



Saving young girls from Chinatown: white slavery and woman suffrage, 1910-1920.(Report)

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IN MAY 1912 ROSE LIVINGSTON, a self-described missionary working among the **white** female population of New York's Chinatown, suffered an attack at a tenement on Doyers Street in the Chinatown neighborhood when she tried to save a **young white** girl from the clutches of her "cadet," or procurer. (1) A physician's report stated that Livingston experienced severe bodily injuries, including "serious and permanent damage" to her face and "a fracture of the alveolar process of the upper jaw bone which caused severe neuritis [sic] with persistent neuralgic pain both day and night ... likewise causing the loss of all the teeth of the upper jaw on one side of the face." (2) The attack created a public outcry, with New Yorkers petitioning Mayor William J. Gaynor to prod the police to offer better protection for **woman** missionaries and reform workers in Chinatown. The police commissioner disputed the complaints of civilians, however, responding that "conditions in Chinatown have never been better than they are at present, nor is any portion of the City as heavily policed as this section." (3) Furthermore, the commissioner claimed that police records did not indicate any report of Livingston having suffered such an attack. Satisfied that the police had handled the situation properly, Mayor Gaynor concluded that "the police are entirely capable of taking care of Chinatown. If Miss Livingston is in any danger there she may very easily withdraw." (4)

Although Livingston often worked and traveled alone to minister to the "fallen women" of Chinatown, she received financial aid and social support from the city's prominent suffragettes, most notably, Harriet Burton Laidlaw and James Lee Laidlaw, who promoted the entry of women into electoral politics to bring forth much-needed social and municipal reform. To the Laidlaws, the mayor's response to the attack on Livingston was not only inadequate but symptomatic of the larger problem of municipal corruption. In response to the mayor's rebuff Livingston and the Laidlaws worked with the city's suffrage leaders to support a petition for increased police protection in Chinatown.

That December Livingston and the Laidlaws further publicized her antagonistic relationship with the mayor and police at a lecture held at the Metropolitan Temple at 14th Street and Seventh Avenue. At the conclusion of his introductory remarks James Laidlaw surprised the audience with the harsh pronouncement that Livingston's worst enemy in her antiprostitution crusade was no other than the mayor himself. Livingston heartedly agreed, and then, turning to address the audience, she continued: "If you only knew all the meanness that man has done to me you would understand. Just let me tell you." (5) To the mayor's annoyance the public lecture and Livingston's constant criticism of the mayor's policing efforts as merely "keeping vice under cover" led to another round of citizens' letters and petitions flooding the mayor's office. (6) The City Committee and the board of directors of the **Woman** Suffrage Party in New York passed a resolution on Livingston's behalf "relative to conditions said to exist in 'Chinatown' and alleging that the life of Mrs. Livingston, a social worker, is in danger." (7) Under the guidance of New York's suffrage leaders Livingston further broadened her antiprostitution crusade in Chinatown, taking the cause beyond New York City and its antagonistic municipal officials to the national political stage of the **woman** suffrage movement.

Dubbed in the local New York press as the Angel of Chinatown, Livingston, under the sponsorship of suffrage organizations throughout the country, conducted lecture tours to call attention to the problems of "**white slavery**" in New York City's Chinatown. Aside from offering her eyewitness accounts on coerced prostitution in that neighborhood, she spoke at length against municipal corruption and ineptitude and for women's right to vote. By publicizing her ongoing clashes with the New York

City police department and mayor in the course of pursuing her antiprostitution activities, Livingston challenged the established patriarchal authority of municipal government to protect female residents from sexual and physical harm. Livingston and her supporters argued that only through women's moral influence in government and lawmaking could women hope to find adequate protection from sexual predation and exploitation.

While this period's fascination with coerced prostitution, or "**white slavery**," as it was called by journalists and reformers, is well documented, little is known of the role public discourse around **white slavery** and the accompanying calls for policing prostitution and interracial sex among immigrants and the working class had in the predominantly middle- and upper-class, native-born, **white, woman** suffrage movement in New York City. (8) Publications such as *What Women Might Do with the Ballot: The Abolition of the White Slave Traffic and Woman Suffrage and the Social Evil* were some of the many antiprostitution and sexual trafficking tracts that circulated among suffrage circles in the early twentieth century. (9) Americans' anxieties with female kidnapping and coerced prostitution popularized through the "**white slavery**" scare coincided with the last decade of dramatic mass political mobilization for **woman** suffrage. The overlap of these two social movements was hardly coincidental or accidental but reveals the ways in which public concern with racial and sexual transgressions played an important role in the **woman** suffrage movement.

While the public discourse around "**white slavery**" mushroomed in 1909, public concern with Chinese immigrants and coerced prostitution dates back to earlier nineteenth-century concerns with the trafficking of Chinese women for the purposes of prostitution. (10) These concerns with Chinese prostitution influenced the passage of federal legislation banning Chinese immigration such as the Page Law of 1875 and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. (11) In California and along the West Coast concerns with forced prostitution and public immorality in Chinese American communities continued to center on Chinese prostitutes. The general absence and invisibility of Chinese women on the East Coast, however, meant that the press, political leaders, and social reformers directed their efforts toward the many **white** working-class women working and residing in the Chinatown neighborhood as prostitutes, companions, and wives of Chinese laborers. (12)

Analyzing the public's fascination with Rose Livingston's antiprostitution work quickly reveals how these decades-old popular fears of Chinese male labor migration bringing forth a sexual "Yellow Peril" resurfaced in the **white slavery** narratives that circulated in the early-twentieth-century suffrage movement. Particularly through Livingston's passionate oratories on the subject of women's sexual oppression and racial endangerment at the hands of unscrupulous Chinese men, these popular narratives of racialized sexual danger became immensely successful in selling the cause of suffrage to broader audiences who were otherwise skeptical of women's eligibility to participate in a democratic citizenry. This essay explores the ways in which the suffrage movement mobilized Livingston's biography and antiprostitution work in New York City's Chinatown to illuminate the interconnections of class, racial, and sexual politics in the early-twentieth-century **woman** suffrage movement.

ROSE LIVINGSTON AND THE NEW YORK SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

By the late nineteenth century the National American **Woman** Suffrage Association (NAWSA) had emerged as the leading national organization of the **woman** suffrage movement. (13) Often thought of as a **white** middle-and upper-class women's organization, the movement in New York City, under the leadership of women such as Harriet Laidlaw and Harriot Stanton Blatch, worked to build associations with the city's working-class women. Blatch, in particular, drew upon her early experiences with the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), with which she worked both in Great Britain and, later, in New York after the organization established a local chapter in 1902. As historian Ellen DuBois notes, whereas Blatch's mother, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, employed natural rights theory to argue for **woman suffrage**, Blatch emphasized women's importance as laborers and their economic contributions. (14) In the WTUL elite and working-class women collaborated to bring forth labor reforms through the empowerment of women wage earners. (15) In making the **woman** suffrage cause appeal to working women, New York suffrage leaders specifically addressed these workers' concerns about wages and work conditions, which were informed by legislation influenced through exercising the vote.

Suffragettes such as Blatch and Laidlaw, similar to other urban activists of their day, also devoted their energies to the Progressives' fight against municipal corruption, including investigations into police involvement in organized prostitution. In a 1914 plan to action for the **Woman** Suffrage Party of New York, for example, Laidlaw listed the "abolition not regulation of the **White** Slave traffic" along with the establishment of a "Wage-Earners Suffrage League" and participation in "the Labor Day Parade, and other labor demonstrations" as among the many pressing items in the party's social reform agenda. (16) Given the growing incorporation of working women into the cause of **woman** suffrage in the early twentieth century, it is perhaps not surprising that suffrage leaders sought to create an expansive political and social reform platform that incorporated both labor and antiprostitution concerns because they saw these two issues as intimately connected to the

economic exploitation of the city's wage-earning women. In their continued work with the city's female laborers, the Laidlaws and other suffrage leaders enthusiastically supported Rose Livingston's antiprostitution work in Chinatown in the hopes of ending the sexual exploitation of urban working women.

Despite the Laidlaws' strong commitment to social reform and **suffrage**, the inclusion of Rose Livingston and her antiprostitution work posed certain challenges from the beginning. According to the press, the Laidlaws learned about Livingston and her work after two suffragettes, Cornelia Swinnerton and Florence Irwin, happened onto Livingston as she was trying to stop a **woman** from committing suicide in a Greenwich Avenue basement apartment. The two suffragettes immediately took an interest in Livingston and introduced her to the Laidlaws, who became instant supporters of her mission. James Laidlaw then worked with two other social reformers--Lawrence Chamberlain and Rev. Edward Sanderson in Brooklyn--to establish a Mind to support Livingston's work. (17) However, as Livingston emerged as a spokesperson for the suffrage cause, questions about her background, particularly around her claims to be an ex-prostitute and social reformer, surfaced in the press and among municipal leaders.

The origins of Rose Livingston remained shrouded in mystery and controversy throughout her reform career, making her vulnerable to critics who doubted her stories of abduction and coerced prostitution and disapproved of her confrontational tactics. One internal memo circulating within New York's suffrage circles provided a brief sketch of Livingston with biographical details that were often repeated during her public lectures. The memo recounted that Livingston had been abducted and brought to New York City's Chinatown at the age of ten and had remained the prisoner for the next ten years of a Chinese man who was both her jailor and her abuser. She had given birth to two children, one at the age of twelve and the other at the age of fifteen. A local missionary worker learned of her plight and helped to facilitate her flight. After a harrowing escape that almost cost Livingston her life, the missionary led her to the home of a minister, where she rid herself of an entrenched drug habit and experienced a religious conversion. (18)

Her detractors, including the mayor and police commissioner of New York City following the alleged 1912 assault incident, often challenged the validity of these details of Livingston's life and cast aspersions upon her work as a social reformer. In response to Harriet Laidlaw's complaints over the police department's handling of the incident, for example, Mayor Gaynor replied: "My reports concerning her are quite different. I shall not put a police guard over here. I doubt if her conduct in Chinatown is of any service to anyone." (19) And to suffragette and historian Mary Beard, Gaynor added further that "my police reports strongly indicate that she may not be doing quite so much good there as some suppose." (20) In her own defense Livingston never placated her critics by proving any detail of her captivity story as a prostitute imprisoned in Chinatown but rather spoke of her mistreatment at the hands of procurers and corrupt police officers and appealed to the reputation of her patrons, such as the Laidlaws, as testament to her virtue and honesty.

A month after the alleged 1912 Chinatown assault, for example, the Laidlaws solicited character references from city reformers such as Frank Moss of the Society for the Prevention of Crime and her past employers to shore up Livingston's reputation. (21) Elizabeth Hartley of the Hope Baptist Church confirmed the stories of Livingston's dramatic religious conversion in the fall of 1906 and recalled that she quit her opium habit the following spring through a painful detoxification process: "We put her in my bed and there she stayed for about three months. Twice we called a Doctor but she refused to take any medicine saying she would rather die than go back to the opium. She was delirious for three days in awful physical agony." (22) Eleanor Keller, who had employed Livingston for two years following her conversion, commented on Livingston's "personal habits and conduct," stating that she was always all that one could desire pure in word and thought, free from any desire for drink or drugs, kind patient and ever anxious for others who were tempted." (23) Bertha Rembaugh, who served as counsel for the Women's Society for the Prevention of Crime, where Livingston worked for a year under her supervision, stated that "while Miss Livingston is not, of course, without faults and weaknesses of temperament, yet I firmly believe her honest and reliable in every way." (24) The letters of Hartley, Keller, and Rembaugh--similar to those written by Livingston's other supporters throughout her tussle with the mayor and police department--made no attempts to verify the details of her Chinatown capture and sexual exploitation. Instead, they strongly testified to her social commitment, sobriety, and steadfast moral character. In effect, they supported Livingston's claims of spiritual, moral, and social redemption without commenting on the veracity of her story of abduction and sexual **slavery**.

The only writer to take up Livingston's claims of sexual **slavery** in Chinatown was a Chinese American interpreter by the

name of Moy Gum. After much questioning in the Chinatown neighborhood, Moy Gum reported that Livingston was an accomplished liar who "professes to have been detained a prisoner there to an evil life for ten years but this is contradicted by all who have known her in the life. She is a terrible story teller contradicting her own statements wherever she goes." (25) Moy Gum furthermore questioned her claims to be a selfless social reformer, claiming that he and other Chinese residents in the neighborhood had recently attempted to rescue "little Chinese domestic servants (and have been successful in three cases)" but were thwarted by Livingston herself. Lest his readers think him prejudiced against **white** female missionaries or social reform workers in Chinatown, Moy Gum added that he personally knew of several such workers in the Chinatown neighborhood, but he could in good conscience only state that Mary Banta of the Church of All Nations on Second Avenue is "a hard and good worker." In support of his claim that Livingston was not the self sacrificing reformer the Laidlaws believed her to be, he enclosed with his letter a photograph of "slave **girls**" rescued by Miss Banta whom she supported "out of her hard earned missionary salary at Drew Seminary, Carmel, N.Y." (26)

Livingston's benefactors did not take such accusations lightly and quickly investigated the letter's origins and charges against Livingston. The letter, it was later discovered, was sent after a man by the name of James R. Garner had contacted the New York City Chinese Extension and Mission Society at the Chinese Mission located at 291 Bowery for information on Livingston. Moy Gum, it was said, "was a nice **young** man of Christian character." (27) Not satisfied, the Laidlaws made additional inquiries into Moy Gum's background within the Chinatown neighborhood and came upon Charles Gong, a resident of 3 Doyers Street, who also worked as an interpreter. Gong's letter cast doubt on Moy Gum's damning claims against Livingston, suggesting that Moy Gum was tricked into penning and signing the incriminating missive by women of questionable character in the Chinatown neighborhood. "The Chinese man which you wish to find out who written such an outrageous letter against Miss Livingston he must influence by those women whom they are associated with. The case like that most of them wrote the letters and made the Chinaman signed their name for there is such foolish men do what they want them." (28)

The Laidlaws seem not to have put their trust in either Chinese American interpreter. Instead, in an attempt to quell the many challenges to Livingston's character the Laidlaws requested a medical examination to ascertain the extent of Livingston's injuries as well as to confirm that she was not afflicted with syphilis. (29) Even with such unresolved questions regarding her origins, Livingston's audiences and supporters for the most part overlooked these challenges to her past and moral character. Instead, they, like the Laidlaws, were genuinely moved by her heart-rending story of abduction, enslavement, and moral redemption, compelling them to take up the fight against forced prostitution in New York's Chinatown and by extension **woman** suffrage.

More powerfully, the press and Livingston's descriptions of her experiences working in Chinatown won her many supporters throughout die city and silenced her detractors. At the December 1912 Metropolitan Temple meeting, for example, she vividly painted to her audiences her many run-ins with the police in Chinatown when she attempted to protect a girl from her cadet. "I saw a girl running away from a cadet, and she ran almost into a policeman's arms." Livingston continued: "'Officer,' I said, 'won't you protect this poor girl from this fellow?'" and, would you believe it, that policeman just knocked her back into the cadet's arms and watched while he beat her up." She finished with another story depicting similar physical violence and police indifference in a case where a girl had been "dragged by die hair till her scalp 'stood up' and kicked brutally in the stomach." Exasperation with die police, Livingston informed her audience, led her to get a "warrant and serv[e] it herself." (30)

Livingston's monthly activity reports to the Laidlaws provide brief descriptions of her consistent daily efforts to both police and minister to Chinatown's **white** female population. Her work log for the month of July 1915 noted her visits to tenement houses on Bayard and Division streets where "**girls** are leading immoral lives" as well as her efforts to provide care and comfort to ailing women in the Chinatown neighborhood--Eliza at 4 Doyers Street and Mamie Budd at 12 Pell Street, who was "very ill with consumption, and also from giving up the opium." (31) Eliza's health improved after a few days of rest, but Mamie Budd's worsened. After providing almost ten days of care, Livingston arranged for a nurse from the Henry Street Settlement to take over visiting the very ill Budd. She returned in mid-August but found that Budd remained in extremely poor health. A few days later Budd died with Livingston at her side. (32)

While Livingston engaged in social welfare work for several days each month, the great portion of her activities involved

maintaining surveillance on the **white** female population of Chinatown. At times Livingston intervened to rescue underage **girls** from working as prostitutes in the area. Yet the extent to which **young** teenage **girls** or women were actually abducted and imprisoned in the Chinatown neighborhood remains difficult to assess, given that many of Livingston's cases suggest more freedom of physical and social mobility and sexual experimentation than the term "**white slavery**" clearly suggests. Popular narratives of Chinese-**white** sexual relations came couched in the language of the "**white slavery** evil" in Chinatown and more often portrayed these **young girls** and women as victims of predation--whether by Chinese laborers or procurers--rather than acknowledged their ability to make conscious choices that included refusing aid and running away. Regardless of whether these accusations were accurate or false, these beliefs of **young white** women under assault by Chinese men informed the social reform discourse that authorized the policing of **white** female and Chinese male mobility and social interactions in the Chinatown neighborhood.

Livingston's notes on her surveillance of and intervention for seventeen-year-old Bessie Baker exemplify a typical case for the Angel of Chinatown. The reformer first encountered Baker when she noticed her coming out of a residence in Chinatown. Livingston then "watched her for several days" before discovering that Baker was working with another Chinatown prostitute, Gypsy Gordon, to whom Baker gave "\$.50 of every dollar she got." (33) Livingston eventually approached Baker and learned from their conversation that she was under age. She then "rescued her" by removing her from the neighborhood and taking her to Livingston's home; Baker was then taken away by another social reform worker in the hopes of finding a new "good home." However, Baker refused their assistance and told Livingston that she preferred to return to her family, who resided at 33 Allen Street on the Lower East Side. But when Livingston returned about a month later to monitor her progress, Baker was not residing at her parents' home. Livingston then tried to convince Baker's parents to "file a complaint against her in order to have her sent away to the Bedford Home for she has gone back to lead an immoral life as formerly." Her parents, who "refuse to have anything to do with her," did not comply with Livingston's instructions. Baker later became ill and was taken to a hospital. (34) As this case suggests, despite Livingston's descriptions of her efforts toward Baker as "rescue," Baker's defiance and unwillingness to cooperate with reformers showed the extent to which Baker may not have viewed Livingston's actions as "rescue" but more as an unwelcome attempt to end her free mobility.

Real or imagined, this discourse on Chinatown as a site of racialized sexual danger offered suffrage leaders a valuable weapon in their efforts to attract and convert supporters to the cause. During her lectures on behalf of the suffrage movement Livingston challenged her audiences to consider the potential of women's political participation to eradicate public toleration of prostitution, arguing that only through women's influence exercised through the vote in shaping critical legislation would the sexual exploitation of women finally end. In her talk to the Political -Equality Association, headed by the prominent socialite and suffragette Alva Belmont, for example, Livingston began by describing her work in Chinatown and stating that "nothing would wipe out '**white slavery**' there until women got the vote." (35) She added: "A **woman** may make a mistake, but she would never make a bigger mistake than the men who elected [Mayor] Gaynor." (36)

Furthermore, their ineligibility to vote made women lesser citizens and deprived them of equal treatment under the law. To an audience gathered at the Central Presbyterian Church in New Castle, Pennsylvania, Livingston decried the unfair treatment of female prostitutes and "double standards of morality" when it came to prosecuting male procurers and customers. She told the story of a **young** girl whom she had rescued after the girl was viciously beaten. The man charged in her attack, however, "got off with but a short term, as he was a voter, and election time was near." (37) Questions about municipal corruption and political machines aside, as long as men could vote and women could not, men would continue to enjoy special privileges.

At the conclusion of these anti-**white slavery**/suffrage meetings, organizers asked for donations for Livingston's antiprostitution work and pledges of commitment to the **woman** suffrage cause. In West Newton, Massachusetts, for example, the audience was asked first to contribute financially to Livingston's work against **white slavery**. Then the women in the audience were asked to join the Equal Suffrage League, while the men were "asked to sign cards, saying that they will vote for **Woman** Suffrage next fall." (38) By numerous accounts, Livingston's tours around the country were highly successful in simultaneously winning supporters for both the antiprostitution and suffrage causes. The vivid descriptions of **white** female imprisonment and sexual exploitation and police corruption so passionately conveyed by Livingston in her speeches stuck with audiences long after her appearances. Supporters such as Letta Turnbull of Cleveland, Ohio, sent in donations and words of encouragement and outrage after first apologizing for not having made a donation when she first

heard Livingston speak in her city. "This business of seizing **girls** forcibly and imprisoning them in resorts seem[s] to me so horrible that I grow furious at the great indifferent public which tolerates it. For the public is to blame. If people were sufficiently aroused to the enormity of this thing it could and would be prevented." (39) Likewise, Mrs. John A. Church of Chagrin Falls, Ohio, sent Livingston a watch chain and neck chain "to be used in her work." (40) Livingston's highly successful spring 1913 whirlwind tour of Ohio led Harriet Taylor Upton, president of the Ohio **Woman** Suffrage Association, to remark in a letter to Harriet Laidlaw that the news from the Cleveland and Chagrin Falls suffragettes had been overwhelmingly positive," all [speaking] so splendidly of Rose's work and all saying that she did an immense amount of good for suffrage. One **woman** expresses it that she did more good than any other one person who has been in Cleveland for a long, long time." (41)

So popular was Livingston's visit to Chagrin Falls that some members of the audience formed the Rose Livingston Club, comprising school-age **girls**, in her honor. Shortly after the club's founding the local suffrage association gave a banquet in honor of the club and its newly elected officers, thereby cementing the link between the causes of anti-**white slavery** and **woman** suffrage. Members wore special pins to identify themselves and maintained correspondences with Livingston herself on her Chinatown work while pledging themselves to the **woman** suffrage cause. The intimate nature of these exchanges allowed members to feel personally connected to Livingston and her antiprostitution crusade in Chinatown. Marian Brewster, for example, in her letter to Livingston discussed family matters as well as club activities, ending with the message to "give my love to all of those unfortunate **girls** and tell them we, our club, is going to help them all we can." (42)

THE ANTI-**WHITE SLAVERY** CRUSADE AND THE **WOMAN** SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

Livingston's arguments for the vote in order to fight forced prostitution mirrored contemporary popular discourses on the topic. For example, in 1913 Laidlaw published in the national social reform magazine *Survey* a review of *My Little Sister*, a novel by the American writer and suffragette Elizabeth Robins. Following the lead established by English social reformer William T. Stead, whose 1885 series *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon* first brought the problem of forced prostitution to the British public and sparked a **white slavery** scare, Robins's book similarly focused on the themes of child abduction and **white slavery** through the domestic fictional narrative of an English family whose younger daughter falls prey to **white** slavers. Though originally published in London, the story reached American audiences through its two-part serialization in McClure's magazine. (43)

Laidlaw praised Robins's writing for conveying the emotional turmoil suffered by families whose daughters fall victim to **white slavery**. More importantly, she lauded the novel's ability to convey the urgency of **woman** suffrage as a critical tool for combating sexual **slavery**: "How utterly ineffectual seem an individual mother's effort for the safety of her child. How evident is it that a mother's care must have back of it power--power in council and legislative hall." (44) She sharply called into question those mothers who continued to abide by the rule that their "place was the home" by suggesting that they were the ones ultimately responsible for their daughters' tragic fates because "what did all her negative efforts avail in shutting the danger away from her cherished daughters, in a nation, in a world, which holds a traffic system of such Machiavellian adroitness, a system which can afford, so great are its profits, to reach into the inner recesses of a home." (45)

The promotion of women's involvement in worldly affairs, particularly through the cause of **suffrage**, directly attacked the Victorian bourgeois separation of the social spheres of the sexes. The promoters of the **white slavery**/suffrage cause, however, carefully couched its message of female social and political activism in culturally conservative language that appealed to broad audiences, especially to those middle- and upper-class women known as the "anous" who opposed the suffrage movement and advocated the maintenance of separate spheres and gender roles. (46) For example, the descriptions of Livingston emphasized her religious conversion, which brought about her social redemption from her former life as a Chinatown prostitute who engaged in commercialized sex with nonwhites. The public's response to her work echoed these spiritual overtones of Christian salvation. A poem published in her honor by the *New York Times* in 1912 references her Christian conversion to counter public criticisms of her sexual past, likening her to Mary Magdalene:

Shall we, in our smugness, pass her by
Because, perchance, [of] the dust of sin

The **woman** who spite of buffet and scoff

Has followed Him in a manger born.

Similarly, discussions of her work in "**saving**" the **girls** of Chinatown invoked the image of Jesus Christ's great bodily sacrifices for humankind's redemption. The New York Times poem closed with the following comments:

It is lives like hers that glorify man
Above the beast that preys on its kind.
The martyr's thorns have pierced her brow.
She has felt the touch of His chastening Rod:
It is lives like hers--let us humbly avow--
That plead for Man at the throne of God. (47)

Introductory remarks at her lectures similarly typically directed her middle-class audiences to gaze upon Livingston's body--scarred and battered by her clashes with the agents of vice and immorality--as evidence of her moral uprightness and affirmation of her title as the Angel of Chinatown. A suggested introduction to Livingston began: "She today is fighting a great fight and she has spent her life's blood on this battle line. Again and again in her fearless determination to rescue a girl she has been beaten and stabbed and her life is still sought by those of the underworld whom she has foiled again and again and whose profits she has decreased. She comes to you today sick and broken as the result of the last brutal attack made upon her life." (48) During a 1916 campaign, press materials sent by the New York State **Woman** Suffrage Party described her having a "record of 300 children saved, but it has meant being kicked down cellar stairs, thrown from a roof, stabbed in a dark hallway, but always she has saved the child she sought." (49)

To more socially and politically conservative audiences, this narrative of Christian martyrdom used by Livingston's supporters perhaps softened the changing contemporary image of the American **woman** suffrage movement. The confrontational tactics of the New York suffragettes and the charismatic firebrand Alice Paul, who from 1913 to 1914 began to split from NAWSA to form the independent Congressional Union for **Woman** Suffrage (CU), created a new media image of the suffragette as youthful and militant. By 1916 the CU had transformed itself into the **Woman's** Party and then in 1917 into the National **Woman's** Party (NWP) to focus solely on the passage of a constitutional amendment for **woman** suffrage. The NWP distanced itself from NAWSA and its staid tactics of focusing on passing individual state-level **woman** suffrage amendments and instead purposefully promoted itself as the new modern, youthful heirs to the suffrage movement with its bold vision for national reform. Through its controversial and highly publicized strategy of direct confrontation--street marches, open-air meetings, pickets, arrests, and hunger strikes--the NWP garnered great attention for the cause. (50)

This particular Christian-inflected narrative of Livingston's bodily sacrifice legitimized her confrontational tactics of challenging the municipal authority of the police and mayor as necessary for the Angel of Chinatown to combat the twin immoral forces of public graft and prostitution. This Christian narrative also worked to desexualize her image and distance her current role as a social reformer and martyr from her past as a sexual deviant and delinquent sullied by her intimacies with Chinese men. Physical descriptions of Livingston, whether in newspaper articles, suffrage materials, or lectures, overwhelmingly focused on her injuries such as those following her encounter with a cadet that left her "with a splintered jaw and seven teeth gone." (51) Press descriptions often stressed her physical frailty and diminutive size in order to liken her to David in challenging the Goliath that is municipal corruption and forced prostitution. "She is a small **woman**, scarcely over five feet in height," began one account. "At her best she would weigh one hundred and ten pounds. At present, she would scarcely turn the scales at ninety. ... Were it not for this fire in her, Rose Livingston would now be dead." (52) In her stage appearances on behalf of the suffrage movement her body became not an object for sexual consumption but a weapon to be used for the purposes of Christian combat against the forces of social evil and municipal corruption.

Livingston in her public role as a spokeswoman for the movement, however, was quick to challenge this image of her as a Victorian heroine or Christian saint. She chafed at the public's attempt to associate her with this outmoded sentimental reform tradition based on Christian salvation alone. (53) A 1912 New York Times article, for example, commented on Livingston's speech as anything but genteel, refusing "to tone down her speech to make things easier for her audience. She used none of the euphemisms so common in social evil discussions, but kept her talk homely and sharp with the vernacular of the gutter." (54) She mocked the proselytizing efforts of the Victorian rescue homes, saying, "I don't go in to visit these **girls** and give them a tract and say 'God bless you,' and invite them around to take tea with me. That's not my kind of work." (55) Instead, she told her audience of her physical confrontations with angry pimps and dirty cops, even going to the lengths of serving arrest warrants to protect and rescue prostitutes.

Livingston's bravado in the face of personal danger earned her the admiration of many suffrage leaders outside of New York City. Ethel R. Vorce, corresponding secretary of the Ohio **Woman** Suffrage Association, became one of Livingston's most ardent supporters shortly after one of her early lecture tours through Ohio in 1913. Following Livingston's return to New York City, Vorce wrote the Laidlaws to convey her excitement about the lecture tour's positive effect on the suffrage campaign, "having stirred up the entire town and doing more practical good for suffrage than any one other speaker of whom I know." (56) To Livingston she sent a special note of encouragement: "Don't forget when you get back to the **girls** and your rescue work that by giving your message to the world you can save the generations yet to come, my dear you must keep up your talking. You have converted many people to suffrage here and you can do likewise in other places." (57)

Despite Vorce's clearly high regard for Livingston's life and work against prostitution, the relationship between the two women--as it often was between Livingston and her older and wealthier suffragette supporters--was not an equal one. Rather, these relationships were phrased in familial terms, with the older suffragettes expecting Livingston to play the subordinate role of a dutiful "daughter" in relation to her more maternal suffragette superiors. Vorce, for example, referred to Livingston as "dear little Rose" in her correspondences with the Laidlaws and addressed Livingston in her letters as "my dear little girl." Similarly, Loa Scott, a fellow suffragette in Ohio, opened her description of Livingston's activities in Ohio to Harriet Laidlaw with "I know you want to hear how your little girl is getting along." (58) In her relationship with her benefactors Livingston took on a similar submissive familial role. In letters she called Harriet "sweet mother" and James "Daddy" (59) In a message to Harriet Laidlaw, Livingston expressed her fond sentiments to her benefactors: "'Tell her I love her, and can't wait till I get back to see her and dear Daddy'--and then she goes off with the words--'May precious Daddy, the dearest Daddy, the dearest Daddy under Heaven.'" (60) While Livingston was convalescing in New Jersey during the summer of 1913, her care attendant, Laetitia Gordon Smith, wrote to inform James Laidlaw of Livingston's medical care and progress, noting that she "has difficulty in retaining her food, thus continuing the feeling of weakness." In closing Smith added that "Rose is in bed near me asking me to tell you that she is feeling tonight lonely for her Daddy Laidlaw, but she consoles herself by having in full view on the washstand your photograph and Mrs. Laidlaw's which we recovered from the Montclair Times office two days ago." (61)

Framed in terms of familial affection, these infantilizing remarks also worked to contain or suppress Livingston's sexual identity as a former prostitute as well as unmistakably denoted her status in the movement as socially subordinate to and financially dependent on her more wealthy and older suffrage patrons. Although Livingston successfully raised funds for her antiprostitution work during the course of her lecture tours, all money earmarked for her care was sent to the three-person committee of Sanderson, Chamberlain, and Laidlaw to be administered as they saw fit. Throughout her association with the Laidlaw, Livingston regularly submitted to this committee of three-person committee of Sanderson, Chamberlain, and Laidlaw to be administered as they saw fit. Throughout her association with the Laidlaws, Livingston regularly submitted to this committee of three, sending them reports of her daily work and requests for funds for living and medical expenses. (62) when Livingston was hospitalized in March and April 1914, for example, the Laidlaws paid for Livingston's stay at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City.

These expressions of endearment and subordination also reflected suffrage leaders' private views of Livingston, view that influenced their strategies for touring and showcasing the firebrand in her antiprostitution/prosuffrage lectures. A letter of introduction by a suffrage leader who hosted Livingston's lectures at his church began by praising her abilities as a speaker for the suffrage cause as " **young woman** with a fine spirit and a burning message" but then added a warning. "Miss Livingston is little more than a mere child, in her intellectual development, and quite temperamental and therefore, should be closely supervised if she is to be used as a speaker for suffrage. Yet, properly directed, she can be made a tremendous force for the cause." (63) Likewise, another activist pronounced that "Rose is a temperamental child, and willful, and has to be managed like a small impresario; but she is very lovable, and responds in a wonderful way to affection." (64) Yet this suffrage leader worried about Livingston's future and feared that, without constant monitoring by a more experienced suffrage spokesperson, Livingston would be easily swayed by the unscrupulous who sought to exploit her story. These descriptions of Livingston as highly temperamental and childlike may reflect middle-class suffrage leaders' own biases in judging the working-class Livingston as uncouth and uneducated, someone whose impassioned oratory appealed to audiences through raw emotion rather than careful reasoning and debate. It also worked to justify the perpetuation of a mother-daughter or

superior-inferior relationship that placed suffrage leaders in positions of authority over Livingston.

Throughout her tours suffrage leaders made efforts to pair Livingston with a more seasoned and educated suffrage spokesperson such as Ethel Vorce. A letter from Gertrude Leonard, chairman of the executive board of the Massachusetts **Woman** Suffrage Association, to the presidents of local suffrage leagues throughout the state, for example, announced the availability of Livingston and Vorce to speak "for a month of meetings in Massachusetts beginning January 11th," 1914. In her promotion of Livingston Leonard wrote: "The dramatic strength of her appeal can scarcely be exaggerated." The accompanying biography of Vorce, in contrast, listed her education and career background as a news reporter and settlement house worker who possessed a thorough knowledge of the suffrage cause from her long history of participating in international **woman** suffrage conferences and organizing and directing the **Woman** Suffrage Party in Cuyahoga County in Ohio. (65) While Livingston moved audiences with her riveting stories of fighting prostitution and police corruption in Chinatown, Vorce delivered the more carefully crafted and reasoned speech connecting the causes of suffrage and antiprostitution work. To an audience in New Castle, Pennsylvania, for example, Vorce offered the point that "while a girl must be 18 years old before she can marry, that in some states, the age of consent is 10 years, and in others, 16 years." With female intervention into the legislative process, Vorce suggested, "such as evil as the **white** slave traffic could not exist." (66)

Livingston's insistence on employing the vernacular of the street when addressing her audience was one of the many ways she attempted to assert control of her own voice and image on the suffrage lecturing circuit. Her graphic and ardent oratory effectively captured her audiences, shocking their sense of bourgeois comfort and morality and allowing the "average **woman** or girl who lives in a protected home to know something of the tragedy which surrounds those women whom we are wont to refer to as 'the underworld.'" (67) Her fervor and strong-willed independence--so important in establishing her social reformer authority and authenticity to her middle-class audiences--could be forgiven by her suffragette handlers even if it meant an unpolished performance that "cannot be relied upon to tell a straightforward logical story" as long as the rambling narrative continued to make the suffrage cause its priority. (68) However, as Livingston's successes on the lecture circuit brought her more celebrity, her obedience to the authority of her suffragette supporters was sorely tested. As she increasingly focused her lectures on her spiritual conversion, personal redemption, and the anti-**white slavery** cause, her suffragette handlers discovered the ongoing difficulties with containing the highly charismatic Livingston and employing her sensational story as a useful strategy for gaining the vote.

Indeed, audiences were often more easily captivated and moved by Livingston's stories of abduction, sexual imprisonment, and clashes with the police and mayor, which eclipsed the message of **woman** suffrage. On 12 July 1913 members of the Stenographers' Association of Cincinnati, after hearing Livingston's lecture in their city, adopted a resolution in support of Livingston's work in New York City to present to Mayor Gaynor. The resolution, beginning with "whereas, Miss Rose Livingston, Angel of Chinatown, is imperiling her life and safety in service to our country by rescuing little **girls** held as slaves in Chinatown and other dives in the East, from a fate far worse than death," also spoke of a five-hundred-dollar bounty placed on Livingston's head by her enemies and ended with a demand for better police protection. The cause of **woman** suffrage did not merit a mention in this resolution. (69)

As Livingston's success on the suffrage lecture circuit rose, she increasingly asserted her own control over her stage appearances. Her acts of independence, however, were not taken well by her handlers. Instead, her suffragette supporters more often interpreted her efforts at self determination as acts of childish impudence or disrespect, not the legitimate and reasoned actions of a fellow equal in the movement. In 1915, while conducting a lecture tour through Pennsylvania sponsored by that state's suffrage association, Livingston complained of fatigue and poor health and asked to eliminate the two meetings scheduled for Easton. Vorce, who was accompanying Livingston on the trip, questioned Livingston's claims of illness and suggested another possible reason for calling for the cancellation. "The real truth is that Rose arrived in Philadelphia in a very bad mood. She failed to make a good impression, as was quite natural, with the exception of the Chester and Sunday meetings which were excellent, and is her old force. The child is suffering from consciousness of lies over misdoings and of course has not the control or philosophy necessary to keep herself." (70) Vorce further complained that Livingston's increased popularity as a lecturer "likened her to Billy Sunday," a popular fire-and-brimstone evangelical preacher of the day, and "now instead of talking of her work she devotes more time to Heaven, Hell not straight suffrage."

(71) Vorce urged the Laidlaws to remove Livingston from the suffrage campaign circuit, concluding sadly, "I doubt if ever I go on another tour with Rose--while I had her affection, I could control and influence her but as that seems entirely to have disappeared I believe the best interests of the cause will no longer be served by such a combination." (72)

In a confidential letter to Carrie Chapman Catt, Vorce was even more candid in pointing out Livingston's flaws as a representative of the movement. Claiming that Livingston's "state of mind at present is actually savage," Vorce suggested that it would be better for the movement if "her audience could always be confined to the Women's Missionary & W.C.T.U. type." (73) More galling to Vorce was Livingston's defiance of Vorce's "wishes or advice," her bragging that she could command crowds larger than the more prominent and established suffragettes such as Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and her demand to be "paid 100.00 per speech." (74) As she had with the Laidlaws, Vorce pressed for Livingston's temporary removal from the campaign: "For the best interests of our Cause I suggest that for the present she be not asked to speak after a time, if the inflated idea she now has of her self, subsides, she may once more bring us many converts." (75)

Livingston's brash style may have shocked her **white** middle-class audiences in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Ohio. Yet the prevalent fear of sexual predation of **young white girls** and women by Chinese men was even more immediate and alarming. This period's mainstream press reported frequently on the participation of Chinese men in the underground world of commercialized vice in the Chinatown neighborhood, particularly around activities such as prostitution, opium smoking, and gambling. While non-Chinese also engaged in these activities, the link between the city's male Chinese population and these vices was historically naturalized through popular representations such as cartoons and literary accounts. Sketches appearing in popular publications such as Harper's Weekly and Frank Leslie's Illustrated repeated the message contained in J. W. Alexander's American Opium Smokers--Interior of a New York Opium Den, which showed Chinese opium smoking to be a threat to **white** Americans. Alexander depicts a menacing-looking Chinese proprietor bringing out the opium-smoking paraphernalia for his **white** clientele (Fig. 1). (76) An 1883 illustration entitled New York City--The Opium Dens in Pell and Mott Streets--How the Opium Habit Is Developed made the link between opium smoking and **white slavery** more explicit by showing Chinese kidnapping a **white** female victim in the Chinatown neighborhood. Opium pipes and other smoking accoutrements surround the central image of the abduction(Fig. 2). (77)

[FIGURE 1 OMITTED]

These popular narratives of Chinatown, which commercialized sex and sexual danger, supported the federal Chinese exclusion laws as well as called into question the wisdom of allowing Chinese men free mobility throughout the city and nation. The ubiquitous presence of Chinese-owned businesses such as "chop suey" restaurants and hand laundries throughout the city' particularly alarmed whites and often became die targets of criminal investigations into prostitution, abduction, and opium smoking. The gruesome murder of nineteen year old Elsie Sigel allegedly by her Chinese lover in 1909, for example, spurred the city's police and social reformers to police the Chinatown neighborhood and the city's Chinese-owned establishments in an effort to curb social relations between Chinese men and **white** women. (78) Journalists such as William Brown Meloney shocked New Yorkers with their exposes on the lives of Chinatown's **white** female residents, like Lulu Shu, who seemed to be trapped in her second-floor tenement flat on Pell Street, "a coop with a wire-meshed window" in which she "has lived for eighteen years." (79)

This period's social reformers continued their surveillance and monitoring of Chinese-owned restaurants and laundries in the city for evidence of illegal and immoral activities. A 1911 report on prostitution in Harlem by an investigator for the Committee of Fourteen, an antiprostitution social reform agency, identified a "chop suey joint" on the corner of Eighth Avenue and 15th Street as having "small rooms and much disorderly conduct is witnessed there." (80) The following year a report entitled "Houses and Resorts of Prostitution in the City of New York," authored by investigators for the Committee of Fourteen, listed Chinese-owned businesses such as Li He Laundry at 200 West 28th Street and a "chop suey restaurant" at 38 West 29th Street as disorderly. (81)

The mass circulation of these popularized narratives of a sexual yellow peril led many desperate parents to consider the possibilities of **white** female abduction by Chinese men when confronted with die heartbreaking tragedy of a missing daughter. The disappearance of Jessie McCann of Brooklyn in early December 1912 led to a series of desperate searches through the Coney Island and Sheepshead Bay sections of the borough as well as in die city of Philadelphia. According to

the New York Times, police assigned "a squad of detectives" to follow leads furnished by Livingston, "who had said she was confident she knew where Miss McCann could be found." (82) None of Livingston's suggestions, however, panned out. But with Livingston's network of religious supporters, desperate parents with the assistance of their ministers sought her assistance and advice to locate their missing daughters. In the fall of 1914 Pastor T. J. Ferguson asked Livingston to investigate the mysterious disappearance of sixteen-year-old Mary Loudon from Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania. Although no evidence was present to suggest that she traveled to New York City, let alone the lower Manhattan Chinatown neighborhood, the parents and pastor nonetheless directed their inquiry to Livingston and that neighborhood. (83)

In Livingston's **white slavery** lectures across the country the depictions of New York's Chinatown and the city's Chinese male residents as sexual threats to **white** womanhood enabled activists to promote the suffrage cause to socially and politically conservative audiences, particularly church-going audiences who were especially won over by her Christ-like public persona as the Angel of Chinatown engaged in a moral crusade against forced prostitution and sexual assault. If the notion of equal rights between the genders was too modern for these more conservative audiences, the notion of moral protection for the **young** and innocent was certainly not. The image of the lascivious Chinese male laborer as a menace to urban working **girls** and women fit neatly within familiar, established Victorian narratives of male seduction and female innocence. Even as New Yorkers at the dawn of the twentieth century struggled with accepting new modern modes of female sexuality that widened the bounds of feminine respectability, expressions of mutual attraction and affection between Chinese and whites remained difficult to accept. Interracial sexual relations--particularly between **white** women and Chinese men--continued to be defined in the earlier Victorian terms of masculine assaults on vulnerable **white girls** and women.

As argued by suffrage leaders such as Laidlaw and Vorce, **woman** suffrage provided the means to extend much-needed moral and legal protections to the weaker sex or, more specifically, the perceived weaker members of the female sex--poor and working-class **girls** and women--from sexual predation. (84) Regardless of how well these seasoned veterans articulated the connections between the causes of suffrage and anti-**white slavery**, it was the magnetic and electrifying presence of Rose Livingston--the self-proclaimed ex-Chinatown prostitute and social reformer--on the suffrage lecture circuit that brought formerly indifferent and conservative audiences into the movement's fold. Livingston's speeches on the "**white slavery** evil," couched in the alarmist rhetoric of a sexual Yellow Peril, made the suffrage cause take on a more immediate urgency that jolted her audiences into action. Yet the sensationalist narratives of **white slavery** and Livingston herself proved difficult for movement leaders to contain and channel consistently for the suffrage cause. Her refusal at times to play the role of the obedient daughter to her wealthy suffrage benefactors and her frank disdain of Victorian sentimentalism tested the movement's leaders' abilities to frame and harness her life story and work for the promotion of **woman** suffrage. Livingston's relationship with her wealthy suffrage benefactors reflects the difficulties in closing the class divide within the movement even as her supporters espoused a political platform that would address the concerns of the city's wage-earning women. Through Livingston, the city's middle- and upper-class leaders found a means to connect with the poor, working-class women of New York's Chinatown. Even so, the strategic mobilization of Livingston's Chinatown anti-**white slavery** crusade by New York's suffrage leaders did more to smooth over the political differences of socially conservative and Progressive middle-class and upper-class men and women through a commonly shared moral outrage than to carve permanently a powerful place for former sex workers into the suffrage movement. For working-class women with transgressive sexual pasts such as Livingston, full social acceptance and equal political participation in the movement remained just beyond their reach.

I am immensely grateful for the thoughtful comments and suggestions offered by a number of scholars in the research and writing of this essay and indebted to Kathy Peiss, Timothy Gilfoyle, and Chad Heap for their many insights.

(1) "How Rose Livingston Works in Chinatown," New York Times, 3 December 1912, 5. "Cadet" was the common term for the **young** man responsible for seducing and entrapping a **young woman** to prostitute herself.

(2) Willard Travell, MD, "Physician's Report," 1 July 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 92 Correspondence, July-December 1912, Harriet Wright (Burton) Laidlaw Papers, Schlesinger Library (hereafter HWLP-SL).

(3) Police commissioner to Robert Adamson, secretary to the mayor, 21 May 1912, Box GWJ-54, Mayors' Papers, New York City Municipal Archives (hereafter MP-NYCMA).

(4) Mayor William J. Gaynor to Mary Beard, 11 June 1912, Box GWJ-92, MP-NYCMA.

(5) "How Rose Livingston Works in Chinatown."

(6) "**Woman** Criticizes Gaynor," New York Times, 10 December 1912, 7.

(7) Robert Adamson to Harriet Wells, secretary of the **Woman** Suffrage Party, 20 May 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 91 Correspondence, May-June 1912, HWLP-SL.

(8) Recent studies examining the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century "**white slavery**" panic over kidnapping and trafficking of **white** women include Christopher Diffie, "Sex and the City: The **White Slavery** Scare and Social Governance in the Progressive Era," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2005): 411-37; Mara L. Keire, "The Vice Trust: A Reinterpretation of the **White Slavery** Scare in the United States, 1907-1917," *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 1 (2001): 5-41; Frederick K. Grittner, **White Slavery**: Myth, Ideology, and American Law (New York: Garland, 1990); David J. Langum, *Crossing over the Line: Legislating Morality and the Mann Act* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 30-33; Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago, 1992); David Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868-1900* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1973); Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 189-219.

(9) Some of these **woman** suffrage-sponsored publications on **white slavery** include Clifford G. Roe, *What Women Might Do with the Hallot: The Abolition of the **White** Slave Traffic* (New-York: National American **Woman** Suffrage Association Headquarters, n.d.); Mrs. T. P. Curtis, *The Traffic in Women* (Boston: **Woman** Suffrage Party of Boston, n.d.); and Katharine Houghton Hepburn, ***Woman** Suffrage and the Social Evil* (New York: National American **Woman** Suffrage Association, n.d.).

(10) Luise **White**, "Prostitutes, Reformers, and Historians," *Criminal Justice History* 6 (1985): 202-3.

(11) George Anthony Pepper, *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration before Exclusion* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

(12) Mary Ting Yi Lui, *Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 45, 81-110.

(13) NAWSA was Pounded after the 1890 reconciliation and merger of two other **woman** suffrage associations--the National **Woman** Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American **Woman** Suffrage Association (AWSA). For histories of the **woman** suffrage movement see Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978); Aileen S. Kraditor, *the Ideas of the **Woman** Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987); Anne Firor Scott, *One Half the People: The Fight for **Woman** Suffrage* (Philadelphia; Lippincott, 1975).

(14) Ellen Carol DuBois, "Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the New York **Woman** Suffrage Movement, 1894-1909," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois (New York: Routledge, 1994), 235. For more on Blatch's remarkable life and career see Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of **Woman** Suffrage* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997).

(15) On the history of the WTUL see Nancy Schrom Dye, *As Equals and as Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980); and Meredith Tax, *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York: Monthly Review Press), 95-124.

(16) Harriet Laidlaw, "Organizing to Win by the Political District Plan (1914)," in *Public Women, Public Words: A Documentary History of American Feminism*, ed. Dawn Keetley and John Pettegrew (Lanham, Md.: Rowan and Littlefield, 2002), 179.

- (17) "The Free-Lane Soul Saver of New York's Slums," fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, 28 January 1917, 2.
- (18) "Rose Livingston," n.d. Because the memo mentions the "Massachusetts campaign" 1 would date the document to around 1914. Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 90 Lists of expenses, hospital and doctors' statements, biographical information, 1912-16, n.d., HWLP-SL.
- (19) Mayor to H. B. Laidlaw, Esq., 28 May 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 91 Correspondence, May-June 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (20) Mayor Gaynor to Mary Beard, 11 Juno 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 91 Correspondence, May-June 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (21) Frank Moss to Nathan A. Smyth, 11 June 1912, Gabrielle Stewart Mulliner to Rose Livingston, 15 June 1912, and Nathan Smyth to Harriet Laidlaw, 24 June 1912, 12, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 91 Correspondence, May-June 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (22) Elizabeth Hartley to Nathan A. Smyth, 26 May 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 91 Correspondence, May-June 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (23) Eleanor Keller to Harriet Laidlaw, 18 June 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 91 Correspondence, May-June 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (24) Bertha Rembaugh to Nathan A. Smyth, 28 May 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 91 Correspondence, May-June 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (25) Moy Gum to Mr. Gardner, 8 November 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 92 Correspondence, July-December 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (26) Ibid.
- (27) William Osgood Morgan to Harriet Laidlaw, 27 December 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 92 Correspondence, July-December 1912, HWLP-SL. It is unclear who Garner was, since the letter suggests that Harriet Laidlaw and Garner did not know each other.
- (28) Chas. F. Gong to Harriet Laidlaw, 29 December 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 92 Correspondence, July-December 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (29) John Willard Travell m Harrier Laidlaw, 5 July 1912, and James Laidlaw to Nathan Smyth, 23 July 1912, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 92 Correspondence, July December 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (30) "How Rose Livingston Works in Chinatown."
- (31) Rose Livingston, "Report for the Month of July," Series I, **Woman's Suffrage**, Part B, Box 6, Folder 103 New York, HWLr-SL.
- (32) Rose Livingston, "Report for the Month of August," Series I, **Woman's Suffrage**, Part B, Box 6, Folder 103 New York, HWLP-SL.
- (33) Report dated 24 March 1910, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 89 Hattie Rose Correspondent, HWLP-SL.
- (34) Ibid.
- (35) "**woman** Criticizes Gaynor."
- (36) Ibid.
- (37) "Paints Horrors of **Woman's** Life in Underworld," New Castle News, 6 April 1915, 6.

- (38) "Reviewed Steps Taken," newspaper clipping, n.d., Series, IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 92 Correspondence, July-December 1912, HWLP-SL.
- (39) Letta M. Turnbull to James Laidlaw, 25 March 1913, Scales IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 93 Correspondence, January-March 1913, HWLP-SL.
- (40) Mrs. John A. Church to James Laidlaw, 24 March 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 93 Correspondence, January-March 1913, HWLP-SL.
- (41) Harriet Taylor Upton, president, Ohio **Woman** Suffrage Association to Harriet Laidlaw, 8 March 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 93 Correspondence, January-March 1913, HWLP-SL.
- (42) Marian H. Brewster to Rose Livingston, 26 March 1913, Series TV, **White Slavery**, Folder 93 Correspondence, January-March 1913, HWLP-SL; and James M. Gates to Rose Livingston, 2 June 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 94 Correspondence, April-June 1913, HWLP-SL.
- (43) The story was serialized in two parts in McClure's, December 1912, 121 -45, and January 1913, 253-60.
- (44) Harriet Burton Laidlaw, "My Little Sister," Survey, 3 May 1913, 201.
- (45) Ibid.
- (46) For a good discussion of Anti-suffrage activism see Jane Jerome Camhi, *Women against Women: American Anti-Suffragism, 1880-1920*(Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1994).
- (47) Elias Lieberman, "Rose Livingston: A Reverie," *New York Times*, 22 December 1912, 14.
- (48) "Suggested Introduction of Rose Livingston," 2. This description of her bodily torment is repeated in numerous public accounts of her work. See, for example, "The Livingston Case," n.d., in *The Woman Voter Series IV, White Slavery*, Folder 90 Lists of expenses, hospital and doctors, statements, biographical information, 1912--16, HWLP-SL.
- (49) Publicity materials sent by the New York State **Woman** Suffrage Party, "Miss Rose Livingston," 9 October 1916, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 90 Lists of expenses, hospital and doctors' statements, biographical information, 1912-16, HWLP-SL.
- (50) For more on Alice Paul and die National **Woman's** Party see Linda G. Ford, *Iron-Jawed Angels: The Suffrage Militancy of the National Woman's Party, 1912-1920* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991); Nancy F. Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National **Woman's** Party," *Journal of American History* 71, no. 1 (1984): 43-68; Christine A. Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1986).
- (51) "How Rose Livingston Works; in Chinatown."
- (52) "The Free-Lance Soul Saver of New York's Slums."
- (53) For a discussion of approaches to urban moral reform in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Boyer, *Urban Masses*.
- (54) "How Rose Livingston Works in Chinatown."
- (55) Ibid.
- (56) Ethel R. Vorce to Harriet Laidlaw, 5 March 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 96 Correspondence, January-April 1913, HWLP-SL.
- (57) Ethel R. Vorce to Rose Livingston, 5 March 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 96 Correspondence, January-April

1913, HWLP-SL.

(58) Loa E. Scott to Harriet Laidlaw, 18 February 1913, Folder 93 Correspondence, January-March 1913, HWLP-SL.

(59) Rose Livingston to Harriet Laidlaw, n.d., Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 96 Correspondence, June-December 1914, HWLP-SL.

(60) Mabel C. Willard to Harriet Laidlaw, 1 March 1914, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 96 Correspondence, January-April 1914, HWLP-SL. She also used the term "Daddy" with other older male supporters such as James Gates, an attorney and male suffrage activist, in Chagrin Falls, Ohio. James signed all of his letters to Livingston with "Daddy." James M. Gates to Rose Livingston, 2 June 1913, 26 June 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 94 Correspondence, April-June 1913, HWLP-SL.

(61) Laetitia Gordon Smith to James Laidlaw, 3 July 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 95 Correspondence, July-December 1913, HWLP-SL.

(62) Receipts and lists of expenses, n.d., Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 90 Lists of expenses, hospital and doctors' statements, biographical information, 1912-16, HWLP-SL.,

(63) George Hugh Birney, n.d., Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 93 Correspondence, January-March 1913, HWLP-SL.

(64) Gertrude Halladay Leonard to Harriet Laidlaw, 2 March 1915, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 98 Correspondence, 1915, HWLP-SL.

(65) Gertrude Halladay Leonard, 16 December 1914, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 97 Correspondence, June-December 1914, HWLP-SL.

(66) "Paints Horrors of **Woman's** Life in Underworld."

(67) "Nellie D. Merrell to Miss Treat, Cleveland, Ohio, n.d., Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 94 Correspondence, April-June 1913, HWLP-SL.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Laura C. Haeckl to James Laidlaw, 30 July 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 95 Correspondence, July-December 1913, HWLP-SL.

(70) Ethel Vorce to James Laidlaw, 27 April 1915, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 98 Correspondence, 1915, HWLP-SL.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Ethel R. Vorce to Carrie Chapman Catt, n.d., Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 94 Correspondence, April-June 1913, HWLP-SL. Although the correspondence does not bear a date, the contents strongly indicate it was written at the conclusion of the 1915 Pennsylvania tour.

(74) Ibid.

(75) Ibid.

(76) See, for example, J. W. Alexander, American Opium Smokers--Interior of a New York Opium Den Harper's Weekly, 8 October 1881.

(77) Frank Yeager. Mew York City--The Opium Dens in Pell and Mutt Streets--How the Opium Habit Is Developed, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 19 May 1883.

(78) Lui, Chinatown Trunk Mystery, 17-20, 47-51, 52-54, 73-80.

(79) William Brown Meloney, "Slumming in New York's Chinatown," *Munsey's Magazine* 41 (September 1909): 825.

(80) S. Robinson to J. H. Hooke, 23 March 1911, 3-4, Box 1, Folder General Correspondence, January-May 1911, Committee of Fourteen Papers, New York Public Library.

(81) "Houses and Resorts of Prostitution in the City of New York," 1 February 1912, 8-9, Box 28, Folder 1912, Committee of Fourteen Papers, New York Public Library.

(82) "Boston Finds Girl like Miss M'Cann," *New York Times*, 12 December 1913, 1.

(83) Missing persons flyer from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 19 October 1914, and report by Rose Livingston, 26 May 1915, Series I, **Woman's Suffrage**, Part B New York, Box 6, Folder 103, HWLP-SL. For more on missing person requests see Harrison T. McCann to James Laidlaw, 11 December 1913, Series IV, **White Slavery**, Folder 95 Correspondence, July-December 1913, HWLP-SL. See also Mrs. W. A. Winters to Rose Livingston, 28 January 1914, Mrs. Rubie A. **Young** to Rose Livingston, 26 February 1914, .and Jane Arlin to Rose Livingston, 28 February 1914, Folder 96 Correspondence, January-April 1914, HWLP-SL.

(84) For an interesting discussion of class and **white** racial privilege in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century suffrage movement see Louise Newman, **White** Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

MARY TING YI LUI

Yale University

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