



UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

**A Spatial Investigation into the Colonial Landscapes of Sex in Johannesburg,
Durban, and Cape Town, c. 1860 - 1910**

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Dissertation

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Science

August 2022

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the left.

31 August 2022

ABSTRACT

In the late-19th and early-20th centuries British-colonial South Africa had several thriving sex industries. Sex work was an active feature in the illicit economies of Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town from their respective inceptions. Such 19th and 20th century sex work has been studied archaeologically since the 1980s in North America, but equivalent sustained work has not been conducted on contemporaneous South African sex work. With a focus on their respective spatial formations, the aim of this dissertation was to assess whether Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town's sex industries were contained within distinct red-light districts between 1860 and 1910. In addition, I aimed to determine the visibility of sex workers and their own voices within the South African colonial archive. I generated spatial data that can be used for future archaeological investigation and identified potential material markers for identifying sex work-related sites. This was achieved for Johannesburg by producing a Google Earth map of brothel addresses acquired from the National Archives in Pretoria. Durban and Cape Town maps were produced using historiographical literature. Photographs of sex workers and pimps preserved in the colonial archive provided clues towards the potential materiality of sex work in South Africa, and the manner in which sex workers were criminalised in the colonial legal system.

To the sex workers of Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town, past and present.

To the students who survived studies and research during a pandemic.

To Shaun O'Shea, for his immeasurable courage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I, firstly, would like to extend my thanks to my supervisors, Professor Alex Schoeman, and Doctor Natalie Swanepoel, whose guidance and advice made my work possible. Their belief in the possibilities for the archaeology of sex work in South Africa bolstered my passion for my chosen specialisation, and for that I am eternally grateful.

This dissertation could not have been achieved without the financial support of the University of the Witwatersrand Postgraduate Merit Award Scholarship; thus, I extend my gratitude to the University.

A further note of thanks must be extended to the staff of the National Archives of South Africa campuses Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg campuses, for their assistance in retrieving the dusty colonial tomes from deep within the recesses of the archival vaults.

My family's unwavering belief in my capability served as both a comfort and motivation as I pursued this dissertation during the restrictions of a pandemic.

Lastly, thank you to Darian Stassen, for the warm beverages on late nights, the meals when words felt more important, and for everything else.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Sex work has operated as a principal feature of vice industries for centuries. In the late 19th century sex work was thriving in the rapidly industrialising world, despite it being heavily restricted by legislative authorities. The role sex work has played in colonial society can help provide insight into socio-political and economic structures of colonial rule. Concerns of gender, race, sexuality, disease, and economy can also be revealed. Illicit economies like sex work have taken place in various spaces, ranging from the criminally organised red-light districts of rapidly developing cities to the entertainment centres of frontier towns, to along the busy docks in global ports.

Sex work has been studied archaeologically in a variety of contexts, from the classical world in Byzantium (e.g., Dauphin 1996; Glazebrook & Tsakirgis 2016) and Pompeii (e.g., Carafa *et al.* 2002; Glazebrook 2015; Levin-Richardson 2019), to the late-19th century in North America (e.g., Simmons 1989; Seifert 1991, 2005; Yamin 1998, 2005, 2015; Milne & Crabtree 2001; Gilfoyle 2005; Spude 2005; Foster *et al.* 2005; Meyer *et al.* 2005; Yamin & Seifert 2019), and Australia (e.g., Casella 2000; Mayne 2006; Minchinton 2017). Contemporaneous to the latter, South African sex work has yet to receive as comprehensive archaeological attention as elsewhere. Historians, however, have included South African sex work within contextual examinations of the broader economy (Van Onselen 1982), disease (Van Heyningen 1984), and socio-political reaction to disease (Martens 2001), but have not explicitly investigated the spaces in which sex work occurred.

With this dissertation I am building on the work I conducted during my Honours project (O'Shea 2019) in which I explored the spatial existence of a late-19th-early-20th century sex industry in Johannesburg (1880 – 1910) as documented in British colonial-era journalism, but I have expanded this examination to include how this sex industry manifested spatially in historical archives. I achieve this by mapping the addresses of brothels, and pimp home addresses, onto historical maps of the city on Google Earth. I also examined Durban (1860 – 1910) using archival sources that did not include spatial information, and historiographical literature. I

addressed Cape Town (1860 – 1910) using online archive databases and available literature. For the purposes of this study, “sex industry” is defined as, specifically, the economic practice whereby sex is exchanged for money, and “red-light district” designates an area of a city or town which is made up of many sex industry establishments, like brothels.

A prevailing question amongst field-based sciences during and after March 2020 and the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic was how to adapt in the face of a locked down society that has forced researchers out of the field and into their home offices (Scerri *et al.* 2020). It was within this landscape that my Master’s dissertation was conceptualised and adapted from one that initially sought to conduct field work, to one with a mostly desktop-based focus, as well as a tertiary aim of interrogating the viability of current online databases as sources for the archaeology of the recent past.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

Were the sex industries of 19th-century Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban contained within distinct red-light districts during their respective spatial formations, and are the sex workers from this period visible in historical archives?

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.2.1 Aims

1. The core aim of this dissertation was to determine how the sex industries in colonial Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town developed spatially in the 19th century, and whether there were identifiable red-light districts in their landscapes.
2. To assess the visibility of sex workers, and their own voices, in the consulted historical sources.
3. To identify sites suitable for future archaeological investigation of sex work, that may be intact, or are not covered by obstructive contemporary buildings or infrastructure.

4. To identify any potential material markers for sex work at historical sites that can be used in future analyses.
5. Given the context of conducting archaeological research within the restricted landscape of a global pandemic, I aimed to test the usefulness of online sources for remote desktop research into the archaeology of sex work.

1.2.2 Objectives

- Compile a database of sex work related arrests in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban from 1860 to 1910 using the respective cities' historical archives.
- Compile a dataset of all sex work related spatial data available for the above cities, including addresses, street names, and suburbs.
- Generate a spatial map with Google Earth using the above sex work data per city.
- Identify and analyse any patterns in the data per city.
- Identify and analyse any spatial patterns in the data per city.
- Identify commonalities and differences in the data per city which might describe commonalities and differences in the sex industries per city.

1.3 RATIONALE

Late 19th century sex work has been studied by North American archaeologists since the 1980s, but there has been no equivalent sustained archaeological work done on colonial-era sex work in South Africa. The North American work inspired my curiosity to see similar research in a South African context, specifically because of the insight such work has provided into the lives of 19th century sex workers. In particular, the presentation of sex workers as empowered contributing members of society, who were independent agents within their own

lives is an important, feminist, counter to the “fallen woman” narrative that was attached to sex workers in the 19th century (see chapter two, section 2.1.2 for detailed examples). My Honours project (O’Shea 2019) explored the potential spatial distribution of sex work as chronicled in colonial journalism and the visibility of sex workers on social landscapes in Johannesburg from 1896 to 1914, but there has been no comparative examination of sex work in other major centres in South Africa from the 1880s to the 1910s.

1.4 HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE CRIMINALISATION OF SEX WORK IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIES

The history of sex work is a part of broader working-class history but, more specifically, is representative of *women’s* working-class history, particularly in a time when there were few other avenues for working-class women’s employment (Swaishland 1993: 16). Throughout history, and globally, economic sex work has tended to be a highly restricted, yet mobile, illicit economy (Hartnett & Dawdy 2013: 43). By the last decade of the 19th century, it was characterised as a professionalised market in the South African colonies that required legislative control (e.g., Hallett 1979; Van Onselen 1982; Van Heyningen 1984).

The 19th century saw the rapid frontier expansion of the industrialised world: European colonies existed across the globe, southern Africa being no exception, and saw European settlers expand into the interiors of the lands they sought to occupy. These colonies were usually dominated by unmarried men and a dearth of women, which attracted the sex workers of Europe who were seeking to move away from the overcrowded red-light districts of the Old World (Van Onselen 1982: 116 – 118).

A symptom of the rapid expansion of sex work in the South African colonies was a mountain of bureaucratic legislation that sought, initially, to manage and, eventually, to restrict sex work altogether (e.g., the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1868 and 1885, and the Morality Bill of 1903 in Cape Town, the Criminal Law amendments of 1899, 1902, and 1903 in Durban, and the *Ontucht Wet* of 1892 and the Immorality Ordinance of 1903 in Johannesburg). Acknowledging the history of how and why sex work was criminalised in the South African colonies

has informed my methodology, as it is from the records of that criminalisation that I was able to acquire the data necessary for this dissertation. Below, I discuss the legislation used by the British colonial administration to restrict sex work in Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg between 1860 and 1910.

1.4.1 Cape Town

Unsurprisingly, South Africa's oldest colonial city is the home of South Africa's oldest colonial sex trade. The earliest legislative criminalisation of sex work in the mother city was the 1678 prohibition on concubinage passed by the *Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC), though the earliest actual mention of a brothel was not until three years later in 1681 (Van Heyningen 1984: 170). Despite this prohibition, concubinage was rife in a city dominated by primarily transient, unmarried men, and the VOC government actively cultivated the earliest trade in sex (Ross 1999: 128; Groenewald 2007: 67). By the 18th century the city's most well-visited brothel was the Slave Lodge due to the VOC seeking to profit off the thousands of sailors that came ashore at the Cape with coins weighing down their pockets (Groenewald 2007: 67). Further, Groenewald (2007) shows that the Slave Lodge served as the "largest concentration of women" in the Cape during the early 18th century and was thus the most convenient location for men to slake their lust, for a fee (Groenewald 2007: 68). Excavations of the Slave Lodge, however, did not address this aspect of the site's history (see below). Most legislation throughout the 18th century and during the early-to-mid-19th century was centred on the restriction of public displays of disorderly behaviour, and the police were disinclined to impose any real-world restriction of sex work that took place behind closed doors (Van Heyningen 1984: 171).

The 1868 Contagious Diseases Act (Number 25 of 1868) was the first significant legislative attempt to control sex work in South Africa after the British annexation of the Cape in 1806. It was contextually born in two parts: firstly, in the 1830s an underclass characterised by extreme poverty had developed, especially amongst freed slaves, with widespread venereal disease evident from paupers' hospitals records (Van Heyningen 1984:170). Secondly, the Post-Crimean War (1853 – 1856) concern for the health of British troops across the Empire meant that the British War Office was alarmed to learn that 13% of the British troops at the Cape

were being hospitalised with venereal disease (Van Heyningen 1984: 173). Inspired by similar legislation passed in Britain between 1864 and 1869, the first Contagious Diseases Act allowed for the “registration and periodical examination of common prostitutes in scheduled areas, and their voluntary treatment in lock hospitals if found to be diseased” (Van Heyningen 1984: 172). The Act was almost immediately met with resistance, and, after years of targeted anti-Contagious Diseases Act campaigns (also inspired by those in Britain), was completely withdrawn in 1872 (Van Heyningen 1984: 174 – 175).

The Colonial Medical committee encouraged a second Contagious diseases Act be passed in 1885 (Number 39 of 1885) due to mounting rates of syphilis infections combined with an expanding urban population and concern for public health. This was one year before the last of the same Acts would be abolished in Britain (Van Heyningen 1984: 176 – 178). The second Act built on its 1868 predecessor in its first part, also advised the registration and management of sex workers (though what defined a “common prostitute” was still unclear) (Van Heyningen 1984: 178). It also contained a second part, which was aimed especially at the management of syphilis outbreaks in rural areas (Van Heyningen 1984: 178). As with the first Act, the second also met with resistance, namely from the various organisations of the temperance movements in the Colony. Their campaigns ultimately failed to result in repeal (which only occurred in 1919), but they did succeed in the passing of another bill in 1898, this one banning the keeping of brothels in the city and directly targeting tenants and landlords who did (Van Heyningen 1984: 189). The 1898 bill was withdrawn in 1899. Campaigning against the Contagious Diseases Acts was halted by the outbreak of the South African War in 1899 (Van Heyningen 1984: 184), which took much of the colonial authority’s attention away from urban sex work.

Following the South African War, the next major targeted legislation the Cape colonial administration passed the Betting Houses, Gaming, and Brothels Suppression Bill (Number 36 of 1902) (also referred to as the Morality Bill). The Morality Bill was conceived firstly, as a means to further limit sex work in the city since previous legislation had been unsuccessful in the eyes of law enforcement. Secondly, the bill was introduced due to a rising concern about

“illicit intercourse” between European [white] women and black men in the brothels that littered the city (Hallett 1979: 4; Van Heyningen 1984: 192). The Bill was effective enough that it saw the departure of European sex workers from Cape Town for other opportunities abroad, or to other South African colonies, such as the Transvaal or Natal (Hallett 1979: 8). The decline in European sex workers might also be attributed to the passing of immigration restriction legislation that made it increasingly difficult for Eastern European Jewish sex workers – who had made up the majority of sex workers in Cape Town since the mid-1890s (Van Heyningen 1984: 182 – 185) – to enter the colony (Van Heyningen 1984: 194). Thus, the Morality Bill, and the Second Contagious Diseases Act were the principal legislation for the restriction and suppression of sex work in Cape Town well into the 20th century.

The Cape’s first three hundred years of sex work has received significant historiographical interrogation (e.g., Hallett 1979; Van Heyningen 1984, 1989; Elks 1986; Ross 1999; Groenewald 2007). However, sex work is a notoriously difficult subject to find evidence of in the Cape archives (Hallett 1979: 2; Van Heyningen 1984: 180; Ross 1999: 128; Groenewald 2007: 67). This is perhaps due in part to sex work’s ephemeral nature made up of a “highly mobile population” (Van Heyningen 1984: 180; Groenewald 2007: 67). Even with the existence of legislation, the policing of sex work was unreliable and sex workers rarely ever faced conviction (Ross 1999: 128 – 129). As a result, the paper archive of colonial sex work in Cape Town may have been limited.

Some records do exist from the Lock Hospital that connected to the prison on Roeland Street, but Van Heyningen (1984) emphasised that they were inconsistently kept and notoriously subject to the politicisation that the Contagious Diseases Acts inspired (Van Heyningen 1984: 80). In an article for the 1979 edition of *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, Hallett (1979) remarked that police and Magistrate’s records from the time had been destroyed. The sources available for studying criminal cases must be gleaned from the Attorney General’s correspondence files where possible, or from the surviving criminal record books that contain names and some scant details about the case (Hallett 1979: 2). This is evident in Van Heyningen’s (1984, 1989) work since many of her primary sources

were from various repositories of colonial correspondence. Much the same can be said of Elks (1986), Ross (1999), and Groenewald (2007).

1.4.2 Durban

The territory that would come to be titled the Natal Colony was annexed by the British in 1843 (Christopher 1971: 103). Second in scale to the colonial seat of Pietermaritzburg during the 19th century, the seaport of Durban is now the largest city in KwaZulu Natal. It is because of Durban's status as one of the biggest cities in South Africa that I selected it as one of the sites of the colonial sex industry to research. The Natal Colony transitioned from Dutch control to British in the 1840s (Christopher 1971: 102 – 103), and with that transition came British hegemonic legislation. Much of the colonial administration's response to sex work in the Natal Colony was motivated by segregationist concerns (Martens 2001), as was the case in the Cape Colony. Fears around black sexuality, and sexual relationships between black and white residents of the colony triggered a series of racially focussed legislation aimed at managing the colony's burgeoning sex industry (Posel 1989; Martens 2001). I examine the entanglement of fears around race and sexuality in the British colonies in chapter two.

The historiographical literature that has examined sex work in Durban during the late-19th century has race as a central sub-theme. This may be because by 1890, according to Martens (2001), of the roughly 112 known sex workers in the Natal Colony, most were African women (Martens 2001: 30). This is interesting considering the population demographics of Durban at the time: the census of 1904 reflected 693 African women living in the city compared to 18,236 African men from a total 18,929 Africans (Census of the British Empire 1904: 163; Ramsay 1992: 75). The above numbers are as presented in the census, but it is possible that human error might have inflated or underreported the true numbers. As the early 1900s progressed, the Superintendent of Police showed concern for the influx of European sex workers to colonial Durban (Posel 1989: 5; Noble 1991: 118). European women sex workers were travelling to colonial Natal from the war-torn Transvaal, as well as from Cape Town (fleeing the freshly instated 1902 Morality Bill), and continental Europe (Noble 1991: 117 – 118; Posel 1989 1, 5). The influx of white women sex workers into the city caused Durban's

colonial authorities to worry that miscegenation between these sex workers and the large population of unattached African males would cause black men to become “less respectful to white women and girls” (Posel 1989: 4). This latter concern was likely exacerbated by the numbers of African men working in proximity to white settler women and girls as domestic servants (Martens 2001: 28).

Further, colonial fears about the potential miscegenation between European sex workers and African men is best exemplified by the Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT). The streets associated with houses of ill-fame owned by Indians (Posel 1989: 1) fall within the historically mixed WAT; the area became an established residential zone of the city by the turn of the century because of its access to the interior of the Natal Colony (Maharaj 1999: 252). It was, and is, associated with a mix of Indian and White occupants but the numbers of each have fluctuated over the century (Maharaj 1999: 252)

Martens (2001) ascertains that sex work was active in Natal early in its British occupation: the Pietermaritzburg Magistrate’s Court made a point to condemn “‘immorality’ and the ‘contaminating vices of the canteen’” in its first sitting in 1846 (Martens 2001: 30). However, legislation targeting sex work did not appear until the 1899 amendment (Act number 22 of 1899) to the Criminal Law. The 1899 amendment redefined the previous Vagrancy Law’s definition of an “idle and disorderly” person to include anyone who subsisted off the proceeds of prostitution and made it easier to prosecute for soliciting (Posel 1989: 3). Prior to the 1899 amendment, there were two concerted efforts to impose Contagious Diseases legislation, like that in the Cape Colony, in 1886 and 1890 (Martens 2001: 27 – 28), but these bills were never ratified in the Natal Colony. The Contagious Diseases Acts in Natal were first called for by military authorities, then by colonial medical authorities, motivated by the spread of venereal disease acquired from sex workers amongst British soldiers at the Pietermaritzburg Barracks (Dominy 1990), then by colonial medical authorities. While Durban’s Contagious Diseases Acts never came to fruition, the very fact that they were suggested, highlights the concerns settler society had for the visibility of sex work

in the colony, the spread of disease, and the sexuality of African men (Martens 2001: 28).

Two further amendments were made to the Criminal Law, one in 1902 (Act 21 of 1902) and one in 1903 (Act 31 of 1903). These amendments included clearer definitions of the crime of keeping a brothel and made it much easier for police to charge landlords for renting their properties to sex workers (Posel 1989: 5; Noble 1991: 124). A further racial element to Durban's landscape of sex was that many of the landlords who rented property to sex workers were Indians who had begun purchasing property in the same areas as European settlers (Posel 1989: 1, 2; Noble 1991: 122). This mixed racial contact incensed Durban's white populace.

1.4.3 Johannesburg

As with other South African colonies, the city of Johannesburg changed governmental hands as it went from the financial centre of what was the independent Boer *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* [ZAR], to the seat of the Transvaal Colony under British Rule from 1902. As such, Johannesburg's legislative history is very much entangled with the sensibilities of these respective ruling classes, particularly when it came to questions of morality in the early mining town.

In its first ten years (1886 – 1896) Johannesburg expanded rapidly. The lucrative possibilities of the Gold Reef attracted diggers and prospectors from around the globe, first to the tents of the mine camps then to the modernising “working-class city” closer to what we see today (Van Onselen 1982: 111 – 112)



Figure I.1 Ferreira's Camp 1886 when Johannesburg was little more than some tents, wagons, and temporary buildings (Palestrant 1983)



Figure I.2 Commissioner Street in 1897 showing Johannesburg's development and expansion in just 11 years (Latilla 2018)

Van Onselen (1982) ascertained that these first settlers included sex workers who were attracted to the financial opportunities on the Rand. They are thus as woven

into the fabric of Johannesburg's origins as the men who struck gold (Van Onselen 1982: 112 – 113).

Despite the virtually immediate arrival of sex workers in Johannesburg, and early appeals for governmental restrictions on sex work (Van Onselen 1982: 113), there were very few legislative attempts at controlling sex work on the Rand (Van Onselen 1982: 111, 113). With the deferral of local governance to the Johannesburg Sanitary Board [JSB] in 1887 came the first localised legislative attempts at restricting sex work. The JSB constitution provided for the restriction of "houses of ill-fame" and the punishment of women who sought their subsistence through illicit means (Van Onselen 1982: 111). However, the JSB constitution was not sufficient in dissuading sex work in Johannesburg, as more restrictive legislation in other parts of South Africa (e.g., the second Contagious Diseases Act (Number 39 of 1885) in Cape Town) motivated the migration of sex workers to where they could ply their trade, more-or-less, undisturbed over the next ten years.

It was not until the late-1890s that a slew of legislation came out of Pretoria that specifically targeted sex work in the Transvaal. These were Law 2 of 1897, Law 23 of 1898, and Law 11 of 1899 – the latter two acting as amendments and additions to Law 2 of 1897. Law 2 of 1897, also known as the *Ontucht* [fornication] Law encapsulated the criminalisation of illicit sex in thirteen articles; the ones mainly concerned with sex work were articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10. The balance of the articles encompassed everything from interracial sex (Articles 7 & 8, Law 2 of 1897), to age of consent (Article 10, Law 2 of 1897), to incest (Article 9 & 11, Law 2 of 1897). Punishment for breaking the *Ontucht* Law ranged from imprisonment, lashes, or to a combination of the two depending on the severity of the crime. Later, deportation from the ZAR became an additional punishment.

The outbreak of the South African War in 1899, much like the Cape, brought any legislative attempts to restrict or control sex work in Johannesburg to a grinding halt. The war did much to lower the population of pimps and sex workers on the Rand, as they sought to escape the frontlines of the Transvaal for more peaceful pastures in Natal's towns, and the Cape Colony (Van Onselen 1982: 146).

Following the war, with the advent of British administration, fresh legislation was necessary to begin criminalising and policing sex work in Johannesburg to a new standard. Ordinance Number 46 of 1903 replaced the *Ontucht* Law, and effectively redefined what constituted sex work and how it was punished in the Transvaal Colony.

While the sex industry of Johannesburg's first 30 years provides a lens through which to study the working-class lives of the city's true pioneers, it has not been subject to significant interrogation, either historiographical or archaeological. Van Onselen's *Prostitutes and Proletariats* (1982) and *The Fox and the Flies* (2007) currently remain the most significant examples of the history of Johannesburg's earliest *demimonde*.

Given the diversity of legislation across these three colonies, and their mutual histories of changing governmental hands multiple times throughout history, I elected to specifically work within the scope of British rule, to maintain a semblance of legislative cohesion. British legislation restricting sex work, especially that which appears in the early-1900s, uses similar language (e.g., "keeping a brothel", "living off the proceeds of prostitution") to describe sex work, its features, and those involved in the practice, e.g., the Morality Bill (36 of 1902) in Cape Town, the morality-based amendment to the Criminal Law (21 of 1902) in Durban, and the Immorality Ordinance (46 of 1903) in Johannesburg. While the motivations behind enacting the above legislation differed per colony, when examined together they help provide insight into how the broader colonial project responded to sex work. Cape Town's legislation was specifically motivated by the spread of disease, while Durban's legislation was enacted to respond to miscegenation. Johannesburg's Immorality Ordinance was prompted by British hegemonic fears about the moral behaviours of the Transvaal's denizens. Therefore, while Dutch sources were consulted for Johannesburg – simply because Johannesburg's establishment in 1886 falls squarely in the middle of the scope of my research: 1860 – 1910 – most of the sources consulted for this dissertation stem from British administration.

1.5 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Following the introductory chapter in which I present the aims, objectives, and background of this dissertation, I present the literature review in chapter two. The literature is comprised of theoretical archaeological and historiographical literature. In chapter three I describe the theoretical background to this dissertation, followed by the methodology and techniques. I present the results of my research in chapter four and the discussion in chapter five. My proposed ways forward for the archaeology of sex work in South Africa is provided in my concluding chapter, alongside a summation of what I have achieved with this dissertation.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

I have drawn from diverse scholarship and disciplines – historiographical, archaeological, and geographical – for my dissertation. This literature review thus represents the intersectional nature of my aims. I consulted further works to develop a contextual understanding of global 19th and 20th century sex industries and South African colonial-era sex work.

2.1 ARCHAEOLOGY

2.1.1 Historical Archaeology

I have positioned my work squarely underneath the label of historical archaeology; particularly it's subset that deals with colonial-capitalist economies (see below). The definition of historical archaeology is one hotly debated, especially in post-colonial contexts like Africa, because it was long conceptualised as specifically the study of “the age of European colonisation” (Funari *et al.* 1999: 1). While I have remained cognisant of these debates, I am utilising historical archaeology in the sense of an archaeology of the recent past that draws on comparative techniques using archaeological, documentary, pictorial, and oral sources.

The archaeology of the recent past draws from a multitude of sources alongside the examination of material culture (Wilkie 2006; Beaudry 1988, 2017). An example of an archaeology of the recent past is documentary archaeology, which blends textual sources, oral histories, and material culture analysis to reveal knowledge of a wider perspective than a single source (Wilkie 2006: 13; Agbe-Davies: 2009: 112; Beaudry 2017). The accessibility of literacy in the early-modern world has meant that documentary sources can offer insight into the lives of individuals and their relation to the bigger picture. Themes of gender, race, class, and their intersectionality are clearer with textual supplementation of material culture (Wilkie & Hayes 2006: 244; Beaudry 2017). I have drawn on the principles of documentary archaeology in the methods of my research.

This use of multiple sources is methodological, as well as theoretical. It requires the archaeologist to assess and interrogate historical documents, texts, photographs, and other materials, with an archaeological eye. South African

historical archaeologists are key examples of this methodology (e.g., Hall *et al.* 1988; Malan 1993, 1997; Saitowitz *et al.* 1993; Hall 1994; Markell *et al.* 1995).

2.1.2 Archaeology of the Recent Past: Colonial–Capitalist Economies

The archaeology of the recent past can be more appropriately understood as what Orser (1996a, 2010: 112) has identified as “modern-world” archaeology, and refers to, specifically, the post-1492 era of world history. This specialised focus on the development of the “modern” world is characterised by four key themes: colonialism, eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity (Orser 1996a, 1996b, 2010: 112). These themes are crucial to the archaeology of the recent past and can be examined at both a local and a global level, including their influences on the lived experience of individuals and communities (Orser 2010: 116). This is true for my research on colonial-era South African sex industries, particularly Johannesburg, which were active capitalist economies in the late 19th century under a conglomerated vice industry (Van Onselen 1982: 160; O’Shea 2019: 9, 41).

Colonialism and capitalism have been tied to epochal concepts of the archaeology of the recent past, but as the discipline has diversified the notion of a distinct beginning point for archaeological examination is revealed to be less precise (Croucher & Weiss 2011: 4). Stein (2005) discussed how colonial encounters are “cross-cultural processes” that have long term and widespread effects on economic, political, and cultural organisation of societies (Stein 2005: 3–4). Western thought characterises colonialism as the expansion of early capitalist hegemony over colonial peripheries in Africa, the Americas, and parts of Asia, that is inextricable from European history (Stein 2005). It is thus necessary to study colonies without an assumption of “priori colonial dominance” by integrating the history that existed before the arrival of Europeans (Stein 2005: 24 – 25). While my dissertation does not deal with the contact period of European colonial expansion, it does engage closely with the influences of colonialism on sex industries in colonial-era South Africa and examines British hegemonic social standards that contributed to sex work’s public perception, and subsequent policing.

The archaeology of capitalist industries in colonial contexts, such as those in South African colonies, can be read in Croucher & Weiss (2011). Weiss (2011a) discussed the 19th century diamond rush at Kimberley which assisted in the development of one of South Africa's earlier interior sex industries (Van Onselen 1982: 113). Kimberley, like early Johannesburg, featured a predominantly male, unmarried population that enticed sex workers, who had been restricted by the Contagious Diseases Act in 1885, from Cape Town and Port Elizabeth [Gqeberha] (Van Onselen 1982: 113). In the following years, many of these sex workers travelled to the Witwatersrand, after the discovery of gold saw large numbers of unmarried men arrive on the Rand in pursuit of personal wealth (Van Onselen 1982).

Studying sexuality in complex colonial societies is an avenue for understanding the role sexuality played in many of colonial-settler society's fears, motivations, and standards (Voss & Casella 2012: 1 – 2). Several chapters relevant to interpreting the relationship between colonial society and sexuality were collated in Voss and Casella (2012). Voss and Casella (2012) emphasised the link between the sexual politics of empire and archaeologies of colonisation because sexuality is intrinsic to colonial projects (Voss & Casella 2012: 11). Sexuality in modern empires, Voss & Casella (2012) went on to say, “was used as a metaphor for imperial power relations and as a means for controlling bodies and communities” (Voss & Casella 2012: 19). This metaphor is evident in the restriction of sex work in colonial contexts. Dawdy (2012) discussed the notion of sexualised space: the “process through which” a society designates space or develops “specialised architecture for certain sexual practices” (Dawdy 2012: 272). Dawdy (2012) goes on to describe the difficulty archaeologists face when attempting to map sexual activity that may have been “spatially specific but artifactually understated”, such as brothels (Dawdy 2012: 272). Sites of sex work are one of the few examples of spatially specific sexual sites with semi-consistent artefactual markers (Dawdy 2012: 272). However, brothels tend to be confirmed by documentary sources, without which the material distinction between brothels and other households might not be immediately evident (Dawdy 2012: 272). Using the red-light district of Storyville, New Orleans (1897 – 1917) as a case study, Dawdy (2012)

discussed the development of a sexualised landscape under “economic-legal conditions” that allowed for women to own property and partake in hospitality economies (Dawdy 2012: 273). Sexualised space was later further emphasised in Dawdy (2017).

A feature of colonial-capitalist industries in South Africa was segregated, exceptional spaces (Behrens 2005; Weiss 2011b). The discovery of the Witwatersrand Gold Reef created a demand for dynamite in the mines; a dynamite factory was established at Modderfontein, and around it a distinct, cosmopolitan community emerged (Behrens 2005: 61). Colonial concepts about the organisation of space and labour in industrial settings meant that, despite the diversity of people at Modderfontein, a strict policy of segregation was employed to maintain boundaries of race, and class (Behrens 2005: 63). Archaeologically this was reinforced architecturally; buildings associated with higher management and high-profile activities followed fashionable Victorian architectural styles, while the villages established for European artisans and workers were designed to be especially utilitarian with little allowance for decoration (Behrens 2005: 64). The compounds where the Indian and African labourers were confined were the least decorated and bore a striking resemblance to those provided for the labourers on the gold mines on the Rand (Behrens 2005: 64).

African labour compounds on the Diamond Fields saw their origins in two ways: firstly, their precedent was set during the South African War, where British-run internment camps for Boer women and children were designed with “protective custody” in mind, while African internment camps were designed to funnel Native labour to the British Army (Weiss 2011b: 25). An earlier precedent was set by the first closed compounds in the 1880s that employed a policy of “protecting profits” by isolating African labour from other members of the mining community built on the unfounded belief that African labourers were facilitating an illicit diamond trade (Weiss 2011b: 22). This *de facto* criminalisation of African labourers persisted into the post-South African War period and manifested spatially through the segregated, closed compounds African labour were forced to occupy (Weiss 2011: 24).

2.1.3 Archaeology of Sex Work: From Byzantium to the Late Modern

The archaeology of sex – beyond the biological classifications of different external genitalia – is a result of asking feminist questions about the past. Sex, and sexuality, are intrinsically connected to how we conceptualise gender and, ultimately, the *performance* of gender (Claassen 1992; Butler 1988, 2009; Voss 2000: 180). Sex fell by the wayside in earlier feminist archaeological works (e.g., Butler 1988, 2009; Engelstad 1991; Claassen 1992; Voss 2000, 2006; Wylie 1992a, 1992b, 1997, 2007; Conkey & Gero 1997; Díaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998; Geller 2009) which essentialised it to a biological category and the socio-cultural performance of that biology (Butler 1988; Voss 2000: 182 – 183; Schmidt & Voss 2000: 1). As Voss (2000: 182) put it: “Feminist archaeological research rarely addressed the topic of sexuality, instead treating sexuality predominantly as a function of gender rather than as a distinct aspect of social relations”. Enter the archaeology of sex work as a sub-discipline of the archaeology of sex and a viable candidate for studying sexuality – whether queer or heterosexual – in the past as a distinct category of social interactions between individuals within illicit economical contexts. Diverse eras of history have been studied: Hellenistic Greece (e.g., Dauphin 1996; Glazebrook & Tsakirgis 2016), Pompeii (e.g., Carafa *et al.* 2002; Glazebrook 2015; Levin-Richardson 2019), Iran (Dezhamkhooy & Papoli-Yazdi 2020), 19th century North America (e.g., Simmons 1989; Seifert 1991, 2005; Yamin 1998, 2005, 2015; Milne & Crabtree 2001; Gilfoyle 2005; Spude 2005; Foster *et al.* 2005; Meyer *et al.* 2005; Yamin & Seifert 2019), and colonial contexts such as Australia (e.g., Casella 2000; Mayne 2006; Minchinton 2017). I detail archaeological feminist theory in chapter three.

Coinciding with the maturation of archaeological feminism in North America was a succession of large-scale urban archaeological projects conducted in compliance with American cultural resource management (CRM) laws in the late 1980s and the 1990s (Yamin & Seifert 2019: 2). These laws facilitated the systematic investigation of the impact any development might have on historic properties by researching the history of the site, determining whether any artefacts remain in the ground at the site, assessing the excavation potential of the site, and, finally, preparing for excavation if deemed necessary (Yamin & Seifert 2019: 2). It is

these projects that enabled an archaeology of sex work to develop in the United States through the careful analysis of distinctive artifacts from urban contexts that indicated a brothel; the analysis of such artifacts could then be confirmed with additional research in paper archives (Yamin & Seifert 2019: 4). I am doing this research in reverse as I have worked in the paper archives first.

US East Coast cities such as Washington D.C. (Seifert 1991) and New York City (Gilfoyle 1992; Yamin 1998, 2005; Milne & Crabtree 2001) are examples of urban contexts where such CRM schemes have uncovered brothel sites. North American frontier contexts were also studied, as they were less developed than the larger cities at the coasts (e.g., Simmons 1989; Spude 2005; Foster *et al.* 2005; Van Buren & Gensmer 2017). Working-class area brothel assemblages, in both urban and frontier contexts, produced similar functional groups of artifacts to their neighbours; this allowing for useful comparison of different brothel assemblages both with each other, and with neighbouring working-class households (Yamin & Seifert 2019: 26; Seifert 1991: 97 – 99; Meyer *et al.* 2005: 116; Seifert & Balicki 2005). However, it is an emphasis on artifacts specifically associated with women's work, as motivated by a feminist standpoint, that can help distinguish a brothel from other working-class households. Spude (2005), for example, distinguished brothels from saloons in the boomtowns of the 19th century American west based on engendered selected material culture (Spude 2005: 89, 103): “higher frequencies of female-specific” artifacts were directly attributable to sex workers in brothels while “higher frequencies of male-specific items” were attributable to saloons (Spude 2005: 100). Brothels can be considered women's spaces: the archaeology of sex work is a form of household archaeology in which women make up the majority of household members (Yamin 2015: 861).

Presenting 19th century sex workers as empowered, contributing members of society, and as independent agents within their own lives, has been a consistent feminist aim of the archaeology of sex work. One of the earliest examples is Simmons (1989), who branded American western frontier town sex workers (c. 1850s – 1890s) as entrepreneurs who were distinct figures in the economic development of the towns they lived in; in stark contrast to the typical gender

roles of 19th century America (Simmons 1989: 63). Yamin (2005) also addressed the perception of 19th century North American sex workers as what Gilfoyle (1992: 97) described as “wealthy, free, and female” – independent and financially stable women (Yamin 2005: 4).

A feature of brothels is their liminality: they are simultaneously private in their activity, and public in their accessibility (Glazebrook & Tsakirgis 2016: 1; Dominguez 2019). An archaeological approach to the study of past sex work has been the attempt to isolate a material culture signature that would allow for the better identification of brothels in different contexts. The comparison of material from households and taverns in Byzantine-era Greece to create a type-assemblage from which brothel material can be distinguished is discussed in Glazebrook & Tsakirgis (2016). Similarly, urban brothel contexts have been approached through comparisons of domestic, typically working-class, and parlour-house brothel assemblages. Seifert (1991) compared the assemblages of a brothel and two working-class households from a red-light district in Washington D.C. with household assemblages from other parts of the city. Their assemblages revealed that there were distinct consumption patterns associated with each context, as well as distinct functions and compositions of each household (Seifert 1991: 82, 104).

Yamin (2005) built on the above comparisons and found that the people working and living at a brothel at New York City’s Five Points had a duality to their consumption. Excavations of the privy revealed that, for the most part, the inhabitants had similar consumption patterns to the working-class households around them. However, due to the escapist nature of brothels at the time, luxurious foods were often served to clients on expensive crockery to maintain an illusion of wealth and pleasure (Yamin 2005: 16; Milne & Crabtree 2001: 43). This duality was evident in other brothels too: across the continent in Los Angeles, material from a brothel and its neighbours dating to the late-19th century was examined by Meyer *et al.* (2005). They concluded that the principal differences between the brothel deposit and neighbouring deposits could be seen in the consumption of certain foods, alcohols, and grooming and health-related material (Meyer *et al.* 2005: 107).

Urban context sex work has been studied archaeologically in Australia. Following excavations in the early 2000s, the dichotomous nature of a 19th century neighbourhood in Melbourne was revealed through collaborative research between archaeologists and historians (Mayne 2006: 317). “Little Lon” had previously been described in modern journalism as “Melbourne’s blackest slum” and as Melbourne’s “brothel and opium district... sardine-packed with slum housing for many of Melbourne’s poorest” (Mayne 2006: 318). Correlating data between archaeological assemblages and documentary sources about the site showed that “respectability” and “deviance” coexisted in Little Lon: shops, factories, and homes stood alongside brothels, and sex workers and other working-class individuals frequently encountered each other on the landscape (Mayne 2006: 325 – 326; Minchinton 2017: 68). The collaboration between historians and archaeologists was crucial to studying the landscape and residents of Little Lon: documentary evidence when supported, or even contradicted, by material evidence (and vice versa) can often reveal far more nuanced realities about the past (Minchinton 2017: 69). The merit of collaborative methodologies in the archaeology of sex work is evident in the work of Munns (2017) who mapped the intersectionality and social hierarchies present within the sex work economy of the 19th century red-light district in Fargo, North Dakota. The use of archival data in intersectional landscapes allows for individuals from varying socio-economic backgrounds to participate in contemporary understandings of historical sex work (Munns 2017: 102).

Sex workers in America’s western mining frontiers were contributors to the developing economies of their towns (Vermeer 2006: 10 – 12): their agencies and lived experiences are preserved in the archaeological record of what they threw away and where. In Ouray, Colorado, the relationship between human ideologies about personal health and site formation patterns was studied through the sense of privacy that informed where occupants of a 19th century brothel decided to dispose of their medicine bottles (Horobik 2011: 80 – 81). What sex work can reveal about the past can be dependent on the theoretical approach of the researcher: the archaeology of sex work, as a discipline rooted in a theoretical origin, has been informed by additional theoretical approaches. In Boston’s North

End urban landscape, embodiment theory was used to explore physical, social, and cultural conceptualisation of space by diverse social groups whose distinct understandings of the same spaces were based on their unique experiences and perceptions (Keim 2015: 446 – 447). Luiz (2018) built on this use of embodiment theory at a 19th century brothel in the same neighbourhood. She argued for the use of sensory archaeology of space as a method to help understand the embodied identities, and intersectionality, of sex workers and the conceptualised creation of space (Luiz 2018: 231).

Sexual trade networks are not restricted to brothels. Despite Yamin's (2015) argument that the archaeology of sex work *is* the archaeology of brothels (Yamin 2015: 861), there have been archaeological studies of other forms of sex work. Dress-related artefacts from a site in Ouray, Colorado provided a contrast to urban archaeological brothel research (Van Buren & Gensmer 2017). The clothing assemblage showed that the sex workers working in the cribs – small rooms with little more than a bed – on the block wore working-class clothing while the women in urban brothels have shown evidence of wearing relatively expensive garments (Van Buren & Gensmer 2017: 218). In Australia, 19th century documentary evidence for a sexualised prisoner black market was confirmed by an analysis of the differential distribution patterns of buttons (Casella 2000: 209). Casella (2000) is another example of the above theme of collaboration between historiographical and archaeological evidence revealing a nuanced sexual landscape.

Since the 1990s there have been several published archaeological works analysing the assemblages of brothels and sex work sites from myriad contexts (e.g., Simmons 1989; Seifert 1991, 2005; Seifert & Balicki 2005; Yamin 1998, 2005, 2015; Yamin & Seifert 2019; Milne & Crabtree 2001; Crist 2005; Gilfoyle 2005; Ketz *et al.* 2005; Meyer *et al.* 2005; Spude 2005; Foster *et al.* 2005; Van Buren & Gensmer 2017; Dominguez 2019). Based on this literature, brothel material can be separated into several functional categories loosely inspired by South's (1977) definitions for pattern analysis at historical archaeological sites (South [1977] provided the principal methodological groundwork for much of the earlier archaeology of sex work [e.g., Seifert 1991, Seifert & Balicki 2005, Spude 2005,

Yamin & Seifert 2019: 26]): clothing, personal, ceramics, glassware, food, human remains, hygiene, and activities. Examples of the material classified according to these categories are as follows:

- Clothing: buttons and corset busk eyes (Seifert 1991; Yamin 1998, 2005; Foster *et al.* 2005; Van Buren & Gensmer 2017), buckles (Seifert 1991), women's shoes (Foster *et al.* 2005; Van Buren & Gensmer 2017), sewing tools (Seifert 1991; Yamin 1998, 2005).
- Personal: pencils, keys, jewellery (Seifert 1991; Gilfoyle 2005), glass female urinals, nursing shields, chamber pots (Yamin 1998, 2005).
- Ceramics: Combination of luxurious ceramics (both locally produced and imported) and typical low-cost, affordable ceramics akin to those used in other working-class households (Yamin 1998, 2005; Ketz *et al.* 2005; Seifert & Balicki 2005; Spude 2005; Foster *et al.* 2005).
- Glassware: Including drinking glasses used in the brothel, but also other kinds of glass such as domestic (beverage bottles, alcohol) categories and medicinal categories (Yamin 1998, 2005; Ketz *et al.* 2005; Seifert & Balicki 2005; Spude 2005; Foster *et al.* 2005).
- Foods: As with ceramics, a combination of luxurious cuts of meat, fruits, and vegetables, with affordable and cheaper food products also consumed by neighbouring working-class households have been found in brothel deposits (Seifert 1991; Yamin 1998, 2005; Meyer *et al.* 2005; Seifert & Balicki 2005).
- Human remains: Yamin's (1998, 2005) excavations at a brothel in Five Points New York produced the remains of two full-term neonates and a foetus in a privy deposit. The analysis of the human remains is discussed in Crist (2005).
- Hygiene: hair combs (Seifert 1991; Foster *et al.* 2005), hairbrushes, toothbrushes (Foster *et al.* 2005), copper coins (potential contraceptive technique), douches (Yamin 1998, 2005).
- Activities: Tools (Seifert 1991), children's toys (Seifert 1991; Ketz *et al.* 2005), tobacco pipes (Seifert 1991; Foster *et al.* 2005).

The above examples of brothel material recovered from North American brothel sites can be used to anticipate what might be recovered from brothel deposits in other 19th century deposits. In Australia, the clothing category was populated by buttons used in an illicit sexual economy (Casella 2000). In chapter five I examine

the potential future archaeology of sex work in South African contexts: the types of material associated with contemporaneous brothels abroad may be a useful reference for what might be recovered from South African brothel sites. However, while there may be a similarity in the trends at brothel sites elsewhere, when material from different sites is compared each assemblage reflects unique consumption patterns (Sharpless 2008: 41 – 42). This suggests that there is thus a tension between seeking patterns in the data, a signature, and understanding that individual assemblages will subjectively reflect the conditions of individual sex work sites.

In addition to the materialisation of North American brothels studied archaeologically, there are several photographic collections of late-19th and early-20th century sex workers. While not archaeological assemblages, these collections are necessary to the humanisation of sex workers in the past and are relevant works I have drawn on in chapter five. Public photographer E.J. Belocq's portraits of sex workers from Storyville, New Orleans in 1912 were only discovered after his death (Friedlander & Szarkowski 1970). They depicted sex workers in a variety of ways: some were nude, others fully clothed in the conventional dress of the period, and others posed playfully while dressed in their undergarments. Several of the portraits have their faces obscured with masks or have been scratched out by the photographer, perhaps to protect their identities. Another photographer, William Goldman, also had his photographs discovered posthumously. Goldman photographed the sex workers of Reading, Pennsylvania during the 1890s and kept them for his private collection. Goldman's portraits, like Belocq's, range from nudes to fully clothed, and just undergarments (Johnson 2018). United Kingdom news websites have shared archival photographs of sex workers from both the 19th century western United States of America (<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/us-news/wild-women-wild-west-inside-16181874>, Viewed October 2021), and early-20th century mugshots from the West Midlands Police Archives (<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/gallery/earliest-surviving-mugshots-show-20th-12749796>, Viewed October 2021).

Based on the above archaeological literature, two themes to the archaeology of sex work are evident. Firstly, there is a theme of duality: "slums" or red-light

districts were more closely akin to working-class neighbourhoods occupied by workers in both illicit and licit economies (e.g., Mayne 2006; Minchinton 2017), the lives of sex workers in brothels were both similar to their working-class neighbours *and* the sumptuousness of wealthier classes, and the material recovered from brothel sites, and even the *photographic* record of individuals involved, tends to represent this duality (E.g., Gilfoyle 1992; Yamin 2005). Secondly, collaborative methodologies effectively lend themselves to the success in the archaeology of sex work (e.g., Casella 2000; Mayne 2006; Minchinton 2017; Munns 2017). How my dissertation also features these themes is discussed in chapter five.

2.2 HISTORY

2.2.1 Creating Context: A Brief History of the 19th century British Colonial Project

The colonisation of South Africa has a history stretching back more than 500 years to the first landings of the Portuguese in the 15th century. The first official colony was not established until two centuries later when the Dutch settled at the Cape which was later annexed by the British in the early 19th century. This history has been well-studied in South Africa by historians and archaeologists alike. The literature below has been consulted to develop my understanding of the origins of British colonialism in South Africa.

Crucial to understanding colonial rule, is dedicating time to interpreting the functions of colonial administration. Killingray (1986) outlined the two “pillars” of effective colonial rule and described them as, firstly, “law and order” used to enforce the power of the colonial government, and secondly, the acquisition of profits to finance the running of the colony (Killingray 1986: 411). Colonial rule was thus a capitalist enterprise at its core. A principal goal of colonial law and policing was the upholding of colonial authority, and thus the criminalisation of the breaking of any colonial rules or legislations (Killingray 1986: 413).

The entanglement of Christian evangelists in the colonial process was discussed by Comaroff and Comaroff (1986) who argued that Christian signs and practices “instilled the authoritative imprint of Western capitalist culture” onto the

colonised (Comaroff & Comaroff 1986: 1). Later, Comaroff (1989) proposed a variety of models of colonial domination in South Africa. South Africa experienced multiple types of imperialism: the politico-legal face of the British state, settler society and the socio-economic aspect of race relations, and the mission stations as bestowers of “bourgeois European culture” (Comaroff 1989: 680). Comaroff (1989) disagreed with the historiographical presentation of colonialism as a monolithic process and emphasised colonialism’s plurality (Comaroff 1989: 680).

Colonisation and British imperialism took place on a global scale and impacted almost every country in the world. Boswell (1989) proclaimed that colonisation should feature in world-systems theory discussions specifically through a capitalist lens. The accumulation and control of capital is the primary motivator for imperial expansion, and it is through this imperial conquest that capitalism was introduced to the colonised world (Boswell 1989: 180; Genger 2018: 3). Crais (1991) described the three-step process of British imperial expansion into southern Africa. European travellers effectively surveyed the land and its peoples, which provided the groundwork for British troops to violently conquer, following which European settlers would lay claim to the land (Crais 1991: 256). He further emphasised that European settlers created an archive of the colonial world that reflected their world view which was centred on race and the conflict of the “civilised” versus the “barbarian” (Crais 1991: 256). Race is as entangled with the British colonial project as is religion.

In addition to the historiographical research above, are the extensive archaeological projects that have examined colonialism in South Africa. Colonial settlements have been a topic of interest since the late 20th century, especially within the context of colonial Cape Town and the former Cape Colony (Hall 1993). The archaeology of European colonial expansion in South Africa is a crucial window into how the social interactions of the people living in colonial contexts presented tangibly (Hall 1993: 178). The archaeology of colonial settlement in the Cape features several sub-themes, such as maritime archaeology (Hall 1993: 182), but where colonial impact can be examined most clearly is in frontier contexts (Hall 1993: 183 – 184); the excavations conducted at the

Oudepost VOC outpost, and the colonial estate *Vergelegen* are examples of frontier contexts that have provided insight into the movement of everyday objects from metropole to periphery, and the interactions between those enslaved, and their masters (Hall 1993: 183 – 184, 186 – 187; also see Hall & Markell 1993). In the next section I refer to the archaeology of colonialism in Cape Town as it has been studied through the theme of slavery.

2.2.2 Entangled Race and Sexuality: Tools of the Colonial Project & “The Black Peril”/ “The Black Venus”

The entangled politics of race and sexuality in the late-19th and early-20th centuries has been increasingly examined by historians over the last 30 years. Race and sexuality were of principal concern to colonial states, both as things to be managed and restricted, and as means to separate colonised from coloniser in the interest of imperialism (Stoler 1989: 634). Stoler (1989) argued that the classifications of “coloniser” and “colonised” themselves were founded on a gendered sexual control that outlined the concept of “respectability”, power, and the demarcations of interracial contact in the colonies (Stoler 1989: 635). The arrival of European women further complicated colonial settlement, in that it facilitated further segregation under the guise of defending sexual morality, which European women were burdened with maintaining (Stoler 1989: 640).

White women in colonial contexts were presented by their contemporaries as the saviours of the colonised with the task of “relieving the patriarchal plight of women in the colonies” (Syed & Ali 2011: 352). White women were typically exported to the colonies as domestic servants by charitable organisations that were agents of the Victorian/Edwardian patriarchal ideology of appropriate gender roles; women could only be fulfilled individuals through the domestic sphere, through marriage, and through childbearing (Van-Helten & Williams 1983: 19). Some studies have interrogated the concept that white settler women were more directly involved in promoting hostile attitudes towards the colonised (Dagut 2000: 559), usually as a response to the imposed pressures of a patriarchal imperialism that confined women to the domestic realm (Dagut 2000: 359). White settler women had specific expectations to meet within the colonial structure, and that, combined with colonial racism, might explain their reputation as the

enforcers of racist ideologies (Dagut 2000). As Van-Helten and Williams (1983) state “the imperatives of white racism offered white women some mitigation of their oppression as women” (Van-Helten & Williams 1983: 17). Other studies, however, have criticised this view of white women in the colonies (Haggis 1990) as neglecting white women’s experiences as similarly oppressed under strict Victorian gender roles. In addition, one of the largest ways that white women participated in the colonial project was through missionary work (Haggis 1998), especially single women teachers sent to the colonies tasked with the mission of “educating the female heathen” (Haggis 1998:54).

Studies on rape scares in the colonial world have shown that sexuality was a key colonial anxiety and the construction of “the black rapist” seems to have appeared at times when the efficacy of colonial rule was uncertain; it was a construction used to enforce the boundaries between coloniser and colonised (Scully 1995: 388). Scully (1995) used rape cases from the post-1838 Cape Colony as a case study for the role of sexuality in the production of colonial identities and how colonial assumptions about class, gender, and race were the compass from which colonial rule operated (Scully 1995: 338 – 339). While Scully (1995) touched on the colonial demonisation of black sexuality and fearmongering of black male sexuality, Ponzanesi (2005) discussed at length the simultaneous fetishization of black women. Ponzanesi (2005) analysed the origins, and perpetuation, of visual representations of colonised women that essentialised their otherness in the colonial gaze and showed how through this essentialisation “the black body became an icon for sexuality in general and ... sexuality became a metaphor for domination” (Ponzanesi 2005: 165 – 166).

Colonial anxieties around sexuality and race can be best understood through the “black peril” scares of the late 1890s to pre-First World War period in British-controlled southern Africa. Keegan (2001) described an instance in 1912 that revealed much about the race, gender, and class relations of British-colonial South Africa at a time when the “imagined pandemic” of the “black peril” – a belief that black men were wantonly assaulting white women – was well underway in the collective consciousness of white settlers and the colonial state (Keegan 2001: 459 – 460). The supposed “black peril” was seen in several other British colonies

at the time, such as Kenya between 1907 and 1930 (Anderson 2010), and significantly in Zimbabwe between 1902 and 1903, and again later between 1910 and 1912, the former of which was linked directly to an influx of European sex workers who were not entirely segregationist in their business practices (Pape 1990: 703).

Race has always been central to the colonial process; belief in race and the contrived superiority or inferiority of such allowed for the systematic, often violent, conquest and subjugation of the colonised in the business of European imperial expansion from the 15th century (Coetzee & du Toit 2018: 215). Coetzee & Du Toit (2018) go on to argue that, alongside race as a “pseudo-biological category”, sexuality and gender were equally as significant to the colonial project’s ability to exact control, and that the two were often entangled as can be seen in the racial undertone of colonial expressions of sexual fear (Coetzee & du Toit 2018: 215).

Archaeologists of colonialism in South Africa are best suited to studying these themes through the life stories of enslaved and underclass bodies. While not concerned with sexuality or sex work, archaeological work on sites of slavery in the Cape Colony as well as stable-isotope analysis on the remains of an enslaved woman from *Vergelegen* and a colonial colony have provided insight into the potential lived experiences of the Cape Colony underclasses (e.g., Sealy *et al.* 1993; Sealy *et al.* 1995; Markell *et al.* 1995; Cox & Sealy 1997). Significantly, excavations at the *Vergelegen* estate uncovered the grave of a middle-aged enslaved woman (Hall 1993; Sealy *et al.* 1993; Sealy *et al.* 1995; Markell *et al.* 1995; Cox & Sealy 1997). Archaeologists were unable to determine why her final resting place was beneath the floor of the slave lodge, but isotope analysis on her teeth and bones indicated she had grown up eating a different diet to what she ate as an adult (Sealy *et al.* 1993; Sealy *et al.* 1995; Cox & Sealy 1997) which was consistent with the life story of enslaved individuals at the Cape.

As discussed in chapter one, enslaved women were at the centre of the VOC’s participation in an early sex trade in colonial Cape Town (Van Heyningen 1984: 170). As Jordan (2005: 218) put it, enslaved women faced the “triple burden of

race, gender, and class” which has resulted in their history being ignored in the documentary record. The material record of some aspects of their work, however, is visible, if not a record of their participation in sex work. Excavations along the Platteklip Stream in Cape Town unearthed the material signature of material associated with enslaved washer women from the city (Jordan 2005: 217 – 218); these were specifically clothing related artefacts such as buckles, beads, and buttons. The Slave Lodge on Adderley Street, Cape Town was excavated in the early 2000s (<https://slavery.iziko.org.za/excavation>, Accessed March 2022), however, there was no acknowledgement of the lodge’s involvement in the sex industry, which serves as evidence for the apparent lack of archaeological consideration for sex work.

2.2.3 Historiography of Colonial-era Sex Work

Historiographical studies of colonial-era sex work have provided insight into economic and legislative methods of colonial control. Such work has provided a useful background for sex industries in the colonial world. Themes such as vice economy, disease, sexuality, and migration in the former British colonies of South Africa (Van Onselen 1982, 2007; Van Heyningen 1984, 1989; Posel 1989; Bonner 1988; Martens 2001; Trotter 2008; MacDonald 2013), Australia (Arnott 1986; Leppard 2013), India (Levine 1994), and Kenya (White 1990) are prevalent in the literature. Comparatively, there exists historical scholarship on late-19th-early-20th sex work in Britain, especially the work of Julia Laite (2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2013, 2014, 2017a, 2017b, 2021), and the relationship between sex work and Victorian society (Walkowitz 1980; Fisher 1997). A global history of prostitution can be read in García *et al.* (2017).

Van Onselen (1982, 2007) provided the largest historical review of Johannesburg’s sex industry from its inception to the mid-1910’s. Van Onselen (1982, 2007) linked South African and American sex industries through the migration of American pimps and criminal syndicates to the Rand who successfully organised Johannesburg’s fledgling sex industry into an organised criminal economy (Van Onselen 1982: 127 – 129). His detailed interpretation of the life and activities of the notorious gangster, pimp, and human trafficker Joseph Silver is evidence of the connection between Johannesburg and American sex

industries in the 1⁹th century (Van Onselen 2007). Silver played a role in the institutionalisation of Johannesburg's sex industry in the 1890s (also mentioned in Van Onselen 1982: 128) and facilitated the procurement of young girls and women for the brothels on the Rand (Van Onselen 1982; 2007). Johannesburg's sex industry in the inter-war period had relation to race, space, and gendered economic systems (Bonner 1988). Bonner (1988) described how illicit beer brewing and sex work was a source of economic stability for Basotho women migrants with limited employment opportunities in the 1930s (Bonner 1988: 2, 10). Bonner (1988) provided useful insight into segregationist spatial development in Johannesburg and helps to contextualise why there is a lack of black women in my dataset, which is from an earlier period (see chapter four; Addendum x).

Cape Town's sex industry, dating back to the establishment of the first colonial settlement (Van Heyningen 1984: 170, 1989: 350), was entangled with colonial restrictive legislation (Van Heyningen 1984, 1989). Van Heyningen (1984) examined the British-colonial state's attempts to prevent the spread of venereal diseases. The first Contagious Diseases Act was passed in 1868 (Van Heyningen 1984, 1989), at around the time that similar legislation was being campaigned against in Britain for its invasiveness (Walkowitz 1980: 109). A second Contagious Diseases Act was passed, despite the repeal of the first, in 1885, one year prior to the final abolition of the same legislation in Britain (Van Heyningen 1984: 178; Walkowitz 1980). Van Onselen (1982) cites these acts as catalysts to the en masse arrival of, often Cape-born, sex workers to the gold reefs of Johannesburg, and the diamond mines of Kimberley in the late 1880s (Van Onselen 1982: 113).

Colonial Natal saw a similar response to a growing venereal disease crisis in Durban. The British-colonial state targeted female sex workers as the primary culprits disseminating the illness and implemented their own Contagious Diseases Act in 1890, following the Cape's example (Martens 2001: 27). Martens (2001) links colonial distress around epidemic disease and concepts of "appropriate domestic behaviour" (Martens 2001: 30), to how white doctors ultimately pathologized African sexuality and domesticity (Martens 2001: 29, 52). Black male domestic servants and black female prostitutes were blamed for spreading

venereal disease, thereby threatening the health and safety of white settlers (Martens 2001: 29, 52). An influx of European prostitutes to Natal from Johannesburg during the South African War further catalysed legislative attempts to restrict and manage Durban's sex industry. Indian landlords renting out houses to Europeans that were in turn used as brothels particularly incensed the colonial government due to the subsequent integration of Indians and Europeans (Posel 1989: 2 – 3). There existed a relationship between Durban white settler society and the sex industry in the late 19th century that was built on societal conventions of purity, respectability and what constituted deviancy as the Victorian age came to an end.

As with the archaeology of sex work, alternate forms of sex work to that of brothels is evident in South African history. European migrant women were able to find employment as barmaids; many arrived in South Africa between 1885 and 1900, fleeing the restrictive roles for women (outside of marriage and housewifery) in Europe (Swaissland 1993; MacDonald 2013). Barmaids occupied a “parasexual” space in which sexuality was utilised for performance and economic gain, but the act of sex was rarely the goal (MacDonald 2013: 10). The line between sexual performance (e.g., burlesque performances and sexual innuendo [MacDonald 2013: 13]) and full-service sex work was crossed in some cases (see discussion of Cockney Liz of Barberton in chapter five; Bornman 2014; http://www.mpumalanga-happenings.co.za/barberton_personalities.htm, Viewed February 2020) but typically barmaids did not engage in sexual activity beyond sexualised performance (MacDonald 2013). In the first ten years of the 20th century a further four thousand unmarried women arrived in South Africa from Britain under assisted immigration schemes, mostly to work in the domestic sphere, though some ended up working in bars (Van-Helten & Williams 1983: 17 – 18, 36). Barmaids acted as multidisciplinary actors in the frontier of colonial occupation, from servers, to entertainers, to nurses, and traders of sex (Swaissland 1993; MacDonald 2013).

CHAPTER III: THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

The goal of gender-focussed feminist archaeologists from the mid-1980s was to identify women in the archaeological record in a meaningful way that acknowledged women's active participation in and contributions to the past (Conkey & Spector 1984: 1; Voss 2006: 108, 2008a: 325; Yamin & Seifert 2019: 2). The archaeology of sex work is a unique method for studying the complex lived experiences of a women-dominated illicit economy in alignment with those second-wave feminist goals (Yamin & Seifert 2019: 1). Due to the archaeology of sex work's origins in the feminist theoretical movement in archaeology, I have combined my description of my methodology with a background to the theoretical approaches that have inspired my aims. When conceptualising this dissertation, I initially planned to advance my 2019 work (O'Shea 2019) by excavating a potential brothel site to find a type-assemblage for 19th century South African brothels. Since this could not take place due to the limitations placed on travel and congregation during the pandemic, I adapted my approach. This reconceptualised dissertation thus partially acts as a proposal for future field-based projects in the archaeology of sex work in South Africa.

3.1 THEORY

The waves of feminist movements in archaeology, as they can be understood today, have been largely dominated by North American arguments and literature due to the Anglocentric dominance of archaeological literature at large (Willems 2008: 179). However, a diverse variety of feminist discourse and feminist-situated work is available from around the world (e.g., Bozzoli 1983; Smith & du Cros 1994; Sørensen 2013; Croucher 2014; Kiddey 2020; Manning 2021) and the global archaeological academy is more accessible than in previous decades. Due to the dominance of the North American archaeology of sex work (see chapter two) from which I have drawn inspiration, I have elected to focus broadly on feminist theory and gendered archaeology as it prevailed in North American discourses. North American feminist archaeology (e.g., Conkey & Spector 1984; Engelstad 1991; Claassen 1992; Wylie 1992a, 1992b, 1997, 2007, 2010; Butler 2009), black-feminist archaeology (e.g., Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011), and queer theory (e.g., Voss 2000, 2006, 2008, 2009; Cobb 2005; Blackmore 2011)

have been the principal sources of inspiration for my investigation of this aspect of the archaeology of the recent past. I thus situate my dissertation as a contribution to the growing literature on the archaeologies of sex and sex work within an anti-essentialist, intersectional-feminist framework. Intersectionality, and how it relates to feminism, was first addressed by Crenshaw, who emphasised that feminist theory must be expanded to consider the multiple burdens faced by black women; that “feminism must include an analysis of sexism and patriarchy” as well as “an analysis of race” if it is to be an inclusive, realistic theoretical framework (Crenshaw 1989: 166).

One of the earliest proponents for the archaeology of gender is Conkey and Spector (1984); they not only criticised archaeology’s lack of a gender-inclusive approach in its inherent androcentrism, but further emphasised archaeology’s role in substantiating socially constructed perceptions of masculine and feminine traits or roles (Conkey & Spector 1984: 1). Their work (Conkey & Spector 1984) laid the foundations for a feminist archaeological approach (Yamin & Seifert 2019: 22) to the study of gender, and an overwhelming volume of literature was born (e.g., Butler 1988, 2009; Engelstad 1991; Claassen 1992; Voss 2000, 2006; Wylie 1992a, 1992b, 1997, 2007; Conkey & Gero 1997; Díaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998; Geller 2009). Affording women their own voices in their own historical narratives was of paramount importance to this early work, along with maintaining a consideration of women’s personal agency (Wylie 1997: 81 – 84; Yamin & Seifert 2019: 11). Feminist archaeology’s best practice can be read most articulately through the extensive work of Wylie (1992a, 1992b, 1997, 2007, 2010), who argued for working from the standpoint of the marginalised (in this case, women) to afford them their own voices in the archaeological record (Wylie 1992b: 27 – 29, 1997: 85, 88, 96 – 98, 2007: 213 – 214, 2010: 60, 66).

The late-20th century feminist critique of science and archaeology was in parallel to post-processualism critiques of the positivist science that had dominated archaeology in the decades prior (Engelstad 1991: 503). Post-processual texts lacked understanding of gender as a socially constructed category of “historically, socially, and ideologically constituted” interactions between people (Engelstad 1991: 509). Feminist theory, on the other hand, recognized that gender is a

performed social construction (Butler 1988: 519). In praxis, feminist theorists stressed a model of reflexivity and bias-awareness based on one's perspectives in their research and work (Engelstad 1991: 511). Engelstad (1991) argued that, at the time, women archaeologists tended to expressly state their perspectives, positions, and contexts of their work while men archaeologists tended to rely on generalised terms that placed, whether consciously or not, men at the centre (Engelstad 1991: 512).

Prior to the explosion of feminist and engendered archaeological papers in the late-1980s through early-1990s (Claassen 1992: 1 – 2; Conkey & Gero 1997: 411 – 412), it had been common for the archaeological discipline to ignore gender structures when studying the social organisation of cultures in the past (Claassen 1992: 2). Researchers seemed to believe that it was unnecessary to pursue specific behavioural information, on gendered lines, about the social organisation of social, economic, or cultural activities in the past (Claassen 1992: 2). As a result of this neglect, feminist archaeologists were curious about the social status of binary gender categories (i.e., man and woman), the number of genders might have been accepted in past societies, when in time gender and sex became indistinct, and what function a binary gender system served (Claassen 1992: 3). By rejecting the notion that human behaviour was directly tied to the behaviour of men, gendered archaeology sought to “identify and assert the presence and activities of women” (Conkey & Gero 1997: 414 – 415). This was achieved by recognising women's labour in a variety of behavioural activities (Conkey & Gero 1997: 415); sex work, I argue, is one such labour.

The above feminist works were published during the latter end of second-wave feminism during the emergence of third-wave feminism at the end of the 20th century (Geller 2009: 67). The archaeology of gender has always been tied to this early wave of feminism, and, as such, has been affected by its shortcomings: namely, a gynocentric, and dualistic, bias that conflated gender and sex, especially when it came to labour organisation (Geller 2009: 67). In their bid to identify women's labour, proponents of late-20th century feminist archaeology of gender inadvertently reinforced 20th century ideas about a sexual division of labour (Geller 2009: 67 – 68). Feminist-inspired and engendered archaeology can only

advance in consideration of intersectional issues, such as race, class, and queer identities (Voss 2000: 183; Franklin 2001: 109; Geller 2009: 70; Battle-Baptiste 2011: 36 – 39, 59).

Methodological and analytical gaps caused by this initial lack of consideration for intersectional issues, such as race and sexuality, have since been filled by additional discourses. Black feminist archaeology (e.g., Battle-Baptiste 2011) accounts for the intersectional experiences of black women, and queer theory in archaeology (e.g., Voss 2000, 2008a, b) provides for sexualities and gender identities that were not typically acknowledged in earlier waves of feminism. However, in the last decade, a fourth-wave feminism has developed which encompasses this intersectionality under one, inclusive, feminist umbrella (Day & Wray 2018).

Black feminist archaeologists (e.g., Franklin 2001 and Battle-Baptiste 2011) have criticised North American feminist theorists' lack of engagement with black feminist literature despite the volume of such discourse in North American academia (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 40, 59). Battle-Baptiste (2011), based on her self-identified Womanist introduction to feminism (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 37 – 38, 59), articulated a framework for a black-woman-focussed archaeological methodology that accounted for the intersectionality of black women's marginalisation within both community patriarchy and socio-political racial structures in North America (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 29). Black feminism has been relevant to my ambitions of developing an archaeology of sex work in South Africa because the timeframe of my research (1860 – 1910) is one which saw much colonial anxiety regarding black sexuality, exoticising black women, and deviantising black men, that helped to facilitate the marginalisation of black people in the ensuing decades (see chapter two; Scully 1995; Ponzanesi 2005).

Another intersectional issue that had not been considered in the earlier waves of feminist discourse in archaeology was that of diverse gender and sexual identities in the archaeological record. Barbara Voss, who has championed discourses of queer theory in archaeology, has discussed how feminism and queer theory are strongest when applied together in pursuit of sexual and gender identities in the

past (Voss 2000). Voss (2008) later argued for the value of an archaeology of sex to examine the role of sexuality in various areas, such as settlement planning, and state formation in historical and archaeological contexts globally (Voss 2008).

Overlapping with feminist discourses and queer theory in the advent of post-colonial academic research, has been a cognisance, and critique, of “the colonial archive”, particularly in the study of past sexualities and sexual or gender identities (e.g., Burton 2001; Stoler 2002, 2010; Arondekar 2005; Tough 2012; Cifor & Wood 2017; Bunjun 2018). The colonial archive is inherently reflective of colonial ideologies (Stoler 2002: 87), including the hegemonic imperial constructs of sexuality (Arondekar 2005), gender roles, and the criminalisation of sex work. If such data is not treated critically, and with considerable awareness of broader historical contexts, then skewed conclusions about the nature of sex work in colonial South African contexts could be a risk.

Queer theoretical approaches have facilitated further critiques of the colonial archive and its relationship with sex and sexuality. Historians challenged the colonial archive’s academic status as an objective repository of historical facts (Martínez 2016: 422). Colonial authorities often criminalised people with queer sexual identities, so it is incredibly difficult to separate queerness in colonial archives from notions of deviancy, and to elicit from these sources what the people prosecuted under these criminal laws may have understood about their own sexual desires or behaviours (Martínez 2016: 424 – 425). South African colonial archives are not exempt from this critique.

Martínez (2016) outlines two crucial strategies for identifying queerness in the colonial archive: the first is cognisance of the distinction between sex and gender, and their origins as “sociohistorical constructs” (Martínez 2016: 422), and the second is a strategy for dissecting the language of such sources. Language plays a crucial role in the British-colonial sources I have consulted and has the potential to reveal much about the teleological nature of colonial documents regarding sex, gender, or sexuality.

Sex work, as an illicit economy (Hartnett & Dawdy 2013: 43), takes place in a liminal space of private and public (Ketz *et al.* 2005: 86). However, its clandestine

nature does not remove it from the everyday, lived, landscape, as the presence of distinct archaeological material pertaining to sex work proves (Yamin 2005; Gilfoyle 2005; Hartnett & Dawdy 2013; Yamin & Seifert 2019). My dissertation here further illustrates this by using a spatial presentation of the archival evidence for sex work in the late-19th and early-20th centuries in South Africa; I show this in chapter four and discuss in chapter five. In chapter two I presented the volume of archaeology of sex work literature and identified the material signature of North American brothels; here I present the spatial insights provided by this work.

The spatialisation of sex work in the 19th century was not consistently acknowledged in the literature I consulted about 19th century sex work in North America, despite space being a crucial theme of the archaeology of gender and a defining feature of sex work in the ancient world (Domínguez 2019). Hellenistic Greek and Roman brothels tended to be tolerated through a policy of strict spatial zoning and taxation (Hartnett & Dawdy 2013: 44). Only Gilfoyle (2005) dedicated considerable discussion to the archaeology of 19th century sex work as contained within defined, spatialised red-light districts, but red-light districts were expressly referenced as the locations of the brothels they were discussing by Seifert (1991), Seifert and Balicki (2005), Foster *et al.* (2005), Meyer *et al.* (2005), Ketz *et al.* (2005), and Van Buren and Gensmer (2017). Brothels experienced high standards of living, even when located in the lower-income working-class neighbourhoods of North American cities (Yamin & Seifert 2019: 26). These same working-class neighbourhoods were often described as “slums” by the contemporaneous upper and middle classes (Keim 2015; Yamin & Seifert 2019: 32). In 19th century New Orleans, although brothels had existed throughout the city, they tended to cluster together into informal red-light districts preceding the legalisation of Storyville (Hartnett & Dawdy 2013: 45 – 46). Even with such a distinct volume of literature, the archaeology of sex work has not yet featured a significant discussion of the potential spatialisation of sex work.

The feminist theoretical baseline for the archaeology of sex work in North America was eventually supported by the material yield of field-based archaeological methods involving both survey and excavation (chapter two; Yamin & Seifert 2019: 2). While I could not follow these same field methods to

conduct my research due to the limitations of the pandemic, the theoretical background that led to the establishment of the archaeology of sex work has been necessary groundwork for my alternative methodological objectives. While I could not excavate a physical site, I could follow the techniques of documentary archaeology (Beaudry 1988, 2017; Wilkie 2006; Wilkie & Hayes 2006) and excavate the archival record for evidence of sex work in South Africa's colonial landscape (c. 1850 – 1910). The methods I followed are outlined below.

3.2 METHODS

My dissertation work is interdisciplinary in method and is inspired by several North American graduate studies from the last two decades (e.g., Vermeer 2006; Sharpless 2008; Munns 2017; Luiz 2018). The research methods I employed are shaped by two restrictions: firstly, similarly to Munns (2017), the selected areas of colonial Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town are not necessarily viable for excavation, given the demolition and rebuilding that has taken place on these landscapes over the last nearly two centuries. Secondly, the outbreak of the COVID-19 global pandemic at the onset of my research period called for an adaptation of my research question to fit within the constraints of what was accessible during the various lockdowns in South Africa.

My research involved several steps. Firstly, I followed historical data collection techniques based on Munns (2017: 29 – 36) who followed the principles of documentary archaeology (e.g., Beaudry 1988, 2017; Wilkie 2006; Wilkie & Hayes 2006). This entailed the acquisition of spatial evidence of sex work (and related) crimes during my research's target period (c. 1850 – 1910) from historical records, and existing literature. Included in this step was the acquisition of the historical maps I used later. Following this, my second step was to collate and manage the historical data I had acquired to prepare it for my subsequent documentary analysis. I then geo-referenced the historical maps I had chosen for Johannesburg and Cape Town: I was not able to find a high-quality digitised historical map of Durban. Geo-referencing allowed me to upload these maps to Google Earth before I plotted the sex work-related addresses that I had acquired from the documentary archives onto the historical landscape. Finally, I analysed

the maps I had created. Details for the above methods are provided below, followed by the literature that informed my techniques.

3.2.1 Archival Data Recovery and Management

My historical spatial data came from the documentary records stored at the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa (NARSSA) and the National Archives Information Retrieval System (NAAIRS). As addressed in chapter one, my targeted time frame places those documents within the period of South Africa's history when it was a colony of the British Empire. While each city I researched experienced the onset of British colonial rule at different points in history, the broad assessment period is within the parameters of British rule in South Africa. This history thus makes these documents denizens of the British-colonial archive in South Africa. Such colonial archives can be exhibited as evidence for the construction of colonial power, and governance over socio-political categories of people relegated to the *demimonde* (Martínez 2016: 423 – 426; Burton 2001: 66 – 67; Arondekar 2005: 10; Stoler 2002: 87 – 88; also see Stoler 2009). How colonial power is preserved within archives is provided by Burns (2010). The risk when consulting colonial documents is that the colonial ideologies contained therein might be misconstrued as empirical rather than epistemic; they must be read critically and with cognisance of the context in which they were created and archived.

3.2.1.1 NAAIRS & NARSSA

I started my research during the 2020 Covid lockdown in South Africa, and, as a result of the lockdown, the archives were closed. Consequently, I was forced to begin the documentary data recovery component of my research by consulting the online database for NARSSA, NAAIRS. I followed this up with in-person research once lockdown restrictions eased, and I was able to go to the physical archive repositories in Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg (detail below). The Cape Town archive repository undertook a policy of extreme restriction, limiting the number of people allowed into the building per day, as well as the number of files one could request. Researchers were not allowed to take their own photos of documents and had to rely on delayed manual scans that would be sent to them via post. Due to the volume of records I needed to consult for this dissertation,

and the difficulties of travelling during the pandemic, I was not able to complete this portion of my archival data recovery plan. However, this is an avenue to pursue for future research on the archaeology of sex work in South Africa.

My database of sex work-related cases was acquired from legal and criminal case records. My initial objective was to determine the volume of sex work-related cases that could be found on NAAIRS, which is searchable using keywords and dates. Any files related to the given information, if it has been added to the database correctly or at all, will be returned.

I searched the online repositories for each city: TAB for Johannesburg, NAB for Durban, and KAB for Cape Town. The following search terms were used:

- Brothel(s)
- Ill-fame
- Prostitute(s)
- Immorality
- Soliciting/Solicitation
- Loitering
- Barmaid(s)
- Harlot/ry
- Concubine
- Scrubber

I selected these search terms based on the available literature pertaining to sex work in the South African colonies (namely, Van Onselen 1982, 2007; Hallett 1979; Van Heyningen 1984, 1989; Posel 1989; Ross 1999; Martens 2001) and my own experience in 2019 working with sex work cases documented in the *Rand Daily Mail* newspaper (O'Shea 2019). See chapter one for detail on mid-19th-to-early-20th century definitions of sex work in Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town, and above literature for reference of the euphemistic language employed by colonial sources when discussing sex work.

In the case of Johannesburg, I used additional Dutch search terms based on the sex work legislation for the brief period of the city's lifespan prior to British rule:

- Ontucht
- Prostitutie
- Bordeel

I collated the NAAIRS search results using Microsoft Excel spreadsheets for each city (these can be viewed in Appendices A–B), with separate sheets per search term, containing the following information:

- Year
- Person/s Associated
- Gender
- Nationality / Race / Ethnicity Description
- Nationality / Race / Ethnicity
- Occupation
- Dress recorded
- Address
- Stand Number Brothels
- Brothels & Homes
- Brothels & Opium Dens
- Brothels & Cafes
- Street soliciting
- Private homes, not sites of sex work
- Present on 1895 Fire Insurance Map
- Contemporary Buildings
- Corresponding RDM Article
- NARSSA File Notes

While my objective was to assess the volume of sex work-related cases that come up when searched for on NAAIRS, there are limitations that must be acknowledged. The automation of the NARSSA began as early as the 1970s, and is an ongoing process (<http://www.national.archives.gov.za/naairs.htm> Viewed December 2021). NAAIRS is by no means a perfect inventory of every file contained in the physical archives: not all the documents are catalogued in the system. There are risks of human error in the transcription of file descriptions during the creation of the online database: words may have been spelled

incorrectly, handwriting that provided additional information about the file might have been illegible and thus left out of the digital description, or language barriers between those that created the file and those uploading them might have affected the accuracy of the description transcriptions. Traditional historiographical consultation of the physical repositories was far more lucrative. However, NAAIRS is a useful tool for remote data capturing and did yield some insights: see chapter four for detail.

Records for Johannesburg are kept at the NARSSA Pretoria campus, Durban at the Pietermaritzburg campus, and Cape Town has its own facility in the city centre. Once lockdown restrictions eased in October of 2020, I was able to visit the Pretoria NARSSA campus and begin the systematic search for sex work-related cases in Johannesburg between 1900 and 1910. My initial search focussed on the British records. I began by requesting the files that had been returned from my keyword searches on NAAIRS, made note of those files, and read the files stored in the same boxes as they were chronologically archived.

I photographed relevant files – those containing specifically spatial information regarding Johannesburg’s early 20th century sex industry – using the camera on my iPhone 8 Plus for later review. I uploaded these photographs to my computer, organised them by file, after which I uploaded them to Google Drive to ensure their safe storage. The folder name included the repository (TAB), the source code (e.g., LD for Law Department records), the volume number, the reference code, the year, and a brief description of the file’s details. Detailed description of the types of documents I examined is provided in chapter four.

Once I had completed the cross-referencing of my NAAIRS results, I requested any additional boxes I had not encountered yet from specifically the Law Department [LD] records, as these had yielded the most results from my NAAIRS searches (see chapter four). I repeated the same process for the Dutch search terms between 1886 and 1900, though, in the case of the ZAR, the most results came from the State Attorney [SP] records (see chapter four). Again, any spatially relevant sex work cases were photographed, catalogued, and uploaded to a Google Drive.

I was subsequently able to visit the Pietermaritzburg archives in April 2021 once further lockdown restrictions had eased. There, I repeated the same techniques I had employed on my visits to the Pretoria campus. Due to further restrictions (see above) and risks from COVID-19 waves in South Africa, I was unable to visit the Cape Town campus.

3.2.2 Documentary Analysis

Following the collection, cataloguing, and storage of my archival data, I began the process of analysing the documentary records I had collected. Beaudry (1988: 1) emphasised the value that the documentary record gives to archaeologies of the recent past, and encouraged historical archaeologists to “develop an approach toward documentary analysis that is uniquely their own” (Beaudry 1988: 1). This approach should be to treat the documentary record similarly to the treatment of the archaeological record through a quantified textual analysis of “selected elements of certain kinds of documents” (Beaudry 1988: 43).

While Beaudry (1988) specifically tied this approach to documentary records of material goods – the basis of archaeology as a discipline – it can also be used on less tangibly-focussed sources (Wilkie 2006: 14). Munns (2017), for example, drew from Cipolla (2013) and Best (1998) who used documentary analysis to study linguistic trends in the past, to interpret the evidence for a hierarchy within the sex industry of Fargo, North Dakota during the 19th century based on the language used by Police Magistrate Court dockets (Munns 2017: 44 – 46). I have in turn drawn on Munns’ (2017) methods for my own documentary analysis. However, my aims were to interpret the potential spatialisation of the landscapes of sex in colonial South Africa.

My analysis of the documents I recorded from Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg focussed, firstly, on a quantitative acquisition of spatial information, specifically exact street addresses, or broadly spatial descriptions (such as suburbs or towns). Secondly, I examined the qualitative textual evidence regarding socio-economic trends in sex work during the target period. In addition, I conducted a systematic search of available literary sources where I was not able to consult the physical archives in Cape Town. My analysis and conclusions can be read in chapter five. I

was also cognisant of potential demographic information, such as profession, gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality. I made use of websites such as *ancestry.com*, *forebears.io*, and *houseofnames.com* to look up the racial, ethnic, or national origins of different names of individuals in my data (a method used for all three investigated cities).

Mapping

An objective of my dissertation was to translate my archival sex work data onto spatial software to ground my research in a spatialised reality. I created an Excel spreadsheet database of the addresses I had obtained during the archival data recovery component of my research. This spatial data contains exact street addresses for Johannesburg, which were verifiable from NARSSA documentation, street names for Durban based on existing historiographical literature, and a general idea of the landscape of sex for Cape Town, also based on existing historiography. I acquired historical maps for Johannesburg and Cape Town, but I was unable to find high-quality maps of Durban. I geo-rectified these historical maps before uploading them into both ArcGIS and Google Earth; I selected Google Earth for the final presentation of my research as it is a more publicly accessible software. Finally, I plotted the addresses onto my maps.

3.2.3 Historical Maps

I used three historical maps for this work. Two maps for Johannesburg, and one for Cape Town. These historical maps (see Munns 2017: 32), are the basis for my spatial analysis of Johannesburg and Cape Town's red-light district. Plotting my archive-based addresses onto the historical maps, grounds those historical brothels in a visible reality.

The first of the Johannesburg maps is a collection of 1895 fire insurance map sheets that were updated and extended in 1910. The insurance map contains sheets of extremely detailed, close-up schematics of the variety of buildings that were featured on Johannesburg's late-19th-to-early-20th century landscape. The fire insurance map includes details about the materials used in the construction of the buildings, as well as the names of businesses, what types of businesses, whether the stand was occupied by simple dwellings, or large boarding houses, pubs, or

hotels. Also featured are the original street numbers and stand numbers which can be cross-referenced with the contemporary equivalents to determine what buildings are present today. However, these sheets are incomplete, and mostly cover central Johannesburg, northern Marshall's Town, the City and Suburban district, and a small section of Fordsburg. To achieve a more complete, albeit less detailed, image of Johannesburg's landscape at the time, I have overlaid the insurance map onto an 1897 general plan of Johannesburg and its surrounding suburbs. I acquired the insurance map of Johannesburg from the Wits WiredSpace map repository which has since been removed and the website taken down (www.wiredspace-extra.wits.ac.za/handle/20.500.12430/12691, Viewed June 2020). The 1897 plan was provided to me by Marc Latilla, who used it in his book *Johannesburg: Then and Now* (Latilla 2018: 8), via correspondence in 2019.

For Cape Town I used the 1897 Plan of Cape Town produced by *Juta's Cape Town Directory*; I acquired the map from the online software I used to geo-correct my maps, *Map Warper*. I compared this map with other street maps of Cape Town dating back to 1845 and concluded that the overall structure of the inner city of Cape Town had changed very little beyond the outward expansion of the city. The 1897 plan of Cape Town depicts the expanse of the city, from Woodstock to Signal Hill, and from the Castle of Good Hope to De Waal Park. Important Cape Town landmarks are also present, such as the Company Gardens and the Grand Parade outside of the Castle. While a digitised, insurance map of Cape Town from 1895 is available in the UCT Libraries Digital Collections, I decided not to include it in my final Google Earth file. Since I was not able to acquire any exact addresses for brothels in Cape Town, it would not have added to my final discussion and conclusions (see chapters five and seven).

I geo-rectified all my maps to match the contemporary landscape as closely as possible using the online software *Map Warper*. The process involved uploading a high-resolution map to *Map Warper* which displayed the historical map and contemporary maps alongside each other. I then placed control points on features present on both maps whose shapes are relatively unchanged (e.g., Joubert Park in Johannesburg or the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town). *Map Warper* then stretches the historical map to overlay the contemporary landscape in spatial

software that accounts for the curvature of the Earth. It is not a perfect geo-rectification, but it is able to convert a flat image to a round one. I then exported these geo-rectified maps as PNG and JPG files to be uploaded to Google Earth. The Johannesburg insurance map sheets were uploaded as JPG files and the 1897 plan of Johannesburg and 1897 plan of Cape Town were uploaded as PNG. It is possible to export geo-rectified maps from *Map Warper* as KML files, but once they are uploaded to Google Earth they cannot be moved around or further stretched, while image files (PNG, JPG) can.

3.2.4 Google Earth

As mentioned above, I selected Google Earth as my software of choice for the final presentation of my research due to its public accessibility. My final Google Earth Pro file contains all my collected spatial data per city, which I divided into three folders per city. These folders can be double clicked and focussed on if the viewer so chooses. The Johannesburg folder is the most detailed since Johannesburg was the only city for which I was able to identify exact street addresses. It contains the 1897 plan of Johannesburg, the insurance map sheets, my plotted addresses (including the contemporary equivalent addresses) based on the building numbers on the insurance map, Beavon's (2001) map of the functional character of Johannesburg by 1897, and an outline of Van Onselen's (1982) red-light district *Frenchfontein*. These features may be viewed or switched off based on the preference of the viewer.

Plotting the points on my Johannesburg maps was done manually using the Google Earth Pro pin system to place markers on my brothel addresses according to the numbering system used by the insurance map sheets. I also included pins for the results of the street addresses that came up when searched for in Google Earth Pro's GPS system, though it is likely that the addresses I acquired from the documentary sources for sex work in Johannesburg during the latter 19th century and early 20th century would align with those on the insurance map. The points are colour coded per year:

- 1903 – blue
- 1905 – pink

- 1907 – green
- 1908 – cyan

I plotted pimp home addresses in red. All pimp home addresses were from 1907.

The Durban folder, while it does not hold a historical street plan, contains a contemporary outline of a proposed red-light district that may have existed in the latter years of the 19th century based on streets mentioned by Posel (1989: 1). The folder for Cape Town, while more populated than the one for Durban, does not contain any exact street addresses. The 1897 plan of Cape Town is present, as well as the spread of brothels as per Hallett (1979: 4), and significant features, such as public spaces (the Company Gardens, market squares, Riebeeck public square) and the Lock Hospital where sex workers afflicted with venereal disease were likely to be confined.

3.3 TECHNIQUES

3.3.1 Historiographical Methodologies & Techniques

To quote the Polish historian Jerzy Topolski: “the task of historical research is to explain – i.e., to describe the means and causes of – the development of systems (Topolski 1976: 4)”. The methods by which historians achieve this task is reflected upon here through a review of key literature on the matter. Topolski (1976) is a historian’s methodological bible. Topolski (1976) introduced the concept of “the science of history” (Topolski 1976: 3). Earlier, Kitson Clark (1967 [2016]) also provided a brief groundwork for the methods of history, as well as the frameworks by which historians write about facts. When it comes to working with legal records, Kitson Clark (1967 [2016]) encouraged historians to remain cognisant of the rules of evidence; what constitutes evidence, why does it constitute evidence, and how does it serve the case (Kitson Clark 1967 [2016]: 16)?

The basis of historiography is evidence derived from archives, whether these be the state-sanctioned and managed archives of a government, or the personal archives of individuals, or digital repositories. When working with archival data, the goal is to connect the data with the research question as closely as possible. This is achieved in a variety of ways: data may be sought to apply to a specific

research question, and then “recast” to achieve a closer fit (Elder *et al.* 1993: 5). Alternatively, the research question might be modified to fit the data (Elder *et al.* 1993: 5). Such adaptations to the process of archival data recovery are not uncommon in the pursuit of a connection between the data and the research question (Elder *et al.* 1993). The practical matter of archival research was attended to by L’Eplattenier and Mastrangelo (2010) in their collection of essays. Glenn and Enoch (2010) covered the start of the search for archival material whereby historians commence with a broad research question, read extensively until the basis of their investigation develops, and then reflect on the kinds of documents that would “support, extend further, and energize the project” (Glenn and Enoch 2010: 13).

The digital turn within the humanities has affected historiography. Solberg (2012) called on historians to consider how new, advancing, digital tools and search engines might affect their work; she emphasised the role digital technologies stand to play in how historians discover, access, and understand the past (Solberg 2012: 53 – 55). Solberg (2012) demonstrated her arguments through her own success researching an obscure writer from the early 20th century; digital technology, Solberg (2012) argued, “cannot rectify the omissions or exclusions of the past, though it can... help us make more of the traces that do remain and perhaps give us a means to knot those traces together” (Solberg 2012: 59 – 60).

3.3.2 Digital Humanities & Digital Archaeology

As the digital world is becoming smaller, demand for high quality digitised primary and secondary source materials has been expanding. Research libraries are one of the principal repositories for such sources that have begun to digitise their holdings (Maxwell 2010: 24). Maxwell (2010) provided a historian’s perspective on how research libraries can best construct their digitised collections so they can function as feasible online sources. He proposed that collections should be accessible via browser and contain high quality images of original documents along with searchable transcripts (Maxwell 2010: 28).

Online databases for archives, such as those I have used in this dissertation, would benefit from Maxwell’s (2010) propositions for effective digitised collections.

Usefully, Maxwell (2010) also supplemented his arguments with a criticism of digitisation: he lamented the possibility that research libraries might be inclined to destroy original material after digitisation, that (at the time of publication) storage technologies for digitised materials were rapidly evolving, and that there was a danger of subsequent incompatibility between digitised formats of the present and the future (Maxwell 2010: 25 – 26). Such archives thus require effective planning for their long-term management (e.g., Ross & Gow 1999).

One example of digitised secondary sources is newspapers. Nicholson (2013) evaluated the digitisation of global newspaper archives since the early-2000s and identified several significant databases such as ProQuest Historical Newspapers; other, primarily 19th century-focussed, collections from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia were also acknowledged (Nicholson 2013: 59 – 60). The potential methodological advantages of text archives rests on how digitisation transforms original sources into digital objects that can be subjected to complex searches, for example by genre, date, and title. The results can be further sorted by relevance. Such transformation not only shortens the time spent in active research, but, when applied alongside other computer-aided techniques, can also improve the quantitative accuracy of specific search terms (Nicholson 2013: 64, 67 – 68).

Engagement with digital humanities has had a significant influence on the science of archaeology over the last two decades. As is particularly manifest through a recent interest in spatial histories and socially constructed space, assisted by spatial technologies such as GIS (Earley-Spadoni 2017: 95). Earley-Spadoni (2017) reflected on the epistemological shift in landscape studies, from cultural ecological to socio-historical, that has allowed for GIS-based research to engage with spatial and social theories (Earley-Spadoni 2017: 96). Novel ways of presenting diverse, geographically referenced, historical data in digital formats, such as deep maps, has resulted from this epistemological shift (Earley-Spadoni 2017: 97). The possibilities for public access via these deep maps is evidence for a continued interdisciplinary, mutually beneficial, collaboration between GIS-archaeologists and digital humanists (Earley-Spadoni 2017: 100). More on this relationship can be read in Huggett (2012).

As digital archaeology has become an established sub-discipline, research into its methodologies and interests has increased. Huggett (2017) dedicated attention to the evolving tools of digital archaeology beyond the applications of spatial software and database systems. He began with a summary of archaeology's shift from analogue apparatus to digital, both in the field and beyond, including such devices as digital cameras, total stations, and laser scanners (Huggett 2017: 44–45).

I have situated my dissertation work within the interdisciplinary “spatial turn” identified by Earley-Spadoni (2017). I have made use of diverse methodologies and have applied geospatial technology (Google Earth) to spatial-historical questions by plotting historical data to generate spatially focussed conclusions. I engaged with digital humanities and archaeology within the context of a global pandemic that has restricted traditional archaeological field methods and access to physical archives.

3.3.3 GIS & Google Earth

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) as a tool for landscape reconstruction, spatial analysis, and data management has been utilised by archaeologists since the 1980s. GIS has subsequently resulted in the publication of immeasurable literature, from empirical to its potential for theoretical application. Google Earth has also been used for remote sensing and desktop archaeological surveys. I have thus selected the below literature as the precedential background for my methodology (see above).

Much of the information recorded about archaeological sites is inherently spatial, from the location of the site to the distribution of artifacts and features and environmental data (Kvamme 1989: 140). By the mid-2000s, interest in GIS had expanded into historical, and archaeological, research as the subfield of historical geography (Gregory & Healey 2007: 638). Gregory & Healey (2007) emphasised the value in GIS's ability to combine spatial data with attribute data for advances in quantitative and qualitative historical analysis (Gregory & Healey 2007: 639).

Much of the recent principal literature on GIS has built upon the above and has emphasised how spatial technology has become vital to how archaeologists store,

and present, digital datasets. It has been particularly useful to the archaeology of the recent past as is evident in works spanning the last decade, e.g., Tennant (2007), McCoy & Ladefoged (2009), González-Tennant (2009, 2016), and Alemy *et al.* (2017).

Google Earth has been utilised widely over the last decade. Myers (2010) provided an overview of the successful early archaeological surveys conducted using Google Earth, as well as how it has been utilised in investigations of looting at archaeological sites (Myers 2010: 456 – 457). He also indicated the largely untested capability for Google Earth to detect changes in archaeological sites through time using the software’s “time slider” (Myers 2010: 457). While Myers (2010) lauded the positives of Google Earth – its low cost, its intuitiveness, and its accessibility – he also critiqued the shortcomings of Google Earth as an archaeological tool (Myers 2010: 457). These being, firstly, that the satellite images are not always as high resolution as is desirable, and secondly, the ethical critique that Google Earth does not include the consent or voice of the people (or their heritage) being viewed (Myers 2010: 455, 456). The latter critique was prompted by the recent collaborations between anthropologists, archaeologists, and the American military in the interest of protecting cultural heritage threatened by war (Myers 2010: 457).

The possibilities of Google Earth as an archaeological tool were tested by Kaimaris *et al.* (2011). Their study assessed the ability of Google Earth satellite images to locate new archaeological sites in areas already subjected to archaeological predictive survey methods: Eastern Macedonia, Greece (Kaimaris *et al.* 2011: 263). Disappointingly, Kaimaris *et al.* (2011) determined that discovering new archaeological sites on Google Earth could only be a “random event” because known archaeological sites in the region were not detectable using Google Earth satellite imagery (Kaimaris *et al.* 2011: 268 – 269). Kennedy and Bishop (2011), however, contradict Kaimaris *et al.* (2011). Google Earth satellite imagery allows visual access to landscapes that are inaccessible. Since the late 1970s, the archaeological landscape of Saudi Arabia was one of the least explored of the Middle East (Kennedy & Bishop 2011: 1284). By using Google Earth, Kennedy & Bishop (2011) were able to explore this landscape and concluded that

“the use of Google Earth for the prospection and identification of sites has great potential when dealing with a huge area that is otherwise largely inaccessible on the ground” (Kennedy & Bishop 2011: 1292).

In South Africa, work in the southern Gauteng province is evidence of the possibilities of Google Earth for remote sensing (Sadr & Rodier 2012; Hunt & Sadr 2014; Sadr 2016a, 2016b, 2019). Sadr & Rodier (2012) showed how new geospatial technologies like Google Earth and GIS warrant revisiting stone walled structures that had been classified in the 1960s and 1970s using aerial photographs (Sadr & Rodier 2012: 1034; Masolo 2020). Another example of remote sensing being appropriate for inhospitable environments is Hritz (2013). Hritz (2013) used Google Earth to study potential settlement landscapes in the unsurveyed region of the Balikh Valley in Syria. Satellite survey, Hritz (2013) argued, is a particularly effective tool for studying archaeological landscapes both lacking in historical maps or significant aerial photographs and suffering extreme geopolitical inhibitors (Hritz 2013: 1975). Hritz’s (2013) study successfully identified previously unknown sites and potential sites for future investigation; she concluded that remote sensing datasets when combined with historic photographs, and satellite survey methods, provide archaeological access to landscapes that might otherwise be lost to time (Hritz 2013: 1986). The literary precedent for the value of Google Earth for remote survey set by the above works is my basis for selecting Google Earth for the spatial component of this dissertation.

The above works can be categorised as examples of “new heritage”. González-Tennant and González-Tennant (2016) describe new heritage as “the intersection of new media technologies with the concerns of documenting and interpreting heritage” (González-Tennant & González-Tennant 2016: 190). They argue that new heritage is particularly manifest through the use of digital technologies – such as GIS, Google Earth, and 3D modelling tools – to reconstruct archaeological objects and landscapes (González-Tennant & González-Tennant 2016: 187). Historical archaeology, they go on to say, is in the position to make considerable contributions to new heritage because of historical archaeology’s inherent multidisciplinary nature (González-Tennant & González-Tennant 2016: 200). By combining material culture, historical documents, and oral history with digital

technologies, archaeologists can reconstruct the past landscapes of “hidden histories” more effectively (González-Tennant & González-Tennant 2016: 188): sex work, I argue, is a hidden history that benefits from such new heritage methods.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

I have organised my results into five sections that cover the different components of my work. Firstly, I present the results of my desktop research using the NAAIRS database: this section is simultaneously a review of the sex work information available in the database, and an introduction to the diversity of the people represented therein. My spatial results follow, first with a review of each city's landscape of sex, then with their potential red-light districts and the zoning of sex work in the colonial period. The material yield of an excavation of the archives in the form of five photographs is also presented here. In addition, I explore the landscape of Johannesburg's potentially excavatable addresses, what stands there today, and the figures who were subsisting off of sex work at those sites. Continuing on the possibilities for excavation, I provide a description of what stands on colonial Durban's streets of ill-fame today, and a brief history of the three small towns in the three colonies that might warrant further archaeological investigation.

4.1 *PANDEMIUM PANDEMONIUM*: DESKTOP ARCHAEOLOGY OF SEX

Despite the restrictions of the pandemic, I was able to research the archaeology of sex work both remotely, and, when possible, in person. Here I present the results of my desktop research using the NAAIRS database.

4.1.1 *Online Databases: NAAIRS*

The NAAIRS was my primary desktop source used to assess the viability of a remote archaeology of sex work during the pandemic using online archive databases. I produced datasets of sex work-related results available on the NAAIRS website for each city (Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town). Details on the methods and search terms can be read in chapter three.

4.1.1.1 Johannesburg

For Johannesburg, for the ten sex work-related search terms, a total of 102 results were returned when searched for between the years of 1886 and 1910. The highest total number of results (62) came from the Dutch search terms and 40 came from the English search terms. (Table IV.1).

Table IV.1 Total number of results per search term for TAB

English Search Terms	Number		
Brothel(s)	6		
Ill-fame	2		
Prostitute/s	8		
Immorality	16		
Soliciting/Solicitation	2		
Loitering	2		
Barmaid/s	4	Dutch Search Terms	Number
Harlot/ry	0	Ontucht	51
Concubine	0	Prostitutie	8
Scrubber	0	Bordeel	3
Total Results	40	Total Results	62

Ontucht [fornication] returned the highest number of Dutch search term results at 51. The highest number of results from the English search terms was from *Immorality* with 16. An analysis for the potential reasons for these search terms' dominance can be read in chapter five. It is not always possible to confirm whether *Ontucht* and *Immorality* NAAIRS results are always about sex work without reading the physical file it references; NAAIRS only includes a basic description of the contents of the files without significant detail. Further, not all the results contained spatial information. Only three exact addresses in Johannesburg appeared in the search: 36 Harrison Street and 27 Joubert Street from the *Brothel(s)* search, and 128 Marshall Street from the *Ontucht* search. However, there were 55 references to town names because the source repository, TAB, contains the records for the entirety of the former Transvaal, not just Johannesburg (Table IV.2). These town names alone are not sufficient data with which to produce a specific map of Johannesburg's landscape of sex between 1886 and 1910 because they are not necessarily tied to specific sex work cases. These town names do, however, provide insight into the locational jurisdiction of the search results across the ZAR, and later Transvaal Colony.

Table IV.2 Town names that appear in the results of the NAAIRS sex work-related search terms for the Transvaal

Place	Number
Johannesburg	43
Kensington, JHB	1
Barberton	2
Ermelo	1
Heidelberg	1
Vereeniging	2
Krugersdorp	1
Bethal	1
Pilgrim's Rest	1
Roodepoort	1
Klerksdorp	1

Per year, the number of search results varied (Fig. IV.1). 1899 yielded the highest number of search results (26), followed by 1898 (19), and 1903 (8). This is likely due to the passing of different legislation in Johannesburg between 1897 and 1903 (see chapter one).

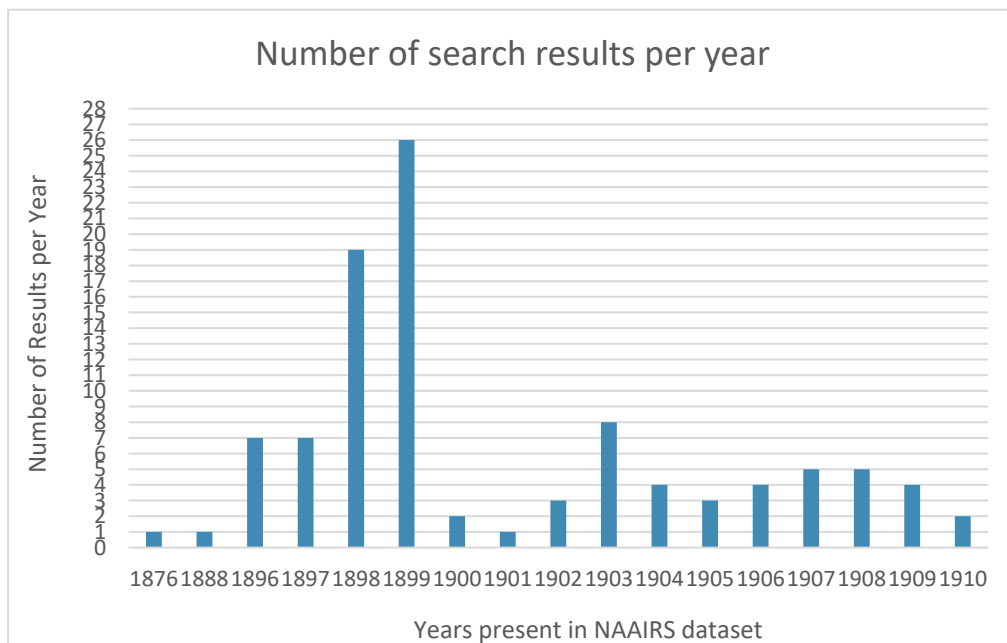


Figure IV.1 The number of NAAIRS TAB search results per year, Dutch and English terms combined. Note: no results for years 1877 through 1887, and 1889 through 1895

The number of results per year, when broken up by search term results, gives insight into what offence might have been of concern per year (Figs. IV.2 and IV.3). The number of results per year and per search term is likely also tied to the passing of legislation that prioritised certain offenses over others.

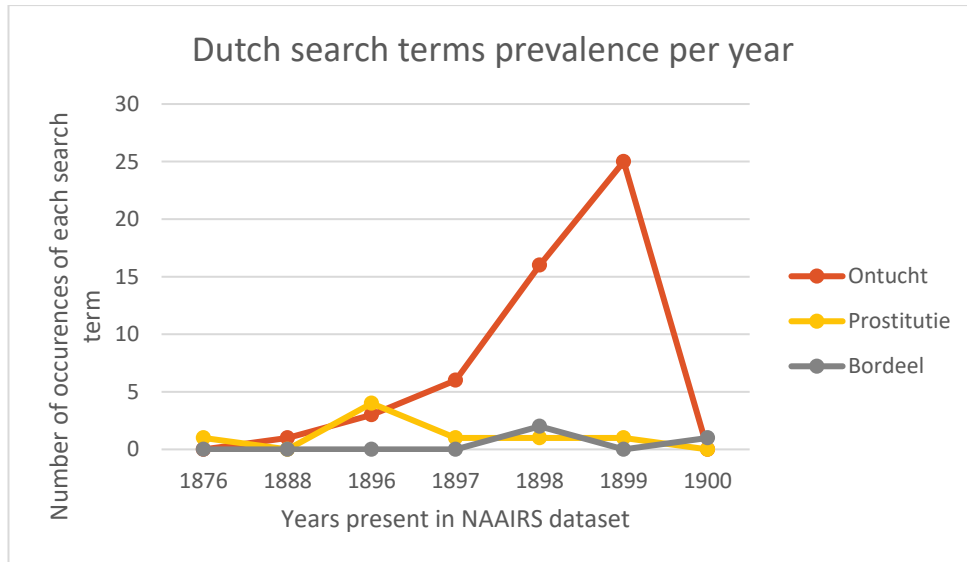


Figure IV.2 Annual distribution of Dutch sex work-related search terms on NAAIRS TAB

Ontucht showed the greatest increase in use over time, with six results in 1897 and 25 by 1899. The *Ontucht Wet* (Law 2 of 1897) classified sex work, among several other sexual offences, as fornication (*ontucht*). Subsequent amendments to this law in 1898 (Law 22 of 1898) and 1899 (Law 11 of 1899) further ratified this definition of sex work. Other Dutch terms for sex work (taken from the *Ontucht Wet*), *prostitutie* (prostitution) and *bordeel* (brothel) appear less often than *ontucht*, but all three terms disappear by 1900. This coincides with the ongoing South African War, which ended in 1902 and announced the dawn of British-colonial administration in the Transvaal. As a result, the types of language used to police sex work in Johannesburg changed.

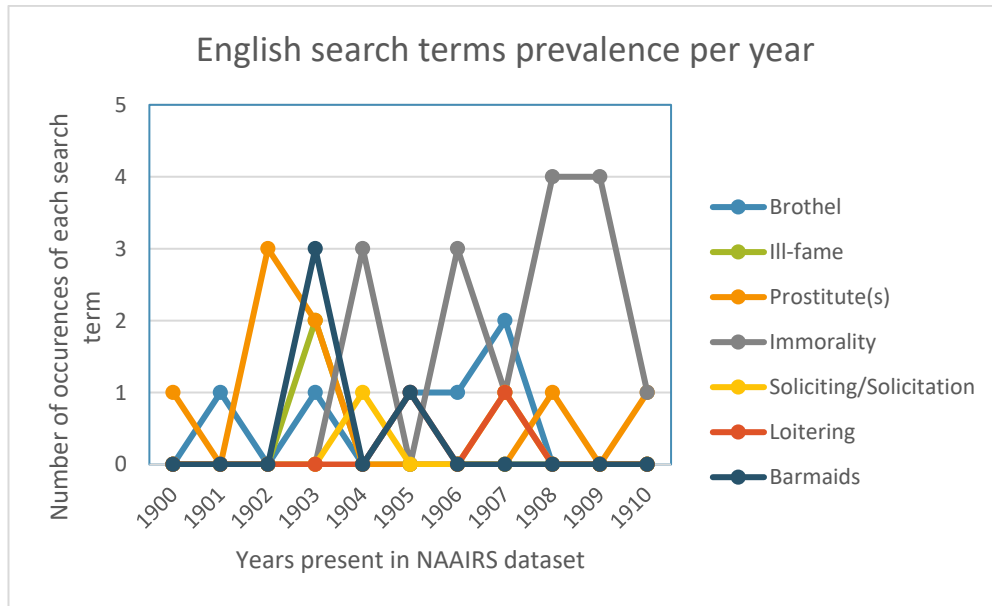


Figure IV.3 Annual distribution of English sex work-related search terms on NAAIRS TAB

The English search terms (Fig. IV.3) also experienced increases in certain vocabulary through time. *Immorality* had the most growth from 1903 with alternating highs of three (1904, 1906) and four (1908, 1909). The passing of the Immorality Ordinance (46) of 1903 coincides with this increase (see chapter one for detail on the law).

Sans spatial data, other useful information can be obtained from NAAIRS. The source codes of each NAAIRS result indicate where the file came from; this informed me which administrative departments would have been concerned with or responsible for the restriction of sex work during the late-19th to early-20th centuries (Table IV.3).

Table IV.3 Source code frequency for sex work-related results in the TAB repository on NAAIRS; Dutch and English search terms combined

Source Code	Number
LD (Secretary to the Law Department, 1900 – 1925)	29
PMO (Provost Marshall's Office, 1900 – 1903)	1
GOV (Governor of the Transvaal Colony, 1901 – 1910)	3
TP (Secretary to the Transvaal Police, 1901 – 1928)	2
CS (Colonial Secretary, 1900 – 1910)	3
LAJ (Legal Assistant to the Military Governor, Johannesburg, 1900 – 1901)	1
LTG (Lieutenant Governor, 1902 – 1907)	1
SP (State Attorney, South African Republic, 1866 – 1900)	52
SS (State Secretary, 1829 – 1900)	7
SSA (State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1894 – 1900)	3
Total NAAIRS Results	102

The largest volume of results came from the State Attorney (*Staatsprocureur*) for the ZAR (SP) with 52 results. The State Attorney, known as the Attorney General under British rule, was the principal legal officer for the South African Republic between 1866 and 1900. The office of the State Attorney was thus responsible for all prosecutions under the law of the ZAR. Other source codes from the ZAR are the State Secretary (SS) and the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs (SSA). The second largest volume of results (29) came from the Secretary to the Law Department records (LD). The Law Department records date from 1900 and principally consist of correspondence between the Secretary and other chief figures in the British colonial legal administration of the Transvaal Colony.

I was able to interpret demographics such as gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality from the NAAIRS search results. There are instances where I inferred the demographics of the persons concerned from the names or pronouns mentioned in the description of the file (Table IV.4). Though, the names given were not always explicitly stated as that of sex workers, pimps, or madams. Further, there were 27 results that only have the first initial and surname of the persons, thus complicating my ability to infer their gender.

Table IV.4 Inferred gender across dataset for TAB sex work-related results on NAAIRS

Women	Men	Unknown	Total
29	23	27	79

From a total dataset of 102 results, 52 had inferable genders within their descriptions. Gendered results were further distinguishable from each other through the profession of the individuals mentioned (Table IV.5). The specific professions, where it is possible for me to infer such from the description, were sex worker, madam, and pimp. Specific occupations were not always mentioned, thus my inferences were based on whether full names were included, whether I had already inferred the gender of the individual, and additional historiographical contextual sources. From 52 inferred gendered individuals, I distinguished 35 by profession (Table IV.5).

Table IV.5 Number of sex workers, madams, and pimps within the NAAIRS TAB dataset

Profession	Number
Madams	2
Pimps	13
Sex Workers	20
Total identifiable professions based on inferences in the dataset	35

Further demographic information can be gleaned through a focus on ethnicity or race. In some cases, these were explicitly defined in the NAAIRS description (Table IV.6) and others I inferred based on the names of the persons concerned (Table IV.7).

Table IV.6 Explicit references to race, ethnicity, or nationality in the NAAIRS TAB dataset. Dutch and English search terms combined

Explicit Race, Ethnicity, or Nationality	Number
Chinese	3
White (General)	3
Black	5
French	1
Coloured	2
Total	14

From the total dataset, 14 results had race, ethnicity, or nationality explicitly expressed. I included the term “native” in the “black” category, as well as one accused who was nicknamed “Swartbooi”, and another who was referred to as “kaffirmeid” [sic]. The “black” category contained the highest number of results (five), followed by “Chinese” (three), and “white” (three).

Table IV.7 Inferred race, ethnicity, or nationality in the NAAIRS TAB dataset. Dutch and English search terms combined

Inferred Race, Ethnicity, or Nationality	Number
Afrikaans/Dutch	9
English-sounding	14
French	11
Russo-Polish/Eastern European/Jewish	7
German	6
Swiss	1
Scandinavian	1
Italian	1
Black African	1
Total	51

Using the combined NAAIRs results, I was able to infer the potential ethnicity or race for 51 individuals. I combined race, ethnicity, and nationality into one table as it was not possible to distinguish between them where it was not explicitly stated by the source. The majority here were of English-sounding names (14), but the names used by these individuals might have been pseudonyms, aliases,

nicknames, or anglicised versions of their names. Only one African-sounding name appeared in my search. When combining the explicit data with the inferred (to a total of 65), Africans were represented only six times across the whole dataset, placing them within a minority.

4.1.1.2 Durban

I used the same methods I used for Johannesburg to investigate the evidence for Durban's colonial (1860 to 1910) sex industry on NAAIRS. My complete NAAIRS dataset for the Natal Colony is available on Appendix B. I used the same ten search terms in the Pietermaritzburg repository (NAB) which produced a total of 26 results (Table IV.8). Pietermaritzburg was the colonial capital of Natal during the British colonial occupation hence the use of the NAB repository.

Table IV.8 Total number of results per search term from NAAIRS NAB dataset

Search Term	Number
Brothel(s)	1
Ill-fame	1
Prostitute/s	15
Immorality	9
Soliciting/Solicitation	0
Loitering	0
Barmaid/s	0
Harlot/ry	0
Concubine	0
Scrubber	0
Total Results	26

Contrary to Johannesburg, the term that had the most results in Durban was *Prostitute(s)* with 15 results. However, where the results were like those obtained for Johannesburg, is that spatial information was rare. There were no exact street addresses, though two street names were mentioned: Church Street twice, and Carlisle Street once. Where spatial information was available it was, once again, town names only (Table IV.9).

Table IV.9 Town names that appear in the NAAIRS sex work-related search terms for the Natal Colony

Place	Number
Durban	12
Charlestown	1
Dundee	1
Zululand	1
Verulam	1
Pietermaritzburg	1
Woody Glen	1
Johannesburg	2
Cape Town	1
Total	21

Town names alone are not sufficient to produce a detailed map of sex work-related addresses in answer to my research questions (chapter one). The town names that are outside of Durban, however, give an idea of the extent of colonial interest in sex work throughout the colony and not just in the largest city. Like Johannesburg, I read more qualitative information from this limited dataset. The number of search results that appear per year reveal chronological trends in the search terms through time in the Natal Colony (Fig. IV.4).

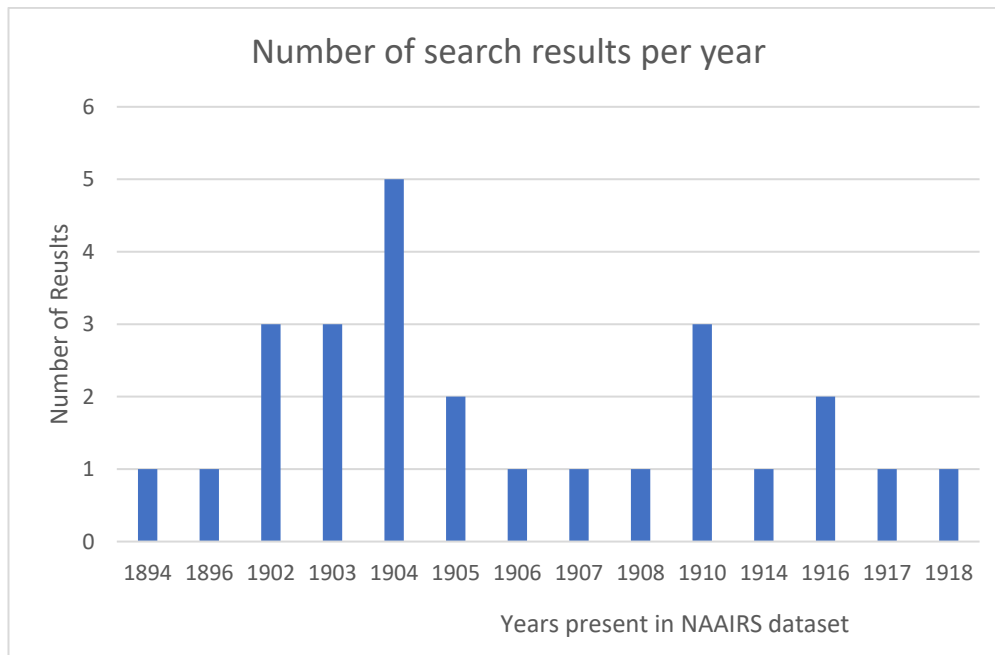


Figure IV.4 The number of NAAIRS NAB search results per year. Note: no data for 1860 through 1893, 1895, and 1897 through 1902

I extended the dataset to include 1914, 1916, 1917, and 1918 because they contained interesting results from *Immorality* and *Brothel(s)*. 1904 yielded the highest number of search results (5) made up of the terms *Immorality* (1) and *Prostitute(s)* (4). The next highest number of results came from 1902, 1903, and 1910 which each had three results; 1902 had three results from *Prostitute(s)*, and 1903 and 1910 were both made up of two results from *Prostitute(s)* and *Immorality*. From the ten search terms *Prostitute(s)* was used the most frequently between 1896 and 1904, with at least one result per year between 1905 and 1908. *Immorality* also had at least one result per year between 1902 and 1906, and 1908, 1914, 1916 (two results), and 1918. *Brothel(s)* occurred once in 1896, and *Ill-fame* also occurred once in 1917 (Fig. IV.5).

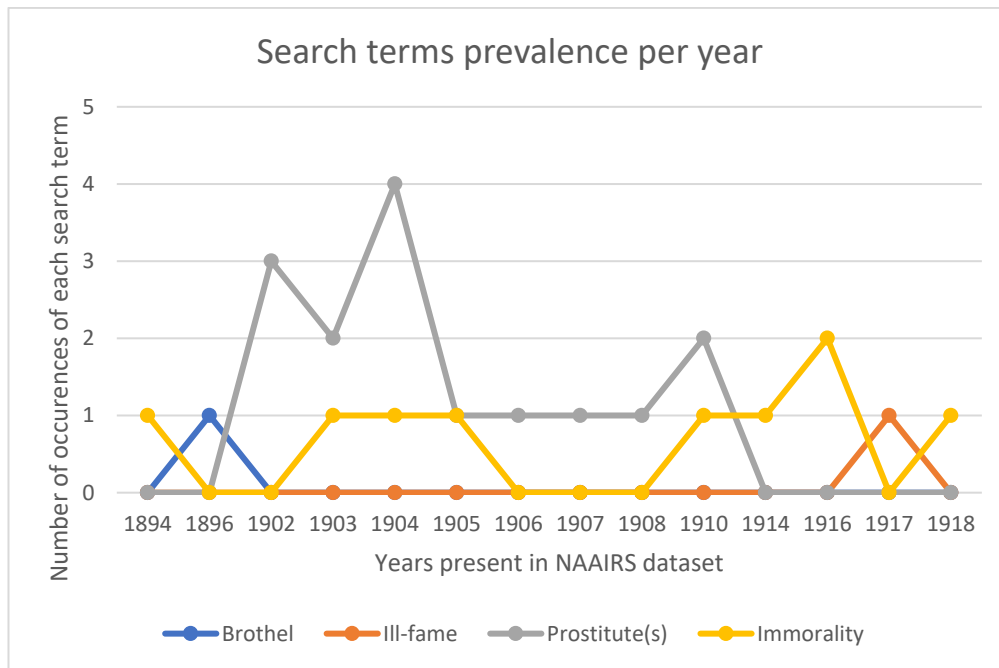


Figure IV.5 Annual distribution of sex work-related search terms on NAAIRS NAB

The frequency of different source codes within the NAAIRS search results from NAB are different to those from TAB (Table IV.10). The largest number of results came from the IRD (Immigration Restriction Department) with 12 results, rather than from a specific police or criminal investigations department. After the IRD, the next majority comes from the CSO (Colonial Secretary's Office) which is not dissimilar to the results from TAB; these records are likely to be mostly correspondence between the Colonial Secretary of the Natal Colony and other colonial administrators. The Attorney General's Office (AGO) only produced two results, contrary to Johannesburg's 52 results from the *Staatsprocureur* repository.

Table IV.10 Source code frequency for sex work-related results in the NAB repository on NAAIRS

Source Code	Number
AGO (Attorney General's Office, 1845 - 1928)	2
CNC (Chief Native Commissioner, 1893 - 1952)	3
PM (Prime Minister's Office, 1894 - 1910)	3
CSO (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1842 - 1919)	4
IRD (Immigration Restriction Department, 1897 - 1912)	12
3/DBN (Town Clerk Durban, 1884 - 1940)	2
Total	26

More qualitative information in the form of potential demographics can be read from the NAAIRS results from NAB, such as gender, profession, and race, ethnicity, or nationality. From a complete dataset of 26 results, 20 of those results contained inferable instances of gender – 17 women, and 3 men. This large discrepancy between men and women present in the dataset is highly unlikely to be an accurate representation of the real-world demographics of late-19th to early-20th century Durban but mostly represent the demographics of the NAAIRS online archive. The professions of the individuals concerned might also be inferred, and in some cases explicitly confirmed, by their file descriptions. Of the 26 results 16 of them could have a profession inferred: 14 were sex workers, excluding three cases where the terms “alleged” and “suspected” were used, one madam, though this is from the case of Madame Jaillet who was both a madam and a sex worker and thus is counted twice, and one confirmed pimp.

Race, ethnicity, or nationality demographics might also be inferred from the NAAIRS NAB results: between both explicit descriptions of race and my inferred, there are a total of 15 results out of the 26 total results, eight of these are explicit, and seven of these are inferred. From the explicit results, half of these (four) referenced the term “natives” (black Africans), followed by the generic “Europeans” (typically white recent immigrants from Europe) and “French” with two cases each. The inferred results are entirely white with three results each of English-sounding names and Russo-Polish/Eastern European/Jewish-sounding names, and one German name. See my disclaimer regarding the dominance of English-sounding names above. I did not create a table for this data for Durban or Cape Town as it was neither detailed nor complex enough to warrant one.

4.1.1.3 Cape Town

The below results from my exploration of the NAAIRS KAB repository is the principal basis for the Cape Town component of my dissertation. This was combined with a systematic analysis of the available historiographical literature on the topic of Cape Town’s colonial sex trade. Cape Town, having a longer colonial history than either Durban or Johannesburg, seemed a candidate for an

in-depth and detailed NAAIRS database (complete dataset on Appendix C). This was not the case. From the same ten search terms only 23 results were returned (Table IV.11).

Table IV.11 Total number of results per search term from NAAIRS KAB dataset

Search Term	Number
Brothel	11
Ill-Fame	1
Prostitute(s)	6
Immorality	3
Concubine	2
Soliciting/Solicitation	0
Loitering	0
Harlot/ry	0
Barmaid	0
Scrubber	0
Total	23

The largest number of results came from *Brothel(s)* with 11 results. This was followed by *Prostitute(s)* with six results. Zero results were returned for *Soliciting/Solicitation*, *Loitering*, *Harlot/ry*, *Barmaid*, and *Scrubber*. *Brothel(s)* returning the highest number of results distinguishes my Cape Town NAAIRS dataset from my Johannesburg and Durban datasets whose highest results were from *Ontucht* [fornication] (51) and *Prostitute(s)* (15) respectively. Each city had a different dominant search term which indicates what aspect of sex work was of chief concern to the administration of each city.

Consistent with Johannesburg and Durban, spatial information for Cape Town's colonial sex industry is not present on the NAAIRS KAB repository. Ten results from the 23 contained town names (Table IV.12), excluding two street names: one exact address at 28 Longmarket Street, and one street name only, Lamb's Lane which I have been unable to find on any historical street maps of the city. In accordance with my aims and research questions, this dataset is insufficient to produce a map on its own. Additional information is required from the literature.

Table IV.12 Town names that appear in the NAAIRS sex work-related search terms for the Cape Colony

Place	Number
Cape Town	7
Woodstock	1
Tembuland, Umtata	1
Alexandria	1
Total Results	10

The Cape Town NAAIRS dataset does provide some qualitative information that I can infer from. Per year (Fig. IV.6) the number of results rarely exceeded more than one result; 1904 was the largest outlier with a total of nine made up of six results from *Brothel(s)*, two results from *Immorality*, and one result from *Prostitute(s)* (Fig. IV.6). The next highest was 1906 with three results (*Brothel(s)* two and *Immorality* one), followed by 1899 (*Prostitute(s)* two) and 1908 (*Brothel(s)* one and *Prostitute(s)* one) with two results each. The search terms associated with the rest of the years from the dataset with only one result can be seen in Figure IV.7. I included the years 1836 and 1841, though well outside of the targeted years, because they each contain one result for *Concubine* and were the only results for *Concubine* prior to the mid-20th century on NAAIRS for Cape Town. The years 1860 through 1890, 1892 through 1898, 1900 through 1901, and 1909 through 1910 are not shown in the figures because there were no results for these years.

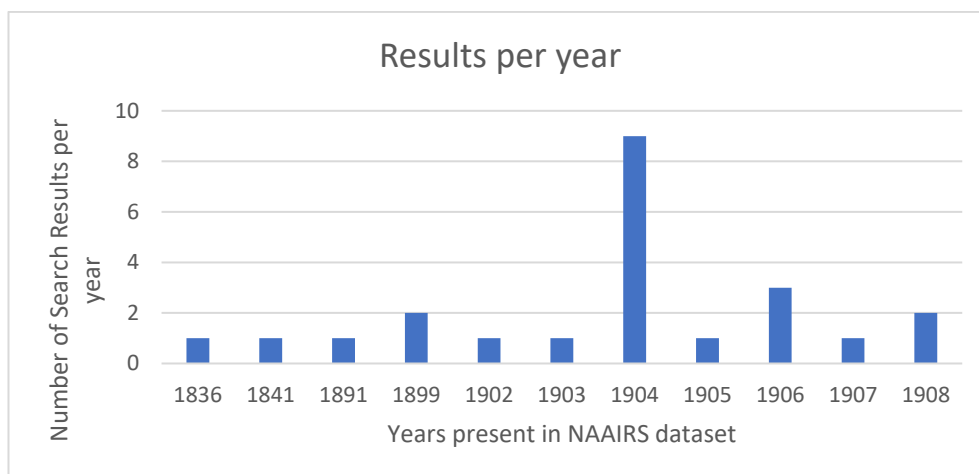


Figure IV.6 The number of NAAIRS KAB search results per year. Note: no data for 1860 to 1890, 1892 to 1898, 1900 to 1901, and 1909 to 1910

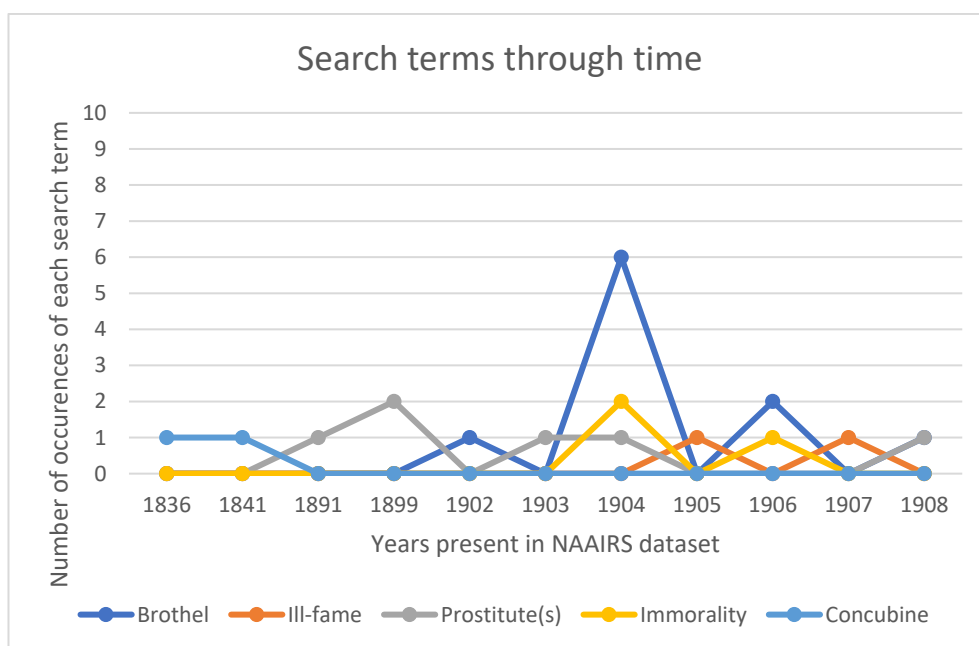


Figure IV.7 Annual distribution of sex work-related search terms on NAAIRS KAB

My recovered NAAIRS KAB dataset has seven source codes. The largest volume of results came from the AG repository (12) which principally holds correspondence between the Attorney General and other colonial administrators. A further three results each came from the Registrar of the Cape Supreme Court (CSC) and the Colonial Office (CO) respectively (Table IV.13). The balance of the results is scattered between Government House despatches (GH – one), the Public Works Department (PWD – one), and the Master of the Supreme Court

(MOOC – two; *Concubine*). I was unable to determine the meaning of the acronym for the AMPT PUBS repository which had one result.

Table IV.13 Source code frequency for sex work-related results in the KAB repository on NAAIRS

Source Code	Number
AMPT PUBS	1
CSC (The Registrar, Cape Supreme Court, 1828 - 1975)	3
AG (Attorney General, 1899 - 1923)	12
CO (Colonial Office, 1894 - 1911)	3
GH (Government House, 1806 - 1910)	1
PWD (Public Works Department, 1873 - 1911)	1
MOOC (Master of the Supreme Court, 1834 - 1917)	2
Total	23

It is surprising that no results were returned from any of the medical-based repositories (see chapter three) stored at the Cape Town Archives since, as noted in chapter one, the legislation targeting sex work in the Cape Colony at the time was distinctly concentrated on the spread of venereal diseases within the colony. The medical repositories are as follows: CO (Colonial Office (Local Government and Health Branch) [1894 – 1911]), PAH (Provincial Administration, Hospital Services Department [1900 – 1957]), MOH (Medical Officer of Health [1894 – 1914]), and HPE (Secretary Port Elizabeth Hospital Board [1855 – 1937]). In chapter five I proposed a future approach to Cape Town’s landscape of sex through a health-focused lens.

The inference of potential demographics such as gender, profession, race, ethnicity, or nationality is potentially the chiefly chiefly valuable qualitative prospect, aside from spatial information, from Cape Town’s NAAIRS dataset, and yet, these results are considerably less robust than for Johannesburg and Durban. Out of the 23 results only ten cases of gender could be inferred, six women and four men. Of those ten, nine could be further assessed down to a profession: eight sex workers – including two concubines – and one potential pimp but no madams. Further demographic markers (race, ethnicity, or nationality) were not explicit,

but six could be inferred based on the names of the persons concerned: Scandinavian, French, Chinese, Afrikaans/Dutch, English and Black/African.

I thus conclude that my complete dataset from NAAIRS for all three targeted cities is insufficient to complete my spatial objectives for this work. However, my search retrieved qualitative information that adds value to the assessment of whether remote methods are a viable avenue for researching the archaeology of sex work in South Africa. As a dissertation situated within a pandemic, the above results are an answer to one of my core aims: online archive databases can be used to provide generalised insights into the sex industries of a given time period, but, as NAAIRS itself currently stands, they are not conducive to providing exact evidence that can be grounded in space. My analysis of the patterns in my above NAAIRS dataset, as well as my arguments for how online databases can be improved can be read in chapter five.

4.2 SPATIAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF LANDSCAPES OF SEX

The primary aim of this dissertation was to explore how the sex industries of South Africa's largest colonial centres developed spatially through time.

4.2.1 Johannesburg

My real-world spatial results for criminalised sex work in Johannesburg during the early years of the 20th century, come from four files at the Pretoria archives (TAB LD 516 AG3665/03 1903; TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905; TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906; TAB GOV 1076 PS37/15/1907 1907). Three files are from the Law Department (LD) records, and the third is from records of government correspondence (GOV). A total of 105 addresses were recorded (the full list of addresses can be viewed in Appendix D); however, 103 of those addresses come from a record of all arrests and brothel shutdowns that took place between 1905 and 1906 (TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905; TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906). Select images of these records can be found in Appendix F, G, and H. Of the 105 addresses, one is from 1903, 12 from 1905, 91 from 1907, and one from 1908. Detail of the contents of the files is provided below.

In addition to the 105 brothel addresses, there are 23 home addresses for pimps recorded in the 1907 document (TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906). I further

determined that 13 of the 105 brothel addresses may be viable for future excavation. The full spreadsheet of these addresses and the details of the persons associated with them (where detailed in the records) can be viewed in Appendix E, but they are as follows:

- 8 Fox Street
- 203 Anderson Street
- 77 Jorissen Street
- 74 Avenue Road (Fordsburg)
- 79 De Villiers Street
- 99 De Villiers Street
- 6 Wolhuter Street
- 86 Jeppe Street
- 1 Jeppe Street
- 147 President Street
- 147A President Street
- 10 Von Wielligh Street
- 139 Nugget Street

The most viable address is number 8 Fox Street which is now a parking lot two blocks north of the Tin Town Theatre. The Johannesburg fire insurance map does not extend to this block so it is not possible to determine what might have stood on this spot in 1910 when the map was updated. However, since there is no contemporary building on the site bar the paving used to create the parking lot, it might be possible to research further into the address, perform a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey, and ultimately conduct an excavation. It appears in my database as a Chinese brothel and opium den (Appendix D). Similarly viable, 203 Anderson Street – once the brothel of one Wagenheim, his madam April Visser, and the four unnamed sex workers that worked for him in 1907 – is currently a mostly empty plot of land underneath the End Street to Anderson Street offramp. On the fire insurance map of Johannesburg this block is made up of some scattered metal clad dwellings, sheds, a church, Kimber Syndicate Ltd Drills, and C. Woods Builder (see attached Google Earth KMZ file for imagery on

Appendix L) surrounded by open spaces and courtyards. The modern block still hosts open spaces – some green but mostly concrete – and features several modern buildings such as Jeppe College. The area where 203 Anderson Street once stood is now grassed over.

The south-eastern corner of Joburg Theatre Garden opposite the Nelson Mandela Theatre which makes up the entire block seen on the 1897 plan of Johannesburg is the site of 77 Jorissen Street. The suburb of Braamfontein, unfortunately, does not appear on the fire insurance map of Johannesburg, so it is not possible to see what might have stood on the grounds of contemporary 77 Jorissen Street. Since it is now a public park, it might be possible to acquire permission to excavate the area of the block in question. The brothel at 77 Jorissen Street's associated pimp was simply identified as "Musgrave" and the sex worker by her first name, Grace. South-west of Braamfontein, 74 Avenue Road, Fordsburg, is now the parking lot and yard area of a textile company, but, unfortunately, I do not have the relevant sheet from the 1910 fire insurance map and am thus unable to reference what stood there in 1910. The pimp of 74 Avenue Road, Fordsburg, was Sam Bloom who lived off the proceeds of Annie Bloom, presumably his wife.

Two blocks south of Joubert Park, 79 De Villiers Street was approximated using the fire insurance map; it is now an empty parking lot on the north-east corner of the intersection of De Villiers and Claim Streets. The parking lot is bricked over, but it does not contain any obvious modern buildings. It might be a good candidate for a GPR investigation and subsequent excavation in the future. Number 79 De Villiers Street was a German brothel run by the pimp Karl Schroeder and "a German" madam. Also approximated, 99 De Villiers Street appears to fall within a walled-off courtyard attached to a building that might be from the early 20th century. It is in an extremely low-income area with evidence of an active unhoused community nearby. So, while it might be a good candidate for GPR survey and excavation based on the apparently limited development on the block, ethically it would be difficult to pursue such work in this space.

The brothel of the pimp M. Cohen, 6 Wolhuter Street [Margaret Mcingana Street], is now the location of the Tin Town Theatre in Ferreira's Dorp. It is unclear

whether the building is from the early-20th century or not, however, it does have several courtyards and is opposite an empty plot of land. Across the city, 86 Jeppe Street - once a small metal clad dwelling with a large back courtyard - is now in the front garden of The Marble Towers skyscraper. The area is mostly concreted and bricked over but there is potential for cursory investigation for excavation. The brothel was associated with a French pimp, Raymonde, and his madam, Coca la Pauvre (alias, Saloman). Number 1 Jeppe Street, associated with a pimp named Alphonse and the eight women he had working for him, appeared on the fire insurance map as a vacant plot behind a boarding house. Today the site is occupied by the Trust Me Tavern which is equipped with modern signage – Castle Lager poster and all – but the building itself dates to 1928 according to the plaque it boasts above the front door.

Another approximate address, 147 and 147A President Street is not the most viable location as it is occupied by a contemporary single-story block of shops, but it does have a large central parking lot. The two addresses likely were from a subdivided single property and were occupied as brothels at different times in 1907. Number 147 President Street was the home and brothel of the pimp Solly Cohen (alias Scharff) and his madam Mrs Mendik, while 147A President Street was a brothel kept by one Louise Dubois and was later occupied by two other sex workers “for about three weeks”. Number 10 Von Wielligh Street is now a dilapidated corner shop; the shell of which looks early-to-mid-20th century. There are no obvious gaps or courtyards between the shop and the buildings around it, but it backs onto an abandoned warehouse. The extent of the warehouse occupies the back courtyard for 10 Von Wielligh Street as it appears on the fire insurance map of Johannesburg. 10 Von Wielligh Street’s pimp, Harry Smith was specifically identified as “coloured”. 139 Nugget Street is now roughly where the Royal Park Hotel is in Hillbrow and is opposite a small public park that was also present on the 1897 plan of Johannesburg. While the original building or its yard may not be possible to excavate, the green area of the public park may be an option as it is simply an open grassed-over space where apparently no development has taken place since the city’s initial planning. The brothel was run

by the pimp George Regis – resident at 3 Milbourne Road, Bertrams – and was maintained by the madam, Rennie.

I plotted the total 105 addresses onto Google Earth using the 1895 fire insurance map of Johannesburg as a guideline for where the street numbers would have been in the early 20th century, since some have changed location in the ensuing century (detail in chapter three). Here I present my plotted addresses for 1903, 1905, 1907, and 1908 (Fig. IV.8; individual maps per year Appendix I). I also plotted the pimp home addresses (Fig. IV.8 in red; Appendix I.5). Addresses viable for future excavation can be viewed in Appendix I.6. Analysis of the distribution of these addresses through time can be found in chapter five. Please see the included Google Earth file to explore these addresses in high definition on the Johannesburg fire insurance map.



Figure IV.8 Map of Johannesburg's brothels and pimp home addresses c. 1903 – c. 1908 including key landmarks, and tram routes

Through time, the distribution of the addresses I recovered change. The 1903 address was north of central Johannesburg, approximately three streets south of Park Station (Fig. IV.8; Appendix I.1). The addresses from 1905 were also clustered north of central Johannesburg (Fig. IV.8; Appendix I.2), but the 1907 addresses are spread across the north and east of central Johannesburg, and west into Fordsburg (Fig. IV.8; Appendix I.3). It is not clear from the sources why the

distribution changes like this, however, TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 included arrest data from the different divisions of the Transvaal Town Police in Johannesburg who were responsible for different regions of the city (Appendix H). It is also possible that, when considering the zoning conventions of Johannesburg at the time (Fig. IV.12), the addresses expanded alongside the residential zone of Johannesburg as more people began to settle in the city in the years following the South African War. Detailed imagery of these addresses as I have plotted them on the Johannesburg fire insurance map can be viewed in the attached Google Earth KMZ file (Appendix L). The largest spatial insights, however, are those which come from the question of whether sex work sites were contained to red-light districts.

The four files that contained significant spatial information from which I was able to produce Figures IV.8, IV.11, and IV.13 were principally records of correspondence between various authorities in the Colonial legal hierarchy (TAB LD 516 AG3665/03 1903; TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905; TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906; TAB GOV 1076 PS37/15/1907 1907). The three LD records (TAB LD 516 AG3665/03 1903; TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905; TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906) were the most similar in terms of the authorities corresponding with each other, and the contents of the file. The GOV record, as addressed below, stood out from the LD records in content.

TAB LD 516 AG3665/03 1903 only referenced one brothel: 36 Harrison Street. The file contained a letter from a member of the public, one Jenne Lemaire, to the State Attorney/Attorney General of the Transvaal complaining that they felt some sex workers held privileges over others. This letter was prompted by the reappearance of a sex worker, Leah Duvall, who had been prosecuted the previous year for keeping a brothel at 36 Harrison Street and fled the country. The Attorney General had forwarded this letter to the Commissioner of Police, via the Secretary to the Law Department, with the request to investigate and report back his findings. The Commissioner of Police, in response, assured that Leah Duvall had not returned to 36 Harrison Street, and that they had not been able to locate the Jenne Lemaire that had made the complaint. They believed that Jenne Lemaire might be an assumed name to avoid being investigated (See Appendix F for

images of the letter). If Jenne Lemaire was also a sex worker, then this file contains a sex worker's own voice and is evidence of her concerns.

Similarly, TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905 was also a series of correspondence between the Secretary to the Law Department and the Commissioner of Police featuring the accusation of some sex workers having privileges over others. It included an anonymous letter from a member of the public complaining of police corruption. The letter, signed with the pseudonym "Veritas", was sent to the Attorney General, and went on to list eight "French brothels" that were allegedly under the protection of the police because they paid exorbitant sums of "protection money" (TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905). "Veritas" further accused the police of exclusively focusing their energies on "Jewish brothels" where the madams had not paid this "protection money". In response to the accusations in the letter, the Commissioner of Police sent a detailed report of five brothels the Criminal Investigations Department (CID) had shut down between April and November 1905. The CID argued that since no formal complaint by the public had been brought to the police against the eight brothels mentioned by "Veritas", no action had been taken against them (photos of Veritas' letter are provided in Appendix G). This provides insight into how the Johannesburg CID enforced (or didn't enforce) the Immorality Ordinance, in addition to the sense of hierarchy amongst brothels or sex workers of different ethnicities (see chapter five):

"The principle we act on is to leave private houses alone if no complaint is made about them, and if they are not conducted in a disorderly manner. Every effort is made to prevent soliciting in the streets and indecent exposure from windows and doors, and prosecutions have been numerous. In the case of houses where there are no outward signs of disorderly conduct, we are dependent on complaints from neighbours (Commissioner of Police to the Secretary of the Law Department in TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905)".

The file with the largest and most detailed collection of addresses was TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906. It contained correspondence between several administrative figures in the Transvaal colony, as well as 85 pages of police

reports on work done enforcing the Immorality Ordinance; these reports included detailed lists of brothels, pimps, sex workers, and madams that had been prosecuted by each division of the CID in Johannesburg (TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906; Appendix H). The addresses documented in TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906 make up the majority of my dataset. This file in particular showcases the vast number of active brothels in Johannesburg at any given point between 1905 and 1906.

TAB GOV 1076 PS37/15/1907 1907 differs from the above three files in that it came from the papers of the Governor of the Transvaal (GOV) but it also contained a series of correspondence. The report detailed a case in which two sex workers, one coloured and one white, and two pimps, also one coloured and one white, alongside two Chinese customers arrested at the same time, were charged with keeping a brothel patronised by Chinese labourers. The report detailed how the accused came to be arrested, what they were charged with, and ultimately what their sentencing was. This file provided an interesting insight into colonial attitudes towards both sex work, and sex work when it involves interracial sex. Both sex work and interracial “carnal connection” were criminal offenses under the Immorality Ordinance. This sets this file apart from the above LD files because there is an additional layer of colonial bias. In addition, it also speaks to the theme of hierarchy between genders and ethnicities (see chapter five).

Alongside the spatial information provided by my four main documentary sources (TAB LD 516 AG3665/03 1903; TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905; TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906; TAB GOV 1076 PS37/15/1907 1907) was detail regarding the persons associated with the brothels that had been shut by the Transvaal police (see Appendix H). There are 191 individuals in my database. Pimps make up 50 of those individuals, followed by 36 madams, and 105 sex workers. Since no additional information can be gleaned from the records to the contrary, I have inferred that all 50 of the pimps were considered men, and the 141 madams and sex workers were considered women by the authorities criminalising them in these records. Of the 105 addresses, 31 have no associated persons. Of the remaining 74 addresses with associated persons, 45 are attached to pimps, while 23 are not attached to pimps but to sex workers and/or madams. Not all the sex

workers and madams are named: only 50 of the 141 madams and sex workers are named while all 50 of the pimps are named, even if only a first name or surname (21 of 50 contain only single name). Discussion of these demographics can be found in chapter five.

One of the files I encountered during my research at the Pretoria archives, was the only file in which an individual woman's voice was present. A suspected (according to the Transvaal Police) sex worker, Mrs. Mandick, wrote a letter of complaint to the Attorney General of the Transvaal in which she expressed her discontent at being accused of keeping a brothel (TAB LD 1621 AG1920/08 1908; Appendix K). She claimed that her husband had been deported from the Transvaal based on the testimony of a sex worker who was known as a "Crown Witness". These Crown Witnesses, Mrs. Mandick went on to say, "can carry on their business as prostitutes without hinderance so long as they bring cases for the police" (TAB LD 1621 AG1920/08 1908; Appendix K). In her letter, Mrs. Mandick vehemently denied ever having subsisted as a sex worker. In my dataset of addresses there is one sex worker with a similar name, "Mrs. Mendik" attached to pimp Solly Cohen (alias Scharff) who kept a brothel at 147 President Street (TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906; Appendix D), but there is not much else connecting the two women.

Beyond gender and profession, some ethnic, racial, and nationality information is present in my data. Seven individuals have their ethnicity, race, or nationality explicitly mentioned: one "French Jew", one "Yiddish [Jewish]", one "German", and four "Coloured". However, I have inferred the ethnicity, race, or nationality of 111 individuals in my dataset (Table IV.14).

Table IV.14 Table showing the inferred race, ethnicity, or nationality of individuals in my archival dataset excluding repeated individuals and those whose race, ethnicity, or nationality was explicitly mentioned

Identity	Number
French	33
Canadian	1
Irish	2
Jewish	21
English	20
Swedish	2
German	20
Scottish	2
Coloured	2
French Jewish	1
Dutch/Afrikaans	5
Chinese	2
Total	111

4.2.2 Durban

The files I consulted at the Pietermaritzburg National Archives repository did not contain any spatial information from which I can present results for the spatial development of colonial Durban's landscape of sex. However, Posel (1989: 1) mentioned seven streets where brothels occupying houses owned by Indian landlords were concentrated (Fig. IV.9). Quoting Durban's Superintendent of Police, R.C. Alexander, as reported in the Natal Mercury newspaper, Posel (1989) described the following:

“By 1903 Alexander reported that Indian property owners possessed some 500 pieces of land valued at £500 000. They bought nearly all the cottages and pieces of land offered for sale in the borough, and of these 200 were occupied by “European” tenants. The “houses of ill-fame” were to be found in the Grey, Victoria, Beatrice, Carlisle, Albert and Prince Edward Street area (Posel 1989: 1).”

These streets are part of what was central Durban at the time, and was predominantly populated by mixed racial demographics and Indian landowners

(Posel 1989: 1 – 2). In chapter five I provide a detailed description of how these streets appear today and whether they are viable for further archaeological investigation in pursuit of excavating a potential brothel site in South Africa.



Figure IV.9 Google Earth image showing the streets where brothels could be found in late-19th century to early-20th century Durban as per Posel (1989: 1)

Posel's (1989) sources for these streets are from four *Natal Mercury* newspaper articles: two from 1900, one from 1901, and one from 1903. However, it is not specified which year is associated with which street. Thus, I am unable to present any clear results for how Durban's landscape of sex developed through time. In chapter five I discuss the literature on Durban's colonial sex industry in detail.

The existence of legislation restricting brothels, landlords, and sex workers that benefitted from the trade implies that there was a settled red-light community in the city. Based on the locations of houses of ill-fame discussed by Posel (1989: 1), and the two streets mentioned within my dataset (Church Street and Carlisle Street), I conducted a desktop survey using Google Earth in street view to tentatively assess the viability of archaeology in the area.

Church Street is a small side street bridging Pine, West, and Anton Lembede Streets in Durban Central. It consists of four blocks which hold the Durban

Central Post Office (built 1885), Saint Paul's Anglican Church (built 1906), Durban City Hall (built 1910), and Farewell Square (marks the site of the first European settlement, roughly 1824). Farewell Square has plenty of grassed-over areas that might be excavatable pending the recovery of exact addresses or more information about where a brothel might have stood in the area. Church Street marks the south-eastern boundary of my proposed red-light district.

The northernmost boundary of Durban's 19th-20th century red-light district as per Posel (1989) is Carlisle Street. It is made up of two schools, a bus depot, a parking lot, and mostly mid-century apartment buildings. The most central and longest street in the district is Grey Street [Dr Yusuf Dadoo Street] and consists of mostly mid-20th to early-21st century buildings. There are no undeveloped areas or green spaces, although there are some parking spaces behind some of the buildings. Victoria Street [Bertha Mkhize Street] is home to the Indian Market complex that was originally established in 1910, burnt down in 1978, and reopened in the 1980s on the western end of the street. Most of the buildings on this street are mid-century apartments and shops, with some courtyards and parking spaces. As on Grey Street, there are no undeveloped areas.

Four blocks down from Carlisle Street, Beatrice Street [Charlotte Maxeke Street] is occupied by a medical centre, some scattered driveways, a scrap yard, and mid-20th century apartment blocks with some courtyards. Similarly, Albert Street [Ingcuce Street] to the right of Grey Street also consists of mid-20th century apartments and shops with some having courtyards. Again, there are no undeveloped areas. Contrarily, Prince Edward Street [Dr Goonam Street] above Victoria Street has far more courtyards and some parking spaces, though it is also dominated by large apartment buildings. The buildings appear to date from the early-20th century through to modern with no undeveloped or green areas.

While there is potential to excavate courtyards and parking lots if enough conclusive evidence existed to support such an excavation, this district of Durban is a largely low-income residential area, and the ethics behind excavating here would need to be assessed thoroughly. An assessment of the spatialisation of Durban's late-19th to early 20th century landscape of sex aside, where Durban

differs from the data I recovered for Johannesburg, is in its evidence of materiality which I have discussed in the next section.

4.2.3 Cape Town

I do not have any spatial data from which I can present results for the development Cape Town's landscape of sex. Some information is available in historiographical literature. Hallett (1979), referencing the introduction of the Morality Bill (36 of 1902) to Parliament, quotes the Attorney General of the Natal Colony: "the city's 'houses of ill-fame were scattered all over an area bounded by lines drawn from Woodstock Toll to Buitengracht Street and from Newmarket Street to Mill Street'" (Hallett 1979: 4) (Fig. IV.10).

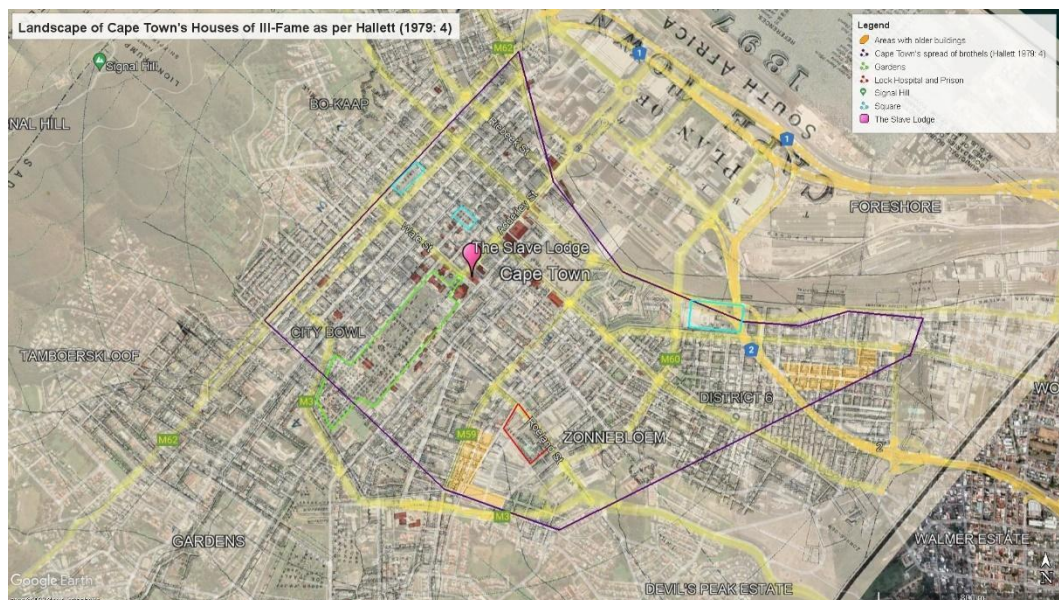


Figure IV.10 Map showing the extent of houses of ill-fame that could be found in early-20th century Cape Town as per Hallett (1979: 4)

The social dynamics of Cape Town's colonial sex industry were also interpretable from the available historiographical literature. Van Heyningen's (1984) description of a riot that broke out at the Roeland Street Lock Hospital amongst female sex worker venereal disease patients emphasises the mistreatment these women faced both at the hands of the laws that criminalised their subsistence, but also in the facilities designed to treat their painful ailments (Van Heyningen 1984: 183 – 184). How this riot contributes to the visibility of sex workers is discussed in chapter five.

4.3 RED-LIGHT DISTRICTS OF JOHANNESBURG, DURBAN, AND CAPE TOWN

As outlined in chapter one, a central question when considering the archaeology of sex work in South Africa is whether it was contained within distinct red-light districts. I produced a conclusive answer to this question for Johannesburg, but Durban and Cape Town currently remain largely inconclusive. Literature available for Durban and Cape Town, however, does suggest that sex work was taking place in specific districts of the cities, if not distinct *red-light* districts.

4.3.1 Johannesburg

There is one major historiographical work that refers to a distinct red-light district in Johannesburg called *Frenchfontein* (Van Onselen 1982: 120; see chapter two). Here I present my spatial results based on my recovered addresses (See Appendix D) in relation to *Frenchfontein* (Fig. IV.11).

Only 15 addresses (including three pimp home addresses) fall within the borders of Frenchfontein: five from 1905, and seven from 1907 (Fig. IV.11). The balance of these addresses spread across northern, eastern, and southern parts of Johannesburg city centre, and the suburb Fordsburg (Fig. IV.11).



Figure IV.11 Map showing brothels and pimps' home addresses between 1903 and 1908 including the borders of Frenchfontein (purple square), key landmarks, and tram routes

Beavon (2001) provided a map of “the functional character of Johannesburg’s spatial formation by 1896”, or the zoning convention of Johannesburg by 1896 (Beavon 2001: 6; Fig. IV.12).

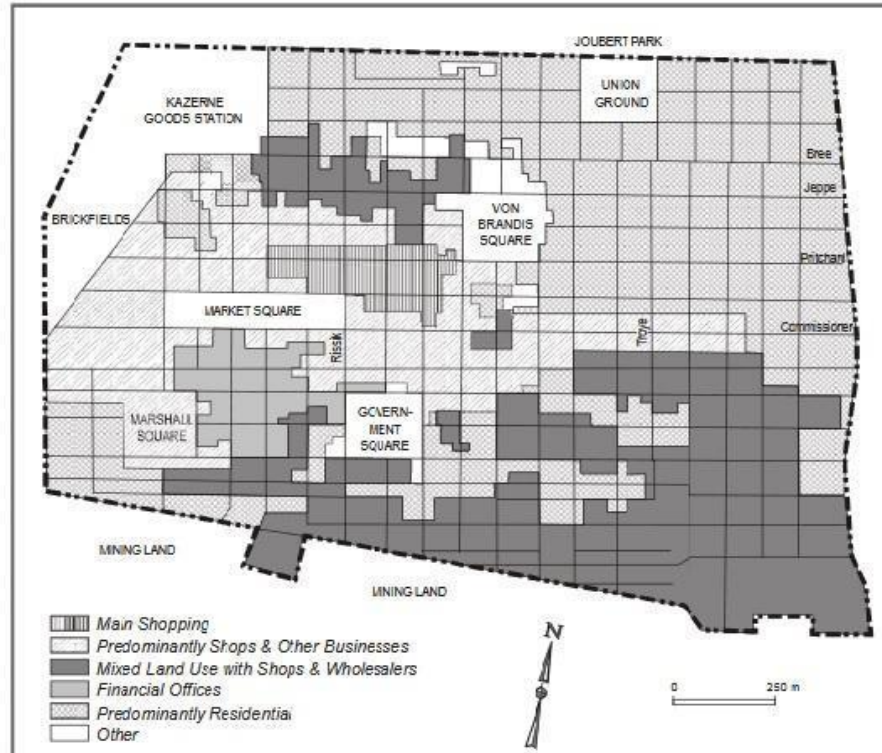


Figure IV.12 “Map of the functional character of Johannesburg by 1896” (Beavon 2001: 6)

Frenchfontein encompasses the main financial and shopping districts of Johannesburg (Fig. IV.13). Roughly 65 of my recovered addresses fall within predominantly residential zoning, while roughly 17 addresses fall within the mixed land use zone, and roughly 10 addresses are within the predominantly shopping and other businesses zone (Fig. IV.13). Thirteen addresses are outside the boundaries of Beavon (2001: 6; Fig. IV.13). The location of my recovered addresses in relation to *Frenchfontein* in Figure IV.18 reflect an identical distribution pattern to what I achieved in 2019 (O’Shea 2019: 26, 41).

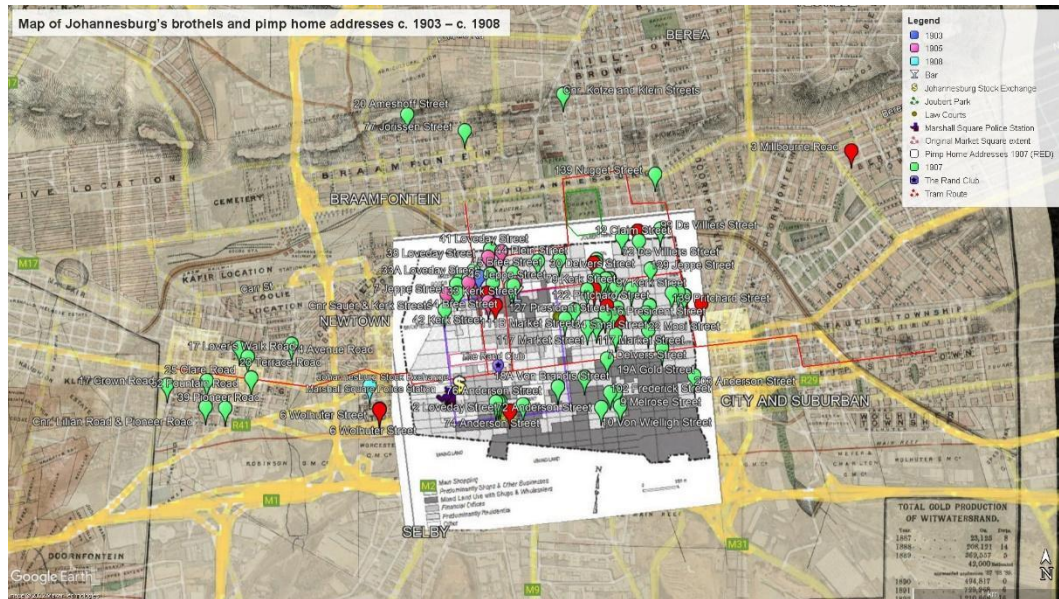


Figure IV.13 Map of Johannesburg's brothels and pimps' home addresses between 1903 and 1908 with Frenchfontein and Beavon (2001: 6)

Discussion of what these results mean for whether the spatial development of Johannesburg's colonial sex industry was contained to a distinct red-light district can be read in chapter five.

4.3.2 Durban & Cape Town

As I stated in the previous section, I was not able to acquire exact spatial information regarding the sex industries of Durban and Cape Town between 1860 and 1910. I thus cannot assess whether their landscapes of sex were contained within distinct red-light districts. In chapter five I discuss hypothetical red-light districts based on the available literature for both cities.

4.4 EXCAVATING THE ARCHIVE

While no spatial evidence for sex work was preserved within the files I viewed at the Pietermaritzburg archives, I did encounter artefacts that provide additional qualitative information about the potential materiality of Durban's colonial sex trade: five photographs of individuals involved in sex work during the late-19th and early-20th century.

Sex worker Lena Rose was deported and left for London from the Natal Colony alongside the pimp William Rosenchild on the 1st of December 1904 (Fig. IV.10);

PMB IRD 32 IRD1179/1904 1904). Though her photograph is badly decayed, Lena Rose is visible sitting with her small dog and the leaves of a Ficus to the left of the frame. It is possible that this photograph was taken in a studio setting as it does not resemble the contemporaneous mug shots of Birmingham sex workers (<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/gallery/earliest-surviving-mugshots-show-20th-12749796>, Viewed October 2021).

Her clothing appears neat and in better condition than the preservation of the photograph might make it appear. I theorise that this photo was taken before the date of the file – 1904 – as the style of her jacket resembles more closely that of the late 1890s (Examples of 1898 to 1900 fashion plates in Appendix J.1; <http://bartoscollection.com/fashionplatesbyera.html>, Viewed October 2021). Also of significance is her jewellery; she is wearing a small bow-shaped brooch on her chest and a long necklace around her neck. It is not possible to conclusively say what the necklace is made of.



Figure IV.14 Photograph showing sex worker Lena Rose found at the Pietermaritzburg Archives (PMB IRD 32 IRD1179/1904 1904)

Madame Jaillet (Fig. IV.15; PMB IRD 47 IRD56/1906 1906) was the topic of discussion in a series of correspondence between a Criminal Investigation Officer from Johannesburg and an Immigration Restriction Officer in Durban. Despite being referenced with the French title “Madame” she was expressly described as both a sex worker and a madam. Her photograph was sent alongside a warning to lookout for her as she was on her way to South Africa after having procured “three young girls” for the “purposes of prostitution”. The file described the girls in question as “slaves among prostitutes” (PMB IRD 47 IRD56/1906 1906). Like Lena Rose, Madame Jaillet’s photograph does not resemble the Birmingham mugshots, and potentially pre-dates the case file (1906). She is wearing a dark coloured garment with ribbon piping and a high collar. At her throat there is a small, round pendant not dissimilar to the fashion of the late Victorian period (example of 1901 to 1906 fashion plates in Appendix J.2; <http://bartoscollection.com/fashionplatesbyera.html>, Viewed October 2021). The silhouette, however, does not appear consistent with the styles of the early-to-mid-1900s.



Figure IV.15 Photograph showing madam and sex worker Madame Jaillet found at the Pietermaritzburg Archives (PMB IRD 47 IRD56/1906 1906)

Jack Fein (a Russian Jew) had previously served a term of imprisonment under Durban's Immorality Act and, in the file in question, had been sentenced under the Immigration Restriction Act for attempting to "procure a woman for the purpose of prostitution" (Fig. IV.16; PMB IRD 25 IRD215/1904 1904). After serving three months with hard labour, Jack Fein purchased his own second-class ticket to Delagoa Bay [Maputo], choosing to leave the Natal Colony of his own accord. However, it was emphasised within his file that there was a certainty he would attempt to return to Durban, hence the circulation of his photograph in the Immigration Restriction Department.



Figure IV.16 Photograph showing pimp Jack Fein at the Pietermaritzburg Archives (PMB IRD 25 IRD215/1904 1904)

Jack Fein stands out as the only mugshot in my collection, and it is thus not a prepared, or staged photograph (Fig. IV.16; PMB IRD 25 IRD215/1904 1904). He is wearing a light-coloured jacket and shirt with a dirty band collar, and these were likely the clothes that he was arrested in. It is possible that Jack Fein would typically have presented himself differently to the world around him and there are few additional clues as to the circumstances leading up to his mugshot being taken. However, it is interesting that his clothing is far less fine when compared to the next pimp in my collected photographs, and considering his financial status

being comfortable enough to pay his own bail, lawyer fees, and purchase his own second-class ticket.

Very little information is given about Frizzij/Frizzy outside of his identification as a French pimp who had been “turned out” of the Transvaal in November of 1904 (Fig. IV.17; PMB IRD 32 IRD114/1904 1904). Unlike Jack Fein, Frizzij’s photograph is a staged, professional photo. He is wearing a jacket that looks as if it is made from a thick fabric, over a dark waistcoat, starched collared shirt, and patterned tie, a style that appears consistent with men’s fashions between the late 1890s and early 1900s (see men’s fashion plates from this period in Appendix J.3; <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll12/search>, Viewed October 2021).



Figure IV.17 Photograph showing pimp Frizzij/Frizzy found at the Pietermaritzburg Archives (PMB IRD 32 IRD114/1904 1904)

A third pimp, Gustav le Grand (alias, *Le Vieux Tatave*), is pictured on his wanted poster that was circulated by Johannesburg’s Criminal Investigation Department to the Durban Immigration Restriction Department in late November 1904, lest the man had attempted to flee to the Natal colony (Fig. IV.18). As with Frizzij, not much detail is given about Gustav le Grand’s activities as a pimp, but it is

mentioned that he specifically “carried on his business” during the South African War (PMB IRD 32 IRD1136/1904 1904). Aesthetically, Gustav le Grands clothing stands out. He is photographed wearing a light coat adorned with badges over a double-breasted waistcoat, a similar style of collared shirt to Frizzij sans tie, and a large hat also decorated with a circular badge on the front. Overall, his clothing almost appears to be a uniform, which sets him apart from the other pimps mentioned above. Gustav le Grande’s photograph is small and not as high quality as Jack Fein’s mugshot or Frizzij’s portrait, but it appears that he is standing with his right arm around someone else. His photograph might have been taken in Europe before he arrived in the South African colonies, depending on when that was.



Figure IV.18 Photograph showing pimp Gustav Le Grande found at the Pietermaritzburg Archives (PMB IRD 32 IRD1136/1904 1904)

My discussion of the value of these photographs to the archaeology of sex work in South Africa, as well as a broader commentary on what these photographs might tell us about the nature of the legal processes around sex work in colonial Natal is provided in chapter five.

4.5 BEYOND THE BIG CITY: FRONTIER TOWNS OF SOUTH AFRICAN BRITISH COLONIES

An additional goal of my research was to investigate future avenues for the archaeology of sex work in South Africa. If future projects in the archaeology of sex work prove untenable in urban contexts, there is the potential to shift the focus to the frontiers of colonial South Africa. Smaller towns are less likely to have experienced the same level of development as larger cities, and may be more likely to have buildings that survive from the 19th century or earlier. Here I list potential smaller towns situated along the railway routes through the British colonies in South Africa during the 19th century and early 20th century and in chapter five I provide a brief history of one main town from each colony. The Immigration records (see above) I consulted at the Pietermaritzburg archives referenced the movement of sex workers into the colony along the railway lines that connected Natal with the Transvaal Colony and the Cape. Historiographical work on South Africa's colonial sex trade references sex workers travelling to the different colonial centres depending on where the latest economic booms were taking place, to escape restrictive legislation, and the troubles of war in the late-19th century (e.g., Van Onselen 1982; Van Heyningen 1984; Martens 2001). The small towns that connected the South African British Colonies along their railways warrant further archaeological investigation.

4.5.1 Transvaal Colony

The Transvaal Colony encompassed part of what is now western North-West Province, Limpopo Province, Gauteng Province, and Mpumalanga Province. The first railway was established in the Transvaal by the *Nederlandsche-Zuid Afrikaansche Spoorwegmaatschappij* (NZASM) in 1887. By 1899 it had four main lines: South-Western Line, Southern Line, Eastern Line, South-Eastern Line, and the Randtram. The movement of people through landscapes is especially tied to sex work in the early decades of Johannesburg's sex industry, as men began to flock to the gold fields of the Highveld and their presence attracted numbers of transient sex workers to ply their trade (Van Onselen 1982). The NZASM lines connected many of the established towns of the Transvaal to the main hub of Johannesburg, such as Klerksdorp (South-Western Line), Vereeniging and

Pretoria (Southern Line), Barberton (Eastern Line), and Charlestown on the border of the Natal Colony (South-Eastern Line). Once the British established the Transvaal Colony at the end of the South African War in 1902, their Royal Mail Railway extended the trains across the Transvaal landscape (Fig. IV.19). The main town I would recommend further research into is Barberton, on the Eastern Line of the NZASM.



Figure IV.19 Map of the Transvaal colony by 1902 showing the existing NZASM railway lines before they were expanded by the Cape Government

Barberton was established in the ZAR in 1884 after the discovery of gold in the region (<https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/barberton-mpumalanga>, Viewed November 2021). Since the late-19th century, Barberton has remained a mining centre in what was once the Transvaal Colony (now the Mpumalanga Province). Barberton has a publicly documented, and capitalised upon, history of sex work; the barmaid and sex worker Cockney Liz was so significant a figure in Barberton's past that there is a hotel named after her in the town. Cockney Liz began as a barmaid and singer in the local bar called *The Red Light Canteen*, and eventually earned enough money to purchase both *The Red Light Canteen* and her

own establishment called *The Royal Albert Hall* (Bornman 2014; http://www.mpumalanga-happenings.co.za/barberton_personalities.htm, Viewed February 2020). Allegedly, Cockney Liz earned the majority of her fortune by auctioning herself off to the highest bidder each evening (Trollip 2017). Other known sex workers contemporaneous with Cockney Liz were The Golden Dane, Florrie, and Trixie (http://www.mpumalanga-happenings.co.za/barberton_personalities.htm, Viewed February 2020). Barberton's public acceptance of its colourful sex work history and the number of historical buildings in the old town centre, makes it a good candidate for future archaeological investigation. Other towns of note on the Eastern Line are Ermelo, Carolina, Middelburg, and Lydenburg (Fig. IV.19).

4.5.2 *The Natal Colony*

The Natal Colony's railway was managed by the Cape Government Railway and the Royal Mail Route. The main route extended from Durban on the coast, to Charlestown at the Transvaal border, and Bethlehem in the Orange River Colony. There are several significant smaller towns on the railway route that I would consider researching further (Fig. IV.20) - Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Dundee, Howick, and Charlestown - but, because of its status as the seat of the Colonial Administration of the Natal Colony (Epprecht 2017: 263), I recommend Pietermaritzburg for further archaeological investigation into its colonial sex industry.

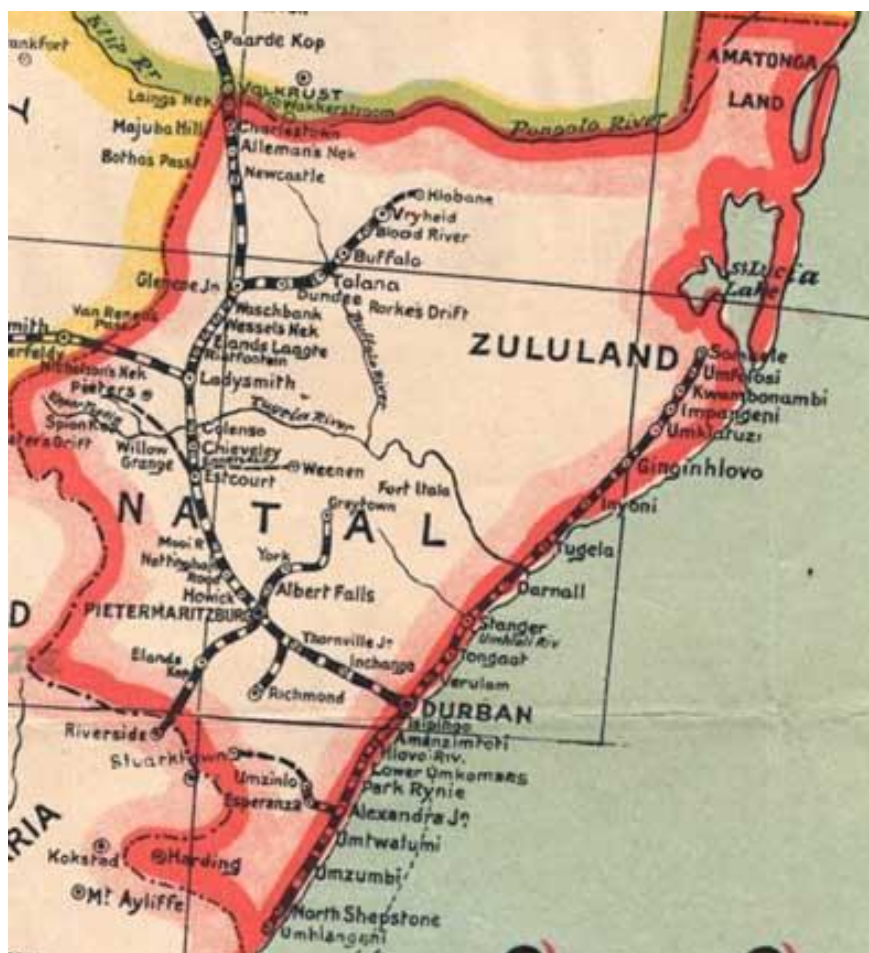


Figure IV.20 Portion of a map of the Cape Government Railways in the Natal Colony

Pietermaritzburg was founded in 1839 as the capital of the Natalia Boer Republic, and later became the administrative seat of the Natal Colony in 1845 (<https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/pietermaritzburg-umgungundlovu-district-municipality> Viewed November 2021; Dominy 1992: 101). Initially used as a defensive capital, the construction of Fort Napier in 1843 resulted in large numbers of soldiers stationed at the barracks, which in turn attracted sex workers (Dominy 1990: 37 – 38, 1992). Sex workers in Pietermaritzburg during the 19th century have been discussed by historians (see chapter two), which implies there is a historiographical precedent for studying sex work in the colonial town (e.g., Dominy 1990; Martens 2001: 30; Epprecht 2017: 270). While Pietermaritzburg has had more development than other smaller towns in Kwa-Zulu Natal, it is still significantly less developed than central Johannesburg, or Durban.

4.5.3 The Cape Colony

Like the Natal Colony, the Cape Colony was largely connected via the Cape Government Railway and the Royal Mail Route. The main line stretched from Cape Town, across the interior, to Mafeking, and across the Eastern Cape to Port Elizabeth, East London, and Port Alfred. Much of what is now the Northern Cape does not appear on the map I have consulted (Fig. IV.21). As the largest of the British colonies in South Africa, it is also the most populated with small towns that still exist along the railway route: Kimberley, Franschhoek, Piquetburg, Hermanus, Worcester, and Caledon. Due to Kimberley's similarity in history to Johannesburg (see chapter five), and its relatively undeveloped landscape, I argue that it would be worth investigating further in pursuit of sex work archaeology.



Figure IV.21 Map of the Cape Government Railway lines in the Cape and Orange River Colonies

Kimberley was founded in the 1870s on the discovery of diamond deposits in the region. Like Johannesburg, Kimberley began as a frontier mining town occupied by fortune-seeking miners from across the British Empire (Sullivan 2013). The town featured many brothels nestled amongst the gambling dens, canteens, and pubs (McKinnon 2015). Historiographical precedents are present to indicate that there was indeed a thriving sex industry during Kimberley's earliest years (Van Onselen 1982: 119; Van Heyningen 1989: 372; McKinnon 2015).

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

As in chapter four, I have organised my discussion into four sections. First, I explore the strengths and weaknesses of a remote archaeology of sex work in South Africa, and how I believe NAAIRS can be improved as a resource. The social and spatial development of the landscapes of sex per city and their respective red-light districts are discussed next, within a feminist framework that aligns South African 19th and early-20th century sex work with North American 19th century sex work.

Building on my theoretical approach outlined in chapter three, I integrated an interrogation of the visibility of sex workers in the South African colonial archive with the spatial component of my discussion. Building on how sex work manifests materially, I explore the journey taken by the photographs of figures involved in the South African colonial sex trade, from the intention behind their creation to the manner of their preservation. In addition, I discuss how these photographs might depict what kinds of artefacts might be recovered from South African sites based on material recovered from North American examples. I conclude my discussion with a suggestion for a health-focused approach to studying Cape Town's colonial sex industry.

5.1 *PANDEMIUM PANDEMONIUM*: DESKTOP ARCHAEOLOGY OF SEX AND ITS SUCCESSES VERSUS ITS LIMITATIONS

It is possible to research the archaeology of sex remotely, however, the results will be heavily influenced by the biases of online sources. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed how necessary up to date, organised, and detailed online databases are for research to continue in cases where people are unable to travel to consult sources in person. Beyond the context of a pandemic, online databases of historical records open scholarship globally and makes history accessible to various disciplines. By acknowledging where NAAIRS is an insufficient online database, I argue for the necessity of institutions to digitise their collections and avail them online.

5.1.1 Online Databases: NAAIRS

While results were producible within the scope of a quantitative assessment of the volume of sex work-related information that is available on NAAIRS, spatial information was not as forthcoming. With regards to the former, my aim has been successfully met. However, since this dissertation was conceptualised as a spatial analysis, the second part of this aim was not met. Thus, here I will discuss where NAAIRS has been successful as an online resource, and its limitations.

Despite using the same ten search terms across each city on NAAIRS, the returned results per city were inconsistent. The highest volume of results was returned for Johannesburg while Durban and Cape Town returned about half of Johannesburg's results combined. Johannesburg contained the most spatial information within its 102 results; there were only two exact addresses, but the 11 broadly spatial town names (excluding the 44 results that just said "Johannesburg") are evidence for sex work taking place beyond the borders of the Transvaal Colony's biggest cities. Due to this lack of spatial information, I would not have been able to complete the first section of this chapter were I relying on NAAIRS alone.

NAAIRS is the digitised evidence for archival bias. Since it does not contain every single file contained in the NARSSA network of repositories, it can only ever provide a sample of the volume of records about any given topic. That sample is selected by the archivists that produced the NAAIRS database. While I was able to retrieve qualitative data from NAAIRS, due to the bias of it as a source and its lack of completeness, I must assume that this qualitative data represents only a fraction of the real-world data.

The limitations of NAAIRS are vast. However, because I was still able to produce qualitative results pertaining to the diversity of people represented on the database in each city, I argue that it is a successful resource for cursory examinations of South Africa's colonial-era sex work. In alignment with the arguments put forth by Maxwell (2010; see chapter three) with regards to the ways that online libraries, or databases, can digitise their collections to improve their viability for

researchers globally, I suggest several ways that NAAIRS could be an improved resource in my conclusion to my dissertation.

5.2 SPATIAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF LANDSCAPES OF SEX: THE PEOPLE OF JOHANNESBURG'S *DEMIMONDE*

In the previous chapter, I presented the results of my investigation into the spatial development of the landscapes of sex of Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town during the late-19th to early-20th centuries. The inconsistent results reflect the inconsistent nature of the spatial information available in the archives. However, despite these limitations, my discussion points drawn from the available data concern an analysis of the types of files that spatial information was retrieved from, and the biases they may reflect coming from colonial documentation. I follow this with a reflection on the hierarchical patterns present in the person data, especially the racial, ethnic, or nationality demographics. These hierarchies are further present along gendered lines, which I expand upon in alignment with the question of sex workers' visibility. I conclude with a spatial analysis of the map I produced of Johannesburg's brothels.

In chapter four I identified the specific files from which my spatial data was drawn. The similarities in the LD files outlined in chapter four extend beyond their shared source code: the same white, male, colonial administrative figures feature in all of them and the voices of individual women or sex workers are not common (discussed further below). This is reflective of critiques of the colonial archive (see chapter three) as an entity that inherently preserves colonial ideologies such as patriarchal voices and concepts of female sexuality (Stoler 2002: 87; Arondekar 2005). The first two included letters from the public complaining of police corruption and involvement in the perpetuation of organised sex work in Johannesburg. The latter two files share interests in how the Immorality Ordinance was being enforced by the police with requests for detailed reports on the matter. It is unclear how these similarities might inform why these files rather than the other LD files I consulted at the archives contained spatial information. I suggest that it is likely because while LD files are from the governmental Law Department, they are not a repository of police case files and reports. Though there are specific police repositories stored at the Pretoria

archives (Transvaal Police (TP) from 1901 to 1928 and South African Police (SAP) from 1901 to 1975) these also do not contain criminal case files or reports.

The biases of the colonial archive are further evidenced by the demographic information that it preserves. The racial, ethnic, and nationality information from my dataset were presented in chapter four. Only seven individuals had such detail about them explicitly pointed out, of which the majority were coloured (four) followed by Jewish as the next majority (two). From these seven alone a specific demographic image is painted about Johannesburg's early-20th century sex industry. However, my inferred racial, ethnic, and nationality dataset complicates this. The majority of names in my inferred dataset were of French origin (33); this corroborates Van Onselen (1982) and the *Standard & Diggers' News's* motivations for dubbing their red-light district *Frenchfontein* despite the contradiction posed by my spatial data (see chapter four, Figs. IV.11 and IV.13, and below). Jewish names were the next highest number of names in my inferred dataset (21); this is consistent with Van Onselen (2007) who detailed the rise of Americanised Russo-Polish Jews in South Africa's organised crime industry as well as the results of my previous work (O'Shea 2019: 34). English and German names make up the next majority with 20 names each. English-sounding names are complicated since they may truly belong to individuals of English background, or they may be the result of pre-Union immigration laws which encouraged the Anglicisation of Eastern-European or non-English names (Bickford-Smith 2006). Overall, the majority (106) of names within the dataset are broadly European (including Eastern and Western Europe). African names are not represented at all, though this absence began to change as the 20th century progressed (see Bonner 1988; chapter two).

There are hierarchical patterns in the person data for Johannesburg. In the case of race, ethnicity, and nationality, this hierarchy might be evident through the colonial biases in demographic information discussed above: the proportion of western European names against Russo-Polish could indicate both the volume of individuals as well as who was most likely to be arrested. Despite "Veritas's" (TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905) assertion that French brothels were protected by police because of their ability to pay protection money, and the subsequent

targeting of “Jewish” (Russo-Polish), the prevalence of Francophonic names in my dataset indicates otherwise. Van Onselen (1982, 2007) described a shift in the hierarchy of sexual vice: the arrival of Americanised Russo-Polish Jewish criminal ringleaders on the Rand developed the city’s vice industry into one dominated by Jewish brothels integrated into a broader criminal *demimonde*.

In chapter four I acknowledged the 191 individuals in my dataset of which 50 were men (pimps) and 141 were women (madams and sex workers). All 50 of the pimps in my dataset are named individuals and whether this is because the colonial administration and police were chiefly concerned with the activities of pimps as the organisers of sex work is unclear from the sources themselves. The fact that only 50 women out of a dataset of 141 are named implies that either the women were less notorious to the police, or they did not feel that the women were important enough to warrant being named. This may be a reflection of gender-based biases from the time.

My initial conclusion was that the pimps were all named because they were being charged with the offence of keeping a brothel and living off the proceeds of prostitution. However, this might not have been the case; the sex workers and madams would also have been summarily charged with the above offences thus their names would have existed in police records associated with that brothel. I had a similar dataset in 2019 (O’Shea 2019: 31 – 34), but men outnumbered women in that dataset in general and I suggested that it might have been because men outnumbered women as a rule in early Johannesburg (O’Shea 2019: 40 – 41). Now, however, I would argue that it is because men were the top of the sex work hierarchy and were thus more likely to be notorious to police.

Gendered hierarchies existed in Johannesburg’s early sex industry; in 2019 I discussed the evidence for these hierarchies as they manifested through British-colonial journalism about sex work (O’Shea 2019). In the matter of gender this was apparent through inconsistent prosecutions brought against men and women in charges of sex work: even when similar or the same evidence was provided, women’s prosecution was more often documented by journalists (O’Shea 2019: 40). Van Onselen (1982, 2007) also documented the gendered hierarchy of

Johannesburg's early-20th century sex industry by discussing the rise of pimps as notorious figures who organised sex work into a feature of the broader vice industry. Women were not treated with the same degree of notoriety and were largely reduced down to their sexual activities rather than their lived experiences within that form of subsistence. I thus argue that the absence of these women's names is indicative of a broader issue with the colonial archive in that it represents the hierarchies of the time in which the documents were created. In the case of early-20th century sex work, this would have been a distinctly patriarchal, and white-focussed axiom.

The places and spaces where the sex workers in my dataset worked and may have lived is essential to interpreting their lived experiences and how they saw the city around them. Through time, the distribution of the addresses I recovered change. The 1903 address was north of central Johannesburg, approximately three streets south of *Park Station* (Fig. IV.8; Appendix I.1). The addresses from 1905 were also clustered north of central Johannesburg (Fig. IV.8; Appendix I.2), but the 1907 addresses are spread across the north and east of central Johannesburg, and west into Fordsburg (Fig. IV.8; Appendix I.3). It is not clear from the sources why the distribution changes like this, however, TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 included arrest data from the different divisions of the Transvaal Town Police in Johannesburg who were responsible for different regions of the city (Appendix H). It is also possible that, when considering the zoning conventions of Johannesburg at the time (Figs. IV.12 and IV.13), the addresses expanded alongside the residential zone of Johannesburg as more people began to settle in the city in the years following the South African War. From this data, we can predict what the Johannesburg these sex workers knew looked like, where they might have shopped, or used public transport, or acquired their clients.

5.3 RED-LIGHT DISTRICTS: *FRENCHFONTEIN*, THE DELIGHTS OF DURBAN, AND THE SHEETS AND STREETS OF CAPE TOWN

Determining whether sex work was contained within distinct red-light districts is crucial as it provides a spatial marker for where it is viable to excavate. In chapter four I presented the results of my investigation into whether the sex industries of Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town were localised to distinct districts on their

respective illicit economic landscapes. Here I discuss how my results for Johannesburg complicate the previous historiographical work on its sex industry. I follow this with a brief examination of the available literature for Durban and Cape Town.

5.3.1 *Frenchfontein*

Van Onselen's (1982: 120) description of a red-light district named *Frenchfontein* based on articles from the *Standard & Diggers' News* newspaper is complicated by my results from a broader array of sources and spatial analysis. The 105 addresses I recovered from the archives (Appendix D) fall outside the boundaries of Frenchfontein (Van Onselen 1982: 120; Fig. IV.11; see chapter four for the exact distribution of addresses that fall inside and outside *Frenchfontein*). Initially it would seem that Johannesburg's sex industry was *not* contained within a red-light district. This, however, begs interrogation.

Van Onselen (1982) referenced articles of the *Standard & Diggers' News* from July, September, October, and December 1896, and October 1898 for his description of *Frenchfontein*. My sources are from 1903, 1905, 1907, and 1908 – ten years later in some cases. I thus suggest that the spread of addresses outside of *Frenchfontein* may be a matter of chronology. It is possible that in the first decade of Johannesburg's establishment, *Frenchfontein* might have existed for a time, but by post-1900 the boundaries had begun to fade. By referencing Beavon (2001: 6; Fig. IV.12) who provided a map of Johannesburg's zoning conventions by 1896 it became clear when I overlaid my acquired addresses onto Beavon's (2001) map that the majority (65 of the 105) of the addresses were in the residential zone of central Johannesburg (Fig. IV.13). Further, the Immorality Ordinance (Number 45 of 1903) classified a brothel as effectively any room or house wherein the business of sex work was taking place. From this, I argue that it is likely that sex workers and pimps were simply establishing brothels within residential spaces (houses, subdivided properties, or rooms to rent). I came to a similar conclusion in 2019 (O'Shea 2019: 41).

As I outlined in chapter two, the containment of sex work to distinct red-light districts is not a central theme in North American studies of sex work sites. There

is little to suggest from the archaeology of sex work literature I have consulted, that brothels were necessarily spatially distinct from the houses around them, or the locations in which they were established. Johannesburg's brothel distribution is thus similar to the sites identified in the North American literature, in that there is little evidence from my data that Johannesburg's landscape of sex was contained anywhere other than wherever pimps, madams, or sex workers could acquire four walls. From this, I situate Johannesburg's 19th and 20th century sex industry on the global landscape of sex.

5.3.2 *Durban's Delights & the Sheets and Streets of Cape Town*

In chapter four I used historiographical descriptions of localities where sex work took place in Durban and Cape Town to create a Google Earth image of the former (Fig. IV.9) and a map of the latter (Fig. IV.10) (Posel 1989: 1; Hallett 1979: 4). The existence of legislation targeting sex work (e.g., Durban's Law 15 1869, 1899 Amendment to Criminal Law, and 1902 Morality Bill, and Cape Town's two Contagious Diseases Laws in 1868 and 1885 respectively, and 1903 Morality Bill) indicates that settled brothels were enough of a concern to the British Colonial Administration to warrant restriction, prosecution, and expulsion. However, these established brothels do not appear in the files I consulted for Durban or in the NAAIRS results for Cape Town. The files I examined at the Pietermaritzburg Archive referenced the movement of people in and out of the Natal Colony.

The archival record of Durban's late-19th to early-20th century sex industry could not be grounded in real-world spatial data. A rough picture (Fig. IV.9) of the regional landscape of sex can be painted, however, based on the writing of Posel (1989: 1) who referenced the Natal Mercury newspaper's description of a red-light district in the Berea/Durban Central region (Posel 1989: 1), and diverse literature (e.g., Noble 1991; Ramsay 1992; Martens 2001). Despite the apparent lack of spatial information to be interpreted from my recovered archival data, the documentary record of Durban's late-19th and early-20th century sex industry implied a degree of transience, including the files within which the photographs of Lena Rose (Fig. IV.14), Madame Jaillet (Fig. IV.15), Jack Fein (Fig. IV.16), Frizzij (Fig. IV.17), and Gustav le Grande (Fig. IV.18) were preserved. The

records I consulted were predominantly from the Immigration Restriction Department which documented the restriction of individuals attempting to enter the Natal Colony and the movement of people away from the colony. Sex workers, pimps, and madams were classed as undesirables on the landscape of colonial Durban, as is indicated by their presence in the IRD repository.

The most significant description of a broader locality in Durban, as mentioned above, is Posel (1989: 1). Posel's (1989) sources, like mine, are principally correspondence, journalistic, and administrative rather than actual criminal records. She included several paragraphs on the location of brothels in Durban. As acknowledged in chapter four, this area was the centre of Durban at the time and was largely occupied by Indian landowners (Posel 1989; Swanson 1983: 403).

The mixed-race landscape of central Durban, and the WAT within which Durban's early-20th century houses of ill-fame were located, was one that incensed white-majority, segregationist rule well into the late-20th century (Posel 1989; Maharaj 1999: 250). The literature regarding Durban's sex industry during the late-19th and early-20th centuries (e.g., Posel 1989; Noble 1991; Martens 2001; Maharaj 1999) paints an image of a highly mixed community wherein European sex workers and their Indian landlords are likely to have coexisted alongside people from varying economic backgrounds in a way that frustrated the segregationist goals of Durban's settler-colonialism. The potential for miscegenation as a result of this mixing taking place in colonial Durban's landscape of sex catalysed much of the legislation used to restrict sex work in the Natal Colony (see chapters one and two). The Cape Colony's sex industry was the site of similar fears around miscegenation (see chapter one).

Hallett (1979) is the only reference to a localised sex industry in colonial Cape Town. The bulk of historiographical work on Cape Town's colonial sex industry has not focussed on *where* the activity was taking place. The statement by the attorney general quoted by Hallett (1979: 4; see chapter four) implies that, much like Johannesburg, brothels existed wherever sex workers or pimps could rent a room, flat, or house, because that is an area that encompasses all of contemporary central Cape Town (Fig. IV.10). Specific criminal cases used as case studies by historians commenting on colonial Cape Town's sex industry do contain street

addresses (e.g., Van Heyningen 1984: 185, 186), but there is no evidence that Cape Town's long history of sex work was taking place in only one area of the rather large landscape. The archaeology that has been conducted on colonial Cape Town (see chapter two) did not have identifying sites of sex work as their aim. As such, the archaeologists who excavated old residential areas of colonial Cape Town (E.g., Hall 1993: 189; Malan 1998) might not have immediately noticed a sex work related material signature; despite a feature of such archaeology being the extensive use of supplementary archive material (e.g., Malan 1998) where, if an address had been a brothel, record of that might exist.

5.4 EXCAVATING THE ARCHIVE: THE MATERIALITY OF SEX WORK AND THE VISIBILITY OF SEX WORKERS IN THE COLONIAL ARCHIVE

During my research, I endeavoured to read these files through an intersectional feminist lens due to my additional aim of assessing the visibility of sex workers as individuals in the colonial archive. In both NAAIRS, and in the physical files I consulted at Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg, sex workers rarely spoke with their own voices. Sex workers as a concept being actively discussed by the white, male, colonial authorities were indeed visible but are presented as a problem that vexes British hegemonic values. Where sex workers' own voices may be present, in addition to potential indicators of sex work's material signature, is in the photographs I presented in chapter four of two sex workers from my Durban dataset, Madame Jaillet (Fig. IV.15) and Lena Rose (Fig. IV.14). If one is to assume that the police's beliefs about them were accurate, then Mrs. Mandick's, and Jenne Lemaire's letters are the only other instance where a potential sex worker's own voice is present (see chapter four and Appendix F and K for detail). Cape Town historiographical literature regarding the city's colonial sex trade (see chapters one and two) reference a riot that took place at the Roeland Street Lock Hospital: this riot, and the direct quotes from women involved, are additional examples of sex workers' visibility in the colonial archive.

Photographs are crucial to historiographical study as they provide a visual glimpse into the past. Archaeologists of the recent past, and documentary archaeologists, benefit from using photographs to understand the past. This is also true for the archaeology of sex work, particularly in the United States of America.

Photographs of 19th and early-20th century sex workers are widely available online, but here I will refer back to the specific collections of such photographs addressed in chapter two. The photographs I presented in chapter four hold value in their depiction of how the individuals potentially presented themselves to the public, and humanise the sex workers in my study by providing them a face. It is the closest one can get to their lived experiences before excavation. Seeing their faces reminds the documentary archaeologist that these were real people and not just names floating around the archives. While these photographs do not convey the personal voices and opinions of those depicted, they do reveal how these individuals presented themselves to the world and how they may have wanted the world to perceive them. For example, neither Lena Rose nor Madame Jaillet is photographed in a particularly sexualised way, and they are not dressed in the style of clothing expected for sex workers at the time (see below): there is nothing about their images that indicates that they were sex workers, and this classification is entirely dependent on the descriptions from the files in which they were preserved. We know that they were sex workers because the colonial legal authority that preserved their likenesses said so.

Clues for the potential materiality of sex workers that could be revealed in excavation can be gleaned from these photographs; their clothing and jewellery, or the objects in the rooms around them. Clothing and personal adornments are a useful tool for interpreting themes of class and the economic experiences of the individuals pictured (Van Buren & Gensmer 2017). Both women are wearing some form of jewellery, though I argue that Lena Rose's adornments are slightly more ostentatious. Jewellery is something that might survive in an archaeological context and has been found in brothel deposits in Washington, D.C. (Seifert 1991: 99; Gilfoyle 2005; see chapter two). Far less likely to survive in archaeological contexts, unfortunately, is clothing. Both women appear to be wearing dark coloured garments in styles older than when their photographs appeared in the historical record (see Appendices J.1 and J.2 for fashion plates). The photographs are what a person from the time period might describe as "respectable" and imply that these women might not have wanted to be perceived as sex workers in their daily lives.

The photographed pimps I found paint a potentially more diverse picture of the distribution of socio-economic hierarchy within the vice industry. When Frizzij's (Fig. VI.17) photograph is examined alongside Jack Fein's (Fig. VI.16) mugshot, it suggests that there may have been some class or financial differences between pimps. However, it cannot be confirmed what Frizzij's financial position might have been as that information is not divulged to the same degree as Jack Fein (see chapter four for detail). Thus, the comparison of the two men is based entirely on the aesthetics of the clothing they are photographed wearing. Worth noting here is that these photographs were taken at a time when how a person presented themselves to the world through their appearance was often tied to the class hierarchy perceptions of the time (Sayer 2002: 112 – 113).

North American sex workers preserved in the work of photographers Belocq and Goldman (see chapter two) are incredibly useful windows into how sex workers in the 19th and early 20th century chose to appear when captured photographically; their clothing, the objects visible in the rooms around them, provide clues as to the materiality of a sex worker's life at the time. While it is presumed by the collection compilers (Friedlander & Szarkowski 1970; Johnson 2018) that these photographs were captured with the consent of the workers, the patriarchal nature of 19th century American society (Simmons 1989: 63) suggests to me that there was a distinct power imbalance between the male photographers and female subjects which might have affected how these women posed, the clothes they chose to wear, and the spaces they were photographed within.

With regards to both my collection of photographs, in light of those captured by Belocq and Goldman, the reasons for their creation, and their subsequent journey to preservation in the police archives of the Immigration Restriction Department is interesting to reflect upon. Lena Rose (Fig. IV.14) and Madame Jaillet (Fig. IV.15) are not posed in a brothel, but their photographs were potentially taken outside of a police context as they do not appear to be mugshots. Therefore, I hypothesise that their photographs, when treated as objects, were created with the purpose of representing how these women chose to present themselves to the world around them. These personal depictions were then acquired by the police and used in the subsequent criminalisation of the two women. The same might be

argued for Frizzij's (Fig. IV.17) portrait, and Gustav le Grande's (Fig. IV.18) photograph of his potential military service. It is thus through their criminalisation that these figures of colonial South Africa's sex industry were preserved. This links back to the question of visibility: while personal photographs may represent sex workers' voices in how they presented themselves to the world, the fact that their preservation hinges on how they were criminalised by the colonial authority simultaneously robs them of their voice.

I mentioned above the usefulness of personal adornments and clothing for interpreting the potential class and economic experiences of individuals. When excavation is not possible, photographs of sex workers provide a unique baseline for what kinds of personal adornments or clothing might survive archaeologically. Descriptions of the clothing worn by sex workers is available in the historical record. A series of correspondence between the Undersecretary and Secretary of Native Affairs, the Governor of the Natal Colony, and the Prime Minister of the Transvaal Colony included the testimony of a black man who had visited Johannesburg and reported that he had witnessed white women sex workers "dressed in white clothes" (TAB CS 139 11157/02 1902). Nineteenth-century sex workers in the boomtown of Cripple Creek, Colorado were photographed wearing the brothel uniform of "white brothel gowns" (<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/us-news/wild-women-wild-west-inside-16181874>, Viewed October 2021). White appears to be a colour associated with brothels in both the "Wild West" and Johannesburg; this connection in work clothes is unsurprising given the relationship between Johannesburg's 19th and 20th century sex industry and the North American one (see Van Onselen 1982, 2007).

For Cape Town, unfortunately, my data regarding the visibility of sex workers is currently bare. My data from NAAIRS does not contain excessive detail about the individuals concerned and thus I cannot rely upon it as an accurate representation of people's identities. The historiographical literature that I consulted regarding the sex industry of Cape Town (chapters one, and two) tended to rely on secondary sources such as newspapers, or the correspondence of various colonial administrative authorities (e.g., Hallett 1979; Van Heyningen 1984, 1989; Elks 1986; Ross 1999; Groenewald 2007). In chapter four I referenced Van

Heyningen's (1984) description of a riot that took place at the Lock Hospital on Roeland Street (now where the Cape Town Archives stand) in 1893 in response to the humiliation and pain of the examinations imposed on them by the Contagious Diseases Act (Van Heyningen 1984: 183 – 184). She recites the riot as follows:

“The riot occurred on a Monday, the usual day for examining the Lock Hospital patients to see if they were fit for release. A number, who were particularly incensed at their prolonged detention and its uncertain duration, gathered in the courtyard outside the doctor's surgery, shouting and throwing paving stones at the surgery. The doctor and matron cowered inside for over two hours until help eventually arrived (Van Heyningen 1984: 184).”

Van Heyningen (1984) emphasised the level of agency, a crucial theme in feminist archaeology of sex, involved for these women to revolt against their unjust treatment, and quoted extensively from the personal testimony of two of the women as preserved in a report sent to the Attorney General and Colonial Office (likely the Local Government and Health Branch). This effectively shows that sex workers' personal voices can be found in the archives if one excavates deep enough. However, this is also motivation for where excavation can fill in the gaps caused by the colonial archive, and an argument for the benefits of interdisciplinary research.

5.5 JOHANNESBURG: POTENTIALLY EXCAVATABLE ADDRESSES

In chapter four I presented the 105 addresses I recovered from the Pretoria archives (Appendix D), and introduced the 13 addresses that I argue have potential for future archaeology (Appendix E). I selected these addresses as options for future archaeological investigation because they are all currently either empty parking lots, courtyards, or the rare undeveloped spaces in the city of Johannesburg.

My assessment of the viability to excavate the addresses presented in chapter four is based on what stands at these sites today. While some are more viable than others, they still represent a sample of places in the city centre of Johannesburg that could be investigated further. Van Onselen (1982), O'Shea (2019), and this

dissertation have shown that there is historical documentary evidence for an active and thriving sex industry in Johannesburg during the late-19th and early-20th centuries. The logical next step would be to see how that sex industry appears materially.

5.6 BEYOND THE BIG CITY: FRONTIER ARCHAEOLOGY OF SEX WORK

In the previous chapter I introduced the potential small towns along the railway routes throughout the British colonies in South Africa. These towns are tied to the high-value industries of mining, and military, that provide a financial precedent for a sex work economy to develop, as well as represent regions dominated primarily by unmarried men.

Barberton has a well documented history of sex workers living and working in the town from its earliest decades. The figures of Cockney Liz, and the Golden Dane (http://www.mpumalanga-happenings.co.za/barberton_personalities.htm, Viewed February 2020; Trollip 2017) are the most prominent, with exact sites being associated with Cockney Liz directly (see chapter four). The town is relatively unchanged which makes it a good candidate to pursue additional archaeological research. The buildings or sites where Cockney Liz's taverns once stood may be a step towards excavating the archaeology of sex work in South Africa.

Pietermaritzburg's status as the seat of the administration of the Natal Colony (Epprecht 2017: 263), as well as the historiographical documentation of sex work taking place in the town (e.g., Dominy 1990; Martens 2001: 30; Epprecht 2017: 270) make it a good candidate for additional archaeological research into its colonial sex trade. While Pietermaritzburg has undergone significantly more development than other smaller towns along the Natal Colony's railway lines, it is still less developed than the urban centers of Johannesburg or Durban. The most significant historical evidence points to the presence of sex workers in relation to the military base at Fort Napier (Dominy 1990: 37 – 38, 1992); this contrasts the idea of a distinct red-light district being the only place that sex work might take place within cities or towns. How sex work in relation to military presence manifests tangibly could be an interesting avenue to pursue for the archaeology of sex work in colonial Pietermaritzburg.

Kimberley's origins bear striking resemblance to Johannesburg's and Barberton's. As a small mining town founded on a boom of mineral discovery and large numbers of unattached men (Sullivan 2013), Kimberley attracted a thriving vice industry that accommodated the illicit desires of the miners (Van Onselen 1982: 119; Van Heyningen 1989: 372; McKinnon 2015). Like Barberton and Pietermaritzburg, Kimberley is relatively undeveloped and is a much smaller urban center than cities like Johannesburg or Cape Town. The historiographical precedents (Van Onselen 1982: 119; Van Heyningen 1989: 372; McKinnon 2015) combined with this limited urban development, make Kimberley a good candidate to pursue an archaeology of sex work.

The archaeology of sex work has featured in the study of frontier towns in the United States (see chapter two for detail). Since frontier towns in general are smaller, they are less likely to have faced contemporary development. However, it may also be more difficult to find evidence of sex work in the historical record of these towns. Significant additional research into the history of these towns would be necessary before any conclusions can be drawn as to the prevalence of sex work in their histories.

5.7 CAPE TOWN: LANDSCAPE OF SEXUAL DISEASE

A hypothetical avenue for future archaeology in Cape Town beyond the original objectives of this research may be through a focus on the health aspect of sex work. As I described in chapter one, the bulk of legislation restricting and managing colonial Cape Town's sex industry was motivated by the pathologized view on sex work held by the administrative authorities (e.g., Act 25 of 1868; Act 39 of 1885).

The Contagious Diseases Acts provided for the registration of sex workers suspected to be carriers of venereal diseases in the Cape – it is possible that records of these examinations exist in some form. But, as noted in chapter one, multiple historians who have studied the history of Cape Town's sex trade have agreed that the records of sex work in the city are scant (Hallett 1979: 2; Van Heyningen 1984: 180; Ross 1999: 128; Groenewald 2007: 67). There are, however, several medical-based repositories stored at the Cape Town Archives

(see chapter four). While these repositories might be principally correspondence based, there is the possibility of detailed reports regarding sex work and the spread of venereal diseases in the Cape Colony. Should these records contain any kind of spatial information – a registered sex worker may have had to give their home address or the address of their establishment – it could be mapped using similar methods to what I have used to map Johannesburg’s colonial landscape of sex (see chapters three and four).

My closing arguments for this chapter are as follows: while it is possible to generate a quantitative dataset from NAAIRS alone, it is not a sufficient resource for meaningful insight into the archaeology of sex work in South Africa. However, it can be improved by modernising the UI, and updating the catalogue to remove as many errors as possible. In addition, clear, digital scans will make NAAIRS an accessible resource for remote research, be that because of another pandemic, or international research. Spatial information about sex work in colonial Johannesburg came from the correspondence of white male authority figures in the colonial administration. I suggest that these files contained spatial information because these men specifically requested such information from the police. The balance of LD files are not police records and thus they are not likely to contain detailed reports about where brothels were located.

There are hierarchical patterns in the spatial data that reflect the hierarchies that may have existed within the sex industry itself, both gendered and racial. This is especially manifest through the lack of sex workers’ individual visibility. The distribution of Johannesburg’s brothels changes through time, perhaps because of the zoning organisation as the city expanded outwards. My spatial data does not indicate that sex work took place within a zoned red-light district, and reflects that brothels were being established within the residential zone of the city. The files I consulted for Durban, and Cape Town’s NAAIRS, do not provide insight as to whether sex work was contained within red-light districts. However, I was able to generate an argument for the potential materiality of sex work based on photographs I recovered from the Pietermaritzburg archives, as well as how these photographs speak to the entanglement of sex industry figures with the criminalisation that preserved them.

There are additional avenues to pursue for the archaeology of sex work in South Africa. Cape Town's history of sex work was largely entangled with medicalised legislation aimed at suppressing the spread of venereal diseases – these records may still exist within medical repositories at the Cape Town archives, and may contain spatial information about the sex workers preserved therein. Small towns on the railway routes of colonial South Africa are potentially viable for excavation due to their lack of large-scale development through time; they are more likely to have historical buildings still standing, but finding evidence for sex work in the historical record of these smaller towns may be more challenging.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

6.1 ACHIEVEMENTS

My process and what I have achieved with this dissertation differ from the work referenced in my discussion of the North American archaeology of sex work (chapter two). While North American archaeologists confirmed brothel sites with archival material only after excavations had been carried out (Yamin & Seifert 2019: 2 – 4), I worked in the reverse by establishing the existence of sex work sites in the archives first. This sets my work apart from what has previously been achieved internationally, and opens the floor to various pathways to pursue the archaeology of sex in South Africa. Most importantly, the next logical step would be excavation to see how South African sex work sites material signatures compare on the global archaeology of sex work stage.

I established that through time, Johannesburg's brothel distribution changed. Since they were principally located within the residential zones of the city, it is possible that this distribution change is in line with the city's expansion from small mining camp to industrialised, metropolitan city. This is further highlighted by the fact that there is no indication, based on their locations, that Johannesburg's colonial sex industry after 1900 was contained within the red-light district known as *Frenchfontein* described by Van Onselen (1982: 120). Additionally, I concluded that, in light of the pandemic, it is possible to generate a quantitative dataset from remote sources. However, these sources are limited in their detail and provide little deep insight into the archaeology of sex work in South Africa outside of quantitative references to its existence.

I was not able to determine whether Durban or Cape Town's landscapes of sex were contained within red-light districts or not. However, the available historiography (Hallet 1979; Posel 1989) and existence of brothel-restricting legislation implies that a localised sex trade was enough of a problem to the colonial administrations of Natal and the Cape Colony to warrant legislative attention.

Along with spatial insights, the information about Johannesburg's colonial sex trade preserved in the archives provide insight into how it functioned socially. There are gendered and racialised hierarchical patterns in the demographic data I recovered that potentially reflect the real-world hierarchies in the sex industry itself (Van Onselen 1982; O'Shea 2019), as well as the hierarchies of late-19th to early-20th century British colonial society as a whole (Van-Helten & Williams 1983; Stoler 1989; Dagut 2000). European men are the dominant figures within the dataset, principally as pimps, and the women sex workers are rarely discussed in as much detail in the archival files. These power hierarchies would need to be taken into account when interpreting archaeological material.

Perhaps the most necessary conclusion of this work, in alignment with my feminist theoretical goals, was the visibility of sex workers. The photographs I found provide insight into how sex workers might have chosen to present themselves to the world around them, and they are the closest to understanding the lived experience of sex workers that I was able to recover from the archive.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

My arguments for the way forward are thus: there are avenues to pursue excavation of sex work sites in South Africa. Excavation of a brothel site holds the potential to inform far more about the economic, and personal, standing of sex workers in South Africa – if the North American literature is indeed a good frame of reference for what might be found. The 13 potentially excavatable Johannesburg addresses I provided above are the first step in advancing the archaeology of sex work in South Africa and they warrant further investigation.

Where urban archaeology may not be viable, smaller, less developed towns like Barberton, Kimberley, and Pietermaritzburg may have surviving buildings or be more accessible. Further research in Cape Town, once the archives become more accessible, might reveal potential addresses in Cape Town's old residential areas that could be excavatable in similar ways to previous excavations conducted in the city (e.g., Malan 1998). Should a spatial investigation into Cape Town's colonial landscape of sex prove untenable, then perhaps a change in approach might be

more lucrative: health-focused investigations into the spread of venereal diseases in the city may be possible.

Photographs of sex workers or sex workspaces are valuable; they provide insight into the potential materiality of sex work in their contexts by capturing the clothing and personal adornments of the photographed individuals, as well as the objects around them. These photographed artifacts allow for the interpretation of class, or the economic experiences of the individuals. Photographs also humanise sex workers in the eyes of researchers. Along feminist lines, acknowledging the women behind the topics we research is of paramount importance. Beyond the material insights they provide, when these photographs are interrogated as artefacts on their journey from creation, to use, to transference, and to archive, then they reveal the ways in which sex workers were criminalised, and subsequently preserved within the archive of that criminalisation. Similarly, the visibility of sex workers in Cape Town might be revealed through their health signature preserved in documentary artefacts – the medical repositories in the Cape Town archives; their health records might also contain documentation of their home or brothel.

Regarding the online database of NAAIRS, building on Maxwell (2010), I suggest that a full review of all thus far documented material be conducted to check for spelling errors or blockers that affect researcher's ability to search for the correct files. Alternatively, high quality, clear digital scans of at least the cover of the files should be included in the online catalogue (Maxwell 2010: 28) along with more detailed descriptions of the contents of the files, including names, dates, and locations. Where possible, full digital scans of the files should be made available online – even if a small charge must be paid by researchers to access fully digitised files – alongside the detailed textual digital catalogue. Lastly, while the current NAAIRS database user interface (UI) is not *unfriendly*, it is prone to errors (which I encountered myself) when users try to use keyboard or mouse shortcuts to navigate the website; it could thus benefit from an updated, modern UI less prone to errors.

An additional, theoretical, avenue would be a return to queer theory. While I maintained to conduct my research within a queer, feminist framework, the feminist goals became the primary structure from which my work was produced. In the future, revisiting this work with queer-focused search terms may reveal more about sex work in colonial South Africa beyond the cisheteronormative preconceptions that this work currently holds.

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APPENDIX A

1. Johannesburg NAAIRS results for search term “Brothel”

[illegible]

[illegible]

2. Johannesburg NAIRS results for search term “Ill-fame”

	JHB	NAAIRS				1880 - 1910	TAB	"Ill-Fame"																			
	NAAIRS Search														Type of arrest location												
	Year	Source Code	Volume Number	Reference Code	Details	Person/s concerned		Gender	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity			Occupation	Dress recorded		Street Address; Area; Suburb	Brothels	Brothels & Homes	Brothels & Opium Dens	Brothels & Cafes	Bagnio	Street soliciting	Private homes, not place of prostitution	Related RDM Article	Notes	Source Code Detail	
							F	M			Pros	Pimp	Madam														
	1903	LD	366	AG1114/03	House of ill-fame near Kensington flats, Johannesburg									No	Kensington, Johannesburg	1									No images taken as no relevant detail.	Law Department	
	1903	LD	670	AG1508/04	House of ill-fame in Market Street									No	Market Street	1									As above.	*	
Total							0	0	0	0	0	0	0				2	0	0	0	0	0	0				

3. Johannesburg NAAIRS results for search term “Prostitute/s”

[illegible]

	1903	GOV	595	PS346/01	Removal of white prostitutes	Unnamed prostitutes; correspondence between Henry McCallum (Governor of Natal) and Lord Selborne (Governor of Transvaal & Orange River Colony)			1	White				Yes		1									*	Clothing mentioned briefly within the file itself.
	1908	LD	1612	AG1761/08	French pimps and prostitutes: request by commissioner of police for authority to enable postmaster-general to hand over all letters addressed to "Ladine" or "Nadine" and "Victor Tuellier"	Ladine/Nadine & Victor Tuellier	1	1	2	French	1	1													Law Department	
	1910	TP	103	CONF21/416	No 308(F), Constable HW Clare. Allegations against: Living with Prostitute	Constable HW Clare		1	1	English						1									Secretary of the Transvaal Police	
Total							1	2	6		1	1	0			1	2	0	0	0	0	0				

4. Johannesburg NAAIRS results for search term “Immorality”

	JHB	NAAIRS				1880 - 1910	TAB	"Immorality"								Note: Cases under Immorality Ordinance not always sex work; could also refer to interracial sex, gambling, or housework.												
	NAAIRS Search																Type of arrest location											
	Year	Source Code	Volume Number	Reference Code	Details	Person/s concerned		Gender	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity Inferred & Explicit		Pros	Pimp	Madam	Occupation	Dress recorded	Street Address; Area; Suburb	Brothels	Brothels & Homes	Brothels & Cafes	Bagnio	Street soliciting	Private homes	Related RDM	Notes	Source Code Detail		
							F	M																				
	1904	LD	583	AG393/04	Rex versus Valon: Contravening Immorality.	Valon		1		French?															No detail, could be any charge under Immorality Ordinance.	Law Department		
	1904	LD	583	AG396/04	Detention of witnesses in case for contravention of immorality ordinance /05 at Barberton.												Barberton								Photos taken	*		
	1904	LD	902	AG5643/04	Immorality Law: trapping of women.																				Photos taken	*		

[illegible]

6. Johannesburg NAIRS results for search term “Soliciting/Solicitation”

[illegible]

7. Johannesburg NAAIRS results for search term “Loitering”

	JHB	NAAIRS				1880 - 1910	TAB	"Loitering"																			
	NAAIRS Search														Type of arrest location												
	Year	Source Code	Volume Number	Reference Code	Details	Person/s concerned	Gender		Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity Description	Occupation			Dress recorded	Street Address; Area: Suburb	Brothels	Brothels & Homes	Brothels & Opium Dens	Brothels & Cafes	Bagnio	Street soliciting	Private homes, not sites of	Related RDM Article	Notes	Source Code Detail		
							F	M			Pros	Pimp	Madam														
	1905	LD	1080	AG2288/05	Ordinance to provide for the prevention of person loitering about any prison reserve.																			Not related to sex work.			
	1907	LD	1399	AG221/07	Rex vs Samuel Hogg and Scott. Question in regard to section 42 Ordinance 6 of 1906; loitering.	Samuel Hogg and Scott		2		English														Not related to sex work.			
Total							0	2	0		0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0					

8. Johannesburg NAIRS results for search term “Barmaid/s”

[illegible]

	Barmaid files more to do with proximity of women to the sale of liquor than anything to do with sex work.																			
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9. Johannesburg NAIRS results for search term “Ontucht”

[illegible]

	189 7	SP	13 7	SPR4119/ 97	Eerste Publieke Aanklager Johannesburg voorloopig onderzoek de staat versus Julius Derguin en Louisa Barconet wegens overtreding wet op ontucht.	Julius Derguin & Louisa Barconet	1	1		French	1	1			Johannesbu rg											State Attorne y ZAR 1866- 1900
	189 7	SP	14 0	SPR5084/ 97	Eerste Publieke Aanklager Johannesburg. Zendt in voorloopig onderzoek de staat vs Suzette Richer wegens overtreding Artikel 6 wet op ontucht.	Suzette Richer	1			French	1				Johannesbu rg											*
	189 7	SP	14 0	SPR5085/ 97	Eerste Publieke Aanklager Johannesburg. Zendt in voorloopig onderzoek de staat vs Jessie Cooper en Rosa Vinacarof wegers overtheding Artikel 6 wet op ontucht	Jessie Cooper & Rosa Vinacarof	2			One English	2				Johannesbu rg											*
	189 7	SP	14 0	SPR5149/ 97	Eerste Publieke Aanklager JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek Ester Stein en Bella Green wegens oversteding Artikel 6 wet op ontucht.	Ester Stein & Bella Green	2			EE/Jewish	2															*
	189 7	SP	14 2	SPR5809/ 97	Eerste Publieke Aanklager, JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek Olive Love @ W Cananis en Christiana Cameron wegens overtreding Artikel 2 en 6 wet op ontucht.	Olive Love @ W Cananis & Christiana Cameron	2			English	2				Johannesbu rg											*
	189 7	SP	14 7	SPR7743/ 97	Publieke aanklager, JHB. Certificaat committeering Newman en Louie	Newman & Louie Roner		1		Roner = Swiss					Johannesbu rg											*

189 9	SS	0	R802/99	W Bernard, PTA. Rapporteert dat zekene straatman onderwyser aan de staatsjongers skool met een "kaffermeid" ontucht gepleegd heeft vraagt eene commissie van onderzoek aanstellen.					Black					Pretoria											State Secreta ry 1829 - 1900
189 9	SP	19 6	SPR606/9 9	1ste P.A, JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek vs S Reicher wegens overtreding ontucht wet.	S Reicher				German					Johannesbu rg											State Attorne y ZAR 1866- 1900
189 9	SP	19 8	SPR1432/ 99	2de publieke vervolger, JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek vs E Labuson wegens overtreding ontucht wet.	E Labuson				Unclear					Johannesbu rg											*
189 9	SP	19 9	SPR1628/ 99	2de P.V, JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek vs A McGiddy & Anna wegens overtreding ontucht wet.	A McGiddy & Anna	1			English					Johannesbu rg											*
189 9	SP	19 9	SPR1629/ 99	2de P.V, JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek vs C Julver/Dulor wegens overtreding ontucht wet.	C Julver/Dul or				German					Johannesbu rg											*
189 9	SP	19 9	SPR1630/ 99	2de P.V, JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek vs R Freidman & A Robertson wegens overtreding ontucht wet.	R Freidman & A Robertson				EE/Jewish & English					Johannesbu rg											*
189 9	SP	19 9	SPR1631/ 99	2de P.V, JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek vs N Dunn & A Jackson wegens overtreding ontucht wet.	N Dunn & A Jackson				English					Johannesbu rg											*
189 9	SP	19 9	SPR1829/ 99	1ste P.V, JHB. Voorloopig onderzoek vs S Williams & M Chernington wegens	S Williams & M Cherningt on				English					Johannesbu rg											*

	189 9	SP	81 8	GDDM99/ 99	An honest burgher, JHB. RE uitvoering van het ontucht wet aldaar.									Johannesbu rg											*
	189 9	SP	81 2	DDM1176 /99	WNDE Landrost PTA. Zendt schryven van "citizen" RE overtreding van ontucht wet door zekere kleurling meid Franzina.	Franzina	1		"Kleurling"					Pretoria											*
	189 9	SP	81 3	DDM1334 /99	Hoofd speurder JHB, RE nationaliteiten van houders van "kafir" eethuizen, ontucht huizen, en huizen waar onwettige drankhandel gedreven worden.									Johannesbu rg											*
	189 9	SP	81 3	DDM1335 /99	Emile Martin 128 Marshallstraat JHB rapporteert RE overtreding van ontucht wet.	Emile Martin		1	French					128 Marshall Street, JHB											*
Tot al							21	4	0		9	1	1			0	0	0	0	0	0				

Without seeing the documents in person, the only cases that can be explicitly linked to sex work are the ones that note the article from the law they are being charged under:

"Artikel 2" - Ret houden van een bordeel is verboden. Overtreding wordt gestraft met gevangenisstraf met of zonder harden arbeid van ten hoogste vijf jaren, met of zonder verbanning uit de Republiek.

"Artikel 6" - De vrouw die van het plegen van ontucht hare broodwinning maakt, vordt gestraft met gevangenisstraf met of zonder hardenarbeid van ten hoogste twee jaren, met of zonder verbanning uit de Republiek.

10. Johannesburg NAIRS results for search term “Prostitutie”

[illegible]

	1896	SSA	0	RA2411/96	Consul voor België, Durban. Introduceert Dr Liebaert die zich met zyne familie in deze republiek vestigen wil en zendt eenige opmerkingen in over prostitutie.		1							Durban												State Secretary, Foreign Affairs (1894-1900)
	1896	SSA	0	RA2432/96	Dokter Alf Liebaert, JHB. RE opmerkingen oor prostitutie.		1							Johannesburg												*
	1897	SP	125	SPR262/97	Fransche consul, PTA, RE Marie Lepelletier die van Parys naar JHB ondervalsche voorwendsel en werd vervoerd en in een huis van prostitutie opgesloten werd by aankomst ter laatstvermelde plaats.	Marie Lepelletier	1			French	1			Pretoria												State Attorney ZAR 1866-1900
	1898	SP	188	SPR10563/98	JH Wild, Roodepoort RE verkoop drank aan "kaffers" en prostitutie aldaar.	JH Wild	1				1			Roodepoort												*
	1899	SP	209	SPR5352/99	Landrost Klerksdorp. Prostitutie tegen Zabbia \$2-1-0.	Zabbia	1			Black				Klerksdorp												*
Total							2	4	0		1	1	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0				

11. Johannesburg NAAIRS results for search term “Concubine”

[illegible]

APPENDIX B

1. Durban NAAIRS results for search term “Brothel”

	DBN	NAAIRS				1860 - 1910	NAB	"Brothel"																		
NAAIRS Search																										
	Year	Source Code	Volume Number	Reference Code	Details	Person/s concerned	Gender	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Description	Pros	Pimp	Madam	Occupation	Dress recorded	Street Address; Area; Suburb	Brothels	Brothels & Homes	Brothels & Optum Deas	Brothels & Cafes	Bugnio	Street soliciting	Private homes, not sites of prostitution	Related RDM Article	Notes	Source Code Detail
							F	M																		
	1896	AGO	I/8/54	281A/1896	CG Dillon, Dundee states Griffin wishes something done about a brothel near his premises leased by AA Smith to certain Native Women (other related files references NP3749/1896 ; B621/1896)		1	0	0		0	0	0			Dunde	1	0	0	0	0	0	0			Attorney General's Office
Total							1	0	0		0	0	0				1	0	0	0	0	0	0			

2. Durban NAAIRS results for search term “Ill-fame”

[illegible]

3. Durban NAAIRS results for search term “Prostitute/s”

[illegible]

	1905	CSO	1779	1905/49	Rev. SH Stott and Rev. W Hewl, Verulam. RE Native Prostitutes.																					
	1906	IRD	47	IRD56/1906	Criminal Investigatio n Officer, Johannesburg, Sends photograph of Madama Jaillet, French prostitute and procuress who is reported to be on her way from Paris to South Africa with three girls	Madama Jaillet; three girls	4			French	4	1													Photos taken	
	1907	IRD	61	IRD297/1907	Criminal Investigatio ns Officer, Durban: Reports that two well-known prostitutes who left the colony in 1904 have just returned and are presently residing at Carlisle Street, Durban enquires whether they may be charged under the		2				2				Carlisle Street											

4. Durban NAAIRS results for search term “Immorality”

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX C

1. Cape Town NAAIRS results for search term “Brothel”

[illegible]

2. Cape Town NAAIRS results for search term “Ill-fame”

[illegible]

3. Cape Town NAIIRS results for search term “Prostitute/s”

[illegible]

4. Cape Town NAAIRS results for search term “Immorality”

	CPT	NAAIRS				1860 - 1910	KAB	"Immorality "							Note: Cases under Immorality Ordinance not always sex work; could also refer to interracial sex, gambling, or liquor.												
	NAAIRS Search													Type of arrest location													
	Year	Source Code	Volume Number	Reference Code	Details	Person/s concerned	Gender	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Occupation	Dress recorded	Street Address; Area; Suburb	Brothels	Brothels & Homes	Brothels & Opium Dens	Brothels & Cafes	Bagnio	Street soliciting	Private homes, not sites of prostitution	Related RDM Article	Notes	Source Code Detail					
						F	M		Pros	Pimp	Madam																
	1904	AG	1462	6363	Immorality Act No 36 of 1906: Operation of. Cape Town																						
	1904	AG	1528	12551	Immorality cases. Use of detectives to obtain evidence.																						
	1906	AG	1717	6262	Suppression of immorality: suspected consignment of prostitutes: Alexandria.							Alexandria															
Total						0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0								

5. Cape Town NAAIRS results for search term “Concubine”

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

1. Total brothel addresses compiled from Johannesburg archives

	Year	Person's Associated	Gender		Nationality / Race / Ethnicity Description	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Occupation				Dress recorded	Brothel Address	Brothel Stand Number	Brothel Coordinates*	Pimp Address	Pimp Coordinates*	Stand Number	Brothels	Brothels & Homes	Brothels & Optium Dens	Brothels & Cafes	Street soliciting	Private homes, not sites of sex work	Present on 1895 Fire Insurance Map	Contemporary Buildings	Corresponding RDM Article	NARSSA File	Notes
			F	M			SW	Pimp	Madam	Client																		
	1903	Leah Duvall; Henri le Sourd	1	1			1	1			No	36 Harrison Street		26°12'3.27"S; 28°2'23.92"E				1									1903 TAB LD V#516 AG3665/03	
	1905	George Kennedy, Georges Ducoin (alias Canada) (could both be same person); Georgette	1	2				2	1		No	Cnr Rissik & De Villiers Streets (Sylvia Villa)		26°11'57.91"S; 28°2'29.23"E				1									1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06; TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905	
	""	Molly Pincus, Blanche Miller, Lucina (Lucien) Durand; "seven women"; Frank Morale; "1 madame"	11	1			10	1	1		No	27 Joubert Street		Dwellings next to a bar & rest stop; 26°12'4.53"S; 28°2'32.58"E				1									1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06; TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905	
	""	Molly Pincus, Blanche Miller, Germaine Henri; Louis Shvinsky	3	1			3	1			No	18 Von Brandis Street		Stuart, Campbell & Co. Drapery & Outfits with back courtyards but map is from five years after the case; 26°12'26.43"S; 28°2'42.60"E				1								Blanche Miller: 27 July 1908	TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905	
	""	Rose Markowitz, Matilda Greenberg	2				2				No	38 Loveday Street		26°11'59.15"S; 28°2'26.09"E				1									TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905	
	""	Mina Veineui	1				1					41 Loveday Street		26°11'57.38"S; 28°2'26.61"E				1									TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905	
	""	young French girl kept	3		French	1	3					14 Bree Street		Metal clad building with				1									TAB LD 1165	

	""	George Regis; Rennie	1	1				1	1			139 Nugget Road		26°11'40.43"S; 28° 3'6.45"E	3 Millbourne Road	26°11'36.05"S; 28° 3'52.99"E		1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	""	Solly Cohen (alias Scharff); Mrs. Mendik	1	1				1	1			147 President Street		Does not appear on FIM but the block opposite does; Opposite several dwellings, empty lots, and a dyeworks; 26°12'9.33"S; 28° 34.23"E	147 President Street			1														1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	George Busch ("coloured"); Mrs. Busch	1	1	Coloured	1		1	1			72 De Villiers Street		26°11'54.84"S; 28° 2'57.84"E			1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Fritz Grothe; Karl Bachuer; Blanche; Georgette	2	2				2	2			56 Plein Street		Metal clad rooms behind dwellings; courtyards and alleys around dwellings; 26°11'59.52"S; 28° 2'42.92"E	10 Troye Street	26°12'12.78"S; 28° 2'57.07"E	1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Louis Klein; Fanny Cohen	1	1				1	1			72 Anderson Street	224	Metal clad dwellings; back alleyway; entire block of dwellings; 26°12'29.70"S; 28° 2'28.06"E	2 Loveday Street	Contemporary parking lot for National Union of Mine Workers and JB Marks Educational Trust Fund; 26°12'31.62"S; 28° 2'31.32"E	1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Sieghert Raphael; "his wife"	1	1				1	1			6 Bree Street		Metal clad dwellings; back alleyway/courtyard; 26°12'4.87"S; 28° 2'18.59"E	"Gaol"		1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	"Doubtful"; Madame Ramequino	1	1				1	1			102 Jeppe Street		26°12'3.79"S; 28° 2'53.91"E			1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	M. Hazelan; Lily Hazelen	1	1				1	1			104 Jeppe Street		26°12'3.71"S; 28° 2'54.86"E	Durban		1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Georges la Gourelle; Madame Carmen	1	1				1	1			129 Jeppe Street		26°12'1.64"S; 28° 34.54"E			1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Ladine; Madame Zuzn	1	1				1	1			Streetwalking			32 Jeppe Street	Tuscany Building s; rooms for rent, central courtyard; 26°12'6.80"S; 28° 2'25.87"E																1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		

	""	Pipi; Georgette	1	1				1	1			32 Loveday Street		26°12'4.65"S; 28° 2'27.21"E	200 President Street	26°12'8.99"S; 28° 3'16.57"E		1														1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06			
	""	Anton Schumacher; Cora de Bonzin	1	1				1	1			1 Quartz Street			1 Quartz Street			1														1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06			
	""	M. Genz; Mrs. Genz	1	1				1	1			79 Kerk Street		Metal clad dwellings; plenty of courtyards and open spaces around the dwellings; 26°12'6.08"S; 28° 2'49.52"E	122 Pritchard Street	26°12'8.78"S; 28° 3'0.20"E		1														1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06			
	""	Karl Schroder; "a German"	1	1	German	1		1	1			79 De Villiers Street		parking lot; 26°11'53.56"S; 28° 3'1.61"E	79 De Villiers Street			1														1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06			
	""	Lew Kempner; "Yiddish prostitute"	1	1	Yiddish	1		1	1			45 Bree Street		26°12'2.47"S; 28° 2'31.94"E	43 Jeppe Street	Dwellings around a bakery; metal clad; alleyway and courtyard; 26°12'5.26"S; 28° 2'31.56"E		1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	M. Cohen; "2 women"	2	1				1	2			6 Wolhuter Street		26°12'31.21"S; 28° 2'0.75"E	6 Wolhuter Street			1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	H. Teshgold; Lena Fanciboy	1	1				1	1			7 Jeppe Street		Dwellings near a bar and hotel; large courtyard; 26°12'6.74"S; 28° 2'18.82"E	42 Kerk Street	Rooms to rent; small courtyard; 26°12'9.34"S; 28° 2'27.91"E		1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Leon Goldblatt; J. Mendelsohn	1	1				1	1			44 Plein Street		Metal clad dwellings; large courtyard area; 26°11'59.98"S; 28° 2'37.88"E	A.T. Yard			1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Wagenheim; April Visser; "4 women"	5	1			4	1	1			203 Anderson Street		Metal clad dwellings; large open spaces; builder's; 26°12'24.23"S; 28° 3'14.72"E				1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Fisher	1				1					28 Mooi Street		In front of a dye works; 26°12'10.94"S; 28° 3'3.34"E				1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""											22 Mooi Street		26°12'14.64"S; 28° 3'3.94"E				1															1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06		
	""	Rennie de Tour	1						1			13 Bree Street		Does not appear on FIM but buildings opposite				1																1906 TAB LD	

																					V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "																				1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "																				1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "	Lizzie Miller	1					1													1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "	John Davidson; John Rodgers; May Jones	1	2				1	2												1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "																				1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "	Maggie Buddle	1					1													1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "																				1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "																				1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "	Flora Goldberg; Annie Bloom; "& another"	3					3													1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "	Sarah Solomon	1					1													1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "																				1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "	Katie Fischer	1					1													1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	" "	Mrs. Waddick; Mrs Coetze; Mrs Glennan																			1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
	190 7	John Lock Jacobs; William John Matthews (coloured); Emma Grosvenor (coloured); Martha Muller; Wee Chang Juen; Lu Te Shing	2	4																	TAB GOV 1076 PS37/15/19 07 1907	
TOTAL S			14 6	58			10	10 8	55	39	2		8 Fox Street									

[illegible]

*Coordinates based on where these addresses appear on the 1910 Fire Insurance street map of Johannesburg. Those that are approximated based on the FIM are filled in pink. Those that cannot be approximated and are based on the contemporary location are in blue.

APPENDIX E

1. Potentially excavatable brothel sites in Johannesburg

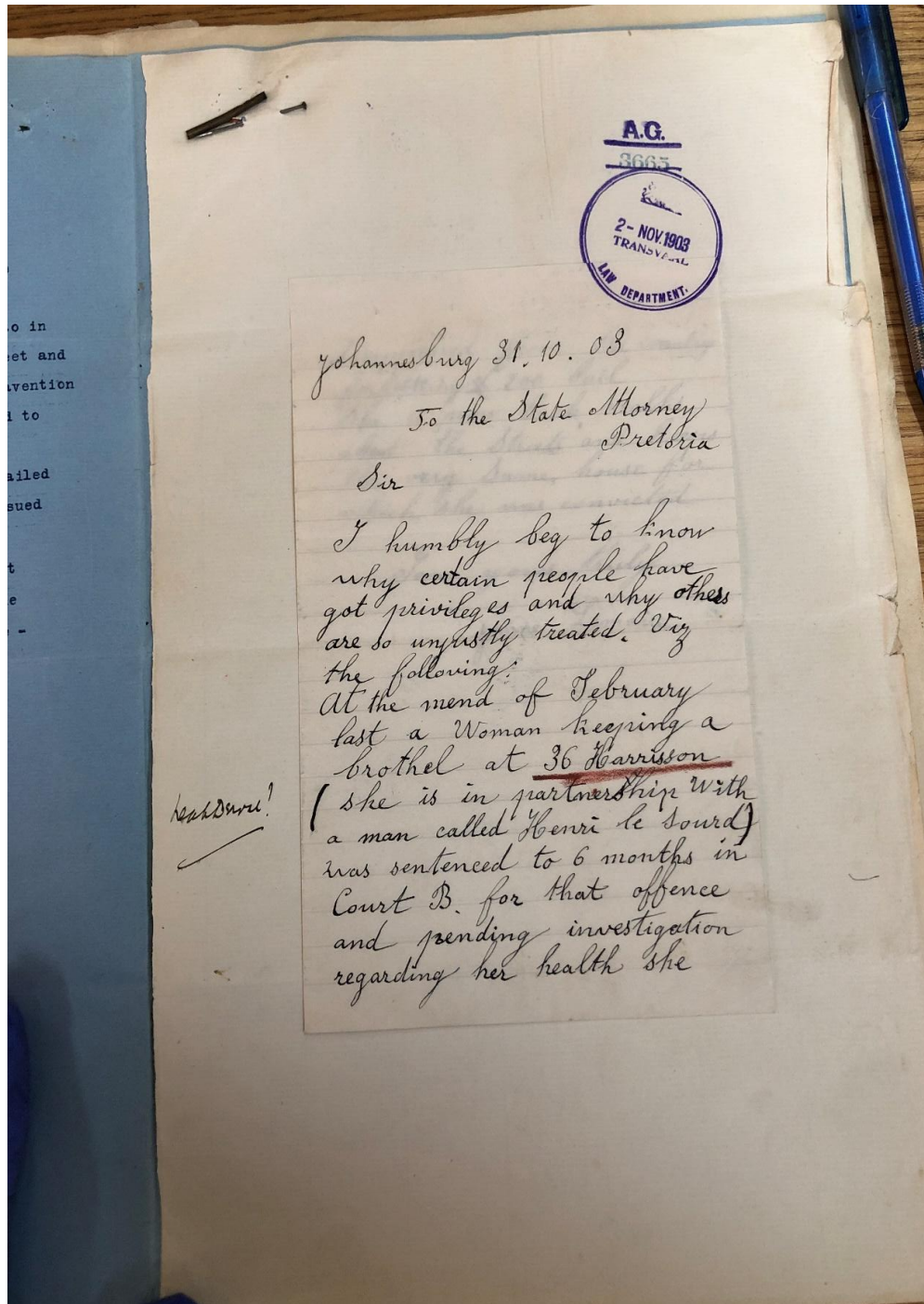
Year	Person/s Associated	Gender		Nationality / Race / Ethnicity Desc.	Nationality / Race / Ethnicity	Occupation			Dress recorded	Address	Stand Number	Brothels	Brothels & Homes	Brothels & Opium	Brothels & Cafés	Street soliciting	Private homes, not	Present on 1895 Fire Insurance Map	Contemporary Buildings	Corresponding RDM Article	NARSSA File	Notes
		F	M			SW	Pimp	Madam	Client													
1907	Emma Grosvenor; Martha Muller; John Jock Jacobs; William John Matthews; Wee Chang Juen; Lu Te Sheng	2	4	Coloured x 1; White x 3; Chinese x 2	6	2	2		2	No	8 Fox Street			1				No; location approximated	No; empty parking lot	14 - May - 08	1907 TAB GOV V#1076 PS37/15/1907	Raided in 1906 and six individuals arrested under Immorality Ordinance sect 3 & 19; varied sentences potentially based in administrative biases
1906	Wagenheim; April Visser; 4 unnamed sex workers	5	1	White x 2	2	4	1	1		No	203 Anderson Street		1					Yes	Under End Street to Anders on Street offram p; grassed over	No	1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	On the 1910 fire insurance map of Johannesburg this block is made up of some scattered metal clad dwellings, sheds, a church, Kimber Syndicate Ltd Drills, and C. Woods Builder (see Google Earth file) surrounded by open spaces and courtyards.
1906	Musgrave; Grace	1	1			1	1			No	77 Jorissen Street	5052	1					No; contemporary location	Grassed over; Johannesburg Theatre Garden	No	1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	The suburb of Braamfontein does not appear on the 1910 fire insurance map of Johannesburg, so it is not possible to see what might have stood on the grounds of contemporary 77 Jorissen Street. Since it is now a public park, it might be possible to acquire permission to excavate the area of the block in question.
1906	Sam Bloom; Annie Bloom	1	1			1	1			No	74 Avenue Road (Fordsburg)		1					No; contemporary location	Parking lot of a textiles company	No	1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	

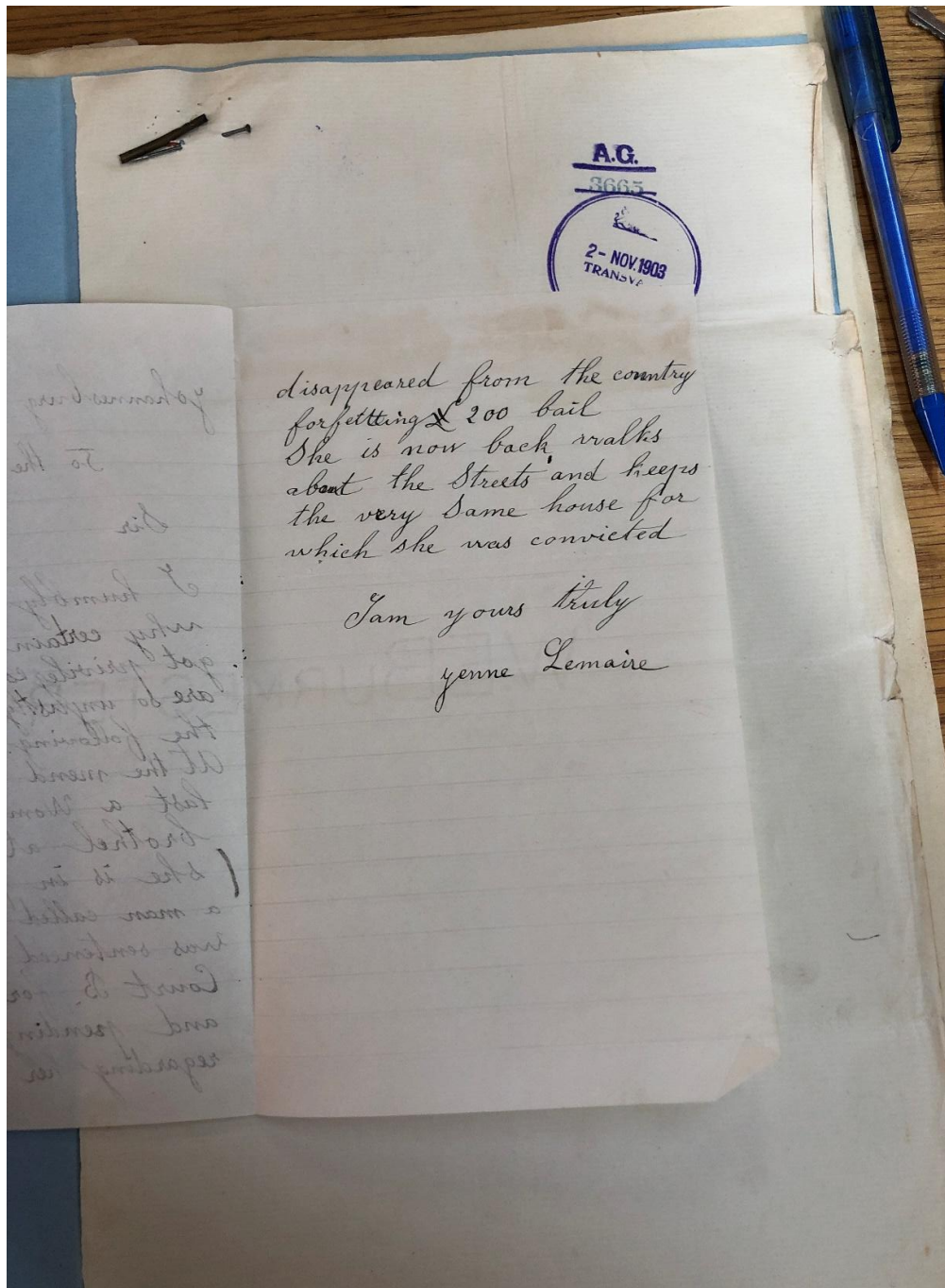
1906	Karl Schroder		1	German x 1	1		1			No	79 De Villiers Street			1				No; location approximated	Bricked over parking lot	No	1906 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	The parking lot is bricked over, but it does not contain any obvious modern buildings. Thus, it might be a good candidate for a GPR investigation and subsequent excavation in the future.
1906	Mrs. Smidt	1				1				No	99 De Villiers Street	150	1					No; location approximated	Potentially early 20th century building	No	1907 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	It is in an extremely low-income area with evidence of an active unhoused community nearby. So, while it might be a good candidate for GPR survey and excavation based on the apparently limited development on the block, ethically it would be difficult to pursue such work in this space.
1906	M. Cohen; 2 unnamed women	2	1	Jewish x 1	1	2	1			No	6 Wolhuter Street			1				No; location approximated	Tin Town Theatre ; courtyards	No	1907 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
1906	Raymonde; Coco la Pauvre (alias, Saloman)	1	1	French x 2	2		1	1		No	86 Jeppe Street	1272	1					Yes	The front garden of The Marble Towers skyscraper	No	1907 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	Once a small metal clad dwelling with a large back courtyard; the area is mostly concreted and bricked over but there is some potential for cursory investigation in the interest of excavating.
1905	Alphonse; 8 unnamed women	8	1	French x 1	1	8	1			No	1 Jeppe Street		1					Yes	Trust Me Tavern dated to 1928	12 - Jul-04	1905 TAB LD V#1165 AG5489/05; 1907 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
1906	Solly Cohen (alias, Scharff); Mrs. Mendik	1	1	Jewish x 2	2		1	1		No	147 President Street			1				No; location approximated	Single-story block of shops with parking lot	No	1907 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
1906	Louise Dubois, "later occupied by 2 other sex workers for about 3 weeks"	3		French x 1	2	3				No	147A President Street		1					No; location approximated	Single-story block of shops with parking lot	No	1907 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	The two addresses likely were from a subdivided single property and were occupied as brothels at different times in 1906
1906	Harry Smith ("coloured"); Colonial Woman	1	1	Coloured x 1	1	1	1			No	10 Von Wielligh Street			1				Yes	Corner shop the shell of which	No	1907 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	There are no obvious gaps or courtyards between the shop and the buildings around it, but it backs onto an abandoned warehouse. The

																			looks early- to-mid- 20th century			extent of the warehouse occupies the back courtyard for 10 Von Wielligh Street as it appears on the 1910 fire insurance map of Johannesburg	
																						Opposite a small public park that was also present on the 1897 plan of Johannesburg; while the original building or it's yard may not be possible to excavate, the public park may be an option as it is simply an open grassy space where apparently no development has taken place since the city's initial planning.	
1906	George Regis; Rennie	1	1	French x 2	2		1	1		No	139 Nugget Street		1						No; contempo rary location	Roughl y where the Royal Park Hotel is	No	1907 TAB LD V#1207 AG172/06	
TOTAL S		27	14		20	23	12	4	0	0			8	4	1	0	0	0					

APPENDIX F

1. Letter from Jenne Lemaire to the State Attorney of the Transvaal Colony
(TAB LD 516 AG3665/03 1903)



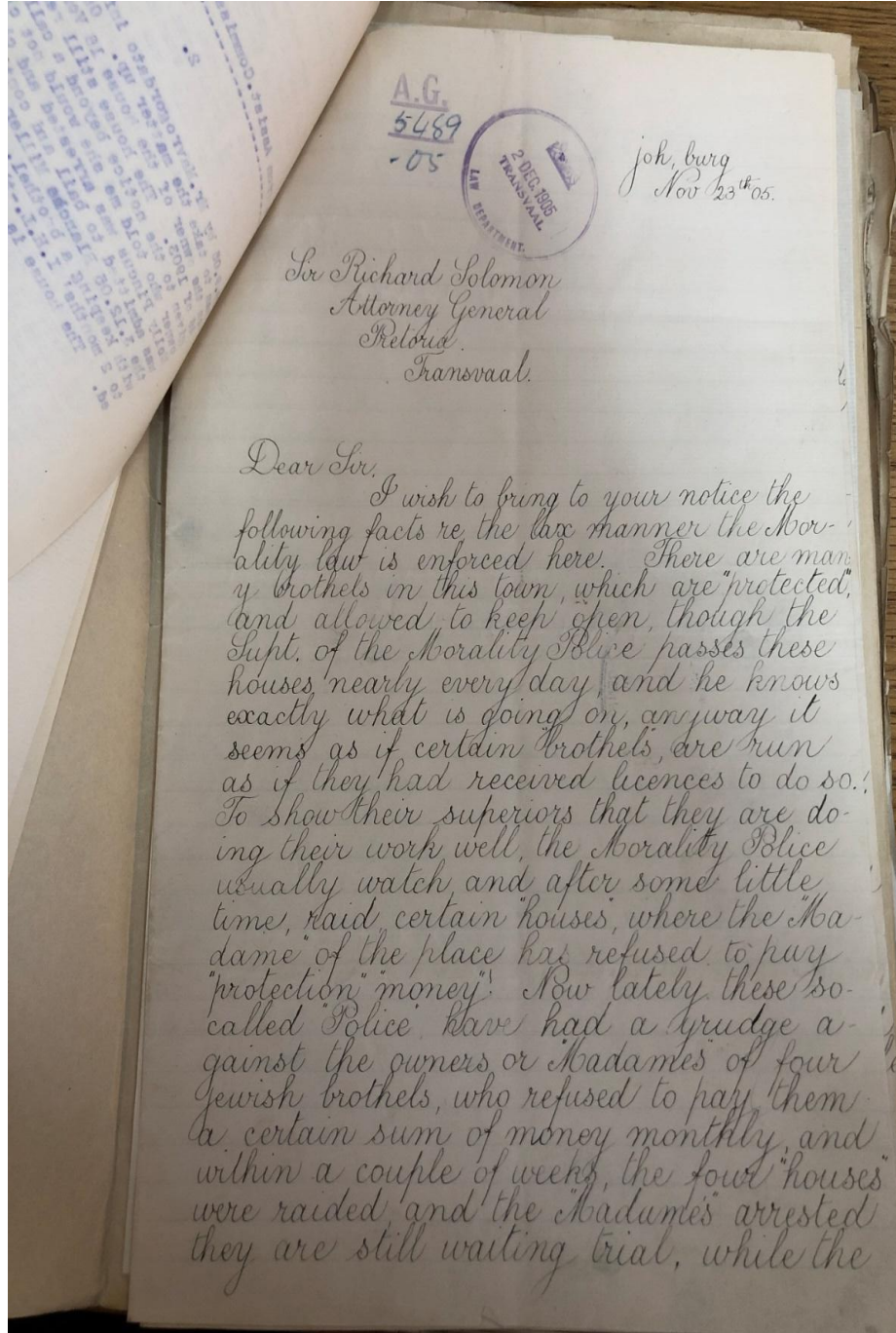


disappeared from the country
forgetting \$200 bail
She is now back walks
about the Streets and keeps
the very same house for
which she was convicted

I am yours truly
Yenne Lemaire

APPENDIX G

1. Letter from "Veritas" to Sir Richard Solomon, Attorney General of the Transvaal Colony (TAB LD 1165 AG5489/05 1905)



numerous French brothels are standing
 open, because they are paying protection
 money. Now the public would like to know
 why those four Jewish houses, which were
 raided in a very quiet way, were speedily
 raided, and why Mr. Smallman of the
 Morality Police, forced the neighbours
 these Jewish houses to make complaints
 against them, because he could not get
 as much money from the Jewish brothels
 as he could get from the French ones.
 I need not go into details, re, what
 these Police are, as this is not the first
 instance they have been receiving protec-
 tion money, and it will not be the last.
 I expect that you have heard of the
 enquiry held here re, the conduct of
 De Hone, and Stein of C. Court, and of
 Mr. Hyner, also of the four constables, who
 were discharged for the same thing.
 Even Mr. Gale of Doornfontein did the
 same thing, when he was acting for
 Supt Smallman. The following is a list
 of the "protected" houses, with the names
 of the parties, who pay the money over
 to a collector of the name of Abe Rams,
 who hands same over to Mr. Smallman.
 A few days ago the collector of the pro-
 tection monies left the Transvaal for
 German Sth West Africa with a French
 Lady of easy virtue, because he was
 afraid that the Madames of the raid-
 ed houses might swear an affidavit
 against him. Now there is a new col-
 lector, named George Kennedy alias "Becry"
 who

Also a brothel keeper, he being the
of the infamous brothel known as
Shir Killa, corner of Russik and De-
Streets Jo-burg.
his brothel contains twelve women and
"madame", and it is well "protected".

House no two is known as one. Jeppe Str
and contains eight women, is also protected
owners name Alphonse, convicted last year
for letting house for immoral purposes.

III Number three, is known as 33 Herk Str, con-
tains six women and a "madame", owner
is a Frenchman named Leon.

III Number four is known as 32 Loveday Str
contains five women, and a "madame"
owner a French Jew named Jacob.

V 33 Loveday Str, "madame" a favourite of
Supt Smallman, contains eight women,
owner a man named Hurwitz.

II 33⁴ Loveday Str, contains five women and
a "madame", owner an Auckland Park
bookmaker viz Jack Swede.

III 27 Joubert Str contains seven women and
a "madame", owners name Frank Morale

III 2 Hol Str, contains six women, and it is
run by a man named Albert, and
dozens more, whose owners are living
still in Jo, burg. I can give you more

2
information if you need same to carry
on an enquiry which should be held
as quickly as possible. The Morality dept
wants properly overhauling and the in-
competents weeded out. Hoping that
you will give the foregoing your earn-
est attention

I Am

Sir

Yours Ffllly

Veritas

APPENDIX H

- Records of persons convicted under the Immorality Ordinance for the period 1905 to 1906 (TAB LD 1207 AG172/06 1906)

Form III. RETURN OF BROTHELS AT JOHANNESBURG AND

Name of Street.	Street No.	Township.	Stand.	Name of Prostitutes and Proprietor.
<u>A. Division.</u>				
Anderson.	72A.	Marshalltown.	324.	
	74.	do.	224.	
	76.	do.	225.	
Free.	9.	J.H.Burg.	361.	
"	87	do.	435.	
Clain.	18.	Braamf'm.	1913.	Miss Shurer.
Delvera.	88.	J.H.Burg.	1370.	Sioma Saligam.
do.	30.	do.	1275.	Bertha Waitay.
do.	7.	City & Subur.	682.	-----
Frederick.	52.	Marshalltown.	232.	-----
do.	102.	do.	641.	Miss Patacouille.
do.	104.	do.	649.	(Heine.)
do.	104.	do.	649.	-----
Fox.	166A.	C and Sub'n.	95.	-----
Gola.	19A.	do.	97.	-----
Hol.	1.	J.H.Burg.	409.	Miss Baum.
Jagge.	43.	do.	1120.	Nana.
do.	45.	do.	1131.	Miss Vailliant.
do (56).	86.	do.	1272.	Raymond.
do.	102.	do.	1284.	Marie Lautes.
do.	104.	do.	1285.	Lily Marsha. or Grey.
Kerk.	97.	do.	1292.	-----
do.	104.	do.	1493.	A. Zanger.
Lovaday.	35A.	do.	355.	Fuji.
Market.	111B.	C and Sub'n.	800.	-----
do.	117.	do.	676.	-----
Piele.	56.	J.H.Burg.	325.	-----
President.	116.	C and Sub'n.	379.	-----
do.	122.	do.	381.	-----
do.	124.	do.	323.	-----
Pritchard.	143.	do.	1227.	-----

Name of Street.	No.	Township.	Stand. No.	Name of prostitute showing proprietor.
<u>C. Division.</u>				
Ameschoff St.	30.	Braamf'm.	2876.	Mrs. Sanders and daughter.
Harrison Street.	43.	do.	2619.	Mrs. Grassman and Mrs. Landau.
				(Mrs. Sophie Hill al Goodman al. Laarista. Mrs. Sholin.
Jorrian St.	77.	do.	5052.	Grace.
Koite o/o Klein.		Hospital Hill.	5462.	-----
Stein St.	48A.	Braamf'm.	2958.	Mrs. Elsie Hughes.
<u>D. Division.</u>				
-	-	-	-	-----
<u>Pratoria.</u>				
Schubart.	24.	Pratoria.	-	1. Lilly. 2. Polly.

Name of Street.	Street No.	Township.	Stand.	Name of Prostitutes and Proprietor.	Name & Alleged
Pritchard Street.	104.	C and Sub'n.	1726.	-----	
	184A.		1733.	-----	
Roul.	14.	Marshall's	878.		
do.	34.	J.H.Burg.	1699.	Mrs. Park.	
Troye.	7.	C and Sub'n.	931.		
do.	103.	do.	816.		
do.	18.	J.H.Burg.	1485.	Mrs. Bunch.	
de Villiers.	99.	do.	100.	Mrs. Suiet.	George B.
<u>E. Division.</u>					
Avenue Rd.	74.	Fordaburg.		Annie Bloom.	San Bloom
Clare Rd.	25.	do.	264.	-----	
Crown Rd.	17.	do.	16.	Leonora Thaire.	
Mountain Rd.	52.	do.	539.	-----	
Maifir St. o/c		Vrededorp.	208.	-----	
718 St.		Fordaburg.	562.	Lizzie Miller.	
Lover's Walk.		do.		May Jones.	(John Day John Day)
do.	17.	do.		-----	
Lillian Rd.		do.	453.	-----	
do. o/c Pioneer		do.	327.	Margie Buekle.	
Main Road.		do.	586.	-----	
Public Passage No 1.		do.	681.	-----	
Pioneer Rd.	39.	do.	38.	-----	
Hand Bag passage.		do.	499.	-----	
do Avenue Rd.		do.	650.	-----	
Spekman Rd.		do.	667.	-----	
Terrace Rd.	21.	do.	636.	-----	
Tol St. 80 13th St.		Vrededorp.	1145.	-----	
St. 1st.		Vrededorp.	11.	-----	

PRATORIA.

Name and al. of alleged pimp.	Address of alleged pimp.	Remarks.
L. Klein.	2 Lovaday St.	
		(Mr. Pritchard runs this house 85 - 86 - 87 - 88 - 89 - 90 - 91 - 92 - 93 - 94 - 95 - 96 - 97 - 98 - 99 - 100 - 101 - 102 - 103 - 104 - 105 - 106 - 107 - 108 - 109 - 110 - 111 - 112 - 113 - 114 - 115 - 116 - 117 - 118 - 119 - 120 - 121 - 122 - 123 - 124 - 125 - 126 - 127 - 128 - 129 - 130 - 131 - 132 - 133 - 134 - 135 - 136 - 137 - 138 - 139 - 140 - 141 - 142 - 143 - 144 - 145 - 146 - 147 - 148 - 149 - 150 - 151 - 152 - 153 - 154 - 155 - 156 - 157 - 158 - 159 - 160 - 161 - 162 - 163 - 164 - 165 - 166 - 167 - 168 - 169 - 170 - 171 - 172 - 173 - 174 - 175 - 176 - 177 - 178 - 179 - 180 - 181 - 182 - 183 - 184 - 185 - 186 - 187 - 188 - 189 - 190 - 191 - 192 - 193 - 194 - 195 - 196 - 197 - 198 - 199 - 200 - 201 - 202 - 203 - 204 - 205 - 206 - 207 - 208 - 209 - 210 - 211 - 212 - 213 - 214 - 215 - 216 - 217 - 218 - 219 - 220 - 221 - 222 - 223 - 224 - 225 - 226 - 227 - 228 - 229 - 230 - 231 - 232 - 233 - 234 - 235 - 236 - 237 - 238 - 239 - 240 - 241 - 242 - 243 - 244 - 245 - 246 - 247 - 248 - 249 - 250 - 251 - 252 - 253 - 254 - 255 - 256 - 257 - 258 - 259 - 260 - 261 - 262 - 263 - 264 - 265 - 266 - 267 - 268 - 269 - 270 - 271 - 272 - 273 - 274 - 275 - 276 - 277 - 278 - 279 - 280 - 281 - 282 - 283 - 284 - 285 - 286 - 287 - 288 - 289 - 290 - 291 - 292 - 293 - 294 - 295 - 296 - 297 - 298 - 299 - 300 - 301 - 302 - 303 - 304 - 305 - 306 - 307 - 308 - 309 - 310 - 311 - 312 - 313 - 314 - 315 - 316 - 317 - 318 - 319 - 320 - 321 - 322 - 323 - 324 - 325 - 326 - 327 - 328 - 329 - 330 - 331 - 332 - 333 - 334 - 335 - 336 - 337 - 338 - 339 - 340 - 341 - 342 - 343 - 344 - 345 - 346 - 347 - 348 - 349 - 350 - 351 - 352 - 353 - 354 - 355 - 356 - 357 - 358 - 359 - 360 - 361 - 362 - 363 - 364 - 365 - 366 - 367 - 368 - 369 - 370 - 371 - 372 - 373 - 374 - 375 - 376 - 377 - 378 - 379 - 380 - 381 - 382 - 383 - 384 - 385 - 386 - 387 - 388 - 389 - 390 - 391 - 392 - 393 - 394 - 395 - 396 - 397 - 398 - 399 - 400 - 401 - 402 - 403 - 404 - 405 - 406 - 407 - 408 - 409 - 410 - 411 - 412 - 413 - 414 - 415 - 416 - 417 - 418 - 419 - 420 - 421 - 422 - 423 - 424 - 425 - 426 - 427 - 428 - 429 - 430 - 431 - 432 - 433 - 434 - 435 - 436 - 437 - 438 - 439 - 440 - 441 - 442 - 443 - 444 - 445 - 446 - 447 - 448 - 449 - 450 - 451 - 452 - 453 - 454 - 455 - 456 - 457 - 458 - 459 - 460 - 461 - 462 - 463 - 464 - 465 - 466 - 467 - 468 - 469 - 470 - 471 - 472 - 473 - 474 - 475 - 476 - 477 - 478 - 479 - 480 - 481 - 482 - 483 - 484 - 485 - 486 - 487 - 488 - 489 - 490 - 491 - 492 - 493 - 494 - 495 - 496 - 497 - 498 - 499 - 500 - 501 - 502 - 503 - 504 - 505 - 506 - 507 - 508 - 509 - 510 - 511 - 512 - 513 - 514 - 515 - 516 - 517 - 518 - 519 - 520 - 521 - 522 - 523 - 524 - 525 - 526 - 527 - 528 - 529 - 530 - 531 - 532 - 533 - 534 - 535 - 536 - 537 - 538 - 539 - 540 - 541 - 542 - 543 - 544 - 545 - 546 - 547 - 548 - 549 - 550 - 551 - 552 - 553 - 554 - 555 - 556 - 557 - 558 - 559 - 560 - 561 - 562 - 563 - 564 - 565 - 566 - 567 - 568 - 569 - 570 - 571 - 572 - 573 - 574 - 575 - 576 - 577 - 578 - 579 - 580 - 581 - 582 - 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1644 - 1645 - 1646 - 1647 - 1648 - 1649 - 1650 - 1651 - 1652 - 1653 - 1654 - 1655 - 1656 - 1657 - 1658 - 1659 - 1660 - 1661 - 1662 - 1663 - 1664 - 1665 - 1666 - 1667 - 1668 - 1669 - 1670 - 1671 - 1672 - 1673 - 1674 - 1675 - 1676 - 1677 - 1678 - 1679 - 1680 - 1681 - 1682 - 1683 - 1684 - 1685 - 1686 - 1687 - 1688 - 1689 - 1690 - 1691 - 1692 - 1693 - 1694 - 1695 - 1696 - 1697 - 1698 - 1699 - 1700 - 1701 - 1702 - 1703 - 1704 - 1705 - 1706 - 1707 - 1708 - 1709 - 1710 - 1711

Names & nl of alleged pimps.	Addresses of alleged pimps.	Remarks.
Panders.	20 Ameschoff St.	
Wolf Landau.	85 Kerk Street.	
Alex. Iannarus.	85 Bree Street.	
do	do.	
Muggrave.	-	

Name of Street.	No.	Township.	Stand. No.	Names of prostitutes showing proprietor.	Names & nl of alleged pimps.	Addresses of alleged pimps.	Remarks.
<u>C. Division.</u>							
Ameschoff St.	20.	Brands'm.	2878.	Mrs Panders and daughter.	Panders.	20 Ameschoff St.	
Harrison Street.	43.	do.	2819.	Mrs Grassman and Mrs Landau	Wolf Landau.	85 Kerk Street.	
				Mrs Sophie Hill Al Doorman	Alex. Iannarus.	85 Bree Street.	
				Al Landgrave.	do	do.	
				Mrs Shultz.	do	do.	
Jorissen St.	77.	do.	5022.	Grass.	Muggrave.	-	
Edine s/o Klein.		Hospital Hill.	3469.	-----			
Steelman St.	48A.	Brands'm.	2925.	Mrs Elsie Muggrave.			
<u>D. Division.</u>							
-	-	-	-	-----			
<u>Pratoria.</u>							
Schubart.	24.	Pratoria.	-	1. Lilly, 2. Polly.			

Form. III.

REPORT OF HOUSES AT DISAMORCING AND

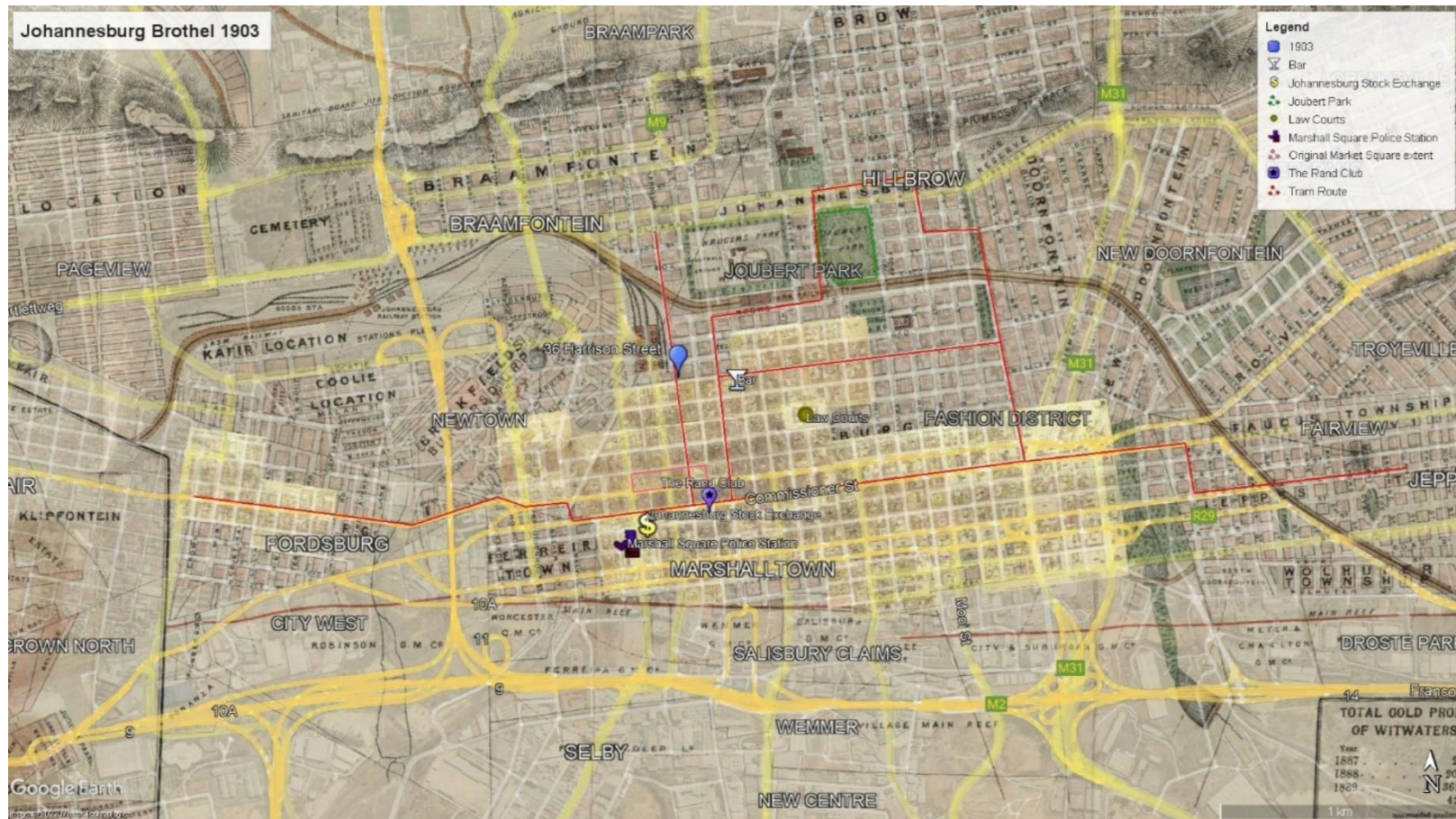
VICTORIA.

Name of Street.	Street No.	Township.	Stand.	Name of Prostitutes and proprietor.	Name and al. of alleged pimp.	Address of alleged pimp.	Remarks.
A. Diva.							
Anderson.	72A.	Marshall's.	524.		L. Klein.	2 Loveley St.	
	74.	do.	524.				
	76.	do.	525.				
Bree.	9.	J.H.Burg.	501.				1 & 2.

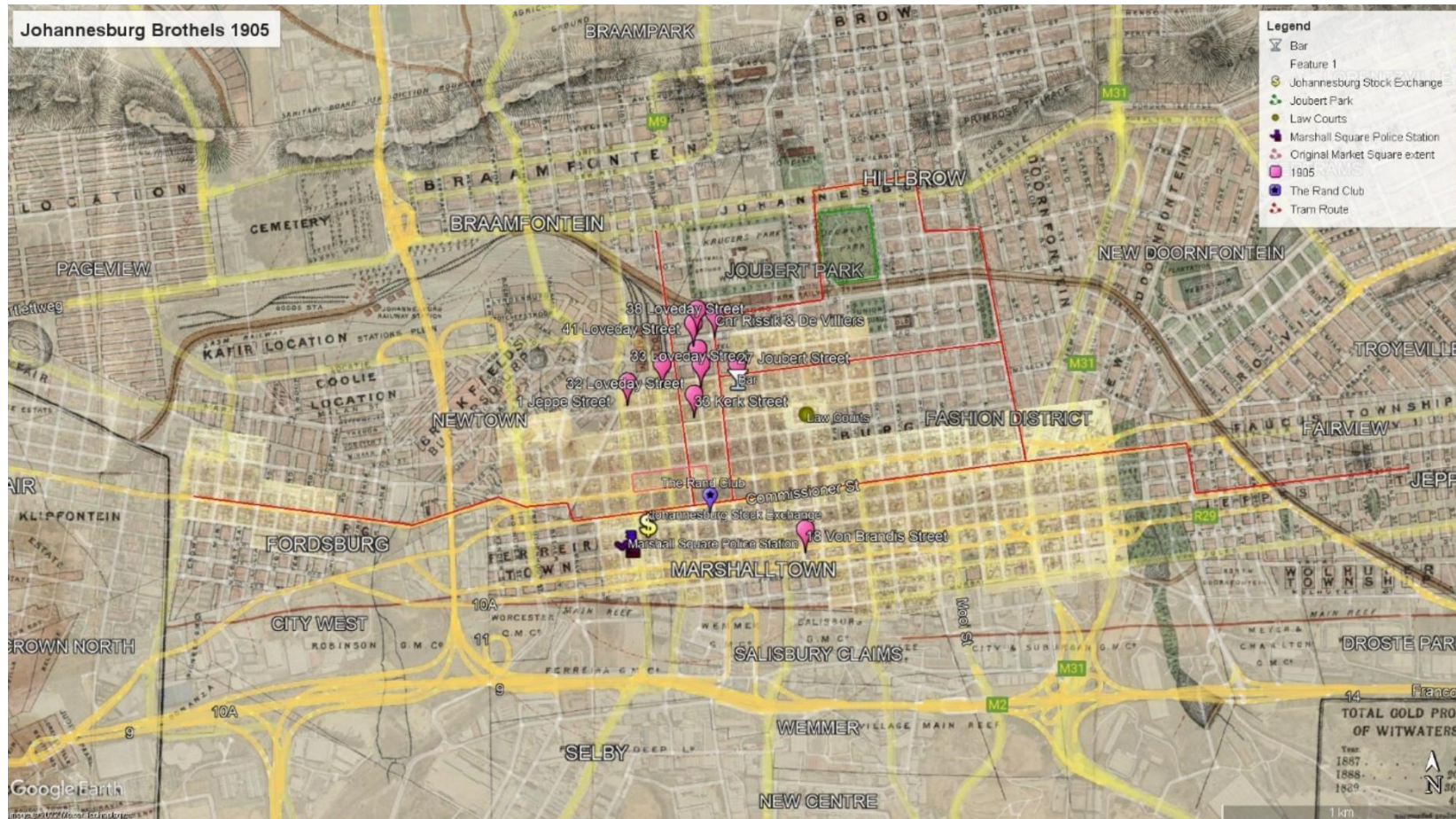
Name of Street.	Street No.	Township.	Stand.	Name of Prostitutes and proprietor.	Name & al. of alleged pimp.	Address of alleged pimp.	Remarks.
Pritchard Street.	154.	C and Sub'n.	1726.	-----			
	154A.		1733.	-----			
Small.	14.	Marshall's	672.				
do.	34.	J.H.Burg.	1698.	Mrs Falk.			
Troye.	7.	C and Sub'n.	901.				
do.	103.	do.	816.				
do.	18.	J.H.Burg.	1485.	Mrs Busch.	George Busch.		
de Villiers.	99.	do.	150.	Mrs Smit.			
B. Diva.							
Avenue Rd.	74.	Fordeburg.		Annie Bloom.	Sam Bloom.		vacated 11.1.07
Clare Rd.	25.	do.	264.	-----			vacated
Crown Rd.	17.	do.	16.	Leonora Theire.			vacated 10.11.07
Fountain Rd.	52.	do.	539.	-----			vacated 11.11.06
Karir St c/o 7th St.		Frederick.	208.	-----			
Love's Walk.		Fordeburg.	582.	Lizzie Miller.			
do.	17.	do.		May Jones.	{ John Davidson. } { John Rodgers. }	17 Lover's Walk.	Leave pending in Court.
Lillian Rd.		do.	463.	-----			vacated
do c/o Pionier		do.	327.	Maggie Boudle.			
Main Road.		do.	686.	-----			
Public Passage No 1.		do.	681.	-----			
Pioneer Rd.	39.	do.	38.				
Rand lgs passage.		do.	699.				vacated 20.11.07
do Avenue Rd.		do.	650.	Flores Colberg, Annie Bloom, & another.			vacated 16.11.06
Sydenham Rd.		do.	667.	Sarah Solomon.			vacated 7.11.07
Terrace Rd.	23.	do.	836.	-----			vacated 13.11.07
Tol St c/o 13th St.		Frederick.	1143.	Katie Fischer.			vacated 1.11.07
St Int.		Frederick.	11.	Mrs Wadick, Mrs Coetzee, Mrs Glennan.			vacated 22.11.06

APPENDIX I

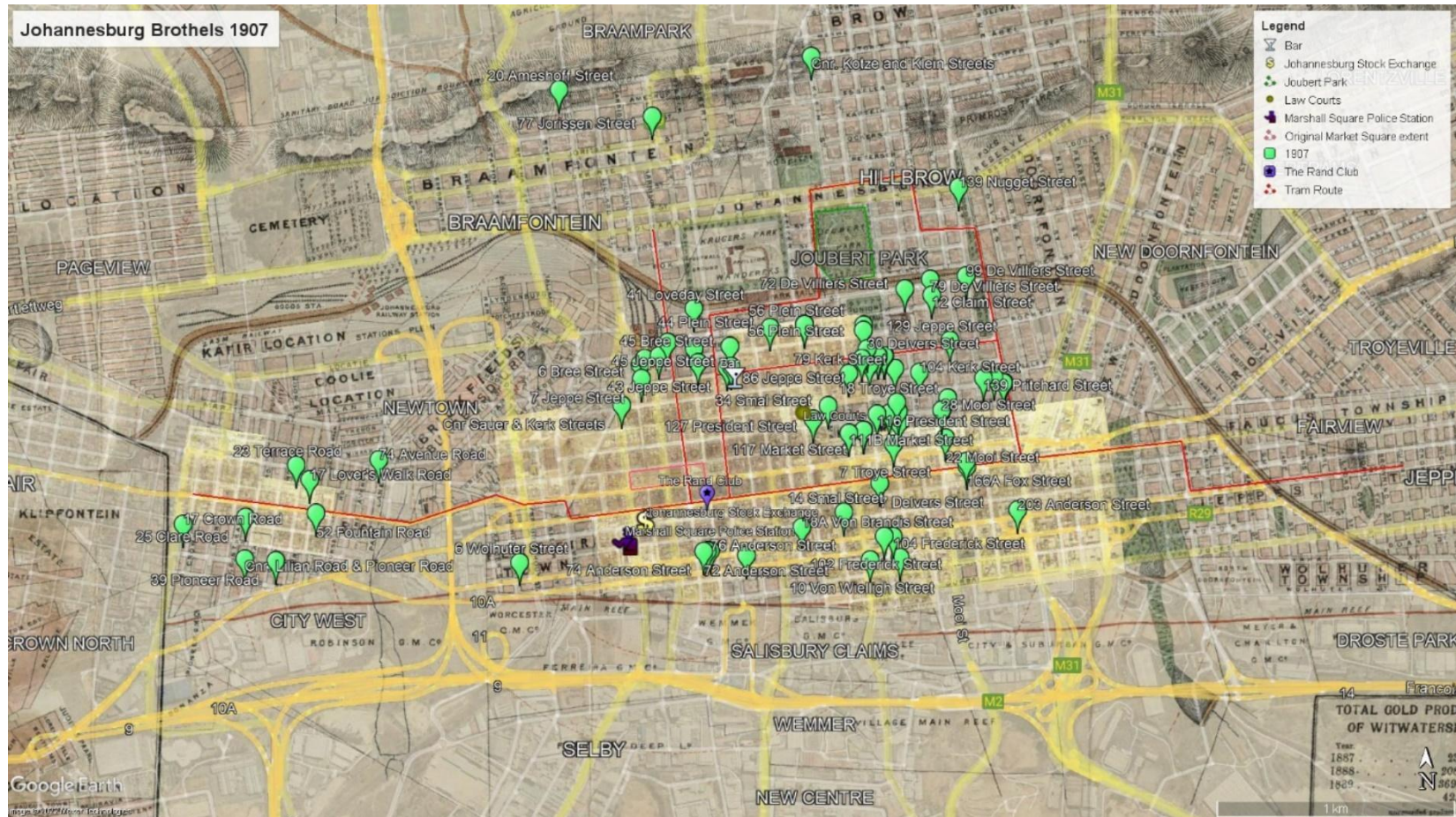
1. Map of Johannesburg brothels 1903



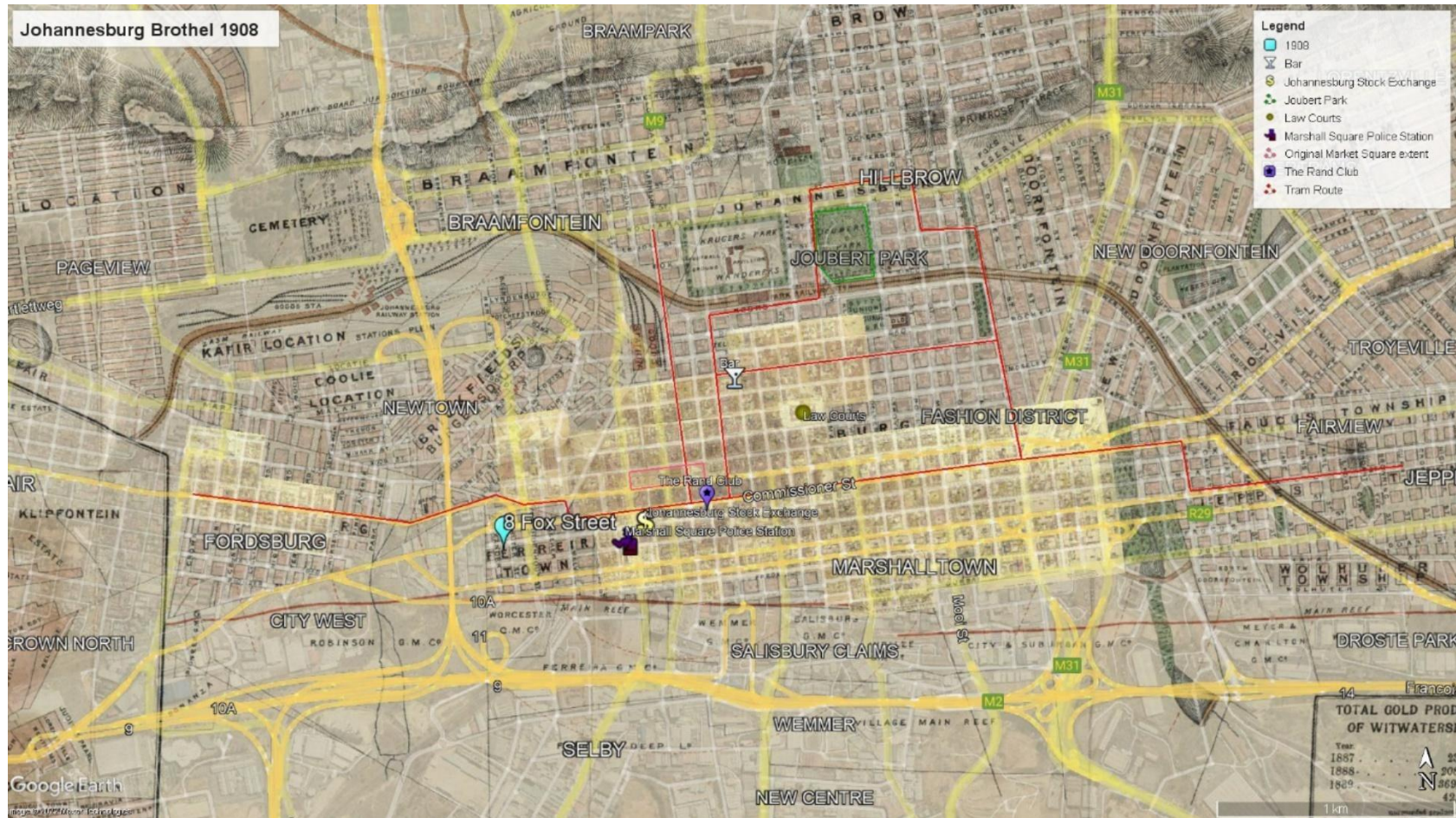
2. Map of Johannesburg brothels 1905



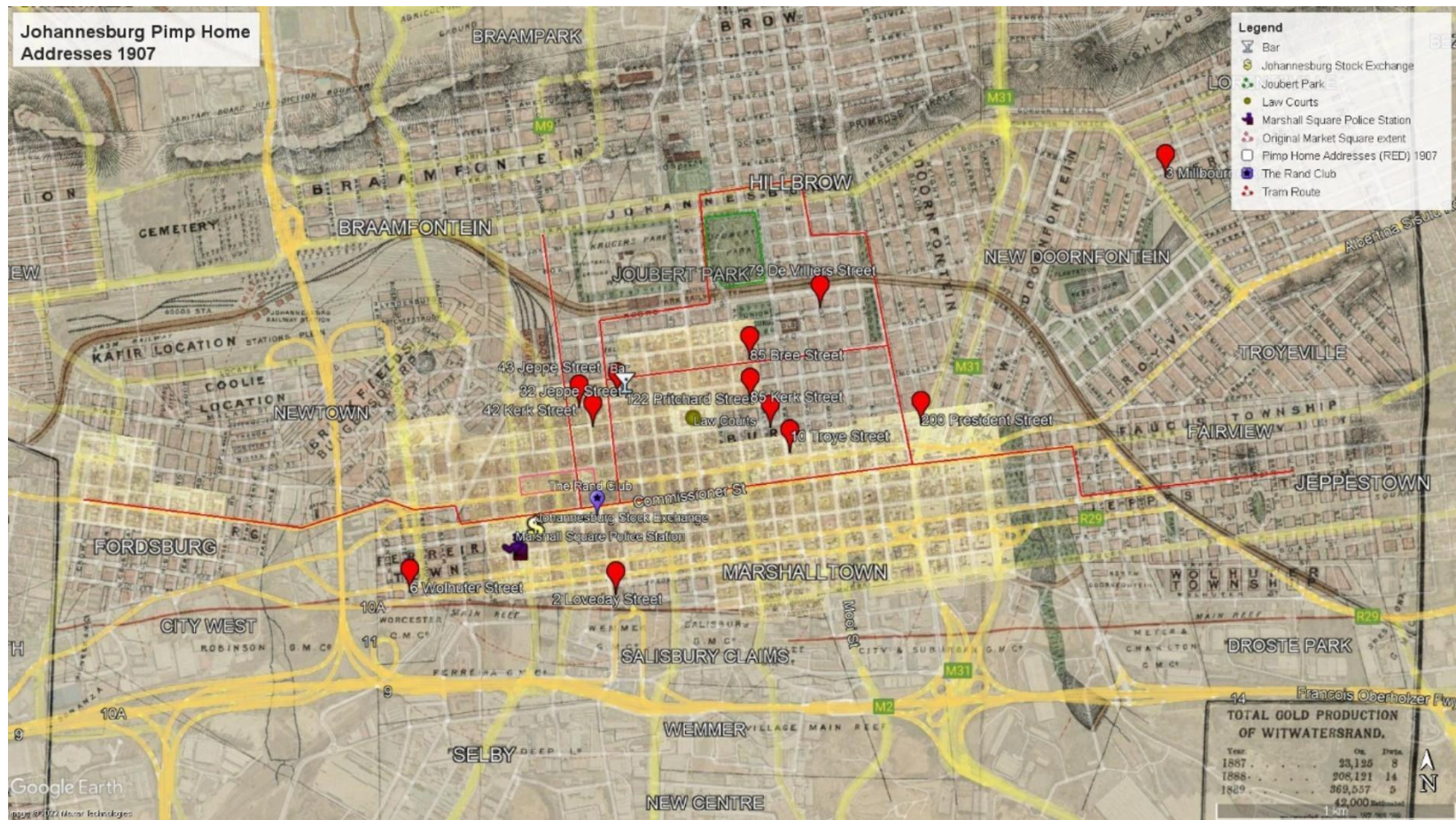
3. Map of Johannesburg brothels 1907



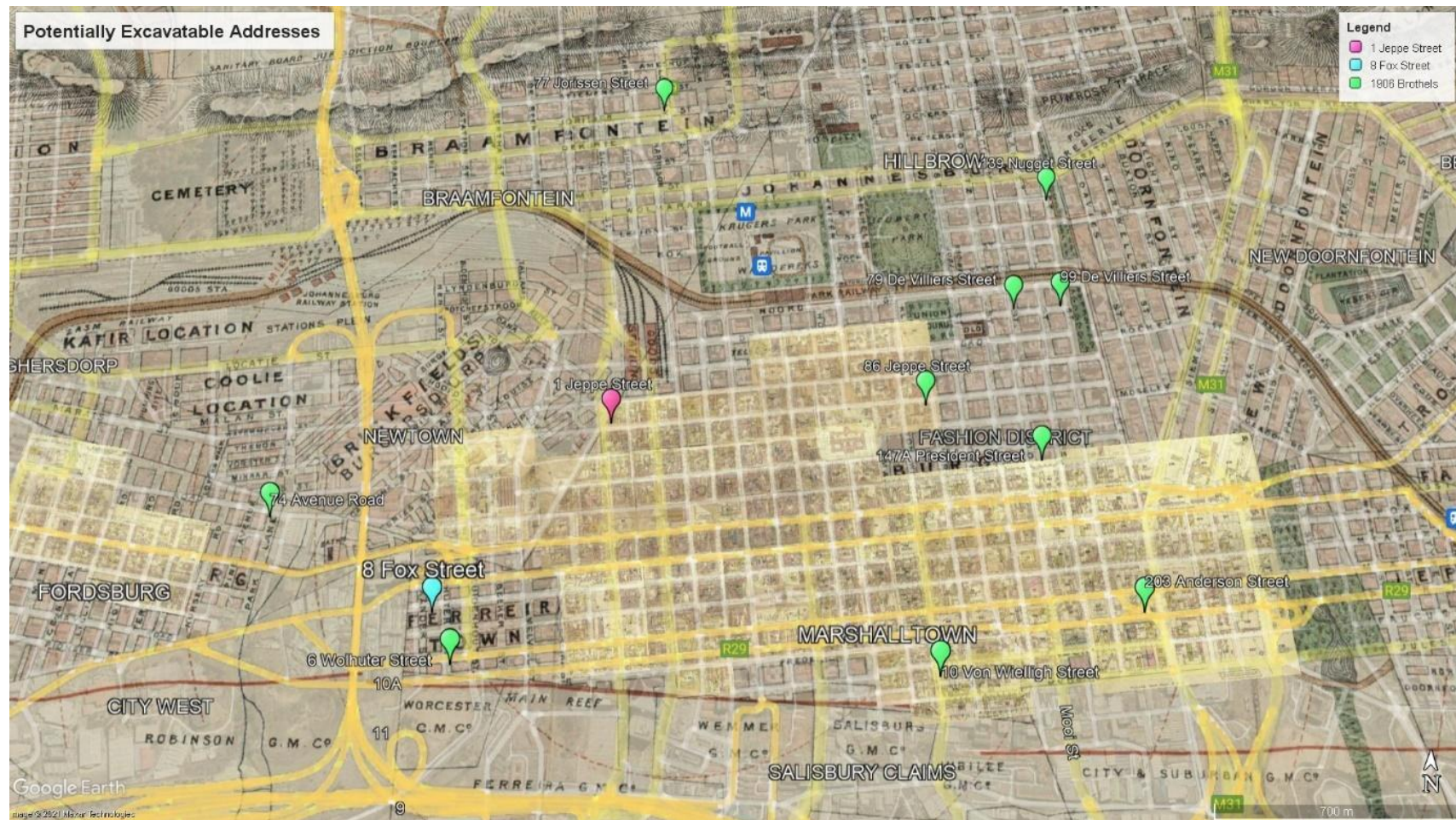
4. Map of Johannesburg brothels 1908



6. Map of Johannesburg pimp home addresses 1907



7. Map of Johannesburg potentially excavatable brothel addresses



APPENDIX J

1. Women's fashion plates 1898 – 1900

(<http://bartoscollection.com/fashionplatesbyera.html>, Viewed October 2021)



2. Women's fashion plates 1901 – 1906

(<http://bartoscollection.com/fashionplatesbyera.html>, Viewed October 2021)



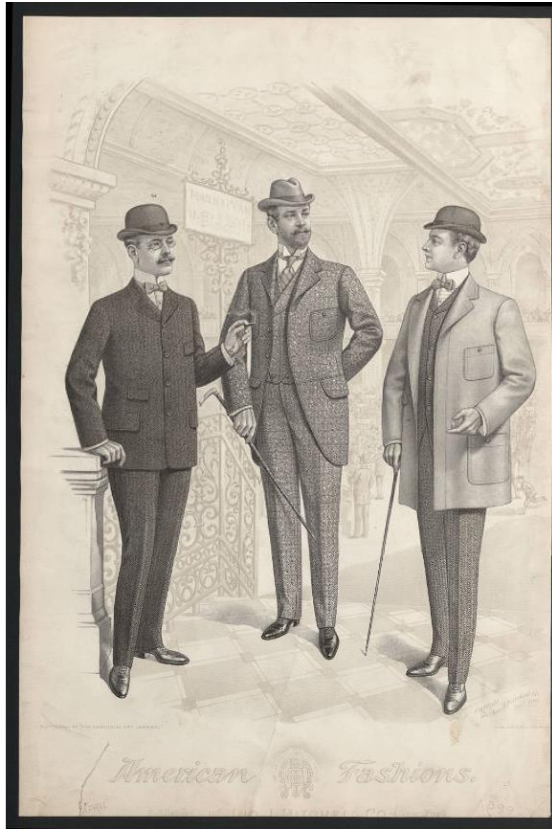


3. Men's fashion 1890 – 1901

(<https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll12/search>,

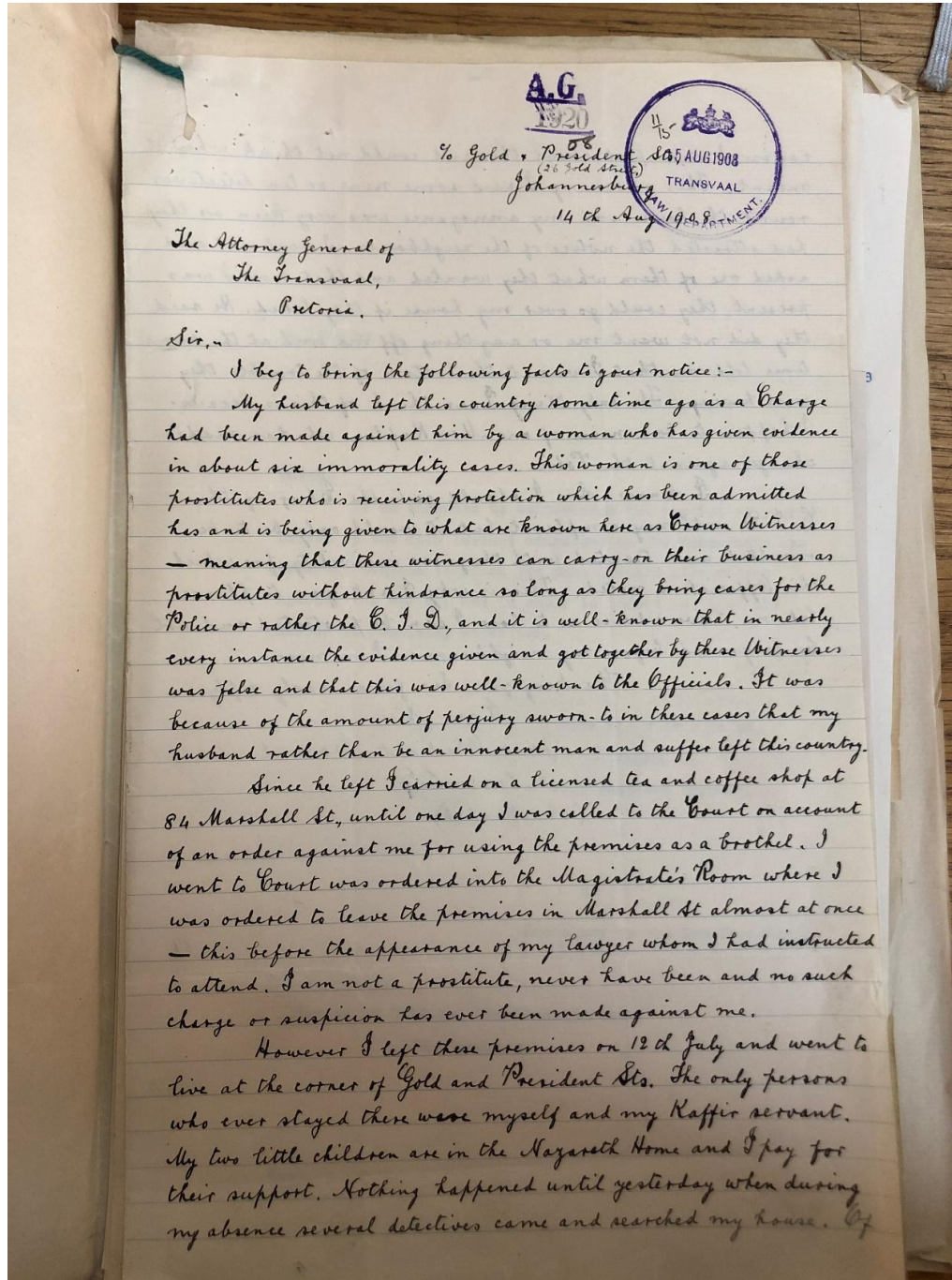
Viewed October 2021)





APPENDIX K

1. Letter from Mrs. Mandick to the Attorney General of the Transvaal Colony (TAB LD 1621 AG1920/08 1908)



course I was upset about this and could not think what meant. This morning I saw some nine or ten detectives round the house and my annoyance was very keen as they had attracted the notice of the neighbours, I went out and asked one of them what they wanted and that now I was present they could go over my house if they liked. He said they did not want me or anything off me and at the same time told me that I was at the bottom of the trouble they were having. The only thing I can think of this is because I happen to be a niece of one Mrs. Kaplan who has made charges against the Police.

I know Sir I should go to the Chief of the C. P. D. with my complaint but it would only be to be insulted and treated with the gross incivility for which this Official is noted. This is why I ask you to please let me have advice as to how I can be protected and not be disgraced before my neighbours as I am now.

Thanking you Sir for an early reply.

I am Sir

Your Obedient Servant.

A. Mandick

(A. Mandick)

2.30/17

APPENDIX L

1. Google Earth KMZ file of my map work for Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town (see chapter four) can be accessed using this link:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/11FjRiQJz4S_M-QNkbruFqoCR6Or6vqx?usp=sharing