollie Taylor, turned out of Timrod Inn, Mrs. Duncan, questionable, another girl	
247	Meeting Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Viola Banker		Listed as 13-15 Mazyck	
125	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1917	1917 City Directory	Viola Banker		Listed as 13-15 Mazyck	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
259	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Colored prostitutes, another house next door.\$2, caters to sailors	
259	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
259	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
269	East Bay Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
295	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Madame Mrs. Stokes	
295	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Mrs. Stokes, madam. Possible male prostitutes	

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1912	1912 City Directory	Viola Banker			
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1913	1913 City Directory	Viola Banker			
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1915	1915 City Directory	Viola Banker			
128	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1916	1916 City Directory	Viola Banker			
405	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
427	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Madame Listed	Race	Notes	Address Change Information
437	Meeting Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Investigate. Jessie Hatfield, Federal record in April, 1920, Maggie Bollo, Spends Saturday nights there with C.P.O. Another woman, taken to clinic by Jessie	
477	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				

Address	Street	City	State	Country	Date	Source	Mada me Listed	Ra ce	Notes	Addres s Change Inform ation
477	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Investigate. Katherine Edwards - Sailor's Wife - Federal record. Mrs. Hautmann - very suspicious	
577	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1922	Thomas P. Stony Papers				
624	King Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1920 - 1921	Thomas P. Stony Papers			Several women	
142A	Logan Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1902	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map			Sheet 51	
79	St. Philips Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1898	1898 City Directory	WG Fridie	C		
10	Fulton Street	Charleston	South Carolina	United States	1900	1900 City Directory	Willie Barton	W		

Appendix C

Excel Spreadsheet Data Collection Table for Charleston City Directory Arrest Records
for “Keeping a Disorderly House” from 1880 to 1940

Year	Charge	# of Arrests White Male	# of Arrests White Female	# of Arrests POC Male	# of Arrests POC Female	Total Arrests	Total White	Total POC	
1880	Disorderly Houses	2	8	9	11	30	10	20	
1881	Disorderly Houses	3	5	3	5	16	8	8	
1882	Disorderly Houses	2	1	2	0	5	3	2	
1883	Disorderly Houses			1		1	0	1	
1884	N/A					0	0	0	
1885	Keeping a Disorderly House	1	2			3	3	0	
1886	Keeping a Disorderly House	1				1	1	0	
1887	Keeping a Disorderly House	1	1	1		3	2	1	
1888	Keeping a Disorderly House	2		2	1	5	2	3	
1889	N/A					0	0	0	
1890	Disorderly Houses	1		2	2	5	1	4	
1891	Disorderly Houses		3		9	12	3	9	

Year	Charge	# of Arrests White Male	# of Arrests White Female	# of Arrests POC Male	# of Arrests POC Female	Total Arrests	Total White	Total POC	
1892	Disorderly House, Keeping		12		9	21	12	9	
1893	Keeping a Disorderly House	1			1	2	1	1	
1893	Keeping a House of Ill Fame		2	1	1	4	2	2	
1893	Keeping a Gambling House	2		2		4	2	2	
1894	Keeping a Disorderly House	2			3	5	2	3	
1894	Keeping a House of Ill Fame			1	6	7	0	7	
1895	Keeping a Disorderly House		1			1	1	0	
1895	Keeping a House of Ill Fame		1		1	2	1	1	
1895	Keeping a Gambling House			2		2	0	2	
1896	Keeping a Disorderly House		1			1	1	0	
1896	Keeping a Gambling House	2		3	1	6	2	4	
1897	N/A					0	0	0	

Year	Charge	# of Arrests White Male	# of Arrests White Female	# of Arrests POC Male	# of Arrests POC Female	Total Arrests	Total White	Total POC	
1898	Keeping a Disorderly House				3	3	0	3	
1899	Inmates of House of Ill Fame			6		6	0	6	
1899	Keeping a Disorderly House	1				1	1	0	
1899	Keeping a Gambling House			4		4	0	4	
1900	Keeping a Disorderly House		1			1	1	0	
1901	Keeping a Disorderly House				1	1	0	1	
1902	Keeping a Disorderly House			1		1	0	1	
1903	Keeping a Disorderly House		2	1	3	6	2	4	
1904	Keeping a Disorderly House				2	2	0	2	
1904	Keeping Gambling Houses	62				62	62	0	
1905	Keeping Gambling Houses	135		1		136	135	1	
1905	Keeping Disorderly Houses			1	1	2	0	2	

Year	Charge	# of Arrests White Male	# of Arrests White Female	# of Arrests POC Male	# of Arrests POC Female	Total Arrests	Total White	Total POC	
1906	Keeping Gambling Houses	105			1	106	105	1	
1906	Keeping Disorderly Houses	1	3			4	4	0	
1907	Keeping Gambling Houses	96				96	96	0	
1907	Keeping Disorderly Houses			1	12	13	0	13	
1908	Keeping Gambling Houses	72				72	72	0	
1909	Keeping Gambling Houses	107				107	107	0	
1910	Keeping Gambling Houses	127				127	127	0	
1910	Keeping Disorderly Houses				4	4	0	4	
1911	Gambling Houses	132				132	132	0	
1911	Keeping Disorderly Houses		1			1	1	0	
1912	Keeping Gambling Houses	136				136	136	0	
1913	Gambiling House Keeping	125		1		126	125	1	

Year	Charge	# of Arrests White Male	# of Arrests White Female	# of Arrests POC Male	# of Arrests POC Female	Total Arrests	Total White	Total POC	
1913	Keeping Disorderly Houses		1		1	2	1	1	
1914	Gambling House Keeping	115				115	115	0	
1914	Keeping a Disorderly House				1	1	0	1	
1915	Gambling house keeping	38				38	38	0	
1916	Disorderly house				3	3	0	3	
1917	Disorderly House	2	7	1	11	21	9	12	
1917	Keeping a Disorderly House	1		2		3	1	2	
1917	Keeping a Gambling House	2				2	2	0	
1918	Disorderly House		10	1		11	10	1	
1918	Keeping a Gambling House	8				8	8	0	
1919	Disorderly houses	1	1		5	7	2	5	
1919	Keeping Disorderly Houses				1	1	0	1	
1919	Keeping Gambling Houses	2		1		3	2	1	

Year	Charge	# of Arrests White Male	# of Arrests White Female	# of Arrests POC Male	# of Arrests POC Female	Total Arrests	Total White	Total POC	
1920	Keeping Gambling Houses	7		5		12	7	5	
1920	Disorderly Houses	3	2		3	8	5	3	
1921	Disorderly Houses	11	6	5	8	30	17	13	
1921	Keeping a Gambling House	1				1	1	0	
1921	Running Gambling House	2				2	2	0	
1922	Disorderly House	7	7	3	7	24	14	10	
1922	Driving Auto for Immoral Purposes	1				1	1	0	
1922	Keeping a Gambling House	4			1	5	4	1	
1923	Disorderly Houses	1	11	1	12	25	12	13	
1923	Keeping a Disorderly House	1				1	1	0	
1923	Keeping a Gambling House	1				1	1	0	
1923	Hauling Women for Immoral Purposes			1		1	0	1	
1924	Disorderly House		1	2	4	7	1	6	

Year	Charge	# of Arrests White Male	# of Arrests White Female	# of Arrests POC Male	# of Arrests POC Female	Total Arrests	Total White	Total POC	
1924	Keeping Gambling Houses	3		2		5	3	2	
1925	Keeping a Gambling House			2	1	3	0	3	
1928	Violation Mann Act	2	1			3	3	0	
1929	Violation Mann Act	2	2			4	4	0	
1932	Running disorderly house					2	0	0	
1933	Running disorderly house					7	0	0	
1934	Running disorderly house					4	0	0	
1935	Running disorderly house					9	0	0	
1935	Running Gambling House					2	0	0	
1934	Vio. Sec. 615-B (Ref. disorderly house)					4	0	0	
1935	Vio. U.S. Mann White Slave Act					2	0	0	
1931							0	0	

Year	Charge	# of Arrests White Male	# of Arrests White Female	# of Arrests POC Male	# of Arrests POC Female	Total Arrests	Total White	Total POC	
1936	Running disorderly house	3		2	1	6	3	3	
1937	Disorderly House			1	1	2	0	2	
1938	Disorderly Place	3	2	1	3	9	5	4	

Appendix D

Excel Spreadsheet Data Collection Table for Charleston City Year Books Syphilis Death

Records 1880-1906 by Month

Year	Cause of Death	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total Whit	Total POC	Total
		Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC	Whit POC			
1880	N/A													0	0	0
1881	Syphilis		1	1	1		1		1	1	1			1	6	0
1882	Syphilis	1			1		1		1		1	1	1	1	6	7
1883	Syphilis				1			1	1		2	1		1	5	7

Year	Cause of Death	Jan	Feb	Ma	Ap	Ma	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	No	Dec	Total Whi	Total P O	Total
		uary	ruary	rch	ril	y	e	y	t	tem	ber	ve	ember			
1884	Syphilis	2	1	2	1			2			1			1	8	6
1884	Syphilis, Congenital										1	1		1	1	9
1885	Syphilis	1	1	1			1		1	1	1			1	6	2
1886	Syphilis	2	1			1		1			1	1	2	5	4	7
188	Sy												2	0	2	9

Year	Cause of Death	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total Whit	Total POP	Total
		uary	ruary	rch	ril	y	e	y	ust	tem	ber	ember	ember			
87	ph ilis															
1887	Sy philis , Cong enital			1	1	1		1	3	1	1	4		0	13	2
1888	Sy philis	2	5	3	3	2	5	1	4	6	4	2	4	3	1	43
1889	Sy philis	2	1	1	1	2	2		5	4	1	3	1	0	23	44
1890	Sy ph	3	1	3	1		1	1	1	1		1	1	2	33	23

Year	Cause of Death	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	Ma	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	No	Dec	Total Whi	Total P O	Total
		uary	ruary	rch	ril	y	e	y	ust	tem	obe	ve	em			
1890	Syphilis, Congenital							2		1	1	2	1	0	7	16
1891	Syphilis		1	2	1				2	1		1	1	1	8	7
1891	Syphilis, Hered	2	1	1										0	4	9

Year	Cause of Death	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total Whit	Total POP	Total	
		uary	ruary	rch	ril	y	e	y	ust	tem	obe	ember	ember				
1891	Itariy Syphilis, Tertiary													0	1	4	
1892	Syphilis				1	1		1		1	1	1	1	3	4	1	
1893	Syphilis	1	1						2	2			1	1	2	6	7
1894	Syphilis		1				1	1	1		1		1	2	1	7	8

Year	Cause of Death	Month												Total Whistle	Total P O C I	Total			
		January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December						
1895	Syphilis				1	1	1	1					1	1			0	6	8
1896	Syphilis	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	5	2	2					1	20	26
1897	Syphilis				2	1	1		1	1	2	2			3		1	12	21
1898	Syphilis	2	3	2				1		2	1		1	4			4	12	13
1899	Syphilis	1	2	1	1	2	3		1	2		2	1	1	1		1	26	16
1900	Syphilis	1	1	4	1	2			2	1			1	1			0	4	18

Year	Cause of Death	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total Whit	Total P.O.C	Total
		uary	ruary	rch	ril	y	e	y	gust	tember	ober	ember	ember			
1901	Syphilis	1	3		2		2		2	2	2	2	3	0	19	14
1902	Syphilis		1	1	3		1	2	1		2	1	1	1	1	19
1903	Syphilis		1			1		1	2		2	1	2	2	8	16
1904	Syphilis	1	1	2	1		1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	10
1905	Syphilis	1		1							2	1			1	16
1906	Syphilis		1				1		2			1	3	0	8	5

Year	Cause of Death												Total White	Total POP	Total				
	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December							
1906																	0	1	8

Appendix E

Excel Spreadsheet Data Collection Table for Charleston City Year Books Syphilis Death

Records 1907-1935 by Gender

Year	Cause of Death	Total	White Total	POC Total
1907	Syphilis	14	4	10
1908	Syphilis	12	0	12
1909	Syphilis	11	2	9
1910	Syphilis	8	0	8
1911	Syphilis	13	2	11
1912	Syphilis	9	0	9
1913	Syphilis	26	3	23
1914	Syphilis	21	2	19
1915	Syphilis	41	6	35
1916	Syphilis	25	1	24
1917	Syphilis	22	2	20
1918	Syphilis	16	1	15
1919	Syphilis	16	1	15
1920	Syphilis	20	0	20
1921	Syphilis	24	0	24
1922	Syphilis	32	1	31
1923	Syphilis	17	1	16
1924	Syphilis	22	3	19
1925	Syphilis	13	0	13
1926	Syphilis	22	2	20
1927	Syphilis	22	1	21
1928	Syphilis	26	2	24
1929	Syphilis	51	3	48
1930	Syphilis	35	4	31
1931		0	0	0
1932	Syphilis		2	42
1933	Syphilis		2	50

1934	Syphilis		3	45
1935	Syphilis		1	49

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