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The Vice Trust: A Reinterpretation Of The White Slavery Scare In The United States, 1907-1917

Mara L. Keire

In the narratives of the white slavery scare, which peaked in the United States between 1910 and 1913, urban reformers intertwined the story of the sexually coerced maiden with a heated condemnation of the business of vice. Although the white slavery scare was an international panic, local reformers gave white slavery narratives local relevance by retelling the story in language particular to period and place. [1] Unlike the French, American reformers did not counterbalance tales of violently raped virgins with a defense of regulated prostitution. Americans were trying to shut down, not keep open, tolerated brothels. [2] Nor did they follow British author W.T. Stead's lead and critique aristocratic privilege using the ambiguous classical imagery of labyrinths and minotaurs. [3] Instead, Progressive-era reformers turned to the language of economics, particularly the corrupting power of trusts and their control of society, to frame their attack on urban vice. [4]

Anti-monopolism was an overriding imperative of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Turn-of-the-century Americans perceived an alarming spread of organizational conspiracies--"the Trust and Wall Street, the Political Machine and the System of Influence"--that dominated ordinary citizens, but eluded their control. [5] Driving their fears were broad definitions of monopoly, trust, and dangerous "bigness." From the Progressive perspective, the informal, but extensive cooperation among service corporations like insurance companies and banks was as worrisome as the "tight combinations" of industrial trusts like Standard Oil and U.S. Steel. [6] For example, during the 1913 Congressional investigation of investment banking, the Pujo Commission charged that the "Money Trust," led by J.P. Morgan, not only dictated the distribution of credit, but also controlled industry in the United States through the interlocking directorates that oversaw the management of the largest corporations. [7] The Money Trust's influence did not, however, end there. Morgan and his Wall Street confreres were the "Money" Trust, not the "Banking" Trust, because they allegedly manipulated the country's currency, not just its corporate capital. [8] This climate, in which Americans feared the impact of corporate centralization and perceived a cooperative complicity among economic interests, was the context for urban reformers' concern that ruthless profit-mongers had extended their control to yet another business: "commercialized vice." [9]

By situating the tale of the captive maiden within a broader critique of monopoly capitalism, anti-vice reformers adopted a language, and a legislative agenda, that resonated with other Progressive-era reforms. Economic allusions permeated anti-vice rhetoric, but three metaphors in particular anchored reformers' representation of social relations in urban red-light districts. The first metaphor depicted the business of vice as a trust composed of allied interests. The second metaphor was that red-light districts were like marketplaces where the Vice Trust bought and sold prostitutes to fill district brothels. And finally, contemporary writers correlated white slavery with debt peonage. [10] By shifting the rhetorical terrain away from sin and individual salvation and toward an economic analysis of social structures, Progressive-era anti-vice reformers appropriated laws governing commerce as a new set of legal referents and strategically employed the three interlocking metaphors as juridical analogies for constructing legislation and interpreting the laws that regulated vice. [11] To unpack and situate the metaphors, this essay is broken into six sections. The first section traces the genealogies of "white slavery," while the second section situates the different factions in the anti-vice movement politically and rhetorically. In the body of the essay, I analyze the origins and implications of the three metaphors, and then conclude with an analysis of how the Progressives' economic interpretation of urban vice shaped their legal endeavors. The commercial critique was not the only language that American reformers used to describe urban vice, but during the Progressive era, their economic interpretation served as the unifying discourse from which anti-vice reformers constructed a powerful legislative agenda.

This article is a reinterpretation of the white slavery scare in the United States because it departs from traditional historiography. Influenced by Richard Hofstadter's dismissal of temperance as outside of the mainstream of Progressive reform, scholars of prostitution have, since the late 1960s, characterized the white slavery scare as the irrational rantings of a paranoid social group. [12] In 1967, for example, historian Egal Feldman, in his well-known article "Prostitution, the Alien Woman, and the Progressive Imagination," argued that the white slavery polemics represented the hyper-nativism of a status-conscious middle-class, while the vice commission reports exemplified the best of Progressive-era municipal research. [13] Following Feldman's lead, scholars have emphasized the racialized cast of the white slavery narratives, even as they have discounted the white slavery scare as an almost Freudian manifestation of middle-class fears about urbanization, immigration, and women's increased mobility. [14] Analytically separating the white slavery polemics from the more measured vice commission reports reached its logical conclusion, in the early 1980s, during the "myth-versus-reality" debate between historians Ruth Rosen and Mark Thomas Connelly. Rosen argued that white slavery had existed, while Connelly argued that it had not, but both historians based their conclusions on the veracity that they accorded to the white slavery literature--an evaluation in which the vice commission reports served as the objective index. Thus, Rosen's and Connelly's interpretive disagreement centered on the sharp dichotomy that scholars had created within the anti-prostitution movement of the Progressive era. [15] In contrast, my research returns to Roy Lubove's landmark article from 1962, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," in which Lubove gave equal weight to white slavery polemics and municipal vice commissions in order to draw out their shared critique of commercialized vice. [16] Looking for commonalities, I found that despite the range of rhetorical modes that reformers employed--from melodramatic hyperbole to social-scientific rationalism--the disparate factions within the anti-vice movement shared a common economic discourse for interpreting urban prostitution that superseded their more superficial, stylistic differences. [17]

White Slavery's Genealogies

The term "white slavery" had its origins in the labor movement. In the 1830s, both English and American workers used "white slavery" as a way to describe their low wages and intolerable working conditions. Explicit in the comparison was the workers' condemnation of the power relations within the capitalist system. [18] This correlation between "white" slavery and "black" slavery carried particular weight in the United States. Indeed, as historian David Roediger has shown, the metaphor of "white slavery" provided white workers with a way to condemn industrial inequities, evoke an artisanal ideal of labor republicanism, and yet differentiate themselves from black chattel slaves in the South. [19] Around the turn of the twentieth century, polemicists from the middle class appropriated the image of "white slavery" to describe their concerns about the political and economic disempowerment of ordinary citizens. Railing against trusts and their perceived control of the federal government, these writers drew parallels to the Southern planters' dominance of the government prior to the Civil War. The anti-monopolists argued that just as corrupt planters derived their power from the exploitation of black slaves, trusts gained their power through the impoverishment of the working class whose situation was little better than slavery. [20] Fearing the further decline of American democracy, middle-class social critics argued for greater economic equality--something that they hoped to achieve through the elimination of trusts.

White slavery was not the only image that Progressive-era authors used to describe the power of trusts and their exploitation of ordinary citizens. These authors consistently drew on a range of images, from villenage to serfdom and feudalism, that represented economic systems of dependence. [21] By focusing on systems of dependence, anti-trust authors extended the metaphorical cast of characters beyond serfs and slaves to include "industrial princes" and "robber barons." Shifting the discursive emphasis from the oppressed to the oppressor indicated the anti-monopolists' intention to alter society's structure, not just offer a palliative to its oppressed. [22] Anti-trust advocates hoped that inheritance taxes and the curtailment of large corporate combines would eradicate the industrial aristocracy and enable the United States to realize the ideals of republican democracy. [23]

White slavery acquired its sexual connotations unevenly overtime. Abolitionists had sexualized chattel slavery, so it is not surprising that anti-vice reformers, one of the many groups that incorporated abolitionist language, should have kept its sexual overtones. [24] In 1870, Victor Hugo wrote to British reformer Josephine Butler that "the slavery of black women is abolished in America, but the slavery of white women continues in Europe and laws are still made by men in order to tyrannize over women." In this context, Hugo used white slavery to represent state-regulated prostitution, particularly the medical examination of prostitutes required by Britain's Contagious Diseases Acts. [25] Ten years later, however, Alfred Dyer, an ally of Butler's, shifted the meaning of white slavery away from the systemic metaphor representing unequal power in the capitalist state to the meaning with which we are most familiar: involuntary brothel prostitution. [26] By emphasizing brothel prostitution over state regulation, Dyer separated the sexualized metaphor from the particularities of European prostitution and made "white slavery" a term that anti-prostitution reformers could readily employ in Asia and the Americas.

Once anti-vice reformers had shifted responsibility for white slavery from the state to private enterprise, American authors began to evoke the most common stereotype of the evil capitalist: the Jew. Although Judge John R. Newcomer from Chicago observed in 1907, in one of the earliest Progressive-era white slavery appeals, that "the procurers are chiefly, so far as we have learned, American young men," white slavery activists quickly shifted the ratio of blame to Russian Jews and, to a lesser extent, French maquereaux (pimps). [27] Journalist George Kibbe Turner's anti-Semitic portrayal of white slave traffickers was particularly influential. In his 1909 McClure's article, "Daughters of the Poor," Turner lambasted the Jewish "kaftan" for selling his sisters and daughters into sin. The ambiguous appellation kaftan, which denotes a dress-like robe, simultaneously effeminized Jewish pimps and reminded readers of their "oriental" origins. As with the figures of Chinese opium den proprietors and dandified French "macks," white slavery authors effeminized Jewish pimps in order to suggest to readers that these decadent facilitators of urban vice were debauching the upright virility of American youths. [28] Significantly, African-American men were the one "other" that white slavery writers did not invoke. While the black man as sexual predator was a recurrent image in Progressive-era tracts, anti-vice authors portrayed African-American men as rapists, but not traffickers, of white women. [29]

Although white slavers became increasingly "oriental," white slaves did not become increasingly "occidental." [30] While white slavery polemicists found it horrifying that a racialized other might seduce and then sell white women, they found the idea that the other might sell his own women as abhorrent. [31] In order to whip up public outrage, George Kibbe Turner accentuated the pitilessness of the "Jewish" white slave trade when he declared that Jewish immigrants sacrificed their daughters in order to educate their sons. [32] Jane Addams, on the other hand, chose to emphasize the pathos of the "white slave trade" by reversing the expected formulation. Addams asserted that white men working as employment agents brought African-American women from the South to place in Northern brothels. Although, as Addams observed, the women had hoped for jobs in domestic service, the procurers knew that they could, without repercussion, send these women to houses of prostitution because "so universally are colored girls ... suspected of blackmail that the average court is slow to credit their testimony when it is given against white men." [33] Even so, gender, not race, was the most pronounced dichotomy in the Progressive-era narratives. White slavery writers invariably contrasted the helpless, tricked woman with the heartless, greedy man.

Despite their sensationalism, white slavery writers never moved far from their systemic critique. White slavery narratives were overblown exaggerations, but polemicists employed their hyperbole to further political ends. George Kibbe Turner did not write "Daughters of the Poor" just to expose prostitution in Manhattan's Lower East Side, he also wrote it to discredit Tammany Hall. McClure's Magazine carefully timed the publication of Turner's article to coincide with Manhattan's hotly contested 1909 elections. [34] Indeed, anti-vice reformers throughout the country used white slavery narratives to challenge ring politicians. [35] Urban elites often asked sympathetic newspaper editors to publish articles denouncing the horrors found in municipally sanctioned vice districts. [36] During the 1910s, reformers' cries against white slavery, and the machine's temporary crackdown on tolerated prostitution, were a regular feature of Progressive-era electioneering. [37] This cycle continued

unabated until World War I when the Federal Government broke these local political stalemates by backing the anti-vice reformers, closing down most existing red-light districts, and effectively bringing the Progressive-era white slavery scare to its institutional close. [38]

That urban Progressives should have adopted anti-monopolism, a critical discourse with populist appeal, as a political strategy seems at odds with their class status, but not with their stated goals. The association of the urban machine with red-light districts and "natural monopolies" like utility companies meant that elite political reformers could employ a hybrid discourse that condemned both tolerated vice and protected corporations. [39] When Progressive reformers used the phrase "white slavery," they not only described the systematic sexual coercion of unwilling young women, they also played on its long-standing evocation of a corrupt economic system perpetuated by an illegitimate ruling class. Confident of the righteousness of their efforts, these urban reformers believed that they were the legitimate arbiters of municipal morality. White slavery activists, like anti-monopolists, were certain that if they could convince people of the government's complicity in economic misdeeds, the public, in moral outrage, would give the reformers a mandate to change the system.

Reformers and Rhetoric

Urban reformers in the United States had attacked municipally tolerated vice since the early 1890s, but not until 1909, with the escalating white slavery scare, did they gather sufficient ideological and organizational momentum to turn local anti-vice reform into a national initiative. Originating out of mugwump efforts against the urban machine, the Progressive-era anti-vice movement included such well-known figures as John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Charles W. Eliot, and Jane Addams, as well as local reformers like Robbins Gilman, the founder of Minneapolis' settlement house; Jean Gordon, a New Orleans suffragist; and Paul Smith, a Methodist minister in San Francisco. [40] As with their Gilded-age predecessors, these urban Progressives preferred to work outside the party system and through ostensibly neutral civic associations, but they never strayed far from their anti-machine endeavors. [41] Besides participating in state inquiries and municipal vice commissions, Progressive reformers created extra-governmental associations like the New York Committee of Fourteen, the Chicago Committee of Fifteen, and a national umbrella group, the American Social Hygiene Association. [42] Popular support for anti-vice reform exceeded, however, the limited membership of these associations. In contrast to the more cautious mugwumps, Progressive muckrakers readily used sensational exposes to make their case against urban vice. [43] Melodramatic morality tales of once innocent men and women sacrificed to the greed of the "vice combine" had greater popular appeal than the mugwumps' carefully reasoned bulletins calling for more effective law enforcement. [44] By incorporating white slavery narratives into their attack against the machine, elite Progressives tapped into a popular audience deeply concerned about urban immorality.

Middle-class white slavery writers and established anti-vice reformers shared an economic interpretation of urban vice, but they diverged in the tone and tenor of their rhetorical tactics. [45] Neither Clifford G. Roe nor John D. Rockefeller, Jr. disagreed over the basic definition of white slavery, but the way that they presented the evils of commercialized prostitution was quite different. [46] Rockefeller, the quintessential New York reformer, disliked the "hysteria" of the white slavery scare and actively shunned publicity, but Roe, an Illinois state prosecutor from Chicago, assiduously courted a popular audience with melodramatic exaggeration. [47] Differences in presentation were not just a matter of personal preference. Progressive reformers took their audience into account when they chose between a more melodramatic and a more sociological mode. For example, Wirt Hallam, a Chicago white slavery activist, and Frederick Whitin, the general secretary of the New York Committee of Fourteen, were both passionately committed to closing vice districts, but in their correspondence they argued about the value of white slavery narratives in the campaign against commercialized vice. Hallam advocated telling lurid tales of wasted youth, while Whitin touted the power of a tempered legalism. Both Hallam and Whitin believed that sensational stories would "arouse human sympathy," but Whitin feared that these stories would discredit anti-vice reformers. [48] In part, Hallam and Whitin disagreed about white slavery narratives because they had different goals. Like the melodramatic Roe, Hallam

wanted to create a thoroughgoing change in the way ordinary people perceived prostitution, while Whitin sought the support of New York's political and philanthropic elite. [49] Neither the white slavery activists nor the anti-vice reformers were entirely comfortable with the other faction's approach, but during the early years of the white slavery scare, they tried to accommodate rhetorical and strategic differences in order to build the anti-vice movement. [50]

Significantly, institutional divisions within the anti-vice movement reinforced rather than ameliorated the tensions between white slavery writers and anti-vice reformers. Unlike journalists, independent social critics, or members of the short-lived municipal vice commissions, reformers within established organizations downplayed the more hyperbolic expressions of anti-trust rhetoric because they could not afford to alienate either the business interests that worked with them or the wealthy philanthropists, like Julius Rosenwald, Andrew Carnegie, and Jacob Schiff, who supported their efforts. [51] From the mid-teens onward, as Chicago white slavery activists lost their rhetorical hegemony and New York anti-vice reformers gained institutional strength, Rockefeller's distaste for publicity increasingly dictated that the urban reformers who worked with Rockefeller-subsidized organizations needed to temper their rhetoric, avoid the newspapers, and fight

tolerated vice with as little fanfare as possible. [52] Reformers within established institutions sustained the Progressive-era anti-vice movement, but the independent white-slavery activists, with their economic images and melodramatic message, provided the catalyst and the critique that moved anti-vice reform beyond the particularities of local city politics and made municipally tolerated prostitution a national concern. The sensational narratives of the white slavery scare were the first effective salvo in this campaign against commercialized vice.

White Slavery and Debt Peonage

There were two parts to the Progressive-era white slavery stories and these two parts correspond to two different, but related representations of white slavery. Most white slavery narratives began with a stereotypical abduction melodrama. In this section, white slavery writers described the abduction, sale, and imprisonment of innocent women unwilling to prostitute themselves. The story in this first part of the white slavery narrative is a genesis story; a story of becoming, not a story of being. The most melodramatic and racially loaded part of the narrative, this section is the one on which most modern scholars have focused. [53] There is, however, a second part to the white slavery narrative, the story of being, in which Progressive-era polemicists explained why women remained prostitutes.

In the often overlooked second half of the white slavery narrative, the "subjugation" story, white slavery became a form of debt peonage. [54] Reformers' purpose in telling the subjugation story was to address the question of why prostitutes--apparently free from physical restraint and notoriously resistant to "rescue"--were innocent victims without agency. [55] White slavery writers answered their critics by pointing to the economic inequities of prostitution. In particular, antivice reformers argued that the white slave's financial plight kept her "in the life" during the critical transition from innocent dupe to unresisting prostitute. [56] Beginning with the "seasoning" or "breaking-in" period, the subjugation story started where the genesis story left off, with the white slave's sexual initiation. [57] For example, Clifford C. Roe, in his novelistic expose *Panders and Their White Slaves*, related how Harry Balding, "a well-known agent of houses of ill repute," and an anonymous madam forced Mona M. into prostitution. Balding first wined and dined, then drugged and raped Mona. The following day he sold her to the madam for fifty dollars. This transaction marked Mona's official incorporation into the vice district. Mona's madam, anticipating her new recruit's resistance, forestalled Mona's escape by informing her that she owed the madam one hundred dollars for her new "parlor clothes" and fifty dollars for Balding's finder's fee. Ignorant of the law, Mona, Stella, Adelaide, and countless other honorable young women feared prosecution for money owed and futilely sought to repay their madams through prostitution. [58] Unfortunately, as a 1909 Federal Immigration Commission reported, by the time the novice prostitute had "learned, through suffering, to become resourceful," the once innocent victim had "become so nervously

weakened, so morally degraded, that she can not look to any better life, and apparently even loses desire for any change." [59] In the Progressive-era white slavery narratives, money, not manacles, chained women to prostitution.

To reinforce the peonage analogy, white slavery writers correlated prostitutes' perpetual indebtedness to the madam with contract workers' indebtedness to the company store. [60] Both anti-vice reformers and labor reformers consistently repeated three egregious aspects of worker indebtedness that madams and managers had institutionalized through their control of accounts and consumer goods. [61] First, in both the red-light district and the company town, the workers had to buy either directly from their employer or an allied subsidiary. In the red-light district that meant purchasing goods directly from the madam, or buying from a district salesman making house calls, both of whom were members of what Chicago resident Robert Harland called the "Kimono Trust." [62] Secondly, critics of both the district and the company town emphasized the significant overpricing of goods: between 10 and 20 percent in company towns and, with typical exaggeration, between 100 and 200 percent in red-light districts. [63] Finally, reformers contended that because the madam rarely paid prostitutes in cash, she forced them into debt. In the company towns, workers sometimes had the intermediary of scrip, but prostitutes never even saw this money substitute. Instead, they saw, and only infrequently, the madam's account book, listing debits and credits, with the larger totals in the debit column. [64] Both the industrial relations writers and the white slavery activists believed that the underpayment relative to profits earned, the deliberate encouragement of debt, and the persistent overcharging for necessities made workers--whether miners, lumberjacks, or prostitutes--vulnerable to corporate control.

By emphasizing economic relationships over individual agency, Progressives exonerated prostitutes by shifting the blame for urban vice from prostitutes to the profiteers who exploited them. [65] Using the economic practices within the brothel to represent metonymically the problems that the red-light districts nurtured, white slavery writers offered a commercial critique that underscored the systemic corruption supporting urban prostitution. [66] By making social change a higher priority than individual redemption, Progressive-era reformers largely repudiated what New York reformer Frederick Whitin called "old fashioned emotional rescue work." [67] Neither anti-vice reformers nor white slavery activists particularly wanted to save the white slave. They wanted to smash the White Slave Traffic; or, in its less melodramatic formulation, they wanted to de-commercialize vice by closing tolerated red-light districts.

Red-Light Districts as Marketplaces

For reformers all along the rhetorical spectrum, red-light districts were the strongholds of organized vice. Also known as "restricted" or "segregated" districts, these areas of municipally-tolerated prostitution represented the commercialization of sex at its worst. [68] The Progressive's economic indictment of urban vice was not, however, an indictment of consumption. [69] When white slavery writers depicted red-light districts as marketplaces, they described the economic apparatus that district proprietors had constructed to exploit prostitutes; but beyond the requisite call for a single sexual standard, white slavery writers quickly exonerated the customer, accusing instead the unscrupulous businessmen who, for profit, systematized women's degradation. [70] By emphasizing commercialization over commodification, and focusing on profiteers instead of patrons, white slavery writers dismissed the consumer's critical place in the district economy. Condemning district businessmen maintained the conceptual continuity of the commercial critique, but it also permitted a political sleight-of-hand. Anti-vice reformers used the economic interpretation of urban vice to legitimate their anti-machine agenda, implicate their political opponents, and obscure the role that municipal reformers had played in the creation of red-light districts.

During the Progressive era, red-light districts, with their collection of brothels, dance halls, restaurants, gambling dens, and saloons, flourished in cities throughout the United States. Some of the most famous included New York's Tenderloin, Chicago's Levee, San Francisco's Barbary Coast, and New Orleans' Storyville. Usually located near a city's commercial downtown, red-light districts abutted the respectable

entertainment district and were easily accessible from the train depot. [71] Although American cities had never been without sin, and several notable red-light districts had existed before the Progressive era, it was not until the 1890s that municipal politicians created the distinctive vice districts. [72] "Silk stocking" reformers delimited the boundaries of red-light districts with the dual intention of making urban vice less visible and keeping machine politicians from receiving "rake-offs" from illicit brothels and unlicensed dives. [73] While Progressive-era anti-vice reformers would, after the onset of the white slavery scare, repudiate their predecessors' efforts to segregate vice into specially designated districts, creating sanctioned tenderloins had been a high priority on the anti-machine agendas of the 1890s.

Anticipating the more systematic city planning of the 1920s, Gilded-age reformers sought to regulate urban life by clustering entertainment into commercial neighborhoods. [74] For legal activities such as drinking and dancing, municipal mugwumps achieved this geographic concentration through licensing, but for illegal activities such as prostitution they pursued two different methods for centralizing vice. [75] The simplest way that anti-ring reformers segregated vice was to adopt municipal ordinances that explicitly defined the boundaries outside of which prostitutes could not practice their trade. New Orleans' Storyville was the most famous district created through city ordinance, but other cities, including Shreveport, Houston, and El Paso, also had legal red-light districts. [76] The other technique that urban reformers used to concentrate vice was "tacit localization" through the unequal enforcement of the law. In published polemics, the police and ward politicians received most of the blame for tolerating vice, but correspondence among reformers reveals a more complicated story. [77] While there is no question that corrupt policemen protected tenderloin brothels, "blind pigs," and gambling dens, the police took their lead from judges as well as ring politicians. Judges favoring localization, many of whom had reform sympathies, reinforced the unofficial boundaries of their city's restricted district by sentencing vice offenders more harshly if they were operating outside of the district's tacit limits. [78] As housing reformer Lawrence Veiller observed thirteen years after the passage of New York's 1901 Tenement House Law, "The theory ... was to make the penalty for prostitution in tenement houses so much more severe than it was for prostitution in ordinary disorderly houses as to make it attractive for the prostitutes to leave the tenement houses and to go into regular houses of prostitution." [79] An early foray into municipal zoning, segregated vice was an ignominious antecedent that most of its initial supporters later repudiated. [80]

By the 1910s, consolidated prostitution had clearly helped, not hindered, the urban machine. Despite the best intentions of Gilded-age localizers, "segregation did not segregate." [81] Venal politicians and corrupt policemen quickly embraced the municipal toleration of vice. Continuing to demand a percentage from madams within the new districts, grafting officials increased the protection fees for brothels operating outside of the district's limits. [82] In addition to bankrolling ring politicians, the districts also strengthened the machine's core constituency. Wards with vice districts consistently elected important tenderloin businessmen, usually leading saloon keepers, guaranteeing the machine at least one seat on the city council. [83] In return, ring politicians rewarded district flunkies with patronage positions, even as district proprietors listed ward heelers on their employment roles. [84] This mutuality extended further. As Progressive historian Charles Beard explained, machine-run municipal monopolies, especially street car franchises and gas-and-electric companies, favored "wide open" cities because district denizens and patrons used these services late into the night. [85] Segregation had clearly failed as an anti-machine endeavor, but the unexpected alliance between the district and the utilities meant that localization also failed to lessen urban vice's visibility. [86]

Following the logic of Progressive-era anti-monopolism, segregated districts were the marketplaces of commercialized vice, but the strength of the corporate comparison gave this metaphor a twist particular to the period. Anti-vice reformers focused on the "production" of prostitution, not its consumption. [87] Working from the premise that the red-light districts across the country needed 60,000 new prostitutes a year, white slavery writers argued that "commercializers" had turned the districts into "clearinghouses" where they bought and sold women in order to keep the brothels filled and the districts functioning. [88] Pushing the marketplace metaphor further, Progressive-era polemicists compared the trade in women to the sale of cattle, the red-light

districts to stockyards, and commercialized prostitution to the modern disassembly lines, where "not one shred of flesh is wasted." [89] The markets that anti-vice reformers described were, therefore, what economists would later call "intermediate-product markets," not "final-product markets." [90] This comparison made the closure of the red-light districts seem particularly urgent. Extrapolating from the economic models implicit in their anti-trust imagery, anti-vice reformers used the evolution of other industries to forecast a dire increase in urban immorality unless they could intervene in the development of commercialized vice. [91] Fortunately, the marketplace metaphor also came with a solution: if reformers could close the district markets, they could eliminate a crucial step in prostitution's production and collapse tolerated vice's commercial infrastructure. [92] Strategic vulnerability was not, however, the only argument for eliminating red-light districts.

When rallying sentiment against the vice districts, Progressive reformers invariably portrayed the districts as harming the urban economy. [93] Applying anti-monopolism's distinctly pre-Keynesian economic models to prostitution, anti-vice reformers saw the districts' economy as mirroring the linear structure of corporate combines. And here the reformers' focus on intermediate-product markets instead of final-product markets is particularly important. Where a final-product market implies a circular cash flow between consumers and producers that has a positive effect on the economy--the Keynesian multiplier effect--the Progressive-era emphasis on vertical integration meant that white slavery writers envisioned money traveling up the corporate hierarchy and out of the community. [94] Or, as Charles Beard observed, "monopoly profits [go] to private community." [95] By privileging production over consumption, urban reformers saw the cash that consumers spent in the districts as money the Vice Trust took out of circulation. [96] District supporters tried to answer this criticism by arguing that red-light districts attracted tourists, provided a significant number of jobs, and strengthened the city's economy, but these arguments held little appeal for elite Progressives. [97] Urban reformers were aware of the economic strength of the vice districts, but they did not see either the money spent or the jobs filled as contributing to society. [98] Anti-vice reformers embraced a program the whole point of which was to dismantle prostitution's commercial infrastructure and to put as many "leeches and blood suckers" out of work as possible. [99] To do that, anti-vice reformers not only needed to shut down the red-light districts, they also needed to unmask and eliminate the "commercializers" profiting from urban vice: The Vice Trust.

The Vice Trust

The concept of the Vice Trust developed out of the Progressives' condemnation of the red-light district's productive infrastructure. Anti-vice reformers argued that just as corporate executives were reorganizing the structure of their companies, so to were the magnates of the vice district rationalizing the district's economy and integrating the district's diverse denizens into an increasingly streamlined, and corporate, hierarchy. [100] As Ellen Henrotin, a member of the Chicago Vice Commission, observed, "The modern tendency towards centralization has not passed by so promising a field for exploitation..." [101] White slavery writers attributed the changing economic structure of urban vice to the enterprising men who had reputedly taken over the business of vice after politicians created segregated red-light districts in the 1890s. [102] In an unusual distortion of the tenets of social housekeeping, anti-vice reformers lamented that women's loss of control in the vice business was a moral and economic disaster because men, in their efforts to maximize profit, had callously applied the lessons of corporate capitalism to urban prostitution. [103] As white slavery writers frequently concluded, prostitution was a business run by men for men. [104]

The members of the Vice Trust included anyone who enabled prostitution's commercial production, from the pimp in the corner saloon complaining about the size of his cut to the shadowy "higher ups" of whom only the most notorious, such as Max Hochstim, were known to the public. [105] The relative anonymity of the "higher ups" made the Vice Trust metaphor particularly menacing because, like corporate stockholders, the "higher ups" maintained a veneer of respectability even as they profited from the corrupt practices of the Trust. [106] Urban reformers confronted "the vested interests of the [disorderly house] keepers, the real-estate owners, the liquor interests, and their lawyers and doctors," but among all these antagonists, anti-vice reformers found the

duplicity of seemingly respectable landowners and real estate agents particularly reprehensible. [107] To the Progressives, the "quiet combines of greed" represented the extent to which tolerated vice had corrupted society. [108]

Reformers were not alone in their corporate characterization of urban vice, or in their disgust for the hypocritical rich. In silent movies like "Traffic in Souls," "Inside the White Slave Traffic," and "Smashing the Vice Trust," filmmakers emphasized the menace and the melodrama of the commercial critique. [109] Director George Loane Tucker devoted most of the first act of "Traffic in Souls" to following the flow of cash up the corporate ladder of the white slave trade. The money trail started with a morning accounting in a brothel. After receiving a percentage of the night's take, the brothel's representative, a cadet, went to the offices of "A.E. Jones Investments." "Mr. Jones" was a "go-between," a man who collected money from the city's pimps and madams and directed the procurement of women. For all his managerial responsibilities, however, the go-between was only an intermediary. In a visual reinforcement of Mr. Jones's subordination and the Vice Trust's vertical integration, the go-between's offices were directly below those of the "higher up": William Trubus, the hypocritical head of the "International Purity and Reform League," an organization dedicated to the eradication of the white slave traffic. [110] Tucker's representation of the Vice Trust reinforced the economic critique of the period, even as the character of Trubus challenged the authority of elite reformers. [111]

As the use of business metaphors in the silent film "The Traffic in Souls" suggests, the Vice Trust was a difficult image for reformers to deploy because they could not contain the subversive populism inherent in the anti-trust rhetoric's systemic critique. Indeed, the National Board of Censors tried, at the urging of the Committee of Fourteen, to have Trubus' association with reformers cut from "Traffic in Souls," but Universal released the movie with the association of the Vice Trust and anti-vice reform intact. Concurrently, in red-light districts, madams and saloon proprietors used the comparison between corrupt corporations and anti-vice associations to condemn the unpopular and seemingly arbitrary enforcement of anti-vice laws. When the Committee of Fourteen cooperated with the New York Brewers Association in an attempt to eradicate prostitution from saloons, saloon keepers accused the Committee of Fourteen of complicity interests. [113] That Rockefeller money backed the Committee of Fourteen only further reinforced the saloonkeepers' antipathy, perception of persecution, and their certitude of the Committee's corruption. [114] Vice district denizens effectively reinscribed the white slavery scare's anti-monopolism back onto the "industrial princes" who were trying to engineer working-class lives through moral reform. Thus, even though the corporate comparison was integral to Progressive reformers' economic interpretation of urban prostitution, anti-vice reform's elite supporters were never as comfortable with the more overt anti-trust analogies as they were with less volatile constructions of debt peonage and vice districting.

The Vice Trust metaphor was more unstable, both conceptually and politically, than either the analogy between prostitution and debt peonage or the comparison of red-light districts to marketplaces. "Vice Trust" was an epithet that a wide variety of people could use to condemn multiple, diverse, and even mutually opposing individuals and organizations. Nevertheless, the way that reformers, muckrakers, filmmakers, and even district denizens employed this metaphor provides insight into how people evaluated economic interaction during the Progressive era. For example, despite insurmountable differences between independent owners and anti-vice reformers, both groups shared a common antipathy toward "organized vice." Small-time saloonkeepers and madams wanted to compete in a market where bigness did not grant special privileges to prominent proprietors. [115] Anti-vice reformers also wanted to disband the Vice Trust, but they wanted to hinder growth, not facilitate competition. What the independent proprietors saw as an opportunity, white slavery writers perceived as disorganized, ineffective, and unprofitable. [116] That the small proprietors and elite reformers could, for very different reasons, agree that bigness was bad shows the flexibility of the commercial critique, even as it highlights its analytical bluntness. The flexibility of the interconnected Vice Trust metaphors was, nevertheless, to the anti-vice movement's advantage. The breadth of the underlying commercial critique meant that a range of reformers could employ a variety of rhetorical styles and yet stay within the parameters of the shared economic discourse. By having a series of broadly construed metaphors to portray urban vice, different

factions within the anti-vice movement could choose which aspects of the critique they would emphasize, and with what rhetorical mode, but in making those choices, these reformers did not necessarily alienate other anti-vice reformers. For as long as red-light districts were wide open, and the Vice Trust metaphors generally described "commercialized prostitution," Progressive reformers with stylistic and strategic differences could share a conceptual framework, build alliances, and establish a common legislative agenda.

Trust Busting

The Vice Trust metaphors were more than just a brief discursive curiosity that marked the white slavery scare as particularly Progressive. Unlike the mug-wumps, Progressives did not limit their legal strategies to the more strenuous enforcement of existing laws. They also actively campaigned for new laws that carried, in turn, the distinctive imprimatur of their economic understanding of urban vice. Politicians, lawyers, and judges integrated the commercial critique into the American legal system when they created juridical analogies that recast anti-vice regulation to fit their anti-trust interpretation of urban prostitution. [117] Progressive reformers took the forms and forums of corporate law--notably the commerce clause, labor laws, and the courts of equity--and used them to rewrite older anti-prostitution statutes in innovative ways. These hybrid statutes became, through legislation and case precedent, the legal basis for anti-vice enforcement in the twentieth century. [118]

During the Progressive era, anti-vice reformers lobbied for two types of laws: white slave traffic acts and, later, red-light abatement laws. In the early years of the white slavery scare, from 1907 into 1913, and at the height of its melodramatic hyperbole, anti-vice reformers, led by three Chicago lawyers, Edwin W. Sims, Clifford C. Roe, and James R. Mann, fought for a series of white slave traffic acts, also known as pandering laws, on the Federal and local level. [119] Reformers intended the white slave traffic acts, of which the 1910 Mann Act was the exemplar, to disrupt the movement of women into red-light districts in order to halt prostitution's production. When, contrary to expectations, the Mann Act did not cripple commercialized prostitution, and local state's attorneys were only prosecuting low-level pimps and madams, anti-vice reformers shifted their emphasis from people to places. [120] Starting in 1912, the members of the American Vigilance Association and its successor, the American Social Hygiene Association, oversaw a national campaign for the state-by-state enactment of red-light abatement laws. [121] Through injunction and abatement, anti-vice reformers hoped to harm the "higher ups" that they were unable to punish with the pandering laws: the owners of property in the red-light districts. Reformers reasoned that if they could not stop the flow of women into the vice districts with the Mann Act, then perhaps they could close down the district "marketplaces" with the red-light abatement laws. [122] To that end, Bascom Johnson, George Kneeland, and other members of the American Social Hygiene Association's staff helped local reformers establish municipal vice commissions to rally state support for the red-light abatement acts. [123] Although the vice commission reports did not have the flash of the white slavery narratives, and the red-light abatement acts turned on arcane points of law, Progressive reformers were able to shift their legislative strategy from pandering laws to red-light abatement acts without losing momentum or abandoning their commercial critique.

Congress passed the Mann Act when the white slavery scare was approaching its emotional acme. Although the Mann Act may now seem ludicrous and convoluted, members of Congress supported the "White Slave Traffic Act" because they shared with their contemporaries an economic interpretation of urban vice--the contextual key to understanding the statute's construction. [124] The purpose of the 1910 Mann Act was "to further regulate interstate and foreign commerce by prohibiting the transportation therein for immoral purposes of women and girls...." As such, the Mann Act embodied the widespread belief that an organized interstate traffic in women existed. Even more specifically, legislators assumed that the business practices of this traffic were like those of a multi-state trust. [125] Chicago Congressman James R. Mann, who also wrote the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Mann-Elkins Act which significantly broadened the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, purposely chose to frame the White Slave Traffic Act using the commerce clause. He reasoned that, like other corporate combinations, commercialized vice was an organized and interconnected

business that was national in scope and exceeded the jurisdiction of local police powers. [126] Some anti-vice reformers, caught up by the sensational sweep of the more simplistic narratives, thought that the Mann Act, reinforced by local law enforcement, would prove a panacea for curtailing urban prostitution, but they were soon disappointed. [127] By 1917, the small size of the Justice Department's enforcement apparatus, and the Supreme Court's reorientation of the statute toward noncommercial sex, convinced anti-vice reformers that the Mann Act was an important statute, but not the regulatory revolution for which its proponents had hoped. [128]

Ironically, the local white slave traffic acts, which were only supposed to supplement the Mann Act, proved a more effective tool for fighting commercialized vice. [129] Unlike the Mann Act which rested on the commerce clause, state legislators modeled local white slave traffic acts on contract labor laws. [130] In part a way around the conflict between State and Federal jurisdictions, the emulation of contract labor laws allowed politicians and policemen to target prostitution's profiteers more effectively than either the Mann Act or the older disorderly house laws. [131] Where the Mann Act was limited to the procurers' transporting prostitutes, and disorderly house laws generally only applied to the "keepers," by defining pandering as profiting from the earnings of a prostitute, state legislators expanded the number of potential offenders to include not only procurers and madams, but the pimps in collusion with them. [132] In keeping with reformers' antipathy toward profiteers, both the pandering laws and the contract labor laws blamed the agents arranging and enforcing illegal employment, even as they excused the prostitutes and immigrants enticed into service. [133] Still, despite the juridical strength of the comparison between pimps and padrones, pandering laws did not stop prostitution. Just as contract labor laws did not alter the productive structure of big business, white slave traffic acts did not challenge the economic base of the vice districts. [134] To achieve that end, anti-vice reformers turned, with increasing frequency after 1912, to the red-light abatement acts. [135]

If legislators wrote the pandering laws to stop the traffic in women, they designed the red-light abatement acts to crush the vested interests of the Vice Trust. [136] Like pandering laws, red-light abatement laws were a new, economic iteration of older criminal laws. With the injunction and abatement acts, anti-vice reformers sought to recast disorderly house keeping as a civil offense. [137] During the early 'teens, white slavery writers argued that the fines judges imposed on brothel keepers served as a virtual licensing system. [138] Since police raids did not permanently close the houses, and madams apparently budgeted for fines in much the same way that legal businesses anticipated quarterly tax payments, urban Progressives contended that criminal law was insufficient for eradicating the business of vice. Moreover, anti-vice reformers maintained, the revenue from police raids had become such an integral part of municipal budgets that criminal proceedings were, in fact, perpetuating the system of tolerated vice. [139] To redress the limitations of criminal law, anti-vice reformers argued that the civil courts of equity were the appropriate arena for squashing commercialized vice. [140] Under equity, anti-vice reformers could make the "partnership" behind the brothel--the landlords, management companies, sublessors, and furniture owners--more responsible for the persistent illicit use of their property than the madams who merely managed the houses. [141] Reformers' economic analogies worked. In case after case, anti-vice reformers successfully shifted disorderly house litigation from the criminal courts to the civil courts of equity. [142]

Red-light abatement laws had several procedural advantages. The primary advantage of equity adjudication was that lawyers started civil proceedings to stop the misuse of property in the future, not just punish criminal acts in the past. [143] In practice this distinction meant that prosecutors did not need to prove to the judge whether property owners knew how their tenants had used their property. [144] Indeed, landlords had to show their good faith to the court by immediately evicting their tenants and by filing a substantial monetary bond to guarantee their good behavior. [145] If the owners and their agents did not respond quickly enough to the initial injunction, the state would oust the current tenants, auction off the furniture and fixtures, padlock the property for up to a year, and permanently prohibit its use as a brothel or saloon. [146] To prevent corrupt politicians from obviating the red-light abatement laws, state legislators empowered private citizens, as well as public servants, to start injunction and abatement proceedings. [147] These legal threats were potent. As a civil proceeding, red-light abatement cases were heard by a judge, not a jury, and thus circumvented the

"whims" of popular opinion. [148] As an action inequity, injunction and abatement required that the "vested interests" change their practices or forfeit their property. [149] The beauty of these laws, as Bascom Johnson the head of the American Social Hygiene Association's legal department observed, was that they turned former enemies into formidable allies. [150]

Even more importantly, the red-light abatement acts united anti-vice reformers across the country. Progressive reformers were confident that through the injunction and abatement laws they could fulfill two of their most important goals: destroy segregation and prevent "scatteration." [151] Unlike the Mann Act, red-light abatement worked extremely well. By making landlords, real estate agents, furniture companies, and breweries responsible for the use of their property, anti-vice reformers cut into the profits of prostitution and pushed the old-fashioned parlor house into near extinction. [152] By 1917, urban reformers had closed the segregated districts in over eighty cities, including the entrenched tenderloins in Buffalo, New York; Omaha, Nebraska; Duluth, Minnesota; and Portland, Oregon. [153] With vigilance, urban reformers believed that they could solve "scatteration." when madams tried to dodge a district's closure and relocate to other sections of the city, anti-vice reformers pursued the landlords in those parts of town. [154] The empowerment of ordinary citizens, combined with the absence of a jury trial, meant that through the red-light abatement laws, Progressives sidestepped government officials, overrode the popular toleration of prostitution, and effectively challenged the tacit localization of red-light districts.

The white slavery scare changed the way Americans prosecuted urban vice. When the Progressives shifted responsibility for "commercialized" prostitution from the prostitute to the profiteers who exploited her, they not only reassigned culpability rhetorically, they also redefined responsibility juridically. To punish pimps and the "partners" profiting from prostitution, anti-vice reformers used their economic interpretation of urban vice to rewrite the law in innovative ways. Through the commerce clause, labor laws, and the courts of equity, Progressive reformers implicated the previously unindicted, and effectively extended the range of anti-vice enforcement. Both the Mann Act and the red-light abatement laws established important case precedent that allowed legislators to redefine the acceptable limits of government intervention. With red-light abatement laws, Progressive reformers introduced the legislative precursor to the property forfeitures of the "war on drugs," while the enforcement apparatus that the Justice Department created following the passage of the Mann Act established the institutional base for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. [155] The Vice Trust metaphors were overdetermined, and the white slavery narratives were often hyperbolic, but the legal legacy of the Progressives' economic critique of commercialized vice has changed criminal justice in the United States.

Conclusion

Reinterpreting the white slavery scare based on the Progressives' condemnation of the business of vice explains an apparent contradiction between reformers words and their actions. As feminist historian Ruth Rosen observed two decades ago, the Progressives pursued a program that, despite their rhetorical concern for victimized women, materially worsened the lives of prostitutes. [156] By this measure, the anti-vice reformers' efforts were an indisputable failure; however, if reformers intended to destroy the economy of the red-light districts, not improve prostitutes' circumstances, then a different conclusion emerges. The Progressive-era movement was often coercive, and its legislative agenda constitutionally questionable, but by 1918, urban prostitution was less commercial, more furtive, and less lucrative than it had been at the beginning of the century. Anti-vice reformers did not eradicate prostitution, and they did not emancipate women, but by closing the tolerated vice districts, Progressive reformers thoroughly restructured urban sociability and successfully reduced the volume and visibility of organized prostitution.

Forefronting Progressive reformers' anti-monopoly rhetoric adds both coherence and contextual complexity to the history of sexual reform in the United States. Anti-monopolism was not the only discourse within the white slavery polemics--traces of abolitionist rhetoric, evangelical exhortations, nativist captivity narratives, and social hygiene education were also present--but the commercial critique explains the mindset and the motives

that united diverse reformers into a culturally cohesive movement. Although rescue work was crucial during the nineteenth century, and public health experts gained preeminence during World War I, neither the evangelical nor the medical context explains the particularities of the American white slavery scare. By examining the Progressives' anti-trust analogies, and how reformers used economic metaphors to construct legislation and interpret case law, this article recontextualizes the intellectual armature that supported the anti-vice movement.

This article is a reinterpretation of the white slavery scare, however, not because it adds a new cultural context for the anti-vice movement, but because it recenters the white slavery scare within the mainstream of American reform. Anti-vice reformers were not blue-nosed Puritans sniffing out immorality just to keep young urbanites from having fun. Instead, they were urban leaders who consistently condemned what Richard Hofstadter called "those two bete noires of the Progressive mind, the machines and the trusts." [157] The white slavery scare was more than the hysterical expression of middle-class fears of urbanization, immigration, and women's increased mobility. When white slavery writers compared municipally tolerated vice to big business, they expressed a deep-seated antipathy toward exploitative interests and government-granted privilege. Neither rhetorically peripheral, nor politically ineffectual, anti-vice reformers used the white slavery scare as a catalyst to clean up municipal government and to close down red-light districts. In the end, the Vice Trust metaphors demonstrate just how Progressive anti-vice reformers really were.

ENDNOTES

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(1.) Clifford Geertz. "Local Knowledge: Fact and Law in Comparative Perspective," in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983), 175, 215-234. For an overview of the international white slave scare, see Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery, 1870-1939* (New York, 1982). For the European variations of the general white slavery narrative, see Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992), 81-120; Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Paris, 1978; reprint Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 275-298; Laurie Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in imperial Russia* (Berkeley, 1995), 146-166. In colonial and quasi-colonial settings, analyzing "local" discourse is more difficult. People from the metropole deployed antiprostitution rhetoric to different purposes, and with different emphases, than local elites; see Donna J. Guy, *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1991), 108-129; Elizabeth B. Van Heyningen, "The Social Evil in the Cape Colony, 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10 (April 1984): 170-197; Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 127-169; Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley, 1997), 181-192, 199-204, 220-229 235-291.

(2.) Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 277, 279, 290-297. The French neo-regulationists' use of white slavery narratives is less well known than the regulationists' rhetoric of sanitary reform. On the language of sanitary reform, see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (Paris 1976; reprinted New York, 1978), 53-54, 116-119, 126; Alain Corbin, "Commercial Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century

France: A System of Images and Regulation," in *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur (Berkeley, 1987), 211.

(3.) Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 97-99. Beyond raising the age of consent and increasing police surveillance, neither Stead nor the people responding to "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" seemed to have had a programmatic agenda for changing the organization of urban vice; see Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 82, 104-105; Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 277-279. On Babylon as a political image, see Jamie S. Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley, "Eden, Babylon, New Jerusalem: A Taxonomy for Writing the City," in *Writing the City: Eden, Babylon and the New Jerusalem*, ed. Peter Preston and Paul Simpson-Housley (London, 1994), 331-341.

(4.) Daniel Rodgers argues that of the three "languages of discontent" that Progressives used, anti-monopolism was the most particularly American; see Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 123-124. See also Louis Galambos with Barbara Barrow Spence, *The Public Image of Big Business in America, 1880-1940: A Quantitative Study in Social Change* (Baltimore, 1975), 119-120.

(5.) Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York, 1967), 52-53, quotation on 164. See also Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York, 1965), 29, 31-32; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York, 1965), 732; Morton Keller, *Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 118.

(6.) George David Smith and Richard Sylla, "The Transformation of Financial Capitalism: An Essay on the History of American Capital Markets," *Financial Markets, Institutions and Instruments* 2 (May 1993): 1-5; Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914* (Chicago, 1957), 48-52. See also John Moody, *The Masters of Capital: A Chronicle of Wall Street* (New Haven, 1919), 118-133; Morton Keller, *The Life Insurance Enterprise, 1885-1910: A Study in the Limits of Corporate Power* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 127-184; Ida M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, briefer version, ed. David M. Chalmers (1904; reprint New York, 1966); Thomas J. Misa, *A Nation of Steel: The Making of Modern America, 1865-1925* (Baltimore, 1995), 155-171.

(7.) U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, Report of the Committee Appointed ... to Investigate the Concentration of Control of Money and Credit, 62d Cong., 3d Sess., 1913, H. Rept. 1593; Louis D. Brandeis, *Other People's Money, and How the Bankers Use It* (New York, 1914); Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York, 1990), 128-130, 149-156.

(8.) Concentration of Control of Money and Credit, 129-133, 145, 158-161; Vincent P. Carosso, "The Wall Street Money Trust from Pujos through Medinas," *Business History Review* 47 (Winter 1973): 421-428. Morgan's manipulation of the gold market to bail out the Federal Government, first in 1895 and later in 1907, exacerbated fears about the unbridled power of Wall Street bankers and helped to spur the establishment of the Federal Reserve System, see Chernow, *The House of Morgan*, 71-78, 122-130; James Livingston, *Origins of the Federal Reserve System: Money, Class, and Corporate Capitalism, 1890-1913* (Ithaca, 1986).

(9.) Alan Trachtenberg calls this phenomenon, which was in turn a process, perception, and figure of speech, "the incorporation of America;" see Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1982), 3-4, 8.

(10.) Most historians of Progressive-era prostitution have either left the Vice Trust metaphor unanalyzed or dismissed it as muckraking exaggeration; see Mark Thomas Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution in the*

Progressive Era (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 102; Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*, 171-172, 210-211, 309; Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Baltimore, 1982), 134-135; Barbara Meil Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition* (New York, 1987; reprint, with new preface, Chicago, 1990), 142, 145; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York, 1992), 264-265.

(11.) Robert E. Riegel, "Changing American Attitudes toward Prostitution," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29 (July-September 1968): 437-452. On the evangelical roots of purity reform and rescue work, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985), 109-128; David Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868-1900* (Westport, Conn., 1973); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York, 1990). Progressive-era anti-vice reformers were not irreligious, but their language and their methods were more secular than sacred. On the secularization of reform, see George M. Frederickson, *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union* (New York, 1965), 176-180, 197-216; Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 198-200, 277-279. For an overview on corporate laws, see Herbert Hovenkamp, *Enterprise and American Law, 1836-1937* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1870-1960: The Crisis of Legal Orthodoxy* (New York, 1992).

(12.) Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 287-291; Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order*, 195-196.

(13.) Egal Feldman, "Prostitution, the Alien Woman, and the Progressive Imagination, 1910-1915," *American Quarterly* 19 (Summer 1967): 197.

(14.) Daniel J. Leab, "Women and the Mann Act," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 21 (1976): 55-65; Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order*, 210-211; 6, 115-119, 122-124; Mary de Young, "Help, I'm Being Held Captive! The White Slave Fairy Tale of the Progressive Era," *Journal of American Culture* 6 (1983): 96-99; Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*, 41-57; Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986), 98, 151; John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York, 1988), 208-210; Frederick K. Grittner, *White Slavery: Myth, Ideology, and American Law* (New York, 1990), 64.

(15.) Connelly, "Seventy Thousand Innocent Girls a Year: The White Slavery Scare" in *The Response to Prostitution*, 114-135; Rosen, "White Slavery: Myth or Reality?" in *Last Sisterhood*, 112-135. See also Grittner, *White Slavery*, 4-5; Judith Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Baltimore, 1997), 162-163.

(16.) Roy Lubove, "The Progressives and the Prostitute," *Historian* 24 (May 1962): 308-330.

(17.) Location, occupation, audience, and gender influenced the mode reformers opted to employ. On gender and modal expression, see Walkowitz, "Science and Seance: Transgressions of Gender and Genre," in *City of Dreadful Delight*, 171-189. On discursive modes more generally, see J.G.A. Pocock, "Introduction: The State of the Art," in *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), 4-5, 7-12; Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, 1957), 33-67.

(18.) Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*, 36; David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991), 65-67, 74. English working-class radicals evoked

slavery in the context of Antiquity, as well as the New World, see Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1982* (Cambridge, 1983), 120, 146; Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1984), 83, 110, 226.

(19.) Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 65-66. On labor republicanism, see Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York, 1984), 61-103.

(20.) Thomas M. Norwood, *Plutocracy; or, American White Slavery: A Politico-Social Novel* (New York, 1888), 32-38; Helen L. Sumner, *The White Slave, or, "The Cross of Gold"* (Chicago, 1896); Francis A. Adams, *Who Rules America? Truths About Trusts* (New York, 1899), 9; Charles Edward Russell, *Business: The Heart of the Nation* (New York, 1911), 24. On the antebellum antecedents of the slaveholder/trust comparison, see David Brion Davis, "Images of Conspiracy in the Slavery Controversy: Conceptual Problems and Theoretical Framework," in *The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style* (Baton Rouge, La., 1969), 3-31.

(21.) W.J. Ghent, *Our Benevolent Feudalism* (New York, 1902), 184; Robert Fleming, *Depraved Finance* (n.p.: The Robert Fleming Publishing Co., 1904), 54; George Creel, "The Feudal Towns of Texas," *Harper's Weekly*, 60 (23 January 1915): 76.

(22.) John S. Garner, ed., *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age* (New York, 1992), 5; Bruce Palmer, "Man Over Money": *The Southern Populist Critique of American Capitalism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 114; Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861-1901* (1934; reprint New York, 1962), v-vi.

(23.) Russell, *Business*, 89; U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Industrial Relations: Final Report and Testimony*, vol. I, 64th Cong., 1st Sess., 1916, S. Doc. 415, 34-35; Richard Hofstadter, "What Happened to the Antitrust Movement? Notes on the Evolution of an American Creed," in *The Business Establishment*, ed. Earl F. Cheit (New York, 1964), 114-136. On the republican strains in anti-monopolism, see Gretchen Ritter, *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America, 1865-1896* (Cambridge, 1997), 3-7.

(24.) Ronald G. Walters, "The Erotic South: Civilization and Sexuality in American Abolitionism," *American Quarterly*, 25 (May 1973): 180. The sexual themes are particularly strong in abolition's own "white slavery" literature, see "White Slavery in America," *Anti-Slavery Tracts*, No. 2., (New York, [c. 1855-1856]); Richard Hildreth, *The White Slave; or, Memoirs of a Fugitive* (Boston, 1852).

(25.) Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*, 36-37; the Hugo quotation that Bristow cited is from Josephine Butler, *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade* (London, new ed. 1911), 13. On state-regulated prostitution in Britain, see Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge, 1980).

(26.) Alfred S. Dyer, *The European Slave Trade in English Girls* (London, 1880); Kathleen Barry, *Female Sexual Slavery* (1979; reprint New York, 1984), 21-24. On the "semantic slide" of white slavery's meaning in Western Europe, see Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 275-280.

(27.) *White Slavery In Chicago: A White Slave's Own Story* (pamphlet), [1907], box 1, Committee of Fourteen Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library (hereafter C14); "White Slave Traffic," 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1909, H. Rept. 47, 12-13, 30; Feldman, "Prostitution, the Alien Woman, and the Progressive Imagination," 192-206; Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*, 44, 119. Although none of the Progressive-era authors made the anti-Catholicism explicit, the French were among the favorite villains in earlier captivity narratives, Grittner, *White Slavery*, 20-23, 30.

- (28.) George Kibbe Turner, "Daughters of the Poor: A Plain Story of the Development of New York City as Leading Center of the White Slave Trade of the World, under Tammany Hall," *McClure's* 34 (November 1909): 45-47. See also Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (New York, 1912), 108; Clifford G. Roe, *The Great War on White Slavery, or Fighting for the Protection of Our Girls* (n.p., 1911), 97-100. On nativism, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, corr. ed. (New York, 1963). On the feminization of underworld figures, see Mara L. Keire, "Dope Fiends and Degenerates: The Gendering of Addiction in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of Social History* 31 (Summer 1998): 809-822.
- (29.) Opium Problem. Message from the President of the United States, 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1910, S. Doc. 377, 49-50; Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York, 1984), 26-31; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "'The Mind That Burns in Each Body': Women, Rape, and Racial Violence" in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, eds. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York, 1983), 328-349.
- (30.) Progressive-era reformers almost always argued that "white slavery" was a misnomer, see Roe, *The Great War on White Slavery*, 97; Theodore A. Bingham, *The Girl That Disappears: The Real Facts About The White Slave Traffic* (Boston, 1911), 15-17; Jane Addams made the argument through example, *Addams, A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, 18, 26-30, 160-163; O. Edward Janney, *The White Slave Traffic in America*, (New York, 1911), 13; Vice Commission of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago: A Study of Existing Conditions, With Recommendations* (Chicago, 1911), 41.
- (31.) Kauffman, *The House of Bondage*, 2-3, 18-20, 51-52; *Importing Women for Immoral Purposes*, 17-18; Janney, *The White Slave Traffic in America*, 41-43; Turner, "Daughters of the Poor," 45-48. On "othering," see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), 1-28.
- (32.) Turner, "Daughters of the Poor," 54. On anti-Semitism in America, see Albert S. Lindemann, *Esau's Tears: Modern Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Jews* (Cambridge, 1997), 371-385; John Higham, *Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America*, rev. ed. (Baltimore, 1984), 95-152.
- (33.) Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, 169-170. See also Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1985), 155-156.
- (34.) Arthur A. Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community: The Kehillah Experiment, 1908-1922* (New York, 1970), 135-144. On sensationalism and reform, see Karen Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture," *American Historical Review* 100 (April 1995): 303-334.
- (35.) On anti-vice reformers' anti-ring ends, see Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community*, 135-144; Eric Anderson, "Prostitution and Social Justice: Chicago, 1910- 1915," *Social Service Review* 48 (June 1974): 203-228; Jeremy P. Felt, "Vice Reform as a Political Technique: The Committee of Fifteen in New York, 1900-1901," *New York History* 54(1973): 24-51; Elizabeth C. MacPhail, "When the Red Lights Went Out in San Diego," *The Journal of San Diego History* 20 (Spring 1974): 2-28; James R. McGovern, "'Sporting Life on the Line': Prostitution in Progressive Era Pensacola," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (October 1975): 131-144; Paul H. Hass, "Sin in Wisconsin: The Teasdale Vice Committees of 1913," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 49 (Winter 1965-66): 138-15 1; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 299-302.
- (36.) Neil Larry Shumsky, "Vice Responds to Reform: San Francisco, 1910-1914," *Journal of Urban History*, 7 (November 1980): 42; H. Gordon Frost, *The Gentlemen's Club: The Story of Prostitution in El Paso* (El Paso, 1983), 145-150, 154; James B. Jones, Jr., "Municipal Vice: The Management of Prostitution in Tennessee's

Urban Experience. Part I: The Experience of Nashville and Memphis, 1854-1917," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 50 (Spring 1991): 36-38.

(37.) American Vigilance Association, *Testimony and Addresses on Segregation and Commercialized Vice*, Pamphlet No. 2 (November, 1912), file 14, box L2, American Social Health Association Papers, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota (hereafter ASHA); George M. Reynolds, *Machine Politics in New Orleans, 1897-1926* (New York, 1936), 157-158; Frost, *The Gentlemen's Club*, 150-151, 174-181, 187-192.

(38.) By the end of World War I, anti-vice reformers had closed the red-light districts in over two hundred cities, see *Standard Statistics of Prostitution, Gonorrhea, Syphilis* (pamphlet), page RL-1, 1919, file 1, box 170, ASHA; Joseph Mayer, *The Regulation of Commercialized Vice: An Analysis of the Transition From Segregation to Repression in the United States* (New York, 1922), 9. See also, Allan M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States Since 1880, With a New Chapter on AIDS* (New York, 1987), 52-61, 70-77; Nancy Bristow, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering During the Great War* (New York, 1996), 98-107.

(39.) Franklin Hichborn, "California's Campaign Against Entrenched Vice," *The Survey* 32 (25 July 1914): 430; Edward Alsworth Ross, *Sin and Society: An Analysis of Latter-Day Iniquity* (Boston, 1907), 165-166; Charles A. Beard, *American City Government: A Survey of Newer Tendencies* (New York, 1912), 191-195. See also Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order*, 169-170; Ernest S. Griffith, *A History of American City Government: The Conspicuous Failure, 1870-1900* (New York, 1974), 78-80. For a definition of "natural monopolies," see Richard T. Ely, *Monopolies and Trusts* (New York, 1906), 42-43, 59-61; Jeremiah W. Jenks, *The Trust Problem*, (New York, 1900), 57.

(40.) On John D. Rockefeller, Jr., see Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (New York, 1998), 551-552; Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 38-40. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, was a member of both the American Social Hygiene Association and the New England Watch and Ward Society, see "President's Address," *First Annual Report, 1913-1914*, pages 3-6, file 1, box 170, ASHA; J. Frank Chase to Frederick H. Whitin, 29 April 1915, box 3, C14. On Jane Addams, see Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*; Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York, 1973), 176-184. On Robbins Oilman, see Frederick H. Whitin to Robbins Oilman, 31 December 1917 and Catherine Cooke Oilman to Fred Whitin, 23 January 1919, box 4, C14. On Jean Gordon, see "Cleaning Up New Orleans," *Literary Digest*, 54 (24 March 1917): 821-822; "Bulletin Notes," *American Social Hygiene Association Bulletin*, 4 (April 1917): 5 in the Zeta Collection, Mudd Library, Yale University. On Rev. Paul Smith, see E.L. Devendorf to M.J. Exner, 21 May 1917, file: "California, San Francisco," box 5, entry 395, record group 165, National Archives; Frederick H. Whitin to J. Frank Chase, 31 May 1917, file: 1917, box 4, C14.

(41.) Beard, *American City Government*, 75-79; Ernest S. Griffith, *A History of American City Government: The Progressive Years and Their Aftermath, 1900-1920* (New York, 1974), 119, 128-130; Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (New York, 1986), 24-25; John C. Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1993), 38-40.

(42.) Twenty-eight cities and four states (Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin) conducted vice investigations between 1910 and 1917, see Mayer, *The Regulation of Commercialized Vice*, 11, 52-54. On the anti-vice associations, see Roland Wagner, "Virtue against Vice: A Study of Moral Reformers and Prostitutes in the Progressive Era," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1971); Anderson, "Prostitution and Social Justice," 208, 214-218; Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 38-53.

(43.) "'The White Slave,' "The Survey 30(12 July 1913): 507-510; Connelly, The Response to Prostitution, 114-115; Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, 15-16; Harold S. Wilson, McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers (Princeton, 1970), 221-222. Even John D. Rockefeller, Jr. used the white slavery scare strategically. Rockefeller sent copies of Reginald Wright Kauffman's melodramatic novel, The House of Bondage, to dozens of his acquaintances to garner support for anti-vice reform. For their responses, see files 85-87, box 10, series: boards, RG 2-OMR, Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, New York (hereafter RFA).

(44.) Quotation from Roe, The Girls Who Disappeared, 22. See also [Frederick H. Whitin] to Ethel V. Fraser, 17 December 1909, box 1, C14; Wirt W. Hallam to Fred H. Whitin, 15 May 1912, box 2, C14.

(45.) Compare, for example, Robert O. Harland, The Vice Bondage of a Great City, or the Wickedest City in the World (Chicago, 1912) and John P. Peters, "Suppression of the 'Raines Law Hotels,'" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 32 (November 1908): 556-566.

(46.) Pimps were the narrative and juridical target in both the Rockefeller Grand Jury Presentment and Roe's Chicago pandering cases; see Rockefeller Grand Jury Presentment reprinted in Kauffman, The House of Bondage, 478-479; for examples of cases Roe tried, see vol.25, MS. 1028, Chicago Committee of Fifteen, Department of Special Collections, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. See also Hobson, Uneasy Virtue, 144-45; David J. Langum, Crossing Over the Line: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act (Chicago, 1994), 261-264.

(47.) On Rockefeller's attitude toward white slavery sensationalism, see John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "Introduction" in George J. Kneeland, Commercialized Prostitution in New York City, rev. ed. (1913; New York, 1917), vii-x. On Roe's view of publicity, see Roe, The Great War on White Slavery, 372-373. On Roe's deliberate distortions, see Walter C. Reckless, Vice in Chicago (Chicago, 1933), 36-39. The differences between Roe and Rockefeller did not, however, keep Rockefeller from hiring Roe to prepare a preliminary survey of prostitution in New York City when Rockefeller established the Bureau of Social Hygiene in 1911, see John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to Clifford G. Roe, 26 January 1911, file 42, box 7, series: boards, RG 2-OMR, RFA. For Roe's report see Clifford G. Roe, "The Committee of Three," 3 April 1912, file 42, box 7, series: boards, RG 2-OMR, RFA.

(48.) Wirt W. Hallam to Frances Keller [sic], 4 December 1911; Frederick H. Whitin to Wirt Hallam, 9 December 1911; Wirt W. Hallam to Frederick H. Whitin, 12 December 1911; all in box 1, C14. Wirt Hallam was a member of the Chicago Vice Commission and the Illinois Vigilance Association. Whitin and Hallam's debate over strategy continues in box 2, C14. Lawyers still discuss the need for stories to "humanize" abstractions; see Toni M. Massaro, "Empathy, Legal Storytelling, and the Rule of Law: New Words, Old Wounds?" Michigan Law Review vol. 87, no. 8 (August 1989): 2099-2127.

(49.) Wirt W. Hallam to Fred H. Whitin, 15 May 1912, box 2; Wirt W. Hallam to Frederick H. Whitin, 26 July 1912, box 2; Frederick H. Whitin to J. Frank Chase, 15 February 1918, box 4; [Chairman William Adams Brown] to Hon. John F. Hylan, Mayor, 15 June 1918, box 4; "The Committee of Fourteen," (typescript), 1921, 5-6, file: Fesler, Mayo 1921, box 83; all C14.

(50.) Abraham Flexner explained the Bureau of Social Hygiene's tolerance of the more rhetorically flamboyant to Starr Murphy, another Rockefeller associate, by arguing that white slavery agitation "has everywhere been a precursor to a larger interest in the problem of prostitution," see Abraham Flexner to Starr J. Murphy, 21 July 1913, file: 197, box 9, sub-series 2, series III, Bureau of Social Hygiene, RFA.

(51.) On established reformers purposefully restraining their rhetoric, see Frederick H. Whitin to Wirt Hallam, 16 July 1912, box 1, C14; Frederick H. Whitin to the Massachusetts Anti-Saloon League, 26 June 1913, box 2,

C14; Frederick H. Whitin to John P. Peters, 18 November 1916, file: "Peters, John. P., 1915-1916," box 12, C14. On Rosenwald, Carnegie, and Schiff, see Julius Rosenwald to Hon. James R. Mann, 12 March 1912, file 8, box XI, Julius Rosenwald Papers, Department of Special Collections, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago; Samuel P. Thrasher to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 13 March 1915, file 39, box 6, series: boards, RG 2-OMR, RFA; "American Social Hygiene Association: Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee," 27 May 1915, file 3, box 5, ASHA; New York Committee of Fifteen to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "Confidential," 14 March 1901, file 40, box 6, series: boards, RG 2-OMR, RFA; "Com. 14 Guarantors [sic]," [1914], file 41, box 6, series: boards, RG 2-OMR, RFA. On individuals and short-term organizations taking a less conciliatory stance toward wealthy elites, see Graham Taylor to William R. Taylor, 28 May 1913, file: "Letters. 1913," box: "Outgoing to 1919," Graham Taylor Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (hereafter GTP); Boyer, *Public Masses and Moral Order*, 215-216.

(52.) Chicago reformers took the lead in the national campaign against vice by founding the American Vigilance Association in 1912. At that time, Chicago served as the AVA's central office, while New York only housed the library and an editorial department, see Clifford G. Roe, "The American Vigilance Association," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 3 (January 1913): 806-809. A year later, in 1913, Rockefeller brokered a merger of the AVA with the American Federation for Sex Hygiene to form the American Social Hygiene Association, which had its headquarters in New York City. The merger alienated the Chicagoans, causing most to resign, see *First Annual Report, 1913-1914*, page 13, file 1, box 170, ASHA; "Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of the American Vigilance Association," 17 February 1913, file 6, box 2, ASHA; John C. Burnham, "The Progressive Era Revolution in American Attitudes Toward Sex," *Journal of American History* 59 (March 1973): 897-898. Wirt Hallam, never one to mince words, felt that the New York reformers, particularly those associated with ASHA, had "really been the enemies of our Chicago work," see Wirt Hallam to Frederick H. Whitin, 15 February 1916, box 3, C14.

(53.) Representative discussions of white slavery narratives include Feldman, "Prostitution, the Alien Woman, and the Progressive Imagination, 1910-1915," 192-206; Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution*, 115-125; Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*, 114, 123-130, 133; de Young, "Help, I'm Being Held Captive!" 96-99; Grittner, *White Slavery*, 66-72.

(54.) For a contemporary definition of debt peonage, see *Clyatt v. United States*, 197 U.S. 207(1905); "Peonage," *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, vol. II, 61st. Cong., 3d Sess., 1910, S. Doc. 747, 444. On postbellum efforts against debt peonage, see Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (Urbana, Ill., 1972), 9-18. On other aspects of forced labor, see Amy Dru Stanley, "Beggars Can't Be Choosers: Compulsion and Contract in Postbellum America," *Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1265-1293; Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (London, 1996).

(55.) Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill For 1914, 884; Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood*, 30-31; Lubove, "The Progressives and the Prostitute," 316. On rescue work, see Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman," 109-128; Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*.

(56.) *Importing Women for Immoral Purposes*, 23-25; Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, 20-22; "Sketch I: Edwin W. Simms [sic], United States District Attorney, Chicago, from his article in the 'Woman's World,' published by Ceo. H. Currier," in Mrs. C.I. Harris, *Modem Herodians: Or, Slaughterers of Innocents* (Portland, Ore., 1909), 8-11.

(57.) *Importing Women for Immoral Purposes*, 22; Roe, *The Great War on White Slavery*, 172; Janney, *The White Slave Traffic in America*, 36; [Lancaster Vice Commission], *A Report on Vice Conditions in the City of Lancaster, Pa.* ([Lancaster], 1913), 63; Maude E. Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution: A Plea for Emancipation* (New York, 1916), 105.

(58.) Clifford G. Roe, *Panders and Their White Slaves* (New York, 1910), for Mona M.'s story see 37-43, for Stella's story see 27-29, and for Adelaide McD.'s see 47-49. See also Kauffman, *The House of Bondage*, 40-70. One of the first initiatives of the Bureau of Investigation was to post copies of peonage laws in brothels so that prostitutes would know that even if they were in debt to their madam, they did not have to stay in the brothel, see Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill For 1914, 881, 884; Langum, *Crossing Over the Line*, 56, 60.

(59.) *Importing Women for Immoral Purposes*, 23. See also Mrs. T.P. Curtis, *The Traffic in Women* (Boston, n.d.), 8; Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, 20-22. On neurasthenia and moral degeneration, see George M. Beard, *American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences* (New York, 1881); John S. Haller, Jr. and Robin M. Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America* (1974; reprint, Carbondale, Ill., 1995), 53, 102-105.

(60.) George Kibbe Turner, "The City of Chicago: A Study of the Great Immoralities," *McClure's Magazine*, 28 (April 1907): 581; Melvin L. Severy, *Gillette's Social Redemption* (Boston, 1907), 367-369, 372-398; Rosen, *The Last Sisterhood*, 130. On company stores, see Charles B. Fowler, Daniel Bloomfield, Henry P. Dutton, "Report of the Committee of The Economic and Social Implications of the Company Store and the Scrip System," ([Washington, D.C.]: Office of the National Recovery Administration, Division of Review, March 1936), 18-20 in Pamphlet Collection, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, James Leloudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones, Christopher B. Daly, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel, Hill, 1987), 129-131.

(61.) Economic historians Ransom and Sutch describe this type of relationship as a monopoly because of the "absence of alternative sources of credit, and ... the magnitude of the credit prices charged," see Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, "Credit Merchandising in the Post-Emancipation South: Structure, Conduct, and Performance," *Explorations in Economic History* 16 (1979): 76. On debt peonage and monopoly stores more generally, see Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (Cambridge, 1977), 126-170.

(62.) James B. Allen, *The Company Town in the American West* (Norman, Okla., 1966), 129; Margaret Von Staden, "My Life: The History of a Prostitute's Life in San Francisco" (typescript), n.d., 103-104, 117-118, 149, files 107-109, Harriet Burton Laidlaw Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (hereafter HLP); Harland, *The Vice Bondage of a Great City*, 40.

(63.) I calculated the price inflation for company towns using the cash value of scrip cited in John A. Fitch, "The Human Side of Large Outputs: Steel and Steel Workers in Six American States," *The Survey*, 27 (January 1912): 1530. For the district comparison, see Turner, "The City of Chicago," 581. Inflated prices also affected consumers. Madams could buy beer wholesale at \$.05 a pint, but sold it at "'sporting house' prices," for as high as \$1.00 a pint, see Portland Vice Commission, *Report of the Portland Vice Commission to the Mayor and City Council of the City of Portland, Oregon* (Portland, Ore., 1913), 24, 28, 40.

(64.) On scrip and the infrequent settling of accounts in company towns, see U.S. Commissioner of Labor, *Report on Conditions of Employment in the Iron and Steel Industry*, vol. III, 62d Cong., 1st Sess., 1913, 5. Doc. 110, 387-394. For an excerpt of a madam's ledger book, see [The Moral Survey Committee of Syracuse], *The Social Evil in Syracuse: Being the Report of the an Investigation of the Moral Condition of the City Conducted by a Committee of Eighteen Citizens* (Syracuse, 1913), 95-101, reprinted in *Prostitution in America: Three Investigations, 1902-1914* (New York, 1976).

(65.) *Importing Women for Immoral Purposes*, 7; James Bronson Reynolds, "Procuring and Prostitution in New York," in Roe, *The Great War on White Slavery*, 213-215; Vice Commission of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago*, 285; Annual Report of the [Chicago] Committee of Fifteen for the year ending April, 30, 1915,

file: "2, Committee of Fifteen," OTP; Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," 317; Burnham, "The Progressive Era Revolution in American Attitudes Toward Sex," 888.

(66.) "Point 2d" of the "Memorandum re New Jersey Injunction and Abatement Law" [10 May 1916], file 1, box L3, ASHA, is that "Every house of prostitution is in itself a miniature segregated district." See also Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, 99; Hichborn, "California's Campaign Against Entrenched Vice," 430; Harriet B. Laidlaw, "Notes," (typescript), n.d., file 77, HLP.

(67.) Frederick H. Whitin to Mrs. Austin, 23 June 1914, file: "1914, June," box 3, C14. See also Annual Report, 1914-1915, file: "2, Committee of Fifteen," GTP; Frederick H. Whitin to John P. Peters, 18 November 1916, file: "Peters, John. P., 1915-1916," box 12, C14.

(68.) Although "segregation" is now associated with race, during the Progressive era, urban reformers had to specify when they meant racial, not sexual, separation; see H.W. Turner to Director, Section on Vice and Liquor Control, Commission on Training Camp Activities, 12 December 1918, file: "Turner, H.W.," box 24, C14. On districts and commercialization, see Janney, *The White Slave Traffic in America*, 150; Rev. R.P. Shuler, "The Houses in Our Midst," *Pastor's Bulletin No. 9, The Anti-Vice Bulletins* (Austin Texas, [1914]), 26, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin; American Social Hygiene Association, *The Segregation of Prostitution and the Injunction and Abatement Law and Against Houses of Prostitution*, Publication No.73 (1917), file 1, box L3, ASHA; Howard B. Woolston, *Prostitution in the United States: Volume I--Prior to the Entrance of the United States Into the World War* (New York, 1921), 120.

(69.) On consumer culture, see T.J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1930" in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears (New York, 1983), 3-38; Jean-Christophe Agnew, "Coming Up For Air: Consumer Culture in Historical Perspective," *Intellectual History Newsletter* 12 (1990): 3-21.

(70.) John P. Peters to the Editor of The [New York] Evening Post, 3 January 1913, file: "1912, Proposed Morals Commission," box 83, C14; Vice Commission of Minneapolis, Report of the Vice Commission of Minneapolis to His Honor, James C. Haynes, Mayor (Minneapolis, 1911) reprinted in *The Prostitute and the Social Reformer: Commercial Vice in the Progressive Era*, ed. Charles Rosenberg and Carroll Smith Rosenberg (New York, 1974), 93-95; *People v. Fegelli*, 148 N.Y.S. 979 (N.Y. 1914); Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," 309-311, 319-320.

(71.) Mark Haller, "Urban Vice and Civic Reform: Chicago in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Cities in American History*, eds. Kenneth T. Jackson and Stanley K. Schultz (New York, 1972), 292; Shumsky, "Vice Responds to Reform," 31; David C. Humphrey, "Prostitution and Public Policy," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 86 (April 1983): 484. On the activities near the central business district, see Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project," in *The City*, ed. Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick McKenzie (Chicago, 1925), 50, 54-56; Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City*, 10-14.

(72.) John C. Burnham, "The Social Evil Ordinance: A Social Experiment in Nineteenth-Century St. Louis," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 27 (1971): 203-217; Al Rose, *Storyville, New Orleans: Being an Authentic, Illustrated Account of the Notorious Red-Light District* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1974), 7-9, 39; Neil Larry Shumsky, "Tacit Acceptance: Respectable Americans and Segregated Prostitution, 1870-1910," *Journal of Social History*, 19 (Summer 1992): 667.

(73.) Christopher G. Tiedeman, "Suppression of Vice: How Far a Proper and Efficient Function of Popular Government," Brief 3 (1900): 17-28; "Disorderly Tenement Houses," 26 March 1901, *New York Times*, card 535, vol. 9, box 33, New York Committee of Fifteen Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York

Public Library; John R. Dos Passos, "Gambling and Cognate Vices," *Yale Law Journal* 14 (November 1904): 11, 16; Alexander R. Piper, Report of an Investigation of the Discipline and Administration of the Police Department of the City of Chicago (Chicago, 1904) reprinted in *Chicago Police Investigations: Three Reports* (New York, 1971), 15.

(74.) On anti-ring reformers' attempts to move prostitutes out of residential areas into more commercial areas, see Edward T. Devine, "Municipal Reform and Social Welfare in New York: A Study of the Low Administration in Its Relation to the Protection of the Tenement House Population," *American Monthly Review of Reviews* (October 1903): 438; Joy J. Jackson, *New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1896* (Baton Rouge, 1969), 254; James B. Jones, Jr., "Municipal Vice: The Management of Prostitution in Tennessee's Urban Experience. Part II: The Examples of Chattanooga and Knoxville, 1838-1917," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1991): 118. On town planning and zoning, see Benjamin Clarke Marsh, *An Introduction to City Planning: Democracy's Challenge to the American City* (1909; reprint New York, 1974); Seymour I. Toll, *Zoned American* (New York, 1969).

(75.) Keller, *Regulating a New Society*, 131; Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 117-118; Eugene J. Watts, "The Police in Atlanta, 1890-1905," *Journal of Southern History* 39 (May 1973): 165-182; Carl V. Harris, "Reforms in Government Control of Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama, 1890-1920," *Journal of Southern History* 38 (November 1972): 571-578.

(76.) Rose, *Storyville, New Orleans*, 1; Shreveport City Council Minutes, 1902, Noel Memorial Library, Louisiana State University at Shreveport; Thomas C. Mackey, *Red Lights Out: A Legal History of Prostitution, Disorderly Houses and Vice Districts, 1870-1917* (New York, 1987), 290-352; "Mistake Corrected," *The American Social Hygiene Association Bulletin* 1 (September 1914): 4-5. Ordinance-created districts also existed in Arizona, Kentucky, Nevada, and New Mexico, American Social Hygiene Association, *State Laws Concerning White Slave Traffic, Keeping Disorderly Houses, and Age of Consent*, Publication No. 74 (October 1916), file 4, box 170, ASHA.

(77.) Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904; reprinted New York, 1948), 70-72, 294-295; James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, vol. 2, rev. ed. (New York, 1911), 128; Attorney-General [George] Cosson of Iowa, "Objections to Segregation," *Testimony and Addresses on Segregation and Commercialized Vice*, No. 2, 3. See also Griffith, *The Progressive Years*, 205; Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order*, 197.

(78.) Frederick H. Whitin to Harry Wright, 24 August 1908, box 1, C14; Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, 36-37; "First Step Toward Segregating Vice," 5 March 1901, card 375, col. 7, box 33, New York Committee of Fifteen. On the judiciary shaping public policy, see Hovenkamp, *Enterprise and American Law*, 171-173.

(79.) Lawrence Veiller to Hon. John J. Murphy, 14 February 1914, file: "Tenement House Committee--Prostitution," box 168, Community Service Society Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. On Veiller, see Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1962), 117-184.

(80.) "Jacob Riis Writes" in *Testimony and Addresses on Segregation and Commercialized Vice*, No. 2, 2; "Billy Sunday and Segregation," *American Social Hygiene Association Bulletin*, vol. 2 (February 1916): 1; Frederick H. Whitin to John P. Peters, 17 November 1906, and Frederick H. Whitin to Rochester [New York] Committee of Five, 10 July 1912, box 1, C14; Lawrence M. Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (New York, 1993), 329. Municipal reformers introduced zoning ordinances, which they modeled on German laws, to New York City in 1916, see Toll, *Zoned American*, 117-140.

(81.) "Segregation does not segregate" was the mantra of the anti-vice movement, see "Rabbi Hirsch's Address," Testimony and Addresses on Segregation and Commercialized Vice, No. 2, 13; Shuler, "The Houses in Our Midst," Pastor's Bulletin No. 9, The Anti-Vice Bulletins, 26; Vice Conditions in the City of Lancaster, Pa., 67; American Social Hygiene Association, Segregation of Prostitution, (pamphlet), n.d., file 2, box 170, ASHA.

(82.) Turner, "The City of Chicago," 584; Addams, A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil, 36-37; Report of the Portland [Oregon] Vice Commission, 212; Rose, Storyville, New Orleans, 44, 46; Frost, The Gentlemen's Club, 100-103; Griffith, The Conspicuous Failure, 78-80.

(83.) Hichborn, "California's Campaign Against Entrenched Vice," 430; Carl Hovey, "The Police Question: Chicago Struggling to Solve It; Philadelphia Blinded and Bound," The Metropolitan ([1910]), 50, file: "Chicago. Police. Pamphlets Concerning," GTP; Vice Conditions in the City of Lancaster, Pa., 73; Mayer, The Regulation of Commercialized Vice, 15; Melvin G. Holli, "Urban Reform in the Progressive Era," in The Progressive Era, ed. Lewis L. Gould (Syracuse, 1974), 137.

(84.) Patronage positions included bailbondsmen and police magistrates, see Abe Shoenfeld, interview by Arthur Goren, 6 February 1965, typescript, 117-119, William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, Jewish Division, New York Public Library; Dun and Bradstreet credit reports, 1913, file 24, box 4, Chicago Municipal Court, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; Beard, American City Government 162; Bryce, The American Commonwealth, vol. 2, 399-401.

(85.) Beard, American City Government, 192-193. Customers who regularly used a lot of electricity late into the night received "liberal rebates," see John R. Commons, "Municipal Electricity Lighting," in Municipal Monopolies, ed. Edward W. Bemis (New York, 1899), 79-88. Late night users received better rates, in part, because they helped balance out the "load factor," which meant that they needed electricity when other customers did not, thus evening out the demand for electrical power; see Thomas P. Hughes, Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1930 (Baltimore, 1983), 217-226.

(86.) Graham Taylor Testimony in "Proceedings of the City Vice Commission," 18 January 1913, 20-21, file 3, box 23, Chicago Commons Collection, Chicago Historical Society; Bridgeport Vice Commission, The Report and Recommendations of the Bridgeport Vice Commission (Bridgeport, Conn., 1916), 23; "Scarlet Sisters Everleigh: How Vice Grew Up in Chicago," 26 January 1936, part 7, 7; Jackson, New Orleans in the Gilded Age, 254; Rosen, Lost Sisterhood, 82; Gilfoyle, City of Eros, 247-248.

(87.) "Why Policemen of Atlanta Do Not, and Will Not, Protect Vice," Men and Religion Bulletin No. 41, Atlanta Constitution, 15 January 1913, 7; Annual Report for the (Chicago) Committee of Fifteen for the Year Ending April 30, 1914, file: "2, Committee of Fifteen," GTP; Kneeland, Commercialized Prostitution in New York City, 3-51. On the use of industrial imagery, see John B. Hammond, "The Iowa 'Red Light' Injunction Law and its Success," in Roe, The Great War on White Slavery, 358-361; William E. Chandler, "The 'Necessary Evil,'" Chandler's Bulletin No. 11, Chicago Law and Order League, file: "1912, June," box 2, C14.

(88.) Katharine Houghton Hepburn, Woman Suffrage and the Social Evil (New York, n.d.), 5-6, in file 104, HLP; B.S. Steadwell, "Introduction" in Roe, The Great War on White Slavery, 16-17; Edwin W. Sims cited in Harriet B. Laidlaw, "The White Slave Traffic or Commercialized Vice," (typescript), n.d., 2, file 110, HLP; "Why Policemen of Atlanta Do Not, and Will Not, Protect Vice," 7; Graham Taylor, "The Police and Vice in Chicago," The Survey 23 (6 November 1909): 163.

(89.) Edwin W. Sims cited in Laidlaw, "The White Slave Traffic or Commercialized Vice," 2; Roe, The Great War on White Slavery, 186-188; Ernest A. Bell, War on the White Slave Trade ([Chicago], 1911), 257; Jean Turner Zimmerman, America's Black Traffic in White Girls, eighth edition (Chicago, 1912); quotation from

Turner, "The City of Chicago," 582. In addition to the cattle metaphor, Harriet Laidlaw also compared prostitutes to grain and red-light districts to mills, see Laidlaw "The A.B.C. of the Question" (typescript), [1912], pages 1, 3, file 77, HLP. The fact that the Progressive era predates Henry Ford's assembly lines means that Swift or Armour's "disassembly" lines were the likely industrial referents, see Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 293-302.

(90.) Oliver E. Williamson, "Transaction-Cost Economics: The Governance of Contractual Relations," in *Industrial Organization*, ed. Oliver E. Williamson (Brookfield, Vermont, 1990), 234-235; *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics*, s.v. "capital good" and "economic organization and transaction costs."

(91.) Graham Taylor, "The Story of the Chicago Vice Commission," *The Survey* 26 (6 May 1911): 242; John P. Peters to the Editor of *The [New York] Evening Post*, 3 January 1913, file: "1912, Proposed Morals Commission," box 83, C14; Harland, *The Vice Bondage of a Great City*, 18; Ellen M. Henrotin, "The Part Women Are Taking," in Roe, *The Great War on White Slavery*, 94; *People v. Fegelli*, 148 N.Y.S. 979 (N.Y. 1914). On corporate development, see Chandler, *The Visible Hand*, 285-286; Thomas K. McCraw, *Prophets of Regulation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 61-63, 96.

(92.) Graham Taylor, "The Story of the Chicago Vice Commission," *The Survey* 26 (6 May 1911): 242; Curtis, *Traffic in Women*, 9-12; *The Vice Commission of Philadelphia, A Report on Existing Conditions*, 38; *A Report on Vice Conditions in the City of Lancaster, Pa.*, 77-78; Miner, *Slavery of Prostitution*, 160-161; Woolston, *Prostitution in the United States*, 122. See also Mackey, *Red Lights Out*, 123-124.

(93.) *Importing Women for Immoral Purposes*, 32; *The Philadelphia Vice Commission, A Report on Existing Conditions*, 20; Shuler, "Facts and Figures That Do Not Lie," *Pastors Bulletin No. 24, The Anti-Vice Bulletins*, 56; Woolston, *Prostitution in the United States*, 118-119; Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood*, 41-42. Progressives thought the "wasteful extravagances" such as ready-made clothes, trips to amusement parks, and summer vacations caused inflation; see Daniel Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending: Attitudes Toward the Consumer in America, 1875-1940* (Baltimore, 1985; reprinted Chicago, 1992), 74-75.

(94.) *The Penguin Dictionary of Economics*, new ed., s.v. "multiplier"; John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (1936; reprinted Amherst, New York, 1997), 85, 113-131; "Vice, Police and Law Enforcement and a Morals Commission," (typescript), [1912], 3-6, file: 1912, Proposed Morals Commission, box 83, C14; Harland, *The Vice Bondage of a Great City*, 107; Ellen M. Henrotin, "The Social Evil," (manuscript), n.d., 19, file 19, box 2, Ellen Martin Henrotin Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College; *Vice Conditions in the City of Lancaster, Pa.*, 65-67; Samuel P. Thrasher to the President and Directors, [19 May 1914], file: "2 - Committee of Fifteen," GTP.

(95.) Beard, *American City Government*, 220. See also Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904; reprinted New York, 1948), 294-295; Harland, *The Vice Bondage of a Great City*, 3; *Vice Conditions in the City of Lancaster, Pa.*, 65-67; George J. Kneeland, "Commercialized Prostitution and the Use of Property," *Social Hygiene* 2 (October 1916): 564.

(96.) *Vice Commission of Philadelphia, A Report on Existing Conditions*, 13-16; Harland, *The Vice Bondage of a Great City*, 107; Laidlaw, "The White Slave Traffic or Commercialized Vice," 7, file 110, HLP; *The Social Evil in Syracuse*, 11; "Prospectus," (typescript), [1918], file: "3--Committee of Fifteen," GTP.

(97.) On the arguments of district supporters, see *Report of the Vice Commission of Minneapolis*, 84-85; J.L. Hamery, "Can Vice Be Abolished? A Startling Story of Police Graft and Failure of Segregation in Des Moines, Iowa," (pamphlet), [1912], box 2, C14; Chicago Hotel-Keeper Protective Association, "Paid Reformers: A Menace," (poster), [1916], file: "2--Committee of Fifteen," GTP. Even economist Simon N. Patten, who favored consumption, condemned "commercialized" recreation, see "Extravagance as a Virtue," *Current*

Opinion 54 (January 1913): 51-52; Simon Nelson Patten, *Product and Climax* (New York, 1909), 43-45; Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending*, 35, 63.

(98.) The Chicago Vice Commissioners made the often-cited estimate that district proprietors and their business relations made \$15,000,000 in profits, Vice Commission of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago*, 32, 95-116. See also Marcus Braun to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 2 April 1910, file 38, box 6, series: boards, RG 2-OMR, RFA; *Importing Women for Immoral Purposes*, 28; Shuler, "Facts and Figures That Do Not Lie," *Pastors' Bulletin* No.24, *The Anti-Vice Bulletins*, 56; Delos F. Wilcox, *Great Cities in America: Their Problems and Their Government* (New York, 1910), 144.

(99.) Judge Dike cited in Roe, *The Great War on White Slavery*, 176. See also "Rabbi Hirsch's Address," *Testimony and Addresses on Segregation and Commercialized Vice*, No. 2, 13; Vice Commission of Philadelphia, *A Report on Existing Conditions*, 44-45; *Report and Recommendation of die Morals Efficiency Commission*, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Pittsburgh, 1913), 12-13.

(100.) Edward A. Ross, *Changing America: Studies in Contemporary Society* (New York, 1912), 97-98; [Frederick H. Whitin] to Prince A. Morrow, 28 November 1907, box 1, C14; Mayer, *The Regulation of Commercialized Vice*, 11; Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*, 42; Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the American Industrial Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass, 1962), 37-38; Hays, *The Response to Industrialism*, 9-13.

(101.) Ellen M. Henrotin, "The ravages of prostitution" (manuscript), 2-3, n.d., file 17, Henrotin Papers. See also Robert A. Woods, "Banners of a New Army," *The Survey* 29 (8 March 1913): 813; Vice Commission of Philadelphia, *A Report on Existing Conditions*, 20; *Vice Conditions in the City of Lancaster, Pa.*, 62-67. On centralization, see Naomi Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904* (Cambridge, 1985); Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 83-86.

(102.) Vice Commission of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago*, 32-35; Harland, *The Vice Bondage of a Great City*, 10; Jane Addams cited in Laidlaw, "The White Slave Traffic or Commercialized Vice," 3; Bingham, *The Girls That Disappear*, 37; Robert McMurdy, "The Use of the Injunction to Destroy Commercialized Prostitution," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 19 (February 1929): 513; Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitutes," 310-311; Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*, 70-71.

(103.) George Kibbe Turner, "The Daughters of the Poor," 59; Jane Addams, "A Challenge to the Contemporary Church," *The Survey* reprint, 5, file 104, HLP; "Men Responsible for Social Evil," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 28 January 1913, 3. On social housekeeping see Mary Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present*, 3rd. ed. (New York, 1983), 198-210.

(104.) Vice Commission of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago*, 32-33, 47; "Rockefeller Bureau of Social Hygiene," *The Survey* 29 (8 March 1913): 802; Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, 77; Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," 310-311.

(105.) American Vigilance Association, "Miss Kate Adam's Address," *Testimony and Addresses on Segregation and Commercialized Vice*, Pamphlet No. 1 (November, 1912), file 13, box 3, ASHA; Kehillah Reports, 8 August 1913, 6 August 1913, 5 August 1913, 2 August 1913, box 2, C14; Report of the Portland [Oregon] Vice Commission, 68-70. On Max Hochstim, see Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice*, 170; Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 261-264.

(106.) Graham Taylor, "Recent Advances against the Social Evil in New York," *The Survey* 24(17 September 1910): 858-865; Peters, "Suppression of the 'Raines Law Hotels,'" 562-563; Report of the Vice Commission of Minneapolis, 39; Ross, "Sinning by Syndicate," in *Sin and Society*, 105-131; Hays, *The Response to*

Industrialism, 50, 84-85; Mark J. Roe, *Strong Managers, Weak Owners: The Political Roots of American Corporate Finance* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 3-7.

(107.) George Kibbe Turner, "The Strange Woman," *McClure's Magazine*, 41 (May 1913): 30. See also Vice Commission of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago*, 87, 89, 105, 231; Beard, *American City Government*, 186; Marcus Braun to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 2 April 1910, file 38, box 6, series: boards, RG 2-OMR, RFA. On real estate owners and agents, see "Name Plate Ordinances," box 4, C14; Hammond, "The Iowa 'Red Light' Injunction Law and its Success," 363, 367-368; Rosen, *Lost Sisterhood*, 28-29, 77.

(108.) "Jenkin Lloyd Jones' Address," *Testimony and Addresses on Segregation and Commercialized Vice*, No. 2, 15. See also Vice Commission of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago*, 33; Report of the Portland [Oregon] Vice Commission, 71-73; Bascom Johnson, "The Injunction and Abatement Law," *Social Hygiene* 1 (March 1915): 231-232.

(109.) Frederick H. Whitin to Tribune Printing Co., 12 February 1914, file T, box 15, C14; American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures. Feature Films, 1911--1920. Film Entries, eds. Patricia King Hanson and Alan Gevinson (Berkeley, 1988), 944, 457, 852. See also Leslie Fishbein, "Harlot or Heroine? Changing Views of Prostitution, 1870-1920," *Historian*, 43 (November 1980): 27--28; Kevin Brownlow, *Behind the Mask of Innocence: Sex, Violence, Prejudice, Crime: Films of Social Conscience in the Silent Era* (Berkeley, 1990), 74--81.

(110.) "Traffic in Souls," dir. George Loane Tucker (1913). Kino International has reissued the movie on video. Although none of the titles in the movie uses the phrase "Vice Trust," Universal used it in the advertising campaign for the movie, see Brownlow, *Behind the Mask of Innocence*, 77.

(111.) Tucker also reinforced his message visually, for as a *Variety* critic observed, "there's a laugh on the Rockefeller investigators," because one of the white slavers was a dead ringer for "John D."; see *Variety* (28 November 1913): 12 cited in Brownlow, *Behind the Mask of Innocence*, 75. Even so, movie makers did not want to alienate reformers--especially if they could provide a positive quotation--Universal sent complimentary tickets to the Committee of Fourteen and asked for their reaction, see J.W. Grey to the Committee of Fourteen, 24 December 1913, file: "1913, Dec.," box 3, C14. Unfortunately for Universal, Whitin's conclusion was that the movie was "not ... objectionable," see Frederick H. Whitin to Tribune Printing Co., 12 February 1914, file T, box 15, C14.

(112.) Lester F. Scott to Frederick H. Whitin, 22 October 1913, file: "People's Institute," box 12, C14; John Collier to Frederick Whitin, 23 October 1913, file: "1913, October," box 3, C14; W.D. McGuire, Jr. to Frederick Whitin, 12 November 1913, file: "1913, Nov.," box 3, C14; Frederick H. Whitin to W.D. McGuire, Jr., 15 November 1913, file: "1913, Nov.," box 3, C14; Brownlow, *Behind the Mask of Innocence*, 74--75.

(113.) "Statement for Publicity by the Chairman," [1907], vol. 1, box 86; "Cooperation between the Committee of Fourteen and the Surety Companies," [1916], file: Surety Companies, box 20; "Necrographer" to Fred Whitin, 4 September 1909, box 1; all C14. This accusation was akin to the accusation that the government was complicit with those they were supposed to reform, see Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900--1916* (New York, 1963); Hays, *The Response to Industrialism*, 56--57, 67--69.

(114.) Investigative Report, 26 August 1915, box 29, C14; Investigative Reports from 9 January 1916, 27 January 1916, and 13 April 1916, box 30, C14. See also "Sex O'Clock in America," *Current Opinion* 55 (1913): 113.

(115.) "Keepers of Disorderly Houses Turn on the Police" and "The 'Vice Trust' in New York City," *Current*

Opinion, 54 (1913):5--6; Kneeland, Commercialized Prostitution in New York City, 157,171-172; "Organized Vice as a Vested Interest," *Current Literature* 52 (1912): 292. On "bigness," see Louis D. Brandeis, "A Curse of Bigness," in *Other People's Money*, 162--188; McCraw, *Prophets of Regulation*, 108--109. On monopoly and privilege, see Jenks, *The Trust Problem*, 44--45; Hovenkamp, *Enterprise and American Law*, 4.

(116.) Peters, "Suppression of 'Raines Law Hotels,'" 565--566; Report of the Hartford Vice Commission, 11; "The Wreak of Commercialized Vice," *The Survey* 35 (5 February 1916): 532-533; Frederick H. Whitin, "Obstacles to Vice Repression," *Social Hygiene* 2 (April 1916): 150-152; Miner, *Slavery Prostitution*, 125.

(117.) The use of case precedent is inherently analogical, but occasionally jurists made their comparisons explicit, see *Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1910, 45, Pt. 2: 810--812, 816--821, 1035--1039; *Hake v. United States*, 227 U.S. 308 (1913); *State v. Gilbert*, 147 N.W. 953 (Minn. 1914). See also Cass R. Sunstein, "On Analogical Reasoning," *Harvard Law Review* 106 (January 1993): 741--791; Dennis R. Klinck, "Metaphor" in *The Word of the Law: Approaches to Legal Discourse* (Ottawa, 1992), 335-370. Since the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, jurists have successfully argued that regulation includes prohibition, see *Champion v. Ames*, 188 U.S. 321 (1903); Robert Eugene Cushman, "The National Police Power Under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution," section 2, *Minnesota Law Journal* 3 (May 1919): 382-392; Grittner, *White Slavery*, 49-50.

(118.) Senator Philander C. Knox, "Development of the Federal Power to Regulate Commerce," *Yale Law Journal* 17 (January 1908): 144-148; Cushman, "The National Police Power Under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution," section 2, 382-392; John Edgar Hoover, "Organized Protection against Organized Predatory Crimes," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 24 (1933): 473-482; Lan Cao, "Illegal Traffic in Women: A Civil RICO Proposal," *Yale Law Journal* 96 (May 1987): 1297-1322; Jay A. Rosenberg, "Constitutional Rights and Civil Forfeiture Actions," *Columbia Law Review* 88 (March 1988): 390-406; B.A. Glesner, "Landlords as Cops: Torts, Nuisance and Forfeiture Standards Imposing Liability on Landlords for Crime on the Premises," *Case Western Reserve Law Review* 42 (1992): 679-791; Lynn N. Hughes, "Don't Make a Federal Case Out of It: The Constitution and the Nationalization of Crime," *American Journal of Criminal Law* 25 (Fall 1997): 151-163.

(119.) "National Merger to Fight White Slavery," *The Survey* 27 (30 March 1912): 1991-1992; Mayer, *The Regulation of Commercialized Vice*, 30; Aldoph F. Niemoeller, *Sexual Slavery in America* (New York, 1935), 193-197, 203-205; Grittner, *White Slavery*, 74-75, 86-88; Langum, *Crossing Over the Line*, 27-30, 38-41.

(120.) Graham Taylor, "Morals Commission and Police Morals," *The Survey* 30 (12 April 1913): 63-64; "The Segregation of Prostitution and the Injunction and Abatement Law"; Rosen, *The Last Sisterhood*, 125; Langum, *Crossing Over the Line*, 59-60. Prosecutors were sometimes able to indict the financial backers who received a division of the brothel's proceeds, but the evidence had to be incontrovertible, see *People v. Fegelli*, 148 N.Y.S. 979 judgment affirmed 108 N.E. 1103 (N.Y. 1915). In contrast, see *State v. Topham*, 123 P. 888 (Utah 1912).

(121.) "National Merger to Fight White Slavery," 1991-1992; American Social Hygiene Association, *First Annual Report, 1913-1914*, 15; Johnson, "The Injunction and Abatement Law," 231-256; "Relation of the American Social Hygiene Association to Community Welfare: Department of Legal Measures" (typescript), 25 October 1923, file 1, box 1, ASHA; Mackey, *Red Lights Out*, 122-125.

(122.) Roe, "The American Vigilance Association," 806-807; "The Injunction and Abatement Law," *The American Social Hygiene Association Bulletin* 3 (April 1916): 2-3; Woolston, *Prostitution in the United States*, 174-175.

(123.) Roe, "The American Vigilance Association," 807-808; American Social Hygiene Association, *First*

Annual Report, 1913-1914, 13-15, 118, file 1, box 170, ASHA; "Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee," 5 May 1914, file 2, box 5, ASHA; American Social Hygiene Association, Second Annual Report, 1914-1915, 17-22, file 1, box 170, ASHA; Mayer, *The Regulation of Commercialized Vice*, 23,26; Mackey, *Red Lights Out*, 125-126.

(124.) "White Slave Traffic," 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1909, H. Rept. 47, 12; *Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1910,45, pt. 1: 820, 1035-1038; *Hoke v. United States*, 227 U.S. 308 (1913); *United States v. Westman*, 182 F. 1017 (U.S.D.C.Or. 1910); Berkeley Davids, "Construction of the 'Mann Act,'" *Law Notes*, 17 (March 1914): 225-226; Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution*, 58-59; Langum, *Crossing Over the Line*, 40-44. On jurists sharing the same intellectual milieu of other elites, see Hovenkamp, *Enterprise and American Law*, 97.

(125.) Act of June 25, 1910, 36 Stat. at L. 825; "White Slave Traffic," 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1909, H. Rept. 47, 2,9--11; Berkeley Davids, "Application of Mann Act to Noncommercial Vice," *Law Notes*, 20 (November 1916): 144--146; Cushman, "The National Police Power," part 2, 390; Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912--1917* (New York, 1959), 343; Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 33--34. That anti-trust regulation was intrinsic to the construction of the Mann Act is apparent in the brief Edwin W. Sims prepared for Mann, see "Self-crimination Under the White-Slave Law," *Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 2d Sess., 1910, 45, Pt. 2: 806--808. On Sims' role in the construction of the Mann Act, see Langum, *Crossing Over the Line*, 38--40.

(126.) Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution*, 58--59; Grittner, *White Slavery*, 86--87; Langum, *Crossing Over the Line*, 38--41. On the Pure Food and Drugs Act, see James Harvey Young, *Pure Food: Securing the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906* (Princeton, 1989). On the Mann-Elkins Act, see Hovenkamp, *Enterprise and American Law*, 145, 165. On the Interstate Commerce Commission, see McCraw, *Prophets of Regulation*, 61--63.

(127.) "Commercialized Vice A National Problem," *The Survey* 29 (8 March 1913): 800; Graham Taylor, "The War on Vice," *The Survey* 29 (8 March 1913): 811-812; Davids, "Application of Mann Act to Noncommercial Vice," 145; Leab, "Women and the Mann Act," 56, 64.

(128.) "Clash of New Conscience With Our Court Decisions," *The Survey* 29 (8 March 1913): 800--801; *Caminetti v. United States*, 242 U.S. 470 (1917); Arthur B. Spingarn, *Laws Relating to Sex Morality in New York City*, rev. ed. (New York, 1926), 48; Berto Rogers, "The Mann Act and Noncommercial Vice," *Law Notes* 37 (July 1933): 107--108; Langum, *Crossing Over the Line*, 43, 48--58, 65--71. Nevertheless, the commerce clause, and its dissociation from business, set crucial precedents for the expansion of Federal regulation; see Robert Eugene Cushman, "The National Police Power Under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution," *Minnesota Law Journal* 3 (April, May, June 1919): 289--319, 381--412, 452--483; Hughes, "Don't Make a Federal Case Out of It," 151--163.

(129.) "Commercialized Vice A National Problem," *The Survey* 29 (8 March 1913): 800; Harvey D. Jacob, "White Slavery," *Case and Comment* 23 (June 1916): 20--22; Woolston, *Prostitution in the United States*, 175; Leab, "Women and the Mann Act," 57.

(130.) Pandering statutes, like contract labor laws, turned on the making of illegal employment contracts, see *State v. Stone*, 120 P. 76 (Wash. 1912); *Smith v. State*, 164 S.W. 825 (Tex. Cr. App. 1914); *People v. De Martini*, 142 P. 898 (Cal. App. 1914); and, *Ex parte Hollman*, 60 S.E. 19 (S.C. 1908); *Ex parte George*, 180 F. 785 (U.S.D.C. 1910); *Darnborough v. Joseph Benn and Sons*, 187 F. 580 (U.S.C.C.A. 1911). See also Roscoe Pound, "Liberty of Contract," *Yale Law Journal* 18 (May 1909): 484. For a model pandering law, see Janney, *The White Slave Traffic in America*, 178--181. On contract labor regulations, see Sec. 4 and Sec. 5 of the Alien Immigration Act of March 3, 1903, c. 1012, 32 Stat. 1213; "Contract Labor and Induced and Assisted

Immigration," Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. II, 61st. Cong., 3d Sess., 1910, 5. Doc. 747, 376--380.

(131.) On jurisdictional disputes, see *Hewitt v. State*, 167 S.W. 40 (Tex. Cr. App. 1914); *State v. Harper*, 138 P. 495 (Mont. 1914); "State Statutes," *The American Social Hygiene Association Bulletin* (January 1916): 6.

(132.) On the Mann Act, see "Construction of White Slave Act," *Law Notes* 17 (November 1913) 141; Davids, "Construction of the 'Mann Act,'" 225; Grittner, *White Slavery*, 45--47. On disorderly house laws, see *Nelson v. Territory*, 49 P. 920 (Okl. 1897); *Jones v. State*, 133 P. 1134 (Okl. Cr. App. 1913). On pandering, see *People v. Van Bever*, 93 N.E. 725 (Ill. 1911); *Woolston, Prostitution in the United States*, 175.

(133.) *State v. Columbus*, 133 P. 455 (Wash. 1913); *Boyle v. State*, 161 S.W. 1049 (Ark.1913); *Jones v. State*, 162 S.W. 1142 (Tex. Cr. App. 1914); Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," 326. On contract labor, see *Alien Contract Labor*, 5 1st. Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, H. Rept. 2997, 2-3; *Lees v. United States*, 150 U.S. 476 (1893); *Hepner v. United States*, 213 U.S. 103 (1909); "Contract Labor and Induced and Assisted Immigration," 381-386.

(134.) Jurists were not alone in comparing white slavery with the padrone system, see Louis Lichtenstein to Mr. Whitin sic ,26 January 1909, box 22, C14. On the padrone system, see "The Greek Padrone System in the United States," Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. II, 61st. Cong., 3d Sess., 1910, 5. Doc. 747, 391-408; Gunther Peck, "Reinventing Free Labor: Immigrant Padrones and Contract Laborers in North America, 1885-1925," *Journal of American History* 83 (December 1996): 848-871.

(135.) For the shift in legislative emphasis, see Mayer, *The Regulation of Commercialized Vice*, 30-32.

(136.) For a copy of the law, see "Iowa Injunction and Abatement Law" in *The Social Evil in Syracuse*, 119-121. In 1909, Iowa passed the first red-light abatement act which served as a legislative model for other states, see Edwin R. A. Seligman, ed., *The Social Evil: With Special Reference to Conditions in the City of New York*, rev. ed. (1902; New York, 1912), 241-242; "Injunction and Abatement Laws of Iowa and Nebraska" (typescript), [1914], 2, file 1, box 13, ASI-IA; Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood*, 28-29.

(137.) *People v. Barbieri*, 166 P. 812 (Cal. App. 1917); *People v. Cosa Co.*, 169 P. 454 (Cal.App. 1917); *People v. Clark*, 108 N.E. 994 (Ill. 1915); Wisconsin Vice Committee, Report and Recommendations of the Wisconsin Legislative Committee to Investigate the White Slave Traffic and Kindred Subjects ([Madison], 1914), 95; Charles S. Ascher and James M. Wolf, "'Red Light' Injunction and Abatement Acts," *Columbia Law Review* 20 (May 1920): 605-608.

(138.) Kneeland, "Commercialized Prostitution and the Use of Property," 571; Report of the Vice Commission of Minneapolis, 23-24; [Little Rock Vice Commission], Report of the Little Rock Vice Commission ([Little Rock], 1913), 10; Report of the Portland (Oregon) Vice Commission, 100-104. One the maxims of equity, which guides civil adjudication, is to "look at the intent, not the form," see James Brown Scott, *Cases on Equity Jurisdiction*, vol. 1 (New York, 1906), x, 300; Roscoe Pound, "The Progress of the Law, 1918-1919: Equity," part 2, *Harvard Law Review* 33 (April 1920): 815.

(139.) *Lismore v. State*, 126 S.W. 853 (Ark. 1910); *Cooper v. State*, 150 N.W. 207 (Neb.1914); Report of the Portland (Oregon) Vice Commission, 103-104; Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood*, 74. Disorderly house fines were an important source of revenue in many cities, see Report of the Vice Commission of Minneapolis, 24; Frederick H. Whitin, "The Social Evil in Kansas City," *The Survey* 27 (27 January 1912): 1644; George Creel, "Where is the Vice Fight," *Harper's Weekly* 59 (10 October 1914): 342.

(140.) The court of chancery, which hears equity cases, was specifically created to deal with problems that the

criminal courts were unable to address, see Joseph Story, *Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence, as Administered in England and America*, 4th ed., vol. I (Boston, 1846), 17-32; William F. Walsh, *A Treatise on Equity* (Chicago, 1930), 12-29.

(141.) *State v. Gilbert*, 147 N.W. 953 (Minn. 1914); *Cooper v. State*, 150 N.W. 207 (Neb.1914); Hammond, "The Iowa "Red Light" Injunction Law and Its Success," 359, 363, esp. 367; The Vice Commission of Philadelphia, *A Report on Existing Conditions*, 3 8-39. Partnership was the dominant form of corporate governance through the nineteenth century, see Thomas R. Navin and Marian V. Sears, "The Rise of a Market for Industrial Securities, 1887-1902," *Business History Review* 29 (June 1955): 105-138; Naomi R. Lamoreaux, "Partnership, Corporations, and the Theory of the Firm," *American Economic Review* 88 (May 1998): 66-71.

(142.) The courts ruled that equity was an appropriate jurisdiction to abate public nuisances, even if the maintenance of the nuisance was also a crime, see *State v. Rabinowitz*, 118 P. 1040 (Kan. 1911); *Weiss v. Superior Court of San Diego County*, 159 P. 464 (Cal. App. 1916). See also Walsh, *A Treatise on Equity*, 204-205; Mackey, *Red Light Outs*, 183-184. By 1920, thirty-nine states, Alaska, and the District of Columbia had red-light abatement laws, see Mayer, *The Regulation of Commercialized Vice*, 31; George E. Worthington, "Injunction and Abatement Law Against Houses of Prostitution," *The United League News* 3 (April 1923): 1, file 14, box L2, ASHA.

(143.) *Mugler v. Kansas*, 123 U.S. 623 (1887); *State v. Gilbert*, 147 N.W. 953 (Minn. 1914); *State v. Lane*, 147 N.W. 951 (Minn. 1914); *People v. Clark*, 108 N.E. 994 (Ill. 1915). See also Zechariah Chafee, Jr., "The Progress of the Law, 1919-1920: Equitable Relief Against Torts," *Harvard Law Review* 34 (February 1921): 398; Archibald H. Throckmorton, *Illustrative Cases on Equity Jurisprudence*, 2nd ed. (St. Paul, Minn., 1923), 16-22.

(144.) *State v. Nichols* 145 P. 986 (Wash. 1915); *People v. Barbieri* 166 P. 812 (Cal. App. 1917); *State v. Clark*, 178 N.W. 419 (Iowa 1920). In contrast, owners were rarely proven culpable under disorderly house laws, see *Hazelwood v. Commonwealth*, 132 S.W. 567 (Ky. 1910); "Disorderly House," *Second Decennial Digest* [sections]9; "Injunction and Abatement Laws of Iowa and Nebraska," 2.

(145.) *State v. Fanning*, 47 N.W. 215 (Neb. 1914); *State v. Jerome*, 141 P.753 (Wash. 1914); *State v. Schropfer*, 142 P. 119(Wash. 1914); *People v. Dillman*, 174 P. 951 (Cal. App. 1918); G.H. Gobar, "Constitutional Law: Validity of 'Red Light Law': Taxation," *California Law Review* 2 (September 1914): 498; Worthington, "Injunction and Abatement Law," 1; Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood*, 29.

(146.) *State v. Jerome*, 141 P. 753 (Wash. 1914); *People v. Casa Co.*, 169 P.454 (Cal. App. 1917); *Chase v. Proprietors of Revere House*, 122 N.E. 162 (Mass. 1919). See also Wirt W. Hallam, "The Reduction of Vice in Certain Western Cities Through Law-Enforcement," *Social Diseases* (April 1912) reprinted in *The Social Evil in Syracuse*, 113; McMurdy, "The Use of the Injunction to Destroy Commercialized Prostitution," 516.

(147.) One of the most important innovations of the red-light abatement laws was that private citizens could bring suit without having to show specific damages, see *State v. Fanning*, 47 N.W. 215 (Neb. 1914); *Edison v. Ramsey*, 92 S.E. 513 (Ga. 1917); Johnson, "The Injunction and Abatement Law," 231-232; Mackey, *Red Lights Outs*, 126-128. Thus empowered, private anti-vice associations could start injunction and abatement proceedings, see *People exrel. Thrasher v. Smith*, 114 N.E. 31(Ill. 1916); *Chase v. Proprietors of Revere House*, 122 N.E. 162 (Mass. 1919). Samuel P. Thrasher was the superintendent of the Chicago Committee of Fifteen, while J. Frank Chase was the secretary of the New England Watch and Ward Society.

(148.) *State v. Gilbert*, 147 N.W. 953 (Minn. 1914); *State v. Nichols*, 145 P. 986 (Wash. 1915). On reformers' antipathy toward juries, see Kneeland, "Commercialized Prostitution and the Use of Property," 569-570;

Report of the Vice Commission of Lexington, Kentucky, 57-59; Ascher and Wolf, "'Red Light' Injunction and Abatement Acts," 606; Friedman, Crime and Punishment in American History, 247-250.

(149.) State v. Lane, 147 N.W. 951 (Minn. 1914); People v. Barbieri, 166 P. 812 (Cal. App. 1917); Chase v. Proprietors of Revere House, 122 N.E. 162 (Mass. 1919); Mayer, The Regulation of Commercialized Vice, 16; Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, 29; Mackey, Red Light Outs, 130.

(150.) Johnson, "The Injunction and Abatement Law," 256. See also Kneeland, "Commercialized Prostitution and the Use of Property," 568; Wisconsin Vice Committee, Report and Recommendations, 96. Often, just publishing the names of landlords was sufficient for getting them to change their rental practices, see "'15 Committee' Names Vice Property Owners," Record Herald, 9 July 1913 in file "Committee of 15, 1913," box 2, Clifford W. Barnes Papers, Chicago Historical Society; "Using the Mails to War in San Francisco," The Survey 35 (8 January 1916) 418.

(151.) Hammond, "The Iowa 'Red Light' Injunction Law and Its Success," 358--370; Johnson, "The Injunction and Abatement Law," 252--254; "The Segregation of Prostitution and the Injunction and Abatement Law"; Rosen, Lost Sisterhood, 28--29; D'Emilio and Freedman, Intimate Matters, 211.

(152.) Report of the Portland [Oregon] Vice Commission, 92; Wisconsin Vice Committee, Report and Recommendations, 96; Johnson, "The Injunction and Abatement Law," 256; Franklin Hichborn, "Time, Dr. Rosenstirn, and the Abatement Act," Publicity Slip, [California] State Law Enforcement League, [1920], file 2, box 13, ASHA; Mackey, Red Lights Out, 8--9; Langum, Crossing Over the Line, 59.

(153.) "Buffalo's Waning Red Lights," The Survey 36 (27 May 1916): 218; "Vice Conditions," The Social Hygiene Bulletin 4 (January 1917): 2; "The Segregation of Prostitution and the Injunction and Abatement Law"; Johnson, "The Injunction and Abatement Law," 254; Creel, "Where is the Vice Fight," 34; Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, 30; Mackey, Red Lights Out, 131. For a timetable of district closures, see Mayer, The Regulation of commercialized Vice, 11.

(154.) State v. Fanning, 149 N.W. 413 (Neb. 1914); Wisconsin Vice Committee, Report and Recommendations, 27, 94-95; "The Segregation of Prostitution and the Injunction and Abatement Law"; "Indianapolis, Ind." The American Social Hygiene Association Bulletin 4 (January 1917): 2; Woolston, Prostitution in the United States, 240.

(155.) Timothy Egan, "Soldiers of the Drug War Remain on Duty," New York Times, 1 March 1999, sec. A, pp. 1,16; Rosenberg, "Constitutional Rights and Civil Forfeiture Acts," 391--392; Max Lowenthal, The Federal Bureau of Investigation (New York, 1950), 13--21; Don Whitehead, The FBI Story: A Report to the People (New York, 1956), 21--25.

(156.) Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, xiii, 19

(157.) Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, 308.

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