

Sporting Houses, Soiled Doves, and Bad Repute: Houses of Ill Fame in Marquette, 1870-1943

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Within the male-dominated economic landscape of Marquette's founding era, many women turned to the illicit business of selling sex to make a living. In the absence of self-created primary sources, court case records and newspaper accounts dating between 1870 and 1943 reveal small pieces of the lives of dozens of such women. Yet while the stories of underground miners and northwoods lumberjacks have been studied in detail, these sex workers have been ignored and forgotten almost entirely; a broader social history, without moral bias, can account for many of the women who worked alongside the men who dominate our historical record. While attempts to eradicate these workers from the community have persisted throughout history, a preliminary review of the available archival evidence suggests the large scale of their impact in the economic, social, and legal development of the region. This article summarizes the most fascinating tidbits from those scattered records, hopefully paving the way for a new, all-encompassing social history of the Marquette area.

More than fifty Marquette County residents between 1870 and 1943 "unlawfully did keep and maintain a certain house of ill fame resorted to for the purpose of prostitution and lewdness." Or, at least, they were charged for the crime in Marquette's 25th Judicial Circuit Court. What scant evidence remains of these infamous citizens comes largely from the court's legal files, with gaps filled in by newspaper accounts and educated guesswork—little scholarly research has tackled the topic. The historical records that do remain, though, tell fascinating stories of young women engaged in 'the world's oldest profession' in this frontier-esque, male-dominated Upper Peninsula mining town.

With exhaustive sleuth work the lives of these forgotten community members can be revealed and reconstructed, allowing for a new social history that encompasses the people many residents didn't wish to remember. Despite repeated attempts throughout the town's history to drive the 'keepers' out and cover their tracks, they cannot be forgotten to time. While their 'dens' were pushed to the town's outskirts and the 'inmates' spoken of in whispers or crude jokes, these houses of ill fame are nevertheless part of the story of this place. Without knowing the history of prostitution, it remains impossible to fully understand the development of gender relations, female autonomy, sociological mores, criminal justice, and economic progress in Marquette.

When taken in context with the history of prostitution across the United States, this rural community's concerns, morals, and methods of response present unique similarities and departures to the well-studied responses of larger urban centers. Ruth Rosen presents several categories of these responses in her seminal 1982 study, *The Lost Sisterhood*. Concerns about rising prostitution, venereal disease, and the so-called "white slavery" of women launched U.S. reform campaigns as early as 1832.¹ By the Progressive Era (1900-1917), a perceived moral degeneration induced by American xenophobia against the newest waves of immigrants coupled with women's enfranchisement to produce highly organized and variously successful anti-prostitution groups. Their solutions ranged from morality-based 'brothel abolition' to social hygienist-sponsored regulation.² Yet the underlying gender imbalances in political and economic power meant that, no matter how they went about stomping out prostitutes' places of work, reforming their souls, or imprisoning them, prostitution remained. In fact, Rosen claims that these oppositional forces and the legal, social, and economic reform methods they used served

mostly to drive the professionalization and criminal organization of the sex trade. In trying to save the prostitutes, they merely drove them further into a seedy underground, free from police inspection.

There is little evidence for such organized opposition to prostitution in Marquette County, so its effects cannot easily be compared to the reform movements of places like New York, Chicago, or San Francisco. However, two 1887 instances can be highlighted. The first is a letter from Judge Claudius B. Grant of Marquette to the Wisconsin Governor Jeremiah M. Rusk about the border-hopping tendencies of his defendants. "These dens of infamy were running openly within my territory in my circuit two years ago. I resolved to drive them out... [and] the result was vigorous prosecution. Several of these villains are now in prison and the rest have fled over the line to Wisconsin."³ While evidence of this vigorous treatment is scattered among newspaper articles,⁴ there is at least cause to claim that Grant organized the town's police force against prostitution and may have even collaborated with other government officials in the process. He makes his personal opinion on the matter clearly known in the letter: "I am happy to say... that they were driven out of Marquette . . . Humanity demands that they be wiped out." His position seems closer to the side of eradicating at all costs what amounted to community moral degeneracy, not reforming 'fallen women' who had gone astray and could be saved with effort.

The second piece of evidence comes from the Women's Christian Temperance Union, who took this latter approach of reforming 'fallen' lives. The research of Jeremy W. Kilar explored their 1887 Gospel Commission of Michigan campaign to reform the sinful lives of Upper Peninsula lumberjacks and woodsmen.⁵ Although the letter from Judge Grant is mentioned in the article, it is unclear if the WCTU had any connection to his anti-prostitution efforts. In comparison to Grant's acclaimed success, the WCTU's "treks to the Upper Peninsula were mostly unrewarding"⁶ because of their anti-immigrant, -Catholic, -German, and -Semitic views. Despite the legal gains which came about because of WCTU campaigns focused on the Upper Peninsula, their impact on the actual rates of prostitution in Marquette County is obscure if not non-existent.

These missing pieces of evidence and gaps in knowledge exist because of the many limitations of local, rural research on this topic. There are, of course, the general limitations on historical research of sex work. Due to its illicit nature, primary source documents from keepers, sex workers themselves, or their customers are almost nonexistent, probably because they were never created in the first place. In Marquette County, the most direct extant evidence of a house of ill fame is a crumpled paper with "4-24" written in pencil; the piece was used as an exhibit in the trial of William D. King, a hotelier who used rooms 4 and 24 of his inn for prostitution in 1918.⁷ The Marquette County court case files pose further issues. In many cases they only contain cursory documents like complaints and warrants, and most give no indication of the defendant's guilt or innocence. Oftentimes, witnesses and defendants waived their right to an examination or they were taken only orally. In these instances, the only information the pages contain is the charge, date(s) of the crime, bail amount, witness names, and occasionally the plea, final judgement, or prison record. Recorded examinations and testimonies from police, witnesses, and defendants are the only source of detailed information regarding the charges; eighteen of the 28 cases included these, and with no access to trial proceedings or verdicts deeming the testimony true or false, they are all relatively unreliable.

The court cases are organized in an index split by plaintiff and defendant. To locate the cases, I checked each entry where the plaintiff was "The People" and the charge was Keeping

House of Ill Fame. However, before 1904 none of the cases have their charges recorded in the index, and only after 1915 are they consistently recorded. This means that from 1850 to 1915, every individual case has to be removed from its sleeve and checked for relevance. Due to time limitations, I mostly looked at cases with female defendants—this is a major flaw in the evidence gathering process, but one which would take dozens more hours in the stacks to correct. Charges for "Keeping House of Ill Fame" also end after 1943, leaving the decades since then in almost complete darkness. Furthermore, newspaper accounts and police testimony occasionally speak of women being charged before local courts as common prostitutes, but who produced any records of this and where those records are now remains a mystery. Finding these mentions of prostitution in local newspapers, if they even exist, is rather like finding a needle in a haystack.

The first *known* house of ill fame in Marquette was on the corner of Washington and Sixth Streets, about five blocks inland from Lake Superior and on the main street of the city. Mary Lawrence, who also went by Mary Kauffman, was arrested for her ownership of the place on September 12, 1870.⁸ Just over two decades had passed since Amos Harlow was named as first postmaster of the village of New Worcester, and it would be a year before the place was incorporated into the City of Marquette. The Lawrence case files include lengthy testimony from the arresting officer, who claims that as many as 30-40 people had complained to him about the house due to its bad reputation. Shockingly, one of these complaining parties made the only reference to venereal disease in any of the cases. The police officer relayed that the man went there for the liquor but "had nothing to do with the girls himself, and gave as his reason, that — he was afraid he would get disease if he did."⁹ He also mentioned that Lawrence operated "a home of the same kind in Green Bay," suggesting a dynamic explored by Julia Ann Laite's "Historical Perspectives on Industrial Development, Mining, and Prostitution": "Mining-related prostitution was not just linked to women's direct exclusion from mining employment but also to their exclusion and displacement elsewhere . . . Women who sold sex in or near mine sites came from all over the region," and could have been pushed out of those original locations by comparatively stronger anti-prostitution systems.¹⁰

However Lawrence ended up in Marquette, both case testimony and newspaper snippets about her are prolific. Yet despite being the first person charged with this crime, neither sources allude to her business being the first nor the only brothel in the area. Just a few days earlier on September 4th, an infamous place in Champion known as the Bush Tavern (after its keeper Kate Bush) was raided and destroyed by what the *Mining Journal* called "three of our moral citizens."¹¹ Whether any link exists between Mary Lawrence and Kate Bush is unclear, yet their stories do indicate that Marquette County had a sex work industry employing, at the very least, half a dozen women as early as 1870.

The social reactions to these two events give an insight into the accepted mores of Marquette County residents at the time. In the article on Bush Tavern, the keepers are described as "two miserable characters, wearing the semblance of women," running houses which are "a public nuisance and a disgrace to the mine and furnace." Three articles regarding Lawrence are even more telling: "We suggest that she and her companions be permitted to take up permanent abode on the Jackson Bridge."¹² The Jackson Bridge was complained about in nearly every issue of the paper as being dilapidated and much-hated by the townspeople, which prompted a joke published the next week: "Why is the Jackson cut bridge like a certain house on Washington street? Because it ought to be blown up!"¹³ As the trial progressed, the writer proclaimed that, "No legal effort should be spared to drive the occupants out," since the house was not on the outskirts of town but instead, "in the very midst of some of our most respected families."¹⁴ While

the words of an unnamed newspaper writer can't be taken as representative of the whole community, they do showcase a view of prostitution as a reprehensible vice instead of a necessary evil. Katie Allen's 2004 research on the topic takes this latter view, suggesting that prostitution was actually tolerated at this time "because Marquette was a small mining community and prostitution would have served a community purpose."¹⁵ With even less evidence available at the time of her writing, this claim stands unsubstantiated and likely incorrect.

Lawrence's case was the first of eleven which charged that the house of ill fame operated within a private residence. The next to be raided and prosecuted was the residence of Matilda Payment, Henry J. Smith, and Margaret Grace. All three were arrested on July 24, 1873 at their house near the Catholic church in Negaunee, which was described by one witness as then being "on the outskirts of town."¹⁶ The importance of reputation, already laid out by the arresting officer in Lawrence's case, becomes even clearer in this one. The main evidence procured against many defendants was "bad repute." This was especially true of Payment, Smith, and Grace, whose case had fifteen neighbors and policemen called as witnesses. In almost every line of questioning throughout the eighteen total cases with testimony, the witnesses are asked what the reputation of the place was and whether it was good or bad. Furthermore, a closing statement by the prosecuting attorney in Payment's case tells the "gentlemen of the jury": "The first part of [the] charge may be proved by reputation." That is, they were allowed to use testimony that "the respondent and the young woman that visited with her were lewd and of immoral character" combined with their "experience of the general repugnance in the community to association with persons whose character is under suspicion of unchastity" to determine her guilt or innocence. All three plead not guilty. Newspaper accounts of the proceedings of the circuit court pick up where the case files leave off here. Margaret and Henry had their bails set at \$500 (2021 value \$11,979), while Payment's was only \$250 (2021 value \$5,989). Smith's case ended with a *noelle prosequi*, likely because there was not enough evidence to convict him after Payment was described by witnesses as the actual keeper of the house. The jury failed to agree on Payment's case, and the last mention of Margaret's jury trial in the news said it was pending.

While Smith and Payment do not show up in the historical record again, Margaret Grace does. An 1897 article in the *Mining Journal* announced that, "Margaret Grace, commonly known under the sobriquet of 'Big Mag,' died of typhoid fever on Sunday."¹⁷ Even more interesting is why the editor says the paper published this "wearer of the scarlet's" death notice:

Well, it might be somewhat out of place, but for the moral there is in it. Living for years a life of vice, one of the fastest of her kind, loud, bold and brazen, it was believed by every one that she was hardened to every sense of shame. But, sinking down upon her dying bed, she was suddenly awakened to the sins of her past life. In the awful presence of death, repentance, bitter repentance, came to her.

The article goes on to explain how the "noble christian ladies of Ishpeming" tended to her dying needs, and even sent for a priest so she could confess her sins and be reformed. Whether there's any truth in this fairytale is, again, impossible to know; the fact that such a story even made the pages indicates an early local interest in the moral reform of prostitutes. It also shows, again, how the reputation of a person defined her in the public eye, and even suggests that it was possible to overcome this reputation with true repentance or death.

Further narratives of prostitution in private residences around Marquette County can be found in several cases between 1907 and 1928. Marion Mildren's place on Second Street in Ishpeming was described by a police officer in 1907 as "a sporting house" resorted to by "men and women of bad repute."¹⁸ In 1912, Louisa and Napoleon Geroux were arrested at their home at 109 Second Street. Two young women they employed, Stella Grummett and Mabel Ohman, testified that they were only 16 and 15 years old when they "received" men there; the Ishpeming City Marshall further testified that the place, "Has not a very good reputation from all reports. It has a reputation of being a house of ill repute."¹⁹

Lawrence's is the only known house location in the city of Marquette, with the exception of Christine Skoglund's home at 1302 Lincoln Avenue (then called the Piqua Location) in 1928.²⁰ A neighbor said of the place: "Down at the work [sic] and when I was down town many times I was asked how the sporting house was getting along. I said I didn't know it was a sporting house and I was told there was a sporting house right across the road from my place." How he missed the scandalous reputation is mysterious, given the testimony of another neighbor:

Well, it was a bunch of automobiles outside and amongst them was a travelling salesman I know of and Mrs. Skoglund and two other womens [sic] went out and talked to him in the alley way, talked to him a long while, and finally they went in the house again. He didn't go with them, and a little short while after they opened the window and one of the womens stuck her legs and feet through the window and waved at him with her legs, and he went in the house after that.

Yet another neighbor notes that "Lower Michigan men" would visit the house during deer season, often knocking on their door late at night instead of her's. While the truth of these allegations is impossible to ascertain, they do present an interesting glimpse into the community views and beliefs about the type of women who became prostitutes and the kind of people who visited them. The reference to hunters is also unique—with further research, evidence may be available to link the town's tourism with its illicit industries, including prostitution. Upper Peninsula historian, Russell Magnaghi makes similar claims about Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinac Island, and the Calumet red-light districts.²¹

Two out-of-town farmhouses provide an interesting look into the private homes opened for prostitution and liquor sales to nearby woodsmen. In 1923, Newt McMahon ran a speakeasy and brothel out of his home in Yalmer, about fifteen miles southeast of Marquette.²² The testimony in this case from a local named Alfred Johnson is especially remarkable. This self-described uneducated Swede-Finn worked at the nearby Dixon lumber camp and came to the house because he heard they had moonshine. He found it there (for 25 cents by the drink, \$2.00 per pint, or \$4.00 per quart), but he also unexpectedly found a den of prostitution. He explained that Finnish men from the camps would head there after the dance halls, drunkenly singing and dancing along to Newt's violin; they would also go behind a curtain in the dining room to have sex with Newt's wife while their 6 children were awake inside the house. After some confusion about what he thought he did when he brought his complaint to court, Johnson explained to the prosecutors, "I understood that I done what I should have done." The judge asked why he came in voluntarily and asked for McMahon to be arrested, and he replied: "For them little boys what he has got because it is against the law." McMahon was one of three defendants sentenced to 2-5 years of hard labor at the Marquette Branch Prison, the longest sentence out of all the cases with known outcomes.

The final private residence was charged as being a brothel twice, once before and once after its proprietress was widowed. Blanche Blanchette, also known as Rose, had a farm about twenty miles south of Marquette in Forsyth Township, which backed up onto the Larson Brothers' lumber camp. The first case, brought in April of 1914, charged her husband Honoré and his uncle, Victor Dupuis.²³ Blanche testifies in this case how she got into the business:

Three weeks after I was married, Dupuis tried to make love to me and have sexual intercourse with me... He gave me money on the start. I think it was a couple of dollars. He came down to fifty cents and wouldn't give me any more than that... My husband knew of this. He said Dupuis was helping to make the living and to give him all the intercourse he wanted... Men came to the house last winter and had intercourse with me there and paid me money for it, and I gave the money to my husband.

Her testimony makes the only known reference to what the profits of prostitution were used for, claiming that over the six years she was in this business the money "was used to buy all kinds of things for the house." It is also an important insight into the economic motivations for entering prostitution. Exploring the economic opportunities women had to "make the living" in the Upper Peninsula may reveal a clear motivation to engage in illicit work if no legal work was available.²⁴

By the second charge brought against Blanche nine years later in 1923, she was widowed and now lived with her two daughters in the farmhouse.²⁵ A woodsman from the nearby lumber camp named Joe White lived with and worked for her for some time - digging potatoes and chopping firewood. His testimony has character to it. When the prosecutor asked, "What did you go there for that time if you remember?" he replied, "Well I had just went there to pass away the time merely." "When you say you went there to pass away the time, what do you mean?" "I went there to merely get acquainted and we had a little conversation." "Have anything to drink?" "Well, there was a little of it there, yes." Later on, when he's asked if the reputation of the Blanchette house was good or bad, he replied simply, "Well, I suppose it ain't very good." The story is complicated even further by the fact that Joe White seems to have skipped town before the trial, as a *noelle prosequi* issued in the case file says he could not be located in Marquette or Delta Counties and thus the prosecution had no evidence to convict with.

By almost every account, it was cheaper to visit a sex worker in the setting of these private residences. At the Mildren house in 1907, services cost \$2.00; the Geroux's charged the same in 1912. Mrs. Blanchette explained in 1914 that, "My husband's friends paid a dollar and others paid \$2.00." By comparison, the only formal establishment you could get it cheaper was the King's Inn in 1918 Negaunee, where just \$1.00 could get you in a room "without baggage." The brothel of Kate Willard in 1894 charged, "\$3.00 to go upstairs, \$5.00 if the girls undressed, \$7.00 for all night, [and] \$10.00 if they went to bed early in the evening & stayed all night." At Anna Granberg's restaurant in 1905, one had to pay \$5.00 to sleep with the waitress; it was the same price for girls at Arthur Skinner's saloon in 1928, but only \$3.00 at the Millers' restaurant.²⁶ In each cases where the price is mentioned, with the exception of Mrs. Blanchette, the girl always got either half of what she made or, in the case of the \$5.00 charges, a dollar more than her boss.

Exploring the testimonies in these establishments' cases gives a different view of the sex work industry that developed in the city of Marquette. Arthur Skinner's saloon and Kate

Willard's brothel were both on Lake Street, a place near the docks where maritime historian Fred Stonehouse claimed that sailors went for, "bars, brothels, and brawls."²⁷ When Skinner was arrested on February 24, 1928, it was at least the fifth time his place had been raided.²⁸ Though the raids were usually for violations of liquor laws, his brothel business had been revealed the day before and it was likely the final straw. A police officer named Julia Layne had gone in to arrest one Minnie Yaunke on February 23, and while she was there she saw at least 2-4 more prostitutes. The only mention of Native American women as prostitutes comes from this testimony, when she recounted seeing the known Native prostitute Marie Madosh, her mother, and a friend. With scores of corroborating testimony about the place's bad reputation and the connected violations of liquor laws, his bail was set the highest of any house of ill fame case in Marquette County history: \$4,000 (2021 value \$63,384.80), which was made by counting a friend's house as surety.

There were also three restaurant owners charged with keeping houses of ill fame in the Marquette area. Anna Granberg's cafe in the city of Marquette was raided the day after Christmas, 1905.²⁹ A judge subsequently found her guilty by probable cause. The case is unremarkable except for an interesting statement in an employee's testimony: "I slept with whatever white man that had money to pay for it . . . and had intercourse with them if they were not too drunk." Hers was the only mention of racially segregated services, but further exploration of race relations in the context of prostitution might reveal interesting themes. This is especially true with the case of James and Irene Miller, who are the only confirmed black house of ill fame keepers.³⁰ The man testifying, James Heade, lived at the L'Anse Indian reservation and came to Marquette in 1924 to work at the Northern State Normal School (now Northern Michigan University). He visited the Millers' restaurant multiple times for supper, coffee, moonshine, and sex—during the last visit he was kicked out in the middle of the night without getting half his money back. He went straight to the courthouse and filed a complaint against the keepers.

Mary Ault's restaurant at 413 Cleveland Ave. in Ishpeming sold oyster soup to the town's laborers in 1896. Mary's case is an interesting one because of the conflicting stories given by the complainant and the defendant, especially considering that there is no corroborating testimony about the place's bad repute. The complaint was made by Austin Kenny, the husband of Mary's landlord. While he accuses her of sleeping with the customers, she claims it was a lie told to cover up his extortion of her through rent payments. While the case files are difficult to read and no outcome of the case has been found yet, the he-said/she-said dynamic could be further explored in the context of gender relations and class distinctions. Was he believed over her? Did the wife's prominent economic status cover for her husband in court? Finding out how the criminal justice system handled this case, as well as all the others mentioned in this paper, may give deeper insight into the court system's development throughout history.

Moving from clandestine operations to full-on brothels, the evidence gets scarcer. In September 1894, two local brothels were raided with a result of eleven girls being charged as keepers and accomplices. *People v. Wright et al* charged Annie J. Wright, Ettie Allen, Viola Roehler, and Jennie Moore.³¹ Hardly any case documents are in the file, but they do show that Wright's bail was set at \$500 and the others' at \$300, though none of them could pay it. Interestingly, though, Viola and Jennie show up in the testimony of Kate Willard's case just three days later. Among those charged in *People v. Willard et al*³² was Irene Walker, who had accompanied Viola and Jennie to Marquette on the evening train from Sault Ste. Marie. When they stayed the night in Willard's hotel, which they knew was a "sporting house" by "common repute," the keeper offered them a job. Irene was the only one who would take her offer, but

everyone stayed up that night to sit together and drink. "I understood from the talk of the girls there," Viola said, "that they were all sporting girls." They revealed the prices of the establishment and told her they paid \$6.00 a week for rent. Further research into these two related cases, in particular, may reveal a wealth of knowledge about Marquette brothels—as it stands, these details are all that is known about this relatively large community of sex workers.

Prior research on Marquette County sex work has also revealed some pieces of what I call "The Carp House puzzle." The Carp House was a widely-known brothel just east of Negaunee (today in the vicinity of the Negaunee cemetery) that was sacked, burned, and rebuilt several times by several different keepers.³³ Scattered news reports³⁴ about it have been gathered so far, and what has been found points to it being an "eventful place". The earliest mention comes from the 1876 *Mining Journal*: "A house on the location formerly occupied by the Collins Iron C., and which was lately the residence of some parties of ill repute was, on Monday evening, attacked by a party of one hundred men and leveled to the ground . . . Good for our young men."³⁵ In 1881, the midnight arrest of a drunk woman wandering the streets was reported on. "The woman was an inmate of the notorious 'Carp,' and earlier in the night had stabbed one of her female companions in sin, resulting in serious flesh wounds."³⁶ The "soiled dove" was mysteriously released the next morning with no charges. It was also reported to have burned down in March, 1885 and subsequently rebuilt by November; "The officers will probably see to its removal as soon as [it] gets running."³⁷

Along with the Cohn Depot, the "soiled dove cote on Strawberry Hill," the Farm, Bancroft station, Pinkey's resort, and various other unnamed houses, these short newspaper mentions of prostitution suggest a rich history to be uncovered should more sources become available.³⁸ There will also be stories of those people that the newspapers name as keepers of disreputable houses: Anna Dower, Peg-leg, Slippery Dick, Dutch Mary, Big Antoine, Pinkey Whitcomb, Kate Russell, Charles Spafford, McCullough, Barrett, and Bartholomew, among others. The work of uncovering this history has only just begun, and the further avenues for research are many. Although the history of prostitution in Marquette County right now is mostly unconnected blips on the area's timeline, a full analysis into the social, economic, and political effects of what seems to have been a thriving sex work industry will shed more light on the region's overall history.

Endnotes

- ¹ Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood*, (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), p. 7
- ² Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood*, p. 16.
- ³ "The Hurley Dens of Vice, *Weekly Mining Journal* (Marquette, Mich.), January 08, 1887.
- ⁴ Article, *The Ishpeming Agitator* (Ishpeming, Mich.), February 06, 1886.
- ⁵ Jeremy W. Kilar, "Sin and Salvation: Battling Prostitution in the U.P.," *Michigan History* 102 no. 4 (July/August 2018): 39-44.
- ⁶ Kilar, "Sin and Salvation," p. 40.
- ⁷ Case 9606, Marquette County 25th Judicial Circuit Court records, MSS-393. Central Upper Peninsula and University Archives, Northern Michigan University, Marquette, Michigan
- ⁸ Case 175.
- ⁹ The — represents handwriting that was illegible. A further issue of research was unreadable handwritten case files as well as an unknown (possibly Pitman) shorthand system used in Cases 542-544.
- ¹⁰ Julia Ann Laite, "Historical Perspectives on Industrial Development, Mining, and Prostitution," *The Historical Journal* 52:3 (September 2009): 745.
- ¹¹ *Weekly Mining Journal* (Marquette, Michigan), September 10, 1870.
- ¹² *Weekly Mining Journal*, September 17, 1870.
- ¹³ *Weekly Mining Journal*, September 28, 1870.
- ¹⁴ Editorial, *Weekly Mining Journal*, October 01, 1870.
- ¹⁵ Katie Allen, "Prostitution's Tolerance in Marquette County During the Late 19th Century," Research paper, Northern Michigan University, 2004. Available at Special Collections, Lydia Olson Library, Northern Michigan University, p. 2.
- ¹⁶ Case 542-544.
- ¹⁷ *Weekly Mining Journal* November 14, 1879.
- ¹⁸ Case 7577.
- ¹⁹ Case 8653 (Louisa) and 8355 (Napoleon).
- ²⁰ Case 11225.
- ²¹ Russell M. Magnaghi, *Prohibition in the Upper Peninsula: Booze and Bootleggers on the Border*. (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2017), pp. 101-105.
- ²² Case 10423.
- ²³ Case 8957.
- ²⁴ Magnaghi. *Gender and Work in the Upper Peninsula through 1976*. (Marquette, Mich.: 906 Heritage Press), 2021.
- ²⁵ Case 10,448.
- ²⁶ Cases 7577, 7653, 8957, 9606, 5490, 7353, 11223, and 10513 respectively.
- ²⁷ Frederick Stonehouse, *Marquette Shipwrecks*, (Au Train, Mich.: Avery Color Studios, 1977), p. 78.
- ²⁸ Case 11,223.
- ²⁹ Case 7353.
- ³⁰ Case 10,513.
- ³¹ Case 5484.
- ³² Case 5490.
- ³³ Carl Dahl, "History of Prostitution in the Marquette Area," Northern Michigan University. Research paper, Northern Michigan University, 1978. Available at John M. Longyear Research Library, Marquette Regional History Center, Marquette, Michigan.
- ³⁴ See *Ishpeming Iron Ore* October 27, 1883; January 26, 1884. *The Ishpeming Agitator* March 7, June 13, 07 and 14 November 1885; February 06, 1886. *The Marquette Mining Journal* September 30, 1882; March 17 and April 14, 1883; January 19, November 15, 1884; March 07, 1885.
- ³⁵ *Weekly Mining Journal*, August 5, 1876.
- ³⁶ *Weekly Mining Journal*, July 16, 1881.
- ³⁷ *Weekly Mining Journal*, March 7 and November 7, 1885.

³⁸ For more newspaper dates, see the "Prostitution" newspaper clipping file at the Marquette Regional History Center, Marquette, Michigan. The *Mining Journal* as of this publication has been digitized for the years 1868 to 1924 with more issue to follow. See also: Emily Tulikangas. "Prostitution in Marquette County from 1878 to 1928: A Social Vice or a Promoter of Female Autonomy?" Research paper, Northern Michigan University, 2002. Available at John M. Longyear Research Library, Marquette Regional History Center, Marquette, Michigan.