

SEX IN THE STREETS: THE SEXUALIZATION OF NASHVILLE'S PUBLIC
SPHERE DURING WORLD WAR II

by

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ABSTRACT

World War II was a critical time in the personal lives of women. The loss of men to war propelled women into the workforce, allowing them to earn money and exercise greater autonomy away from fathers and husbands. Sexual mores were also transitioning, and women were recognized as willing participants in sexual encounters outside of marriage. Women's sexual contact with soldiers attracted significant attention, and the high rates of venereal disease within the armed forces created an environment in which women's sexuality was deemed immoral and dangerous. Newspapers and military records of the time vilified these women, referring to them as "khaki-wackies," "good time Charlottes," "patriotutes," and other demeaning terms. While historians have thoroughly documented the regulation of women's sexuality during World War II, they have stopped short of making the connection between women's sexuality and the public sphere. This research examines how regulations targeting sexually active women during World War II sexualized Nashville's public sphere and cast all women active in public as promiscuous and potentially dangerous, leading to their forced removal from society.

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INTRODUCTION

World War II has been viewed as a transformative period in women's history. Numerous books have been dedicated to women's entry into the workforce and society's shifting sexual mores. However, this research has largely failed to acknowledge ways the government regulated women's sexuality. By ignoring this history, the public memory of women's World War II experience has remained a rosy veneer masking a more sinister story. Regulations targeting sexually active women during World War II sexualized Nashville's public sphere and cast all women active in public as promiscuous and potentially dangerous, allowing for their forced removal from society.

Many groundbreaking works are critical in my examination of sexual regulations and the public sphere during World War II, but none of them explicitly connect wartime sexual policies with a conscious effort to sexualize the public sphere and fuel women's removal from public. The discourse surrounding women's changing status and the sexual regulations has not acknowledged how women's activity in the public (masculine) sphere contributed to increased suspicion. The relationship between venereal disease propaganda posters and the sexualizing of public spaces has not been examined. Drawing upon the evidence of interactions among women, soldiers, and police under the May Act and City Ordinance 1628, I will examine Nashville, Tennessee as a case study of the sexualized landscape created during World War II. By drawing on the disparate methodologies and theoretical works of previous scholarship, I will explain how these regulations clouded

women active in public in suspicion of promiscuity and resulted in women's forced removal from society and the public sphere.

Recently, the discourse around World War II and women has moved to an examination of how the war impacted women's sexual lives. Karen Anderson's 1981 book *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Regulations, and the Status of Women During World War II* is among the earliest examples of this shift in discourse. Her work reveals that the legacy of World War II is far more complex than has been realized. By focusing wartime Baltimore, Seattle, and Detroit, Anderson attempts to clarify how women's status and values changed. She challenges the notion that World War II was a catalyst for sweeping social change. D'Ann Campbell's book *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (1984) continues this revisiting of the Good War and reveals that women's private behaviors were brought to the public as they entered public spaces previously occupied primarily by men. The entrance of women into factories, bars, restaurants, and military service created unprecedented visibility for women, which in turn brought their private, sexual activities under public scrutiny.

Jane Merksy Leder's *Thanks for the Memories: Love, Sex, and World War II* (2009) focuses more directly on women's experiences during World War II, examining how men and women were subject to different standards of morality. She looks at the contradictory calls for patriotic entertainment of soldiers and the preservation of sexual purity for women and determines that women were in a precarious position as they attempted to fulfill their wartime duties. Meghan K. Winchell's *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun: The Story of USO Hostesses During World War II* (2008) discusses how the

USO recruited women for acceptable sexual labor under a layer of white middle-class respectability. Her work discusses how race and socioeconomic background were crucial in the dichotomy between good girls and bad girls, revealing how some women were able to evade police scrutiny.

Marilyn Hegarty's 2008 work *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II* is the most comprehensive examination of how sexual regulations impacted women's everyday experiences.

Drawing on previous scholarship of women in World War II, Hegarty reveals that women were both mobilized and policed for their sexuality as the United States sought to win the war. She examines arrests of women for various infractions, the posters which have famously vilified women as vectors of disease, and the policies which gave the greenlight on curtailing women's rights during this period. My research draws from Hegarty's work extensively and aims to flesh out her discussion of the sexualized public space. Hegarty's discussion of arrests, combined with Darrell Steffensmier's 1980 article "World War II and its Effect on the Sex Differential in Arrests: An Empirical Test of the Sex-Role Equality and Crime Proposition," illustrates how overzealous policing of women allowed law enforcement to conduct sweeping arrests on potentially promiscuous women.

Steffensmier's work analyzes female arrest records from the war period to determine that many seemingly benign legal infractions were grounds for suspicion of prostitution.

Kelley Duda's 2013 thesis for Florida State University, "It's a Man's World: Women's Entrance into Male Spaces during World War II in Florida," examines society's discomfort with women in the public sphere, but stops short of making the connection

between the sexual regulations and how they affected public spaces and women active in those spaces. The first chapter of my thesis will build on these discussions and illustrate the connection between women's increased scrutiny by law enforcement and their presence in the public sphere.

Kyra Whitton's 2010 thesis for Kennesaw State University, "Women as Subject and Audience in World War II Venereal Disease Posters," is a crucial and comprehensive examination of venereal disease propaganda posters' vilification of civilian women as vectors of disease. Her study reveals how the posters were crucial in communicating sexually unequal perceptions of how venereal disease is spread. My research will take this examination further by revealing the connection between the posters and the creation of the public sphere as a sexually charged landscape and the women active in public as potentially dangerous. Whitton draws from Hegarty's discussion of venereal disease posters in *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II* as well.

The separation of spheres for men and women has historically been a way of preserving prescribed gender roles. As Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon discussed in *Gender and Planning: A Reader*, this separation kept women from the sphere of the workplace, the antithesis of the private realm of domesticity. As public memory and history texts recalls, men left the hearth and home to toil through the vice-filled public sphere to earn a wage and provide for their families. Women depended on this relationship as they were largely excluded from the workforce for much of history. This narrative ignores the fact that working-class and women of color have always sought

employment to supplement their families' income, which forced these women into the public sphere and under the umbrella of suspicion as women visible in public.¹ As World War II sent thousands of men overseas, women left the home to fill the positions men left, placing even respectable white women in places traditionally perceived as inappropriate for women, places such as factories and restaurants. As historian Jessica Ellen Sewell has noted in *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco 1890-1915*, "[w]omen in public were a source of cultural anxiety because of their discordance with the dominant linkage of women and domesticity" and are "still a source of collective anxiety today."²

As men and women walked the same sidewalks, worked in the same offices, and rode the same taxis, it became difficult to distinguish between a respectable woman and one who engaged in deviant sexuality. According to Fainstein and Servon, separate spheres were constructed to separate and confine genders and "insure that sexual relations occurred only between husband and wife."³ Women who left the implied respectability of the domestic sphere and waded into the public sphere of business and vice were subject to scrutiny regarding their morals. Marilyn E. Hegarty asserted that women were conflated with prostitutes during World War II and arrested on numerous charges in an

¹ Susan S. Fainstein and Lisa J. Servon, *Gender and Planning: A Reader* (Rutgers University Press:2005), 16; Danielle Jeannine Cole, "Public Women in Public Spaces: Prostitution and Union Military Experience, 1861-1865," (M.A. Thesis, University of Tennessee-Knoxville, 2006), 1.

² Jessica Ellen Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890-1915* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xxiii.

³ Fainstein and Servon, *Gender and Planning: A Reader*, 4

attempt to limit their sexual activity.⁴ According to Hegarty, virtually any woman could be accused of engaging in commercial or clandestine prostitution. Clandestine prostitution referred to transgressive sexual behavior that was not organized, which allowed for arrests of suspected prostitutes even if they were not in working in a brothel. The women who were most targeted by the sexual regulations were women who were employed in or patronized establishments such as bars, taverns, saloons, and honky-tonks, or attracted police attention on the streets. The tendency to target women who frequented such establishments revealed a discomfort with women who ventured outside of easily identifiable spheres of respectability. As already stated, working-class women and women of color have historically been more likely to work outside the home and have a history of being perceived as being sexually deviant and immoral. Historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg argued that “the mere existence of sex workers” in the Victorian period threatened the separate spheres “because of female prostitutes’ independence and their daily confrontations with often violent and depraved clients, the antithesis of masculine protectors.”⁵ These women also undoubtedly threatened the spheres with their explicit sexual behavior.

This thesis is divided into three chapters. In the first, “Walking with a ‘Lascivious Carriage’: An Analysis of how Legislation Sexualized Nashville’s Public Sphere During World War II,” I examine the language of the May Act (1941) and City Ordinance 1628

⁴ See Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II* (New York University Press, 2008).

⁵ Danielle Jeannine Cole, “Public Women in Public Spaces: Prostitution and Union Military Experience, 1861-1865,” 2.

(1942) to illustrate the open-ended criteria of these policies that effectively put every woman in public under suspicion of prostitution. The May Act was invoked to curb venereal disease among military personnel by repressing prostitution in the civilian population. City Ordinance 1628 was a local ordinance giving Nashville police and government more power to achieve the May Act's goals. It is important to note that the May Act and local regulations of women's sexual activity, specifically City Ordinance 1628, were an outgrowth of the Eight Point Agreement, or the Interdepartmental Agreement. Point 6 in particular calls on local police departments to repress "commercialized and clandestine prostitution."⁶ Using charges of public transgressions such as loitering, vagrancy, juvenile delinquency, and disorderly conduct, the police were able to arrest and forcibly examine and hold "suspicious" women. In addition to flexible charges of immoral or disruptive behavior, police and health officials sought out certain types of occupations, backgrounds, and hangouts to identify potentially promiscuous women.

In addition to the sources mentioned, I searched the *Tennessean*, using Newspapers.com, for the terms "May Act prostitution" to determine what kinds of activities placed women under suspicion of prostitution. For the *Nashville Banner*, I conducted a different type of search. As it was not digitized and therefore not searchable

⁶ Appendix B: The Interdepartmental Agreement (Eight Point Agreement), from Thomas H. Sternberg, M.D., Ernest B. Howard, M.D., Leonard A. Dewey, M.D., and Paul Padget, M.D. "Venereal Disease," from *Preventive Medicine in World War II, Volume V: Communicable Diseases Transmitted Through Contact or by Unknown Means*, U.S. Army Medical Department Office of Medical History.

<http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/communicablediseasesV5/appendixb.htm>

by keyword, I tracked the months that had the highest number of hits of “May Act prostitution” in the *Tennessean* and used those months to guide my searches in microfilm. I searched the *New York Times* database by keyword, again for the terms “May Act prostitution,” to provide national context for prostitution repression during this period. In addition to newspaper accounts, I used arrest cards from the war years to illustrate what kinds of charges women were picked up on and how often. These arrest cards, from the Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives of the Nashville Public Library, provide local examples of the national effort to suppress deviant sexuality and exemplify the types of behaviors and occupations considered suspicious by law enforcement. The information from these sources provide the context for what is taking place in Nashville during World War II. As Tennessee was one of two states where the May Act was enforced, the other being North Carolina, local research makes an excellent case study of the impact of this national policy.

In chapter two, “Innocent Men and Dangerous Women: Venereal Disease Propaganda Posters of World War II,” I analyze the venereal disease propaganda posters of World War II to illustrate how women in the public sphere incurred suspicion. I interpret the venereal disease posters found in the online collection of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division because of their large and readily accessible collection. As I will illustrate, the posters relied on symbolism of death and sexually suggestive women to blame women for the spread of venereal disease. Setting most of the posters in the public sphere, as opposed to its foil, the domestic sphere, associated disease and vice with the public landscape and women who traversed it. I examine how

the posters, explicitly and implicitly, communicated the danger of women in public and that women's presence in such places represented a transgression. This section is a visual analysis of the posters. Given the lack of authorial ownership available, I interpret the posters based on available information and the symbolism within their images.

Chapter three, "Sodom of the South: Reading Nashville's Sexualized Landscape," looks at Nashville's landscape and illustrates its history of privileging masculinity and excluding women. Through the lens of Kathy Peiss's scholarship on gendered domains, this chapter focuses on the overlap between downtown Nashville's history as largely a male-only zone and the history of prostitution and promiscuity in the Printers Alley area. I rely on the American Social Hygiene Association's 1945 survey of prostitution in Nashville to illuminate centers of prostitution and promiscuity and support it with the 1982 Printers Alley Historic District National Register nomination historical context. By analyzing the layers of history and meaning of each site, as well as their context in Nashville's public landscape, I explain how to read Nashville's sexual landscape that women navigated during World War II.

**CHAPTER I: ““WALKING WITH A ‘LASCIVIOUS CARRIAGE’:
AN ANALYSIS OF HOW LEGISLATION SEXUALIZED
NASHVILLE’S PUBLIC SPHERE DURING WORLD WAR II”**

“All we can do is arrest them and charge them with vagrancy and loitering, lewdness, or some similar complaint.” –Chief John Griffin, quoted in the *Tennessean*, November 20, 1941

The prevalence of venereal disease in Nashville earned Tennessee the distinction of being one of only two states under control of the May Act. Just as in World War I, wartime saw an increase in venereal diseases, especially among soldiers.¹ The commander of Tullahoma’s Camp Forrest, one of the largest training bases during World War II, recognized that suppression of prostitution could not be contained without federal intervention and requested the invocation of the May Act.² The chaos of war had already opened the door for a more active government presence, allowing government intervention in the sex lives of Americans to seem feasible and necessary.³ Making the May Act’s intentions more concrete, City Ordinance 1628, passed in November of 1942,

¹ D’Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 208.

² Sternberg, et al., “Chapter X: Venereal Diseases, Part I. Zone of Interior: Significant Policies in Prevention and Control,” in *Preventive Medicine in World War II, Vol. V*, 174-175.
<http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/communicablediseasesV5/chapter10.htm>

³ Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 18.

went further and explicitly outlined the protocol for dealing with suspected promiscuous women. By searching for commercial and clandestine promiscuity, law enforcement was able to scour the public sphere and remove women from places considered to be inappropriate for women. During World War II, the May Act and City Ordinance 1628 sexualized the public sphere and cloaked women's public activities in suspicion, leading to women's removal from the public sphere on morals charges.⁴

Venereal Disease and the May Act

In 1941, the director of the Nashville Health Department reported that only the common cold afflicted more people than gonorrhea, and that "one new case of syphilis was diagnosed for each two contacts named [by infected soldiers] and investigated."⁵ Medical and army officials frequently discussed Nashville's high rate of venereal disease, others referring to the city as a "cesspool," as they considered making the city off-limits to soldiers.⁶ Resolved to avoid World War I's staggering loss of man hours to venereal

⁴ It is important to note that the May Act and local regulations of women's sexual activity, specifically City Ordinance 1628, were an outgrowth of the Eight Point Agreement, or the Interdepartmental Agreement, which outlined the authority and appropriate protocol for finding and arresting women suspected of deviant sexuality. As is clarified in the introduction but bears repeating, clandestine prostitution referred to transgressive sexual behavior that was not organized. This was in contrast to commercial prostitution which was considered organized with the intention of receiving payment, whether monetary or through exchange of gifts. As will be seen, the exchange of sexual services for money or gifts was not necessary for a woman to be arrested and charged with violating the May Act or City Ordinance 1628. As my research will illustrate, this allowed law enforcement and the government to affix charges of prostitution or promiscuity on women who had somehow transgressed sexual boundaries. Newspaper articles from the *Tennessean*, *Nashville Banner*, and the *New York Times* are referenced throughout to illustrate how sexual regulations, the May Act and City Ordinance 1628 in particular, were enforced and how they were received by Nashville law enforcement and the community. The FBI Uniform Crime Reports for 1944-1959 is referenced as it illustrates how arrests for sexual transgressions in Nashville compared to the overall national trend of sexual regulation towards the end of World War II.

⁵ Woody McMillin, *In the Presence of Soldiers: The 2nd Army Maneuvers & Other World War II Activity in Tennessee* (Nashville: Horton Heights Press, 2010), 183.

⁶ Randolph Tucker, "Army To Await Local Venereal Drive's Results: Lear Praises Program But Holds Judgement, City Long a Problem," *The Tennessean*, 6; Woody McMillin, *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 182.

disease, army officers and government embraced the May Act as a way to eliminate the origins of disease before it could reach soldiers. The May Act (included in its entirety in Appendix A) was approved on July 11, 1941 and was the successor of the Eight-Point Agreement, or the Interdepartmental Agreement, (included in its entirety in Appendix B) that had previously encouraged joint action among federal agencies in the suppression of venereal disease. According to “Chapter X: Venereal Diseases, Part I. Zone of Interior: Significant Policies in Prevention and Control” in *Preventive Medicine in World War II*, the May Act gave “teeth [to the Eight-Point Agreement’s] suggestions” and provided the federal government with authority to crack down on prostitution in order to protect the health of the United States military.⁷ The act was intended to provide harsher suppression of prostitution in areas where local authorities were unable to do so on their own.⁸ It was ultimately invoked in only two states, Tennessee and North Carolina.⁹ The May Act authorized the crackdown of prostitution “within such reasonable distance of any military or naval camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place,” which in Tennessee referred to Camp Forrest and later areas occupied by the Second

⁷ This secondary source was selected because of the wealth of information specific to health and the World War II effort it provides. The Office of Medical History website is a public service by the Office of the Army Surgeon General, Public Affairs, and the Network Enterprise Center, Fort Detrick, Md. Unless otherwise noted in the text, the contents are works of the U.S. Government and its employees or were contracted for the U.S. Government. Although this website has not been modified since January 15, 2009, it is a significant source for the May Act history and World War II medical health history. Thomas H. Sternberg, M.D., Ernest B. Howard, M.D., Leonard A. Dewey, M.D., and Paul Padget, M. D., “Chapter X: Venereal Diseases, Part I. Zone of Interior: Significant Policies in Prevention and Control,” in *Preventive Medicine in World War II*, Vol. V, 142.

<http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/communicablediseasesV5/chapter10.htm>.

⁸ Sternberg, et al. “Chapter X: Venereal Diseases, Part I. Zone of Interior: Significant Policies in Prevention and Control,” in *Preventive Medicine in World War II*, Vol. V, 142.

<http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/communicablediseasesV5/chapter10.htm>.

⁹ Ibid., 176.

Army Maneuvers.¹⁰ The maneuvers, a series of war exercises that took place in twenty-two Tennessee counties, brought soldiers to Middle Tennessee and to the “cesspool” that was Nashville between summer 1941 and spring 1944.¹¹

As soldiers moved through Nashville and the Middle Tennessee area, the city’s women were heavily monitored under the campaign to control venereal disease. The May Act granted the Secretaries of War and of the Navy and the Federal Security Administrator the power to “take such steps as they deem necessary to suppress and prevent the violation” of the Act.¹² This required identification of suspicious persons and behaviors. Rather than exclusively focusing on commercial prostitution, the May Act strengthened Point 6 of the Eight-Point Agreement, which called for the “repression of commercialized and *clandestine* prostitution.”¹³ Section 2 of Ord. 1628 (included in its entirety in Appendix C) decreed that “every *female* who shall, in the City of Nashville, offer or tender herself for the purposes of prostitution, *illicit intercourse*, ... shall together with her paramour or visitor be guilty of a misdemeanor and of a violation of this ordinance (emphasis added).¹⁴ This bill created a clear target for police searching for

¹⁰ Public Law 163-77th Congress, Chapter 287-1st Session, H.R. 2475.

¹¹ McMillin, *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 1-2.

¹² Public Law 163-77th Congress, Chapter 287-1st Session, H.R. 2475.

¹³ Sternberg, et al. “Chapter X: Venereal Diseases, Part I. Zone of Interior: Significant Policies in Prevention and Control,” in *Preventive Medicine in World War II, Vol. V*, 176.
<http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/communicablediseasesV5/chapter10.htm>. (emphasis added)

¹⁴ City Ordinance 1628. *Nashville City Code*, Chapter 16, Article III. Venereal Disease. 1947: 201-204.

promiscuous women, and left the door open to a range of flexible definitions of prostitution.

The May Act: Morality or Public Health?

Neither the government nor the general public agreed on the May Act's responsibilities, specifically whether the law was primarily concerned with physical health or spirituality. An article in *The Tennessean* reported that the May Act "provide[d] for enforcement by federal officers of regulations affecting morals and health conditions around army camps."¹⁵ A Tennessee judge was quoted in another article saying "that [the May Act] was enacted by Congress to protect the health and morals of members of the armed forces."¹⁶ In order to accomplish this, "All persons suspected of *immoral* acts and all vagrants [were to] be arrested on sight and confined in the local jails until examined by a physician of the state health department."¹⁷ However, officials often contradicted the moral direction of the May Act and stressed its purely medical intentions. Adeline Kell, sent to Nashville on behalf of the Social Protection Division of the Federal Security Agency,¹⁸ stressed in October 1941 that the investigation and possible enforcement of the

¹⁵ "Bedford, Franklin, Coffee Raids Are Made by FBI," *The Tennessean*, June 4, 1942, 2.

¹⁶ "Men Not Held In May Cases: Judge Declares Both Should Be Arrested As Jones Trial Opens," *The Tennessean*, October 9, 1942, 9.

¹⁷ "Army, State Officials Join Drive To Clean Up Area For War Games: Prostitution, Vice, Sanitation of Food To Be Attacked in Middle Tennessee," *The Tennessean*, May 11, 1941, 44. (Emphasis added).

¹⁸ The Social Protection Division was established in March of 1941 and was initially part of the Office of the Coordinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities. Reorganizations led to its operation within the Federal Security Agency. The Social Protection Division's goal was to suppress venereal disease, which was generally believed (by law enforcement, the military, and much of society) to be linked to promiscuous women. Agents, including Kell, were sent to Nashville to discern the seriousness of prostitution and if federal intervention was necessary. The Office of Community War Services worked in conjunction with such federal agencies as Office of Civilian Defense, War Manpower Commission, Federal Works Agency, War Production Board, Federal Housing Authority, Office of Defense Transportation,

May Act was not concerned with the soldiers' morals, but rather their health.¹⁹ This did not sit right with many civilians, and "Letters to the Editor" section of the *Tennessean* revealed the connection many made between health and morality. One letter writer asserted that "a man [or woman] of sound morals usually has a sound body" and that "[u]nless bad morals are weeded out, roots and all, there is no hope that our country will ever be rid of syphilis and gonorrhea."²⁰ Another reader wrote that the eradication of prostitution and venereal disease were not possible without "compulsory moral and religious instruction" in addition to other methods of treatment.²¹ The description of venereal disease as a social disease negotiated the arena in which this battle would be fought, and it was not in the privacy of the home or doctor's offices. The biomedical and social reality of venereal disease brought women's private affairs into the public sphere.²²

Crime Rates and the May Act

United States Public Health Service, Children's Bureau, Office of Education, and War Relocation Authority. Private partners were the United Service Organization (USO), American Red Cross, American Social Hygiene Association, National Recreation Association, National Parent-Teachers Association, Junior Leagues of America, as well as others. This is significant because the campaign to find, punish, and rehabilitate sexually transgressive women had many players with different roles, but all connected by similar goals. For more information, refer to Marilyn Hegarty's *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality during World War II* (2008).

¹⁹ Jerry T. Baulch, "Prostitution in Camp Forrest Area Studied by Federal Agents," *The Tennessean* Oct 31, 1941, 14.

²⁰ Edith Perryman, "Letter to the Editor," *The Tennessean*, November 13, 1941, 4.

²¹ Edith Perryman, "Letter to the Editor," *The Tennessean*, July 20, 1942, 4.

²² Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons, with Robert A. Padgug (Eds). *Passion & Power: Sexuality in History*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 178-179.

The May Act's vague language cast a wide range of behaviors and locations as inappropriate. Like Ord. 1628's outlawing of "illicit intercourse," the May Act made it unlawful "to receive any person for purposes of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution into any vehicle, conveyance, place, structure, or building," relying on ambiguity to determine which behaviors constituted "lewdness, assignation, or prostitution."²³ Women found in places considered inappropriate were often picked up on charges that targeted them for being in the public sphere. Loitering around a "house of ill fame, brothel, or bawdy house" was illegal under the May Act, putting the streets and other establishments around such a house under its purview.²⁴ Section 4-A of City Ordinance 1628 stated that all persons "charged with loitering, vagrancy, and public drunkenness" were considered "reasonably suspected of having a venereal disease" and were subject to forced examination and testing.²⁵

It is important to realize that although the May Act was only invoked in two states, the first being Tennessee, the campaign to regulate women's sexuality took place all over the country as other states sought to deal with their own sexually transgressive women. The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports of 1939-1959 defined the crimes women were commonly charged with on a national scale during the World War II period and reveal the myriad ways women, and men, could be considered in violation of the May Act or City Ordinance 1628. The 1945 report states that sex offenses, excluding rape and

²³ City Ordinance 1628, Section 43; Public Law 163-77th Congress, Chapter 287-1st Session, H.R. 2475.

²⁴ Public Law 163-77th Congress, Chapter 287-1st Session, H.R. 2475.

²⁵ City Ordinance 1628, Section 45.

prostitution and commercialized vice, were defined as “offenses against chastity, common decency, morals, and the like” ... including attempts” to commit such crimes.²⁶ Prostitution and commercialized vice included “sex offenses of a commercialized nature, or attempts to commit the same, such as prostitution, keeping bawdy house, procuring, transporting, or detaining women for immoral purposes.”²⁷ Disorderly conduct and vagrancy, two offenses women were commonly charged with prior to forced examination for venereal disease, were “all charges of committing a breach of the peace,” along with “such offenses as vagabondage, begging, loitering, etc.”²⁸ The report went on to say that such charges “include all persons arrested as suspicious characters, *but not in connection with any specific offense*, who are released without formal charges being placed against them.”²⁹

Such wide-ranging charges criminalized Nashville’s public sphere for women, making every move a risk. Louise Woodall, an eighteen-year-old white woman, was arrested for violating City Ordinance 1628 and for vagrancy and loitering five times each between August 1942 and September 1945. Lula Bell Jenkins, a twenty-year-old black woman, was arrested once for vagrancy and loitering before the invocation of the May Act, and twice thereafter. She was turned over to the state’s custody in September of

²⁶ Uniform Crime Reports [United States], 1930-1959. Part 3: Uniform Crime Reports, 1944-1959. Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. United States Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation. ICPSR 3666, 121.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid. (Emphasis added).

1941, just months after the passage of the May Act and City Ordinance 1628.³⁰

Newspaper accounts also reported on these types of arrests. According to the *Tennessean*, three women and three men were arrested in November of that year for “loitering about a disorderly house.” But the account does not say whether they were in the establishment or not.³¹ In December of 1945, three men and eleven women were “charged with loitering about a disorderly house” that allegedly operated inside a tavern on Union Street.³² Holding individuals on loitering gave police time to come up with new charges, such as May Act violations, which happened with the arrest of Katie Sue Haubenrich in 1941. Initially charged with “loitering about a disorderly house,” prosecutors dismissed this charge “when [they] said they had gathered material on another charge.”³³

Women’s Suspicious Activities

As the authors of *Preventative Medicine in World War II, Vol. 5* noted, officials realized that aggressively pursuing the commercial prostitute left out the “‘amateurs’ and promiscuous girls” who had become, in the eyes of the government, at least as dangerous as professional prostitutes in their propensity to spread venereal disease.³⁴ Hegarty has

³⁰ Arrest card of Lula Bell Jenkins, Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, City of Nashville Arrest Records, 1936-1945. These arrest cards are used to support the contextual history of national efforts at suppressing prostitution and deviant sexuality. Although the May Act was invoked only in Tennessee and North Carolina during World War II, local ordinances criminalizing promiscuity were taking place all over the country. These arrest cards provide examples of the particular arrests made in Nashville under these efforts.

³¹ “Disorderly House Bond is Forfeited,” *The Tennessean*, November 26, 1941, 2.

³² “Disorderly House Charged After Raid,” *The Tennessean*, February 24, 1945, 6.

³³ “56 Are Indicted By Grand Jury: Woman Charged With Enticing Another; 18 No True Bills Found,” *The Tennessean*, October 11, 1941, 3.

³⁴ Sternberg, et al. “Chapter X: Venereal Diseases, Part I. Zone of Interior: Significant Policies in Prevention and Control,” in *Preventive Medicine in World War II, Vol. V*, 176.
<http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/communicablediseasesV5/chapter10.htm>.

argued that during World War II, “*prostitution* and *promiscuity* became elastic terms, commonly used to interpret numerous women’s diverse wartime activities that were sometimes, but not always, sexual.”³⁵ A year after the May Act was invoked, a *Tennessean* article reported that “a large number of young girls [were] engaged in prostitution,” but that many were not “professionals, but ... victims of poor home conditions, improper or inadequate guidance, or a desire for excitement.”³⁶ This again reveals a distinction between women who engaged in promiscuous sex for money and those who did not engage for money. This distinction that the exchange of money or goods was not necessary for a charge of prostitution brought a wide array of sexual activity under discretion of the May Act.

Young women were seen as suspicious by moral reformers for their youth and visibility in public. As the Uniform Crime Reports reveal, arrests across the nation had increased from 1939 through 1944, especially among younger people. A comparison of the data between 1941 and 1944 showed that arrests of girls under the age of 21 had increased 134%.³⁷ In 1944, seventeen-year-olds were most often arrested followed by eighteen, nineteen, twenty-one, and twenty-two-year-olds respectively.³⁸ As scholars Marilyn Hegarty and Darrell Steffensmeier have discussed, juvenile delinquency was “often used as a code word for ‘potential’ female promiscuity.”³⁹ Campbell argues that

³⁵ Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 18. (Emphasis added).

³⁶ “550 Convicted Under May Act,” *The Tennessean*, June 20, 1943, 10.

³⁷ Uniform Crime Reports, 57.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

³⁹ Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 26; Darrell Steffensmeier, Alvin S. Rosenthal, Constance Shehan, “World War II and its Effect on the Sex Differential in Arrests: An

girls charged with juvenile delinquency “were most likely to be picked up for running away from home or ‘ungovernable behavior,’ which usually meant intimate association with disreputable boys.”⁴⁰ In 1943, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover commented that May Act cases involving “non-professional” girls had increased significantly and needed to be addressed.⁴¹ Arthur Fink, associate director of the Social Protection Division, called for services aimed at juveniles who he argued risked becoming professional prostitutes without intervention.⁴² Venereal disease was so common among young female juvenile delinquents that Tennessee’s first quarantine center was slated specifically for girls. State Health Commissioner Dr. W. C. Williams reported to the *Nashville Banner* in August 1942 that abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps camps were to be put to use for girls with venereal diseases who had been turned over to the State Health Department.⁴³

Society and law enforcement did not scrutinize women in the public sphere equally, and working-class women and women of color felt the government’s watchful gaze more keenly. The May Act’s instruction that “the Secretaries of War and of the Navy and the Federal Security Administrator are each hereby authorized and directed to take such steps as they deem necessary to suppress and prevent the violation” of the act relied on preconceived notions of respectability and deviance to make arrests.⁴⁴ In

Empirical Test of the Sex-Role Equality and Crime Proposition,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 21, no. 3. (Summer 1980): 412.

⁴⁰ D’Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America*, 203.

⁴¹ “550 Convicted Under May Act,” *The Tennessean*, June 20, 1943, 52.

⁴² “Pillsbury Cites Education Role in VD Control,” *Nashville Banner* November 17, 1943, 8

⁴³ *Nashville Banner*, August 8, 1942, 29.

Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality

During *World War II*, Hegarty argued that some individuals were “marked” for suspicion because of gender and age, race or ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and employment.⁴⁵ Hegarty claimed that women of color were considered “hypersexualized” and their bodies “were marked as actually or potentially diseased.”⁴⁶ For instance, the USO largely recruited only white middle-class girls and women to entertain soldiers, relying on the “assumption that white middle-class women were inherently sexually respectable and feminine.”⁴⁷ It was no coincidence that working-class women and women of color were more likely to work outside the home and outside of bounds of domestic respectability.

Moral reformers scrutinized women with suspicious employment and less privileged backgrounds. As Hegarty explains, reformers and law enforcement scrutinized women who worked “as waitresses and hostesses in roadhouses, in bars, and in the proliferating dine-and-dance tents” and believed that “many of the girls who ultimately became involved in prostitution started out this way.”⁴⁸ Charles Taft, Director of U.S. Community War Service, wrote in 1943 that “young girls leaving home in search of work [were] unable to find employment” and turned to prostitution, “the only way they could

⁴⁴ Public Law 163-77th Congress, Chapter 287-1st Session, H.R. 2475, See Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*.

⁴⁵ Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 65-66.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 48, 16.

⁴⁷ Meghan K. Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun: The Story of USO Hostesses During World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 5.

⁴⁸ Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 120.

find to earn enough of a living.”⁴⁹ The Social Protection Section of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services instructed their representatives to obtain

Information concerning control and supervision of employment of young girls and women in cafes, taverns, "honky-tonks," and places of commercial recreation: a) Ascertain working conditions, hours, adherence to age limitations, wages paid; b) Ascertain, insofar as possible, whether girls or women employed in such places are from local communities or are non-residents; if non-residents, what type of board and room arrangements are available to them, cost of such board and room, and approximate cost of expenses incident to the employment. In the difference between wages received and living costs, indicate necessity of supplementary wages by legitimate or illegitimate means.⁵⁰

This operation revealed how suspicious working-class and traveling women were and how tirelessly the government worked to identify deviance. A report issued by the State Health Department in 1943 asserted that prostitutes were often “illegitimate themselves, suffering from other health issues, living in homes with large numbers of people and little privacy” and limited education.⁵¹ This further targeted women from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, who often worked outside the home to support their families, as inherently deviant and dangerous.

Lower wage-earning jobs singled women out from their more privileged counterparts, resulting in greater scrutiny and frequent arrests. Arrest cards from the war period reveal that many of the women were maids, waitresses, housekeepers, laundresses, and clerks. Birdie Lou Jenkins, a nineteen-year-old black woman whose occupation was

⁴⁹ Charles Taft, “Public Health and the Family in World War II,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, The American Family in World War II (Sep 1943), 146.

⁵⁰ Jean B. Pinney, “How Fares the Battle Against Prostitution?” *Social Service Review* 16, 2 (June 1942): 234.

⁵¹ McMillin, *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 183.

listed as “laundry,” was arrested for vagrancy and loitering, disorderly and offensive conduct, and disorderly conduct during the war years. Ruth Ferguson, an 18-year-old white waitress, was arrested more than twenty times between September 1942 and October 1945 for vagrancy and loitering, drunk and disorderly conduct, and for violating the City Ordinance 1628. Sallie Jones, a 36-year-old white woman with no occupation listed, was arrested almost thirty times after the invocation of the May Act for offenses such as vagrancy and loitering, drunk in public, and disorderly conduct, compared to six arrests for similar charges before 1941.

Sexualizing the Public Sphere

The May Act and City Ordinance 1628 recognized streets as filled with vice and immorality, making them dangerous places for women. The City Council made loitering unlawful in 1942, which provided a boon for authorities looking to arrest suspicious women.⁵² After all, streets surrounded “any military or naval camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place,” and soldiers used the streets to find recreation and women.⁵³ A concerned Nashvillian wrote to the editor of *The Tennessean* that vice and “drunken people (including soldiers) on [Nashville’s] streets” had become common throughout the South.⁵⁴ Prostitutes had long advertised their services on streets, but during this time when prostitution and promiscuity were conflated, other women on the streets were also viewed with suspicion.⁵⁵ Tennessee

⁵² Robert Guy Spinney, *World War II in Nashville: Transformation of the Homefront*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 79.

⁵³ Public Law 163-77th Congress, Chapter 287-1st Session, H.R. 2475.

⁵⁴ “Enforce Law or Quit, Writer Urges,” *The Tennessean*, July 17, 1943, 4.

officials bemoaning the slow rate of progress in eliminating commercial prostitution asserted that the streets had filled with women no longer relying on brothels for business.⁵⁶ Medical authorities echoed this belief and asserted that “street walkers and ‘non-commercial prostitutes’ [were] the health department’s greatest problem.”⁵⁷ Again, it is important to remember that non-commercial prostitution was deviant sexuality not necessarily organized, such as a brothel, or in exchange for payment, which brought unmarried sexually active women under suspicion of being prostitutes. Studies of contacts revealed that many “soldiers had contracted diseases from women whom they had met on the streets, or in various Nashville residential areas” rather than brothels.⁵⁸

The streets were the most explicitly sexualized terrain, and women traversing this public space did so at the risk of a slew of potential charges. A 1941 push to rid the city of vice instructed police “to arrest all known prostitutes seen on the streets.”⁵⁹ To this end, *The Tennessean* reported that “local laws against street-walking and other vice violations” were aggressively enforced.⁶⁰ Bessie Webb, who was the first woman charged

⁵⁵ See Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II*; Jane Mersky Leder, *Thanks for the Memories: Love, Sex, and World War II* (Potomac Books, 2009), 34.

⁵⁶ Jonathan Daniels, “Disease and Punishment,” *Nation*, August 1941, 162, cited in Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 70.

⁵⁷ Jack Setters, “Prostitution Well in Hand, City, County Police Report: May Act ‘Wonderful Measure in the Right Direction,’ Says Chief Griffin—‘District’ Reported Inactive,” *The Tennessean*, July 14, 1942, 3.

⁵⁸ Police Say Virtually All Known Houses of Prostitution Closed: ‘All Out’ Campaign Follows Complaints by Army, Repeated Black Picture Report to Officials,” *The Tennessean*, November 20, 1941, 6.

⁵⁹ “Police Say Virtually All Known Houses of Prostitution Closed: ‘All Out’ Campaign Follows Complaints by Army, Repeated Black Picture Report to Officials,” *The Tennessean*, November 20, 1941, 1.

⁶⁰ “Vice Control Said Better Here: Enforcement of May Act Seen Unlikely As Report Is Studied,” *The Tennessean*, December 8, 1941, 6.

with violating the May Act in Tennessee, was alleged to have approached a plain clothes officer on Eighth Avenue.⁶¹ In September 1942, police arrested an 11-year-old girl “on the streets of uptown Nashville” for “suspicion of violating the May Act,” but details on why she was considered suspicious were not given.⁶² The 1945 survey on Nashville prostitution noted that “along the streets a number of apparent pickups were ...seen,” although what marked them as apparent was not detailed.⁶³ It is possible that being on the streets unescorted was enough to mark her, and these other women, as potentially promiscuous.

The May Act and City Ordinance 1628 read like traps for women as they involved public spaces that women could not conceivably avoid. The outlawing of “suspicious” behaviors in “any vehicle, conveyance, place, structure, or building” opened a considerable amount of public space to the scrutiny of law enforcement. Vehicles were a contested battleground of modernity for women because automobiles allowed women greater access to the world outside of the home.⁶⁴ Moral reformers decried the “mobile dens of iniquity” that transported young girls to their doom.⁶⁵ Major General Charles P.

⁶¹ “May Act Arrest is Made Here: Officers Report Woman Solicits Them; FBI Raids in 3 Counties,” *The Tennessean*, June 4, 1942, 2.

⁶² “Girl, 11, Held As May Act Suspect,” *The Tennessean*, September 10, 1942, 9.

⁶³ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945,” Davidson County Health Department Records, 3.

⁶⁴ Amanda H. Littauer, *Bad Girls: Young Women, Sex, and Rebellion Before the Sixties* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 29; Estelle B. Freedman, “The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s,” *The Journal of American History* 61, no. 2 (Sep. 1974): 377.

⁶⁵ Howard B. Woolston, *Prostitution in the United States* (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1921), 69, cited in Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 68.

Reynolds, U.S. Surgeon General, recognized the vehicles' capacity for vice and claimed that they allowed immoral women to follow troops around the country.⁶⁶ This scrutiny of vehicles was not completely without reason; "the first week end of November [1941]...143 contacts were reported...two in Nashville taxicabs, three in Tullahoma taxicabs."⁶⁷ Roughly a year later, *The Tennessean* reported that since Camp Forrest had opened, five cases of venereal diseases had been allegedly contracted "in the rear seat of moving taxis."⁶⁸ A *Tennessean* article in 1943 reported that cabs had become the setting of choice for many "contracts" between men and women, who often chose the cab over a hotel.⁶⁹ Vehicles and highways became sexualized territories under the May Act, but wartime women, and men, needed to travel for a variety of reasons not related to sex. As Hegarty explained,

Women migrated to take defense work, joined the women's armed forces, moved near military bases to be near husbands, and volunteered to meet the need for morale-maintaining entertainment for servicemen. But as numerous women, often traveling alone, waited at train stations and at bus terminals, the authorities saw camp followers—that is, prostitutes."⁷⁰

The wide-ranging campaign to curb women's sexual behavior targeted keepers of public spaces and the facilitators that potentially assisted women in their journey to find

⁶⁶ Major General Charles P. Reynolds, "Prostitution as a Source," 1281. Cited in Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 49-50.

⁶⁷ "Army Asks New Federal Law Action Against Prostitution Here: Invocation of May Act Asked After Many Camp Forrest Soldiers Get Venereal Diseases in City," *The Tennessean*, November 25, 1941, 13.

⁶⁸ Randolph Tucker, "City's Venereal Disease Drive Hitting New Snags: Enforcement Problems Multiply, Survey Shows; Teen-Age Morals Slipping, Army Finds," *The Tennessean*, December 6, 1942, 55.

⁶⁹ "Bootleg Liquor Easy to Buy in Areas Near Army Camps," *Tennessean* Feb 14, 1943, 2.

⁷⁰ Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 17.

sexual partners. Newspaper accounts illustrated that the government viewed women travelling the public landscape as suspicious. An article on the arrest of a procurer of women, John Hewitt Allen, details that one of the women, “a 20-year-old hitch-hiker, ... was picked up by the State Highway Patrol,” prior to her involvement with Allen, illustrating the attention she attracted simply by being a woman on the move.⁷¹ The article reported that an “investigation may also be launched into Allen’s use of his automobile to carry soldiers to and from his various places of operation.”⁷² A dance teacher in Nashville, Eva Thompson Jones, was lured into a car by a soldier working with officials to make an arrest, where she was promptly arrested upon entering the automobile and charged with a May Act violation. She argued that she was merely accompanying her nieces on a car ride, illustrating awareness of the sexualized nature of vehicles for women and the young girls’ need for a chaperone to maintain respectability.⁷³ Other articles detailed the practice of authorities surveying cars for evidence of sexual misconduct. The *Nashville Banner* reported in August 1942 that forty state highway patrolmen had been assigned to control traffic and vice in maneuvers areas to ensure limited contact between soldiers and potentially promiscuous women.⁷⁴ Law enforcement targeted taxi drivers as “criminal exploiters of prostitutes,” along with “facilitators [and] bellhops,” in the crackdown on prostitutes and procurers.⁷⁵ As

⁷¹ Jack Setters, “Police Say Big Vice Racket Bared Here, Leader Nabbed: John Hewitt Allen, 39, Charged With Procuring Women for Soldiers,” *The Tennessean*, November 9, 1943, 6.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ “Was Framed, Says Mrs. Jones: Dancing Teacher Denies May Act Violation; Judge Scores Police,” *The Tennessean*, October 10, 1942, 3.

⁷⁴ “40 Patrolmen Assigned to Maneuver Area,” *Nashville Banner*, Aug 26, 1942, 3.

Nashville Chief of Police John F. Griffin declared, “it is impossible for [police] to prove what operators are conducting themselves in this manner.”⁷⁶ By “getting them all” the police hoped to “weed out those who [were] making money from other sources,” implying prostitution.⁷⁷

The search for promiscuous women did not end in the streets, for law enforcement viewed public venues as hotbeds of promiscuity. The unlawful receiving of prostitutes or promiscuous persons in any “place, structure, or building” was wide-reaching in its enforcement, targeting nearly any commercial establishment that women could be found in.⁷⁸ Because the May Act was intended to protect soldiers from the evils of immoral women and their contagions, any place where soldiers congregated was viewed as potentially brimming with vice. Despite the ban on women soliciting “within such reasonable distance of any military or naval camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place,” there were still plenty of places where soldiers could meet women.⁷⁹ The same report that revealed the contraction of diseases in moving taxis also reported that since Camp Forrest’s opening, “210 cases [had] been contracted here in hotels which include tourist camps; dwelling houses, 126 cases;

⁷⁵ Col. Larry B. McAfee, MC, Executive Officer, Office of the Surgeon General, Letter to the Surgeons of all Corps Areas, Departments, and Independent Stations, from Sternberg, et al. “Chapter X: Venereal Diseases, Part I. Zone of Interior: Significant Policies in Prevention and Control,” in *Preventive Medicine in World War II, Vol. V*, 141, 174.
<http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/communicablediseasesV5/chapter10.htm>

⁷⁶ “15 in ‘Cabbie’ Roundup Fined: Police Say City Taxi Laws Violated As Racket Is Exposed,” *The Tennessean*, November 22, 1942, 44.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Public Law 163-77th Congress, Chapter 287-1st Session, H.R. 2475.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

roadhouses, 12; juke joints, 16 [cases].”⁸⁰ Author Woody McMillin described the 2nd Army Maneuvers’ effect on Middle Tennessee life in *In the Presence of Soldiers: The 2nd Army Maneuvers & Other World War II Activity in Tennessee*. Regarding entertainment for soldiers, McMillin wrote that

Throughout the Tennessee Maneuvers, there were two distinct types of dances: the ones conducted by social organizations, usually held at large hotel ballrooms and high school gymnasiums, where highly chaperoned and morally upright young women volunteered their time to entertain visiting soldiers. Then there were the others, the ones held in beer joints, honky-tonks and back alley clubs, allegedly attracting the wrong type of woman.⁸¹

Taverns, juke joints, honky-tonks, and roadhouses were considered suspect as promiscuous women could possibly patronize them. Assistant Surgeon General Vonderlehr insisted that “streets and taverns [had replaced] houses of prostitution.”⁸² Mayor Thomas L. Cummings of Nashville wrote a letter condemning local taverns as “spewing sources of iniquity, immorality and corruption,” and urging harsher enforcement of the May Act in 1943.⁸³ A 1945 survey of prostitution, commissioned by the American Social Hygiene A, supported this perception, stating that “prostitution activity...[was] centered in some eight cafes or taverns” in downtown Nashville.⁸⁴ A

⁸⁰ Randolph Tucker, “City’s Venereal Disease Drive Hitting New Snags: Enforcement Problems Multiply, Survey Shows; Teen-Age Morals Slipping, Army Finds,” *The Tennessean*, December 6, 1942, 55.

⁸¹ McMillin, *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 191.

⁸² Jonathan Daniels, “Disease and Punishment,” *Nation*, August 1941, 162, cited in Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 70.

⁸³ Randolph Tucker, “Mayor Demands Griffin Clean-Up City; Attacks Prostitution, Gambling: Tells Police Head To Put Officers Where He Orders,” *The Tennessean*, July 14, 1943, 2.

⁸⁴ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945,” Davidson County Health Department Records, 1.

December *Tennessean* article revealed that military police authorities considered “putting certain roadhouses off bounds for soldiers” in an effort to limit possibilities for contact.⁸⁵ It was understood that promiscuous women made contacts in such places frequented by soldiers, and enforcement officers toured hot spots for evidence of vice.⁸⁶ John Hewitt Allen, the vice racket leader apprehended in late 1943, allegedly “toured beer taverns and restaurants in the East Nashville sector to procure soldiers.”⁸⁷ In February of 1945, police charged the operator of a tavern on Union Street, John Slyvanus Dunn, with operating a disorderly house.⁸⁸ Although many arrests occurred at such establishments, top officials expressed frustration that these locations only briefly remained free of prostitution. Chief of Police John Griffin complained that “controlling prostitution in the roadhouses was a ‘ticklish’ job,” because after a raid, suspicious women disappeared for several weeks, then returned once things calmed down.⁸⁹ Taverns and cafes sometimes attempted to ward off promiscuous women with signs that stated “unescorted women not allowed,” but without much success.⁹⁰ The perception of such places as suspicious or vice-filled

⁸⁵ Randolph Tucker, “City’s Venereal Disease Drive Hitting New Snags: Enforcement Problems Multiply, Survey Shows; Teen-Age Morals Slipping, Army Finds,” *The Tennessean*, December 6, 1942, 55.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Jack Setters, “Police Say Big Vice Racket Bared Here, Leader Nabbed: John Hewitt Allen, 39, Charged With Procuring Women for Soldiers,” *The Tennessean*, November 9, 1943, 6.

⁸⁸ “Disorderly House Charged After Raid,” *The Tennessean*, February 24, 1945, 6.

⁸⁹ Jack Setters, “Prostitution Well in Hand, City, County Police Report: May Act ‘Wonderful Measure in the Right Direction,’ Says Chief Griffin—‘District’ Report Inactive,” *The Tennessean*, July 14, 1942, 3.

⁹⁰ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945,” Davidson County Health Department Records.

was dependent upon the women who patronized them, not the men, illustrating the inappropriateness of women's presence in public spaces.

Tourist camps and boarding houses were similarly questionable, as "transient outsiders," especially female ones, were viewed with suspicion by the government and society.⁹¹ These spaces were not only outside of the domestic sphere, they housed women unknown to the community and with no one to vouch for their morals. John Hewitt Allen allegedly visited Dickerson Road tourist camps during his procurements of women for soldiers.⁹² After a raid on Maple Grove Tourist Camp, located on Dickerson Road, in April of 1943, Mrs. S. Rosenberg, the operator, was charged with violating the May Act, along with four other individuals. *The Tennessean* touted this raid as the "breaking up of a 'notorious prostitution den,'" but details on what specific transgressions Rosenberg and the others committed were not provided.⁹³ Boarding houses were thought to be refuges for promiscuous women avoiding police detection.⁹⁴ This was considered a "hardship" for law enforcement, "who then were forced to find the women to investigate their present status in society."⁹⁵ Bessie Webb, who had the distinction of being the first woman arrested for violating the May Act, was charged for "allegedly [making] a bold

⁹¹ Spinney, *World War II in Nashville: Transformation of the Homefront*, 79.

⁹² Jack Setters, "Police Say Big Vice Racket Bared Here, Leader Nabbed: John Hewitt Allen, 39, Charged With Procuring Women for Soldiers," *The Tennessean*, November 9, 1943, 6.

⁹³ "Tourist Camp Raided; Five Women Arrested: Officers Say 'Notorious Prostitution Den' Broken," *The Tennessean*, April 26, 1943, 2.

⁹⁴ "Police Say Virtually All Known Houses of Prostitution Closed: 'All Out' Campaign Follows Complaints by Army, Repeated Black Picture Report to Officials," *The Tennessean*, November 20, 1941, 6.

⁹⁵ Jack Setters, "Prostitution Well in Hand, City, County Police Report: May Act 'Wonderful Measure in the Right Direction,' Says Chief Griffin—'District' Report Inactive," *The Tennessean*, July 14, 1942, 3.

solicitation of a plain clothes officer” in June of 1942.⁹⁶ When asked where she wished to go, Webb took the officer to a rooming house and asked for \$1 for the room, where she was promptly arrested by him and another officer.⁹⁷ On the night of Webb’s arrest, police questioned two other individuals who happened to be in the rooming house at the time.⁹⁸ As Webb had asked for the amount to use the room, she did not make a profit and possibly had a tryst on her mind, not payment for sexual service. But as Hegarty argues, sex equaled promiscuity, which equaled prostitution.⁹⁹

In a bid to entertain soldiers and keep them away from the wrong type of women, organizations like the USO encouraged dances that would pair soldiers with women deemed appropriate.¹⁰⁰ However, this was not a fool-proof method. Some soldiers resented chaperones, so they went to places where they, and women, would not be watched as closely.¹⁰¹ To limit contact between soldiers and promiscuous women in these spaces, law enforcement began tightening restrictions on dance halls. Beginning May 23, 1942, the Davidson County Beer Board “required all public dance halls and sponsors of public dances – numbering more than 60 – to obtain permits effective Nov. 1, 1942.”¹⁰²

⁹⁶ “May Act Arrest is Made Here: Officers Report Woman Solicits Them,” *The Tennessean*, June 4, 1942, 2.

⁹⁷ “May Act Arrest is Made Here: Officers Report Woman Solicits Them,” *The Tennessean*, June 4, 1942, 2.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ See Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁰¹ Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun*, 122.

¹⁰² McMillin, *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 191-192.

In an effort to limit the possibility of contacts between soldiers and promiscuous women, “the Army also pushed for civilian authorities to close bars and honky-tonks at midnight,” further restricting women’s access to the public sphere.¹⁰³

Women’s Removal from Public

During World War II, women were removed from the public sphere through forced treatment and quarantine. A 1942 article in the *New York Times* discussed the appointment of Professor Udo J. Wile of the University of Michigan as medical director of the United States Public Health Service and spoke optimistically of his desire to “[round] up” infected prostitutes and keep them quarantined until they cease to be “menaces.”¹⁰⁴ City Ordinance 1628 did just that by authorizing “[t]he Mayor of the City of Nashville ... to make arrangements for a suitable place of quarantine for those persons judged by the Health Officer to require isolation for the protection of the public.”¹⁰⁵ Not only were those arrested forced to submit to testing and quarantine, they were also subject to fines for refusing treatment.¹⁰⁶

The transgressions discussed previously were considered sufficient cause for such an examination, and many individuals arrested during World War II in Tennessee experienced forced examination, treatment, and, if necessary, quarantine.¹⁰⁷ Salley

¹⁰³ Ibid., 183.

¹⁰⁴ “Controlling Syphilis,” *New York Times*, Nov 14, 1942.

¹⁰⁵ City Ordinance 1628, Section 57.

¹⁰⁶ City Ordinance 1628 Section 50.

¹⁰⁷ McMillin, *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 180. “Army, State Officials Join Drive To Clean Up Area for War Games: Prostitution, Vice, Sanitation of Food To Be Attacked in Middle Tennessee,” *The Tennessean*, May 11, 1941, 44; Nellie Kenyon, “Venereal Diseases, Prostitution Parley Called by Mayor Today: City and County Police and Health Officials Will Confer With U.S. Representative on Survey,” *The*

Wheeler/Thornton, a twenty-two-year-old white woman, was sent to the state clinic twice, once in January 1942 and another time in October of the same year, both after arrests for vagrancy and loitering.¹⁰⁸ Mai Alley Harrell, a forty-year-old white woman, was also sent to clinic after her arrest for vagrancy and loitering in June of 1942. Elizabeth Robertson/Robinson, a twenty-three-year-old white woman, was sent to the Isolation Hospital following her violation of City Ordinance 1628 in September 1944. These arrests illustrate how dangerous the public sphere had become for women who were or appeared to be sexually active.

Given that virtually all women were in danger of violating the May Act or City Ordinance 1628 due to their far-reaching implications, officials bemoaned the lack of space to hold all of the women swept up in the enforcement of the May Act. Chief of Police John Griffin called this predicament “the department’s greatest difficulty in combating prostitution” and expressed confidence that those released “went back to their trade” because the department “did not have a place to detain them.”¹⁰⁹ Some women were detained in workhouses,¹¹⁰ and in 1942, the “Middle Tennessee Isolation Hospital (located on the property of the Davidson County Hospital)” opened.¹¹¹ Twenty-one

Tennessean, November 19, 1941, 8; “Police Say Virtually All Known Houses of Prostitution Closed: ‘All Out’ Campaign Follows Complaints by Army, Repeated Black Picture Report to Officials,” *The Tennessean*, November 20, 1941, 6.

¹⁰⁸ Arrest card of Salley Wheeler/Thornton, City of Nashville Arrest Records, 1936-1945.

¹⁰⁹ “Army Asks New Federal Law Action Against Prostitution Here: Invocation of May Act Asked After Many Camp Forrest Soldiers Get Venereal Diseases in City,” *The Tennessean*, November 25, 1941, 13.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ McMillin, Woody. *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 181.

patients were forceably examined and treated with antibiotics in the hospital's first two months, as McMillin stated, "and most of those treated were teenagers (only one woman was over 30)."¹¹² Until November of the following year, patients were "held under lock and key."¹¹³ Forced examination and treatment effectively removed women from the public sphere for their transgressions, real or imagined.

The forced treatment and quarantine of women during World War II can be viewed as accomplishing two goals: rehabilitation of the body and rehabilitation of the soul. As described by Elizabeth Fee in "Venereal Disease: The Wages of Sin?": "the primacy of ... treating disease" and "the primacy of moral exhortation."¹¹⁴ Promiscuous women were potentially diseased and therefore, according to government and medical authorities, needed treatment. However, promiscuous women "[strayed] outside the lines of respectability" by having sex, and that required treatment as well.¹¹⁵ Uniform Crime Reports for 1944-1959 revealed that during World War II, "offenses against chastity, common decency, morals, and the like" were included under sex offenses.¹¹⁶ The proverbial double standard between men and women ensured that "sexual deviance in World War II was more likely to become officially known for females than for males."¹¹⁷

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth Fee, "Venereal Disease: The Wages of Sin?" reprinted in Peiss, and Simmons, *Passion & Power: Sexuality in History*, 179.

¹¹⁵ Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 132.

¹¹⁶ Uniform Crime Reports, 107.

¹¹⁷ Steffensmeier, Rosenthal, and Shehan, "World War II and its Effect on the Sex Differential in Arrests: An Empirical Test of the Sex-Role Equality and Crime Proposition," 405.

As Meghan K. Winchell explained in *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun: The Story of USO Hostesses During World War II*, the “double standard allowed men to pursue sexual intimacy free of social, though not physical, consequences, while women endured the physical and social repercussions and responsibility for their own sexual choices.”¹¹⁸ These repercussions were dealt in the form of arrests, public humiliation, and forced treatment and quarantine.¹¹⁹

During World War II, women’s sexuality was no longer confined to whispers and shadows. The May Act and city ordinances instructed officials to scrutinize the public for signs of promiscuity. The May Act’s ambiguous instructions for enforcement authorized the arrest of anyone deemed suspicious, a charge with almost endless meanings. Seemingly benign spaces, such as vehicles and highways, were sexualized, while frequenting other spaces with more explicit sexual layers, such as taverns and hotels, were considered evidence of promiscuity and, in effect, prostitution. Women most visible to the public, by race, socioeconomic status, employment, or recreation, were considered potentially promiscuous if they were not already, and subject to forced treatment and quarantine if found to be infected with a venereal disease. In this sexually charged terrain, women’s presence in the public sphere was synonymous with promiscuity and subject to federal intervention.

¹¹⁸ Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun*, 6.

¹¹⁹ John Parascandola, “Presidential Address: Quarantining Women: Venereal Disease Rapid Treatment Centers in World War II America.” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 83, no. 3, (Fall 2009): 431.

CHAPTER II: “INNOCENT MEN AND DANGEROUS WOMEN: VENEREAL DISEASE PROPAGANDA POSTERS AND PUBLIC SPACE”

“She may look clean-but...” –Venereal Disease Propaganda Poster

During World War II, the federal government attempted to fight venereal disease in the armed forces by targeting the sexual and social activity of civilian women. Targeting prostitutes and women who had sex with soldiers without monetary transaction, often called pickups, the government and military conflated the two and enacted a campaign against all sexually transgressive (or potentially sexually transgressive) women. Venereal disease posters illustrated this crusade as the government aimed to shape public perception of women by painting those who had sex, or appeared willing to have sex, as deviant and dangerous. Ostensibly aimed to protect soldiers from immoral and infectious women, the posters served as constraints on women’s autonomy, clouding their activity in the public sphere with suspicion.¹

¹ This chapter analyzes the venereal disease posters found in the online media archive of the University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division. This collection was chosen primarily because of their large and readily accessible collection. To choose my posters, I searched for keyword “prostitution,” my time period as the World War II years (1939-1945), and “sexually transmitted diseases” as my specific subject. The result is fourteen posters, twelve of which feature women and seven of which clearly feature a scene outside of the home and in the public sphere. While much of this chapter is my own analysis of the posters, especially in regard to public space, I refer to Darlene Mahaney’s “Propaganda Posters” (2002) and Kyra Whitton’s thesis “Women as Subject and Audience in World War II Venereal Disease Posters” (2010) from Kennesaw State University for context on the propaganda posters and analysis of other symbolism within the posters.

The State's Campaign against Promiscuity

During World War II, the military and the American Social Hygiene Association launched an attack on “promiscuous” women and girls.² They described them as “‘victory girls,’ ‘khaki-wackies,’ ‘chippies,’ ‘pickups,’ and ‘clandestine prostitutes’”³ Posters warned soldiers, and indeed the public at large, of the threat lurking behind supposedly “good” girls and women. The American Social Hygiene Association “responded to requests for millions of pamphlets warning young servicemen about the dangers of venereal disease and other menaces to their health or morale.”⁴ These menaces, of course, referred to women. Part of the campaign to curb venereal disease was the call for “personal discipline and self-control,” which was usually directed at young girls and women.⁵ As Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons assert in their introduction to *Passion and Power*, “[s]ocial relations of class and race have ... been articulated through sexual categories, which in turn have been a ground of cultural conflict and political struggle.”⁶ “Good” women did not have sex and if they did, it was in the context of marriage or a committed relationship. “Bad” women transgressed these boundaries. The goal was to rehabilitate women and girls to a position considered appropriate for their race and class.

² The American Social Hygiene Association's constitution upon its formation is included in Appendix D.

³ Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun*, 110.

⁴ C. Walter Clarke, “American Social Hygiene Association,” *Public Health Reports* 70, no. 4 (April, 1955): 425.

⁵ Theodore Rosenthal, “Venereal Disease in Wartime,” *The American Journal of Nursing*, Vol 44, Published by Lippincott Williams and Wilkins (Feb. 1944): 104-106, 106.

⁶ Peiss and Simmons, *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, 6.

Propaganda posters targeted prostitutes and pickups alike as carriers of venereal disease. Soldiers were half-heartedly encouraged to avoid sexual activity to stave off infection, while at the same time receiving a monthly allowance of condoms.⁷ Abstinence was not a serious option, as sexual virility was linked with manhood and the ability of soldiers to be tough for war.⁸ Yet prostitution, commercial and clandestine, was viewed as an explicit threat to the armed forces and war effort at home.⁹ Brothels and vice districts were targeted by officials and closed down.¹⁰ The May Act, enacted in July 1941, “made vice activities, primarily prostitution, near military installations a federal offense.”¹¹ It should be noted that while thousands of women were arrested for prostitution during the war years, the men involved were seldom charged or punished for wrongdoing.¹²

Propaganda Posters: Purpose and Symbolism

Venereal disease posters were put out by the United States Office of War Information’s Graphics Division and the American Social Hygiene Association to warn soldiers away from women who might be infected with venereal disease.¹³ Famous artists

⁷ McMillin. *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 185.

⁸ Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 2.

⁹ Pinney, “How Fares the Battle Against Prostitution?” 224.

¹⁰ Campbell. *Women at War with America*, 208.

¹¹ Marilyn E. Hegarty, “Patriot or Prostitute?: Sexual Discourses, Print Media, and American Women during World War II,” *Journal of Women’s History* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 115.

¹² John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988): 212.

¹³ Kyra Whitton, “Women as Subject and Audience in World War II Venereal Disease Posters,” Master’s Thesis, Kennesaw State University, 2010. *Dissertations, Theses and Capstone Projects*, Paper 421, 22, 4.

were used in the propaganda campaign to more effectively reach the people.¹⁴ Situated in public spaces with thousands of potential viewers, the posters reached citizens from all occupations and backgrounds as they went about their lives.¹⁵ Posters during World War II generally served four purposes: patriotism, sentimentality, humor, and blunt negativity.¹⁶ Venereal disease posters of the period can be viewed as both patriotic and blunt, as they equated avoiding infection with supporting the troops.¹⁷ The posters were primarily aimed at “preventing, finding, and treating these diseases in the civilian population.”¹⁸

Venereal disease posters were a medium that transcended race, class, and gender. As Kyra Whitton states, sex education poster imagery was utilized because “it ha[d] a broad audience base that does not focus on a single class, economic background, or gender.”¹⁹ Whitton goes on to say that the Office of War Information relied heavily on poster media, which were relatively inexpensive and direct in their messages, during World War II.²⁰ Formed in 1942 from the Office of Facts and Figures, the Graphics Division produced posters that were either highly stylized or direct and ad-like.²¹ The

¹⁴ Darlene Mahaney, “Propaganda Posters,” *OAH Magazine of History* 16, no. 3 World War II Homefront (Spring 2002): 41.

¹⁵ James Aulich, *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2007): 12.

¹⁶ Mahaney, “Propaganda Posters,” 41.

¹⁷ Mary Elizabeth Wilson, “The Art of Infectious Disease,” *USA Today* (January, 2010): 50.

¹⁸ Pinney. “How Fares the Battle Against Prostitution,” 231.

¹⁹ Whitton, “Women and Subject and Audience,” 6.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Whitton, 22-23.

U.S. Government placed posters in “army barracks, hospitals, and railway stations,” which met with much of the war-mobilized American public.²²

The American Social Hygiene Association contributed the most pointed symbolism of dangerous female sexuality. The American Social Hygiene Association, which contributed half (seven) of the fourteen posters I will analyze, favored stylized imagery. All the American Social Hygiene Association posters I analyze are from the Social Welfare History Archives and the Upper Midwest Literary Archives at the University of Minnesota Libraries and date to 1940, although it is unclear why that is the only year represented. It is possible that this was an earlier campaign for American Social Hygiene Association than other organizations, such as the Office of War Information Graphics Division, because suppression of prostitution and venereal disease was the American Social Hygiene Association’s central mission. Formed in 1913 from the joining of several anti-prostitution and venereal disease organizations, American Social Hygiene Association aimed to eliminate venereal disease through public sexual education. Part of this effort ostensibly focused on breaking down social stigma surrounding venereal disease, but the result was a lessening of stigma for men and increased culpability for women.²³ Four of the posters contributed by American Social Hygiene Association feature women as anthropomorphic diseases, yet all the men are portrayed as noble and deserving of sympathy if they did fall victim to women’s promiscuity.

²² “Venereal Disease and Treatment during WW2,” *WW2 US Medical Research Centre* <https://www.med-dept.com/articles/venereal-disease-and-treatment-during-ww2/>

²³ J. Hansan, “American Social Health Association,” *Social Welfare History Project* (2012), retrieved from <https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/programs/health-nutrition/american-social-health-association/>

The symbolism used in propaganda posters was a conscious effort to cast women as promiscuous and dangerous. As Darlene Mahaney states,

In all posters symbolism is crucial. When a message needs to be conveyed immediately, symbols provide a great deal of information and often spark a quick emotional response. Swastikas, the rising sun on the Japanese flag, the stars and stripes, V for victory, and Uncle Sam all held specific meanings for most Americans in the 1940s.²⁴

Concerning venereal disease posters, the symbolism overwhelmingly painted women as responsible for transmitting disease. This was done stylistically in several ways. As Kyra Whitton writes in her thesis, “Women as Subject and Audience in World War II Venereal Disease Posters,” posters often utilized the color red to communicate danger and promiscuity to the audience.²⁵ Women were also depicted as curvy and provocatively posed so that viewers associated them with deviant sexuality. Any sexual behavior outside marriage or a committed heterosexual relationship was considered deviant, and traditionally, so was sexual desire in women. The idea of women having sex with soldiers, or anyone besides their husbands, put these women far outside the realm of acceptable female behavior.

Propaganda Posters: Women and the Public Sphere

The connection between public spaces pictured in venereal disease posters and the women (implicitly or explicitly) blamed as sources of disease has not been explored in other scholarship. I will now analyze venereal disease posters

²⁴ Mahaney, “Propaganda Posters,” 41-42.

²⁵ Whitton, “Women as Subject,” 25.

from the World War II period (1940-1945) to illustrate this connection and how it communicated the danger of women in the public sphere.

A search of the University of Minnesota's media archive of war posters for prostitution and sexually transmitted disease yields fourteen posters. Of the fourteen, all but one feature people (the one features a fist, but not the body attached), and women are featured in twelve of those thirteen. Men are featured in all but one of those posters with people, but the differences between the men and women could not be more stark. I suggest that the significance of this is to link venereal disease and the responsibility of infection to women, and more specifically, to women in the public sphere.²⁶ To be clear, this section is a visual analysis of the propaganda posters based on my interpretation. With such little available information on the ownership and artists of each individual poster, and the absence of clear authorial intent, I perform a close-reading of the posters' symbolism. Aside from small text attributing the posters to the divisions which created them, there are no overt symbols of ownership in the images. I suggest that this was intentional to create the impression of one authoritative voice: the government. Given the undeniable significance of the public sphere in the

²⁶ The link between the venereal disease posters and double-standards of sexuality have been made by historians of sexuality and feminism. While I discuss women's sexuality in my analyses, I am making statements about these posters in particular, not venereal disease posters in general. Kyra Whitton's thesis "Women as Subject and Audience in World War II Venereal Disease Posters" (2010) uses the same collection and many of the same posters and scholarly works that I do. But while her focus is how women are portrayed within the context of social constructions of disease, I am primarily interested in analyzing women's danger within the context of their activity in the public sphere. That being said, I point out women's "dangerous" sexuality and link to venereal disease in the posters, but in support of my argument that it is primarily the women's activity in public and beyond the domestic sphere that makes them dangerous.

venereal disease propaganda posters, an interpretation of their symbolism is integral to my argument.



Figure 1. “Them days is gone forever,” 1943. Courtesy of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division.

I begin with “Them Days is Gone Forever” because on the surface, it appears to illustrate men’s complicity in contracting venereal disease. However, a closer look reveals that, as with the other posters I will examine, men are ultimately portrayed as innocent, and the women as dangerous in venereal disease posters. Figure 1 is a humorous scene, where the viewer is meant to pity Bill for his carelessness. He thought a pickup was “okay,” and now he’s paying the price. In the dialogue bubble, the viewer sees that Bill met his pickup on the street, echoing the warning of police and health officials that the streets were full of prostitutes and promiscuous women. As we will see, more than half (eight out of fourteen) of the posters I examine have a recognizable setting, and out of those eight, only one is in the domestic sphere.



Figures 2 and 3. “Warning: these enemies are still lurking around,” 1940, “Saboteuse,” 1940. Courtesy of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division.

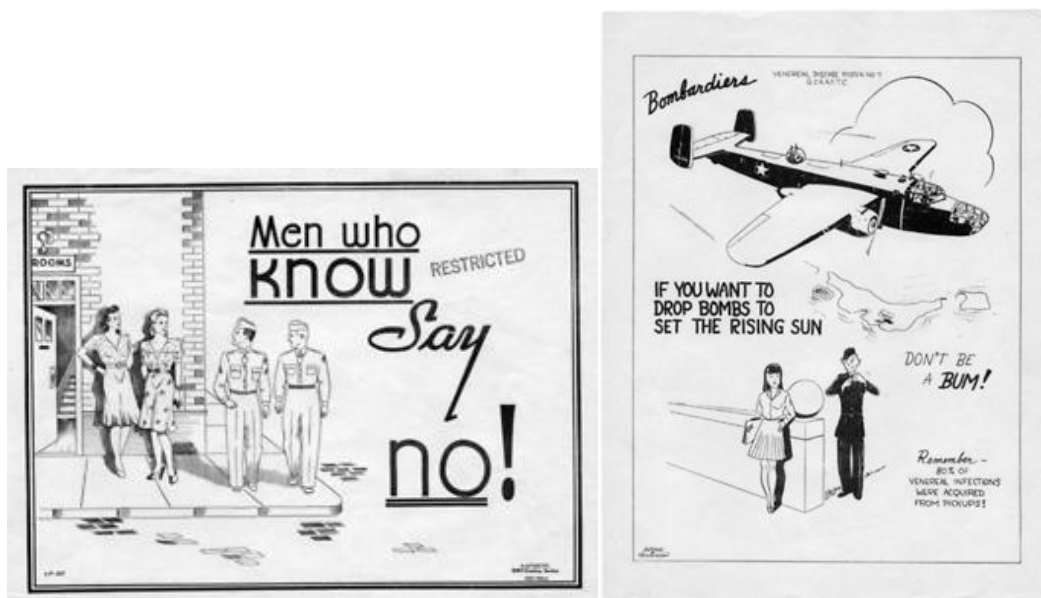
In Figures 2 and 3, the women are again pictured in recognizable but non-domestic settings. But unlike in Figure 1, the artist throws subtlety to the side in “Warning: These Enemies are Still Lurking Around” and “Saboteuse” and explicitly tags the women pictured as “Syphilis” and “Gonorrhea” in Figure 2 and “Venereal Carrier” in Figure 3. The women appear not only aware of their infections, they are actively looking to corrupt the soldiers, morally and physically through sexual contact. Colored almost completely in black, the women are agents of death and pestilence. In both posters, the women are lying in wait, ready to ambush the approaching soldier with their sexuality. The women’s

appearances are not enhanced by color or symbolism of death, emphasizing the danger of the “Every Woman.” In Figure 3, the sailor is tall and muscular, looking very much the hero in this poster, marking the women as the enemies. Posed in seductive manners with thoughtful expressions, the women clearly look to tempt the fate of our valiant hero, and by extension, the country.

Figures 2 and 3 are particularly loaded due to the activities of the women pictured. The women in both posters are smoking cigarettes, a detail that was no accident. These were activities traditionally considered the purview of men. Since the 1920s, women’s “smoking, drinking, and masculinized fashions” made society uncomfortable, as it was viewed as further evidence of the decline of the family, or more to the point, women’s place as mothers and wives in the homes.²⁷ Women participating in this manner “challenged the social order and opened themselves to ridicule” and suspicion.²⁸ These activities were signals to police of their transgressive behavior, and served as a target on the backs of women.

²⁷ Freedman, “The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s,” 382.

²⁸ Hegarty, “Patriot or Prostitute,” 125.



Figures 4 and 5. “Men who know say no!” 1944,

“If you want to drop bombs to the set of the rising sun: don’t be a bum: remember—80% of venereal infections,” 1944. Courtesy of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division.

Men have traditionally been given freedom to navigate the public sphere and dominate it. Women, traditionally relegated to the domestic sphere, incurred suspicion when penetrating these masculine spaces.²⁹ Arrest records and criminal reports of the war years reveal that public spaces such as cafes, roadhouses, taverns, and public streets were sites of interaction between police and women.³⁰ The messages of the posters can be seen

²⁹ Lisa McLaughlin, “Discourses of Prostitution/ Discourses of Sexuality,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8, (1991): 250.

³⁰ Pinney. “How Fares the Battle Against Prostitution?” 234; Elsa Castendyck and Sophia Robison, “Juvenile Delinquency among Girls,” *Social Service Review* 17, no. 3 (Sept., 1943): 263.

as twofold: admonishing soldiers to stay away from potential sources of infection, but also admonishing women to stay within their places if they wanted to protect their reputations.

All the posters discussed thus far have been set on nondescript public streets. With the exception of figure 4, there are no other identifying details besides sidewalks and generic brick walls in the previously discusses posters “Them Days is Gone Forever,” “Warning: These Enemies are Still Lurking Around,” “Saboteuse,” “Men Who Know Say No!,” and “If You Want to Drop Bombs to the Set of the Rising Sun.” Figure 4 depicts a sign for “Rooms” above the door of the building the woman is standing in front of, but given the influx of men and women into the cities to fill factories during wartime, that could also be anywhere. While both parties are present in these scenes, only one is meant to be seen as transgressing boundaries. Men have traditionally been given freedom to navigate the public sphere and dominate it. Women, traditionally relegated to the domestic sphere, incurred suspicion when penetrating these masculine spaces.³¹ The messages of the posters can be seen as twofold: admonishing soldiers to stay away from potential sources of infection, but also admonishing women to stay within their places if they wanted to protect their reputations.

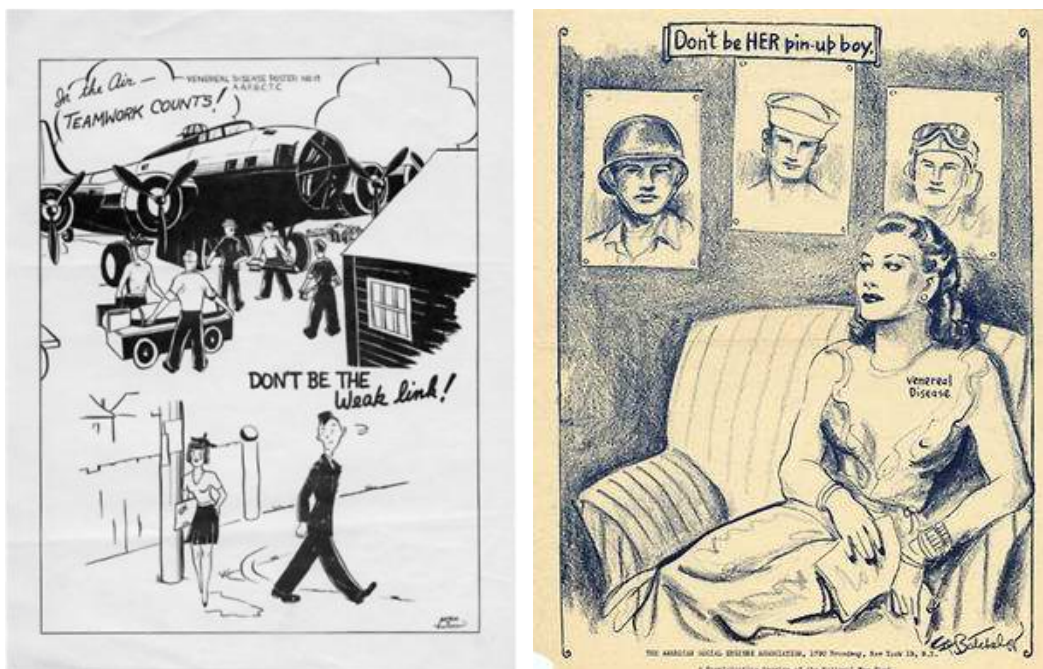
³¹ McLaughlin, “Discourses of Prostitution/ Discourses of Sexuality,” 250.



Figure 6. "Two girls I know want to meet you in the worst way," 1940. Courtesy of
 Courtesy of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division.

Figure 6 is unique among the group of posters I analyze because of the setting. Rather than being set in technically neutral areas, such as public streets, the soldier is in what appears to be a brothel. As there are no records of soldiers being forcibly taken to brothels or bawdy houses, the viewer can assume he walked in willingly. The woman labeled "Prostitution" is the attractive face covering certain disease, working to seduce him and ultimately infect him. In the poster, disease is lurking literally behind the attractive "Prostitution." The women

labeled “Gonorrhea” and “Syphilis” have skulls instead of faces, symbolizing death and devastation.³² Posed seductively with smiles and hands on hips, their methods of destruction is not lost on the viewer. The message is clear: prostitution (or other promiscuous women as defined in the May Act and City Ordinance 1628) is the gateway to disease and destruction.



Figures 7 and 8. “In the Air—Teamwork Counts!: Don’t Be the Weak Link!”
1944, “Don’t Be Her Pin-Up Boy,” 1940. Courtesy of University of Minnesota
Libraries, Manuscripts Division.

³² Kyra Whitton “Women as Subject,” 35.

Figures 7 and 8 are outliers because of the clear setting. The woman in Figure 7 is standing outside of a military fort, marking her as the “Khaki-Wackie” soldiers and civilians had been warned about.³³ Again depicted as attractive and eager for attention from the soldier walking by, she is unquestionably the villain in this poster. Figure 8 shows a woman sitting in a chair, clearly in her home. Domestic scenes are typically used to show the pain of venereal disease on the family and the intimacy of the home is implied to be the opposite of the vice-filled public sphere. In “Don’t Be Her Pin-Up Boy,” the viewer can assume that the woman has ventured outside of the domestic sphere, and the sexual boundaries it represents. Not only has she engaged in sexual contact with one man outside of marriage (there is no ring on her finger, indicating she is unmarried), but the pictures on the wall indicate there have been three. The venereal disease posters represent a double standard concerning men’s and women’s sexual and social activity in the mid-twentieth century. When women had extramarital sexual relations, they were considered promiscuous. Men were able to have sexual partners, at least monogamously if not in marriage, granting them a much longer leash regarding permissible sexual behavior.³⁴ In both posters, the women are implied to be venereal disease carriers, ignoring, in Evelyn Ashley Sorrell’s words, “the fact that to be *infectious*, one must be *infected*.”³⁵

³³ Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun*, 110.

³⁴ Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 75.

The symbolism of the posters is also telling in their targets. They typically do not use images of the microorganisms *Treponema pallidum* or *Neisseria gonorrhoeae*, the bacteria causing syphilis and gonorrhea respectively, but instead use images of sexually alluring women.³⁶ This creates an association in the viewers' mind between women and disease, which is exactly the intention of the creator. Venereal disease has historically been packed with stigmatization. Considered a failure of morals rather than health, the contraction of VD was imbued with "different messages of responsibility and blame."³⁷ Venereal disease posters depicted soldiers as innocent victims of women eager to pass on their infectious diseases. The efforts to stymie women's sexual behavior were primarily to "[protect] ... men against being exploited and victimized by the vice racketeers."³⁸ This rationale eliminates the men's responsibility for these interactions and fashions them "theoretically 'clean'" victims of "wily females."³⁹ However, this representation relied less on actual evidence and more on archetypes of soldiers and sexually active women.⁴⁰ Illustrations of soldiers undoubtedly aimed to spur feelings of patriotism.⁴¹ Tall and broad-shouldered, the soldier is the hero. The sexually active, or potentially sexually active, woman was "the 'enemy' and she was everywhere."⁴² Attractive and interested,

³⁵ Evelyn Ashley Sorrell, "'Obtuse Women': Venereal Disease Control Policies and Maintaining a 'Fit' Nation, 1920-1945," University of Kentucky, 72.

³⁶ Piess and Simmons, *Passion and Power*, 178-179.

³⁷ Whitton, "Women as Subject," 25.

³⁸ Pinney, "How Fares the Battle Against Prostitution," 233.

³⁹ Wilson, "The Art of Infection," 51.

⁴⁰ Hegarty, "Patriot or Prostitute," 119.

⁴¹ Mahaney, "Propaganda Posters," 41.

she appears eager to wreak havoc on a poor, unsuspecting serviceman. Indeed, her motive appears to be insidious rather than careless.⁴³

The women pictured in venereal disease posters are most striking when comparing them to men in the same posters. The soldiers in each poster symbolized the strength of the American army. He had the admiration of the public whether he had sex or not, all that matters was that he remained clear of infection. The message did not attempt to scare men away from sexual activity, which was largely considered an impossible task anyway. Instead, it advised soldiers to use contraceptives when they did, and to visit a prophylactic station for immediate treatment once they were done. Even in more humorous posters, such as figure 1, the man is to be laughed at for his foolishness and pitied. This is a far cry from the messages in other posters and from women's own experiences and illustrate the moral laxity accorded men and denied women in terms of sexuality.

⁴² Hegarty, "Patriot or Prostitute," 119.

⁴³ Whitton, "Women As Subject," 40.

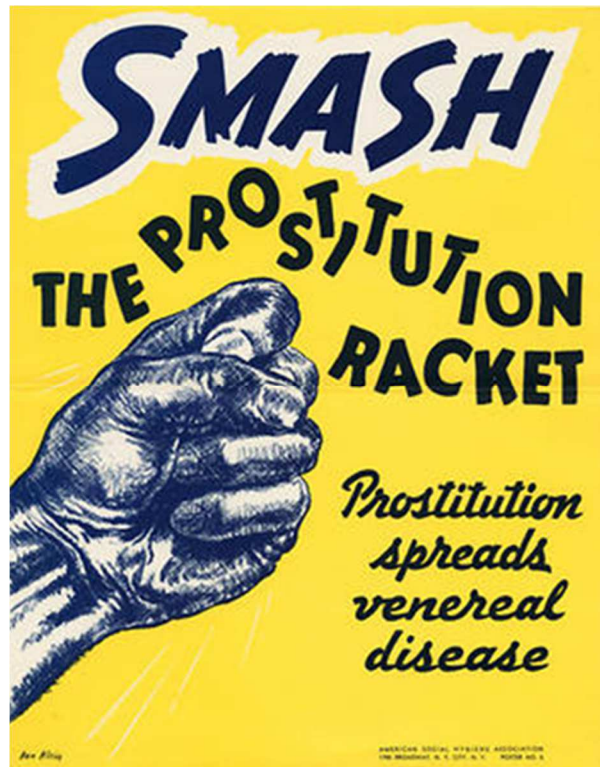


Figure 9. "Smash the Prostitution Racket," 1940. Courtesy of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division.



Figures 10 and 11. “Boys, Your Sweetheart May Never Know,” 1940. “For Prevention of Promiscuity, Illegitimacy, Venereal Disease, Prostitution,” 1940. Courtesy of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division.

The venereal disease posters that do not feature the public sphere contain loaded messages about men and women’s culpability in terms of venereal disease and promiscuity. Figures 9, 10, and 11 do not target a responsible party, but instead focus on moral messages. Figure 9, on its surface, seems to represent the American Social Hygiene Association’s mighty campaign to suppress prostitution and promiscuity. The American Social Hygiene Association worked in conjunction with legislative and educational efforts “to organize the defense of the community,” which as chapter one illustrates

included the cooperation of state and local law enforcement.⁴⁴ After all, the source of women's infections was typically not mentioned, making it appear that venereal disease is inherent in these immoral women. Considering how men were largely free from government and police harassment over their sexual behavior, the fist in Figure 9 could represent the law's (men's) persecution of women suspected of promiscuous activities. But as chapter one and previous posters have shown, this regulation was primarily targeted at women. Considering this unequal treatment under the law, the poster could depict a thrust fist of victory for men, successfully dumping their own sexual responsibility on the backs of women.

Figures 10 and 11 utilize the morality of the women's extension to the domestic sphere to paint the public sphere as dangerous. In Figure 10, a woman, representing the United States, reminds two soldiers that even if their lovers or family never find out about sexual indiscretions and venereal disease, they will still have shamed their country. This is a sharp contrast to the depiction of women in previous posters, but not the men. As the woman is representative of American strength and greatness, the men are once again heroic in their uniforms and deserving of sympathy as they struggle to maintain sexual purity (by lack of venereal disease, not lack of sex). Figure 11 features an American family with a straight-forward message: Strengthen the family. It implies that prostitution and promiscuity, which can lead to illegitimacy and venereal disease, are threats to the family, and by extension, the country. While not pictured in any setting, the family is clearly representative of the hearth and home, a domestic reprieve from the danger

⁴⁴ American Social Hygiene Association's constitution, Article II, Retrieved from <https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/programs/health-nutrition/american-social-hygiene-association-1946/>

lurking in the public sphere. This poster is different from the others in that it does not warn men of the dangers of women, but rather reminds them of their duty to their families. This softer admonition reflects the national campaign which criminalized sexual women and victimized sexual men.

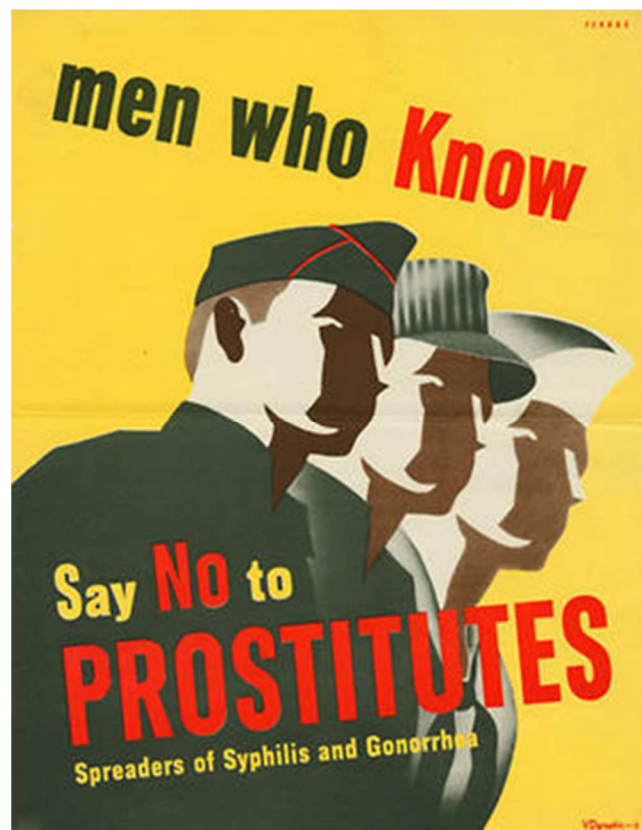


Figure 12. "Men who Know Say No to Prostitutes," 1940. Courtesy of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division.

Figure 12 appears different from the other posters examined because it relies mostly on the lionization of (male) soldiers, but it continues the vilification of women as immoral and infectious. As the other posters have illustrated, uniformed men symbolized the strength of the American army. They had the admiration of the public whether they had sex or not, all that mattered was that they remained clear of infection. But once again, the poster clearly communicates that men were not to be blamed for contraction, or even the spread of, venereal disease. The text does not tell men to say no to sex but calls for them to say no to prostitutes. This avoids eliminating sex, which has already been stated was not seriously considered for male soldiers. The text clearly states that *prostitutes* spread venereal disease, not the men who visited them. This once again denies men responsibility in the spread of venereal disease and places the blame squarely on women's shoulders.



Figures 13 and 14. “You May Think She’s Just Your Gal, but She May be Everyone’s Pal,” 1944. “She May Look Clean-But...,” 1940. Courtesy of University of Minnesota Libraries, Manuscripts Division.

Figures 13 and 14 unequivocally cast women as inherently suspicious and potentially infectious. These posters do not rely on the exaggeration of women’s sexuality like some of the others examined, but instead portray women who look “nice” and “clean.” These posters may seem restrained, but they are in fact more direct vilifications of women. As the posters’ text reveal, even a pretty, innocent face can hide syphilis or gonorrhea. This clouds women, who may by all accounts seem respectable, under suspicion of prostitution for no reason besides their status as *women*. The message

here is that women cannot be trusted and must always be treated as potentially infectious and likely promiscuous. These charges, as shown by overly zealous monitoring of women in chapter one, reveal a conscious check on women's autonomy.

The venereal disease posters tell the story of a complex war waged within the nation's boundaries, one in which women were the enemies. Conflating pickups and prostitutes, the government created a campaign of suspicion and scrutiny against civilian women, all in the name of protection for the U.S. army. This endeavor reinforced the sexual double standard between men and women, as well as reinforcing traditional gender roles. Women were used in countless propaganda posters during the war; they called upon citizens to join the military, buy war bonds, and take war jobs to help bring the fighting to an end. They symbolized all the good of American freedom, except when that freedom transgressed Uncle Sam's traditional ideals. In this symbolically rich terrain, a wrong look, wrong makeup, wrong job, wrong place could turn a nice girl into a public threat.

CHAPTER III: SODOM OF THE SOUTH: READING NASHVILLE'S SEXUALIZED LANDSCAPE

“Many of these honky tonks are being used almost entirely as contact centers for soldiers and prostitutes...” –Chief John Griffin, quoted in the *Tennessean* May 27, 1942

Jessica Ellen Sewell argued that “[t]he presence or absence of women or of men can instantly gender a space.”¹ Downtown Nashville exemplifies a public landscape historically imbued with female exclusion and male sexuality. This does not mean that women did not exist; rather, women traversed the landscape and held positions in downtown spaces without issue. What separated these women from those deemed suspicious and in need of police intervention is that women working in department stores or publishing houses were operating within accepted avenues for women and keeping their perceived sexuality away from the watchful gaze of law enforcement. Women working to further the war effort were tolerated in historically male spaces as long as their sexuality did not stray from matrimony and into the public sphere. As fear over the soaring rates of venereal disease became more pronounced with legislation aimed at combating this trend, police cast a more scrutinous eye on Printers Alley. Nashville law enforcement aggressively policed downtown Nashville, the home of the accepted if not welcomed red light districts, to keep the perceived promiscuity from seeping into surrounding residential areas. Using John Compton’s 1982 Printers Alley Historic

¹ Jessica Ellen Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco 1890-1915*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press (2011): xxii.

District National Register nomination and a 1945 survey of Nashville prostitution commissioned by the American Social Hygiene Association, as well as Peiss's understanding of gendered domains, I illustrate that much of the public landscape during World War II was imagined as an inappropriate space for women as anxiety about women's sexuality came to a head.² I rely on the Printers Alley Historic District National Register form because of the overlap of Nashville areas discussed in this and the American Social Hygiene Association prostitution survey.³ I am focused specifically on World War II because the absence of men pushed more women into the workforce than ever before. This changing workforce expanded to include white and middle-class women, who were now objects of the same suspicion previously directed at their working-class and minority counterparts. Nashville's downtown entertainment center is an example of a masculine, sexualized landscape where women were ultimately removed through arrests for vice violations.⁴

² John Compton, "Printers Alley Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Metro Historical Commission, Nashville, 1982, included in Appendix E; Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, Box 29, 14, Davidson County Health Department Records, "Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945," included in Appendix F.

³ John Compton's *LinkedIn* profile states that he received his Bachelor's degree in Architecture in 1977, and promptly began work as a Historic Preservationist II at Metro Nashville Historical Commission. He served as the Graduate Architect of Metropolitan Historical Commission when he wrote this nomination in 1982. After leaving Metro, Compton was Director of Restoration at Old Salem, Executive Director of Hickory Landmarks, and Executive Director at Preservation Durham until 2010, when he presumably retired. This information is to illustrate Compton's expertise and the reliability of the Printers Alley Historic District National Register nomination in analyzing downtown Nashville's landscape.

⁴ This chapter relies on the 1945 American Social Hygiene Association's prostitution survey, a primary source, and the National Register nomination for Printers Alley a secondary source. The American Social Hygiene Association's survey reveals the conditions of prostitution in Nashville during World War II as well as locations considered to be most patronized by prostitutes and pickups. The Printers Alley National Register nomination is a significant secondary source because of the historical context it provides about Printers Alley's history. I chose to use these sources together because of the overlapping of locations discussed. The locations I will analyze from the American Social Hygiene Association's survey are

Historical Significance

Public spaces operated within a complicated terrain of gendered meanings. In *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco 1890-1915*, Sewell explained that at the turn of the twentieth century, “[e]ach type of eating establishment and the motives that drew women there created distinctly classed and gendered experiences of public space.”⁵ Men were expected patrons of saloons and such spaces were, as Roy Rosenzweig argued “a male refuge,” from the domestic sphere.⁶ Lower-class establishments like bars and taverns were more associated with working-class recreation, which colored women patrons as potentially deviant.⁷ Architecture and interior design in entertainment and recreation spaces also communicated whether a building was intended for men or women. Sewell explains that “dark wood and leather” were considered masculine designs.⁸ The result was that women present in such environments were out of place. The privacy afforded by booths “created an intimate and private space within the public space,” and while potentially a source of safety for women from the crowd of men, “it also shielded them from the policing gaze of waiters.”⁹ This discretion “[marked] most restaurants as inappropriate for respectable

revealed to have lengthy gendered and sexual histories, which are discussed in the Printers Alley nomination.

⁵ Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, 68.

⁶ Ibid., 76.

⁷ Jonathan Daniels, “Disease and Punishment,” *Nation*, August 1941, 162, cited in Marilyn E. Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 70.

⁸ Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, 68.

⁹ Ibid., 82.

middle-class women.”¹⁰ The sale of liquor, which was considered a male beverage of choice, further scandalized this arrangement, and counters were also problematic as they evoked imagery of bars.¹¹

In World War II downtown Nashville, women could not conceivably avoid the public sphere. The changing times of the WWII-era forced men and women to share public spaces on a larger scale than ever before. Jessica Ellen Sewell wrote about the societal implications of this, explaining that “women and men negotiated the same public spaces of streets and public transportation, shopping districts, and places of amusement, although this sharing often conflicted with the imagined ideal gendering of these spaces.”¹² For women in Nashville, downtown housed places of work, shopping, and entertainment. Women were charged with taking care of the domestic sphere, which “required shopping for food and clothing, going to banks and other offices to conduct household-related businesses, and visiting doctors and dentists.”¹³ As women filled positions left vacant by the men shipped overseas, they also needed to commute for jobs. This required women to traverse “[t]he most public space of all, and that most regularly encountered, ... the street.”¹⁴ The banks on 4th Avenue North and Union Street and 3rd Avenue North, Candy Kitchen and Bakery in Printers Alley, Phillips and Buttorff MFG Co. on 3rd Avenue North are just a few examples of places that women would need to

¹⁰ Ibid., 68-69.

¹¹ Ibid., 70, 82-83.

¹² Ibid., xvi.

¹³ Ibid., 25.

¹⁴ Ibid., xxxii.

shop or work at and that would require them to navigate the complex sexual landscape of public streets.

A Masculine and Sexualized Landscape

Nashville's thriving center of commerce and publishing houses characterized much of downtown as a male sphere in the late nineteenth century. The *Tennessean* and the *Nashville Banner* were the city's two leading papers, and both had headquarters in Printers Alley during their peak. Prior to its name change, the *Tennessean* was known as the *Union and American* and "built the building at 313 Church Street in 1874."¹⁵ After moving to another location, the *Nashville Banner* moved to this building "and remained there until 1922," and "[f]rom 1916 until 1937 the *Tennessean* was located in the Old Southern Turf building at 222 Fourth Avenue, North."¹⁶ The Second Avenue Commercial District, known as Market Street in the nineteenth century, "served primarily as a wholesale, warehouse, and light manufacturing area."¹⁷ Third Avenue North, known as College Street during this time, "was known as the retail furniture district," and "many businesses operated stores there" well into the mid-twentieth century.¹⁸ These businesses' successes marked Printers Alley as the home of respectable workplaces belonging to the masculine, public sphere.¹⁹

¹⁵ Compton, Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination, 9.

¹⁶ Compton, 9-10.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 9.

¹⁹ Ibid., 9; Fainstein and Servon, *Gender and Planning: A Reader*, 4.

History had designated downtown Nashville as gendered, and during World War II women found active within it were guilty of suspected sexual deviance. Printers Alley was also the home of Nashville's Men's Quarter on Fourth Avenue, North, known at the time as Cherry Street. During the Victorian period, "a block devoted almost exclusively to saloons and other entertainment businesses for men" developed.²⁰ Known nationally as a center for entertainment, "a gentleman could find saloons, billiard halls, restaurants, men's furnishings, cigars and tobacco, barber shops, bath-houses, and loan offices" within the one-block area of the Men's Quarter.²¹ The Climax Saloon, the Utopia Hotel, and the Southern Turf "were known as the finest to both the visitor and the resident of Nashville."²² As the National Register Nomination form states, the Men's Quarter "became the social center for the male populace for nearly two decades."²³ The Men's Quarter was known to be "an area where any respectable lady would refuse to be seen," and this perception carried into the twentieth century.²⁴

Prior to World War II, parts of downtown Nashville had already developed a reputation for sexual vice. According to historian James Jones, "A section of...Church Street," ... "First, Second, Third, and Fourth Avenues [were] the area[s] of heaviest concentration" of prostitutes by 1860.²⁵ As the total elimination of prostitution proved

²⁰ Compton, Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination, 10.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

futile and was abandoned, Nashville became the home of legalized prostitution during the Civil War. This was immediately reversed at the war's end.²⁶ Jones continues to say that as time went on, "the incidence of prostitution in the so-called 'Men's Quarter' ... was either discrete or nonexistent" at the turn of the twentieth century.²⁷ It is likely that rather than being nonexistent, the commercial establishments located in and around the historic Men's Quarter offered a veil of respectability under which men could pick up women without attracting too much attention. The sexualized nature of Printers Alley did not erase the masculine omnipresence as those ventures providing sexual entertainment aimed to satisfy men's tastes and desires. In 1945, the American Social Hygiene Association directed a staff member to gather evidence of vice conditions in Nashville. The report revealed that of the thirteen locations identified, not including military camps, eight were located in or around Printers Alley.²⁸ Comprised of bars, cafes, and restaurants, the report illustrates that women who patronized these commercial recreation sites were considered promiscuous.

Many operations in Printers Alley transitioned from spaces of commerce to sexuality, both existing to serve men. The Basement Bar and Southern Turf, located at 313 Church Street and 222 Fourth Avenue, North, respectively, have historically been

²⁵ James Jones, "Municipal Vice: The Management of Prostitution in Tennessee's Urban Experience. Part I: The Experience of Nashville and Memphis, 1854-1917," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 50, 1 (1991): 33.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁸ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, "Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945," Davidson County Health Department Records.

masculine spaces. The locations of the *Tennessean* and the *Nashville Banner* just a few decades before the prostitution survey established these buildings as part of the workplace and implicitly excluded women from their premises.²⁹ By World War II, these locations were home to the Basement Bar and Southern Turf, both of which were popular locations for commercial and clandestine prostitution.³⁰ The American Social Hygiene Association listed the Basement Bar as one of “the worst” establishments for prostitution, where “many...[were] alleged to be plying their trade on the premises.”³¹ The 1945 survey reported that like many of the other establishments, this one included booths, “which afford[ed] [prostitutes] a commanding view of the resort” and a “vantage [point]” of “likely-looking prospects.”³² According to the American Social Hygiene Association staff member conducting the investigation, two clandestine prostitutes at the Basement Bar referred to the Victory Hotel on 7th Ave. N. as suitable for taking their “pickups.”³³

When it was written in 1982, the National Register Nomination form revealed that the building at 313 Church Street had “been subject to a few alterations and an entrance to the basement restaurant, as well as an [added] ‘imposing flashing sign,’” but that the “first four floors [were] in almost original condition.”³⁴ While the form does not specify

²⁹ Fainstein and Servon, *Gender and Planning: A Reader*, 5.

³⁰ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945” Davidson County Health Department Records, 1.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Compton, Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination, 5.

when the basement entrance and sign had been added, it is likely that they were added during the transition from publication headquarters to encourage the patronization of the bar. The nomination form reports that the façade of the Basement Bar “is made up of numerous windows of varying shapes.”³⁵ In her book, Jessica Ellen Sewell quoted Wolfgang Schivelbusch as saying: “The illuminated window as stage, the street as theatre and the passers-by as audience—this is the scene of big-city night life.”³⁶ For the Basement Bar, women and their perceived sexual discretions were visible from the outside, putting them literally on display to be scrutinized by anyone who walked by, including law enforcement.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, 115.



Figures 15 and 16. Undated engraving of the Southern Turf Saloon. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives. Photograph of the Southern Turf building and restaurant, 2018. Courtesy of the author.

The Southern Turf, initially the Southern Turf Saloon, retained its reputation from the days of Printers Alley’s Men’s Quarter and enjoyed an equally sordid reputation as the Basement Bar during World War II.³⁷ In this establishment, another clandestine prostitute remarked that it was “out of bounds for servicemen,” but that “any Hotel room” would be available for a pickup.³⁸ The initial inclusion of “saloon” in the name identified

³⁷ Compton, Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination, 7.

³⁸ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945: Key to Code,” Davidson County Health Department Records, 1.

it as a space for males. As Roy Rosenzweig asserted, saloons were “pervaded by an ‘aura of freewheeling masculinity,’ which made many women uncomfortable and marked women who entered as potential prostitutes.”³⁹

While the decoration of the establishment during World War II is unknown, aside from the inclusion of booths in their dining area which questioned the morals of the women seated in them, the National Register Nomination form reveals that “Early descriptions of the interior [spoke] of ‘mirrors, bronze statuary, rare paintings, mahogany furnishings, tropical plants, marble halls and electric fans’.”⁴⁰ The bronze and mahogany details were the masculine touches described by Sewell, but the other details indicate its earlier legacy as “the most elegant of the saloons in Nashville.”⁴¹ At the time the National Register nomination was created, a night club was located in the basement and a men’s clothing store was operated on the first floor.⁴² This suggests that the space’s masculine presence persisted long after World War II.

Mickey’s Dugout at 212 4th Avenue North, Victory Café at 220 4th Avenue North, and Blackstone Café at 405 Church Street were sexualized spaces intended for the enjoyment of men. According to the 1945 survey, all three cafes had signs reading, “Unescorted women not allowed,” although they did not deter women from soliciting pickups on the premises.⁴³ These three establishments were known to be popular with

³⁹ Roy Rosenzweig quoted in Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, 76.

⁴⁰ Compton, Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination, 7.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

“servicemen and ‘Chippies,’” women looking to have sex with soldiers.⁴⁴ Two prostitutes who spoke with the American Social Hygiene Association investigator at Mickey’s Dugout “offered to go to any room,” but it is unclear if they were referring to another hotel room or the rooms on the upper floor, as described in the Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination form.⁴⁵

Unfortunately, the National Register Nomination does not provide information on the interiors of these establishments. More information is known about the exterior architecture, and in 1977, 212 Fourth Avenue, North retained the “decorative green and white glazed brick” façade and the panel design in the parapet.⁴⁶ The nomination further revealed that a restaurant was operating out of the first floor, continuing its historical identity of commercial recreation. 220 Fourth Avenue, North was built as a “one-story masonry structure” with “an elaborate glazed terra cotta façade with Beaux-Arts style detailing.”⁴⁷ The Printers Alley Historic District nomination form states that a Burger

⁴³ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945,” Davidson County Health Department Records, 2.

⁴⁴ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945: Key to Code,” Davidson County Health Department Records, 1; Hegarty, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, 129.

⁴⁵ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945: Key to Code,” Davidson County Health Department Records, 1; Compton, Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination, 7.

⁴⁶ Compton, Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination, 7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

King occupied the historic location of Victory Café, along with 216 and 218 Fourth Avenue North.⁴⁸



Figure 17. Photograph of the Maxwell House Hotel and the Noelle Hotel in the background, 1961. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

⁴⁸ Ibid.



Figures 18 and 19. Photograph of Noelle sign outside historic Noel Hotel, 2018. Courtesy of the author. Photograph of the site of the historic Maxwell House Hotel, now a bank.

Courtesy of the author.

Downtown Nashville: Hotel History

Hotels have historically been imbued with gendered meaning. In *Women and the Everyday City*, Sewell discussed how the domestication of hotels made them suitable spaces for women, but the “[remaking] into a private space” caused their meaning to shift to spaces for men or sexually deviant women.⁴⁹ This “remaking” involved dimly-lit, more

⁴⁹ Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, 74.

intimate spaces for couples to sit away from the watchful gaze of passers-by, giving the impression of something to hide. During World War II, law enforcement asserted that hotels had transitioned from a space of domestication away from home to a potential refuge for prostitutes and deviant women.⁵⁰ In 1941, The Nashville Chief of Police pointed to hotels and residential areas throughout the city as filled with such women avoiding raids on their usual places of business.⁵¹ Just a few days later, *The Tennessean* reported that 36 contacts were reported to have been made in Nashville hotels, with nearly all of them reported in one hotel.⁵² Police did not scrutinize hotels for promiscuous women. Men under suspicion of procuring prostitutes or pickups were arrested by police attempting to find connections to prostitution rackets. Several hotels in Printers Alley were identified as vice-filled by the 1945 prostitution survey, and their reputation for deviance extended to the women who were found in or near them.

Maxwell House's front door was located in the historic Men's Quarter of Printers Alley. The National Register nomination form stated that Printers Alley was "nationally known as an entertainment center."⁵³ Interestingly, a 1930 ad in the *Nashville Tennessean* stated that "Every day tourists ask[ed] to be directed to the old Maxwell House hotel, a handsome and historic landmark."⁵⁴ Given the legacy of Printers Alley and the infamous

⁵⁰ Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, 68.

⁵¹ "Police Say Virtually All Known Houses of Prostitution Closed: 'All Out' Campaign Follows Complaints by Army, Repeated Black Picture Report to Officials," *The Tennessean*, Nov 20, 1941, 6.

⁵² "Army Asks New Federal Law Action Against Prostitution Here: Invocation of May Act Asked After Many Camp Forrest Soldiers Get Venereal Diseases in City," *The Tennessean*, Nov 25, 1941, 13.

⁵³ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, "Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945: Key to Code," Davidson County Health Department Records.

Men's Quarter, it is possible that some of these tourists were drawn to the hotel for its proximity to other types of recreation. Maxwell House was located just down the street from the Southern Turf. According to the 1945 prostitution survey, Maxwell House was known as a place where women could be procured. Speaking to the American Social Hygiene Association investigator, a "bellboy offered to call [a] prostitute," but none were found to be living in the hotel.⁵⁵ The survey indicated that the women were clandestine prostitutes, charging \$5 and up for their services.⁵⁶

Noel Hotel at 200 4th Avenue North had a similar reputation. Don H. Doyle stated in *Nashville Since the 1920s* that the Noel, like Maxwell House, "served the needs of visiting businessmen and government officials" in the decades after it opened.⁵⁷ Located near many of Printers Alley's more infamous dives, the hotel was undoubtedly a place for men to bring their "dates." According to the prostitution survey in 1945, it was known as a hotel where army officers could procure women.⁵⁸ Like at Maxwell House, a bellhop

⁵⁴ Photomontage of the Maxwell House Hotel, and ads. Nashville Tennessean, 1930 September 28, *Nashville Tennessean*, Nashville Newspaper Rotogravure Digital Images Collection, Nashville Public Library Digital Collections. Photomontage of the Maxwell House Hotel, and ads. Nashville Tennessean, 1930 September 28.

⁵⁵ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, "Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945," Davidson County Health Department Records, 3.

⁵⁶ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, "Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945: Key to Code," Davidson County Health Department Records, 1.

⁵⁷ Don H. Doyle, *Nashville Since the 1920s* (University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 125.

⁵⁸ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, "Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945," Davidson County Health Department Records, 3.

offered to produce “dates,” the same price as at the Maxwell House, and spoke of the ease of being able to “sneak” women into the hotel.⁵⁹ The *Nashville Banner* and the *Tennessean* reported several arrests of hotel employees during World War II, including the Noel. In September of 1942, Thurman Lee Anthony was arrested, along with a young girl, under suspicion of violating the May Act.⁶⁰ Just two days later, another man, Harold Jones, was arrested for the same charge.⁶¹ Despite the Noel’s reputation for finery, newspaper articles and the American Social Hygiene Association prostitution survey illuminate the vice behind the façade.

The Maxwell House Hotel at 4th Avenue North and Church had historically been a male-dominated space. According to *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, the front of the building faced Printers Alley’s Men’s Quarter and a separate entrance for women was found on Church Street, explicitly marketing it as a space for men.⁶² The hotel was five-stories and boasted “steam heat, gas-lighting, and a bath on every floor.”⁶³ In addition to these comforts, “the elegant main lobby featured mahogany cabinetry, brass fixtures, gilded mirrors, and chandeliers.”⁶⁴ The National Register nomination form states that the Noel Hotel was “very stark in its overall appearance,” but

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ “Employee of Hotel, Girl Arrested on May Act Charges,” *Nashville Banner*, September 9, 1942, 8.

⁶¹ “Employee of Hotel is Arrested on May Act Charge,” *Nashville Banner*, September 11, 1942, 12.

⁶² Ophelia Paine, “Maxwell House Hotel,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, Dec 25, 2009, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=849>

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

possessed “some very elegant classical detailing.”⁶⁵ The interior, unlike the exterior, was known for its ornate details. It possessed “marble and brass, and plaster work detailed in stylized classical motifs.”⁶⁶ Once again, the elegant detailing of the Noel Hotel reveals a projection of refinement. These details, as Sewell discussed in her book, revealed a reverence for masculinity and elegance.⁶⁷ Although parlors for women were offered, the “billiard rooms, barrooms, [and] shaving ‘saloons,’” revealed a commitment to meeting men’s needs rather than women’s.⁶⁸

The fact that these elegant buildings were known to be hotspots for promiscuous women reveals that these were spaces with men’s reputations in mind. The men who picked up women in these bars or hotels were not visiting brothels, they were patronizing legitimate establishments. They could hide behind their gender to walk into a bar and drink and dance with women. Those peering in through the windows could deduce that these were respectable men unwinding from a long day at work. The women, however, were singled out as out of place. Women’s respectability was increasingly fragile as sexual regulations targeted women in public for suspected promiscuity, and ornate architecture and classical detailing could not protect them.

⁶⁵ Compton, Printers Alley Historic District National Register Nomination, 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, XXX

⁶⁸ Paine, “Maxwell House Hotel,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, Dec 25, 2009, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=849>

The Removal of Women

In order to remove women from the public sphere and protect its masculine ownership, women during World War II were arrested for a variety of charges for their public presence. As stated in Sharon E. Wood's *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City*, "Appearance, location, and conduct in public were the markers by which authorities judged women's status."⁶⁹ Women in public were suspicious, and many of these euphemistic crimes, such as vagrancy, loitering, or disorderly conduct, were charged at women who happened to be near a house of prostitution or place known for attracting promiscuous women.⁷⁰ In 1941, Nashville Chief of Police stated that to find promiscuous women suspected of having a venereal disease, police could "arrest them and charge them with vagrancy and loitering, lewdness, or some similar complaint."⁷¹ This proximity-policing extended the sexualization from bars and taverns to the streets, which women had to traverse to shop, visit, and run errands.⁷² Newspaper articles reveal that numerous women were arrested for such behavior outside of bars and taverns. During a 1941 push to rid the city of prostitution, police were instructed to arrest "All persons suspected of immoral acts and all vagrants...on sight."⁷³ In 1945, eleven women were arrested and "charged with

⁶⁹ Sharon E. Wood, *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 23.

⁷⁰ Uniform Crime Reports, 107; Steffensmeier, Rosenthal, and Shehan, "World War II and its Effect on the Sex Differential in Arrests," 412.

⁷¹ "Police Say Virtually All Known Houses of Prostitution Closed: 'All Out' Campaign Follows Complaints by Army, Repeated Black Picture Report to Officials" *The Tennessean*, Nov 20, 1941, 6.

⁷² Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, 25.

loitering about a disorderly house” during a raid on a tavern on Union Street.⁷⁴ The highways were also sexualized because of the threat of infected women traveling to military bases. In 1943, a bill gave the Highway Patrol Authority to enforce the May Act, making travel more dangerous for women.⁷⁵ Women found to be traveling highways were charged with vagrancy and police questioned whether May Act violations were appropriate charges as well, revealing the danger of traveling the sexualized public landscape during World War II.⁷⁶

In Nashville, city police characterized streets as spaces for pickups, clouding women active on the streets in suspicion. As Sewell relates, “streets [and] streetcar...made up a web of transportation that connected domestic spaces to one another and to other landscapes.”⁷⁷ Under the sexual regulations instructing potentially promiscuous women to be arrested, some of these “other landscapes” were presumed to hold soldiers in danger of infection by diseased prostitutes. Nashville Chief of Police John Griffin stated in 1941 that most venereally diseased soldiers “had contracted diseases from women whom they had met on the streets, or in various Nashville residential areas.”⁷⁸ The sexualization of streets was not only seen by the law. Sgt. Louis

⁷³ “Army, State Officials Join Drive To Clean Up Area for War Games: Prostitution, Vice, Sanitation of Food To Be Attacked in Middle Tennessee” *The Tennessean*, May 11, 1941, 44.

⁷⁴ “Disorderly House Charged After Raid,” *The Tennessean*, Feb 24, 1945, 6.

⁷⁵ Nat Caldwell, “Jobless Funds For Returned Soldiers Asked: Cummings Bill Makes More Difficulty For Adjournment Limit” *The Tennessean*, Feb 11, 1943, 2.

⁷⁶ Jack Setters, “Prostitution Well in Hand, City, County Police Report: May Act ‘Wonderful Measure in the Right Direction,’ Says Chief Griffin—‘District’ Reported Inactive” *The Tennessean*, July 14, 1942, 3.

⁷⁷ Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, 1.

Davis of the Smyrna Air Base explained to the American Social Hygiene Association official that “You meet [girls] all over, in the movies, on buses and on the street...Never know where you’ll run into one...”⁷⁹ The report continues that “Along the streets a number of apparent pickups were also seen,” but does not state what about them marked them as “apparent” pickups or prostitutes.⁸⁰

In the zealous campaign to find potential promiscuous activity, Nashville police focused on those who may be transporting promiscuous women through city streets: cab drivers. As has been stated in Chapter 1, certain occupations were marked as suspicious, and cab drivers were one of them. As Nashville Chief of Police John F. Griffin declared, “it is impossible for [police] to prove what operators are conducting themselves in this manner.”⁸¹ By “getting them all” the police hoped to “weed out those who [were] making money from other sources,” implying prostitution.⁸² Newspaper articles detailed the practice of authorities surveying cars for evidence of sexual misconduct. Law enforcement targeted taxi drivers as “criminal exploiters of prostitutes,” along with “facilitators [and] bellhops,” in the crackdown on prostitutes and procurers.⁸³ This wide-

⁷⁸ “Police Say Virtually All Known Houses of Prostitution Closed: ‘All Out’ Campaign Follows Complaints by Army, Repeated Black Picture Report to Officials” *The Tennessean*, Nov 20, 1941, 1.

⁷⁹ (Box 29, 14), Metro Nashville/Davidson County Archives, Nashville Public Library, “Commercialized Prostitution Conditions in Nashville, Tennessee, February, 1945,” Davidson County Health Department Records, 8.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ “15 in ‘Cabbie’ Roundup Fined: Police Say City Taxi Laws Violated As Racket Is Exposed,” *The Tennessean*, November 22, 1942, 44.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Col. Larry B. McAfee, MC, Executive Officer, Office of the Surgeon General, Letter to the Surgeons of all Corps Areas, Departments, and Independent Stations, Sternberg, et al. “Chapter X: Venereal Diseases, Part I. Zone of Interior: Significant Policies in Prevention and Control,” in *Preventive*

ranging campaign targeted keepers of public spaces and the facilitators that potentially assisted women in their journey.

To rectify the influx of women into the public sphere during World War II, women arrested on May Act and City Ordinance 1628 violations were forcibly removed. The May Act instructed officials to take whatever steps necessary to prevent prostitution and the spread of venereal disease to soldiers, and City Ordinance 1628 outlined the state's rights to hold and forcibly examine suspicious persons.⁸⁴ Arrest under suspicion of promiscuity was sufficient cause for a venereal examination, and those found to carry a disease were forcibly treated and often quarantined under the guise of protecting public health.⁸⁵ In the case of Nashville, the Middle Tennessee Isolation Hospital opened in February of 1943 on the Davidson County Hospital property.⁸⁶ Patients were "held under lock and key" the first several months before a government order ended that practice, leaving no doubt as to the purpose of quarantining women.⁸⁷

Medicine in World War II, Vol. V, 141, 174.

<http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/communicablediseasesV5/chapter10.htm>

⁸⁴ Public Law 163-77th Congress, Chapter 287-1st Session, H.R. 2475, City Ordinance 1628.

⁸⁵ McMillin, *In the Presence of Soldiers*, 180.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

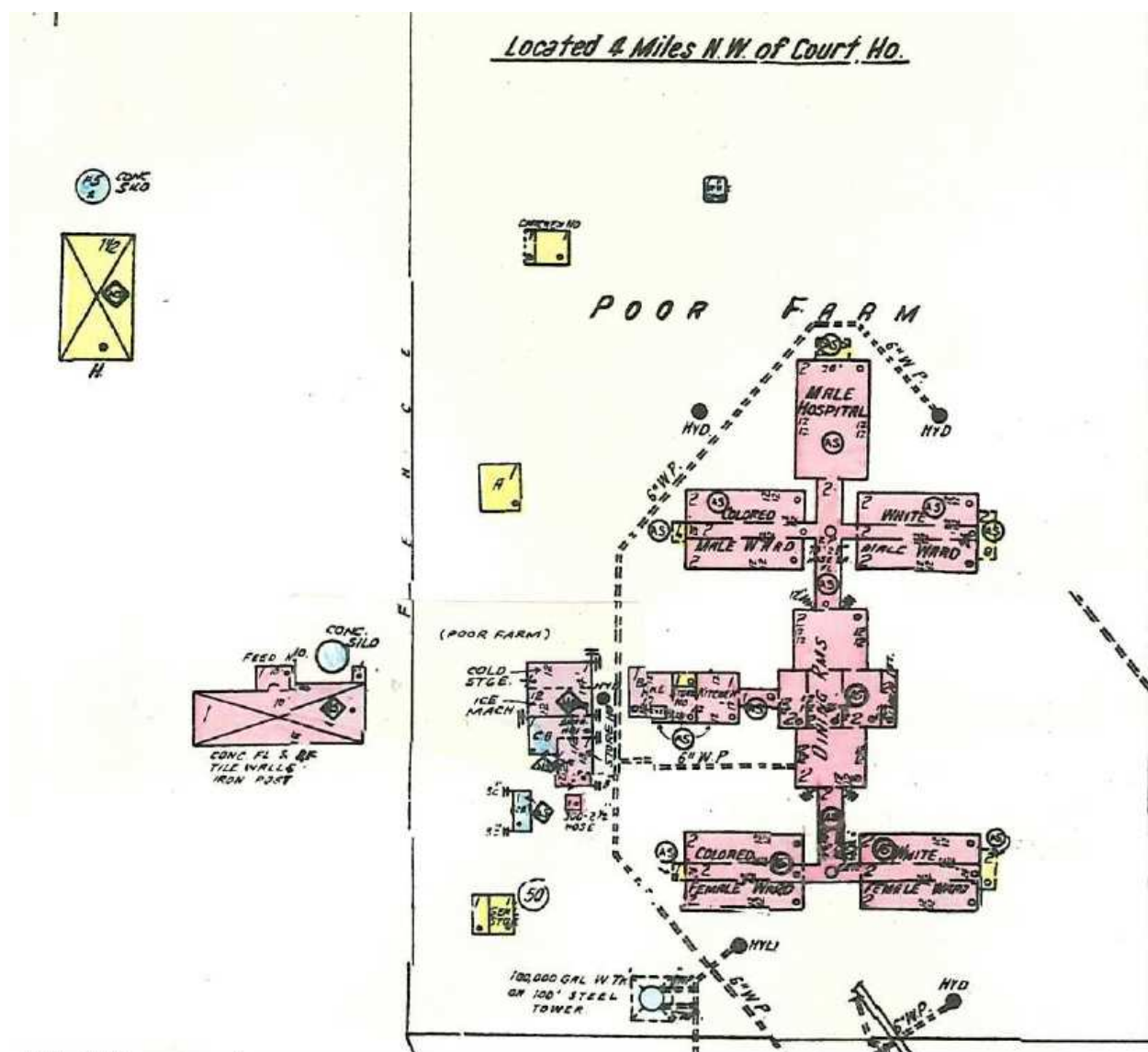


Figure 20. 1957 Sanborn map of Hospital and Insane Asylum. Courtesy of Walker Library, Middle Tennessee State University.

After illustrating women's promiscuity with arrests for crimes signifying potential promiscuity, the next step was for the government to illustrate their danger by removing

them from society. To this end, the Middle Tennessee Isolation Hospital opened on Hyde's Ferry Pike, a few miles outside of Nashville.⁸⁸ This had the effect of removing women from not only the public sphere, but from the activity of the city as well. Also located on Hyde's Ferry Pike were the Davidson County Insane Asylum and the Poor Farm. The link between sexual deviance and psychopathology is documented in Susan Cahn's *Sexual Reckonings*, and the fact that these women tested positive for venereal disease meant that they had engaged in sex before.⁸⁹ This fact "distinguished them from 'normal' (sexually inactive) girls" and sexually appropriate women and marked them as dangerous.⁹⁰ The implications of the location for the Middle Tennessee Isolation Hospital are not subtle. Like individuals who were unable to care for themselves and considered unfit to live alongside the rest of society, deviant women were removed and placed there for the good of the public and themselves. Maria Cristina Santana wrote in "From Empowerment to Domesticity: The Case of Rosie the Riveter and the WWII Campaign" that

The definition of womanhood was not only dependent on women's ability, choice, or skills but also on rules of behavior. As a child is guided on how to behave, women were also instructed on what to do in order to be respectable. The issue here is not that the norms were spelled out but that any infraction was considered deviant. Averting from the expected behavior paid a very high price.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Randolph Tucker, "County Provides V.D. Hospital: Fanning Orphanage Reserve Site; State Thanks Cummings," *The Tennessean*, Feb 02, 1943, 1-2.

⁸⁹ Susan Cahn, *Sexual Reckonings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 189.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Maria Cristina Santana, "From Empowerment to Domesticity: The Case of Rosie the Riveter and the WWII Campaign," *Frontiers in Sociology* 23, Dec. 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fsoc.2016.00016/full>

For the women sent to this hospital, they paid the price: their reputations and freedom.

During World War II, this anxiety revolved around the influx of women out of the home and into the public sphere of sexuality and masculinity. Printers Alley's history as a male-dominated space marked it as inappropriate for women. The architecture and design of the buildings emphasized its domination by men, contributing to its understanding as a masculine sphere of the public landscape. The women present in these public spaces were interpreted as sexually deviant, and the disturbance was alleviated by removing women from the public sphere. This was done through arrests for May Act violations and other euphemistic charges that were at their core sexual. Santana wrote that "the relationship between the practices of everyday life and the spaces in which they take place make visible the antagonisms inherent in any complex society and thus is crucial to understanding the engine of social change."⁹² By removing women from the public, they were for a time removed from society, leaving a public landscape navigated and controlled by men.

⁹² Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, xxiv.

CONCLUSION

“Nashville’s first May Act violation charge was recorded at city police headquarters shortly before midnight last night after a 41-year-old South Nashville woman allegedly made a bold solicitation of a plain clothes officer within the shadows of the Federal Customs House on Eighth Avenue, South, near Broadway.”—*The Tennessean*, June 4, 1942

World War II truly was a transformative period in women’s history, but not in terms of increased autonomy and freedom for women. Indeed, women were encouraged to work outside the home and do more in public than they ever had before. But when women’s mobility strayed from the government’s prescribed campaign to boost morale and the war effort, sexual regulations acted as checks on women’s increased mobility and transformed the public into a sexually charged landscape.

The purpose of this research is not to cast Nashville as the most significant city in World War II sexual history. Rather, this is an attempt to join two distinct fields of study, sexuality and public space, and explore their overlap. Landscapes are so much more than architecture and greenspace. They reveal people’s values, fears, and activities they would probably like to be forgotten. By exploring how women’s sexuality entered into the public sphere, we create more honest, complex narratives of women’s experiences.

The archetypal image of World War II women, the Rosies in the factories, may seem like a contradiction to this thesis, but it is not. As Marilyn Hegarty explores in depth

in her book, *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes*, the government conscripted women's sexuality to win the war. Women were expected and encouraged to remain attractive and entertain soldiers, but on their terms. When women's sexuality moved beyond acceptable bounds, as Hegarty argues, it entered into the realm of deviance and needed punishment.

How did America move from empowered women in factories to the archetypal housewife of the 1950s? The answer is sexual regulations that curbed women's public activities and ushered them back into the home. This thesis is a starting point to fill in the gap between the Rosies of World War II and the Lucies and Junes of the 1950s. Ideally future research will examine the public and domestic spheres of the 1950s that were so rigidly delineated and illustrate how this came about after the distortion of such boundaries during the necessary wartime mobilization. I hope this research illuminates the intrinsic connection between landscape and zeitgeist and will assist future scholars in their reading the landscape.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The May Act

AN ACT

To prohibit prostitution within such reasonable distance of military and/or naval establishments as the Secretaries of War and/or Navy shall determine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the Army and/or Navy.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That until May 15, 1945, it shall be unlawful, within such reasonable distance of any military or naval camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training or mobilization place as the Secretaries of War and/or Navy shall determine to be needful to the efficiency, health, and welfare of the Army and/or Navy, and shall designate and publish in general orders or bulletins, to engage in prostitution or to aid or abet prostitution or to procure or solicit for the purposes of prostitution, or to keep or set up a house of ill fame, brothel, or bawdy house, or to receive any person for purposes of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution into any vehicle, conveyance, place, structure, or building, or to permit any person to remain for the purpose of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution in any vehicle, conveyance, place, structure, or building or to lease, or rent, or contract to lease or rent any vehicle, conveyance, place, structure, or building, or part thereof, knowing or with good reason to know that it is intended to be used for any of the purposes herein prohibited; and any person, corporation, partnership, or association violating the provisions of this Act shall, unless otherwise punishable

under the Articles of War or the Articles for the Government of the Navy, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment, and any person subject to military or naval law violating this Act shall be punished as provided by the Articles of War or the Articles for the Government of the Navy, and the Secretaries of War and of the Navy and the Federal Security Administrator are each hereby authorized and directed to take such steps as they deem necessary to suppress and prevent the violation thereof, and to accept the cooperation of the authorities of States and their counties, districts, and other political subdivisions in carrying out the purposes of this Act: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall be construed as conferring on the personnel of the War or Navy Department or the Federal Security Agency any authority to make criminal investigations, searches, seizures, or arrests of civilians charged with violations of this Act.

Approved, July 11, 1941.

APPENDIX B

The Eight Point Agreement

The Interdepartmental Agreement

An Agreement by the War and Navy Departments, the Federal Security Agency, and State Health Departments on Measures for the Control of the Venereal Diseases in Areas Where Armed Forces or National Defense Employees are Concentrated

It is recognized that the following services should be developed by State and local health and police authorities in cooperation with the Medical Corps of the United States Army, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the United States Navy, the United States Public Health Service, and interested voluntary organizations:

1. Early diagnosis and adequate treatment by the Army and the Navy of enlisted personnel infected with the venereal diseases.
2. Early diagnosis and treatment of the civilian population by the local health department.
3. When authentic information can be obtained as to the probable source of venereal disease infection of military or naval personnel [familial contacts with naval patients will not be reported], the facts will be reported by medical officers of the Army or Navy to the State or local health authorities as may be required. If additional authentic information is available as to extramarital contacts with diseased military or naval personnel during the communicable stage, this should also be reported.

4. All contacts of enlisted men with infected civilians to be reported to the medical officers in charge of the Army and Navy by the local or State health authorities.

5. Recalcitrant infected persons with communicable syphilis or gonorrhea to be forcibly isolated during the period of communicability; in civilian populations, it is the duty of the local health authorities to obtain the assistance of the local police authorities in enforcing such isolation.

6. Decrease as far as possible the opportunities for contacts with infected persons. The local police department is responsible for the repression of commercialized and clandestine prostitution. The local health departments, the State Health Department, the Public Health Service, the Army, and the Navy will cooperate with the local police authorities in repressing prostitution.

7. An aggressive program of education both among enlisted personnel and the civilian population regarding the dangers of the venereal diseases, the methods for preventing these infections, and the steps which should be taken if a person suspects that he is infected.

8. The local police and health authorities, the State Department of Health, the Public Health Service, the Army, and the Navy desire the assistance of representatives of the American Social Hygiene Association or affiliated social hygiene societies or other voluntary welfare organizations or groups in developing and stimulating public support for the above measures.

APPENDIX C

City Ordinance 1628

Every female who shall, in the city, offer or tender herself for the purposes of prostitution, illicit intercourse or who shall be in the habit of receiving or making visits therefor, or frequent places where such practices are reasonably believed to occur shall together with her paramour or visitor be guilty of a misdemeanor and of a violation of this article.

Any party who shall assist, facilitate or otherwise aid in the above practices shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. (1628.)

APPENDIX D

American Social Hygiene Association Constitution

Article I

The name of the Association shall be The American Social Hygiene Association.

Article II

The purpose of this Association shall be to acquire and diffuse knowledge of this established principles and practices and of any new methods which promote, or give assurance of promoting, social health; to advocate the highest standards of private and public morality; to suppress commercialized vice, to organize the defense of the community by every available means, educational, sanitary or legislative, against the disease of vice; to conduct on request inquiries into the present condition of prostitution and the venereal disease in American towns and cities; and to secure mutual acquaintance and sympathy and cooperation among the local societies for these or similar purposes.

**APPENDIX E: 1982 PRINTERS ALLEY HISTORIC DISTRICT
NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION**

United States Department of the Interior
Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

See instructions in *How to Complete National Register Forms*
Type all entries—complete applicable sections

For HCRS use only
received
date entered

1. Name

historic PRINTERS ALLEY HISTORIC DISTRICT

and/or common name

2. Location

Half of 200 block Third Avenue, North, half of 100 & half of 200 block
street & number Fourth Avenue, North, and 300 block of Church Street N/Not for publication

city, town Nashville n/a vicinity of congressional district

state Tennessee code 047 county Davidson code 037

3. Classification

Category	Ownership	Status	Present Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> district	<input type="checkbox"/> public	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> occupied	<input type="checkbox"/> agriculture
<input type="checkbox"/> building(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> private	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> unoccupied	<input type="checkbox"/> commercial
<input type="checkbox"/> structure	<input type="checkbox"/> both	<input type="checkbox"/> work in progress	<input type="checkbox"/> educational
<input type="checkbox"/> site	Public Acquisition	Accessible	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> entertainment
<input type="checkbox"/> object	<input type="checkbox"/> N/A in process	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> yes: restricted	<input type="checkbox"/> government
	<input type="checkbox"/> being considered	<input type="checkbox"/> yes: unrestricted	<input type="checkbox"/> industrial
		<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> military
			<input type="checkbox"/> museum
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> park
			<input type="checkbox"/> private residence
			<input type="checkbox"/> religious
			<input type="checkbox"/> scientific
			<input type="checkbox"/> transportation
			<input type="checkbox"/> other:

4. Owner of Property

name Multiple Ownership - see Continuation Sheet

street & number n/a

city, town n/a n/a vicinity of state n/a

5. Location of Legal Description

courthouse, registry of deeds, etc. Registrar's Office

street & number Davidson County Courthouse

city, town Nashville state Tennessee 37201

6. Representation in Existing Surveys

Downtown Nashville Plan & Development Program Historical-
title Architectural Survey & Analysis has this property been determined eligible? ☐ yes ☒ no

date April, 1977 ☐ federal ☐ state ☐ county ☒ local

depository for survey records Metropolitan Development and Housing Agency

city, town Nashville state Tennessee

NPS Form 10-900-a
(7-81)

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

Continuation sheet Printers Alley
Historic District

Item number 4

Page 1



Thomas W. Steele	210 25th Ave. N.	Nashville, TN 37201
Noble C. Caudill, II	305 Union Street American Trust Building 15th fl.	"
Morris Brown, Sr.	P.O. Box 4673	Nashville, TN 37216
Ray C. Flowers	211 3rd Ave. N.	Nashville, TN 37201
Joel E. Vradenburg Arthur H. Buhl, III	210 Printers Alley	"
E & B Ltd. % Dukes & Chambers	Nashville City Bank	"
Ambrose Associates	P.O. Box 22149	Nashville, TN 37202
Third National Bank	P.O. Box 2821	Nashville, TN 37219
Connecticut Mutual Life Ins. Co.	140 Garden Street	Hartford, CT 06115
. Mrs. Angelia N. Duncan	801 Belton Drive	Nashville, TN 37205
. Louie Phillips	Commerce Union Bank Bldg.	Nashville, TN 37201
. "	"	"
. Milbrey Waller Andrews %Trust Department	First American Bank	Nashville, TN 37237
. Sam Boushulen	1514 Woodland Street	Nashville, TN 37206
. Ann Cartwright Moore	5007 Country Club Court	Brentwood, TN 37027

7. Description

Condition		Check one	Check one
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> excellent	<input type="checkbox"/> deteriorated	<input type="checkbox"/> unaltered	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> original site
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> good	<input type="checkbox"/> ruins	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> altered	<input type="checkbox"/> moved date _____
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> fair	<input type="checkbox"/> unexposed		

Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

The Printers Alley Historic District includes fifteen structures in the heart of Nashville's Central Business District. It is bounded on the north by Bank Alley, on the east by Third Avenue, North, on the south by Church Street, and on the west by Fourth Avenue, North. Three structures are located to the south of Church Street and one building is on the east side of Third Avenue, North. The district is adjacent to the Second Avenue Commercial District on the east, the Cheatham Building on the south, and the Utopia Hotel is within this district. These have all been listed on the National Register in 1972, 1980, and 1979, respectively. The buildings in the district are all commercial structures dating from 1874 to 1929 and range from one to twelve stories in height. The architectural styles represented are those of the late Victorian era and the commercial styles of the early twentieth century which include Italianate, Romanesque Revival, Victorian Romanesque, Queen Anne, Neo-classical, Chicago, and Art Deco. The majority of the buildings date from 1890s to 1905 and range from three to six stories in height. Eleven buildings are built of solid masonry, one has a heavy timber frame interior structure, one is steel frame, and two are reinforced concrete. Thirteen of the fifteen structures are contributing in that they are significant in the historic and architectural development of the district and maintain most of their architectural integrity. The two non-contributing buildings have had their original facades completely obscured by new storefronts that disrupt the character of the district in their design and materials. All of the buildings appear to be structurally in good to excellent condition. Four structures are completely rehabilitated or have been continually maintained with full occupancy. The others are at least occupied on the lower floors, with vacant upper floors that have been allowed to deteriorate. All of the buildings have seen at least some alteration. Most of the alterations, however, have been restricted to the storefronts.

Buildings contributing to the character of the district:

1. 207 Third Avenue, North: built in 1892, this Chicago-style structure is five stories in height and built of solid masonry. It was designed by architects Thompson and Zwicker.

The facade is supported by a beam decorated with a bear's head at each end; the storefront is fully glazed with no structural supports interspersed. The end walls of rusticated stone rise into decorative brickwork made up of four slender shafts that extend all the way up the facade. The second through fifth floors each have five rectangular windows with the middle three windows grouped together and separated only by slender Tuscan columns. Brick spandrel panels between each floor are decorated with straited brickwork below the windows. At the top of the building, the cornice supports a brick balustrade that reflects the rhythm of the window openings.

The Printers Alley facade is unadorned and made up of large, evenly spaced, segmental arched window openings that are boarded up. The central opening on the alley level is a service door that opens onto a loading dock.

The interior spaces are undivided on each floor. The only ornamentation consists of the staircases and the baseboards. The staircases have open risers and a landing midway between each floor. The newel posts are massive; they are turned, as are the balusters. Sections of these features are missing in places.

2. 208 Third Avenue, North: built in 1883, this Romanesque Revival style building is five stories tall and built of solid masonry. Evidence indicates that this building is the remaining one of a block of three buildings built as a unit. The first floor storefront is altered, but original fabric is evident. Three massive arches encompass the fenestration of the second through fourth floors and are surmounted by an arcade of five windows on the fifth floor, a stylized brick cornice

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and simple parapet. Despite its fragmentary nature, the composition is still one of merit and makes a positive contribution to the district. The interior spaces are undivided, and there is little ornamentation.

3. 209 Third Avenue, North: also built after the 1892 fire and designed by Thompson and Zwicker, this Victorian Romanesque style building is five stories in height and built of solid masonry. The polychromatic exterior finish of differently colored and textured stone, brick, and terra cotta is a treatment unique in Nashville. The storefront unfortunately has been completely altered, but the upper floors are a treasure of architectural detail. Two massive recessed arches extend from the second to the fourth floor on either side of a narrower arched central bay. A window in the center of the second floor is surmounted by a swan's neck pediment. The spandrel above the three arches at the top of the fourth floor is filled with foliated terra cotta decoration. The upward thrust of the recessed arches is further emphasized and terminated by twin gables that originally extended above the parapet.

The Printers Alley facade serves as the entrance to a night club that occupies the first and second floors of this building. This facade is unadorned, containing only segmental arched window opening that have been boarded up.

4. 211 Third Avenue, North: also built after the 1892 fire and designed in the Victorian Romanesque style by Thompson and Zwicker, this five-story, solid brick masonry structure has undergone a recent renovation that unfortunately sandblasted the brick and altered the first floor storefront in an unsympathetic manner. The treatment of the storefront could be reversed, however. The upper floors consist of a series of arches. Two colossal arches extend side by side from the second floor to the fourth, enclosing windows and spandrels. The fifth floor is made up of an arcade of five windows surmounted by an arcaded corbel table. The stone cornice has dentils and lion's head end caps and rests on a row of brick inset panels. The entire facade is straited with alternating rows of light and dark brick. The lower two levels of the Printers Alley facade were altered during the recent rehabilitation to accommodate the main entrance to the building, an inset which serves as a parking space off the alley and a New Orleans style wrought iron balcony on the second level. The upper floors are unadorned with large segmental arch windows. All the windows in the building have been replaced with new aluminum frame units.

5. Noel Block Garage (300-314 Church Street): this five-story parking garage, built in 1926, was the first in Nashville. It is reinforced concrete post and lintel construction with floors, roof, and ramps of reinforced concrete also. Brick curtain walls are broken into recessed bays with pairs of large rectangular metal-framed paned windows on each level that are typical of the period. The Church Street facade has eight equal bays, each containing space on the first level for commercial rental space except for the first bay on the west end of the facade. Here is a stone arched automobile entrance two floors in height, with Art Deco details and the name carved across the top. The Third Avenue facade is broken into two sections, unequal in height, even though both still have five levels. Each section has a wide central bay containing three windows flanked by narrow bays with one window on each level. The recess of each bay is capped with a dentil course and a row of Spanish tiles. The garage was built with a capacity for 320 cars.

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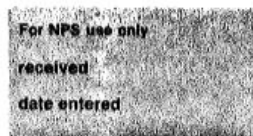
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6. 313 Church Street: built in 1874 in the Romanesque Revival style, this five-story solid brick masonry structure is one of two buildings in Nashville known as the Banner Building. The first four floors are in almost original condition except for a few alterations mainly on the first floor. An ornate peaked-roof top floor has unfortunately been replaced by an unsympathetic unadorned one. The facade is supported on the first floor by four massive pilasters. The central doorway is recessed behind an arch supported by Corinthian columns on pedestals. The central bay is greatly emphasized on the upper facade by ornate detailing. A pair of windows on the second floor has arched transoms that are enclosed by massive hood molds with corbel stops. They support the projection of the bay on the upper floors. Within the projection is a monumental recessed arch with tripartite windows and transoms on both levels. The flanking bays have single rectangular windows on each level with arched transoms capping the fourth floor windows. All of these elements accentuate the verticality of the design only to be interrupted by a flat obtrusive fifth floor. The Printers Alley facade is made up of numerous windows of varying shapes taken from the front facade. An entrance to a basement restaurant has been added along with an imposing flashing sign above. Despite the loss of the original top floor and a few minor alterations, the building maintains much of its architectural integrity and its historical significance is not diminished.
7. Ambrose Building (162 Fourth Avenue, North): built as the Bruce Building in 1905 for the Marshall and Bruce Publishing Company, this three-story structure has a wood column and beam support system with exterior load bearing masonry walls on the sides and rear.
- This building successfully employs classical detailing with the modern innovations of the Commercial style. The form of the building is Neo-classical with a ground story upon which rest two monumental pilasters with stylized Ionic capitals at either end of the structure. These pilasters support a massive yet simple cornice spanning the full width of the building. This treatment allows for the complete expanse of the facade to be glazed on each level. The building was completely rehabilitated in 1979 at which time the windows were complete replaced. The brick of the first floor facade was stuccoed over because it had been irreversibly damaged by an earlier renovation. The first story has a simple arched recessed entrance in the center balanced on each side by simple storefront windows. The upper two floors are completely glazed and separated by an unadorned but wide spandrel panel. On the Printers Alley facade, the upper floors were altered by extending a fully glazed curtain wall a few feet out from the original facade over the alley. This facade had no ornamentation whatsoever and the alteration did not harm the integrity of the building.
8. J. C. Bradford Building (170 Fourth Avenue, North): built as Nashville's first skyscraper in 1905, this building has undergone four name changes and a major addition and remodeling in 1938. The twelve-story steel frame structure with brick curtain walls was designed by architects Barnett, Hayes, and Barnett for the First National Bank. Subsequently, it has been called the Independent Life Building, Third National Bank Building, and since 1968, the J.C. Bradford Building. The original structure was built in the Neo-classical style. When Third National Bank acquired the building, they built an addition to the east of the original structure which doubled the size of the building and removed virtually all original exterior ornamentation. New

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Art Deco details were added to both the interior and exterior. Even though this major alteration is less than fifty years old, the most significant attribute of this building is that it was Nashville's first skyscraper and steel frame building. This is worthy of recognition. The detailing of the alteration is of a high quality and would be eligible in its own right in a few years. The base of the building which consists of the first two levels is faced with limestone. Pilasters with stylized capitals establish the rhythm of the bays, and ornamental cast metal spandrel panels separated the first and second level within each bay. Above this base is an unornamented brick shaft of eight stories containing paired rectangular single-light windows evenly spaced within the facade. A stone belt course delineates the remaining two stories from the shaft. The uppermost story contains large round arched window units which terminate the rhythm of the fenestration. A flat limestone parapet with rectangular grilles evenly spaced above each bay complete the facade. The interior of the banking room is quite impressive in its scale and with its Art Deco detailing. The movable iron screen at the entrance to this room is outstanding with its circular medallions of polished brass, each with a sign of the zodiac in relief.

9. U.S. Bank Building (200 Fourth Avenue, North): built in 1929 as the Noel Hotel, this twelve-story, reinforced concrete structure with brick curtain walls is a stripped-down, 1920s modern adaptation of the Neo-classical style. It was designed by Nashville architects Marr and Holman. Though very stark in its overall appearance, there is some very elegant classical detailing. The ground story base with mezzanine has a rusticated and coursed ashlar limestone finish with large expanses of glass on the front and elegant arched windows on the rear extension. The ground story has a cornice with Greek Fret moulding. Capping the parapet on the rear extension are classical urns. The shaft is very plain with evenly spaced individual single-light rectangular windows. Stone spandrel panels with diamond insets separate the windows on either end of the facade. The interior, unlike the exterior, is quite ornate with its polished marble and brass, and plaster work detailed in stylized classical motifs. After the hotel closed, the building was adapted as a bank in 1973 with the upper floors serving as offices and the lobby as the main banking room.
10. Utopia Hotel (206 Fourth Avenue, North): built in 1891, the six-story solid masonry structure with stone Romanesque style facade was designed by Nashville architect Hugh C. Thompson and was listed individually on the National Register in 1978.
12. Climax Saloon (210 Fourth Avenue, North): built in 1887, this three-story solid masonry structure has an Italianate style galvanized iron facade that in all probability was chosen from a catalogue. This is the only such example known in Nashville. The original first story storefront has been completely obliterated by numerous "face-lifts." The upper facade is remarkably intact considering the neglect it has had. One small section of metal at the top left is missing, the windows are in very poor condition, and an extremely ornate parapet has been lost. Nevertheless, that which remains is highly significant. Four narrow, round-arched windows on the second and third floors each are recessed into a wall of rusticated and coursed ashlar and separated by slender Corinthian column with capitals at the impost level. The end walls have rusticated and coursed ashlar buttresses with Corinthian capitals also at the impost level. A belt course separates the floors. Above the third floor is a frieze with decorated panels. Caryatids formerly separated these panels and supported the parapet. The three-story

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block extends only half the length to the alley. The basement and first story extend the full length and probably originally housed the kitchen. The Printers Alley facade has no noteworthy details. The building houses a night club in the basement, a hot dog store on the front first level and a restaurant in the rear. The upper floors, vacant and greatly deteriorated, are remarkably intact. The original layout and most of the original finishes are extant (these include wood trim, Italianate cast iron mantels, some interior shutters, remnants of wallpaper, some of which is Lincrusta-Walton, murals that are barely discernible, and even remnants of light fixtures). There are some alterations that were probably made when it was still a saloon, including false walls in bedrooms on the third floor where the girls could hide in case of a raid.

13. 212 Fourth Avenue, North: built in 1917, this two-story, solid brick structure is built in a simplified Commercial style with decorative green and white glazed brick. The first floor storefront has been altered and the brick painted, but the upper floor is in original condition. The facade is white and embellished with green brick along the sides of the four rectangular windows in a staggered pattern, in a belt course across the facade at the top of the windows, and in the parapet creating a panel design. The main block of the building extends only half the depth of the block. The basement extends to Printers Alley but is completely obscured with new brick and a billboard. The first floor houses a restaurant, and the upper floor is vacant with numerous rooms. The wood trim is a simple design commonly seen in structures of the 1910s and 1920s.
15. Southern Turf Saloon (222 Fourth Avenue, North): built in 1895, in the Queen Anne style, this four-story solid brick structure with limestone front facade was the most elegant of the saloons in Nashville. Early descriptions of the interior speak of "mirrors, bronze statuary, rare paintings, mahogany furnishings, tropical plants, marble halls and electric fans." Today, most of the interior features have been lost; and unfortunate alterations, though hopefully not irreparable, have been made to the exterior front facade on the first and second levels. The building is structurally still in excellent condition and most of the architectural detail remains. When viewing the building, the eye is immediately drawn to the corbeled turret at the left upper corner of the front facade. The corbeled base, which has been covered with black stucco along with the entire second floor facade, rises to encompass three long narrow windows on the third floor, three shorter windows in the attic story, and a dome with fish scale shingles and a flagpole at its peak. The third floor front consists of windows that match those of the turret. Three are grouped together in the center and one is slightly removed to the right side to balance with the turret. The attic story has an arcade of four shorter windows with the same spacing. An elaborate belt course which separates the third floor from the attic story and a cornice with dentils extend across the front facade and wrap around the turret. The brick facade on Bank Alley is as ornate as the front elevation with its three two-story bay windows and decorative brickwork on the chimneys and corbel table at the cornice. Some windows on the first story and others at various locations have been bricked up. The basement facade along Printers Alley has rockfaced coursed ashlar with a doorway to the left side and a wide bricked up window opening in the center. The basement facade along Bank Alley has a storefront of square decorative cast iron posts that extend halfway up the block. The space between the posts have been filled in with metal panels. The basement houses a night club, the first floor a men's clothing store, and the second and third floors

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floors, the original stairway between the second and third floors, and a few interior partitions remain, the rest of the interior has been removed.

Buildings not contributing to the character of the district:

11. 208 Fourth Avenue, North: a portion of this two-story brick structure appears to be residential in character and probably dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century. Additions to the front and rear of the original structure were made in the second half of that century. Early photographs of the Utopia and Climax show slivers of each end of this building. It seems to have a simple early Victorian facade, with glazed storefront on the first level, two-over-two light sashes on the second, and a simple boxed cornice. Because the facade is completely covered over with the present non-contributing false front, it would be impossible to classify this as a contributing building in the district. If more evidence can be found to document the Victorian facade and a commitment is made by the owners to return the facade to that configuration, it is hoped that the classification of this structure could be reconsidered and it be determined to be contributing.
14. Burger King (216-218-220 Fourth Avenue, North): built in ^{? 1876} 1971 to house three tenants, this one-story masonry structure had an elaborate glazed terra cotta facade with Beaux-Arts style detailing which was covered over by the present tenant. It is believed that the terra cotta was damaged in attaching the existing facade to the structure. Again, it is hoped that a contributing determination could also be made for this building if there were a commitment to rehabilitate the original facade.

8. Significance

Period	Areas of Significance—Check and justify below					
<input type="checkbox"/> prehistoric	<input type="checkbox"/> archeology-prehistoric	<input type="checkbox"/> community planning	<input type="checkbox"/> landscape architecture	<input type="checkbox"/> religion		
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input type="checkbox"/> archeology-historic	<input type="checkbox"/> conservation	<input type="checkbox"/> law	<input type="checkbox"/> science		
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/> economics	<input type="checkbox"/> literature	<input type="checkbox"/> sculpture		
<input type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> architecture	<input type="checkbox"/> education	<input type="checkbox"/> military	<input type="checkbox"/> social/		
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<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> industry printing	<input type="checkbox"/> politics/government	<input type="checkbox"/> transportation		
		<input type="checkbox"/> invention		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> other (specify)		
				entertainment		
Specific dates	N/A	Builder/Architect	N/A			

Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

The Printers Alley Historic District, nominated under National Register criteria A and C, derives its significance from four areas: industry, commerce, entertainment, and architecture. Nashville is nationally known for its printing and publishing industry. This industry began shortly after the founding of Nashville and was thriving by the middle of the nineteenth century, with an abundance of newspapers, periodicals, and religious materials being published there. These activities were located in buildings that were serviced by Printers Alley. Nashville also developed rapidly as a commercial center. College Street (now Third Avenue, North), south of Union Street, was known as the retail furniture district. The district's prominence lasted until the turn of the century, and many businesses operated stores there for another fifty years. The Men's Quarter on Cherry Street (now Fourth Avenue, North) developed during the Victorian years as a block devoted almost exclusively to saloons and other entertainment businesses for men. Such activities were suppressed in the early twentieth century; but in the last twenty years, there has been a rebirth. Now fronting on Printers Alley, the former Men's Quarter is again a major entertainment district. The alley itself, in addition to the buildings that surround it, has a significance of its own. The alley always has been the scene of much activity which is tied to the uses of the buildings. It has been a place for socializing as well as working. The Printers Alley Historic District contains fifteen buildings which form an excellent collection of the rich architectural styles of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Together, they illustrate the transition from Victorian to modern architecture in Nashville and the technological advances which made this possible. At least nine of the buildings in and adjoining Printers Alley are individually significant. The Printers Alley Historic District consists of only a portion of Printers Alley, the furniture district, and the Men's Quarter. Many buildings have either been demolished or have lost their architectural integrity. This district represents a concentration of those buildings that retain their historical and architectural integrity.

The Printers Alley area was the home of printers and publishers in Nashville. Even though most of these concerns did not front on Printers Alley, it served as a place for the handling of goods and the distribution of publications, particularly newspapers. At its heyday, 1915, thirteen publishers and ten printers were located in this area. The area had been laid out by 1831, and the office of one of Nashville's early leading newspapers was adjacent to it at that time. By 1853, there were three newspapers and at least one other printing office. An 1855 deed refers to a printing office situated on a parcel bounded on two sides by Deaderick Street and Black Horse Alley. The 1866 deed to the same parcel refers to the alley as Black Horse or Printers Alley. Two newspapers listed their address on Printers Alley, one in 1865 and the other in 1866. The Tennessean, Nashville's leading newspaper today, and its predecessors are known to have had six different locations in the area of Printers Alley. As the Union and American, this newspaper built the building at 313 Church Street in 1874. In 1883, they moved to another location in the area, and the Nashville Banner, Nashville's other leading paper, moved into 313 Church and remained there until 1922. From 1916 until 1937 the Tennessean

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was located in the old Southern Turf building at 222 Fourth Avenue, North. The building at 162 Fourth Avenue, North, built in 1905 for Marshall and Bruce Publishers, has continued to house printing companies until 1976 when Ambrose Printing, one of Nashville's leading firms, relocated. Buildings associated with printing are #2, #6, #7, and #15.

In the nineteenth century, College Street (now Third Avenue, North) was an integral part of the commercial core of Nashville. While Market Street (listed in the National Register as the Second Avenue Commercial District) served primarily as a wholesale, warehouse, and light manufacturing area, College Street served as a retail center for hardware, furniture, and other manufactured goods. The block between Church Street and Bank Alley was devoted almost totally to furniture stores with four listed there in 1853. Nashville had a population of a little more than 10,000 at that time. By January of 1892, when a fire destroyed almost the entire west side of College Street between Church and Bank, there were eight furniture stores in the area. All five of the buildings south of Bank Alley which were destroyed in the fire were rebuilt for furniture stores. The four buildings (#1, #2, #3, and #4) on Third Avenue in this district have been used almost solely as furniture stores during their lifetimes. Even with the expansion of furniture stores onto Broadway in the twentieth century, Third Avenue remained an important location for furniture merchandising until the middle of the twentieth century.

The Printers Alley area is nationally known as an entertainment center. The factors contributing to this reputation began in the 1890s when Cherry Street between Church and Union Streets was the Men's Quarter, which became the social center for the male populace for nearly two decades. Within this one-block area located in the heart of the city, a gentleman could find saloons, billiard halls, restaurants, men's furnishings, cigars and tobacco, barber shops, bath-houses, and loan offices. Three establishments, the Climax Saloon, the Utopia Hotel and the Southern Turf, formed the core of this area, and their accommodations and provisions were known as the finest to both the visitor and the resident of Nashville. The Little Gem, one of the most popular restaurants in the city, was also on Printers Alley. The Men's Quarter catered solely to men and became not only a sanctuary for them but also an area where any respectable lady would refuse to be seen. The demise of the Men's Quarter came after the turn of the century with the reform movement and the enactment of statewide prohibition in 1909. Many of the male-oriented businesses continued in spite of the decline of the area, and local tradition says that at least one speakeasy operated out of the basement of one of the saloons and opened onto Printers Alley. This became the precursor for the thriving entertainment complex that has developed in Printers Alley over the past twenty years, while the Fourth Avenue storefronts have had commercial uses that serve the downtown office workers. Buildings which contribute to this area of significance are #10, #11, #12, #13, #14, and #15.

Printers Alley is the unifying factor in this district. Here all the different uses of these buildings came together and gave the alley a life of its own. The loading and unloading of goods in and out of furniture stores, printing shops and the male-oriented saloons and business, the distribution of newspapers to carriers, the presence of the Little Gem Restaurant in the alley, the casual and spontaneous socializing resulting from all of this activity made the alley a unique place. Even though the uses of the buildings have changed, Printers Alley retains its character as an active and vital place where people still gather.

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The Printers Alley Historic District is architecturally very significant to Nashville. Its late Victorian buildings are very elegant. The slightly taller masonry buildings on Third Avenue, North, show in their detailing the early influence of the Chicago School. The advent of the modern skyscraper in Nashville at the corner of Church and Cherry Streets is of major importance, along with the construction of the first automobile parking garage, the Noel Block Garage. Other innovations of early twentieth century architecture are represented by materials used in the ornamental detailing of buildings in the district, such as glazed brick and terra cotta and Art Deco stonework and bronze spandrel panels. While the alley facades have no distinctive architectural details, the simplicity, texture, and age of their materials collectively give them integrity. All of the buildings that are listed as contributing support the district architecturally.

All of the buildings appear to be structurally in good to excellent condition. Deterioration is found primarily on the upper vacant floors of nine buildings. All of the buildings are currently being used or have plans underway for their redevelopment. Four buildings have been rehabilitated or have had continued maintenance and use. There is much interest in the rehabilitation of those buildings where the upper floors are currently not being used.

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Interview with Percy Cohen, April 26, 1981.

Interview with William Waller, April 26, 1981.

Nashville City Directories, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Register of Deeds, Davidson County Courthouse, Deed Book 19, p.449.

Deed Book 37, p. 705.

Thomason, Philip, "The Men's Quarter of Downtown Nashville," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, Spring, 1982, pp. 48-66.

Wooldridge, J., Editor, History of Nashville, Tenn, H. W. Crew, Nashville, 1890.

9. Major Bibliographical References

See continuation sheet.

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of nominated property approx. 5 acres

Quadrangle name _____

Quadrangle scale 1:24000

UMT References

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	Zone	Easting	Northing
C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
E	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
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B	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
	Zone	Easting	Northing
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F	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
H	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Verbal boundary description and justification

The boundaries of the Printers Alley Historic District are outlined and hatched in red on the accompanying Davidson County Base Map P93A. The boundaries conform to the dimensions of the building owners property. These boundaries represent the greatest concentration of

List all states and counties for properties overlapping state or county boundaries

state	N/A	code	county	N/A	code
state	N/A	code	county	N/A	code

11. Form Prepared By

name/title	John H. Compton/Graduate Architect		
organization	Metropolitan Historical Commission	date	May, 1982
street & number	701 Broadway, Customs House	telephone	(615) 259-5027
city or town	Nashville	state	Tennessee 37203

12. State Historic Preservation Officer Certification

The evaluated significance of this property within the state is:

☐ national ☐ state ☒ local

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service.

State Historic Preservation Officer signature _____

title	date
For HCRS use only	
I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register	
date	
Keeper of the National Register	
Attest:	date
Chief of Registration	

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OWB NO. 1024-0018
EXP. 10/31/84

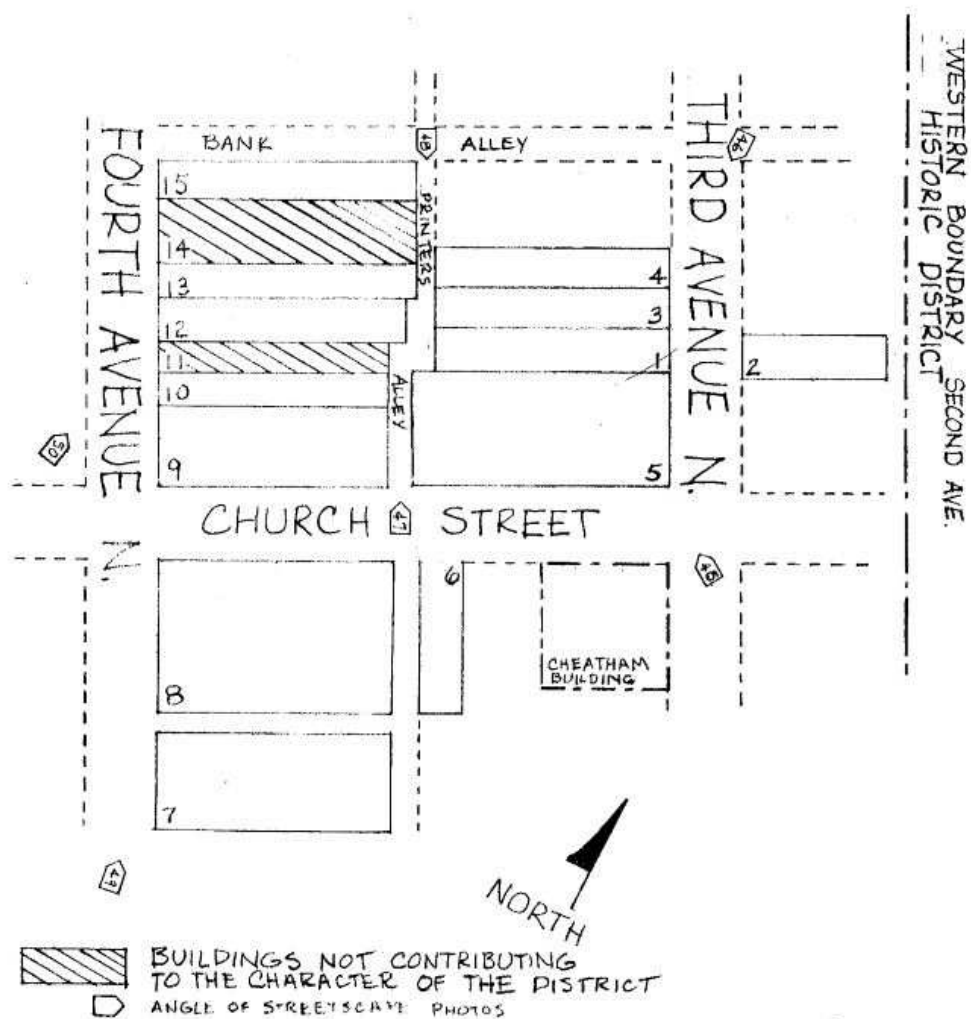
**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet	Printers Alley Historic District	Item number 10	Page 1
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buildings that retain their architectural and historical integrity. 208 Third Avenue, North (#2) is the only structure included on the east side of the street because all of the others have either been demolished or extensively altered. The 208 building is an integral part of the furniture district and is a contributing structure in all respects.



PRINTERS ALLEY HISTORIC DISTRICT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

SCALE: 1 INCH =
100 FEET



**APPENDIX F: 1945 AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION
PROSTITUTION SURVEY**

PRIVATE INFORMATION
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COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION CONDITIONS

in

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
(Smyrna Air Base)
(Nashville Air Base)
(War Production)

February 1945

IMPORTANT

STATEMENT OF CONDITIONS GOVERNING THE MAKING AND USE OF THIS REPORT

The facts contained in this report were gathered by a specially trained and experienced member of the staff of the American Social Hygiene Association, Incorporated, 1790 Broadway, New York City. This Association assumes responsibility for the accuracy of our investigator's description of existing conditions observed by him at the time of his visit to the community with which this report deals. The statements of other persons quoted in this report were made directly to the investigator and are included merely for the light they may throw on existing conditions but without assuming that they are true or accurate statements of fact.

The American Social Hygiene Association reserves the sole right to prepare and distribute copies of this report. The authorization for making additional copies by any other organization or person must be secured in advance and in writing from the Association.

This report should be kept in a locked file, and should not be circulated to unauthorized persons. This restriction should not prevent the judicious use of this report by the persons to whom it is sent by the Association.

February, 1945

Nashville, Tennessee
 (Smyrna Air Base)
 (Nashville Air Base)
 (War Production)

S U R V E Y

of

COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION CONDITIONS

Report of Study:*

Nashville is gradually returning to normalcy; that is, in respect to the absence of crowds. The streets are no longer packed with soldiers. Hotels do not have lines waiting for accommodations. Cafes, restaurants and amusement places are not overtaxed with persons seeking admission. According to those who claim to know, the depletion of military posts (A)... and (B)... is the chief reason, and the maneuvers being over is another contributing cause.

The few soldiers about town are mainly drifters, and it is alleged "hustlers" are starting to come out of their hibernation. As yet brothels have not reopened. Some individuals forecast - "It won't be long now." The prostitution activity which has commenced to show its head is centered in some eight cafes or taverns, (1) where sexually-promiscuous women and girls - prostitutes and chippies - make their nightly stands. (C)... to (H)... are the worst. There twelve different prostitutes were met. Many more are alleged to be plying their trade on the premises. All employ practically the same tactics. They sit at tables in booths, which afford a commanding view of the resort. From their vantage points they smile at

(1) See Class A Key to Code A1 to A8

*This report depicts commercialized prostitution conditions affecting white members of the U.S. Armed Forces and white war plant workers. The facts were obtained by a white Scientific Field Assistant.

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February, 1945Nashville, Tennessee

likely-looking prospects - civilians and war workers. When approached, they expect and accept offers to be treated to drinks. In the ensuing conversations, they ask:

"Where are you from?....How long have you been in Nashville?...Where are you stopping?"

Those who answer their questions satisfactorily and give reasonable assurance of not being the "law" are solicited. The "hustlers" offer to go to the prospects' hotels, or to some other hotels for immoral purposes, generally demanding \$5.00 for sexual intercourse and higher fees for sexual perversion.

Each of the twelve prostitutes insisted they don't fool around with soldiers, claiming "that's a sure way" of being apprehended by the police.

(I)...., a newcomer, met at the (F)... said:

"I've only been here about two weeks...So far have been doing O.K....Watch my step though... Am damn careful who I pick up...I know most of the 'law' in plain clothes...They might have some new ones, I don't know...Haven't run into any of them yet...Don't stay in one place too long...If there's nothing doing, go somewhere else...Later on expect to get a place of my own...Spoke to some of the cab drivers, but they're afraid to work with me...In a couple of months I'll be all set."

(D)...., (J).... and (K).... have signs reading - "Unescorted women not allowed."

Apparently they mean nothing. Women and girls without escorts come and go. Stag soldiers hang out on the premises, chiefly M.P.'s off duty. Females call loudly to them and in less time than it takes to relate pickups are achieved.

(L)...., a soldier, explained:

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February, 1945Nashville, Tennessee

"It's quite easy to pick a girl up...There's not much competition...At one time they could be choosy, but now we're in the saddle... You'd be surprised at the number of married women whose husbands are in the service who are 'on the make'...They're the kind for me, because they usually have a place to go...You meet them all over, in the movies, on buses and on the street...Never know where you'll run into one...I don't go for these dames who hang around the beer joints."

Along the streets a number of apparent pickups were also seen, but none were observed in the bus or railroad stations, which in many cities are good "hunting grounds."

Cabdrivers asserted "hustlers have begun to show up again in beer joints." Like (M)... they said:

"No whore houses yet...Whores hanging around some of the beer joints...There are no special joints...You'll spot them when you see them... The 'law' is still tough on them...That's why we don't fool with them."

"If conditions get back to what they were before the war then we'll take up where we left off... Business is getting worse all the time and pretty soon in order to make any money we'll have to work with them...Guess they'll be O.K. if they don't fool around with soldiers."

Nearly all hotels were investigated. Most bellboys are still toeing the mark by not acting as gobetweens. Two, (2) however, at two hotels, (3) (N)... and (O)..., offered pandering services. (1')... at the (O)... cited the conditions.

"If you get a room I can get you a girl...She works during the day...Fills 'dates' when I call her...I sneak her up...There are none living in the hotel...These army officers bring girls to their rooms, but if they're quiet no one says anything about it."

(2) See Class C Key to Code C1 and C2

(3) See Class D Key to Code D2 and D3

February, 1945

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Nashville, Tennessee

Much sneaking is said to take place in larger hotels. In smaller places like (Q)... and (R)... and tourist court (T)...⁽⁴⁾ accommodations are provided to 'hustlers' and their customers and "chippies" and their escorts. (T)... is run in conjunction with (H)..., a honky tonk, where numerous pickups were seen made. Couple after couple was seen to leave the premises and rent cabins. The night clerks at (T)... verified this fact and (U)..., a "hustler" met at (H)... added:

"It's safe to use the cabins...(V)... is a good sport and keeps her mouth shut...There's no fear of getting into trouble...These cabins are full every night and some of the best people use them when they want to cheat a little...I've been coming out here for years."

It was the firm conviction of (U)... and many others that Nashville will gradually reopen.

(4) See Class D Key to Code D1, D4 and D5

70
at
7-10-13

An Agreement by the War and Navy Departments, the Federal Security Agency, and State Health Departments on Measures for the Control of the Venereal Diseases in Areas where Armed Forces or National Defense Employees are Concentrated ^{1/}

It is recognized that the following services should be developed by State and local health and police authorities in cooperation with the Medical Corps of the United States Army, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the United States Navy, the United States Public Health Service, and interested voluntary organizations:

1. Early diagnosis and adequate treatment by the Army and the Navy of enlisted personnel infected with the venereal diseases.
2. Early diagnosis and treatment of the civilian population by the local health department.
3. When authentic information can be obtained as to the probable source of venereal disease infection of military or naval personnel, ^{2/} the facts will be reported by medical officers of the Army or Navy to the State or local health authorities as may be required. If additional authentic information is available as to extramarital contacts with diseased military or naval personnel during the communicable stage, this should also be reported.
4. All contacts of enlisted men with infected civilians to be reported to the medical officers in charge of the Army and Navy by the local or State health authorities.
5. Recalcitrant infected persons with communicable syphilis or gonorrhea to be forcibly isolated during the period of communicability; in civilian populations, it is the duty of the local health authorities to obtain the assistance of the local police authorities in enforcing such isolation.
6. Decrease as far as possible the opportunities for contacts with infected persons. The local police department is responsible for the repression of commercialized and clandestine prostitution. The local health departments, the State Health Department, the Public Health Service, the Army, and the Navy will cooperate with the local police authorities in repressing prostitution.
7. An aggressive program of education both among enlisted personnel and the civilian population regarding the dangers of the venereal diseases, the methods for preventing these infections, and the steps which should be taken if a person suspects that he is infected.
8. The local police and health authorities, the State Department of Health, the Public Health Service, the Army, and the Navy desire the assistance of representatives of the American Social Hygiene Association or affiliated social hygiene societies or other voluntary welfare organizations or groups in developing and stimulating public support for the above measures.

^{1/} Adopted by the Conference of State and Territorial Health Officers, May 7-13, 1940.

^{2/} Familial contacts with naval patients will not be reported.

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C O D E
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
February 1945

FILE SEPARATELY FROM REPORTS

February, 1945

Nashville, Tennessee
 (Smyrna Air Base)
 (Nashville Air Base)
 (War Production)

KEY TO CODE

SUMMARY

- (A) Camp Forrest
Tullahoma, Tenn.
- (B) Camp Campbell
Hopkinsville, Ky.
- (C) Basement Bar
313 Church
- (D) Mickey's Dugout
212 4th Ave. N.
- (E) Southern Turf
222 4th Ave. N.
- (F) Camel Inn
Arcade Alley
- (G) H and H Cafe
Arcade Alley
- (H) Raven Inn
2705 Dickerson Road
- (I) Martha
- (J) Victory Cafe
220 4th Ave. N.
- (K) Blackstone Cafe
405 Church
- (L) Sgt. Louis Davis
Smyrna Air Base
- (M) Driver Yellow
Cab #12

February, 1945

Nashville, Tennessee
(Smyrna Air Base)
(Nashville Air Base)
(War Production)

-2-

(N) Maxwell House
4th Ave. N. and Church

(O) Foal Hotel
200 4th Ave. N.

(P) Bellboy #9

(Q) Victory Hotel
151 7th Ave. N.

(R) Porter Hotel
129 4th Ave. N.

(T) Raven Tourist Court
2705 Dickerson Road

(U) Anna Garney

(V) "Hon"

February, 1945

Nashville, Tennessee

(Bars, Taverns, Beer-joints) (Seymour Army Air Base)
(Nashville Air Base)
(War Production)

A 1	Basement Bar 313 Church	Clan- destine	Yes	2	\$5. up	2/3 and other times	9:15 PM	Prostitutes Muriel and Lenora recommended Victory Hotel 151 7th Ave. N. as place where room could be rented for immoral purposes.
A 2	Mickey's Dugout 212 4th Ave. N.	"	"	1	1	"	11:20 PM	Prostitutes Pearl and Nancy offered to go to any room. Premises also hangout for servicemen and "Chipp- ies."
A 3	Southern Tuff 222 4th Ave. N.	"	No	1	"	2/4	8:55 PM	Prostitute Ora offered to go to any Hotel room. This place out of bounds for servi- cemen.
A 4	Victory Cafe 220 4th Ave. N.	Semi- Flagrant	"			"	10:40 PM	Hangout for servicemen and "Chippies." Frequented by M.P.'s off duty. Few apparent pickups made.
A 5	Blackstone Cafe 408 Church	"	"			"	11:40 PM	"
A 6	Camel Inn Arcade Alley	Clan- destine	"			2/5 and other times	9:35 PM	Prostitutes Martha and Helen recommended Porter Hotel 129 4th Ave. N. as place where room could be rented for immoral purposes.
A 7	H and H Cafe Arcade Alley	"	"	2	"	"	10:50 PM	Prostitutes Kitty and Mayne. These prosti- tutes make the rounds of different places such as A-1-A-2-A-3 and A-6. Looking for business made pickups here.

February, 1945

Nashville, Tennessee

(Bars, Taverns, Beer-joints)

(Seymour Army Air Base)
(Nashville Air Base)
(War Production)

-2-

C O D E	Name and/ or Address	Method of Operation	Yes	Number Prostitutes who Offered	P R I C E	Investi- gation		Remarks
				S.O. S or P		Date	Time	
A 8	Raven Inn 2705 Dickerson Road	Clan- destine	Yes	1	2	\$5. up	2/6 and other times	10:05 PM Prostitutes Anna Carney Marie and Mattie use cabins in tourist court owned by same people who run "Honky Tonk."

KEY TO CODE

Class D

February, 1945Nashville, Tennessee

DATE

(Hotels)

CITY

(Smyrna Army Air Base)
(Nashville Air Base)
(War Production)

C O D E	Name and/ or Address	T Y P E	Method of Operation	Pros. Available Res. - Call		P R I C E	Investi- gation		Remarks
				S. O.	S & P		Date	Time	
D 1	Victory Hotel 151 7th Ave. N.	IV	Glen- destine				2/3	9:45 PM	Recommended by prostitutes. Picked up in A-1 as place where room could be rented for immoral purposes.
D 2	Maxwell House 4th Ave. N. and Church	II	"		Call	\$5. up	"	10:20 PM	Colored bellboy of- fered to call prosti- tute. None found liv- ing in hotel.
D 3	Noel Hotel 200 4th Ave. N.	I	"		"	"	"	10:40 PM	"
D 4	Porter Hotel 129 4th Ave. N.	IV	"				2/3	9:55 PM	Recommended by prosti- tutes. Picked up in A-6 as place where room could be rented for immoral purposes. Night clerk substantiated this fact.
D 5	Raven Inn Tourist Court 2705 Dickerson Road		"				2/3	10:40 PM	Cabins used by prosti- tutes. Picked up in A-6. Other couples were also using cabins. Cabins rented by women called "Mom".

KEY TO CODE

Class C

February, 1945

Nashville, Tennessee

(Gobetweens)
(Taxidrivars, Bellboys, Porters)CITY
(Smyrna Army Air Base)
(Nashville Air Base)
(War Production)

DATE

C O D E	Name and/ or Occupation	Method of Operation	Acts as Gobet. for Pres.	Investi- gation		Remarks
				Date	Time	
C 1	Colored Bellboy Maxwell House 4th Ave. N. Church	Clan- destine	Call	2/3	10:20 PM	Offered to call prostitute. Claimed none living in hotel.
C 2	Bellboy #9 Noel Hotel 200 4th Ave. N.	"	"	"	10:40 PM	"