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Sex (Work) And the City: Sex Work in Columbia, South Carolina, 1860-1880

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SEX (WORK) AND THE CITY: SEX WORK IN COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1860-1880

by

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DEDICATION

To my mamaw, Myrtle Sue Salyers. Without your love and support, I would not be where I am today, nor would I be the woman I am today. I love you, Darling.

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ABSTRACT

Nineteenth-century sex work in the American south has long been neglected in sex work historiography. Formerly Confederate states have red-light districts rich in history, and stories of the South waiting to be told. The city of Columbia has great significance as the capital of the first southern state to secede from the Union, and this thesis acts as a local history of the city's red-light district. Utilizing city ordinances, court cases, census records, city directories, probate records, and wills, the lives of Columbia's sex workers and how they interacted with the growing city around them are brought to the forefront. I argue that Columbia's red-light district reflects the gradual racial diversification and growth of the southern sex trade and how the district—in combination with the Civil War, industrialization, and the Reconstruction era—influenced the city's landscape in the years between 1860 and 1880.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Whosoever shall erect, establish, continue, maintain, use, own, occupy, lease, or re-lease any building, erection or place used for the purpose of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution in the State of South Carolina, is guilty of a nuisance, and the building, erection, or place, or the ground itself in or upon which such lewdness, assignation, or prostitution is conducted, permitted or carried on, continued, or exists…[1]

South Carolina did not pass its first law criminalizing "prostitution" until 1918. With the passage of this legislation, the state of South Carolina initiated a war against the state's sex trade. The legislation specifically targeted the capital city of Columbia. In 1917, Columbia, South Carolina's capital since 1786, witnessed the construction of Fort Jackson within its city limits, gaining a formal and active military presence. The popularity of the city's red-light district among military personnel caught the attention of government officials. With the United States at the height of its involvement in World War I, the state could not risk the possibility of a venereal disease pandemic influencing the performance of military personnel because of Columbia's red-light district—such as

[1] *Code of Laws of South Carolina*, volume 1, 1922.

happened during the American Civil War.[2] Before 1918, Columbia's red-light district had operated for at least 80 years without restriction.

"Red-light district" became the prescribed term for areas associated with sex work that functioned as a physical barrier between the sex trade and the rest of the city to isolate "immoral" behavior.[3] Sex work expanded within vibrant red-light districts across the American south in the nineteenth century. The physical separation of sex work did not limit the populace's access to their services. Red-light districts grew rapidly as towns expanded into cities and populations increased. Columbia was one of these urban centers in which the sex trade grew throughout the nineteenth century.

Figure 1.1 Southwest view from South Carolina's State House, looking down on the red-light district. From Art Work Scenes in South Carolina, *1895. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.*

[2] Alexia Helsley, *Wicked Columbia: Vice and Villainy in the Capital* (Charleston: The History Press, 2013), 739. Kindle eBook.

[3] Charles Winnick and Paul M. Kinsie, *The Lively Commerce: Prostitution in the United States* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 132. "Red-light district" is a term derived from a late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century western frontier tradition in which railroad workers hung red glass lanterns outside of brothels. In doing so, their fellow railroaders could easily locate them in case of emergency.

While the term "sex work" refers to the commodification of the body through sexual acts—such as intercourse, oral sex, stripping, or the production of pornography—in exchange for monetary compensation, in this thesis, I elect to refer to the occupation designated in historical records as "prostitution" as sex work and its practitioners as sex workers. Scholars often use "prostitution" in place of sex work, and, in turn, sex workers are called "prostitutes." Negative connotations attached to "prostitution" degrades and dehumanizes the experiences of these individuals while also stimulating assumptions about them that historians cannot allow to persist. I use sex work/sex workers to reveal the identities of the women involved, for whom this was most likely only one chapter of their lives. This terminology also promotes a change in the reception of sex work by the public to bring attention to the humanity of the sex worker, who faced victimization and being remembered as one of society's "fallen women."[4]

This thesis initiates further study into red-light districts and sex workers in formerly Confederate states. Even though these states possess rich sex work histories,

[4] Local and federal governments have made efforts to limit the protection provided to sex workers since states began criminalizing the sex trade in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because of this lack of protection, cases of missing and murdered sex workers have not received the attention they should. Allowing the negativity surrounding the sex trade to persist in historical analysis promotes the neglect, brutalization, and torment sex workers face in the United States still today.

there has not been a book-length work focusing solely on them.[5] To produce scholarship on nineteenth-century American sex work, historians must consult secondary literature that considers the intersectionality of gender, sexuality, and Civil War history. A central and persistent historiographical theme is the importance of the Union military and its occupation of southern cities. Historians Sarah Pullman Amundson, Catherine Clinton, John Gaines, Judith Giesberg, and Thomas P. Lowry have written on the federal government's attempts at regulating the sex trade during the Civil War, the venereal disease health crisis, and the moral implications that the sex trade had for Union soldiers.[6]

[5] The exception to this is Louisiana, which was "in rebellion against the Unites States." According to the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, the areas of Louisiana which have already received attention from scholars are exceptions to the state-wide rebellion against the Union, i.e., the parish of Orleans and the city of New Orleans. Abraham Lincoln, *Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation*, 1862. https://www.loc.gov/item/scsm000950/.

[6] Sarah Pullman Amundson, "A Woman Lies Bleeding on the Ground: Prostitution and Underground Economy in Nineteenth Century Charleston," (Master's thesis, Iowa State University, 2017).; Catherine Clinton, "'Public Women' and Sexual Politics During the American Civil War," in *Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).; John Gaines, *An Evening with Venus: Prostitution During the American Civil War* (Buffalo Gap, TX: State House Press, 2014).; Judith Giesberg, *Sex and the Civil War: Soldiers, Pornography, and the Making of American Morality* (Chapel Hill: University of North

Another consistent theme in sex work historiography is a concentration on southern cities during the Progressive Era, as in the work of historians Daniel Bluestone and Katie Eichler. Such is evident in historian Jacqueline Shelton's work, there is also a tendency for broader studies to generalize themes in American sex work throughout geographic region.[7]

The Civil War plays a key role in the scholarship on American sex work in the nineteenth century. Clinton kickstarted the field with her 2006 article "'Public Women' and Sexual Politics During the American Civil War," where she argues that the term "public women" expressed contempt for women "who supported themselves *solely*" by

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Carolina Press, 2017).; Thomas Lowry, *The Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell: Sex in the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2012).

[7] Daniel Bluestone, "Charlottesville's Landscape of Prostitution, 1880-1950," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2015).; Katie Eichler, "More Dangerous Than Enemy's Bullets: Anti-Prostitution Activism, Conservatism, and Social Reform in Columbia, South Carolina 1915-1945" (Master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2002).; Jacqueline Shelton, "Evil Becomes Her: Prostitution's Transition to Social Evil in 19th Century America" (Master's thesis, East Tennessee State University, 2013). See also Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992).; Regina G. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

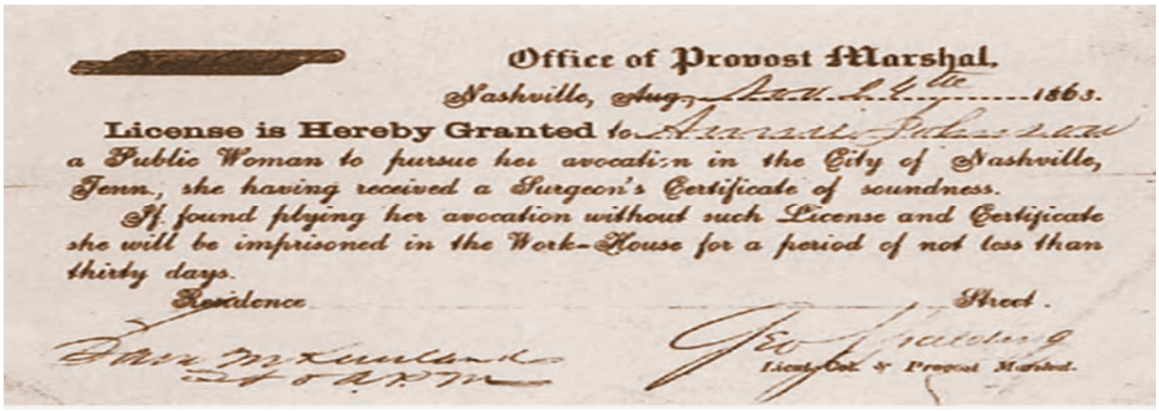
having sex with multiple companions for money.[8] The article generated interest in the study of southern sex workers and the role of the Union government in policing and regulating sex work in the south. While Civil War doctors knew of the debilitating nature of venereal disease and could treat infection, still three out of five soldiers during the Civil War died of disease, not battle.[9] The efforts in Nashville, Tennessee to rid the city of sex workers is representative of the attempts made by the Union to police—not regulate—sex work. When Nashville came under Union occupation, Union General George Spalding attempted to ship "prostitutes" from the city on the *Idahoe*, which became known as the "Floating Whorehouse," to Cincinnati, Ohio. They were sent back, having been denied entrance to both Cincinnati and Louisville, Kentucky.[10] Thomas P. Lowry, in his 2012 book *The Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell: Sex in the Civil War*, pinpoints Nashville as the original city in which the "prostitution" licensing system formally legalized sex work. General Spalding was also responsible for orchestrating a shift in government attempts at policing toward regulation by creating a set of guidelines that provided sex workers with access to monthly physicals, and a degree of safety uncommon for the profession.[11] This licensing system ceased when the Union solidified

[8] Clinton, "'Public Women,'" 62.

[9] Clinton, "'Public Women,'" 62.

[10] Clinton, "'Public Women,'" 63.

[11] See Lowry, *The Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell* for a more in-depth explanation of how the licensing system functioned in Nashville. In 1864, the licensing system in



Office of Provost Marshal,

Nashville, Aug. [illegible] 1863.

License is Hereby Granted to [illegible]

a Public Woman to pursue her avocation in the City of Nashville, Tenn., she having received a Surgeon's Certificate of soundness.

If found plying her avocation without such License and Certificate she will be imprisoned in the Work-House for a period of not less than thirty days.

Residence [illegible] Street.

[illegible] Lieut Col & Provost Marshal.

Figure 1.2 "Prostitution license" from Nashville, Tennessee, issued to Anne Johnson by the Office of Provost Marshal and signed by Provost Marshal Lieutenant Colonel George Spalding, on November 24th, 1863. "U.S. Army Prostitution License," November 24, 1863, National Archives.

its victory, and the beginning of Reconstruction kickstarted an intensification of moral reform efforts that shifted government interests towards policing sex work.[12] In wartime, the United States government attempted to control sex work to ensure the sexual health of

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Nashville expended to include African American sex workers in addition to white sex workers.

[12] See Janet Brodie, *Contraception and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).; Katie Eichler, "More Dangerous Than Enemy's Bullets: Anti-Prostitution Activism, Conservatism, and Social Reform in Columbia, South Carolina 1915-1945" (Master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2002).; Judith Giesberg, *Sex and the Civil War: Soldiers, Pornography, and the Making of American Morality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).; Jacqueline Shelton, "Evil Becomes Her: Prostitution's Transition to Social Evil in 19th Century America" (Master's thesis, East Tennessee State University, 2013).

American soldiers, as exemplified by the regulation of the red-light district in Nashville during the Civil War and the policing in Columbia during World War I.

In 2017, Giesberg's *Sex and the Civil War: Soldiers, Pornography, and the Making of American Morality* argued that, by exploring how soldiers gained access and interacted with "obscene materials," the sexual culture of military camps becomes more accessible to historians by understanding legislative campaigns to regulate and redefine American sexuality and reproduction.[13] Giesberg explores the idea perpetuated by the United States government that human sexuality could be policed to feign the existence of a purely moral America. In the same year, Amundson's "A Woman Lies Bleeding on the Ground: Prostitution and Underground Economy in Nineteenth Century Charleston" explores madam Fanny Cochran, arguing that her life and death demands a "more nuanced understanding of the connections created and utilized by the 'powerless' women in the socially unacceptable but ubiquitous enterprise of prostitution."[14] The work of Clinton, Giesberg, and Amundson underscores the need for more research on sex work at the intersection of gender and sexuality.

Thomas Lowry and John Gaines focus their research on sex work's influence on Union soldiers, seeing sex workers as a danger to public health. Lowry argues that discussing the sexual aspects of the Civil War is to "question the very symbol of that age" and emphasizes that the lack of sexual conversation among soldiers insinuates that

[13] Giesberg, *Sex and the Civil War*, 6.

[14] Amundson, "A Woman Lies Bleeding on the Ground," 4.

"something is there."[15] Through this work, Lowry analyzes the federal government's regulation efforts of the sex trade to control venereal disease, which had incapacitated many Union soldiers. He also explores the impact of those regulations on the trade. On the other hand, Gaines' *An Evening with Venus: Prostitution During the American Civil War* argues that the Civil War's sex trade had lasting consequences for the moral and physical health of soldiers, sex workers, and clients interacting with the trade.[16] Moral implications of the sex trade have been a major concern for sex work historians of the nineteenth century, and those implications persist into studies of the twentieth century.

The historiography of southern sex work focuses largely on the period between 1890 to 1940. Katie Eichler's 2002 master's thesis, "More Dangerous Than Enemy's Bullets: Anti-Prostitution Activism, Conservatism, and Social Reform in Columbia, South Carolina 1915-1945," discusses the role that anti-vice campaigns played in the south by analyzing how citizens responded.[17] While Eichler provides a comprehensive study of anti-vice campaigns, she fails to address the sex workers individually and does not analyze their relationship to the city and its landscape. Daniel Bluestone's 2015 article, "Charlottesville's Landscape of Prostitution, 1880-1950," analyzes the landscape in which sex work operated, arguing that law enforcement, government officials, politicians, and university personnel played a role in maintaining the prosperity of

[15] Lowry, *The Story the Soldiers Wouldn't Tell*, 8.

[16] Gaines, *An Evening with Venus*, xvii.

[17] Eichler, "More Dangerous Than Enemy's Bullets," v.

Charlottesville's red-light district.[18] His analysis of the University of Virginia's relationship to the city's red-light district provides a unique perspective of the south's relationship with sex work by drawing connections between students' use of the sex trade and the red-light district's proximity to the university. Finally, Jacqueline Shelton's 2013 thesis "Evil Becomes Her: Prostitution's Transition from Necessary to Social Evil in 19th Century America," argues that "prostitution" evolved from a practice that protected moral women to a social evil in which sex workers were responsible for the moral degradation of society.[19]

Though the voices of southern sex workers are often silent in the historical record, their presence is undeniable as they interacted with their cities and navigated the complex social relations in red-light districts. Columbia's small red-light district is integral to understanding the relationship between southern cities and their red-light districts because of its significance as the capital city of the first state to succeed from the Union as well as its political, economic, and social roles in postbellum society. Through the analysis of city ordinances, court cases, census records, city directories, probate records, and wills, this thesis—as local history of Columbia's red-light district—brings the lives of Columbia's sex workers and their interactions with the growing city into focus. Columbia's red-light district reflects the gradual racial diversification and growth of the southern sex trade and how the district—in combination with the Civil War,

[18] Bluestone, "Charlottesville's Landscape of Prostitution, 1880-1950," 36.

[19] Shelton, "Evil Becomes Her," 10.

industrialization, and the Reconstruction era—influenced the city's landscape between 1860 and 1880.

CHAPTER 2

SEX (WORK) AND THE SIXTIES

Throughout the 1860s, Columbia's red-light district underwent great change. Its boundaries expanded further into the city as Columbia's relationship with it fluctuated with the political, social, and economic atmosphere of Civil War America and the early years of Reconstruction. Columbia's red-light district, though small, appeared in relation to the South Carolina State House and the city market. As early as 1818, the city of Columbia's first city market was located on the first floor of city hall, near the South Carolina State House on Main Street (then Richardson Street).[20] By 1860, most city market vendors had relocated to its new location along Assembly Street and, according to historian Alexia Helsley, it attracted "pickpockets, confidence men and prostitutes."[21] The location of the city market and the proximity of the South Carolina State House to Gates and Gervais Streets in addition to the presence of various railroads in Columbia was responsible for the presence of brothels in this area due to the entrepreneurial, industrial, and legislative activity taking place.

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[20] Helsley, *Wicked Columbia*, 141. Helsley says that, in addition to local agricultural products, the city market was also "an outlet for crops and livestock from Western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee."

[21] Helsley, *Wicked Columbia*, 141.

The first federal document which identified the red-light district was the 1860 federal census. The enumerator identified two households as "houses of ill fame."[22] Both were situated west of the South Carolina State House, along Gates and Gervais Streets—what would become known as "Hell's Half-Acre."[23] Margaret Kelly, age 20, and Rosa LeGrand, age 40, were the madams.[24] Kelly's household, located on Gervais Street

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[22] The federal census conducted in Columbia will be an integral resource in my discussion of the red-light district because sex worker voices are largely silent in the archive. As is true with any primary source, there are biases and incorrect information presented on these documents. Additionally, there are gaps in the availability of information through the census. For example, prior to 1860, only the occupations of men above the age of 15 were identified on the federal census.

[23] Fox, *The Physical Development of Columbia*, 27-28. In the twentieth century, Gates Street was changed to Park Street because "illegal activities…made the old name of the street (Gates) so notorious that respectable residents of the north end renamed their portion Park to escape guilt by association."

[24] 1860 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com. On the census, John Cook was listed with his age being eight and twelve months.; Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) City Directory (Richmond, Va: Hill Directory Co., 1859), Print, 23.; Kelly was listed in the 1859 city directory as being "Margaret McDowell," having been widowed by an A. McDowell. It is likely that Kelly changed her name back to her maiden name after being widowed. Her address was listed as "Gervais, bet. Assembly and Gates."; Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) City Directory, Richmond (Va.: Hill Directory Co., 1860), Print,

between Gates and Assembly, consisted of Kelly and seven others: Elizabeth Wilson (26), Jane Cook (20), Eliza Cook (3), John Cook (8 to 12 months), Francis Cook (5), Joseph Cook (10), and William Brown (16).[25] Census records did not specify which individuals were sex workers, but it was not uncommon for brothels to have children present within their walls.[26] Kelly's brothel operated in a "multiracial working-class neighborhood," surrounded by neighbors employed in working-class positions, such as seamstresses, carpenters, shoemakers, engineers, and wheelwrights.[27] LeGrand's brothel was located down the street, at the southwest corner of Gates and Lady Street. LeGrand and six others: Amelia Brown (21), Mary Jones (20), Blanche Mellrille (19), Kateline Seabrook (18), Julia See (18), and Florence Johnston (16) lived and likely worked there.[28]

23.; LeGrand is listed in the 1860 City Directory as living at the "s w cor Gates and Lady."

[25] 1860 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com. All the individuals residing within Kelly's household were born in South Carolina and were white.

[26] See for more information regarding the presence of children in brothels. Kristen R. Fellows, Angela J. Smith, and Anna M. Munns, eds., *Historical Sex Work: New Contributions from History and Archaeology* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2020).

[27] Helsley, *Wicked Columbia*, 647.

[28] 1860 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com. Mellrille and Seabrook were born in South Carolina, See and Johnston were born in Georgia, and Brown and Jones were born in New York. All residents were white.

LeGrand's neighbors were "generally property owners and included schoolteachers and a Methodist clergyman."[29] The Columbia Orphanage was also nearby. Given LeGrand's neighborhood, her clientele might have been of a "higher class" than those who visited Kelly's brothel.

Figure 2.1 Map of Brothels in Columbia, South Carolina, 1859-1860. Made for Historic Columbia.

Nineteenth-century sex work practices influenced the landscape of Columbia, especially in the 1860s, when there were three categories: public women, streetwalkers, and kept women. Public women, as defined by Catherine Clinton, were solely dependent on the sex trade for financial support.[30] This included women practicing in brothels and out of their own houses. Streetwalkers were sex workers who attracted their clientele by navigating the streets and catching the attention of passersby. During the Civil War, federal regulations targeted public women and streetwalkers. The women identified by

[29] Helsley, *Wicked Columbia*, 647.

[30] Clinton, "'Public Women'," 62.

enumerators as "prostitutes" on federal documents most likely fall into these classifications. Meanwhile, kept women were sex workers who catered to a smaller selection of clientele for a larger profit margin. Essentially, they would quietly serve family friends of the same class.[31] Sex work in the South, even in times of economic desperation, displayed agency in making to defy southern gender roles and ideals about the ideal "moral woman."[32]

How sex workers practiced their trade in the nineteenth century influenced how the urban areas in which they lived flourished. Daniel Bluestone emphasizes that sex work was directly related to the value of property in and around red-light districts.[33] Associated with violence, scandal, and immorality, these districts were blamed for degrading not only morality but also the city's property value and the success of business ventures in the area. Columbia's red-light district, according to Nancy Fox, experienced a similar degradation of value in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: "respectable business enterprises in the Congaree Vista Area were generally overshadowed by the

[31] Clinton, "'Public Women'," 61.

[32] See Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998).; Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).; and Jacqueline Shelton, "Evil Becomes Her: Prostitution's Transition to Social Evil in 19th Century America" (Master's thesis, East Tennessee State University, 2013).

[33] Bluestone, "Charlottesville's Landscape of Prostitution," 49-50.

notoriety of a number of establishments clustered along South Park Street and Gervais."[34] The capital city's red-light district benefitted from the city's prosperity and struggled through its moments of political, economic, and social strife.

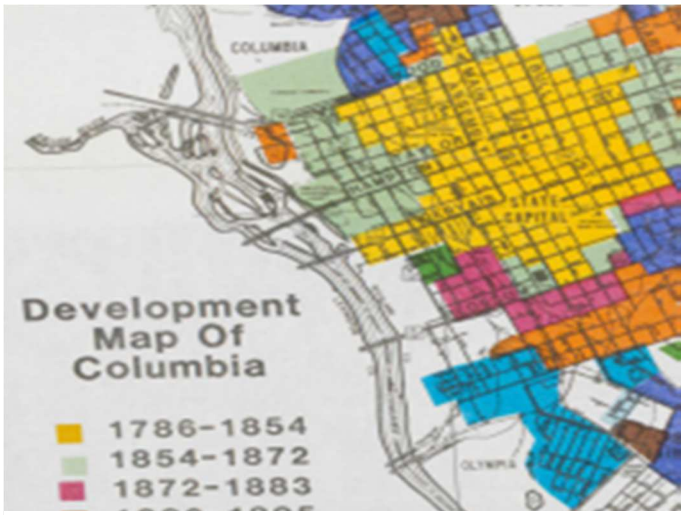

Figure 2.2 Development Map of Columbia, South Carolina. From Nancy C. Fox.

Columbia's red-light district witnessed the city's population growth, which resulted in a thriving capital supported economically by local agricultural products. Founded in 1782, Columbia succeeded Charleston as South Carolina's state capital in 1786.[35] Despite its significance to the state government, Columbia operated "in the

[34] Nancy C. Fox, *The Physical Development of Columbia, S.C.* (Columbia: Central Midlands Regional Planning Council, 1985), 27.

[35] *Ordinances of the Town of Columbia (S.C.) Passed Since the Incorporation of Said Town. To Which are Prefixed the Acts of the General Assembly, for Incorporating the Said Town, and Others in Relation Thereto* (Columbia, S.C.: Printed by D & J.M. Faust, 1823), From the collections of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

shadow of what once had been the South's only metropolis, a bit unsure of itself and eager to please…"[36] In 1850, Columbia's population of 6,060 was nearly evenly split between whites (3,184) and blacks (2,876).[37] Columbia's economy heavily relied on cotton, but in the latter half of the decade, an industrial market opened, focused mainly on supplying necessities and products associated with "field and forest."[38] Not until the postbellum era did industry become an integral contributor to the city's economy. In 1860, Columbia's population was 8,052, one-fifth of Charleston's, with the population again nearly evenly split between white (4,395) and blacks (3,657).[39] Historian John Hammond Moore reports that there were three themes in the day-to-day lives of the citizens of Columbia in the years before the Civil War: "religion and temperance (so closely allied that they really constitute a single item), organization and 'southerness.'" Moore explains that "these factors often were intertwined and frequently an outgrowth…of urban conditions that demanded some degree of regulation…to make such an existence tolerable."[40] Despite the supposed necessity of regulation and themes of religion and temperance, it was in the antebellum era that the red-light district in

[36] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 78, 119.

[37] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 119.

[38] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 146.

[39] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 146.

[40] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 148.

Columbia was operating with no attempts at regulation—though city ordinances pertaining to gambling and saloons were first passed in 1823.[41]

When Rosa LeGrand, a madam who was identified on the 1860 federal census and was known as the "Dutch Rose," was murdered in 1863, Columbia's red-light district made the news. Thaddeus W. Saunders, a young Virginian on leave from the Confederate army, targeted LeGrand for her jewels. When she refused to allow him to take them, Saunders and an accomplice chloroformed and strangled her, and stole the jewels. [42] LeGrand survived the attack long enough to identify her attackers, but soon after, Columbia's "Dutch Rose" succumbed to her injuries. Law enforcement apprehended Saunders and his companion in Alabama, and they were arrested, and tried. Saunders was sentenced to be hanged in March of 1864.[43] "Convicted of robbery" and "burglary," Saunders fought his conviction and death sentence vigorously. [44] He converted to

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[41] *Ordinances of the Town of Columbia (S.C.) Passed Since the Incorporation of Said Town, To Which are Prefixed the Acts of the General Assembly, for Incorporating the Said Town, and Others in Relation Thereto* (Columbia, S.C.: Printed by D & J.M. Faust, 1823). From the collections of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

[42] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 195-196. I have not been able to locate the original newspaper article through the South Caroliniana Library.

[43] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 195-196.

[44] "The case of Saunders…" *The Daily South Carolinian*, March 12, 1864.; "Thaddeus W. Saunders…" *The Daily South Carolinian*, May 31, 1864. According to Julian A.

Catholicism and obtained signatures on a petition for pardon, which he sent to the governor.[45] In a brief letter published in *The Daily South Carolinian*, he appealed to the citizens of Columbia to save him from his death sentence:

> …I now publicly state that, with the help of God and the interposition of the citizens on my behalf, I am willing to be placed in any position that may be allotted to me, and will use all my skill and ability as a soldier, united with a firm and determined endeavor to efface the foul blot upon my character, (should I live;) and if I die, it will be upon the field of battle, fighting hand to hand and foot to foot, (so far as my individual capacities allow me,) to resist and beat back the Northern hordes now clamoring at our very gates. I am well aware that I am entitled to little sympathy, and, therefore, throw myself entirely upon the mercy of the citizens of Columbia, knowing of no precedent where they have failed to come forward and assist the unfortunate. If your will now step forward and assist me in my dire calamity, and save me from the ignominious death now hovering over me, I will repay the debt of gratitude by offering up my life for the salvation of our county.[46]

This petition moved Governor Milledge Bonham to grant Saunders a two-week stay of execution. His attempts at exoneration failed, however, and he was hung in a field on what is now the University of South Carolina's campus on June 24, 1864.

Some Columbia citizens did not believe Saunders should have been convicted for the murder, or robbery, of Rosa LeGrand. J.J. O'Connell, a Catholic priest who became friends with Saunders shortly before his execution, claimed that Saunders was "as brave a man as ever lived" and had merely "gotten mixed up with the wrong crowd in 'a

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Selby's *Memorabilia and Anecdotal Reminiscences of Columbia, S.C., and Incidents Connected Therewith*, Saunders's implicated several other men in the crime, but criminal charges were not pursued for them (64).

[45] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 196.

[46] Thaddeus W. Saunders, "To the Citizens of Columbia," *The Daily South Carolinian*, May 25, 1864.; Thaddeus W. Saunders, "To the Citizens of Columbia," *The Daily South Carolinian*, May 29, 1864.

disreputable house' operated by a notorious jewess."[47] *The Daily South Carolinian* identified Saunders not as a murderer, but as a "victim of the law."[48] Such controversy surrounded his execution that, on Sunday June 26, 1864 (two days after his death), Governor Bonham ordered Columbia's sheriff to disinter Saunders and identify his body, which allowed the law to be "fully vindicated, and the good people who had been the victims of a malicious rumor were washed of the slightest imputation that attached to their sets of mercy."[49] Ultimately, LeGrand's and Saunders's deaths and Columbia's response suggest that red-light districts deeply impacted the cities in which they were housed.

To understand the sex trade in the *Old South* it is necessary to discuss the sexual exploitation of enslaved women. In 1860, the federal census recorded only white sex workers working in brothels. Still, it is likely that enslaved women, whose bodies were already commodified for their labor, were also being forced to perform sexual acts for the monetary benefit of their enslavers.[50] Unlike white sex workers, "as objects of commerce

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[47] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 196.

[48] "A Disinterment," *The Daily South Carolinian*, June 28, 1864.

[49] "A Disinterment," *The Daily South Carolinian*, June 28, 1864.

[50] There is no evidence of this in Columbia, South Carolina, but it is likely that, as with other places in the South, enslaved women often fell victim to the malicious sexual advances of white masters. In the 1880 Census, we see a designation between black and mulatto individuals, so this presence of a mulatto population in Columbia reflects the

for different types of (sexual) labor, enslaved women were not associated with virtue, nor were their sexual identities protected from harm."[51] This is because they were considered property of white enslavers. Enslaved women's own sexuality, desires, and eroticism was likely eclipsed because of the nonconsensual nature of the sexual exchanges.[52] They could not exercise consent because not obeying the wishes of their masters might mean enduring physical punishment. It is undeniable that the plantation class in the South commodified their enslaved women's bodies for more than just labor. Victorian ideologies about sexual purity meant that "because white women could buy, sell, and bequeath enslaved women's sexualized bodies…their own sexual identities [are] protected from harm."[53] The silence of the voices of enslaved women in the historical record reveals that "there will always be unanswerable questions from an archive that cannot fully redress the loss of historical perspectives an insights from the enslaved," especially when studying the full extent of the involuntary commodification of their bodies.[54]

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possibility that enslaved women produced children fathered by their white masters, or by a similar encounter with a white individual exhibiting power over the enslaved woman.

[51] Marisa A. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2016), 96.

[52] Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 64.

[53] Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 97.

[54] Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 144.

During the Civil War years, Columbia grew significantly as refugees from other southern states came into South Carolina. The influx of refugees and strain on supplies brought on by the war resulted in a period of economic hardship that impacted Columbia as the state capital.[55] By 1863, "authorities at all levels were trying to halt soaring prices" as "refugees, war workers, and soldiers…doubled Columbia's peacetime population of 8,000."[56] Columbia, like other southern refugee cities, were overrun with refugees, "suffered food shortages, and endured colossal inflation." Columbia's landscape, though influenced by the increase in population and economic consequence, was virtually untouched physically by the war until General William Tecumseh Sherman and his men marched through the city on February 17, 1865, destroying a third of the city including a portion of the red-light district.[57] An account in the *Columbia Phoenix* reported: "…the reign of terror did not fairly begin till night. In some instances, where parties complained of the misrule and robbery, their guards said to them, with a chuckle: "This is nothing. Wait till tonight, and you'll see h-ll!" Hell it was, and these wretches the demons shall let loose!"[58] The Union army targeted Columbia's red-light district first: "among the first fires at evening was one about dark, which broke out in a filthy par lieu of low houses, of

[55] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 78, 190-191.

[56] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 190-191.

[57] Prior to Sherman's advance into Columbia, Confederate troops set a variety of fires in cotton warehouses to detract from the Union's financial gain upon seizing the city.

[58] "Capture, Sack, and Destruction of the City of Columbia," *Columbia Phoenix*, March 23, 1865, 2.

wood, on Gervais street, occupied mostly as brothels."[59] This language suggests the existence of more than the two initial brothels along Gates and Gervais Streets. Though the targeting of the brothels on Gervais could have been strategic because of the flammability of the wooden structures, it is also likely that Sherman's experience dealing with the venereal disease epidemic during the war encouraged him to distract the workers with the destruction of their residences.

Figure 2.3 William Waud, The burning of Columbia, South Carolina, 1865. From Library of Congress, https://lccn.loc.gov/2003668338.

After the red-light district's landscape was altered by Sherman's march on Columbia, the district bounced back quickly, exemplifying the demand for its services and the growth of the district past Gervais and Gates Streets less than a decade after the initial documentation of the district in the federal census.[60] In 1866, William McGinnis

[59] "Capture, Sack, and Destruction of the City of Columbia," *Columbia Phoenix*, March 23, 1865, 2.

[60] Washington and Assembly Streets are near Gates and Gervais Streets and the South Carolina State House. By 1869, the borders of the red-light district extended further into the city.

was arrested for "unlawfully maintaining a disorderly house" at Pendleton and Assembly Streets. In his indictment, McGinnis's house, nicknamed Fort Ramsey, was "inhabited by loose and disorderly persons…who are a terror to the neighborhood."[61] Also that year, Columbia's jail and courthouse "were in ruin, there was no money for free schools, and, being 'but little removed from paupers themselves,' the government employees had been forced to abandon the poor."[62]

[61] The State vs William McGinnis (Unlawfully Maintaining a Disorderly House), Indictments, Richland County, 1866. South Carolina Department of Archives & History.

[62] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 217.

CHAPTER 3

SEX (WORK) TO 1880

Reconstruction, kickstarted by the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865, was a period of continued social, economic, and political tension in Columbia—a capital city with a budding industrial landscape. Having disassembled South Carolina's government

Figure 3.1 C.N. Drie, Bird's eye view of the city of Columbia, South Carolina (Baltimore, 1872), Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/75696568/.

in 1867, the United States Congress planned to "set in motion the machinery for a new constitutional convention in which freedmen would participate."[63] A new state constitution, approved by voters in 1868, included black office holders. However, this plan to reinvigorate South Carolina's government did not withstand the end of

[63] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 219.

Reconstruction. By 1870, Columbia's population increased 15% from its 1860 population of 8,052, but decreased from its wartime population of nearly 20,000, to 9,298.[64] Wade Hampton III won the governor's position fraudulatently in 1876. He negotiated with President Rutherford B. Hayes to rid the capital of federal troops in April of 1877. Once troops were pulled from Columbia, Hampton III began promoted legal decisions that led South Carolina down a path labelled "Jim Crow South." Columbia's economy was at a standstill with the city's industrial market being "mostly pipe dreams and promises, not production and profits."[65] Columbia's sex trade during the 1870s reflected the growing tensions between the red-light district and the city.[66]

Attempts to control the sex trade in southern postbellum cities turned towards attempts to police—not regulate—sex work. Columbia's city council received complaints

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[64] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 211.

[65] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 211.

[66] In contrast to the previous chapter on the 1860s, the portions of this chapter focusing on the 1870s draws largely from Columbia indictment records. This is because the 1870 federal census for Columbia is available only in fragmented portions. Within these portions, I have been unable to locate individuals previously identified as sex workers and the enumerator for this census does not identify sex workers as the 1860 federal census did, utilizing the terminology "prostitute" for their occupation. According to Margo J. Anderson, the 1870 census undercounted the southern population, especially in terms of the southern African American population, so maybe it was simply that the federal census was fragmented because Columbia was one of the cities in which the

about the red-light district as early as July 1869 when a bar room "kept by Haynes & Ellington, corner of Washington and Assembly streets," was cited as a "nuisance and a common house of ill-fame…"[67] The council referred the complaint to the "Committee on Licenses." This complaint hints towards both the growth of red-light district's footprint and the increase in policing sex work in the postbellum period.[68] On March 30, 1871,

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population was not fully accounted for. See Margo J. Anderson, "The Census and Industrial America in the Gilded Age," in *The American Census: A Social History, Second Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).; 1870 Census, accessed through *Ancestry.com*. I was able to locate a sex worker that was listed on the 1880 federal census within the 1870 census, but at the time, she was only 10 years old and listed as living with only her mother, who was "keeping house."

[67] John McKenzie, "Proceedings of Council," *The Daily Phoenix*, July 9, 1869, 2.

[68] This phenomenon was not limited to Columbia. Efforts toward moral reform—with the urging of organizations such as the YMCA and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union—sparked attempts to police other aspects of American sexuality after the Civil War. See Janet Brodie, *Contraception and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).; Katie Eichler, "More Dangerous Than Enemy's Bullets: Anti-Prostitution Activism, Conservatism, and Social Reform in Columbia, South Carolina 1915-1945" (Master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2002).; Judith Giesberg, *Sex and the Civil War: Soldiers, Pornography, and the Making of American Morality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-*

Columbia's city council received more "communication from citizens, relative to [the] existence of houses of ill fame in the vicinity of Trinity Church," located at 1100 Sumter Street, across the street from both the State House and the established red-light district along Gates and Gervais Streets.[69] In November 1871, the police chief arrested 25 individuals for "disorderly conduct" and one for operating a "house of ill fame."[70] The

Century America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).; Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).; Jacqueline Shelton, "Evil Becomes Her: Prostitution's Transition to Social Evil in 19th Century America" (Master's thesis, East Tennessee State University, 2013).

[69] William Hayne, "Proceedings of Council," *The Daily Phoenix*, March 30, 1871, 2.

[70] J. A. Jackson, "Office Chief of Police," *The Daily Phoenix*, December 31, 1871, 3. It is unclear from the historical record what parameters had to be meet in order for the police to arrest an individual for running a "house of ill fame." We know that more than one existed in Columbia, but I could not find any evidence for why certain people, like William McGinnis, were arrested and others were not. It may simply be that, once the brothels became an obvious public nuisance, their operators were arrested, but that is speculation.

only other arrest made in association with the sex trade was for a stabbing in a "house of ill fame" in 1875 in which as client was seriously injured.[71]

In 1879, sex work in Columbia's red-light district was targeted by a grand jury in Richland County. The jury identified the trade as "a growing evil" as the district crept further into the city. The jury "acknowledged that houses of ill fame always would exist, but those operating them…should remain in the area "conceded" to them," in this case the area west of the state house around Lady, Gates, Gervais and Senate Streets.[72] In addition to the threat posed by the growing red-light district, jurors also complained of too many "idle people" and "too many gambling saloons."[73] Still, the red-light district expanded and diversified in the postbellum period as the south emerged from Reconstruction.

The growth of Columbia's red-light district illustrates the growing tensions between the district and the city's landscape. Historically, city governments permitted "prostitution and brothels to flourish in African American neighborhoods while demanding suppression when the 'social evil' surfaced in white neighborhoods."[74] When Columbia's city council claimed they did not have the power to stop the growth of the red-light district, jurors proclaimed that "if they could allow 'a powder mill' to be built in

[71] "On Sunday afternoon…" *The Daily Phoenix*, March 2, 1875, 2.

[72] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 268.

[73] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 268.

[74] Bluestone, "Charlottesville's Landscape of Prostitution," 50.

the center of town, then they certainly could remove a 'fornicarium.'"[75] Only in 1883 did the city council the first ordinance policing sex work within city limits, prohibiting "females of 'notoriously bad character' from riding horseback or walking the streets" wearing risque clothing that would "offend modesty."[76] This ordinance did not outlaw "prostitution," but simply restricted the "how" of solicitation.

By 1880, Columbia's red-light district encroached even further into the city, reflecting the racial diversification of the sex trade after the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th amendment.[77] The original red-light district along Gates and Gervais Streets evolved into two such districts, encompassing four additional streets: Lady, Lincoln, Assembly, and Senate. Within this district, 49 sex workers operated among 25 households.[78] A emerging district, located on the northern side of the city,

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[75] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 268.

[76] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 268. I have been unable to locate this city ordinance.

[77] The Emancipation Proclamation freed the enslaved only in actively rebelling states. The 13th amendment, on the other hand, declared that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

[78] 1880 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com. The individuals on the census were identified by the enumerator as "prostitutes." Thirteen of the 25 households were along Gates Street; five were on Gervais Street; six along Lincoln; and one was on Senate Street.

centered on Williams Street and had two 25-year-old mulatto sex workers in a single brothel. Susanna E. Cannon was the head of this brothel while Alice Hyler worked there too.[79] In two decades, Columbia's sex workers grew by twenty-three percent.

The city's 1880 red-light districts reflected the racial diversification of Columbia's sex trade in the years following Reconstruction. There were distinct racial divisions in the sex worker households. While all of Columbia's sex workers recorded in 1860 were white, the 1880 federal census identified Columbia sex workers in three racial categories: mulatto, black, and white, all in same-race households[80] Of the 26 sex work households recorded in 1880, eleven had only white sex workers, twelve were mulatto, and three were black. According to John Gaines, racial division between sex workers was significant when taking into consideration anti-miscegenation laws, as well as stigma around sexual relations between races.[81] In the three instances of a black and white racial combination in a household, the black individuals worked for the household in a domestic role, i.e., as servants, cooks, or nurses. There was one household which was comprised of all three racial categories. The household consisted of John Robertson (black, 42), Rosa

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[79] 1880 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com.

[80] 1880 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com. The 1880 federal census identifies 23 mulatto sex workers, 4 black, and 24 white.

[81] Gaines, *An Evening with Venus*, xvii. There was, however, diversity within the non-sex work members of the households. Though there were instances of members of only one racial categories residing together, the most common racial combination was mixed mulatto and black with twelve households listed with that demographic.

Lee (white, 40), Julia Lee (white, 16), Winfield Robertson (mulatto, 7), Fanny Robertson (mulatto, 4), William Robertson (mulatto, 3), and Sarah Robertson (mulatto, 1). The 1880 federal census lists the oldest Robertson as being married but neither Rosa nor Julia was recorded as being married. The Robertson children and Julia were Rosa's, who was a "prostitute."[82] It is possible that, because there was a brief period during Reconstruction that South Carolina's anti-miscegenation laws were repealed, Rosa and John had married, but lied to the 1880 enumerator to preserve not only their relationship, but also their family.[83]

[82] 1880 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com.

[83] 1880 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com. I have not been able to locate the exact dates that these anti-miscegenation laws, which prohibited interracial marriages between whites and blacks, were repealed during Reconstruction in South Carolina, but it was a common trend in South Carolina during that period for state-wide laws pertaining to race, marriage, and divorce to be repealed for several years and then reinstated once Reconstruction ended in 1877. Anti-miscegenation laws were not repealed in many states until 1967 when *Loving v. Virginia* ruled that the laws were unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Table 3.1 1860 vs. 1880 Location of Brothels

Street	**1860 # of Households**	**1880 # of Households**
Gates	1	13
Gervais	1	5
Lincoln	--	6
Senate	--	1
Williams	--	1
Total:	2	26

Table 3.2 1860 vs. 1880 Sex Worker Racial Demographics

Race	**1860 # of Sex Workers**	**1880 # of Sex Workers**
Mulatto	--	23
Black	--	4
White	9	24
Total:	9	51

Table 3.3 1860 vs. 1880 Sex Worker Household Racial Demographics, Part I

Race	**1860 # of Sex Worker Households**	**1880 # of Sex Worker Households**
Only White Sex Workers	2	11
Only Mulatto Sex Workers	--	12
Only Black Sex Workers	--	3
Total:	2	26

Table 3.4 1860 vs. 1880 Sex Worker Household Racial Demographics, Part II

Race	**1860 # of Sex Worker Households**	**1880 # of Sex Worker Households**
Mulatto Households	--	9
Black Households	--	2
White Households	2	8
Mulatto/White Households	--	12
Mulatto/Black Households	--	3
Black/White Households	--	3
Black/White/Mulatto	--	1
Total:	2	26

The 1880 federal census reflected the diversification of the marital statuses of the sex worker households. In 1860, all nine of Columbia's sex workers were single and only one household included children. Columbia's 1860 sex trade was dominated by young, single, white women. In 1880, only two individuals (Louisa Casey, 30; and Belle Behrens, 28) were married and were from other southern states, though their husbands

were not identified in the household.[84] Two other sex workers were widowed. Further, Columbia's 1880 red-light district was largely made up of brothels consisting of no children with fifteen households in this category. However, to say that it was uncommon for sex workers to live with children or other non-sex work adults would be to neglect the eleven households in which some variation of this demographic existed.[85] Further, sex

Table 3.5 1860 vs. 1880 Sex Worker Martial Statuses

Marital Status	**1860 # of Sex Works**	**1880 # of Sex Workers**
Single	9	47
Married	--	2
Divorced	--	--
Widowed	--	2
Total:	9	51

[84] Casey was from Virginia and Behrens was from Tennessee. It is likely that their husbands were residing in their home states or had abandoned them.

[85] Two children were listed as "prostitutes" among the fifty-one sex workers in Columbia. While it is possible that some children were involved in the sex trade, it is likely that the enumerators mistakenly listed the children as "prostitutes," or because of their mothers' association with the trade. There were other children not listed as sex workers who were living with their sex worker mothers, but again, the enumerators could have simply made a mistake. See Kristen R. Fellows, Angela J. Smith, and Anna M. Munns, *Historical Sex Work: New Contributions from History and Archaeology* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2020).

workers in Columbia by 1880 were largely between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four, emphasizing that the red-light district appealed mostly to a younger population of women but was expanding to appeal to wider age range of women. Household dynamics of sex workers from 1860 to 1880 illustrate the temporary nature of the occupation and the expansion of Columbia's red-light district to a wider range of women.

Table 3.6 1860 vs. 1880 Sex Work Household Demographics

Household Type	**1860 # of Sex Worker Households**	**1880 # of Sex Worker Households**
Only Sex Workers	1	15
Sex Workers and Children	1	5
Sex Works and Other Adults / Family	--	6
Total:	2	26

Several of the Columbia sex workers identified in 1880 had been arrested previously.[86] In 1868, Emma Williams, an eighteen-year-old mulatto woman, was arrested for stealing "one gold necklace of the value of eight dollars, and one cameo ear

[86] Though it is not uncommon for sex workers to be arrests for crimes unassociated with sex work, Columbia's sex workers are particularly difficult to trace because of the toll that historical events had on southern primary sources. Many documents have been lost, neglected, or even stolen—which has commonly been the case at the National Archives, especially in terms of the "prostitution licenses" discussed previously.

bob of the value of eight dollars."[87] In 1878, Jesse Jones was arrested for stealing $22, and in 1879, Emma Green, arrested for burglary, was found not guilty for the destruction of a variety of household items (plates, a cup, a dress, etc.) in the home of Ann Williams.[88]

Ellen Vogel, a Columbia sex worker, embodies how the red-light district and the sex workers operating within influenced the city. Many of Columbia's sex workers were limited to an appearance on the federal census and an arrest recorded in indictment records. Vogel, however, appears more often in the historical research. In the 1880 federal census, Vogel was a 30-year-old, single, "mulatto" woman from Louisiana operating and living alone on Senate Street.[89] Three years later, Vogel fell deathly ill and created a will. Vogel's spirituality is evident in her will as she declares that: "I give my body to the dust, and my soul to its Creator from whom I received it."[90] Reverend B.B.

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[87] The State vs Emma Williams (Larceny), Indictments, Richland County, 1868-1869, South Carolina Department of Archives & History. The same Emma Williams was identified in the 1880 federal census as a "prostitute."

[88] The State vs Jesse Jones (Grand Larceny), Indictments, Richland County, 1878. South Carolina Department of Archives & History.; The State vs Emma Green (Burglary), Indictments, Richland County, 1879. South Carolina Department of Archives & History.

[89] 1880 Census, accessed through Ancestry.com.

[90] *Richland County, South Carolina Miscellaneous Estate Records, 1799-1955;* Author: *South Carolina. County Court (Richland County);* Probate Place: *Richland, South Carolina.*

Babbit, her spiritual advisor, was to receive $300 "to be expended by him in his mission and charitable work in Columbia." A bell for the "Westleyan [sic] M.E. Church in Columbia, of which the Rev. Mr. Pinckny is pastor and to expend the sum of Two Hundred Dollars therefor…"[91] Upon her death in 1883, Vogel's estate was appraised for $100,261.[92] Her will, however, challenges any assumption made about coming from a wealthy family. She declared, "on account of the estrangement between me and my relations I have knowingly left them nothing by this my last will—and my will is they shall take nothing by through or from me…"[93] It is possible that she inherited wealth from a deceased family member and was estranged from her living family. Vogel's wealth and property allowed her to leave a mark on the historical record. The voices and influence of many other sex workers are lost and silenced by their circumstances, though their influences on the cities and districts in which they lived speaks volumes.

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[91] *Richland County, South Carolina Miscellaneous Estate Records, 1799-1955;* Author: *South Carolina. County Court (Richland County);* Probate Place: *Richland, South Carolina.*

[92] According to a CPI Inflation Calculator, $100,261 in 1883 would amount to $2,816,400.98 today (2022). https://www.in2013dollars.com/us/inflation/1883?amount=100261.

[93] *Richland County, South Carolina Miscellaneous Estate Records, 1799-1955;* Author: *South Carolina. County Court (Richland County);* Probate Place: *Richland, South Carolina.*

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Though southern sex work has not had as much scholarly attention as its northern counterpart, the significance of red-light districts to the study of nineteenth-century sex work in the American south is important. Columbia's red-light district from 1860 to 1880 illustrates the close relationship between sex workers and the city. While it is not easy to study southern sex work in this period, doing so contributes a valuable perspective to sex work historiography. Local histories of red-light districts in formerly Confederate states are critical to uncovering the silent voices of southern sex workers.

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