

Appendix I

“Springfield A Wicked Old City”: The Rise of Vice in Illinois’ Capital City

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Springfield is no stranger to vice.¹ Although the local newspapers of the period make mention of prostitutes and “houses of ill fame” in the 1830s and 1840s, no such reference has been found relating to these activities in Springfield during that time. When the Capitol City published its new ordinances in October 1844 (Andrew McCormick being the mayor at the time), the first item in the list of “Special Ordinances” pertained to “Houses of Ill Fame.” Specifically, this ordinance identified a “bawdy house” as “a house or any apartment of a house for prostitution” and banned such bawdy houses from within the city limits. This ordinance, which also set a fine of \$10 for any person who maintained a bawdy house within the city limits, addressed the operators of such facilities (and not the workers or clients) (*Sangamo Journal*, October 10, 1844).²

It is not until the later 1850s that specific reference to illicit sexual activity taking place in Springfield is found in the local newspapers.³ The first reference to prostitutes working in Springfield in the newspapers occurred in January 1859. At that time, Harvey Taylor was accused of “keeping a house of ill fame, contrary to the ordinance...” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 21, 1859). Besides Taylor, one Frances Warren [or Warner], an “inmate of Taylor’s house,” was also arrested.⁴ Again in April 1859, Taylor was in front of the Circuit Court for

¹ In early November 1908, in response to the City’s recent riots the previous August, the evangelist Reverend P. H. McIntosh delivered a sermon at the Fourth Presbyterian Church. In his sermon, under a byline that read “Springfield A Wicked Old City,” he preached the need for a revival “to clean up this wicked old city” (“TO EVERY MAN HIS OWN WORK,” *Illinois State Register*, 6 November 1908, p. 6).

² By 1851, the fine had been raised to \$50.

³ Similarly, published histories contain very little information on prostitution in the Capitol City, and when mentioned it is generally brief and in reference to Madame Taylor. Hickey (1965:24) contains a paragraph relating to Madame Taylor’s activities in 1865 Springfield. Angle (1971:196) contains a single sentence that simply states “Houses of ill fame were numerous.” Russo (1983:21, 48-49) has a short reference to “Fort Taylor” (and Madame Lucinda), and discusses efforts to clean up the vice district in the early years of the twentieth century. Quinn (1991:63-64) briefly discusses the Taylors (and the problem of prostitution) during the Civil War years. Mann, Russo and Garvert (1996:94-95) contains a short chapter entitled “Walk on the Wild Side.” One of the more-lengthy discussions of prostitution in Springfield is by Mann (2008a-d) who discusses Harvey and Lucinda Taylors’ exploits.

⁴ The “inmate” arrested was variously referred to as Francis Warner, and Frances Warren. The 1857 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Harvey Taylor was a saloon operator residing on the north side of Madison Street, between Second and Third Streets. Lucinda Taylor purchased a house from James Weiss on the west side of Fourth Street on February 8, 1860. Weiss, a carpenter, purchased the lot from Isaac Diller in 1856, and may have constructed the house at this location sometime shortly thereafter. In February 1861, Lucinda purchased from Weiss the adjacent house to the north for the sum of \$1,000 (Mann 2008b:3).

“keeping a house of bad character on Adams street” (*Illinois State Register*, April 26, 1859; April 30, 1859). It is suspected that the “house of bad character” being operated by Harvey Taylor was a euphuism for a “house of ill fame.”⁵

Harvey Taylor’s “house of ill fame” was not the only business of its kind in Springfield at the time. On May 3, 1859, “the case of Mrs. Nash for keeping a house of ill fame, was tried before Justice Francis on yesterday. Of course, a large crowd assembled to hear the disgusting details of the case” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 3, 1859).⁶ This same newspaper noted that “Eight negroes [were] arrested in a den of iniquity, on Jefferson street....” Again, on July 21, 1859, The *Illinois State Register* reported that “Susan Weisert, a prostitute, was arrested for drunkenness and vagrancy, and sent to the lock up. Kate O’Hara, a notorious and utterly depraved prostitute who has infested our streets so long, was fined \$50, and sent up to work it out.”

During the ten years from 1850 to 1860, Springfield’s population had more than doubled in size, and the community was experiencing problems typically associated with larger communities.⁷ In August 1859, in an effort to curb some of these illicit activities, the City of Springfield passed “*An Ordinance in Relation to the Sale of Liquors, Gambling and Other Misdemeanors*” which, among other things, made those individuals who “contribute to the support of any disorderly, gaming or bawdy house, house of ill fame, or of assignation, or any place used for the practice of

⁵ In 1859, according to the news story, Taylor’s place of business was on Adams Street, “opposite the *Register* office....” Taylor may have been operating a saloon at this address, in conjunction with his “house.” In early May 1859, after refusing to allow several men to enter his place of business for a drink, an altercation ensued that resulted in a rather nasty shooting affair which injured at least two men. “Much indignation was felt against Taylor, and he was speedily arrested by officer Elkin; but returning with the officer to the house, on the plea of getting his breakfast before going to jail, he escaped out of the back door, and up to dark last evening, had eluded the search of the police” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 4, 1859). After his escape “the inmates of his house moved out yesterday, bed and baggage, though the later, we understand has been attached at the suit of Taylor’s bondsmen” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 5, 1859). A couple of days later, Harvey was re-arrested while trying to flee to Pana (located along the Illinois Central Railroad’s main line in Christian County—approximately 40 miles southeast of Springfield) (*Illinois State Journal*, May 7, 1859; May 9, 1859). While being returned to Springfield, his unnamed wife, and a woman named Ada Johnson, attempted to free him by unsuccessfully slipping him a revolver. Harvey’s trial was well covered in the local newspapers (*Illinois State Register*, May 10, 1859).

The 16-year old Ida Johnson was enumerated by the 1860 U.S. census as living within the Christian County community of Pana in that year. At that time, Johnson was living in a household of four young white women—all of whom were labeled with the appellation of “Fancy House.” The presumed “head” of the household was a 28-year old English-born woman named Jenny Soar. Living with Soar was Mary Alle (?) (a 29-year-old Ohio-born woman), Jenny Young (a 15-year-old Kentucky born woman), and Ida Johnson (a 16-year-old New York-born woman). All of the girls were listed as white, and none of them had any real estate evaluation. Only Jenny Soar had a personal property evaluation, consisting of \$50. Presumably, Harvey and his wife Lucinda had some connection with this “Fancy House” located in Pana, and may have been expanding their illicit activities to the Capital City.

⁶ The news article continued by noting that “a jury was duly summoned and about fifteen witnesses were examined, but none of them knew anything about Mrs. Nash or her house, and so accordingly the Jury brought in a verdict of acquitting the woman. It is a little singular that persons who when out of Court know so much of the character of the premises in question, remember so little when under oath” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 3, 1859).

⁷ Between 1850 and 1860, the population of Springfield more than doubled, increasing from approximately 4,500 individuals in 1850 to slightly over 9,300 in 1860. By the end of the Civil War, in 1865, the City of Springfield had reached a population of approximately 16,000 individuals—nearly doubling again in the five years from 1860-65 (Gross 1865).

fornication” a misdemeanor “subject to a penalty of not less than fifty dollars” (City of Springfield 1861:43).⁸ By late 1859, although no further occurrences are noted in the newspapers regarding specific illicit sexual activities in the Capitol City for that year, the need had apparently crossed the minds of some city fathers for a new ordinance. In mid-January 1860, the city council passed a new ordinance entitled “*An Ordinance Supplemental to Chapter Nineteen (XIX) of the Revised Ordinances of the City, Entitled Misdemeanors*” which was printed throughout the local newspapers that same month (and signed by then mayor William Jayne on January 16, 1860). For reasons unknown, this ordinance does not ban individuals from participating in illicit sexual activity within the community—but on the contrary—seems to condone it. Specifically, this ordinance stipulated that

No person shall be subject to the penalty prescribed in said section, or any penalty whatever for frequenting or being an inmate of any disorderly, gaming or bawdy house; house of ill fame or of assignation, or any place used for the practice of fornication... (*Illinois State Journal*, January 20, 1860).

Apparently, Harvey Taylor was not deterred very long from his chosen profession. In July 1860, the U.S. census enumerated the Harvey Taylor residence in Springfield. Even though Taylor had made a splash in the community with his criminal exploits the previous spring, he apparently was back at it operating another resort by the summer of 1860. By this time, Harvey had apparently relocated his “house” to a Fourth Street location.⁹ The 1860 U.S. census suggests that he had re-established a “house of ill fame” in Springfield by this date. This census listed the 38-year old Harvey, his 35-year old wife, Louise (aka Lucinda), and their two-year old, Illinois-born son (Alfonzo) within the household. According to the census, both Harvey and Louise had been born in Ohio. Although Harvey’s occupation was listed simply as “Boarding House,” one must question whether this, too, was a euphuism for “house of ill fame” as living within this same dwelling—albeit in a separate “household” listing—were four young white women named Jenny Jackson (a 22-year old dress maker from Ohio), Rosa Smith (a 28-year old French-born woman), Martha Davis (a 19-year old domestic from Ireland), and Kate Holliday (a 16-year old domestic from Germany). The presence of the four young women in the house strongly suggests that Mr. Taylor and his wife were operating a “house of ill fame” at this location by that date.

As one might suspect, the ordinance passed in January 1860 condoning illicit behavior in the local bordellos did not persist for very long, as it was appealed in March 1861, slightly over one

⁸ The wording of this portion of the amendment appears to have first appeared in late 1856 (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, September 27, 1856). Specifically, it reads “*Be it enacted by the City Council of the city of Springfield: That whoever shall, within the city of Springfield, or within two miles of said city, keep, maintain, frequent, be an inmate of, or connected with, or contribute to the support of any disorderly, gaming or bawdy house, house of ill fame, or of assignation, or any place used for the practice of fornication, or shall knowingly suffer or permit any premises owned or occupied by him, or under his contrroll [sic], to be used for any such purposes shall be subject to a penalty of not less than fifty dollars.*”

⁹ The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that the H. Taylor residence was located on the west side of Fourth Street, between Madison and Gemini (Carpenter) Streets. The 1863 city directory simply states that the house was located on North Fourth Street. The 1866 city directory notes that the house was located on the west side of Fourth Street, seven houses north of Madison. It is odd that the 1866 city directory lists Harvey Taylor as a “farmer.” The 1868 *Springfield City Directory* indicates the Harvey residence as being located at 93 North Fourth Street.

year after its initial passage (Gross 1865).¹⁰ Just prior to its repeal, the exploits of one Jenny Gray appear in the local newspapers. In late January 1861, Jenny Gray was arrested for “keeping a disreputable house,” and soon was tried “for keeping a house of ill-fame.” Much to the dismay of the prosecutors, she apparently was acquitted of charges as “there was not sufficient testimony to establish the charge” (*Illinois State Register*, January 29, 1861; January 30, 1861). Again in February 1861, she was fined \$50 for “presiding over a disreputable establishment” (*Illinois State Register*, February 11, 1861). By early 1861, without a doubt, Harvey and Lucinda Taylor were clearly in the prostitution business in Springfield by that time. In March of that year, Harvey Taylor “and his amiable Lucinda [were] both arraigned for superintending the management of a bawdy house in this city” (*Illinois State Register*, March 20, 1861).

The repeal of the later referenced ordinance was none-too-soon. Only a couple of months after its appeal, on April 12, 1861, Confederate forces fired upon Fort Sumter in South Carolina, and on April 15th President Abraham Lincoln called for the recruitment of 75,000 soldiers for putting down the rebellion. The following day, April 16th, Governor Yates appealed to the citizens of Illinois for 6,000 volunteers to meet President Lincoln’s call for volunteers. Over the next four years, nearly 260,000 soldiers were recruited from Illinois—a large percentage of them passing through Springfield on their way to the front lines.¹¹

Though located far from the battlefields of the American Civil War, Springfield, Illinois made an important contribution to the Union’s successful war effort. For a variety reasons—including its role as State Capital, its rail connections, and the equally important political consideration of it being President Abraham Lincoln’s hometown—Springfield was selected by the U. S. Government to serve as a military training and supply center during the war. Camp Yates was established on the west side of the city in April 1861, and it was here that Ulysses S. Grant received his first commission during the war. This encampment shortly was succeeded as the primary military facility in the area by Camp Butler, which was located six miles east of Springfield and served as one of two primary training centers in Illinois (the other being Camp Douglas in Chicago). Ultimately, an estimated 200,000 Illinois troops would process through Camp Butler, which also was used as a Confederate prisoner-of-war camp for a time. Aside from this, several prominent Springfield industries were awarded government contracts to supply war materials, including uniforms and general commodities.

Springfield may have been on the home-front, yet the city still regularly was exposed to the war through its war-related facilities and industries, the steady stream of soldiers passing through it, and the volatile political climate created by the conflict. The war, for all of its destructive tendencies, was a decided boon to the local economy on multiple levels. Major industries were obvious benefactors, but the war also generated opportunities for more mundane, if not illicit, businesses. Concentrations of single young men in a community required outlets for leisure activity, and this need became more pronounced in a war-time setting. Bars, saloons, and houses

¹⁰ See published notice of proposed new ordinance at *Illinois State Register* (21 January 1860, p. 2).

¹¹ Springfield was one of the main debarkation points for Illinois soldiers during the Civil War, in part due to the presence of the state Capitol, as well as the Chicago and Alton Railroad line (see also Mansberger and Stratton 2014).

of prostitution were available for their use in Springfield. The number of such businesses present in the city prior to 1861 is poorly documented, but it undoubtedly increased during the war when Camp Butler barracked several thousand male troops at any one time and many other veterans were passing through Springfield on their way home on furlough or after mustering out.

Contemporary accounts of soldiers causing troubles at saloons or houses of prostitution are quite common in the Springfield newspapers during these years. Almost immediately after the initiation of the conflict and the arrival of troops in Springfield, the local newspapers began carrying news stories about the presence of “bawdy houses” in town. One of the first occurred only two weeks after Governor Yates’ call for volunteers. The *Illinois State Journal* (April 30, 1861) wrote that

Two soldiers from one of the Chicago companies visited the fancy house kept by Jennie Gray, on the Great Western Railroad, this morning, and signaled their entrance by a cruel and unprovoked attack upon a boy who was on the premises, beating him severely, and pursuing him, all over the yard maltreating him in various ways. They also attacked a colored man who made his appearance, and beat him considerably, when he drew a knife and stabbed one of the ruffianly assailants in the leg, inflicting a deep, but not dangerous, wound. The soldiers were brought to the calaboose, but released on the solicitation of the commanding officer, who promised to keep them in camp under strict guard for the future.

As noted earlier, Jennie Gray apparently had established a bawdy house in Springfield sometime earlier, perhaps in late 1860 or very early 1861. The location of her “house of ill fame” along the route of the Great Western Railroad (the current Tenth Street rail corridor) was no coincidence. A location adjacent to the depot would have been an opportune location for Madame Gray’s “house” given the numerous male travelers coming and going through the Great Western Depot (located at the southwest corner of Monroe and Tenth Streets)—a situation that increased dramatically after the influx of soldiers during the Civil War. Additionally, the great influx of young men to Springfield during these years resulted in the movement of young women from the surrounding communities into the Capitol City. The very same issue of the *Illinois State Journal* (April 30, 1861) also carried a story about a Mary Walter, which stated that she was

rather a good looking Dutch girl, somewhat stumpy, but on the whole prepossessing. She came from Chicago on Friday last, and was captured on the streets Saturday night, in company with several soldiers, and indulging in conduct very unbecoming in a lady. She claims to have a father and several brothers in the camp, but the Justice regarded this as a mere pleasant fiction of Mary’s, and accordingly remanded her back to the city prison for a short time, in the hope that she would resolve to discard the bad company and ways of living she has been indulging in. We certainly hope she will.

A couple of months later, a disastrous fire struck downtown Springfield “issuing from the rear of a livery stable on Washington street, between Seventh and Eighth, the property of Henry Carrigan...” (*Illinois State Journal*, April 22, 1861). Among the buildings destroyed by that fire was Withey’s new carriage manufactory, as well as “a brick building occupied by Aggie Preston

as a house of ill-fame. The furniture in the house was most removed, the occupants however, were obliged to complete their toilets in the street, so rapid was the progress of the fire” (*Illinois State Journal*, April 22, 1861).¹²

By the spring of 1861, Harvey and Lucinda Taylor were operating their “house” on the west side of Fourth Street, north of Madison (*Springfield City Directory* 1860, 1863).¹³ Apparently by this date, the young Miss Ida Johnson—who had earlier tried to slip a revolver to Harvey while in police custody—was operating a competing “house” within relatively close proximity—her “house” being located at the corner of First and Madison Streets (*Springfield City Directory* 1863).¹⁴ Both houses were located northwest of the central business district—probably located in this vicinity due to the proximity to the Chicago and Alton Depot. It appears that Ida and Lucinda were once friends and/or co-workers who had come to Springfield together, with Harvey, in circa 1859-60.¹⁵ Within a short time of their arrival in Springfield, the two women apparently had become fierce rivals of each other—with Harvey apparently taking “favors” from both his wife and the much younger Ida. By mid-June 1861, the rivalry had become violent, with “Mrs. Harvey Taylor, in a fit of jealous anger, fired upon Mrs. Ada Johnson with a shotgun. The load of buckshot killed Mrs. Johnson’s riding horse, and she was slightly wounded, but she procured a pistol and returned the fire. Mrs. Taylor was not injured. Officers disarmed both women” (*Illinois State Journal*, June 23, 1861, as reprinted in June 23, 1928). The following

¹² Although the 1860 *Springfield City Directory* does not list an Aggie Preston, it does note that the Withey carriage factory was located on the south side of Washington Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. As the fire spread west from the carriage factory, the Preston “house” appears to have been located along the south side of Washington Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets, approximately 1-1½-blocks east of the public square—not quite half way between the Great Western Depot and the Courthouse.

¹³ By this date, Lucinda owned two side-by-side houses, both of which may have been operating as resorts under her guidance at the time. In May 1861, several soldiers were arrested for throwing bricks at “Taylor’s institution.” At the court hearing, “Madame Taylor drove up to the magistrate’s office in one of the finest vehicles to be found in the city, and delivered her evidence with as much effrontery as if were one of the most orderly and respectable persons in the city. Will the time never come when this insufferable nuisance shall be abated, or at least not allowed to flaunt so barely in the eyes of decent people” (*Illinois State Journal* May 18, 1861).

North Fourth Street had more than one “bawdy houses” in operation in 1861. In October of that year, The *Illinois State Journal* reported that an Isaac Sisson, “the proprietor of a den of infamy on North Fourth street,” was fined \$50 and costs “for keeping a bawdy house” at that location (*Illinois State Journal* October 10, 1861). Mann (2008:4) indicates that “the stretch along north Fourth Street where Taylor’s house was located was considered the sinkhole of the city, being infested with ‘bawdy houses.’”

¹⁴ Unlike Harvey Taylor, Ida Johnson does not appear listed in the 1860 *Springfield City Directory* (apparently still residing in Pana at that date). Miss Ida Johnson first appears listed in the 1863 *Springfield City Directory*. Both the 1863 and 1864 city directories indicate that Miss Ida Johnson was residing at the corner of First and Madison Streets (*Springfield City Directory* 1864). In 1866, the city directory indicates that Ada Johnson was living at the southwest corner of Madison and First Streets. In 1868, the *Springfield City Directory* notes that the widow, Mrs. I. Johnson, was residing on Madison street, near Klein.

¹⁵ Harvey Taylor and Lucinda Johnson were married on August 1, 1852 in Clark County (Mann 2008:5). In 1850, Lucinda was living in Clark County within the Thomas and Sarah Johnson household. In that year, Lucinda was 22-years old and had a 3-year old son named Simpson. As Mann (2008) suggests, Lucinda may have been an unmarried daughter, or daughter-in-law of the Johnsons. The young Ida Johnson—who would have been about 6 years old in 1850, is not enumerated. It seems reasonable to suspect that, as Ida and Lucinda shared a common last name, they were probably related to one another in some form.

day, the *Illinois State Journal* noted, in a tongue-and-cheek manner, that “Madame Lucinda Taylor [who] has previously been immortalized in these columns... we record the humiliating fact that this distinguished and universally respected lady passed the weary hours of last night and the night before in the solitude of a cell in Sangamon county jail. Listen to the sad story of her disgrace, young men and maidens of Springfield, and take warning from her example. It is a current belief amongst certain malignant and evil-disposed people of this city that the establishment over which Mr. Harvey Taylor and Madame Lucinda preside is not of a character to warrant its being on the visiting list of fashionable people.” The reporter continued by writing that “there is another similar institution, conducted by Mademoiselle [sic] Ada Johnson, which Harvey occasionally visits, much to the annoyance of his loving spouse...” (*Illinois State Journal*, June 24, 1861).¹⁶ At this time, the two competing “houses of ill fame” were colloquially known as Forts Taylor and Johnson (cf. *Illinois State Register*, October 14, 1864; October 21, 1864; January 24, 1865).

It appears that Madame Taylor befriended another “prominent” Springfield woman fairly soon upon arriving in Springfield. That woman’s name was Emeline Gladden (alias Emma Nash) “who readily” put up bail for Mrs. Taylor in June 1861 (*Illinois State Journal* June 25, 1861).¹⁷ Earlier that same month, the local newspaper reported that Emeline Gladden, “better known as Emma Nash” was fined \$50 and costs “for keeping a house of ill-fame.” The newspaper continued by noting that “this is the first pull the police have had on Emma for some time,” suggesting that she may have been in the business for some time prior to this June 1861 date (*Illinois State Journal*, June 11, 1861). The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that Mrs. Emma Nash resided on the east side of Eighth Street, between Washington and Jefferson Streets—which would have placed her within a block of the house operated by Aggie Preston on Washington Street. The 1860 U.S. census enumerated the Emma Gladden household, which in late July 1860 consisted of Emma Gladden (31 years of age and Illinois-born), Ada Smith (a 20-year old female seamstress from New York), Martha Stewart (a 22-year old Black servant from Alabama),¹⁸ and Dick Nash (a 3-year old Black child born in Illinois).¹⁹ Emma Gladden, who

¹⁶ This jealous feud between these two madames continued for some time. The September 24, 1861 issue of the *Illinois State Journal* reported on a riding accident that occurred and nearly resulted in the death of the “frail Ada.” Harvey Taylor had given the horse to Ada. The accident occurred while riding in a buggy under the care of a certain African-American servant, who was subsequently beaten severely by Harvey for his “negligence” (*Illinois State Journal*, September 24, 1861; September 25, 1861). Again in October 1863, Lucinda fired shots at Ada (*Illinois State Journal*, October 26, 1863; October 27, 1863), and in 1863, Emma Nash posted bail for Lucinda Taylor.

¹⁷ “Madame Taylor was brought yesterday [in front of the court] and was “held to bail in the sum of \$500. Her friend, Emeline Gladden, alias Emma Nash, readily went her security, and the madame [sic] was out taking the air in her buggy yesterday afternoon, in the delectable society of her loving spouse” (*Illinois State Journal*, June 25, 1861). In February 1863, Harvey and Lucinda Taylor deeded their two houses and associated lots to Emmaline Gladden for the sum of \$5,000—perhaps as collateral to secure bail paid by Emma. Two weeks later Emma deeded the property back to the Taylors for only \$500 (Mann 2008: Part III, 5).

¹⁸ The June 3, 1862 issue of the *Illinois State Journal* noted that “Martha Stewart became incensed against Mary Hall, and used language calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. [She was] Fined \$5 and costs.” Later, in September of that same year, the *Illinois State Journal* noted that a Maggie Stuart had been committed to jail on the charge of stealing \$25 from Harvey Taylor. Maggie was “an inmate of the house of Harvey Taylor.” One might question if the Martha Stewart enumerated in the 1860 census in the Gladden household may not be the same individual—and thus documents the character of the Gladden household at that 1860 date (*Illinois State Journal*, June 3, 1862; September 24, 1862).

was listed as the head of the household, was operating a boarding house with a real estate evaluation of \$2,500 and personal property value of \$1,400—both of which were exceptionally high for the time, suggesting that the Gladden/Nash “house of ill fame” may have been a fairly upscale resort well established by the mid-summer of 1860.²⁰ The 1860 census also enumerated the presence of a 34-year old “Fancy Girl” named Bridget Kyle as “residing” within the city calaboose at this time.

By the early months of the Civil War, it would appear that there were at least three prominent “houses of ill fame” in Springfield at that time. The competing “houses” operated by Harvey and Lucinda Taylor, and that operated by Ada (aka Ida) Johnson—known as Forts Taylor and Johnson, respectively—were located in the northwest corner of the city in close proximity to the Chicago and Alton Railroad depot. In February 1865, at least twenty-two women (also known as “W.E.V’s, or “Women of Easy Virtue”) were working between the two “houses” (*Illinois State Journal*, February 16, 1865). The other well-known establishment was that operated by Emma Gladden (aka Nash) on South Eighth Street (between Washington and Jefferson Streets). The *Illinois State Journal* noted the arrests and fines placed on Lady Ada Johnson, Gentleman Harvey Taylor, and Lady Emma Nash for “keeping a disreputable house” (*Illinois State Journal*, July 24, 1861).²¹ Other less prominent houses were, no doubt, also present in the community during these years. By the middle 1860s, two distinct areas of the community had developed into what might be called “red light districts”—one near the Chicago and Alton depot, the other

¹⁹ If this young boy was, indeed, Emma’s child it would suggest that she may have been living with an African-American man at one time. It would appear that Emma would be going by the Nash name within a short time after the 1860 census was taken. In the very late 1860s or early 1870s, she married a man named William Chatten [Chatten]. For a time during the middle 1870s, Emma appears to have taken the surname Taylor. Sometime circa 1872, Madam Nash vacated her Eighth Street location, and relocating her business to a new Madison Street location. Initial directory listings place her at 262 Madison (between Ninth and Tenth Streets), whereas later directories locate her at 915 East Madison Street. Both descriptions appear to document the same Madison Street location (SCD 1872, 1875, 1876). The 1876 Springfield City Directory is coded, indicating that the Emma Taylor at this Madison Street location was a prostitute.

²⁰ The three houses enumerated immediately ahead of the Gladden household was that of Rachel Clay (a 47-year old Black wash woman from Missouri), Harriet May (a 54-year old Black wash woman from Maryland), and Nancy Freeman (a 42-year old white wash woman from North Carolina). The Clay household included Mary (8 years old), Adaline (14-years old) and Sarah (19 years old)—all born in Missouri, and John Haywas (?) (20-year old Black man) and his one-month old daughter (Eveline)—both from Illinois. The May family included David (14-years old) and Eveline Haywas (?) (a 22-year old Black woman from Alabama). The 1860 *Springfield City Directory* notes that Harriet May resided on the west side of Eighth Street between Washington and Jefferson Streets. In total, approximately 13 Black individuals were living among these four families near this Eighth Street location—making it a relatively large enclave of Black individuals in 1860 Springfield. By early 1870, this area along Eighth Street (south of Jefferson) was referred to as Greasy Row, and was the location of many altercations between the police and a variety of unruly visitors to the neighborhood (cf. “Police Matters,” *Illinois State Journal*, 21 June 1870, p. 3). The dilapidated frame tenements on Eighth Street that comprised Greasy Row were demolished in late 1875 (*Illinois State Register*, 26 October 1875, p. 4). Shortly thereafter, in 1876, the newspapers noted the presence of a “second Greasy Row,” located along north Ninth Street, between Madison and Jefferson Streets (*Illinois State Journal*, 29 April 1876, p. 4).

²¹ Although Ada Johnson and Harvey Taylor were both fined, a change of venue to Christian County for Lady Emma Nash was obtained “owing to imputations against her character for chastity in the *Journal* and *Register*...” (*Illinois State Journal*, July 24, 1861).

half-way between the Great Western depot and the central business district. These “houses” continued in operation throughout the duration of the war years.

The end of the Civil War brought a fairly abrupt end to the careers of Harvey and Lucinda Taylor, and Ada Johnson.²² Business quickly dropped off, and on August 22, 1865, the City of Springfield passed an ordinance declaring “certain houses in the Second Ward, owned by Ida J. Reynolds *alias* Ida Johnson, and Lucinda Taylor, and kept as houses of ill fame, be declared nuisances, and the city police be instructed to remove such nuisances and call on any citizen to aid them” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 22, 1865). Subsequent news stories suggest that the City of Springfield was not immediately successful in demolishing the Johnson and Taylor “houses of ill fame.” Nonetheless, the Taylor house was put up for sale at a sheriff’s sale in May 1866 (*Illinois State Register* April 26, 1866). Whether the sale ever went forward is not known. Similarly, whether it was a result of the city ordinance or not is also unknown. The Harvey-Lucinda relationship became further estranged in early 1867 with Harvey threatening the life of his wife in January of that year (*Illinois State Register*, January 4, 1867). Nonetheless, Lucinda was still practicing her trade with minimally five W.E.V. inmates in March 1867, suggesting that the Taylors may not have lost their house after all (*Illinois State Journal*, March 18, 1867). The last raid of the Taylor “house of ill fame” reported within the local newspapers occurred on May 13, 1867 (*Illinois State Journal*, May 13, 1867). The big downfall of the Taylors occurred shortly after that time, in September 1867, when the couple (with the assistance of Lucinda’s son) robbed the dry goods firm of W. H. Johnson and Company of over \$7,000 worth of silk, and the auction house of H. C. Meyers and Son of \$300-\$500 worth of jewelry, knives, and pistols (*Illinois State Journal*, January 18, 1868). Eventually, after escaping from jail and being recaptured, Harvey Taylor was convicted and sentenced to six years in jail, only to be pardoned by Governor Palmer in 1873 (*Illinois State Register*, January 13, 1869; *Illinois State Journal*, January 4, 1873). Lucinda Taylor was released from jail “on condition that she leave the State immediately”—a condition that she ignored (*Illinois State Journal*, January 14, 1869; *Illinois State Register*, March 8, 1869). By 1872, Lucinda Taylor was “pursuing her career of crime in Chicago where she “re-appeared among the criminal classes of Chicago. A day or two since she was arrested and convicted on a charge of enticing young girls to a life of crime, and appears to be pursuing her criminal career with energy, and in defiance of the law and its officers” (*Illinois State Register*, September 14, 1872).

Life for Ida Johnson was also in transition, albeit a bit less dramatic. In late December 1864, a serious altercation between Ida and a couple of soldiers in her “house” resulted in her shooting one of the soldiers who subsequently died from his wounds. Ida was arrested but soon acquitted with a determination that the shooting was in self-defense (*Illinois State Journal*, December 31, 1864; January 2, 1865). In early February 1864, the Register noted the community’s concern about the presence of the rampant prostitution in the community.²³ In the subsequent February

²² On April 9, 1865, the Army of North Virginia, under the command of General Robert E. Lee, surrendered to General U.S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia—thus initiating a series of events leading to the eventual cessation of the conflict. It was not until May 26, 1865 that the majority of the Confederate troops had surrendered. Naval troops aboard the *CSS Shenandoah* did not surrender until November 1865 (in Liverpool, England), and it was not until late August 1866 that President Andrew Johnson formally declared the war ended.

²³ The *Register* wrote that “there seems to be a very deep and decided feeling in this community at present in reference to the houses of ill fame that infest our city, and all good citizens are asking the question ‘What can be

of 1865, both Forts Taylor and Johnson were raided, with a total of 22 inmates being arrested collectively between the two “houses” (*Illinois State Journal*, February 16, 1865). Again, in early August 1865 Ida’s “house” was raided. At that time, she had only six working women present—potentially documenting the sharp decline in her business over the past few months. City raids were few in number in 1866 and subsequent years. A raid in late October of that year resulted in only seven W.E.V.’s (inmates) being arrested between both Lucinda’s and Ida’s “houses” (*Illinois State Journal*, October 27, 1866). Both houses were again raided in very early 1867, with seven inmates from the Taylor “house” and only 4 from the Johnson “house” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 8, 1867). Again in 1868, the police raided the Johnson establishment only twice. During the first of those raids (on February 4th), Ida had only two inmates present, and on the second raid (on September 3rd), she had only three inmates present (*Illinois State Journal*, February 4, 1868; September 3, 1868). No further notices were published regarding Ida Johnson’s infamous “house of ill fame.” On September 8, 1868, the newspapers reported on a fire that destroyed several buildings, including the barn on Ida’s property.²⁴

Whereas the sporting establishments located in the northwest quarter of the city seem to have been eliminated—or greatly curtailed—by circa 1869, those within the near east side of Springfield continued to flourish. Lady Emma Nash’s “house” was located along the east side of the 100-block of South Eighth Street (north of Washington Street), in an area that became known as Greasy Row by 1870. A resort persisted at this location well into the later nineteenth century.²⁵ Aggie Preston’s house, which was destroyed by fire in 1861, was also located in this immediate area (along Washington Street).

done to abate or extirpate this enormous evil?’ It is possible that it cannot be extirpated, but there can be not doubt that it may be very materially abated, and at least kept out of sight of the public eye” (*Illinois State Register*, 10 February 1864, p. 2). The article proceeded to argue that it was not the women occupying the resorts that warranted punishment, but the owners of the facilities which were raking in enormous profits. The *Register* further noted one of the owners (presumably Mr. Harvey Taylor) “has cleared over \$4,000 since the arrival of the first returned veteran regiment, and that his gains are now upwards of \$2,000 a week!” (

²⁴ Although the August 1865 city ordinance suggested that Ida Johnson had married a man named Reynolds by that date, she apparently continued to operate the business under her name. Although the 1866 *Springfield City Directory* had indicated that Ada Johnson was living at the southwest corner of Madison and First Streets, the 1868 city directory indicated that the widow Mrs. I. Johnson was residing on Madison Street, near Klein. The 1869 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that A. J. Johnson was residing at the southwest corner of Madison and First Streets. Ida was not listed within the 1872 *Springfield City Directory*. The December 23, 1869 issue of the *Illinois State Register* indicates that Ida Johnson Reynolds owed for taxes on Lot 1, Block 1 of J. Mason’s Addition to Springfield (*Illinois State Register*, December 23, 1869). After that date, no further news items have been located regarding Ida’s activities.

²⁵ The Nash “resort” appears to have been in operation at this address by July 1860, being operated at that time by Emma Gladden (aka Emma Nash). By 1872, Emma Nash had relocated her “house of ill fame” to the north side of Madison Street, mid-way between Ninth and Tenth Streets (what eventually became 915 E. Madison Street and later the location of Mabel Baxter’s infamous resort). Lady Nash’s original “house of ill fame” located within the 100 block of South Eighth Street appears to have continued under the management of Maggie Brown. “Big Maggie” Brown operated her resort from this location for nearly 40 years (from circa 1872 through circa 1910). As such, the house at this Eighth Street location was in operation as a “house of ill fame” from minimally July 1860 through at least early 1910 (every bit of 50 years duration). At what point after circa 1910 the building was no longer functioning as a resort is unknown. This house, which was variously described as a “mansion” and a “palace,” was destroyed by fire in 1915 (*Illinois State Register*, December 8, 1915, p. 5). At the time of the fire, the house (118 North Eighth Street) was listed as “a house formerly occupied by ‘Mag’ Brown, who conducted the place as a house

In 1868, a greatly enlarged new Wabash depot was constructed along the west side of the Tenth Street corridor, extending the length of the entire block from Jefferson to Washington Streets.²⁶ A new stretch of street, appropriately named Wabash Alley, was constructed along the west side of the depot allowing access to the building. The construction of this new depot gave impetus for the commercial development of Washington Street—a district that quickly became known for its saloons, pawn shops, gambling dens, and “houses of ill fame” (and nicknamed the *Levee*). Additionally, the laying of track down the center of Madison Street and the construction of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Depot (along the north side of the 200 block of East Madison Street) further helped to isolate this “Near East” neighborhood and to funnel new clientele into the district.

By 1875, the City’s fight with vice—which appears to have taken on a new vigor shortly after the end of the Civil War—was an on-going struggle that many of the city’s inhabitants thought they were probably losing. In August 1875, the *Illinois State Register* carried the following story.

LIVELY TIMES. The Police on Saturday and Sunday nights pulled the houses of prostitution presided over respectively by Mag. Brown, Fanny Peebles, Lavinia Girard, Cynthia Myers, Clara Lee, Jessie Brown, Eva Montague, Kate Robbins and Emma Taylor. Add to these the “inmates,” male and female, captured, and a very few “drunk and disorderlies” [sic] that were taken in, and you will have a total of seventy-five, which seem to indicate that the social evil is not yet quite extinct in the city (*Illinoi State Register*, August 23, 1875).

Seven of these nine “houses of ill fame” noted in this article were located within the two-block area soon to be referenced as the *Levee*.²⁷ These “houses of ill fame”—which were all operated

of prostitution.” It as was described as “an old building and the loss will not exceed \$1500. The place was owned by Jacob Goldstein.” Oh, what stories that house could have told! In 1909, the house across the street (at 121-123 North Eighth Street) was operated by Madam Helen Payne, who was described by Clark as an “old Jesebel” (see Clark 1910, Mann, Russo, and Garvert 1996:94). Payne appears to have been operating from this location through at least early 1912, after which she no longer appears within the pages of the local newspaper.

²⁶ The 1867 *Bird’s Eye of Springfield* illustrates this block with a limited number of structures—and oddly devoid of trees (Ruger 1867). The circa 1873 *Bird’s Eye View of Springfield* illustrates the recently completed depot.

²⁷ In circa 1872, Mag Brown took over Emma Nash’s resort on the east side of the 100-block of South Eighth Street. Fanny Peebles “house” was located along South Washington Street, two houses east of Eighth Street by 1875. In 1876, the “house” had an address of 814 East Washington Street. Lavinia Gerard had a “resort” at 818 East Washington Street by 1876. Cynthia Myers was variously located on the west side of Ninth Street, between Washington and Jefferson Streets in 1873, at the southeast corner of Eighth and Washington Streets in 1874, and at 103 North Ninth Street in 1876. Clara Lee—who most likely was Cora Lee—was residing at 114 South Ninth Street in 1876. An Annie Lee was listed that same year as residing at 103 North Ninth Street—the same address as the Myers resort. In 1876, a Minnie and Mattie Lee were noted as residing at 915 and 910 East Madison Street (one of which was the location of Emma Nash’s new house; see discussion below). A Kittie Robbins (perhaps the Kate Robbins mentioned in the article) was listed as residing at 898 East Jefferson Street in 1876. All of these addresses are located in what was to become known as the *Levee* in circa 1875-76. In 1874, Jessie Brownie was operating a “house” at 1016 East Mason Street, but by 1879, she had relocated to 729 East Jefferson Street—a location along the north edge of the *Levee* in which she remained for many years.

by white women, with white working girls—seem to have clustered near the Jefferson and Eighth Street intersection (and the location of the infamous Emma Nash’s and Maggie Brown’s resort). By the early 1870s, this area had become known as Greasy Row. Although many of the frame tenement buildings south of Jefferson Street along the west side of Eighth Street were demolished in 1875, the illicit activity continued at this location unabated for many years to come. By 1880, at least three “houses” were located in the 700 block of East Jefferson, one within the 800 block of East Jefferson, and others located along Eighth and Ninth Streets in close proximity to Washington or Jefferson Streets. By 1884, a large “Fancy House” with attached saloon had been constructed fronting Jefferson Street (806-808 Jefferson), and a large “Dancing Hall” extended from the rear of the “house” south to the alley, and immediately behind Maggie Brown’s resort.²⁸ The illicit commercial activity of this two-block area located north of Washington Street (much of which fronted Jefferson Street and operated by white entrepreneurs) developed hand-in-hand with the Washington Street Commercial District—otherwise known as the *Levee*. It would appear that this illicit “red-light” district had its beginnings in the Civil War era resorts established in this area, and pre-dated the development of the commercial establishments fronting Washington Street.

Springfield’s Levee: Post Civil War Development of the Black Commercial District

Washington Street, which fronted the northern edge of the Public Square (and the State Capitol building), extended east four blocks to the Tenth Street rail corridor. With the construction of the new Wabash Depot at the intersection of Washington and Tenth Streets, the commercial establishments along East Washington Street began expanding east from the Public Square. By the early 1870s, this “near east” neighborhood consisted of a mixed residential and industrial character. Located at the southeast corner of Seventh and Jefferson Streets was a large grist mill complex (the Exchange Mill). The Withey Brothers carriage manufactory, which had burned in 1861, was rebuilt near the southeast corner of Eighth and Washington Streets (along the south side of Washington Street). In the adjacent block, fronting the north side of Washington Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets were both the Booth and McCosker’s Wagon Works and Jonathan Foster’s Livery and Undertaking business. Across the street, at the southwest corner of Washington and Ninth Streets, was the street car stables and car house. Interspersed among these industrial establishments were several small frame dwellings (many labeled “tenements”) as well as small shops occupied by tradesmen (barbers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, undertakers) and an occasional merchant (grocer). Several large boarding houses and small hotels were located along Seventh Street. At the northeast corner of Seventh and Adams Streets was the large Everett House hotel, and at the southeast corner of Seventh and Washington Streets was the Jefferson House. Dispersed among these industrial properties was a mix of residential housing occupied by a variety of working class families. Over the next twenty years, this stretch of East Washington Street between Seventh and Ninth Streets was re-developed with a second generation of commercial buildings fronting both sides of the street. This secondary commercial

²⁸ The early resort operated by Emma Nash (and later Maggie Brown) fronted Eighth Street and by 1884 backed up against this large dance hall. The combination restaurant, saloon, and dance hall was constructed by W. D. Longnecker in 1880, who was frequently charged with operating a bawdy house, and house of prostitution in his establishment. Other owners of this establishment, and/or additional nearby saloons, may have included Peter Burns (1880), Thomas Sheedy (pre 1890), W. J. Ward (circa 1890), and Dan Smith (1890s).

district—known in the community as the *Levee*—housed the majority of the Black-owned and/or operated businesses in Springfield, perhaps in part due to the earlier presence of a small Black enclave living at this location by 1860.

One of the first mentions of the term “levee” in the local newspapers in reference to the East Washington Street commercial district occurred in March 1886.²⁹ In describing a fight at P. Quinn’s saloon on East Washington Street, the headline read, in part, “*Cutting Affray on the Levee.*” In concluding the story, the reporter felt that he needed to define his term, and wrote that “that portion of Washington Street upon which the affair occurred is called by the police ‘the levee’ and abounds in grogeries, at which the worst characters of the city congregate” (*Illinois State Journal*, March 28, 1886). Another occurrence of the term was in October 1888, when the *Illinois State Register* contained a minor reference to two men being arrested “last evening for fighting on the levee” (*Illinois State Register*, October 14, 1888). The term was little used during the later 1880s and early 1890s in the newspapers.³⁰ Beginning in the middle 1890s, the term is increasingly associated with the illicit activities of Springfield’s Washington Street commercial district. In March 1894, the newspaper noted that “May Smith and Lou Maxwell, two colored chippies on the levee, had a fight at Eighth and Washington streets...” (*Illinois State Journal*, March 20, 1894). Very quickly this “Near East” neighborhood became known for its violence.³¹

Senechal (1990:16) suggests that, by circa 1905, the Levee was thought of as a much larger area than noted above, and was “roughly bounded by Seventh and Tenth streets on the east and west,

²⁹ The term “levee” has its origins in archaic French meaning “to raise,” as with a lever. By the 1850s, the term had multiple meanings that included 1) “the concourse of persons who visit a prince or great personage in the morning,” (as in “raising” the King in the morning), and 2) “a bank or causeway, particularly along a river, to prevent inundation” (the “raising” of the bank along the river edge) (Webster 1854:660). In light of the second definition, the term came to designate the river landings in major river ports throughout the Midwest (such as the Levee at the St. Louis riverfront). In light of the first definition, and being a young democracy that bucked European aristocracy, the term “levee” had also become a term used to describe the event we might today refer to as a “reception,” a “party,” or a “soiree.” By the 1860s and 1870s, the term is found throughout the local newspaper in reference to such social events, as the levee at Hecht’s new store on Fifth street (*Illinois State Journal*, July 11, 1877), or the levee being held at the Leland Hotel for the arrival of a celebrated individual (*Illinois State Register*, February 11, 1879; see also June 1 1887). By the middle 1880s, the term apparently had become applied in a colloquial manner to the Washington Street district in reference to the social gatherings and/or partying activities that occurred in this area. In essence, it was referring to the area as a “party district.”

³⁰ Additional references to the term can be found at *Illinois State Journal* (July 24, 1890; January 14, 1891; October 19, 1895; October 27, 1895).

³¹ One 1906 article about the street notes that “This street for years was known as ‘bloody row,’ but time has erased this title, and only the older residents recall the large number of fatalities that have been recorded there.” The article continues by noting that “Since the Civil War days, seventeen men have been killed in the block... Perhaps the first serious battle engaged in within the boundaries of the ‘block of crime’ was during the Civil war. On Christmas day, 1865, a large number of soldiers were in the alley between Seventh and Eighth streets and Washington and Adams streets. The police and soldiers clashed. One soldier was killed and an old resident named Dick Woods was shot and killed.” The article further notes that “Police records show that no less than twenty-five men have been brutally assaulted within this district” (*Illinois State Journal*, July 2, 1896; see also November 26, 1905 and August 16, 1908).

and East Jefferson and East Washington streets on the north and south.”³² As she points out, at the turn of the century, the Levee was characterized by two and three-story brick commercial buildings that housed a variety of businesses, many of which were associated with illicit activities that included gambling, alcohol, sex, and drugs. Although technically illegal, these activities were “unofficially sanctioned as long as it remained within traditional and recognized geographic bounds—that is, away from the more respectable business and residential districts to the west and south” (Senechal 1990:16). Although the local newspapers give extensive accounts of the activities undertaken in the Levee throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century years, one particular expose published by a “zealous anti-saloon crusader” in 1909 and entitled *Hell at Midnight*, contains vivid descriptions of the late-night activities in this district. This correspondent noted that the district was “a mass of dive saloons, pawn shops, questionable hotels, fourth rate lodging houses and brothels from the lowest ramshackle hovels to the most richly and elaborately equipped which can be found anywhere in the State” (Clark 1910; Senechal 1990:16-18). As Senechal (1990:16-18) also notes, the expose’s author clearly showed his “middle-class and nativist bias” in describing the “negro dives” and “Bohemian” saloons (of which he noted 25 within this short four-block stretch) which were “blazing lighthouses of Hell and recruiting stations for the penitentiary.”

Cocaine Alley

By the early 1890s, a new menace—cocaine—began terrorizing the Levee district.³³ This drug quickly became one of the more sought after substances by a variety of Springfield’s less-than-desirable citizens, and its presence was well noted in the East Washington Street commercial district. By this time, both the north and south east/west alleys located immediately behind this short stretch of East Washington Street had apparently attained their own notoriety at an early date. It was in the south alley that police fired on off-duty soldiers in late 1865. These alleys became the location of a variety of “behind-the-scenes” illicit activity that included the sale of

³² At what point Jefferson Street became incorporated into the greater Levee district is unknown. Although Jefferson Street was well known for its saloons and “houses of ill fame,” the businesses were predominately white owned and operated along that street. Nonetheless, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Jefferson Street—and the vice associated with it—was associated with the greater Levee district (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, April 27 1908).

³³ Cocaine was first extracted from coca leaves in 1859 by a German chemist, but it was not until the 1880s that it became popular among the medical profession. The drug was early recognized as a cure for opium and/or morphine addiction (often referred as the “old soldier’s disease” due to opiate addiction during the Civil War years). By the 1880s, additional uses, such as a topical anesthetic, were recognized. The use of the drug was greatly increased in the middle 1880s with the publication in 1884 of a treatise by Sigmund Freud for the use of cocaine to treat depression and sexual impotence. By this time, cocaine was being added to a variety of proprietary medicines (from hair tonics to teething drops for infants), and even soda waters (such as Coca-Cola, beginning in 1886; removed from the soda water in 1903). Although pure food and drug laws passed in the first decade of the twentieth century cut down on the use of cocaine in proprietary medicines and foods, it remained legal to use through 1916. Burnett’s Cocaine was a popular product marketed nationally during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Agitation to change the laws regarding cocaine began much earlier than 1916. For example, a Springfield newspaper carried a story regarding the Illinois Pharmaceutical Association’s annual meeting in Chicago in August 1905, noting that “Among the interesting subjects on the program for discussion will be the need of a narcotic law to effectually put the ‘dope’ fiends out of business in Illinois” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1905). Local pharmacist R. N. Dodd was secretary of the organization.

cocaine. By the late 1890s, the alley located on the south side of the Levee commercial district was a notorious region of downtown Springfield known as “Cocaine Alley.”³⁴ According to the *Illinois State Journal* (July 3, 1899),

The expressive appellation, ‘Cocaine alley,’ is applied to a portion of the district bounded by Eighth and Ninth streets and Washington and Adams streets. Huts along this alley are occupied by some of the outcasts of the city, and the places they call homes are the abiding places of filth and squalor of the direst sort. Negroes and whites live together in these houses, and their debauches and the resulting outbreaks have caused the police much trouble.³⁵

The place known as ‘Cocaine alley’ is in the rear of an old tumbled-down house occupied Bob Winston on Washington street between Eighth and Ninth streets. Every day men and women congregate there and drink beer and snuff cocaine. When thoroughly under the influence of the drug the negroes go into the alley and terrorize the community by their conduct. Drunken men are enticed there and then relieved of their valuables. The last victim was Frank Rogers of Taylorville. He was robbed of his gold watch and chain, forty dollars, and a pair of shoes (*Illinois State Journal*, May 30, 1899).

‘Cocaine alley’ will soon be a thing of the past. So numerous have been the complaints of persons who have been robbed there, that the police have decided to rid the city of the characters which inhabit the place. Already one of the women has been arrested. She is a negress named Ella Brown, better known as ‘Slough Foot Lou,’ and she has caused the police much trouble within the last few years. She will be given a hearing before Justice Brinkerhoff tomorrow. A number of other arrests will follow (*Illinois State Journal*, May 30, 1899).

This illicit use of cocaine was not confined to the south alley, and by 1900 both alleys were notorious for their concentration of “dope fiends.”³⁶ The newspapermen were quick to associate

³⁴ The first use of the term “Cocaine Alley” found in the local newspapers occurred in mid-summer 1898 regarding a robbery of an individual who ventured into the alley (*Illinois State Journal*, July 21, 1898). This news story reports of the robbery of one Isham Sharp as he sat on railroad track, and his friend went into a house adjacent—suggesting that the event may have occurred adjacent to an unknown location adjacent to either the Tenth Street or Madison Street rail corridors.

³⁵ Another source noted that “‘Cocaine alley’ is located in the rear of the business houses on the south side of Washington street, between Eighth and Ninth streets. Men and women, both negroes and whites, and all ages, congregate there daily to indulge in the deadly dissipation. It is in this alley that many of the robberies of visitors to the city have been committed. Like the victim of the morphine or opium habit, the cocaine fiend will go to any length to obtain money with which to purchase the drug. Innocent strangers and adventurous countrymen are enticed into these places under various pretexts and then are set upon and robbed, sometimes suffering severely at the hands of their assailants.” In 1903, the newspapers reported that “‘Cocaine alley’ is to be exterminated for sanitary reasons. It is claimed that the place is filthy and dirty beyond description, whites and blacks living together in the little shacks that serve as houses for the residents” (*Illinois state Journal*, July 24, 1899).

³⁶ In 1903, the newspapers report as many as 50 “shacks” located in the alley and housing cocaine “fiends” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 5, 1903) [See also “From Life’s Other Side: Some Pictures of Degradation in the Capital City. Places Where Blacks and Whites Mingle and Hit the ‘Pipe of Imaginations’—a Few High Grade Dens of Vice,” *Illinois State Register*, December 24, 1900)]. At one point, a newspaperman unfamiliar with the City’s vice

the drug problem with the local African-American population.³⁷ By early 1902, city authorities were mounting some of the first efforts to clean up the vice district, beginning with “Cocaine Alley.” These efforts were being promulgated by the Springfield Health Department citing public safety concerns: “‘Cocaine Alley’ [is] one of the worst neighborhoods in the city, [and] will be wiped out of existence as soon as warm weather sets in” (*Illinois State Journal*, February 12, 1902). These efforts were hampered by legal issues; and the clean-up of Cocaine Alley was not successful at this time.

The Badlands

By the later nineteenth century, the area north of the East Washington commercial district had taken on an air all its own. Sandwiched between the rail corridor running down Madison Street, and the ever more developing commercial character of East Washington Street, the several blocks stretching between Seventh and Ninth Streets between Madison and Jefferson Streets continued to maintain a residential character, albeit interspersed with many small saloons, lunch rooms, and boarding houses. As noted earlier, by the 1870s this “Near East” neighborhood—which became known as the “Badlands”—was the heart of the “red light” district of Springfield. By the 1890s, the neighborhood’s name was derived, in part, from its being home to a number of gambling dens, brothels, and saloons, and thereby representing an extension of Springfield’s notorious Levee District on East Washington Street.

The first occurrence of this term (Badlands) encountered by the current research in reference to a Springfield neighborhood in the local newspapers was in the late summer of 1894. At that time, the *Illinois State Journal* (August 13, 1894) reported the arrest of a man named J. W. Day, who was attempting to sell a stolen watch in the “Bad Lands.” An adjacent story in the newspaper, although not noting the location as being in the Badlands, reported on the attempted hanging of one of the inmates at the infamous Lou Grant “house of ill-fame on Madison between Seventh and Eighth streets.”³⁸ The October 26, 1894 issue of the *Illinois State Register* noted “there was trouble up in the bad lands last evening” with the beating of Dora McDonald by her husband. “Dora and Ike McDonald are lovers living in one of the little shanties on the east side of Eighth street, near Madison street...” In November 1894, the *Illinois State Register* noted that the police

were scouring the bad lands last night in the neighborhood of Eighth and Madison streets in search of one Ernest Knight. Ernest came to the city from Auburn some time ago. He fell into bad company, and finally decided not to return to his little

districts gave the name “Cocaine Alley” to the alley between Mason and Madison Streets, extending from Tenth to Twelfth Streets—a district more correctly referred to as “Shinbone Alley” in (see discussion below) (*Illinois State Journal*, December 3, 1909).

³⁷ The *Illinois State Register* (July 11, 1898) carried a long news story entitled “ARE COCAINE FIENDS: Springfield Negroes Go Wild Over The Drug. Woman from the East Starts the Habit Among Colored People in the City—While Under the Influence They Do Many Queer Things.”

³⁸ Lou Grant’s “house of ill-fame” was located “on Madison between Seventh and Eighth streets” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1894).

country home, as the charms of city life were so much greater. He met Ada Anderson, who resides in a rookery at No. 220 North Eighth street, and has since been adherent to her many charms...

A search of the Springfield newspapers resulted in locating only four short news briefs relating to Springfield's Badlands that year (1894). These early news stories pertaining to the "Badlands" all reference that area of the city near the intersection of Eighth and Madison Streets. At least two of these stories note that the "Bad Lands" were located along Madison Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets at the time (cf. *Illinois state Register*; August 13, 1894). This corresponds to an area north of the Levee, and just east of Greasy Row, representing somewhat an extension of the Eighth and Jefferson Street location.

In contrast, no less than thirty-five news stories occur in the following year's (1895) newspapers of Springfield relating to the nefarious activities of the Badlands that year alone. The activities reported by the newspapers ranged from fights, beatings, thefts, illegal gambling, and prostitution. One such story, related in February 1895 by the *Illinois State Register* (February 15, 1895) noted that Pearl Goldsmith—"a girl of the bad lands near Eighth and Madison streets" was arrested for her involvement in the death of two Fairfield men. One report, from November 1895, indicates that "the police are still continuing their raids on all the resorts in [the] bad lands. Yesterday morning they made raids on some resorts run by white women and arrested twelve inmates" (*Illinois State Journal*, November 30, 1895).³⁹

Although these early references to the Badlands appear to reference an area centered at Eighth and Madison Streets, the designation quickly became associated with a much larger area extending farther to the east. In her seminal work on the 1908 race riot, Senechal (1990:16) defined the Badlands as this expanded region, noting that it extended "northeast of the Levee (between Reynolds and Jefferson streets on the north and south, and east of Ninth Street for several blocks)." Her definition of the levee did not include that region west of Ninth Street, which was the core of the early district. Senechal (1990:16) further states that, in this area "lay a large settlement of poor blacks known as the Badlands. This neighborhood, like others of its kind in American cities, was vulnerable to invasion by gambling dens, brothels, and other assorted 'dives'" (Senecal 1990:16).

By the middle 1870s, prostitution had become well entrenched within the Badlands, particularly near the Tenth and Madison Street intersection. In 1875, the three "resorts" not located within the immediate area of the original Eighth Street "red light district" (the two-block area located north of Washington Street between Seventh and Ninth Streets) discussed earlier consisted of

³⁹ The newspaper noted raids on "some resorts run by white women" and named Lillie Reeves, Hattie Spencer, and Goldie Werner as being "charged with keeping houses of ill-repute." Goldie Werner, and her husband Joe, were arrested again in December 1895. Joe was charged with "keeping a house of ill fame," whereas Goldie was charged with "being an inmate." The newspaper reporting the arrest noted that "this pair is part of a tribe in the bad lands which the police are endeavoring to run out of town" (*Illinois State Register*, December 3, 1895). The *Illinois State Register* (May 1, 1896) noted the Abraham Hamilton, a farmer, "went into the bad lands yesterday afternoon with a friend, and dropped into a colored joint at No. 314 North Tenth Street. When he got ready to go he found that he had been touched for \$15, and he immediately swore out a warrant..." This resort was located immediately across Tenth Street from the project area.

those operated by Jessie Brown [sic, Jessie Brownie], Eva Montague, and Emma Taylor. These three “resorts” were located within a new area that had expanded to the northeast (just east of the new Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Depot, and north of the new Wabash Depot). All three of these new “sporting” establishments were located within a half block each side of Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison Streets—the heart of the area that was soon to be known as the Badlands. The first of the houses of ill fame to open within this area appears to have been one operated by Emma Taylor at 915 East Madison Street (a location directly behind House A, along Madison Street). Emma Taylor appears to be the one-and-only Emma Nash who relocated her “house of ill fame” from her earlier Eighth Street location to 915 East Madison Street in circa 1872.⁴⁰ Similarly, by 1874, Jessie Brownie was operating a resort 1016 East Mason Street, a location that backed up on Shinbone Alley (SCD 1874:33).⁴¹ The establishment of these resorts at this location may have been an early attempt by the proprietors to relocate and “upscale” their businesses outside of the earlier Eighth Street district (which have become rather “seedy” and crowded by that date). By 1879, less formal “houses” were being established within the Tenth Street project area (between Madison and Mason Streets). The first documented prostitute of this less formal “business model” at this location was a woman named Lizzie Kendall. The 1879

⁴⁰ Although Emma continued to be a regular fixture in the local newspapers through late October 1887, she may have taken a respite from the trade. By 1879, Emma appears to have yet again relocated, this time to a house along Ninth Street. In 1879, the *Register* noted that Emma Nash (along with two young women boarders named Gussie Weldron and Frankie Merrill) were accused of running a bawdy house. At her hearing, Emma claimed the “she had not been keeping a house of prostitution for the last two months, and that she was endeavoring to lead a life of reform. Similarly, her co-defendants claimed the “they had not engaged in the business” since they had moved in with Mrs. Nash. The jury apparently believed the women and returned a verdict of not guilty (*Illinois State Register*, 10 December 1879, p. 4). In late 1887, the *Journal* again noted that Emma Nash, “with her quartette of highly improper female boarders, was arraigned... and for want of prosecution, were dismissed” (*Illinois State Journal*, 27 October 1887, p. 4). Emma’s claims of “endeavoring to lead a life of reform” apparently was only a ruse, as Mrs. Nash was arraigned several times during the early to middle 1880s for the operation of a house of prostitution, albeit not from 915 East Madison Street. Beginning in circa 1880, and continuing through 1886, Anne E. Seaman (widow of Isaac Seaman) and her family were residing in the large house at 915 East Madison Street, with Emma apparently having relocated to north Ninth Street, between Jefferson and Madison Street (cf. *Springfield City Directory* 1881:80). Shortly afterwards, Emma appears to have yet again relocated, this time to the northeast corner of Eighth and Jefferson Streets (immediately across the street from Madam Brownie’s resort). In 1886, the *Springfield City Directory* notes her living at 801 East Jefferson Street (*Springfield City Directory* 1886:206). In 1887, the house at 915 East Madison Street was occupied by one Nellie Woods, along with a number of young single women, suggesting that the large house at this location had once again returned to its old haunts as a house of prostitution. The previous year (1886), Nellie was listed as a resident at 716 Jefferson Street (SCD 1886:297). By 1891, Mabel Baxter was operating the resort at this location and her husband Charles ran a rather notorious saloon next door beginning in late summer 1896. Mabel Baxter’s Ranch was rather well known through circa 1902.

⁴¹ Madame Jessie Brownie was the pseudonym and/or business name used by Augusta Kellogg. Kellogg (aka Jessie Brownie) had arrived in Springfield in circa 1870-72 (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 4 July 1915, p. 2; *Illinois State Register*, 4 July 1915, p. 20). Her obituary suggests that she established a resort in Springfield, at 729 E. Jefferson Street, in circa 1875. Contrary to her obituary, it would appear that she initially established a resort at 1016 East Mason by 1873, prior to moving to her Jefferson Street location in circa 1875. The 1873 *Springfield City Directory* lists a Mrs. Jessie Browning residing on the south side of Mason Street, between Tenth and Eleventh Streets (SCD 1873:35). By 1876, one Eva Montague was listed as residing at 1016 East Mason Street (having taken over the earlier Jessie Brownie resort). This location—1016 East Mason Street—was to persist as a “house of ill fame” for several decades. In circa 1886, this house was taken over by Lou Barnes, who continued to operate it through circa 1899. In 1899, the resort was being operated by one Gertie Bond. In 1896, the Sanborn fire insurance map designated this property as the “Old Point Comfort.”

Springfield City Directory lists Lizzie with an address of “325, west side Tenth, between Madison and Mason” (a location that presumably correlates House F).⁴² Similarly, the 1880 directory listed “Miss Lizzie Kendall” as living at “325 N. Tenth Street.” In August 1880, the *Illinois State Register* reported that “Miss Kendall is charged with being the proprietress of a “gilded [sic] palace of sin” (*Illinois State Register* August 15, 1880).⁴³

The 1880 U.S. Census of Population, the first primary source to openly identify individuals with the occupation of “prostitute,” contains a wealth of information relating to the prostitution trade during the late nineteenth century in Springfield.⁴⁴ In 1880, the census noted the presence of thirteen houses with occupant prostitutes. The madams managing these establishments generally were noted with occupations of “Keeping House” and averaged 32 years of age. Not counting the madams operating each of these establishments, the 40 women identified as prostitutes ranged in age from 15 to 35 years old, with an average age of 21.9 years. In total, with the

⁴² The 1880 U.S. Census of Population also lists a female border in House D named Maude Lyles with an occupation of “prostitute.”

⁴³ Although this was Miss Kendall’s first entry in the local newspapers, it definitely was not her last. In January 1881, the same newspaper reported that a Daisy Morrison—a “painted woman who makes her home in the fashionable bagulo [sic] presided over by Madam Lizzie Kendall”—had been assaulted while on the job (*Illinois State Register*, January 4, 1881). Again in February 16, 1881, Lizzie was arrested and charged with eight others for keeping “houses of ill fame” (*Illinois State Journal*, February 16, 1881). In October 1881, Kendall was described as keeping a “bawdy house”—yet another name for her trade (*Illinois State Register*; October 2, 1881). Again, in July 1882, she was charged with operating a “house of ill fame” at this location (*Illinois State Register*, July 7, 1882). It is unclear as to how long Lizzie may have continued operating at this Tenth Street location. In February 1882, the *Illinois State Journal* (February 4, 1882) indicates that “the house of Lizzie Kendall, a prostitute, [was located] on East Mason street...” Although the newspaper’s reference to an East Mason Street location may indicate that Lizzie had moved to a new location by early 1882, the newspaper account may be in error as the East Mason Street location is in close proximity to her Tenth Street house. Lizzie’s reputation was fairly well-known during the early 1880s, and the *Illinois State Journal* (March 2, 1882) noted that she was the “proprietress of a noted bagnio of the city...”—a “bagnio” being a brothel or bath house (especially in Turkey). In late 1882, the newspaper noted that Lizzie Kendall and Lizzie Malderner “were assessed their monthly dues of \$35 and costs for being keepers of houses of ill-fame” (*Illinois State Journal*, 6 December 1882). An 1884 newspaper article entitled “DIZZY GIRLS” described Lizzie Kendall’s house of ill fame as a “mansion” (*Illinois State Journal*, 16 January 1884). No less than 32 entries relating to Lizzie Kendall’s exploits appear in the local newspapers during the years 1880 through 1885. In January 1884, the *Illinois State Journal* reported that “Lizzie Kendall’s house was burglarized Tuesday night. Three men entered the house, choloroformed [sic] the fair Lizzie, and captured some jewelry, a revolver and a lot of trinkets” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 12, 1884). The last entry detailing her life as a “madam” was in March 1885 (*Illinois State Journal*, March 19, 1885). Apparently Lizzie Kendall married a local Springfield man named Frank Ryan in May 1882. Ryan had divorced his wife, married Lizzie, and soon drifted away from Springfield only to re-appear in the news in early 1888 accused of having murdered a woman in Omaha, Nebraska (*Illinois State Register*, March 6, 1888). Lizzie filed for a divorce in October 1883 on grounds of desertion and cruelty (*Illinois State Journal*, October 3, 1883). No further stories appear in the local newspaper regarding Lizzie Kendall Ryan after that 1888 news story.

⁴⁴ Subsequent census documents do not continue with this practice in the use of “prostitute” as an occupation. In a similar vein, the 1886, 1887, 1888 and 1891 Springfield city directories appear to have a code identifying prostitutes within their pages (with the appearance of a “?” following each prostitute’s name). Similarly, the 1876 city directory has a code for prostitutes as well (using a capital “L” following the entry)

accompanying madams, minimally 53 women were engaged with organized prostitution in Springfield in 1880—all of whom were white.⁴⁵

These thirteen houses were located on Jefferson Street (n=4), Ninth Street (n=3), Mason Street (n=2), Tenth Street (n=2) and one each on Washington and Eleventh Streets. By far, the house with the most live-in prostitutes was that operated by Jessie Brownie. Besides Brownie, ten young women identified as prostitutes were living within her resort, which was located on the northwest corner of Eighth and Jefferson Street (729 E. Jefferson). Also present in this resort, which was colloquially referred to as the Senate in 1896, were two Black servants (one a male and the other a female), and a young Black child. Located in close proximity, presumably within the next house west of Brownie's resort, was that of Julia Perkins. The Perkins resort had four inmates at that time. Continuing one house to the west was the resort of Alice Rethford. The Rethford resort had five live-in prostitutes. Among the women within the Rethford resort were two young girls named Goams, presumably sisters (16 and 18 years of age). The house immediately to the west of the Rethford resort was occupied by the John Flannigan family (located at 711 East Jefferson). No occupation was listed for Mr. Flannigan. Living within this household was John's wife Catherine, five young daughters (between the ages of 9 and 17), and two female boarders. The two older Flannigan daughters (15 and 17 years of age) were both noted with occupations of prostitutes, as were the two boarders within the house. Presumably, Catherine functioned as the madam of the house, which functioned as a house of prostitution.⁴⁶ Located on the east side of Eighth Street (just south of the Eighth and Jefferson Street intersection) was the resort operated by Maggie Brown. Living within the Brown resort at this time were four prostitutes. In 1880, at least four resorts (as well as a family home with two daughters and live-in boarders working as prostitutes) were located at this busy Eighth and Jefferson Street location.

Another cluster of resorts, as documented in the 1880 U.S. Census of Population, was near the Tenth and Mason Street intersection. One of the older and more prominent houses within this neighborhood was that operated by Eva Montague at 1016 East Mason Street. Colloquially referred to as Old Point Comfort, this establishment employed three young women and two Black servants. Located at the southeast corner of Mason and Tenth Streets (1004 East Mason

⁴⁵ At the turn of the century (circa 1895-1915), cultural norms strictly dictated the interaction of white and Black individuals within Jim Crow society. In New Orleans, both white and Black brothels were in operation, often side-by-side. Nonetheless, these brothels were for the "sporting pleasure" solely of white clientele, and Black men were legally barred from purchasing the services of a prostitute, whether white or Black (cf. Rose 1974). In 1880s Springfield, no Black brothels appear to have been in operation, and all of the prostitutes were white. Such exclusion of Blacks from brothels apparently lead to racial discord (see 18xx riots at the Eighth and Jefferson Street location). By 1900, many less formal brothels were in operation catering to both races. Although the white brothels were tolerated by the authorities (as long as they continued to pay their monthly "dues"), it appears to have been the "negro dives" that the City of Springfield sought to eradicate.

⁴⁶ In 1881, Catharine Flannigan was fined \$50 for being a "keeper" of a bagnio (*Illinois State Register*, 13 October 1881, p. 3). She was in good company with Eva Montague (fined \$125), Jessie Brownie (fined \$125), Lizzie Kendall (fined \$100), Lucille Wilson (fined \$100), and Maggie Brown (fined \$125), many of whom were her neighbors. Contemporary newspaper accounts indicate that Catherine had been arrested for running a "bawdy house" (most likely a euphemism for a house of prostitution) (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 8 July 1882, p. 6; 9 September 1882, p. 3). The 1886 Springfield City Directory (SCD 1886:101) indicates Kate Flannigan, a prostitute, residing at 707 East Jefferson Street.

Street) was the resort then operated by Lucille Wilson. At that time, the Wilson resort employed two women and two servants (one white and one Black). Just around the corner, on Tenth Street were the resorts operated by Sarah Williams (presumably within House D) and Lizzie Kendall (presumably in House F). The Williams resort employed two women, whereas the Kendall resort employed only one woman (besides the operating madame). Conspicuously absent from this cluster of resorts was that of the infamous Emma Nash, who had established a house of ill fame on the north side of Madison Street, immediately to the west of the Tenth Street intersection (at 915 East Madison Street). Mrs. Nash had relocated her well-established business from south Eighth Street (the location of the current Maggie Brown Resort) to this location in circa 1872. For reasons unknown, Mrs. Nash apparently moved to yet another location on the west side of Ninth Street, near Jefferson, by 1879.⁴⁷ Apparently, Mrs. Nash had married one William Chattan sometime prior 1875, and the 1880 census documented the resort of one Emma Chattan on Ninth Street.⁴⁸ Besides Emma, who at 50 years of age was the oldest of the madames listed within the 1880 census, two young prostitutes were also residing with her at this Ninth Street location. In late 1881 or early 1882, Mrs. Nash relocated yet again, to the northeast corner of Eighth and Jefferson Street (immediately across the street to the east of Jennie Brown's resort). In 1880, a second small resort also was documented on Ninth Street, occupied by one Jennie Higgins. A third resort, documented on Washington Street was occupied by Kate Ingram.⁴⁹

The larger and presumably more formal resorts offered more amenities to their clients. The fancier resorts were located within larger, more ornate, well-furnished dwellings. In 1880, clearly one of the more high-end resorts was that operated by Madame Jennie Brownie (aka Augusta Kellogg). Her resort was located in a large, upscale dwelling located only a block from both the city and county jails. The upscale character of the household furnishings within these dwellings is suggested by high assessed personal property taxes of the individuals operating these establishments.⁵⁰ In 1883, Maggie Brown was assessed over \$18 in personal property on

⁴⁷ The 1876 *Springfield City Directory* has Mrs. Nash at 915 East Madison Street (SCD 1876:162). She is not listed within the 1879 city directory, but shows up at the “west side Ninth, near Jefferson” in the 1880 city directory (SCD 1880:151). She remains at this Ninth Street address through 1881, at which time she moved to the northeast corner of Eighth and Jefferson Streets (SCD 1881:79).

⁴⁸ There was no listing for Emma Nash in the 1880 census. In 1873, William Chatton had petitioned the City of Springfield to sell liquor, presumably at an East Jefferson Street location (*Illinois State Journal*, 8 July 1873, p. 4). Multiple newspaper accounts from late 1873 document Chattan's harassment of Emma Nash and potential incarceration (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 21 November 1873, p. 4; 24 November 1873, p. 4). Presumably, Nash and Chattan were married at the time. Although the *Journal* published a notice of their divorce in February 1874, the 1875 *Springfield City Directory* indicates that William Chatten [sic] was a resident of 915 East Madison Street at that time (SCD 1875:43; *Illinois State Journal*, 28 February 1874, p. 4). His presence within this house may have necessitated Emma's relocation to Ninth Street.

⁴⁹ Although the census notes this resort on Washington Street, the 1880 city directory suggests Kate was residing at, and potentially operating her resort from, 113 North Ninth Street (SCD 1880:110)—both potentially referring to the same location.

⁵⁰ Augusta Kellogg was born in Limestone, New York in May 1835. She died in 1915, at 80 years of age, of complications that occurred shortly after a confrontation with an inebriated client resulting in a fall down a flight of stairs at her resort. She had ran the resort at this location for forty years (from circa 1875 through 1915). According to her obituary, “there was probably no woman engaged in the same occupation who was more widely known than

her house on Eighth Street. Although not the highest among her neighbors, it was respectable considering the vast majority had no personal property tax assessments at all (sf. *Illinois State Register*, 25 April 1883, p. 2). Similarly high personal property assessments were levied for Lucille Wilson, Emma Nash, and Augusta Kellogg in 1885 (*Illinois State Register*, 22 April 1885, p. 5). Additionally, the presence of multiple servants (generally Black) within these establishments also attests to the level of care given to the care of the establishment and its quests. Similarly, these more formal houses no doubt offered liquor service, whether legally licensed or not. In 1882, the *Register* noted that “the Springfield ‘ladies’ who have a government license to retail liquor, for which they pay \$25 annually, are Jessie N. Brownie, Maggie Brown, Maria Gordon, Lizzie Kendal, Fanny L. Kennedy, Emma Nash, Eva Montague, and Lucille Wilson” (*Illinois State Register*, 2 April 1882, p. 5). Licensing to sell liquor (generally in the form of a tavern license) within the city limits was the purview of the City of Springfield. Most likely the “government license” referred to by the *Register* was such a city license.

By the late 1880s, the heart of the illicit activity generally associated with the Badlands was located at Tenth Street, between Mason and Madison Streets. By this date, Emma Nash’s resort at 915 East Madison Street, which apparently had been converted into traditional residential use for much of the very late 1870s and early 1880s, had reopened again as a resort. By this time, the intersection of “Tenth and Madison” Street became closely aligned with this illicit activity. This locational designation first appears in the city’s newspapers in the middle 1860s in reference to the Old Phoenix Mill located on the southwest corner of this intersection. Occasional references to the intersection—many of them rail related—occur through the 1870s and early 1880s.⁵¹ Beginning in early 1885, these news stories increased in number, and dramatically changed character. At this time, the newspapers began to document a range of illicit activity being conducted at that location. The first of these news stories reported the arrest of four women on charges of vagrancy. In describing these four women, the newspaper stated that “the entire quartette are dusky damsels of doubtful character, who were arrested a day or two ago at Dan Sutton’s ranch, corner of Tenth and Madison streets” (*Illinois State Journal*, January 3, 1885).⁵² It would appear that Dan Sutton’s “ranch” and the other resorts at this Tenth and

she was. As A. N. Kellogg there was never a charitable undertaking in Springfield that she had not subscribed this name and a ... amount to. She was a generous contributor to the Home for the Friendless and other charitable institutions in Springfield, and under the name of A. N. Kellogg, was called one of its greatest benefactors in a charitable way that Springfield ever had.” (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 July 1915, p. 2). At the time of her death, she was a very wealthy woman (cf. *Illinois State Register*, 4 July 1915, p. 20). After her death, Sangamon County considered buying her house for use as a children’s detention facility (*Illinois State Register* 7 October 1915, p. 11).

⁵¹ In November 1883, the *Illinois State Journal* (November 24, 1883) mentioned the need for the establishment of a new depot at the corner, which was never constructed. Change began to occur in at the intersection about this time. In 1885, the old Phoenix Mill (located at the southwest corner of the intersection) was demolished, and replaced by a large lumber yard. In 1890, the Fitzgerald Plaster Company constructed a large 3-story brick manufacturing plant on the northeast corner of this intersection (*Illinois State Journal*, January 25, 1890). At the southeast corner of the intersection was a large rail spur allowing rail traffic to make the curve between Madison and Tenth Streets. By 1890, the only non-industrial corner of this intersection was that located at the northwest corner (House A, current project area).

⁵² Although Dan Sutton was living on the south side of Madison Street, he may have been operating a “resort” at the Tenth and Madison Street location—potentially in House A. By 1888, the local newspapers note a woman named Mollie Lynch was operating a resort at the northwest corner of Tenth and Madison streets, clearly within House A (*Illinois State Journal*, May 28, 1888).

Madison Street location had become a destination point for “sporting” gentlemen by the late 1880s.

Well-visited “resorts” from the middle 1890s located in the expanded Badlands region included Malinda Reed’s “house on Tenth Street” (*Illinois State Register*, May 1, 1896), Mabel Baxter’s “house of ill repute on Madison street, between Ninth and Tenth streets” (*Illinois State Register*, December 21 1892),⁵³ Lizzie Cousin’s “house of ill fame at Tenth and Madison streets” (*Illinois State Register*, October 5, 1895), and Lou Barnes “house” at 1016 East Mason Street (*Illinois State Register*, December 19, 1889).⁵⁴ At this time, Mollie Drennan’s “house of prostitution on Jefferson street” was also referenced as being “in [the] bad lands...” (*Illinois State Register*, Dec 28, 1896). The number of news briefs during the later 1890s and early years of the twentieth century referencing the Badlands increased exponentially, and by the early years of the new century, the red-light district known as the Badlands had expanded dramatically. In late summer 1905, the red-light district was reported to be located along Madison and Mason Streets, between Ninth and Twelfth Streets (*Illinois State Register*, August 22, 1905). As noted earlier, Senechal (1990) suggests that the Badlands had shifted a bit more to the east by 1908, and covered an area roughly bounded by Ninth Street on the west, Fifteenth Street on the east, Jefferson Street on the south, and Reynolds Street on the north (see Figures 13-14).

At any rate, by the middle 1890s, illicit activity was well recognized as being located at the Tenth and Madison Street intersection. In 1880, all of the “resorts” documented in the Badlands were operated by white women utilizing white prostitutes (whether male or female). The business of prostitution was clearly dominated by—at least in the sporting districts of downtown Springfield—by whites. But this was to quickly change during the 1890s. By the 1890s, the profession had greatly expanded, and many of the “houses” in the Badlands were being operated and/or staffed by African-American women. In an article entitled “Negro Dives Raided: Wholesale Capture of Male and Female Inmates Last Night” (*Illinois State Register*, November 28, 1895), the local newspaper wrote

The police have at last decided to drive the negro thieves—men and women alike—from the city, or else keep them on the rock pile all the time. The negro dives of the city, located around Tenth and Madison streets, have been running wide open since the fair, which brought a bad crowd of St. Louis negroes here, and they have become so bold that it is now dangerous for a white man to even go on the streets where these dives are located, even when on business and in broad daylight.⁵⁵

⁵³ Mabel Baxter’s resort was located along the north side of Madison Street, midway between Ninth and Tenth Streets—immediately adjacent to the rear of House A. By 1896, Charles Baxter had opened up a saloon along Madison Street, immediately adjacent to his wife’s “resort”—both of which were destroyed by the mob in August 1908 (*Illinois State Register*, August 11, 1896). Mabel and her activities along Madison Street cease to appear in the local newspapers after June 1902. It is unclear as to how much longer after that date that the resort continued to remain open (cf. *Illinois State Journal*, 11 May 1902, p. 2; *Illinois State Register*, 26 June 1902, p. 6).

⁵⁴ This house was labeled “Old Point Comfort” on the 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map.

⁵⁵ The reporter further noted that the police “captured fourteen negroes, including men and women. All were booked as disorderly, but the police believe that in some of the cases they can prove the women prostitutes, in which

Although most of the more established “houses” in Springfield at this time (1890s) were operated by whites, the anger appears to be directed at the “negro dives.” This effort, directed at the “negro dives” continued for many years. In 1902, the *Illinois State Journal* reported that

Vice has taken such a strong hold on the disorderly districts of Springfield that the conditions are alarming. Chief of Police Herring realizes the danger and yesterday he commenced a crusade on the negro dives. Nearly forty keepers and inmates of these places were taken into custody. They include men and women of the most depraved character and among them are a score of white persons. ‘Matters have become serious in the disorderly district. The keepers and inmates of negro dives are swelling in number so that it will be necessary to drive them out of town. Heavy fines will be imposed on them and if they cannot pay they must either go to prison or leave town. In this way I hope to free Springfield of a majority of these people’ (*Illinois State Journal*, April 9, 1902).

Around that same time [circa 1902], the City of Springfield launched a campaign to clean up the district and began their efforts on Cocaine Alley. With the assistance of the Board of Public Health the City emphasized the unsanitary conditions and danger to public health (particularly related to the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox). Describing “Cocaine Alley,” Mayor Phillips described the area as “one of worst plaque spots in the city...” and “one of the worst thoroughfares in the bad lands,” and in consultation with the Board of Health, developed a plan to condemn “the wretched shanties that line the alley on either side and have them torn down for sanitary reasons” (*Springfield News* June 3, 1902). Unfortunately, although this was hoped to be the beginning of a major cleanup of the Badlands, the project ran into a variety of legal problems and was ineffective in getting results.⁵⁶

By 1905, the “red light district” was a hot political topic for city officials, many of whom were intent on cleaning up the neighborhood. In a news story entitled *Investigate Nuisances*, the *Illinois State Register* (August 12, 1905) discussed the city’s efforts to clean up the neighborhood, noting that “Madison and Mason streets, from Ninth to Twelfth streets, the red light district, will be the object of a visit from the police committee and it is thought that many places will be torn down at the instance of the officials.” The following day, in an article entitled *Vile Shacks To Be Torn Down*, the City (and Mayor Devereux) discussed in more details their plans to demolish “a number of unsanitary buildings... most of them are harboring places for petty criminals and are said to be in a filthy condition” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1905).

If plans laid by city officials and members of the health board are executed, Springfield soon will be rid of a number of unsanitary buildings in the Seventh and First wards. A crusade against unsightly structures in ‘Shinbone alley,’ and

case they can be fined heavier than on a charge of disorderly conduct.” A couple of days later, the *Illinois State Journal* (November 30, 1895) reported that “the police are still continuing their raids on all the resorts in [the] bad lands. Yesterday morning they made raids on some resorts run by white women and arrested twelve inmates.”

⁵⁶ It appears that much of the land that comprised “Cocaine Alley” was owned by William Floreville at the time. Floreville was probably the wealthiest black man in Springfield at the time, and he was not agreeable to the demolition of his properties.

other well-known places is to be investigated under the direction of the board of health.

A few days ago Superintendent of Health Sutton and other city officials went on a tour of investigation and found a large number of huts which they believe should be declared nuisances, and so reported to the mayor. These buildings long have been noted as fences for petty thieves and other persons who are constantly giving the police trouble and to destroy the buildings is one of the plans laid to rid the northeast part of the city of a number of its resorts. In 'Shinbone alley,' which extends from Ninth street to Tenth street, between Madison and Mason streets, there are a number of hovels which the health officers found in a filthy condition and the attention of the council will be called to the matter."

Two years ago war was declared on similar resorts in old 'Cocaine alley,' which has since passed into history. The alley was the loafing place for hundreds of whites and negroes who refused to work and notwithstanding the efforts of the police they continued to exist on money derived from the sale of stolen property. Finally it was determined to condemn the old shacks in which these people lived, and in the course of a few weeks all the places had disappeared, and with them went their occupants.

After being driven from their old haunts many left the city and, believing the plan to be a good one, it is probable that it will be executed again (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1905).

Although the newspaper suggests that the City apparently had had success earlier cleaning up Cocaine Alley, the same article concluded by noting that there had been issues with using this strategy.

The City officials have condemned several buildings around the city, but in every instance they have experienced difficulty in carrying out the requirements of the city code. Suits have been filed for damage done to property, but in no instance has judgement been secured against the city. The members of the fire department will be called upon to destroy the old buildings, if necessary, and in the course of a few months, it is said, only a few of the old haunts will be in existence. Several of these places are looked upon as landmarks, but they must also go..."

In the red light district there are a hundred shacks which are on the list and the crusade will probably be commenced this week, or as soon as those who are to have charge of the work can arrange a meeting.

"To destroy the shacks in the northeast part of the city, which are merely fences for thieves and criminals, should meet with public approval," said a city official yesterday. "In the last few years several buildings have been destroyed by order of the board of health and in spite of the complaint which has been made by the owners, not a single judgement has been secured. I believe the law gives the city

the right to do away with unsightly and unsanitary buildings and it is the duty of the officials to comply with the ordinances on the books.

“Superintendent of Health Sutton is anxious to take up the task and he will be assisted by the members of the council. To tear down the large number of old houses in the northeast part of the city would be a move for better buildings, as in most cases the ground is owned by persons who are financially able to erect more desirable buildings. This move, I believe, will be carried out to the letter and in the course of a few months, the red light district which for years has been a detriment to Springfield, will be forced out of the way” (*Illinois State Journal*, August 13, 1905).

Again, the efforts to clean up the city were fraught with difficulty and, to many city inhabitants, the process was not moving fast enough. The *Register* noted, over a year later, that “class suppression” was not the mechanism to clean up vice in the City, and that the laws already on the books needed to be upheld for everyone, rich and poor. Disproportionate police action against established houses such as that operated by Brown was in sharp contrast to that directed at the lower echelon of brothels, often referred to as “Negro Dives.”

We are led to this conclusion that vice cannot be put down in this city by what may be termed ‘class suppression.’ We believe that law should be enforced impartially and without discrimination against all offenders alike and when this is done, it is our judgment that a large per cent of those who now oppose the law will willingly become law abiding citizens (*Illinois State Register*, 29 October 1906, p. 7)

“There is an effort being made to purify the ‘red light’ district in New York city. Springfield has two or three such districts and there is no effort made to purify them. It’s somebody’s time to move” (*Illinois State Register*, November 19, 1906).

Cleanup efforts were not sufficient to stem the tide of the illicit activities, and the Badlands continued to thrive as a wide-open district in which you could obtain about anything one might want—legal or otherwise. Just prior to the race riot of August 1908, in a story relating to arrests made in the City of Springfield the previous year (1907), the *Illinois State Journal* wrote that

[Call] Box No. 13, located at Eleventh and Madison streets, is the one in which the patrol wagon made a majority of trips. Since the police alarm system was inaugurated, ten years ago, policemen have known this box as the ‘hoodoo.’ It is located in the outskirts of the red light district. It is estimated that 800 persons were sent to headquarters from that station during the year (*Illinois State Journal*, January 6, 1908).

After the riots of August 1908, many things continued as before, with little having changed. Efforts prior to the riots to clean up the Badlands had been fraught with difficulty, and such was the case even after that eventful summer. In early 1911, vice still ran rampant in Springfield. Mrs. C. L. Wolfe, President of the Hyde Park Anti-vice Crusade, visited Springfield in support of

proposed new anti-vice legislation at the Statehouse. At an anti-vice meeting held in the Sangamon County courthouse she reported on her work in Chicago, and claimed that “As far as vice and wickedness are concerned, Chicago is nothing compared to Springfield in proportion to their population.” Specifically, in regard to Springfield, Mrs. Wolfe noted that “this very city is one of the wickedest I have ever known. I have been in the badlands of Springfield and know it to be a terrible place of crime an iniquity. . . . In years to come you will look back on these days and wonder why such places were permitted” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 9, 1911).⁵⁷

Whether intentional or not, by the 1890s, commercial houses of prostitution were located within two “segregated” districts, often referred to as “red light” districts. The largest of these segregated districts was centered on the Eighth and Jefferson Street intersection, within eyesight of both the City police station, and County jail. The second of these “segregated districts” was centered on the 300 block of North Tenth Street, extending on both Madison and Mason Streets. The City administration’s tacit acceptance of this industry within the downtown was predicated, in large part, by the monies generated by the monthly round-ups of the working women and the payment of well-established fines, a process that was well established in Springfield by the 1870s.⁵⁸ The concept of “segregated districts” for control of illicit activities such as prostitution was a hot topic of discussion during the early years of the twentieth century by social reformers and politicians, with several communities as diverse as Des Moines, Iowa, New Orleans, Louisiana (as well as both Peoria and Chicago in Illinois) legally mandating distinct locations for such enterprises in hopes of better controlling the illicit activities. Although these two districts were well established by the 1890s, it is unclear whether this was a result of informal city-wide policies, or simply developed by way of practicality and/or happenchance. In 1909, the newly elected Springfield mayor John Schnepf attempted to formalize the practice in an effort to crackdown on the city’s prostitution industry. As a result, Schnepf established a series of “laws” to cut down on street-walking, and public nuisances resulting from uncontrolled solicitation. According to the Register, prior to Schnepf’s new policies regarding the “creation” of a segregated district and abolishment of the “quarterly fine system,” houses of prostitution were located “in the best business districts of the city and in some of the best residence districts of Springfield” with “street walkers” located throughout the city’s public locations. With the help of the Chief of Police Henry Kramer, the City claimed to have dramatically cleaned up the community with the creation of these segregated districts (*Illinois State Register*, 24 October 1909:13).⁵⁹

⁵⁷ The news article was entitled “Calls Tenderloin Here Among Worst: Mrs. C. L. Wolfe, At Anti-Vice Meeting, Tells of Vice in Springfield” (*Illinois State Journal*, May 9, 1911). The reporter further wrote that “Mrs. Wolfe’s talk was one of the most impressive addresses on the condition in the underworld of Chicago and this city that ever has been given in Springfield. Mrs. Wolfe told of her work in Chicago, where she has accomplished much in her fight against vice. She gave in detail the story of how she stood in the doorways of many resorts pleading with men not to enter; of how she was attacked on one occasion; and in one instance narrowly escaped death. The police threatened her and gave every protection in their power to the dives, she claims, but regardless of this, she has been able to save many a young man from a life of shame.”

⁵⁸ The *Register* suggested that these arrests were conducted on a quarterly time frame, and refers to this as the “quarterly fine system” (*Illinois State Register*, 24 October 1909:13).

⁵⁹ Local support of Schnepf’s plan was not universally accepted. When the City Commissioners attempted to formally expand the “segregated district” to include a stretch of Reynolds Street, local landowners were outraged (“Fight Against Vice District,” *Illinois State Register*, 13 May 1913, p. 3; *Illinois State Journal* 16 May 1913, p. 7).

To what degree Schnepf's policies had impacted the vice industry in Springfield is questionable. Business seems to have continued, more-or-less, unabated in Springfield's long-established red-light districts. In the spring of 1913, Springfield's vice district came under scrutiny during hearings conducted by the Illinois Senate over the morality of the state's lieutenant governor (*Illinois State Register*, May 11, 1913; State of Illinois 1913). According to the Senate committee, prostitution in Springfield at the time included not only the presence of the well-established red-light districts, but the practice of a "call system" for procuring working women in a variety of the local hotels and cafes in the community. In late 1914, the Russell Sage Foundation of New York City sponsored a multi-faceted study of the "social health" offered by the public services in the City of Springfield in an effort to identify specific needs of the community. This study outlined many of the problems facing the city at the time—not the least of which was inadequate housing for the Negro District, unsanitary conditions in the older sections of the community, and an over-reliance on liquor license fees to fund the City treasury. The Russell Sage Foundation also weighed in heavily on the prostitution problem in Springfield and the immorality of the presence of segregated districts for prostitution (Potter 1915). As the Russell Sage Foundation noted, "segregation rather than suppression is the policy of the Springfield police department toward vice," and "clandestine prostitution flourishes in many hotels and rooming houses" (Potter 1915:164). According to Potter (1915), the segregated district comprised a large area located north of Washington Street and east of Seventh Street, and within this district

there were identified 33 recognized houses of prostitution containing white women—five with but one inmate each,—and a considerable number of Negro houses with something like 60 inmates. In the white houses alone were 143 inmates in September 1914. With the exception of three three-dollar to five-dollar houses and one two-dollar house and three-dollar house, these Springfield houses charge \$1.00 to \$2.00. It is estimated by one who should know that taken as a whole, earnings of inmates average \$25 a week. At this rate the total income of the houses containing white women alone would be \$3,575 a week, \$15,400 a month, and \$185,000 a year. Another person estimates the total earnings of recognized houses black and white at \$2,730 a week or \$140,000 a year. Even on the basis of the lower figures it is clear that one reason why suppression of commercialized prostitution is so difficult, even though specifically forbidden by state law, is the size of the profits of the traffic.⁶⁰

Potter noted that a similar number of inmates (women and girls) also were working in hotels, rooming houses, and assignation houses under the guise of the "call" system.⁶¹ Not

⁶⁰ See also "SEGREGATION HIT IN SURVEY REPORT. Russell Sage Experts Issue Statement on Vice in City" (*Illinois State Journal*, 4 July 1915, p. 15) and "VICE IS REDUCE BY SUPPRESSION. RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION IS AGAINST 'SEGREGATION'" (*Illinois State Register*, 4 June 1915, p. 2).

⁶¹ Potter (1915:164) noted that the segregated district was "indicated by red lights, house names painted on the doors, and soliciting from windows. Later, however, the names were removed and open soliciting largely abolished, but the character of the district was still apparent." Potter (1915:167) also noted the impact on the community's health due to the acceptance of prostitution: "That venereal disease is more common in Springfield than generally supposed is shown by data presented in the public health section of the survey [Schneider 1915]. Forty-nine

unexpectedly, the Russell Sage Foundation recommended not only the total abolishment of the segregated district, but also strict adherence to the existing laws and abolishment of prostitution in general.

Subsequent civic reforms forthcoming from the work of the Russell Sage Foundation included, among others, the closing of many saloons within the Levee district, and improvements in the water and sewer services to the older sections of the town (Ihlder 1914; Decker and Harrison 1917; Russo 1983:48-49). By this time, the concept of “segregated districts” for prostitution was coming into disfavor among the increasingly progressive urban communities in the United States. In 1912, Des Moines abolished the use of segregated districts to control prostitution (Iowa Injunction Law), with similar laws being passed in California and Washington, D.C (the latter being the “Kenyon Red Light Bill”).⁶² In late 1915, the City of Springfield also put an official end to the city’s segregated district. Through the efforts of the sheriff-physician J. A. Wheeler, the segregated district of Springfield came to an end, and all houses of ill fame were ordered closed. Leading up to this historical occasion was the death of Augusta Kellogg (aka Madam Jessie Brownie) in 1910. The death of Madam Brownie signaled the end of her notorious and palatial resort at Eighth and Jefferson Street. Similarly, in circa 1910, the long-running establishment of Mag Brown was also shuttered just south of Madam Brownie’s resort on Eighth Street.⁶³ The closure of these two, long-running resorts marked an end to a what was the heyday of the city’s “sporting establishments.” As the Journal noted

The final Saturday night in the last chapter of Springfield’s segregated district passed into history as anything but a joyous occasion. Farewell parties of the denizens of the underworld in that section given to their friends of days gone by proved but mockeries. Each peal of laughter from the inmates carried with it a wail and the pianos jingled seemingly but funeral dirges. The entire scene spelled ‘the end’ for tomorrow after many years of unmolested existence the ‘red light’ district of this city by the edict of Sheriff John A. Wheeler will cease to be. (“SEGREGATED VICE BROKEN BY WHEELER. Proprietors of Resorts Prepare to Leave the City,” *Illinois State Journal*, 17 October 1915, p. 3).

Although this was the end of the segregated district, prostitution nonetheless continued within the city. After closure of the segregated district, working women sought other venues to practice their trade, including frequenting local cafes and other residential areas (*Illinois State Register*, 17 February 1917, p. 9). Mayor Bullard noted, in 1926, that “vice exits in Springfield because Springfield men support it” (*Illinois State Journal*, 20 February 1926, p. 13). Similarly, illicit

physicians reported 160 cases of gonorrhea under treatment, 147 cases of syphilis, and 39 cases of chancroid. The same physicians reported 654 cases of gonorrhea, 398 cases of syphilis, and 212 cases of chancroid under treatment in 1913.”

⁶² In October 1913, the *Illinois State Journal* ran a short notice that the U.S. House of Representatives had passed the “Kenyon bill to eliminate the capital’s segregated district by injunction, after the Des Moines plan” (*Illinois State Journal*, 28 October 1913, p. 7). The Journal also ran an article noting the failure of the City of Peoria’s “useless experiment” with segregated districts (*Illinois State Journal*, 13 May 1914, p. 6).

⁶³ The exact date of the closure of this resort is unknown. Mag Brown no longer appears listed locally in 1910, and the house may have been operated for a short time (circa 1910-1912) by one Helen Payne. In 1915, the old landmark, which apparently had been shuttered, was destroyed by fire.

activities continued to haunt the Levee district for decades. Local artist and poet Jack Proctor self-published a booklet of his poems and artwork depicting life in the Levee during the 1930s and 1940s, which included many references to prostitution in the district (Mann, Russo, and Garvert 1996:95; see also Miller 2005). It was not until the widespread demolition efforts of urban renewal during the later 1960s and 1970s (and the construction of Horace Mann office complex) that the Levee district also became a memory. Nonetheless, even with the eradication of both the segregated district in 1915, and the Levee district in the 1970s, prostitution continues within the Capital City, albeit in new and ever changing venues (cf. Olsen 2024a, b).

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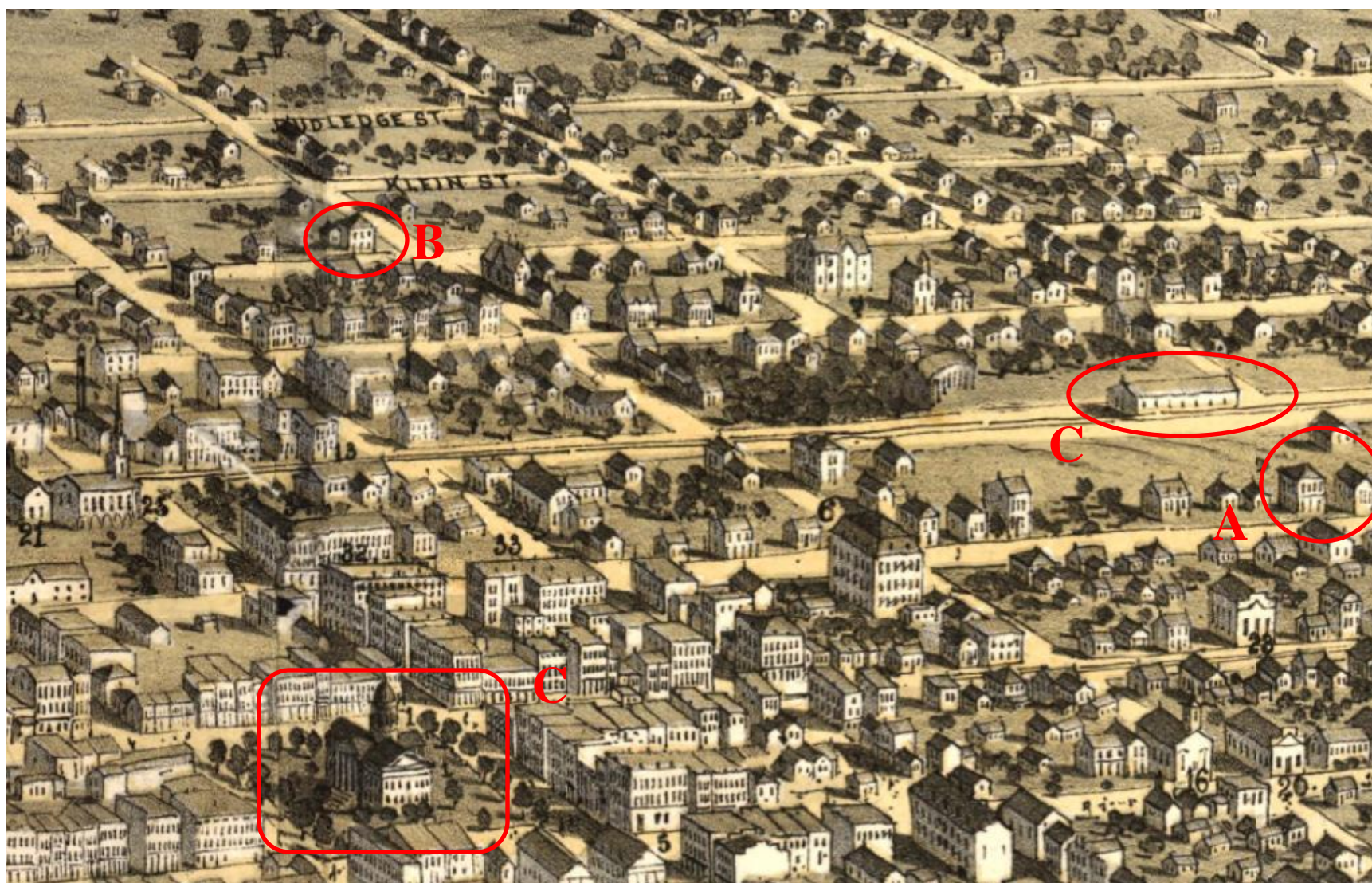


Figure 1. Suspected location of Forts Taylor (A) and Johnson(B), in relationship to the Chicago and Alton Railroad depot (C), as depicted on the 1867 *Bird's Eye View of Springfield* (Ruger 1867). The Illinois State Capitol building (D) is located at the lower left margin of the image.



Figure 2. By 1867, the downtown commercial district had extended east along Washington Street to Seventh Street, with the block between Seventh and Eighth Streets being mixed commercial and residential use (Ruger 1867). East of Eighth Street at this time was predominately residential in character. The existing Wabash Depot (A), and location of the new Wabash Depot (to be constructed in 1868) (B) are both circled in red.

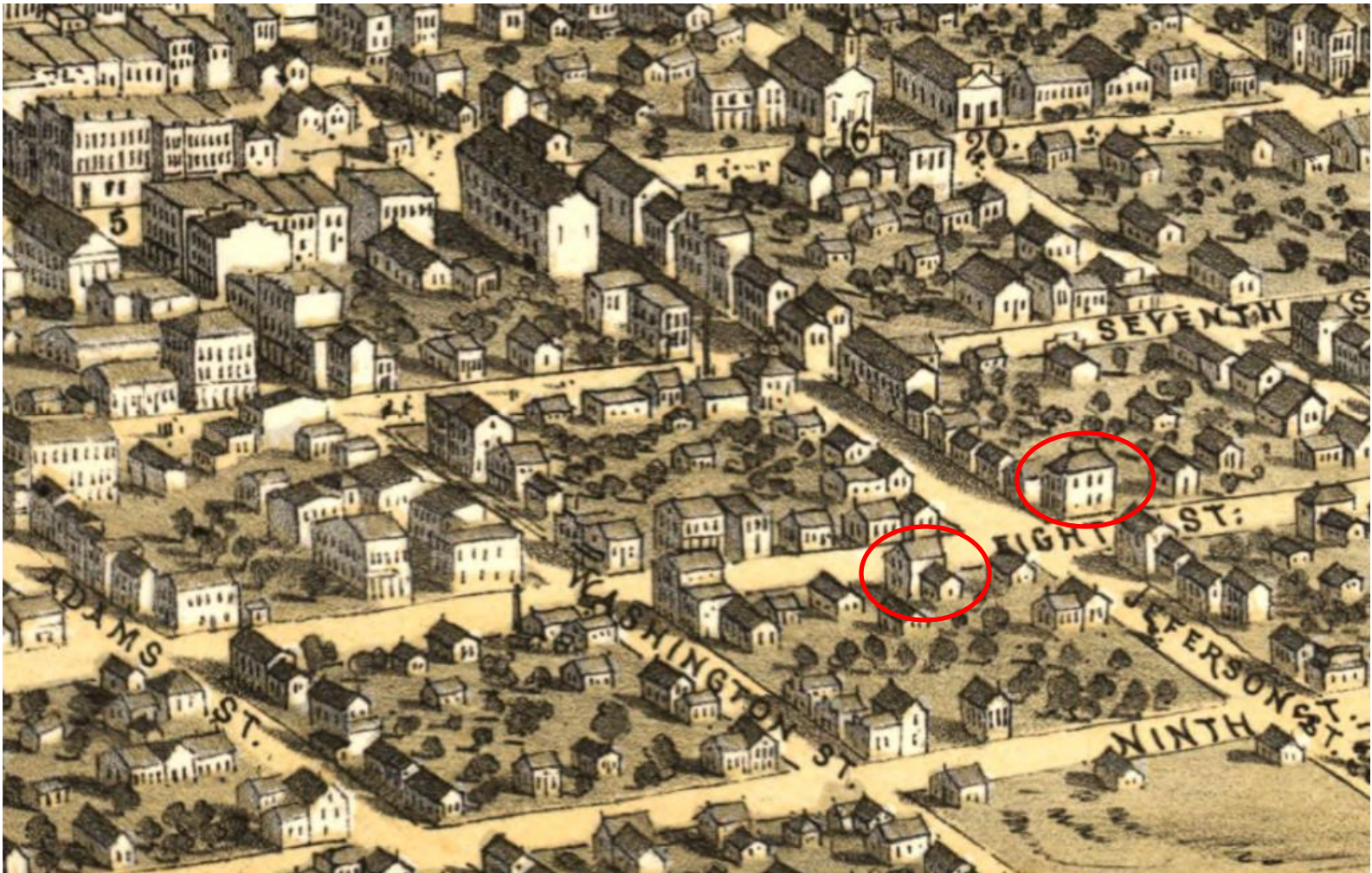


Figure 3. Close-up detail of what was soon to become one of the more infamous districts in Springfield—the Levee (both sides of Washington Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets). The alley south of Washington Street was to become known as Cocaine Alley. The short sections of Eighth Street north of Washington developed into a “resort” district by the early 1870s (and known as “Greasy Row”). The suspected location of Emma Gladden’s (aka Lady Emma Nash’s; later Magie Brown’s) (left circle) and Jessie Brownie’s (right circle) resorts are circled in red. Several others from the 1875 article and 1880 census could be plotted on this figure as well.

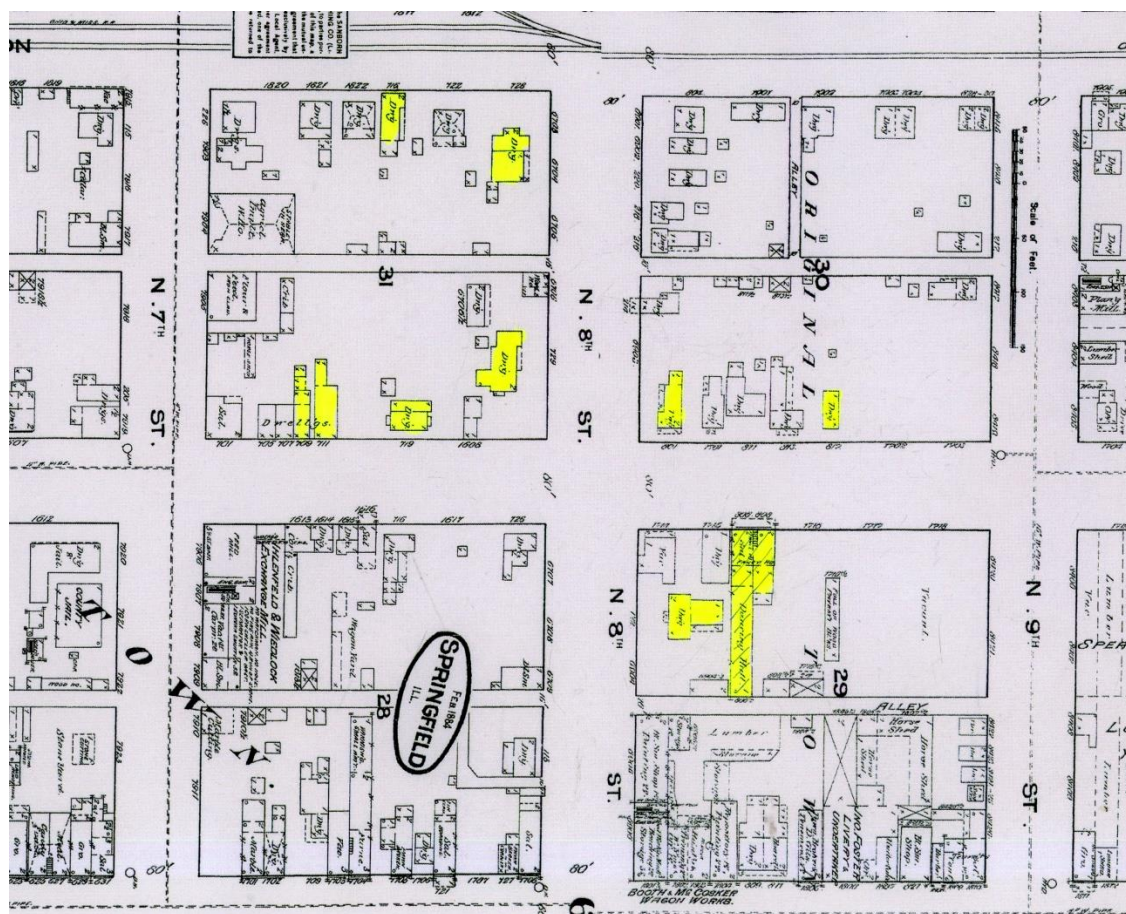


Figure 4. Close-up detail of the Eighth and Jefferson Street intersection in 1884, illustrating the location of several houses of ill fame—an area colloquially known as Greasy Row by the 1870s (Sanborn 1884). The house located along the east side of Eighth Street was originally the well-known Emma Nash resort, which by this date was operated by Madam Mag Brown. Brown’s infamous resort backed up to W. D. Longnecker’s Saloon, Restaurant, and Dance Hall. By this date, Emma Nash was operating from the northeast corner of this intersection. The house at the northwest corner of the intersection was the infamous Jessie Brownie Resort (also known as “the Senate). Located along the south side of Jefferson St Less than a block to the west was located both the city and county jails.

Table 1
Summary of Houses of Ill Fame and/or Prostitutes in Springfield, 1880
(U.S. Census of Population)

<u>Dwelling No./</u> <u>Family No.</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Marital</u> <u>Status</u>	<u>Relationship</u> <u>To Head</u> <u>of House</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
68/151	Mason	Eva Montague	White	30	single		Keeping House
		Millie Wheeler	White	28	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Nellie Wilson	White	18	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Mollie Morgan	White	24	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Lottie Ball	Black	20	single	Servant	Servant
		J. W. Dangerfield	Black	47	married	Servant	Servant
148/148	Mason	Lucille Wilson	White	32	married		Keeping House
		Ida Louis	White	22	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Daisy Morrison	White	15	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Alice Patterson	Black	28	married	Servant	Servant
		Bernice Hall	White	28	single	Servant	Servant
151/159	Ninth	Maggie Brown	White	44	married		Keeping House
		Kitty Eaton	White	30	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Mamie Holmes	White	17	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Adah May	White	19	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Laura Birmingham	White	26	single	Boarder	Prostitute
193/208	Ninth	Emma Chattan	White	50			Prostitute
		Anna Reynolds	White	21	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Maud Johnson	White	19	single	Boarder	Prostitute
194/209	Ninth	Jennie Higgins	White	22	single		Prostitute
		Molie Rodgers	White	25	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Cass Williams	White	23	single	Boarder	Prostitute
204/222	Tenth	Sarah Williams	White	28	divorced		Keeping House
		Joseph Howard	White	26	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Maude Lyles	White	23	divorced	Boarder	Prostitute
206/224	Tenth	Lizzie Kendall	White	22	single		Keeping House
		Orie Kendal	White	3	single	daughter	
		Julia Williams	White	24	single	Boarder	Prostitute
210/230	Washington	Kate Ingram	White	27	single		Keeping House
		Mattie Lawrence	White	22	single	Boarder	Prostitute
239/263	Jefferson	Jessie Brownie	White	44	widowed		Keeping House
		Blanche Gray	White	17	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Caddie Ford	White	19	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Maude Estelle	White	17	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Ida Prentis	White	25	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Bernice Larue	White	25	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Lizzie Daniels	White	20	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Josie Morrison	White	19	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Bertie Hamilton	White	20	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Bertha Night	White	17	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Jessie Willard	White	21	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
		Isaac Gascon	Black	26	single	servant	servant
		Lecia Beasli	Black	27	single	servant	servant
		Walton Beasli	Black	12	single		
240/264	Jefferson	Julia Perkins	Black	35	married	Servant	Keeping House
		Sarah Pyttie	White	22	divorced		Prostitute
		Tauny Rapps	White	24	married	Boarder	Prostitute
		Julia Hann	White	25	divorced	Boarder	Prostitute
		May St. Clair	White	24	single	Boarder	Prostitute
241/265	Jefferson	Alice Rethford	White	29			Keeping House
		Hattie Joabs	White	27	married	Boarder	Prostitute
		Lizzie Lucas	White	24	married	Boarder	Prostitute
		Mary Goams	White	18	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Carrie Goams	White	16	single	Boarder	Prostitute
		Sarah Hawthorn	White	35	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute
242/266	Jefferson	John Flannigan	White	37	married		Keeping House
		Catherine Flanniga	White	38	married	wife	
		Nancy Flannigan	White	17	single	daughter	Prostitute
		Sarah Flannigan	White	15	single	daughter	Prostitute
		Rosa Flannigan	White	12	single	daughter	
		Carry W. Flanniga	White	5	single	daughter	
		Ocio Flannigan	White	9	single	daughter	
		Belle McDermott	White	22	single	Boarder	Prostitute
Mollie Stone	White	21	single	Boarder	Prostitute		
336/345	Eleventh	Nellie Sherman	White	34	married		Keeping House
		Albert Sherman	White	3	son		
		Annie Tracy	White	25	widowed	Boarder	Prostitute



Figure 6. Photograph of working girl in Pennsylvanian brothel, 1892 (Johnson 2018). As with the more established and/or formal brothels in Springfield at the turn-of-the-century, the majority of the working girls were white, and working in a resort operated by white madames.

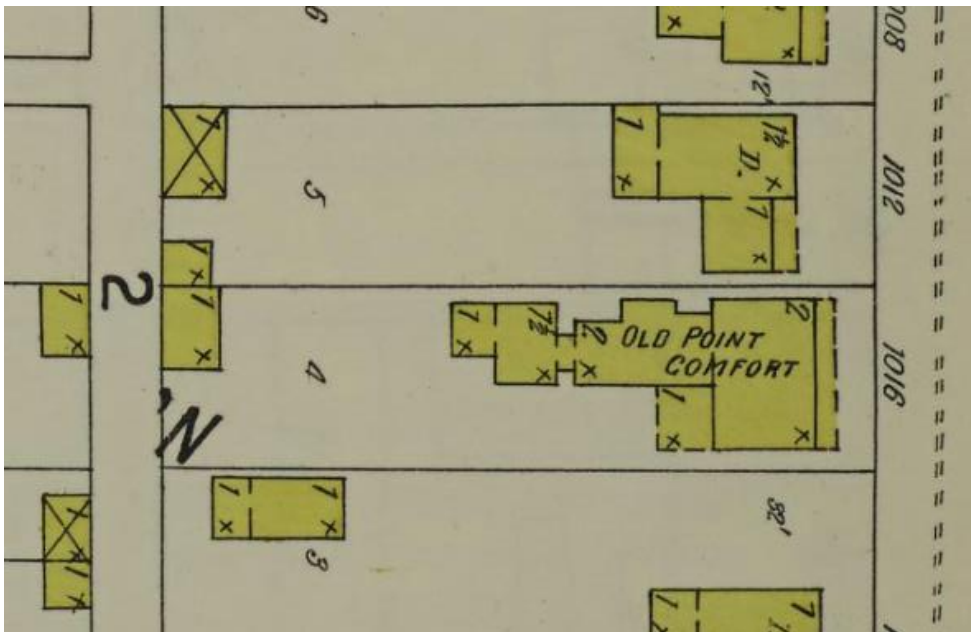
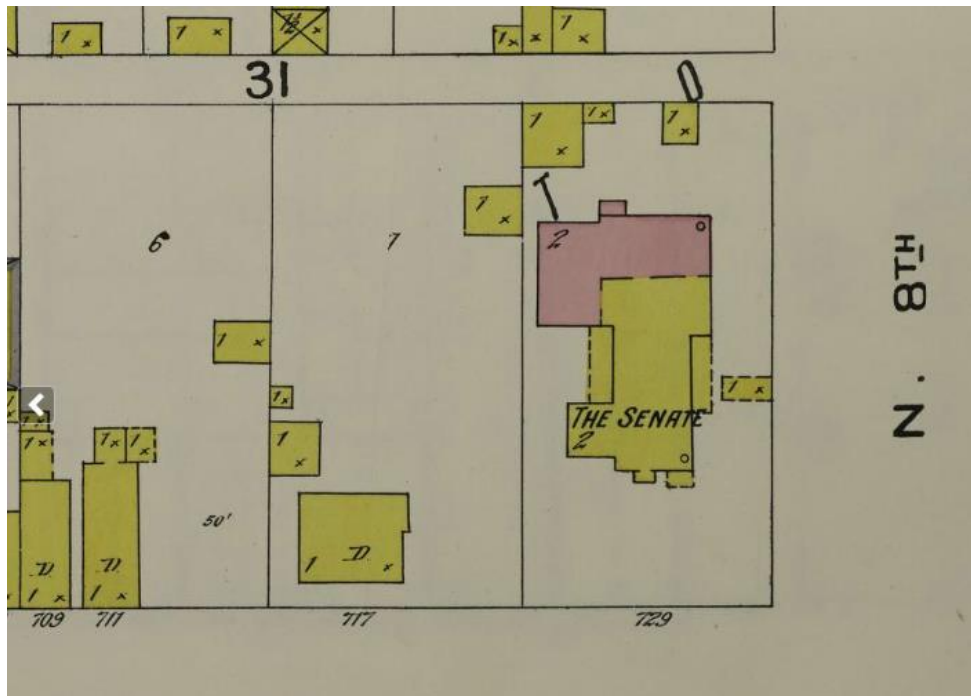


Figure 7. The 1896 Sanborn fire insurance map labels two of the more prominent resorts in Springfield by name (Sanborn-Perris Map Company 1896). Top: The Senate, operated by August Kellogg (aka Jessie Brownie) was located at the northwest corner of Jefferson and North Eighth Streets. Bottom: The Old Point Comfort, operated by numerous madames over the years, was located at 1016 East Mason Street.

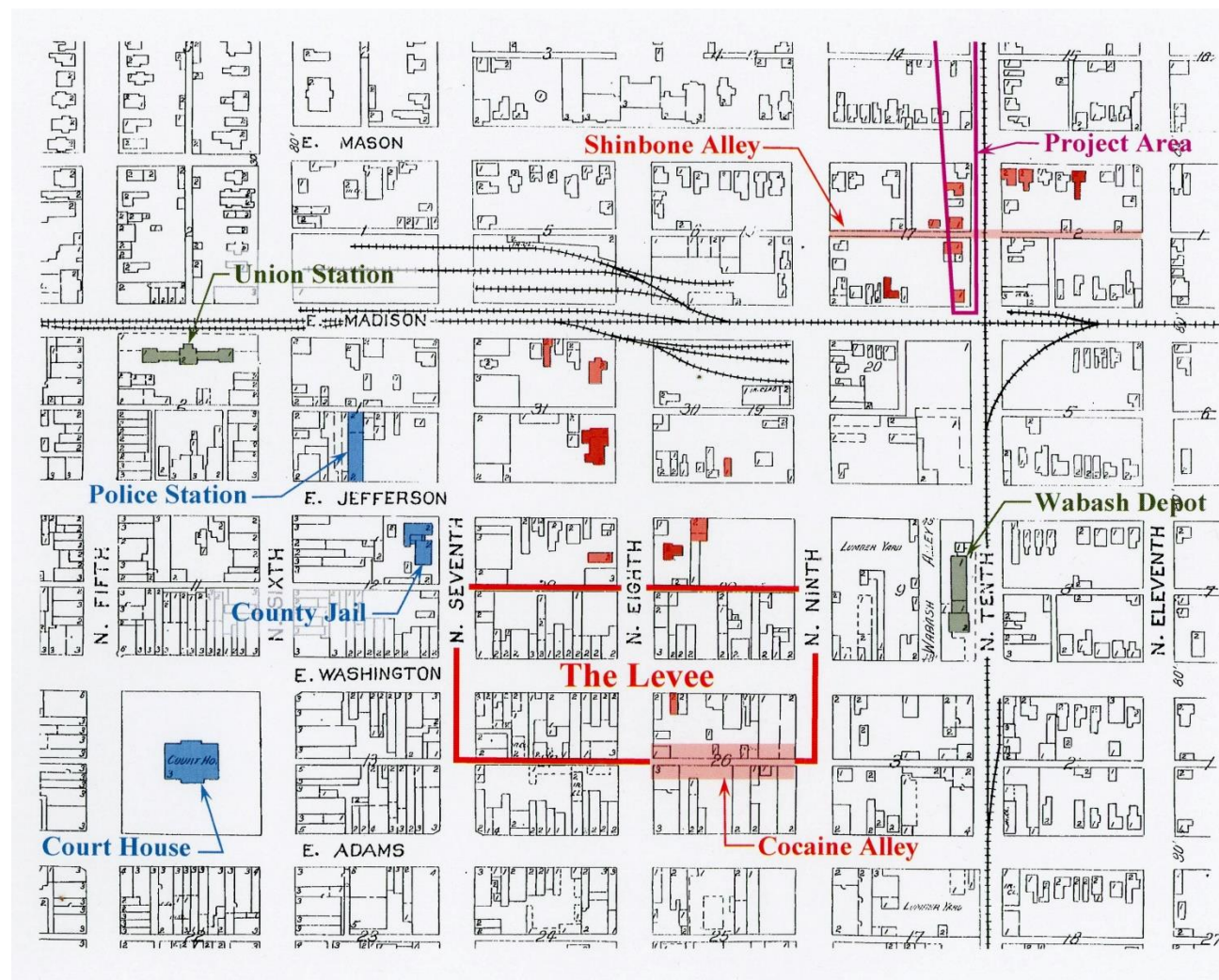


Figure 8. Location of the Levee (and the Tenth Street Rail Improvements Project in relationship to the Central Business district, County Jail, and City Police Station. Buildings highlighted in red are known locations of “houses of ill fame.” Also indicated are the locations of Cocaine Alley and Shinbone Alley. The cluster of houses of ill fame along Eighth Street became known as Greasy Row by the 1870s. The large brothel at the northwest corner of Jefferson and Eighth Street was colloquially known as “the Senate.”



Figure 9. Photographic documentation of Springfield resorts (houses of prostitution) are rare. Top: This image depicts the “house of ill fame” initially established in the early 1870s by Emma Nash (aka Emma Taylor), and later occupied variously Nellie Wood and Mabel Baxter at 915 East Madison Street (ALPLM Ide Collection PC7). This was a large, traditional, two-story frame dwelling, and would have been similar to the well-known Eighth Street resort occupied by (Mag Brown). Bottom: Postcard labeled “Home of Ina Williams / Wrecked and Burned” (ALPLM Ide Collection PC6). This was most likely the pseudonym of Ina Smith, who operated a house of prostitution at 817 East Jefferson Street. The 1896 Sanborn map noted that this house was an old and vacant dwelling. Although in abandoned and in poor condition, Ina appears to have re-occupied the dwelling with her girls. The size and dilapidated condition of this front-gable dwelling was off-set by its location in the heart of the Jefferson Street resort district. In contrast, the dwelling occupied by Madam Jessie Brownie known as “the Senate” (located at the northwest corner of Eighth and Jefferson Street) was a much larger and ornate dwelling that contrasted sharply with these two structures. Together these three resorts illustrate the “scale of quality” associated with resorts within Springfield at the turn of the century.

Table 1
Summary of Newspaper Research for
“Shinbone Alley” and Cocaine Alley” Locations, Springfield, Illinois
(ISJ=Illinois State Journal; ISR=Illinois State Register; SN=Springfield News)

SHINBONE
ALLEY

3/8	1893	ISR	William Clay	Arrested; child molestation/attempted rape (btw Mad. & Mason, nr 10th)
3/13	1894	ISR		Shanty fire (btw 8th & 9th; Adams & Washington)
8/8	1895	ISR	Lincoln Morgan & Lou Belle Clark	Arrested for assault and battery
7/28	1896	ISR	Joe and Jennie Brown	Arrested for vagrancy
9/19	1896	ISR	Laura Driggs & Sadie Harris	Arrested for larceny
9/19	1896	ISR	Sam Curry & George Williams	Curry fined \$5 for assaulting Williams
3/30	1897	ISR	Nellie Wilson; Scott & Richardson	Stole diamond from Mollie Chambers' house
5/16	1897	ISR	Etta Page; Ollie Covington & George Lewis	Page had Patterson and Lewis arrested for assault and battery
5/28	1897	ISR	Frank Williams & Alonzo Smith	Arrested and discharged for burglary
5/25	1898	ISR	Fannie Wilson & Carrie Scott	Scott accused Wilsons of running "robber's roost" at 322 N. 10th
9/26	1898	ISR	Ivy Stephenson	Arrested for disorderly conduct
10/28	1898	ISR	William Shanks	From Berlin vicinity; robbed of \$5 by "loddies" of tenderloin district
7/23	1899	ISJ	William Smith and Maggie Howey	Arrested for disturbance; unplatted court known as Shinbone Alley
7/20	1899	ISJ	William Smith & Maggie Howey	Arrested for disturbance at unplatted court, 10th and Madison

COCAINE
ALLEY

6/3	1902	SN		Mayor has plan for abolition/reformation of Alley
7/21	1898	ISJ	George Lewis & Glen Arnold	Robbed man by tracks
10/2	1898	ISR		George Barnet (the "carver") badly cut visitor to district
12/28	1898	ISR	Ivy Stephenson	Jailed for failure to pay fine; disorderly conduct
5/30	1899	ISJ	Ella Brown	Arrested; more arrests to follow; behind Bob Winston residence
7/3	1899	ISJ	Boehner & Loomis families	Fight

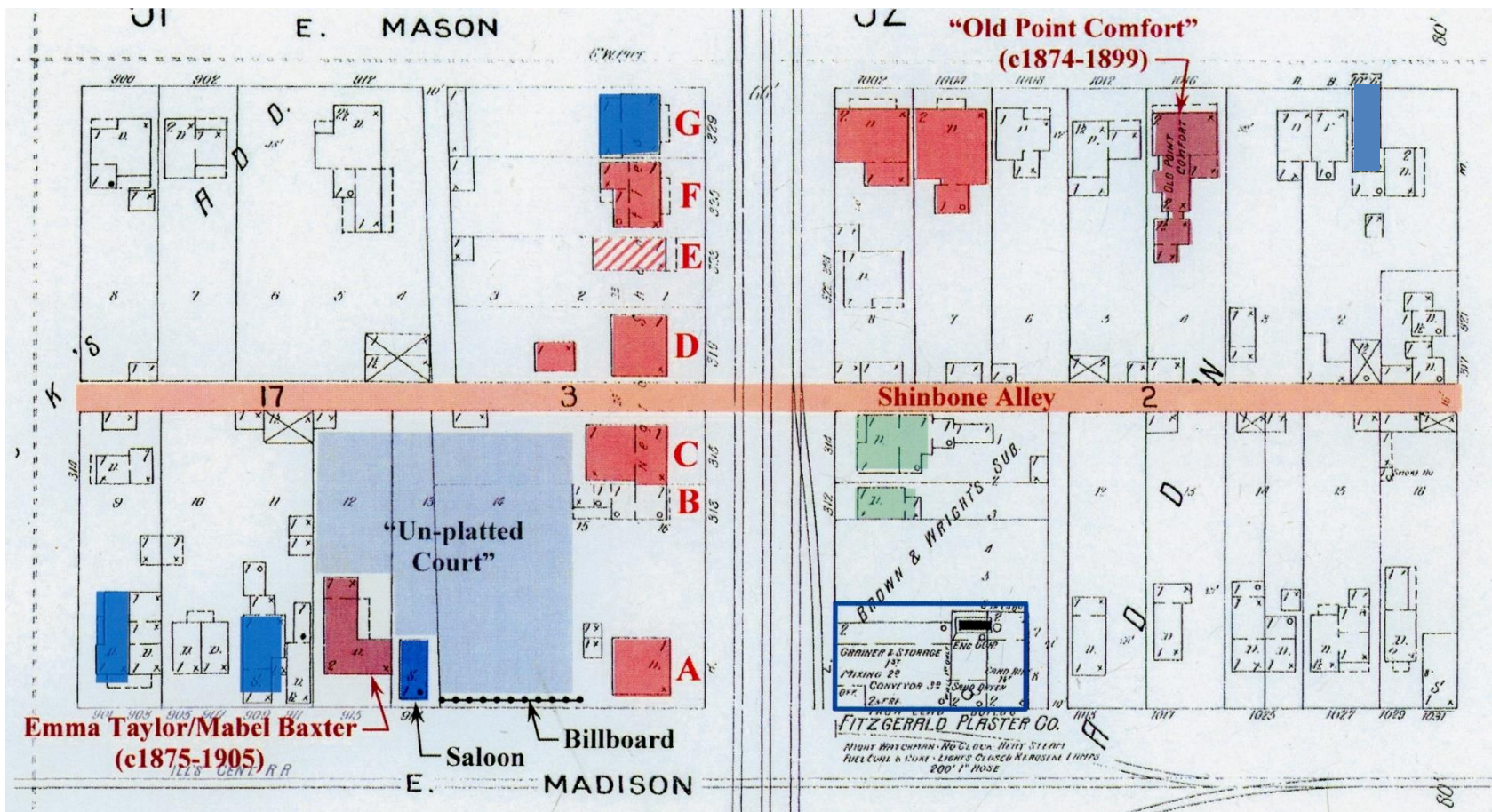
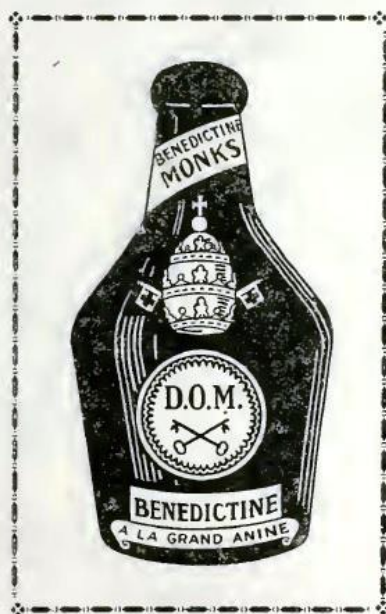


Figure 10. Close-up view of the Tenth and Madison Street location (southwest corner of the Badlands district) in 1896 indicating the location of known “houses of ill fame” at different points in time (highlighted in red) and other landscape features (such as Shinbone Alley). By circa 1907-08, the houses highlighted in blue functioned as saloons, and those highlighted in green most likely were operating as opium dens and/or gambling houses. Of particular note are the locations of the infamous Emma Taylor/Mabel Baxter and Old Point Comfort resorts in relationship to the Tenth Street Rail Improvements Project (Houses A through G).

Lincoln's Home Town!

HELL AT MIDNIGHT IN SPRINGFIELD

or A Burning History of the Sin and Shame
Of the Capital City of Illinois



This is the only book ever published exposing Benedictine, the infamous dope made by the Monks in their monasteries and sold in dives and brothels throughout the slums of the world. It is a terrible story. Don't miss it.

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MILAN, ILLINOIS
1924

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Figure 11. Cover of William Lloyd Clark's book entitled *Hell at Midnight, or A Burning History of the Sin and Shame of the Capital City of Illinois*. This expose of the vice district in Springfield was initially published in 1910 (Clark 1910). The original 1910 cover had an image of Lincoln's bust.