

MORALITY AND MONEY: A LOOK AT HOW THE RESPECTABLE COMMUNITY
BATTLED THE SPORTING COMMUNITY OVER PROSTITUTION IN
KANSAS COWTOWNS, 1867- 1885

by

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Abstract

In 1867, Abilene became the first of Kansas' cattle towns. For the next two decades, Kansas would be the transfer point in bringing Texas cattle herds to market in northern cities, all facilitated by the expansion of railroad lines in the state. For town boosters, the cattle trade was a lucrative source of economic development. But as Abilene was soon to discover, the cattle trade also brought with it, literally, the "evils of the trade," a whole sub-community of brothels, saloons, and dance halls. The arrival of that vice fostered immediate and often outraged citizen protests.

Much of the history of cattle towns in Kansas is therefore the story of "respectable" citizens fighting the vice in their midst. This thesis examines Abilene, Kansas, in particular, and especially focuses upon one peculiar circumstance: Abilene was the only cowtown that ridded itself of vice by deliberately asking the cattle trade to leave. Abilene's experience also reveals the mobility of the sporting community; prostitutes notorious in Abilene turned up in many other Kansas cattle town. This thesis therefore continues by examining this mobile sub-culture of prostitutes including their living conditions, their confrontations with municipal government, and the outrage they inspired wherever they went.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Without him, I would not have this passion.

Preface

In 1867, Abilene became the first of Kansas' cattle towns. For the next two decades, Kansas would be the transfer point in bringing Texas cattle herds to market in northern cities, all facilitated by the expansion of railroad lines in the state. For town boosters, the cattle trade was a lucrative source of economic development. Not only the traders themselves, but all the subsidiary businesses—dry goods, groceries, and the like—saw their business increase as every spring and summer season brought drovers and buyers into their communities.

But as Abilene was soon to discover, there were other “subsidiary” businesses that automatically attached themselves to the cattle trade, businesses that were termed, quite literally, the “evils of the trade.” An early inhabitant of Abilene remarked on the vice that followed in the path of the cattle trade:

“... each spring, coming most commonly from the cities of the Middle Border, gamblers, frequently accompanied by harlots, commenced their annual pilgrimage to bring tarnished glamor [sic] and manipulated excitement to the nondescript centers of the Plains.”¹

Centered on gamblers and prostitutes, areas of vice developed in each of the cattle towns, a frequently squalid section of dance halls, saloons, and brothels. Public disorder in the form of violence, alcohol abuse, epidemic levels of prostitution, and general lawlessness was the result. Such practices were at the heart of what made the West “wild.”

¹ Cunningham, Gary L. “Gambling in the Kansas Cattle Towns: A prominent and somewhat honorable profession.” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, v. 5, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 7. Cunningham cites “J.B. Edwards Miscellaneous Collection,” Manuscript department, Kansas State Historical Society; *Wichita Eagle* April 30, 1874; *Abilene Chronicle*, July 18, 1872.

These practices did not, however, go uncontested in the communities affected by the cattle trade. In every such community, the “respectable” inhabitants were both fascinated and outraged. Judging from the newspapers published in the cowtowns, the reading public simply could not get enough of tales from what was termed “the sporting community,” particularly stories featuring the “fallen” women who came to town to separate the cowboy from his money. Simultaneously, no behavior drew more sustained outrage than did prostitution as its practitioners became the symbol of everything that the “respectable” community found troubling about the cattle trade. As Abilene’s Theophilus Little recalled, “... the greatest problem of all this iniquity, to solve and handle that of the fallen women who flocked into the beleaguered town by scores, I do believe there were hundreds of them.”²

This thesis is an exploration of cowtown prostitution in Kansas starting with Abilene in 1867 and concluding in the late 1880’s when the cattle trade with Texas ended. Moreover, this thesis probes in particular an odd fact of the cattle trade: during those two decades, every cowtown witnessed protests against the accompanying vice, but only Abilene voluntarily gave up the cattle trade to rid itself of it.

Abilene’s story is told in Chapters One and Two, from the arrival of the cattle trade in 1867 through its expulsion at the end of the 1871 season when Abilene actually asked Ellsworth to take over. Abilene’s story is unique and these two chapters probe the reasons why outrage in Abilene took on the dimension it did. Every other cowtown saw similar outrage but in Abilene alone did it succeed. This thesis argues that the reasons for

² Theophilus Little, “Early Days of Abilene and Dickinson County: Reminiscence of the Long Horn Days of Abilene,” in *Pioneer History of Kansas*, Edited by Adolph Roenigk, (Lincoln, KS: A. Roenigk, 1933), 38.

Abilene's uniqueness are multiple: its founding populations dominated by religious groups, its heavy reliance on agriculture for its growth, and most significantly, the politics of vice as they played out in Abilene. Alone of all the cowtowns, Abilene's sporting community was openly represented within the elected city government, a circumstance that acted as a lightening rod for political protest over vice.

Chapter Three explores one particular aspect of the expulsion of the cattle trade from Abilene. That expulsion demonstrates the fact that Abilene had not eradicated vice, but rather, had quite deliberately, sent it down the railroad line. This research underscores the mobility of the sporting community, particularly prostitution. City government records, including the records of municipal courts, along with census manuscripts and local newspaper accounts, all illuminate the transience of the trade as well as its costs, not merely to the respectable, but to the prostitutes themselves.

The fight between the respectable community and the sporting community played out in predictable fashion in every cowtown after Abilene—in Ellsworth, in Newton, in Caldwell, in Wichita, in Dodge City. Newspapers obsessively reported incidents within the sporting community, their tone veering between titillation and outrage over prostitution. Respectable citizens protested, and local authorities collected fines. And the vice subsided only when the cattle trail moved and took the prostitutes with it.

In each city, the reactions of the respectable community seemed to center on their fears about the ways in which the sporting community could taint their lives. For respectable women in particular, the “visible sin” of prostitution posed a special threat since it often interacted with and invaded their social space within society and accordingly, women's groups were among the most vocal protestors. A popular theme

that expressed those fears was the belief that the presence of prostitution was a particular danger to the unsuspecting and innocent girls of the community. When prostitutes themselves were asked how they came into the business, their responses varied and included some very pragmatic economic considerations, but the story favored by respectable society was one in which a naïve girl was lured into prostitution by an unscrupulous man. For example, Theophilus Little spoke of this when he declared:

Who shall say that there were not fine characters among the fallen ones of the gentler sex?... Every one a mother's darling, her gentle heart is won by one of the stronger sex and in an evil hour she is betrayed and forsaken by him who should be her protector and society, with open arms, receives the betrayer...³

Once lured into prostitution, of course, these “fallen ones” were viewed with disdain; they were forever marked as outside the bounds of respectable society. These moral demarcations of acceptable behavior were set by religious leaders, town authorities, business owners, and threatened and outraged women.

A prostitute for this paper will be defined, consistent with Anne Butler's criteria, as any person “who habitually or intermittently has sexual relations more or less promiscuously for money or other mercenary considerations. Neither notoriety, arrest, nor lack of occupation is an essential criterion.”⁴ The risks of the oldest profession were high for a woman in the sporting community; however, prostitution continued to thrive due to the financial gain for those involved, whether it be business owners, madams, the city coffers, and, least of all, the prostitutes.

³ Little, 39.

⁴ Anne M. Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865-1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1985), xvii. Butler cites Abraham Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe* (New York: Century, 1920), 11.

Prostitution in cowtowns formed a subculture that barely warrants a fleeting mention in most histories of the West. One of the earliest books written on prostitution in the West was Ronald Dean Miller's *Shady Ladies of the West*; this work includes the biographies of specific madams, including that of Mattie Silks who resided for a time in Abilene.⁵ It is important in that it focuses on specifics rather than broad generalizations. Miller's book also shows how influential prostitution was in the development of the West. One of the first books written specifically on prostitution in Kansas cowtowns was Joseph W. Snell's *Painted Ladies of the Cowtown Frontier* published in 1965. Snell provides extensive research on the prostitutes themselves including average ages, census listings, and fine rates in the various cowtowns. Carol Leonard and Isidor Wallimann's 1979 article, "Prostitution and Changing Morality in the Frontier Cattle Towns of Kansas," is one of the first studies to investigate Kansas prostitution and how it impacted the definitions of morality in affected communities.⁶ This article shows how various cattle towns grappled with the vice in their midst. It adds to the knowledge of prostitution in that it gives census information broken down by sexes and includes population charts. Perhaps the most important work on prostitution in the West is Anne M. Butler's *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865-1890*, published in 1985. This book dedicates itself entirely to the topic of prostitution, and covers twelve states. Butler demonstrates that prostitutes came from various ethnic backgrounds and lived all over the West; she also carefully charts their typical poverty. Butler's study vividly illustrates the downside of the business including suicide, violence,

⁵ Ronald Dean Miller, *Shady Ladies of the West*. Tucson, AZ: Westernlore Press, 1964.

⁶ Carol Leonard and Isidor Wallimann. "Prostitution and Changing Morality in the Frontier Cattle Towns of Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, v. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 34-53.

and substance abuse. Butler's book is also important in that it connects prostitution to gender history. More generally, these works detail the communities most likely to attract prostitution: cowtowns, mining towns, and military forts. Particularly in such places, "the scarcity of women gave their presence an importance far beyond their numbers,"⁷ and prostitution thrived.

This thesis adds to the knowledge of prostitution in the West in that it focuses specifically on Kansas during its cattle boom years. It strives to demonstrate all aspects of the trade including its social, moral, financial, and economic foundations. This thesis also adds to the known resources on prostitution in Kansas including census records, court documents, local newspapers, maps, state legislation, city ordinances, and memoirs. A list of Kansas prostitutes, madams, and brothel owners with names, dates of fines paid, and cities where fines were paid is included as a resource in the appendix. This will allow future researchers to see the mobility of the girls, and understand the taxation/ fine system. Indeed, prostitutes were perhaps the most scrutinized members of the community. As J.B. Edwards recalled of early Abilene, "It was plainly apparent that they [the prostitutes] must be brought under surveillance the next season. . . ."⁸ That "surveillance" provided the historical record that is charted in Chapter Three and in the tables included in this work.

In 1871, at the very end of the cattle trade in Abilene, one local newspaper reminded the citizens that "personal virtue and purity are necessary to the real happiness

⁷ Samuel Carter, *Cowboy Capital: The saga of Dodge City* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973), 116.

⁸ J.B. Edwards, "Recollections," *Abilene Chronicle*, July 3, 1938. This was a reprint of original articles published in 1896. This was found in Dickinson County Clippings, 109-110, at KSHS.

and growth of a community.”⁹ As this thesis shows, outrage over the cattle trade was shared by every other cowtown in Kansas, but “virtue” was subordinated to “growth.” Abilene stood alone in acting on the principle that virtue mattered more and that growth could occur without the cattle trade.

⁹ *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871, as found in Riley, Glenda. *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1988, 178.

Chapter 1 - Abilene, the first of the Kansas Cownowns

The town of Abilene, Kansas was established in 1856. No doubt its proximity to Smoky Hill River and Mud Creek, as well as its abundance of excellent grass, recommended it. Timothy F. Hersey was the town's first resident. He built two log houses, a stable, and a corral, and fed passengers along the Overland Stage line.¹⁰ It was said that this was the "last square meal taken on crossing the plains."¹¹ The name came somewhat later when Hersey's wife is said to have named the town Abilene after a reference to a province named Abilene mentioned in Luke 3:1 in the Bible; in ancient Hebrew "Abilene" might have meant "grasses."¹² Perhaps the name stuck because of Mrs. Hersey's reputation for piety. A fellow pioneer described the Hersey home as follows: "in all the town there was, during the cattle era, probably one perfect oasis of religion... Mrs. Hersey was a devout Methodist, a mild, quiet woman, scarcely stirring out of her own home. Her naming of the village impressed us as original and pretty."¹³ Abilene would be known for its piety and morality from its founding through its days as a bustling cownown. Shortly after Kansas achieved statehood in

¹⁰ George L. Cushman, "Abilene, First of the Kansas Cownowns," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 9, no. 3 (August, 1940): 240. Dickinson County was organized in 1857, and boasted a population of 378 in 1860. By 1870, there were 3,037 people. This information is from Little, 30.

¹¹ Carolyn McKinney, Robert J. Vansholtz, and Lynda Scheele, *Mansion of Dreams: A Story of Dreamers who made history* (Arroyo Grande, CA: King Midgets West, 1997), 47. This is also discussed in Little, 30. This quote was written by Horace Greeley for the *New York Tribune* in 1859.

¹² Cushman, 242. Cushman cites Stuart Oliver Henry, *Conquering our Great American Plains: A Historical development* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1930), 22-23. This is also quoted in Dickinson County Clippings vol, 8 pg 249. A second claim of naming Abilene after the Bible was made by Findlay Patterson of Pennsylvania to Charles H. Thompson in 1870. This was listed in Joseph G. McCoy, *Historical Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940), 57. This book is part of the Southwest Historical Series. The *History of the State of Kansas* published by the State of Kansas in 1883, at KSHS, cites Mrs. Hersey, pg. 685.

¹³ McKinney, Vansholtz, and Scheele, 75. Henry was cited as the source used for this information.

January 1861, Abilene became the county seat of Dickinson County, winning a contest among Union City, Smoky Hill, and Newport in the spring of 1861.¹⁴

Abilene's future as a town was profoundly impacted by the arrival of the Union Pacific railroad in April 1867.¹⁵ The Union Pacific Railroad was commissioned by Congress in 1862; the government provided financial aid and land grants in exchange for the building of a transcontinental railway extending from the Missouri River to the Pacific. The Union Pacific Railroad began construction across the plains in September 1863, reaching Abilene in 1867.¹⁶ By then, W.S. Moon had established his Frontier Store in Abilene; it housed a postmaster, a register of deeds, and some dry goods.¹⁷ For both merchants and farmers, the railroad promised a boom: a chance to obtain manufactured goods more easily as well as a chance to move agricultural commodities to market. But for Abilene, the most significant early market was the market in cattle.

The Smoky River Valley had fertile land that would be beneficial to fattening southern cattle from Texas. There were thousands of cattle in the south that could not be sold for profit. In the war ravaged north, there was a shortage of beef cattle. By establishing a direct route from Texas to Kansas, the supply and demand could be balanced. The Texas cattle would be driven up the Chisholm Trail to Kansas where the cattle would be fattened and sold at a higher rate than Texas, loaded onto railroad cars, and sent on to destinations in the North where they would be slaughtered.

It was a young Illinois livestock dealer, Joseph G. McCoy, who saw Abilene's potential as a cattle trail destination. McCoy had dealt in livestock dealing with his brothers

¹⁴ Cushman, 242.

¹⁵ Little, 31.

¹⁶ Robert W. Richmond, *Kansas: A Land of Contrasts* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1999), 104.

¹⁷ Cushman, 241.

in Illinois prior to his move west, and had witnessed the supply and demand issue firsthand. In his memoirs, McCoy recalled that in 1866, it had been nearly impossible to buy cattle in Illinois while in Texas it was just as impossible to sell them. McCoy proposed himself as the middleman; he would facilitate the sale of Texas cattle for a fee. McCoy had initially thought of Southeast Missouri for his cattle trade empire, but thought that Kansas might make a better option. McCoy thus took advantage of the guidelines for driving livestock in Kansas as he desired to make “an accessible point a depot or market to which a Texan drover could bring his stock unmolested...”¹⁸ McCoy took a train ride west from St. Louis, Missouri, in order to look for an appropriate spot. He first courted the idea of setting up his establishment at Junction City, but the price of land was too high. Riding further, the train was stopped at Abilene due to trouble with a bridge. While there, he then talked to locals about the area. McCoy saw two advantages in establishing his cattle market at Abilene; there was an abundance of grass to fatten the cattle on the drive, and the drovers would not have to change trails or roads since Abilene was relatively close to the Chisholm Trail.

McCoy ultimately decided upon Abilene as a shipping point for southern cattle in 1867 since “the country was entirely unsettled, well watered, excellent grass, and nearly the entire area of the country was adapted to holding cattle. And it was the farthest point east at which a good depot for cattle business could have been made.”¹⁹ While the land was well-adapted for building a cattle empire, McCoy saw the town of Abilene in a less than amicable

¹⁸ Joseph G. McCoy, “Historic and Biographic Sketch” *Kansas Magazine*, vol. III, no. 6, 49. This is also in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 54.

¹⁹ McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 119. While this broke the 1867 statute regarding cattle in Kansas, the law was largely ignored without a valid reason. As for the population, in 1870, there were 700-800 people according to the Ninth Census of the United States, Dickinson and Doniphan Counties, Kansas, MS., KSHS, pg. 143. These numbers vary due to Abilene and Grant Township not being differentiated by the census taker.

light. Abilene boasted of having three hundred residents prior to the cattle coming, but McCoy was unimpressed. In his words:

Abilene in 1867 was a very small, dead place, consisting of about one dozen log huts, low, small, rude affairs, four-fifths of which were covered with dirt for roofing; indeed, but one shingle roof could be seen in the whole city. The business of the burg was conducted in two small rooms, mere log huts, and of course the inevitable saloon, also in a log hut, was to be found.²⁰

McCoy asked Abilene founder Timothy Hersey, to help him map “a route from Abilene to the Chisholm Road.”²¹ The Chisholm Trail ran from the Canadian River north to Jesse Chisholm’s trading post near the Arkansas River, by present-day Wichita, eventually extending on to Caldwell and Newton as well. McCoy also sent a scout south to contact drovers and advertise Abilene as the newest shipping point on the Union Pacific.²² He further had newspapers in the North and East run advertisements enticing buyers to buy their stock by the carload from Abilene.²³ McCoy understood that the drovers would be willing to drive their cattle to a place like Abilene if the prices of cattle were competitive with other markets. He also knew that by having a railroad switch, it would be easy to lure the trade to his desired location. McCoy intended to make Abilene the premiere cattle trade destination in the Midwest.

McCoy subsequently negotiated a contract with the railroads that would pay him a certain percentage on the shipments. The verbal contract was established between William McCoy & Brothers and the Union Pacific Railroad, Eastern Division, which would later

²⁰ McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 44.

²¹ McKinney, Vansholtz, and Steele, 56.

²² Richmond, 122.

²³ William G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas: containing a full account of its growth from an uninhabited territory to a wealthy and important state ... Also a supplementary history and description of its counties, cities, towns, and villages ...*, (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1883), <http://www.kancoll.org/books/cutler/dickinson/dickinson-co-p5.html#ABILENE>. (accessed April 1, 2013). This was from the “Abilene” chapter.

become the Kansas Pacific Railway.²⁴ McCoy immediately purchased two hundred and fifty acres of land that was north and east of Abilene. Upon this land, McCoy then built a hotel, the Drover's Cottage, for cattle drivers to stay in, the Great Western stockyards equipped for 2,000 heads of cattle, and a stable for their horses. The Kansas Pacific put in a switch at Abilene that enabled the cattle cars to be loaded and sent on to their destinations. The first twenty carloads left September 5, 1867, en route to Chicago, Illinois, where McCoy was familiar with the market.

Immediately, the cattle trade flourished on the newest stop for the railroad. The Kansas Pacific recorded how many cattle were shipped. In 1867, there were 37,400, 56,800 in 1868, and 51,230 in 1869.²⁵ Once the boom began, the numbers doubled. In 1870, there were 131,360 cattle followed by 161,320 in 1871.²⁶ In all, the Kansas Pacific Railroad estimated that 766,160 head of cattle shipped through Abilene from 1867 to 1871.²⁷ Clearly, there was profit to be had in the cattle business since the prices of cattle were nearly double in Abilene, Kansas, compared to other places including Texas.²⁸

The cattle trade immediately spurred Abilene's growth. On September 3, 1869, it became incorporated under the approval of Judge Cyrus Kilgore as John H. Mahan presented a petition of forty-three signatures.²⁹ Five trustees were appointed at this time to handle the

²⁴ McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 21.

²⁵ Dickinson County Clippings vol 4 at KSHS.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Kansas Pacific Railway Company. *Guide Map of the Best and Shortest Cattle Trail to the Kansas Pacific Railway*. (Fort Worth: TX, Kansas Pacific Railway Co., 1875). McCoy's estimates were more exaggerated: he estimated 35,000, 75,000, 350,000, 600,000 and 350,000 head of cattle for a total of 1,710,000. This was found in the Dickinson County Clippings col 4 at KSHS.

²⁸ Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns: A Social History of the Kansas Cattle Trading Centers- Abilene, Ellsworth, Wichita, Dodge City, and Caldwell, 1867-1885* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), 75-76. According to Dykstra, cattle in 1868 were valued at \$8.00-\$10.00 per head in Texas and would sell in Abilene for \$20.00-\$25.00.

²⁹ The name of the judge, number of people, and statute details were cited in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 61. The date is from Dickinson County Clippings, vol 2, pg. 101.

matters of the city of Abilene including James B. Shane, Theodore C. Henry (chairman), Thomas Sherran, Timothy F. Hersey, and Joseph G. McCoy.³⁰ The cattle trade did not account for all the growth. Two ministers led large groups to the area during this period. Vear P. Wilson, Universalist preacher and editor of the *Chronicle*, and Reverend W.B. Christopher, a Congregational pastor, established colonies in the area.³¹ Wilson's Buckeye colony had nearly two hundred settlers and a church built in 1870.³² In 1871, Rev. W.B. Christopher and Mr. Penfield were sent to Kansas by the Illinois Prohibition Colony to spread their message of moral reform.³³ This group of fifty settlers came via the Kansas Pacific and selected homesteads near Cheever.³⁴ These groups would help compose the moral landscape that would guide Abilene in its cowtown days.

By 1870 Abilene's newspaper, the *Chronicle*, reported that an estimated sixteen hundred new residents had settled recently in Dickinson County, making Abilene's total population around three-thousand. The newspaper also estimated that "At least two thirds of these were farm folk who increasingly overflowed onto the hitherto upland grazing grounds."³⁵ Settlement of the community included professionals like Charles C. Furley who became the first doctor in Abilene in 1869, and by 1880, the president of the Kansas Medical Society.³⁶ Dr. Lucius Boudinot came a year later, and was later elected to the town council.³⁷

Abilene's growth and settlement was even noted on a national level. Frank Leslie's

³⁰ Abilene Ordinance Book, 3-4, MS., Mayor's office. Henry was a land owner, county recorder, and farmer, McCoy was building the cattle yards, Shane was a land speculator and would later become a Dickinson County clerk.

³¹ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 258.

³² Cutler, n.g.

³³ Little, 33.

³⁴ Cutler, n.g. This was found in the Dickinson County "Early History" section.

³⁵ *Abilene Chronicle*, May 19, 1870, Jan. 5, 1871; "List of Population by Counties" (typescript, KSHS), Dickinson County section. Also Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 294.

³⁶ David Dary, *Frontier Medicine: From the Atlantic to the Pacific, 1492-1941* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 200.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 201.

Illustrated Newspaper, which was based in New York City, wrote about the widespread growth stating:

Abilene is the county-seat in Dickinson County, Kansas. The valley of the Smoky River is here wide and beautiful. The land is so fertile, and the grazing so superior, that Abilene has been selected by several of the most extensive cattle-dealing firms in the United States as the point of concentration and shipment Eastward for Mexican and Texas cattle.³⁸

While most of the newcomers were farmers, it was the cattle trade that offered Abilene residents with the greatest economic opportunities. The residents of Abilene were able to open stores and cater to the needs of the cattle drovers, including clothing, food, lodging, and entertainment. Farmers along the trail were also able to capitalize on the trade by selling butter, eggs, and other necessities. The town itself collected fines for lawlessness. McCoy continued to popularize the town he built on the cattle trade by using news articles and word of mouth advertising. There was money to be made in the cattle trade and its related business opportunities, but it was not without risk as McCoy soon discovered.

By 1869, McCoy had run into trouble financially with the Kansas Pacific; they did not properly pay him as agreed upon in their verbal contract. When McCoy traveled to St. Louis to meet with railroad executives, he was refused an audience. Unfortunately for McCoy, he had spent the money that was owed him before he was actually paid by using the cows as collateral to make further improvements to his trading empire. McCoy was perhaps thinking of himself when he said of the cattle men that, “few, after beginning, are ever willing to quit the business... If he succeeds, not matter how well at first, it only serves to make him determined to retrieve his losses in the same vocation in which he sustained it.”³⁹

³⁸ “Cattle Transport,” *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York, NY) August 19, 1871; pg. 383 Issue 829.

³⁹ McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 322.

He would continue on in the cattle business, despite his fiscal misadventures. It was at this time that McCoy spent money in Springfield, Illinois, lobbying for cattle to be shipped there. When the contract was repudiated by the railroad, McCoy had difficulties paying his creditors and was forced to sell his Abilene land to try to pacify his creditors. By the end of 1869 McCoy, trying to salvage his reputation, sent out a circular which accused the Kansas Pacific of breach of contract.⁴⁰ He wanted other cattle men to know the dangers of the business, and to discredit the railroad as an honest means of shipping their cattle.

McCoy eventually sued the Kansas Pacific Railroad in court proceedings beginning in March 1871. The circular from 1869 was used as evidence in the trial as presided over by William H. Canfield of Junction City. The judge ruled in favor of McCoy, whereas the railroad was forced to pay McCoy \$5,127.50.⁴¹ In July 1871, Judge Brewer of the Supreme Court of Kansas upheld the decision made in favor of McCoy in Junction City.⁴² Despite no longer hedging funds on carloads of cattle, McCoy would stay connected through other facets of the business since there was profit to be made.

In March of 1871, Abilene was established as a third-class city; in April of that year, Joseph McCoy was elected Mayor and took office.⁴³ It appears that his election as mayor was a reward for his status as a prominent businessman, and particularly for his central role

⁴⁰ Ibid., 267. The circular was dated December 30, 1869.

⁴¹ Ibid., 275. The amount was derived from \$2.50 per carload of cattle x 2,017 loads plus \$80.00 in court costs, according to Bieber.

⁴² Ibid., 275. Supreme Court of Kansas, Appearance Docket C, no. 602, case no. 704, pg. 104.

⁴³ For information on incorporation see also Terry, Harmon, "Locating the incorporation charters of towns and cities in Kansas." This is a three page sheet which was given to me at the KSHS. To be a third-class city according to Chapter 26 of the Laws of 1869, it meant that "it provided a governmental system for communities ranging in population from 800 to 2000 inhabitants which declared themselves to be a third class city through a referendum." This was found on pg. 2 of the document. McCoy had been on the first city board when the city was incorporated. He also was a prominent business man, and had many friends which ran local businesses. This made it easier for him to get elected. Money and the cattle market would be a priority, until it started to affect the local cattle and morality in the town.

fostering the economic situation that allowed Abilene to thrive.⁴⁴ Indeed, Abilene was nationally known because of him. Moreover, McCoy was well-known in the “sporting community,” the part of Abilene that catered to cowboys and buyers at the end of the trail; those who benefited directly from the trade helped him secure his position. McCoy had also sought to give the cattle trade a positive reputation, despite his own legal and financial trouble. In short, he was the favorite of the business community—both the legitimate business of the town and the shadier aspects of it. The voting population in Abilene would have been comprised of white males over twenty years of age, and most of them apparently appreciated McCoy’s relentless boosterism. The mayor was elected for a term of one year, as was their council. McCoy’s council now included G.L. Brinkman, Dr. Lucius Boudinot, S.A. Burroughs, Samuel Carpenter, and W.H. Eicholtz. The Police Judge was Eliphalet Barber.⁴⁵

While the economic impact of the cattle trade was undeniable, it came with significant downsides for parts of the population as well. The Abilene area had attracted hundreds of new settlers, no doubt drawn by easy access to the railroad. But the railroad had also attracted the Texas cattle and local farmers worried that the imported cattle would bring disease upon their local herds. The Texas longhorns carried ticks infected with disease. The longhorns were immune, but local cattle became ill with high fevers usually resulting in death. Some of these local farmers argued, correctly, that the cattle route violated the quarantine laws established by the state legislature.

The quarantine laws were established to protect local herds from the devastating effects of the ticks. Neighboring Missouri had been the first state to deal with the southern

⁴⁴ Jim Hoy, “Joseph G. McCoy and the Creation of the Mythic American West,” in *John Brown to Bob Dole: Movers and Shakers in Kansas History*, ed. Virgil W. Dean. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006), 75.

⁴⁵ Minute Book of the City Council, pg. 47 and *Abilene Chronicle*, April 6, 1871. Burroughs was a lawyer and later went on to become county attorney. Samuel Carpenter was a merchant.

cattle trade. In 1855, Missouri had passed legislation regarding Texas cattle passed through their state. Farmers and vigilance committees had levied complaints against the cattle due to their fears of “Texas or Spanish Fever” that had affected local cattle with devastating effects.⁴⁶ The law declared that no person should, “willfully and knowingly drive any diseased or distempered cattle, affected with what is commonly known as Texas or Spanish fever, or any other infectious disease, into or through this state...”⁴⁷ This set the precedent by which other livestock laws would be written, including those which would impact the neighboring Kansas Territory.

The Kansas Territorial Legislature passed a law in 1859 that barred the passage of diseased cattle through Kansas.”⁴⁸ This law also prohibited Texas, Arkansas, and Indian stock from entering Bourbon, Linn, and Lykins [Miami] counties between June 1st and November 1st. In 1865, the state legislature passed another law regarding cattle that “prohibited any person except immigrants from driving cattle out of Texas and Indian Territory into or through any county in the state.”⁴⁹ By 1866, another outbreak of the fever ravaged the local cattle populations.⁵⁰ This prompted the Kansas legislature to pass another bill on February 26, 1867, that prohibited or restricted the trailing of Texas cattle across the state’s boundaries.⁵¹ This is important in that it repealed sections of the 1859 law, and stipulated that “no person should drive Texas or Indian cattle into the state between March 1st

⁴⁶ This was often known and referred to as Texas, Splenic, or Spanish Fever.

⁴⁷ Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri, 1855, II, 1104-1105 as quoted in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 33. Bieber wrote that The Bureau of Animal Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture later determined that the ticks destroy the red corpuscles of the blood which made it thin and allowed for a high fever which led to the death of the animals. The longhorns were unaffected, but the ticks wreaked havoc on the local cattle. The information on the disease was found in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 216. It cites *The Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1898, 453.

⁴⁸ General Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1859, 621-622 as quoted in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 37.

⁴⁹ Kansas Laws, 1865, 159-160 as quoted in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 45. This law was ultimately repealed February 16, 1866 as shown in Kansas Laws, 1866, 248 as quoted in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 45.

⁵⁰ Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1866 as quoted in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 50.

⁵¹ Kansas Laws, 1867, 263-267 as quoted in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 51.

and December 1st, except into that part of the southwestern Kansas which lay west of the sixth principal meridian and south of township 18.”⁵² Despite the laws, cattle drovers found ways to circumvent the new boundaries. If an individual or company gave \$10,000 to guarantee payment of any damages to local livestock, then they were able to procure a route to take their cattle to a railroad depot.⁵³ The route could not be within five miles of any settler without their written consent, and it could not be on a public highway. Finally, the cattle also had to have a destination outside of the state.⁵⁴

This became a major point of contention between the local residents of Abilene and those involved with the cattle trade, including the drovers and McCoy. For example, William H. Lamb, “a concerned Dickinson county citizen,” complained to Governor Samuel J. Crawford,

There is a State law prohibiting any person or persons driving Texas cattle inside the limits of civilization on the frontier: If there is such a law why not enforce it; for there is now, and will be still coming, several thousand head of Texas Cattle in this immediate vicinity...As a mass the settlers are against it. There are some very fine herds of cattle in this part of Kansas, and now to have the Texas cattle fever break out among them would indeed be to[o] bad. We are all afraid and ask your advice in regard to the matter.⁵⁵

The local farmers were concerned that the fever would infect their local livestock, and death would be inevitable. Joseph McCoy’s assistant, Charley Gross, later recalled, “When the

⁵² Ibid. The 6th principal meridian was a survey marker used to plot the newly formed Kansas and Nebraska territories into the familiar “grid” of townships. The 6th meridian’s initial point was marked in 1855 on the baseline of the 40th parallel (the boundary between Kansas and Nebraska) and 108 miles west of the Missouri River. Approximately one third of Kansas lies east of the 6th principal meridian. This geographical reference is south and west of what is present-day McPherson, Kansas. Kansas Society of Land Surveyors, “Original surveys of Kansas: The Public Land Survey System,” http://ksls.com/about_surveys.htm. (accessed April 20, 2013).

⁵³ Ibid., 52.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 23. Dykstra quotes William H. Lamb to Samuel J. Crawford, August 31, 1867, Governors’ Correspondence (Livestock), Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS), Topeka, KS. Abilene’s citizens were initially concerned over the livestock disease, but would eventually turn their anger towards the vice which accompanied the cattle trade. The Governor’s response is not available.

settlers near Abilene began to lose cattle from the fever, Hell was to pay... The farmers had but few cattle [and] little money & to see their small stock of cattle die off was to them almost unbearable, it was almost open gun war.”⁵⁶ A Junction City paper confirmed this sentiment, writing, “At Abilene a great many native cattle have died, and the feeling is growing very strong among the farmers against the Texas cattle business.”⁵⁷

Another casualty of the cattle trade was that local farmers’ crops often were trampled by the drives, causing fiscal and emotional trauma. Herd and fence laws would become points of contention between the drovers and the local farmers. In 1868, the Kansas legislature required fields to be fenced. Herd laws were regulations set in place whereby owners of livestock were responsible for damages to others due to their animals. In February 1870, Kansas legislators passed herd laws for six counties, including Dickinson.⁵⁸ An additional measure provided that Dickinson County was exempt from fences as long as the local farmers plowed around their field perimeters.

Abilene settlers went so far as to form the Farmer’s Protective Association to protect the local farmer’s fields, crops, and livelihoods, as well as take action to eradicate the cattle trade. These concerned citizens wanted, “to resist every effort put forth for its continuation in our county, feeling that it impedes the development of our agricultural resources, and brings nothing but taxation and crime upon us.”⁵⁹ This association fought for the quarantine boundary lines to be changed to a position further west, and for the cattle trade to be transitioned further west as well. By early in 1872, the local farmers had made it clear that they wanted the cattle trade to end in Abilene. The *Chronicle* published their petition:

⁵⁶ Ibid., 28.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁵⁸ Laws of the State of Kansas, 1870, 246-238 as quoted in Robert Dykstra, “The Last Days of ‘Texan’ Abilene: A Study in Community Conflict on the Farmer’s Frontier,” *Agricultural History*, v. 34, no. 3 (July 1960): 110.

⁵⁹ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 303.

We the undersigned, members of the Farmers' Protective Association, and officers and citizens of Dickinson County, Kansas, most respectfully request all who have contemplated driving Texas cattle to Abilene the coming season to seek some other point for shipment, as the inhabitants of Dickinson will no longer submit to the evils of the trade.⁶⁰

This was then signed by fifty-two male citizens of Abilene including T.C. Henry, land realtor and wheat farmer; C.H. Lebold, land realtor; Jim Shane, land speculator; James (Jim) Bell, a prominent farmer; Samuel Richards, farm equipment dealer; Ed Gaylord, liveryman; and other farmers from the rest of the county. This petition was reprinted several times; in the final printing, it contained three hundred and sixty-six signatures.⁶¹ The efforts of local farmers were not in vain since they were paid \$4,500.00 in damages to their livestock, and a system of inspection was implemented to check the cattle coming into the region to ensure that they were tick free.⁶²

After four years of the economic boom of the cattle trade, Abilene had begun to believe that the cattle trade had worn out its welcome. The risk for disease and crop destruction had come to be seen as too great. But in addition, residents had also grown increasingly outraged at the social and moral issues that accompanied the trade. The cattle trade was profitable for a good many people, but economic gain was accompanied by prostitution, gambling, drinking, dancing, and other behaviors that many local residents deemed immoral. Local founder and wheat farmer Theodore C. Henry may have said it best when he declared that when the cattle trade and the evils which accompany it, “retard the development of our county by deterring its settlement and cultivation— rather than

⁶⁰ *Abilene Chronicle*, February 6, 1872. This is also posted in many secondary sources including Odie B. Faulk, *Dodge City: The Most Western Town of All* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

⁶¹ Dykstra, “Last Days,” 117.

⁶² McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 219. Cushman claims the amount paid was \$4041.00. Cushman, 256. He cites “Minutes of City Council,” August 12, 1871.

contribute to its advancement, as perhaps they have done heretofore, then their presence should no longer be encouraged or tolerated here.”⁶³

⁶³ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 297.

Chapter 2 - Abilene, the exception to the other Kansas Cownowns

Without a doubt, the cattle trade fostered an economic boom in Abilene. As McCoy recalled, “No sooner had it become a conceded fact that Abilene as a cattle depot was a success, than tradespeople from all points came to the village, and after putting up temporary houses, went into business.”⁶⁴ But, not all of the accompanying economic development was necessarily welcome. In particular, Abilene residents seem to have been startled when they discovered what it meant to be the town at the end of the trail. The cattle trails were approximately three hundred miles long, and the journey took thirty to forty days. The cattlemen were paid twenty-five to forty dollars for the trek, which provided them with plenty of money to spend on “entertainment” at the end of their journey.⁶⁵ As one commentator put it, “When these boys reached the terminus of their drives, this little settlement was a metropolis to them and they sought to enjoy themselves as best they could with such means as were available.”⁶⁶ In short, Abilene discovered that the cattle trade was also accompanied by, as McCoy put it, “the barroom, the theatre, the gambling room, the bawdy house, the dance house...”⁶⁷ “Of course,” he added, “... every possible device for obtaining money in both an honest and dishonest manner—were abundant.”⁶⁸

The businesses that served the entertainment needs of the cowboy at the end of the trail were in many ways as transient as the cowboys themselves. Abilene’s population particularly swelled during the cattle season, from early spring to September. Those who

⁶⁴ Richmond, 125.

⁶⁵ Richmond, 124.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 100.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

came to staff the dance halls, the saloons, and the brothels went by many names: the “sporting crowd,” the “sporting community,” the “uncivilized element,” the “temporary population,” the “Texas cattle crowd,” the “roistering habitué,” the “summer season transients,” the “rough element,” and the “demi-monde.”⁶⁹

No element of the sporting community aroused more attention than the prostitutes who flocked to Abilene. One local resident, Charley Gross, recalled that in 1867, the first year of cattle drives, the prostitutes, “came in swarms, & as the weather got warm four or five girls could Huddle together in a tent very Comfortably.”⁷⁰ Another account declared that the cowboys arrived at Abilene to find, “scores of poor fallen women—if not hundreds. The streets were lined and crowded with saloons, gambling houses and dives and vile holes of hell.”⁷¹

Prostitutes were often a mobile workforce, moving from town to town, and state to state, following business wherever they could find it. One historian notes this transience: “nymphs of the prairie followed the annual cattle drives of the plains ‘like vultures follow an army, and disappear at the end of the cattle driving and shipping season.’”⁷² Accordingly, Abilene was “invaded by a horde of desperadoes, gamblers, saloonkeepers, and filles de joy, most from the underworlds of St. Louis, Kansas City, and Memphis.”⁷³ Further, it was said that “in a class not noted for high principle, Abilene women rated especially low, as so many

⁶⁹ These names are found in various newspapers and C. Robert Haywood, *Victorian West: Class and Culture in Kansas Cattle Towns*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1991), 18.

⁷⁰ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 104. Gross was McCoy’s assistant.

⁷¹ Little, 32.

⁷² Philip D. Jordan, “Prostitution in the Middle West,” in *Frontier Law and Order: 10 Essays*, ed. Philip D. Jordan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 131. Jordan cites Ronald L. Davis, “Soiled Doves and Ornamental Culture,” *American West*, v. 4, no. 4, (Nov. 1967). 20-21.

⁷³ Jordan, 131.

of them had come west because they were too rough for St. Louis or Kansas City.”⁷⁴

Abilene’s boom promised continued business of dubious morality. It was even said that “women left to recruit more of their sisters to come to the small but promising Abilene for the next spring.”⁷⁵

In short order, the original farming community of Abilene became virtually unrecognizable. As McCoy recalled:

No point in the West of five times its resident population did one-half the amount of business that was done in Abilene, and in the days of the full tide in the cattle business its streets were crowded from early morning to a late hour in the night by a busy throng of merchants, traders and other business men, besides a host of that gloating population which perpetually drift from point to point where business centers...⁷⁶

The permanent citizens of Abilene who were unaffiliated with the sporting community called themselves by a number of names: the “respectable community,” the “stable society,” the “solid citizens,” the “mainstream community,” the “respectable folk,” and the “civilized people.”⁷⁷ The respectable community and the sporting community divided the town in two, which was further shown by the railroad tracks dividing the groups. The *Topeka Kansas State Record* illustrated this as they wrote, “Before dark you will have an opportunity to notice that Abilene is divided by the railroad into two sections very different in appearance. The north side is literary, religious and commercial, and possesses... the churches, the banks, and several large stores of various description.”⁷⁸ In another picture of respectable Abilene, it was said, “When you are on the north side of the track you are in

⁷⁴ Joe B. Franz and Julian Ernest Choate, Jr., *The American Cowboy: The myth and the reality* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 89.

⁷⁵ Stewart P. Verckler, *Cowtown- Abilene: The story of Abilene, 1867-1875* (New York: Carlton Press, 1961), 19.

⁷⁶ Dickinson County Clippings, vol 1, pg. 207

⁷⁷ Haywood, 18.

⁷⁸ *Topeka Kansas State Record*, August 5, 1871, as quoted in McKinney, Vansholtz, and Scheele, 61.

Kansas, and hear sober and profitable conversation on the subject of weather, the price of land and the crops...”⁷⁹

The respectable citizens were horrified at Abilene’s new atmosphere, and as Abilene garnered a reputation as “the meanest hole in the State,” they attempted to corral, at least geographically, the sporting community.⁸⁰ In Abilene, the demi-monde initially established themselves north of town, but later found Texas Street, on the south side of the tracks, more to their liking: it became a hotbed of licentious activity. In contrast to the respectable north, the south side of the tracks was said to be “of story and song, and possesses the large hotels, the saloons, and the places where the dealers in cardboard, bone, and ivory most do congregate... when you cross the south side you are in Texas, and talk about cattle.”⁸¹ Another person wrote about the southern part of Abilene declaring, “The southern side was where the cowboys congregated, and Texas Street just south of the tracks was a ‘glowing thoroughfare which led from the dreariness of the open prairies straight into the delight of Hell itself.’”⁸²

The city council appointed a committee to “cause the removal from the limits of the city proper of all bawdy houses or houses of ill fame and to relocated the same upon some uninhabited portion of the City Commons.”⁸³ The council then leased forty acres to the south of town for that purpose.⁸⁴ Further, the *Chronicle* shared with its readers, “vice in one of its forms, is sternly driven forth from the city limits for the space of at least a quarter of a mile where its ‘local habitation’ is courteously and modestly, but rather indefinitely designated as

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Dykstra, “Last Days,” 110.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Davis, 20.

⁸³ Dykstra, “Last Days,” 113. Dykstra cites Abilene Minute Book, 71; Abilene Ordinance Book, 56.

⁸⁴ Little, 38.

the 'Beer Garden' ...”⁸⁵ The “Beer Garden” was also referred to as “McCoy’s Addition”⁸⁶ Theophilus Little recalled the “Addition” as he stated, “These women built houses on this ground and it was literally covered with them... Beer gardens, dance halls, and dancing platforms and saloons galore there. It was called ‘The Devil’s Addition to Abilene,’ rightly named for Hell reigned there-Supreme.”⁸⁷ In J.B. Edwards’ memoirs, he stated that “Fisher’s Addition, as it was called where the women of ill repute held forth, was located east of Buckeye some distance and about as far south as where the Santa Fe railroad now comes into the city... if anyone was ever killed in Fisher’s Addition, it was never known by the public.”⁸⁸

McCoy said in his memoirs that cowboys tasted, “this vortex of dissipation, dancing with drunken abandon with that sad Victorian creature, ‘the soiled dove’...”⁸⁹ Abilene was prepared for the Texas cowboy as “a great invasion of saloonkeepers was ready for him, with their hangers-on—gamblers, dance-hall girls, and all other women, white, black, and mixed, who didn’t bother with any fancier approach than a tent or a shack down on the bottoms.”⁹⁰ Little further described Abilene’s sporting community in the “Addition” declaring, “The ‘Soiled Dove’ was there; bedizzened in her gaudy dress, cheap jewelry and high colored cosmetics, and the Devil himself was there night and day. Talk about ‘Hell down below.’ Why Abilene was a seething, roaring, flaming Hell.”⁹¹

⁸⁵ *Abilene Chronicle*, August 10, 1871, pg 2 col 3.

⁸⁶ Sometimes this is called “Fisher’s Addition” because the land was originally owned by Fisher. It was later known as “McCoy’s Addition” due to Mayor McCoy’s frequent protection and support of the area.

⁸⁷ Little, 38.

⁸⁸ J.B. Edwards, “Recollections” via reprints in the *Abilene Chronicle*, July 3, 1938. The original articles were published in 1896. This was found in Dickinson County Clippings pg. 109-110 at KSHS.

⁸⁹ McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 209 as quoted in Franz and Choate, 75.

⁹⁰ Mari Sandoz, *The Cattleman: From the Rio Grande Across the far Marias*. New York: Hastings House, 1975), 110.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

Little further enlightened readers declaring, “Hacks were run day and night to this addition. Money and whiskey flowed like water down hill and youth and beauty and womanhood and manhood were wrecked and damned in that Valley of Perdition.”⁹² The south side quickly became the wild side of town, and as the Santa Fe railroad was between the new brothel district and the town, the sporting community was literally “on the wrong side of the tracks.”

Geographical segregation was not, however, enough since the raucousness of the sporting community tainted the whole town. The lawlessness would be controlled by some of the biggest names in Western lore including James Butler “Wild Bill” Hickok and Tom Smith.⁹³ The government of Abilene was still being controlled by a group of trustees, as previously appointed when Abilene became incorporated. In 1870, the city trustees passed a vagrancy law to control the sporting community by establishing that anyone found loitering around houses of ill-fame, gambling houses, or places where liquors are sold would be guilty of vagrancy with a fine not to exceed \$100.00, or be committed to jail until fines were paid.⁹⁴ Further, they had to do public work at the rate of \$2.00 per day incarcerated to cover the costs. These laws were to set the standard by which Abilene would conduct her business throughout the upcoming cattle drive season. This ordinance meant that those involved with the saloons and brothels would be eligible for fines and jail time if they did not have a legitimate reason for being at that place of business. Further, the city trustees also passed a

⁹² Ibid. “Hackmen” or “hacks” were terms used for drivers who would transport men to the brothels for the purpose of soliciting a prostitute.

⁹³ David Dary, *True Tales of Old-Time Kansas*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1984), 102. Smith was in Abilene in 1870 and was the fist of the law keeping officers. He was paid \$150.00 a month and \$2.00 for each conviction of arrest. He would be shot, and Hickok brought in. Hickok was appointed to Marshal by recommendation of McCoy on April 15, 1871. He would make \$150.00 a month plus 25% of all fines in his arrests. The salaries are from Cushman, 61.

⁹⁴ *Abilene Chronicle*, May 12, 1870, pg 1 col 1. The captions above this article are “An Ordinance.” “Respecting Vagrancy.” This was signed by T.C. Henry, Chairman and G.L. Brinkman, Clerk.

law on “houses of ill-fame” during the same session. Madams were fined \$25.00-\$200.00, and “shall be removed by any of the town Constables without the corporate limits of this town upon the order of the Court.”⁹⁵ The Council was setting a precedent in showing that those running, visiting, and living at brothels would all be liable for their actions. Prostitutes were fined \$10.00-\$100.00 and further defined as any person found in a brothel between 8:00 p.m. and 5:00 a.m.⁹⁶ This law illustrated that Abilene would penalize anyone for being at the brothels for the purpose of illegal activities (there were no other kind), and that it would further dictate what times the ordinance would be enforced. The citizens of Abilene were also penalized for leasing or renting a building in town for the purpose of maintaining a brothel. The fine would not exceed \$100.00, and could not be less than \$10.00 for each day that they allowed a tenant to use their building for illegal activity.⁹⁷

In being the first cattle town, the residents did not know that the cattle disease, prostitutes, and other vice would be in their midst. By passing laws and ordinances early in their history, they set a precedent that they were going to be harsh on prostitution, gambling, and alcohol. Further, Abilene had a prohibition movement that citizens hoped would eradicate the vice in their town. Abilene had been founded with a prohibition colony, so the ideas of temperance would have taken root already in the community. This demonstrates that Abilene was connecting with a larger set of ideals, and realizing the potential of choosing a future free of the corruption and vice. By 1870, Abilene had a local chapter of the Independent Order of Good Templars that “required of its votaries not only a belief in a

⁹⁵ *Abilene Chronicle*, May 12, 1870, pg 1 col 2. Section 5 of this ordinance states that it would be put in effect May 20, 1870. It was also signed by T.C. Henry, Chairman and G.L. Brinkman, Clerk.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

divinely posited prohibitionism but a militant propagation of the faith as well.”⁹⁸ Further, Abilene had an Independent Order of Odd Fellows that was organized on September 14, 1870.⁹⁹ They stood for religion, brotherhood, and virtue and included prominent citizens Vear Wilson, D.R. Gordon, and W.H. Elcholtz. Abilene also had an Ancient Free & Accepted Masons group that began on November 10, 1870, with ten members including T.C. Henry and Vear Wilson.¹⁰⁰ Abilene’s citizens were effective in the suppression of vice and alcohol through regulations and use of fraternal organizations to further their beliefs.

Citizens would continue to be effective in “cleaning out” Abilene of its prostitutes with the help of Sheriff Smith. The *Chronicle* articulated its moral beliefs as it stated, “Cleaned Out. - For some time past a set of prostitutes have occupied several shanties, about a mile north-west of town. On last Monday or Tuesday Deputy Sheriff Smith served a notice on the vile characters, ordering them to close their dens—or suffer the consequences.”¹⁰¹ The *Chronicle* further wrote, “They were convinced beyond all question that an outraged community would no longer tolerate their vile business...”¹⁰² Smith would continue to control the sporting community in Abilene by establishing guidelines for guns in the city, and by enforcing the laws on vagrancy, alcohol, and prostitution. The citizens’ crusade against vice, making Abilene the exception to the other Kansas cowtowns, was illustrated in the *Chronicle* as they wrote, “We are told that there is not a house of ill fame in Abilene or the vicinity—a fact, we are informed, which can hardly be said in favor of any other town on the Kansas Pacific Railway.”¹⁰³

⁹⁸ *Abilene Chronicle*, Dec. 15, 1870 and Jan. 5, 1871, as found in Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 258.

⁹⁹ Cutler, n.g. “Abilene” chapter. It was called the Western Home Lodge. No. 60.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* It was called the Benevolent Lodge, No. 98.

¹⁰¹ *Abilene Chronicle*, September 18, 1870, pg 3 col 4.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

Abilene was proud of her reputation for being harsh on gambling, prostitution, and liquor. The citizens had successfully compelled some ladies of the evening to move on to other cities, which was their objective. The *Chronicle* again voiced satisfaction in the conduct of their town as they penned, “The respectable citizens of Abilene may well feel proud of the order and quietness now prevailing in the town. Let the dens of infamy be kept out, the laws enforced and violators punished, and no good citizen will ask more...”¹⁰⁴

The City Council Minute Book has many examples where citizens asked the Marshall to stop the sale of liquor and to shut down the dance houses. By early 1871, the *Chronicle* reported that “Abilene had two schools, five churches, and a population of 1,000.”¹⁰⁵ The 1871 census also showed that Abilene had thirty-two establishments selling liquor, sixty-four gambling tables, and one hundred and thirty known gamblers.¹⁰⁶ The statistics suggest that the campaigns against vice were, to put it mildly, an uphill battle.

Given the ongoing outrage about the sporting community, city government was under considerable pressure to take more action. But interestingly, the new ordinances penned when Joseph McCoy became mayor seem to have reduced penalties. McCoy and his councilmen passed a city ordinance in April of 1871 regarding “Houses of Ill-Fame.” Many cowtowns were reluctant to expel the prostitutes from their towns since “they were the source of considerable revenue through the imposition of fines which were actually nothing more than licenses to operate.”¹⁰⁷ The ordinance relating to houses of ill-fame fined those renting a

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Leonard and Wallimann, 42.

¹⁰⁶ Davis, 21.

¹⁰⁷ Nyle H. Miller and Joseph Snell, *Why the West was Wild: A Contemporary Look at the antics of some highly publicized Kansas Cowtown personalities*. Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1963, 14-15.

building for the purpose of keeping a brothel with fines of \$10.00-\$100.00.¹⁰⁸ The fines were identical to the 1870 law; however, the law was worded slightly differently. Section 2 of the ordinance dealt with Madams fining them \$5.00-\$50.00 for operating their businesses.¹⁰⁹ These fines were significantly less than those in the previous laws. Section 3 grapples with the prostitutes themselves, fining them \$5.00-\$50.00¹¹⁰ These fines were nearly half of what the previous fines had been.

The explanation for this rather surprising reduction in fines is simple: as mayor in 1871, McCoy was considerably more tolerant of the sporting community than his fellow councilmen. McCoy occupied a unique place in the Abilene community. On the one hand, he was politically involved in the “respectable” community, famed as the man who turned Abilene into a boom town. But at the same time, his many friends in the sporting community, and his well-publicized participation in the life on the south side of the tracks, made him suspect. He had been elected mayor, but it seems clear that it was his support among the less reputable businessmen that had won the election.

In short, McCoy’s leadership further divided the community. The mayoral race in 1871 had been between Joseph McCoy and Henry Hazlett.¹¹¹ McCoy most likely ran for the position to defend and promote the cattle trade, despite the vice, negative press, and persistent opposition. C.H. Lebold almost ran in the campaign, but withdrew before voting

¹⁰⁸ *Abilene Chronicle*, May 18, 1871, pg 2 col 2. The captions above this article state “An Ordinance” “Relating to Houses of Ill-Fame” It was also signed by A.A. Hurd, City Clerk and J.G. McCoy, Mayor

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Henry Hazlett was a businessman with his brothers in R.H. Hazlett & Company, which first opened in 1867 in Abilene. The store carried general merchandise, with up to \$35,000 in stock on two floors and a basement. He had previously been in Ohio, and later went on to do business in California. This was found in Cutler, chapter 6 “Biographical Sketches.” <http://www.kancoll.org/books/cutler/dickinson/dickinson-co-p6.html> (accessed April 20, 2013).

began.¹¹² Hazlett would have most likely been trying to capture the votes of his store's patrons, especially members of the respectable community. In one article, the *Chronicle* shared its dismay at the election declaring, "Mr. Lebold was withdrawn as a candidate for mayor, although his chances were probably as good as any candidate on the track. Had his friends insisted on his name being printed upon the ballot he would have been elected or at least the result would have been different."¹¹³ McCoy was largely supported by saloon owners and other members of the sporting community, and he had previously been on the council appointed when Abilene became a town.

McCoy immediately sought to lower liquor license fees, an act that polarized his council and voters. Councilman Burroughs wanted a \$500.00 fee that would cover all city operating costs, and he felt this would prohibit the number of businesses serving liquor. Councilmen Boudinot and Carpenter sought a \$100.00 fee imposed. The other two councilmen sought a moderate \$200.00 fee. Burroughs also became upset at the salary scale that McCoy imposed upon the city of Abilene, including its addition of higher salaries for law enforcement officers. Burroughs then joined the fight for \$100.00 side of the tax argument. When McCoy saw the opposition in his council, he then became a proponent of the \$200.00 fee which he viewed as a moderate choice. As the council remained divided on the liquor tax issue, Mayor McCoy then sought to have Boudinot and Carpenter approve the \$200.00 fine, promising that friends of theirs would only have to pay \$100.00. McCoy then said that the remainder of the money would be obtained through taxation of gamblers and prostitutes. These fines would be collected by Marshal Hickok.

¹¹² *Abilene Chronicle*, April 16, 1871.

¹¹³ Cushman, 252.

McCoy held a council meeting on May 1, 1871, at a time when he thought that Burroughs would be absent. McCoy was trying to get his moderate \$200.00 tax plan passed and Burroughs' absence would have facilitated that. This plan backfired, as Boudinot and Carpenter resigned their council seats on the spot in protest and left. Burroughs (who had shown up after all) then withdrew from the meeting, and thus, a quorum was not present and the taxation plan stalled. Marshall Hickok was sent to bring Burroughs back on the grounds that he had left the meeting without the permission of Chairman Brinkman. The events of the meeting and the ensuing council dissolution became gossip throughout the state. The editor of the *Chronicle* said of this event that people were "trying to force their own selfish or pet measures upon the people."¹¹⁴ McCoy was said to be behind the gossip, perpetuating his own name and fame.

The events of the council and McCoy were recorded in the *Chronicle*. The two men who resigned were re-elected in a special election for their positions and ultimately the \$200.00 liquor license was approved.¹¹⁵ At that point, the prostitution laws became the next topic of discussion. It was McCoy's hope that the council would settle on his plan to install a reduced fine system for the brothels, a plan that avoided sidestepped the growing community pressure to close down the houses completely. As noted above, he succeeded as fines were nearly halved.

Within a few days, the citizens had pressured the council into taking stronger action against the sporting community. In June 1871, the Council then instituted, "tax[es] for whores as well as gamblers, removing all brothels to a segregated tract on the outskirts of

¹¹⁴ *Abilene Chronicle*, May 4, 1871.

¹¹⁵ *Abilene Council Record*, 67-71. This is quoted in Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 260.

town, and hiring two extra policemen to keep order in the new district.”¹¹⁶ The cost of law enforcement would also be a point of contention because the respectable community had to cover the costs of policing the sporting community throughout the cattle season. The *Chronicle* stated, “Here is a fact for the tax-payers to ponder— Nearly every one of the criminals was a non-resident, and only in the county for temporary purposes.”¹¹⁷ McCoy struggled to maintain cohesion as the controversy grew louder.

The *Chronicle* was quick to voice the opinions of the people, especially in response to the new ordinances on prostitution. On June 15, 1871, the paper posted:

We heard of no other issue being made than the question of allowing disputable houses to be run in town. The bagnios did not stand a ghost of a chance; the vote being unanimous against them. The council, now being unanimously opposed to the infamous dens, have it in their power to carry into effect the will of the people of Abilene. Let them suppress the Bawdy Houses! If this is not done speedily we are informed by the most respectable people of the city that the Citizens Protective Association will suppress them. Let the laws and ordinances be enforced by the city authorities and the people will be satisfied. The setting up of brothels on every street is an insult to every decent man and woman in town, and a community that would tolerate such iniquity – worse than beastly in its character- ought to be damned...¹¹⁸

The citizens would continue to call for decency and morality in their community, even if their elected officials routinely allowed the vice to continue. Further, the respectable citizens of Abilene called for morality as they declared that there were virtuous citizens who were not afraid to “condemn and put down the sinks of iniquity attempted to be carried on in their midst. Abolish the hells in Abilene, and the hell that McCoy believes is a few thousand miles off will take care of itself.”¹¹⁹ The respectable citizens also wrote about their town’s reputation by illustrating their vigilance in seeking to eradicate the sin in their town. The

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 260. This is where Fisher’s land is added to the already existing brothel area. The area is simply enlarging.

¹¹⁷ *Abilene Chronicle*, July 27, 1871.

¹¹⁸ *Abilene Chronicle*, June 15, 1871. I found no other information on the Citizen’s Protective Association.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Chronicle wrote about the sporting community lowering public morality and calling for its reforms declaring, "...McCoy seems to have but little fear. Again we advise our town authorities to enforce our ordinances. In this matter we but utter the sentiment of every honorable man and virtuous woman in Abilene."¹²⁰ The city council would continue to pass jurisdiction on vagrancy, alcohol, and prostitution despite McCoy's enjoyment of the "Addition."

Another city ordinance on vagrancy was passed on June 19, 1871, which was worded the same as the 1870 vagrancy law, only it did not dictate any jail time.¹²¹ Section 3 of the ordinance stated that anyone vending liquor would be required to pay a license tax of \$100.00 per year.¹²² The Council felt that if they regulated the liquor licenses and vagrancy, then the amount of vice in their town would diminish. This would ultimately be the compromise arrived at by McCoy and his council, after Eicholz and Brinkman resigned following the re-election of Boudinot and Carpenter. The battle over morality would continue as the seats were filled by I.L. Smith and J.A. Guthrie.

On July 19, 1871, one month after the vagrancy and liquor license laws were passed, the Council instructed the Marshall "to stop dance houses and vending of whiskeys Brandies &d. in McCoy's addition to the town of Abilene."¹²³ The *Chronicle* posted that the Texas cattle drivers were better than previous years, but the vice had once again become an issue. It was even said that members of the sporting community were "licentious and stealing characters who... crawled into this place in violation of the laws of the State and the

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ *Abilene Chronicle*, June 22, 1871, pg 3 col 3. This ordinance was passed June 19, 1871 by the City Council. It was then approved by Mayor J.G. McCoy on June 21, 1871. It was also signed by A.A. Herd, City Clerk. It was then posted in the *Chronicle* so that the public would be aware of the new ordinance. This was Section 2 of the ordinance.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Minute Book of the City Council of Abilene, July 19, 1871, 79.

ordinances of the Town.”¹²⁴ This directly implied that the cowboys and their longhorns violated the quarantine laws passed in 1867, and that their need for vice at the end of the trail was in direct opposition to the desires of the community, to say nothing of its laws. At the same time, however, the *Chronicle* seemed eager to separate the cattle trade from the evils that flourished in its path. The editor wrote: “Orderly- Thus far the conduct of the Texas cattle men, this season, has been spoken in terms of praise. It is a fact that a better class of Texas boys has come to Abilene this year than ever before. As a general rule their conduct is a credit to themselves and to the state from which they hail.”¹²⁵ The article continued by contrasting the cowboys with the sporting community (ignoring the fact that the cowboys were among the south side’s most eager participants): “In marked contrast with them are the scalawags, pimps, and thieves who have sneaked in to fleece the innocent and carry on the devil’s work of crime and moral death. We would rather be a ‘Texas boy’ a thousand times over.”¹²⁶ The cowboys would have a better reputation than the sporting community in Abilene throughout the summer of 1871. Abilene’s citizens saw the financial gain of having the cowboys in their midst; however, they had disdain for the vice which accompanied the end of the trail.

At the same time, McCoy’s personal behavior was receiving increasing scrutiny. His antics in the brothel district became a popular topic in the *Chronicle*, much to the chagrin of the respectable community. On July 27, 1871, the paper wrote, “J.G. McCoy—This scape grae [sic] is said to be a regular visitor, both day and night, at the brothels in his Infamous ‘Addition.’ He also boasts of his success in enticing other men to visit his bagnios.”¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Cunningham, 21. Cunningham cites *Abilene Chronicle*, July 28, 1871.

¹²⁵ *Abilene Chronicle*, July 20, 1871, pg 3 col 1.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ *Abilene Chronicle*, July 27, 1871, pg 3 col 3.

McCoy continued to make headlines as the paper further wrote, “We are informed that a day or two ago he threw himself upon a counter in one of the stores in town and throwing his heels over his head, boasted and laughed heartily over licentious ‘successes.’”¹²⁸ In addition, the article clearly implied that McCoy’s political power was on the wane:

Poor, fallen creature, to glory in his own shame. He has sunk so low that a majority of the council, to their credit be, it is said, refuse longer to meet with him. If they will now carry out the will of the people they may in some degree undo the bad work they were induced to do by the mayor and two or three others.¹²⁹

In reply to the above article, a citizen wrote a letter to the editor concerning McCoy and his friend’s behavior. It was simply titled “McCoy’s Vileness.” The letter began, “Mr. Editor: That J.G. McCoy, the unprincipled mayor, is a regular attendant at his ‘addition.’ Where he is at home, is a fact beyond successful denial. On last Saturday night he was seen there with two harlots at once on his lap, one on each knee.”¹³⁰ How, of course, the respectable citizen knew of this behavior is an interesting question, but he continued, “I suppose that in this way he is trying to carry out his plan of making house of ill-fame ‘respectable.’ Why don’t the city council have enough backbone to turn out such a worse than beastly mayor? Every respectable citizen must despise such conduct. - A Citizen.”¹³¹

The paper even compared McCoy to the Prodigal son when it complained that the south side was home to, “all that class of females who ‘went through’ the Prodigal son [McCoy], and eventually drove that young gentlemen ‘into the hog business’...”¹³² By the summer of 1871, McCoy had become the object of the respectable community’s rage as his conduct in office and on his own time became the center of the storm over vice. The choice it

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² *Abilene Chronicle*, August 10, 1871, pg 2 col 3.

now seemed, was between money and morality, between the financially lucrative cattle trade and respect for decency and values of the permanent community.

The *Chronicle* voiced the people's moral angst, but now it was increasingly directed at McCoy's failings:

Men and boys are falling from virtue and honor almost daily- children are being ruined- the moral tone of society is being blunted- all because crazy McCoy and his friends have taken it upon themselves to establish and *protect* houses of ill-fame within the corporate limits of the town. McCoy after he had secured his election as mayor, declared that he was in favor of such houses- 'if they are respectably conducted.'¹³³

The land where the brothel district was located was now technically within the city limits of Abilene. This was so that the Marshal could hand out fines, maintain control, and regulate the sporting community. If they had truly been outside the town limits, then the law would not be able to reach them, thus causing a decline in revenue for the city coffer.

McCoy continued exploiting his position of power as the *Chronicle* penned, "And so McCoy attempts to make them 'respectable' by throwing around them his protection as an officer of the law- and demoralizes the town council so that they say: Yes! We'll appoint two policemen to guard them and see they are permitted to carry on their work of physical and moral death without hindrance or molestation."¹³⁴ The respectable community was once again frustrated at their mayor for protecting the sporting community, and when a brothel was opened across from a school McCoy was said to be a "debaucher of childish innocence"

The *Chronicle* added:

¹³³ *Abilene Chronicle*, July 23, 1871, pg 3 col 2. This references the taxation of the sporting community, or rather lack of.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

Yes, almost the entire community may become debauched including little school children- and as councilmen we will disregard our *oaths and sanction and aid* these characters in violating the laws of the state and ordinances of the town!¹³⁵

Biblical references now flew fast and furious, often employed to illustrate the wickedness of sin. An example of this is when the *Chronicle* wrote, “Verily, Sodom was a paradise compared to the moral atmosphere now surrounding Abilene. How long will the 5,000 virtuous people of the county and town endure this state of things before they demand in thunder tones that their officers enforce the laws and ordinances?”¹³⁶ The reputation of Abilene was once again on the line as money was chosen over morality as described when the *Chronicle* declared, “A community debauched is a community disgraced. A people who esteem money, making of greater consequence than virtue and honor, are almost beyond human redemption.”¹³⁷ This clearly articulated the growing consensus that McCoy’s preference for fines in lieu of eradicating the vice in the city was less and less acceptable.

The *Chronicle* also began to point to Abilene’s citizens who did uphold the community’s values. In an article dated, July 27, 1871, the newspaper penned,

Not Demoralized.—Among the few prominent citizens of Abilene who have not soiled their characters by conniving at and encouraging the licentious and beastly conduct of the slum brought here from other places. It affords us pleasure to name Jas. B. Shane, who is utterly opposed to the course pursued by these creatures- as well as to the conduct of some of the officials from whom we expected better things. T.C. Henry, and *a few* other citizens, also have the manhood to speak out against the treachery which has brought such disgrace upon the town and county.¹³⁸

The people of Abilene and its surroundings would continue to question the morality of those who were elected. The dichotomy of the political situation in Abilene is apparent as the

¹³⁵ Ibid. There was a brothel across the street from a school- which became a new point of contention between the respectable and the sporting communities.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ *Abilene Chronicle*, July 27, 1871, pg 3 col 1. The people mentioned here were founders of Abilene who served on the first council when Abilene became incorporated.

Chronicle wrote, “The people of Dickinson will remember in the future the men of Abilene on both sides of the question. To some it will be said: ‘Well done,’ while the unwelcome words, ‘you had better depart,’ will ring in the ears of some men who love ‘money’ more than more rectitude.”¹³⁹

The women’s influence on the town would also proportionately increase as Abilene became settled with more families and children. In June 1871, a number of women of the town petitioned the city council to take active measures for the suppression of brothels. The *Chronicle* continued the report of the petition with a comment that McCoy should have found ominous: “...we are assured by scores of reputable people,” the editor wrote, “that unless the city authorities carry the ordinance into execution, the permanent residents of the town will rise up *en masse* and drive them and their friends out at *all hazards*.”¹⁴⁰ The paper continued with an implied threat:

There is trouble brewing. The people of Abilene are undoubtedly strong enough in numbers to control their own town, but we can as yet see no reason why they should organize a vigilance committee. The council and other lawful authorities we are confident will yet enforce the ordinances and laws, in spite of the mayor and his little squad.¹⁴¹

This latter comment points to the fact that by 1871, the mood in Abilene had definitely changed. Fines and sporadic law enforcement kept a lid on the worst excesses of the sporting community, but increasingly, respectable Abilene wanted the vice eradicated. McCoy had fallen out of step with much of the community. The article closed with a threat, “We say to the council and other officials, that the respectable people of Abilene are able to protect themselves whenever their officers fail to do so in accordance with their oaths. Let

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ *Abilene Chronicle*, June 1, 1871. This was also quoted in Leonard and Wallimann, 42.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

the law be rigidly enforced, and there will be no trouble.”¹⁴² Morality would be called for over money, despite the opposition between the citizens and their council.

Two months later, citizens again vocalized their anger when the city attorney noted that he was enforcing the ordinances against vagrancy. “That is all right,” said the *Chronicle*, “but while you are at it, you should go the ‘whole hog or none’ ... You should also cause all the inmates of the brothels in McCoy’s addition to be arrested on the same plea.”¹⁴³ In voicing their discontentment with their town government, the citizens often used religious arguments. Abilene had been founded by religious constituencies which perpetuated the citizens to be harsh on corruption and immorality. Religion would again play a role in reform as,

The Universalist, Congregational, and we suppose other pulpits in Abilene, are speaking in plain terms of condemnation against Sodom Corruption introduced here by the mayor, and fostered by a majority of the town officers who betrayed the confidence of the respectable people of the city. There is a moral sentiment here which will prevent a reputation of such disgraceful proceeding another year.¹⁴⁴

The citizens of Abilene did not want their town to be known for corruption and moral vice. The article continued on in this sentiment declaring, “In the good work of creating this sentiment in the community, the *Chronicle* is glad to acknowledge the assistance of the pulpits of the town. The days of the open and brazen licentiousness of the sexes, upheld by the officers whose oaths bind them to suppress the crime, are numbered. Those who wish to wallow in filthy crime must seek some other locality. Mark that!”¹⁴⁵ The call for reform would continue as the citizens sought to relocate the vice associated with the cattle trade to another community.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ *Abilene Chronicle*, August 3, 1871.

¹⁴⁴ *Abilene Chronicle*, August 24, 1871, pg 3 col 2. Before the text, the article said “Sodom.”

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

The Council finally asked the Marshall to “inform the proprietor of the Abilene House to expel the prostitutes from his premises under the pain and penalties of prosecution.”¹⁴⁶ The Council further asked the Marshall to “notify all prostitutes and gamblers to come forward and pay fines.”¹⁴⁷ The editor of the *Chronicle*, a former preacher, was never afraid to voice his opinion of the corruption which had continued to plague his city during the cattle trade seasons, often calling for reformation. On September 14, 1871, the *Chronicle* posted, “We are happy to announce to the readers of the Chronicle, that within the last fortnight wholesome and magnificent changes have been wrought in the moral *status* of Abilene. For the last ten or twelve days almost every train eastward bound has carried away and relieved this community of vast numbers of sinful humanity.”¹⁴⁸ The article continued on in voicing the people’s opinions as the *Chronicle* wrote,

Prostitutes, ‘pimps,’ gamblers, ‘cappers,’ and others of like ilk, finding their several nefarious avocations no longer remunerative or appreciated in this neighborhood, are embracing their earliest possible convenience, by hook (mostly by *hook*) and by crook, to obtain the necessary wherewithal with which to procure passage to Newton, Kansas City, or St. Louis, where in all probability most of them will end their miserable lives in dens of shame—unless the better angel in their nature leads them to forsake the paths of sin.¹⁴⁹

The editor disdainfully added, “We are sorry that they have, by their extreme wickedness, placed themselves below the level of the brutes, and in most cases beyond the reach of reformation through human entreaty.”¹⁵⁰ The article went on to discuss how local politics played into the toleration of vice within city limits, and once again, McCoy was targeted for

¹⁴⁶ Minute Book of the City Council of Abilene, September 6, 1871, 88.

¹⁴⁷ Minute Book of the City Council of Abilene, September 23, 1871, 94.

¹⁴⁸ *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871, pg 3 col 3. The titles above this article say “Reformation in Abilene” “Decrease of Immorality- Virtue Supplanting Vice- The ‘Slum’ Rapidly Deserting” “McCoy’s Addition- Exit of Gamblers, Etc., Etc.”

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

allowing prostitution to be carried on, despite public outcry against the vice. The public outrage also grew towards those who would help the prostitutes, and especially those who had been elected into official office. The *Chronicle* illustrated the tension as they wrote, “That contract.—One Smith, who swore by his maker, before he was elected, that if he had the power, he would ‘hang ever d--- prostitute in McCoy’s addition.’ – but who changed his tune after he was made one of the Councilmen, and sold the prostitutes a few quarts of milk...”¹⁵¹ In the fight between morality and money, morality seemingly had the upper hand at long last.

By 1871, the *Chronicle*’s editorials were writing public protest into a constant protest against city officials who had, the editor suggested, “invited” the members of the sporting community and then protected them. By September, the worst of the vice seemed to have moved on: “Now that they are leaving the town, all respectable citizens must rejoice.”¹⁵² The *Chronicle* bragged that its stance “received earnest endorsement from a large number of people, both in Abilene and throughout the county, for the fearless stand taken by the *Chronicle* in behalf of decency and order.”¹⁵³ Further, the article declared that the citizens “utterly despise and condemn the course of a majority of the town officials who have betrayed the trust confided to them by the people. Such men will never be trusted in this community with the ‘briefest authority.’”¹⁵⁴

With victory at hand, the *Chronicle* wrote,

Hereafter, if they should wish to encourage licentiousness and money making at the expense of decency and honor, they will have to seek some other community in which to do a shameful thing. When you sap the morals, the virtues of the people, you take from them everything that is worth living for. He who steals my purse steals

¹⁵¹ *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871, pg 3 col 2.

¹⁵² *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871, pg 3 col 3.

¹⁵³ *Abilene Chronicle*, July 27, 1871, pg 3 col 2. The words above this article say “What the People say.”

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

trash; but he who steals my good name- my honor- makes me poor, indeed.’ Had this been the sentiment of a majority of the town council, houses of ill-fame would have never been located by the mayor and licensed and carefully policed by consent of the council! O Shame!”¹⁵⁵

The question was whether the departure of the sporting community was merely because the cattle season was over, or if the departure was permanent. The respectable citizens rejoiced as, “...the decadence of gambling hells, closed mostly for want of ‘business...’”¹⁵⁶ The *Chronicle* further asked that, “the good and Christian people of this community must see that they are never allowed to creep in to our midst again...”¹⁵⁷ The citizens were hopeful for a new reputation as the *Chronicle* wrote, “A new era is opening up for Abilene, and her future growth in moral and material prosperity is assured, let us rejoice. Let every good citizen aid in giving morality the ascendancy.”¹⁵⁸ Further, the sentiment continued as it was declared, “let the good work go on until the wickedness and sorrow of the old city shall be entirely submerged by the virtue and happiness of the new Abilene. So note it be.”¹⁵⁹

The citizens of Abilene had more reasons to be happy that the corruption and vice in their town was waning. It was with this sense of fulfillment that they wrote, “Played Out.—It must be a source of satisfaction to the good people of our town and county to learn that McCoy’s addition has played about out. The amount of crime and misery caused by the vile ulcer no human tongues can tell.”¹⁶⁰ The article continued in the sentiment of morality, declaring, “If any of our citizens attempt the introduction of such houses here next year, and

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871, 3.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ *Abilene Chronicle*, November 16, 1871, pg 3 col 1.

the officers of the law refuse to perform their duty in the premises, the citizens will have use for a considerable quantity of hemp. One element or other must control. The devil's pimps have had their day- decent people will have a word to say hereafter."¹⁶¹ The respectable community would continue to reform their town, despite its reputation.

The *Chronicle* had advertisements for local churches in Abilene which enforced their stances on vice and morality in the community. The advertisements included Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Universalist churches.¹⁶² In the same month, the Dickinson County Bible Society distributed Bibles to those in the community.¹⁶³ Further, the *Chronicle* stated, "Rev. S.Y. Lum, the Bible Agent for Kansas, thought that 'nothing could be done in a place bearing such a hard name as Abilene.'"¹⁶⁴ However, Abilene's respectable community was turning around their reputation with the *Chronicle* stating, "...the vipers and licentious characters will be forced to see other localities in which to ply their beastliness in the future..."¹⁶⁵ Reform would continue as the citizens sought to eradicate the brothels and prostitutes in their midst, and thus, improve the moral status of Abilene.

Other towns often wrote about Abilene in their local paper, which only enhanced Abilene citizen's desire to rectify their reputation. The *Chronicle* illustrated this situation when they penned that anyone "who has ever visited the town, and said anything about the 'dens' existing in this locality, has written of Abilene in a very unenviable light—often, it is

¹⁶¹ *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871, pg 3.

¹⁶² *Abilene Chronicle*, April 6, 1871. Cutler wrote about the churches in early Abilene history. They are listed in his "Abilene" chapter. The Presbyterian Church was organized on May 11, 1873. The Lutheran Church was founded on October 22, 1870 while the Methodist Episcopal Church was begun in 1871. The Baptist church is the oldest in town founded in 1868 while the Catholic Church came in 1874. The Episcopalian Church built its permanent building in 1882. The Universalist Church headed by Vear Wilson was started in 1870. The United Brethren came in 1880 while the Christian church was organized in 1874.

¹⁶³ *Abilene Chronicle*, November 30, 1871, pg 1 col 2.

¹⁶⁴ *Abilene Chronicle*, November 30, 1871, pg 3.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

true exaggerating the facts.’¹⁶⁶ Even the *New York Times* carried a story on the lawless reputation of Abilene, declaring:

The dwellers of Abilene have been for so long a time, in fact ever since it was a railroad station, so overrun with gamblers, blacklegs, and wholesale murderers, that they have grown impatient of their rule. It has been the great cattle mart of Kansas, and in consequence has gathered itself to hordes of... everything that is wild, barbarous, and wicked. These [cattlemen] have attracted swarms of vile women. Gambling-houses and bagnios lined the streets till it was a place fit only for the worst class of desperadoes of the Plains... and ‘as bad as Abilene’ became a proverb.¹⁶⁷

Abilene’s respectable citizens would have to grapple with their reputation as a lawless town as they worked to eradicate the cattle trade and the vice that accompanied it. The *Chronicle* shared this message and hope, “Hereafter, when others speak of us truthfully, they will represent Abilene in a better light—the light in which her people have determined she shall remain.”¹⁶⁸ Abilene’s citizens would hope that, “In the future, true men will be elected to office to office—men who will see that the ordinances are properly enforced.... but when officers themselves violate, and permit its violation, it becomes the duty of the press to stand up for law and the rights of the people...”¹⁶⁹

The citizens clearly wished the trade to be moved further west so that their town would no longer have to submit to the evils of the trade, including prostitution and diseases which affected local cattle farmers. The moral and social fabric of society was more important than the fiscal gains of allowing the vice and cattle trade to continue in their midst. Abilene was the only Kansas cowtown to eradicate the vice and the cattle trade from their town by making arrangements for it to move to Ellsworth. The *Chronicle* posted, “Ellsworth-

¹⁶⁶ *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871, 3.

¹⁶⁷ *New York Times*, March 10, 1872, 8. The article further shared that Abilene had a population of seven-hundred inhabitants with twenty-eight brothels.

¹⁶⁸ *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871, 3.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Extensive arrangements are being made for the concentration of the great Texas cattle trade at Ellsworth, the coming season. The Kansas Pacific is the favorite route of the Texas drovers, and they will shop over no other road as long as the 'K.P.' continues to offer them such liberal rates with unequalled facilities for the shipment and handling of cattle."¹⁷⁰ The article then declared, "The 'K.P.' prides itself on being the pioneer road for the shipment of stock, and Texas cattle owners will find better accommodations on this line during the coming season than ever before."¹⁷¹

The character of Abilene improved as the vice, prostitution, trails, and trains moved west. The *Solomon City Times* illustrated this shift by writing, "Our Abilene friends deserve credit for the effective manner in which they are clearing out the town of vagabonds, cut-throats, and prostitutes that have infested in the past. They have never been tolerated by the citizens of Abilene, but flocked in there on a count of the great number of Texas cattle drovers that have made Abilene their head-quarters."¹⁷² The article further expressed that Abilene, "is now an orderly, respectable city, filling up with the best of law-abiding citizens. The Texas cattle trade is among the things of the past, and Abilene of to-day is not the Abilene of the past."¹⁷³ This same sentiment continued on as the *Chronicle* posted, "The town of Abilene is as quiet as any village in the land. Business is not as brisk as it used to be during the cattle season—but the citizens have the satisfaction of knowing that 'hell is more than sixty miles away.'"¹⁷⁴ This was a direct reference to the trade moving on to Ellsworth.

¹⁷⁰ *Abilene Chronicle*, March 21, 1872, pg 3 col 3.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Abilene Chronicle*, February 29, 1872, pg 3 col 1. This was reposted in the *Chronicle*, but was originally posted in the *Solomon City Times*.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Abilene Chronicle*, May 30, 1872.

Abilene and Ellsworth would continue being linked as cattle marts as it was written about in the papers. One Kansas City paper wrote, “I am at Ellsworth, but not the Ellsworth of last year, for it has become thoroughly revolutionized, and to-day is the Abilene of last year.”¹⁷⁵ Another source wrote of this transition declaring, “Ellsworth had her cattle trade, the same that rendered Abilene so famous, and wherever that is there will be money.”¹⁷⁶ The town’s reputation would forever be changed as its status as a once great cattle mart was riddled with opposition, vice, corruption, and prostitution. Ultimately, Abilene would win its fight to abolish the trade and vice in their midst in exchange for a better reputation. At the end of the cowtown era, one newspaper wrote, “Abilene or Ellsworth or any of the others would join the ranks of those ‘towns with less name but better repute.’”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 41.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ *Dodge City Times*, February 7, 1884.

Chapter 3 - The Sporting Community and the other Kansas Cowtowns

During the two decades following 1867, several other Kansas towns repeated Abilene's experience with the problems of being a "cattle town" as railroad expansion created new destinations for the drovers. In June of 1867, the same year that Abilene inaugurated its cattle business, the Kansas Pacific Railroad created a new route for cattle. It led westward of older routes, directly from the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) to Ellsworth, a site approximately sixty miles west and slightly south of Abilene. Ellsworth rapidly grew based on the new cattle business, and in 1868, it was incorporated as a village.¹⁷⁸ By the spring of 1871, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad Company had reached sixty-five miles almost due south of Abilene. This would become the site of the town of Newton which lay almost exactly on the 6th principal meridian. And then, by the spring of 1872, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe extended another sixty miles south from Newton to Wichita. Eventually, the railroad would reach the town of Caldwell, which lay farther south, almost on the border with Indian Territory.

During this time of growth, McCoy set out on a new adventure; he designed and supervised the building of new stockyards at Newton.¹⁷⁹ He was still a resident of Abilene and politically involved, but his ambitions led him to another outlet on the trail. Newton, with its newly-established stockyards, had one year as a boom town for cattle, 1871. In that year, Newton's reputation as a fast town, that was home to twenty-seven saloons and eight

¹⁷⁸ William Frank Zornow, *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State*. (Norman: OK, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 153. By 1873, the trade would move on from Ellsworth.

¹⁷⁹ *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, August 15, 1871, as cited in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 65. McCoy would ultimately leave Abilene in the spring of 1873.

gambling halls, was often documented in newspapers.¹⁸⁰ In April of 1872, McCoy also went to promote Wichita as a viable shipping point for cattle.¹⁸¹ The town of Wichita had been incorporated as a third-class city in 1871, it was further south than Newton, and it was situated in close proximity to the old Chisholm Trail, all of which made it a viable shipping point for cattle.¹⁸² The Wichita and Southwestern Railroad was completed, and the city council hired a representative to go to Texas and promote its new depot. It was said of Wichita that the cattle could be sent “as cheaply as from Abilene, and with the advantage of one hundred miles [less] distance to drive, and not having to pass through any settlements south of this point.”¹⁸³ In June 1872, eighteen carloads of cattle left Wichita on what would become part of the Santa Fe Railroad.¹⁸⁴ Proximity would continue to be a point of contention for each of the major cattle towns vying for the business of Texas drovers.

By the fall of October 1873, however, the international financial panic had disrupted the cattle trade system. Owners of cattle were significantly indebted to banks, and the banks were short on money to lend. Thousands of cattle were sold for pennies, and millions of dollars were lost. McCoy greatly sympathized with those in the cattle business lamenting, “It was like attending a funeral of friends daily, to stand upon any of the cattle marts and witness the financial slaughter of drovers and shippers...”¹⁸⁵

In 1876, the Kansas legislature moved the quarantine line farther west and thus, cut out Wichita.¹⁸⁶ By 1875, there was also a need for cattle farther west near Colorado. There

¹⁸⁰ Kansapedia, “Cowtowns.” Topeka, KS: Kansas State Historical Society, <http://ksks.org/kansapedia/cowtowns/15598> (accessed October 1, 2011).

¹⁸¹ *Wichita City Eagle*, April 26, 1872, as quoted in McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 65.

¹⁸² Zornow, 154.

¹⁸³ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 48.

¹⁸⁴ Richmond, 127.

¹⁸⁵ McCoy, *Historical Sketches*, 310. This is also quoted in Richmond, 128.

¹⁸⁶ Richmond, 129.

was too much settlement in the central part of the state, making it difficult to have overland drives, and in the western part of the state, there were several reports of Indian attacks which made it difficult to attract drovers.¹⁸⁷ The Santa Fe Railroad had reached Dodge City in September 1872 and the citizens had been actively pursuing the cattle trade declaring, “We have adopted wholesome measures whereby the cattle men can be treated upon general principals of equity and reciprocity.”¹⁸⁸ It was now their turn for the experience. Caldwell would also become a cowtown in the late 1880’s. It was east of the quarantine line, but since it was located on the state line boundary with Indian Territory, the quarantine laws would have little effect. Caldwell had only two years of shipping cattle.

As the railroad created new depots and spurred the development of new cowtowns, members of the sporting community, particularly prostitutes, traveled to where business was lucrative. Newspapers across Kansas tell stories involving the same girls in different towns. Two famous madams, for example, demonstrate this mobility. Mattie Silks opened her house of prostitution in Abilene in 1870 with ten girls employed.¹⁸⁹ Upon being questioned about her business, Silks declared, “I was never a prostitute. I was a madam from the time I was nineteen years old, in Springfield, Missouri. I never worked for another madam. The girls who work for me are prostitutes, but I am and always have been a madam.”¹⁹⁰ In a manner that defied Victorian expectations about prostitution, particularly the idea that prostitutes had once been innocents seduced by evil men, Silks was clear in her conviction that prostitution in the West was a simple business opportunity. In a 1926 interview, she explained:

¹⁸⁷ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 60-61.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁸⁹ Cy Martin, *Whiskey and Wild Women: An amusing account of the saloons and bawds of the Old West* (New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1974), 156.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

I went into the sporting life for business reasons and for no other. It was a way for women in those days to make money, and I made it. I considered myself then and I do now- as a business woman. I operated the best house in town and I had as my clients the most important men in the West.¹⁹¹

And demonstrating a moral conviction perhaps specific to the sporting community, Silks added:

I never took a girl into my house who had had no previous experience of life and men. That was a rule of mine... No innocent, young girl was ever hired by me. Those with experience came to me for the same reasons that I hired them. Because there was money in it for all of us.”¹⁹²

Silks would become one of the most notorious madams in the West, based on her longevity in the business. After Abilene, Silks moved on to Nauchville, the name given to the sporting district located a half mile from Ellsworth, and tried to operate a bagnio but failed.¹⁹³ She eventually went to Dodge City, then Hays City, and ultimately ended up in Denver by 1876. There, she was the Madam of multiple brothels on Holladay Street, and continues to be known in western lore.¹⁹⁴

Dora Hand, also known as Fannie Keenan, was a famous madam at Alhambra Saloon and Gambling House in Abilene.¹⁹⁵ Hand was described as “Saint or sinner, the most graciously beautiful woman to reach the camp in the heyday of its iniquity...”¹⁹⁶ Hand would eventually go to Dodge City to ply her trade and, rather surprisingly, to be an opera singer.

The *Ford County Globe* wrote, “This favorite place of resort is at present giving to its patrons

¹⁹¹ Chris Enss, *Pistol Packin’ Madams: True stories of notorious women of the Old West* (Guilford, CT.: TwoDot, 2006), 55. The interview was in a Denver paper, which is where Mattie Silks operated her last, and most famous brothel called the House of Mirrors.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁹³ Martin, 156.

¹⁹⁴ Enss, 58. and also Miller, Ronald, D., 96. She is buried under the name Martha A. Ready January 7, 1929 in Fairmount Ceremony. She married Jack Ready in 1923, hence the name on the stone. It is also said that her lover, Cortez “Cort,” is buried in an unmarked grave next to her.

¹⁹⁵ Martin, 166.

¹⁹⁶ Miller, Ronald Dean, 136. Miller cites Lake N. Stuart, *Wyatt Earp: Frontier Marshal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931).

the best show or entertainment ever given in Dodge. They have... Fannie Keenan...”¹⁹⁷ It was said, “By night, she was the Queen of the Fairybelles, as old Dodge termed its dance hall women, entertaining drunken cowhands after all the fashions that her calling demanded. By day, she was the Lady Bountiful of the prairie settlement, a demurely clad, generous woman...”¹⁹⁸

Several of the most famous prostitutes were also known in various towns. Mary Elizabeth Haley, for example, came to Abilene, met Billy Thompson, and became Libby Thompson in 1871. Her sporting community pseudonym was “Squirrel Tooth Alice.” In 1872, Libby moved from Abilene to Ellsworth.¹⁹⁹ The following year, she transitioned to Dodge City and by 1876, she was found in Sweetwater. Kate Horony (Elder), better known as “Big Nose Kate,” was in Wichita in 1874 alongside Bessie Earp.²⁰⁰ The following year, Kate was in Dodge City. Madam Josephine De Merritt was listed in the July 1870 census in Ellsworth; she was then fined in Harvey County (Newton) in September 1871 for operating a brothel. She would also turn up in Wichita where she paid fines. Despite the charges for owning and operating a brothel, “Rowdy Joe” Lowe would be allowed to move his business to other cowtowns as he and his wife, “Rowdy Kate” owned and operated brothels in Wichita, Newton, and Ellsworth.

In similar fashion, the *Caldwell Post* noted the arrival of a famous prostitute: “Mag Woods, a notorious Wichita prostitute, in company with several pieces of feminine fraity, make a descent from that unchristian city on our little village last week, and

¹⁹⁷ *Ford County Globe*, July 30, 1878, pg 3 col 3.

¹⁹⁸ Miller, Ronald Dean, 136.

¹⁹⁹ Verckler, 79.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 51. Bessie Earp was Wyatt Earp’s sister in law. “Big Nose Kate” was Doc Holliday’s companion.

temporarily located on the creek, outside the city limits.”²⁰¹ Mag Woods was again written about in the *Post* on September 4, 1879, “There is a rumor that three city lots, of enormous dimensions, were transferred by a citizen of our town to a piece of Wichita frailty.”²⁰² The fluid movement is demonstrated even more by the case of George Woods, Mag’s husband, who moved an entire building from Wichita to Caldwell so that he could continue to run a profitable dance hall business. The *Post* showed the transient nature of frontier prostitution as they printed, “George Wood’s two story building has been removed from Wichita to Caldwell. It is being erected, we presume for convenience sake, near the calaboose. If this building is built for the purpose of a dance house, we hope the mayor will keep the building on the move.”²⁰³ George and Maggie Wood’s dance hall was a further topic of discussion: “Caldwell received its one and only dance house in 1880, when, the railroad tracks having just entered town. A notorious Wichita couple, George and Margaret Woods, unloaded a two-story bagnio from a flat car and saw its reconstitution there.”²⁰⁴ Prostitution, it is clear, was continually on the move.

Moreover, cowtown newspapers often mention the previous communities of prostitutes in their communities. Wichita prostitutes were said to have come from Emporia, and to have an impact on the morality of the town. The *Wichita Vidette*, for example, wrote about the future Wichita ladies stating, “The woman of Rahab, Ida May and her outfit have stole away, like Hagar, to their palatial like residence, built with the wages of a years sin, in Emporia.”²⁰⁵ May and her women had been in Emporia, but relocated to Wichita, where

²⁰¹ *Caldwell Post*, September 4, 1879.

²⁰² *Caldwell Post*, September 4, 1879, as cited in Leonard and Wallimann, 50.

²⁰³ *Caldwell Post*, April 22, 1880. The calaboose is the jail.

²⁰⁴ Dykstra, *Cattle Towns*, 106.

²⁰⁵ *Wichita Vidette*, December 8, 1870, pg 3 col 2. Ida May was a well-known Madam.

business would be profitable. Further, “They were induced here by sharks of Emporia to fleece and demoralize our Christian young men...”²⁰⁶

Similarly, Ellsworth prostitutes were often women who had experience in other cowtowns and larger cities. The Junction City *Union* wrote of transitional nature of the business as they told their readers, “What would be known as ‘nymphs du pave,’ in Manhattan or Leavenworth, but at Ellsworth ‘nymphs du prairie’...”²⁰⁷ One noted Ellsworth prostitute was from New York, but spent many years in Kansas. The Ellsworth *Reporter* noted this in her obituary saying, “Kitty Snow, for a long time resident of this city, died recently at Iowa Point on her way to her old home in New York. She belonged to the demi-monde, but was once an intelligent, accomplished lady.”²⁰⁸ At times, those departures were temporary, occasioned by the end of the cattle season. The vice would usually diminish until the next year, or move to another location all together. This was shown as the *Reporter* declared in October 1872, “Ellsworth is rather quiet now. Trade has not subsided so much in the city as in Nauchville. The sound of the boys has died out, the violin ceases its vibrations and the feet of the dancing maidens have taken themselves to Sherman and other places.”²⁰⁹ The transient nature of prostitution is evident in all of the Kansas cattle towns.

The prostitutes on the prairie were known by many euphemisms for their trade including: “fancy ladies,” “fallen women,” “lewd women,” “bawd,” “cyprian,” “Mary Magdalenes,” “lady of the night,” “Maids of Orleans,” “shady lady,” “filles de joy,” “scarlet sisters,” “nymphs du prairie,” “nymphs du pave,” “women of Rahab,” “character,” “our girl,” “demi-rep,” “seraph,” “fairs,” “fair Dolcinas,” “girls of the night,” “girls of the period,”

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ *Junction City Union*, July 6, 1867.

²⁰⁸ *Ellsworth Reporter* September 14, 1873.

²⁰⁹ *Ellsworth Reporter*, October 3, 1872.

“soiled doves,” “fancies,” “calico queens,” “streetwalkers,” “nymphs of the pavement,” “joy elses,” “chippies,” “biscuits,” “hustlers,” “harlots,” “whores,” “floosies,” “knock about broads,” “women of ill repute,” “inmates,” “painted cats,” “painted lady,” “women of easy virtue,” “sporting girls,” “queens of the night,” “sisters of the white hood,” and “demi-mondes.”²¹⁰ Most of these titles were used in newspaper clippings but others come from nineteenth-century written sources including census listings, police records, jail records, correspondence, and court trial records. Some cowtown papers had mocking articles with phrases like “‘abandoned women,’ ‘frail sisters,’ ‘the fallen ones,’ ‘our sisters in sin,’ ‘a hideous excuse for a woman,’ ‘strumpets,’ ‘frail humanity,’ ‘a woman with an unsavory reputation,’ and ‘things calling themselves women’” used throughout.²¹¹ The business of prostitution was also referred to as “diddles,” “horizontal work,” “ogling fools,” and “squirming in the dark,” according to Ellsworth census records.²¹² Further, census records tended to be more discreet; many of the known prostitutes were listed in the census as “laundress,” “cook,” “dancer,” “housekeeper,” “dancehall girl,” and “waitress.”²¹³ Census records also reveal that most prostitutes were between fourteen and twenty-three years of age, and usually white.²¹⁴ Another source, however, estimates the average age of a prostitute as being 23.1 years old, with few listed over the age of thirty.²¹⁵ While the respectable citizens were appalled at the vice occurring in their midst, they were also clearly interested in the lives and activities of the prostitutes.

²¹⁰ Miller and Snell, 14-15. Many of these names were also found in Butler, *Daughters*, 82. Other names were found in newspaper articles, court records, etc.

²¹¹ Anne M. Butler and Ona Siporin, *Uncommon Common Women: Ordinary Lives of the West* (Logan, Utah: State University Press, 1996), 90.

²¹² Snell, 13. These came from the Ellsworth census. Libby Thompson’s occupation was listed at “Diddles” while Harriet Parmenter “does ‘horizontal’ work.” Ettie Baldwin’s occupation was listed as “squirms in the dark” and Lizzie Harris “Ogles’ fools.” All of these girls’ residences were labeled “house of ill fame.”

²¹³ Miller and Snell, 14-15.

²¹⁴ Riley, 131.

²¹⁵ Snell, 13.

Prostitutes were not all created equal as the sporting community maintained a hierarchy that mimicked respectable society. There were brothel dwellers, dance hall girls, crib girls, and streetwalkers. The highest-level girls worked in brothels run by madams that were set up as parlor houses complete with fine furnishings, food, and décor. The next tier of girls were those in less fancy brothels with furnishings that were less expensive than those of the upper tier. The third tier of girls was known as “crib girls.” These prostitutes often worked and lived out of buildings equivalent to shacks. They were often alone and in charge of their own clients. Another area in which prostitutes worked was called a “hog ranch.”²¹⁶ These were usually rural brothels set up alongside a ranching operation to cater to enlisted men at military posts. One man on the frontier wrote of these ranches in his journal stating, “each of these establishments was equipped... with three to half a dozen *Cyprians*, virgins whose lamps were always burning brightly in expectancy of the coming bridegroom, and who lured to destruction the soldiers of the garrison. In all my experience, I have never seen a lower, more beastly set of people of both sexes.”²¹⁷ Along with hog ranches, portable brothels followed the movements of military men. A warning was issued about this type of brothel as it was declared, “Attention, too, should be called to the existence of portable brothels or ‘cat wagons’ which seem to have given the military authorities particular trouble.”²¹⁸ Cat wagons would prove to be troublesome in Dodge City when in March 1878, the *Times* wrote, “No heavy wagons or wagons containing prostitutes are allowed to be driven through the Fort Dodge garrison.”²¹⁹ The lowest tier of prostitutes worked wherever they could ply their trade, often in the back of dance halls or saloons. The various tiers of

²¹⁶ Butler, *Daughters*, 8-9.

²¹⁷ Butler *Daughters*, 8. Butler cites John G. Burke, *Diary*, vol. 22 (Feb. 11-Apr. 23, 1877), p. 1848, UNML.

²¹⁸ Miller and Snell, 14-15. These were literally wagons used as brothels often on or near military bases.

²¹⁹ *Dodge City Times*, March 9, 1878, pg 4 col 1.

prostitution afforded these women with a certain level of status within the community. The status of a prostitute was often ambiguous as she could move between tiers, clientele, and towns since prostitution was a mobile profession. These women were often categorized by their race as well. Europeans were preferred, followed by white women, Hispanics, African Americans, and lastly, Chinese prostitutes. Newspapers often used derogatory terms for the women of color who worked as prostitutes including, “dusky daughters,” “ebony Jezebels,” “mulatto whores,” and “Chinese harlots.”²²⁰

Even the brothels were given colorful names in the newspapers. They were called “houses of ill-fame,” “houses of ill-repute,” “maison de joie,” “hurdy-gurdy establishments,” “palaces of sinful pleasure,” “sinks of iniquity,” “parlor houses,” “dens of iniquity,” “cribs,” “cottages,” “boarding houses,” and “bagnios” throughout the nineteenth-century.²²¹ Further, houses of ill-repute were grouped together in an area together known as a “red light district.” While the origins of the term red light district is debated, it is often said to have derived from the Red Light sporting house in Dodge City which had red windows in the front; others claim that it came from the railroad men who left their signal lights outside the brothels while being clients.²²² Moreover, each of the Kansas cowtowns had names, usually more than one, for their brothel districts. Abilene’s was called “McCoy’s/Fisher’s Addition” or the “Beer Garden.” Newton’s area was referred to as “Hyde Park/ Hide Park” depending on the source. Ellsworth’s brothel district was called “Scragtown” and “Nauchville.”²²³ Wichita’s area was

²²⁰ Anne M. Butler, “Mattie, Katie, and Ida: Western Women at Risk,” in *Wild Women of the Old West*, ed. Glenda Riley & Richard W. Etulain. (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003), 74.

²²¹ These names are found in various sources including newspapers, Miller and Snell, 15, and Candy Moulton, *The Writer’s Guide to Everyday Life in the Wild West from 1840-1900* (Cincinnati, OH: Writer’s Digest Books, 1999), 214.

²²² Moulton, 214. This is also found in David Dary, *Seeking Pleasures in the Old West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 131.

²²³ Snell, 9. Nauchville was a bastardized foreign term for “town of the night.”

named “Delano” but was also referred to as “West Wichita.” Dodge City referred to its brothel district as “the area below the ‘dead line,’ the line being the Santa Fe Railroad tracks.”²²⁴

As prostitution was illegal by both state law and city ordinance, prostitutes faced the threat of constant harassment from law enforcement. But there were many hazards of the trade other than fines and possible jail time. Prostitutes themselves often dealt with physical and social hazards including pregnancy, venereal disease, social ostracism, and social mockery. Alcoholism and abuse of opiates such as laudanum were also common since both could be so cheaply obtained. Beer could be purchased for five cents a bucket and opiates purchased for a quarter.²²⁵ Other prostitutes suffered from tuberculosis and malnutrition, and a sizeable number died early deaths from their years of abuse, addiction, and self-neglect. Newspaper accounts often sensationalized this negative side to the sporting community. Finally, those who were too old to continue to ply their trade would sometimes become madams; many others took care of illegitimate children, or were involved in the operation of businesses that catered to the sporting community, including dance halls or saloons.

But no problem more characterized the life of the sporting community than did violence with prostitutes as both victim and perpetrator. As Anne Butler put it, “Prostitutes generally acted as if they themselves felt society correctly assigned them to the fringe world where they lived. Their lives regimented by social and economic standards they lacked the skills to alter, prostitutes further solidified these same social and economic problems by their

²²⁴ Miller and Snell, 12-13.

²²⁵ Carter, 86.

own conduct.”²²⁶ Certainly no problem was covered more avidly by local newspapers than the accounts of murder, suicide, and abortion.

For example, no sooner had the cattle trade arrived in Ellsworth than its newspapers were full of the reports that had outraged Abilene’s respectable citizens including gambling, prostitution, drinking, and violence. An example of this violence was posted in the *Union* stating, “Thursday night last a terrible shooting affair occurred at a dance house in Ellsworth. Two men named Reed and Gardner and a female named Fanny Collins were killed, and another female named Nettie Baldwin, was shot through the stomach and breast, and the latest account was that she could not live.”²²⁷

Local newspapers, of course, took a disapproving stance on prostitution but just as clearly recognized that their readers were fascinated by the transgressions of the sporting community. Headlines therefore tended to be sensationalized as they dealt with the sporting community. In one example, a murder took place in Ellsworth involving a prostitute and her men. The headlines screamed: “Cold Blooded Murder! Shot in place of Ill-fame!... Died with his boots on!... Hyde Park Busted, up in Business! Soiled doves flapping their wings eastward. Let ‘em flap!”²²⁸ Nor did the newspaper spare the details, at times writing in ways that suggested a novel more than a crime report. In this case, the newspaper reported that the crime involved George and Lizzie Palmer. The article shared the details, “George Palmer, well known in this locality, has been for the last seven years living with one Lizzie Adams, a woman of this town... Lizzie brooded over the solitude of the farm and pined for her numerous lovers... She left the farm, resumed her occupation as Madam of the ‘nauch.’”²²⁹

²²⁶ Butler, *Daughters*, 46.

²²⁷ *Junction City Union*, June 15, 1870.

²²⁸ *Ellsworth Reporter*, March 28, 1872, pg 3 col 2.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* There was first a fire, and later George was murdered in his home with three shots.

The victim, Ed. Crawford, went in search of Lizzie. He “went down to Nauch-ville and visited two houses; he was pretty drunk and rough; at the second house he visited there was a crowd of men, mostly Texans, and he had been there but a few moments, before, having stepped into the hall, he was shot twice...”²³⁰

In another case, the *Wichita Weekly Eagle* wrote about a violent incident between two girls, a perennially popular topic for newspaper editors. The paper stated the details of the fight writing:

Two girls in a dance hall over the river had a quarrel about a fellow. The larger of the two finally, when it came to blows, got the smaller under her arm and was pulverizing her woman fashion while the little one quietly engaged herself in thrusting a knife into her antagonist’s apron. The wounds inflicted are severe, but the doctor thinks not necessarily fatal.²³¹

In another case, the same newspaper wrote about a fatal event declaring, “The dance houses on the west side of the river were again the scene of a terrible and fearful onset, on Monday night last... A poor dance girl, Annie Franklin, sick at the time, received a shot in the abdomen, which doctors think must prove fatal...”²³²

In one evidently newsworthy story in the *Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, the headlines declared, “More Blood Spilling. One of Dodge City’s unfortunates Stabs Another severely.”²³³ The story continued:

Last Thursday night about ten o’clock a difficulty occurred between two girls in a saloon in which one of them was severely but it is said not fatally stabbed. The girl wounded is known as Sadie Hudson, and the perpetrator as Bertha Lockwood. They had both just returned from the dance house, and the difficulty was caused by jealousy of a mutual lover. Sadie was stabbed in three different places; one wound pretty near the spinal column under the back bone, one a little forward, and one in the breast. A surgeon was immediately called and dressed the wounds, reporting them not dangerous. They were flesh wounds quite deep, but not necessarily mortal. The

²³⁰ *Ellsworth Reporter*, November 13, 1873, pg 3 col 4.

²³¹ *Wichita Weekly Eagle*, June 21, 1872.

²³² *Wichita City Eagle*, October 30, 1873, pg 3 col 2.

²³³ *Dodge City Kansas Cowboy*, August 9, 1884, pg 8 col 2.

wounded girl was at once taken to her home in the house known as ‘The Parlor,’ and at latest accounts was doing well. It appears that the two girls had some words, when Sadie slapped Bertha in the face, and then the cutting commenced.²³⁴

Indeed, newspapers were extremely fond of “cat fight” stories which appeared under a variety of headlines including, “Battle of Beauties”²³⁵ and “Scarlet Sluggers,”²³⁶ with details like “Tufts of hair, Calico, snuff and gravel flew like fur in a cat fight...”²³⁷

Occasionally the tension between the respectable and sporting communities would surface in a story of an “innocent” victim since prostitutes were never to be innocent. In one Dodge City incident, a woman of color who worked at Beatty & Kelley’s, was attacked by a man and reported it to the city attorney. The *Times* shared the intimate details:

Fanny was peacefully ironing at the residence of Mrs. Curly, when James [Cowan] entered (three-sheets-in-the-wind drunk) called Fannie a soldier b---, threw her on the floor, elevated her paraphernalia, spanked her, and finally busted her a left hander in the right eye, accompanying the same with a kick in the stomach...²³⁸

With details like these posted in the paper, everyone was aware of the dangers of being a prostitute.

Though it seemed to have little deterrent effect, prostitution was of course illegal. Kansas laws on the subject date to 1862 when the legislature outlawed setting up or keeping “a common gaming house or a bawdy house or brothel,” for which the punishment was “a fine not exceeding a thousand dollars.”²³⁹ It further outlawed, “open lewdness or lascivious behavior, or of any open and notorious act of public indecency.”²⁴⁰ A conviction for such

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ *Dodge City Times*, June 23, 1877, pg 1 col 3.

²³⁶ *Ford County Globe*, January 21, 1879, as quoted in Miller and Snell, 14.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ *Dodge City Times*, March 24, 1877, pg 1 col 4.

²³⁹ Kansas General Laws... in Force at the close of the Secession of the Legislature Ending March 6, 1862 (Topeka: J.H. Bennet, 1862), 331.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

behavior— which obviously included prostitution— was either a fine or jail term or both.²⁴¹ The state law occasionally tweaked the laws, but both prostitution and the keeping of a brothel remained misdemeanors.

Enforcement of prostitution laws by state law enforcement was, however, spotty although prosecution by the state of Kansas did occasionally occur. For example, in 1871 the state indicted a notorious dance hall owner in Newton, “Rowdy Joe” Lowe. Lowe owned what was said to be the “swiftest joint in Kansas”²⁴² and the indictment included the charge that said dance hall was a brothel and cited the establishment as involving “men and women of Evil name and fame...”²⁴³ Most telling, the indictment included language charging Lowe with permitting “the corruption of good morals and the common nuisance of all citizens... residing in the neighborhood” because of “drinking, tippling, dancing, whoring, and misbehaving...”²⁴⁴ That same year, Newton’s infamous madam, Josephine De Merritt, was indicted for operating a “Bawdy house and Brothel,” an offense “against the peace and dignity of the State of Kansas.”²⁴⁵

Most law enforcement occurred, however, at the municipal level. All of the cowtowns passed city ordinances against prostitution and all assessed criminal penalties (usually fines) against women practicing prostitution. But with the exception of Abilene, it is debatable whether the intent of local ordinances was to shut down prostitution all together. Rather, the fine system, along with hefty charges for liquor licenses, became an effective way to line city

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Stanley Vestal, *Dodge City: Queen of the Cowtowns; The Wickedest Little City in America, 1872-1886* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 25.

²⁴³ From the records of the Harvey County District Court In the District Court of the 9th Judicial District of the State of Kansas at the July term thereof 1872 holden in said Harvey County. This was signed at the bottom by C.S. Bowman, County Attorney.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ September 1, 1871 From the Records of the Harvey County District Court. In the District Court of the 9th Judicial District of the State of Kansas at the July term thereof holden in said Harvey County. The bottom of the records were signed C.S. Bowman, County Attorney.

coffers. A madam and her prostitutes would be fined and then allowed to carry on their business for another month and then the cycle would repeat; hence, these fines operated more like licenses to continue their nefarious business rather than penalties for defying the law, let alone any real attempt to shut down the enterprises.²⁴⁶ Moreover, city officials could ignore the fines or levy them as a method of control depending on the desires of the town and their government. Apparently, only Abilene attempted to use the law to eradicate the vice.

The fines for prostitution tended to be fairly standard from cowtown to cowtown, with a primary distinction always made between simple prostitution and running a brothel. Typical fines for prostitution were from \$5 to \$10, although in at least Dodge City, advertising one's availability for prostitution could earn a fine as high as \$50. The fines for being convicted as a madam were typically twice as high, with the lowest, in Abilene and Ellsworth, being \$10, while in Dodge City, the fine could be as high as \$100. In at least one jurisdiction, Caldwell, hiring a prostitute drew the same penalty as did prostitution itself.²⁴⁷

There was, to be sure, a clear logic in the fines. Activities within the sporting community were almost always disorderly and frequently violent: the cost of law enforcement had to be paid and who better to pay it than the primary culprits? As the *Dodge City Times* put it:

The sporting man or frail sister of humanity will recognize while there is a just retribution there is a just demand for the protection of themselves as well as for those

²⁴⁶ For more information on the fines, names of prostitutes, and the transient nature of the business, see attached chart. While this is not a complete chart, it includes all of the girls listed in this paper.

²⁴⁷ Ellsworth maintained city records for the fines paid for prostitution throughout its days as a cattle town. The records are mostly complete with a few months missing. For more specific information on these fines and ordinances see: "Revised Ordinances of the City of Caldwell" December 1881. Section 16. ; *Dodge City Times*, August 10, 1878, pg 3 col 3. These ordinances were ordained by the Mayor and Councilmen of the City of Dodge City on August 6, 1878. It was signed on the bottom by D.D. Colley, President of Council and acting Mayor in the absence of James H. Kelley, Mayor. Attest: E.F. Colburn, Clerk. ; *Dodge City Times*, April 23, 1883, pg 1 col 4. The headline read "Ordinance No. 70. An Ordinance for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality Within the City of Dodge City." It was ordained by the Mayor and Council of the City of Dodge City. It was signed passed by the council April 23d, 1883, Attest, L.C. Hartman, City Clerk L.E. Deger, Mayor.

who are at peace with God and their fellow man. These ordinances will [be] rigidly and strictly enforced no kicking against the pricks will avail anything, except a more rigid and forcible enforcement of the provisions of the city's laws.²⁴⁸

Indeed, disorderly conduct was so rampant that most cowtowns also passed ordinances aimed at controlling the crowds surrounding dance halls and brothels. The most common method was an ordinance that defined vagrancy in an unusual way. Ellsworth, for example, passed a vagrancy law in an attempt to control their area of vice.²⁴⁹ This defined vagrancy as anyone loitering around a house of ill-fame with penalties being \$10-\$50 and up to thirty days in jail. Three years later, the Ellsworth City Council tried to control the sporting community by passing ordinances against indecent and lewd dress as well as disorderly conduct.²⁵⁰ Similarly, in Dodge City, the pertinent ordinance defined vagrancy as loitering, loafing, and wandering around town.²⁵¹ The fine was \$10-\$100, and they further linked vagrancy with the houses of ill-fame, saying that people without visible means of (presumably legal) support or those engaged in any unlawful calling would be fined as a vagrant. Such ordinances were designed to prevent prostitutes from "loitering" in saloons or on the streets and could also be used against men attracted to cowtowns for illegal pursuits.²⁵² Bat Masterson even proposed organizing a "tramp brigade" to clean up "the streets and alleys of filth and rubbish" that had accumulated for over a year. The tramps faced a simple choice: they could leave, they could become a sanitation crew, or they could be "liable to arrest under the vagrant act."²⁵³ In other cases, cities simply barred brothels or alcohol from the city limits, a tactic that did not necessarily decrease rowdiness or violence, but at least set the

²⁴⁸ *Dodge City Times*, August 10, 1878, pg 1 col 2.

²⁴⁹ Ellsworth Ordinance Books, Ordinance #8, Ellsworth City Council Minutes, 1871.

²⁵⁰ Ellsworth Ordinance Books, Ordinance #3, Ellsworth City Council Minutes, 1874.

²⁵¹ The ordinance was listed under the title "Ordinance No. 71. An Ordinance to Define and Punish Vagrancy." Published August 26, 1883. Approved August 23, 1883.

²⁵² *Dodge City Times*, May 17, 1883, pg 4 col 2.

²⁵³ *Dodge City Times*, March 30, 1878, pg 4 col 3.

sporting community apart.²⁵⁴ And occasionally, the ordinances were remarkably specific. In 1875, for example, the Wichita government passed a resolution instructing “the city marshal to keep all prostitutes away from the beer garden at Eastman & Bergmoir.”²⁵⁵

The level of law enforcement that was necessary added considerably to city cost, but it was undeniable that a vigorous fine collection system could be a windfall for municipalities. As the *Wichita Eagle* noted, “...thousands of dollars are obtained besides to further the interests of the town.”²⁵⁶ Businesses in the sporting community paid taxes and also had to acquire liquor licenses and most cities chose to collect those monies rather than simply shut down the businesses as obvious violators of prostitution laws. The interests of the town included padding the city treasury in lieu of eradicating the vice.²⁵⁷ For example, in September of 1872, the Wichita City Council shut down one dance hall, presumably for non-payment of license fees, and then instructed the city marshal to notify other such businesses to pay in two weeks or be shut down as well.²⁵⁸ That same month, Marshall Meagher collected \$345.²⁵⁹

In addition, the fines assessed against prostitutes were a reliable source of city income. In 1873, for examples, prostitution fees accounted for fifty-six percent of the city of Wichita’s income.²⁶⁰ Typically, the fine collecting would go up during the height of the cattle season and decrease during the winter months. For example, in July of 1874, the City of

²⁵⁴ Ellsworth City Council Minutes, pg 7. This is dated March 11, 1872.

²⁵⁵ From Proceedings of Governing Body [of Wichita] Journal B1 July 21, 1875, pg. 64

²⁵⁶ *Wichita Eagle*, May 28, 1874.

²⁵⁷ September 4, 1872 From the records of the City of Wichita Fines collected by M. Meagher, City Marshall from Aug 5- Sept 4, 1872.

²⁵⁸ September 13, 1872 Proceedings of Governing Body, Journal A, First Record of the City of Wichita, pg 223.

²⁵⁹ Records from the City of Wichita. City Marshall’s Report of Fines collected from Gambling Houses, Keepers and Inmates of Houses of Prostitution for the month of September A.D. 1872.

²⁶⁰ Leonard, Research notes, 11.

Wichita collected \$462.²⁶¹ In August they would collect \$455,²⁶² while in December, only \$87 was collected.²⁶³ A similar pattern occurred in Dodge City. In 1879, for example, the city collected \$3600 in fines alone which more than covered the city debt of \$1000.²⁶⁴ For June of 1884 through May of 1885, Dodge City collected \$1,675 in prostitution fines.²⁶⁵ When the fines for prostitution were added to other fees, such as liquor licensing, the city income would be considerable.

Similarly, the city of Caldwell profited greatly from fines for prostitution. The Caldwell *Post* almost bragged about the fiscal gain from city ordinances as it posted, “Our city treasury was increased to the amount of \$50.00 last Tuesday morning, by the City Marshal taking two soiled doves in and pulling the Dive in the flat for being a disorderly house. The aforesaid Dive is a holy terror, and should be obliterated from the face of this fair country.”²⁶⁶ Fines from prostitutes contributed to more than half of the Caldwell treasury throughout the cattle season.²⁶⁷

Prostitutes would occasionally protest the fine system. The Dodge City *Times* wrote of one such reaction, “A hen convention was held this week to discuss the ‘ordinance relating to houses of ill-fame.’ Attorneys Gryden and Morphy were employed to defend the ‘girls’

²⁶¹ City Records for July 1874. The case numbers are 1-12, 17-23, 25, 35-41, 53, 59, 60-66, 70-73, 81-82, 84-86, 89-91, 93, 97-98, 102-104.

²⁶² City Records for August 1874. The case numbers are 1-8, 11, 13-28, 32-44, 40-45, 48-50, 56-59, 62, 69-70, 75-80, 86, 93, 95-97, 102-103.

²⁶³ City Records for December 1874. The case numbers are 2-10.

²⁶⁴ Haywood, 22.

²⁶⁵ *Dodge City Democrat*, September 6, 1884, pg 3 col 2. This showed the fines for June, July, and August as per the Proceedings of City Council from Wednesday September 3, 1884.; *Dodge City Democrat*, December 6, 1884, pg 3 col 2. This showed the fines for September, October, and November as per the Proceedings of City Council from Wednesday November 5, 1884.; *Dodge City Democrat*, April 5, 1885, pg 3. This showed the fines for December 1884, January, February, and March 1885 as per the Proceedings of City Council ; *Globe Live Stock Journal*, July 21, 1885, pg 1 col 5. This showed the fines for April, May, and June as per the City Treasurer’s Report.

²⁶⁶ *Caldwell Post*, July 28, 1881, pg 3 col 2.

²⁶⁷ Miller and Snell, 15.

against the collection of fines for prostitution. Their voices are for war.”²⁶⁸ Cities such as Dodge would respond that, obviously, law enforcement was necessary and it cost money. “We do not stop to inquire whether anything better could be done,” wrote the *Times* editor. “We consider any form of vice under the restrictions of the law in some manner within the bounds of mutual protection.”²⁶⁹ Further the *Times* called for the sporting community to pay for their vice as they declared, “The frail humanity will respond to the demand of the depleted city exchequer, remembering that the wages of sin is death...”²⁷⁰

Like Abilene, the subsequent cow towns all expressed disgust with the presence of dance halls and houses of prostitution. Newspapers warned constantly of the “menace” that such establishments posed to the morals of their community even while they posted tantalizing details of the life in the sporting community. But even more than their fascination with the dark side, the respectable community profited from its presence. One unusual insight into the quiet profits made on vice was provided by a Sedgwick County Grand Jury Investigation in Wichita in 1887. The investigation, which included an inquiry of over three hundred women in prostitution, illustrated some of the details behind the business of prostitution. It was interesting to note in the investigation that women were called to testify and were given voices in the court. While newspapers labeled them with mocking terms, the court at least gave them professional courtesies like actually listening. The prostitutes provided considerable insight into how prostitution worked as they testified about rents and procurement services as well as the locations of brothels. The prostitute Myrtle Rapp, for example, illuminated the role of hack drivers:

²⁶⁸ *Dodge City Times*, August 10, 1878.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

“I have been at the Richey House one night, about three weeks ago. I staid there over night with a man. Was shown to a room by a hack driver and an old man. Staid all night. The old man saw me. Do not know the name of the man who slept with me. When I came into the room, he was sitting on the edge of the bed. The old man and the hack driver went to the room with me. Man paid hack driver \$5.00 to bring me there.”²⁷¹

Maud Wilson, another prostitute who worked out of the same house, testified that fifty cents went to Richey and fifty cents went to Smith, who were both clerks at that address.²⁷² Nor could the clerks claim ignorance of what was going on. Millie Wright, yet another prostitute working out of the Richey house testified that the fees paid to “rooming house” clerks were, essentially, their charges for pimping. She paid \$1.50 per day to the Richey rooming house for using the room, plus one-third of what she made from prostitution. “I am satisfied,” she said, “that Richey [the owner] knew the character of our business.”²⁷³

Some testimony underscored Mattie Silks’ claim that she went into prostitution for the money. The typical fees were \$5-\$7 a night which compared to \$1.50 a week that could be earned as a servant.²⁷⁴ But if the financial rewards were considerably greater than “honest” work, it was also clear that the expenses were also considerably higher. Della Troup of the Douglas Avenue House, for example, testified on January 23, 1888 that she was in the practice of being a prostitute June through September, which would correspond with the cattle trade season.²⁷⁵ She said that it cost her \$14 a week for room and board, but it would have only been \$6 if a gentleman or ordinary woman would have been renting the same

²⁷¹ Sedgwick County (KS) Grant Jury Record of Investigation, History of Sedgwick County File, 1887. KSHS. Testimony of Myrtle Rapp, Jan 11, 1888 also listed in Butler, *Daughters*, 59-60.

²⁷² Ibid., Testimony of Maud Wilson. Then it lists 1034 E. Douglas

²⁷³ Ibid. Testimony of Millie Wright, Jan 11, 1888 also listed in Butler, *Daughters*, 59.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. Testimony of Della Troup, January 23, 1888.

room.²⁷⁶ Other testimony revealed that a man could get a weekly rate of \$6 for a hotel, unless he asked to have a woman with him. Then his rate would be \$5-\$7 a night.²⁷⁷ Madams generally paid \$75-\$200 a month in rent for her brothel, a rate that was much higher than the rents reported for legitimate businesses.²⁷⁸ R. F. Spurrier, who was later convicted of running a brothel, estimated the rent for his building in the \$75-\$200 range.²⁷⁹ In comparison, rent would have been \$20-\$25 if he had been renting the building for a regular business. In addition, a liquor license cost \$25-\$50 per month²⁸⁰ and, as Myrtle Rapp had revealed, there were incidental expenses— such as paying hack drivers to bring clients— that owners needed to pay.

The Wichita Grand Jury Investigation eventually brought charges against a number of owners of rooming houses and “hotels.” Not all of these establishments were obviously brothels; indeed, many appeared to be hotels or rooming houses. Operating without madams, the owners were essentially pimps: they rented rooms to prostitutes and helped them procure business.²⁸¹ In short, many people profited from the cattle trade and its associated vice as illustrated through these court testimonies. Hoteliers, hackmen, clerks, and landlords, many of whom were members of the respectable community, all made money from those involved with the sporting community.

The Wichita Grand Jury proceedings, like all news about prostitution, received sustained newspaper coverage. Indeed, no subject attracted more newspaper reporting in the cowtowns. Every aspect was covered. Newspapers conveyed local legislation regarding the

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., Testimony of R.F. Spurrier January 5, 1888.

²⁸⁰ These fines are based on city records for each of the cowtowns, and are also in Snell, 6.

²⁸¹ Ibid. This was in folder one.

brothels and prostitutes; the passage of ordinances as well as the legislation's exact wording would also be posted. In addition, newspapers were also often used as a platform for condemnation and a rallying point for reform. Editorials condemned vice and outraged citizen letters were common. Prostitution was both forbidden and tantalizing, and the newspaper accounts reflected these sentiments. Newspapers would at times brag about their role in fostering moral reform, but it is a claim that is only partially defensible. Put simply, vice sold newspapers and local journalism wallowed in it. Newspapers would sometimes pique their readers' interest with humorous "local color" stories about the antics of prostitutes. One Wichita article reported such a story: "A soiled dove got her guzzle full of whiskey last Friday and with a fast team drove single handed up and down Main Street, swearing and howling like a wolf. She was finally gathered by a 'nabbing guy,' following third on the booze register, under charge of loose and 'laskivious' conduct."²⁸² At other times, articles passed along gossip. The *Dodge City Times*, for example, reported a case where a prostitute appeared to have lured a local boy:

Miss Susy Haden, a beautiful Creole maiden of this city, has for some time past been casting fond and loving glances upon our modest but susceptible young friend, Bobby Gill... himself and Susy were occupying positions relative to each other of such a delicate nature as to entirely prohibit us from describing in these chasse and virtuous columns.²⁸³

The article's final words about sparing readers the sordid details— "in these chasse and virtuous columns"— is a perfect representation of newspapers' attempts to have it both ways, to titillate and condemn simultaneously.

²⁸² *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, September 15, 1875, pg 5 col 5.

²⁸³ *Dodge City Times*, March 24, 1877, pg 1 col 4.

At other times, headlines would scream horror at the real violence in the sporting community and attempt to marshal community outrage. Wichita papers, for example, reported a violent incident in Newton: “Plenty of rotten whisky and everything to excite the passions as freely indulged in, when a general row took place and eleven persons were killed and wounded. Three are already dead and more are expected to die.”²⁸⁴ The threat posed by this sort of lawlessness was real and the newspapers dutifully reported it. The *Caldwell Post*, for example, wrote:

In every frontier town where in money promises to be plenty, there can be a certain nuisance, to put as mildly as one can, namely a dance-house... If you want the revolver to do the cracking and the bullet doing its deadly work in you midst; if you want to have the most degrading men and women making night hideous with their hellish orgies; if you want to pollute the air which your wives and mothers breathe; just tolerate a dance house in your midst.²⁸⁵

The moral outrage expressed in cowtown newspapers actually appears most authentic when it was voiced by members of the community itself. During these two decades, the newspapers printed scores of “concerned citizen” letters, some of them in outraged towns, others more compassionate, but all of them worried about vice. One typical letter was written to the editor of the *Caldwell Post*:

It is a well-known fact—as any Western man can testify to— that the greatest curse frontier towns have ever had has been the so-called ‘dance houses’ or ‘hurdy-gurdies.’ The lowest, both male and female, congregate at these places; the vilest of liquors are there dealt out, and everything is done that will bring the worst passions of mankind into action.²⁸⁶

This particular letter writer made no argument for what action should be taken against the dance halls, though occasionally a newspaper would offer extralegal suggestions. Writing of

²⁸⁴ *Wichita Tribune*, August 24, 1871, pg 2 col 2.

²⁸⁵ *Caldwell Post*, May 30, 1880.

²⁸⁶ *Caldwell Post*, May 20, 1880.

the notorious problems with vice and violence in Newton, a Wichita newspaper managed to offer a suggestion and insult the town at the same time:

The good people of Newton if there are any in that hole of iniquity, say they are powerless as they have no law to protect them. I advised them to form into vigilant committees and rid the town of the rogues. But they are afraid to do that as the rogues, gamblers and lewd men and women run the town.²⁸⁷

The newspaper did, however, frequently report on one favorite tactic of the respectable citizenry: the petition. For example, the Caldwell Temperance Association, which had about one hundred members, called for the city to pass city ordinances against liquor and houses of ill-repute.²⁸⁸ In addition to the Temperance Association, Caldwell had another group calling for reform. The Caldwell “Law and Order League” demanded “of the Mayor and all the city and county officers the enforcement of all state and city laws by which the city may be rid of all gamblers, vagrants, and prostitutes.”²⁸⁹ At times, such actions pushed city officials a bit. In Caldwell, for example, the city council did ask that the city marshal be authorized, “to make the Dive over in the flat a little less boisterous, or abolish it entirely.”²⁹⁰

Likewise, in 1873, seventy-four citizens petitioned the mayor and councilmen of Wichita to enforce the rules and regulations regarding brothels. Sixty-nine of the seventy-four petitioners were women.²⁹¹ They asked the city officials to “take such steps as may be necessary or expedient for the enforcement of the ordinances of the city relating to Bawdy house and house of ill fame, and that such houses, now in existences in our city may be

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Rod Cook. *George and Maggie and the Red Light Saloon: Depravation, debauchery, violence, and sundry cussedness in a Kansas cowtown*. New York: IUniverse, 2003. 64-65.

²⁸⁹ *Caldwell Journal*, December 24, 1885.

²⁹⁰ *Caldwell Post*, August 4, 1881, pg 3 col 5.

²⁹¹ Snell, 10.

suppressed, and the inmates of the same dealt with according to the law.”²⁹² They further declared that if the current regulation is not enough, then new ones should be created and enforced. Their petition states, “We pray that if in the opinion of your city attorney the ordinances now on record are insufficient to carry into effect the intention of the law under which our city is organized. That proper and sufficient ordinances to that end may be immediately passed and rigidly enforced.”²⁹³

Some petitions were more localized. In Wichita, the mayor was presented with one that appears, owing to its grammar and spelling, to have come from low income, but respectable, citizens who lived in the neighborhood of a brothel.

We the undersign petician youre Honorable Body to take immedittally steps to Renian [rein in] or Declar the inmates of the House Occupied by Mattie Wilson or Nonen [known] as the Old Ozark Dollar on Douglas an between Main & Water St. a Newsence [nuisance] for the Reesons that it is a injar [an injury] to the Piblick Business in that vicinity...²⁹⁴

The petitions seldom got much attention. But occasionally a public official would note the hypocrisy of continually collecting fines from business establishments that were, under the law, blatantly illegal. Toward the end of their cowtown era, W.E. Stanley, county attorney of Sedgwick County, wrote a letter to the town leadership of Wichita, expressing that he had had enough. He vividly painted a picture:

Houses of prostitution are advertising themselves, by open doors on some of the most public streets of our city, prostitutes in half nude forms take their morning airings under the eyes of many of our most respectable citizens and flaunt the indicia of the their ‘trade’ in public places and gatherings without hindrance from the authorities. I am of the opinion that the time has come when these places of vice must be at least regulated if not entirely suppressed, and I am also of the opinion that as they are ‘city

²⁹² “Wichita Misc. Papers” as cited in Carol Leonard’s research notes for her article with Wallimann. pg. 24
The notes were found in the Kansas State Historical Society.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Snell, 10.

institutions' and as the city has received large financial benefits from this source, that they should be regulated through the city courts and by the city officials...²⁹⁵

All these efforts at eradication were in vain, and when the cattle era ended, Abilene, as previously explored, remained the only Kansas cowtown to successfully eradicate the vice in their community, though it must be underscored that the city did so only by asking the cattle business to leave altogether. Why was Abilene the exception? The question invites multiple answers. While Abilene was the first of the major cattle towns in Kansas, it was also established as an agricultural community early in its settlement and its growth was as dependent upon successful agriculture as it was on the cattle trade. The damage to fields and the dangers to local cattle that were caused by the cattle drives fostered continual protest. In addition, Abilene had been primarily settled in its early years by prohibitionist and religious groups and those settlers seemed to have inspired a particularly fervent environment of morality. Finally, it seems that Joseph McCoy, the entrepreneur who brought the cattle market to Abilene, may have over-reached when he became involved in local politics. It was one thing for mayors and councilmen in cowtowns to rail against the immorality of the sporting community while collecting fines, but perhaps it took a mayor who was openly corrupted by the vices of that community to foster a sustained public outcry. As mayor of Abilene, McCoy became a lightning rod attracting all the discontent that vice had stirred up in the community. In the end, however, it is worth remembering that Abilene did not eradicate vice: the town merely invited the vice to move down the line.

In the end, the other cowtowns were able to contain, if not eliminate, vice for one simple reason: the cattle trade dwindled. Kansas passed more quarantine laws in 1884 and

²⁹⁵ Letter from W.E. Stanley, County Attorney of Sedgwick County, to the city administration as quoted in Miller and Snell, 14-15. The letter is now located in the city clerk's office.

1885 that largely halted the overland trail drives through the state. The 1885 act specifically prohibited the entrance of Texas and Indian Territory cattle between March 1st and December 1st.²⁹⁶ Texan cattle associations passed resolutions which discussed the quarantine lines in Kansas, particularly the 1885 laws. The North Texas Cattle Raisers Association met on March 10, 1885, and passed a resolution: "Owing to the fact that Kansas and other States North and West of us have enacted quarantine laws which practically prevent Texas cattle from being driven through or into such states on account of what they allege to be splenic fever in Texas cattle..."²⁹⁷ the association urged, "the United States Department of Agriculture to assume authority in the movement of all cattle suspected of disease."²⁹⁸ Kansas obviously found it easier simply to bar Texas cattle from the state. Cattle drives were also impacted by an influx in settlement throughout the state; more farmers meant more opposition to the dangers posed by Texas cattle. And finally, fences made of barbed wire also severely contained cattle drives. Cattle continued to be part of the Kansas economy, but not with its origins in Texas. Ranches would local cattle would flourish throughout the 1880's.

With these changes in the cattle market, the sporting community and the cattle would become a memory. The West would continue to be wild as the sporting community would relocate to other boom towns including silver and gold mining towns. As long as there were a disproportionate numbers of men to women, prostitution would continue to flourish as a profitable business. It would continue to tantalize the imagination and outrage citizens who would call for morality. And, as long as the spirit of the west and tales of the frontier were passed along one generation to the next, the antics of the sporting community would live on

²⁹⁶ Richmond, 132.

²⁹⁷ T.R. Havins, "Texas Fever," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, v. 52, no. 2. (Oct 1948), 154.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 154. Havins cites Bureau of Animal Industry, *Second Annual Report*, pg 180.

in western lore. Prostitution would continue to dominate the social and moral landscape in the West because, as Mattie Silks put it, “. . .there was money in it for all of us.”²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ Enss, 57.

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Charts

Table A.1

This is a list of prostitutes, madams, brothel keepers, and other members of the sporting community which are listed in census records, court records, and newspaper articles.

While this list is far from complete, it will give readers a sense of the movement of prostitutes across the Kansas cowtowns as well as how the fine system worked.

If there is an X, I usually just have a name, but no other information.

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
A Single Woman	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Dec 1874						
Abbott, Nettie (Nellie?)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874					
Adams, Lizzie	Prostitute and killing	Ellsworth	Mar 1872						
Allen, Lillie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874	Aug 1874					
Anderson, Dell	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Anderson, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Nov 1874						
Angie, Maggie (Angle?)	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874						
Ann, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1874						
Armstead, Kate	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1873						
Armstrong, Clara	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Armstrong, Emma	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Armstrong, Frank	Pays fine	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Armstrong, Josie	Street fight in paper	Dodge City	June 1877						
Arnold, Tom	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Babize, Mary (Marie)	Census Listing	Caldwell	June 1880						
Baker, Lizzie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Mar 1875						
Baker, Mior	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Baker, Sarah	Arrested	Wichita	May 1874						
Baldwin, A	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Apr 1874						
Baldwin, Nettie	Wounded in brawl	Ellsworth	Jan 1870						
Barker, Nellie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874						
Barkley, Bessie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Barnes, Lillie	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Beason, Jessie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1873						
Beebee, Carrie	Opened a dance hall	Wichita	July 1874						
Bell, Addie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Bell, Ella (Belle?)	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Bell, Fanie (Fannie?)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874	Feb 1885	Mar 1885	
Bell, Frank(ie?)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	Dodge City	Aug 1877			
Bell, Jessie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Bell, Mal	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Bell, Mary	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	Jan 1875	Feb 1875	Mar 1875		
Bell, May	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Bell, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Bell, Piper	Census Listing	Caldwell	June 1880						
Bishop, R.M.	Pays fine	Wichita	July 1874						

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Blair, Fannie	Pays fine	Wichita	Sept 1871	Dec 1871	Feb 1873				
Blair, Mollie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	May 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874	Sept 1874			
Blair, Mollie	Pays fine	Wichita	July 1874	Aug 1874	Sept 1874				
Blake, Mabell	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Blanchard, Lee	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Booth, Lena	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874				
Bowen, Berk	Clerk at Bawdy House	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Bowen, Mamie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bradford, Matte	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Bradford, Mattie	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874	Sept 1874		
Branson	Pays fine	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Breenan, Mollie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Oct 1872	May 1873					
Bronson	Pays fine	Wichita	Dec 1872						
Brooks, Emma	Pays fine	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Brown, B.K.	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874						
Brown, Dolly	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Brown, Hoodoo	Vagrant work	Wichita	July 1874						
Brown, Lizzie	Pays fine	Wichita	Apr 1875						
Brown, Sal	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Brownson	Pays fine	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Bruk, Min (Burk?)	Pays fine	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Brundino, Mexican	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Nov 1874						
Burnham, Nellie	Census Listing	Ellsworth	July 1870						
Butler, Jennie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872	May 1874	July 1874	Sept 1874	Oct 1874	Nov 1874	Dec 1874
			CONT.	Jan 1875	Feb 1875				
Burnell, Frank	Keeping Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Campbell, Wm.	Pays fine	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Camon, L.	Pays fine as Prostitute	Aug 1874							
Cannon, L.	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Carson, Emma	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	May 1874						
Carter, Anna (Anne?)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874					
Carter, Nora (h)?	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874	Nov 1874	Apr 1875				
Case, G.	Pays fine	Wichita	Oct 1874						
Castill, Bell	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Feb 1879						
Castill, Mary	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Feb 1879						
Castleton, Kate	Troop plays Dodge	Dodge City	Sept 1885						

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Caston, Belle	Pays fine	Wichita	Apr 1872	Apr 1874					
Chambers, Alice	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874	Dodge City	Mar 1877	May 1878			
Chapman, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Chipman, Lillie	Pays fine	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874					
Clark, Anna	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Clark, M.R.	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Clifford, Nellie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Cobb, M.	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Codiel, Pigie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Coleman, Jesse	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Collins, Fanny	Killed in dance hall	Ellsworth	Jan 1870						
Cook, Fannie	Pays fine	Wichita	Sept 1874						
Cook, Mattie (Matte?)	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	Sept 1874						
Crawford, Irene	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cripe, Jennie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1873						
Crockett, Metta	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Crowley, Lena	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Cumpton, Bell	(colored)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cuny, Georgia	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Dagner, James	Keno Room- Pays fine	Wichita	Jan 1873						
Dalal, Daisy	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Davis, Jessie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Davis, Lillie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874	Sept 1874	Oct 1874	Nov 1874			
Davis, Minnie	Pays fine	Wichita	Feb 1875						
Dawson, Lou	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Dean, Allie (Alice)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874	Nov 1874			
Deane, Della	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874				
De Merritt, Josephine	Census listing	Ellsworth	July 1870	Newton	Sept 1871	Wichita	Sept 1872	Oct 1872	
Dosie, Sallie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Douglas, Annie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	May 1873						
Dow, Georgia	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Dow, Kate	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Drew, Jessie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872	May 1874					
Duvall, Lilly	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Earb, Kate	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Earb, Minnie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874	Sept 1874					

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Earp, Bessie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874	Sept 1874	Oct 1874	Nov 1874	Dec 1874
			CONT.	Jan 1875	Feb 1875	Mar 1875			
Earp, Eva	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Earp, J.	Pays fine	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Earp, Sallie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874	Sept 1874	Oct 1874	Nov 1874
			CONT.	Dec 1874	Jan 1875	Feb 1875			
East, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Oct 1874						
Elder, Kate "Big Nose"	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Fanny (Fannie?)	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Mar 1877						
Faweltt (Fawcett), Anne	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1875	Feb 1875	Mar 1875				
Field, Jennie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Fields, Lizzie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1873						
Firh, Dora	Pays fine	Wichita	May 1874						
Foster, Nellie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Franklin, Annie	In Newspaper article	Wichita	Oct 1873						
Gal, Maggie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Gannges, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1874						
Gobb, Maggie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Gooch, Jessie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Goran, Maud	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Gordon, Alice	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872	Dec 1872	Jan 1873				
Gorman, Mabel	Newspaper article	Dodge City	May 1884						
Gorman, Mollie	Newspaper article	Dodge City	May 1884						
Grayson, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1875	Feb 1875					
Grear, Maud	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Green, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Green, Mana	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874						
Green, Maud	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874				
Grey, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	Aug 1874	Sept 1874	Oct 1874	Nov 1874	Dec 1874
			CONT.	Jan 1875	Feb 1875	Mar 1875	Apr 1875		
Greyson, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1875	Feb 1875					
Haden, Susy	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Mar 1877						
Hall, Lue	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hall, Susie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	June 1873						
Hamilton, Jennie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Mar 1874						
Harmond, Lena	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Hart, Mollie	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Aug 1884						
Hart, Ollie	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Aug 1884						
Hart, Susie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Hastings, Jennie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Haywood, Blanch	(family way)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Heayes, Maggie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874						
Hedges, Maggie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874	July 1874					
Henry, Maggie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Henry, W.A.	Pays fine	Wichita	May 1874						
Hodson, Bell	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hooker, Ida	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Howard, Anne	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874	Aug 1874					
Howard, Cora	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Howard, Mattie	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	June 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874				
Howard, Maud	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Hudson, Sadie	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Aug 1884						
Hughes, Georges	Pays fine	Wichita	July 1874						
Hullum, John	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	July 1874						
Hurd, Annie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	June 1873	Aug 1873					
Hutchins, J.B.	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Mar 1874						
J.A.	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Nov 1874						
Jackson, Ella	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Jackson, Minne	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Mar 1875						
Jackson, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Feb 1875	Mar 1875					
James, Bessie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874	July 1874					
Johnson, Annie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Johnson, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Johnson, W.L.	Rented Bawdy Houses	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Johnston, M.L.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Jones, Bessie	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Jones, Minnie	Pays fine	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Jones, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Jones, Molly	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Kade, Jessie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874						
Keenan, Fannie	Newspaper article	Dodge City	July 1878	Aug 1878					
Kenney, Sarah	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
King, Allie	Pays fine	Wichita	Mar 1875						
Kinky	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Ladue, Ella	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Laflin, Lottie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Lannigan, Sallie	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Lee, Dixie	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Lee, Ida	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Lee, Jessie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874			
Lee, Lottie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872	Dec 1872	Mar 1874	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874	
Lee, Mirtie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Leffley, Maggie	Fined	Wichita	May 1874						
Lem, Lillie	Pays fine	Wichita	July 1874						
Lennard, Emma	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1873						
Levell, Allie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	July 1874	July 1874				
Levell, H.	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Levin, Carrie (Levins?)	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Lewis, Mollie	Pays fine	Wichita	May 1874						
Lane, Tim	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Lockwood, Bertha	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Aug 1884						
Loher, Mary	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Oct 1874						
Loundon, Lillie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Loundon, Nellie (N.)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874				
Love, J.	Pays fine	Wichita	May 1874						
Luok, Ada	Pays fine	Wichita	July 1874						
Lynn, Grace	Listed in Testimony	Wichita	Sept 1888						
McCormick, Rosa (e)?	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	May 1874	Wichita	Aug 1874	Sept 1874			
McCracken, Lucy	(colored)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
McDuff, Fatty	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Oct 1874	Nov 1874					
McKinzie, Blanch	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
McPosnok, Roso	Pays fine	Wichita	July 1874						
Maggie, Angie	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874						
Maloney, Georgie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Malosh, Mary	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Feb 1879						
Marshal, Ellen	Pays fine	Wichita	Mar 1875						
Marshall, Maggie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Marshall, Mary	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874						

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Marshall, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Mar 1874	May 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874			
Mason, Kate	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872	Nov 1872					
Mason, Mollie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872	May 1873	July 1873				
Maton, Emma	(colored)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
May, Emma	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874	July 1874					
May, Ida	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	Sept 1872	Nov 1872	Jan 1873	Mar 1874	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874
			CONT.	Aug 1874	Sept 1874	Oct 1874	Nov 1874		
Mayberry, Nettie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Meagher, M.	Pays fine	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Miller, Emma	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Miller, Leila	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874						
Miller, Sallie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872	July 1874					
Milton, Dott	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Minnie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Mollins, Jane	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Mar 1875						
Mollins, Maria	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Mar 1875						
Montgomery, Emma	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Mar 1874	Apr 1874	June 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874		
Montgomery, Peyton	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	July 1874						
Monticue, Ella	Keeping Bawdy House	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Moody, Lucy	Census Listing	Caldwell	June 1880						
Moore, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Moore, Stella	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872	June 1874					
Morris, Keziah	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Feb 1884						
Mountain, Kitty	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	June 1873						
Moyes, Ada	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nash, Fannie	Newspaper article	Dodge City	May 1885						
Nelson, Martha	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Norville, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Nov 1874	Dec 1874					
Norville, Ida	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	Aug 1874				
Nugent, W.	Pays fine	Wichita	May 1874						
Palmer, Lizzie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872	June 1873	May 1874				
Polly	Pays fine	Wichita	Oct 1874						
Praddan, B.	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	July 1874						
Price	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1874						
Prior, Kitty	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Nov 1874						
Prios, Fannie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Oct 1874						

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Pun, Georgeo	Pays fine	Wichita	July 1874						
Rae, Annie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Ragan, Clara	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ramon, Lizzie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Rapp, Myrtle	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Ray, M.	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Ray, Stella (Roy?)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874	Aug 1874	Sept 1874				
Reed, Maggie	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	Dec 1874						
Rhody, Wm.	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Rice, Maue	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Richards, Annie	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	May 1874	Apr 1875					
Richards, Anne	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	Mar 1875				
Richey, A.	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Richey, R.C.	Pays fine	Wichita	May 1874						
Richey, W.A.	Keeping Bawdy House	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Robb, Maggie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Roberts, Lizzie	Census Listing	Caldwell	June 5, 1880						
Rockwell, Fanny	Pays fine	Wichita	Apr 1875						
Rogers, Mamie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ross, Ada	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874						
Roy, Stella	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874	Aug 1874	Sept 1874				
Royal, Annie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1874						
Rupp, W.W.	Keeping Bawdy House	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Rust, W.E.	Listed in Docket	Wichita	May 1874						
Sage, L.V.	Pays fine	Wichita	Mar 1874						
Schinders, Lizzie	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874						
Schnieder, Nellie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Seaton, Flora (F.)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874	Sept 1874					
Sever, Maud	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Silks, Mattie	Running Bawdy House	Abilene							
Silvers, George	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Sloan, Nellie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Silvers, Jennie	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Smith, Annie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872	Mar 1874					
Smith, George	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Sept 1887						
Smith, Hattie	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Aug 1878						

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Smith, J.S.	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874	Nov 1874					
Smith, Katie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1874						
Smith, Laura	Pays fine	Wichita	Apr 1875						
Smith, Susie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Snow, Kitty	Prostitute	Ellsworth							
Snyder, Maggie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Spandes, Maggie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Nov 1874						
Spencer, Hattie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874	Sept 1874	Oct 1874	Nov 1874			
Spurrier, R.F.	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						
St. Clair, Jessie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Stanley, Belie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Stanley, Cora	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Stanley, Emma	In Newspaper article	Wichita	June 1875						
Stafford, W.B.	Testified as Hack Driver	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Stephenson, Flora	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Mar 1874						
Steves, Flora	Pays fine	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874					
Stewart, Anne	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1875						
Stone, Dallas	Pays fine	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Stone, J.R.	Rented Bawdy Houses	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Swartz, Frank	Running Dance House	Caldwell	Sept 1884						
Taylor, Bettie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Mar 1875						
Thayer, Dvct	Pays fine	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Thompson, Emma	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Thompson, Julia	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Thompson, Lori	Court Testimony	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Tit Bit	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Nov 1872						
Troup, Della	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Turner, Jennie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1872						
Van, Stella	Pays fine	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Vance, Flora	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vance, Hattie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Vance, Stella	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874					
Vanhorn, Lottie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874	July 1874	Sept 1874			
Vanle, Hattie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	May 1874						
Ville, Emma	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
W, Mrs.	Newspaper article	Dodge City	Jan 1879						

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Washburn, Attie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Wagner, Jennie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wagner, Gertie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Mar 1874						
Walker, Claire	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Walker, Kate	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						
Well, Lillie	Pays fine	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Weller, Kitty	Pays fine	Wichita	Dec 1874						
Welles, Lizzie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874						
Welles, Kitty	Pays fine	Wichita	Apr 1875						
Wellen, Kitty (Weller?)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Wellman, Kittie (Kitty)	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Sept 1874	Oct 1874	Nov 1874	Jan 1875	Feb 1875		
Wellman, Maud	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Wellman, Mollie	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	Aug 1874						
West, Hattie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
West, Maggie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Aug 1874						
Wilson, Bell	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	June 1874	Aug 1874					
Wilson, Cora	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Wilson, Fannie	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	Aug 1874						
Wilson, George	Running Bawdy House	Wichita	July 1874						
Wilson, Jennie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wilson, Mamie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wilson, Matte	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	May 1874	June 1874					
Wilson, Mattie	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	July 1874						
Wilson, Maud	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Wilton, Grace	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
White, Allie	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Whitmore, May	Listed in Testimony	Sept 1887							
Wiley, Dolly	Testified as Madam	Wichita	Jan 1888						
Williams, Bell	Pays fine as Prostitute	Wichita	July 1874						
Williams, Georgia	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	Sept 1872	Mar 1874	Dec 1874	Jan 1875			
Williams, Georgy (ie)?	Pays fine as Madam	Wichita	Dec 1872	Jan 1873	June 1874	July 1874	Aug 1874	Sept 1874	Nov 1874
			CONT.	Mar 1875					
Williams, Kitty	Pays fine	Wichita	Mar 1875						
Woodmancey, S.	Pays fine	Wichita	June 1874						
Wood, George	Census Listing- Sporting	Wichita	1875	Caldwell too					
Woods, Jennie	Prostitute in EPCD	Ellsworth	Sept 1872						

Prostitute Name	Charge	Where	Date	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Woods, Mag (Margaret)	Running Dance House	Caldwell	Sept 1879						
Woods, Emma	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wright, Millie	Testified as Prostitute	Wichita	Jan 1888						

Table A.2

This next chart shows other census information for specific individuals.

Census	County	City	Pg.	Last Name	First Name	Age	Sex	Race	Occupation	Worth	From
1875 State Census	Sedgwick	Wichita	23	Earp	Bessie	32	F	W	Sporting		NY
1875 State Census	Sedgwick	Wichita		Wood	Geo	18	F	W	Sporting	\$1,300	AR
1875 State Census	Sedgwick	Wichita		Smith	Laura	25	F	W	Sporting		IN
1875 State Census	Sedgwick	Wichita		Wood	Geo B.	21	M	W	Laborer		TX
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell	19	Roberts	Lizzie	20	F	W	Dancing	Single	MO
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell	19	Babize	Mary	17	F	W	Dancing	Single	France
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell	19	Bell (e?)	Piper	27	F	W	Dancing	Married	WI
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell	19	Moody	Lucy	18	F	W	Dancing	Single	VA
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell		Wood	George	27	M	W	Saloon Keeper	Married	
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell		Wood	Maggie	23	F	W	Keeping House	Married	
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell		Walker	Wash	25	M	W	Bar Keeper	Single	
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell		Banks	Becky	24	F	B	Cook	Single	
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell		Dexter	William				Boarder		
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell		Bromer	Charles	6	M		Child		
United States 1880 Census	Summer	Caldwell		Hardy	Charles	32	M		Bar Keeper		
1870 Census	Ellsworth	Ellsworth	91	Lowe	Kate	19	F	W	Saloon Keeper	Married	IL
1870 Census	Ellsworth	Ellsworth	91	Lowe	Joseph	24	M	W	Saloon Keeper	Married	IL
1870 Census	Ellsworth	Ellsworth	88	De Merritt	Josephine	27	F	W		\$500	VA
1870 Census	Ellsworth	Ellsworth	88	Burnham	Nellie	23	F	W			England
1870 Census	Ellsworth	Ellsworth	88	Grofton	Millie	26	F	B			D.C.
United States 1880 Census		Dodge City	19	Masterson	W.B.	25	M	W	Laborer		
United States 1880 Census		Dodge City	19	Ladue	Annie	19	F	W	Concubine		
United States 1880 Census		Dodge City	19	Ronan	Chas	25	M		Bar Keeper		
United States 1880 Census		Dodge City	19	Campbell	Laura	23	F		Concubine		
United States 1880 Census		Dodge City	19	Masterson	James	24	M		City Marshal		
United States 1880 Census		Dodge City	19	Roberts	Minnie	16	F		Concubine		
United States 1880 Census		Dodge City	19	Harris	W.H.	33	M		Saloon Keeper		
United States 1880 Census		Dodge City	19	Henderson	C.C.	25	F	W	Concubine		

Table A.3

This chart shows information on percentages of people who were married in the Kansas cowtowns.

City	Census Year	Total Population	# of Pop. 20-49	# Married	% Married
Abilene	1865	444			
	1870	525			
	1875	894			
Ellsworth	1870	452			
	1875	498			
Wichita	1870	689			
	1875	2451			
Dodge City	1875	746			
	1880	982	691	317	46
	1885	1402	892	436	49
Caldwell	1880	972	761	321	42
	1885	1237	1119	645	57

Table A.4

This chart shows the growth of families throughout the cowtown era, which propelled the respectable community into taking action against the sporting community and vice.

City	Census Year	Total Population	Children under 14	% Children under 14
Abilene	1865	444	245	55
	1870	525	143	27
	1875	894	467	52
Ellsworth	1870	452	132	29
	1875	498	215	43
Wichita	1870	689	235	34
	1875	2451	1076	43
Dodge City	1875	746	171	23
	1880	982	348	34
	1885	1402	655	46
Caldwell	1880	972	366	34
	1885	1237	883	71

Maps and Figures



Figure B.1

This picture of Joseph McCoy in 1880.

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/841>

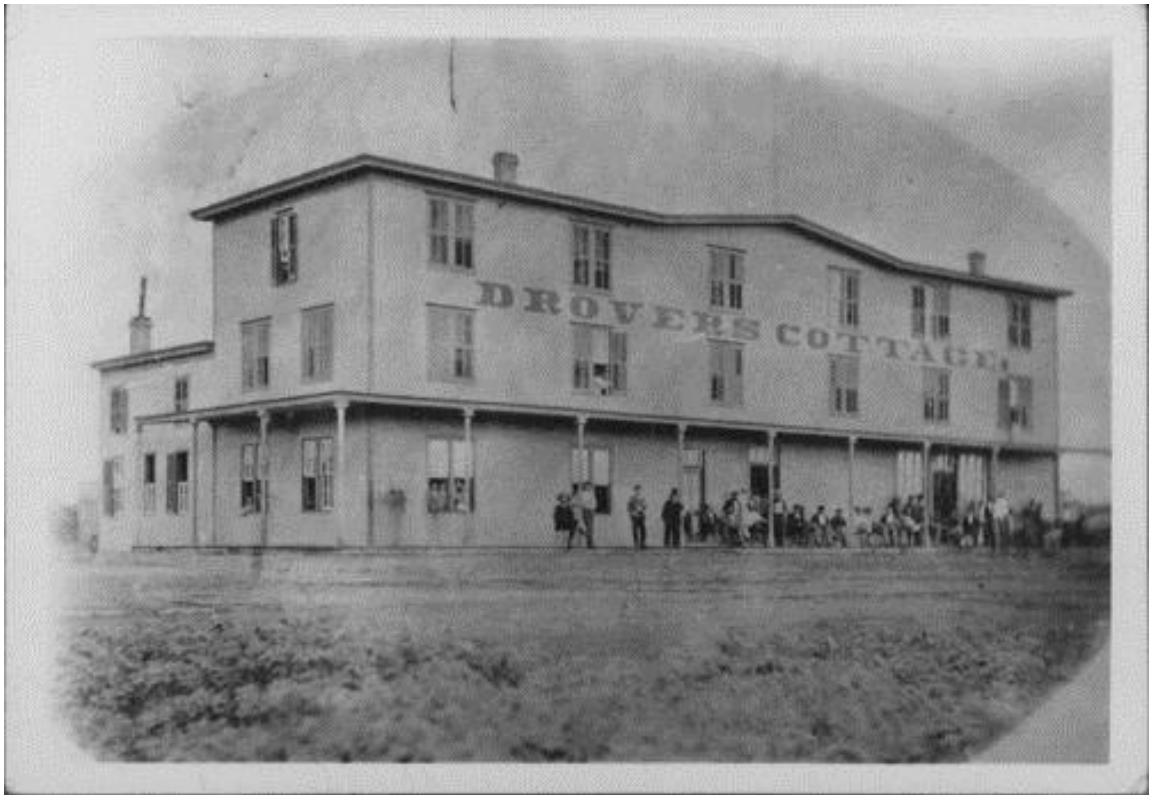


Figure B.2

This picture is of McCoy's Drover's Cottage which was established at Abilene and then moved by rail to Ellsworth.

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/212011>

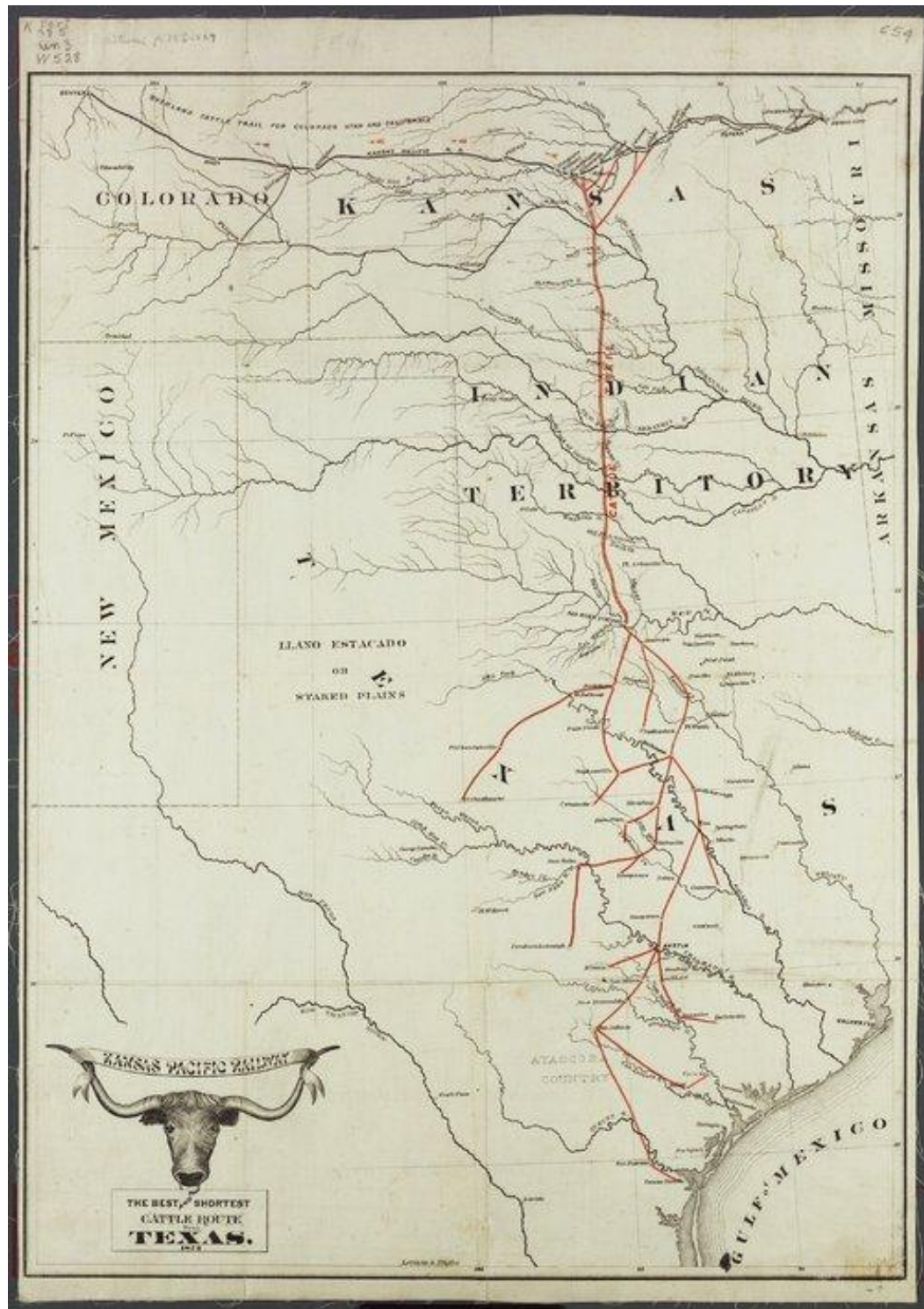


Figure B.3

Kansas Pacific Railway Company. *Guide Map of the Best and Shortest Cattle Trail to the Kansas Pacific Railway*. Fort Worth: TX, Kansas Pacific Railway Co., 1875.

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/214328>

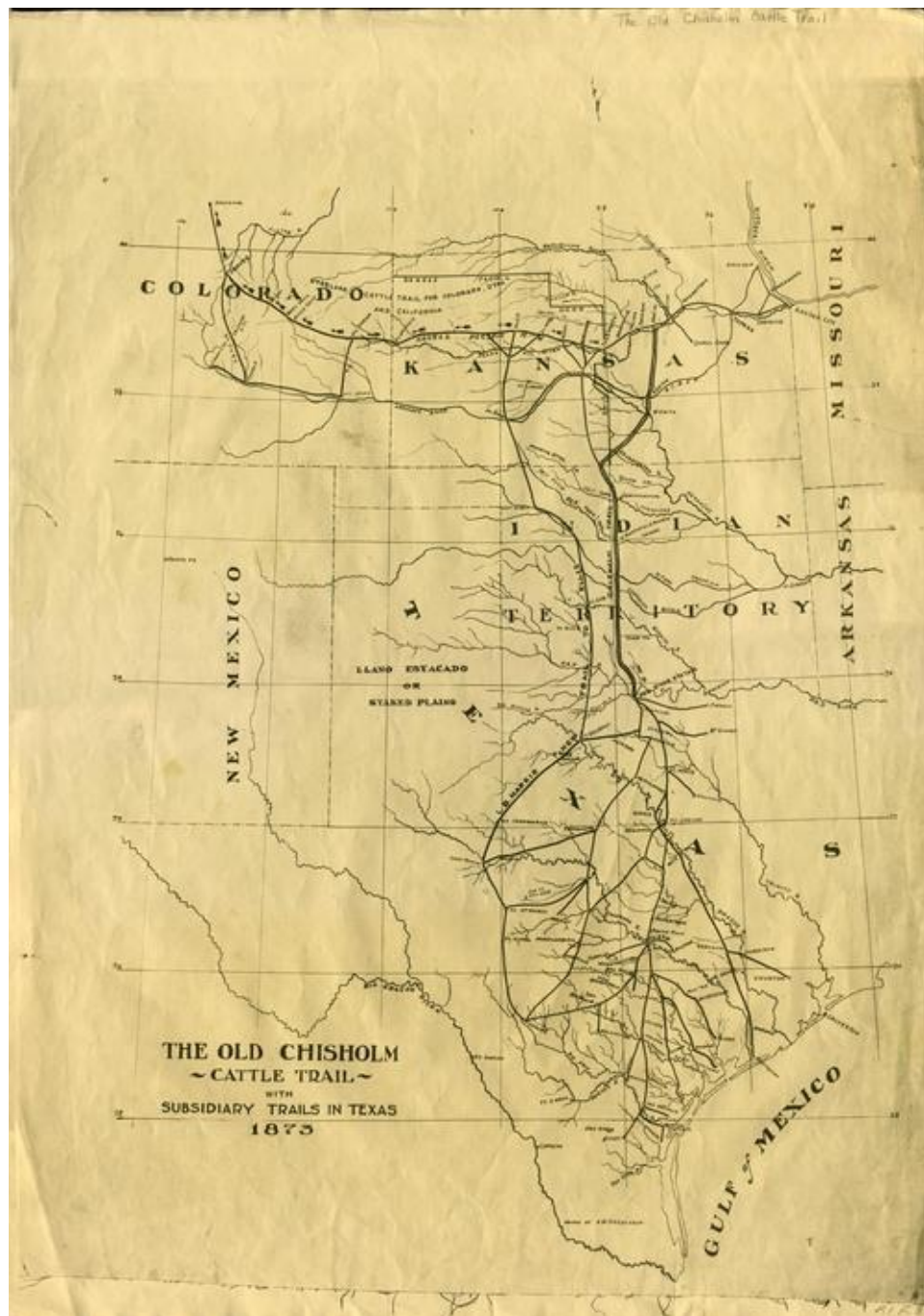


Figure B.4

This is a map of the Chisholm Trail in 1875.

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208627>

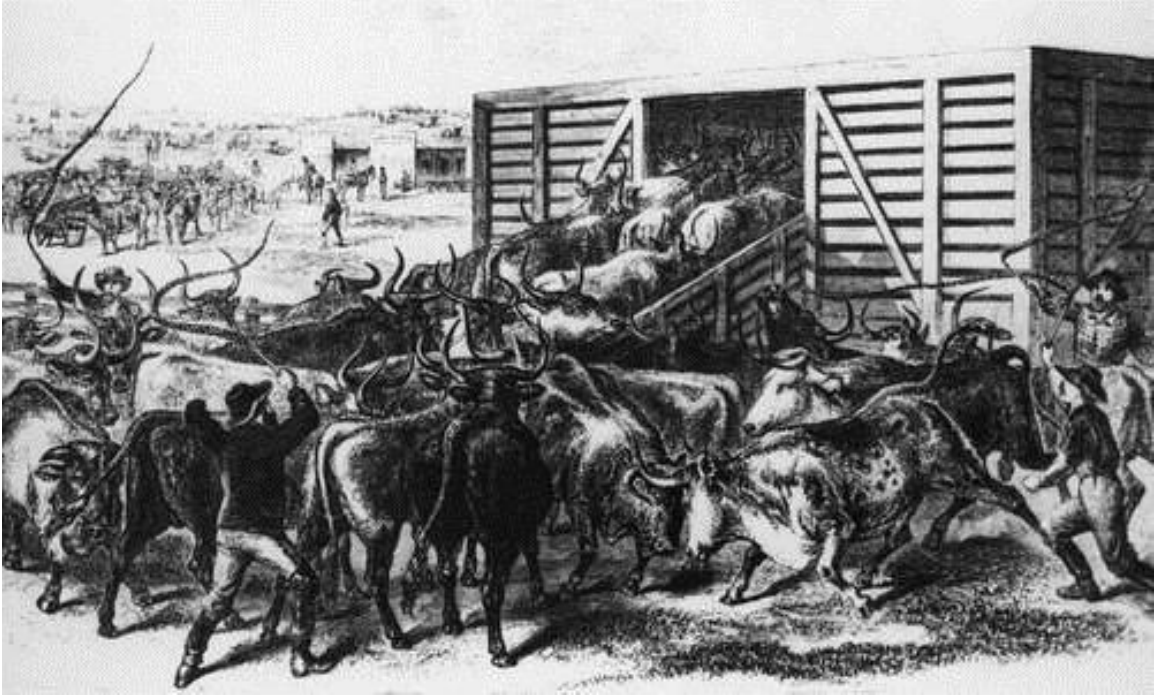


Figure B.5

This is a newspaper illustration from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* August 19, 1871; pg. 383 Issue 829. It was simply titled "Loading Texas Cattle. Abilene, Kansas."

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208507>

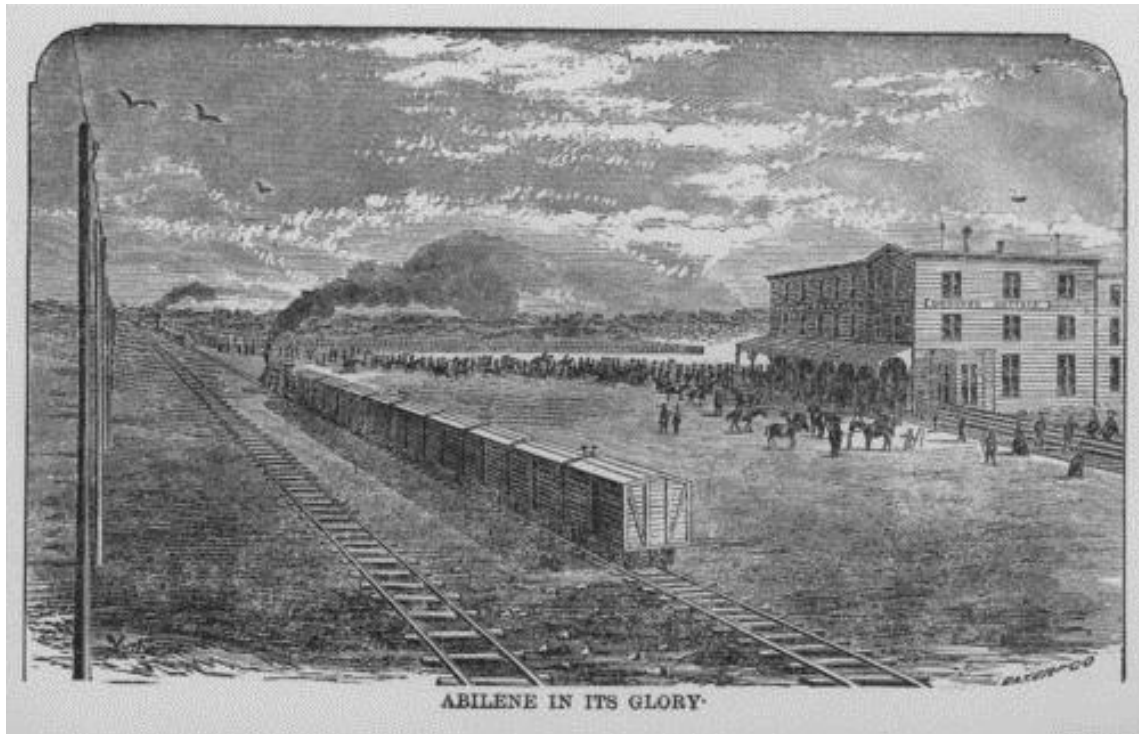


Figure B.6

Henry Worrall, of Topeka, Kansas, illustrated this for McCoy, Joseph G. *Historical Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, edited by Ralph P. Bieber. Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1940. The book was originally published in 1874. The image was then engraved by Baker & Co, Chicago, Illinois for the book. This was on page 269. It shows the cattle leaving town by rail, and McCoy's Drover's Cottage to the right.

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/25162>

K. P. DEAD LINE.

KANSAS PACIFIC RAILWAY,
THE OLD ESTABLISHED AND POPULAR

Texas Stock Route

GRAZING GOOD, WATER PLENTIFUL. SHIP-
PING FACILITIES PERFECT, YARDS
FREE, RATES LOW.

2 Fast Stock Express Trains Daily
from Ellis, Russell, Ellsworth,
Brookville, Salina, Solomon and
ABILENE TO
KANSAS CITY AND LEAVENWORTH

Connecting with the following Roads :

ST. LOUIS, KANSAS CITY & NORTHERN; MIS-
SOURI PACIFIC; CHICAGO, ALTON & ST. LOUIS;
CHICAGO & ROCK ISLAND; TOLEDO, WABASH &
WESTERN; HANNIBAL & ST. JOSEPH, AND KAN-
SAS CITY, ST JOE & COUNCIL BLUFFS.

The only route by which Shippers have the choice of all the
following Markets :

Denver, Colorado, Russell, Ellsworth, Leavenworth,
Kansas City, Quincy, St. Louis and Chicago.

Drive to the KANSAS PACIFIC RAILWAY, and
avoid hauls over new roads of 300 and 400 miles with-
out transfer or rest.

Edmund S. Bowen,
Gen'l Supt
T. F. OAKES, Gen'l Freight Agt.,
KANSAS CITY, MO.

CATTLE DROVERS, NOTE LOCATION OF

AND GOVERN YOURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

Figure B.7

This is an advertisement asking for the cattle trade to come to Abilene. It was on the back of the "Guide Map of the Great Texas Cattle Trade."

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208499>

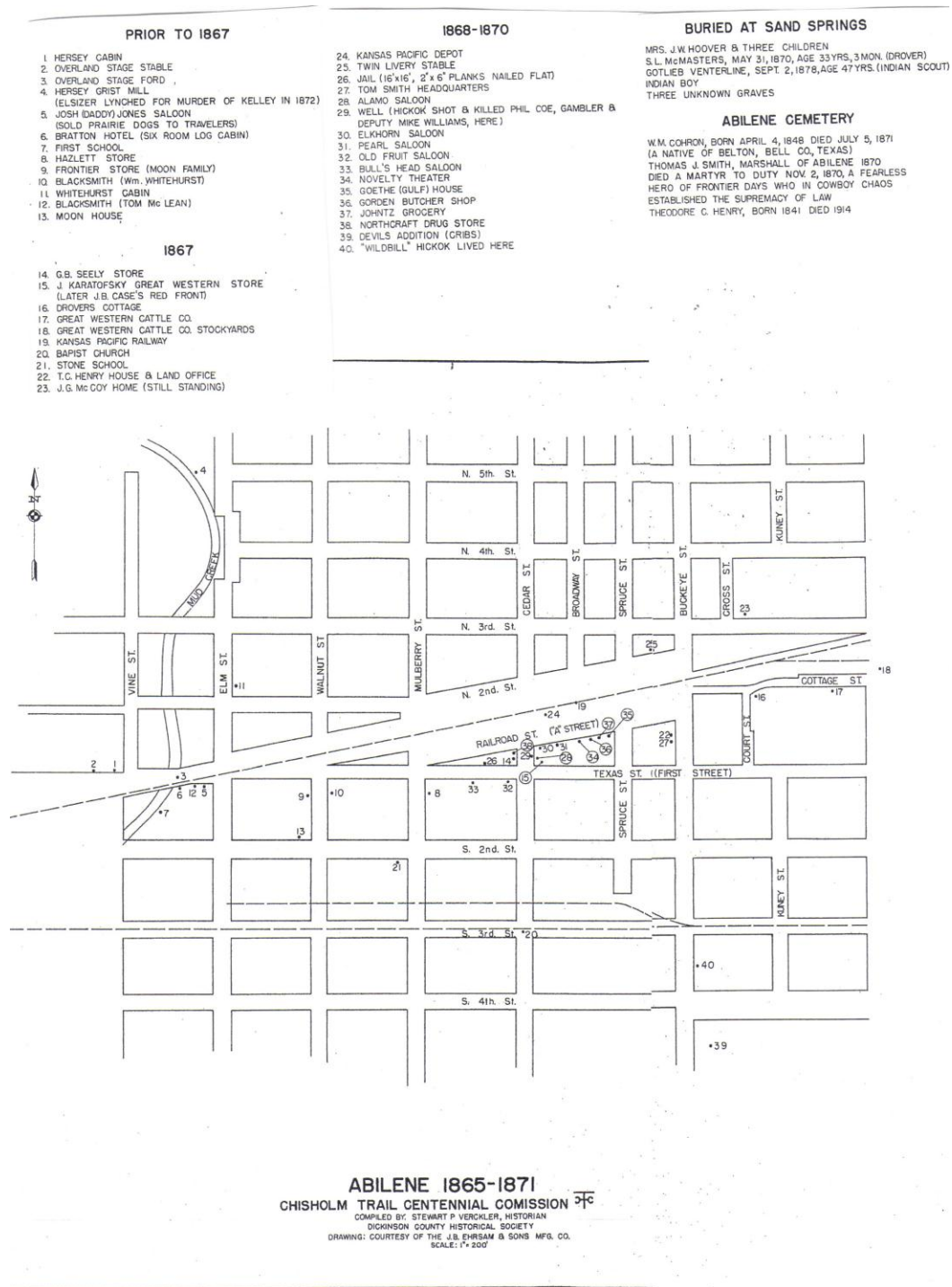


Figure B.8

This map shows Abilene as it was between 1865 and 1871. It was compiled by the Dickinson County Historical Society and historian Stewart P. Verckler in honor of the Chisholm Trail Centennial. It was obtained at the Kansas State Historical Society.

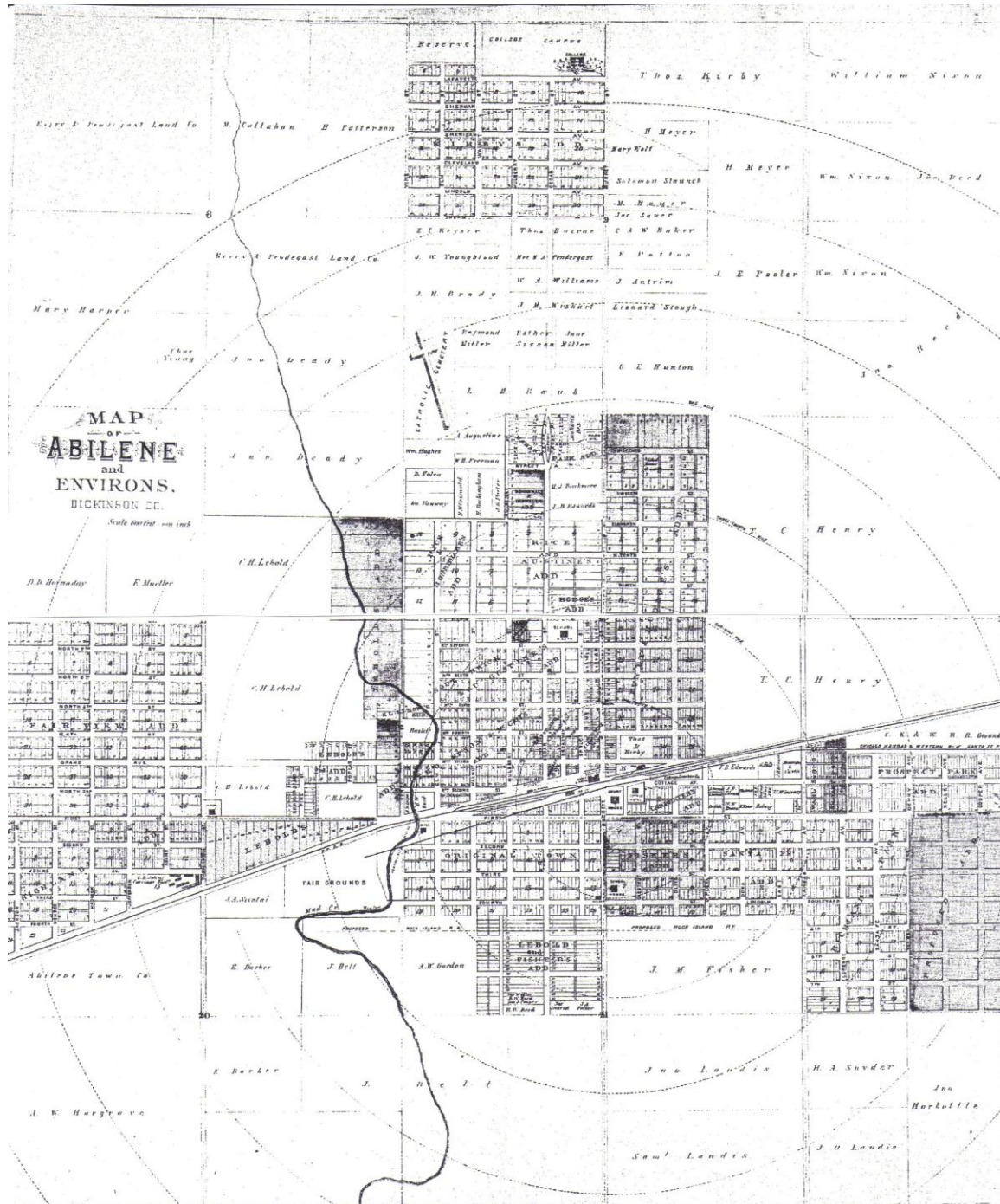


Figure B.9

This is an 1887 map of Abilene which shows how Mud Creek divided the town East and West and how the Kansas Pacific divided the town North and South, respectable and sporting. This map was obtained at the Kansas State Historical Society. This is *The Official State Atlas of Kansas compiled from Government Surveys, County Records, and Personal Investigations*. (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts and Co. 1887), 904-905.

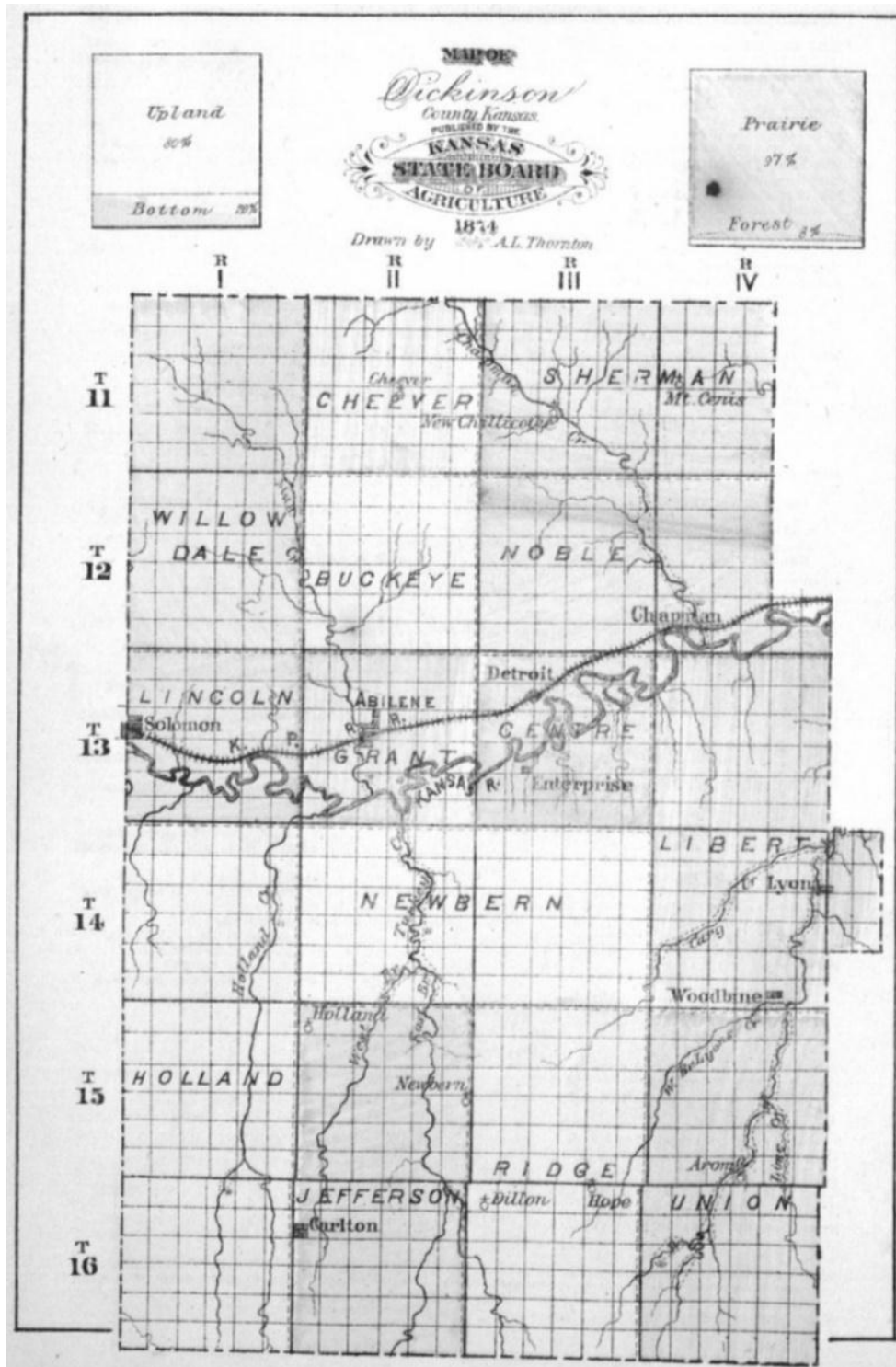


Figure B.10

This shows the various townships in Dickinson County in 1874.

<http://www.kshs.org/p/buckeye-colony-bibliography/13399>

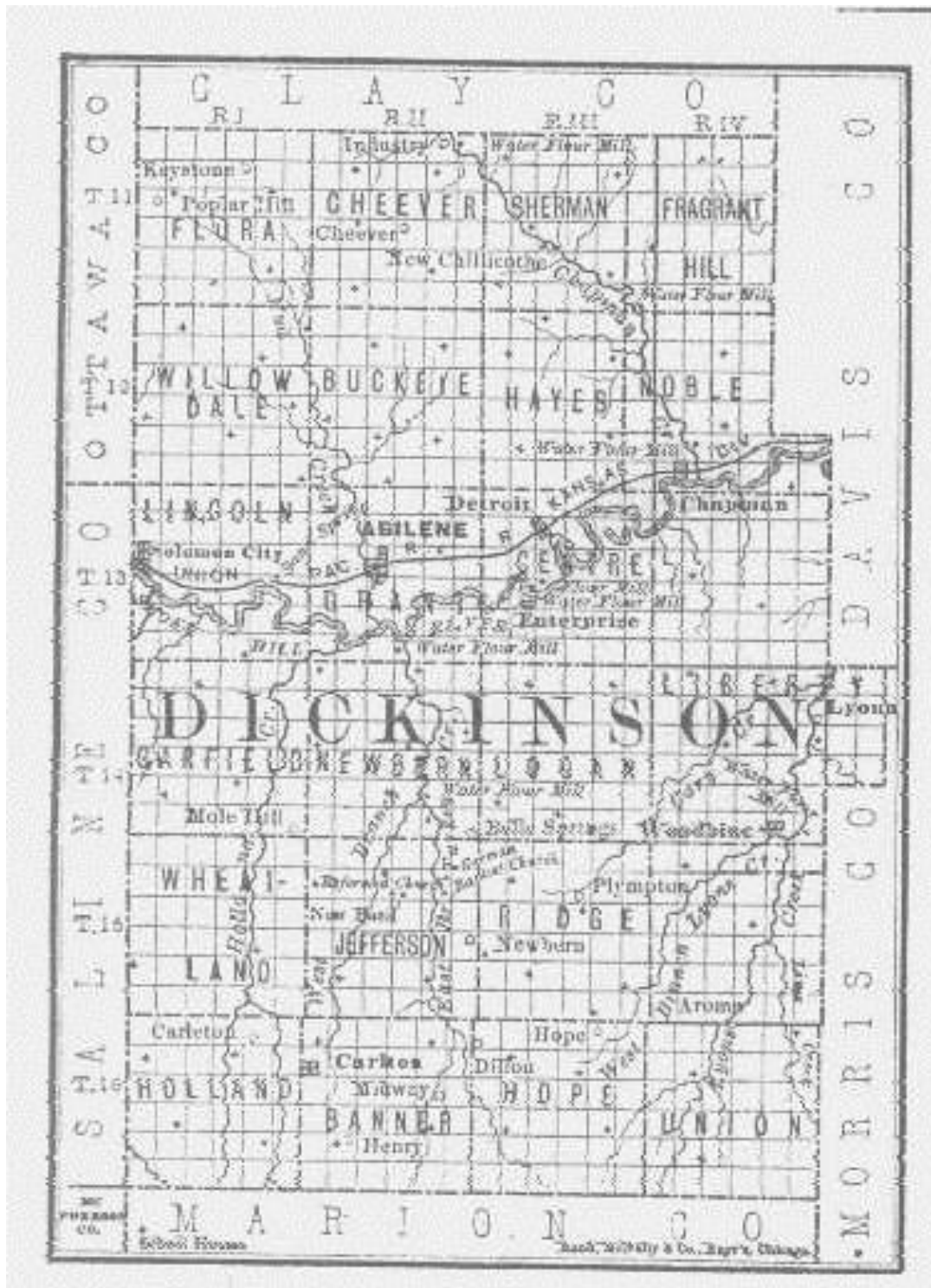


Figure B.11

This map shows Dickinson County in Cutler's book from 1883. It shows the various townships and geographical features of the county.

<http://www.kancoll.org/graphics/maps/dickinson.htm>



Figure B.12

This is again from McCoy's *Historical Sketches* and illustrated by Worrall. It was on page 207. This shows the exact types of behavior that the sporting community participated in which enraged the respectable community.

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/209713>



Figure B.13

This is the “Varieties” Dance Hall in Dodge City between 1877-1879.

Bat Masterson is in this photograph on the right.

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/25162>



Figure B.14

This is a photograph of “Squirrel Tooth Alice,”
who was a Dance Hall girl in several Kansas Cownowns.

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/6973>



Figure B.15

This is a photograph of a young prostitute
in Dodge City named "Timberline."

<http://www.kansasmemory.org/item/218255>



Figure B.16

This is a picture of famed Madam Mattie Silks during her Denver years.

http://208.42.235.74/AboutDenver/history_char_silks.asp.