

*The Presence of the Under-Examined “New Woman” in San Francisco’s
1885-1914 Illicit Public Gambling Sphere*

Ariana Molina

History 480

Davidson College

December 9, 2025

“Attention ladies! We got some winners for the Emeryville Horse Races: Williams, Retting, and Vosper” announced seventy-five year old gambling-den owner Jane Brown moments before police busted in to shut her hustle down. “Everybody sit still!” yelled the policeman who had been gathering information on a woman-run gambling-den in room 202 of the Langham Hotel in San Francisco. The crowd of women gasped and froze. This is the scene the policeman encountered: a “mild-mannered” old lady preceding over racing charts with a telephone receiver. Gathered around her were four women and two men waiting to collect their money from their betting winnings. All suspects were arrested and all racing charts were taken to the station on this crisp March day in 1910. All suspects were released on bail soon thereafter.¹

The California Gold Rush era was suffused by a sentiment of dream and opportunity. Folks from all over the United States flocked to a location where they hoped to strike it rich. San Francisco was one of the most populous opportunist-seeking destinations.² As a result, this city emerged as a prime gambling hub that is often remembered as having a more impressive effect than the Gold Rush itself.³ The boom in gold speculation coupled with these increased levels of gambling led California to outlaw gambling in 1872.⁴ This prohibition, however, hardly stymied its popularity, and gambling continued illegally in “pool-rooms” and “gambling-dens.” Through the years of 1885 to 1914, San Francisco's newspapers published many stories detailing and

¹ Four articles discussed the story: “Motherly Dame in Novel Role Jailed for Keeping a Pool Room for Women,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, 1910; “Woman Ran a Poolroom: San Francisco Police Break Into Hotel Room,” *The Sacramento Bee*, March 25, 1910; “Old Woman Arrested for Running Pool Room,” *The Morning Press*, March 26, 1910; “Gambling Den for Women is Raided,” *The Bulletin: San Francisco*, March 25, 1910.

For a description of the winners of the Emeryville race see: “Races at Emeryville,” *Fresno Bee*, March 23, 1910.

² Mark A. Eifler, *The California Gold Rush: The Stampede That Changed the World* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2016).

³ Eifler, *The California Gold Rush*, 195.

⁴ Richard Maury and Walter Scott, *The Penal Code of California, Enacted In 1872: As Amended Up to And Including 1905, With Statutory History And Citation Digest Up to And Including Volume 147, California Reports*. (San Francisco, CA: Bancroft-Whitney, 1906), 128, 134-136, 815, 878, 983.

subsequently chastising women's presence in gambling-dens both as participants and operators.⁵ These sources are illuminated in society because the law got involved. Gambling being illegal is why court cases and dozens of newspapers document raids on women gambling-dens.

While historians have been attentive to the social history of the California Gold Rush and the role of gambling, they have by and large ignored women's presence in San Francisco's gambling culture as a larger move by them violating upper-middle class femininity and pushing into the illicit gambling public space.⁶

⁵ See newspapers on woman pool-rooms and pool-rooms run by women: "Women's Pool Room is Raided by Police," *The Fresno Morning Republican*, April 27, 1913; "Three Women in Court," *The Chico Enterprise*, November 22, 1911; "Motherly Dame in Novel Role Jailed for Keeping Pool Room for Women," March 25, 1910; "Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women's Poolroom," *The San Francisco Examiner*, Feb 17, 1899; "Women Gamblers," *Marysville Democrat*, March 25, 1898; "Bucket Shops Must Close: Police Stationed in Front of Gambling Dens Frequented by Women," *San Francisco Examiner*, March 22, 1898; "Women as Gamblers," *Daily Red Bluff News*, March 22, 1898; "Women Gamblers," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 30, 1896; "Women Gamblers," *The Evening Mail*, May 12, 1892; "Women Gamblers," *The San Francisco Examiner*, May 2, 1886; "Old Woman Arrested for Running Pool Room," March 26, 1910; "Woman Ran a Poolroom: San Francisco Police Break Into Hotel Room," *The Sacramento Bee*, March 25, 1910; "Old Woman Arrested for Running Pool Room," *The Morning Press*, March 26, 1910; "They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 4, 1905; "Women's Pool Room is Raided by Police," *The Fresno Morning Republican*, April 27, 1913; "Bucket Shops Must Close: Police Stationed in Front of Gambling Dens Frequented by Women," *San Francisco Examiner*, March 22, 1898; "Dr. Brink Denies Wife Ran Pool Room - Police Say She Has Confessed," *The Berkeley Gazette*, July 19, 1912; "Betting Women Captured in Police Raid," *The San Francisco Examiner*, July 19, 1912; "Saved Necklace; Departs With It," *Oakland Tribune*, May 7, 1911; "Says Gambling Breeds Robbery: Gambling Among Women," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Jan 24, 1910; "Gambling Den for Women is Raided," *The Bulletin: San Francisco*, March 25, 1910; "Saved Necklace; Departs With It," *Oakland Tribune*, May 7, 1911; "Says Gambling Breeds Robbery: Gambling Among Women," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 24, 1910.

Additionally, many of my sources are from the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner*. For contextualization, the *San Francisco Chronicle* was a dominating newspaper at the time with its key theme being discussing the growing nature of San Francisco post Gold-Rush. Therefore, its primary emphasis was to cover the transformations of San Francisco, so its capturing of female gambling indirectly spoke for the societal changes reflected for the "New Woman." Additionally, the *San Francisco Examiner* was a major and often controversial newspaper with fiery language to reflect the emerging growth of San Francisco and including diverse political perspectives.

⁶ Martha Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 30; Einav Rabinovitch-Fox, *Dressed for Freedom: The Fashionable Politics of American Feminism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021), 25; Martha Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Tracy J.R. Collins, "Athletic Fashion, 'Punch', and the Creation of the New Woman," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, no. 3 (2010): 309-35; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman and the New History," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 1/2 (1975): 185-98; Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham, *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism and International Consumer Culture, 1880-1930* (London: Routledge, 2012); Autumn L. Linford, "Nellie Bly Merchandise and the Changing American Woman: A Material Culture Study," *American Journalism* 39, (2022): 72-91; Ruby Maloni, "Dissonance Between Norms and Behaviour: Early 20th Century America's 'New Woman,'" *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 70 (2009): 880-86; Ouida, "The New Woman (1894)," *The North American Review* 272, no. 3 (1987): 61-65; Emma Casey, *Women, Pleasure and the Gambling Experience* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2008); Emma Casey, "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness," *Feminist Review*, no. 89,

The “New Woman” was an upper-middle to elite class woman who symbolized a position and reflection of evolutionary advancement with autonomy to regulate her own artistic practice.⁷ Her emergence in the 1890s came in a climate where women’s voices and autonomous expressions were growing more common.⁸ While the term “New Woman” could refer to an active women's rights activist, she was more of an embodied style. Scholarship that discusses the “New Woman” tends to focus on the evolutionary advancements of her changing dress.⁹ For example, Einav Rabinovitch-Fox argues that in an era when upper-middle class ladies were starting to push into the public sphere, dress acted as a way of practicing their feminism.¹⁰ She further contends that the educated “New Woman” was pushing into public life by means of changing her style such as incorporating the shirt-waist.¹¹ Due to participation in public life in the time being remembered with respect to women’s rights activists, scholars who have examined the “New Woman” have tended to miss how this figure also worked in the illicit public sphere, such as through her involvement with gambling-dens.¹² From the array of newspaper sources detailing women’s gambling-dens, the San Francisco 1885-1914 “New Woman” thus used gambling as a way to push into public life in a way that was unusual. In this era, a woman’s domain was the home, where she was expected to be morally pious and the family’s ethical

(2008): 122-137; Chris Enss, *The Lady Was a Gambler: True Stories of Notorious Cardships of the Old West* (TwoDot, 2007), 95; Jason Pope, “Gambling in California: From 49ers Gambling to Gambling on the 49ers,” *Western Legal History: The Journal of the Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society* 47 (2024): 47-59; Ralph R. Greenson, “On Gambling,” *The John Hopkins University Press* 2, no. 4, (1947): 61-77; Ted Ramos, *San Francisco Gambling* (Arcadia Publishing, 2020).

⁷ Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl, 1895-1915*, 30.

⁸ Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl, 1895-1915*, 30.

⁹ Rabinovitch-Fox, *Dressed for Freedom*, 25; Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl*; Collins, “Athletic Fashion, ‘Punch’, and the Creation of the New Woman,” 309–35.

¹⁰ Rabinovitch-Fox, *Dressed for Freedom*, 32.

¹¹ Rabinovitch-Fox, *Dressed for Freedom*, 32.

See more in: Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl*; Collins, “Athletic Fashion, ‘Punch,’ and the Creation of the New Woman,” 309–35.

¹² Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl*; Collins, “Athletic Fashion, ‘Punch,’ and the Creation of the New Woman,” 309–35.

guide.¹³ While scholars have discussed how the 1885-1914 “New Woman” was assuming greater independence and public presence within this era, many have focused on how the “New Woman” pushed back into public life through fashion choices, not on the “New Woman” gambler.¹⁴

A woman gambler continues to be glossed over because scholars are not accurately separating the difference between a women's role in the civic public space versus the illicit public space.¹⁵ This paper defines an illicit public space as a secretive setting that was dominated by a male hegemony that a woman is not explicitly banned from, but generally excluded. Alternatively, the civic public space would be spaces like the home that reinforce the domesticity and submissiveness that defined a woman's place in society. Scholarship defining the “New Woman” broadly and her presence in the United States beginning in 1885 has been an explored topic, but few mention how this woman was also a gambler.¹⁶ For example, Martha H. Patterson edits an entire collection with articles from seventy-four scholars across the country who write on their specific scopes regarding the “New Woman.”¹⁷ Examples include the “New Woman” and her role working in the mining fields as well as the social significance of the “New Black Woman.”¹⁸ Yet, none of the seventy-four scholars mention this woman as a gambler. The trajectory of omitting the “New Woman” as gambler follows in works such as Carroll

Smith-Rosenberg's “The New Woman and the New History” and Anne Heilmann and Maragaret

¹³ Rachel Stroup, “The Rhetoric of the New Woman, 1890-1920” (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2017).

¹⁴ Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl*; Collins, “Athletic Fashion, ‘Punch’, and the Creation of the New Woman,” 309–35.

¹⁵ Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited*; Smith-Rosenberg, “The New Woman and the New History,” 185–98; Heilmann and Beetham, *New Woman Hybridities*; Linford, “Nellie Bly Merchandise and the Changing American Woman: A Material Culture Study,” 72–91.

Maloni, “Dissonance Between Norms and Behaviour: Early 20th Century America's ‘New Woman,’” 80–86. Ouida, “The New Woman (1894),” 61–65.

¹⁶ Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited*; Smith-Rosenberg, “The New Woman and the New History,” 185–98; Heilmann and Beetham, *New Woman Hybridities*; Linford, “Nellie Bly Merchandise and the Changing American Woman: A Material Culture Study,” 72–91.

Maloni, “Dissonance Between Norms and Behaviour: Early 20th Century America's ‘New Woman,’” 80–86. Ouida, “The New Woman (1894),” 61–65.

¹⁷ Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited*.

¹⁸ Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited*, 54, 64.

Beetham's "New Woman Hybridities" who each argue for the "New Woman's" evolutionary advancement in society without recognition to the illicit spaces a woman was participating in.¹⁹

One could affirm that since gambling was illegal and done in the illicit public sector, it is not necessary for scholars who discuss how a woman who was pushing into society to give attention to the actions done in an illicit space. However, this is problematic, because what a woman was doing in the illicit space is also relevant when discussing the "New Woman" and how she was violating upper-middle class femininity by pushing into public life. Though this scholarship is relevant to the broader context by provoking the reader to consider how the uniqueness of a woman's experience may alter our view of social structure and social change, it tends to miss an aspect of the puzzle: a woman who gambles.

Furthermore, a woman who gambles is not necessarily an under-examined topic, as works exist on women gamblers.²⁰ However, the women examined in the women-gambler scholarship are not on the "New Woman." Instead, the woman gambler is remembered as a working class woman, rather than an upper-middle class woman.²¹ For example, historian Emma Casey has rooted her scholarship in examining women gamblers in works such as *Women, Pleasure and the Gambling Experience* and "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness."²² Casey focuses on the working class woman who used gambling as an escape from the pressures of supporting a household, and in some cases relied on gambling to make

¹⁹ Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman and the New History," 185–98; Heilmann and Beetham, *New Woman Hybridities*.

See more board scholarship on the "New Woman" without gambling descriptions in: Linford, "Nellie Bly Merchandise and the Changing American Woman: A Material Culture Study," 72–91; Maloni, "Dissonance Between Norms and Behaviour: Early 20th Century America's 'New Woman,'" 80–86; Ouida, "The New Woman (1894)," 61–65.

²⁰ Casey, *Women, Pleasure and the Gambling Experience*; Casey, "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness," 122–137; Enss, *The Lady Was a Gambler*, 15.

²¹ Casey, *Women, Pleasure and the Gambling Experience*; Casey, "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness," 122–137.

²² Casey, *Women, Pleasure and the Gambling Experience*; Casey, "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness," 122–137.

ends meet.²³ She glosses over the aspect of women gamblers occupying the upper-middle class, and instead argues that women often used gambling to support their desire to become wealthy.²⁴ Casey is not the only scholar to remember a woman gambler as being associated with the working class. For his part, Chris Enss' *The Lady Was a Gambler: True Stories of Notorious Cardships of the Old West* details over twenty individualized cases of female gamblers from the United States, such as Eleanor Dumont and Mary Hamblin who flocked to San Francisco, fleeing impoverished lives in the American south to strike it rich.²⁵ This scholarship is relevant for the broader context on the existence of a woman gambler, but it is problematic that scholarship tends to remember women gamblers solely in relation to the lower class who used gambling as a form of work rather than pleasure.

From the aforementioned scholarship on the "New Woman" and the woman gambler in general, there appears to be a missing link between the "New Woman" who gambles. One could plausibly argue that specific terms like "New Woman gambler" may not be coined phrases and the phenomenon could be discussed in scholarship without such specific terms. Given that this paper is focusing on San Francisco, one may think that analyzing the scholarship on San Francisco's gambling history between 1885-1914 would give insight into the woman gambler. However, recent scholarship on San Francisco's gambling history tends to ignore the presence of upper-middle class women in the gambling sphere. Rather, this scholarship, such as historian Ted Ramos' *San Francisco Gambling* details the history and type of gambling that took place in San Francisco and does not mention women at all.²⁶

²³ Casey, "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness," 130.

²⁴ Casey, "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness," 130.

²⁵ Enss, *The Lady Was a Gambler*, 95.

²⁶ Ramos, *San Francisco Gambling*. See more omission of the woman gambler in: Pope, "Gambling in California: From 49ers Gambling to Gambling on the 49ers," 47-59.

In contrast, scholarship written most closely to the 1885-1914 time period does recognize the upper-middle class San Francisco woman gambler, which suggests that those living in the time period were cognizant of the San Francisco gambling climate. For example, American journalist and writer Herbert Asbury wrote books in 1933 and 1938, where he not only gave credit to the upper-middle class women in the gambling sphere, but described them as maintaining a space in every horse-betting gambling house of San Francisco.²⁷ While Asbury does not make women the center of his 500-paged analysis, he does devote a significant amount of attention to the women as a gambler within the 1885-1914 time period.²⁸ Moreover, physician Dr. Greenson, who published a study called “On Gambling” in 1947 to decipher the physiological effects of gambling on men, continuously uses women gamblers as a point of comparison in his analysis.²⁹ These examples suggest that people within the time period were not surprised to see a woman gambler, as their discussions argue for their recognized presence within the culture. It appears that as time has progressed, scholars have become increasingly distant from the very real aspects of an upper-middle class woman’s presence in San Francisco’s 1885-1914 gambling sphere. From this, one may surmise that recent historians have imposed their own blinders to what they remember as a women’s place in the civic public sphere in forgetting a woman’s ways of violating the middle class femininity and pushing into society via the illicit public sphere.

This paper aims to not only answer the question of how the 1885-1914 San Francisco “New Woman” pushed into public life, but also to explore how they were perceived by society

²⁷ Herbert Asbury, *Sucker’s Progress: An Informal History of Gambling In America From the Colonies to the Canfield* (Dodd, Mead, and Company Inc., 1938); Herbert Asbury, *The Barbaric Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld* (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1933), 354.

²⁸ Asbury, *Sucker’s Progress*, 176, 349, 353.

²⁹ Greenson, “On Gambling,” 61-77. See page 65 where Greenson argues that women were more poised in the gambling setting and were often regarded higher due to their skill.

for doing so. The cost of not knowing how gambling was a part of the “New Woman” has the adverse effect of not recognizing how the “New Woman” occupied a space in the illicit public sphere as well as in the civic public sphere. On account of the current scholarship, society has confined the challenging of social norms to an outward approach instead of recognizing that by partaking in the illicit world, women were violating middle class femininity and pushing back into society in an underexamined way.

Prior to California outlawing gambling in 1872, reported court cases in California mentioning women and gambling were scant.³⁰ There are only twenty-three recorded cases nationwide concerning women, all specifically with them as prostitutes amongst a male’s gambling establishment.³¹ Between the years of 1885-1914, the United States had 223 reported cases nationwide with women and gambling, and three in California.³² While two are unrelated to this paper’s argument and relate to a woman in the gambling sphere as a prostitute, the 1907 *People v. Craig* case infers a different scenario.³³ In *People v. Craig*, San Francisco defendant Mr. Craig resisted arrest, and was put on trial where he believed his actions of resistance were justified.³⁴ The court affirmed the defendant's conviction of making the arrest without a warrant due the other misdemeanors present on his file. The testimony of a woman makes this case relevant to this paper’s argument as the fact of the case describes that Craig would come to her house four or five times a week. The inference was that this woman was a prostitute, and when the court had asked the woman why Mr. Craig would frequent her home, the answer was gambling.³⁵ This paper is cognizant that the lady may have lied in her testimony, and Craig could

³⁰ See NexisUni and Westlaw Campus Research databases with all court cases prior to 1872 mentioning gambling.

³¹ See NexisUni and Westlaw Campus Research databases with all court cases prior to 1872 mentioning gambling.

³² See NexisUni and Westlaw Campus Research databases.

³³ See *Farmer v. Behmer*, 9 Cal. App 773 as the unrelated court case describing a woman in a gambling scene as a prostitute.

³⁴ *People v. Craig*, 152 Cal. 42 (1907).

³⁵ *People v. Craig*, 152 Cal. 42 (1907).

have been frequenting her house for sexual purposes. However, even if she was not telling the truth, she still chose to portray the image that Craig was frequenting her home with the intention to gamble. The fact that cases like these were scant prior to 1872 suggests that more women were participating in the illicit public space of gambling once it was illegal. By being present in this space, a woman was pushing the bounds of upper-middle class femininity and putting herself in a space that was in conflict with her civic public duties. Nevertheless, the woman remains unnamed in the testimony, which is relevant when conceptualizing how this presence provoked a moral scare. While being vocal to the judge about a man frequenting her home to gamble shows an expression of self-efficacy and a perception of the woman embracing her autonomy by pushing into the illicit gambling space, she is still unnamed in the case's retelling. By being unnamed amongst society through the way the case is recorded suggests a negative connotation and moral scare with women and gambling. Had society agreed with her actions and not been morally panicked, they would arguably not have an issue putting her name in the case. Given the fact that there were an array of cases after gambling became illegal, the argument that women were gambling when gambling was illegal is less blurry. This suggests that women desired to participate in the illicit space in an era when they both had duties to remain in the civic space though they were experiencing more freedoms in society. Taken together, a woman was practicing pushing into public life by participating in the illicit gambling space, which was not accepted by society.

An analysis of the court case, though relevant, only provides an introduction to what society recognized and perceived with respect to women gamblers. Prior to 1872, there appeared to be an absence of newspapers regarding women and their ties to gambling.³⁶ However, within the time period of 1885-1914, there were one hundred newspapers in San Francisco that

³⁶ See newspapers.com with filter search of newspapers before 1872.

mentioned women and their ties to gambling.³⁷ Specifically, horse-betting.³⁸ In February 1905, the *San Francisco Chronicle* published a story that detailed a police raid on a horse-betting pool-room posing as a candy store.³⁹ Here, women were clearly in an illicit and illegal gambling setting and violating upper-middle class femininity by deliberately resisting social norms and entertaining a space not socially acceptable for her. Additionally, given the fact that gambling was illegal, this woman was not only doing something illegal, but also asserting her access to an environment known as being more for males. Furthermore, after noticing many women departing the store without any goods in hand for many months, Policeman Kracke's "aroused suspicions" sent a woman informant in the establishment with 50 cents to bet.⁴⁰ When the informant came out, she described the horse form charts and how the owner's wife, Mrs. Schwartz was entertaining the company with "expert opinions on the ability of horses."⁴¹ Immediately, Policeman Kracke decided it was time to raid.⁴² Policeman Kracke's decision to have a woman informant suggests that he was cognizant of how a woman could push into the illicit public space, as there was no question or concern with the woman entering the pool-room. Clearly, he felt it more informative and relevant to have another woman pose as a horse-better instead of directly raiding the scene. The source writes of a woman informant's actions of helping the police officer with ease, which asserts that there were no contentions with a woman entering the space, thus establishing that a woman was pushing into public life by engaging in the illicit public gambling space.

³⁷ See newspapers.com with filter search for women and gambling in San Francisco published sources from 1880-1914.

³⁸ See newspapers.com with filter search for women and gambling in San Francisco published sources from 1880-1914.

³⁹ "They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop."

⁴⁰ "They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop."

⁴¹ "They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop."

⁴² "They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop."

Furthermore, Mrs. Schwartz, one of the owners of the gambling-den, had the role of “entertaining the company with expert opinions on the ability of horses.”⁴³ With this description, the source indirectly illuminates the woman’s skill and sophistication with regards to how to properly bet on the horses. Violating upper-middle class femininity to enter and participate in the gambling-den is the dominating aspect of San Francisco’s 1885-1914 culture. However, another dimension comes when recognizing that these women would not be entering the space in vast numbers for such an extended period if they also did not have skill and knowledge of horse betting. Mrs. Schwartz’ description as providing her “expert opinion” provides direct evidence for this assertion.⁴⁴ In this case, a woman’s breaking free of the expectations associated with traditional upper-middle class femininity is seen by the women present in the space, defying social norms and taking control in the realm of gambling. The “New Women” described would be of the class to attend horse-races. However, a woman who went to the racetrack would do so only as an accessory to her husband. Still present at the racetrack, they would gather their own knowledge on the scene, which gives rationale for why horse-betting was the recurring gambling action presented in each newspaper source of this paper. Therefore, horse-betting being the type of gambling that the dozens of newspaper sources describing the “New Woman” makes sense for how she pushed into the illicit public space, as she was interacting with a setting in which she was already familiar.

However, skill and autonomy need not be linked with acceptance and encouragement from society. Rather, reading through the lines of these sources for how a woman is described speaks to the moral scare factor present in society toward a woman gambler. Several women in the “Schwartz-Den” are recorded as becoming “suddenly stricken with heart failure” where

⁴³ “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.” Additionally, this paper will further refer to the noted article as the “Schwartz-Den” article.

⁴⁴ “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

apparently one even “endeavored to jump out of the window.”⁴⁵ Taken at face value, these reactions suggest that women were cognizant about negative societal perceptions surrounding their gambling habits and were fearful of being caught in their non-civic public space. Acting in a panic is the typical way women are described in raided gambling-dens.⁴⁶ Additionally in 1899, a newspaper titled “Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women’s Poolroom” reveals that “police create[d] a mild panic [as a] scramble of women gamblers who feared arrest [fled] in their desperate efforts to escape.”⁴⁷ The actual verbiage of desperate scrambling women who were in a panic from this article and the “Schwartz-Den” scene are unique amongst the set of woman-raided gambling-den articles as they include sketches of the frantic facial expressions of the gambling women.⁴⁸ The “Schwartz-Den” article includes a detailed image of panicked women being chased out of the gambling-den by police as they holler “please don’t publish my picture.”⁴⁹ The 1899 article includes images of the “flight of mud-hens” scrambling around the gambling-den in absolute panic and fear.⁵⁰ The term “mud-hen” was a word to refer to the female gambler and is not a glamorous word, but rather a derogatory term.⁵¹ By calling the women “mud-hens,” a woman is being belittled for gambling, so one could recognize how the gambling woman provoked a reaction of chastisement amongst society, suggesting a moral scare. On the surface, the panic appears to be coming from the women themselves; however, one could

⁴⁵ “Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women’s Poolroom.”

⁴⁶ Such as “My Gawd, don’t let my husband know that I have been here.” in “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

⁴⁷ “Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women’s Poolroom.”

⁴⁸ See figures 1 and 2 below from: “Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women’s Poolroom;” “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

⁴⁹ “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

⁵⁰ See figures 1 and 2 below from: “Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women’s Poolroom;” “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

⁵¹ Following, this paper will refer to the 1905 article as the “Mud-Hen article.” See another source, from Los Angeles, calling women gamblers “mud-hens:” “The Mud Hens.” *The Los Angeles Times*. September 19, 1897.

arguably suggest that the panic is actually a reflection on how society wanted to portray the women, thus reinforcing the moral panic present from the woman gambler.

Reading through the lines on how a woman is described in panic may not be fully convincing in that one may be provoked to argue that a woman could have also genuinely been panicked, even if there was a moral scare present in society. However, the same “Mud-Hen” article that provides images of women scrambling in fear also describes that once these “well dressed and neat looking women” were taken to jail, they could not stop with their “horsey talk” and were all “bailed out [by their husbands] before dark came.”⁵² This means that once these women were in jail, their panicked statements did not persist. Rather, their horsey talk, a more nonchalant and non-fearful sort of speech did. Additionally, the same “Schwartz-Den” article that sketches an array of women frantically fleeing police also says that “patronesses of the poolroom saw that there was no intention of placing them under arrest.”⁵³ Had these women actually been in a panic, their emotions in jail would have likely been in a more frantic state.⁵⁴ Rather, these women’s reactions in jail suggest that she may have just been performing a sense of panic at the right time when in reality, these women, collectively, were not fearful of the repercussions that result from pushing into the illicit public space. Clearly, there is conflict in the descriptions and images of panic and the women’s literal dialogue about conviction in these sources. One could ask themselves, if a story is intended to portray women in a panic, why would they be transparent in showcasing that they were not fearful of receiving arrest and were actually all released rather quickly? The “Schwartz-Den” and “Mud-Hen” newspapers described in this paper are the few that actually detail in length the scene after the den is raided, whereas

⁵² “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

⁵³ “Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women’s Poolroom.”

⁵⁴ See more of a woman knowing she will be bailed out and not being fearful with “all were released on bail...” in “Motherly Dame in Novel Role Jailed for Keeping Pool Room for Women.”

most only showcase the scare it posed to the woman gamblers.⁵⁵ This is why this paper digs deep into the “Mud-Hen” and “Shwartz-Den” articles, since the many more newspapers that exist on women gambling-dens with horse-betting limit their approach to only describing the raid of the den.⁵⁶ Additionally, these newspapers are two of the only sources that include literal sketches of these women.⁵⁷ By including the images of franticity in the women’s face and body composition with repeated the word “panic,” the unnamed author may have intended to offset the very-real and non-fearful sentiments which occurred post-raid.

Furthermore, since gambling was illegal, one could argue that newspapers may just be chastising an illegal activity as opposed to the person doing the activity. However, when this narrative is lined up to that of a raided male gambling-den in the same city and time period, it is clear that the panic recounted in the former stems more from the action being done by a woman, as opposed to a panic about the pure action itself.⁵⁸ In 1912, the *San Francisco Chronicle* published an article on a male-dominated gambling-den being raided by police where the men caught were actually glorified as heroes, instead of chastised for gambling.⁵⁹ The source itself is titled “Gamblers Contribute \$365 to Poor When Police Raid Joint-To Arrest the Claimant” where the men are uplifted as they did not wish to claim the money, but instead were going to be used to “make happy some widows and orphans.”⁶⁰ In contrast to the portrayal of women, men who were charged with frequenting a gambling house were praised for contributing to the poor.⁶¹

⁵⁵ See the scare to women gamblers in: “Bucket Shops Must Close: Police Stationed in Front of Gambling Dens Frequented by Women”; “Women as Gamblers”; “Women Gamblers.”

⁵⁶ “Bucket Shops Must Close: Police Stationed in Front of Gambling Dens Frequented by Women”; “Women as Gamblers”; “Women Gamblers.”

⁵⁷ See figures 1 and 2 below from: “Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women’s Poolroom”; “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

⁵⁸ “Gamblers Contribute \$365 to Poor When Police Raid Joint,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 21, 1912.

⁵⁹ “Gamblers Contribute \$365 to Poor When Police Raid Joint.”

⁶⁰ “Gamblers Contribute \$365 to Poor When Police Raid Joint.”

⁶¹ “Gamblers Contribute \$365 to Poor When Police Raid Joint.”

Therefore, while women gamblers faced descriptions of disapproval and moral critiques, male gamblers were viewed almost heroically.

When comparing the way men and women are explicitly described when they are caught for gambling, one could contextualize that the woman gambler posed more of a threat to society than the male. These sentiments continue to prove true when analyzing newspapers on a woman's role in society that explicitly detail how a woman should not be gambling. For example, in 1910, an editorial page of the *The Bulletin*, a daily San Francisco newspaper targeted at all residents, included an article on the public spaces women should and should not be occupying.⁶² Within the description, the text states, "there is an evil sign over gambling. Women should find the day good for shopping and for anything concerning personal beauty and household affairs."⁶³ It is relevant that the words "evil and gambling," describing the illicit public space, are written with the claim that a woman should instead be tending to their beauty and maintaining a household.⁶⁴ This clearly argues that a woman has no place gambling, and if she were, it would be against her expected civic public-sphere duties of household affairs. The fact that an article explicitly mentioning how a woman should not be gambling was published to the San Francisco population, one can not only assert that women were in fact violating middle class femininity and pushing into the illicit public space. Not only that, but society was aware and panicked from it that they explicitly asserted what a woman should be doing next to the words "evil sign over gambling."⁶⁵ Society was in so much of a panic that actual restrictions were placed on women in establishments that may have been susceptible to a woman gambler. For example, in 1912, a San Francisco county ordinance presented by District Attorney Goodcell

⁶² "Cozette's Horoscope," *The Bulletin: San Francisco*, August 24, 1910.

⁶³ "Cozette's Horoscope."

⁶⁴ "Cozette's Horoscope."

⁶⁵ "Cozette's Horoscope."

established that neither women nor gambling would be allowed in new pool rooms.⁶⁶ While these restrictions speak to the current illegality of gambling in San Francisco, they also underscore how a woman should not be in a setting that may also be prone to illegal gambling. Given that the year of this statement is 1912, and women pool-rooms were facing governmental regulations, one may suggest that District Attorney Goodcell was cognizant of the same woman from a decade earlier who was pushing into public life by defying societal expectations. Furthermore, newspapers for over a decade, including the aforementioned “Schwartz-Den” and “Mud-Hen” article described consistent police attempts to crack down on women gambling-dens.⁶⁷ More of this comes further back in time from a 1898 “Woman Gamblers” article in San Francisco describing how “the authorities of San Francisco have for some time been trying to suppress gambling places where women have frequented.”⁶⁸ Then, a decade later, actual ordinances against women and gambling were being made, so one can see that the police raids were not successful in ending women horse-betting dens.⁶⁹ Arguably, if it were true, how sources portray, that women were panicking from being caught gambling, these establishments may not have lasted as long as they did. Rather, the constant panic should have provoked a halt in illegal horse-betting gambling-dens, but the frequently noted police raids for over a decade suggest otherwise. The inability to suppress gambling-dens appears to have panicked society, and by writing about women as if they were full of fear, the message society was trying to portray was a provocation for women to back away from the scene that they were not supposed to be in. The language in the newspapers on the raids speaks to the moral scare that had been present since the

⁶⁶ “Supervisors Asked to Help Some in Improving the Foothill Boulevard,” *The Evening Index*, August 26, 1912.

⁶⁷ “Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women’s Poolroom”; “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

⁶⁸ “Women Gamblers.”

⁶⁹ “Women Gamblers”; “Bucket Shops Must Close: Police Stationed in Front of Gambling Dens Frequented by Women.” Other sources detailing police still being on the hunt on woman pool-rooms: “Hotel Nymphia is Raided by Sixty Police”; “Several houses had been spotted where “police are still on the hunt,” in “They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop.”

1880s as later sources affirm that women have continued to maintain a presence in the illicit public sphere.

Sources explicating critiquing a women gambler clearly show how they were aware of the upper-middle class woman pushing into the illicit space and that such pushing provoked a moral scare. However, other media portrayals indirectly suggest the same thing. In 1904, *The San Francisco Bulletin* published an article titled “London Takes to New Play” where the play, *The Walls of Jericho* is described.⁷⁰ In the play, the protagonist's wife was addicted to gambling and had to have her husband pay off her debts.⁷¹ *The Walls of Jericho* was created in England, so the fact that a San Francisco newspaper opted to release its story arguably suggests that the message of the play as antagonizing the woman gambler was supposed to influence the San Francisco reader. By choosing to describe the play with a lens focused on the antagonist as opposed to the protagonist, the writer of the article was not directly mentioning a scare from the woman who gambled, but indirectly alluding to it. This trend of being fearful of a woman gambler is also present in the film *The Gambler's Wife*, which details the story of a wife posing as a male to gamble for her husband.⁷² The movie was not created in the United States, but in France, and then released to the San Francisco audience in 1912. This decision to release the film to the San Francisco audience was likely motivated by the goal of showing societal dissatisfaction toward the woman gambler. Specifically, the movie infers a woman's need to dress like a man in order to be accepted into the illicit space of gambling-den. While not explicit, the fact that a woman could not be herself when entering the gambling establishment, reinforced the notion that she should not be in the space at all. By being in the space as a woman, she would arguably spark a moral scare. Furthermore, the media portrayal of a female gambler suggests that society was cognizant

⁷⁰ “London Takes To New Play,” *The San Francisco Call Bulletin*. November 23, 1904.

⁷¹ “London Takes To New Play.”

⁷² Suzanne Methivier, *The Gambler's Wife*, Societe Generale des Cinematographes, 1912.

of the way this woman was pushing into the illicit space while also being perceived negatively for it. Both the movie and the description of *The Walls of Jericho* illustrate that there was not only a definitive recognition of the woman gambler pushing into the illicit public space, but also a societal moral scare on account of the way her character was antagonized to the San Francisco audience. Thus far, there have been literal newspapers showing that a woman was perceived to have no business gambling where society's scare took it to the level of instilling county ordinances against a woman gambling in a pool-room.⁷³ Taking those direct societal reactions with the indirect antagonization of a woman gambler through *The Gambler's Wife* and article on *The Walls of Jericho*, there was arguably a moral panic present amongst San Francisco's 1885-1914 society toward a woman pushing into the illicit public gambling sphere.

While women were written about as being in a panic, actual anecdotes from women describe an alternative argument, which further infer that the moral scare took more of a place from society, not the woman. In the "Schwartz-Den" article, a statement from a "plump, well-preserved woman" is noted as she "stood her ground" and asserted "for why they can arrest me – because I not go to the racetrack, hein? I spend my own money, ef I lose, I lose; ef I win, I win."⁷⁴ This woman defies social norms by not only pushing and being present in the illicit space, but by also standing her ground against authorities when captured. This "New Woman" was self-aware of the place she held within the illicit space, and while many women were being depicted in a panic, specific dialogue like that from the mentioned plump woman, indicates a true willingness to continue pushing into the illicit space. Whether or not there was panic present among the gambling women, it was clearly not a shared opinion amongst all women.

Furthermore, the plump woman's words depict that she is at terms with both winning or losing.⁷⁵

⁷³ "Supervisors Asked to Help Some in Improving the Foothill Boulevard," *The Evening Index*, August 26, 1912.

⁷⁴ "Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women's Poolroom."

⁷⁵ "Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women's Poolroom."

This rationalization further suggests that the “New Woman” in the gambling setting was not struggling to make ends meet, meaning she was not gambling purely for financial needs. Instead, this woman, in a society where her civic duties were at the forefront, pushed back against what was traditionally expected for an upper-middle class woman by participating in the illicit public sphere for her own appeasement. By frequenting the illicit public space for the intention of her own entertainment, the “New Woman’s” pushback against social norms is being practiced by her own self-directed choices to satisfy her own desires, as opposed to any necessity to support a family. Overall, the women described in these newspapers and others detailing similar raids were redefining a woman’s role in society by taking ownership of this illicit public space.

These women in the articles were of the upper-middle class, meaning they were not of the working class to support a family, and were actually supported by their husbands. This woman was defying social norms for the typical upper-middle class woman by assuming a presence in the illicit gambling sphere in a time when she was still supposed to be in the civic public sphere of the home. Therefore, a woman in jail would not allow her to be in her designated civic public sphere role as homemaker. From this blatant defiance, one can infer why women were not afraid of being in jail, since the chances of them being bailed out would only put them back into the civic public sphere they were supposed to be in. This had already been described by the mentioned women’s reactions in the “Mud-Hen” and “Schwartz-Den” articles once in jail, which contributed to them feeling empowered to take part in the illicit gambling space.

Additionally, a unique situation where a woman pushed into the illicit space knowing that jail time was not in her future comes in 1912 with Mr. and Mrs. Brink.⁷⁶ Mrs. Brink, “wife of a prominent Berkeley physician” pleaded guilty for conducting a “fashionable gambling-den for

⁷⁶ “Dr. Brink Denies Wife Ran Pool Room - Police Say She Has Confessed”; “Women Arrested For Running a Bad Joint.”

women” and her husband bailed her out.⁷⁷ The interesting aspect revealed through the Brink case is that Mr. Brink had originally denied that Mrs. Brink ran a pool room.⁷⁸ Even though the “New Woman” was experiencing newer opportunities within society, participating in the illicit gambling-den and maintaining a den herself behind her husband’s back, is conceivably not one. Since Mr. Brink ultimately admitted to knowing about his wife’s establishment, it can be suggested that had he admitted from the beginning, he would have inherently been supporting his wife’s social defiance as a gambling-den owner. If there was not a moral scare present in society about the female gambler then Mr. Brink may not have felt the need to deny knowing about his wife’s establishment in the first place. Had he acknowledged her involvement from the offset, it could be argued that he actually supported his wife’s push into the illicit public space in the time when she was not supposed to be there. His support would be problematic for the society that clearly had a moral panic toward the female gambler. Additionally, Mr. Brink was a prominent physician, which means that Mrs. Brink was likely not running a gambling-den for financial necessities, but rather, for her own appeasement and method of pushing into the illicit space. Her case as owner goes further than arguing for how a female gambler was violating upper-middle class femininity, but also showcases how this woman was practicing her autonomy within the era.

Mrs. Brink’s story as the owner of the gambling-den is not a unique experience, and takes the defiance of upper-middle class femininity to a new level as an array of these women felt inclined to not only attend, but also run their own gambling-dens. For example, the *Daily Red Bluff* newspaper in 1898 details that there were three San Francisco “pool-rooms patronized

⁷⁷ “Betting Women Captured in Police Raid.”

⁷⁸ “Dr. Brink Denies Wife Ran Pool Room - Police Say She Has Confessed”; “Women Arrested For Running a Bad Joint.”

exclusively by women.”⁷⁹ This exemplifies that women not only defied the boundaries for a typical upper-middle class woman by literally being in the gambling space, but often felt empowered to go further and maintain their own dens themselves. The moral scare at hand comes into play when one conceptualizes that the same sources that fear a woman-owned gambling-den, also include details on men being present in the space.⁸⁰ Women allowed men into the gambling-dens that they owned and with sources glossing over the presence of men, but instead illuminating and criticizing the presence of women, society chose to portray to the rest of San Francisco the wrongdoing of a woman. If both parties were discussed negatively, then the support for the panic a female gambler posed to society would be less visible. However, when sources do explain a man’s presence, the statements are very nonchalant, such as in the anecdoted Jane Brown case indicating that both “men and women were crowded around the racing charts.”⁸¹ The slight mention of men being present also takes root in articles such as the 1913 “Women’s Pool Room Raided by Police” and the 1911 “Three Women in Court,” where one is not owned by a woman.⁸² This reveals that men also frequented these establishments, yet the titles of the sources are specific to only mention women, which simultaneously disrupts the idea that only women gambled at these illicit locations. Additionally, it illuminates the moral scare that appears in the newspapers, when only women are blamed for their crime. By highlighting the female gambler, as opposed to the male, one could assert that there was a moral scare in society toward the female gambler that was violating upper-middle class femininity and pushing into the illicit public space.

⁷⁹ “Women as Gamblers.” More in the source: “where women are allowed to place bets on horse races.”

⁸⁰ See chastising of women in: “Motherly Dame in Novel Role Jailed for Keeping Pool Room for Women”; “Woman Ran a Poolroom: San Francisco Police Break Into Hotel Room”; “Women as Gamblers.”

⁸¹ “Motherly Dame in Novel Role Jailed for Keeping Pool Room for Women.”

⁸² “Women’s Pool Room is Raided by Police”; “Three Women in Court.”

Gambling today has arguably transcended to a more publicly acceptable space all-around. As such, now a woman who takes advantage of the current gambling space is more accepted than one in late 19th and early 20th centuries of San Francisco. Therefore, understanding the transformation from a space that was once illicit and male-dominated contributes to the broader understanding of women's push into society through her actions in the illicit gambling space in an era when she was supposed to be morally pious. Scholars, however, have glossed over this relevant portion of history, and while this paper brings something new to the table, one could be provoked to question why this topic even has relevance. Clearly, where women and gambling have been mentioned, it has tended to be limited to discussions of them serving as either members of the working class.⁸³ This paper instead highlights the experience of upper-middle class women gamblers, and suggests that when scholars have spoken about illicit spaces, a respectable woman has not been thought of as maintaining a space in it. This paper thus demonstrates that the respectable "New Woman" pushed into the illicit public sphere and a moral panic arose from it.

⁸³ Casey, *Women, Pleasure and the Gambling Experience*; Casey, "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness," 122-137.



Figure 1: Referenced “Schwartz-Den” Newspaper Article with Image



Figure 2: Referenced “Mud-Hen” Newspaper Article with Image

Bibliography:

Primary:

California, ed. Maury, Richard and Walter Scott. *The Penal Code of California, Enacted In 1872: As Amended Up to And Including 1905, With Statutory History And Citation Digest Up to And Including Volume 147, California Reports*. San Francisco, CA: Bancroft-Whitney, 1906.

Daily Red Bluff News. “Women as Gamblers.” March 22, 1898.

Farmer v. Behmer, 9 Cal. App 773 (1909).

Fresno Bee. “Races at Emeryville.” March 23, 1910.

Marysville Democrat. “Women Gamblers.” March 25, 1898.

Methivier, Suzanne. *The Gambler’s Wife*. Societe Generale des Cinematographes, 1912.

Oakland Tribune. “Saved Necklace; Departs With It.” May 7, 1911.

People v. Craig, 152 Cal. 42 (1907).

San Francisco Chronicle. “Gamblers Contribute \$365 to Poor When Police Raid Joint.” September 21, 1912.

San Francisco Chronicle. “Motherly Dame in Novel Role Jailed for Keeping Pool Room for Women.” March 25, 1910.

San Francisco Chronicle. “Says Gambling Breeds Robbery: Gambling Among Women.” January 24, 1910.

San Francisco Chronicle. "They Play the Ponies in a Candy Shop." February 4, 1905.

San Francisco Chronicle. "Women Gamblers." September 30, 1896.

San Francisco Examiner. "Bucket Shops Must Close: Police Stationed in Front of Gambling Dens Frequented by Women." March 22, 1898.

The Berkeley Gazette. "Dr. Brink Denies Wife Ran Pool Room - Police Say She Has Confessed." July 19, 1912.

The Bulletin: San Francisco. "Cozette's Horoscope." August 24, 1910.

The Bulletin: San Francisco. "Gambling Den for Women is Raided." March 25, 1910.

The Chico Enterprise. "Three Women in Court." November 22, 1911.

The Daily Report: Ontario California. "Women Arrested For Running a Bad Joint." August 27, 1912.

The Evening Mail. "Women Gamblers." May 12, 1892.

The Evening Index. "Supervisors Asked to Help Some in Improving the Foothill Boulevard." August 26, 1912.

The Fresno Morning Republican. "Women's Pool Room is Raided by Police." April 27, 1913.

The Los Angeles Times. "The Mud Hens." September 19, 1897.

The Morning Press. "Old Woman Arrested for Running Pool Room." March 26, 1910.

The Sacramento Bee. "Woman Ran a Poolroom: San Francisco Police Break Into Hotel Room."

March 25, 1910.

The San Francisco Call Bulletin. "Hotel Nymphia is Raided by Sixty Police." January 11, 1900.

The San Francisco Call Bulletin. "London Takes To New Play." November 23, 1904.

The San Francisco Examiner. "Betting Women Captured in Police Raid." July 19, 1912.

The San Francisco Examiner. "Police Create a Mild Panic in a Fifth-Street Women's Poolroom." February 17, 1899.

The San Francisco Examiner. "Women Gamblers." May 2, 1886.

Secondary:

Archer, Melanie, and Judith R. Blau. "Class formation in Nineteenth-Century America: the Case of the Middle Class." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19, no. 1 (1993): 17-41.

Asbury, Herbert. *Sucker's Progress: An Informal History of Gambling In America From the Colonies to the Canfield*, Dodd, Mead, and Company Inc., 1938.

Asbury, Herbert. *The Barbaric Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underworld*, New York, A. A. Knopf, 1933.

Casey, Emma. *Women, Pleasure and the Gambling Experience*. United Kingdom: Routledge, 2008.

Casey, Emma. "Working Class Women, Gambling and the Dream of Happiness." *Feminist Review*, no. 89, (2008): 122-137.

Collins, Tracy J.R. "Athletic Fashion, 'Punch', and the Creation of the New Woman." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, no. 3 (2010): 309-35.

Eifler, Mark A. *The California Gold Rush: The Stampede That Changed the World*. United Kingdom: Routledge, 2016.

Enss, Chris. *The Lady Was a Gambler: True Stories of Notorious Cardships of the Old West*. TwoDot, 2007.

Greenson, Ralph R. "On Gambling." *The John Hopkins University Press* 2, no. 4, (1947): 61-77.

Heilmann, Ann, and Margaret Beetham. *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism and International Consumer Culture, 1880-1930*. London: Routledge, 2012.

Linford, Autumn L. "Nellie Bly Merchandise and the Changing American Woman: A Material Culture Study." *American Journalism* 39, (2022): 72-91.

Maloni, Ruby. "Dissonance Between Norms and Behaviour: Early 20th Century America's 'New Woman.'" *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 70, (2009): 880-86.

Ouida. "The New Woman (1894)." *The North American Review* 272, no. 3 (1987): 61-65.

Patterson, Martha. *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005.

Patterson, Martha H., ed. *The American New Woman Revisited: A Reader, 1894-1930*. Rutgers University Press, 2008.

Rabinovitch-Fox, Einav. *Dressed for Freedom: The Fashionable Politics of American Feminism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021.

Ramos, Ted. *San Francisco Gambling*. Arcadia Publishing, 2020.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "The New Woman and the New History." *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 2 (1975): 185-98.

Stroup, Rachel. "The Rhetoric of the New Woman, 1890-1920." PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2017.

Sturtz, Linda L. "The Ladies and the Lottery: Elite Women's Gambling in Eighteenth Century Virginia." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 104, no. 2, (1996): 165-184.

Pope, Jason. "Gambling in California: From 49ers Gambling to Gambling on the 49ers," *Western Legal History: The Journal of the Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society*, no. 47 (2024): 47-59.