



## **Mme. Brignaudy In the Bakersfield Tenderloin 1905-1933**

V15

**By Gilbert Peter Gia**

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This account follows the public and private life of Marie Brignaudy in the male-dominated world of Bakersfield vice. Included are descriptions of her hotel, saloon, and cribs and examples of the long-term, cooperative relationship she had with the Kern County Board of Supervisors, the Bakersfield City Council, and Bakersfield's vice kings.<sup>10</sup>

Marie-Térèse Brignaudy, 35, arrived in Bakersfield in 1895 with savvy and money. She bought property here and became a hosteller and later a purveyor of prostitutes. Along the way she made several business connections. One was President of the Bakersfield City Council John Bailey, and another was Louise de Yough, a local madam who was established here when Brignaudy arrived.<sup>2</sup> By 1907 Marie Brignaudy owned the Bowling Alley Saloon<sup>3</sup> with its 17 cribs,<sup>4</sup> and she leased a row of apartments at 19<sup>th</sup> and R.<sup>5</sup> Marie Brignaudy bought Mayor John Bailey's Cosmopolitan Hotel after the town fire of 1907, and on its ashes she built an iron-framed hotel.<sup>6</sup>

Bakersfield taxed gambling houses and saloons but not prostitution. As early as 1882 Bakersfield's name was synonymous with the half-world, meaning saloons, gamblers, and dance hall women.<sup>7</sup> The Miller-Haggin water dispute of 1877-1887 slowed Kern County's development for a decade, but when it ended Bakersfield's population grew rapidly.<sup>11</sup> By 1890 it was 2,000, but with the easily exploited, nearby oil deposits that were discovered at the end of the decade the town population more than doubled.

The Tenderloin also expanded.<sup>8</sup> After city incorporation in 1898 ordinances forced the business of prostitution behind curtains. But prostitution flourished owing to lax law enforcement. Not until passage of the California Red-Light Abatement Act of 1913 did crack-down start in earnest.<sup>9</sup>

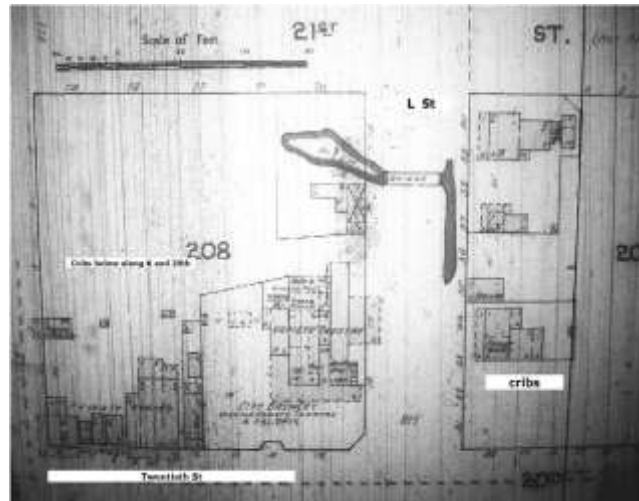
Bakersfield's raucous, bustling Tenderloin on the east side of Chester Avenue was an annoyance and embarrassment to the neighborhoods nearby. In 1892 a Bakersfield committee-for-morality petitioned the Kern County Board of Supervisors to act "to prevent noisy amusements and to prevent immorality."<sup>12</sup> It is not known if such an ordinance was approved, but if it was, the effort surely failed as badly as all subsequent regulatory efforts, at least until 1913.

In 1895 the *Daily Californian* was in favor of town incorporation, in part to reign in the red-light district.<sup>13</sup> But to the competing *Morning Echo* the Tenderloin was more of an amusement than a nuisance or threat.

"Madam de Yough, at the corner of L and Twenty-First streets was called from her bed about 3 o'clock in the morning, and during a very brief absence from her chamber, her handsome 'lover,' tall, dark hair, and mustached, with the loveliest kind of a cigarette complexion, arose from the bed and donned his clothing, part of which was a long, black Prince Albert coat, and knowing exactly where the Madam kept her valuables, proceeded to help himself and depart as noiselessly as a ghost. She could tell nothing about him, only that he was a cook by occupation and had been with her for a few months."<sup>1</sup>

The Echo's editor might have written less casually had he known the number of deaths among Bakersfield prostitutes. At 2019 L Street, about one-half block northwest of de Yough's residence, lived Abundia Montenegro, 31, of Mexico.<sup>15</sup> Union Cemetery records show that Montenegro paid for the burials of many young women, most of whom were around 20 years of age.<sup>16</sup>

Commercialized prostitution here was on the rise when Brignaudy arrived.<sup>16</sup> The 1900 US Census shows nine single women living in a row of adjacent small rooms between 1201- and 1223-20th Street, and the rooms of two other women nearby at the corner of 20th and M. The ages of the eleven women ranged from 20 to 41, the oldest two being Louise de Yough and Jennie Foxet, who were in their late thirties and early forties. Half of the younger women were between 20 and 21 years of age,<sup>17</sup> all were listed as heads of household, and none had listed occupations.



Sanborn fire insurance maps of 1900 show a line of cribs on 20th street facing north to the Brewery block and several “female boarding houses” within the boundary of the Brewery block itself.<sup>18</sup> Chinatown was in Block 191, immediately north of the Brewery Block. As late as the 1920s annoyed residents posted signs on their doors announcing “No Girls.”<sup>19</sup>

On June 19, 1900 the US Census taker visited 1103 20th Street and recorded 35 year-old Frank Carrillo, who was keeper of the Standard Saloon, his wife, and a boarder named Lucille Alden, 23 with no listed profession. Another female was a 35 year-old French woman at 1223 19th Street named Jennie Foxet. She had no occupation.<sup>20</sup>

The phrase *down-the-line* referred to side-by-side, one-room apartments that faced on the alley that ran from L to M between 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Streets. They were occupied by white prostitutes, but nearby were other buildings and cribs where Black, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican prostitutes lived. Conditions of the cribs is not known today, but they were probably materially better than the hovel-like cribs of 1905 Los Angeles<sup>21</sup>

According to Kern County historian Guy Hughes, each down-the-line apartment had one door and one window that opened to the alley.<sup>22</sup> When Col. Thomas Baker laid out Bakersfield streets and blocks, he used the Surveyor's Rod of 16-1/2 ft, and when that unit is applied to the Sanborn Fire Maps, the down-the-line apartments were about 13 by 19-ft. So by today's standards those rooms would not be considered small, and they certainly had no resemblance to the tiny, squalid cribs of Gold Rush San Francisco.

Bakersfield's article of city incorporation in 1898 included an ordinance against the  
“... keeping of a house of ill fame, the interior of which is not screened [*curtained*]; keeping a disorderly house, or house of assignation. All persons convicted . . . and who do not pay a fine

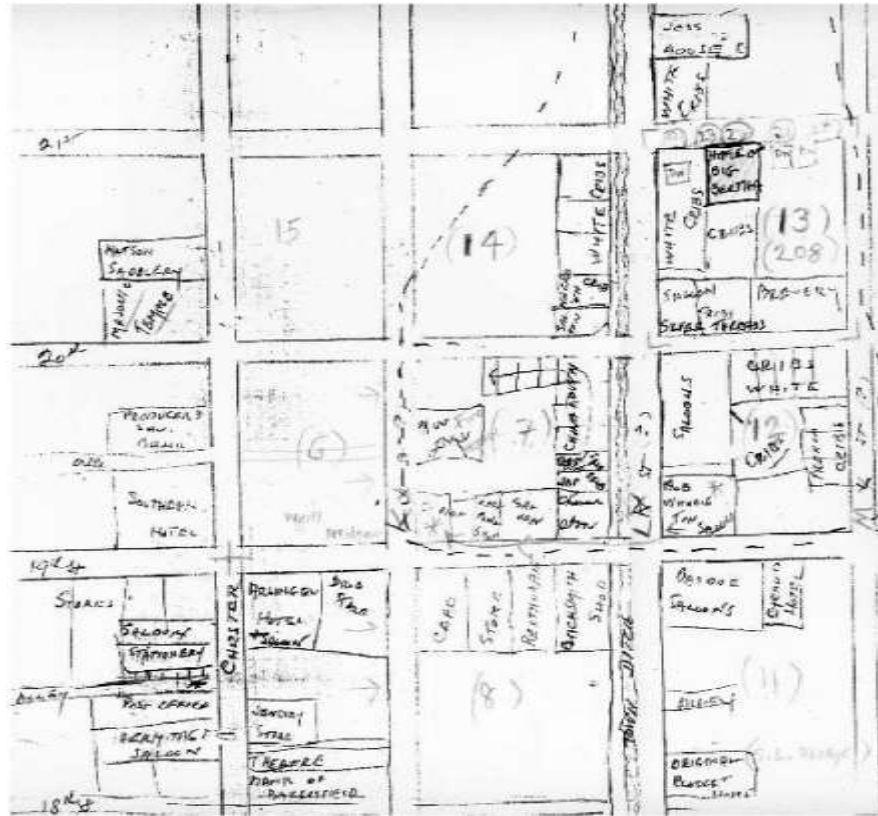
[are] to labor upon the streets. If such prisoners decline to labor as directed, the city marshal is directed to feed them on a diet of bread and water. ”<sup>23</sup>

No evidence was found showing it was enforced.

Drinking, gambling and prostitution was often fatal. In 1902 “Kid” Robbins killed 38 year-old John Withington and his consort the “notorious scarlet woman” Kittie Yorke.<sup>24</sup> In 1903 Billy Abbott, an ex-dive keeper, arrived on the night train from Los Angeles to visit the Tenderloin. In the early morning hours Abbott was robbed and his face “beaten to a jelly.”<sup>25</sup> Town residents were not safe, either. One Saturday night, Tenderloin violence jumped over to the business section of Chester when, with a single, powerful blow to the jaw, an assailant knocked out Californian reporter Arthur R. Hinton and disappeared back into the Tenderloin.<sup>26</sup> In early 1903 Sheriff John W. Kelley raided gambling houses in the Tenderloin yet found all empty but one. Addressing the sheriff, the Delano Record wrote later, “You have big job ahead of you. The gambling hells have been the shame and disgrace of Bakersfield too long.”<sup>27</sup>

The Kern County Grand Jury applauded Sheriff Kelly's “noble work” to improve Bakersfield, but the sheriff had enemies in city government, and he lacked support from the Deputy District Attorney and the former city marshal. The current city marshal, Davis, was not doing well under the Bakersfield Board of Trustees, either, and some of the public saw them as interfering with his duties.<sup>28</sup> In early 1904 the Grand Jury visited the Tenderloin<sup>29</sup> and afterward called for the removal of the scarlet women:

“There is a State law (Sec 316 of the Penal Code) which prohibits renting property for the purposes of prostitution, but it is a misdemeanor and is not under the province of the Grand Jury. The property referred to is almost in the heart of Bakersfield, and it adjoins the business district and a portion of the residential district of the city. Unquestionably for the interest of Bakersfield this law should be enforced, and the time to enforce it is NOW.”<sup>30</sup>



Claude Blodget's Tenderloin Map, drawn 1904-1910  
Brignaudy's cribs were at southwest corner of 20th and L

The Grand Jury lacked enforcement muscle. After a Chinatown fire in 1904, saloon owner Clemente Borsi tore down a burned building and erected a one-story, sandstone brick divided into small rooms.<sup>31</sup> On the hand-drawn, Claude Blodget Tenderloin map shown above, a saloon is shown at the northwest corner of L and 20<sup>th</sup>, and shown next to it are four lines of cribs extending north along L to 21st street. One is marked Negro, the other three marked White.<sup>32</sup> Sanborn fire insurance maps sometimes labeled the cribs Female Boarding House. In January 1905 Luisa de Yough sold one of her storefronts on M street to a Mrs. Bertha Bernard for \$125 in gold.<sup>33</sup> It is notable that De Yough, Bernard, and Brignaudy were French citizens, and the Claude Blodget Tenderloin map shows “French cribs” on the west side of M Street.

At this time, businessmen brought a petition before the Board of Trustees demanding that the liquor licenses awarded to the notorious dance halls be pulled. When board president (and Mayor) H. H. Fish ordered a roll call, Trustee Ronald McDonald protested. Fish preceded anyway, but McDonald refused to vote.<sup>34</sup> Because Trustees Fish and Glenn were also in favor, the liquor applications of Frank M. Carrillo, Carlie Withington, Rupp and Dillon, and Dellaringa and Hagan were revoked.<sup>35</sup> That action did not last long.

If Bakersfield's political power was equally distributed, the dive owners would have been out of business, but one powerful interest probably skewed the political scale more than others. The influence of the Southern Pacific Railroad in state and local politics was perceptible. Between 1895 and 1910, 79 railroad rate-cases came before the California Supreme Court, and 57 were ruled in favor of the railroad.<sup>36</sup>

From 1893 to 1910 William Franklin Herrin, chief counsel for the Southern Pacific, distributed bribes and kickbacks across California to local officials.<sup>37</sup> Dr. John R. Haynes of Los Angeles wrote, "From the village constable to the governor of the State, the official selection of the peoples' officials lay with Mr. Herrin or his subordinates. . . the railroad machine."<sup>38</sup> The Southern Pacific's largess made the men who favored the railroad, and if those officials happened also to be doing business in liquor, gambling, and prostitution, then so be it.<sup>39</sup>

The red-light district was a warren of vice. Historian Guy Hughes recalled 19<sup>th</sup> and L streets when he was a teenager in 1908:

"If all were put in one solid mass it would occupy about four square blocks, which for voting purposes was the Third, popularly called the Bloody Third.<sup>40</sup> There were four dance halls to the white trade. One was the Standard owned by Frank Carrillo, the Owl owned by Cal Withington,<sup>41</sup> the Palace owned by Rupp and Dillon, and later by Slim Moore. The Brewery was run by Walter Gray.<sup>42</sup> There was a Salvation Army lassie in uniform who worked the area and was treated with respect. There was always a City councilman, prominent churchmen, bankers, and owners of property in the district who pulled strings so officers could do no more than keep things quiet, or status quo."

Omar Cavins, a member of Kern County High School's graduating class of 1908 told a similar story:

"Us kids of high school age, why, we went in the saloons and anywhere. . . I used to go in the side door of the Arlington. . . Clustered in the four blocks that cornered on [19<sup>th</sup> and Chester] there must have been a dozen saloons. . . . Slot machines were everywhere. And they had rooms upstairs that were really, well, houses of prostitution -- whorehouses. They had a whole block on K street, that belonged to Chinatown, that had cribs, individual rooms, opened up with a window on the street, and the girls, Black and White, sat in there and tried to solicit business."<sup>43</sup>

In 1905 city trustee Ronald McDonald defeated incumbent councilman H. H. Fish for mayor of the Board of Trustees. In that election, 1,080 votes were cast in the "Bloody" Fifth District, and 630 of them went to McDonald. Trustee Fish remarked that the lopsided vote was a victory for a wide-

open town.<sup>44</sup> He might just as well have said it was the victory OF a wide-open town because election fraud was endemic. An early resident recalled,

“At the time I arrived in Bakersfield which was the twenty-seventh day of December 1909, it was a wide-open, rip-roaring, frontier town, with sixty-five saloons, a population of about 8,500, and a red light district that was a wonder . . . dominated by the saloon and red-light elements. Consequently there was considerable graft and corruption in local elections and politics, and the residential element were practically without a voice in political affairs. On election days the saloon element rolled out the big automobiles with muffler wide open and rushed about hauling their voters to the polls. There were many fake registrations of non-residents whose registration addresses were local rooming houses, and most of the voted at the 'Old Bloody Third' precinct in the old fire station at Twentieth and K streets. . . .”<sup>45</sup>

The Los Angeles Times had its own take on Mayor McDonald.

"No one will dare to deny that Mayor McDonald is one of the largest property owners in the tenderloin district; that he owns the site of the vile den popularly known as the 'City Brewery;' that he is recognized by everyone has an active and ardent supporter of "wide open" conditions; that in the last election the line between him and Mr. Fish was fairly and squarely drawn on the question of reform or return to old conditions and that Mr. McDonald went into office on this issue.”<sup>46</sup>

The Times equated vice and corruption with unionism.

“No one will venture to deny that M. T. Keene, H. W. McMullen, Charles Gardner and a number of other shining lights in Bakersfield labor circles were Mr. McDonald's most active supporters and that it was known and understood by everyone that in this they were acting as the representatives of labor unionism. . . . No one can give a single reason for their course except their wish for a ‘wide open ‘ town. . . . The Bakersfield papers cannot deny that gambling is again running and that the sheriff has not suppressed it.”<sup>47</sup>

The Times' pursued its diatribe two weeks later in a vituperative column that painted Bakersfield as “a modern Babylon whose name has long been a stench in the nostrils of decent people from Tacoma to San Diego. ” The paper underscored “Bakersfield's shameful rule by labor unions, gamblers and black legs,” and described the town's evils:

“Gambling hells wide open, whether disguised as ‘athletic clubs’ or not, prostitutes flaunting their shame in the face of decent people anywhere and everywhere, fifty saloons in a population of

8,000, running twenty-four hours every day in the year, with wine rooms open to all, and women entering at all hours on the Main Street by the front door; dance halls running every night to debauch youth; a tenderloin district covering an area as large as that of many a city of half a million inhabitants whose iniquity has been exploited in hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles, and with the deadly grip of the unions on the throat of industry and the deadly virus of the jaw-smith's influence in politics . . . Bakersfield, redeem thyself. It may be hard at first, but sooner or later it must be done.”<sup>48</sup>

Marie-Térèse Brignaudy arrived in Bakersfield during this period . The 5-ft-6-in, brown-haired, 30-some with a mole on her left cheek<sup>49</sup> signed a 10-year lease on the Bowling Alley Saloon at 1919 M Street. <sup>50</sup> A few months later she bought it outright from W. J. Doherty. <sup>51</sup> Brignaudy next signed a lease on "ten rooms or houses" on six city lots near 19<sup>th</sup> and R Streets by the Kern Island Canal. The owner was Louise de Yongh [sic, *Yough*], “fem sole.”<sup>52</sup> It was a remarkably lenient lease. Brignaudy could buy the property at any time for \$8,500 (\$3,000 down and the balance at 7%) or abandon the lease at any time without penalty. <sup>53</sup>

Included in the agreement was an inventory of property, which suggests the use of the rooms. All had curtains and pictures on the walls. Some were carpeted, although most were covered with floral-patterned linoleum. One room had a cherry-wood bedroom-set, the others had blue or white enameled bed frames. One mattress was “wire woven,” the others were stuffed with gray or white hair. All had comforters; some with “top comforters.” The rooms were furnished with oak and walnut bureaus, several were marble topped. Each room had an oak, walnut, or cherry washstand and an oak chifferobe. One room had a wardrobe and an enameled dressing table. Because all rooms had enameled bowls and pitchers, there was probably no inside plumbing. Seating included sofas, lounges, and settees, one cherry rocker, and several upholstered oak chairs. Kitchen tables had benches and chairs, and there were cupboards and oak sideboards. At least one of the rented rooms was set up for cooking because the inventory included a Jewell Gas Stove with four burners. One apartment had a safe, and it seems likely that that space was more elaborately furnished than the others. One room had an ash stand [for cigars] and there were various square and round tables. The inventory suggests these apartments were for extended use, but the safe and single ash stand point to the possibility that business was transacted there.

Savage stories about the Tenderloin appeared often in the newspapers. In 1905 a butcher named Edward Cody got in a fight. His opponent cut Cody's head severely and bit off an ear and



Cody's nose. When asked about the event, the injured man could not recall what started the fight.<sup>54</sup>

Late in 1905 Mme. Brignaudy bought a 33-ft frontage house at 1015 18th Street from building contractor James H. Arp.<sup>55</sup> Terms were \$400 down and \$25 a month for six years.<sup>56</sup> A penciled note in the margin of the loan shows that Brignaudy paid off the six-year loan in seven months.<sup>57</sup> She lived there for three years but then rented it. During the next decade she used the property as loan collateral.<sup>58</sup>

In 1906, prostitutes Alice Duffee, Tilly Shattuck, Mary Gilson, and "Navajo," were arrested and charged with robbery. Sheriff Baker declined to state the names of the men involved because "the victims are anxious to avoid publicity, and have refused to name the women, who will be tried for vagrancy and ordered to leave the city."<sup>59</sup>

In spring, Marie Brignaudy was setting up in a new business, and in May, Carlie Withington, owner of the Owl Saloon and dance hall, transferred undisclosed valuable property, probably liquor, to "Marie TH. Brignaudy." She promised to repay the loan in one year at 10% "for value received," which was shown to be \$800. Banker and investor S. W. Wible cosigned the note.<sup>60</sup>

Violence flared in March 1907 when a patron entered the East Side Saloon on 19th street and asked proprietor John Roth for a glass of beer. As Roth stooped to fill a glass the man shouted, "Stand up! I am going to kill you!" He fired. Roth dashed the glass into the man's face, but he fired two more shots, point blank. Both missed. The man fled.<sup>61</sup>

On an early morning a few days after that, flames from a carelessly attended kerosene furnace ignited the back room of the barber shop in the Cosmopolitan Hotel on 19th between L and M.<sup>62</sup> The fire spread quickly, but when Fire Chief Ed Willow's men attached their hose and opened the fireplug, no water came out; oil from the town ditch had clogged it. All the firemen could do was rescue items from the burning building. It was lost within the hour.<sup>63</sup> Owners losing most were Paul [Pablo] Galtes, Simon W. Wible, and 55 year-old John E. Bailey, president of the City Council and owner of the Cosmopolitan.<sup>64</sup>

The next day's headlines read, in two-inch caps, "COSMOPOLITAN BLOCK BURNED AT LAST!" Back in 1889 a fire destroyed 15 downtown, city blocks. Inexplicably, it bypassed buildings in the Cosmopolitan block. After that fire, Bakersfield rebuilt in brick, which made the old Cosmopolitan Block seem even more like a tinderbox awaiting the next big fire.<sup>65</sup>

Brignaudy's Bowling Alley Saloon on the north east corner facing M and 20<sup>th</sup>, and owing to Willow's efforts her saloon escaped the fire. The next day Brignaudy presented a \$50 check to Chief Ed Willow and his "fire laddies."<sup>66</sup> Pablo C. Castro's Ringside Saloon burned, but even as the ashes cooled the next day, Castro had reopened for business at the Old Brewery, just north and across 20th Street from Brignaudy's saloon.<sup>67</sup>

Castro's was not a business threat; Brignaudy was preparing to move. In June, Castro signed a five-year lease with her on the Bowling Alley Saloon and bought all her liquor and cigars.<sup>68</sup> Castro would conduct the saloon, but Brignaudy had transferred the liquor license to a W. E. Cline.<sup>69</sup>

Included in the Castro lease were the "rooms or apartments connected therewith and the personal property on said premises." That property was itemized: An electric light sign; a front bar; back bar; four wine-room tables; four beer garden tables; ice chest; desk; poker table; 24 bar-room chairs; 12 beer-garden chairs; four single and six double electric-light chandeliers; and three awnings. Inventoried, too, were a piano, cash register, two slot machines, "one cigar slot machine," "one electric treatment machine," two-dozen beer glasses, two-dozen cocktail glasses, two-dozen wine glasses, one-dozen whiskey glasses, three mixing glasses, a lemonade shaker, a lemon squeezer, six bar-bitters, six cordial bottles, a beer mallet, and an ice chest with ice pick. Castro agreed to assume Brignaudy's payments on the cash register and piano.<sup>70</sup>

Other listed personal property pertained to the back of the saloon: An "annunciator board with 20 bells," one stove and smoke pipe, one sofa, and seven portière curtains.<sup>71</sup> The 17 "rooms or apartments" were sparsely furnished compared to Brignaudy's apartments on R street near the canal. Each of the 17 cribs behind the Bowling Alley Saloon had a bed with springs, a mattress, comforter, two pillows, two chairs, a bureau, curtains, a washstand with a pitcher, bowl, and a slop jar. One or two of these rooms probably faced onto the alley between 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>, and because the inventory included "337 feet of fencing," the building was probably a partially enclosed compound.<sup>72</sup>

Late in 1907 Brignaudy used her home on 18th street as collateral for a \$25,000, five-year loan from John E. Bailey.<sup>73</sup> It probably helped finance construction of the new saloon and two-story hotel she was building on the site of Bailey's burned-out Cosmopolitan Hotel.<sup>74</sup> A marginal entry on the Bailey loan shows that she repaid it in 11 months, which suggests 11 payments of \$2,300 a month.<sup>75</sup> Brignaudy's income from the lease of the Bowling Alley Saloon was \$300 a month. The balance of \$2,000 a month could have come from her 17 rooms on R street.

In spring 1908 board member Everett St. Claire tried to make the council take action against the Tenderloin. A newspaper reported, “The women who gain their livelihood in the district may be a necessary evil, but the district in which they will be allowed to frequent and live will be restricted.” St. Claire warned that unless the Tenderloin were constrained, Bakersfield would suffer the same unfortunate lessons as Los Angeles and Fresno. Those towns closed their tenderloins, but then the women plied their trade at random in all areas of the towns.<sup>76</sup> The Bakersfield city council did not immediately act on St. Claire's proposal,<sup>77</sup> but in April they did,<sup>78</sup> and it passed unanimously. A most unpopular provision prohibited saloons and cafes from serving alcohol to women at the lunch hour and between 5 pm and 8 pm.

A small, black-outlined box appeared without comment on the front page of the July Californian. It noted that Mme. Brignaudy would construct a first class, 56 by 115-ft, three-story, white sandstone brick hotel on the burned-out Cosmopolitan block.<sup>79</sup> Its ground-floor, 1218-19th Street, would be a saloon. Work started but was then halted for several months, perhaps to allow Mme. Brignaudy to accumulate more funds.

Bakersfield's police and businessmen were uncommonly cooperative. In 1908 Kern County Deputy Sheriff James Quinn charged Kitty Castro with being a “common” prostitute, but at the trial, city police officers Bowen and Glenn “swore they did not know the difference between a house of prostitution and a grocery store. And they could not tell the difference between a prostitute and a decent woman. Neither of them knew whether there was a house of prostitution or a prostitute in the city or not.”<sup>80</sup>

Such disdain for the law surely drew criticism, but general disgust with moral conditions was not limited to Bakersfield. Alarmed at the prospect of a national prohibition, the National Model License League, an association of distillers, brewers, wine makers, wholesales and retailers, met in Louisville, Kentucky in 1908, and the Bakersfield Californian reported President T. M. Gilmore's remarks: “The edict has gone forth that saloons must obey all laws – that they must not sell to intoxicated men nor to habitual drunkards, nor to minors – that they must not exhibit improper pictures, not connect themselves with gambling resorts – in a word that the saloons must not be a nuisance.”<sup>81</sup>

In December, building contractor William E. Cline bought Brignaudy's retail liquor license for \$2,000,<sup>82</sup> which allowed her to turn her attention to the Shamrock saloon she was building on the Cosmopolitan block. A murder in the Tenderloin soon made Brignaudy's legal transaction back-page

news. Laura Logan attacked Annie Williams with a butcher knife. Williams in response fired seven shots. Logan died instantly, and two stray bullets hit Paul Alleoud who was passing by in a buggy.<sup>83</sup>

A letter to the *Morning Echo* in 1909 complained about the lax enforcement of City Ordinance Section 1, which outlawed private boxes and portieres<sup>84</sup> in saloons. Section 1 also required patrons to be in full, public view at all times, although some days after the letter an editor noted that the rule was “quite generally disregarded.”<sup>85</sup>

The city council was overly zealous in crafting the ruling because in addition to saloons it also had included restaurants, grills, cafes, and buffets. Restaurant profits fell, and later in the month 50 city leaders appeared before the Council, asked for a change, and insisted it would not “corrupt the good morals of the city of Bakersfield.” Councilman St Clare, author of the ruling, happened to be in Coalinga that day, but present was Hotelman Tegler and County Supervisor Henry A. Jastro. Both spoke in favor of exempting the eateries, and Jastro concluded his statement with the words “I know you will do the right thing. I have no fear to leave this case in your hands. I thank you.”<sup>86</sup>

The Tenderloin did not lack some etiquette. Women in saloons were expected to stay sober, and waiters, whether in the better-managed saloons or not, knocked before drawing back the heavy drapes around booths.<sup>87</sup> Still, etiquette did little to curb violence. In 1909 William A. “Slim” Moore, owner of the Palace Dance Hall, knocked out the teeth of an Owl dance hall girl,<sup>88</sup> and that assault and probably other unreported incidents caused councilmen to flex their legislative muscles.

For some time the council had been accused of inaction against saloons, and after the Slim Moore attack, Trustee Stoner announced, “Let’s do something. We always talk and always fall down. This time we will not.”<sup>89</sup> Denied his dance hall license, Moore closed the Palace, paid off employees, and sold his stock of liquor and cigars to Sam Sweitzer of the Poppy Saloon.<sup>90</sup> Aurelio Herrera and Baldy Wilson of the Club Saloon also lost their license, and the Council steamed on by authorizing the sheriff to organize a chain gang.<sup>91</sup> Wrote the *Echo*, “Thus endeth the first real lesson to keepers of brothels and dives in the town of Bakersfield.”<sup>92</sup>

With two saloons darkened, the *Echo* then focused on Bakersfield's “next most pestilential and discreditable nuisances,”<sup>93</sup> the Withington brothers' Owl and Frank Carrillo’s Standard. The Withingtons were busy, Carrillo’s dance floor was covered with fresh sawdust, his orchestra played on, and the tables and chairs arranged for drinks. The *Echo* noted,

“Girls were present in large numbers. ”<sup>94</sup>

The *Echo* was focused on moving prostitution from public view. “. . . The next step of the trustees, it is said, now that the dance halls are gone, is to be directed toward keeping the lewd women off the streets and in their abodes as much as possible . . . and keep their rooms shut up in front. It will be for them to remain as much as possible off the street, and when they do appear they will have to appear in other attire than the flaunting regalia of the underworld which makes such a nauseating show in public. The soliciting of their ill-famed trade in public will not be tolerated. ”<sup>95</sup> The newspaper noted that the city ordinance against “lewd women and the plying of their avocation” had been stringently written but poorly enforced. . . The outside rooms and little houses, it said, were still quite well filled.<sup>96</sup>

The first serious skirmish with vice had started. The next break in the Tenderloin's armor came days later in Judge Thomas' court. Ten Japanese women who had been run out of town on vagrancy charges were in court seeking redress, and George Flournoy represented all of them in the name of Hana Kimura, “a Japanese woman of the tenderloin trying to prove she has the right to live down-the-line and ply her avocation of ill fame. ”<sup>97</sup> The case was argued and sent to jury.

As judgment awaited, a placard in front of the Standard Saloon announced it was no longer a dance hall. But in reality, very little had changed. Partitions in the saloon were erected to remark women and men, but waiters delivered liquor back and forth between them. A newspaper observed that the Standard still catered to the “drink-loving persons who like to have a drink with women. ” The *Echo* added, “The side rooms of the Owl, the Pioneer, the Bowling Alley Saloon, and Borsi's are nearly all filled with women. ”<sup>98</sup>

These women lived nearby in the rented row houses and boarding houses on 19<sup>th</sup> street east of Chester avenue.<sup>99</sup> Census data of 1910 collected at a lodging house at 1125 19th Street showed that proprietor Alfred Pittman rented rooms to 44 male lodgers and nine, single, females between the ages of 25 and 30. The women had no listed occupations.<sup>100</sup>

George Flournoy's jury found against Hana Kimura and the others. A newspaper wrote, “If the present case stands as a precedent, the city will be able to rid itself entirely of

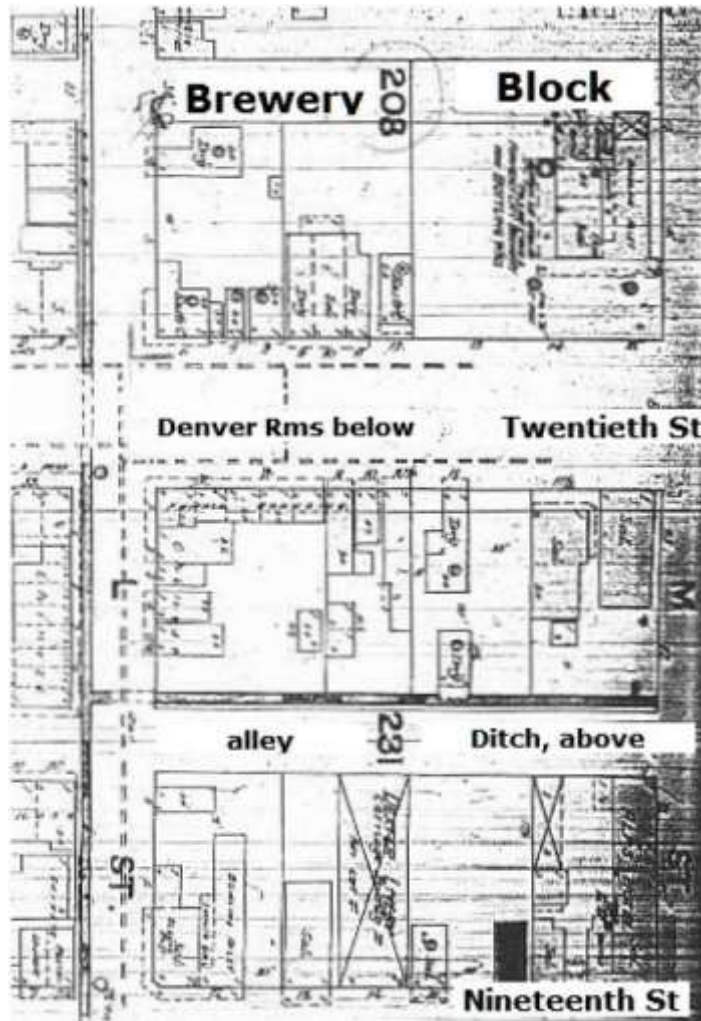
the crib women and the host of other lewd women who inhabit the underworld. ”<sup>101</sup> Bakersfield was part of a national trend. Congress had enacted laws against Red-light prostitution,<sup>102</sup> but individual citizens had their own solutions to eradicating prostitution. Reformer Maude Younger of San Francisco who championed fair wages and the vote for woman said those two changes would do more to keep a girl respectable “than all the rescue missions in existence. ”<sup>103</sup> The *Morning Echo*, acting as Bakersfield’s moral guide, invited readers to tell how Bakersfield could improve itself, and in response 24 letters arrived from merchants. Only two mentioned the Tenderloin problem, but the next day 37 of them accused local “bosses” of perpetuating Bakersfield's vice problem. <sup>104</sup> Opinions about moral change fell into close camps. T. G. Patterson called for strict enforcement of the law: “Close every house of prostitution. Stop all gambling. Enforce the laws we have and pass good, clean ordinances on dance halls, saloons, gambling, etc. , sufficient to give us a clean town. ” W. B. Beasley said the tenderloin was an unfortunate economic attraction: “Quit advertising the red-light district as one of the shows of the town. Let us at least maintain it as a side-show, away on the side and properly policed. ” Phil Dellor characterized it as an unavoidable necessity: “. . . Above all things move the red-light district out of the center of town, put them down on the river. But don’t chase them away altogether, as all must consider the virtue of our daughters, and the red-light district, as a necessary evil. ” F. E. Borton agreed and offered a pragmatic solution: “Recognize the tenderloin district as a thing that must and will be. Regulate it and remove it from directly under the noses of the community. ”<sup>105</sup>

After the newspaper's series the police still by passed the cribs and down-the-line women. The Echo wrote, “There is scarcely an hour in the daytime or at night when one or more red-light women cannot be seen with their windows open, the women having their heads stuck out of the opening, soliciting. ”<sup>106</sup> The newspaper conceded that the prostitutes were otherwise behaved, but it added, ”their half-world appearance on the streets clad in the unseemly red-light attire” was “chiefly nauseating and undesirable because of its flaunting appearance and coarse looseness. ”

107 The Echo continued, “In regard to the tenderloin proper it is much the same as old. The red light women occupy the ‘cribs’ in large numbers and are allowed as many privileges as in the past. The section of the misdemeanor ordinance forbidding them to solicit or appear out of

their places or keep their windows open is flagrantly violated nightly. The police are making no visible attempt to enforce this particular section. ”<sup>108</sup>

The vagrancy ordinance proposed by Councilman A. F. Stoner passed later that month and imposed a fine up to \$300 and 90 days in jail on “lewd or dissolute persons,” “common prostitutes,” and “every person who lives in a house of ill fame. ”<sup>109</sup> It was succinct, direct, and had little impact. Two months later the *Echo* wrote, “Not content with having an already immense and nefarious tenderloin in the heart of the city, one of the first things to be seen on entering from the Southern Pacific gateway is a big addition in the shape of a score, more or less, of ill-looking homes of debauchery know as ‘cribs’. ”<sup>110</sup> The *Echo* might have referred to the owner of the Palace Saloon and Frank Carrillo of the Standard Theater who had recently remodeled their business “for ill-fame purposes. ”<sup>111</sup> The *Echo* also reported that additional shacks would be built opposite the “notorious” Standard Theater and in the old Brewery Block between L and M and north of 20<sup>th</sup>.<sup>112</sup> The *Echo* wrote, “The addition of twenty more cribs will bring the number of cribs to 125 or possibly 150. Also there are no less than five or six so-called homes of shame that are classed as parlor houses. ”<sup>113</sup>



In May 1910 Mme. Brignaudy borrowed against her house on 18th street to obtain a 24 month, \$1,500 loan from Fermin Silva.<sup>114</sup> She halted construction on the Cosmopolitan Hotel, and bought the Denver Rooms at 1219-20th Street.<sup>115</sup> The Denver was not unique. Saloons, hotels, and rooming houses crowded 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> streets between today's Central Park and Chester avenue.<sup>116</sup> In the 1910 Census collected at 1125 19th Street, proprietor Alfred Pittman rented to 44 male lodgers, and nine, single female lodgers who were between the ages of 25 and 30. Their occupations were not listed.<sup>117</sup>

In fall a barber named A. Korens leased a street-level store front at Brignaudy's new building and agreed to use the space "solely for barbering, and no other purpose. No lady employees to be permitted on said demised [*leased*] premises by lessee."<sup>118</sup> Had Mme. Brignaudy added that restriction to avoid the appearance of vice? Certainly the back door of her



building led to the down-the-line cribs, and much violence. In September 1910, a man stabbed Cecil, a woman of the line. She chased after him, but he escaped on a passing streetcar.<sup>119</sup>

Late in 1910 Mme. Brignaudy leased the new Shamrock Saloon to Henry R. Alleoud. The lease provides details of its contents and suggests the path customers took when entering and exiting the saloon. The inventory included two cash registers, a front and back bar, eight framed pictures, 75 glasses, 10 bar-bottles, five bitters bottles, 20 demijohns, one-dozen towels, one-dozen bar aprons, Linoleum, an icebox, four liquor room tables, 28 chairs, two pool tables with cues, balls and appurtenances, a desk, two desk chairs, and “a stove and stove pipe in the rear.”<sup>120</sup> The two bars and two cash registers suggest the saloon had two entrances, the alley door providing a short cut to the cribs and the saloons that faced 20<sup>th</sup> Street.

By 1911 the wide-open dance halls were gone but cribs and houses of ill fame remained immune to law enforcement. In April private citizens brought charges against Marshal James McKamy for failing to enforce laws against vice and gambling, and they threatened to block his reappointment. McKamy answered, “I’ve been in office for four years, and I have less than two men per shift.”<sup>121</sup> As he underwent his grilling by the City Council, vice in Bakersfield continued profitable. Clemente Borsi and L. Dellaringa leased cribs from Peter Matsuura, another vice manager. In May, Charlie Ming was convicted of running a house of ill fame, but his fine of \$100 was probably little more than an annoyance.<sup>122</sup>

In June, the *Echo* reported that Mme. Brignaudy restarted construction on the Cosmopolitan Hotel and her mother was visiting:

“A new three-story hotel building will soon be erected over the Shamrock saloon between L and M Streets, on Nineteenth Street, in a short time by Mrs. Teresa Brignaudy. The building will have a frontage of 40 feet and will be 115 feet deep. It will be constructed of brick and steel and will be one of the handsomest structures on east Nineteenth street. It is to cost approximately \$20,000 and the contract will be let within a short time. The lower floor provision will be made for a barbershop, saloon, and restaurant, while the two upper floors will be constructed into sleeping-rooms. Mrs. Brignaudy said yesterday that as soon as her mother, Mrs. Somnier, arrived from France that work on the building will be started. Mrs. Somnier is to be interested in the building.”<sup>123</sup>

An undated photograph of Brignaudy's building on 19<sup>th</sup> street appears in *Bakersfield Picture Album*.<sup>124</sup> Under the street number 1218 is a sign that says Pete's Billiard Parlor. That was Brignaudy's saloon. Another sign identifies the Virginia Hotel on the second and third floors, which are accessible from a stairway to the left of the barber shop.<sup>125</sup>

Unlike the old Cosmopolitan that occupied almost all of Block 231 on 19<sup>th</sup> street, Brignaudy's building was only 44-feet. As her hotel neared completion, she leased a 47-room, second-floor lodging house from

Ching Fook at 1926 L Street on the southeast corner of 20<sup>th</sup> and L.<sup>126</sup> Her decision to enter the rooming house business was driven by the economic impact of oil on Bakersfield business. By 1912 the population had grown to 15,000, and according to Supervisor H. A. Jastro that number was likely to double "within a year or so more."<sup>127</sup>

By now Brignaudy's property holdings were extensive. She owned her 18<sup>th</sup> street home, the New Cosmopolitan Hotel, the cribs at 1919 M Street, and leased the apartments on R next to the canal. She also either leased or owned the Denver Rooming House at 20<sup>th</sup> and L.<sup>128</sup>

In 1911 Bakersfield businesses competed with the Tenderloin for space, and increasing traffic on 19<sup>th</sup> street, which was the town's main thoroughfare, made the red light district even more noticeable. As repulsive as cribs were to some citizens, the little shacks remained legitimate, private enterprises, and the city lacked the authority to prohibit them.<sup>129</sup> But it could contain them. In spring 1911, Trustees restricted prostitution to the block bounded by L and M Streets and from 20<sup>th</sup> into the Old Brewery block. When Carlie Withington tried to build two-story, brick cribs on the south side of the 20<sup>th</sup> street alley between L and M, the Council said no.<sup>130</sup>

Vice operators complained of it as an infringement of business rights, but at the same time they had good reason to believe that the past performance of the city council meant the vice business would continue quid pro quo.<sup>131</sup> Unfortunate for Mme. Brignaudy, the city enforced the boundary ordinance, which placed her cribs at M and 20<sup>th</sup> firmly outside the red light district. Her rental income from the cribs disappeared.

Bakersfield was experiencing an economic boom, but did Mme. Brignaudy foresee that moral change coming? Hiram Johnson, a moderate, was elected Governor of California in

November 1910, but the sentiment of progressive reform pushed him to becoming a reform leader.<sup>132</sup> In November 1911 California voters expanded the state constitution by adding the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, as well as other progressive reforms: Secret ballot, direct primary elections, popular election of senators, and nonpartisan election of judges, all of which hastened the decline of the Bakersfield Tenderloin. In January 1911 suffrage was extended to California women.

In January 1911 Madame Brignaudy filed civil action against Carl Withington, and others<sup>133</sup> since according to city statute, private parties could sue those responsible for negatively impacting the businesses of others. In Judge Jackson Mahon's court, Brignaudy accused owners of the "notorious" cribs at L and 20th of damaging her legitimate business interests at the Denver Rooms and the New Cosmopolitan.<sup>134</sup> Deputy Sheriff Dooley served summonses, two bus loads of women were taken to jail, and Dooley still had 25 blank summonses in reserve.<sup>135</sup>

J. H. Tam, defense attorney for the crib managers, submitted depositions claiming that Brignaudy's case was a spite suit filed to shut down the cribs.<sup>136</sup> That statement was not supported by later newspaper accounts, but was probably true. What was true was that some city council members owned rental property in the tenderloin, and Brignaudy's action threatened their income.

Carlie Withington's attorney hired San Francisco detectives C. L. Hazlett and L. C. Slothower, and they rented rooms at Madame Brignaudy's Denver Rooming House. They later testified that several prostitutes solicited them for dollar drinks, and one of them said that Brignaudy offered them \$35 to work in her cribs at 20th and M.<sup>137</sup> Accusations, counter accusations, and innuendo filled the newspapers: The Cosmopolitan and Denver were unsavory places, Mme. Brignaudy threw a tantrum when prostitutes refused to rent her cribs,<sup>138</sup> and San Francisco detectives saw prostitutes working out of the Denver.<sup>139</sup>

That private squabble among vice operators did not set well with the court. Judge Mahon stood squarely against the larger issue of police favoritism, which was an accusation of the Grand Jury, and the judge reminded the public that it was still a felony to place a woman in a house of ill fame or to live on her earnings. Mahon said,

"Because this has been running for such a long time, the people have someway or another closed their eyes to it and have stood it a long time that conditions exist here which officers do not try to stop. The cribs are open right there in the streets. People who want to go downtown have to go around it like it is a pest. I want the cribs closed and the houses put out of business. I will not have these eyesores. " 140

The judicial scolding worked. In the last days of 1911, parlor house managers were on their way out. A newspaper noted that a Frankie McManus, woman proprietor of a resort known as the Antlers, had left town taking with her everything except the furniture and leaving a large number of unpaid bills. The Echo wrote,

"The report was current on the streets this morning that the remaining houses would be closed before the time allowed them by the Grand Jury, but whether or not they will, remains to be seen. There is speculation as to what will become of the woman inmates. Some it is said some will depart from Bakersfield, while others will continue to reside here in the downtown section of the city, as many of the women who were thrown on the streets when the cribs were closed. . . <sup>141</sup>

The town cribs became cheap rentals,<sup>142</sup> but in February, Judge Mahon ordered them closed pending further investigation by the Grand Jury. <sup>143</sup> That action might have emboldened Policeman Shannon to arrest Mme. Brignaudy for conducting a house of ill fame. <sup>144</sup> She claimed the charges, were fabricated and that police harassed her while ignoring the rooming houses that openly allowed prostitution. <sup>145</sup> She charged unnamed Bakersfield businessmen of blaming her for closing-down the "old line district" and bringing about a downturn in business. She also said they threatened to blow up any buildings she put on 19th street. Mr. Solomon, President of the Merchants Association, denied all accusations. <sup>146</sup>

Using the Cosmopolitan as collateral Brignaudy borrowed \$16,000 from Guarantee & Trust Company of Los Angeles. Some of the funds paid her bail, some paid her attorney, W. Wyman Smith,<sup>147</sup> and some paid her back property taxes. <sup>148</sup>

The publicity personally damaged Brignaudy. She was called vile names and insulted on the streets, and newspapers identified her now as "the notorious Madame Brignaudy. "<sup>149</sup> On March 25, 1912, "Marie Theresa Ledoux, formerly Brignaudy," 44, drafted two un-

witnessed, holographic wills, one in English and one in French. They named L. S Wible as executor and granted him \$5,000. <sup>150</sup>

Her trial on charges of keeping a disorderly house returned a hung jury, eight for acquittal, four for conviction. At the retrial on April 2, 1912, in Judge Thomas' court, S. Wyman Smith disrupted proceedings by charging that the judge had discussed the case in public. <sup>151</sup> Smith also produced evidence that police threatened a vagrant with extra jail time if he did not testify against Madame Brignaudy. <sup>152</sup> Judge Thomas recused himself, and the case was sent to Judge Flournoy's court. <sup>153</sup>

In the second trial City Attorneys Rollin Laird and J. R. Dorsey faced S. Wyman Smith and Thomas Scott. <sup>154</sup> This trial was marked by charges, counter charges, and much public debate. In a letter to the Echo "A Citizen" described a saloon brawl in East Bakersfield in which a man was killed. His body lay for some time next to a card table while several men played poker. The letter said the men showed "utmost indifference to the fact that the dead lay but a few feet away." It concluded,

" . . . One is led to wonder if Bakersfield is still living in the atmosphere of the border town or the mining camp. . . . A passive scene like his shows that we have still a long way to go before we can consider ourselves entitled to the respect of other self-respecting cities. The gambling house and brothel are still in such evidence that no law abiding and home-loving citizen should fail to make his protest felt at every opportunity. " <sup>155</sup>

During Brignaudy's trial the people called Margaret Simmons. She testified she took a job as maid at the Denver without pay, although Mme. Brignaudy told her she could keep any cash she got in other ways. A Bertha Clark who worked in a poolroom across the street swore that she saw men cross over to the rooming house when Mrs. Brignaudy lighted a lamp in room number two. <sup>156</sup> When Smith cross-examined a witness for the people, the man complained, "I've listened to enough of these insults from you. Why don't you let those witnesses that are being paid by Madame Brignaudy tell the story. " <sup>157</sup>

Smith then called Policeman Paul Shannon to answer the claim he had demanded \$50 from Mrs. Brignaudy "on the condition that he would keep quiet," Shannon laughed and said, "I most certainly did not. " Onlookers in court laughed, too. <sup>158</sup>

Days later, Smith repaid Shannon for the slight by announcing that Madame Brignaudy had letters in her possession that Officer Shannon had written to his estranged wife, and those letters were germane to the case. When Mrs. Shannon was served summons, she collapsed and was unable to appear.<sup>159</sup> Among the witnesses Smith did produce were W. J. Dougherty and S. P. Wible. The men swore that the Denver was nothing less than a respectable rooming house, adding that they had personally seen Mme. Brignaudy turn away men seeking prostitutes.<sup>160</sup>

The court's alacrity in the prosecution surprised the Californian, and the paper questioned why the city had done nothing similar against other known keepers of notorious houses. The newspaper speculated that if this was a test case, and if conviction failed against Brignaudy, then nearby houses of ill repute would certainly reopen.<sup>161</sup>

Late in the afternoon of April 6, 1912, Judge Flournoy announced that he would restart the trial on Monday, to which some jurymen protested that they had plans to see the Wild West Show in town on Monday. The judge offered to restart on Tuesday, but others said they had plans to leave town that day. Attorney Smith proposed that to avoid further delay, and if the prosecution was willing, he would hand the case to the jury without further argument. The attorneys met, the case went over into Saturday, but by afternoon there was little progress. Laird told Judge Flournoy the people had no stronger evidence to show, and if there was no objection from the court then Laird would drop charges..<sup>162</sup> Judge Flournoy was nettled, but the case against Brignaudy ended in dismissal.<sup>163</sup> As an odd punctuation to the case, Chief McKamy and Officer Shannon that night arrested four red-light women in an old, red-brick house at 2131 L Street "in the restricted part of town." Each were released on \$200 bond.<sup>164</sup>

Vice managers made persistent efforts to reopen the line, and construction started on a row of brick buildings that looked suspiciously like cribs.<sup>165</sup> In the second week of May 1912 Sheriff Boone Newell stood for nearly an hour in a Tenderloin alley watching men go in and out of a little passageway behind one of Gus Shamblin's properties. When Newell entered a crib that belonged to John McCullough, the sheriff found "Four Eyed" Rose Brown, the same woman who was present in 1910 when Joe Lillard shot and killed Jack Hanarahan.<sup>166</sup> Newell arrested Brown on prostitution charges and lectured McCullough that women were not allowed in cribs.<sup>167</sup>

In August the Tenderloin was mostly unchanged. Wrote the *Echo*, "That houses of ill-fame are conducted under the guise of rooming houses in this city is a matter of common report and is not denied by the officers." <sup>168</sup> That problem was not restricted to Bakersfield, either. Judge Mahon read the following letter from Maricopa: "Why are those two houses just above Maricopa allowed to operate? There are girls there not fourteen years old and the inmates both women and men of these houses go entirely nude a great deal of the time and they are in sight of people passing on the road with their little children. Also there is a vile house at Pentland." <sup>169</sup> The Judge Mahon remarked,

"This is only a sample of many letter received from this section of the county in the past few months, and many from Bakersfield. I have asked Mr. Boone Newell to investigate and also Sheriff Baker. Baker said more or less to me, 'I don't propose to patrol the streets of Bakersfield to lookup these matters, as it is the duty of the Constable and Marshall to do that work.' " <sup>170</sup>

Judge Mahon was right in closing the cribs said Sheriff Tom Baker, but the judge was wrong in applying the law to parlor houses. Baker then said he was in favor of parlor houses, if properly conducted. Replied Mahon, "Whatever that may mean, for I have been lead to believe that you cannot properly conduct anything in violation of the law." <sup>171</sup> According to Judge Mahon, Baker believed that all businessmen were against enforcement of the law and favored houses of prostitution. A thoroughly incensed Judge Mahon appealed to the public to demand immediate enforcement of the law. <sup>172</sup>

In early September 1912 R. H. J. Sneaker and real estate man R. J. Ballagh filed petitions in Kern County Superior Court requesting the removals of District Attorney Rollin, Sheriff T. A. Baker, Constable Sam Ferguson of the 16th Township, Marshall H. J. Patrick of Maricopa, and Attorney Goddard of Maricopa. <sup>173</sup> They alleged that the men allowed gambling resorts and houses of ill repute to run openly. Ballagh admitted that county official indeed had closed some resorts, but it was not done in good faith, and as soon as matters were allowed to quiet down, vice would be allowed to restart. <sup>174</sup>

By February 1913 enforcement seemed to be working in Bakersfield, at least superficially. Cribs and parlor houses were vacant, but the prostitutes who had abandoned the Tenderloin had settled into apartments and private houses, which was the case in Los

Angeles and Fresno a few years earlier. A letter writer to the Californian described the result:

“Standing in the old red-light district, with its cribs and parlor houses closed, that district certainly looks better to the man of moral mind than it did two years ago. In closing those places, what happened? Some of the men and women were driven from the town, whilst others were scattered over the town in apartments and private houses. Our children had been taught to avoid the restricted district as one to be avoided by those who were respectable. Now they are forced by the sirens of circumstance to live for days, or weeks, or months even, next door to the denizens of the underworld, who came as our neighbors to practice their lewd vocation. All I can admit today is that things are worse since the crusade began. Worse simply because it now exists all around us, compelling our boys and girls to observe it, whereas formerly, it was hidden away in a district where no person of repute was supposed to enter. Is it better to regulate this thousands-of-years-old vice than to make conditions worse by scattering it? 175

In 1908 the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Southern California assigned Reverend Snudden to the M. E. Church in Bakersfield. He was appalled at Tenderloin conditions and alarmed as it grew. <sup>176</sup> In a sermon in 1912 entitled "If Christ Came to Bakersfield" he lamented, "The multitudinous saloons, the bleared eyed, whiskey soaked men, the jumble of shacks and cribs, the women of shame and their lecherous paramours, and the advocates of the white slave traffic as a necessary evil, are advertisements of the city's immoralities." <sup>177</sup>

Reverend Snudden's efforts were applauded in April 1913 when Governor Hiram Johnson signed the Red-light Abatement Act. But before it could be enforced at local levels, an association of state hotel owners challenged the law. In the election of November 3, 1914 Californians upheld it, but almost immediately a test case was brought before the San Francisco Superior Court, which struck down the act, explaining that it unfairly exposed legitimate hotel owners to blackmail. <sup>178</sup> In January 1915, the lower court's decision was appealed to the California Supreme Court. <sup>179</sup> Until the constitutionality was settled, enforcement of local vice statutes remained in the hands of city and county officials.



In December 1913 at Brignaudy's Denver Rooms, a woman was arrested on prostitution charges. Although the newspapers did not mention who made the arrest, a few days later Policeman C. C. Warren was dismissed from service. He explained,

“I did not resign from the police force. I was fired, canned, and had no intention of resigning, and there was no intimation that my services were unsatisfactory. I reported at the marshal’s office as usual at three o’clock Wednesday afternoon and was about to leave the office when Marshal McKamy handed me the following paper: ‘To the honorable Board of Trustees, Bakersfield, California. Gentlemen, Kindly consider this my resignation, to take effect as soon as possible. Thank you in advance. I am Respectfully Yours, Police Officer (*blank for signature*).’ As the marshal handed me the paper he said, ‘Here’s your notification, Warren. You had better sign it.’ ”<sup>180</sup>

Although the cribs and parlor houses were empty, prostitution was still an issue, and Superior Court Judges Milton T. Farmer, Howard A. Peairs, and Jackson W. Mahon favored removing the red-light district. In March 1914 Judge Mahon concluded, “This community is entitled to have these houses of ill fame closed and they must be closed. “<sup>181</sup> He read Section 373a of the Penal Code and said it was the duty of the City Marshal, the Sheriff, and the two constables to enforce the law. He also said it was the responsibility of the District Attorney to shut down commercialized vice. City Attorney Laird qualified that by saying he was a public prosecutor and not charged with enforcing the laws. Judge Mahon replied that if that was the case then it was a fruitful opportunity for city trustees to enact legislation that would make it Laird's duty.<sup>182</sup>

Judge Mahon summonsed City Marshall McKamy. His counsel, the former City Attorney Mathew B. Platz, was sitting next to McKamy as Judge Mahon looked intently at McKamy and declared that the lawman had watched vice laws “notoriously violated again and again without making sufficient effort to enforce them.” Mahon fired McKamy and fined him \$500.<sup>183</sup> The judge later said, “The removal of this officer will not close these houses of ill fame. We must look to the sheriff, the constable and the district attorney,” and he emphasized his words “with blows of his fists upon the desk.”<sup>184</sup>

District Attorney Roland Irwin filed the first of a series of civil actions to close houses of ill fame in the county.<sup>185</sup> He elaborated, “ Within the next few weeks we will file complaints

brought in the name of the people of the State of California against at least nine persons who are said to be conducting houses of prostitution in Bakersfield, Taft, Maricopa, and Fellows.<sup>186</sup> I have the endorsement of the Grand Jury and the supervisors to go ahead and clean up the entire county, and I will file as many complaints as are necessary to accomplish that end.”<sup>187</sup> The first was against Dora Mowry. It charged her with conducting a house prostitution at L and 22nd Street.

In March 1914, Irwin employed the Red Light Abatement Act to close houses of ill fame in Taft.<sup>188</sup> After that the Ministerial Association presented a resolution before the Bakersfield Board of Trustees that pinpointed flagrant violations of vice regulations, and the pastors demanded immediate application of the law.<sup>189</sup> Policeman Warren's resignation, Judge Mahon's action, District Attorney Irwin's clampdown, and the ministerial petition invigorated the moral crusade. In June, Frank Carrillo and Artie Bancroft were charged with operating immoral houses.<sup>190</sup>

In fall, citizens charged the Kern County Board of Supervisors with malfeasance and took steps to remove all of them from office. At issue was the award of liquor licenses, specifically one awarded on July 1, 1912, to E. J. Boust, E. A. Henderson, and Carlie Withington, all of whom had moved their business from the Bakersfield Tenderloin to Boust City near Taft, California. The Supervisors were also charged with illegally awarding licenses in 1913 to A. M. Bell and Al Thackery of Boust City and also an award on December 5, 1913, to C. M. Morgan of Fellows.<sup>191</sup>

Not only had Supervisors erred in awarding the licenses, said the petition, but they also had allowed saloon men to conduct dance halls, female exhibition dancing with “acrobatic feats, and contortions,” and schedule farces and comedies. The men also “permitted and encouraged said females to engage in prostitution” and “provided said females places commonly known as 'cribs.”<sup>192</sup>

Supervisors revoked the licenses at Boust City, but they then awarded a liquor license to A. M. Bell who citizens claimed was a dummy for E. J. Boust. Bell continued most of Boust’s activities, and the others named did the same thing, as did C. M. Morgan and F. M.

Carrillo at the Elite Rooming House where illegal gambling and prostitution had become routine affairs.<sup>193</sup>

Supervisor Jastro testified on behalf of the supervisors and denied knowledge of illegal activities.<sup>194</sup> The court subpoenaed saloon owners, but they refuted any connection to vice or under-the-table liquor agreements.<sup>195</sup>

Superior Court Judge Robert M. Clarke then ruled that the citizen group had chosen the wrong venue for removing supervisors from office, but in defense of their complaint he stated it was a well-known fact that gambling and prostitution took place all over the West Side,

“ . . . and the remarkable thing of it all is that the District Attorney of Kern County and the Sheriff thereof made no concerted effort to enforce the laws against these people who are engaged in open violation of it. Although Supervisors deny any knowledge of wrongdoing in the saloons, it is not conceivable that they could not know. Certainly the time must have come in the State of California when officers charged with enforcing the law can no longer wink at such flagrant and notorious conditions . . . but courts cannot sharpen the moral fiber of men or tell them how to perform the official duties of their office. . . .”<sup>196</sup>

By 1914 the progressive tide submerged Bakersfield vice trade. Marie Brignaudy missed payment of her property taxes on 1919 M Street, 197 and as the Red Light Abatement Act shifted in and out of court, Brignaudy quit-claimed her interest in a tract of six acres “north of 20th Street and [*south of*] 24th Street” which she had bought some months earlier from a farmer named John W. Young.<sup>198</sup> In January the city entered a lien against the Club Rooming House for failure to pay city taxes.<sup>199</sup>

In the first week of February a sketch called the “Red-light Abatement Law” opened for a four-day run at Parra's Theater and was billed the “most sensational problem play on vaudeville.”<sup>200</sup> Days later the Grand Jury published a 10,000-word report charging city and county officials of allowing vice, ignoring voter registration rules, manipulating voting precincts, and approving fraudulent saloon bonds.<sup>201</sup> Said the report, “There has been hardly a pretense of law enforcement. The trustees and the city marshal have made the police force understand that interfering with gambling or commercialized vice by punishment of offenders would mean loss of [police] position on the force. . . . Officers were instructed

most impressively that they must not go off the street to investigate law breaking, and must not see what was under cover with full knowledge that city ordinances against gambling and selling of liquor to minors in saloons run under license of the board were allowed to continue in business without molestation. . . ”

Disregard of law and decency, it said, “. . . Was so great and so openly manifest that Kern county was known over the whole Pacific coast and even to points east of the Mississippi as a place where sports of both sexes were welcome with wide-open opportunity and privileged to 'go as far as they liked. ' ”<sup>202</sup>

The Grand Jury had become the voice of the community. “We find a very gratifying growing community sentiment for the up-building of the moral force in the county through blotting out of the immoral and unmoral influences represented by the dives, saloons and dance halls and the substitution therefore of county library rooms and social center functions of the school buildings. “<sup>203</sup> On the day of the report, Bakersfield police raided the Colonial Hotel at 700 19<sup>th</sup> Street and the Palace at 2024 L Street managed by Madge Wilson and G. Dellaringa. Both locations were charged with being disreputable resorts. <sup>204</sup>

Sometime in early summer 1915 a visiting Chautauqua speaker decried the sorry conditions around the old crib district, which prompted the City Council in June to discuss removing the buildings and making the area a municipal park. Mayor George Hay was in favor, and Smith, Crandall, Silber, Taylor and James were sympathetic, but the park idea was referred to City Attorney Walter Osborn and City Building Inspector, Grant Johnson. <sup>205</sup>

From September 1915 until the end of the year, verbal warfare, lawsuits, and distrust ensued. The District Attorney said the home of City Councilman E. L. Willow's was a house of ill fame. Willow circulated a petition for the recall of the District Attorney, who he had supported in the last election, and the Californian stood back and announced it was neutral on recall. <sup>206</sup> That month a John Decker went on trial for perjury; at an earlier trial he had sworn he was not conducting a house of prostitution at the American Rooming House. In this case the District Attorney objected to the method Sheriff Newell using in selecting the jury, but Judge Mahon overruled him. <sup>207</sup>

In fall the Board of Supervisors became so distrustful of Sheriff Newell that it brought in the Thiel Detective and Service Company as outside investigators. In December, Thiel filed a \$688 claim for the services of three operatives, and it was approved by the District Attorney. The bill included railroad fare for a sleeping car from Los Angeles to Bakersfield, stage fare to West Side towns, tips, drinks, room rent, and gambling costs for dice, poker, lottery, and punch boards.<sup>208</sup>

In December 1915 Brignaudy did not renew her lease with Louse de Yough on the R street apartments.<sup>209</sup> Brignaudy might have lived in Bakersfield in 1916 and 1917, but the only information supporting that is an entry in the 1918 Polk [*city*] Directory<sup>210</sup> and two leases. In October 1916 Brignaudy leased the Club Rooming House at 1220 19th Street to Annie Simmons,<sup>211</sup> and in 1917 Brignaudy leased it to Lillian Lower for 24 months, although that lease did not include “the premises directly in the rear of the Club known as the Cosmopolitan rooming house.”<sup>212</sup> During this time Brignaudy might have lived at the Cosmopolitan. Sometime in this time span, Marie Brignaudy married Albert Ledoux.

At a crowded City Council meeting in early 1917, the city council discussed the vice conditions described in a Grand Jury report. The council's intention was to see if the “alleged conditions” were true. City Manager Morgan introduced a resolution authorizing funds for enforcement of the Red Light Abatement Act, but the council laid it over until a later meeting. Morgan then advised the counsel that he had filed two statements with the Grand Jury stating that his office was “more that ready to adopt the highest standard of public morality which public sentiment would support. ” Morgan then named the Kern County District Attorney in failing to enforce the Red Light Abatement Act.<sup>213</sup>

Reverend Baker spoke next. He stated that the Grand Jury had observed 31 house of prostitution and 155 prostitutes in and around the city. The police had failed, he said, and he specifically criticized the work of Police Chief William J. Vizzard.<sup>214</sup> Vizzard later insisted the reverend's statements were “malicious lies, ” and no one on the Grand Jury had contacted him. It was a witch hunt, he said. “Part of the people want Morgan's scalp and part want mine.”<sup>215</sup>

At the council's next meeting it funded enforcement of the Red Light Abatement Act and adopted ordinances requiring city permits to operate rooming houses and Turkish baths.<sup>216</sup> In

June police made 15 arrests and obtained three convictions of rooming house managers who were charged with violation of the Red Light Abatement Act.<sup>217</sup> Nearly 45 years later, former Chief of Police Robert Powers wrote, “The rooming house permits system established in 1917 was used to control prostitution . . . or to regulate it in some degree. This method continued into the 1940s. ”<sup>218</sup>

Local enforcement efforts were boosted in June 1917 when U. S. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker announced that the government would not allow “red light” around military establishments, and unless communities complied, military sites would be relocated. No military camps existed in Kern County, but troop trains linked the half-dozen camps in Northern California with four of them in the Southland, and those trains had to pass through Bakersfield. If they did not stop, Bakersfield business would suffer. About this time, too, California Governor William Stephens ordered strict enforcement of the Red Light Abatement Act.<sup>219</sup>

Brignaudy's Club Hotel was a sizable investment. The twenty-room, three-story hotel had an office, a kitchen, and a dining room. When it was leased, the following items were numerated: one glass cabinet in the office, a counter, a desk and a chair. Two electric ceiling fans, a water cooler, two vases, two statues, two couch covers, and a couch. The dining area had one “big gas heater,” a gas plate, kitchen table, 16 dishes, 27 bowls, six kitchen utensils, and two portieres. Lillian Lower also leased 51 “electric globes,” 35 chairs, 6 rocking chairs, 10 small stands, 14 small rugs, two rooms with linoleum, and 58 yards carpet “for hall and stairs. ” Twenty rooms were carpeted. Shown also in the list were 41 shades, 23 lace curtains, 18 pictures, 20 beds, 29 springs, 28 mattresses, one woolen mattress, 74 sheets, 51 pillows, 69 pillow cases, 23 blankets, a woolen blanket, 23 quilts, and 15 spreads. Listed as well were 12 center tables, 24 dressers with mirrors, one wardrobe, six bureau scarves, 31 wash stands, 130 towels, 19 mirrors, 16 pitchers, six basins, and 17 chamber vessels. Housekeeping items were 11 buckets, an electric sweeper, a sewing machine, and an iron stool scraper.<sup>220</sup>

In February 1918 owners M. T. and Albert Ledoux homesteaded the hotel, perhaps as an attempt to shield it from attempts to close it under the Red Light Abatement Act. Perhaps it was ill-advised; later that month they abandoned the homestead.<sup>221</sup>

In March 1918 Mme. Brignaudy was charged with conducting disorderly houses, and after considered the accusations Judge Mahon closed the Cosmopolitan and the Denver Rooms.<sup>222</sup> During Brignaudy's trial in May before Judge Flournoy's court, her attorneys called her to the stand. Under questioning she sobbed that she operated a respectable rooming house. The Californian observed, "In direct contrast to her interest in other cases in which she has been a defendant, Madame Brignaudy has each day brought into the court her knitting and during the progress of the trial, knitted steadily at a scarf. What effect the knitting and sobbing may have on a jury of her own sex is a question to be answered by the verdict."<sup>223</sup> In the last days of the trial the all-female jury toured the Club at 1201 20<sup>th</sup> Street.

On the first ballot Mme. Brignaudy was found guilty of operating a house of ill repute. She was fined \$300, given one week to settle her affairs, and ordered to leave Kern County forever. On May 13 she petitioned Judge Flournoy for probation, and although several persons had testified to her good character and signed a petition to that effect, Flournoy's ruling stood.<sup>224</sup> The jury might have been influenced by the Grand Jury report issued just days before the verdict. Paraphrasing it the Californian wrote, "Moral conditions in Kern County are rotten, so bad that knowledge of them has reached the War Department through statistics showing the enormous percentage of Kern County boys infected with venereal disease as compared with the boys from other counties in the different states."<sup>225</sup>

One day after her conviction Brignaudy leased the Club Hotel to a Mamie Harris and T. J. Hart.<sup>226</sup> In the lease they agreed to conduct the Club in an "orderly manner and without violating any State Law or any of the Ordinances of the City of Bakersfield."<sup>227</sup>

Marie Brignaudy Ledoux and Albert Ledoux probably moved to Southland. She could not stay, but even if she could, profit in the vice business had dried up, gambling was anemic, and prohibition came true in the Kern County election of November 1918 when the sale of alcohol ended in unincorporated Kern County.<sup>228</sup>

On September 12, 1918, about 120 miles east of San Diego at Holtville, California, 35-year old Albert Adelard Ledoux registered for the draft. His mailing address was "General Delivery, Brawley, Imperial County," and his spouse's name and address was "Marie T. Ledoux, General Delivery, Los Angeles, California."<sup>229</sup>

By October the couple had probably separated. That month Adelard A. Ledoux quit-claimed to “Therese Ledoux aka M. T. Ledoux, formerly Brignaudy” the Bakersfield house on 18th Street and the Club Hotel at 1220 19th Street.<sup>230</sup> In July 1919 a Los Angeles court granted an interlocutory decree of divorce to Therese and Adelard Ledoux.<sup>231</sup> During that period Los Angeles Superior Court also authorized Maria Theresa Ledoux's petition to change her name to Theresa Sumner.

In March, Maria Ledoux sold the Club to John and Anna Carnakis who assumed its \$18,900 mortgage.<sup>232</sup> Several months later Theresa Sumner sold her 18th street house which she had used so many times for loans.<sup>233</sup>

The author was unable to find Theresa Sumner's whereabouts between 1921 and 1929, but when her estate was probated in 1933 it mentioned Sumner's ownership of a rental in Tulare and a property in Kagel Canyon in the Angeles National Forest.<sup>234</sup> Kagel Canyon was undeveloped until the early 1920s when the Peters-Rhoades Company acquired 80 wooded acres there. In 1923 the El-Merrie-Del Country Club advertised 40 by 60-ft lots starting at \$100,<sup>235</sup> and in 1924 the area was dotted with picturesque cabins, a store, café, dance pavilion, a swimming pool, and tennis courts.<sup>236</sup>

Brignaudy's story resumes one month before the crash of the U. S. stock market. In September 1929 a well-to-do passenger arrived in New York Harbor.<sup>237</sup> Sixty year-old Therese Somnier was passenger No. 8 on the S. S. Leviathan's manifest, although the name Sumner had been penciled next to it. She was a French citizen, born in Sorges, France, and her first trip to the United States was in 1901. She was returning from France to her home at 1927 M Street in Bakersfield.<sup>238</sup>

Therese Sumner might have visited Europe knowing that the trip would be her last. In January 1930 she wrote a second will, this one granting \$500 in gold coin to her manager Patrick Kilcoyne and \$100 to Dr. N. N. Brown for every year she lived after January 27, 1930.<sup>239</sup> Theresa Sumner's name appears in the 1930 US Census taken at Bakersfield in June and July 1930. She was a widow and room keeper at 1201 20th Street. Her property assets were \$15,000, and she emigrated from France in 1897.



By the 1930s, prostitution in Bakersfield had moved to second-floor hotels but still retained a certain presence in the community, as expressed by four informants interviewed by the author in 2002-3.

Henry Polvarari (b. 1917) said, “We used to go to Steiners feed store at 19<sup>th</sup> and R to get feed for our rabbits. Upstairs there was a girly house that Joe D'Lorto ran. There was one near the Anglo Bank on Chester at 19<sup>th</sup> behind Vest Drugs, another one upstairs of Matias across from Frank Amestoy's, and another one at the Fillmore Hotel near the Riese Hospital – almost where the body shop is on 19<sup>th</sup> – on the diamond corner.” 240

Charlie Dodge (b. 1910): “I came into the police department in 1937. The hotel above Gladden's Card Room ran women, and the nearby Mission Hotel had prostitution [*both on Baker street*]. Steiners Feed Store was at 19th and Kern streets, and upstairs was another house. The Coats Hotel at 2020 Eye Street had one, and upstairs from Kitchen Boyd Motors at 23rd and Chester was a girlie house. Nobody was getting hurt so it was okay. Uniforms stayed out of the joints, and anybody who tried to muscle in would be debadged. Only the vice men went into the houses.”

Henry McCollum (b. 1913) attended Kern County High and worked part time for Schuler's grocery store. “I got my boss business from five houses of prostitution. He was an Episcopalian and did not like to wait on his Catholic customers, but he liked the business coming in from the whorehouses. When I delivered to them I got tips, and I ate the houses many times. One was by the old Pioneer Mercantile Company near 20th and Eye. The whorehouse was directly behind it and one alley over. The building belonged to the Coats family. A typewriter company was down stairs and upstairs was the house.”

Ken Kramer (b. 1913): “There were whorehouses all along 19<sup>th</sup> street--Black, Mexican, White, any kind. I found out about all this because I delivered clothes and orders to the houses. I remember a black woman who worked at one of the houses. She sent out for clothes, and when I delivered them she'd tip me good. The first time I delivered I went in there and the women were sitting around in lounging lingerie that was mostly open in the front. I was just 17 then. They said, how old are you? I told them I was 18. I remember one of the women raised up her leg to pull on stockings, and she didn't have anything on underneath. The women laughed at me.”

In November 1933 Theresa Sumner was arrested on felony charges of conspiracy and pandering and was transported to Los Angeles. She collapsed while in custody.<sup>241</sup> Her attorney, 27-year-old Calvin H. Conron, Jr. , appeared before Bakersfield Judge Frank Noriega, and he set bail at \$400.<sup>242</sup> Sumner returned to Bakersfield.

On November 21<sup>st</sup> officers from the Los Angeles District Attorney questioned her, and she told them she could say nothing because “underworld traffic” had sealed her lips. "I have received several telephone calls from sources I cannot name, but which I very much respect. The calls were all to the same effect--I already talked too much for my own good health, and if I continued to talk, I would be bumped off, as they put it. "<sup>243</sup>

Theresa Sumner had been one of several arrests linked to a sensational, white-slavery case in the news in November 1933. A certain Keith Arnold Brady had promised 23 year-old Dorothy Oliver of Belvedere that he could get her a job as a Bakersfield beer hall waitress for \$70 a week. According to Miss Oliver, she was taken from Los Angeles to Therese Sumner’s rooming house at 1201 20th Street in Bakersfield where several men sexually assaulted her. The next morning after Brady left, Sumner gave Miss Oliver eight dollars, which she used to hitch-hike to San Fernando. The arrests started after Oliver went to police. <sup>244</sup>

On November 20th, Bakersfield's acting Chief of Police, Otto G. Heckman, ordered suspension of three rooming house licenses issued to Theresa Sumner “alias Madame Brignaudy” of the Central Rooms; Josephine Fields of the St Ann Rooms; and Pauline Leroy of the Europa Hotel.<sup>245</sup> Scheduled for arraignment in Los Angeles on November 27th were Theresa Sumner, Pauline LeRoy, Mamie Wells of Pismo, a chauffeur by the name of Art Maron, and Anna Taylor, an African-American hotel maid. <sup>246</sup> Sumner was not present. Her attorney, Mr. Conron, explained that she had fallen ill in Bakersfield, but her bail was forfeited.<sup>247</sup> On December 9th, Los Angeles Judge Kincaid agreed to a delay of Sumner's preliminary hearing and charged her attorney to prove she was in hospital. <sup>248</sup> Two days later she died in Bakersfield at San Joaquin Hospital. <sup>249</sup> The cause of death was “acute obstruction of the bowels, a condition that commenced December 2<sup>nd</sup> and was the result of cancer. ”

Theresa Sumner had no relatives in the United States. Kern County Probate Court assumed distribution of her estate. In January 1934 the court sold a cash register and several fans and heaters that she had stored at Galbraith Van and Storage, and the \$30 generated by

the sale paid two past-due bills, one for the care of turkeys that Sumner had been raising in the Casa Loma tract south of town, and another bill from a veterinarian for the care of two small dogs. 250

In 1934 Judge Lambert officially opened Probate File No. 5429 under the various names of the deceased: Theresa Sumner, Theresa Somnier, Therese Somnier, Theresa Brignaudy, Theresa Andre, and Theresa LeDoux.<sup>251</sup> In April the court rented her building at 20th and M streets to Alice Acosta and accepted \$200 from Wickersham Company of Bakersfield for a money belt, pin, jewelry, miner's scales, and a Spanish-American War medal. The court also determined that Brignaudy's 1888 Congo Lottery Bonds were worthless.<sup>252</sup> In June 1935 Leland M. and Genevieve H. Moore bought the Kagel Canyon lot for \$135,<sup>253</sup> and the court paid a debt that Brignaudy owed to Louise Dellaringa.<sup>254</sup> In July an insurance and loan broker named Irving Cohn bought the Central Rooms at 1201 20th Street for \$5,000.<sup>255</sup>

Four years passed. On October 27, 1939, probate mailed three checks of \$20.73 each to Brignaudy's nephew and two nieces in France, but war in Europe soon halted other probate action.<sup>256</sup> Twelve years passed. In April 1951 probate ended when Andrea Duret and Leah Mitan Duret each received \$371.15 distributions.<sup>257</sup> From the death of Mme. Brignaudy in 1933 until the close of probate in 1951, all distributions to her heirs totaled less than \$1,000.

No public notice followed her death. There were no services. Mme. Brignaudy was buried at Union Cemetery on December 21, 1933.<sup>258</sup> She rests in an unmarked grave under a grove of tall trees.<sup>259</sup> She would have been pleased to know that the trustees had not revoked her rooming-house permit.

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<sup>1</sup> Marie-Térèse Somnier Brignaudy was born about 1870 in France to Andre Somnier and Marie Prere. Marie-Térèse Brignaudy might have come the US as early as 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Daily Californian, May 6, 1895

<sup>3</sup> 1919 M Street at the southwest corner of 20th and M

<sup>4</sup> Small rooms used by prostitutes. Sanborn Fire maps of Bakersfield from 1888 show a steady increase in the number of the little dwellings.

<sup>5</sup> The apartments backed up to the west side of the Kern Island Canal.

<sup>6</sup> As lender, Bailey might have influenced planning for the new hotel.

<sup>7</sup> Los Angeles Times, Feb 25, 1882, "Scraps By The Way." Bakersfield Daily Californian, Jun 13, 1891, p 3, col 2, "Chinese Woman Rescued From House of Immoral Purposes."

<sup>8</sup> 1900 US Census. The discovery of oil at the turn of the century just north of town had such an economic impact that in 1913 Board of Supervisors Chairman Henry Jastro told an assembly of bond buyers that Kern County was in a class by itself when it came to having cash on hand. Kern was thought to have the lowest tax rate of any county in the state (Bakersfield Californian, Sep 9, 1913).

<sup>9</sup> In 1895 prostitution here was a legal, street-level business, but as years passed it became a second-story, clandestine trade. Not until World War II did the town finally reject prostitution's de facto, quasi-legal status. Robert Powers, *History of the Bakersfield Police Department*, p 24. Powers noted that from 1927 through 1945 he never knew the City Council to express a point of view on prostitution in Bakersfield. The presence of prostitution in Bakersfield from 1930 to 1940 is addressed in this paper.

<sup>10</sup> The first officials accused of protecting red-light operators were ex-Mayor A. C. Harper and Chief of Police E. P. Davis. *Morning Echo*, Jul 24, 1909

<sup>11</sup> Southern Californian, Jul 26, 1888, wrote that the immediate effect of the Miller-Haggin agreement was to advance the price of land around Bakersfield. "Large land owners subscribe to a fund totaling between \$3,000 and \$4,000 for the purpose of advertising Kern county." Citation from Wallace Melvin Morgan, *History of Kern County, California*. Los Angeles, CA: Historic Record Company, 1914

<sup>12</sup> Powers, op cit.

<sup>13</sup> Daily Californian, Apr 22, 1895

<sup>14</sup> Daily Californian, May 6, 1895. The apartment was probably in the northeast corner of the derelict, brewery block. "In the heyday of this 'sporting town' at least two French-descended madams, Marie-Therese Brignaudy and Madame de Yough, managed brothels." (Mary Grace Paquette, *Lest We Forget*, Kern County Historical Society, 1978, p 62)

<sup>15</sup> 1899 City Directory. US Census 1900, T623, R87, p 192

<sup>16</sup> Union Cemetery findings from Shirley Jackson, Kern County Genealogical Society

<sup>17</sup> 1900 US Census, T623, Roll 87, p 192

<sup>18</sup> Until 1970 Twentieth Place was an east-west city street dividing Blk 208 into a north half and a south half. Downtown School now occupies all of the old Brewery Block (Blk 208).

<sup>19</sup> William Harland Boyd, *The Chinese of Kern County, 1857-1960*. Kern County Historical Society, Bakersfield, CA (2002). By 1909, row-houses/cribs were in Blocks 207, 208, and 209.

<sup>20</sup> In 1903 Jennie Fox, native of France, drug addict, and prostitute was an accessory in the shooting of Deputy Sheriff William E. Tibbet and Bakersfield City Marshall Thomas J. Packard on Apr 19, 1903. On Jan 26, 2008 at Bakersfield, CA, Rebecca Orfila delivered a

lecture before the Kern County Historical Society entitled *Bakersfield Tenderloin from 1870 to 1920*.

<sup>21</sup> Carry A. Nation, *The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation*. F. M. Steves and Sons, Topeka. 1905. Chap 16, p 134 [Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library]: “No one stayed there during the day; they were there just for the night only. These poor degraded girls would pay two dollars a night to the owners.” Los Angeles Chief of Police Charles Elton (1900-4) told Carrie Nation, “ ‘If we close these places, these degraded girls will be over the town,’ when in fact the girls only stayed there at night. I have seen so much of the corruption of the officials that when conditions are bad in any place I know it to be their [*the officials'*] fault. ”

<sup>22</sup> Guy Hughes, *Battle of the Joss House*. New York: Carlton Press, c. 1968). Also, see the Castro/Brignaudy lease described later in this paper.

<sup>23</sup> Daily Californian, Feb 21, 1898

<sup>24</sup> "A Shocking Double Murder In The Chinese Quarter," Daily Californian, Aug 1, 1902. John Withington owned the Owl saloon and Yorke was a dance hall girl there. They were killed at midnight in the City Restaurant on L street. After John's death his younger brother Carlie took over the Owl.

<sup>25</sup> Los Angeles Times, Mar 21, 1903

<sup>26</sup> Los Angeles Times, May 3, 1903.

<sup>27</sup> Delano Record, Jan 8, 1903

<sup>28</sup> Bakersfield Californian, Feb 18, 1904

<sup>29</sup> With some exception the area was bounded by 19th and 22<sup>nd</sup> and K and M. Prostitutes generally stayed close to the saloons.

<sup>30</sup> Daily Californian, Feb 24, 1904. The story continued, “If the law should fail to reach the owners of property who thrive upon the revenue derived from such sources, their names should be heralded to the public so that the people may place the seal of condemnation upon them for flaunting indecency directly into the faces of the respectable men, woman, and children of this community.” The author's research shows that shaming did not occur until the 1970s when the names of men arrested for soliciting prostitutes were made public in the Bakersfield Californian.

<sup>31</sup> Daily Californian, Oct 15, 1904. The new cribs were on the west side of L and just north of 20<sup>th</sup> in the Old Brewery block.

<sup>32</sup> The Masonic Temple shown upper left of center was built in 1900. Blodget drew the map late in life (b 1878 - d 1972) which might explain why he omitted one city block. The Brewery Block is between L & M, not K & L, and its block number is 208, not 207. Before 1889, 208 and 207 were designated 13 and 14. Blodget also omitted the important alleys. Claude was the uncle of Rush Maxwell Blodget, author of *Little Dramas of Old Bakersfield*, 1931, 2006. ISBN-13:978-0-595-41499-4. Rush Blodget, Jr. found the map and sent it to Lynn Hay Rudy. In 2007 she sent a copy to the author.

<sup>33</sup> The building was at 1921 M St, on the west side of M between 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>. de Yough owned the building itself, but she paid \$5 a month to rent the land. Bernard's terms were \$75 down and \$12. 50 a month (Kern County Hall of Records, Misc Bill of Sale 0008-0043, Jan 15, 1905, Block 231). Bernard recorded the sale on May 19, 1905. "The opera house on the alley is to be opened as a variety hall. The announcement is that Big Bertha will be the manageress." (Daily Californian, Feb 1, 1905 (from "Twenty Years Ago" Feb 1, 1915). Brignaudy's Bowling Alley Saloon was 1919 L. In summer 1898 a fire consumed nearly the entire business section of East Bakersfield. French-owned shops burned, and owners were looking for money to build. The Big Bertha of 1905 might have been in Bakersfield as early as 1898 when a Big Bertha lent funds to Marius Cesmat to construct the Cesmat Hotel (*Least We Forget, History of the French in Kern County*, Pioneer Publishing Co, Fresno, CA, 1978).

<sup>34</sup> Los Angeles Times, Jan 27, 1905, sec I, p 11 In 1904 Ronald McDonald owned the Old City Brewery at 20<sup>th</sup> and L (Email to the author from Lynn Hay Rudy).

<sup>35</sup> Los Angeles Times, Jan 27, 1905, sec I, p 11

<sup>36</sup> Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream; California thought the Progressive Era* (1985), p 200

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p 200

<sup>38</sup> [http://bruce.graham.free.fr/family/progressives/ca\\_progressives.html](http://bruce.graham.free.fr/family/progressives/ca_progressives.html)

<sup>39</sup> Business also profited. In 1912 the Southern Pacific's payroll in East Bakersfield was \$85,000 monthly, equal to about \$2,000,000 a month today (Los Angeles Times, Jan 28, 1912, V-27).

<sup>40</sup> voting precinct

<sup>41</sup> Carlie Withington

<sup>42</sup> The Brewery was a notorious dance hall in the old brewery block. It housed prostitutes.

<sup>43</sup> *Earl Warren's Bakersfield*, "Coming of Age in Bakersfield," Oral Interviews, Earl Warren project, p. 27

<sup>44</sup> Los Angeles Times, Sep 11, 1905. McDonald owned Bakersfield real estate. Several were in the Tenderloin.

<sup>45</sup> Alfred Siemon, "California Here I Come." *Inside Historic Kern. Selections from the Kern Co History Society's Quarterly, 1949-81.* p 45. Kern Co. History Society, Bakersfield, CA 1982, Pioneer publishing, Fresno

<sup>46</sup> Los Angeles Times, Sep 11, 1905

<sup>47</sup> Los Angeles Times, Sep 11, 1905

<sup>48</sup> Los Angeles Times, Sep 24, 1905, p VI-10. A *jaw-smith* is a politician. The word tenderloin was not capitalized in early newspapers.

<sup>49</sup> Physical characteristics information is from the Sep 1929 manifest of S. S. Leviathan.

<sup>50</sup> 1919 M Street was at the southwest corner of M and 20<sup>th</sup>. The lessors were Simon W. and Curtis Wible of Kern Delta Realty. Simon W. Wible (1832-1911) had been President of the Bank of Bakersfield since 1892 and was a director of the Sumner Water District. He owned the Bird Cage Saloon (Daily Californian, Feb 20, 1892). In 1872 S. W. Wible homesteaded in Kern county and became a leading canal engineer and sheep man. He was general manager for Miller & Lux and was instrumental in construction of the Buena Vista Dam. His 480-acre orchard was one of the first successful fruit operations in Kern county, and he was actively involved in Alaskan gold mining and in the Kern Co. Independent Oil Producers' Agency (Bakersfield Californian, Nov 3, 1904).

<sup>51</sup> The saloon was at the southwest corner of M and 20<sup>th</sup>. Kern Co. Hall of Records, Leases 0014-0277, May 29, 1905. Agreements 0015-0500, Dec 21, 1906. Lots 1 and 2, Blk 231. William J. Dougherty owned the Union Lumber Company (Lynn Hay Rudy, *Granddad, Hugh A. Blodget in Early Bakersfield*, p 187).

<sup>52</sup> Kern Co. Hall of Records, Lease Blk 0014-0292. Blk 254, Lts 3,4,5,6,7,8. Jun 19, 1905. de Yough's name is incorrectly spelled as *de Yongh*. *Fem sole* means a single woman. The property addresses were 1815, 1818, 1820, and 1826 R St. Brignaudy paid total rent of \$100 a month starting Jun 19, 1905. The 1913 Kern Co. Tax Book [McGuire Local History Room, Beale Library] shows that on Oct 24, 1913 Louise de Yough paid taxes on lots number 3 through 8,

inclusive, designated as 1826 R St. Those lots are south of today's Cunningham Art Gallery on 19<sup>th</sup> street.

<sup>53</sup> 1815 R might have been a misprint. All R street addresses in Blk 254 are even numbers. The abandonment clause was unusually lenient compared to legal transactions Brignaudy had with other parties.

<sup>54</sup> Los Angeles Times, Aug 12, 1905

<sup>55</sup> Kern Co Hall of Records, Deeds 0193-0081. Recorded Nov 27, 1907. This was 1015-18th on Lot3, Blk269. The 1907-8 City Directory shows that 1015 18th was her residence. In 2008, it was a vacant lot at the southeast corner of 18th and O, one block east of Bill Lee's Bamboo Chopsticks restaurant.

<sup>56</sup> The \$1,500 mortgage was equivalent to about \$35,000 in 2006 dollars. In Dec, Brignaudy borrowed to improve the property. Kern Co Hall of Records, Agreement 0015-0348, Dec 19, 1905.

<sup>57</sup> Kern Co Hall of Records, MTG 0045-0056. Oct 24, 1907

<sup>58</sup> In 1910, a Mrs. M. C. Thompson leased Brignaudy's house at \$25 a month (Kern Co Hall of Records, Agreements 0026-0163, Nov 23, 1910). The City Directory of 1910 shows that M. C. Thompson rented furnished rooms there. In the 1910 US Census, a 55 year-old female, head-of-household named M. C. Thompson was at 1029-18th St. with a bartender named Albert Shaw, Pearl who was his wife, and an M. E. Thorn and Nora, his wife. City Directory of 1911 shows Thompson at 1015-18th. Persons living north across the street from 1015-18th St. were bartender Ed Guthrie and Al Rupp at 1024; bartender Amas [Amos?] A. Hampton and T. C. Owens at 1022-18th; bartender Charles F. Harkless at 1026-18th; dray man William R. McMillan and F. G. Colton at 1004-18th; contractor Charles H. Scutt at 1029-18th; and William J. Strienz, shipping clerk for Habermelde Furniture Co. at 1025 -18<sup>th</sup>. This block appears to have been sedate, residential housing.

<sup>59</sup> Daily Californian, Mar 9, 1906. Robbery charges were dropped. Vagrant when applied to a female was an often-used code word for prostitute. <sup>60</sup>Hall of Records, Misc. Note 0008-0181, Apr 12, 1906. The property was probably saloon supplies. \$800 equaled about \$20,000 in 2010.

<sup>61</sup> Los Angeles Times, Mar 3, 1907



<sup>62</sup> This was Blk 231.

<sup>63</sup> Fire Chief Ed Willow referred to it as City Blk 14.

<sup>64</sup> Polk Directory 1907-8 lists the Cosmopolitan at 1220-1234 19th St. Owners carried little or no fire insurance. In today's dollars the loss of the entire block was about \$500,000.

<sup>65</sup> Daily Californian, Mar 23, 1907.

<sup>66</sup> Daily Californian, Mar 23, 1907. *Kern Co Hall of Records*, Leases 00150131. The check was equivalent to about \$3,000 today.

<sup>67</sup> Daily Californian, Mar 23, 1907. The Bowling Alley Saloon was at 1919 M Street.

<sup>68</sup> Kern Co Hall of Records, Leases 0015-0131, Jun 11, 1907. See also Misc Notes 0008-0332. Castro's rent was \$300 a month payable to Brignaudy's attorney Geo. E. Whitaker. The rent was equivalent to \$6,000 in 2009 dollars. The 1911 City Directory shows P. C. Castro and Robert Viani as proprietors.

<sup>69</sup> Bakersfield Californian, Dec 8, 1908. Cline was a building contractor.

<sup>70</sup> Kern Co Hall of Records, Misc Notes 0008-0354, Jul 29, 1907

<sup>71</sup> The annunciator board probably could ring a bell in any of the 17 rooms. Rooms apparently were unheated and had no plumbing. Portiere curtains are portable screens.

<sup>72</sup> Kern Co Hall of Records, Leases 0015-0131. Lease was recorded at the request of wholesale liquor dealer Fred Gunther.

<sup>73</sup> Kern Co Hall of Records, MTG 0045-0056. \$25,000 is about \$500,000 in 2009 dollars. Interest was at 12%. Brignaudy's collateral represented about 10% of the loan.

<sup>74</sup> Kern Co Hall of Records, MTG 046-0372. Nov 27, 1907. US Census 1910. The \$10,800 lot was recorded Oct 26, 1908. Kern Co Hall of Records, Deeds 0204-0179

<sup>75</sup> In 1908 \$2,300 was \$100,000 in 2009 dollars.

<sup>76</sup> Morning Echo, Mar 9, 1908

<sup>77</sup> This was probably Trustee L. P. St. Clair who introduced ordinances to eradicate tenderloin evils in 1908. Daily Californian, Mar 9, 1908.

<sup>78</sup> Morning Echo, Apr 1, 1908

<sup>79</sup> Bakersfield Californian, Jul 24, 1908. From 19th St to the alley behind it, the lot measured 115-ft. Architects were Train & Williams of Los Angeles. Contractor was William E. Cline of Bakersfield.

<sup>80</sup> Morning Echo, Jul 25, 1908. p 1

<sup>81</sup> Bakersfield Californian, Oct 2, 1908

<sup>82</sup> Kern Co Hall of Records, Misc Bonds 0010-0270, Dec 7, 1908; Misc Notes 0009-0394. Bakersfield Californian, Dec 8, 1908. The business name Shamrock Saloon evokes John E. Bailey's Irish roots.

<sup>83</sup> Los Angeles Times, Dec 16, 1908

<sup>84</sup> hanging cloths used as blinds

<sup>85</sup> Morning Echo, Jan 19, 1909, p 1

<sup>86</sup> Morning Echo, Jan 19, 1909. p 1. At this time Henry A. Jastro was Chairman of the Kern County Board of Supervisors, General Manager of the Kern County Land Company, a partner in several corporations, and on the boards of local public utilities.

<sup>87</sup> This was at the Standard (Guy Hughes, *Battle of the Joss House*. New York: Carlton Press, c. 1968).

<sup>88</sup> Morning Echo, Jan 31, 1909. p 8, col 3. The female was Mary Dolan.

<sup>89</sup> Morning Echo, Feb 5, 1909. p 1, col 3

<sup>90</sup> Moore constructed a house about a mile behind the settlement of Maricopa, shipped a number of the inmates of the Palace to it, and set-up a house of ill fame. The prostitutes attracted business away from Maricopa saloons, and their owners charged Moore with selling liquor without a county license (Morning Echo, Feb 12, 1909, p 1, col 6).

<sup>91</sup> Morning Echo, Feb 5, 1909, p 1, col 3

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Morning Echo, Feb 11, 1909. p 1, col 1; Morning Echo, Feb 13, 1909, p 4, col 3

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Morning Echo, Feb 11, 1909, p 1, col 1

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Morning Echo, Feb 11, 1909, p 8, col 3

<sup>98</sup> Morning Echo, Feb 12, 1909. p 1, col 6

<sup>99</sup> 1910 Census, T164, Roll 78, p 162

100 In this block were other hotels. In 1914 the St. Regis Hotel was at 1125- 1/2 19th Street, which indicates it was on the second floor. At 1129- 19th was the Commercial Hotel

101 Morning Echo, Feb 16, 1909, p 1, col 5

102 Kevin Starr. *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era*, Oxford U Press, 1985

103 San Francisco Call, Feb 28, 1910. See also Kevin Starr, op cit.

104 Morning Echo, Feb 20, 1909, pg: 1; col: 2-3; Feb 21, 1909. During the 18 years that followed Chief James McKamy's service (Apr 1907 - Feb 1915) 12 men filled the office of Chief of Police.

105 Morning Echo, Mar 6, 1909, p 3, col 3

106 Morning Echo, Feb 18, 1909, p 1, col 3

107 Morning Echo, Feb 18, 1909, p 1, col 3

108 Morning Echo, Mar 6, 1909, p 3, col 3

109 In favor were Trustees Frank G. Munzer, AF Stoner, WS Kimball and Mayor John E, Bailey. Opposed: Ronald McDonald. Morning Echo, Mar 24, 1909, p 7, col 3

110 Morning Echo, "More Houses Of Ill Repute," May 19, 1909, p 1, col 6 The road to Bakersfield from the Southern Pacific Depot in east Bakersfield was via 19th street. Morning Echo, Mar 6, 1909, p 3, col 3

111 Morning Echo, May 19, 1909, p 1, col 6

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid.

114 Kern Co Hall of Records, MTG 0054-0190. May 27, 1910. Equal to \$30,000 today. She paid it off in 33 months.

115 In 1900 Elsie White, 20, and Alice Raymond, 24, lived at this address with Louisa De Yough (US Census). The 1907-8 Polk-Hustad City Directory shows Marie Brignaudy at 1015 18th. Her Denver Rooms faced 20<sup>th</sup>. Behind it was the Metropolitan Saloon at 1218-19<sup>th</sup>, (1910 Polk-Hustad City Directory). 1899 City Directory. US Census 1900, T623, R87, p 192. Shirley Jackson, Kern County Genealogical Society, supplied Union Cemetery findings.

116 1910 Census T164, Roll 78, p 162

117 After the earthquake of 1952 many of the hotels in this block were razed. In 1914 the St. Regis Hotel was at 1125-1/2 19th St. The Commercial Hotel was at 1129- 19<sup>th</sup>.

118 Kern Co Hall of Records, Misc Notes 0011-0181, Aug 24, 1910. Kern Co Hall of Records, Lease 0021-0458, Aug 27, 1910. A barber shop is shown in the building in *Bakersfield Picture Album*, op cit.

119 Morning Echo, Sep 24, 1910

120 Kern Co Hall of Records, Misc Notes 0011-0075, Brignaudy-Henry R. Alleoud, Dec 16, 1910.

121 Bakersfield Californian, Apr 5, 1911. Until the start of Civil Service in 1931, the office of police chief was a revolving door. In Jan 1931, 2,822 voters presented a petition to the city council asking for an election to establish civil service in the police dept. It passed as a ballot measure in the election of Mar, 1931. In May 1933 the City council passed a resolution, by a margin of one vote, to repeal Civil Service. Those in favor were Gist, Martin, Smith, and Sollers. The resolution had no force. *History of the Bakersfield Police Department, 1898-1946*. "Largely from minutes of the Board of Trustees of Bakersfield and from those of the City Council," Robert B. Powers, manuscript, p 50. McGuire Local History Rm, Beale Memorial Library, Bakersfield, CA, has a copy.

122 Morning Echo, May 30, 1911, p 3; Jun 1, 1911, p 6. \$100 was about \$4,500 today.

123 Morning Echo, Jun 21, 1911. *To be interested in the building* indicated that Brignaudy's mother would have a financial interest in the building. Manifest of ship La Savoie shows that on Jul 31, 1911, a 61 year-old widow named Marie Somnier, born in Baume de Vaudute, France, arrived in New York from Havre on ship "La Savoie." Her hometown was Sorgues (about 75 mi north-northwest of Marseilles on the Mediterranean coast), and this was her first trip to the U. S. Her destination was 1219-20th Street, Bakersfield, CA, indicated as the residence of her daughter, "Therese Brignody [*sic*]" whose address was 1219-20th St. This was the Denver Rooms which today is the address of the *Bakersfield News Observer*. Marie Somnier carried \$100, a large amount when compared to the funds declared by other passengers.

124 Brewer, Chris. *Bakersfield Picture Album*, vol 2, Bear State Books (2003), Exeter, CA, p 71. According to Bakersfield movie historian Paul Linfesty, the Virginia opened about 1924.

125 At the left of the barbershop is a 1-1/2-story, stucco building with a vertical marquee reading "Virginia Theatre." Its facade differs from that of the hotel. Today 1218 19th St is a vacant lot.

126 Kern Co Hall of Records, Leases 0024-0385, Oct 3, 1911. This was a three-year lease on the Denver Hotel in Blk 231. The first seven months were payable at \$150 a month and thereafter at \$235 a month. For the first year the average payment was \$4,500 a month in today's dollars. The lease did not explain what business was at street level, but the amount of the rent suggests it had a saloon.

127 In 1911 Kern Co was the seventh wealthiest county in the state, one-third of its value owing to increased real estate prices and two-thirds to growth of the oil industry. *Los Angeles Times*, Jan 28, 1912, p v-27

128 City Directory, 1912. Morning Echo, Dec 7, 1911. 1919 M is one-quarter *Blk* north of 19th on the east side of M Street. Today it is that part of Downtown School adjacent to Pioneer Mercantile Company. Author did not discover how she acquired that property.

129 Morning Echo, Nov 18, 1911. p 1, col 5-6

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

132 Kevin Starr. *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era*. 1985, Oxford University Press.

133 Jan 27, 1911

134 Those named were Withington, Borsi, and Gordon, who was probably Charlie Gordon, Kim Fat, Peter Matsuura, Charlie Quong, and 12 crib workers. Any impact of that their vice traffic had on the Cosmopolitan was minimal since it faced busy 19<sup>th</sup> street, but the Denver, which was at the southeast corner of 20th and L, looked north onto the newly-defined red light district.

135 Morning Echo, Nov 18, 1911. Page: 1; col: 5-6

136 Morning Echo, Dec 7, 1911. Morning Echo, Dec 3, 1911. p 13; col 3

137 Morning Echo, Dec 8, 1911, p 8, col 2

138 Bakersfield Californian or Morning Echo, Dec 7, 1911

139 Morning Echo, Feb 28, 1912. p 1, col 5. Morning Echo, Dec 8, 1911. p 8, col 2. The Morning Echo, Feb 28, 1912. p 1, col 5 also described it.

140 Morning Echo, Dec 12, 1911, p 1, "The Macqueraux Curse"

141 Morning Echo, Dec 29, 1911. After the New Year, city trustees did not renew the saloon license of the German Hotel or Withington's Owl Saloon. All other were renewed (Morning Echo, Jan 3, 1912, pg 1, col 1). At this juncture prostitution became a second-floor hotel business.

142 Morning Echo, Jan 6, 1912, p 5, col 4

143 Morning Echo, Feb 2, 1912. p 4, col 2

144 Morning Echo, Feb 28, 1912, pg: 1; col: 5. An HF Landon alleged that Margaret Simmons, 35, a chambermaid at the Denver Rooms had robbed him of \$25. Brignaudy was jailed. Her attorney W. Wyman Smith demanded that bail be set (Bakersfield Californian, Feb 29, 1912, p 1, col 5-6).

145 Morning Echo, Mar 15, 1912, p 1, col 2

146 Morning Echo, Mar 15, 1912, p 1, col 2

147 Bakersfield Californian, Feb 29, 1912, p 1, col 5-6. Kern Co Hall of Records, Deeds 0176-0460, Mar 6, 1912.

148 Kern Co Hall of Records, Book of Deeds, 0137-0417, Feb 1 and Feb 7, 1912. Lot 6, Block 231. Also named was the Fidelity S&L Assn.

149 Morning Echo, Mar 15, 1912, p 1; col 2

150 Wills mentioned in this work appear in Kern County Probate File 5429. This was the first incidence found of her using the name Ledoux. The Brignaudy-Ledoux marriage was probably not public knowledge in Bakersfield until Mar 2, 1916 when S. P. Wible quitclaimed the Bowling Alley Saloon to Marie Brignaudy Ledoux (Kern Co Hall of Records Deeds 0270-0248, Mar 2, 1916).

151 Bakersfield Californian, Apr 1, 1912

152 Morning Echo, Apr 2, 1912; Bakersfield Californian, Apr 2, 1912

153 Bakersfield Californian, Apr 3, 1912

154 Morning Echo, Apr 3, 1912, p 9, col 4

155 Ibid.

156 Morning Echo, Apr 5, 1912, p 12, col 3

157 Ibid.

158 Morning Echo, Apr 5, 1912, p 12, col 3

159 Bakersfield Californian, Apr 7, 1912

- 160 Bakersfield Californian, Apr 5, 1912; Apr 6, 1912
- 161 Bakersfield Californian, Apr 7, 1912
- 162 Bakersfield Californian, Apr 6, 1912
- 163 Bakersfield Californian, Apr 8, 1912
- 164 Morning Echo, Apr 8, 1912, p 1, col 6. The address is at L and China Alley, about one-half block north of today's Downtown School. Bail was equivalent to about \$4,000 each and would have been guaranteed by a third party.
- 165 Near L between 21st and 22nd
- 166 These cribs were on the east side of M between 21<sup>st</sup> and the alley north of it.
- 167 Morning Echo, May 19, 1912, p 1 col 4
- 168 Morning Echo, Aug 15, 1912, p 1-2, col 3-5
- 169 Ibid. Letter dated Aug 10, 1912
- 170 Ibid.
- 171 Ibid.
- 172 Ibid.
- 173 The action was filed under Section 772 of the California Penal Code which provided for the summary removal of officers proven to be derelict in their duty.
- 174 Los Angeles Times, Sep 2, 1912
- 175 Bakersfield Californian, Feb 9, 1913. Letter was signed W. Watson. In the Bulletin, San Francisco Bishop Edwin H. Hughes observed government's unequal treatment of the sexes: "We have been making a contemptible distinction in sending women to the municipal clinic [*for disease screening*] to be labeled [*as prostitutes*], without also sending the men for the same purpose. I'm against segregation, but if you are going to segregate women, segregate the men, too" [*The Bulletin* (San Francisco), Jun 3, 1913].
- 176 Daily Californian, Sep 29, 1908
- 177 Morning Echo, May 21, 1912, p 12, col 3
- 178 Bakersfield Californian, Jan 23, 1915
- 179 Bakersfield Californian, Jan 23, 1915, p 8
- 180 Morning Echo, Jan 2, 1914, p 10
- 181 Daily [*Taft, CA*] Midway Driller, Mar 5, 1914

182 Ibid.

183 Ibid.

184 Ibid.

185 Ibid.

186 Ibid.

187 Ibid.

188 Ibid.

189 Robert Powers, *History of the Bakersfield Police Department*, p 24. Powers footnoted that from 1927 through 1945 he never knew the City Council to express a point of view against prostitution in the city.

190 Daily Report, Jun 14, 1914

191 Kern Co Superior Court, Civil Division, Folder 9443. Aug 26, 1914

192 Ibid.

193 Superior Court, Civil Division, folder No. 9443, Aug 17, 1914

194 Kern Co Superior Court, Civil Division, Folder 9443. Aug 26, 1914

195 Ibid.

196 Kern Co Superior Court, Civil Division, Folder 9443, Nov 13, 1914. The transcript implied there was a hidden agenda between the Board of Supervisors and liquor distributors.

197 Morning Echo, Jun 26, 1917. Redeemed on that date.

198 Kern Co Hall of Records, Misc Rec 0015-0187, Jun 4, 1914. In Jan, 1915 she bought property from Henry Lefkovits, and that property seemed to be the same that she had quit-claimed to Young. The deed described it as “seven acres of land lying just west of the Kern Island canal and just south of Twenty-Fourth Street.” (*Daily Report*, Jan 1, 1915). The land was then in Chinese truck gardens. Purchase price was \$15,000. The name Lefkovits might have been a misprint of Lefkovitz.

199 Kern Co Hall of Records, Deeds 0246-0489, Jan 25, 1915. Brignaudy redeemed it Mar 11, 1918.

200 Bakersfield Californian, Feb 1, 1915, p 7

201 Bakersfield Californian, Feb 15, 1915

202 Ibid.

203 Ibid.



204 The Bakersfield Californian, Feb 13, 1915, p 8

205 Bakersfield Californian, Jun 1, 1915, p 28. The area was not identified. It was likely the old Brewery Block (208).

206 Bakersfield Californian, Sep 14, 1915, p 1

207 Bakersfield Californian, Sep 14, 1915, p 6

208 Bakersfield Californian, Dec 1, 1915, p 1

209 Kern Co Hall of Records, Deeds 0294-0465, Dec 4, 1914. In 1909 a “dwelling house” at 19<sup>th</sup> and R streets was destroyed by fire. A Mrs. Louise Matthews managed it, and the owner was “Madam De Yough” (Bakersfield Californian, Mar 13, 1909).

The Colonial Hotel was at 700 19th Street at the corner of 19th and R.

210 Published Feb 1918

211 Kern Co Hall of Records, Leases 0029-0250, Oct 26, 1916. Annie Simmons signed a two-year lease on 1220 19th Street beginning Nov 1, 1916. By then the street-level saloon had become a moving picture house.

212 Kern Co Hall of Records, Leases 0029-0274, Jun 20, 1917. This property was on the city delinquent tax list 1916-7 under the name Mrs. M. T. LeDoux. The hotel's property taxes were also delinquent in 1914-5 (Bakersfield Californian, Jun 4, 1917, p 15).

213 Bakersfield Californian, Jan 30, 1917, pp. 29, 30

214 William J. Vizzard was Bakersfield Chief of Police May 19, 1915 to Apr 30, 1917.

215 Bakersfield Californian, Jan 30, 1917, pp. 29, 30. The newspaper did not say Vizzard was present during the meeting. He was removed as chief of police four months later.

216 Resolution 348 authorized employment of new officers and up to \$1,000 to fund the resolution. (Powers, p 34). Bakersfield Californian, Jan 30, 1917, pp. 29, 30

217 Morning Echo, Jun 24, 1917

218 Robert Powers, History of the Bakersfield Police Department, p 32

219 Morning Echo, Jun 29, 1917, p 2

220 The count of window shades suggests two windows per room. The chamber vessels listed indicate that the building, completed in 1911-2, did not have a sanitary sewer system. The iron stool scraper was for scraping chamber pots.

221 Kern Co Hall of Records, Homesteads 0004-0047, Feb 5, 1918  
222 Bakersfield Californian, Mar 22 1918

223 Bakersfield Californian, May 4, 1918

224 Bakersfield Californian, May 6, 1918. May 7, 1918, p 6; May 13, 1918

225 Bakersfield Californian, May 3, 1918, p 4. The Knights of Columbus demanded to know the source of the data. Echo, May 9, 1918.

226 The lot on 19<sup>th</sup> then had two hotels. The Club probably faced 19<sup>th</sup>, the Cosmopolitan was behind it and backed up to the alley.

227 Kern Co Hall of Records, Indentures 0029-0471, May 14, 1918. The statement in the lease was a safe guard. A provision in the Red Light Abatement Act closed for one year property used for prostitution.

228 Morning Echo, Nov 20, 1918

229 Albert Ledoux was listed as an engineer for Water Company No. 5. The Los Angeles address suggests that she had been commuting for some time between Bakersfield and Los Angeles.

230 Kern Co Hall of Records, Indentures 0029-0471, May 14, 1918. In Feb 1919 Therese Ledoux borrowed \$2,000 against the 18th street property. Henry Cohn of Bakersfield guaranteed the loan. Cohn's name does not appear in the 1910 or 1920 US Census for Kern Co.

231 Decree of Divorce was final Jul 1920 (Kern Co Hall of Records, Misc Records 0090-0374, filed Sep 14, 1925). The US Census taken Jan 16, 1920 (T625, Roll, 99, p 177) shows garage mechanic Albert Ledoux, 35, born in NH, married to an Ina, and living on D street at Brawley City, Imperial Co, CA.

232 Kern Co Hall of Records, Misc Records 0021-0222, Mar 1, 1920. The lease said the Kern Co Mutual Building & Loan Assn "shall not look to Maria Theresa Ledoux for payment of mortgage. [signed] Arthur Crites, Bank Secretary." See also, Deeds 0346-0354, March 1, 1920.

233 Kern Co Hall of Records, Agreements 0044-0481, Dec 14, 1920. She sold it to Mack H. Spain for \$3,500 at \$500 down and \$40 a month.

234 Tract 7342, Lot 30, noted in Kern Co Probate File 5429.

235 Los Angeles Times, Aug 10, 1923, p 13. Los Angeles Times Jul 26, 1925, p 10

236 Los Angeles Times, Jun 15, 1924, p F8

237 S.S. Leviathan was flagship of the new United States Lines. In 1927 the luxury liner carried more passengers than any other commercial ship.

238 Her visa was NQ-58 issued Aug 16, 1929 at Marseilles. She had been visiting her sister Mrs. Duret of Regnanas, Cherbourg, France and Joseps Duret of 3 rue Simplon, Verey, Switzerland. The manifest identified Joseps Duret as her son-in-law, although he was her brother-in-law. Brignaudy was carrying \$500 in cash.

239 Sumner's will, dated Jan 27, 1930, is part of Kern County Probate File 5429. The 1930 US Census of Los Angeles lists Patrick Kilcoyne as a married truck driver. After Therese Sumner died Dr. Brown received \$415. 50.

240 19<sup>th</sup> and Union

241 Los Angeles Times, Dec 13, 1933, p 11.

242 Others named in the case remained in custody in Los Angeles on \$50,000 bails.

243 Los Angeles Times, Nov 21, 1933. 1930 US Census.

244 Los Angeles Times, Nov 28, 1933.

245 Bakersfield Californian, Nov 19, 1933. Pauline Leroy was already in custody in Los Angeles.

246 Los Angeles Superior Court action 27106. In June 1933 May LeRoy was accused of operating a protection business, and she was one of several convicted in the white slavery case. In Apr 1934 she killed herself at Tehachapi Women's Prison (Bakersfield Californian, Apr 5, 1934).

247 Los Angeles Times, Nov 27, 1933. Nov 28, 1933.

248 Los Angeles Times, Dec 9, 1933

249 December 11, 1933. San Joaquin Hospital opened a state-of-the art medical facility in Jan 1930 at the same location it stands today.

250 Kern Co Probate File 5429

251 Jun 4, 1934. Executor was Bank of America, Trust Officer W. D. Watson

252 Etat Independent Du Congo, Series 016867, #5; and Series 02878, #12. King Leopold II of Belgium was awarded the Congo territory at the Conference of Berlin in 1885. The bonds were issued to finance projects such as the railway that ran from the ocean to Leopoldville (Kinshasa). Buyers of lottery bonds gambled that although the bonds paid very low guaranteed rates of return there was also the possibility that they might could be redeemed at much greater face value.

253 Lot 31, Tract 7342, Sheets 1 and 2, County of Los Angeles, as per Map Book 83, p 99-100. Recorded at Kern Co Hall of Records, Blk 0513-0109/0513-0189. The court determined that sales prices were reasonable and acceptable.

254 Louise Dellaringa was former mother-in-law of Clemente Borsi.

255 Kern Co Hall of Records, 0572-0247, Jun 17, 1935. W 34 ft and E 2-1/2 ft of W 36-1/2 ft of the N 59-1/2 ft of Lot 2 in Blk 231 as per map recorded Bakersfield, CA. Nov 25, 1895 in Book 1, pages 13 and 14 of Maps. Cohn's business information comes from the 1930 US Census.

256 Brignaudy's descendants were Pierre Duret of Romilly, Sur Seine (Aube), Miss Andrea Duret of Rognonas (Rouches-sur-Rhone), and Miss Leah Duret of Vedene (Vaucluse).

257 On Apr 5, 1951 signatures were notarized under the French seal of M. Herny Daniel Trouillard, Romilly-Sur-Sein (Aube).

258 Flickinger-Digier Mortuary

259 Union Cemetery, Bakersfield, CA, Haven of Rest, Blk 1428, Lot 4. M. T. Brignaudy's grave is two streets south of Union Cemetery business office. A sign on the east side of the road is marked Blk 1424. Her unmarked grave is in Blk 1428, Lot 4, which is nine rows east and four plots north.