SAN FRANCISCO
PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Historic Context Statement Case Report

Adoption of LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

HEARING DATE: NOVEMBER 18, 2015

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Date:	November 11, 2015
Case Number:	2014.0266U
Project:	***Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History in San Francisco***
Staff Contact:	Susan Parks – (415) 575-9101 Susan.Parks@sfgov.org
Reviewed by:	Tim Frye – (415) 575-6822 Tim.Frye@sfgov.org
Recommendation:	Adoption

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The case before the Historic Preservation Commission is consideration to adopt the *Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History in San Francisco* (*LGBTQ Historic Context Statement*). The document was written by public historian Donna J. Graves and architectural historian Shayne E. Watson, with support from the GLBT Historical Society, and funding through the Historic Preservation Fund Committee and technical assistance from the Planning Department.

The *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* documents lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history and experiences in San Francisco from the Native American period through the AIDS epidemic in the 1990s. The report presents historical background on the following nine major themes: Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (19th Century to 1950s); Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early 20th Century to 1960s); Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to 1960s); Homophile Movements (1950s to 1965); Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods (1960s to 1980s); Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to 1990s); Building LGBTQ Communities (1960s to 1990s); LGBTQ Medicine (1940s to 1970s); and San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 1990s). The report pays particular attention to incorporating the place-based histories of under-documented groups within the LGBTQ communities, including lesbians, transgender women and men, and LGBTQ people of color.

The *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* was developed in order to provide the framework for consistent, informed evaluations of San Francisco's LGBTQ-related buildings, sites and places and links specific property types to identified themes, geographic patterns, and time periods. It defines an evaluative framework for significance, criteria considerations and integrity thresholds. This detailed information will provide future surveyors with a consistent framework within which to contextually identify, interpret and evaluate individual properties and historic districts.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

The Planning Department creates historic context statements as planning tools to gather data and identify historic buildings, structures, sites, objects, and historic districts. The Department's survey activities, including adopted materials and findings, are reported to the California Office of Historic Preservation through the Federal Certified Local Government Program, and conform to State and Federal standards. National Register of Historic Places and California Register of Historic Resources criteria are utilized to evaluate properties.

Begun in September 2013, the project builds upon existing LGBTQ scholarship, including the nation's first LGBTQ historic context statement, *Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979* (2004), (Attachment C) and includes additional research conducted at repositories such as the GLBT Historical Society, the San Francisco Public Library's James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives and Digital Collection, and others. To inform the historic context statement and provide firsthand accounts of community life, Consultants Graves and Watson hosted community events where participants were able to share their stories and experiences, including a kick-off event in November 2013, followed by two more open house-style events in May 2014 and November 2014. To encourage further participation, Graves and Watson created a number of alternative outreach methods, including the use of social media sites.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

The community outreach and engagement plan for the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was outlined, organized, and led by Graves and Watson. The plan consisted of multiple strategies intended to announce the project to diverse LGBTQ communities across San Francisco and enlist each community's assistance in providing stories, ideas, and material for the context statement.

To inform the historic context statement and provide firsthand accounts of community life, Consultants Graves and Watson conducting 23 oral history interviews, and referenced an additional 25 from the GLBT Historical Society's archives, to garner firsthand accounts of the LGBTQ experience. At each community event, the consultants provided opportunities for group discussions and shared stores.

The following details the notifications, announcements, and outreach activities that occurred. Please note that there are no regulations, policies or procedures for public notification for consideration or adoption of historic context statements beyond standard hearing notice.

Outreach and engagement efforts included:

- **The establishment of a project email address** for community members to contact Graves and Watson (sflgbthistory@gmail.com).

- **Creation of a project webpage,** in collaboration with and hosted by the Planning Department, where information, updates, and the draft historic context statement were continually posted. The project website can be viewed at http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673. (Attachment D: Department Webpage and Mailings)

- **Creation of a Brochure and Fact Sheet** that was used as a handout at community events. (Attachment E: Outreach Materials)

- **Multiple interviews** in national and local newspapers and other media (*See Media Coverage Below,* Attachment F: Media Coverage)

- **Postings about research findings** on the "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California" Facebook page (facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory). (Attachment F: Media Coverage)

- **Additional Presentations** to academic and community groups. Graves and Watson were also invited scholars to National Park Service's LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study.

- **Alternative outreach methods**. After participating in community events and oral history events, Graves and Watson encouraged community members to continue the conversation via Historypin, where community members were able to pin their photos and memories. Graves and Watson also facilitated oral history interviews with the national oral history non-profit StoryCorps.

Community Workshops

Consultants Graves and Watson organized and hosted three community workshops directly related to the project.

- **November 14, 2013**, The first community event was held at The Women's Building in the Mission District. It was co-sponsored by the GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco Heritage, and The Women's Building. Community members shared their memories in small working-group breakouts, where volunteers facilitated the working groups and took notes. The Consultants incorporated some of the stories garnered from this workshop into the historic context statement.

- **May 17, 2014**, a second community event was held at the LGBT Community Center on Market Street. Called "Our Stories Too," this workshop had two purposes: to capture information about sites important to elders in under-documented communities, including people of color and people who identify as bisexual or transgender; and to foster intergenerational dialogue with youth from the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center (LYRIC) summer internship program. With assistance from LYRIC youth and Arcus Endowment intern Kurt Schumacher from the University of California, Berkeley, the Consultants conducted individual interviews with elders about places in San Francisco that are an important part of their histories. In addition, Archive Productions video-recorded place-based memories from elders and LYRIC youth.

- **November 16, 2014,** the final community meeting was held at the GLBT History Museum. Consultants Graves and Watson presented the history and sites from each of the identified nine themes. Participants also suggested additional properties to the included in the document's recommendations section.

Additional Presentations

Additionally, the Consultants conducted community outreach at various events, meetings, and conferences throughout the duration of the project, including:

- **Maud's Annual Reunion**, San Francisco; June 2013 and June 2014
- **National Trust for Historic Preservation Conference**, Indianapolis, Indiana; October 2013
- **San Francisco Primetimers**; November 2013
- **Merchants of Castro /Upper Market**, San Francisco; December 2013
- **California Preservation Foundation Conference**, Asilomar, California; April 2014 (See Attachment E: Outreach Materials for a flyer from this event)
- **Senior Center Without Walls**, San Francisco; June and October 2014, March 2015
- **Shaping San Francisco**; October 2014 (See Attachment E: Outreach Materials for a flyer from this event)
- **California Preservation Foundation**, workshop on historic context statements, Presidio of San Francisco; October 2014
- **Lower Polk Neighborhood Association,** "Queer History of Polk Street," November 2014. (See Attachment E: Outreach Materials for a flyer from this event)
- **National Park Service,** LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Scholars Roundtable (Shayne Watson, Invited Scholar), June 10, 2014.

Alternative Outreach Methods

Additionally, the Consultants conducted and documented oral history interviews with community historians about the LGBTQ experience in San Francisco. Through the national oral history organization, StoryCorps and the organization's "OutLoud" initiative to capture the stories of LGBTQ elders, the Consultants facilitated and recorded 23 interviews, which have been made available to the public through the Library of Congress.

The Consultants also developed content for "California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories," a crowd-sourced online map developed by the Consultants using the online social media mapping website, Historypin (www.historypin.org). Many of the historic properties mentioned in the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, as well as the City of Los Angeles' LGBT historic context statement (SurveyLA: LGBT Historic Context Statement website), are featured on the California Pride map.

Media Coverage:

Media coverage includes the following articles and press releases, presented from the earliest to the most recent (Attachment F: Media Coverage):

- **GLBT Historical Society, Media Release,** "San Francisco Launches LGBT History Project: Community Workshop to Pinpoint Historic Sites," October 9, 2013.
- **Towelroad,** "November Workshop will Pinpoint LGBT Historical Sites in San Francisco, Asks for Public Input," October 17, 2013.
- ***Outward Magazine***, "SF LGBT Heritage to Pinpoint Historic Sites," October 2013.

- ***Bay Area Reporter,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "LGBT History Month, Project looks to Survey SF's LGBT past," October 24, 2013.
- ***Bay Area Reporter,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "Project Looks to Survey LGBT Past," October 27, 2013.
- **SF Heritage, E-Newsletter,** "GLBT Historical Society Announces New Project to Document Historic Places," November 2013.
- **GLBT Historical Society, E-Newsletter,** "Historical Society Launches Heritage Project: Community Workshop to Pinpoint Historic Sites," November 2013.
- **Heyevents.com**, "Community Workshop: Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco," November 2013.
- **Kirotv.com**, "Community Workshop: Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco," November 14, 2013.
- ***Bay Area Reporter,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "Ideas Vary for LGBT History Project," November 21, 2013.
- **Castro Courier, News Briefs,** "GLBT Historical Society Searching for Historic Sites in the City," December 2013.
- **"*We the People*" a publication by Gay Sonoma,** "Historians Seek LGBT, POC, Bi and Trans Persons," May 2014.
- ***SF Gate*, Carolyn Lockhead,** "LGBT Landmarks will Get Park Service Billing," June 12, 2014.
- ***San Francisco Chronicle,*** "LGBT Landmarks will get Park Service billing," June 12, 2014.
- ***Mission Local*, Daniel Hirsch,** "R-Rated and Ephemeral: Spinning LGBT History," July 18, 2014.
- **GayCities.com, San Francisco Events, Shaping SF, Public Talks,** 'A History of LGBTQ Spaces Where you Least Expect Them," September 2014.
- ***The Bold Italic,* Rachel Balik,** "Who Really Owns the Rights to the Elbo Room?," November 18, 2014.
- ***Bay Area Reporter,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "Authors Submit SF LGBT History Document for Review," May 7, 2015.
- ***Bay Area Reporter,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "CA Historypin Launches," May 21, 2015
- ***Edge Media Network,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "California LGBT History Project Launches," May 24, 2015.
- **California Pride, (**blogpost), "SF Pinning Workshop," June 11, 2015.
- ***Bay Area Reporter,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "Projects preserve Bay Area's lesbian past," June 18, 2015.
- **GLBT Historical Society, Media Release,** (Untitled), October 2015.
- **KRON4 (website), Joelle Burnette,** "More LGBTQ Sites, Places May Be Preserved if New Report Adopted," October 11, 2015.
- **NBC Bay Area (website), Bay City News,** "More LGBTQ Sites, Places May Be Preserved if New Report Adopted," October 11, 2015.
- ***Bay Area Reporter,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "SF Set to Adopt LGBTQ Historic Context Statement," October 29, 2015.
- ***Edge Media Network,* Matthew S. Bajko,** "San Francisco Set to Adopt LGBT Historic Context Statement," November 1, 2015.

Additionally, project updates were posted to the following Facebook pages: *(A selection of which have been attached as part of Attachment E: Media Coverage.)*

- ***Preserving LGBTQ Sites in California (managed by Consultants Watson and Graves)***
- ***Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club***
- ***Queer History Headquarters***

- ***The GLBT Historical Society***

TECHNICAL SUPPORT

Support for *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* was provided by the Historic Preservation Fund Committee (HPFC), who issued funding and established periodic progress reviews with the Consultants, and the Planning Department Staff, who serve as technical advisors to the HPFC. The following list details the project's milestones with the HPFC and Planning Department.

- **August 2013:** HPFC awards funding to consultants.
- **Fall 2013:** Department launches project website.
- **November 2013-2014:** Staff provides support for the organization of community events and volunteers at each of the three community events.
- **December 2013:** Consultants meet with the HPFC to discuss progress.
- **June 2015:** HPFC and Department reviewed the final draft document and provided Consultants with comments. (Attachment G: HPFC and Planning Comments to Consultants).
- **September 2015:** Comments addressed, Department Staff reviewed and approved the Final Draft.
- **October 9, 2015:** Department Staff posted the Final Draft to the website for a two-week period for public comment.
- **October 23, 2015:** Public Comment period ends. Staff received 12 comment letter prior to the date and 4 comment letters after the comment period closed (See Attachment I: Public Comment Letters).
- Department staff was also available throughout the project for period check-ins and questions.

Throughout the duration of this project, Department Staff have been worked with the consultants and the HPFC to review the historic context statement; hosted the project website and maintained updates; assisted with the development of the recommendations chapter; posting the final draft to the website, making it available at the Public Information Center, and distributing it via an email "e-blast" to those parties on the Department's Historic Preservation mailing list (Attachment H: E-Blast). Staff also answered public comments and media requests regarding the document and the adoption process and coordinated the project team and materials in anticipation of the adoption hearing

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* was guided and supported by an Advisory Committee comprised of the following individuals:

- **Dr. Nan Alamilla Boyd**, professor of women and gender studies at San Francisco State University, who served as academic reviewer;
- **Katherine Petrin**, architectural historian and preservation planner, who served as preservation peer reviewer;
- **Tamara Ching,** transgender activist;

- **Dr. Kimberly Rae Connor**, University of San Francisco;
- **Dr. Gail Dubrow**, University of Minnesota;
- **Gerard Koskovich**, independent scholar;
- **Alan Martinez, AIA**, architect and former member of the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission;
- **Glenne McElhinney**, community historian;
- **Dr. Don Romesburg**, Sonoma State University;
- **Jody Stock**, historic preservation consultant;
- **Dr. Susan Stryker**, University of Arizona;
- **Dr. Amy Sueyoshi**, San Francisco State University.

Graves and Watson provided the Department with a summary of the Advisory Committee's comments on Final Draft. See Attachment H: Advisory Committee Comments.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Approximately 50 people attended the first community event in November 2013; approximately 25 people attended the second community event in May 2014; and approximately 40 people attended the final community event in November 2014.

Following the document's posting to the website and subsequent media alerts, 16 stakeholders submitted comment letters (See Attachment I: Public Comment Letters) to the Department. Of those comments,

- 2 stakeholders perceived substantial technical or historical inaccuracies, and did not support the adoption of the document at this time.
- 10 stakeholders noted technical or historical inaccuracies or requested additional information be added to the final document, but were in support of adoption on the condition that those issues be addressed in the Final Draft. (Stakeholders who did not explicitly express their dissent for the adoption were also included in this tally.)
- 2 provided support for the adoption with no suggested changes.
- 2 librarians with the San Francisco Public Library and San Francisco State University Library requested copies of the historic context statement once it is adopted.

ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEW

Historic context statements are exempt under Class 6 of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). Section 15306, *Information Collection* of the CEQA Guidelines states the following: "Class 6 consists of basic data collection, research, experimental management, and resource evaluation activities which do not result in a serious or major disturbance to an environment resource. These may be strictly for information gathering purposes, or as part of a study leading to an action which a public agency has not yet approved, adopted or funded."

RECOMMENDATIONS AS OUTLINED IN THE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

Chapter 6: Recommendations for the Protection and Interpretation of LGBTQ Historic Properties in San Francisco of the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* includes the following list of recommendations intended to inform decision-makers and community members about possible next steps to protect and interpret LGBTQ-related properties in San Francisco.

- **Complete a Historic Resource Survey of LGBTQ sites in San Francisco** that resulting in a comprehensive list of properties with important ties to San Francisco's LGBTQ communities. A survey would record and evaluate in detail historic properties identified in the context statement, locate additional LGBTQ historic properties, and create the framework for landmarking at the local, state, and national levels.
- **Designate City, State, National, and International Landmarks**

  At the time of this report, no properties in the City of San Francisco have been listed in the National Register for their association with LGBTQ culture or history. Three City Landmarks have been designated for the LGBTQ associations, those are: The Harvey Milk Residence/Castro Camera, 573-575 Castro Street (No. 227); NAMES Project/AIDS Memorial Quilt Founding Site, 2362 Market Street (No. 241); Twin Peaks Tavern, 401 Castro Street (No. 264).

  The Consultants' recommendations, though not all-inclusive, contain a list of 52 properties that appear eligible for listing in the National Register, California Register, or as a City Landmark for their association with LGBTQ history. A selection includes: Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street; Daughters of Bilitis Founding Site, 53 Venus Street; the home of the AIDS Foundation, 520 Castro Street; Japantown YMCA, 1830 Sutter Street; and important legacy businesses such as Maud's, 937 Cole Street, and Mona's 440 Club, 440 Broadway.
- **Designate City Landmark Districts and/or National Register Historic Districts**

  The 2004 "*Sexing in the City*" Historic Context Statement identified four areas of the city – North Beach, Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, and Castro – that hold clusters of extant resources. Consultants Graves and Watson have determined that each is worthy of further study in order to determine boundaries and periods of significance.

  Graves and Watson also identified areas in the South of Market and the Mission District that should be further studied, particularly for their associations with the leather community, queer Latinos, and the lesbian history of the Valencia Street corridor. Additionally, further study of thematic, rather than geographic, districts is recommended. For instance, a citywide discontiguous lesbian landmark district including the community's North Beach beginnings in the 1930s through the 1950s and their presence in the Mission and Haight-Ashbury in 1960s through the 1990s
- **Expand the significance of existing City Landmarks to include LGBTQ Associations**

  20 properties are currently listed under Article 10 and 11 of the Planning Code that have an undocumented LGBTQ association. A selection of those properties includes UN Plaza, the site of the ARC/AIDS Vigil, contributor to the Civic Center Landmark District and Civic Center National Historic District; the Black Cat Café, 710 Montgomery Street, contributor to the Jackson Square Landmark District; and the Women's Building, 3543 18th Street, (City Landmark No. 178).

- **Consider additional research on specific LGBTQ communities,** such as LGBTQ people of color, lesbians, and those who identify as transgender or bisexual, as these communities proved to be harder to document within the constraints of the contract and a lack of historical documentation.
- **Create plaques and interpretive exhibits at historic sites**

  Graves and Watson recommend that the City create interpretive exhibits, educational tours, and youth cultural heritage programs to better demonstrate the history of the LGBTQ community. In instances where a historic property associated with an important person, event, or institution is gone; the City could install a historical plaque or interpretive display with text and images that provide a valuable and instructive experience. In cases where preservation of a building or site is not feasible, interpretation and educational projects may serve as mitigations for demolition.
- **Honor intangible heritage and legacy businesses**

  It is recommended that more LGBTQ businesses be added to this program to gain heightened exposure through Heritage's Legacy program and the City's Legacy Business Registry. This campaign already includes a number of LGBTQ businesses such as the Bernal Heights bar, Wild Side West, the Gangway Bar in the Tenderloin, and the Castro neighborhood restaurant Café Flore.
- **Create LGBTQ Heritage Corridor Special Use Districts**

  The intent of a Special Use District is to help protect cultural character by requiring Planning Commission approval for many retail uses in the neighborhood. SUDs can protect the cultural character of a community by requiring a conditional use authorization from the Planning Commission for any change in use, which determine that the proposed land use is compatible with the cultural and historic integrity, neighborhood character, development pattern, and design aesthetic of the neighborhood.

  For example, when the Japantown Special Use District was established in 2006, one key component of that project was the development of a Social Heritage Inventory, which lists the important intangible aspects of the neighborhood.
- **Market Significant LGBTQ Sites and Neighborhoods through SF Travel**

  SFTravel's marketing materials, website, and partnerships can be used to emphasize the social Heritage within identified cultural heritage corridors, such as Broadway Street in North Beach and Castro Street in the Castro, and other visitor attractions. This can help increase business and turnout at cultural performances, events, and festivals in order to help these corridors to better capture some City's billions of annual tourism dollars.
- **Implement Invest in Neighborhoods in LGBTQ Heritage Corridors**

  Invest in Neighborhoods (IIN), through the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development is a program designed to foster job creation and economic development in neighborhood commercial districts. The program provides assistance to business owners in order to promote neighborhood revitalization. This could assist with the preservation of social heritage in LGBTQ cultural heritage corridors.
- **Access to Financial Incentives for Designated Historic properties.**

  If LGBTQ sites were designated, more property owners would be able to take advantage of incentives such as the Mills Act Historical Property Contract, Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credits, Façade Easements, the ability to use the California Historic Building Code.

DEPARTMENT ANALYSIS

The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was researched and written by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson, historians who meet the Secretary of the Interior Professional Qualifications Standards. Oversight was provided by the GLBT Historical Society, a qualified Advisory Committee, and the Historic Preservation Fund Committee. The Planning Department's Preservation Coordinator Tim Frye along with Preservation Planners Mary Brown and Susan Parks provided technical support for the outline, methodology and recommendations.

The Department believes that the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement methodology and findings are consistent with the standards as set forth by the California Office of Historic Preservation and the Secretary of the Interior. A full description of the methodology, recommendations, and findings can be found in the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco*.

ACTION REQUIRED BY THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION COMMISSION

The Planning Department requests the Historic Preservation Commission to adopt, modify or disapprove the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco.*

DEPARTMENT STAFF RECOMMENDATION

Department Staff recommend adoption of the *LGBTQ Historic Contest Statement* on the basis that;

- the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* was prepared by qualified historians in accordance prepared by two qualified historians in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and State Office of Historic Preservation Recordation Manual as outlined in Resolution No. 527 of June 7, 2000, adopted by the previous San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board.
- the Advisory Committee and Historic Preservation Fund Committee reviewed the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* for accuracy and adequacy and concurred with the Consultants' Final Draft document.
- Planning Department staff reviewed the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* for accuracy and adequacy as an evaluative framework for historic and cultural resource surveys and individual property evaluations.
- at a future hearing, Department Staff and the Historic Preservation Commission will discuss and prioritize properties identified in the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* for inclusion on the Landmark Designation Work Program.
- at a future hearing, Department Staff and the Cultural Heritage Assets Committee will discuss and prioritize the complete list of recommendations as outlined in the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* for inclusion on the work program.

RECOMMENDATION: Adoption

Attachments:

Attachment A: Draft Historic Preservation Commission Motion
Attachment B: *Draft Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco*
Attachment C: *Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979* (2004)
Attachment D: Department Webpage and Mailings
Attachment E: Outreach Materials
Attachment F: Media Coverage
Attachment G: HPFC and Department Comments
Attachment H: Advisory Committee Comments
Attachment I: Public Comment Letters

Attachment A:
Draft Historic Preservation Commission Motion

SAN FRANCISCO
PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Historic Preservation Commission
Draft Motion

HEARING DATE: NOVEMBER 18, 2015

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ADOPTION OF THE "HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT FOR LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, AND QUEER HISTORY IN SAN FRANCISCO"

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, that the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* was prepared by qualified historians in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and State Office of Historic Preservation Recordation Manual as outlined in Resolution No. 527 of June 7, 2000, adopted by the previous San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board.

WHEREAS, the Methodology for recording and evaluating historic resources contained in the Office of Historic Preservation publication Instructions for Recording Historical Resources of March 1995 and future editions of that publication is based on the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and National Register of Historic Places Criteria cited therein.

WHEREAS, that the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* was reviewed by the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission for accuracy and adequacy and was adopted by the San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission at a public meeting agendized for this purpose.

WHEREAS, that a copy of the duly adopted *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* will be maintained in the Planning Department Preservation Library and on the Planning Department's website.

WHEREAS, that future Landmark and Historic District Designation Reports and Nominations and Structures of Merit Nominations may demonstrate historic significance by reference to the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco.*

WHEREAS, that in the future, in evaluating identified properties, historic significance may be demonstrated by reference to the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco.*

WHEREAS, that the Project Consultants, Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, will further refine the document and make technical edits as required to finalize the document.

WHEREAS, Department Staff will further recognize the history and significance of LGBTQ-related buildings, places, and sites in San Francisco's preservation planning work, including cultural resource surveys and evaluation of properties or districts for potential local, state or national historic designation, as well as to address any comments of the Commission and the public resulting from the public hearing and any further comments of the staff of the Office of Historic Preservation.

THEREFORE BE IT MOVED, that the Historic Preservation Commission hereby adopts the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* and directs Staff to bring recommendations to a future hearing as part of the HPC's review and prioritization of it's work program.

THEREFORE BE IT MOVED, that the Historic Preservation Commission hereby adopts the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* and directs Staff to bring recommendations to a future hearing as part of the Cultural Heritage Assets Committee's review and prioritization of it's work program.

BE IT FURTHER MOVED that the Historic Preservation Commission hereby directs its Commission Secretary to transmit a copy of the adopted *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco.*and this Motion No. xxx, to the State Office of Historic Preservation, the San Francisco Public Library, and San Francisco State University for reference.

I hereby certify that the Historic Preservation Commission ADOPTED the foregoing Motion on November 18, 2015.

Jonas Ionin
Commission Secretary

AYES:

NAYS:

ABSENT:

ADOPTED: November 18, 2015

Attachment B:

Draft Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco

CITYWIDE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT FOR
LGBTQ HISTORY IN SAN FRANCISCO

Donna J. Graves & Shayne E. Watson



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Prepared for the City & County of San Francisco
October 2015

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CHAPTER 1.
INTRODUCTION



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I. PROJECT SUMMARY

The Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) History in San Francisco (LGBTQ Historic Context Statement) was funded by a grant from the Historic Preservation Fund, administered by the City and County of San Francisco's Office of Economic and Workforce Development. The project directors and authors of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement are public historian Donna Graves and architectural historian Shayne Watson; both Watson and Graves meet the National Park Service's (NPS) professional qualification standards for historic preservation. The fiscal sponsor for the grant is the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) Historical Society in San Francisco.

A historic context statement is a historic preservation planning tool used by federal, state, and local governments to guide the identification, documentation, and evaluation of historic properties associated with a specific theme.[1] Themes can range from the history of city to a style of architecture to a cultural group. Historic context statements are composed of two primary parts: a narrative discussion of the patterns, events, cultural influences, and individuals or groups relevant to the theme; and technical information that serves as a guide for future identification and analysis of historic properties associated with the theme.

The overarching theme of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is the development of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco. Major sub-themes explored are:

- Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (19th Century to 1950s)
- Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early 20th Century to 1960s)
- Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to 1960s)
- Homophile Movements (1950s to 1965)
- Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods (1960s to 1980s)
- Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to 1990s)
- Building LGBTQ Communities (1960s to 1990s)
- LGBTQ Medicine (1940s to 1970s)
- San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 1990s)

The narrative discussion documents LGBTQ history in San Francisco from the Native American period through the early 1990s. The geographical scope of the study is citywide and incorporates all neighborhoods in San Francisco that played a crucial role in the city's LGBTQ past.

1 For the purposes of this report, "historic properties" will be used as a catchall term for buildings, structures, objects, landscapes, sites, and historic districts.

The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is not intended to be inclusive of all aspects of LGBTQ history or associated sites, but instead aims to provide a broad overview of the many and complex patterns, events, influences, individuals, and groups that shaped this history. The format and content of this report were developed using guidelines established by NPS and the California Office of Historic Preservation.[2]

The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement builds on the pioneering work of Damon Scott and Friends of 1800, a San Francisco-based advocacy organization, who, in 2004, completed the country's first LGBTQ historic context statement: "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979." This study expands on "Sexing the City" by researching diverse LGBTQ experiences in more depth and by lengthening the chronological scope of study. The authors extended the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement into the early 1990s to capture information about the impact of HIV/AIDS in San Francisco. Guidelines established for the National Register of Historic Places recommend using a 50-year threshold for evaluating the significance of historic properties as a way to "assure historical perspective and avoid judgments based on current or recent popular trends."[3] However, National Register criteria for evaluation allows for recognizing historic properties of the more recent past if they are of *exceptional significance* at the national, state, or local levels.[4] Sufficient scholarship has been produced to establish that the AIDS epidemic has been among the most significant events to shape LGBTQ history in San Francisco, the nation, and the world.

II. NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

As consciousness about the ways that gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, class, and other dimensions of identity affect politics, culture, history, and most aspects of United States society, our language evolves as well. Academics, demographers, journalists, and average Americans struggle to find appropriate words to describe themselves and others. Words for specific groups of people shift over time and carry new and additional meanings. For example, "queer" went from being a pejorative to an all-inclusive term meant to challenge narrow definitions of gender and sexual orientation. Just as "Hispanic," "Latino," "Mexican-American," and "Chicano" may all be used to describe the same San Franciscan, "gay," "lesbian," or "queer" may be used to describe the same individual.

Sexual identity terminology, like most identity labels, is highly political and has changed substantially over the last decades. As Elizabeth A. Armstrong wrote in her book *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950 to 1994* (2002): "The continually evolving and highly contested nature of this movement means that there exists no term to accurately apply to it for the entire period from 1950 to 2000."[5] Historians debate which terms to use in writing LGBTQ history (including the acronym LGBTQ), and the report authors deliberated over what approach would be most appropriate.

2 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation* (Washington, DC: 1983, as amended). See also California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, *Instructions for Recording Historical Resources* (Sacramento, CA: 1995).

3 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service (Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce, authors), *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years* (Washington, D.C.: 1998), ii.

4 Ibid.

5 Elizabeth A. Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950 to 1994* (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 2002), xix.

Given the evolving nature of these terms, the authors of this report have employed a few strategies. Anachronistic terms are used when they are adequately descriptive (e.g., "homophile" for the organizations in the 1950s and 1960s that were precursors to the gay rights movements, or "gay" or "homosexual" as umbrella descriptors when discussing the 1960s and 1970s). Narrow terms such as "gay men" or "lesbians" are used to describe specific groups of participants in events or organizations; these terms are indicators of gender specificity and were used in instances when bisexual or transgender people were not documented as participants. Although "bisexual" and "transgender" were not added to the popular lexicon until the late 20th century, they are used throughout the narrative as a way of providing consistency and clarity. The umbrella term "queer" is used to present an inclusive picture and in cases where participation by specific groups is unknown (e.g., a post-Prohibition bar that was a mix of gay, lesbian, transgender, and possibly bisexual clientele).

CHAPTER 2.
LGBTQ HISTORY



PHOTO COURTESY OF THE GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND – CALIFORNIA AND SAN FRANCISCO

NATIVE AMERICAN CALIFORNIA

When Europeans arrived in 1492, nearly one third of all Native Americans living in the current boundaries of the continental United States were in the area that is now California.[6] From San Francisco Bay to Point Sur, there were over 10,000 people belonging to 40 different territorial groups speaking up to a dozen different languages.[7] The Spanish referred to the coastal groups collectively as *Costeños*, or people of the coast (later mistranslated into *Costanoan)*. Descendants of San Francisco Bay Area tribes call themselves *Ohlone*.[8] Approximately 30 to 40 Ohlone villages encircled San Francisco Bay.

Native Americans who adopted the traditional dress and gender roles of the opposite sex or dual gender roles were present in most Native American bands and tribes. British, French, and American explorers and colonists who encountered gender non-conforming Native Americans called them *berdache*, a term translated as "kept boys" or "boy slaves."[9] (In the 1990s, Native American activists adopted the term "two-spirit" to replace berdache as a way of resisting the colonial terminology.) Anthropologists describe two-spirit as a third gender or intermediate sex, neither male nor female, that embodies a mixture of social, ceremonial, and economic roles carried out by both men and women.[10] Many Native Americans believed that two-spirits had supernatural powers, allowing them to serve as spiritual intermediaries between the human and divine worlds.[11]

In California, two-spirits existed in over 30 Native American groups, including the Costanoan tribelets.[12] Documentation of two-spirits among the Ohlone is sparse compared to other California tribes (most notably the Chumash of the Santa Barbara channel) but historian Malcolm Margolin asserts that they were an "accepted part of life" in the coastal regions.[13] Margolin describes an Ohlone two-spirit home: "One of them leads a man's life, but the other has chosen the women's way. He wears women's ornaments, grinds acorns with the women, gathers roots, and makes baskets. The two men are living together, fully accepted by the other villagers."[14] Ethnohistoric literature shows that two-spirits in many California tribes were often mortuary specialists or undertakers, responsible for grave digging, burials, and ceremonial events.[15] In some cases, the indigenous words for two-spirit and undertaker were synonymous.[16]

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6 Kevin Starr, *California: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2005), 13.

7 Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978), 1.

8 Margolin, *Ohlone Way*, 1.

9 Historian Scott Morgensen explains that beginning in the 1980s, Native American queer activists began to critique the use of the term berdache as an "erroneous colonial term" that "project[ed] masculinism and sexualization." In 1990, at the International Gathering of American Indian and First Nations Gays and Lesbians in Winnipeg, Canada, Native activists adopted the term "two spirit" as a way of resisting the colonial terminology. See Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 36-38, 81.

10 Brian Joseph Gilley, *Becoming Two-Spirit: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 8.

11 Sandra E. Hollimon, *The Third Gender in Native California: Two-Sprit Undertakers Among the Chumash and Their Neighbors,* 183 (in Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary Joyce, *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica*).

12 Nona Christensen Willoughby, *Division of Labor Among the Indians of California* (cited in Karen Smith Gardner, *Diet and Identity Among the Ancestral Ohlone: Integrating Stable Isotope Analysis and Mortuary Context at the Yukisma Mound* [Ca-Scl-38], 162-163).

13 Margolin, *Ohlone Way*, 84.

14 Ibid., 1.

15 Sandra E. Hollimon, *The Third Gender in Native California*, 183.

16 David Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 48.

SPANISH CALIFORNIA

Europeans first arrived in the present-day boundaries of California in 1540 when Spaniards explored two hundred miles of the Colorado River basin. Jesuit missionaries established a presence in the northern frontier of New Spain (now Baja California) in 1697 with the construction of the first of 18 missions. In 1765, Carlos III became king of Spain and ordered that all Jesuits be banished from Spanish territories. The Jesuits were arrested, exiled, and replaced with Franciscans from Mexico City under the leadership of Junípero Serra.

The overarching goal of Spain's settlement in California was to stake a claim on the region before other countries—Russia in particular—moved in. To that end, the Spanish established *presidios* (military garrisons), Catholic missions, and *pueblos* (secular townships). The first settlement in California, and the first of the 21 missions that would eventually extend across California, was Mission San Diego de Alcalá, dedicated by Father Junípero Serra in July 1769. San Francisco was established with a mission (Mission San Francisco de Asís) and a presidio in 1776. Today, the Spanish mission system is viewed not only as the critical step in the founding of Spanish California, but also as "catastrophic," a "violent intrusion into the culture and human rights" of the Native Americans in California.[17]

One important remnant of the Spanish period in California is the extensive manuscripts left by the early explorers and later the Franciscan missionaries and military governors. One of the earliest written accounts of two-spirits in California was a simple description in 1540 by Spanish navigator Hernando de Alarcón: "There were among these Indians three or foure [sic] men in womens [sic] apparell [sic]."[18] In the 18th and 19th centuries, Francisco Palóu, Juan Crespí, Gerónimo Boscana, Pedro Font, and Pedro Fages developed prolific documentation of everything they encountered in California, including two-spirits. Father Pedro Font illustrates a scene among Native Californians in 1775-76:

> Some men dressed like women, with whom they go about regularly, never joining the men … I asked who these men were, and they replied that they were not men like the rest, and for this reason they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites dedicated to nefarious practices.[19]

In 1775, Father Pedro Fages describes the Chumash as being "addicted to the unspeakable vice of sinning against nature," reporting that each mission settlement had a two-spirit "for common use."[20] Father Francisco Palóu writes about a two-spirit he encountered at Mission Santa Clara, a former Ohlone settlement:

> The Father Missionaries of the Mission noticed that among the women (who always worked separately and without mixing with the men) there was one who, by the dress, which was decorously worn, and by the heathen headdress and ornaments displayed, as well as the manner of working, sitting, etc., had all the appearances of a woman … they concluded that

17 Starr, *California*, 40-41.

18 Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (NY: Crowell, 1976), 285. See also Hernando de Alarcon, "The Relation of the Navigation and Discovery which Captaine Fernando Alarchon Made," *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow: J. MacLehose), 286.

19 Font 1930 as cited in Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 41.

20 Albert Hurtado, "When Strangers Met: Sex and Gender on Three Frontiers," in Elizabeth Jameson and Susan H. Armitage, *Writing the Range Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 127.

> he must be a man. [The Natives confirmed] that it was a man, but that he passed himself off always for a woman and always went with them and not the men.[21]

First-hand accounts by soldiers and missionaries make it clear that the Spanish wanted to eradicate two-spirits among the indigenous people. Pedro Font warns: "There will be much to do when the Holy Faith and Christian religion [take over]."[22] The Spanish enacted cruel punishments against two-spirits. Two-spirit couples were separated and sent to distant missions. At Mission Santa Clara, Spanish soldiers took the two-sprits into custody, stripped their clothes, and forced them to sweep the plaza (women's work); the two-spirits later fled the mission.

MEXICAN CALIFORNIA

Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821 and became a federal republic in 1824, with California designated as a territory. Mexico's constitution, based on that of the United States, laid out a path for a secular society composed of a free and equal citizenry. As a result, in 1833 the Mexican government ordered that all mission land be secularized and divided among Hispanicized Native Americans and new colonists willing to settle in California (nonnatives considered California an undesirable place to live at the time). This ushered in a period of land-grant ranchos, during which more than 600 land grants were handed out to colonists, subdividing California into massive ranchos and creating a group of wealthy landowners known as Mexican dons.[23]

During California's period of Mexican rule, the United States and other countries began to encroach on California, prefiguring the international settlement that the state—and San Francisco in particular—would become by the mid-19th century. The Russians established Fort Ross on the coast north of San Francisco in 1812; American fur trappers arrived from the east in 1826; the English surveyed San Francisco Bay in 1827; the French sent scouts in 1841; and in 1845, the Irish proposed to the president of Mexico to settle 10,000 Irish Catholic colonists in the state as a way of preventing a Protestant takeover of California by the Americans or English.[24]

Out of all the Euro-American attempts to stake a claim on California, the United States succeeded. It declared war on Mexico in May 1846, and in February 1848, after a series of revolts and battles, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, transferring all Mexican territory north of the Río Grande to the United States.[25] California became a state in September 1850.

YERBA BUENA AND SAN FRANCISCO

Early Development

Nonnative American settlement in Yerba Buena (the original name of San Francisco) began in June 1776 when an expedition overseen by Spanish soldier Juan Bautista de Anza arrived within current city boundaries and set up camp near Mountain Lake in today's Presidio of San Francisco; the expedition party was composed of 240 soldiers and soldier-colonists and four civilian families.[26] Soon after their arrival, the Spanish established a presidio and a mission, Mission San Francisco de Asís (later called Mission Dolores). The religious and military installations in Yerba Buena operated

21 Francisco Palóu, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, trans and ed. Maynard J. Geiger O.F.M. (Washington D.C.: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1945), 198-199.

22 Quoted in Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 10.

23 Starr, *California*, 37, 49.

24 Ibid., 55-62.

25 Ibid., 73.

26 Sally Woodbridge, *San Francisco in Maps & Views* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006), 18.

until about a decade after Mexico took California from Spain. Beginning in 1834, California governor José Figueroa ordered soldiers stationed at the presidio to move to Sonoma, and Mission Dolores was secularized and largely abandoned.

Between 1833 and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Yerba Buena was subdivided into large land grants issued by the Mexican government to private citizens. The tiny town expanded in a short period of time to include many more residents—so many, in fact, that it prompted Francisco de Haro, Yerba Buena's first *alcalde*[27] (local government official) to hire Swiss engineer Jean Vioget to survey the area and plat streets. Vioget's survey in 1839 included Dupont (later renamed Grant), Kearny, and Montgomery Streets and a plaza in the area that became Portsmouth Square.[28] In 1847, the newly appointed *alcalde*, Washington A. Bartlett, changed the name of the town from Yerba Buena to San Francisco and hired surveyor Jasper O'Farrell to revise and expand Vioget's 1839 survey. O'Farrell laid an orthogonal grid over the town and established Market Street as the main artery.[29] The O'Farrell grids have been revised and expanded over time but generally still exist today.

A series of major events in the second half of the 19th century changed the landscape of the entire country, especially California and San Francisco. Gold was discovered in California in 1848; the Civil War ended in 1865; the Transcontinental Railroad was completed in 1869; the Industrial Revolution started to gain steam in the 1870s; and the country went through a series of severe economic depressions beginning in 1873 and 1893, and shorter recessions in 1884 and 1907. These factors and others led to mass immigration and migration to California, as well as to rapid urbanization. An estimated 25 million immigrants entered the United States between 1870 and 1910.

After the Gold Rush, San Francisco transformed suddenly and dramatically from a small village of 1,000 residents to an "instant city" of 50,000 people.[30] Half of those residents were born overseas.[31] By the 1870s, San Francisco was the tenth largest city in the country, with nearly 150,000 residents.[32] That number grew after the depression of 1873 spurred even more people migrating to California in search of work.[33] With the growth in population, residential neighborhoods formed around San Francisco's central business district, with working-class residents in the South of Market area and the merchant class owning homes northwest of Market Street or in upper-class enclaves such as South Park and Rincon Hill.[34] Chinatown was home to the segregated Chinese community, eight percent of the city's population in 1870.[35] By 1873, streets throughout the entire city had been platted. The Market Street Railroad and other competing companies provided streetcar access to residential neighborhoods such as Western Addition, the Mission District, Russian Hill, Pacific Heights, and Golden Gate Park.

27 After the United States overthrew the Mexican government in California in 1846, U.S. Army general Stephen Watts established an interim governmental framework that was based roughly on previous laws governing Mexican California.

28 Woodbridge, *San Francisco*, 26.

29 Ibid., 33.

30 Roger Lotchkin, *San Francisco, 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), xxxvii.

31 William Issel and Robert Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 14.

32 Ibid., 24.

33 Starr, *California*, *108*.

34 Issel and Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932*, 16.

35 Ibid., 56.

19th Century Neighborhoods in San Francisco

Central Business District

San Francisco's downtown at the turn of the 20th century was centered on the city's financial hub north of Market Street. The downtown area included the warehouse and wholesale district on the waterfront; the Barbary Coast—the nickname for six blocks of Pacific Street extending west from the waterfront; the shopping and hotel district at Union Square; and the high-density residential district now known as the Tenderloin. Though Market Street was often seen as the dividing line between the city's commercial and financial center to the north and the industrial sector to the south, in most places the real dividing line was Mission Street. Downtown's residential population in the Tenderloin was divided almost equally between men and women—mostly nonimmigrants—working in the central business district; the number of single-occupancy apartment building and hotels made this area one of the densest in the city outside of Chinatown and South of Market.[36] The residential area on downtown's waterfront was equally dense, but more working-class (two-thirds of the inhabitants were men, half of them born outside the United States, and only half of them married).[37]

South of Market

South of Market at the turn of the 20th century was home to 20 percent of the city's population; half were foreign-born and most lived in cheap hotels and lodging houses crowded between industrial and manufacturing sites of various sizes.[38] A majority of the population was single men who either worked in the neighborhood or were seasonal migrant workers "lying up in San Francisco" during breaks from mining, fishing, or working in the lumber or agricultural fields.[39] South of Market's waterfront was even more skewed toward men. In 1900, 70 percent of the waterfront population was male.[40] The waterfront catered to a predominantly male population by featuring boarding houses, saloons, restaurants, and bathhouses.

Chinatown

San Francisco's Chinatown at the turn of the 20th century was centered on Grant Avenue from California to Broadway. Because of institutionalized racism, the neighborhood was segregated from the rest of San Francisco and operated under its own social and economic systems—"virtually autonomous with its own forms of government exercised through clan and district associations," according to historians William Issel and Robert Cherny.[41] Chinatown's population was 90 percent male in 1890, the highest number of males of all the neighborhoods. (It was 78 percent male as late as 1920.) The disparity of the sexes was the result of the early influx of male Chinese laborers and relatively few Chinese women immigrants; federal immigration practices discouraged female immigrants. In 1852, Chinese males outnumbered females 1,685 to 1. When the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prevented Chinese from migrating to America and prohibited Chinese from marrying non-Chinese, it became nearly impossible for Chinese men to marry and form families.[42] Chinese men, explains historian Peter Boag, "persisted longer than other groups of males in the [West]

36 Ibid., 75.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 58.
39 Ibid., 60.
40 Ibid., 58-60.
41 Ibid., 70-73
42 Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 147.

in homosocial or what is usually referred to as bachelor communities."[43] After decades of severe racism against the Chinese in San Francisco, many of Chinatown's population fled the city—nearly half by 1890.[44]

North Beach

Originally called the Latin Quarter, North Beach was clustered around the intersection of Montgomery (later Columbus) Avenue and Broadway, but also included Telegraph Hill. First settled by French, Italian, South American, Spanish, and Portuguese residents, the neighborhood became known as Little Italy by the turn of the 20th century. Two-thirds of the population was working-class men, half of whom were Italian born.[45]

Other Neighborhoods

Other neighborhoods in San Francisco at the turn of the 20th century were the Mission District, the Western Addition, and Nob Hill-Pacific Heights. The Mission District was home mostly to white (Irish and German descent) working- and lower-middle class families living in single-family homes and two-family flats; it was one of the least dense areas in San Francisco.[46] San Francisco's middle class lived in the Western Addition. Women outnumbered men, and the neighborhood was home to the city's largest concentration of Germans.[47] Nob Hill and Pacific Heights became the most exclusive neighborhoods in the city after the cable cars made them more accessible; many of the large mansions there were owned by railroad barons and silver kings.

San Francisco in the 20th Century

The first half of the 20th century saw immense change in San Francisco as massive development projects extended the city's boundaries; industry and labor were slowly transformed; increasingly diverse populations created more ethnically separate neighborhoods; massive infrastructure projects made the city more accessible by rail and automobile; and redevelopment projects permanently altered the landscape. The rapid urbanization and industrialization of American cities, including San Francisco, fostered widespread change in the sex lives of people living in cities. As single men and women moved out of rural areas and into metropolises in search of work, they gained anonymity and freedom from small-town social controls, making it easier to nurture nonnormative romantic relationships.

Post-Earthquake Rebuilding

After the 1906 earthquake and fires, some parts of San Francisco were decimated while some remained almost wholly intact. Downtown, South of Market, Chinatown, and most of North Beach were destroyed and rebuilt relatively quickly atop the 1847 O'Farrell street grid.[48] Most of the Mission District, Western Addition, and Pacific Heights survived intact. After the earthquake, South of Market became known as the "domain of single men" as the number of residential and commercial spaces catering to bachelors increased and the average number of people per household increased to 19.[49] By 1910, ninety percent of South of Market's waterfront population was male.[50]

43 Ibid.
44 Issel and Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932*, 73.
45 Ibid., 73-75
46 Ibid., 63-66.
47 Ibid., 66-70.
48 Starr, *California*, 176.
49 Issel and Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932*, 60, 78.
50 Ibid., 58-60.

North Beach became more Italian after 1906 and its density increased to an average of 8 to 10 people per dwelling. The Mission District saw an increase in working-class Irish as they fled the South of Market area after the earthquake.[51] The demographic of the Western Addition began changing after 1906 when a Japantown started to develop, and again after World War I, when African Americans started settling west of Fillmore between Geary and Pine.[52]

Citywide Development

While most of the eastern half of San Francisco was completely built out by the 1920s, the western half remained largely undeveloped. The first third of the 20th century was a period of intensive development and expansion in the city. The Mission District expanded southwest into Portola, Excelsior, Miraloma, Ocean View, and Ingleside.[53] Upper-class districts were developed in Presidio Heights, Sea Cliff, Forest Hill, and St. Francis Wood. The completion of the Twin Peaks Tunnel (1918) and the Sunset Tunnel (1928) provided the impetus to develop the west side of San Francisco.[54] The nation's love affair with the automobile in the 1920s made people less reliant on public transportation and spurred development in even more far-flung neighborhoods. From the 1920s to the 1940s, "vast areas of the Sunset and Richmond Districts in western San Francisco, and the Excelsior District in southern San Francisco, were built out … with tract housing, primarily single-family dwellings with integral garages."[55] Nearly all residents of the Sunset District were listed as "white" in the 1940 census—89% were American citizens (mostly California natives); immigrants were mostly from Europe, predominantly Irish and Italian.[56] A second building boom occurred after World War II to meet the housing needs of thousands of returning veterans as well as defense workers who decided to settle in the city. "San Francisco led the nation in residential construction immediately following the end of World War II. More house building permits—17,000 by May 1946—were authorized in San Francisco than in any other city in the U.S."[57]

Changing Demographics

The city continued to increase in cultural diversity but also grew more segregated by race and class during this period. During World War II, the African American neighborhood in the Fillmore expanded, especially after Japanese American residents living in the area were forcibly relocated and incarcerated in internment camps in 1942 under Executive Order 9066, and another African American neighborhood was established near the shipyards at Hunter's Point. After World War II, Irish Catholics left the Mission District for the suburbs or for new neighborhoods in the Sunset District. The Mission District became predominantly Latino as immigrants from Central America and Mexico moved in. Large numbers of Asian immigrants arrived in the late 1960s, expanding the boundaries of Chinatown and creating a second Chinese neighborhood in the Richmond District. By the 1970s, San Francisco was 14 percent Asian, 13 percent African American, and 12 percent Latino/a.[58]

51 Ibid., 63-66.
52 Ibid., 66-70.
53 Ibid., 78-79.
54 Mary Brown, "Sunset District Residential Builders, 1925-1950," Historic Context Statement prepared for the San Francisco Planning Department (2013), 21.
55 Ibid.
56 1940 census data. Quoted in Ibid., 79.
57 "San Francisco Leads in Housing Permits," *Architect &* Engineer (May 1946): 29. Quoted in Ibid., 31.
58 Issel and Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932*, 216.

Economy and Deindustrialization

The heart of the city's economy through the first third of the 20th century was on the waterfront, comprising a massive network of shipping piers, warehouses, markets, and centers for distribution, production, and processing. The Produce Market, centered on Front and Clay Streets in what is now Jackson Square Park, was the distribution headquarters for all produce coming into or leaving the city. The northern and southern waterfronts were also the sites of manufacturing, including food processing in the north and iron works and shipbuilding in the south. Lighter manufacturing was scattered through the north waterfront and South of Market area. San Francisco's economy began to change permanently in the 1930s when the city's workforce organized to fight for basic worker rights. A critical period in San Francisco's labor history started in May 1934, when waterfront workers went on strike and closed the port for two months; a deadly clash between strikers and police on July 5, 1934 left two workers dead. During World War II, manufacturing jobs peaked when the Bay Area became a center for defense production, but soon after the war San Francisco slowly deindustrialized as waterfront and heavy industrial jobs moved to the East Bay, and San Francisco's economy became focused on service-based industries, notably finance and tourism. Financial jobs nearly doubled in the 1950s while employment on the waterfront was reduced 25 percent; the advent of containerization of water-borne commerce in the 1960s spelled the death of the San Francisco waterfront as a site for loading and unloading ships.[59]

Infrastructure

San Francisco through the mid-1930s was accessible only by land from the south or water from the north, west, and east. The Ferry Building was one of the busiest terminals in the world in the 1920s, with 50,000 ferry commuters entering and leaving San Francisco each day.[60] Beginning in the late 1930s, major infrastructure projects made San Francisco more accessible to commuter and tourist traffic. The San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge (1936) and the Golden Gate Bridge (1937) suddenly provided easy direct access by car and passenger rail from the east and by car from the north. When completed in 1937, the Bayshore Freeway (U.S. Route 101) was the first freeway linking San Francisco to San José. Development of new infrastructure slowed in the 1940s but picked up again the following decade. In 1952, the Broadway Tunnel opened, creating a link between North Beach and the western half of San Francisco. By 1955, Interstate 280 provided a second direct route to San Francisco from San José. In 1959, State Route 480, which included the Doyle Drive skyway approach to the Golden Gate Bridge and the double-deck Embarcadero Freeway skirting the Bay, established a route through the eastern and northern parts of the city but also erected a physical barrier between San Francisco residents and the waterfront, adding insult to the slowly dying industry there. From 1967 through 1971, a five-story tunnel was bored underneath Market Street, laying the groundwork for subway stations that opened in the early 1970s (BART) and early 1980s (Muni).

Redevelopment

The San Francisco Redevelopment Agency was established in 1949, and in the 1960s major redevelopment projects began to change the landscape and composition of San Francisco. The first large-scale redevelopment was the 10-acre Golden Gateway project that demolished a huge swath of the city's historic waterfront from Broadway to Market Street, including the Produce Market and warehouse district near North Beach. Beginning in the mid-1960s, "slum removal"

59 John Mollenkopf, *The Contested City* (New Jersey: Princeton Press, 1983), quoted in Chris Carlsson, "The Progress Club: 1934 and Class Memory," James Brook, Chris Carlsson & Nancy J. Peters, eds., *Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture: A City Lights Anthology* (San Francisco, Calif: City Lights Books, 1998), 76.

60 Starr, *California*, *186*.

projects in the Western Addition resulted in the demolition of thousands of Victorian homes and the displacement or relocation of 10,000 residents, a majority of whom were African American and Japanese American. The project also introduced the Geary Expressway, which bisected the African American community in the Fillmore District to the south and the Japanese American community and Pacific Heights to the north. The last major redevelopment project of the 20th century took place in the South of Market Area in the 1970s, when several city blocks were leveled to make way for the Yerba Buena project, which includes Moscone Center. The Yerba Buena project was an effort by city planners to clear the city's "skid row" to be replaced with a convention center. Dozens of historic residential hotels, bars, light-industrial buildings, empty lots, and junkyards were cleared to make way for the new development, displacing many of the city's working-class residents.[61]

II. EARLY INFLUENCES ON LGBTQ IDENTITIES AND COMMUNITIES (19TH CENTURY TO 1950S)

EARLY MEDICAL THEORIES AND LITERATURE ON HOMOSEXUALITY

In the United States through the first half of the 19th century, any form of sexuality that was nonnormative was understood to be voluntary or circumstantial (acquired or artificial) rather than congenital (innate). Such sexuality was categorized as illegal vice, so it fell under the jurisdiction of police, lawyers, and judges, not medical professionals. Beginning in the mid-19th century, medical literature focusing on nonnormative sexuality became more widely accessible to physicians in the United States. The literature began to categorize nonnormative sexuality as a "social problem" requiring medical attention, and physicians began to be consulted during legal cases about sex crimes.

The concept of homosexuality being congenital rather than voluntary was presented in 1864 when German jurist Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, who identified as a member of the third sex (a male with a "woman's soul" who desires men), published a series of essays about same-sex sexuality.[62] Ulrichs' essays call for the decriminalization of homosexual love and the recognition of same-sex marriage. His theories were adopted by many other writers on sexuality, including Károly Mária Kertbeny, the Austrian-born writer who first published the terms "homosexual" and "heterosexual" in 1868.[63] German sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing adopted the congenital theory but suggested that any sexual act not ending in pregnancy is by nature pathological or degenerative (reverting to a prior evolutionary status). He published his findings on the degeneracy theory in 1886 in *Psychopathia Sexualis*, the first study on nonnormative sexuality to reach a wide audience in Europe and the United States. Krafft-Ebing coined many new labels for the various sexual "perversions" documented in his case studies.

British sexologist Havelock Ellis denounced Krafft-Ebing's theory of degeneracy in 1897 when he published the groundbreaking study *Sexual Inversion*. In that work, Ellis agrees that the nature of nonnormative sexuality is congenital, but disagrees that it was pathological. He posits that the differences between sexes come down to a matter of degrees and that nonnormative sexuality was merely one extreme of a condition evident in all humans.[64] Ellis's beliefs were highly controversial in Europe and the United States. The first American edition of *Sexual Inversion*, published in 1901, was released only to doctors and lawyers. Men and women with nonnormative sexuality

61 Brook, Carlsson, and Peters, *Reclaiming San Francisco*, 82.

62 David Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 408.

63 Kertbeny first used the terms in private in 1868 and published them in his writings in 1869. See Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 409.

64 Ibid., 411.

who had access to the work of Ellis and Krafft-Ebing (that is, the mostly white middle and upper classes) "devoured" the studies.[65] British playwright Oscar Wilde was influenced by Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, and British novelist Radclyffe Hall, author of *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), a highly significant early lesbian novel, was influenced by both Krafft-Ebing and Ellis. Physicians claimed that gay men and lesbians, such as Wilde and Hall, used the literature to justify their sexuality.

Another important advancement in the study of nonnormative sexuality came in the late 19th century in France and Germany, where physicians first started to analyze the distinction between a nonnormative *identity* and a nonnormative *act* (i.e., a gay-identified man versus a homosexual sex act). This distinction allowed for the possibility that identity and sexual expression are not wholly intertwined. Although the terms "homosexual" and "heterosexual" had been introduced decades earlier, the concept of homosexuality and heterosexuality as categories of sexual identity were first introduced during this period.[66]

While the medical field transformed its understanding of the causes of nonnormative sexuality, confusion about the relationship between gender and sexuality persisted. Throughout most of the 19th century, European and American medical journals conflated gender expression (e.g., cross-dressing) with sexuality and categorized both as "sexual inversion." In stark contrast to our current understanding of sexuality and gender, which generally defines sexuality as biological and gender as a social construct, women in the 19th century who displayed masculine traits were categorized as lesbians, and men who were effeminate were categorized as gay (using today's terms).[67] A well-documented consequence of this misunderstanding was that progressive women (many heterosexual) who chose to wear pants for comfort or practicality, were mocked in newspapers for being sexual inverts (i.e., lesbians). (For more on this topic, see "Progressive Era Women's Reform Movements." One of the first doctors to publish on the topic of gender deviance was the German physician Karl Westphal. In 1870 he published a study called "Contrary Sexual Feeling," in which he writes about a 35-year-old woman who, throughout her entire life, "had a great desire to be a man."[68] Havelock Ellis wrote that the "principal character of the sexually inverted woman is a certain degree of masculinity."[69] It is important to note that the topic of gender deviance during this period was often presented in binary terms: heterosexual (normal) and homosexual (abnormal).

The late 19th century saw medical-based efforts to decriminalize nonnormative sexuality. Krafft-Ebing was an advocate for decriminalization of homosexuality. The influential American sexologist James Kiernan took a similar position in the 1880s; in his work he argues that if sexuality is congenital, then individuals should not be prosecuted for their sexuality because they are not responsible for their actions.[70] In Germany in 1897, physician Magnus Hirschfeld and his colleagues founded the Scientific Humanitarian Committee with the goals of decriminalizing homosexuality and defending the rights of homosexuals. These were progressive positions at a time when individuals continued to be arrested and imprisoned for nonnormative sexual activity.

While some physicians did advocate for decriminalization of homosexuality, others proposed policies for long-term incarceration to prevent the individuals from "corrupting" others. In the first decades of the 19th century, physicians proposed castration or vasectomies to prevent procreation

65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., 407.
67 Ibid., 385.
68 Ibid., 380.
69 Havelock and Ellis quoted in Ibid., 381.
70 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 166.

among gay men and lesbians. In the United States, many states had legislation forcing convicted sex offenders (including homosexuals) to be sterilized.[71]

Psychiatrist Sigmund Freud introduced the next major change in medical theory in the 1910s. Freud developed a psychoanalytic theory that explains homosexuality in psychological rather than biological terms. Freud viewed nonnormative sexuality as a symptom of arrested development, a sign that individuals have not progressed beyond adolescence years when same-sex affection and attraction is common. Freud's theories were widely disseminated and were accessible to the public. His negative views of lesbianism in particular have had a lasting impact on public perception about homosexual relationships. Lesbian relationships, which were viewed as asexual in the 19th century, were "looked upon with greater suspicion" in the early 20th century.[72] Consequently lesbians "found it more difficult to live together unobtrusively" in part because Freud's theories "intensified social rejection."[73] Historian Lillian Faderman argues that it is this shared sense of social rejection and isolation that brought lesbians together and served as one impetus in the formation of lesbian communities.[74]

Finally, another major advancement in the study of homosexuality came in 1948 when American biologist Alfred C. Kinsey published *Sexual Response in the Human Male*. The findings of Kinsey's research, which included interviews with 5,940 men about their sexual histories, suggest that human sexuality is naturally varied—along the same lines as Darwin's theory of natural selection and variation of species. "By creating a broad-based statistical analysis of human sexual response," writes historian Justin Spring, Kinsey was able to "demonstrate the existence of widespread variations throughout the American population at all levels of society."[75] *Sexual Response* upended existing theories about homosexuality because it "suggested that variations in sexual behavior were not based on acts of will and individual choice … Rather they were based on widespread biological variations existing within the human population: in other words, on genetic variation."[76] Furthermore, Kinsey's research finally provided the data to substantiate earlier hypotheses by Havelock Ellis and Freud that sexuality cannot be divided into categories of heterosexual and homosexual, but instead falls along a continuum. Kinsey's work suggests that the word *homosexual* be used as an adjective rather than a noun, "for clearly many men who self-identified as heterosexual engaged in homosexual activity."[77]

In 1953, Kinsey published *Sexual Response in the Human Female*, which, together with his previous work, became known as the Kinsey Reports. The Kinsey Reports were instant bestsellers and made Kinsey a highly controversial figure. "The discovery of widespread sexual deviation and the revelation of the full extent of this deviation would at first shock America," notes Spring, but Kinsey's findings ultimately help[ed] make the case for increased sexual tolerance."[78] One of the most important consequences of the Kinsey Reports was the positive effect it had on the psyches of homosexual men and women. "Through statistics, Kinsey had presented these individuals with a whole new way of understanding the sexual self. Among those with a homosexual orientation, feelings of guilt, shame, anxiety, and depression could be particularly intense, and so Kinsey's

71 Katz, *Gay American History,* 140-146.
72 Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 428.
73 Ibid., 428.
74 Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 59.
75 Justin Spring, *Secret Historian: The Life and Times of Samuel Steward, Professor, Tattoo Artist, and Sexual Renegade* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux), 114.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., 116.
78 Ibid., 114.

findings were profoundly enlightening—and, by extension, healing—to these people."[79] Justin Spring concludes that Kinsey's research, even though subjected to decades of analysis, "remain[s] fundamentally unchallenged and unaltered to this day."[80]

19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY SEX LAWS AND POLICING IN CALIFORNIA AND SAN FRANCISCO

State and local legal systems and codes were used to control and repress nonnormative sexuality and gender expression throughout California's history. Beginning in the mid-19th century, California had laws that made it possible to arrest people for nonnormative sexual or social behavior or acts. When California became a state in 1850, the first legislature outlawed sodomy, also known as "the infamous crime against nature." Cross-dressing was illegal in San Francisco as early as 1863 when the Board of Supervisors passed a law prohibiting a person to appear in public "in a dress not belonging to his or her sex." The cross-dressing law was part of a "good morals and decency" program to crack down on indecency in the city, especially prostitution.[81] An arrest for cross-dressing carried a maximum fine of $500 and six months in the county jail.[82] Over 100 people were arrested for cross-dressing in San Francisco by the end of the 19th century.[83]

When California's first penal code was written in 1872, it included laws against vagrancy, which was a catchall term for crimes such as drunkenness, prostitution, and gambling. When the penal code was amended in 1891, the definition of vagrancy was broadened to include a "lewd or dissolute person who lives about houses of ill-fame." The definition of vagrant was simplified in 1903 to "idle, lewd, or dissolute person." Another statute introduced in 1903 made it illegal to "personif[y] any person other than himself" with "intent of accomplishing any lewd or licentious purpose," making cross-dressing a misdemeanor.[84]

Most people arrested in California in the 19th century for nonnormative sexual acts were arrested for vagrancy. Prosecution for sodomy-related crimes during this period was rare.[85] This began to change after the turn of the century for a variety of reasons. Media coverage of a handful of cases of nonnormative sexuality in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which showed increasingly negative attitudes toward nonnormative sexuality, added to the public's growing concern about sexual deviance and had a substantive effect on sex laws throughout the country. In Long Beach, California, in 1914, when police discovered a consensual oral sex ring involving over 30 men, the men were arrested but not convicted because California's Crime Against Nature law did not address oral sex. In San Francisco, a highly publicized sex case in known as the Baker Street Club Scandal unfolded in 1918.[86] For ten days in February 1918, the San Francisco Police Department, working with the United States Army at the Presidio, staged raids at a residence

79 Ibid., 115.

80 Ibid.

81 Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 2.

82 San Francisco General Ordinances (1915), ordinance no. 819, quoted in Amy Sueyoshi, "Mindful Masquerades: Que(e)rying Japanese Immigrant Dress in Turn-of-the-Century San Francisco," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 26 (2005), 75.

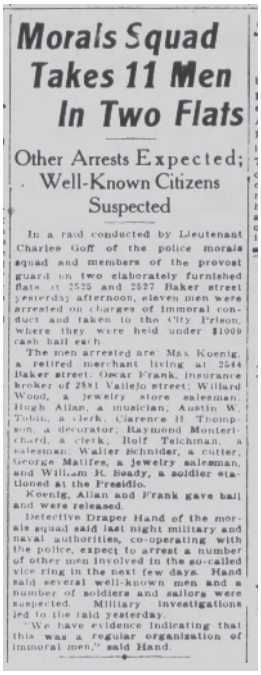
83 Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 62.

84 William N. Eskridge Jr., *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861-2003* (New York: Viking, 2008), 59.

85 Ibid., 21.

86 The authors are grateful to Dr. Robert W. Cherny for directing us to an essay by Elwood "Woody" Miller called "The Baker Street 'Club' Scandal." Miller's essay, written for Dr. Cherny's HIST 790 class at San Francisco State University, is full of important primary source information about the Baker Street case, including newspaper accounts and military trial transcripts.





Morals Squad Takes 11 Men In Two Flats

Other Arrests Expected; Well-Known Citizens Suspected

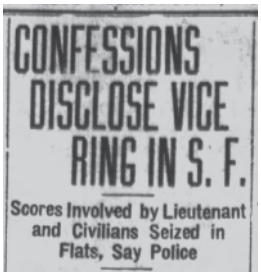
In a raid conducted by Lieutenant Charles Goff of the police morals squad and members of the provost guard on two elaborately furnished flats at 2525 and 2627 Baker street yesterday afternoon, eleven men were arrested on charges of immoral conduct and taken to the City Prison, where they were held under $1000 cash bail each.

The men arrested are: Max Koenig, a retired merchant living at 2544 Baker street; Oscar Frank, insurance broker of 2381 Vallejo street; Willard Wood, a jewelry store salesman; Hugh Allan, a musician; Austin W. Tobin, a clerk; Clarence H. Thompson, a decorator; Raymond Monterichard, a clerk; Rolf Teichman, a salesman; Walter Schnider, a cutter; George Matifes, a jewelry salesman, and William R. Soady, a soldier stationed at the Presidio.

Koenig, Allan and Frank gave bail and were released.

Detective Draper Hand of the morals squad said last night military and naval authorities, co-operating with the police, expect to arrest a number of other men involved in the so-called vice ring in the next few days. Hand said several well-known men and a number of soldiers and sailors were suspected. Military investigations led to the raid yesterday.

"We have evidence indicating that this was a regular organization of immoral men," said Hand.



CONFESSIONS DISCLOSE VICE RING IN S. F.

Scores Involved by Lieutenant and Civilians Seized in Flats, Say Police

LEFT: Site of the Baker Street Club in 1918, 2531-2533 Baker Street (Photo by Shayne Watson

RIGHT: Newspaper articles announcing Baker Street Club arrests and trial (California Digital Newspaper Archive)

at 2531-2533 Baker Street (extant)[87], near the Presidio's Lombard Street gate.[88] Using a mole to obtain information, the police uncovered an underground gay community involving dozens of servicemen and civilians.[89] The men were forced to confess, arrested, and sent to trial. Their detailed testimonies reveal an active gay network in San Francisco in the 1910s, one that gathered at private residences and bathhouses across San Francisco. Some of the servicemen who were convicted were dishonorably discharged and sent to federal penitentiaries, while others were sent to sanitariums. One man tried to commit suicide, and another fled the country. Several more men were tried but ultimately acquitted because of confusion over the language in California Penal Code Section 288a, which defined fellatio and cunnilingus as felonies punishable for up to 15 years in prison.[90] The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that the court acquitted the men "on the grounds that the word intended to define the crime with which the Baker-street 'club' members were charged [fellatio] is not an English word that clearly expresses its exact meaning … either in law or in psychopathology."[91] The California Supreme Court decision notes that while the law's attempt to suppress "sins against decency" was commendable, it was outweighed by the importance of "the liberty of the individual … even the most debased wretch in the land."[92]

The Long Beach and San Francisco cases ultimately led to substantive revisions to sodomy laws throughout California and the country and resulted in increasing numbers of arrests related to nonnormative sexuality. In 1915 the California legislature modified the penal code to add "fellatio" and "cunnilingus" to the list of felonies, making it the first state in the country to codify oral sex as a serious crime.[93] In 1921, the penal code was revised again when fellatio and cunnilingus were changed to "oral copulation," and engaging in "any act … which openly outrages public decency" was added as a misdemeanor. Under these new laws, explains legal theorist William Eskridge, "almost any kind of activity deviating from standard sexual intercourse or gender presentation could be a crime in California."[94] In 1927, California made it illegal to loiter near public schools and other places where children were present—likely a response to a growing fear that male homosexuality and pedophilia were intertwined; this law was expanded in the 1940s to include public toilets and parks, which led to a crackdown on gay cruising and public sex.[95]

The first state in the country to decriminalize sodomy among consenting adults was Illinois, in 1961. Although minor modifications were made over the decades to the sections of California's penal code regulating same-sex sexual acts, until 1975 sodomy remained essentially illegal in California.

CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH

After President James Polk announced to the country in December 1848 that gold had been discovered in California, the state's nonindigenous population exploded from less than 10,000 to 255,000 in 1851.[96] The foothills of the Sierra Nevada were suddenly flooded with Native

87 The building that housed the Baker Street Club appears to be extant, though Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps show that the addresses changed from 2525-2527 to 2531-2533.

88 "Morals Squad Takes 11 Men in Two Flats," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 27, 1918, 8. Cited in Miller, "The Baker Street Club Scandal."

89 "Confessions Disclose Vice Ring In S.F.," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 28, 1918, 2. Cited in Ibid.

90 A footnote in the code calls Section 288a unconstitutional because "fellatio" and "cunnilingus" are not written in the English language; *The Codes of California: As amended and in force at the close of the forty-third session of the Legislature*, 1919, Google Books.

91 "Baker-St. Vice Case Thrown out of Court," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 11, 1919. Cited in Miller, "The Baker Street Club Scandal."

92 Ibid.

93 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 53.

94 William Eskridge and John A. Ferejohn, *A Republic of Statutes: The New American Constitution* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 352-353.

95 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 92.

96 Starr, *California*, 80.

Americans, *Californios* (the Spanish-speaking descendants of the Spanish and Mexican colonizers, now American citizens), Sonoran Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, French, Chinese, Americans, and others. The few small towns that existed throughout California at the time, including San Francisco, temporarily were largely abandoned as many residents raced for the mountains. The mass migration to California and the frenzied scramble for gold were unprecedented in American history, and the situation in the goldfields turned societal norms upside-down. The disparity between the population of men and women during the Gold Rush—12.2 males for every female in 1850[97]—created what historian Susan Lee Johnson describes as a tense atmosphere characterized by the "presence of curious young men and lonely husbands" and the "distance from customary social constraints and proximity to competing cultural practices."[98] California historian Kevin Starr calls it a "landscape of loneliness, longing, and regret comparable to the separations of wartime."[99] The scarcity of women and wives and the pent-up sexual energy among the men not only led to atrocities against the few women who were present in the goldfields—rape, prostitution, enslavement, and murder—but also opened social space for emotionally intense homosocial relations, cross-dressing, and, more than likely, homosexual sex.

Male Homosocial Activity and Cross-Dressing

One well-documented example of homosocial activity among men during the Gold Rush is the stag dance, an all-male dance often featuring men dressed men coupled with men dressed as women. One of the earliest recorded stag dances during the Gold Rush was held on July 4, 1849, on the *Panama*, a ship bound for San Francisco. Of the 220 passengers on board only four were women, so for the "Fancy Dress Ball," some of the young men dressed in calico gowns.[100] In the goldfields, stag dances were held at dance halls. The stag dance, according to Johnson, was a popular form of leisure in the Gold Rush during which "gendered and racialized meanings got made, unmade, and remade."[101] An all-male dance held in 1852 at Angel's Camp in the southern goldfields featured men as square-dance partners: "The absence of ladies…was a difficulty which was very easily overcome … [every man] who had a patch on a certain part of his inexpressible [would be a woman for the night]."[102] Stag dances persisted beyond the Gold Rush period and outside of the goldfields. At a saloon in San Francisco's Barbary Coast in 1865, during a time when women were still relatively scarce in San Francisco, a man named Daniel Conness asked Frank Lewis to join him in a "stag waltz."[103] At first demurring, Lewis finally consented and the two men danced "until their heads swam." After the dance, Lewis discovered that he had been robbed and later remembered Conness "feeling in his bosom" during the dance. A newspaper account noted the moral of the story: "Keep out of the [Barbary Coast] and avoid stag waltzes."[104]

Outside of stag dances, male-to-female cross-dressing was prevalent throughout the American west during the Gold Rush period. In urban areas, news reports of men arrested for dressing as women were common. An early example occurred in San Francisco in May 1852 when a man was arrested for cross-dressing and fined $25.[105] Cross-dressing during this period reflected a variety of motivations: cross-gender identities (before the concepts transgender and transsexual existed); practical reasons such as comfort or access to gender-restricted work; and as costume for stage

97 Albert Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: 1999), 76.
98 Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 174.
99 Starr, *California*, 88.
100 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 64.
101 Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 144.
102 J.D. Borthwick quoted in Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 173.
103 *Daily Alta California*, August 22, 1865.
104 Ibid.
105 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 67.

performances. Historian Peter Boag suggests that some instances of male cross-dressing were motivated by the lack of women in the west and the "fierce demand" for traditionally female tasks and services, such as housekeeping, laundry, or cooking; in these cases, men passed as women in order to carry out female roles.[106] Whatever the real motives behind cross-dressing, they were seldom revealed to the public. When interviewed by the police or local press about their reasons for cross-dressing, men often claimed they dressed as women as a joke or that they were out on a lark. For example, in 1891 a prominent white journalist named Edward J. Livernash was arrested in San Francisco for attempting to board a ferry dressed as an African American woman; Livernash claimed he cross-dressed as a "practical joke," but was found guilty and fined $50.[107] Newspapers often speculated that men disguised themselves as women to carry out crimes.[108] It wasn't until the late 19th century that the local press and public began to express suspicions about connections between cross-dressing and nonnormative sexuality.

Without documentation, it is difficult to discern the extent to which actual homosexual activity occurred during the Gold Rush, but sexologist Albert Kinsey speculated that sex was common "among pioneers and outdoor men in general."[109] These types of men, according to Kinsey, took the attitude that "sex is sex, irrespective of the nature of the partner with whom the relation is had." Although men who had sex with other men certainly existed during the Gold Rush, Susan Lee Johnson notes that men who kept diaries in the mid-19th century would have been reluctant to keep written accounts of their nonnormative sexual relationships.[110]

Women in the Gold Rush

The Gold Rush era also was an extraordinary period for women in California. When California achieved statehood in 1850, the constitution afforded women (married or not) the right to own property in their own name, a rarity throughout the rest of the United States at the time.[111] A year later, the California legislature made it easier for men and women to divorce, and divorce rates grew steadily.[112] This was also the beginning of the nation's women's-rights movement, launched in 1848 at the now-famous convention in Seneca Falls, New York. It was within this larger context that the relatively few women who ventured to the American West during the Gold Rush were afforded opportunities and independence rare for women elsewhere in the Victorian United States. Financial independence allowed women to live alone or to form relationships, platonic or sexual, with other women.

The sex trade was a common form of work for women in the goldfields—and like their counterparts throughout the world in the 19th century, some female sex workers in the goldfields undoubtedly formed intimate relationships with one another. Susan Lee Johnson recounts that life in the brothels was "tedious and confining," and often "fostered same-sex eroticism in the context of enforced proximity, economic coercion, and the constant scrutiny of public authorities."[113] Unlike most other parts of the country at the time, female sex workers in the goldfields could support themselves and live independently of men—either alone or with other women. Johnson notes that in the early years of the Gold Rush, women sex workers were "treated with deference" and allowed to "move about

106 Ibid., 74.
107 *The San Francisco Morning Call*, October 3, 1891.
108 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 69-70.
109 Kinsey quoted in Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2000).
110 Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 173.
111 Starr, *California*, 93.
112 Ibid., 88.
113 Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 78.

socially where they would otherwise be ostracized … even able to marry out of their profession."[114] The population of women in the goldfields was multi-national, but not all races of sex workers were treated equally: French sex workers were preferred while Chinese and Latina women were often subjected to racist treatment.[115] Latina women were particularly vulnerable because of a popular stereotype that they were all prostitutes.[116] Chinese women were "so synonymous with prostitution," according to historian Amy Sueyoshi, that in 1875 the United States government instituted immigration laws aimed at Chinese women that "forbade the entry of immoral women."[117]

In addition to working in the sex trade, some women in the goldfields (mostly French, Chilean, and Mexican) made livings by working in—and sometimes owning—restaurants, laundries, saloons, dance halls, and gaming houses.[118] Toward the end of the Gold Rush, indentured and enslaved Chinese women were responsible for most of the service-based work in the goldfields.[119] Anglo-American women, the last group of women to arrive in the goldfields, were less likely to seek independent careers and many were vociferous opponents of the "social ills" of the Gold Rush—drinking, gambling, and sexual commerce.[120]

A cultural pattern that was common in the American West during the Gold Rush was female-to-male cross-dressing. Historian Peter Boag explains that the reasons women cross-dressed during this period continue to be debated, but similar to their male counterparts, there are a few generally agreed-upon motives: practicality or necessity or cross-gender identities (before the concepts transgender and transsexual existed). Many women who migrated to the West looking for work or adventure dressed as men during the journey because it was unsafe for women to travel long distances without male protectors, but also because male clothing was more practical and comfortable.[121] Women also cross-dressed to find work after realizing quickly that there were few paid positions for women outside of prostitution, housekeeping, or entertainment.[122] Because women were prohibited from mining, they had no choice but to dress as men if they wanted to work in the goldfields. One example of this is Marie Suize, also known as "Madam Pantaloons." After arriving in San Francisco from France during the height of the Gold Rush and not finding work, Suize disguised herself as a man and headed for the goldfields in Amador County.[123] She spent nearly 20 years working in the mines in Jackson, California, and owning and operating the region's most famous winery and a liquor store. She went largely unnoticed until 1871 when, while drinking in a saloon in San Francisco's North Beach neighborhood, Suize was arrested because "something in her manner was unlike that of a man."[124]

114 Ibid.

115 Jacqueline Barnhart, *The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849-1900* (Reno: 1986), 40-50. Quoted in Rachel Van, "Mary Jane Megquier: San Francisco as Refuge," *Ex Post Facto – Journal of the History Students at San Francisco State University* X (2001).

116 Ibid.

117 Amy Sueyoshi, comments on Draft LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, December 29, 2014.

118 Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 76-77, 290-291.

119 Ibid., 298.

120 Ibid., 279, 282.

121 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 33.

122 The explanation that women cross-dressed during Gold Rush because the social context of the American west gave them little choice is defined by scholars of cross-dressing as the "progress narrative" and is commonly debated. See Ibid., 57.

123 *Stockton Daily Independent*, "Dispatches from San Francisco," April 21, 1871. See Ibid., 207.

124 Ibid.

CROSS-GENDER ENTERTAINMENT AND IDENTITIES IN SAN FRANCISCO

Cross-Gender Entertainment on the Stage

Cross-dressing on stage was a popular form of professional and amateur entertainment throughout the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Theater acts featuring cross-dressers were popular in minstrel and vaudeville shows. The first minstrel shows used race as comedy and featured white men dressed in blackface mimicking African American songs and dances; minstrel groups were also known for imitating German, Irish, and Chinese immigrants. Men who dressed as women as part of these minstrel troupes were some of the first female-impersonators to appear on the American stage.[125] Blackface minstrel shows appeared in San Francisco as early as 1848.[126] In the 1850s, more than 66 minstrel troupes performed in the city.[127] The Lyceum Minstrels featured W.D. Corrister and M. Lewis as impersonators of Ethiopian women, with Mr. Lewis billed as "the Exquisite Exponent of Colored Female Loveliness."[128] Vaudeville eventually replaced minstrelsy and expanded to feature circus-like variety shows. In San Francisco, vaudeville shows were performed at venues such as Maguire's Opera House on Washington, the Metropolitan Theatre on Montgomery, the Wigwam at Geary and Stockton, and the Alhambra Theatre on Bush (none extant).

Female-impersonating performers in San Francisco from the mid-19th century through the first decades of the 20th century are too numerous to list, but a few are worth mentioning. Bothwell Browne was one of the well-known female impersonators on the West Coast. He grew up in San Francisco and by the early 1900s was a "darling of San Francisco's vaudeville stage."[129] Browne performed as Cleopatra at the Grand Opera House on Mission Street and in the "Serpent of the Nile" at the Empress Theatre on Market Street; his other venues were the Pantages and Central Theater on Market Street (none extant). In 1905, Julian Eltinge gave his first appearance in San Francisco at the Orpheum on O'Farrell Street (not extant).[130] Eltinge was one of the most famous female impersonators of the 20th century and went on to become a Hollywood star in the 1910s. In San Francisco he was billed as the "male Vesta Tilley." (Tilley was an international male-impersonating sensation from Britain.)

Chinese female impersonators were common in Chinatown theaters, which could be attributed to a long-standing tradition in China of all-male theater productions. In the early 1890s, Ah Ming had a contract at a theater on Washington Street and was making $6,000 a year (equivalent in purchasing power to more than $150,000 in 2014). Ming's obituary reads: "As a female impersonator … Ming led all of his countrymen" and was rumored to have performed for the "crowned head of China."[131] Yung Lun, a female impersonator at a Chinese theater on Jackson Street, "was paid a high salary, but fan tan and lottery kept him always in debt."[132] Me Chung Chen was another female impersonator at a theater on Jackson Street.[133]

Male-to-female cross-dressers were more common than their female-to-male counterparts, but women performing as men also appeared in minstrel troupes. In August 1863, famous American

125 Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 29.
126 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 65.
127 Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 31.
128 "Amusements," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 10, 1858. See also "Amusements," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 10, 1857.
129 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 31.
130 *San Francisco Call*, September 17, 1905.
131 *San Francisco Call*, November 27, 1892.
132 *San Francisco Call*, May 22, 1901.
133 "Chinese Riot in Theater," *San Francisco Call*, February 17, 1903.



THE SUNDAY CALL. 17

The Quickest Lightning Change on Record

Starving Hindoos Hoard Gold.

Dainty Fans of Famous Queens

The Coquette's Deadliest Weapon

The Age of the Earth.

1900 *San Francisco Morning Call* article showing male-impersonating performer Zelma Rawlston transforming from female to male (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

stage performer Adah Isaacs Menken played a Tartar prince in *Mazeppa* at Maguire's Opera House on Washington Street. The show drew a huge audience that waited outside for hours on opening day and filled the theater every night of the series. Newspapers described Menken's performances as venturing "out of the common run" and creating an "idealized duality of sex."[134] Menken caught the eye of gay San Francisco author Charles Warren Stoddard who admired her "half-feminine masculinity."[135] (Stoddard and Menken are discussed in further detail in the section titled "Bohemianism.") In the 1860s, Salle Hinckley of the Buislay Troupe performed as "Don Guzman" at San Francisco's Metropolitan Theatre on Montgomery Street. A newspaper account made sure to note Hinckley's attractiveness and womanly grace and that, "like few [other male impersonators]" she did not cater to the "morbid taste by absolutely unsexing herself."[136] In 1896, England's Tina Corri and America's Ella Ellis performed at the Orpheum on O'Farrell Street, with Ellis dubbed as "America's Vesta Tilley." Zelma Rawlston, a famous male-impersonator from New York performed in San Francisco in 1900. In describing why she became a male-impersonator, Rawlston said: "I did an impersonation of Vesta Tilley that made a hit, and so I … struck my forte. I like to do men, but my men are gentlemen. I study men … to try to be as mannish as I can; but I never had any trouble…. I hadn't the slightest difficulty in acquiring a manly stride."[137] Grace Leonard, billed as "Stageland's Most Artistic Male Impersonator" and "The Ideal American Boy," performed at the Empress on Market Street in 1912.

Cross-Gender Entertainment in the Barbary Coast

A second form of cross-gender performance—somewhat seedier than cross-dressing performances in mainstream theaters—took place in the saloons and burlesque theaters in entertainment districts like the Barbary Coast, Chinatown, portions of Market Street, and later, the Tenderloin. The Barbary Coast was San Francisco's principal entertainment district from the Gold Rush through the 1910s, stretching west along Pacific Avenue from the waterfront to Montgomery Avenue (now Columbus) with branches down Kearny Street and Broadway. The streets were lined with saloons, concert and dance halls, gaming houses, and brothels. The area was considered blighted throughout its history, riddled with "squalor, poverty and crime," and home to the "dregs of the city's population."[138] The saloons were known as "deadfalls," and the streets were "cruised" or "sailed" by patrons called rangers or pirates. Theft, assault, and murder were weekly if not daily occurrences—mostly carried out against "greenhorns," visitors from rural areas outside of the city looking to spend their money on alcohol and sex. The Barbary Coast was home to a mix of races with American, Irish, German, and African American saloonkeepers and patrons of many nationalities. The area also was a draw for soldiers stationed at the Presidio and merchant marines arriving at the port of San Francisco. As San Francisco neighborhoods continued to develop to the south and west through the end of the 19th century, the Barbary Coast and other northern environs were neglected and cut off from the major street-car lines leading to the Market Street hub, adding to the district's reputation as a desolate wasteland.[139]

Female impersonators performed on stage in Barbary Coast establishments but also worked in the area's sex trade, either to serve the needs of men looking for nonnormative sex, or with the intention of duping men into thinking they were with biological women, sometimes with the intention of robbing them. Saloons and theaters in San Francisco's entertainment districts were

134 Quoted in Ben Tarnoff, *The Bohemians: Mark Twain and the San Francisco Writers Who Reinvented American Literature* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2014), 57.
135 Quoted in Ibid.
136 "The Buislay Troupe," *Daily Alta California*, April 16, 1866.
137 "Zelma Rawlston," *Times-Picayune*, June 7, 1898.
138 "On the Hills," *Daily Alta California*, February 1, 1886.
139 "The Northern Part of the City," *Daily Alta California*, December 18, 1876.

known for their private, curtained "boxes" lining the walls; sex for sale was common in this setting. There are many early examples of female impersonators engaging in homosocial and homosexual activity in San Francisco dives, but only a few will be listed here.

In 1894, a female impersonator named Bert Larose was employed at Bottle Meier's theater at 513 Pacific Avenue (not extant).[140] Bert Larose was a "beardless youth with a falsetto voice" who made a "precarious living by performing as a woman in Barbary Coast theaters and dives."[141] Bottle Meier's was a notorious dive that featured a row of curtained boxes where women were known to "lure the unwary to ruin."[142] In May 1894, Larose—"nicely painted and wearing his skirts"—drew the attention of an old farmer from Napa. After a few beers, the farmer was "smitten with the fictitious charms of [Larose]" and invited him into a private box where the two "caressed … kissed … hugged" until the farmer was kicked out. The next morning, hung-over and missing over $250 in cash, the farmer accused Bert Larose of theft. Larose was arrested, convicted of grand larceny, and sent to San Quentin for a six-year term.[143]

A second early example is the Dash at 574 Pacific Avenue (extant), one of the largest dance halls built in the Barbary Coast after the 1906 earthquake. Originally called the Seattle Saloon and Dance Hall, the name changed in 1908 when ownership transferred to Joe Stevens, Jim Stevens, and Billy Harrington. The Dash was described as being the "home of unspeakable vices and the most depraved type of men,"[144] where, according to historian Nan Alamilla Boyd, "homosexual sex could be purchased in booths for a dollar."[145] The exterior of the building was covered with "gaudy paintings" of scantily clad women and a large sign announcing "Free Show Within." The interior was lined with curtained boxes, "in which are ensconced degenerate female impersonators."[146] The Dash, like many other Barbary Coast saloons, was operated by criminals whose main goal was to dupe the unwitting. The Dash is often called San Francisco's "first gay bar," but likely it was one of many early examples of a typical entertainment-district saloon featuring female impersonators engaging in homosocial or homosexual activity—either with the intention to deceive or to meet a demand for nonnormative sex.

Cross-Gender Identification

As with cross-dressing during the Gold Rush period, San Franciscans cross-dressed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries for many reasons, but primarily because the men and women maintained cross-gender identities, or because it was practical or provided a sense of security (for women dressed as men). When discussing cross-gender identities in the 19th century, historians caution against applying labels such as gay, lesbian, and transgender because it is difficult to know if the men and women identified in these ways, especially in a period before the terminology existed and before the social roles in question were clearly distinguished from one another. There are many documented cases of cross-dressing in San Francisco that can be analyzed as early cases of cross-gender identification; a few examples will be provided here.

One of the more documented cases of a female-to-male cross-dresser in San Francisco is Jeanne Bonnet, arrested over twenty times in the 1870s for cross-dressing. Bonnet was known for wearing

140 *San Francisco Call*, May 31, 1894.
141 *San Francisco Call*, August 3, 1894.
142 *San Francisco Call*, August 8, 1893.
143 *San Francisco Call*, September 2, 1894.
144 "Dive Men Officials for Cook," *San Francisco Call*, October 20, 1908. Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.
145 Ibid., 25.
146 "Dive Men Officials for Cook." Cited in Ibid.





IN FEMALE GARB.

An Actor Plays the Part of a Siren.

IS CHARGED WITH ROBBERY.

RIGHT: Rendering of Bottle Meier's Theater at 513 Pacific Avenue and newspaper article about female-impersonator Bert Larose (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

LEFT: The building at 574 Pacific Avenue that housed The Dash in 1908 (Photo by Katherine Petrin)

"hoodlum" suits preferred by San Francisco's working-class men.[147] She had short hair and a taste for hard liquor, according to historian Clare Sears, and she posed as a man so she could frequent the bars and brothels of the Barbary Coast.[148] Bonnet was renowned for enticing female sex workers to leave their brothels. After convincing French sex worker Blanche Beunion to escape prostitution and her male lover, Bonnet was murdered in 1876 while spending the night with her.[149]

In the 1890s, a biologically male carpenter named Ferdinand Haisch, living at 407 McAllister Street (not extant), became a local sensation for cross-dressing, drawing "hundreds of curiosity seekers" to Haisch's house.[150] Haisch had a wardrobe full of women's gowns, all of which Haisch made by hand. Police arrested Haisch in 1895 after receiving complaints of a "strange woman" walking the streets of Hayes Valley. When Haisch was arrested, she was wearing a green silk shirt, red stockings, silver-buckled garters, high-heeled shoes, and a woman's hat.[151]

One of the Bay Area's most famous cross-dressers was Babe Bean, born in San Francisco in 1869. Bean's birth name was Elvira Virginia Mugarietta, daughter of Jose Marcos Mugarrieta, San Francisco's first Mexican consul, and Eliza Alice Garland.[152] While living in Stockton in 1897, Babe Bean was arrested for dressing in men's clothing and became a local celebrity thanks to constant press coverage. Later that year, Bean was arrested in San Francisco for cross-dressing and explained to the officers that traveling in men's clothing afforded "more protection than skirts."[153] Bean joined the military as a man in 1898 and served in the Spanish-American War in the Philippines. After returning to San Francisco, Bean adopted the Anglo-American name Jack Garland and spent the rest of his life working as a nurse and social worker. When Garland died in 1936, he created another media stir when it was revealed that his "true sex" was female. Historians have analyzed Garland's cross-gender identity as both lesbian and transgender.[154]

There are early cases of cross-dressing that fall somewhere between cross-gender entertainment and cross-gender identification. Theater historian Laurence Senelick writes about an early underground community he calls a "queer and transgender demi-monde" that was able to thrive because of its connection to mainstream cross-gender entertainment.[155] In the Barbary Coast and later the Tenderloin, explains Nan Alamilla Boyd, "female impersonators transported the language and gestures of a nascent queer culture to the popular stage," and "enabled audiences to negotiate the boundaries of a changing sexual landscape."[156] Gay and transgender women "passed as women" on stage, "but they also passed in real life, citing their performer status as a justification for cross-dressing."[157] One example of a cross-gender performer who was likely part of San Francisco's "queer demimonde" is Arthur Powell. In 1905, Powell and Charles Regal, while posing as brothers, shared a room at a lodging house in South of Market at 329 Minna Street (not extant). The South

147 Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 64.
148 Ibid.
149 Ibid.
150 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 72.
151 Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 64.
152 Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Bodies in Motion: Lesbian and Transsexual Histories," Martin B. Duberman, ed. *Queer World: The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 138.
153 "Wears Trousers But Her Tongue is Silent—A Mysterious Young Woman Who Lives in a River Ark at Stockton," *San Francisco Call*, August 24, 1897. Cited in Sueyoshi, "Mindful Masquerades," 75.
154 Boyd, "Bodies in Motion: Lesbian and Transsexual Histories," 138-139.
155 Laurence Senelick, "Boys and Girls Together: Subcultural Origins of Glamour Drag and Male Impersonation on the Nineteenth-Century Stage," in Lesley Ferris, ed., *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing* (London: Routledge, 1993), 85. Senelick is quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 34.
156 Ibid.
157 Ibid., 36.

of Market area before the 1906 earthquake contained the city's largest and densest collections of lodging houses, mostly occupied by young, single working-class men. Neighbors reported that Powell and Regal dressed alike, were inseparable, and "slept days and went out nights."[158] Arthur Powell was described as "extremely effeminate" and sometimes performed as a female impersonator in a local theater troupe. In April 1905, Charles Regal left San Francisco after allegedly stealing Powell's watches and diamond ring, leaving Powell so distraught that he committed suicide. Regal, either despondent over his companion's death or fearing consequences after initially being charged with Powell's murder also committed suicide, leaving their story shrouded in mystery.[159]

Cross-Dressing in the Popular Press and Public Response

Cross-dressing in the 19th and early 20th centuries, though relatively common, was often covered in newspapers when men and women were arrested for impersonating the opposite gender.[160] Up until the late 19th century, press coverage of cross-dressers rarely focused on sexuality—it was viewed as a one-off occurrence, a prank, a necessity to get a job, or, in the case of cross-gender entertainment, as part of one's job. Newspaper descriptions of female-to-male cross dressers often focused on the woman's underlying femininity and attractiveness.[161] All of this began to change in the late 19th century for a variety of reasons. First, this period coincided with increased dissemination of medical literature regarding nonnormative sexuality (as discussed in "Early Medical Theories and Literature on Homosexuality"). The popular press gained access to new scientific and psychoanalytical theories—especially theories about the degenerative nature of homosexuality and cross-dressing.[162] As a result, newspaper articles started to show "increasing suspicion" of a link between cross-dressing and sexuality.[163] According to historian Sharon Ullman, male-to-female cross-dressers in particular came under increased scrutiny as the newspapers "increasingly focused specifically on (homo)sexuality when reviewing, critiquing, and considering the character of men who performed theatrically as women."[164] By the turn of the century, newspapers were conflating cross-dressing with sexual deviancy and using descriptors borrowed from popular medical literature such as "sexual invert."

A second reason for changes in popular perceptions of cross-dressing, specifically in the publicity surrounding women dressing as men, was the women's reform movements of the late 19th century, which sought to expand women's voices in the public sphere and argued for control of social behaviors perceived as detrimental to women and children. As the movements grew in size and power, the male-dominated press accused the reformers of violating gender norms and described the women in derogatory terms, such as "mannish" or "sexless" or "man-woman." Male opponents of the women's reform movements believed that male culture and the traditional family structure were under attack. (Women's reform movements are discussed in detail in "Progressive Era Women's Reform Movements".) All of this reinforced the public's perception that there was something fundamentally wrong with women who deviated from traditional gender roles and customs. As a result, the popular press no longer feminized female-to-male cross dressers. Instead, articles focused on the women's underlying masculinity and newspapers increasingly linked women's cross-dressing to sexual deviance.

158 "Young Man Dies in Room and Murder is Suspected," *San Francisco Call*, August 16, 1905.
159 "His Death Increases Mystery," *San Francisco Call*, August 28, 1905.
160 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 57.
161 Ibid., 44.
162 Ibid., 33.
163 Ibid., 57.
164 Sharon Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 45-71. Quoted in Ibid., 74-75.

Finally, perceptions of cross-dressing (and ultimately, nonnormative sexuality) were also changed by a handful of legal cases in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that drew international media attention to homosexuality. First there was the Cleveland Street Scandal in London in 1889 that exposed an upper-class male brothel. Although not widely reported in the United States, this case did make the news and had a part in contributing to public perceptions about homosexuality. A few years later, in 1895, Oscar Wilde—who had made a high-profile appearance in San Francisco in 1882— was convicted of sodomy and gross indecency stemming from his "flamboyant and contemptuous manner" and a concern that he was corrupting young men, not just sexually but through his artistic lifestyle.[165] The Oscar Wilde trials received significant press coverage throughout the United States—by far the most widely disseminated press coverage up to this point about a public trial involving a gay man. As proof that the American press was paying attention to these international cases, when a male-to-female cross-dresser named Joseph "Maude" Gilligan was arrested in Denver in 1895, the *Denver Evening Post* compared the case to London's Cleveland Street Scandal and described Gilligan as a "real Oscar Wilde."[166] Major scandals involving gay sex in Portland, Oregon, in 1912, and Long Beach, California, in 1914, received wide media attention across the country. The case in Long Beach involved the arrest of 31 men for participating in a consensual oral sex ring. Peter Boag writes that these two events "crystallize[d] in the public mind the connection between males' effeminate gender activities, cross-dressing, and their homosexuality."[167]

As the popular press's perceptions of cross-dressing began to change, public perceptions shifted as well. Newspapers, according to Boag, "had a substantially more profound influence on popular views about cross-dressing" than anything else, including medical literature, which was largely inaccessible to lay readers.[168] Because of this influence, the American public around the turn of the 20th century began to question the motives behind cross-dressing. Historian Allan Bérubé notes, "homosexual activities in San Francisco, secret to begin with, were forced to go even further underground. The trials and jailing of Oscar Wilde drove them even deeper into the shadows."[169] Cross-dressing on the stage also was affected. Female-impersonating stage performers, Julian Eltinge for example, were forced to project strongly heterosexual and masculine images off stage to avoid speculation about their sexuality. In 1912, a writer for the *San Francisco Call* expressed his distaste for a cross-gender performance in San Francisco: "Personally I have always loathed a female impersonator. The anomaly of their behavior has this great disadvantage—the better they are the more I hate 'em…. And sex deception is repugnant fundamentally."[170]

By the 1920s and, especially, 1930s, the growing public perception linking cross-dressing to nonnormative sexuality forced the performances off of mainstream stages and into underground venues such as nightclubs and cabarets. Between 1935 and 1937, female impersonation was banned in large cities, including Chicago, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, New Orleans, Baltimore, and Los Angeles.[171] In San Francisco after the repeal of Prohibition, however, cross-gender performances became the primary form of entertainment in the nightclubs that catered to LGBTQ people (discussed in "Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco").

165 Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 393.
166 *Denver Evening Post*, April 25, 1895. Quoted in Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 83.
167 Ibid., 82.
168 Ibid., 42.
169 Allan Bérubé, "Lesbians and Gay Men in Early San Francisco: Notes Toward a Social History of Lesbians and Gay Men in America" (March 1979), Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
170 "One Impersonator Able to Escape Perversion," *San Francisco Call*, October 28, 1912.
171 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 38.

PROGRESSIVE ERA WOMEN'S REFORM MOVEMENTS

Introduction

The Progressive Era was a 30-year period of sweeping reform as American citizens fought to end public corruption and prostitution and for changes to political, economic, and social systems, including alcohol control, suffrage rights, labor conditions. Women were responsible for many of the reform movements, including in San Francisco where women (mostly white members of the middle and upper classes) "organized to outlaw prostitution, provide aid to the poor, protect child laborers, limit men's access to alcohol, and gain suffrage rights."[172] The Progressive Era culminated in major laws governing labor conditions and in constitutional amendments such as prohibition of alcohol (Eighteenth Amendment) and women's right to vote (Nineteenth Amendment).

For women in the 19th century—lower and middle-class women in particular—it was difficult to achieve financial independence because they had little or no access to higher education and were excluded from most occupations. This began to change with economic development and establishment of private colleges for predominantly white and upper class women. Mills College, established in Benicia, California in 1852 and moved to Oakland, California in 1871, was the first women's college west of the Rocky Mountains. The University of California at Berkeley admitted women beginning in 1868, and Stanford University admitted women when it opened it 1891.[173] In 1880, there were forty-thousand American women enrolled in 153 colleges and universities; fifty percent of the women who graduated in the following decade did not marry.[174] With college degrees, women began to fight for access to previously all-male professions in the fields of law, medicine, and architecture—yet they continued to be underrepresented compared to men. By 1890 there were 250,000 female elementary school teachers and 4,500 female physicians in the United States.[175] The ability to obtain careers led to financial independence for a small number of women, which made same-sex (homosexual and homosocial) relationships feasible because women did not have to rely financially on men. Of course, this drew scrutiny as people like Havelock Ellis made connections between women's access to education and an increase in lesbianism.[176] The San Francisco-based *Pacific Medical Journal* reported in 1902: "Female boarding schools and colleges are the great breeding grounds of … homosexuality."[177]

Two notable women in San Francisco who were able to maintain successful professional careers and live independently in the early 1900s were architect Emily Williams and her partner, metal artist Lillian Palmer.[178] Emily Williams began as a teacher, but after meeting journalist Lillian Palmer in 1898 she was inspired to pursue architecture. In 1901, Williams and Palmer moved to San Francisco where Williams studied drafting at the California School of Mechanical Arts (now Lick Wilmerding High School). Williams was unable to find work in the male-dominated architecture field, so she struck out on her own. Her first project was a vacation home for herself and Palmer in Pacific Grove, which she designed and constructed by hand, with Palmer's help, in 1904. Williams' sister, impressed by the cottage, commissioned three more cottages on adjacent lots. These projects led to many other residential buildings in Pacific Grove, Carmel, San Jose, and San Francisco,

172 Ibid., 39.

173 Starr, *California*, 158.

174 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 13-14. See note 6.

175 Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 386.

176 Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Discourses of Sexuality and Subjectivity: The New Woman, 1870-1936," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin B. Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey (New York: New American Library, 1989), 271.

177 Ibid.

178 Thanks to Inge Horton for the lead on Emily Williams. All information on Emily Williams is from Inge S. Horton, *Early Women Architects of the San Francisco Bay Area: The Lives and Careers of Fifty Professionals, 1890-1951* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., Publishers, 2010).

including homes for Dr. Anna Lukens, one of the first female physicians in the country, and Mrs. Jessie Jordan, wife of Stanford University President David Starr Jordan. The *San Jose Mercury and Herald* commented on Williams' work in 1906: "Miss Williams' houses have won her an enviable reputation.… They are not only beautiful and artistic, but convenient, livable and planned to save steps and with places to put things."[179]

In 1908, Williams and Palmer travelled to Europe where Williams studied classical architecture and Palmer practiced metal work. When they returned to San Francisco, Williams and Palmer shared a house with Palmer's parents at 1476 Willard Street (extant) until Williams designed a home for the two of them at 1037-39 Broadway, completed in 1913 (extant). Williams and Palmer lived together in the Broadway house through the 1920s; the 1920 census sheet lists Williams as "head" and Palmer as "boarder". The women also shared a Williams-designed vacation home in the Santa Cruz Mountains called "Wake Robin," which was destroyed by fire around 1940.

Lillian Palmer was an equally successful businesswoman. After returning from Europe, she opened The Palmer Shop at 1345 Sutter (not extant), where she manufactured and sold metal art, becoming known as San Francisco's "woman blacksmith" and one of the most well-regarded metal artists in the west. In 1915, Palmer and Williams received a commission from the women-owned Garnet Mining & Manufacturing Company of Minnesota to design an exhibition booth for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco; Palmer designed the light fixtures for the exhibit. The *San Francisco Chronicle* praised Palmer's work in 1917: "Miss Palmer leads one of the most successful electric fixtures organizations in this vicinity … Its substantial and widespread success is indicated by the fact that its electric fixtures are sought for and shipped to New York, Alaska and Mexico.[180] Palmer was active in the suffrage movement and was an ardent advocate for women in business. In 1916, she co-founded and was the first president of the Business and Professional Women's Club of San Francisco, originally headquartered at 54 Kearny Street but moved to 575 Market Street in 1920 (both buildings not extant).[181] Palmer was quoted as saying, "Women in business must play the game as men have established it."[182]

Sometime in the late 1930s, Williams and Palmer moved to a home designed by Williams in Los Gatos. Williams died there in 1942, Palmer in 1961. Palmer's obituary notes her lifelong relationship with William but described the two women as "very close friends."[183] The two women are buried together in Los Gatos.

Right to Vote

In the second half of the 19th century, American women started pushing for social reforms, especially the right to vote. Some of the earliest leaders in the suffrage movement started out as abolitionists. When the World's Anti-Slavery Convention was held in London in 1840, the eight female delegates from the United States were banned from attending because of their gender.[184] Understanding the similarities between their lack of basic rights and those of the enslaved African Americans they were fighting to free, two of the delegates—Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton—organized the first women's rights convention in 1848, held in Seneca Falls, New York. In 1869, Elizabeth Cady Stanton joined with Susan B. Anthony and formed the National Woman

179 *San Jose Mercury and Herald*, November 11, 1906. Quoted in Ibid.

180 "California Women in Public Life," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 17, 1917, 51.

181 Louis S. Lyon and Josephine Wilson, *Who's Who Among the Women of California, An Annual Devoted to the Representative Women of California* (San Francisco: Security Pub. Co.,1922).

182 "Woman, Couldn't Write, Turns Blacksmith: Miss Lillian Palmer, 'The Woman Blacksmith,'" *Prescott Evening Courier*, January 4, 1926.

183 Sue Kinney, "Lillian Palmer Dies; Charter BPWC Member," *Los Gatos Weekly*, 1961.

184 Lillian Faderman, *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America – A History* (Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 20.







ABOVE LEFT: Emily Williams and Lillian Palmer residence at 1037-39 Broadway (Photo by Shayne Watson)

ABOVE RIGHT: April 1907 *San Francisco Sunday Call* article about metal artist Lillian Palmer (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

RIGHT: Pioneering female architect Emily Williams (Courtesy Inge Horton)

Suffrage Association (NWSA) to campaign for equal rights in the workplace, marriage, and home, in addition to control of one's body and access to divorce. That same year, another group of women founded the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). The two organizations joined in 1890 to form the National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA). These suffrage groups, and later the National Women's Party, fought for decades until 1920 when finally the Nineteenth Amendment granted all women the right to vote. (Women in California were granted suffrage in 1911.)

Some of the most well known reformers were involved in long-term relationships with other women, including suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony; M. Carey Thomas, second president of Bryn Mawr College; and Jane Addams, cofounder of the Hull House settlement house in Chicago. Historian Lillian Faderman documents the reformers' same-sex relationships but cautions against labeling them as *lesbian* because lesbian as an identity did not yet exist. Instead, Faderman uses *lesbian* as an adjective to describe their "intense woman-to-woman relating and commitments," and notes that their "chief sexual and/or affectional and domestic behaviors" were shared only with other women.[185]

San Franciscans joined the suffrage fight early. One of the first women in the American West to campaign for women's rights was Laura de Force Gordon, a trailblazing lawyer and newspaper editor whose speech in 1868 at Platt's Hall on the corner of Montgomery and Bush (not extant) was one of the first public statements in the West to address equal rights for women. In 1870, she helped found the California Woman Suffrage Society, which met regularly in San Francisco at Dashaway Hall on Post Street (not extant). At an early gathering of the Woman Suffrage Society in 1870, a woman read a "declaration of independence modeled after that of 1776" that declared "women to be free and equal" to men and "independent of their oppressive laws and usages."[186]

In 1871, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton made their first trip to San Francisco and were hosted by Governor Leland Stanford at the Grand Hotel on the corner of Market and New Montgomery (not extant). On another trip to San Francisco in May 1895, Susan B. Anthony attended the second annual Women's Congress of the Pacific Coast at Golden Gate Hall on Sutter Street (not extant). Presided over by philanthropist and education reformer Sarah B. Cooper, the multi-day conference was featured in a full-page spread in the *San Francisco Call*:

> Women, women! All kinds and degrees of women. They filled halls and balcony; they stood against the walls and … filled the aisles. They were enthusiastic and hopeful and full of excitement … Before [the conference] concluded its first day's labors, the home, the new woman, motherhood and child training, and that universally interesting subject, marriage, were handled vigorously—the latter, in several instances, without gloves.[187]

Susan B. Anthony was the star of the show. Her seat at the president's table was "as gorgeous as a regal throne … tied with orange ribbons—the suffrage color."[188] Other famous suffragists in attendance were Dr. Anna Shaw (known as Anthony's "first lieutenant"); Dr. Millicent Shinn, a child psychologist and the first female to receive a Ph.D. from the University of California; and Laura de Force Gordon.

185 Ibid., 3.
186 *San Francisco Call*, May 20, 1870.
187 "Woman's Congress 1895," *San Francisco Call*, May 21, 1895.
188 Ibid.





TOP: Image from May 1895 *San Francisco Call* article about Susan B. Anthony and the second annual Women's Congress of the Pacific Coast at Golden Gate Hall (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

LEFT: Image from 1912 *San Francisco Call* article about dress-reform advocate Dr. Mary Walker, shown in tuxedo at right (California Digital Newspaper Collection)

Dress Reform

The campaign for women's dress reform in the 19th century relates to female-to-male cross-dressing. Beginning in the Victorian period, reformers pushed for the right of women to wear clothing that was more comfortable and practical (e.g., loose-fitting pants or "bloomers") than the restrictive costumes popular at the time (e.g., full-length dresses with extremely tight corsets). Women also fought for the right to wear practical clothes for activities such as bicycle riding and swimming. One of the lead proponents of dress reform in the late 19th century was Dr. Mary Walker, who worked as an army surgeon before becoming a reformer. Walker dressed in self-designed "masculine" clothes for most of her life and went around the country lecturing about women's rights, including dress reform. The dress reform movement was largely unsuccessful, as the media and the public in the late 19th and early 20th centuries grew increasingly dismissive of (and even hostile toward) women's reform movements, especially any movements that disrupted gender norms. Newspapers depicted Walker as a curiosity and sexologists assumed she was a lesbian, referring to her as an "invert." Lillian Faderman references a 1902 article in a San Francisco medical journal that referred to Walker as "the most distinguished sexual invert in the United States."[189] (Faderman also points out that many of Walker's relationships were with women, including lawyer Belva Lockwood, the first woman to argue before the Supreme Court, with whom Walker lived for several years.[190]) When Walker was on a lecture tour in the Bay Area, she was received with great fanfare. "The sensation ... yesterday, was the appearance of Mrs. Dr. Mary Walker, dressed in a nondescript style of apparel, being a pair of pants and a singular appearing coat or cloak, made of black silk … and she trotted along, flanked on either side by strong-minded looking females of the maiden persuasion."[191]

New Women

Women who were involved in these early reform movements became known as New Women; an 1888 article in the journal *Alpha* characterized such women in these words:

> [A] woman who has open before her the broad avenues of usefulness, who has ambition and energy to develop her powers, who will not be satisfied to tie herself down in the soul-cramping marriage … has learned [that] woman's highest duty to herself and humanity demands her full development as *Woman*, not as *Wife* or a *Mother*.[192]

The idea of educated, financially independent women not committing themselves to marriage or motherhood was too progressive for most late-19th century Americans; the public response to the New Women was brutal. Psychiatrist William Lee Howard equated New Women to lesbians, saying "the female possessed of masculine ideas about independence" and the "female sexual pervert, are simply different degrees of the same class—degenerates."[193] Havelock Ellis accused reformers of "encouraging women to abandon marriage and motherhood."[194] These responses stemmed from a fear of female domination, especially domination by women who did not conform to gender norms, according to historian David Greenberg. "The preservation of male domination in the face of women's aspirations to equality depended on men possessing qualities that clearly differentiated them from women. It consequently became necessary to police … women who exhibited them."[195]

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189 Faderman, *To Believe in Women*, 259.
190 Ibid.
191 "Mrs. Dr. Mary Walker," *Daily Alta California,* September 3, 1875.
192 Quoted in Faderman, *To Believe in Women*, 256.
193 Quoted in Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 41.
194 Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 387.
195 Ibid., 388.

Newspapers accused New Women of intentionally trying to overshadow (or become) men, driving men to fear a loss of male privilege. New Women were decried as sabotaging the traditional male and female relationship.[196] As was the case with Dr. Mary Walker, the media painted New Women as sexless or masculine, calling them "man-woman," or "mannish" or "manly." An 1895 article in the *San Francisco Call* addressed a heated public debate about women wanting to wear pants when riding bicycles and for other sports activities: The "'sporting woman,' the 'mannish woman,' and the 'bicycle woman' bring disgrace on the true woman … The 'mannish' woman [is] a creature entirely useless and an unnecessary evil in this country, which should not be encouraged."[197] Later in 1895, the *San Francisco Call* featured an editorial by a Presbyterian minister:

> The New Woman … may be manly, for manliness is a virtue common to both sexes; but a mannish woman is intolerable, and mannishness ought not to be a quality of any woman. Common sense teaches that comfort, safety and propriety demand proper garments for [certain activities], but there is no cause today, nor has there ever been, for a woman to obliterate the distinction which God has intended to make perpetual.[198]

Also in 1895, the *San Francisco Call*'s coverage of the Women's Congress of the Pacific Coast focused on the masculine aspects of many of the female attendees, including describing Susan B. Anthony's "lieutenant" Dr. Anna Shaw as "manly."[199]

In San Francisco, the New Woman was nicknamed the "Frisco Girl," an image that historian Amy Sueyoshi says was promoted in direct opposition to the East Coast New Woman, which some San Franciscans decried as "unpleasant."[200]

BOHEMIANISM TO BEATS

San Francisco's bohemian roots extend to the middle of the 19th century, but the concept of bohemianism persisted well into the 20th century. After the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, San Francisco's earliest LGBTQ spaces such as Finocchio's, Mona's, and the Black Cat Café were often described as "bohemian," meaning that patrons were a mix of artists, writers, performers, and LGBTQ people. In a sense, San Francisco's bohemian community became the city's LGBTQ community, so background on bohemianism is worth describing here.

The term bohemian is defined as a person—usually artists, writers, journalists, and actors—living an unconventional, often economically marginal life, typically in an enclave with others. The concept was first introduced in France in the early 19th century when communities began forming around restaurants and cafes frequented by creative and artistic people. The idea caught on in the United States in New York, where the bohemians were a group of artists and writers who congregated at a bar called Pfaff's. The group included gay poet Walt Whitman and male-impersonating actress Adah Isaacs Menken, who performed in San Francisco in the 1860s. After the Civil War, some of the original New York bohemians moved to San Francisco.

San Francisco's First Bohemians

One of the first proponents of a bohemian community in San Francisco was poet and journalist Bret Harte. Harte arrived in San Francisco in 1860 and was hired at the *Golden Era* newspaper,

196 Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 47.
197 *San Francisco Call*, June 9, 1895, 2.
198 "Reverend D.B. Greigg, Presbyterian minister, Baltimore, MD," *San Francisco Call*, October 1, 1895, 11.
199 "Woman's Congress 1895," *San Francisco Call*, May 21, 1895.
200 Amy Sueyoshi, comments on Draft LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, December 29, 2014.

described as the "flagship of the city's flowering literary scene."[201] Writing under the pseudonym "the Bohemian," Harte wrote about the New York bohemian scene and set out to replicate it in San Francisco.[202] Harte identified strongly with the concept of bohemia. It was "more than just a byword for wild living. It came to represent a creative alternative to the mundane and the mercenary in American life."[203] He wrote of San Francisco: "Bohemia has never been located geographically, but any clear day when the sun is going down, if you mount Telegraph Hill, you shall see its pleasant valleys and cloud-capped hills glittering in the West like the Spanish castles of Titbottom."[204]

Harte was joined at the *Golden Era* by other famous earlier literary figures that also promoted the concept of bohemia: Mark Twain, Ina Coolbrith, and California's earliest known gay author, Charles Warren Stoddard. When the *Overland Monthly* was started in 1868, Harte, Coolbrith, and Stoddard were the first writers. These three individuals, with the help and support of Mark Twain and Unitarian minister Thomas Starr King, are credited with founding San Francisco's literary culture. "What connected them was their contempt for custom, their restlessness with received wisdom. They belonged to Bohemia because they didn't belong anywhere else."[205] Outside of the newspaper offices, San Francisco's first bohemian headquarters was Ina Coolbrith's house on Russian Hill (not extant).[206] Her regular salons "formed the core of literary San Francisco" for several years in the 1860s.[207] Stoddard, who became lifelong friends with Coolbrith, said he "was nowhere more at home than" at Coolbrith's home.[208]

Charles Warren Stoddard

Charles Warren Stoddard was one of the first writers in the United States to speak relatively openly about his homosexuality. Born in New York in 1843, Stoddard's family moved to San Francisco in 1855. Stoddard was working at a bookstore on Montgomery Street in 1862 when he began submitting poetry to the *Golden Era* under the pseudonym Pip Pepperpod. His poetry caught the attention of Thomas Starr King, the Unitarian minister and very influential proponent of literary arts in San Francisco. King became a strong supporter of Stoddard, inviting him to participate in a lecture series on American poetry. Through King, Stoddard was introduced to Bret Harte, Ina Coolbrith, and Mark Twain.

Stoddard was remarkably aware of his homosexuality, which was rare in mid-19th century America. From a young age, he was bullied for being "too girly."[209] When male-impersonating actress and New York bohemian Adah Isaacs Menken performed in San Francisco, Stoddard wrote in his journals that he "fantasized about inhabiting a woman's body, so that his 'physique' could be 'made whole.'"[210] He derived inspiration from gay poet Walt Whitman, especially the veiled homosexual references in the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*.[211] Stoddard's friend, Charles Phillips, wrote about him: "If the Eternal Feminine is an unremitting question mark, then Stoddard should have been born a woman. He has—is—a woman's soul in all its strange and endless changeableness."[212]

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201 Ben Tarnoff, The Bohemians: *Mark Twain and the San Francisco Writers Who Reinvented American Literature* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2014), 45.
202 Quoted in Ibid., 58.
203 Ibid., 46.
204 Bret Harte quoted in Ibid.
205 Ibid., 47.
206 Coolbrith lived at 1604 Taylor Street (1901-1906), 17 Macondray Lane (1907-1909), and 1067 Broadway (1909-1919).
207 Tarnoff, *The Bohemians*, 119.
208 Ibid., 120.
209 Ibid.
210 Quoted in Ibid., 57.
211 Ibid., 43.
212 Brian McGinty, "Charles Warren Stoddard: The Pleasure of His Company," *California Historical Quarterly* 52 (Summer 1973), 161.

In 1864, in the middle of a nervous breakdown, Stoddard travelled to Hawaii where he formed a deep friendship with native Hawaiian Kane-Aloha. Stoddard wrote about his relationship with Kane-Aloha (now understood to be homosexual) and noted that they "reveled in riotous living. We had certainly transgressed the unwritten law but we were not in the least sorry for it."[213] Stoddard said that first trip to Hawaii changed "the whole current" of his life.[214]

Stoddard's first book of poetry, *Poems*, was published in 1867; it was a collaboration between Anton Roman, Stoddard's friend and publisher, Bret Harte, and artist William Keith. In 1869, as a contributor to the *Overland Monthly*, Stoddard published an article titled "A South Sea Idyll," a homoerotic short story about his experiences in Hawaii. In 1873, Stoddard's collection of writings from Tahiti and Hawaii were published under the title *South-Sea Idylls.* In 1903, Stoddard published *For the Pleasure of His Company: An Affair of the Misty City*, an autobiographical novel with homosexual themes set in San Francisco.

Stoddard mingled with both writers and artists, forming strong friendships with Jules Tavernier and portraitist Joseph Strong and his artist sister, Elizabeth—all of whom had studios at 728 Montgomery Street (extant), a headquarters for artists in San Francisco well into the 20th century. Stoddard was also friends with writers Mary Austin, Joaquin Miller, and George Sterling.

Stoddard formed an intimate relationship with poet Yone Noguchi in the late 1890s. Noguchi arrived in San Francisco from Japan in 1893 and soon fell in with the bohemian circle, living for a period at Joaquin Miller's home in Oakland.[215] Noguchi and Stoddard corresponded through letters before meeting in person. Historian Amy Sueyoshi writes about Stoddard falling hard for Noguchi, and "unashamedly gr[owing] explicit about his attraction for Yone … yearn[ing] to embrace Yone in person and keep him by his side forever."[216] Stoddard called Noguchi "all beautiful" and "all worthy of love."[217] Noguchi was equally enthralled and described Stoddard's letters as "moonbeams" lighting his "lonely walks" at night.[218] The two poets finally met in person in 1900. Although Noguchi remembered the meeting as "heavenly" and a "dream realized," the two men never became lovers.[219] As Sueyoshi explains, Noguchi, who dressed in Western clothes, disappointed Stoddard's taste for the "exotic," especially "Orientalism." Noguchi recalled: "I am positive he prayed that I would come to him in some Japanese robe at the least."[220]

Stoddard lived in San Francisco off and on until the late 1880s, moving between apartments at 1005 Powell (1868-69), 514 Sutter (1872), 42 Hawthorne (1876 and 1883), 3 Vernon Place (1879-80), and 616 Harrison Street (1880-81) (none extant).[221] By 1905 he had given up on San Francisco: "San Francisco I cannot stomach. It goes quite against the grain."[222] Stoddard died in Monterey in 1909.

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213 Quoted in Tarnoff, *The Bohemians*, 93.

214 Ibid., 86.

215 Amy Sueyoshi, "Intimate Inequalities: Interracial Affection and Same-sex Love in the 'Heterosexual' Life of Yone Noguchi, 1897–1909, *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29 (Summer 2010), 26.

216 Ibid.

217 Charles Warren Stoddard, Washington, D.C., to Yone Noguchi, London, January 31, 1903, in Ikuko Atsumi, ed., *Yone Noguchi: Collected English Letters* (Tokyo, 1975). Quoted in Ibid., 27-28.

218 Yone Noguchi, San Francisco, to Charles Warren Stoddard, July 27, 1897, HM37887, Huntington Manuscripts, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Quoted in Ibid., 28.

219 Yone Noguchi, Oakland, CA, to Charles Warren Stoddard, September 24, 1900, Special Collections, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley. Quoted in Ibid., 28.

220 Yone Noguchi, "In the Bungalow with Charles Warren Stoddard: A Protest against Modernism," *National Magazine*, December 1904, 306. Quoted in Ibid., 29.

221 San Francisco city directories.

222 Charles Warren Stoddard quoted in McGinty, "Charles Warren Stoddard," 163.



Charles Warren Stoddard (Courtesy Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley)

Bohemian Club

After the first wave of bohemians established the idea of bohemianism in the city, a group of journalists, artists, and musicians formalized the concept by founding the Bohemian Club in 1872. The first clubhouse was located at the Astor House on Sacramento near Webb (not extant), but the club soon moved to 430 Pine Street over the California Market (not extant), and then finally to its current location at 624 Taylor Street (extant). Founding members included Thomas Newcomb, editor at the *San Francisco Call*, author Henry George, poet Ambrose Bierce, and Arpad Haraszthy, a pioneer California winemaker. Honorary member Charles Warren Stoddard participated in some of the club's early events, including the first "mid-summer high jinx" in 1878 at the Bohemian Grove on the Russian River. Robert Louis Stevenson and Oscar Wilde's visits to the club in the late 1870s and early 1880s "decisively shaped the bohemian movement in San Francisco."[223]

The Bohemians initially pledged to exclude businessmen from the club—the club's motto is "Weaving Spiders Come Not Here"—but the rule was eventually modified and the Bohemians became less focused on artists and more a club for wealthy businessmen who could afford to support the arts. When Oscar Wilde visited the club in 1882, it is rumored that he remarked: "I never saw so many well-dressed, well-fed, business-looking Bohemians in my life."[224]

Montgomery Street: San Francisco's Bohemian Artery

Beginning in the 1850s, San Francisco's artistic and literary community was located in a remarkably cohesive district along Montgomery Street near Jackson Square and North Beach. Many of the city's writers and artists had offices located in or surrounding the Montgomery Block, a four-story building located on the 600 Block of Montgomery Street (not extant). Most of the earliest bohemian hotels—the Lick House, Russ House, and Occidental Hotel—were located on Montgomery Street. Chileon Beach's bookstore where Charles Warren Stoddard worked for two-and-a-half years was on Montgomery. Anton Roman & Co. Publishers, the bookseller that started the *Overland Monthly* and published Stoddard's *Poems* was at 417-419 Montgomery (not extant). Montgomery was also home to the studios of some of the city's most well known artists, including photographers Edward Muybridge and Carleton Watkins.[225]

The Montgomery Block, an enormous building filling the entire east side of the block at 600 Montgomery Street where the Transamerica Pyramid exists today, was an early and lasting headquarters for bohemians in San Francisco. Built in 1853, the building initially housed offices on the upper floors and a public bathhouse and saloons below.[226] Toward the last quarter of the 19th century, newspapers and bohemians moved in. City directories show artists working in the Montgomery Block as early as the 1870s, including Elizabeth M. Walton, one of San Francisco's earliest female artists. Charles Warren Stoddard also is rumored to have lived there.[227]

The Montgomery Block became a full-fledged bohemian mecca when a restaurant called Coppa & Piantanida opened on the ground floor at 622 Montgomery Street around 1903. Coppa's, as it became known, was owned and operated by Guiseppe (Joseph) "Papa" Coppa and Felix Piantanida. Xavier Martinez, whose studio was one block north of Coppa's, became a regular and was instrumental in forging a bohemian community around the restaurant and the building.

223 Starr, *California*, 154.

224 Roy Morris, Jr., *Declaring His Genius: Oscar Wilde in North America* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 140.

225 San Francisco city directories.

226 Ibid.

227 This could not be verified in city directories.

Martinez spent time with the bohemian community in Paris and must have seen a similarity in San Francisco's Latin Quarter, as that part of Montgomery was known. A group of bohemians painted the interior walls of Coppa's with cartoons and quotations from Rabelais, *Alice in Wonderland*, Kant, George Sterling, Whistler, and a line from Oscar Wilde's *Salome*: "Something terrible is going to happen."[228] A frieze by Martinez that lined the top of the walls featured a series of black cats, a symbol of bohemianism based on the famous Le Chat Noir café in Paris. Below the cats was a list of names of local bohemians and famous literary figures, including Sappho, the Ancient Greek poet who was famous for her expressions of love for women and for the introduction of the word "lesbian," derived from the island of Lesbos where she lived and led a female community. A table in the center of Coppa's was reserved for nightly meetings of the bohemians, a scene described by the *San Francisco Call* in 1905:

> You see, San Francisco's coming on! The spirit that moves men to paint moves men to love good wine, a good dinner, a good companion, a good song, a good story. This is the Latin spirit that's impregnating us, and it is this influence that promises to expand our Puritanical notions of men and things.[229]

Coppa's became so famous that tourists and curious locals flooded in to gawk at the bohemians—a theme repeated 30 years later at queer nightclubs such as Mona's and Finocchio's. Artist Peter Garnett painted a mural on the wall poking fun at the tension between the bohemians and the tourists.

The 1906 earthquake and fire had a lasting impact on the bohemian community in San Francisco. The San Francisco Art Association's Mark Hopkins Institute of Art—the city's first school for arts—was destroyed. Many of the city's artist studios were burned or looted. Most artists left San Francisco permanently, moving to the East Bay, Carmel on the Monterey Peninsula, Los Angeles, New York, or Europe. The Montgomery Block was one of the few buildings downtown to survive the devastation, but Joseph Coppa decided to move his restaurant to 423 Pine Street (not extant). San Francisco political and business leaders took advantage of the post-earthquake devastation to carry out campaigns to rebuild the city anew and do away with bohemian hangouts:

> Montgomery [S]treet has changed…for the better. In its entire length there is not one resurrection of the one time gay and festive places where long haired bohemians foregathered, nor one studio where art may be lured, alackaday for Bohemia! [I]n the place of the timeworn, historic rookeries and shanties which sheltered these idealists immense stone buildings are rising.[230]

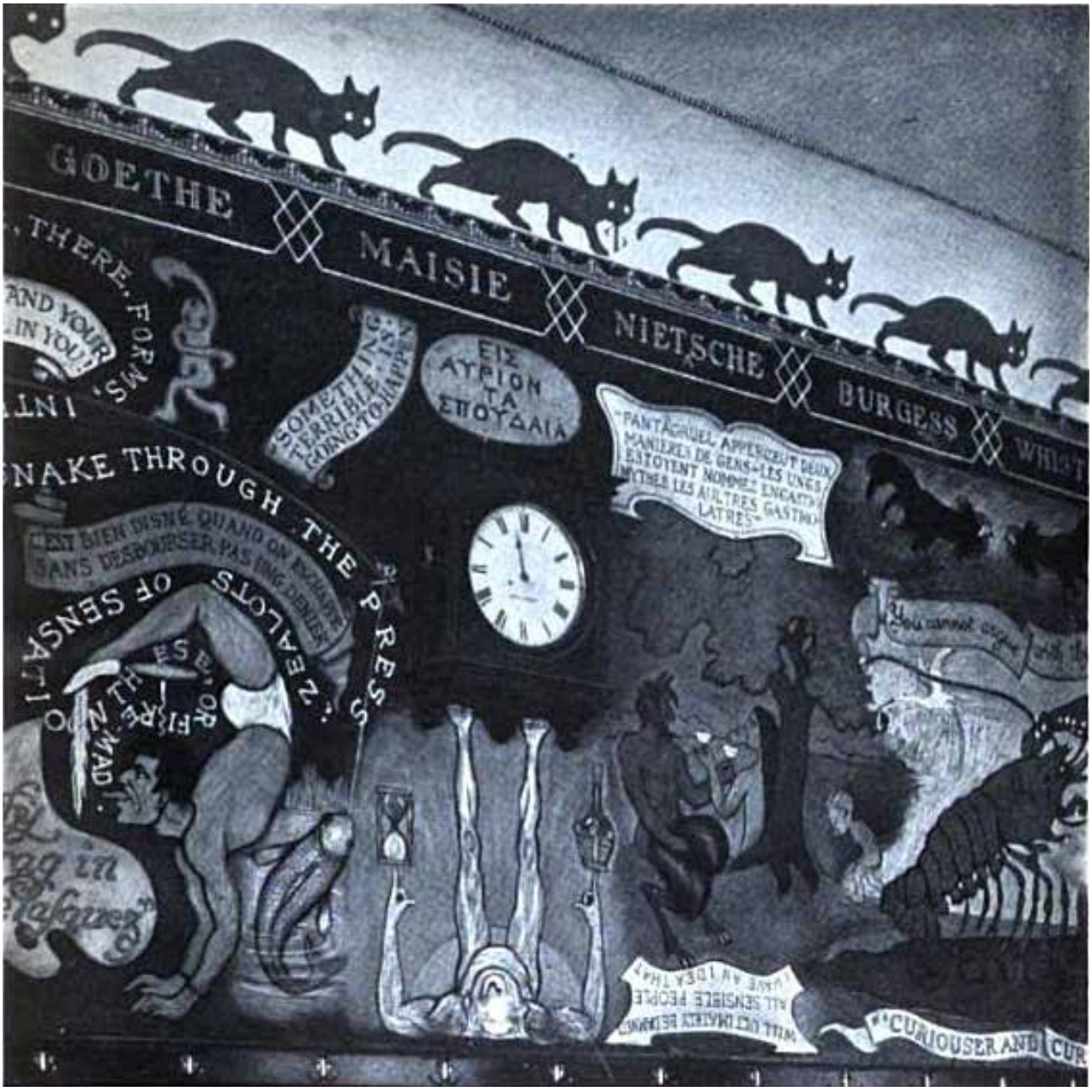
The description above by the *San Francisco Call* in 1908 was true for the southerly section of Montgomery Street in the financial district where new multistory office buildings were rising, but not for the blocks between Clay and Pacific, where the bohemian community became even stronger after the earthquake. With the addition of so many new office buildings closer to Market Street, rents dropped at the Montgomery Block and other artistic headquarters such as 617, 712, and 728 Montgomery (the latter two are extant). By the 1920s, that section of San Francisco was once again a thriving artistic and literary community.

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228 Mabel Croft Deering, "San Francisco's Famous Bohemian Restaurant," *The Critic: An Illustrated Monthly Review of Literature, Art and Life* XLVIII (January-June 1906).

229 Laura Bride Powers, "Among the Interesting San Francisco Studios is that of the Mersfelders," *San Francisco Call,* June 11, 1905, 19.

230 *San Francisco Call*, April 12, 1908.



Mural by artist Porter Garnett in Coppa's at 622 Montgomery Street titled, "Father Time under the Clock" (From a 1906 article by Mabel Croft Deering)

Post-Earthquake Expansion of Bohemian Community

By the 1890s, the word "bohemian" became a catchall term for anything new, artistic, or edgy. Bohemian cafes and hotels opened across the city, including the Bohemia Café at 711 Market Street (not extant), the Bohemia Hotel at 1800 Powell Street (not extant) in the heart of the Latin Quarter (North Beach), and La Boheme Café at 643 Montgomery Street (not extant) across from the Montgomery Block.[231] Many of the bohemian restaurants followed the Coppa's model, including the original Black Cat Café.

The Black Cat Café opened after the 1906 earthquake in the Tenderloin at 56 Mason Street (extant)—a building constructed in 1908 near the intersection of Eddy. This intersection before and after the earthquake was an entertainment center hosting the Olympia Theater, known for vaudeville; the Tivoli Theater, one of San Francisco's grandest theaters before it was destroyed in 1906; and the Old Poodle Dog restaurant, one of the city's most famous early French restaurants. The Black Cat Café could have been modeled on the bohemian café in the Montmartre neighborhood of Paris called *Le Chat Noir*. San Franciscans were exposed to *Le Chat Noir* in the *San Francisco Call* in the 1890s, which described the café as home to the "Bohemian with long hair and unkempt beard," and popular with "incoherents…decadents and other eccentric people."[232] San Francisco's Black Cat Café was one of many entertainment spaces that opened downtown after the 1906 earthquake. In part simply a continuation of the bohemian trend started at Coppa's, the exoticism of the new restaurants also was due to Mayor Patrick Henry McCarthy's campaign to make San Francisco the "Paris of America."[233]

The Black Cat Café opened in November 1911. Charles Ridley was the proprietor and orchestra leader. It featured French dinners and performances "startling for originality and uniqueness" with waiters "costumed in carnival dress" who promised to "outshine anything ever before attempted … in San Francisco."[234] Thanks to the Black Cat, the intersection of Mason and Eddy became a "mecca of the café crowds."[235] By 1913, the *San Francisco Call* described the Black Cat as "the most popular entertainment [resort] in bohemia … unsurpassed for popularity."[236] The Black Cat Café closed in May 1921 as part of a crackdown on vice in the Barbary Coast, North Beach, and the Tenderloin. "There will be no more dancing at the Black Cat Cafe," the *Call* reported. "This was a decision of the Police Commission … to sweep Mason Street … clean of cafe dancing permanently."[237] Bohemians in San Francisco fought to keep the café open, including author Peter Clark McFarlane and muckraking journalist William Henry Irwin.[238] A second Black Cat Café opened in North Beach after the repeal of Prohibition (discussed in detail in "Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco").

231 San Francisco city directories.

232 *San Francisco Call*, January 8, 1893.

233 "Making Plans for Hilarity and Gay Life: Amusement Caterers Preparing to Put the 'Paris of America' Idea to Actual Test," *San Francisco Call*, December 19, 1909.

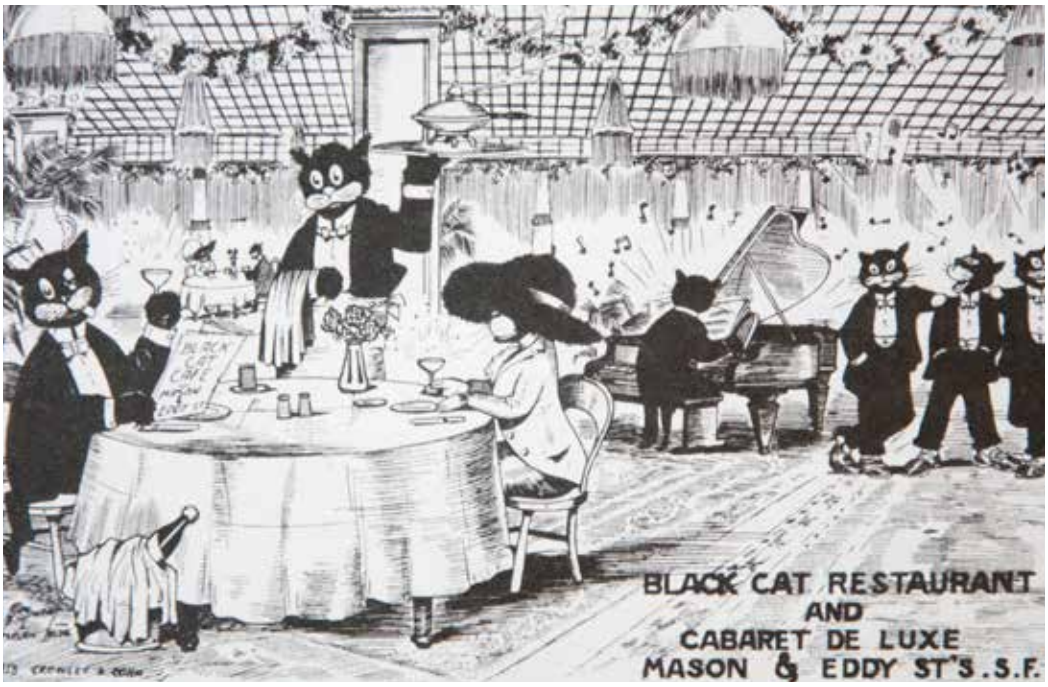
234 Black Cat Cafe Will Celebrate Anniversary," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 8, 1913. Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

235 "Bohemian Section of the San Francisco Sunday Call," *San Francisco Call*, February 25, 1913.

236 "Black Cat Offers Great Show," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 8, 1913. Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

237 "Police Commission Stops Cafe Dances," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 26, 1921. Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

238 "Dance License for Down Town Café Rejected," *San Francisco Call*, November 15, 1921. Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.





TOP: Historic postcard for the Black Cat at Mason and Eddy (Courtesy Tenderloin Museum)

BOTTOM: The building at 56 Mason that once housed the Black Cat in the ground floor space (Photo by Shayne Watson)

San Francisco's Second Wave of Bohemians

When Walt Whitman released the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855, it not only became one of the country's most important works of poetry, but it presented provocative notions about sexuality. Whitman's work described the concept of "adhesiveness" (same-sex romantic affections) between men, celebrating "manly attachment" and "the need [of the love] of comrades."[239] As a result of the negativity surrounding *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman lost his federal government job at the Indian Bureau, but his poetry inspired other gay and lesbian authors throughout the world, including Charles Warren Stoddard and Oscar Wilde, who called Whitman "the herald of a new era" and the "precursor of a fresh type."[240] And in turn, Whitman, Stoddard, and Oscar Wilde served as inspiration for two members of San Francisco's second wave of queer literary bohemians, gay novelist and short-story writer Clarkson Crane and lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow.

Clarkson Crane

Clarkson Crane was an early openly gay writer living and working in San Francisco in the 1920s and 1930s. Born in Chicago in 1894, Crane moved with his family to California around 1910. While at UC Berkeley in the 1910s, Crane wrote for campus publications *The Occident*, *The Pelican*, and the yearbook, *Blue and Gold*. He joined the United States Army in 1917, working as an ambulance driver during World War I in France and receiving a distinguished French military honor, the Croix de Guerre. He was honorably discharged at the Presidio of San Francisco in 1919. After the war, Crane began his writing career, submitting short stories to various magazines. His wrote his first novel, *The Western Shore*, while he was living in Paris in the mid-1920s. *The Western Shore* focuses on college life in the 1910s and is notable in the context of LGBTQ history for featuring a homosexual main character, a professor teaching English at UC Berkeley in 1919. Crane wrote nine novels, but only three were published. Many of his unpublished novels—including *The Cambrians*, *The Lotus Eater*, *Passing Stranger*, and *The One and the Many*—feature gay and lesbian characters and themes.[241]

Crane joined San Francisco's bohemian community when he moved to the city in 1926. He taught at the University of California Extension School and worked as night librarian at the Mechanics' Institute Library on Post Street. That same year, Crane met his partner of 47 years, Clyde Evans. Soon after arriving in the city, Crane moved to an apartment at 34 Joice Street (extant). Lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow lived at 150 Joice (no longer extant), and the two formed a deep and enduring friendship.[242] During the Great Depression—by 1934 at the earliest—Crane rented a studio in the Montgomery Block where he hosted writing courses sponsored by the Works Progress Administration. One of Crane's favorite gay haunts was Ocean Beach, especially the southernmost area known as Mussel Rock Beach, a nude beach and meeting spot south of Fort Funston. Crane was a regular at the piano bar called the Red Lizard at 545 Washington Street and the Black Cat at 710 Montgomery Street, both across the street from the Montgomery Block. Clarkson Crane and Clyde Evans left San Francisco for the East Bay in the mid-to-late 1930s. Clarkson Crane died in 1971.

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239 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 14.

240 Quoted in Ibid., 15.

241 Biographical information by Marjorie Bryer and Willie Walker, "Finding Aid to the Clarkson Crane Papers," Clarkson Crane Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

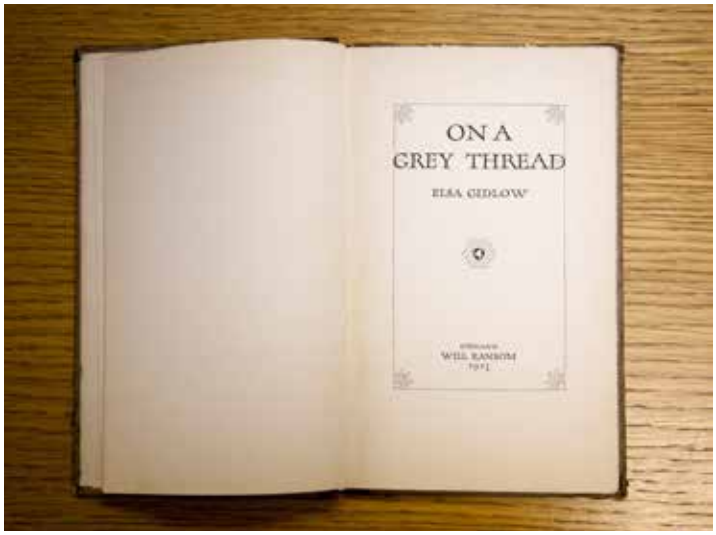
242 Elsa Gidlow, *Elsa, I Come with My Songs: The Autobiography of Elsa Gidlow* (San Francisco: Booklegger Press, 1986), 181-182. See also Clyde Evans, interviewed by Phil Miller, December 29, 1997 and February 21, 1998, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

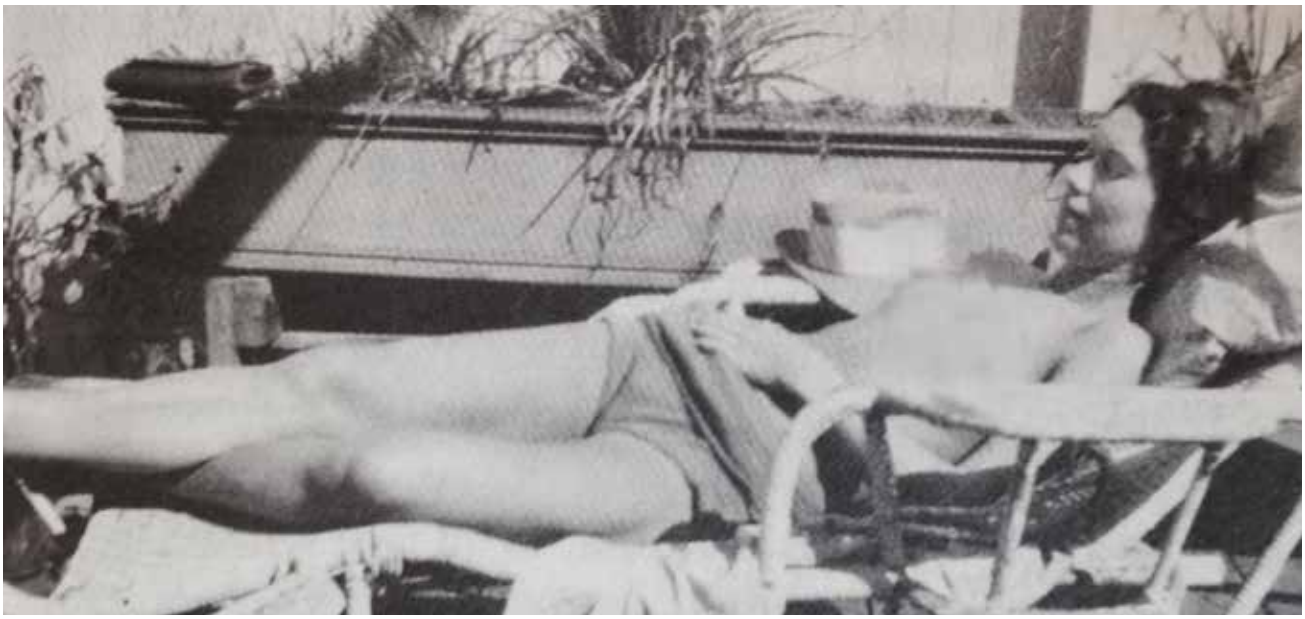


LEFT: Gay author Clarkson Crane (Courtesy UC Berkeley)

BELOW: The GLBT Historical Society's copy of lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow's *On A Grey Thread* (Photo by Shayne Watson)

BOTTOM: Elsa Gidlow sunbathing on the roof of her apartment building at 150 Joice Street (From Gidlow's autobiography)





Elsa Gidlow

Lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow was born in England in 1898, and she grew up in Yorkshire, England, and in Canada. When she was in her early 20s, Gidlow moved to New York, where she found a job at the progressive *Pearson's* magazine. In 1923, she published a book of poetry titled *On a Grey Thread* that featured romantic poems dedicated to her first lesbian love. Literary historians recognize the book as the first book of openly lesbian poetry published in North America. In one of Gidlow's more explicit poems, "Mnasidika" (1917), she writes about lying with her female lover, touching her skin, playing with her hair, and "[t]hose rising hills where [her] breasts begin."[243]

In 1924, Gidlow began a relationship with the second love her life, Violet Winifred Leslie Henry-Anderson (nicknamed Tommy). Gidlow and Tommy moved to San Francisco and lived in the middle flat of a three-story building at 150 Joice Street for 13 years. Gidlow described Joice as a "charming, alley-like short street…with a beautiful overgrown sunken garden."[244] When not writing poetry, Gidlow earned a living by working as an editor for the *Pacific Coast Journal of Nursing*.

Elsa Gidlow was inspired by English lesbian poet and novelist Radclyffe Hall after reading Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), an international best seller about the struggles of an upper-class British lesbian. "I knew nothing about [Hall], imagining she might be a struggling writer like myself; I resolved to write to her, expressing appreciation for the courage it must have taken to so expose herself."[245] Gidlow sent Hall a sampling of her lesbian love poems and Hall responded with an invitation to meet her in Paris. After meeting Hall there in 1928, Gidlow said, "It greatly excited me to personally meet another lesbian besides myself writing about our passions and tribulations. Alone on the literary island of heterosexuality, it was like sighting a friendly ship on the horizon."[246] While in Europe, Gidlow was introduced to Magnus Hirschfeld at his world-renowned Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin; Hirschfeld led Gidlow on a personal tour of the Institute's archives and museum of erotica.[247] Gidlow was also inspired by an early work of lesbian fiction by Elizabeth Bowen called *The Hotel* (1927). She described it as a "study of … types fairly new to literature though not to life … the Lesbian."[248]

Before moving out of the city and founding Druid Heights, an artistic community in Muir Woods, Gidlow spent many years exploring San Francisco. "The city held a bohemianism of easygoing unconventionality. There was an indefinable atmosphere of acceptance of one's right to be oneself."[249] Gidlow's journals offer glimpses into a pre-Prohibition lesbian life in San Francisco, including stories about Gidlow and Tommy meeting lesbians in Chinatown during a festival and having dinner at the home of a lesbian couple in the 1920s. In 1928, Gidlow wrote: "Had lunch alone at Mandarin Café [400 Grant Avenue] and watched the girls dancing together."[250] Gidlow also describes her treasured experiences with Dr. Margaret Chung, the first known Chinese American female physician, who sometimes dressed in masculine clothes but whose sexuality has been a subject of debate.[251] Chung, who lived and worked in Chinatown, was an object of affection

243 *On A Grey Thread* (Will Ransom, 1923), Elsa Gidlow Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
244 Gidlow, *I Come with My Songs*, 181-182.
245 Ibid., 217.
246 Ibid.
247 Ibid., 226-227.
248 Journal Typed, 1928-1929, Box 9, Elsa Gidlow Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
249 Gidlow, *I Come with My Songs*, 184.
250 Journal Typed, 1928-1929, Box 9, Elsa Gidlow Papers.
251 See Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Dr. Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards* (University of California Press, 2005).

for Gidlow: "She interests me more profoundly than anyone I have met in San Francisco … I do adore her. I could all too easily lose my head and heart to her."[252] When Gidlow left for a trip to France and said goodbye to Dr. Chung, Gidlow notes in her journal: "She gave me a pint bottle of bourbon…and what I value many times more, a spontaneous kiss on the mouth. I had never dared to hope she would kiss me."[253]

One of Gidlow's favorite places to relax and write in San Francisco was Ocean Beach: "I made some of my best poems to the rhythm of those days of pounding surf and ocean solitude," she said.[254] "Clarkson [Crane], with a fair young boy and I walked miles up the beach … found a glorious and deserted spot and there in our scant bathing suits absorbed the sun, the sea, the cloudless sky and all the incredibly happy beauty of the place … A setting incomparable."[255] Gidlow also went to Mona's, noting that "Mona's was the only one at that time that reported to be lesbian"; Coppa's (the second location on Pine); and the Black Cat, which she visited with Clarkson Crane. Gidlow was active in an artistic community that included photographer Ansel Adams, art patron Albert Bender, sculptor Beniamino Bufano, and textile designer Dorothy Liebes. Bender's flat in the Studio Building on Post near Franklin and Liebes' mansion on Nob Hill were popular gathering places for Gidlow and the city's bohemian set.

Gidlow's partner Tommy died in 1935 at the age of 51, after which Gidlow moved to the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, first to 1158 Page Street (not extant) and later to 779 Page Street (extant). Gidlow lived for 13 years in a former summer cottage in Fairfax, Marin County, before moving to Druid Heights in Muir Woods. Gidlow died at Druid Heights in 1986.

Post-WWII Poetry and the Beats

Robert Duncan and Jess

One of the first public declarations of homosexual identity published in the United States was by poet Robert Duncan, whose essay titled "The Homosexual in Society" appeared in the journal *Politics* in March 1944. A Bay Area native, Duncan had received a psychiatric discharge from the U.S. military for being homosexual three years earlier. "The Homosexual in Society" compared the situation of homosexuals to the marginalized place of African Americans and Jews in the U.S. Duncan began writing poetry in the mid-1930s while an undergraduate at UC Berkeley. Later, when he submitted poems to the prestigious *Kenyon Review*, the editor, John Crow Ransom, initially accepted them but ultimately rejected the work based on his having read the poet's "Homosexual in Society" essay and deciding that the poems were tainted by Duncan's sexual "advertisement."[256]

After several years on the East Coast, Duncan returned in 1945 to the Bay Area and to UC Berkeley where he began friendships with gay poets Jack Spicer and Robin Blazer. Author Michael Davidson describes these poets and the others who gathered around them as maintaining "an almost medieval sense of loyalties and hierarchies that would secure a sense of community against a homophobic society."[257] The group encompassed writers and visual artists such as Philip Lamantia, William Everson, Madeline Gleason, Helen Adam, and James Broughton. Spicer served as an important hub for many Bay Area poets until he died in 1965. He organized weekly "Blabbermouth

252 Journal Typed, 1928-1929, Box 9, Elsa Gidlow Papers.
253 Ibid.
254 Gidlow, *I Come with My Songs*, 205.
255 Journal Typed, 1928-1929, Box 9, Elsa Gidlow Papers.
256 Michael Davidson, *San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) xxiii-xiv.
257 Ibid., 28.



LEFT: Residence of gay poet Robert Duncan and artist Jess at 3267 20th Street (Photo by Shayne Watson)

BELOW: Jess, Madeline Gleason, Robert Duncan, Robin Blaser, and James Broughton in San Francisco, 1957 (From *Poet Be Like God*, 1998)



Nights" at a North Beach neighborhood bar called The Place (1546 Grant Avenue), which created community "through a spirit of play and competition."[258]

In 1951, Duncan met the visual artist Jess Collins (known as Jess) and they began a relationship that lasted until Duncan's death in 1988. The couple lived in a series of San Francisco homes that provided domestic tranquility as well as social conviviality through dinners, houseguests, and art-making and music-listening sessions.[259]

For other LGBTQ artists, the Duncan-Jess household presented a remarkable encounter with an openly gay couple whose "matter-of-fact commitment and elegant lifestyle radically overthrew clichéd notions about gender roles, conventional marriage, and bourgeois routine," according to authors Michael Duncan and Christopher Wagstaff.[260]

Filmmaker Lawrence Jordan describes the infectious nature of the Duncan-Jess household: "They had a very delicate…Very powerful magic in their house that could turn a young artist completely on to the world of the magic of art."[261] Madeline Gleason, a close friend of Jess and Duncan, initiated what has been described as the first regular poetry reading series in 1947 at the Lucien Labaudt Gallery (1407 Gough Street); Jess and Duncan introduced Gleason to her life partner, Mary Clark Greer, in 1955 and encouraged Gleason's growing interest in painting.[262]

Allen Ginsberg and "Howl"

In the fall of 1952, Duncan, Jess, and artist Harry Jacobus opened King Ubu Gallery in a former garage at 3119 Fillmore Street (extant), where they showed art works and hosted performances during its one-year existence. The site achieved lasting fame in its next iteration as the Six Gallery (Jack Spicer was among the six founders), where Allen Ginsberg read his poem "Howl" in October of 1955. "Howl" was, Ginsberg later asserted, his coming out of the closet. While the 29-year-old poet's friends knew he was gay, the poem was "a public statement of feelings and emotions and attitudes that I would not have wanted my father or my family to see."[263] Publication of "Howl" the following year by the press associated with Lawrence Ferlinghetti's City Lights Bookstore (261 Columbus Avenue, extant) led to a widely publicized California State Superior Court trial on obscenity charges, which Ferlinghetti won with assistance from the American Civil Liberties Union.

Although Ginsberg left San Francisco in 1957, he and the other Beats associated with him defined a new San Francisco "counterculture" that drew intense media and popular attention. Historian John D'Emilio claims that, "through the Beats' example, gays could perceive themselves as nonconformists rather than devious, as rebels against stultifying norms rather than immature, unstable personalities."[264] Historian Nan Alamilla Boyd describes Beats as reinterpreting male sexuality apart from Cold War homophobia, but clinging to a "narrow and distinct" brand of masculinity that disdained "flamboyant and effeminate homosexualities."[265]

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258 Ibid., 150.

259 Michael Duncan and Christopher Wagstaff, *An Opening of the Field: Jess, Robert Duncan, and Their Circle* (Portland, OR: Pomegranate Communications Inc., 2013), 39 and San Francisco City Directories show the couple living at 1350 Franklin St. (1951), 1724 Baker Street (1952-54), De Haro Street (1956-58 no number), Stinson beach in Marin County (1958-61), 3735 20th Street (1961-1967) and 3267 20th Street (1967 until Jess's death in 2004).

260 Ibid., 40.

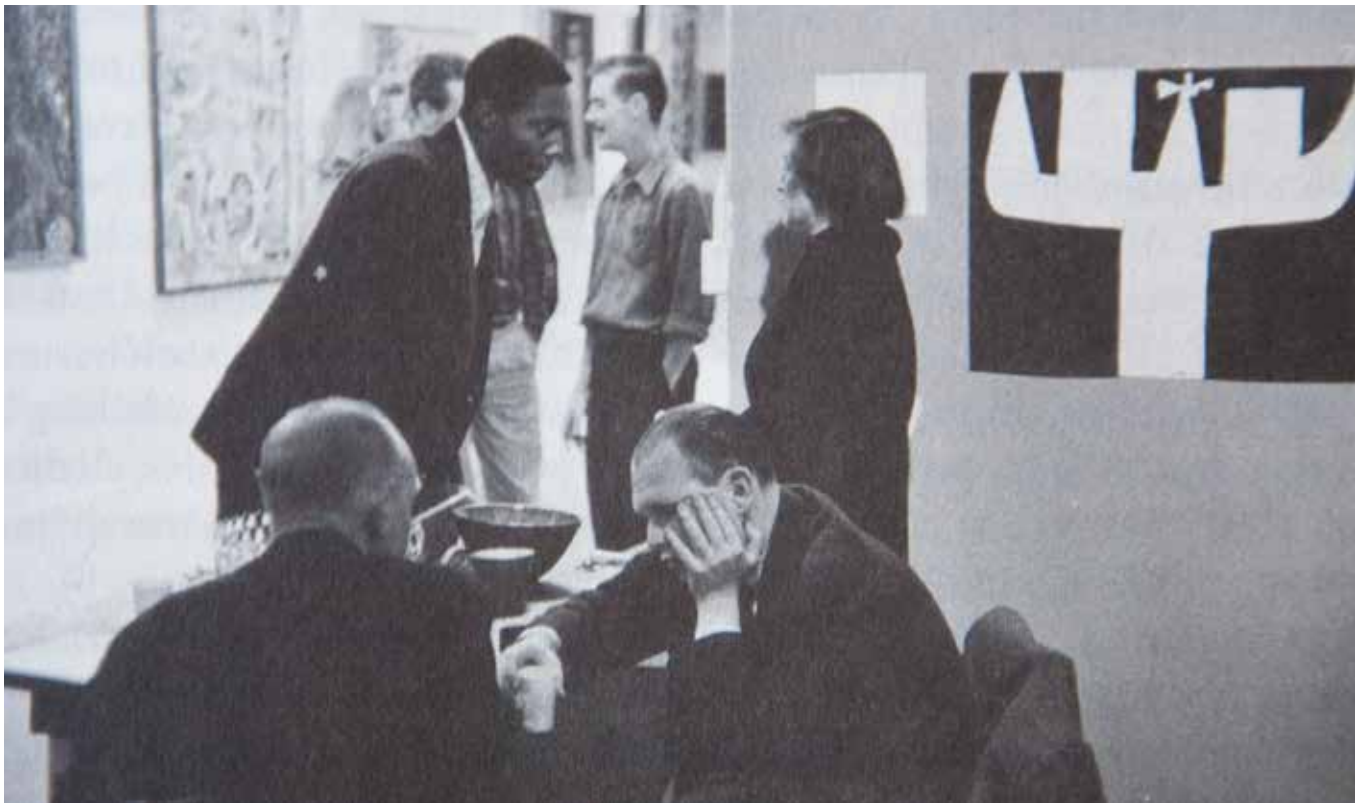
261 Ibid., 39.

262 Ibid., 212-213.

263 Richard Candida Smith, *Utopia and Dissent: Art, Poetry, and Politics in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 151.

264 Regina Marler, ed., *Queer Beats: How the Beats Turned America onto Sex* (San Francisco: Cleis Press Inc., 2004), xxxii-xxxiii.

265 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 124.





ABOVE: Opening night of Six Gallery where Allen Ginsberg first read his poem "Howl" in 1955 (From *Poet Be Like God*, 1998)

LEFT: The former home of Six Gallery at 3119 Fillmore Street (Photo by Shayne Watson)

III. EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF LGBTQ COMMUNITIES IN SAN FRANCISCO (EARLY 20TH CENTURY TO 1960S)

DEVELOPMENT OF BAR-BASED COMMUNITIES

San Francisco in the Prohibition Period

The anti-alcohol movement in California started in the 1880s when a large influx of Protestant Anglo-Americans settled in Southern California. Throughout the history of the movement, temperance was more popular in Southern California than in the northern part of the state.[266] European immigrants, especially from Germany and Italy, were key players in alcohol production and distribution; in cities like San Francisco, having a majority immigrant population, temperance was resisted. The Anti-Saloon League, created in 1893, became the nation's most powerful anti-alcohol group, influencing temperance politics throughout the country. By 1894 Prohibition ordinances went into effect throughout California.

San Franciscans supported alcohol in part because the majority immigrant population disagreed with the American concept of prohibition, but also because of the importance of saloons, both socially and economically. Saloons were a critical component of urban communities in the 19th century. For single men living in crowded lodging houses, saloons provided a space to socialize and basic services such as free lunch, check cashing, and mail pickup and delivery. For immigrant groups, saloons provided a space for translation services and job placement. The economic benefits of alcohol in the United States were strong. Alcohol was one of the major industries in the 19th century, spurred by the increase of European immigrants to the United States after the Civil War. By the turn of the century, there were 300,000 saloons across the country. In San Francisco in the there were more saloons per capita than anywhere else in the country—double the numbers in New York or Chicago.[267] After the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified in 1919 and Prohibition went into effect nationwide in 1920, San Francisco defied federal and state efforts to curb alcohol distribution and consumption, gaining the reputation of being the "wettest in the west."[268] Prohibition was largely ignored in San Francisco, notes historian Nan Alamilla Boyd.[269]

Paradoxically, the Prohibition period in the United States was one of the most exciting and fertile periods in United States history. The 1920s were an iconoclastic period, supporting the establishment of avant-garde movements like Surrealism in art, Modernism in architecture, and the Jazz Age in music. It was also a period of sexual curiosity and rebellion. Just as urbanization in the late-19th century provided the freedom and privacy for single men and women to form same-sex relationships, the popularity of the automobile in the 1920s helped make unsupervised dating and sexual relationships infinitely easier. Gender boundaries became increasingly blurred as popular culture exploited images of masculine women and effeminate men.[270] Cross-gender performance again became a popular form of entertainment; drag balls in New York, Chicago, and New Orleans "were reported without alarm in the newspapers," and "high-society 'straights' like the Astors and Vanderbilts came to admire the costumes."[271]

The 1920s also saw the emergence of queer themes in popular culture. Ernest Hemingway featured

266 Ibid., 45.
267 Ibid., 26.
268 Kenneth D. Rose, *American Women and the Repeal of Prohibition*. Quoted in Ibid., 39.
269 Ibid.
270 George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
271 Ibid.

lesbian characters in both *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) and *A Farewell to Arms* (1929). As mentioned earlier, in 1928 Radclyffe Hall published *The Well of Loneliness*, the first openly lesbian work of fiction by a lesbian author. At least three Broadway plays produced in the 1920s touched on queer themes: Shalom Asch's *God of Vengeance* (1923); Edouard Bourdet's *The Captive* (1926); and William Hurlbut's *Sin of Sins* (1926).[272]

Some of the earliest known queer communities in the country gathered in the 1920s in speakeasies —places where alcohol could be purchased illegally during Prohibition— including establishments located in Harlem and Greenwich Village in New York City. Little documentation exists about queer spaces in San Francisco during and prior to Prohibition, but certainly there were spaces frequented by the nascent LGBTQ communities. Finocchio's, discussed in detail in the section "North Beach: San Francisco's First Bar-Based LGBTQ Community," started out as a speakeasy and after Prohibition became famous for its cross-gender performances. Lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow wrote in her journal about another speakeasy in North Beach that she visited with Dr. Margaret Chung in 1928:

> We went to a queer place in what is called "Dagoetown" (a term I do not like). A ring at the door bell of a dingy house brought [an] Italian to the front door … we were led along passageways to a door that opened (I think, at some sort of signal)—to reveal a miniature bar, brass rail, bottles, glasses, bartender and all.[273]

Community historian Clyde Evans remembers that his lesbian neighbors frequented a bar at Fisherman's Wharf in the early 1930s, likely at the end of Stockton or Powell: "We hadn't realized there was a lesbian bar down there, but we went one night and were surprised at all the well-dressed lesbians, some looking quite masculine and some were looking quite feminine. And they're all dancing and having a lovely time…I don't think there were any men there." [274] Evans also remembers going to the Old Grotto (also known as the Red Lizard) at 545 Washington Street (not extant) during the Prohibition years with his long-time partner, gay author Clarkson Crane.

Repeal of Prohibition

The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 was a watershed in LGBTQ history, as queer bars subsequently opened all over the United States. Thriving bar-based communities developed in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit and Flint, Washington, D.C.; and throughout New York, including Greenwich Village, Buffalo, and Cherry Grove on Fire Island. In San Francisco, spaces catering to gay men, lesbians, and transgender men and women appeared soon after repeal. Historian Nan Alamilla Boyd writes extensively about the post-Prohibition period in San Francisco and concludes that queer-friendly spaces appeared and were able to thrive after Prohibition for a variety of reasons: the assignment of liquor licensing to a state agency focused on collecting taxes; the establishment of the nightclub (successor to the speakeasy) as a new entertainment model; and a boom in sex and race tourism.

In 1933, California voters passed the Liquor Control Act, which authorized the State Board of Equalization, the state's tax agency, to regulate liquor sales and distribution; by contrast, in many other states, liquor was controlled at the local level, which meant more direct policing oversight of bars. With the State Board of Equalization overseeing alcohol, there was more emphasis on liquor

272 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 66.
273 Journal Typed, 1928-1929, Box 9, Elsa Gidlow Papers.
274 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Phil Miller, 1997-1998.

taxation than on liquor control.[275] And with alcohol suddenly legal again and with very little control at the local level, small taverns and nightclubs appeared all over San Francisco.

The nightclub also emerged as a popular post-Prohibition entertainment venue, primarily for a handful of reasons: anyone could open a nightclub and they were inexpensive to operate; by offering entertainment and being more than drinking establishments, nightclubs could serve hard liquor, which after Prohibition was restricted to hotels, restaurants, and clubs.[276] As Boyd notes, "Nightclubs became the terrain of the owner-entrepreneur."[277] This situation gave nightclub and bar owners in San Francisco the freedom to maintain control of all aspects of their venues, unlike those in cities such as New York where gay and lesbian bars were controlled by organized crime. Nightclubs spurred the growth of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco because, with very little official oversight, owners were able to create discreet spaces where LGBTQ people felt safe to congregate in public.

The concept of public spaces providing the protection needed for establishing and nurturing community is critical to understanding LGBTQ history. As described in previous sections, any display or form of nonnormative sexuality was criminal, and most people viewed nonnormative men and women as pathological. Anyone arrested for a sex crime faced having his or her name, occupation, and home address printed in the newspaper, which frequently led to disastrous consequences such as lost jobs, financial instability, and ostracism by family and friends.

Architectural critic Aaron Betsky suggests that early queer nightclubs and bars could be viewed as figurative public closets: "a place to hide, to create worlds…in a secure environment… where you can define yourself, constructing an identity out of what you have collected, in a space that is free and boundless exactly because it hides in the dark recesses."[278] Historian Daniel Hurewitz describes such places as a "third space … at the margins of society that can be adopted as [sites] for contesting power, [places] where new identities, actions, and opportunities can be constructed."[279] Indeed, during a time when LGBTQ people were forced to hide from the law and hostile heterosexuals, these early public spaces served as community centers where a formerly disconnected and disparate population was able to coalesce.

Sex and Race Tourism

The post-Prohibition nightclub provided a space in which cross-gender entertainment could be revived, and San Francisco's tourism industry, which thrived on sexualized and racialized entertainments, encouraged the renaissance. Nan Alamilla Boyd writes that sex tourism was "a primary factor in the emergence of San Francisco's publicly visible queer communities, and race tourism was its constant companion."[280] Sex and race tourism, according to Boyd, "showcased difference and, in doing so, generated a permissive quality of same-sex and cross-race sexual display. As sexualized entertainments became part of San Francisco's allure, tourist industry dollars cast a thin veneer of protection around the city's queer entertainments."[281]

San Francisco has been a destination city since the Gold Rush, easily luring visitors with its natural beauty and culturally "exotic" neighborhoods such as Chinatown and the Barbary Coast. Tourism

275 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 48.
276 Ibid.
277 Ibid.
278 Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1997), 17.
279 Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 12-13.
280 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 80.
281 Ibid., 15.

as an industry began in earnest during the lead up to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) in 1915, the world's fair in the Marina District that lasted for nine months and drew nearly 19 million visitors and $4.7 million in revenue. Exhibits at the PPIE prefigured the types of sights that drew tourists to San Francisco in subsequent decades, such as awe-inspiring structural masterpieces like the Palace of Machinery, the largest structure in the world at the time, or tastes of the exotic displayed at various performances in the Joy Zone, the fair's amusement center: Japanese wrestlers and dancers at Japan Beautiful; "real live Indians" at the Wild West Show; Tijuana "Jungle Queens" at the Tehuantepec Village; and "a bit of the romantic South Sea Islands with natives in their native costumes living just as they do in their island home" in the Samoan Village.[282]

San Francisco's obsession with the exotic was repeated in the late 1930s when the city celebrated the completion of the Golden Gate and San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridges – although by this time the obsession had a more obviously sexual edge. In 1937, the official opening ceremony for the Golden Gate Bridge was called the Golden Gate Bridge "Fiesta" to celebrate San Francisco being "Fiesta minded from the days when that little huddle of shacks" was still known as Yerba Buena.[283] The official souvenir program advertised Finocchio's and Mona's, two of San Francisco's earliest queer spaces. The ad for Finocchio's read: "Is it true what they say about Finocchio's?? Always something different." And Mona's: "Life begins at Mona's, a rendezvous for discriminating bohemians."[284]

The Golden Gate International Exposition (GGIE) on Treasure Island opened in 1939, drawing 17 million visitors in a year.[285] The Exposition's fun zone, called the "Gayway," featured the Sally Rand Nude Ranch, a "dude ranch a la 1939," where naked "cow-babes" wore "boots, but no saddles."[286] And the "Hormone Woman" at the Hall of Science told visitors about how sex hormones "play a vital role in making woman what she is! In making man what he is!"[287] Advertisements in the GGIE guidebook lured visitors to San Francisco with descriptions of places such as the 365 Club at 365 Market Street (not extant), where tourists could "see and talk to the Girl in the Fish Bowl," a scantily clad woman swimming in an enormous fish tank.[288] The city also beckoned visitors to San Francisco with the newly unveiled 49-Mile Scenic Drive, which directed drivers through such culturally exotic tourist neighborhoods as Japantown, Chinatown, and North Beach.

Capitalizing on the lure of the exotic in the new century, San Francisco planners and civic leaders carried out campaigns to market neighborhoods like Chinatown and North Beach to tourists. After the 1906 earthquake destroyed Chinatown, traditional Edwardian-style buildings were constructed with Chinese-inspired ornamentation, such as recessed or projecting balconies, upturned eaves and roof corners, sloped tiled roofs, and parapets with Chinese inscriptions.[289] "Western architects or contractors," writes historian David Cheunyan Lai, "tried to create 'chinoiserie' or exotica by

282 "Panama-Pacific International Exposition 1915 Souvenir Guide," The Souvenir Guide Publishers, Hobart Building, San Francisco (1915), 16-17.

283 "Official Souvenir Program, Golden Gate Bridge Fiesta, San Francisco, May 27 – June 2, 1937," Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District Redwood Empire Association and the City and County of San Francisco (1937).

284 Ibid.

285 "Guide to the Golden Gate International Exposition Records, 1936-1939," Online Archive of California, http://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf2d5n98c4.

286 Jack Lord and Jenn Shaw, *Where to Sin in San Francisco* (San Francisco: Book Cellar, 1939). Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

287 "Official Guide Book, Golden Gate International Exposition, World's Fair on San Francisco Bay, First Edition," The Crocker Company, San Francisco (1939), 106.

288 Ibid., 7.

289 David Chuenyan Lai, "The Visual Character of Chinatowns," Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi, eds., *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 81. See also Marina McDougall and Hope Mitnick, "Location: San Francisco," Brook, Carlsson, and Peters, *Reclaiming San Francisco*, 155.

modifying or manipulating standard Western architectural forms." [290] In 1925, elaborate Chinese-inspired streetlights were installed (ironic, given that this was one year after the 1924 Immigration Act was passed, preventing Asians from entering the country). "The marketing of Chinatown to white tourists," according to Boyd, "signaled the beginning of a new era of racial exploitation, one in which cultural difference became a valuable, even protected commodity in the city."[291] Boyd notes that the best example of this was the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition, which featured a three-acre, $2 million Chinese Village, and advertised San Francisco's real Chinatown in the guidebook as the "largest Chinatown in the world" with "more than 25,000 Chinese liv[ing] and work[ing] in a colorful section that is a first-call for most San Francisco visitors."[292]

Chinatown merchants opened entertainments geared specifically toward tourists. One of the most famous was a Chinese-themed nightclub called Charlie Low's Forbidden City at 369 Sutter Street (extant), which ran from the late 1930s to the late 1950s. The sexualized and racialized performances at the Forbidden City were a big hit with tourists and drew a large LGBTQ clientele, as well.[293] Another popular spot for tourists and LGBTQ people in Chinatown was Li Po, still in operation at 916 Grant Avenue. Li Po was advertised in a 1939 tourism guide: "Love, passion, and nighttime … what a combination! You will find all three any evening you stroll into the jovial and informal Chinatown cocktail lounge, the Li Po."[294] The guidebook *Where to Sin in San Francisco* (1939) directed tourists who were feeling "mood exotic" to the Twin Dragon on Waverly Place, famous for its "Throne Room." Other popular tourist spots were the Chinese Pagoda with its "Mystery of the Orient" at 830 Grant Avenue (extant) and the Lion's Den at 950 Grant Avenue (extant), "Chinatown's exotic underground nite club."[295]

Another exoticized neighborhood, North Beach, was popular with tourists early in the city's history because of its proximity to the Barbary Coast and because of the sense of cultural exoticism evoked by the community's multinational roots. This popularity was sustained through the Prohibition period as cheap rents and restaurants in what was then known as the "Latin Quarter" drew artistic and creative types to the neighborhood. After the repeal of Prohibition, North Beach became even more popular as a tourist destination, especially for its sexually charged entertainments. In North Beach, tourists mixed freely with the gay, lesbian, and transgender communities at such nightclubs as Finocchio's, Mona's 440 Club, and the Black Cat Café. Finocchio's was particularly known for its sex- and race-based performances. When Finocchio's "Mexican headliner" needed to be replaced in the 1950s, gay rights pioneer José Sarria auditioned for the position. "They always had a Latin singer," he said.[296]

World War II had a profound impact on tourism in San Francisco, which was a way station for servicemen and servicewomen, and a destination for workers employed by defense industries throughout the Bay Area. Nightlife entertainment in the 1940s, especially in North Beach, was driven by a "desire for amusement, fantasy, humor, and escape."[297] Big-band orchestras reigned and "all of America was dancing."[298] Restaurants and nightclubs continued to push the envelope

290 Lai, "The Visual Character of Chinatowns," 81.
291 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 79.
292 "Official Guide Book, Golden Gate International Exposition."
293 Oral history narrator Merle Woo, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, recalled that lesbians of color patronized the Forbidden City in the 1950s. For more on sex and race tourism, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 78-83.
294 *San Francisco Life* 7 (November 1939), 25. Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 79.
295 "Official Souvenir Program, Golden Gate Bridge Fiesta." See also Kevin Starr, *Embattled Dreams: California in War and Peace, 1940-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 83.
296 José Sarria, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, July 9, 1997, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
297 Starr, *Embattled Dreams*, 8.
298 Ibid.



The International Settlement entertainment district on Pacific Avenue in c. 1940s (Photographer unknown, courtesy Shayne Watson)

of convention. Some of the more exotic tourist sites across San Francisco during World War II were the Timothy Pflueger-designed Art Deco style Bal Tabarin at 1025 Columbus Avenue (extant, now Bimbo's 365 Club); Omar Khayyam's at 200 Powell in Union Square (extant); the Persian Room at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel (extant); and many establishments in the International Settlement on Pacific Avenue, including Izzy Gomez' Café at 848 Pacific Avenue (not extant), where patrons were encouraged to dance on tables; the Hurricane and its tropical Hawaiian façade at 533 Pacific Avenue (extant); and Goman's Gay 90s at 555 Pacific Avenue (extant), where a parrot pecked open a dancer's sarong.[299]

North Beach: San Francisco's First Bar-Based LGBTQ Community

Neighborhood Context

North Beach after the repeal of Prohibition had an international, working-class feel. The neighborhood's main artery, Broadway Street, was a colorful mix of blue-collar industries near the Embarcadero, and restaurants, hotels, and clubs farther west. In 1938 there were over 30 restaurants and clubs and 18 hotels squeezed into the eight-block stretch between the Embarcadero and Powell Street. Broadway was dominated by Italian businesses, but there also were clusters of businesses with Swiss, French, Mexican, and Spanish themes.[300] The North Beach bohemian scene was thriving in the 1930s and still centered on Montgomery Street near Jackson Square. The area teemed with artists and writers taking advantage of cheap rents. The Montgomery Block had become a bohemian residential enclave. Gay author Clarkson Crane had a studio there, and so did Mona Sargent, the woman who opened the city's first lesbian bar after the repeal of Prohibition. The 700 and 800 blocks of Montgomery (and adjacent alleys) were home to many of the city's most well known artists, including photographer Dorothea Lange, painter Maynard Dixon, and sculptors Ralph Stackpole and Robert Boardman Howard.[301]

The international and bohemian feel of North Beach after the repeal of Prohibition made the area a bustling hub of activity and a huge draw for locals and tourists, but what drew queers to the neighborhood? Community historian Reba Hudson, who arrived in the neighborhood in the 1940s and stayed there for the rest of her life, said:

> [North Beach] was the most exciting, vital neighborhood … no prejudice, no nothing … a working example of democracy … truly European. [People] didn't care if you were gay or not … [People] just gravitated to [North Beach] and were accepted in [North Beach]. It was the only place they were accepted. North Beach has always had that reputation.[302]

Community historian Roberta Bobba said the cheap rents, the weather, and the bohemians, who were always "more accepting," drew her to the neighborhood.[303] The bohemians, said Reba Hudson, "were always very tolerant of anyone and everyone."[304] Self-titled bohemian Mona Sargent, a heterosexual woman, said, "We're not offended at how the other fellow lives. That's

299 *San Francisco Life*, October 1945, Wide Open Town History Project records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. See also Starr, *Embattled Dreams*, 82.

300 San Francisco city directories. Cited in Shayne E. Watson, *Preserving the Tangible Remains of San Francisco's Lesbian Community in North Beach, 1933 to 1960* (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 2009), 52.

301 Ibid.

302 Reba Hudson, interviewed by Roberta (last name not given), October 31, 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

303 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, October 22, 1981, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

304 Reba Hudson, interviewed by Roberta (last name not given), 1992.

where I was a true Bohemian."[305] Sargent said North Beach was "like a small town. I said hello to everybody. Everybody on Broadway was nice to me."[306]

As gay and lesbian bars and restaurants appeared in North Beach and Telegraph Hill, more men and women moved to the neighborhood, creating the city's first queer residential enclave and establishing the roots of San Francisco's LGBTQ communities. North Beach resident Charlotte Coleman said, "All the gays lived on Telegraph Hill."[307] Roberta Bobba lived in a small cottage on Telegraph Hill near neighborhood landmark Julius' Castle for 14 years. Mona Sargent lived in various apartments on Telegraph Hill, including her apartment at 24 Windsor Place (extant), which became a lesbian hangout; Reba Hudson moved into Mona's old apartment in the 1950s, and Connie Smith, owner of Miss Smith's Tea Room (a lesbian bar on Grant Avenue) was known to spend time there. [308] Lesbian bar proprietor Rikki Streicher also lived on Windsor Place, although the exact address is unknown.[309] Later, Streicher lived above the Paper Doll (a gay and lesbian bar at 524 Union Street) when she worked there as a cocktail waitress. She said, "I lived in every alley in North Beach. There's not [an alley] I wasn't a resident of at some point."[310] Many other lesbians lived in an apartment building across from Miss Smith's Tea Room, above the Savoy Tivoli at 1434 Grant Avenue (extant), and over the space that housed the Paper Doll.[311]

Gay and Lesbian Bars and Restaurants in North Beach

Between 1933 and 1965, over twenty nightclubs, bars, and restaurants catering to gay, lesbian, and transgender people opened in North Beach.[312] The high number of bars that appeared within a short period of time is a testament to the popularity of these spaces. Most of the early bars and nightclubs had mixed clientele, but places like Mona's had more lesbians than gay men. "San Francisco's queer public culture" in the 1930s and 40s, writes Nan Alamilla Boyd, "could be characterized as one that both gay men and lesbians shared, rather than one that made finite distinctions between the sexes of its clientele."[313] That may have been the case in public, but in private, Susan Stryker and Jim van Buskirk note, "lesbian and gay subcultures diverged more often than they intersected … sociologically, gay men and lesbians were often worlds apart. Quite independently of men, women who had sex with other women had their own social networks, their own butch/femme styles of gender presentation."[314]

Out of the dozens of LGBTQ North Beach establishments, only a few will be documented in this section. The places included here—such as Finocchio's, Mona's, and the Black Cat Café—represent some of the earliest and most significant queer spaces in San Francisco, or they were associated with significant events or individuals, or they were simply popular or unique. This list of places is not intended to be all-inclusive.

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305 Mona (Sargent) Hood, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, July 25, 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
306 Ibid.
307 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
308 Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Life During Wartime," Conversation between Reba Hudson and Nan Alamilla Boyd, May 29, 1992, *OurStories* 8 (Spring 1993).
309 Rikki Streicher, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
310 Ibid.
311 Reba Hudson, interviewed by Roberta (last name not given), 1992.
312 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 245.
313 Ibid., 70.
314 Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay: A History of Queer Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1996), 35.

Finocchio's

Finocchio's opened at 441 Stockton Street (extant) in the late 1920s or early 1930s. It started out as a restaurant owned by Marjorie Faxon Finocchio.[315] Marjorie was born in Kansas around 1891. She married Italian immigrant and hotel operator Joseph Finocchio, who later worked part-time as a bouncer at Finocchio's.[316] The Finocchios lived in apartment buildings on Stockton Street near Sutter Street in the 1920s and 1930s.[317] Sometime in the mid-1930s, Finocchio's moved to the second floor of a two-story building at 406 Stockton Street near Sutter (demolished).

Finocchio's revived San Francisco's historic cross-gender entertainment model when it began featuring female-impersonation shows during Prohibition. Community historian Clyde Evans described the atmosphere at Finocchio's on Stockton as "very homo."[318] Performances featured young male performers who lived in the Montgomery Block: "They were very exotic looking boys and when they went down the corridor … they left a trail of perfume."[319] As noted earlier, exoticism was hugely popular in the 1920s and 1930s, but Finocchio's stood out. "*Everyone* came to see the show. And to drink," said Joseph Finocchio.[320] Finocchio's earliest performances "featured a female impersonator paired with an 'exotic dancer'—a 'hula dancer' or 'young Chinese dancer.'"[321] Clyde Evans recalled that every show began with the song "About a Quarter to Nine," after which an "exotic oriental boy would come out and do his dance."[322]

Gay-rights pioneer Harry Hay, a student at Stanford University just south of San Francisco in 1930–1932, said that Finocchio's was a popular gay pick-up spot in the early 1930s. Hay said men met each other at Finocchio's by going through a very discreet and orchestrated process overseen by the maître d': "If you wanted to meet a young man who was sitting at [another table], you had the waiter take a bottle of wine and a glass on a little tray and your card, and he carried it from you [to the other table]."[323] If a connection was made, the maître d' would invite both men to the same table and make introductions.

Sometime between 1937 and 1939, the Finocchios moved their nightclub to an expansive upstairs space at 506 Broadway Street near Kearny (extant). Described as "swank and lavish," the club was accessed by a stair at the left side of the building and featured a stage and an orchestra. Marjorie and Joseph Finocchio made Finocchio's on Broadway a North Beach institution. Marjorie was in charge of the nightclub and became known to her performers as "Madame Marg." Female impersonator Laurie Knight said she "truthfully admired" Marjorie. "It took a strong woman to run that place."[324] Finocchio's performances featured some of the country's most famous female impersonators, including Ray Bourbon, who started doing female impersonation in London and Hollywood; Walter Hart, billed as the "Male Sophie Tucker"; and Lucian Phelps, who started working at Finocchio's in the 1940s.[325] A 1939 guidebook described the performers: "Wigged,

315 Finocchio's first appears in city directories in 1931 as a restaurant under Marjorie Finocchio's name.

316 Census data. See also Harry Hay, interviewed by Chris Carlsson, "Pickups and Finocchio's (1995)," Shaping San Francisco, https://archive.org/details/ssfHAYPIKED.

317 San Francisco city directories.

318 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Allan Bérubé and Eric Garber, April 12, 1983, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

319 Ibid.

320 Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 52.

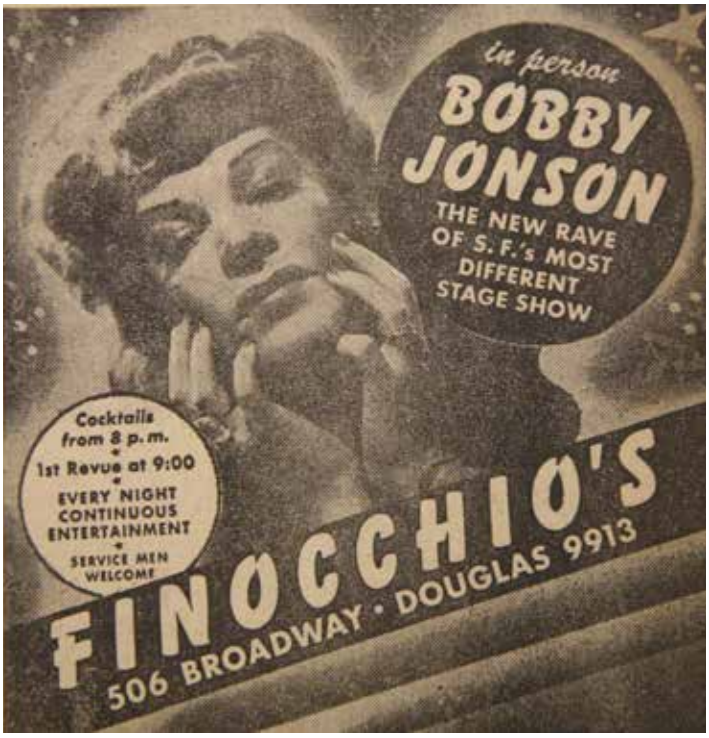
321 Ibid., 52.

322 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Allan Bérubé and Eric Garber, 1983.

323 Harry Hay, interviewed by Chris Carlsson, 1995.

324 Laurie Knight, interviewed by David de Alba, July 14, 2004, http://www.david-de-alba.com/Knight2.htm.

325 Eric Garber, "Finocchio's: A Gay Community Landmark," *The San Francisco Bay Area Gay & Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter* 3 (June 1988), 1.





LEFT: Advertisements for female-impersonating performances at Finocchio's (Courtesy The GLBT Historical Society)

BELOW: 506 Broadway Street, home of Finocchios from 1930s to 1999 (Photo by Shayne Watson)



gowned, rouged, lipsticked, and mascara-ed, ten beautiful boys become singing, clowning, ravishing women. In a revue of revues. It's a Rabelousy rendezvous. It's different!"[326]

The nightly shows at Finocchio's became the model for famous nightclubs throughout the country, including the My-O-My Club in New Orleans, the Jewel Box Lounge in Kansas City, and the 82 Club in Manhattan.[327] Historian Eric Garber said the professional female impersonators at nightclubs like Finocchio's served as heroes to the pre-Stonewall gay community because of their overt queerness.[328]

Finocchio's also had a seamy side. Along with other early queer nightclubs, such as Mona's 440 Club and the Black Cat Café, Finocchio's "functioned as part of an urban economy of visible and highly trafficked sex tourism," according to Nan Alamilla Boyd.[329] Performers encouraged customers to purchase more drinks by offering sexual favors (more drinks meant higher paychecks because performers were paid based on number of drinks sold). The scheme caught the attention of the police, and Finocchio's was raided in 1936 when it was still located on Stockton Street. Marjorie and Joseph Finocchio were arrested along with five female impersonators, including Walter Hart.[330] A year later, the San Francisco police chief cracked down on female impersonation in the city, announcing that "lewd entertainers must be stopped!"[331]

Finocchio's on Broadway was popular with both the queer community and tourists. Since many of Finocchio's performers were gay, gay men especially were drawn to the nightclub. When asked how gay men met each other in the 1930s and 1940s, Clyde Evans said, "Sometimes at Finocchio's.…[It was] known as a gay spot, and one assumed that everyone that went there was gay."[332] Understanding how popular the performances were with tourists, Marjorie and Joseph Finocchio "more or less…geared [the shows] toward the tour buses," said community historian Gerald Fabian.[333] Finocchio's business thrived as an official stop on the Gray Line Nightclub Tour for over fifty years. In 1988, 75,000 tourists made the pilgrimage.[334] At the end of his career, by the 1980s, Joseph Finocchio said 99% of his customers were straight.[335]

Marjorie Finocchio died in San Francisco in 1956 and Joseph Finocchio died in 1986. Joseph's second wife, Eve, operated Finocchio's until it closed in 1999.

Mona Sargent's Bars

Mona's (451 Union Street)

Mona Sargent, a heterosexual bohemian, opened what would become San Francisco's first lesbian bar. She was born Mona Nystrom in Santa Rosa, California in 1910. She joined San Francisco's bohemian community around 1928 when she moved into a studio in the Montgomery Block.[336] Mona cultivated a large circle of bohemian friends and became known as the "belle of the artists'

326 Lord and Shaw, *Where to Sin in San Francisco*, 93. Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.
327 Garber, "Finocchio's," 1.
328 Eric Garber cites a pioneering 1972 study by anthropologist Esther Newton in Garber, "Finocchio's," *Newsletter*.
329 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 52.
330 Ibid., 53.
331 Quoted in Ibid.
332 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Phil Miller, 1997-1998.
333 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, November 30, 1989 and January 23, 1990, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
334 Grey Line Tours, "San Francisco Sightseeing: Nightclub Tours," 1985. See also "Finocchio's," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 26, 1988.
335 "Finocchio's 45 Years of Guys Dolled up as Women," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 12, 1981.
336 Mona (Sargent) Hood, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.





FINE MONA $25 FOR HAVING DANCE

Mona Sargent vainly pleaded she was unable to keep her patrons from dancing. Judge Twain Michelsen fined her $25.



Girl Cafe Operator Fined, Gets Warning

A $25 fine for permitting dancing in the cafe she operates at 140 Columbus avenue yesterday was imposed upon Mona Sargent, 21, by Municipal Judge Twain Michelson.

Another charge of violating the 2 a. m. closing ordinance was dismissed for lack of proof that drinks found by police on tables in the cafe had been served after the closing deadline.

TOP LEFT: Mona Sargent, date unknown (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BOTTOM LEFT: Interior view of Mona's at 451 Union Street in 1934 (Photographer unknown, Associated Press)

TOP AND BOTTOM RIGHT: Newspaper articles announcing Mona Sargent's run-in with police for allowing dancing at Mona's Barrel House at 140 Columbus Avenue (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

colony" and later "queen of Telegraph Hill."[337] She and her friends called themselves the "mad bohemians."[338] Sometime in the late 1920s or early 1930s, Mona married a former UC Berkeley football player named Jimmie Sargent, and the two of them moved to an apartment on Telegraph Hill.

Soon after the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, Mona and Jimmie Sargent opened a bar called Mona's at 451 Union Street (not extant) on the southwestern slope of Telegraph Hill. A friend of Jimmie's gave the couple $500 to start the bar, knowing that it would be popular because of Mona's huge circle of friends.[339] Jimmie wanted to call the bar "Jim Sargent's," but his friend said, "No. You go play football. We're callin' it Mona's."[340] Before Mona's opened in the former bakery space, she and her friends cleaned it up and invited an artist to decorate the walls. A photograph taken of Mona's in September 1934 depicts an intimate space with high ceilings, dark, wood-paneled walls, wooden booths and tables, and large murals of naked women; in the corner near the bar, an artist painted a portrait of a patron. The photograph's caption reads:

> One of the arty cafes that now are encroaching on the old Barbary Coast district of San Francisco. This scene is in Mona's, favorite lounging place for the Telegraph Hill artistic colony … The large mural in the center of the picture is a satire of the WPA Artists project. The portrait artist at the lower right identifies himself only as 'Rich.'[341]

In 1936, Mona's was advertised in a tourism guide: "[A] new spot on Telegraph Hill which boasts a cozy fireplace among its attractions. Notable among its other allures are murals by Telegraph Hill artists.…[It's] not far enough up the hill to require yodeling or a feather to negotiate, but uppish enough to have atmosphere."[342]

The clientele were mostly friends of Mona Sargent. Her friend Reba Hudson remembers: "Mona just was going to open a place for her friends. Just a bohemian joint, a little beer and wine place to have a drink and talk and discuss ideas and do what bohemians do.… Drink and carry on and have intellectual conversations."[343] Clyde Evans frequented Mona's and said it had a younger, attractive crowd and was always packed, "mainly by young students."[344] Evans said Mona Sargent greeted everyone who came in.

After two years at 451 Union Street, neighbors complained about the noise and the crowds and asked the Sargents to move.

Mona's Barrel House (140 Columbus Avenue)

Mona and Jimmie Sargent moved their bar to the basement space at 140 Columbus Avenue (extant) near Pacific Avenue in 1936. Mona Sargent said the space "hadn't been used in years.… [I]t had a nice, long bar, a few booths."[345] The Sargents decorated the space with barrels, covered the floor with sawdust, and the bar became known by patrons as Mona's Barrel House.

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337 "After the Ball," *San Bernardino County Sun*, February 12, 1937, 15.
338 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 64.
339 Mona (Sargent) Hood, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
340 Ibid.
341 "San Francisco Telegraph Hill," AP Images, http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Watchf-Associated-Press-Domestic-News-Californi-/5308051423d344d0b7a37f7f932d8120/1/0.
342 *San Francisco Life*, January 1936, Wide Open Town History Project records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
343 Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 64-65.
344 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Phil Miller, 1997-1998.
345 Mona (Sargent) Hood, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.

Mona's Barrel House became a draw for lesbians when the bar started featuring male-impersonating waitresses as entertainment.[346] Mona Sargent remembers hiring her first lesbian waitress after learning that the woman had been kicked out of her parents' house for being gay: "She cried and told me [she was a lesbian] and said her folks shut the door in her face."[347] Capitalizing on the popularity of cross-gender entertainment, Sargent hired even more lesbian waitresses and they started dressing in tuxedos and performing on stage. She said, "We had a piano player that always played for some entertainment … Waitresses started getting up and singing.… It just happened…I wasn't a smart enough businesswoman to think, 'Oh boy, I'll have gay people [as waitresses]' … It just slowly evolved."[348]

Before lesbians started frequenting her bar, Sargent said she "didn't know about lesbians," only that "they were called 'lady lovers.'"[349] She said the "little tomboy girls" came with the "arty crowd."[350] By 1938, Mona's was so popular with cross-dressing patrons that a police officer who stopped by the bar said he "was unable to distinguish which were the men and which were the women."[351] He concluded that Mona's "was a pretty low place … frequented by an extremely low class of patrons, of whom the best that could be said was that they were of 'questionable' virtue." The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that Mona's Barrel House was a "well-known little hot spot" and was packed every night.[352]

Mona Sargent stayed at 140 Columbus until 1938.[353] She contracted tuberculosis and left the management of the bar in Jimmie's hands while she recovered for 11 months. When she returned, she found that Jimmie had not paid the bills and was cheating on her. She promptly divorced him and decided to move the bar to 440 Broadway Street, where it remained until 1952.

Mona's 440 Club (440 Broadway Street)

Mona Sargent opened Mona's 440 Club at 440 Broadway Street (extant) in 1939. Mona's 440 Club became an institution for lesbians in San Francisco and remained the only lesbian-oriented club in the city until after World War II. The building at 440 Broadway, built in 1915, contained Mona's and a restaurant on the ground floor, and residential units on the two floors above. The nightclub space was owned by Charlie Murray, who was going broke and asked Sargent to partner with him. Murray was aware of Sargent's popularity and wanted her name on the marquee. Sargent agreed to partner with Murray but insisted that the space be re-decorated to her taste.[354] Historic photographs show a simple neon sign on the façade that read "Mona's." At some point in the bar's history, a marquee out front advertised Mona's as the place "Where girls will be boys."[355] Reba Hudson described the club's interior:

> It's just like a real long room with a stage at the end of it. A big place. Typical nightclub thing. You entered at the front and the bar was over at your left. Hat check room at the end

346 Ibid.
347 Ibid.
348 Ibid.
349 Ibid.
350 Ibid.
351 "Cops Moan Low Down Over Mona's," *San Francisco Chronicle,* March 30, 1938, 15/2, Wide Open Town History Project records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
352 "Time Flies, Mona Moans," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 7, 1938, Wide Open Town History Project records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
353 San Francisco city directories.
354 Mona (Sargent) Hood, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
355 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, 1981.





ABOVE: Exterior of Mona's 440 Club at 440 Broadway (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

LEFT: Patrons at Mona's 440 Club (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

> of the bar. Then a big arch and you entered what they called the showroom in nightclubs in those days. And there was a line of booths down one wall, then tables in where you could utilize space around the stage. And the stage was right in the center at the time that it was Mona's. Later on, the stage, when it was Ann's 440, everything was the same except the stage was at the end of the showroom instead of in the center. It was kind of a horseshoe shaped thing with a piano up there and steps going up."[356]

Similar to Sargent's bar on Union Street, the walls at Mona's 440 Club were decorated with murals of naked and "slightly tart" women.[357]

Mona's 440 Club was known for its nightly cross-gender entertainment featuring male-impersonating performers dressed in tuxedos. The performers, many of whom were lesbian, were convincing as men because they had closely cropped haircuts and used body straps to flatten their breasts.[358] One of the most popular performers at Mona's was an African American singer named Gladys Bentley, billed as "America's Greatest Sepia Piano Artist" and the "Brown Bomber of Sophisticated Songs."[359] Bentley went to Mona's after a successful career performing in Harlem in the 1920s and 1930s. At Mona's 440 Club, writes Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Bentley packed her 250 pound frame into a tuxedo, flirted with women in the audience, and dedicated songs to her lesbian lover."[360] Bentley also performed in Los Angeles in the 1940s and 1950s at clubs such as the Swanee Inn, Frank Mell's Hollywood Mad House, The Jade, Larry Potter's Supper Club, and Nu-Paradise.[361]

Other famous male-impersonating singers at Mona's 440 Club were Beverly Shaw, Jimmy Reynard, Kay Scott, and Jan Jansen.[362] Beverly Shaw performed at Mona's through the mid-1940s and then at the Chi-Chi Club, another gay and lesbian bar across the street at 467 Broadway Street (extant). Reba Hudson said Shaw "had a real penchant for young attractive new faces in town" and always had several girlfriends at once.[363] Long-time lesbian bar proprietor Rikki Streicher described Shaw as having great sex appeal: "Wow, wow, wow!"[364] Jimmy Reynard went to Mona's after performing at Hollywood's famous Café International; a headliner known for her sappy ballads, she was "very handsome" and "the whole house was in love with her all the time," said Roberta Bobba.[365] Kay Scott started singing at Mona's Barrel House in 1936 and was on the bill at Mona's 440 Club through 1946; she was billed as the "Gay Troubadour of Song" and sang "Rabelaisian ditties…dirty ditties" with the audience.

The cross-gender performances at Mona's 440 Club attracted a huge lesbian following. Charlotte Coleman said she first heard about Mona's when she was living on the East Coast and made a pilgrimage to the bar soon after arriving in San Francisco.[366] For many lesbians, Mona's 440 Club was the first public space where they saw and met women like themselves. Reba Hudson and her friends were hugely impressed by their first night at Mona's: "They were females…dressed in dinner clothes and the best looking dykes you'd ever seen in your life, wearing these beautifully

356 Boyd, "Life During Wartime," *OurStories*.
357 Lord and Shaw, *Where to Sin in San Francisco*, 57.
358 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
359 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 76.
360 Ibid.
361 Advertisements in the *Los Angeles Times*. Cited in Watson, *Preserving the Tangible Remains of San Francisco's Lesbian Community in North Beach*, 62.
362 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, 1981.
363 Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 75.
364 Rikki Streicher, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
365 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, 1981.
366 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, July 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

tailored tuxes.… God, it just boggled our minds!"[367] She said, "[We] had never seen a male-impersonator before or seen anyone that was really openly gay before. All the entertainment was … all slanted towards gay innuendo, that kind of thing. It was just totally out and out … lesbianism! Right out there in the open and proud of it."[368]

Many lesbians connected with Mona Sargent on an emotional level and felt safe in her club. Charlotte Coleman recalled:

> Everybody liked [Mona]. She was straight, but she was really good. If any police came in she would do anything for you—she would stop them at the door and [say], "you don't touch my women." She was really sweet but also really tough when it came to us. She wouldn't let anybody bother anybody.[369]

An oral history narrator remembered that everybody at Mona's "was really nice and sort of took us under their wing."[370] Sargent recalled a night when two young women looked at her with tears in their eyes and said, "Ruby and I thought we were the only two people in the world that were like this, and we didn't know what to do."[371] Sargent understood the importance of providing a public space where women could congregate: "The lesbians were in their own crowd, having a good time. They had found a place and people that understood them. [No one said], 'Get out of here, you Goddamn lez'.'"[372] Lesbians formed friendships and romantic connections at Mona's, but because same-sex physical affection was illegal they had to be discreet. They "could hold hands under the table but nothing else. No dancing was allowed that I remember," according to Roberta Bobba.[373]

Mona's 440 Club was equally popular with tourists, and the bar was often featured in tourism guides, including *San Francisco Life*. Another guidebook, *Where to Sin in San Francisco* (1939), directed tourists who were looking for "boy-girls," to go to Mona's: "The little girl waitresses look like boys. The little-girls-who-sing-sweet-songs look like boys. And many of the little girl customers look like boys … There's a wandering artist in a green beret who'll sketch you for a buck. And Mona. *Her*self."[374] Tourists frequented Mona's 440 Club and similar queer spaces because, according to Nan Alamilla Boyd, they "wanted to experience unfamiliar sexual worlds."[375] Sargent said the clientele at her club was "one-third gay, one-third our regular crowd [bohemians], and one-third tourists."[376] She was adamant that her business did not survive on tourism alone. When the Gray Line bus tour dropped off tourists at her club she said, "You can come in if you want, but there's just standing-room only…I don't need [your business]."[377] Lesbian businesswoman Charlotte Coleman said Mona's was "mostly women" but the lesbians and tourists comingled. Roberta Bobba recalls that Mona's 440 Club also was popular for military servicemen wanting to see the lesbians.

In the 1940s and 1950s when policing agencies were commonly raiding bars, Mona's 440 Club was never bothered. Sargent said the police "knew me. I'd lived on [Telegraph] Hill before that and

367 Reba Hudson, interviewed by Roberta (last name not given), 1992.
368 Boyd, "Life During Wartime," *OurStories.*
369 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
370 Unidentified voice in Mona Sargent's interview, Mona (Sargent) Hood, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
371 Ibid.
372 Ibid.
373 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, 1981.
374 Lord and Shaw, *Where to Sin*. Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.
375 Ibid., 75.
376 Mona (Sargent) Hood, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
377 Ibid.





TOP: Performers at Mona's 440 Club (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)
BOTTOM: Butch/fem couple at Mona's 440 Club (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

I'd go down and just knew cops."[378] When asked why Mona's 440 Club became one of the most popular bars in San Francisco, Sargent replied: "Because it was new. There weren't any others … It was because I was the first…they'd come up from Los Angeles, there weren't any there then, and celebrities would come in. And things just kind of fell in.[379] Rikki Streicher called Mona's the "rock of the women's bars."[380]

Mona Sargent sold her share of Mona's 440 Club to Charlie Murray in the mid-1940s, but the club continued to operate under her name until 1952. In October 1953, the club became the "new and different" Ann's 440 Club, with Ann Dee and Norma Clayton as the managers. Norma Clayton, a butch lesbian, was rumored to be Ann Dee's lover.[381] Ann's 440 Club retained a gay and lesbian clientele through the early 1960s, but it was predominantly an entertainment venue. Lesbian singer Beverly Shaw was Ann's first headlining act.[382] And in 1960, the club featured the cabaret act starring noted male-to-female transsexual Christine Jorgensen, who had made an enormous media splash in 1952 as the first American revealed as having had what was referred to at the time as sex-change surgery.[383]

Mona Sargent after the 440 Club

After she left the 440 Club, Mona Sargent partnered with Tom Arbulich at the Paper Doll at 524 Union Street, which became a very popular and long-standing queer restaurant and bar (described in detail in a later section of this chapter). Her time at the Paper Doll was short-lived, and in 1948 Mona opened her fourth club, Mona's Candle Light, at 473 Broadway Street (extant), across the street from her 440 Club (which at that time still used her name). Mona's Candle Light was also popular with LGBTQ residents. As with her other nightclub interiors, Mona hired an artist friend to decorate Mona's Candle Light. The club was popular, "busy, busy every night with great write-ups," according to Sargent.[384] She described Mona's Candle Light as "a place where people of all walks of life can meet their own friends."[385] Sargent stayed at the Candle Light through at least 1950 and later quit the bar business. Mona Sargent retired near Santa Rosa, California; she died in 2001.

Black Cat Café

Early History

The Black Cat Café opened at 710 Montgomery Street (extant) after the repeal of Prohibition, and soon became a bohemian anchor in the Jackson Square/North Beach neighborhood in San Francisco. It was located on the first floor of the Canessa Building, underneath the Canessa Printing Company, a press founded by Italian immigrant Atillo Canessa in the early 1900s.[386] The interior of the Black Cat was a big, open space with high, beamed ceilings and large clerestory windows over the storefront.[387] A long, wooden bar ran along the north wall—on the left as one entered the space—and tables and chairs cluttered the rest of the floor. Dark wood wainscoting lined the walls and was

378 Ibid.
379 Ibid.
380 Rikki Streicher, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
381 Pat Bond, interviewed by Allan Bérubé, May 18, 1981, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
382 Miscellaneous club announcements, Grace Miller Papers, Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library.
383 Display ad and listing for the run in *San Francisco Hotel Greeters Guide* (July 1960). Thanks to Gerard Koskovich for this reference.
384 Mona (Sargent) Hood, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
385 Ibid.
386 San Francisco city directories. The Canessa Printing Company moved from the 600 block of Montgomery to 708 Montgomery in the early 1910s.
387 Interior descriptions are based on historic photographs housed at the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, University of Southern California and the José Sarria Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

painted with replicas of famous portraits such as Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*. By the 1940s, a small stage was located at center rear of the floor. A piano and dressing area were located behind a curtain, and tables pushed together in front of the curtain created an informal stage. Decorations in the Black Cat over the years were eclectic. Nautical-themed objects such as netting, anchors, lanterns, and sea creatures hung from the ceilings and over the stage. A figurehead and a bell were affixed to a post adjacent to the stage. In the 1940s, artist Alex Anderson, born in the Philippines and educated at UC Berkeley, decorated the walls with his murals—possibly the figures painted on the wainscoting.[388] Framed paintings, many for sale, filled the rest of the walls.

According to historian Nan Alamilla Boyd, the Black Cat's first manager was Charles Ridley, the same man responsible for San Francisco's original Black Cat Café at 56 Mason (described earlier in "Bohemianism").[389] The Black Cat's early clientele was a broad mix of bohemians, intellectuals, dockworkers, people from the neighborhood; many literary celebrities were known to stop in, including John Steinbeck, William Saroyan, Truman Capote, and Allen Ginsburg. Community historian Gerald Fabian described it as a cross-section of class, race, and sexuality."[390] Gay artist Earl McGrath remembers the Black Cat as a "scungy little dive," but

…very romantic, you could hear it[.] I can always remember my heart quickening when I came near. As you approached you could already sort of pick out the voices of your friends. It was a real drinking establishment. Sailors and hookers and just about everything in there. Intellectuals; painters; it was very "modern," in that sense, because you had everything from transvestites to businessmen to girls out on dates with young boys.[391]

The Black Cat was "very democratic," according to Clyde Evans. "[W]e all assumed that it was a Bohemian place and that it didn't matter if we were lesbian or heterosexual, that anything went, provided the other person was agreeable."[392] The first waves of Black Cat patrons entertained themselves by drinking red wine, playing checkers and chess, and talking about books and exchanging ideas.[393] Earl McGrath remembered the Black Cat as an "existentialist hangout" because "everybody was reading Sartre and Camus and all that stuff."[394]

Austrian holocaust survivor and libertarian Solomon "Sol" Stoumen purchased the Black Cat in 1945 when he was in his 30s.[395] (Stoumen was heterosexual.) Stoumen was the proprietor of the Red Lizard at 545 Washington, another popular bohemian bar that featured cross-gender entertainment.[396] When Stoumen took over the Black Cat, author Henry Evans snarked, "The place changed hands and the new owner encouraged the fruit and the place went to hell."[397] Similar to Finocchio's and Mona's 440 Club, the Black Cat became overtly queer in the mid-1940s when it started hosting cross-gender entertainment. Some of the earliest performances at the Black Cat

388 Thomas Albright, *Art in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1945-1980: An Illustrated History* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1985), 258.

389 This historical note could not be verified through primary sources. See Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 56.

390 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.

391 Earl McGrath, interviewed by Kevin Killian, September 19, 1991. Quoted in Lewis Ellingham and Kevin Killian, *Poet Be Like God: Jack Spicer and the San Francisco Renaissance* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 41-42.

392 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Phil Miller, 1997-1998.

393 Burt Gerrits, interviewed by Allan Bérubé, February 9, 1980, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

394 Earl McGrath, interviewed by Kevin Killian, 1991. Quoted in Lewis and Killian, *Poet Be Like God*, 41-42.

395 Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco: Policing and the Creation of a Cosmopolitan Liberal Politics, 1950-1972* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 84.

396 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.

397 Henry Evans, *Bohemian San Francisco* (San Francisco, CA: The Porpoise Bookshop, 1955), 32. Quoted in *The San Francisco Bay Area Gay & Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter* 5 (Winter 1989), 9.

featured cross-dressing men performing as old women with long-time Black Cat pianist Jimmy "Hazel" McGinnis accompanying.[398] Clyde Evans called those early performances "marvelous … something that really should have been orchestrated and put into a ballet."[399]

José Sarria at the Black Cat

In the 1950s, the Black Cat became famous for its drag performances by José Julio Sarria. Sarria was born to a Colombian mother and a Nicaraguan father at St. Francis Hospital in San Francisco in 1923. After serving as an Army officers' steward during World War II and during the American occupation of Berlin in 1945–1947, Sarria attended San José State University, where he studied to become a teacher. Sometime in the early 1950s, Sarria was arrested for sexual solicitation at the Oak Room in the Saint Francis Hotel—a life-changing event because the morals arrest made him ineligible for a teaching license.[400] Before starting at the Black Cat, Sarria performed in drag at a gay bar in Oakland called Pearl's and at the Beige Room in San Francisco, a popular drag bar on Broadway (discussed in detail in a later section of this chapter). Given his natural talents, Sarria realized, "I might be able to make a living this way."[401] Sarria worked as a waiter at the Black Cat before starting his famous drag shows. His first performances were informal, spur-of-the-moment numbers. Eventually he was performing three shows a night, accompanied by Hazel McGinnis on piano. "He bantered with the crowd, lavishing attention on beautiful men and mocking the discomfort of naïve out-of-towners," writes Nan Alamilla Boyd. "He dressed outrageously, played all the parts, and often interrupted arias with witty repartee, political commentary, or his own interpretations of the opera's characters."[402] Sarria remembers, "I was the entertainer, and I, whether or not I knew it at the time or whether or not anyone else realized it, I changed the character of the Black Cat. I became the Black Cat."[403]

José Sarria's performances were enormously popular. Photographs of the interior taken during his operas in the 1950s show a packed house with patrons standing on the bar or sitting on stacked-up crates to catch a glimpse of the stage.[404] Gerald Fabian recalls, "[T]hose nights when the crowd was very large, it was difficult to get to the bar and very difficult to work oneself into … Black Cat."[405] Like Mona's 440 Club and Finocchio's, the Black Cat became an institution on San Francisco's tourist circuit. "The tour buses would come by the Black Cat, and the drivers would say, 'You want to see a good show, go there and see this. [José Sarria] does four shows a night.'"[406]

After a while, and in response to ongoing police raids and surveillance at the Black Cat, José Sarria began to infuse politics into his performances. Understanding the political power he could wield from the stage, Sarria started to "address the Black Cat's regular customers as part of a community, a 'gay community.'"[407] Sarria used the stage as a pulpit to convince his audience that they could effect radical change if they came out of the closet and joined together to form a community: "[W] e had to work together…we were responsible for our lives. We could change the laws if we weren't

398 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Allan Bérubé and Eric Garber, 1983.
399 Ibid.
400 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 57.
401 Ibid., 20-24.
402 Ibid., 58.
403 José Sarria, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd. Quoted in Ibid., 22.
404 Historic photographs, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives and The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
405 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Allan Bérubé and Eric Garber, 1983.
406 José Sarria, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd. Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 23.
407 Ibid., 59.









TOP: Jose Sarria performing at the Black Cat Cafe (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)
BOTTOM: Full house at the Black Cat Cafe (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

always hiding."[408] One of Sarria's famous slogans during this period was, "United we stand, divided they arrest us one by one."[409] Gay-rights pioneer George Mendenhall said that Sarria's political statements were highly influential and marked the "beginning of [his] awareness of my rights as a gay person."[410] Mendenhall remembers that José would energize the crowd by saying, "Let's unite." Mendenhall adds:

> [H]e would have everybody in the [Black Cat] stand, and we would put our arms around each other and sing "God Save Us Nelly Queens" [José Sarria's parody of God Save the Queen]. If you lived at that time and had the oppression coming down from the police department and society, there was nowhere to turn … and to be able to stand up and sing "God Save Us Nelly Queens" – we were really saying, "We have our rights, too."[411]

In 1961, using the Black Cat Café as a political headquarters, Sarria ran for city supervisor—the first known openly gay candidate anywhere in the world to run for public office. Had he won, he also would have been the first Latino to win a supervisor's seat in San Francisco.[412] Sarria helped "shape a nascent gay movement," explains Boyd, and his trail-blazing political efforts at the Black Cat helped transform the queer bar into "a kind of politicized community center—a site for the development of new political ideas and responsibilities."[413]

Sarria went on to help found homophile organizations, the precursors to gay rights organizations, including the League for Civil Education (LCE), the Society for Individual Rights (SIR), and the Tavern Guild (discussed in detail in "Homophile Organizations"). In 1964, Sarria became the self-appointed "Her Royal Majesty, Empress of San Francisco, José I, The Widow Norton," as he established the Imperial Court, which eventually grew into a still-existing network of non-profit LGBTQ charitable organizations throughout the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Sarria died at his home in New Mexico in 2013. His memorial service was held at Grace Cathedral on Nob Hill.

Closing of the Black Cat Café

After a long legal battle to retain the Black Cat's liquor license (discussed in detail in "Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities"), owner Sol Stoumen lost his final appeal to the Supreme Court of California, and in October 1963 the Alcoholic Beverage Control agency in Sacramento announced that they were going to "bolt the Cat doors shut, 'come hell or high water.'"[414] Over 2,000 people showed up on October 31, 1963, to mourn the loss of the Black Cat's liquor license. Newspaper columnist Herb Caen said it was the "biggest crowd in town, stretching from Washington to Pacific."[415] The crowd included "drag queens and businessmen, college students and mink-clad society matrons, men in t-shirts and boots, and tourists—all gathered to show support for the cause of gay civil liberties and to say goodbye to a San Francisco institution."[416] At midnight,

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408 Michael Robert Gorman, *The Empress is a Man: Stories from the life of José Sarria* (New York: Haworth Press, 1998), 162. Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 59.

409 Ibid.

410 Quoted in Allan Bérubé, "The First Stonewall," *San Francisco Lesbian & Gay Freedom Day Program* (1983), Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

411 Ibid.

412 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 60.

413 Ibid., 62.

414 'Black Cat' Hangs on to its last Life," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 25, 1963, Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

415 Quoted in Bérubé, "The First Stonewall," *San Francisco Lesbian & Gay Freedom Day Program.*

416 Klages, "When the Bar Was the Only Place in Town," *The San Francisco Bay Area Gay & Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter* 4 (Spring 1989), 4.

the crowd sang "God Save Us Nelly Queens" one last time.[417] One of Sol Stoumen's attorneys, Matthew B. Weinberg, said the loss of the Black Cat moved him to tears: "That place is like an institution. This is like losing the cable cars or the Golden Gate Bridge."[418] When the Black Cat finally closed, José Sarria said it was the "end of the gay community's communication center."[419]

Other North Beach Bars and Restaurants of Note

While Finocchio's, Mona's 440 Club, and the Black Cat Café were the earliest and most significant queer bars in San Francisco's North Beach neighborhood, other nightclubs, bars, and restaurants that opened in North Beach from the 1940s through the 1960s are worth mentioning.

Tommy's 299 Club

Tommy's 299 Club opened at 299 Broadway at Sansome (not extant) in 1948. Tommy's 299 was the first bar in San Francisco owned by an openly lesbian woman, Eleanor "Tommy" Vasu. Vasu was born in Ohio around 1917-18; she moved to San Francisco in the late 1940s.[420] She was famous around town for her short hair, expensive suits, Cadillac convertible, and gangster friends.[421] Community historian Pat Bond described Tommy in these words:

> [S]he made a lot of money and she would go with hookers a lot. And she would buy them fur coats and John Fredericks [sic] hats. [A]nything you wanted, Tommy could get it for you. You wanted a watch, she'd bring out forty watches. She liked being a gangster, like Frank Sinatra, that kind of [thing]. She was in drag from the time she was twelve. All her life.[422]

Roberta Bobba said that Tommy "passed as a man completely … role-playing was so embedded in her."[423] Herb Caen described Tommy as a "a short-haired, long-tempered girl … a gentleman among ladies."[424]

Tommy's 299 Club was located in a four-story brick building two blocks west of the Embarcadero. Like Mona's Barrel House, the floors were covered in sawdust. The Firenze Hotel filled the upper two floors of the building and was known to be a hot spot for prostitution. Several oral history narrators recalled that Tommy was heavily involved in prostitution, and served as a pimp for girlfriends involved in the sex trade.[425] Prostitutes and lesbians mingled freely at Tommy's 299, according to Charlotte Coleman.[426] The illicit activity drew the attention of police in 1949, and the club was raided, resulting in the arrest of eight women on vagrancy charges.[427]

Boyd calls Tommy Vasu a "lesbian entrepreneur" and notes that "policed women like Vasu manipulated the laws and cultural practices that restricted their behavior to build economic

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417 Ibid.
418 "'Black Cat' Hangs on to its last Life," *San Francisco Chronicle.*
419 José Sarria, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd. Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.
420 Census data and San Francisco city directories.
421 Reba Hudson, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, May 29, 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 88.
422 Pat Bond, interviewed by Allan Bérubé, 1981.
423 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, 1981.
424 Herb Caen, *San Francisco Chronicle,* January 8, 1961, 19. Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 88.
425 Reba Hudson, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992. Quoted in Ibid.
426 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992. Cited in Ibid.
427 "Eight Women Held in Raid," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 16, 1949, 1. Quoted in Ibid.

resource and expand the public space available to lesbians in San Francisco."[428] Vasu went on to open two more lesbian bars in North Beach, Tommy's Place and 12 Adler Place (discussed in detail in "Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco"). In addition to running bars, Tommy operated the Romolo parking lot at 530 Broadway from the late 1950s through mid-1960s.[429]

Tommy's 299 Club closed in 1952. The building at 299 Broadway was demolished sometime between 1956 and 1959 to make way for an Embarcadero Freeway on-ramp. In August 1969, Tommy Vasu was convicted of selling heroin and served five years at Tehachapi State Prison in Vacaville, California.[430] She was murdered a few years after she was released.

Paper Doll

The Paper Doll opened in 1949 at 524 Union Street (extant), just west of Grant and three blocks north of Broadway. The Paper Doll was unique because it was one of the first restaurants catering to the queer community in San Francisco—if not the first—and because it provided a public alternative to nightclubs and bars. The Paper Doll was located on the ground floor of a two-story, wood-frame building next to the alley Cadell Place. The interior was composed of a long bar on the left and booths and tables on the right.[431] There were two banquet rooms at the back of the space that could seat over 100 people. Community historian Joseph St. Amand recalls that the North Beach artist colony helped decorate the Paper Doll's interior when it first opened. He said artist Emmy Lou Packard, friend of Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, painted murals on the interior walls, while Rita Covelick designed a "collage window."[432]

The Paper Doll's first manager was Tom Arbulich, a longtime North Beach restaurateur who ran the business until 1956, when he sold it to Dante Benedetti.[433] Mona Sargent was associated with the Paper Doll during its first few years in existence, serving as the bar's hostess. Sargent was responsible for "turn[ing] it on as a gay bar," according to former patrons.[434] The clientele at the popular Paper Doll was a mix of men and women. Charlotte Coleman said the Paper Doll was "where we all met and grew up."[435] It was "the number one place that we went every Friday and Saturday night."[436] Coleman liked the Paper Doll because it was located away from the more touristy Broadway Street: "Women used to pick bars that were tucked away, quiet little areas and districts and what not, and the Paper Doll, at that time, was."[437] Roberta Bobba recalled that gay men sat at the bar and lesbians squeezed into the large booths:

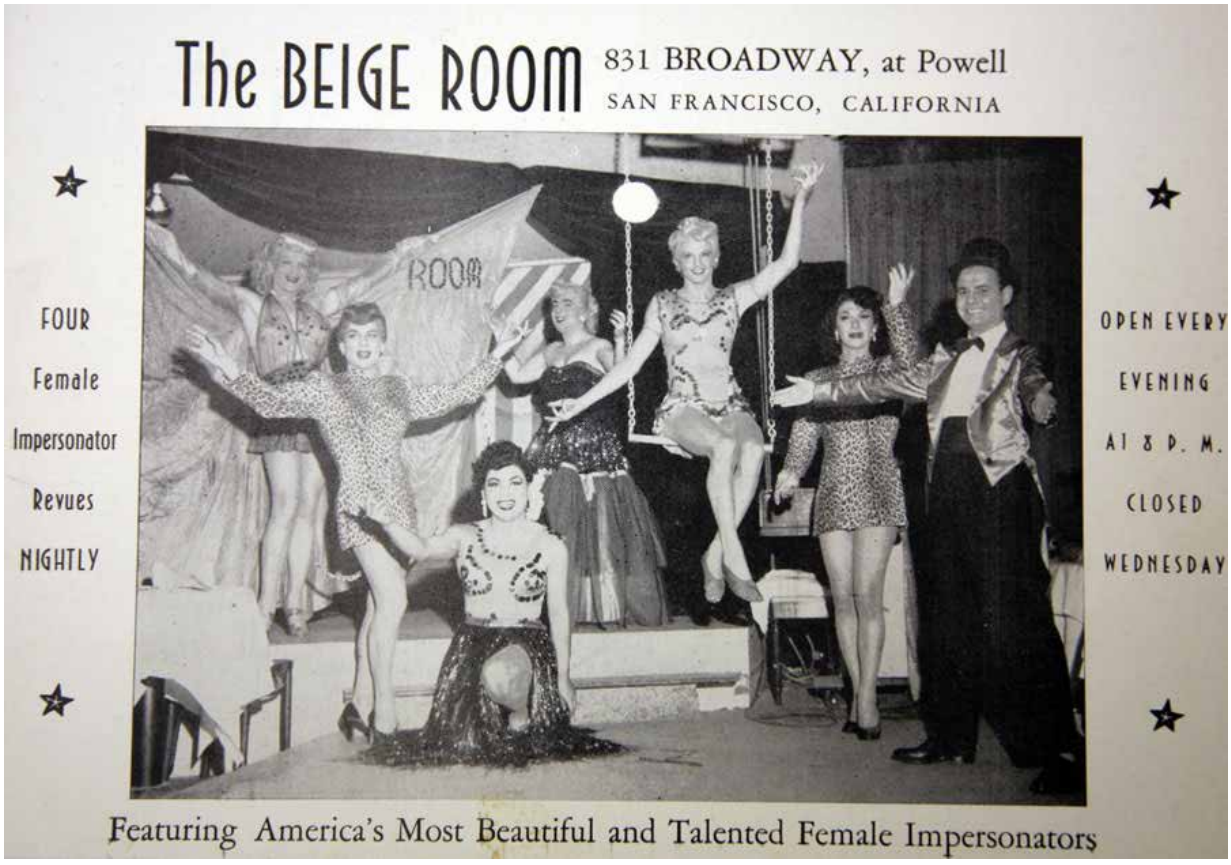
> The waitress would say, 'Well … can we seat two more people with you?' So they'd sit down next to you. And then a little while later it'd get real busy and they'd stick in two more. So there you were, every time you went, you met some new people … you got to know all the ladies in town."[438]

428 Ibid., 90.
429 San Francisco city directories.
430 California Department of Corrections, case records, in Nan Alamilla Boyd's possession. Cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 273.
431 Dante Benedetti, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, July 10, 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
432 Joseph St. Amand, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, August 2, 1991, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
433 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 82.
434 Charlotte Coleman, Rikki Streicher, Mona Hood, and Reba Hudson, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
435 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
436 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
437 Ibid.
438 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, 1981.



LEFT: The Paper Doll at 524 Union Street (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BELOW: Beige Room postcard (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)



Bobba says women went to the Paper Doll for an elegant dinner.[439] Gerald Fabian, who described the Paper Doll as mostly lesbian, said it was always packed—"one of the places on the circuit that you went to."[440] Gay author Samuel Steward hung out at the Paper Doll in the early 1950s and noted in his journal that it was "so packed they were drinking outside on the steps."[441]

The Paper Doll was one of the earliest spaces in San Francisco that functioned as an informal community center where "gay, lesbian, and transgendered people could make friends, find lovers, get information, or plan activities."[442] The Paper Doll remained in operation through 1961. Charlotte Coleman said queer places such as the Paper Doll stayed open longer than most queer spaces because they doubled as restaurants, and according to Coleman policing agencies were more tolerant of bars with restaurants.[443]

Beige Room

The Beige Room first opened at 2215 Powell Street (extant) but in 1951 moved to 831 Broadway near the Broadway Tunnel, which was completed the following year. The nightclub was located in a 1938 Art Deco building that also housed the Unión Española de California, a Spanish cultural organization. Gerald Fabian described the bar interior as having the ambiance of a big nightclub, with open arena-like setting and a big staircase that featured in many of the performances.[444] For a brief period, trapeze swings hung from the ceiling. The original owners were Al Burgess and Isadore "Chinkie" Naditz.

A lower-budget, but decidedly queerer version of Finocchio's, the Beige Room became famous for its female-impersonation performances in the 1950s. One of the establishment's most popular performers was Lynne Carter, a white man known for impersonating African American singers such as Pearl Bailey and Josephine Baker.[445] After attending a performance by Kay Thompson and the Williams Brothers at the Venetian Room at the Fairmont in 1953, Carter "slipped into a pair of slacks, grabbed a long scarf, hired four hunky dancers, and … debuted Lynne Carter and the Four Cartiers" at the Beige Room.

Another famous drag performer, Laurie Knight, recalled his time at the Beige Room:

> I was there five years, no vacations, one night a week off. We did three to four new shows a year; three shows a night; four shows on Saturday. The Gray Line Tour Bus arrived at 8 p.m. on Saturdays. We would do a special show for them, and then three more shows for our regular audience. Funny thing, some people always left the Gray Line Tour and stayed for our second show.[446]

Other popular performers at the Beige Room were T.C. Jones, Ray Saunders, and Kenneth Marlowe.[447] José Sarria was an early performer. Community historian Gerald Fabian performed "Madame Butterfly" and "Un Belle Dia" at the Beige Room when he lost his job at Gump's and was

439 Ibid.
440 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.
441 Quoted in Spring, *Secret Historian*, 197.
442 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 61.
443 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
444 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.
445 Sam Irvin, "Stop Performing in Slacks!," http://kaythompsonwebsite.com/Stop_Performing_in_Slacks!.pdf.
446 Laurie Knight, interviewed by David de Alba, 2004.
447 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 130.

hard up for money.[448] He said his costume made him look like a "plus seven" Shirley McClaine in a red wig. Fabian recalled that, unlike Finocchio's, which followed a stringent hiring process, the Beige Room was more of an "underworld operation…with a lot more freedom in [whom] they hired."[449] Many of the performers were openly gay, giving the Beige Room an "insider's appeal," according to Boyd.[450] "[F]emale impersonators at the Beige Room both legitimized queer culture and set the standard for flamboyant drag performance … the Beige Room was the place where San Francisco's drag culture flourished."[451]

The Beige Room had a mixed clientele and was popular with the transgender, gay, and lesbian communities. Patrons could dance—only in male-female couplings—in addition to attending performances. Many former patrons recall that it was a ritual to go dancing at the Beige Room on Sunday nights.[452] Halloweens at the Beige Room were an institution. The Beige Room closed in 1958.

Gordon's

Gordon's restaurant and bar opened at 840 Sansome Street near Broadway (extant) in the early 1950s and is remembered by many gay men as one of the earliest restaurants in San Francisco catering to the queer community.[453] It was located on the ground floor and in the basement of a five-story brick building, around the corner from the former location of Tommy's Club 299. Original owners Gordon Jones, a chef, and William L. Bowman worked together at the Paper Doll before opening Gordon's.[454] Jones and Bowman were two of the first gay men to own a gay establishment in San Francisco. Community historian Joe Baron said Gordon's was for the "fuzzy sweater set."[455] It was "dressy, which meant that you wore a tie … You were judged by the other people in the bar by the way you dressed, and if you [weren't] … appropriately dressed, you were more or less ignored." Burt Gerrits recalled that Gordon's was popular in the 1950s with gay men working in the financial district.[456]

Around the late 1960s, Sandy Sanchez purchased Gordon's, and the basement space became a dance club known as the Playroom. Gordon's was still popular in the early 1970s. It was described in 1970 as the "most elegant of San Francisco's gay spots.… An extremely attractive place with … black leather booths, graceful arches, rich red tablecloths, gold wallpaper and replica tablets of Greek sculpture suspended dramatically along the wall. The clientele is mainly a lot of older gentlemen in business suits."[457] Gordon's closed around 1972.

448 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.
449 Ibid.
450 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 130.
451 Ibid., 130, 132.
452 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, 1981.
453 San Francisco city directories.
454 Gordon's, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.
455 Joe Baron (pseud.), interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, July 21, 1991 and August 4, 1991, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Interview edited by Boyd.
456 Burt Gerrits, interviewed by Allan Bérubé, 1980.
457 John Burks, San Francisco, April 1970; Gordon's, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.





LEFT: Former home of Gordon's restaurant at 840 Sansome Street
(Photo by Shayne Watson)

RIGHT: Charlotte Coleman, lesbian bar owner and businesswoman
(Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

The Front

Charlotte Coleman opened The Front at 600 Front Street at Jackson (not extant) in 1958. It was the first of many lesbian and gay bars owned and operated by Coleman in San Francisco. After Tommy Vasu, Coleman was the second openly lesbian woman in San Francisco to own a lesbian bar. Coleman was born in 1923 in Rhode Island. She joined the Coast Guard when she was 21 and settled in San Francisco after serving her term. Before opening The Front, Coleman worked as an auditor for the Internal Revenue Service. When an investigation in the 1950s revealed that she was a lesbian, Coleman was discharged from the IRS. (In the 1950s, the FBI, working with local police departments, oversaw a broad surveillance program of civil servants suspected as homosexuals.[458]) She recalled feeling crushed when she lost her job, but said "in the end it was the best thing that ever happened to me 'cause it forced me to go into business for myself."[459]

The Front was located in a two-story industrial building in the heart of the city's produce and warehouse district.[460] It was adjacent to a massive, block-long vegetable market. Coleman said she intentionally located The Front in an area "where nobody was around" as a way to prevent police raids, which reached a peak in the late 1950s. "[N]obody would notice the gay people coming and going too much."[461] She described the bar as being in "an old warehouse type building"[462] and "long and narrow and old. It had that old-fashioned tin wallpaper on the walls and high, high ceilings."[463] There were tables and chairs and a little stage and dressing room, all built by Coleman. For a while she had a kitchen in the back and served food.

Before she could afford to hire help, Coleman worked the bar by herself. She described a typical day at The Front:

> I used to open up around noontime or so. I worked seven days a week … I'd get there and wash the floor and clean the ladies room and men's room, stock the beer bar. As soon as I'd get that done I'd open up and I'd stay there until two o'clock in the morning … some nights I was so tired I'd just lay down on the bowling machine and went to sleep. I couldn't make it home.[464]

Coleman wore slacks and a jacket with a tie to work. "I wanted to look like I was gay and that's the way I dressed."[465] She wanted The Front to be a lesbian bar, but "there were no gay papers to advertise in."[466] It became popular by word of mouth.

The Front was strictly lesbian and didn't attract tourists. The clientele was "mostly young…going to school and going to college."[467] Her patrons had very little money, and many were unemployed. Those who had jobs would only show up once a week and "spend a few bucks."[468] Coleman said men working in the produce district, known as "lumpers," would stop by for a drink. "They'd come

458 Spring, *Secret Historian*, 132.
459 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
460 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps. Cited in Watson, *Preserving the Tangible Remains of San Francisco's Lesbian Community in North Beach*, 104.
461 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
462 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
463 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
464 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
465 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
466 Ibid.
467 Ibid.
468 Ibid.

in and drink beer in the daytime … They sit and wait until the truck comes in then they all get out and unload it … They'd call us the fruits, and they were the vegetables. They were nice guys. If something broke they would try to help us—they didn't try to harass or anything."[469] Performances at The Front featured female and male impersonators: "We had whatever was around," said Coleman.[470] One of the first events held in the space was a St. Patrick's Day brunch fundraiser for the lesbian homophile organization the Daughters of Bilitis.

Coleman experienced police harassment at The Front and she lost her liquor license after incurring multiple morals charges.[471] Around the same time, she lost the lease on the building because the city was making plans to demolish the produce market as part of the massive Golden Gateway redevelopment project. It was good timing for Coleman because she was ready to leave the lesbian-bar business, which she concluded was not lucrative. "Women weren't making [the] kind of money they had to have to go [to the bars]."[472] And she was tired of the lesbian drama: "I had a lot of fun at The Front," Coleman recalled, but "the women got into so many fights. Pulling hair and dumping beers over each other."[473]

Coleman closed The Front in 1961 and opened the Golden Cask, a bar for gay men on Haight Street. "I wouldn't even let women in with slacks," she said.[474] The building that housed The Front was demolished in the 1960s. The former site of The Front is now part of Jackson Square Park.

DEVELOPMENT OF SEX-BASED CULTURES AND COMMUNITIES

Bathhouses, streets, parks, public restrooms, movie theaters, beaches, and other public spaces where cruising and hustling took place allowed vast, but discreet, sex-based cultures and communities to develop in San Francisco. "Because *all* sex acts between men were … illegal," writes historian Allan Bérubé, "gay men were forced to become sexual outlaws … experts at stealing moments of privacy and at finding the cracks in society where they could meet and not get caught."[475] Historian George Chauncey argues that cruising and hustling on city streets and sex in public spaces mirrored, or blended with, the sexualized street culture of working-class heterosexual neighborhoods in urban areas in the first half of the 20th century. Young people living in crowded homes, who were constantly scrutinized by family members, "tried to construct some measure of privacy for themselves in spaces middle-class ideology regarded as 'public.'"[476] Writing about his experience in a Jewish immigrant family in New York's Lower East Side, composer Samuel Chotzinoff coined the phrase, "privacy could only be had in public."[477]

Public spaces served as community centers and "sites of sexual rendezvous" for both straight and gay communities, but for gay men these sites were even more important.[478] Not only did they allow gay men to find one another when gay networks were small or nonexistent, but they were places where men could "find collective support for their rejection of the sexual and gender roles prescribed them"—thereby planting the seeds for community formation.

469 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
470 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
471 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
472 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
473 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992.
474 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.
475 Allan Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!* (December 1984), Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
476 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 202.
477 Quoted in Ibid.
478 Ibid., 204.

The experiences of gay men and transgender women are the predominant focus of this section; for a variety of reasons, those populations were more inclined to seek sex in public and to form communities around sexual activity, but there also is some mention of sex as it relates to lesbians and bisexual men and women.

Bathhouses

Bathhouses, according to George Chauncey, were the "safest, most enduring, and one of the most affirmative of the settings in which gay men gathered in the first half of the 20th century."[479] Unlike the streets, parks, and other places where gay men engaged in sex, bathhouses "were theirs alone."[480] Allan Bérubé writes that gay bathhouses, along with gay and lesbian bars, played a critical role in the development of LGBTQ communities throughout the country by providing a relatively safe and private space where gay men could meet and engage in sex.[481] Bathhouses "exemplify the manner in which men built a social world on the basis of a shared marginalized sexuality," Chauncey concludes.[482]

The original bathhouses functioned as a public utility. In crowded cities in the 19th and early 20th centuries, bathing facilities in lodging and boarding houses were rudimentary, if they existed at all. Public baths provided basic facilities for cleanliness and health, such as baths, showers, and steam rooms. San Francisco's first bathhouses date back to the Gold Rush. In 1851, the city had four; by the start of the 20th century there were over 20.[483] Some of the earliest bathhouses in San Francisco combined swimming with bathing; these included the Lurline Ocean Water baths at Bush and Larkin Streets (not extant), in operation from the 1800s through the 1930s, and the Sutro Baths at Lands End (partially extant), which opened in the early 1900s. The James Lick Baths, established in 1890 at 165 10th Street (extant), is a San Francisco Landmark (#246). One of the longest-running bathhouses in San Francisco was the Burns Hammam baths at 229 Ellis Street (extant). Established around 1911, the Burns Hammam remained in business through the early 1940s, when the name was changed to the San Francisco Turkish Baths. The San Francisco Turkish Baths operated through the 1980s. Other long-running bathhouses were Finnila's Finnish baths at 2284 Market Street (1930s–1980s) (not extant) and Jack's Baths at 1052 Geary and 1143 Post Street (approximately 1936-1980s) (both extant).

Bérubé's research on the history and significance of the gay bathhouse reveals that public bathhouses evolved into gay meeting spaces as early as the late 1800s. Documentation shows that the transformation occurred in four major phases. First, in the 19th century, gay men would occasionally have sex at public baths—or find partners there with whom to have sex elsewhere. Later, men began to identify favorite places, such as a certain bathhouse or YMCA where managers or employees were known to tolerate gay sex by looking the other way. In the 1920s and 1930s, the first bathhouses specifically targeted to homosexual men began to emerge; in these spaces, notes Bérubé, "sex was permitted in closed and locked 'cubicles,'" but the clientele was not exclusively gay. And finally, in the 1950s and 1960s, what Bérubé calls the first "modern gay bathhouses" appeared, catering exclusively to gay clientele and serving the sexual needs of gay men.[484]

Bathhouses were critical in the development of gay communities because their benefits went beyond sex. They served as "refuges from society's prejudice against homosexuals, as oases of

479 Ibid., 208.
480 Ibid.
481 Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!*.
482 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 208.
483 San Francisco city directories.
484 Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!*.

freedom and homosexual camaraderie…. Old friendships could be renewed, 'new intimacies' were 'ever in the air.' Patrons socialized with each other in the common areas."[485] Bathhouses were one of the few spaces where gay men could encounter others and form relationships. Bérubé illustrates this when he tells the story of two soldiers meeting at Jack's Baths in 1944. The two men went their separate ways during the war, but Bob Ruffing said the meeting "seemed so good to each of us that we decided to get together after the war and give it a whirl."[486] They reunited, and their one experience at Jack's Baths turned into a "fifteen-year love affair." Community historian George Mendenhall added that the baths were particularly important for men "who lived in really skid-row situations or in a little room."[487] The baths served as "a living room situation," where patrons "could read magazines … [enjoy the] snack bar … if you didn't want to have sex, some people would just go there and have steam and enjoy the social atmosphere and leave. [Baths were] just a place to relax."[488]

For men who wanted to use the baths for sex, another benefit of the bathhouses was that they provided a safer alternative to sex in public areas like Union Square, which were often under surveillance by policing agencies. Bathhouses also added a layer of protection from violence, Chauncey explains:

> There was always the danger … that a man taken home from the streets would try to rob or blackmail his host, or that a sexual encounter in a park would end in violence. Men who went to the baths avoided such dangers, for they were able to leave their valuables and identification papers stored safely in a locker and were surrounded by other gay men who could come to their assistance in the event of trouble.[489]

Bathhouses were not totally immune from danger. Like gay and lesbian bars, policing agencies raided bathhouses. Community historian Tom Redmon recalled that some bathhouse owners established measures to protect patrons. At Jack's Baths, the owner would signal patrons that the bathhouse was being raided by flashing a light. "[I]f they hit that light, turned it on and off, on and off, then [patrons] knew that there was vice squad in the front entrance, and that they were coming in. And so, if you were in a room with somebody, you got the hell out of there in a hurry."[490] George Mendenhall recalled that Jack's Baths also had a public address system that management would use to announce raids, warning customers: "Please be in your rooms. One person to a room. We're enforcing our regulations, one person to a room.'"[491]

In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, gay bathhouses went through "dramatic changes," according to Bérubé. "They established themselves as a major gay institution that could both shape and respond to the rapid social, sexual and political changes that were taking place."[492] Bathhouses became increasingly focused on sex and less on public health: in the mid-1960s, "orgy rooms" were installed; in the 1970s, with the introduction of video, pornography was introduced; also in the 1970s, bathhouses began to feature fantasy environments recreating public sex scenes outside of the baths, with interior décor imitating such settings as public toilets, parks and bushes, YMCAs, theaters, and prisons. Bathhouse owners encouraged gay artists to decorate the walls with erotic

485 Ibid.
486 Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 119.
487 George Mendenhall, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, November 13, 1991, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
488 Ibid.
489 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 219.
490 Tom Redmon, interviewed by Len Evans, May 17, 1984, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
491 George Mendenhall, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1991.
492 Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!*.

murals: "For some artists, these murals were the first opportunity to create and display their art for an exclusively gay audience."[493] Dave's Baths (100 Broadway, extant), Folsom Street Barracks (1145 Folsom Street, not extant), Liberty Baths (1157 Post Street, extant), and Bulldog Baths (132 Turk Street, extant) had elaborate murals by gay artists. Bathhouses also doubled as entertainment centers with movie nights, singers and bands, dancing, and holiday celebrations. Bathhouses reached a peak in the early 1980s, as the number of gay and non-gay bathhouses in San Francisco grew from nine in 1960 to 15 in 1980.[494] In the 1980s, as the bodybuilding craze was picking up, many bathhouses were modified to become more like gyms. In the early 1980s, when the AIDS epidemic hit San Francisco, the San Francisco Health Department ordered the closure of bathhouses across the city. The last bathhouse to close was the 21st Street Baths, which finally shut its doors in May 1987.[495]

Following is a selective overview of the city's longest-running or more popular bathhouses.

Jack's Turkish Baths

Jack's Turkish Baths was one of the longest-running gay bathhouses in San Francisco. Jack W. Gartman opened Jack's Turkish Baths at 1052 Geary near Van Ness in the mid-1930s under the management of Alfred C. Birch.[496] An advertisement in 1940 describes Jack's as offering a "hot room, a steam cabinet, and a soap rub with private room for $1.25 [on Saturdays the soap rub went up to $1.50]." Jack's was a men's-only bathhouse and was open day and night. An early visitor described the scene:

> It had as many small cubicles (each with a cot, chair, closet, a locking door) as possible; a steam room, warm room, masseurs, showers, [toilet room]. By midnight on Friday and Saturday nights, the Baths was filled to beyond capacity … Someone spread the rumor that the U.C. football team came over from Berkeley every Monday evening.[497]

In 1941, Jack's Turkish Baths moved one block away to 1143 Post Street. Jack's was popular with servicemen during World War II. One former soldier said, "It was *good*. Very, very busy."[498] Another soldier said that he slept at Jack's Baths during World War II when lodging in San Francisco was impossible to find.[499] Jack's on Post Street featured a communal steam room, showers, and private rooms for rent. By the 1950s, the bathhouse was a well-known gay meeting spot: "Track meet starts at 11 p.m. Many guests bring their own basket lunch, and at 2 a.m., lunch time. Baths in connection, no extra charge."[500] Community historian Gerald Fabian described Jack's as beautiful and more upscale than the Third Street Turkish Baths, another popular gay bathhouse. Clyde Evans, community historian and partner of gay author Clarkson Crane, remembered a communal orgy room.[501] Various members of the Gartman family oversaw operations at the baths up to the 1970s.[502] Jack's Baths closed in the 1980s.

493 Ibid.

494 San Francisco city directories.

495 Ilana DeBare, "Last Gay Bathhouse in S.F. Agrees to Close Its Doors," *Los Angeles Times*, http://articles.latimes.com/1987-05-08/news/mn-2810_1_gay-bathhouse.

496 San Francisco city directories.

497 Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!*.

498 Ibid.

499 Burt Gerrits, interviewed by Allan Bérubé, 1980.

500 Jack's Baths was included in the Mattachine Society's bar guide in the 1950s; Jack's Baths, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.

501 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Allan Bérubé and Eric Garber, 1983.

502 Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!*.



Former home of Jack's Baths at 1143 Post Street (Photo by Shayne Watson)

Palace Baths / Third Street Turkish Baths

The Palace Baths, later known as the Third Street Turkish Baths, was one of San Francisco's most notorious public spaces for gay sex. Located at 85 Third Street (not extant) at Mission, the establishment appeared in the city directory in 1951 under management of Harold C. Iliff, though some accounts state that the baths were open as early as World War II. Between 1963 and 1980, city directories show that the building at 85 Third Street was vacant, indicating that the baths had closed or the business had gone underground.

The baths at 85 Third Street were in the basement of the building. The space was described by Gerald Fabian as "cold … smelly and dirty [and] … really raunchy."[503] Clyde Evans said the baths were filled with cockroaches and noted that the lobby had a cashier's booth protected by a cage. Men engaged in sexual activities in door-less cubicles located off a long hallway. The Palace Baths catered to a large cross section of clients: "All classes of men went there and there was no pretense about it."[504] Fabian said the employees tended to be hustlers.

Club Turkish Baths/Bulldog Baths

From at least the 1950s to the early 1980s, the building at 182 Turk Street (extant) housed one of the city's most popular gay bathhouses. The Club Turkish Baths was one of San Francisco's first modern gay men's bathhouses, catering almost exclusively to a gay clientele. In 1954, the Mattachine Society described the scene: "It has a snack bar and soft drinks available. Foam rubber mattresses. Real Plush. $3.00 Fridays, $3.50 Saturdays, Open 8 pm to 10 am."[505] By the 1970s, the Club Turkish Baths was described as the "talk of Gay America," and "old and well-established." Weekends at the baths were "paved with horny, action-oriented guys of all ages and types who are looking for good times, rather than frills."[506]

In 1979, the Club Turkish Baths became the Bulldog Baths and the space was redecorated. The Bulldog Baths marketed itself as the "largest bath in the USA."[507] The elaborate interior of the Bulldog Baths featured two tiers of jail cells, a birdcage, and a garage-themed room with a full-size semi truck. New York artist M. Brooks Jones decorated the walls of the orgy room with a huge mural depicting men having sex among semi trucks parked in the moonlight.

Sutro Bath House

The Sutro Bath House opened in 1974 at 312 Valencia Street (extant), next door to the Valencia Gardens public housing project. (There was no connection to the historic Sutro Baths at Lands End.) It moved to 1015 Folsom Street (extant) around 1977. In the early 1980s, Sutro Bath House featured Gay Western Nights with live western music, "cowboy and cowperson strippers," and San Francisco's "biggest dance floor" for country and western dancing, covered by a 60-foot skylight "that can open to the stars when it gets too hot."[508] The "Bisexual Boogie" was held every Tuesday. The bathhouse also featured a café, barbershop, gift shop, and massage parlor. Sutro Bath House was one of the only public sex clubs that welcomed lesbians and bisexual women. Owner Bill Jones

503 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.

504 Ibid.

505 San Francisco Mattachine Society convention bar guide (1954); Club Turkish Baths, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.

506 Spartacus Gay Guide (1976); Richard Young, *QQ Magazine* (Summer 1970); John Francis Hunter (1972); Club Turkish Baths, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.

507 Sex Clubs, General, Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

508 Ibid.

says, "Mine was the only [sex club that allowed women that] I knew of. We had a few Sunday nights for women only, and it was very successful, but my regular [male] customers were pissed off because they couldn't come in so we had to stop those nights. From what my female employees told me, the orgy room with the mirrored ceiling was the most popular room on those nights."[509] The Sutro closed in 1984 when the City ordered bathhouses to shut down in the midst of the AIDS crisis.

Osento

The only bathhouse in San Francisco that catered exclusively to women was Osento in the Mission District. Osento operated from 1981 to 2008 in the lower floor of a Victorian residential building at 955 Valencia Street (extant). The Japanese name presumably linked the business to the long tradition of communal bathing in Japan. Maggie Jochild, an Osento patron, recalls paying a $2.00 entry fee before entering a locker and shower room. The main space was a "large tiled room with a very hot pool lined with wide rims on which you could sit or lie to cool off/chat…"[510] Behind that was "a small back room with pads to lie on, and a small outdoor patio with a cold plunge." Another patron, Stephanie Rosenbaum, says, "Unlike the men's bathhouses, [Osento] really was a place for bathing. Although I heard stories of late-night sauna nookie, I never witnessed any; the rules were no sex ('not even with yourself'), and privacy was respected. But if you couldn't touch, you could look: it was a place to experience the myriad beauty of real women."[511]

Other Bathhouses of Note

Across the street from Harvey Milk's residence and camera shop in San Francisco's Castro district, the Victorian building at 582 Castro Street (extant) was home to one of the city's longest-running bathhouses. Opened around 1933–1934 by Alex Sergo and his wife, who lived upstairs in the building, the bathhouse was known as the Castro Baths and later as the Castro Rock Steam Baths. The Castro Rock Steam Baths became an exclusively gay bathhouse in the 1970s when considerable numbers of gay men began living in and frequenting the Castro. Carl Driver describes the baths in 1971: "An older, converted house, rather seedy with peeling paint, etc. but very convenient to the Upper Market–Castro area."[512] In 1976, the *Spartacus Gay Guide* said: "Open 24 hours and catering to a crowd as varied as the neighborhood; young, not-so-young, freaky, conservative affluent and poor."[513] The Castro Steam Baths closed in the late 1970s.

Dave Tricaldi and his friend Rex Allen opened Dave's Finnish Baths in 1959 at 451 Washington Street (not extant), near the produce market. Allan Bérubé's research suggests that Dave's Finnish Baths might have been the first gay-owned bathhouse in San Francisco. Community historian Gerald Fabian described Dave as an exquisitely beautiful musician and very hospitable. In 1969–1970, Dave's Finnish Baths moved to 100 Broadway Street (extant), where it featured a snack bar called The Nelly Deli, a television lounge, a steam room, and an orgy room. Zane Tomas was the manager.[514] In 1971, Dave's Baths was described as "probably the most popular [bathhouse] in the city," with two levels of cubicles and a large steam room.[515]

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509 Personal communication between Juliet Demeter, GLBT Historical Society, and Bill Jones, former owner of Sutro Bath House, July 14, 2014.

510 Maggie Jochild, "Osento Memory," http://maggiesmetawatershed.blogspot.com/2014/05/osento-womens-bathhouse-san-francisco.html.

511 Stephanie Rosenbaum, "Osento, 1980-2008," *The Adventures of Pie Queen: Osento, 1980-2008*, http://piequeen.blogspot.com/2008/08/osento-1980-2008.html.

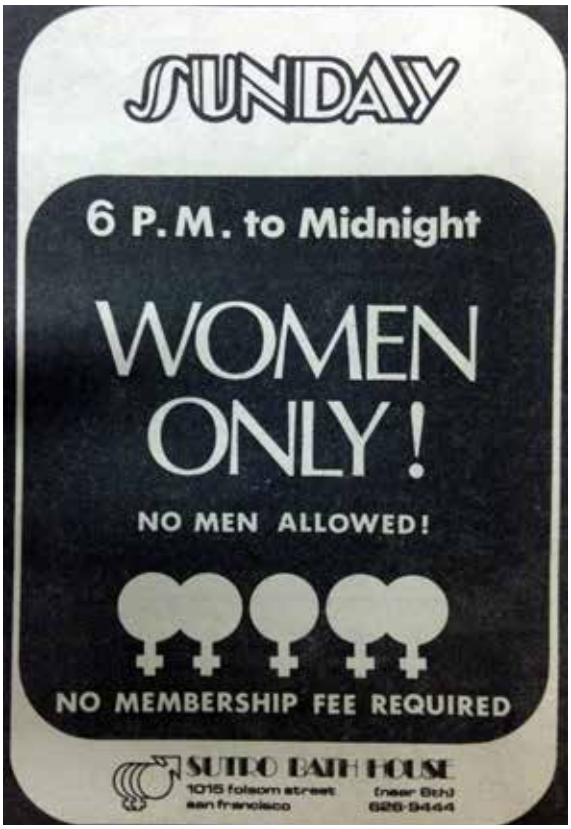
512 Castro Baths, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.

513 Ibid.

514 Dave's Baths, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.

515 Carl Driver (1971); Dave's Baths, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.







TOP LEFT: First anniversary party flyer for Bullldog Baths at 132 Turk Street
TOP RIGHT: Advertisement for women's night at Sutro Bathhouse at 1015 Folsom Street
BOTTOM: Business card for Castro Rock Steam Baths
(All courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

An early gay business in the Mission–Valencia District was a "small, clean, neighborhood bathhouse" at 3244 21st Street (not extant) called the 21st Street Baths, which opened in 1963.[516] Also known as The Baths, it had a steam bath, a TV lounge, and private rooms for gay men. The 21st Street baths stayed in operation for over 25 years; after the City ordered the closure of bathhouses in 1984, the establishment defied the order and held out until May 1987, when it finally agreed to close to settle an enforcement suit the City had filed; it was the last gay bathhouse in San Francisco. About a year after the establishment shut down, the building was destroyed in a fire.

Sex in Public Spaces

Outside of the bathhouses, men and transgender women had sex in the streets, parks, public restrooms, and anywhere else one could steal away for a moment of privacy. Public parks were popular because they were dark at night, and the bushes and trees provided a sense of privacy and protection.[517] Public restrooms, known as T-rooms (short for toilet rooms), were easy hookup spots because they were accessible, segregated from women, and the stalls created semi-private spaces.[518] For prostitutes and hustlers, gay bars "functioned as extensions" of the streets and were important because they provided a consistent customer base and they "offered shelter from the elements."[519]

Men hooked up either by "cruising" for each other, or by engaging in paid sex with gay or trans hustlers or street prostitutes. Men who engaged in public sex did so for various reasons: they preferred not go to bars, or they were too young or had little money; they were in relationships or lived with their families and therefore could not bring someone home; or they simply liked the thrill of sex in public.[520] In some cases, hooking up with strangers or paying for sex was easier because it was anonymous and it "saved all the hassle" of meeting in very public places like bars.[521]

Cruising in San Francisco can be traced back to at least the early 20th century. One of the earliest accounts of cruising in San Francisco is in Magnus Hirschfeld's *The Homosexuality of Men and Women* (1914), which describes soldiers propositioning men in the streets of San Francisco.[522] The popularity of cruising gained in the first decades of the 20th century, and areas known for cruising changed over time because of policing and crackdowns, redevelopment, and shuffling of LGBTQ neighborhoods. Cruising for sex became even more popular during World War II as the number of servicemen going in and out of the city peaked. Servicemen escaped to the city whenever they qualified for leave, taking designated buses or hitchhiking. Popular cruising areas during World War II included the Pepsi-Cola Center for Service Men and Women at 944 Market Street at Mason (extant), where "covert sexual activity was lively."[523] During World War II, Pepsi-Cola Company sponsored and operated centers in New York City's Times Square; in Washington, D.C.; and San Francisco. The centers served as canteens for men and women in the military, providing showers and barbers, banking, messaging services, lounges and reading rooms—all for free. They also offered low-cost food and free Pepsi. San Francisco's Pepsi-Cola Center had dormitory facilities where servicemen and women could sleep. Cruising and hustling also increased during certain periods such as the sexually liberated 1960s, and in the 1980s when many bathhouses closed.

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516 Eric Garber, "Valencia's First Gay Bars," *The San Francisco Bay Area Gay & Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter* 5 (Fall 1989), 5.

517 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 196.

518 Ibid., 197.

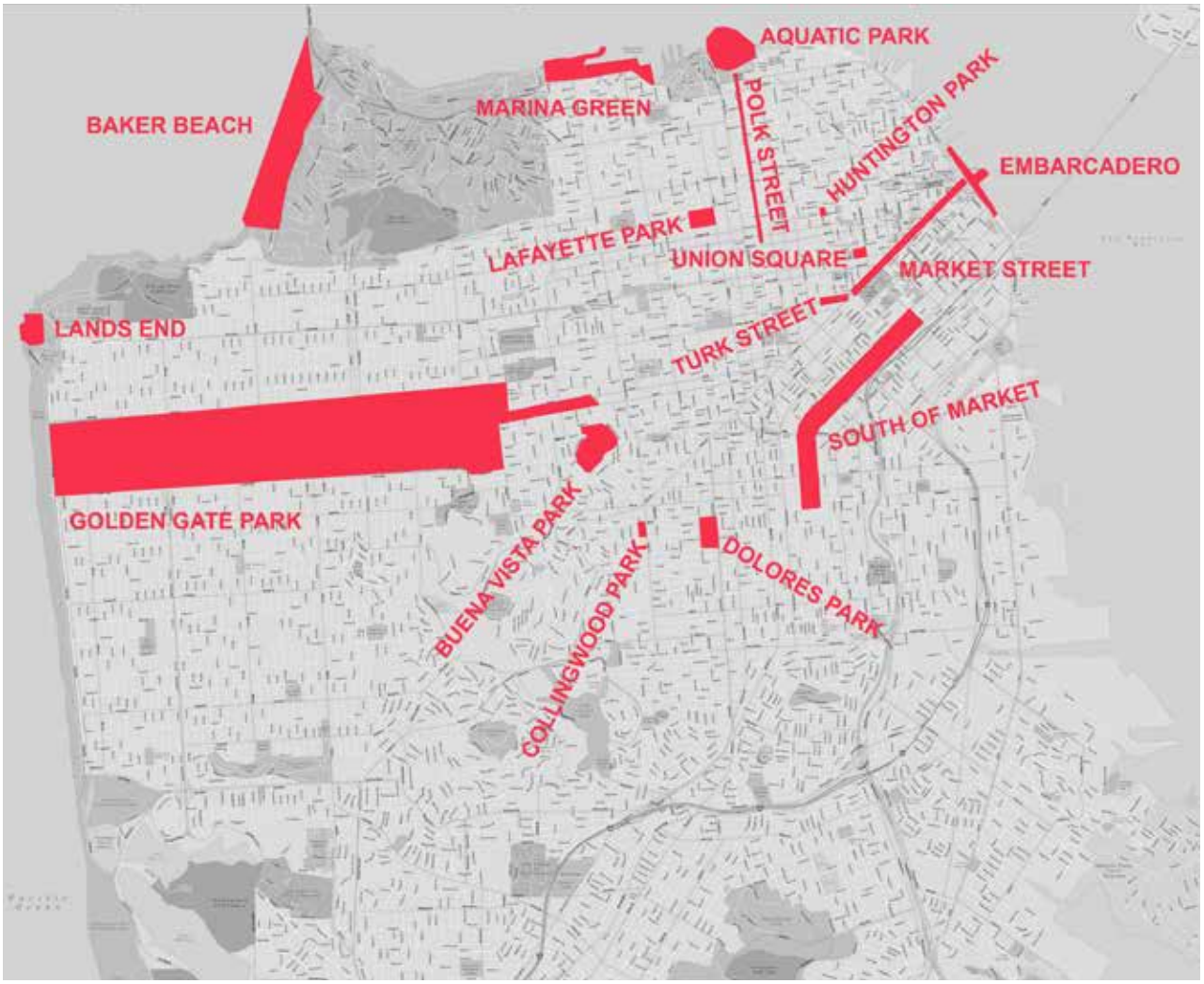
519 Ibid, 193.

520 *Citizens News* 111 (February 1964), Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. See also Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 111.

521 David Harrell, interviewed by Terence Kissack, July 2, 2000, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

522 Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women* (1914), translated by Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2000). 625. Thanks to Gerard Koskovich for this citation.

523 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 109.



Map showing some of the areas in San Francisco known for cruising, hustling, and sex in public from the early 20th century through at least the 1980s (Map by Shayne Watson)

The following section presents a sampling of areas in San Francisco that sustained a culture of cruising and hustling for long periods of time. Unless noted, many of these areas were active from at least World War II through the early 1990s, and some are still active today. This list is not intended to be all-inclusive.

Market Street

One of the earliest cruising areas in San Francisco was lower Market Street from the Embarcadero to Fifth and Mason Streets, an area known for gay cruising and hustling as early as the 1920s.[524] One reason for the popularity of this strip was that it served as a connection between the waterfront and the Tenderloin, and it was an entertainment corridor dotted with movie theaters, restaurants, bars, and all-night cafeterias. The balconies of movie theaters, according to historian George Chauncey, were popular for gay and straight sex because they were dark, often empty, and many times ushers would take bribes in exchange for privacy.[525]

In the late 1920s and 1930s, the Morse Hotel at 1045 Market Street (extant), according to Lou Rand Hogan (aka Toto le Grand), was popular for hookups:

> [The Morse Hotel] had six floors, with … an old-style circling staircase, with an open "well" in the center that reached to the skylighted roof. The place was run by a "Miss" [William] Hayes, a shrewd old bag who specialized in gay-oriented hotels. Perhaps 65% of the guests at the Morse were gay – of some stripe or another. The halls were wide and warm … So, old sailors … simply lay down in the halls to sleep a few hours. The "paying guests" made frequent tours of inspection, and dragged in anything that looked tasty.[526]

The Morse Hotel was forced to close when a sailor was thrown down the stairwell and killed, and the building became Weinstein Company's Department Store in the 1940s. Gay author Samuel Steward, who was staying at the Embarcadero YMCA in the early 1950s, wrote about walking down Market Street after a night out at the bars: "I walked the long way home down Market, to see the doorways filled with young toughs, available for $$, dangerous—very like Rome … very exciting."[527]

Third and Fifth Streets off of Market Street were equally popular for cruising, especially in the 1940s and 1950s. Third Street between Market and Howard was a famous pick-up spot for gay men because of the proximity of the Palace/Third Street Baths at 85 Third Street; the Peerless Theater at 128 Third Street (not extant), which specialized in racy films; multiple side alleys known for cruising; and various inexpensive hotels where gay men could have one-night-stands.[528] The basement of the Lankersham Hotel at 55 Fifth Street (extant) also was a popular spot for gay sex.[529]

Fifth Street was popular for cruising during World War II because it provided direct vehicular access to the San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge and military bases on Treasure Island and in the East Bay. Allan Bérubé quotes from an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* encouraging drivers to pick up soldiers: "You would want the break if you were in their shoes … Why not give them

524 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*, 24.
525 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 194.
526 Toto le Grand (Lou Rand Hogan), "The Golden Age of the Queens," *The San Francisco Bay Area Gay & Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter* 3 (March 1988), 6.
527 Spring, *Secret Historian*, 174.
528 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Allan Bérubé and Eric Garber, 1983.
529 Robert (no last name given), "Down Memory Lane: San Francisco As I See It," *OurStories* (Newsletter of the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California) 6 (Fall 1990), 4.





Market Street

The Hangout Corner

By Rob Haeseler

Between Fifth and Seventh, Powell and Jones, Market street is squeezed by Skid Row and the Tenderloin. It looks seedy and dog-eared. It is caught in the din and dirt of rapid transit construction.

The architects have predicted a graceful renaissance for this portion of the street, and when it comes, the Donut Palace, a coffee shop on Market near Taylor, should gently melt into it.

For the present, however, all is not well.

The trouble at the Donut Palace started when the Doggie Diner across the street closed. It had been a favorite hangout for the motorcycle crowd.

The 8:30 p.m. closing time for Compton's Cafeteria, around the corner at Turk and Taylor, also boosted "the hangout" business at the Palace.

The Donut Palace responded by putting up a new "minimum price" sign.

POPULARITY

Familiarly called freaks by the Market street vagabond-life the drug queens don't usually exhibit themselves in public.

It is more common to glimpse them scattering across Market late at night, singly or in pairs, left-kent for a bar on Sixth street.

They are as agile as geese, and it is usually their waddle that betrays them. Sometimes a drunk one will stagger out of Sixth street onto Market, preen in one of the convex mirrors of a drug store and then take off his shirt and give his girdle an adjusting tug or two.

BEHAVIOR

Like everyone else in the Palace, however, they behavior is exemplary. Even the bike riders watch their manners.

"Please understand," Mrs. La Stella explained. "That the bike riders have never caused us any trouble. It's only their presence that's hurting us. . . . We're going broke [illegible]

LEFT: Pepsi-Cola Center for Service Men and Women at 944 Market Street (From Ebay)

RIGHT: 1968 S*an Francisco Chronicle* article about gay cruising and hustling on Market Street (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

a ride?"[530] Consequently, as Bérubé notes, the routes between bases and cities like San Francisco became popular gay cruising areas. William P. Gaddis remembers cruising Fifth Street "like mad trying to pick up a sailor to take home across the Bridge. We kept maneuvering ourselves into position and just then someone else would pick them up right from under [our] very noses. But finally we managed and got a very nice kid who is over at the Air Station."[531]

Market Street continued to be popular for cruising and hustling through the 1960s and 1970s. In the late 1960s when the city demolished portions of Market Street to build the underground BART and Muni lines, the area was generally an undesirable place to be, as described in 1968: "Between Fifth and Seventh, Powell and Jones, Market street is squeezed by Skid Row and the Tenderloin. It looks seedy and dog-eared. It is caught in the din and riot of rapid transit construction."[532] In part because of the seamy nature of the area, Market Street was a hotbed for hustling. Hustlers favored the 900 and 1000 blocks, which featured a combination of pool halls, theaters, taverns, discount stores, clothing and jewelry stores, and favorite restaurants like the Doggie Diner at 1029 Market (extant) and the late-night Clinton's Cafeteria at 1059 Market (extant). One of the popular hustling spots was the sidewalk in front of the Flagg Brothers' shoe store at 950 Market Street (extant).[533] The corner of Mason, Turk, and Market Streets, which connected to the Market Street hustling district, was known as the "Meat Market" or "Meat Rack" for the amount of gay hustling and prostitution that took place there. The Donut Palace at 1019 Market Street (extant), another all-night eatery, was popular as well, especially after Compton's Cafeteria at 101 Taylor Street (extant) in the Tenderloin reduced its closing time to 9:30 PM:

> Homosexual hustlers wander up from The Meat Rack at the corner of Market and Mason in search of friends and customers … Transvestites on their way from the Tenderloin to the drag queen bars on Sixth Street—the 67 and the Hot Spot—occasionally stop by [for] a cup of coffee, a donut and gossip.[534]

The second balcony at the Strand Theater at 1051 Market Street (extant) was another famous spot for gay sex.[535]

The Tenderloin

The Tenderloin was popular for gay cruising beginning in at least the 1940s. Areas known as tenderloins were located in many cities around the country: Scollay Square and the Combat Zone in Boston; Ninth Street in downtown Washington, D.C.; Times Square in New York; the French Quarter in New Orleans; and Broadway in San Diego. During World War II, tenderloins became popular with gay men because they provided basic and entertainment services, including bus stations, arcades, tattoo parlors, theaters, tailors, cafeterias, bathhouses, gay prostitutes, brothels, cheap hotels, and locker clubs where servicemen could check their uniforms and rent civilian clothes.[536]

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530 Quoted in Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 107.

531 Letter from William P. Gaddis Jr. to Johnny Holmes, June 17, 1942, William P. Gaddis, Jr. Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

532 Rob Haeseler, "The Hangout Corner," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 7, 1968, Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

533 David Harrell, interviewed by Terence Kissack, 2000.

534 Haeseler, "The Hangout Corner," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

535 Strand, Sites Database, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Version October 27, 2008.

536 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 116.







TOP LEFT: Former home of Queen Mary's Pub at 133 Turk Street, known for a gay and trans hustling scene

TOP RIGHT: The Tea Room Theatre at 145 Eddy, one of the longest-running gay porn theaters in San Francisco, in operation in the Tenderloin since the 1970s

LEFT: The Nob Hill Theatre at 729 Bush Street, in operation since the 1960s, helped sustain a gay sex culture in the Union Square/Nob Hill area

(All photos by Shayne Watson)

Sex was a big part of life in San Francisco's Tenderloin from early in its history. When the Red-Light Abatement Act shut down the city's brothels in 1914 and forced the sex trade onto the streets, prostitution moved into the Tenderloin. Gay and transgender prostitution and hustling became popular when some of the Tenderloin's first gay bars appeared: the Old Crow at 962 Market Street (extant) around 1935 and the Silver Rail at 974 Market Street (status unknown) about 1942. Turk Street from Jones to Mason was one of the main drags for cruising and hustling from the 1940s to the 1980s. As mentioned above, the hustling area known as the Meat Market at Mason, Turk, and Market was a hot spot for gay hustling and prostitution.

Businesses that helped sustain the Tenderloin's cruising and hustling scene through the 1980s were residential hotels such as the Dalt at 34 Turk Street (extant) that advertised in gay papers; bars such as the Old Crow and Queen Mary's Pub at 133 Turk Street (extant) that supported the hustling trade; the Club Turkish Baths (later Bulldog Baths) at 132 Turk Street; the Turk Street News at 66 Turk Street (extant), one of the city's first adult bookstores; sex theaters like the Pleasure Palace at 120 Turk Street (extant) and the Turk Street Follies at 105 Turk Street (extant), both of which featured porn shows; restaurants such as Compton's Cafeteria at 101 Taylor Street (extant) and Chukker's at 88 Turk Street (extant); and, importantly, apartment buildings and residential hotels such as the El Rosa Hotel at 166 Turk Street (extant) that provided housing for transgender sex workers and gay hustlers.

Union Square

Union Square was a popular cruising area from at least the 1940s through the 1980s. The sidewalk at the south side of the St. Francis Hotel near the corner of Geary and Powell was known as the St. Francis corner and was renowned for its high-priced hustlers. One of the most popular earlier public restrooms used for sex was in the basement of Macy's Union Square. Men who cruised in Union Square headed to Macy's for sex, even as late as the 1970s and 1980s when the employee restroom was "infamous for completely out and open [sex] in the middle of the floor for all to enjoy," according to long-time San Francisco resident Philip Rossetti.[537] Beginning in the 1960s, the newsstand at St. Francis corner was one of the few places in the city to purchase the *Berkeley Barb*, one of the area's first newspapers to feature advertisements for sex. It was distributed every Friday at noon. "The guy would [be] mobbed … people would just flock to get the *Barb*."[538] According to George Mendenhall, Timothy Pflueger's Art Deco masterpiece at 450 Sutter was "notorious for its men's room" and was one of the main stops for men working in the financial district who toured a circuit of restrooms in office buildings downtown.[539] Other areas in Union Square popular for sex were the bushes in the park, and the stairwells and restrooms at the Sutter-Stockton Garage.

Some of the gay bars in the area that helped sustain the long-term use of Union Square for cruising and hustling were the Claridge Room, an upstairs space at 153 Maiden Lane (extant) and the Orchid Room and Oak Room at the St. Francis Hotel (301 Powell Street) (extant), where gay rights activist José Sarria was arrested in the 1950s on charges of lewd activity in the men's room.

537 Philip Rossetti, interviewed by Shayne Watson for Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco, August 7, 2014.

538 David Harrell, interviewed by Terence Kissack, 2000.

539 George Mendenhall, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1991.

The Waterfront

Since very early in the city's history, San Francisco's Embarcadero, especially south of Market Street, was an enclave for single male workers, featuring lodging and boarding houses, cheap restaurants, and taverns. This scene persisted well into the 20th century. Community historian Gerald Fabian described the Embarcadero at mid-century as a mix of longshoremen, workers, produce warehouses, old hotels, and old restaurants that survived from earlier in the century.[540]

The Embarcadero YMCA was completed in 1926 at 169 Steuart Street between Mission and Howard (extant), facing the Embarcadero. It featured a gym and rooms for rent upstairs. Men cruised each other in the showers and restrooms. By World War II, the Embarcadero YMCA had become a favorite spot for gay sexual activity. Allan Bérubé writes: "In the YMCA hotels … gay and GI life merged, with men cruising each other in the showers and climbing into and out of each other's beds … YMCA hotels in nearly every city … were active cruising grounds throughout the war."[541] Famed sexologist Alfred Kinsey called the Embarcadero YMCA the "most notorious Y in the states."[542] One of the most vivid accounts of the waterfront YMCA comes from author Samuel Steward, who spent two summers there in 1953 and 1954 and kept meticulous written records of his stays. Steward stayed in a room that faced the Embarcadero Freeway and called the YMCA a "Christian bordello … inhabited primarily by men freshly returned from the armed forces and merchant marine, and desperate for sexual release … Sailors everywhere! All branches [of the service]!"[543] He noted that competition for sex was fierce. The atmosphere of intense and open homosexuality changed suddenly in 1954 when a soldier committed suicide in the building and the military conducted an investigation that uncovered decades of sexual activity among male residents. Steward's journal entry describes the experience: "[I] could tell that something had changed. There was a kind of furtiveness everywhere: people were quiet, there was no loud talk of any kind, and everyone walked with eyes almost painfully (and certainly maidenly) downcast."[544]

YMCA employees distributed a list of house rules denouncing homosexuality and encouraging a "Christian atmosphere." Steward said, "I don't see why [the YMCA] didn't simply say 'we're trying to get rid of the homos here,' … they certainly seem to have succeeded."[545] Still, the Embarcadero YMCA was a hotspot for gay sex through the rest of the 1950s. Gerald Fabian described the sex scene as "so open, it was so easy."[546] Community historian Tom Redmon called the YMCA a "male whore house."[547] By the 1960s, according to men who were early frequenters of the YMCA, sexual activity there began to decline. Many of these men attribute this decline to the opening of gay bathhouses during the same period."[548]

Two early bars on the Embarcadero helped sustain the sex culture on San Francisco's waterfront: Sailor Boy Tavern at 24 Howard Street (not extant) near the Embarcadero YMCA (opened in the late 1930s) and the Ensign Club at 1 Market Street (extant) (opened about 1940). The Sailor Boy Tavern is referred to as San Francisco's "first proto-leather bar," because it catered to gay military men and was known to have a rough clientele. The Ensign Club, open from the 1940s to the early 1960s,

540 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.
541 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 109-110.
542 Spring, *Secret Historian*, 180.
543 Ibid., 173-174.
544 Ibid., 193.
545 Ibid.
546 Jerry Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.
547 Tom Redmon, interviewed by Len Evans, 1984.
548 Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!*.

was notorious for sex in the basement. Fabian recalls the Ensign as having "a real wild" T-room in the basement that often flooded. "There were the wildest orgies…that would go on down there in that [T-room]…with all kinds of men…all the races were down there…so popular."[549] Another oral history narrator recalled: "The Ensign Club was something else—never anybody at the bar; they were all downstairs, which was the reason for going there in the first place."[550] Exhibitionism and voyeurism were part of the scene.

Other spaces on or near the waterfront that were popular for cruising and sex were the restrooms in the Ferry Building and in the Transbay Terminal, and in the 1970s and 1980s, the public restrooms at the Embarcadero Center. Raids on waterfront bars and the Embarcadero YMCA were frequent in the 1940s and 1950s.[551] The waterfront scene was altered drastically when the double-deck Embarcadero freeway was completed in 1958, making the waterfront less desirable and more isolated for many business activities, and thus more popular for discreet gay sex.

Nob Hill

By the mid-1950s, Huntington Park at California and Taylor had become, according to the police, "a major meeting spot for homosexuals" and was "frequented by thugs who prey on the sex variants."[552] The police noted that the park became active after the bars closed at 2 a.m. In the 1960s, when Nob Hill and Polk Street were centers of the gay male community, Huntington Park became even more popular. Nob Hill resident David Harrell said Huntington Park was a good place for cruising because of the high bushes encircling the park perimeter. "The hedges were taller than I am, and so if you were inside, you were pretty well protected. I would go down there every night … and drag someone home."[553]

Businesses that helped sustain the cruising culture on Nob Hill were the Top of the Mark at the Mark Hopkins Hotel at 999 California (extant), especially popular with gay men during World War II, and the Stanford Court Hotel at 905 California Street (partially extant). Gay author Samuel Steward stayed at the Stanford Court in 1954 when he was refused lodging at San Francisco's YMCAs for being a suspected homosexual. The hotel, which he noted was "for men only," had community showers and toilets and was a known hotspot for gay sex. He notes in his journal:

> [The Stanford Court was] a great place for the gay ones to stay when they came to town. The freedom was so nice and the management so liberal that a lot of people paid for the whole month willingly [even if only staying a week] … [F]or $50 a month, you live in a plush little room with wall-to-wall carpeting, quiet corridors, community showers—and absolutely no surveillance of any kind! *Vraiment*, they expect you to be queer … they really didn't very much care at all what went on in the showers."[554]

Another business on Nob Hill that contributed to the area's gay culture was the Hyde-Cal Bar (1390 California Street) (extant), which later became the Inn Debt and Chez Jacques. The Nob Hill Cinema and Arcade at 729 Bush Street—still in business today—opened as a private members-only theater before it became a gay porn theater in the late 1960s. The *San Francisco Chronicle* described the Nob

549 Jerry Fabian interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.
550 Robert, "Down Memory Lane," *OurStories*.
551 Jerry Fabian interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989-1990.
552 "Cops Crack Down on Nob Hill Park 'Terror'," July 29, 1954, Wide Open Town History Project records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
553 David Harrell, interviewed by Terence Kissack, 2000.
554 Quoted in Spring, *Secret Historian*, 194.

Hill Cinema in 1977: "The Nob Hill Cinema and Arcade … is a members only club." Previously the Club Hangover, it "seats fewer than 100 souls and has been called 'The Radio City Music Hall of gay porno theaters.'" It's a "tidy little theater, serves free java in the lobby." The arcade was located at the rear of the theater. It was a "30-foot hallway with lots of little rooms off it. The rooms have doors on them, but no lights inside … Each room has one wall with oddly shaped apertures in it."[555]

Presidio of San Francisco

The Presidio of San Francisco has early ties to the city's gay sex scene. Edward Prime Stevenson's book *The Intersexes: A History of Similisexualism as a Problem in Social Life* (1908) describes cities in the United States with known homosexual activity, including San Francisco. San Francisco's gay sex scene, according to the author, included prostitution among soldiers at the Presidio, "a garrison noted for its homosexual contingent … especially during the time of the sudden Spanish American War excitement."[556] In the 1930s, gay rights pioneer Harry Hay was involved in a gay sex network associated with the Presidio. Hay describes a guardhouse off of one of the Geary-side gates (likely the Presidio Gate[557]) that was headquarters for the network:

> The [1930s] were wide open, wild … What was particularly interesting about the guardhouse was that you went to that particular guardhouse in the Presidio … on Wednesday nights. The guy who was in charge of the guardhouse was friendly. He would make connections between men in the Army who were interested in being "fiddled with" and civilians, and they would hang in or around the guardhouse, and dates would be made. The guardhouse on Wednesday nights was the … place.[558]

According to Hay, he and his friends had sex with servicemen in the bushes around the guardhouse.

Baker Beach was one of San Francisco's most popular gay cruising areas beginning around the 1940s when it became known for nude sunbathing and gay activity. In the mid-1950s, an "alleged homosexual ring" at Baker Beach was infiltrated by military police, and the servicemen involved in the ring were court martialed.[559]

Miscellaneous Parks, Beaches, and Other Public Spaces

Cruising in Buena Vista Park in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood started as early as the 1960s and reached a peak in the 1980s. The activity became so popular in the early 1960s that the Haight-Ashbury Improvement Club convinced the city's Park and Recreation Department to cut down the shrubs.[560] More attempts to crackdown on cruising in San Francisco parks came in 1980 on the heels of an inflammatory national CBS documentary called *Gay Power, Gay Politics* that focused on gay sex in public and suggested that sex in parks was tied to child molestation.[561]

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555 John L. Wasserman, "On the Town: Trucking at the Nob Hill Cinema," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 24, 1977, Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

556 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*.

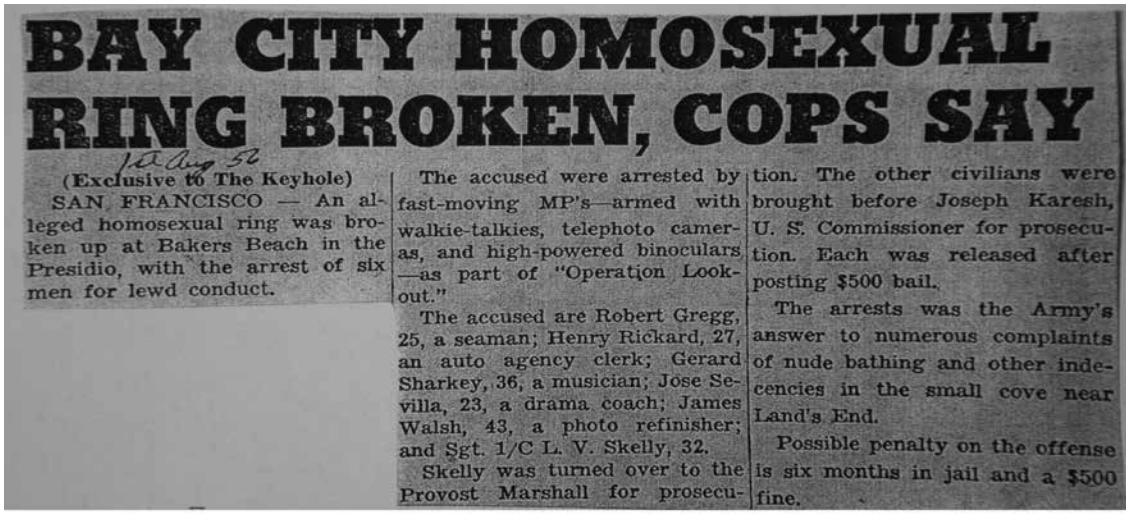
557 Personal communication between Shayne Watson and Robert Thomson, Deputy Federal Preservation Officer at the Presidio of San Francisco, October 14, 2014.

558 Harry Hay, interviewed by Chris Carlsson, "Gay Sex before Zippers (1995)," Shaping San Francisco, https://archive.org/details/ssfHAYBVDCT.

559 "6 Arrested in Perversion Case Here," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1956, Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

560 *Citizens News* 111 (February 1964), Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

561 Greg Varner and Claude J. Summers, "American Television, News," in GLBTQ: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender & Queer Culture," http://www.glbtq.com/arts/am_tv_news.html.



BAY CITY HOMOSEXUAL RING BROKEN, COPS SAY

(Exclusive to The Keyhole)

SAN FRANCISCO — An alleged homosexual ring was broken up at Bakers Beach in the Presidio, with the arrest of six men for lewd conduct.

The accused were arrested by fast-moving MP's—armed with walkie-talkies, telephoto cameras, and high-powered binoculars—as part of "Operation Lookout."

The accused are Robert Gregg, 25, a seaman; Henry Rickard, 27, an auto agency clerk; Gerard Sharkey, 36, a musician; Jose Sevilla, 23, a drama coach; James Walsh, 43, a photo refinisher; and Sgt. 1/C L. V. Skelly, 32.

Skelly was turned over to the Provost Marshall for prosecution. The other civilians were brought before Joseph Karesh, U. S. Commissioner for prosecution. Each was released after posting $500 bail.

The arrests was the Army's answer to numerous complaints of nude bathing and other indecencies in the small cove near Land's End.

Possible penalty on the offense is six months in jail and a $500 fine.



TOP: Newspaper article describing gay sex activity among servicemen and civilians at Baker Beach in the Presidio of San Francisco in 1952 (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BOTTOM: Presidio Avenue entrance gate at the Presidio of San Francisco, reportedly a gay cruising hotspot in the 1930s (Courtesy National Park Service, Golden Gate National

Golden Gate Park has been popular for cruising and public sex since at least the 1960s. Some of the popular areas for sexual activity through at least the 1980s (with some still active) were the bushes near the windmills; the soccer fields; the horseshoe pits (popular with USF students and workers at nearby hospitals); the Rhododendron Dell; and all the public restrooms, but especially near the Conservatory of Flowers, the bison, the tennis courts, the softball diamonds, off of John F. Kennedy Drive near the 19th Avenue entrance, and the tulip path near the windmills at the far western end of the park.[562]

Lafayette Park in Pacific Heights was a hot spot for cruising and sex through the 1980s. Community historian Charles "Chuck" Larsen, a pastor at the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) offers a vivid description of the park in the 1970s:

> Lafayette Park in San Francisco was a gay paradise. When the sun went down, the few straight people who had been there during the day left, and it was ours. By ours, I mean forty or fifty gay men walking around in suggestive poses. And what I didn't realize was you'd follow them into the bushes, and there were these little clearings they'd made. And at any time there'd be forty to fifty men having sex all over Lafayette Park. And you'd just walk through and you'd see somebody and you'd follow them or they'd follow you.[563]

Areas along the Marina Green and at Aquatic Park were popular cruising spots by the 1950s. Gay poet Jack Spicer and his friends hung out on the roof of the Art Deco bathhouse at Aquatic Park, where the "westernmost benches were favored by gay sunbathers."[564] Spicer and other gay men also sunbathed on the grass between the bocce ball courts and the Sea Scout building. Other cruising areas known for sexual contacts were the public restrooms on the Marina Green and at the St. Francis Yacht Club, and in the shower room at Aquatic Park.

Dolores Park and Collingwood Park saw an increase in cruising in the 1970s as nearby Castro and the Mission-Valencia neighborhood became queer enclaves. In 1970, a newspaper reported, "In recent weeks, an undetermined number of Gays have been arrested in Dolores Park on charges of solicitation and lewd conduct." The San Francisco Police Department cracked down on Dolores Park after discovering "much cruising and scrambling in the bushes." The police used undercover officers to entrap men engaging in public sex.

San Francisco's beaches also were popular cruising spots. Ocean Beach on San Francisco's west side was known as gay meeting place as early as the 1920s. The beaches at Lands End were also hot spots for nude sunbathing and cruising.

Other popular cruising areas in San Francisco from the 1940s through at least the 1980s were Coit Tower; the reservoirs on Russian Hill and Twin Peaks; Lake Merced Boathouse; and various art museums. Sex was known to occur in the restrooms in various department stores and restaurants, including the Emporium (basement), Weinstein's on upper Market Street, Woolworth's throughout the city, Carl Wilke's Cafeteria in the deYoung Building, and J.C. Penney at 5th and Market Streets.[565]

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562 Various newspaper articles, Allan Bérubé Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. See also Betty and Pansy's Severe Queer Review of San Francisco (1993).

563 Jason Ruiz, "Private Lives and Public History: On Excavating the Sexual Past in Queer Oral History Practice," Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio N. Roque Ramirez (eds.), *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 116.

564 Lewis and Killian, *Poet Be Like God*, 101.

565 "T-Room Traps," *Citizen News* III (January 27, 1964), Wide Open Town History Project records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN PRIVATE RESIDENCES

Private parties and gatherings at private residences played a crucial role in the development of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco because they afforded individuals the freedom to be themselves while avoiding the risks associated with going out in public. Private gatherings served as an alternative to the bars for young people, people with little money, or people of color and other communities, such as drag queens, who felt ostracized by or out of place in the bar- and sex-based communities.[566] And perhaps most importantly, private parties fostered intimacy because, in contrast to the bars, men and women were allowed to touch, dance, and act romantically. These meetings in private residences became even more important in the 1950s when policing and bar raids made going out in public especially risky.

Reba Hudson, a lesbian who arrived in San Francisco in 1943, described the private party scene in North Beach in the 1940s and 1950s: "Besides the bars we had dinner parties at home, lots of parties at home. We did a lot of socializing because we were all right here within blocks of each other … There was about fifteen of us that hung out together. There were little cliques."[567] When the bars closed, Hudson and friends took the party home: "Wind up going to somebody's house after 2 o'clock. Lot of parties. Lots of good times."[568] Pat Bond, who was also active in the 1940s scene in North Beach, described the parties at her house on the corner of Bush and Franklin across from Stemple's Bakery: "[W]e all had a room in this old beat-up house. Nobody wanted to work because you were afraid you'd miss something … [W]e were wild … had dances and parties after the bars closed."[569] Community historian Mildred Dickemann recalled that some gay men "threw really very expensive parties" because they had disposable incomes. She said, "I remember going to parties where there was a bar in the home, there was a hired bartender serving and that kind of stuff."[570] One important aspect of private parties, noted by Dickemann, a butch lesbian who later transitioned to a transgender man, was that men and women were allowed to dress in ways that would be risky in public: "When we went to a party like that we would dress the way we wanted to dress."[571] Dickemann said she wore pants to "express [her] butchness," but she had to run from the car to the party, or wore a long coat, to avoid being caught cross-dressing in public.[572]

House parties were particularly important for women of color who felt uncomfortable or were not welcome in the bars or for various reasons preferred to socialize in private. According to Thelma Davis, an African American woman who arrived in San Francisco in 1951:

> San Francisco had lots of house parties … They would just have one house party after the other. Every weekend there would be a party somewhere … Sometimes you had to pay a cover charge to go in, sometimes you didn't. You'd bring your own drinks if you wanted to, or else they would sell you drinks … They'd make a big pot of spaghetti or chili or something. And then all you would do would be to dance. You'd dance and mingle and stuff like that.[573]

Davis also remembered a private club in the 1950s attended by women in distinct butch/fem roles, which would have drawn scrutiny in the bars:

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566 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 112.
567 Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 65.
568 Reba Hudson, interviewed by Roberta (last name not given), 1992.
569 Pat Bond, interviewed by Allan Bérubé, 1981.
570 Mildred Dickemann, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, October 8, 1991, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
571 Ibid.
572 Ibid.
573 Thelma Davis, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, November 21, 1991, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.







Images from lesbian house parties, c. 1950s (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

> [T]his private club … was so amazing because I had never seen gay women so in the role of being studs! It was a private house that they had rented, or a basement or something. When we got there they had all these women that were dressed up in men's clothes … They had on suits and the shoes and the socks; the whole bit." [574]

Thelma Davis said the house parties she attended in San Francisco "were mainly black. There were a few Caucasians, but not a lot, just a few." [575] She remembered that "Blacks [gave] parties for themselves." Another African American named Ethel Whitaker (at one time Janis Joplin's lover), described a more mixed and sporadic private party scene in San Francisco:

> There was a guy named Kitty Gaikin, he was Japanese and there was another fellow named Kanai, I think he was Filipino. Now he would have parties every Saturday night, after the bars closed we still had to have somewhere to go drink and talk and stuff like that. Allen Ginsberg used to go there all the time and he used to just sit there. And there used to be straight people, gay people. Kanai was gay, but straight people came. He had a small place but he had it fixed up really nice. Janis [Joplin] and I used to go up there a little bit after the bars closed, that type of thing. But as far as gay women were concerned … there was like one [party] every three months.[576]

Nan Alamilla Boyd writes about a tightly knit community of drag queens in the 1950s that hosted elaborate private parties at homes throughout San Francisco. "[A] queer culture of high drag evolved" at private parties, according to Boyd.[577] Henry Diekow (aka Baroness Von Dieckoff) was a member of a "circle of gay socialites who moved regularly from the Beige Room to private parties and nightclubs."[578] The circle was comprised of the "mink and coronet set," a "clique of well-dressed queers and queens who frequented the Beige Room but also staged parties and informal drag contests in their homes." Diekow described a party at her home in 1951: "The beautifully appointed drawingroom is always filled with the crème of the intellectual cliché. Music, Art and sparkling conversation soon fill the house."[579]

Private parties served a different purpose for San Francisco's leather community beginning in the 1960s. David Harrell tells a story about how a night out at the bars in the South of Market area often led to private sex parties at vacant apartments. At the end of the night, someone would announce the party location and everyone would follow. There "might be music; there might not. But there'd be no lights … you just go in there and [there were] two or three hundred men in various stages of undress in this dark apartment, you know, at three o'clock in the morning. And that seemed to happen a lot."[580]

574 Ibid.
575 Ibid.
576 Ethel Whitaker (pseudonym), interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, August 30, 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
577 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 130.
578 Ibid.
579 "Henry Diekow, "Bag-a-Drag by the Bay," December 15, 1951, Dieckoff Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Quoted in Ibid., 131.
580 David Harrell, interviewed by Terence Kissack, 2000.

IV. POLICING AND HARASSMENT OF LGBTQ COMMUNITIES (1933 TO 1960S)

The period from the mid-1940s through 1950s was one of the most difficult in American LGBTQ history. While new queer spaces continued to appear and communities coalesced around them, governmental agencies became intent on reversing the progress. Policing of queers in San Francisco intensified during this period for a confluence of reasons. World War II brought hundreds of thousands of young men and women to the Bay Area, prompting the military to set boundaries as a form of social control. McCarthyism and the federal antigay witchhunt known as the Lavender Scare cast a pall on all things related to "sexual deviancy." A handful of new legislation in the 1950s radically changed the way queer people and places were policed in California. And as a consequence of all of these developments, media coverage of queer people intensified, resulting in an increasingly negative public perception of nonnormative sexuality and a call to policing agencies to crack the whip.

WORLD WAR II

Homosexuality and the Military

During World War II, potential recruits to the United States armed services were put through a screening process whereby military doctors asked about homosexual activity and made subjective diagnoses based on characteristics such as nonnormative gender mannerisms. Despite the screening, however, homosexuality was prevalent throughout the war. "Since the government's need for manpower was immediate," writes historian Justin Spring, "military authorities did little to crack down on possible homosexual activities among servicemen … during the early stages of the war (only later, when men were no longer needed, would the large number of career-destroying expulsions begin)."[581]

Wartime created a situation similar to the Gold Rush when men and women were segregated from each other for long periods of time. This was compounded by the emotional and physical intensity of war, resulting in strong same-sex bonds between servicemembers stationed together who were often living in exotic locations far from home, including San Francisco. In addition, some men and women deliberately joined the military as a way to meet potential same-sex romantic partners. Pat Bond, who was stationed for a time at Letterman Hospital in the Presidio, said one of the reasons she joined the Women's Army Corps (WACS) was because "it was 90 percent gay … there were all these dykes. It was unbelievable. And everybody was going with someone or had a crush on somebody or was getting ready to go with someone."[582]

While military officials often tolerated a certain amount of homosexuality as long as it was discreet and not disruptive, especially among lesbians, the Navy was notorious for sending sailors to naval psychiatric hospitals or prison for homosexual behavior. In 1941, a quarter of the patients in the psychiatric wards of the country's two main Naval hospitals were admitted for homosexuality.[583] After the war, thousands of soldiers were dishonorably discharged on the basis of charges of homosexuality. Between 1950 and 1980, 40,000 to 50,000 men and women were discharged from the military on these grounds.[584]

581 Spring, *Secret Historian*, 84.
582 Pat Bond, interviewed by Allan Bérubé, 1981.
583 Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 445.
584 Ibid.

A secondary effect of World War II was the way it changed American values related to family and home. While most men were shipped off to war, many married women went to work for the first time in their lives—a new dynamic that left women affirmed and empowered by their efforts and men fearing that their traditional role as breadwinners was threatened. (Many unmarried women, divorcees, and widows worked before the war.) When the war ended, as legal theorist William Eskridge notes, this new dynamic led to the sudden release of a "pent-up nostalgia for old-fashioned marriage."[585] More male-female couples were married in the decade following the war than any other period in American history.[586] "The comeback of marriage reassured men and women that traditional boundaries were intact after the great traumas of war and depressions," explains Eskridge, but also it morphed into a "deep suspicion of the *un*married" and "unmarriageable"—especially homosexual men and women.[587] Displays of nonnormative gender also were perceived as a threat to the post-war nuclear family, according to historian John D'Emilio; and masculine women and effeminate men were particularly vulnerable to persecution.[588] Many parents feared that homosexuals, supposedly unable to marry and have children of their own, multiplied their numbers by recruiting other people's children and contaminating them with their so-called disease. It was in this context that threatening labels like "predatory homosexual" or "vampire lesbian" were created.[589]

San Francisco in World War II

The turn of the 20th century and the following decades brought a substantial increase in military defense installations throughout the Bay Area. The Pacific Coast's first Naval Training Center was established on Yerba Buena Island, the Pacific Fleet was created and moved to the San Francisco Bay Area, and World War I created an even larger surge. When the United States entered the war in 1917, the population surged at local bases, including the Presidio and Yerba Buena Island in San Francisco.[590] World War II created an even bigger increase in the Bay Area's defense-related population as San Francisco and the surrounding area became a center for military industry and the point of embarkation for the Pacific Theater. Between December 1941 and August 1945, over 1.6 million military personnel left from San Francisco for the war in the Pacific.[591] It was one of the country's primary hubs of activity during the war, reports historian Kevin Starr, and "every man, woman, weapon, bullet, torpedo, vehicle, foodstuff, medical supply, and piece of mail intended for the Pacific passed through" the city.[592] Many men and women moved into the area to fill the hundreds of thousands of jobs suddenly available during the war. Navy ship-repair facilities were located at Hunters Point in San Francisco and Mare Island in the North Bay. In 1942 Mare Island was the largest maritime facility in the country, employing 10,000 civilians.[593] The Kaiser and Marinship shipbuilding facilities in Richmond and Sausalito put more women to work than ever before in history, giving them an "unprecedented boost in their income and self-esteem."[594] Forty percent of Marinship's work force was female. When the war ended in 1945, 1.32 million American women lost their war-related jobs.

585 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 79.

586 Historian Dr. Robert W. Cherny notes: "This reflects, in some significant part, those who put off marriage during the Great Depression for economic reasons and during WWII because of wartime separations."

587 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 79-80.

588 John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 38.

589 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 80.

590 Hine and Faragher, *The American West*.

591 Starr, *Embattled Dreams*, 84.

592 Ibid., 78.

593 Ibid., 76.

594 Ibid., 157.

Historian Allan Bérubé describes World War II as having an unprecedented influence on San Francisco's queer community:

> One of the most dramatic changes brought about by the war mobilization was that gay bars moved closer to the center of gay life. Sometimes with only a few hours in a big city, gay male and lesbian GIs were forced to rely on commercial establishments near the heart of the city to find the gay life quickly. As a result, bars, cocktail lounges, cafes, and nightclubs that catered to the gay crowd flourished during the war, stretching the prewar gay nightspots to their limit and beyond. These establishments often were clustered in the parts of town that were flooded with GIs, introducing the gay life to a wider population of young men and women.[595]

Bérubé adds that military personnel on leave in San Francisco revived the "devil-may-care spirit of the Barbary Coast days."[596] Community historian Reba Hudson said the city was "[a]live 24 hours a day" because the defense factories operated through the night.[597] "By uprooting an entire generation," writes Allan Bérubé, "the war helped to channel urban gay life into a particular path of growth—away from stable private networks and toward public commercial establishments serving the needs of a displaced, transient, and younger clientele."[598] Finally, World War II had a profound impact LGBTQ life in San Francisco because many of the gay and lesbian men and women who either served in the military or were employed at the Bay Area's military industrial sites decided to stay in the Bay Area after the war, which helped sustain the city's queer culture.

Military Policing

Throughout the war, the armed forces went to great lengths to control the enormous population of military personnel in San Francisco. In 1941 Congress passed the May Act, giving the military the authority to police civilian places near military bases and shut down any that promoted prostitution and other so-called vices (heterosexual and homosexual). Military police joined with the San Francisco Police Department and State Board of Equalization officers to police queer spaces in San Francisco. As part of this effort, the Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Board (AFDCB) created an off-limits list of nightclubs that personnel were forbidden from frequenting. (An unintended consequence of the list was that it publicized queer spaces, making them even more known and popular among gay and lesbian military personnel.)

Policing of nightclubs in San Francisco started early in the war, and military jeeps patrolling streets in front of suspected vice establishments were a common sight.[599] "The constant threat of raids, arrests, and police surveillance," writes Bérubé, "sent a clear message to gay male and lesbian GIs that the military and local governments did not want them to associate with each other in public and even in private."[600]

In 1942 and 1943, 63 nightclubs had their liquor licenses suspended and 25 others were cited, including known gay hangouts Finocchio's, the Black Cat Café, and the Top of the Mark.[601] In May 1943, military police conducted a large-scale raid operation, which included the Black Cat Café, the Subway (address unknown) and the Silver Dollar in the Tenderloin, and the Rickshaw

595 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 113.
596 "Barbary Coast Days Recalled by Frisco Boom," *Variety*, November 4, 1942. Quoted in Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 125.
597 Boyd, "Life During Wartime," *OurStories.*
598 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 126.
599 Kevin Starr, *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
600 Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 126.
601 Ibid., 125.



Military police (upper left) watching patrons in the Black Cat Cafe, which was declared off limits to military personnel during World War II (From *Coming Out Under Fire*, 1990)

at 37 Ross Alley (extant) in Chinatown; all of the bars had their liquor licenses suspended. During the Rickshaw raid, according to Bérubé, "a couple of lesbians protested and were beaten up."[602] Beginning in February 1945, the whole nation went dark at midnight as War Mobilization Director James F. Byrne instated a curfew on all bars and cabarets and any other "places of public amusement."[603]

Military policing of queer spaces in San Francisco continued through the Korean War in the 1950s. In 1951 and 1952 the AFDCB declared over a dozen bars off limits to military personnel because they were frequented by homosexual men and women, including: the Beige Room, the Black Cat Café, Finocchio's, Mona's Candle Light, the Paper Doll, Tommy's 299, the Chi-Chi Club, the Club Alabam (1820 Post Street, demolished), Jim Dolan's Supper Club (406 Stockton, demolished), and the 585 Club (585 Post, extant). The list included all three exclusively lesbian bars open at the time—Mona's Candle Light, the Paper Doll, and Tommy's 299.[604]

Like their civilian counterparts, gay and lesbian military personnel faced severe consequences if they were caught in a gay bar, or worse, in a homosexual act. Servicemembers were easy to detect because they were required to wear uniforms when on leave—leading some men to rent lockers where they could check their uniforms and borrow civilian clothes. Personnel who were arrested or detained served time in military prison. They also faced the possibility of dishonorable discharge.

MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS UNION

One of the few industries that would hire men discharged from the military for homosexuality was the civilian maritime industry, especially the luxury passenger ocean liners operated by such companies as Matson, headquartered in San Francisco. Gay men and other minority groups were able to work in the maritime industry because they were protected by a left-leaning union called the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS). The MCS was established in San Francisco in 1901 and was initially a racist group, formed as a way to protect white men's jobs from Chinese and Japanese seamen who were being hired by the shipping companies at lower wages.[605]

Historian Allan Bérubé devoted intensive research to understanding why the MCS protected homosexuals during a time when they were ostracized by all other sectors of society. He concluded that it boiled down to issues of race, class, and sexuality. Up until the 1930s, the luxury liner companies refused to hire anyone but white men. White men filled the traditionally male maritime roles, such as longshoreman, engineman, fireman, and deckhand—but they also filled roles traditionally carried out by African American men on land, such as steward and cook. Without African Americans, the less masculine work—described by Bérubé as "queer work"—was often filled by white, gay men. They worked as waiters, cooks, bakers, porters, room stewards, bellhops, janitors, hairdressers, laundrymen, and bartenders. Bérubé writes about a Matson official who said his company "preferred having gay men working as stewards because…'If it wasn't for these boys, who else would we get to do that kind of women's work—to turn down the beds and lay out ladies' nightgowns?'"[606]

602 Excerpt from letter written by serviceman Jim Kepner to Army pen pal in May 1943. Quoted in Ibid.

603 Charles Jr. Grutzner, "Midnight Curfew on Cabarets, Bars to Start Monday; Byrnes' Request," *New York Times*, February 20, 1945. Quoted in Watson, *Preserving the Tangible Remains of San Francisco's Lesbian Community in North Beach*, 69.

604 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 128.

605 Allan Bérubé, *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay, Community, & Labor History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 282.

606 Ibid., 264.

In the 1930s, at the peak of labor activism, the MCS organized seamen support for the 1934 longshoremen's strike that shut down ports on the West Coast and the national seamen's strike in 1936. As part of the strikes, MCS union members began to successfully integrate African American and Filipino men into the MCS, earning them jobs on the previously white liners.[607] These early integration efforts came at a cost. MCS members were stigmatized and "treated as riff-raff, who were doing 'women's work,' who were men of color or worked with men of color, who were gay or worked with queens, and who were communists or worked with communists."[608] But the stigma made the MCS even stronger, and the union is an example one of the first times in U.S. history that homosexual men—white, African American, and Asian—organized alongside heterosexual men to protect themselves and each other. "[T]hey were developing an early form of gay activism," according to Bérubé. "This came decades before the more middle-class and white homosexual movement emerged in the 1950s…. [T]hese workers used their unions to improve their lives as homosexuals, sometimes fighting for racial equality at the same time."[609] Gay member of the MCS Mickey Blair recalls, "Marine Cooks and Stewards took the dignity that was in each of us and built it up, so you could get up in the morning and say to yourself 'I can make it through this day.' Equality was in the air we breathed."[610] A sign over the job board at the MCS union hall at 86 Commercial Street (not extant), read: "Equality in hiring regardless of race, religion, or national origin or political affiliation."[611]

During World War II, membership in the MCS increased from 4,500 to over 15,000.[612] New members included homosexual men who wanted to serve in the military but were afraid of the government's antigay policies. The MCS also hired men who had been discharged from the military for homosexuality. After being discharged from the Navy in 1943 for being gay, David Barrett recalls that one of his superiors said to him, "The only people who will hire you now are the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union."[613]

Members of the MCS were patriotic and loyal to their country. They joined other unions in making a "no strike pledge" to President Roosevelt that waived their right to strike for better wages and working conditions until the were was over.[614] When the Navy tapped civilian vessels to assist in transporting military personnel and cargo, many members of the MCS lost their lives when their ships were attacked. According to Bérubé, civilians were killed during World War II "at a casualty rate higher than any branch of the military service" other than the Marine Corps.[615]

After World War II, MCS membership became even more diverse. African American men who had been laid off from West Coast shipyards were recruited by the MCS and made up more than half of the union's membership.[616] The MCS organized for integration of more women—white and African American—onto the ships, and by 1949 MCS members were dedicated to equality for both sexes.[617] When Matson refused to rehire stewardesses after the war, the MCS fought the decision and won.

607 Ibid., 264, 267.
608 Ibid., 268.
609 Ibid., 266.
610 Ibid., 311.
611 Ibid., 282.
612 Bérubé cites another figure of 3,000 to 19,000.
613 Ibid., 312.
614 Ibid., 313.
615 Ibid., 282.
616 Ibid., 314.
617 Ibid., 237.

During the Korean War, the MCS and other left-leaning unions, became targets of the federal government's anticommunist and antihomosexual hysteria. Beginning in the fall of 1950, the Coast Guard began screening maritime workers as part of President Truman's Port Security Act. Before any ship left the port, workers were screened and removed from the ship if they were determined to be national security risks. Three quarters of workers removed from ships were African American. Many of the screened men were homosexual. In 1950, the MCS was one of a handful of unions kicked out of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. By the mid-1950s, the MCS had been shut down—"destroyed under a barrage of anticommunist and antihomosexual attacks spearheaded by state and federal agencies, the Coast Guard, ship owners, newspapers, and rival unions."[618]

More research is merited to uncover sites in San Francisco that are associated with this highly significant union. Bérubé concludes:

> The men and women in the Marine Cooks and Stewards Unions on both coasts from the 1930s to the 1950s developed a working-class movement dedicated to racial equality and economic justice. Together they transformed an all-white, all-male racist union into one that was mostly men of color, that included great numbers of visible 'queens,' and that integrated women into the workforce.[619]

FEDERAL ANTIHOMOSEXUAL WITCH HUNTS

In the late 1940s, the country was at the peak of cold war paranoia, and fears of communist subversion were in full swing. In 1947 the United States Senate started attacking President Truman and the State Department for allowing communists and homosexuals to infiltrate the government. Homosexuals were viewed as a security risk because they were susceptible to blackmail. Caving under the pressure, Truman instituted a program to rid the federal government of all security risks, especially gay men and lesbians. Between 1947 and 1950, 192 cases of so-called sex perversion were investigated, and most of the men and women under scrutiny were forced to resign.[620] Many other homosexuals—even those who were not being investigated—resigned "rather than face the possible public disgrace of dismissal."[621] Furthermore, over 3,200 military personnel were discharged—triple the number discharged during World War II, and 1,700 applicants were denied federal jobs because background checks revealed records of homosexual conduct. In 1949, the Defense Department made it clear that no known homosexuals would be allowed in the military.

In 1950 Joseph R. McCarthy, the junior senator from Wisconsin, stood up in the United States Senate and announced that he had proof of 57 card-carrying communists employed by the State Department and that he knew of 81 to 200 more who were communist supporters. That same year, Nebraska senator Kenneth Wherry called for an investigation to look into homosexuals and communists still under government employ. Wherry was quoted as asking, "Can [you] think of a person who could be more dangerous to the United States of America than a pervert?"[622] A series of investigations and senate hearings focusing on homosexuals in the government and military dragged on for years. Between 1950 and 1965, the military discharged between 2,000 and 5,000 personnel—mostly women—because of suspected of homosexuality. As for employees in civil

618 Ibid., 314.
619 Ibid., 237.
620 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 100.
621 Spring, *Secret Historian*, 132.
622 Quoted in Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 100.

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INQUIRY BY SENATE ON PERVERTS ASKED

126 PERVERTS DISCHARGED

State Department Reports Total Ousted Since Jan. 1, 1951

PERVERTS CALLED GOVERNMENT PERIL

384 OUSTERS LISTED IN STATE DEPARTMENT

The Eisenhower program calls for the dismissal of any employe who might "act contrary to the best interests of national security." It is aimed at homosexuals, alcoholics and "blabbermouths," as well as Communists and Red sympathizers.



ABOVE: Various headlines in the *New York Times* from 1950 to 1953 about federal attack on gays and lesbians in government employment (*New York Times*)

LEFT: Woman picketing against government homophobia at U.S. Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

service, historian David Johnson estimates that 5,000 gay men and lesbians were forced out on charges of homosexuality during the first decade of the Cold War.[623]

This period in American history proved detrimental to LGBTQ communities, not just because of the number gay men and lesbians fired from government jobs and discharged from military service, but also because it reinforced an image of queer people as dangers to society. This was exacerbated in 1953 when President Eisenhower, in one of his first acts as president, issued Executive Order 10450, effectively banning what were dubbed sexual perverts from government employment.

STATE AND LOCAL LAWS AND POLITICS

William Eskridge defines California's policing of queers in the 1940s and 1950s as an antihomosexual *kulturkampf*, an organized campaign to "domesticate or erase a minority."[624] After World War II, Eskridge says, "American political leaders engaged in an ambitious campaign of demonizing and purging homosexuals from public life." California's campaign, the most damaging in American history, was led by Governor Earl Warren. Warren began his political career in California as the state's attorney general (1939–1943), and then served as governor from 1943 to 1953. During his tenure, Warren not only waged war against homosexuals, but also oversaw the detention and incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. Warren advocated for what he called a decent society and attacked anything that fell outside of it. As attorney general and governor, Warren oversaw sweeping changes to California's sodomy laws and punishments for sex crimes, essentially allowing for a conviction for homosexual acts to result in life in prison.[625] Warren's influence led to an uptick of sex-crime arrests in San Francisco in the mid-1950s.[626]

Another critical weapon in the policing of queers came in the 1950s when California's alcohol control legislation underwent a radical change. Up until that point, the State Board of Equalization, the state tax agency, oversaw liquor control in California, which made policing of local bars difficult. In 1955 the situation changed with the creation of the Alcohol Beverage Control Board (ABC). The ABC immediately "declared war on homosexual bars in San Francisco" and went to work policing queers.[627] The effect was devastating to gay and lesbian bar owners. "After the establishment of the ABC," explains historian Christopher Lowen Agee, "San Francisco's homosexual bars could expect to hold their liquor licenses for no more than two years."[628] Charlotte Coleman said her bars were consistently monitored by undercover ABC officers looking for morals violations: a man wearing silver slippers; a bartender who dabbed perfume behind the ears of customers; a man who put his arm around another man. Coleman said ABC harassment was common and she was called to the ABC office at the Ferry Building many times.[629] In 1961 alone, the ABC closed 24 bars in San Francisco, a number of which were closed based on charges related to homosexuality.[630] ABC agents also aggressively policed LGBTQ citizens. Armed with guns and

623 David Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 166. Quoted in Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 102.

624 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 88.

625 Ibid., 88-91.

626 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 92.

627 Ernest Lenn, "State Fights Bar Hangouts of Deviates," c. May 25, 1955, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Quoted in Ibid., 136.

628 Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 86.

629 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Paul Gabriel, 1997.

630 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 105.

generally homophobic attitudes, ABC agents were "much more serious—and sinister"—according to Nan Alamilla Boyd—than agents of the Board of Equalization and local police.[631]

The ABC's policing efforts were bolstered by the election of George Christopher as mayor of San Francisco in 1955. Christopher campaigned against the previous administration that he accused of being soft on crime. He appointed anti-graft crusader Frank Ahern as chief of police, and the two of them and the ABC created the infrastructure to crackdown on queer spaces. In 1959, when Christopher was up for reelection, his opponent Russ Wolden accused him and Ahern of being soft on homosexuals and allowing San Francisco to become the "national headquarters" for homosexuals. This was the first time in American history that homosexuality was introduced as a wedge issue in a major election.[632] Wolden's campaign backfired when local journalists and civic leaders attacked him for advertising San Francisco as a homosexual mecca, thereby "giving the city a bad name."[633] Wolden lost by a landslide and George Christopher was reelected.

BLACK CAT CAFÉ AND STOUMEN V. REILLY

During World War II, as part of the military's effort to control the huge population of servicemembers stationed in the Bay Area, the Black Cat Café was placed on the infamous off-limits list of the Military Police and Shore Patrol. Jim Duggins remembers a sign tacked next to the entrance that said, "Off Limits to Military Personnel."[634] Clyde Evans recalls a military officer stationed at the door.[635]

The Black Cat's legal troubles began in 1949 when the State Board of Equalization pulled its liquor license, citing Sol Stoumen for operating a "disorderly house for purposes injurious to public morals" where "persons of known homosexual tendencies patronized said premises and used said premises as a meeting place."[636] The Board of Equalization's focus on the Black Cat in 1949 had little to do with the bar being a homosexual hangout. It was an act of revenge against Sol Stoumen after he refused to sign a closed-shop agreement with the local culinary worker's union.[637] To retaliate, the labor group convinced George Reilly, San Francisco's district representative on the Board of Equalization, to find a way to pull the Black Cat's liquor license. "Thus, by way of a local labor dispute, the state Board of Equalization entered the new territory of homosexual repression," writes historian Christopher Lowen Agee.[638]

The Board of Equalization's process for revoking liquor licenses "operated almost wholly outside the regular justice system," notes Agee.[639] The board employed its own prosecutors, hearing officers, and supervisors—it was almost impossible for a bar owner to appeal a revocation. Against all odds, Stoumen and his attorney Morris Lowenthal appealed the Black Cat's license revocation, taking the case to the Supreme Court of California. To the shock of almost everyone, the court decided unanimously to reinstate Stoumen's liquor license in August 1951, announcing, "'mere proof of patronage by homosexuals' was insufficient cause for a license revocation."[640] The Supreme

631 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 136. See also Hal Call, interviewed by Dennis Saxman, August 30, 1995, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
632 Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 90.
633 Ibid.
634 Jim Duggins, interview with self, June 30, 1995, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
635 Clyde Evans, interviewed by Phil Miller, 1997-1998.
636 *Stoumen v. Reilly*, 37 Cal.2d 713, http://scocal.stanford.edu/opinion/stoumen-v-reilly-29515.
637 Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 84.
638 Ibid., 85.
639 Ibid.
640 Ibid.

Court decision in *Stoumen v. Reilly* essentially legalized gay and lesbian bars in California—the first state in the country to do so, and at the peak of McCarthyism and Earl Warren's antihomosexual policy making.[641]

After the 1951 decision in *Stoumen v. Reilly* established that serving alcohol to "known homosexuals" was not illegal—although homosexual acts still were banned—policing queer spaces became more difficult, and there was a brief period of reduced harassment. Thanks to *Stoumen*, queer people could legally assemble in bars, but "any behavior that signified homosexual status could be construed as an illegal act."[642] These illegal acts included touching and nonnormative gender attire or mannerisms. The protections afforded by *Stoumen* were reduced in 1955 when the California State Legislature amended the California Business and Professions Code Section 24200(e) to allow the state liquor authority to investigate "resorts for sex perverts."[643] As a result, policing of queer spaces increased again, but this time the authorities relied on sinister methods such as entrapment and scare tactics. Undercover agents seduced patrons, and the chief of police urged officers to park police cars outside of bars as a deterrent. Beginning in 1956, undercover ABC agents began conducting surveillance at the Black Cat Café, hoping to catch patrons "looking for lewd and indecent acts" so they could pull Stoumen's liquor license under the new state statute.[644] Stoumen lost his liquor license again and continued to fight the charges. In 1963, after a nearly 15-year battle, the Black Cat's final appeal to the California Supreme Court was denied.

Sol Stoumen, a married man with five children, spent over $35,000 in legal fees fighting to save the Black Cat. "Sure," Stoumen said, "we have quite a few [allegedly gay patrons], but I don't know if they're really homosexuals, and it's none of my business as long as they behave."[645] He called the policing of his bar a "witch hunt."[646] "I know [LGBTQ civil rights is] an unpopular cause," he said. "The Black Cat has been a symbol of a fight that has benefitted the gay people to a degree. That's why [the state and local police] want to knock us out."[647]

MEDIA COVERAGE AND PUBLIC RESPONSE

During the height of antigay policing in San Francisco, the city's most popular newspapers, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner*, vied for attention. Both had an enormous influence on how San Franciscans viewed queer people in the city. And in turn, San Francisco residents influenced how queer spaces were policed. At the peak of his reign, William Randolph Hearst owned 28 American newspapers, including the *San Francisco Examiner*. "Hearst's papers," Jill Lepore writes, "were all alike: hot-blooded, with leggy headlines. Page 1 was supposed to make a reader blurt out, 'Gee whiz!' Page 2: 'Holy Moses!' Page 3: 'God Almighty!'"[648] These eye-catching headlines persisted when Hearst died and William Randolph Hearst Jr. became head of the newspaper in 1951. After a significant 1954 raid on Tommy's Place (described in detail in a later section of this chapter), the *San Francisco Examiner* covered the case closely, printing enormous sensationalized headlines spreading across the entire front page above the fold: "SCHOOL-GIRLS' VICE, DOPE REVEALED IN S.F. BAR RAID," and "TEEN-AGE GIRLS TELL OF S.F. 'SCHOOL FOR VICE.'"[649] One *Examiner* article reported a "marked influx recently of homosexuals" in San

641 Ibid.
642 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 137.
643 Bérubé, "The First Stonewall," *San Francisco Lesbian & Gay Freedom Day Program*.
644 Quoted in Ibid.
645 "'Black Cat' Hangs on to its last Life," *San Francisco Chronicle*.
646 Ibid.
647 Ibid.
648 Jill Lepore, "Bad News," *The New Yorker*, January 20, 2014.
649 Grace Miller Scrapbook, Grace Miller Papers, Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library.

Francisco.[650] Another article warned that homosexuals "prey upon the unfortunate weaknesses of others. They prey upon teen-agers."[651] A particularly blunt editorial in the *Examiner* in 1954 read:

> [T]here must be sustained action by the police and the district attorney to stop the influx of homosexuals. Too many taverns cater to them openly. Only police action can drive them out of the city. It is to be hoped that the courts here will finally recognize this problem for what it is and before the situation so deteriorates that San Francisco finds itself as the complete haven for undesirables.[652]

A San Francisco Police Department officer was later quoted as saying: "The press gives the public what they want to read … but I think they have exploited it in this area beyond the actual danger that it is."[653]

Paul C. Smith was the executive editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle* from 1937 to 1951. A life-long bachelor whom many believed to be gay (or asexual), Smith was 26 when he took charge of the newspaper and was known as the "Boy Wonder." He was a local celebrity, a "genial host, a bon vivant" who threw lavish parties at his Spanish Colonial Revival flat at 343 Greenwich on Telegraph Hill.[654] Smith called his apartment "the sort of happy establishment women invariably envy a bachelor." Smith was fired from the *Chronicle* in 1951 and Scott Newhall took over as executive editor. In the mid-1950s, the *Chronicle*'s circulation was half that of the *San Francisco Examiner*. Under Newhall's lead, the *Chronicle's* circulation soared thanks to his "nineteenth century-style" no-holds-barred editorials and now-famous columns by journalists Herb Caen and Abigail van Buren (Dear Abby).[655] Newhall's obituary in the *New York Times* claimed that he had "transformed the *Chronicle* from a sedate daily into a paper that aggressively pursued stories."[656] Ten years after Newhall's arrival, circulation increased by 400,000, making the *Chronicle* the city's most popular newspaper. Like Hearst's *Examiner*, the *Chronicle's* coverage of gays and lesbians under Newhall's reign was cruel and relentless.

BAR RAIDS AND POLICE HARASSMENT IN SAN FRANCISCO

Sex-related arrests increased after 1935 when, as William Eskridge describes, early-20th-century enforcement efforts were regularized, popularized, and modernized after cities throughout the United States instituted police vice or morals squads.[657] Vice squad officers worked full time investigating and making arrests for sex and drug crimes. After 1946, according to Eskridge, vice squads "increasingly focused on homosexuals." Indeed, sodomy arrests in San Francisco tripled in the period between 1946 and 1970.[658] Because LGBTQ people were forced to be discreet about their sexuality, vice squads made concerted efforts to catch them in the act, relying upon the following methods: 1.) Police stakeouts of homosexual hangouts, which was the best way to obtain evidence of oral sex and indecent exposure; 2.) Decoy or sting operations, whereby an undercover officer

650 "Police Jail, Warn Sex Deviates in Full Scale Drive," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 27, 1954, 1. Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

651 "Police Jail, Warn Sex Deviates in Full Scale Drive," *San Francisco Examiner*; "Raids Continue on S.F. Sex Deviates," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 28, 1954, 1. Quoted in Ibid., 93.

652 "Needed: A Cleanup," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 28, 1954, 12. Quoted in Ibid., 281.

653 United States Congress, Committee on the Judiciary, *Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency*, September and October 1954 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), 261. Quoted in Ibid., 96.

654 Richard Reinhardt, "What Was a Newspaper?," http://www.chilit.org/Papers%20by%20author/Reinhardt%20--%20What_Was_a_Newspaper.htm.

655 Stephanie Stassel, "Flamboyant Newspaper Editor Scott Newhall, 78," *Los Angeles Times*, October 28, 1992.

656 Wolfgang Saxon, "Scott Newhall, 78, Newspaper Editor in San Francisco," *The New York Times*, October 28, 1992.

657 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 96.

658 Ibid., 85, 96.

would loiter in a homosexual cruising area, attracting sexual solicitations from other men; and Police raids of homosexual spaces, which netted large numbers of socializing homosexuals and charged them with disorderly conduct, cross-dressing, and other minor offenses.[659]

Bar Raids in the 1950s

In the summer of 1954 the *San Francisco Examiner* published an editorial "demand[ing] that police move in to clean up San Francisco's 'unwholesome' condition," a condition "marked by the increase of homosexuals in the parks, public gathering places and certain taverns in the city. It is a bad situation…. Even worse, these deviates multiply by recruiting teenagers."[660] Chief of Police Michael Gaffey responded by embarking on a campaign to "clean the homosexuals from streets, the public [rest]rooms and the parks where their actions have become intolerably offensive."[661] In June 1954 police scoured bars and public spaces throughout San Francisco and made thirteen arrests, including men searching for sex in Union Square.[662] In July 1954 the San Francisco Police Department and the Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Board (AFDCB) conducted surveillance and periodic raids of five clubs in the Tenderloin frequented by queers: the Crystal Bowl (1032 Market Street, extant); Lena's Burger Basket (1747 Post Street, demolished); 1228 Club (1228 Sutter Street, extant); Kip's Bar (70 Eddy Street, status unknown); and the Rocket Club (236 Leavenworth Street, extant).[663] All of the clubs were added to the military's off-limits list.

Raid on Tommy's Place and 12 Adler Place

In June 1952 lesbian entrepreneur Tommy Vasu opened two bars in a building at 529 Broadway Street and 12 Adler Place (both extant). The entrance to Tommy's Place was on Broadway, while the downstairs bar at 12 Adler was accessed off of Columbus Avenue. The two bars were connected by a mezzanine and stair. Even though Vasu had her name on one of the bars, she wasn't the owner. Her girlfriend Jeanne Sullivan owned 94% of the liquor license, and bartenders Grace Miller and Joyce Van de Veer owned the rest.[664]

Tommy's Place and 12 Adler Place were the only bars in the San Francisco in the early 1950s that were owned by lesbians and had lesbian bartenders. Because of this, the bar became a lesbian hot spot, but it also drew the attention of policing agencies. Tommy's Place was put on the military's off-limits list in 1953 after being cited for "undesirable conditions which adversely affect the health and welfare of service personnel."[665] In early 1954, Tommy's Place and 12 Adler Place came under even more scrutiny when parents of two teenage girls complained to police that their daughters were frequenting a gay bar and getting high on drugs obtained from older women.[666] The San Francisco Police Department began a months-long investigation into the so-called vice academy, interviewing a dozen young women ranging in age from 14 to 18.

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659 Ibid.

660 "Needed: A Cleanup," *San Francisco Examiner*. Quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 93.

661 "Police Jail, Warn Sex Deviates in Full Scale Drive." Quoted in Ibid.

662 "Raids Continue on Sex S.F. Sex Deviates," *San Francisco Examiner*. Quoted in Ibid., 135.

663 Ibid., 93.

664 Grace Miller kept a scrapbook of newspaper articles covering her arrest and trial. It is housed in the Gay and Lesbian Center collection at the San Francisco Public Library. "Liquor License Hearing Ends," newspaper unknown, March 2, 1955, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

665 "Bar Faces Crackdown in Dope, Sex Ring," newspaper unknown, date unknown, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

666 "Police Close 2 Bars Here," newspaper unknown, September 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

One of the first consequences of the investigation was the arrest of a 51-year-old African American man named Jesse Winston. The young women said that Winston was a regular at Tommy's and 12 Adler Place and had invited them back to his Telegraph Hill apartment for parties. Winston, a carpenter at the time, was accused of plying the teenagers with liquor and marijuana, and introducing them to "a philosophy of rebellion against moral standards."[667] Newspapers called him the "'dean of girls' at the vice academy."[668] When questioned about his interest in the young women, Winston said his main interest was in selling marijuana. A newspaper reported that he left the girls' "sordid education in other fields [lesbianism]" to the older women in the academy.[669] Winston was sentenced to five years at San Quentin.

Also revealed in the investigations, the teenagers explained that they were part of a butch-fem circle of about a dozen young women who hung out at Tommy's and 12 Adler Place. Police officers said the teenagers recruited other classmates to join them at the bars, and some "began wearing mannish clothing" and called themselves "butches" and "femmes."[670] The teenagers claimed they were able to purchase marijuana and Benzedrine tablets at the bars. They told police that they were "accosted by older women in the bar, and sometimes by men," and that the women's room was popular for "abnormal sex practices" between women.[671]

On September 8, 1954, at 9:00 p.m., police officers raided Tommy's and 12 Adler Place. They carried warrants for Grace Miller and Joyce Van de Veer, the two women listed on the liquor license. Two teenage girls accompanied the officers so that they could identify the women accused of contributing to their delinquency. Up to 30 customers were told to leave and police searched both bars. While in the restroom at 12 Adler Place, police claimed to have found a heroin kit, which many believe was planted as a way to ensure arrests.[672] Bartenders Miller and Van de Veer were arrested. The next morning, photographs of the two women leaving jail appeared in the newspaper under the headline "Arrested." Their ages and home addresses were included in nearly every article written about them.

After a long and very public legal battle, the jury found no evidence of Van de Veer supplying minors with narcotics or introducing them to older lesbians, and she was acquitted. Miller was found guilty on two of three counts of contributing to the delinquency of minors by selling alcohol. She served six months in the county jail.

Members of the public, particular the city's Parent Teacher Associations, were outraged by the acquittal and urged the police and State Board of Equalization to cite Tommy's for being a "hangout for sex deviates" and revoke the bars' liquor license.[673] A statement from one of the PTAs read, "All establishments which contemplate making a profit out of the demoralization of our children must be made to realize that the Board of Equalization will not permit these infamous activities."

667 "Arrested," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, September 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

668 "Bar Faces Ban in Probe of Teen-Girls' Vice," newspaper unknown, September 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

669 "'School for Vice and Narcotics' Described by Teen-Age Girls," newspaper unknown, September 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

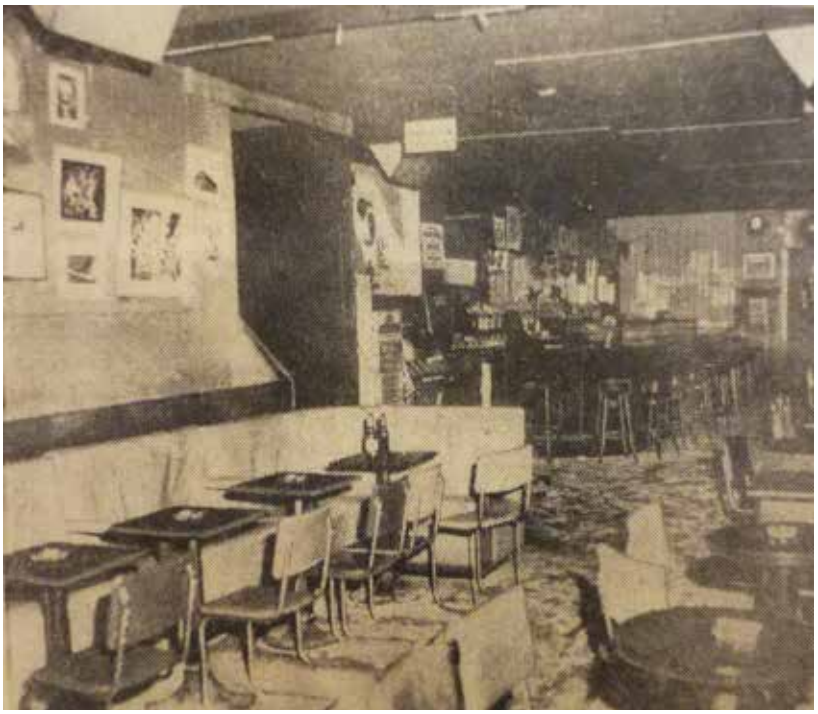
670 "Arrested," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

671 "Raid Reveals Schoolgirls' Vice, Dope," newspaper unknown, September 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

672 "Arrested," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*. See also Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 83.

673 "PTA Joins Police Move to Close Thrill Bar," newspaper unknown, December 4, 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.









TOP LEFT: Lesbian bar owner and entrepreneur Tommy Vasu at right (From *Wide Open Town*, 2003)

TOP RIGHT: Interior of Tommy's Place at 529 Broadway Street (Courtesy SFPL)

LOWER LEFT: Lesbian bartenders Grace Miller and Joyce Van de Veer after their arrest in 1954 (Courtesy SFPL)

LOWER RIGHT: Former home of 12 Adler Place (Photo by Shayne Watson)

[674] Concerned parents and members of over forty PTA organizations packed the State Board of Equalization meeting in December 1954 to urge the members to revoke the license. They heard testimony from a 17-year-old girl who admitted to being served beer at Tommy's since she was 13 (the bar had only been open two years). She also admitted to being served alcohol at other gay and lesbian bars, including Mona's Candle Light and Ann's 440 Club. A vice president of the PTA was quoted saying, "As a mother, to me the child's story was sickening. To think that a child, at 12 [sic], could be induced to frequent these kinds of places and find it exciting. I have no daughters, but if this youngster were my child I would just die of shame."[675] Newspapers described the teenage witnesses as "pretty" or "bobby soxers," while Joyce Van de Veer, Grace Miller, and Jeanne Sullivan were described as "short-haired."[676]

Sullivan, Van de Veer, and Miller eventually gave up on the fight to retain the liquor license at Tommy's and it was transferred to the owner of the building, Frank Guidera, who changed the name of Tommy's Place to Frank's.[677]

The media attention surrounding the raid on Tommy's and 12 Adler Place created extreme pressure on the authorities from the public, with policing of queer spaces in San Francisco intensified as a consequence. According to William Eskridge, these "panic scenarios" were common throughout the United States at the time, "where one incident triggered a wave of media and political attention, resulting in a frenzy of homosexual arrests, detentions, and harassment by police."[678] Two days after the raid, Police Chief Michael Gaffey ordered a citywide search for places where young women could be "exposed to sexual deviates," namely North Beach and the primarily African American Fillmore District. "We must stop this type of thing before it goes too far," he said.[679] "This particular case is one of the most aggravated to come to our attention in some time. It is a shocking thing, and will not be tolerated." Police raided bars throughout the city in 1955, including gay restaurant Gordon's (840 Sansome Street) where the bartender was arrested for selling drinks to a 20-year-old man with a fake ID. The young man also was arrested.[680]

Other Significant Bar Raids

One of the next significant raids on a queer space was the raid on Kelly's Alamo Club at 800 Fulton Street (not extant) on September 21, 1956. The San Francisco Police Department, calling Kelly's a "house of ill repute," arrested 36 patrons, mostly lesbians. All but four of those arrested pleaded guilty and were sentenced to ten days in the city jail. It was common for gay men and lesbians to plead guilty "to avoid additional notoriety," according to John D'Emilio.[681] The raid at Kelly's caught the attention of the newly formed lesbian-rights organization, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB). In their newsletter *The Ladder*, DOB said the women arrested in the raid "plead guilty not because they [had] committed a crime…but because they [were] made to feel guilty about being a

674 Ibid.

675 "Bar License Hearing Shocked by Her Sordid Story," *San Francisco Examiner*, December 16, 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

676 Various newspaper, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

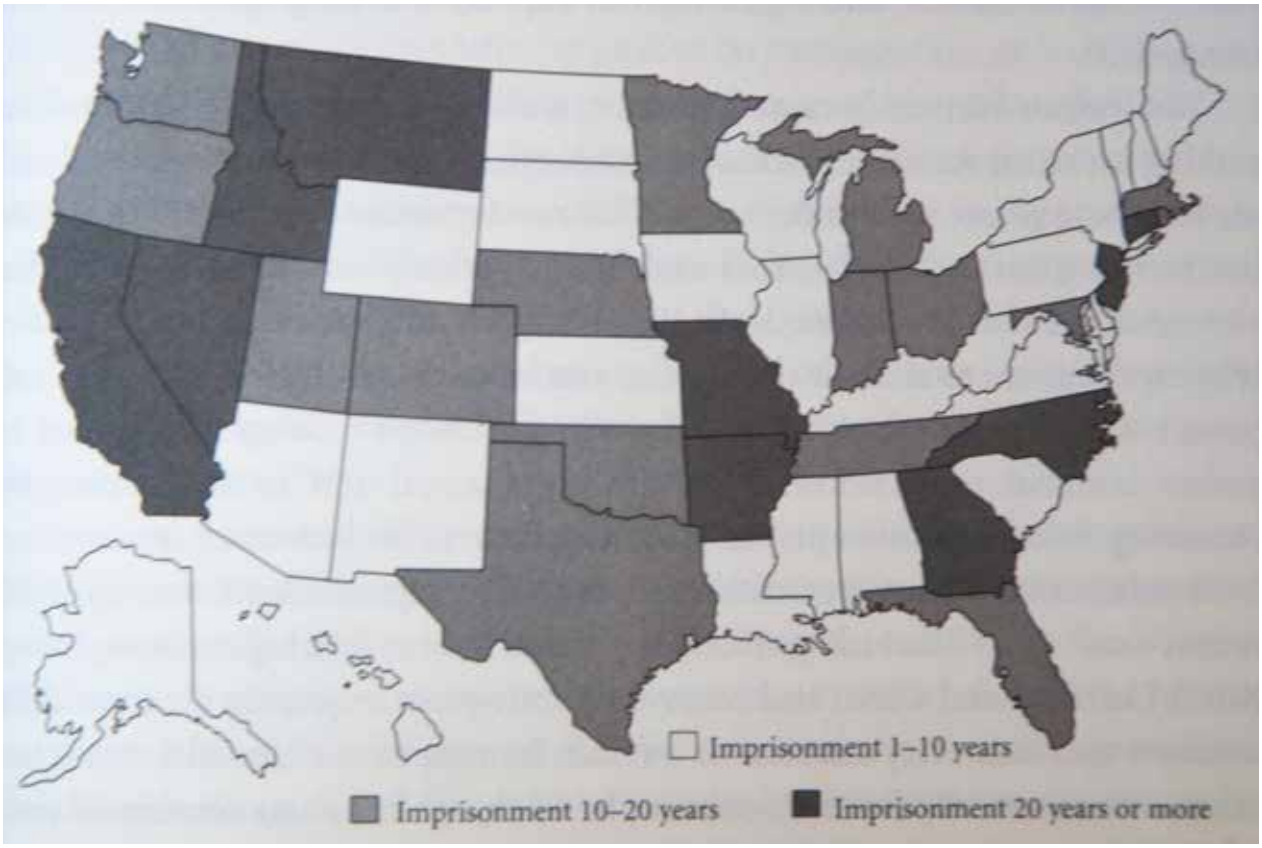
677 "2 Girls Tell Visits to Tommy's Place," *San Francisco Examiner*, December 2, 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

678 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 87.

679 "Gaffey Orders 'Teen Vice Quiz," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, September 10, 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

680 "New Arrests in Bar Drive," newspaper unknown, September 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

681 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 15.



Maximum penalties for consensual sodomy in the United States in 1951 (From *Disonorable Passions*, 2009)

homosexual."[682] The raid on Kelly's prompted *The Ladder* to publish an article titled "What to Do in Case of Arrest."[683] The article urged lesbian readers: "DON'T PLEAD GUILTY…call your attorney; don't volunteer information—in fact, don't talk to anyone about anything."[684] The article also included 13 ways a woman could assert her rights in case of arrest. The DOB's vociferous response to the raid on Kelly's Alamo Club marked a turning point for San Francisco's queer communities: gay men and lesbians who had suffered harassment for decades now had the organizational and legal support to fight back against institutionalized oppression.

The largest gay bar raid in San Francisco history occurred on August 14, 1961, at a late-night coffee house called the Tay-Bush Inn at 900 Bush Street at the corner of Taylor Street (not extant). Over 100 people, mostly women, were arrested for disorderly conduct and taken to jail.[685] The Tay-Bush Inn raid was significant not only for the number of patrons arrested, but also because "it generated a great deal of attention from the press and, thus, continued to engage San Francisco's mayor, lawmakers, police department, and citizens in a dialogue about homosexuality," writes Nan Alamilla Boyd.[686] The media coverage of the Tay-Bush raid, unlike previous raids, was somewhat sympathetic toward the men and women arrested, and prompted questions about the rights of gay men and lesbians to congregate in public. "[J]ournalists began to use the Tay-Bush raid as a forum for discussing and criticizing [Mayor George Christopher's] law-and-order policies."[687] This marked a turn in San Francisco's perception of gay and lesbian spaces, as "the press seemed much more concerned with the problem of police corruption and harassment than the specter of homosexuality."[688] Charges were dropped for all but two of the individuals arrested; the judge presiding over the trial criticized how the police handled the incident, yet Mayor Christopher still called the raid "justified."[689]

Police Harassment

William Eskridge estimates that throughout the United States, "tens of thousands of gay people had some manner of frightening encounter with the police each year during the half-generation after World War II."[690] From the 1930s through the 1960s, police also detained further tens of thousands of homosexual men and women without arresting them. Eskridge suggests that harassment, detention, and brutality "were more common than arrests for sodomy or solicitation."[691] Lesbians, especially butch lesbians, were particularly vulnerable to bullying by male officers during detainment, and rape committed by officers on the women was not uncommon. The harassment during detention was often demeaning, as gay rights pioneer Hal Call testifies: "[T]he police department in those days [would] haul in a bunch of fags and load the jail up with them, and then make fun of them all night long while they … call[ed] them cocksucker and queer and all those names."[692]

682 Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman* (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1972), 215.
683 Daughters of Bilitis, "San Francisco Police Raid Reveals Lack of Knowledge of Citizen's Rights," *Ladder* 1 (1956).
684 Daughters of Bilitis, "Citizen's Rights," *Ladder* 1 (1956).
685 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 97.
686 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 213.
687 Ibid., 214.
688 Ibid., 215.
689 Klages, "When the Bar Was the Only Place in Town," 4.
690 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 99.
691 Ibid.
692 Hal Call, interviewed by Dennis Saxman, 1995.

CONSEQUENCES OF POLICING AND HARASSMENT ON THE COMMUNITY

Punishment

Throughout California history, punishment for sex crimes was harsh. In 1909, the California Legislature passed a law mandating that anyone convicted of two or more sexual offenses and also showing evidence of being a "moral or sexual pervert" would be sterilized.[693] Over the next twenty years, California sterilized almost 7,000 homosexuals and prostitutes—and even more when the law was expanded to include men and women in state hospitals being treated for "perversion."[694] From 1921 on, a sodomy arrest could result in a prison term of up to ten years, while a man or woman convicted of consensual oral copulation could be imprisoned for up to 15 years.[695] When San Quentin opened in 1854, it housed many people arrested for sex crimes in San Francisco. When Alcatraz became a federal prison in the 1930s, some of the first prisoners were soldiers who had been convicted on sodomy charges.

The next wave of major revisions to California's punishments for sex laws was in the 1940s, during Earl Warren's antihomosexual campaign (1939-1953). In 1945, the state's sexual psychopath law, which said a person convicted of sex offenses against children could be committed indefinitely to a state mental hospital, was modified to exclude the limitations to crimes against children. This meant that men and women convicted of consensual adult homosexual sex could be sent to mental hospitals if a doctor's testimony revealed that they were so-called inverts. In 1949, Earl Warren's administration expanded the law to allow sexual psychopaths to be detained indefinitely.

Under Warren's leadership, California enacted harsh punishments for sodomy, including a life sentence after multiple convictions.[696] The state also added oral sex and loitering around public toilets to the list of crimes that triggered harsher sentences after multiple convictions. In 1947, the California legislature passed a law requiring sex offenders to register with local police, which meant that even those who were arrested for consensual homosexual acts were registered as sex offenders. Earl Warren expanded sex registration requirements to include men and women convicted of lewd vagrancy, which William Eskridge, in his history, terms a "crime with an infinitely elastic definition."[697] Many San Franciscans convicted of sex crimes were sent to San Quentin where they experienced severe harassment. Administrators at San Quentin equated homosexuality with criminality—a stance confirmed by former superintendent Clinton Duffy who believed that "all convicts are potential homosexuals. And most homosexuals are potential convicts."[698]

Novelist Malcolm Braley described the treatment of gay men at San Quentin in the 1950s:

> At the time I was threatened with their lot… the life of the homosexual prisoner was even drearier than main liners. They were strictly segregated … by themselves in the Old Spanish Prison, the first block constructed on the site, without toilets or running water, and they were marched everywhere, isolated in a strutting and giggling squad, and the only work to which they were assigned was the prison laundry.[699]

693 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 55.
694 Ibid.
695 Eskridge and Ferejohn, *A Republic of Statutes*, 353.
696 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 88-91.
697 Ibid., 93.
698 Regina Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (University of Chicago press, Chicago and London, 2008), 88.
699 Ibid., 85.

In 1953, a gay man caught having sex at the Embarcadero YMCA was arrested, charged with sodomy, and received a sentence of three to five years in prison.[700] Harsh sentencing for sex crimes continued through the decades.

Perhaps the most disturbing and damaging chapter of Earl Warren's anti-homosexual campaign was in the mid-1950s, when he ordered the opening of a thousand-bed treatment facility at Atascadero State Hospital north of Santa Barbara. Approximately 60% of the population at Atascadero were sex offenders, including men and women convicted of consensual adult same-sex activities. Inmates underwent horrific experimental therapies, including lobotomies, electroconvulsive and pharmacological shock therapy, and castration.[701] Gay patients who were accused of deviation while incarcerated were subjected to aversion therapy, including the use of succinylcholine, a muscle-relaxing drug that produced a feeling of suffocation.[702]

Exposure and Lost Jobs

One of the worst consequences of policing and bar raids was the possibility of losing one's job. Following arrests, newspapers commonly printed names, addresses, and job titles in the paper the following morning. Reba Hudson said, "If [we] had any kind of a job at all, and it became known that [we] were lesbian, well that was just the end of [our] life … end of [our] job."[703] Under California law, people who were convicted of engaging in immoral conduct (including sodomy and oral sex) could not teach in public schools.[704] The law was strengthened in the 1950s under Governor Warren when it became a requirement for police departments to notify school districts when a teacher was arrested for a sex crime. Also in the 1950s, the state legislature directed the board of education to deny teaching certificates to anyone convicted of a sex-related offense, including the catchall vagrancy and consensual adult homosexual sex. Gay rights pioneer José Sarria attended San José State University in the 1950s with the hope of becoming a teacher, but he dropped out after an arrest for sexual solicitation prevented him from receiving teaching credentials. Another San Francisco victim was a sixth-grade teacher named Lloyd E. McMurray, who in 1956 was convicted of a felony for oral sex in the men's room at Aquatic Park. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that McMurray was stripped of his teaching credentials.[705] Similar to education, many other professional licensing organizations in California required that men and women convicted of "gross immorality" have their licenses revoked. These included doctors, dentists, pharmacists, embalmers, and guardians.[706]

As discussed earlier, from the late 1940s through the 1950s, gay men and lesbians working in civil service positions could be deprived of their jobs with or without arrests or convictions. Lesbian bar proprietor Charlotte Coleman was discharged from her post at the Internal Revenue Service after being caught going into gay bars that were under surveillance by policing agencies. World War II veteran, astronomer, and future gay rights pioneer Frank Kameny visited San Francisco in 1956 to attend the American Astronomical Society conference. When he was in a bus station restroom, he had a sexual experience with another man. Police officers who were staking out the restroom behind a two-way mirror arrested Kameny and charged him with lewd conduct. A year later, while

700 Spring, *Secret Historian*, 174.
701 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 96.
702 Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 218. See also Daniel Winunwe Rivers, *Radical Relations: Lesbian Mothers, Gay Fathers, and Their Children in the United States Since World War II* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 23.
703 Reba Hudson, interviewed by Roberta (last name not given), 1992.
704 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 103.
705 *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 13, 1957.
706 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 104.

working for the Army Map Service, the Civil Service Commission found out about Kameny's arrest and discharged him.[707]

Psychological Effects of Harassment and Violence

Members of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco who risked venturing into queer public spaces or participating in queer activities faced the possibility of incarceration or hospitalization, ostracism from friends and family, or financial calamity resulting from careers destroyed. The threat of homophobic violence was equally terrifying. Those who experienced, witnessed, or simply heard about bar raids or violence against queers were deeply scarred by those experiences and understandably cautious. Community historian Betty Boreen described her experience in a bar raid in the 1940s or 1950s as traumatic, and every time she went into a bar after the raid she instinctively searched for the exits:

> [W]hen you see the door open, it's sort of a reflex … whenever I am in a gay bar, I will usually look at whoever walks in. It doesn't matter if they are male or female, white, black, pink with purple polka dots. I will look to see who they are and what they are up to. Because I do not feel safe in this society … [And] if [one's sexuality were to be revealed], God knows what kind of price you would have to pay…you never came out in the daylight. It would be after dark and you would always look around on the street to see if anybody was out there that might possibly know mom and dad, or whatever.[708]

Jim Kepner, who later founded the National Gay Archives in Los Angeles, witnessed an early police raid at the Black Cat Café in 1943:

> Just as I approached, several police thundered into the place. I retreated across the street and watched them haul out about 15 of my brothers – though some of them might have been sisters for all I could tell at first glance. The police were damned rough about it, but except for some of the bolder queens, who gave the cops some sass and a little real physical resistance, most went along like sheep to the slaughter … almost as if they felt they had a punishment coming to them.[709]

Peruvian immigrant Jorge (Gina) Huerte arrived in San Francisco in 1959 and worked as an international freight broker. She recalls many instances of police harassment, especially bar raids at the Gaslight (1144 Pine Street, not extant) in the early 1960s. Huerte said a red light would go off in the bar, alerting patrons of a raid. She and her friends would try to protect themselves by "butching it up," creating distance between each other, and changing the conversation to nonqueer topics.[710]

In addition to harassment in bars, violence against queers carried out by police or homophobic citizens was common. Author Samuel Steward, who spent two summers in San Francisco in 1953 and 1954, found the gay bar scene in San Francisco violent and unpredictable, noting that "black eyes, rolling, beating, and (to a large extent) blackmail" were well-known hazards.[711] Historian Christopher Lowen Agee says lesbian bars were even more vulnerable because San Francisco police had a policy of disengagement. When male locals and tourists "intruded on lesbian bars seeking to inflict terror and violence," the police "made little effort to address this abuse."[712]

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707 David W. Dunlap, "Franklin Kameny, Gay Rights Pioneer, Dies at 86," *The New York Times*, October 12, 2011.
708 Betty Boreen, interviewed by David S. Olson, 2002, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
709 Quoted in Bérubé, "The First Stonewall," *San Francisco Lesbian & Gay Freedom Day Program*.
710 Jorge (Gina) Huerte, interviewed by Shayne Watson, May 17, 2014, Our Stories Workshop for LGBT Elders in San Francisco.
711 Spring, *Secret Historian*, 196.
712 Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 79.

Outside of bars, violence and harassment on the streets was equally brutal. Popular cruising and hustling areas were particularly dangerous, according to historian George Chauncey. "Men faced there the threat of arrest or harassment from the police and from anti-gay vigilantes. The police regularly dispatched plainclothes officers to the most popular cruising areas, and the results of their surveillance could be devastating."[713] For butch lesbians wearing masculine clothes in public, the harassment was often worse because they were easy to spot. Roberta Bobba and a friend recalled being harassed by police multiple times on Broadway Street in North Beach because they looked "very dykey" and "made no effort to look girlish."[714]

For many LGBTQ people, the dread of harassment or punishment, compounded by the overall public disdain for nonnormative sexuality, resulted in an extremely negative sense of self. Betty Boreen thought of herself and her contemporaries as "lepers." She said that even if she "felt pretty good" about herself, she "still had [it] in the back of [her] mind that society says I'm wrong."[715] As a result, she was "constantly looking for validation."[716] For lesbians, notes feminist author Jill Johnston, self-loathing reached a peak in the 1950s when there was "no lesbian identity except a criminal one."[717] The psychological damage extended to men as well. When Samuel Steward was refused a room at the Golden Gate YMCA at 387 Golden Gate Avenue (extant) because he was on the YMCA's list of known homosexuals, he noted his reaction in his journal:

> Baffled, bewildered, and feeling somewhat as if I had leprosy, I went out into the street … This kind of thing carries a shock with it. I felt (with the usual h[omosexual]-guilt complex) that something had been found out about me … I went around the corner to the YMCA hotel for men and women on [351] Turk Street, only to discover I had been blacklisted at that place [too]."[718]

Steward said it took him 24 hours to get over the shock of the experience, describing his "shell [as] paperthin."[719]

Effect on Bar Owners

Owners of San Francisco gay and lesbian bars, many of whom were heterosexual, also were affected by policing and bar raids. As Nan Alamilla Boyd explains, bar owners "invested their own money into the bar, managed the business themselves, and frequently tended bar," so a lot was at stake if a liquor license were revoked.[720] After approximately three complaints, a liquor license could be pulled and the bar could be forced to close. Once a bar owner's name was associated with a closed bar, it was nearly impossible to open a new business. To get around this, multiple owners would form a corporation and keep their names off the business license. One oral history narrator explained, "the police were always on [a bar owner's] case one way or another. You had to make money fast because you couldn't expect to be in business for more than a couple of years, and most of that time was spent in litigation."[721] To avoid arrests in their bars, owners created what Boyd calls spatial defenses: requiring patrons to use the back entrance, covering windows, darkening the

713 Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 184.
714 Roberta Bobba, interviewed by Joanne Castillo, 1981.
715 Betty Boreen, interviewed by David S. Olson, 2002.
716 Ibid.
717 Jill Johnston, *Lesbian Nation: The Feminist Solution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 58.
718 Quoted in Spring, *Secret Historian*, 193-194.
719 Quoted in Ibid.
720 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 126.
721 Robert, "Down Memory Lane, *OurStories*.





TOP: Former location of the 585 Club at 585 Post Street, a gay bar owned by William Morrell, the first gay bar owner to fight back against police bribery, which sparked the Gayola Scandal (Photo by Katherine Petrin)

LEFT: The former storefront of the Suzy-Q bar at 1741 Polk Street, founding place of the Tavern Guild, the first LGBTQ business association in the U.S. (Photo by Shayne Watson)

bar's interior, locating the dance floor in the rear, and hiring hostesses to watch the entrance.[722] Bar owners also protected their bars and their patrons by "watch[ing] the behavior of their clientele, both to exert control over the bar's character and to protect patrons from entrapment and arrest."[723] Because a symbiotic relationship between bar owners and patrons was necessary in order to keep a place afloat, heterosexual bar owners and LGBTQ people became unlikely allies. And to a certain extent, bar owners went out of their way to protect their clientele, a point illustrated by community historian Pat Bond: "[T]hey wouldn't let anyone hurt you or try to make you. A man trying to [hurt or hook up with] a lesbian would be thrown out."[724]

QUEERS FIGHT BACK

Vallerga v. Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control

An important 1959 court decision, *Vallerga v. Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control*, established that Section 24200(e) of the California Business and Professional Code was unconstitutional. As described in an earlier section of this chapter, Section 24200(e) was enacted in 1955 as a way to reduce the impact of *Stoumen v. Reilly*; it stated that a bar's liquor license could be revoked if the bar catered to "sexual perverts." *Vallerga v. ABC* "reestablished that the presence of homosexuals in a bar did not automatically imply the presence of sexual perverts."[725] The decision meant that bar owners could cater to homosexuals as long as they were "well-behaved," and it "allowed homosexuals in San Francisco a modicum of political entitlement and a momentary respite from ABC pressure and police harassment."[726]

Gayola Scandal

Up to the 1960s, San Francisco's policing agencies had a long history of demanding payoffs from establishments engaging in illegal activities.[727] Police regulated homosexuality by demanding payoffs from gay-bar owners—especially in the downtown, lower Market, and Embarcadero areas where "overt homosexual activity or other crimes, like drug use or gambling" were prevalent.[728] In the late 1940s and early 1950s, San Francisco Mayor Elmer Robinson oversaw an administration that "demanded graft collection," which essentially meant that homosexual bars not only stayed in operation, but also "proliferated."[729] When *Stoumen v. Reilly* legalized gay and lesbian bars (but not homosexual activity) in 1951, it was no longer illegal to serve alcohol to homosexuals, so owners of gay bars could choose to refuse bribes. But, as historian Christopher Lowen Agee notes, "bar owners who refused payoff demands made themselves more susceptible to other forms of police harassment."[730] Thus, in many cases, paying off police was the path of least resistance.

In 1960, on the heels of the *Vallerga* decision, which provided gay-bar owners a small amount of relief and confidence, a highly political and publicized controversy that later became known as the Gayola Scandal unfolded. San Francisco was in the middle of a recession in 1960, so paying off police became especially difficult for gay-bar owners.[731] Early in the year, William "Uncle Billy" Morrell, owner of the 585 Club (585 Post Street, extant) since 1952, decided to fight back. Morrell

722 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 127.
723 Ibid., 126.
724 Pat Bond, interviewed by Allan Bérubé, 1981. Quoted in Ibid.
725 Ibid., 206.
726 Ibid., 207.
727 Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 80.
728 Ibid., 81.
729 Ibid., 82.
730 Ibid., 80.
731 Ibid., 91.



Guests entering a Tavern Guild Beaux Arts Ball at California Hall, 625 Polk Street (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

was part of tightly knit network of gay-bar owners throughout the city. He tapped into his network and invited a group of gay-bar owners, including Sol Stoumen from the Black Cat Café, to meet at the 585 Club and devise a plan to "blow the whistle" on police payoffs.[732] The group then arranged a sit-down with Chief of Police Thomas Cahill and an ABC administrator, during which the bar owners accused two police officers of extortion—the first time in American history that gay-bar owners challenged the payola system. Chief Cahill, who "harbored little sympathy for the bar owners," had little choice but to act on the charges because he was under the thumb of Mayor George Christopher, who had recently won reelection on a clean-government ticket.[733] "Mayor Christopher and Chief Cahill understood that they could use high-profile prosecutions to maintain downtown leaders' perception that they were committed to clean government," Christopher Lowen Agee explains.[734]

Beginning in February 1960, Chief Cahill began a sting investigation to trap officers demanding payola. The first officer netted was a San Francisco Police sergeant who was caught leaving The Handlebar (1438 California Street, extant) with $120 in marked bills. Soon after, two more officers were suspended for taking payoffs from the 585 Club and the Have One (895 Bush Street, extant). In May 1960, after the ABC joined the investigation, an ABC officer was caught leaving the Castaway (90 Market Street, not extant) with $150 in marked bills. Even more arrests were made in association with bribes taken from Jack's Waterfront Hangout (226 Embarcadero, not extant), a bar owned by a gay man named Edward George Bauman that featured walls covered with paintings of nude men.[735]

Five of the eight San Francisco Police officers accused of extortion were indicted by a grand jury. The sergeant caught with marked bills from The Handlebar received a one-year sentence. The rest of the officers went to trial in July 1960. Four of them received not-guilty verdicts.[736] One of the ABC officers caught in the sting received a misdemeanor and three years of probation.

Despite the lenient, or complete lack of, sentencing assigned to the officers charged with demanding payola from gay-bar owners, the Gayola Scandal resulted in sweeping changes to San Francisco's political and legal landscape, including the end of "organized, large-scale payoff networks."[737] Furthermore, press coverage of the Gayola trial, which historian Nan Alamilla Boyd calls "a month-long media frenzy," showed a distinct change in the way that journalists, and the public, perceived homosexuals in the 1960s. Similar to the media response to the Tay-Bush raid, journalists were sympathetic to the gay-bar owners and even "ridiculed the demeanor of the accused police officers."[738] Boyd notes that it was during the Gayola Scandal that journalists started using the term "gay bar" rather than "resorts for sex perverts."[739]

The Gayola Scandal victory was short-lived. The ABC, "furious over the charges leveled against [its agents]," immediately prosecuted 15 gay-bar cases. By the end of 1961, ABC had closed 24 of the city's homosexual bars, including all of the bars associated with the Gayola Scandal. In 1963, the Black Cat Café closed permanently as part of the ABC's antihomosexual campaign.[740] Still, in 1962,

732 Bob Ross quoted in Ibid., 92.
733 Ibid.
734 Bob Ross quoted in Ibid., 93.
735 Ibid.
736 Ibid., 95.
737 Ibid., 97.
738 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 208.
739 Ibid., 209.
740 Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 99.

in the midst of the nearly constant bar closures, approximately 25 gay and lesbian bars operated in San Francisco—and they were ready for a fight. "The owners of the new gay and lesbian establishments … were far more likely to resist license revocations" because many of the new owners were gay or lesbian themselves.[741] Many of the owners "remained dedicated to the bottom line," but also "viewed their bars as more than business ventures. They often saw the community-building potential in their establishments and thus displayed a greater tenacity in their conflicts with law enforcement. These individual acts of persistence hindered the ABC's drive."[742]

Tavern Guild

In 1962, gay bar proprietors and employees organized the Tavern Guild of San Francisco, regarded as the first gay business association in the U.S. Guild members met at a gay bar on Polk Street called the Suzy-Q (1741 Polk Street, extant), and elected Suzy-Q bartender Phil Doganiero as president.[743] The Tavern Guild, which maintained a large budget derived from membership dues and fundraising events, retained lawyers and bail bondsmen for use by "anyone arrested in or near a gay bar."[744] The Guild formed a powerful network that allowed bar owners to coordinate resistance to police and ABC harassment and bar raids. Members established a telephone network to alert bars about police and ABC activity, and the Guild financed the publication of the Pocket Lawyer, a small guide with information on what to do in case of arrest.[745] The Guild was also politically active, organizing voter registration drives in the bars. "The very existence of the guild," writes historian John D'Emilio, "was a statement that gay bars were a legitimate form of business enterprise that deserved freedom from arbitrary harassment."[746] In addition to providing legal and political services, the Tavern Guild donated money to San Francisco's homophile organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union, Youth for Service, the United Farm Workers, and the civil rights movement.[747]

Tavern Guild members met regularly at gay and lesbian bars throughout San Francisco. Social activities sponsored by the Tavern Guild included annual picnics and the Beaux Arts Ball. First hosted in 1963, the Beaux Arts ball was an annual drag gala held every Halloween until 1970; it "became the centerpiece for the drag community," and the event at which the city's Empress was elected.[748]

Gay bar proprietor and Tavern Guild founding member Charlotte Coleman said the Tavern Guild "was a great thing in the end because it got the government—the ABC and the police department—to leave us alone a little bit because we showed some strength."[749] Rikki Streicher, a Tavern Guild member through the 1970s, said, "The Tavern Guild was probably singly the reason why bars achieved a success politically. Because a buck is the bottom line at all times. And the bars had commanded an enormous amount of money in terms of the city. So when they began to invite politicians to their meetings, the politicians realized that here's an organized group and that, number one, they have money and, number two, they have votes."[750]

741 Ibid., 101.
742 Ibid., 101.
743 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 223.
744 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 189.
745 Ibid.
746 Ibid.
747 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 225.
748 Ibid.
749 Charlotte Coleman, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992. Quoted in Ibid., 226.
750 Rikki Streicher, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, 1992. Quoted in Ibid.

V. HOMOPHILE MOVEMENTS (1950S TO 1960S)

PRECURSORS TO THE HOMOPHILE MOVEMENTS

The first documented gay-liberation organization in the world was the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, founded in Germany in 1897 by Magnus Hirschfeld and colleagues. Proponents of the "third sex" theory, the organization published the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (Annual for Intermediate Sexual Types). Hirschfeld and his colleagues believed homosexuality was congenital and fought to end the legal and social persecution of homosexuals.[751] The first American gay rights organization was the short-lived Society for Human Rights, founded in 1924 by German-American Henry Gerber in Chicago and shut down by the police a few months later.

Outside of early collective organizing, efforts by individuals to advocate for or defend the rights of queer people were equally important and influential. One of those early advocates was anarchist writer, speaker, and organizer Emma Goldman. Goldman toured the U.S around the turn of the 20th century, giving lectures on many political topics, including anarchism, women's suffrage, prisons, and birth control. Her views on rights for homosexuals were radical at the time. She was known as a "free love" advocate and spoke openly about her support of both homosexuality and polyamory. She wrote to Magnus Hirschfeld, describing her views on nonnormative sexuality: "It is a tragedy, I feel, that people of a different sexual type are caught in a world which shows so little understanding for homosexuals, is so crassly indifferent to the various gradations and variations of gender and their great significance in life."[752] In the summer of 1899, Goldman lectured in San Francisco at the Turk Street Temple (117 Turk Street, not extant). Among many other topics, she spoke about the New Woman and "sex problems." She returned to the city in 1915 to give a lecture titled "The Intermediate Sex: A Discussion of Homosexuality" at the Scottish Rite Hall, 1320 Van Ness (extant).[753] Magnus Hirschfeld called her an "American freedom fighter" and wrote that she was "the first and only woman, indeed the first and only American, to take up the defense of homosexual love before the general public."[754]

Two other early advocates of gay rights were Emma Goldman's compatriot Alexander Berkman and Edith Ellis, wife of sexologist Havelock Ellis. Berkman gave a speech in San Francisco in 1915 titled "Homosexuality and Sex Life in Prison"—and he lived with Goldman in San Francisco in 1916–1917, joining her in editing an anarchist journal, *The Blast*, at their apartment at 569 Dolores Street (extant). Edith Ellis spoke positively about homosexuality during a lecture tour in the U.S in 1915.[755]

BARS AS ROOTS OF QUEER ACTIVISM

While some historians mark the homophile movements in the 1950s as the foundation for gay rights organizing of the 1960s–1970s, others, such as historians John D'Emilio and Nan Alamilla Boyd, argue that the seeds of gay liberation movements in the United States were planted decades before in the queer bars. "Homophile activism built upon and complemented the groundswell

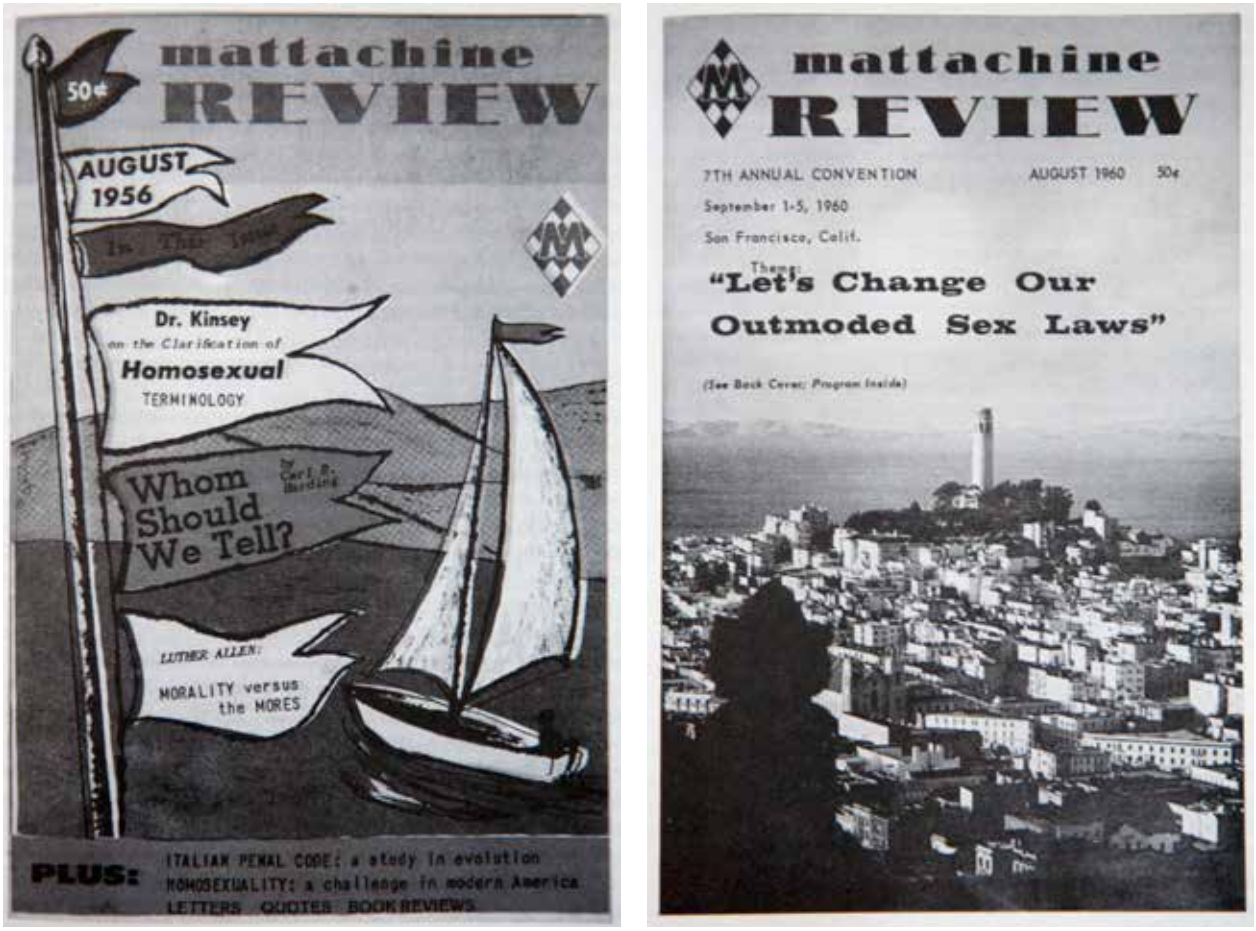
751 Magnus Hirschfeld visited San Francisco in 1931 while on a worldwide tour. He stayed at the St. Francis Hotel and visited Albion Hall at 141-143 Albion Street. Albion Hall, which was known as Equality Hall at the time, was owned by a German fraternal organization, the Workman's Educational Association. It was later home to Gay Games founder Dr. Tom Waddell. See Ralf Dose, "Magnus Hirschfeld: Testament. Heft II" (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich Verlag, 2013), 92, note 154. See also Hubert Kennedy, "German Gay Activist Visits San Francisco – In 1931," http://hubertkennedy.angelfire.com/Four.pdf.

752 Katz, *Gay American History*, 378-379.

753 Terence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States 1895-1917* (Berkeley & London: AK Press, 2008).

754 Katz, *Gay American History*, 377-378.

755 Ibid., 359-366.



Copies of the Mattachine Society's newsletter, *Mattachine Review*, 1956 and 1960 (From *Contacts Desired*,2006)

created by queer bar culture in San Francisco," Boyd says.[756] The "politics of everyday life" in queer bars and nightclubs "were every bit as important as the politics of organized social movement activism," and these spaces "contributed significantly to the form and function of a resistant queer social movement."[757] As documented in the previous chapter, Boyd presents evidence showing how post-Prohibition bar culture fostered prepolitical activism, and, quoting historians Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis, "social acts of resistance that haven't yet crystalized into political institutions."[758] In other words, in the pre-homophile period, the simple act of going to bars and forming communities within those spaces was a powerful form of social resistance in its own right. "Isolated men and women do not create, almost overnight, a mass movement premised upon a shared identity," says John D'Emilio.[759] Queer bars "were seedbeds for a collective consciousness that might one day flower politically."[760]

HOMOPHILE ORGANIZING IN SAN FRANCISCO

The homophile groups that organized in the United States in the 1950s were a radical first step for gay and lesbian rights movements. "[A]t a time when heterosexual Americans appeared virtually unanimous in their disapproval, if not condemnation of same-sex eroticism," writes John D'Emilio, the homophile organizations "open[ed] a debate on the topic" and "rupture[d] the consensus that shaped social attitudes toward homosexuality and society's treatment of gay people."[761] By publishing newsletters and organizing national conferences, homophile organizations educated gay and lesbian people and the public about what it meant to be gay or lesbian in mid-20th century America, and by doing so they made small steps toward achieving fundamental rights as citizens.

Lesbians had even more reason to coalesce and organize in the 1950s because of the restrictions placed on their gender. As John D'Emilio describes, all women—straight and lesbian— were expected to conform to certain narrow cultural molds of sexuality, femininity, and work. Living as a lesbian during this period "demanded a much sharper break from traditional expectations of 'proper' womanhood."[762] Like their gay male counterparts, lesbians were condemned by religious organizations, the police, and the medical profession, but because of their gender they suffered even more "antihomosexual opprobrium" than men.[763] Lorraine Hansberry, lesbian author of *A Raisin in the Sun*, referred to lesbians as "twice oppressed," which required them to become "twice militant."[764]

Mattachine Society

The Mattachine Foundation

The Mattachine Foundation (later renamed Mattachine Society) was founded in November 1950 when Harry Hay and a group of four men met at Hay's house in the Silverlake neighborhood of Los Angeles. Harry Hay was born in England in 1912, but grew up in southern California.

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756 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 147.

757 Ibid., 242.

758 Boyd notes that Kennedy and Davis borrow the term "prepolitical" from Eric Hobsbawm. Ibid., 11. See Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 390, n. 3. See also E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1965).

759 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 2.

760 Ibid., 33.

761 Ibid., 3.

762 Ibid., 93.

763 Ibid.

764 John Schwartz, "A Concealed Voice Rings Loud and Clear," *The New York Times*, October 25, 2013.



LEFT: The Williams Building at 693 Mission Street, national headquarters of the Mattachine Society beginning in 1954 (Historic American Buildings Survey)

BOTTOM LEFT: Handout from the first Mattachine Society national convention, held in San Francisco in 1954 (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Site of first Mattachine Society convention, 1830 Sutter Street (Photo by Shayne Watson)





He knew he was gay when he was young and had sexual experiences with men early in his life. Some of the earliest members of the Mattachine Foundation, including Hay, were members of the Communist Party. Hay had become involved in party activities in the 1930s and had participated in San Francisco's 1934 General Strike. He defined the latter experience as the beginning of his radical activism. At an initial Mattachine meeting in 1950, Hay brought together a handful of friends and acquaintances to whom he presented a proposal that outlined a framework for the nation's homophile movement, with "the heroic objective of liberating one of our largest minorities from … social persecution."[765] The group of men continued meeting periodically for several months and eventually formed the Mattachine Foundation, the first homophile organization in the U.S.

Some of the primary goals of the Mattachine Foundation included trying to instill in members a "group consciousness free of the negative attitudes that gay men and women typically internalized."[766] The founders "attempted to transform the shame of being gay into a pride of belonging to a minority."[767] As D'Emilio describes it, the Mattachine Foundation viewed homosexuals as a minority group unaware of its existence—in Marxist terms, a class "in itself" as opposed to a class "for itself" that would act collectively in its own interest. Understanding the importance of the distinction, the Mattachine Foundation hoped to "forge a unified movement of homosexuals ready to fight against their oppression."[768] Geraldine Jackson—some of the early supporters were women—said that being a member made her feel "like [she] had a mission in the world," and that she and other members were "doing something terribly worthwhile for our people."[769] The founders also were interested in understanding the roots of gay oppression and sought to analyze homosexuals as human beings by "scrutinizing their own lives."[770] At their regular meetings, the Mattachine members shared stories about experiences such as coming out, going to gay bars and cruising, and surviving loneliness as isolated gay men and lesbians. "With the help of the Mattachine Society," writes historian Martin Meeker, "numerous [homosexual men] moved from an isolated and pathologized identity to a new identity supported by a sense of community."[771]

By 1953, the Mattachine Foundation had grown throughout Southern California and had an estimated membership of 2,000. Northern California member Gerry Brissette had established chapters in Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco. Brissette told the Mattachine founders that gay men and lesbians in the Bay Area "flock to us in hordes, hungry, anxious, eager to DO something, SAY something, get started."[772] Unlike the chapters in Southern California that consisted predominantly of men, the early chapters in the Bay Area had a substantial number of lesbians.

Reorganization

In May 1953 at a Mattachine convention in southern California, a schism formed over the direction of the organization between the politically radical founding members, including Harry Hay, and the more conservative newer members. This resulted in the founders relinquishing their leadership and eventually cutting their ties to the Mattachine Foundation. The new leaders reorganized almost all aspects of the organization, including changing the name to the Mattachine Society and revising

765 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 10.
766 Ibid., 58.
767 Ibid.
768 Ibid., 65-66.
769 Ibid., 69.
770 Ibid., 65.
771 Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 76.
772 Quoted in D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 72.

the primary mission statement. "Under its new officers, the Mattachine Society shifted its focus from mobilizing a gay constituency to assisting the work of professionals" who were studying "sex variation problems."[773] Los Angeles member Kenneth Burns explained the reasons behind the change:

> We didn't have much confidence at that time. We felt we had to work through people … who could better present what [homosexuality] was all about – better than ourselves … [We made] a definite decision that by working through research projects and people in education and religion that we would get acceptance.[774]

Hal Call, future leader of the Mattachine Society in San Francisco, added that members decided to align with researchers and others "to give ourselves credibility. To be just an organization of upstart gays, we would have been shattered and ridiculed and put down."[775]

The reorganization of Mattachine resulted in an initial loss of membership, including almost all of the lesbians, and a reduction in the number of chapters. In early 1954, under the leadership of Hal Call and Don Lucas, Mattachine's San Francisco branch moved into offices in the Williams Building at 693 Mission Street (extant). In 1957, the San Francisco office was recognized as the Mattachine national headquarters.[776] Hal Call moved from Chicago to San Francisco in 1952 after being arrested on a morals charge and losing his job. He was a member of the Mattachine's first discussion group in San Francisco. Martin Meeker says: "Upon assuming a leadership role in 1953, Call became one of the first American homosexuals to proclaim his sexuality publicly while fighting for homosexual civil rights."[777]

Organizational Activities and Services

Hal Call and his colleagues dedicated themselves to working with professionals who supported the promotion of social understanding for homosexuals. "To that end, Call built productive relationships with sexologist Alfred Kinsey (helping him to find homosexual subjects for his research) and psychologist Evelyn Hooker as well as with assorted lawyers, clergy, politicians, journalists, medical doctors, sociologists, business owners, and law enforcement personnel."[778]

In October 1954, Hal Call and Don Lucas, along with five others, opened the country's first gay press, the Pan-Graphic Press. Pan-Graphic Press was located in the Mattachine offices at 693 Mission Street. Hal Call worked at the press full time. The Mattachine Society's official newsletter became the *Mattachine Review*, first printed by Pan-Graphic Press in February 1955.[779] In 1957 Pan-Graphic Press started printing Call's *Dorian Book Service Quarterly*, a journal and mail order catalog where people could distribute and purchase homosexual-themed books—only the second provider of its kind in the country following the Cory Book Service in New York.[780] Pan-Graphic Press also printed *Town Talk*, one of the first free gay newspapers in the country to contain advertising and be distributed in gay bars; the press also brought out a string of short nonfiction and fiction books and booklets, making it one of the first gay small presses in the U.S. The Mattachine office in San

773 Ibid., 81.
774 Quoted in Ibid., 83.
775 Ibid.
776 Meeker, *Contacts Desired*, 53.
777 Martin Meeker, *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History in America, (*New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004).
778 Ibid.
779 Meeker, *Contacts Desired*, 52.
780 Ibid., 54.

Francisco, notes historian Martin Meeker, "became the command center for the society's growing public relations activities."[781]

The Mattachine Society further spread its message by hosting national conventions for the various chapters and sister organizations. The first Mattachine Society Convention was held May 15–16, 1954, at the American Friends Service Committee Center at 1830 Sutter Street (extant).[782] Titled "Evolution, not Revolution," the convention featured panel discussions, including one by Dr. Bernice Engle, a researcher at UCSF's Langley Porter Clinic (described in detail in "LGBTQ Medicine"), and a banquet at the Three Little Swiss Restaurant at 530 Broadway.[783] The conference concluded with "many organizational problems solved, policies adopted, projects planned, and officers elected."[784] The Mattachine Society hosted four other conventions in San Francisco through the early 1960s.

The Mattachine Society also provided various support services to the homosexual community in San Francisco, and welcomed visitors to its offices at 693 Mission Street. Meeker notes that beginning in the late 1950s—after the organization gained national notoriety in the media— the society began receiving letters, calls, and visits that were "desperate and urgent."[785]

> As early as 1958, the headquarters offices in San Francisco were beginning to experience the onslaught of requests that would thrust the organization's communications strategy into a whole new realm…. The leaders of the Mattachine Society soon had to contend with thousands of individuals newly introduced into the networks, virtual orphans in the gay world…. These homosexuals clamored for information, contacting the resource that was most easily accessible.[786]

The *Mattachine Review* reported "some 300 cases of individuals seeking various types of social service assistance … legal, psychiatric, religious and employment assistance."[787] The society also provided assistance for homosexuals released from prison or mental institutions who had been incarcerated because of their sexuality, as well as for victims of bar raids. Hal Call recalls his experience helping the more than 100 patrons arrested at the Tay-Bush Inn:

> [A] hundred and some people were arrested and I went down to the Hall of Justice and spent the rest of the night arranging bail for those people who were arrested. And called attorneys and we were giving them the names of attorneys that they could call because they were going to have to appear in court and answer charges and they needed to be represented by attorneys that had as much understanding of this subject as … was possible, and who would do the best job of defending them. Well, those charges were dismissed in almost a wholesale manner by the court, because this was just a slap happy activity by the San Francisco Police Department.[788]

781 Ibid., 52.

782 1830 Sutter Street was built as the Japantown YWCA by first generation Japanese immigrant women in 1932. The building was designed by architect Julia Morgan and came under the umbrella of the American Friends Service Committee during World War II. See Donna Graves and Page & Turnbull, "Historic Context Statement, Japantown, San Francisco, California" (2011).

783 Annual Meetings, First, 1954, Box 3/1, Donald S. Lucas Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

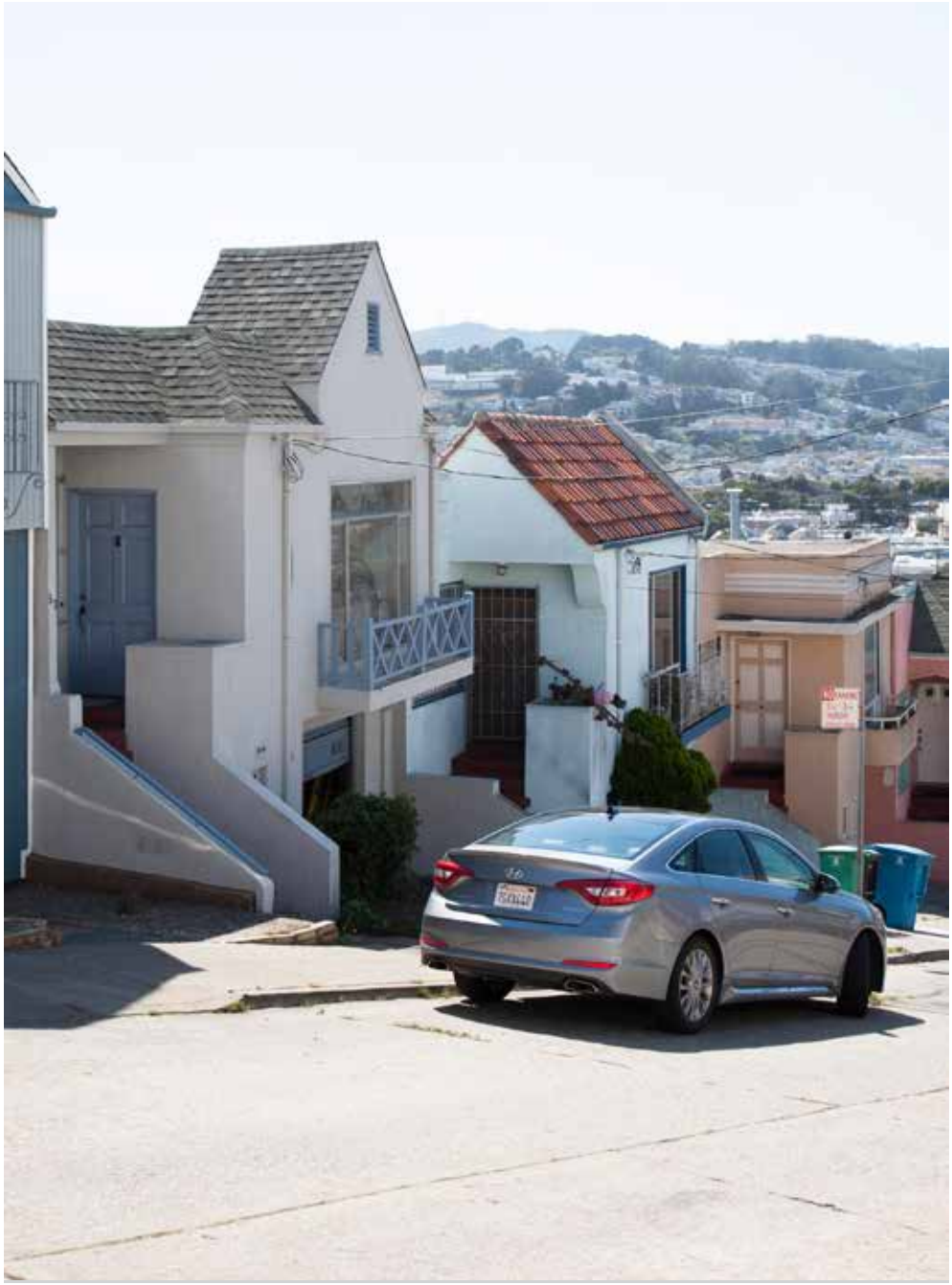
784 San Francisco Mattachine Newsletter, June 25, 1954, Number 13, Wide Open Town History Project records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

785 Meeker, *Contacts Desired*, 70.

786 Ibid., 70.

787 Ibid.

788 Hal Call, interviewed by Dennis Saxman, 1995.



The residence at 53 Venus Street (blue door) is the first known meeting site of the Daughters of Bilitis. It was the home of DOB cofounders Rose Bamberger and her partner, Rosemary Sliepan, in 1955. (Photo by Shayne Watson)

The Mattachine Society under Hal Call also offered financial support and printing services to José Sarria during his historic 1961 run for San Francisco city supervisor.[789]

End of the Mattachine Society

In the mid-1960s, the Mattachine Society began to disintegrate. By 1967, the headquarters had moved from the Williams Building to 348 Ellis Street (not extant), the location of Adonis Books, one of the first gay bookstores in the United States, opened by Hal Call in 1966. Growing competition from other homophile and gay rights organizations was taking membership away from Mattachine. Don Lucas left the organization. Martin Meeker says, "It was around this time that the society really ceased to function as an activist, social service, and publishing organization."[790]

Daughters of Bilitis

The Founders

In 1955, a young Filipina lesbian named Rosalie "Rose" Bamberger came up with the idea for a social club for lesbians in San Francisco. Bamberger and her partner, Rosemary Sliepan, both worked at brush-manufacturing companies and lived together at 53 Venus Street (extant) in the Bayview neighborhood. Through a friend, Bamberger and Sliepan were introduced to another lesbian couple, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, who shared an interest in meeting other lesbians in a setting outside of the bars.

Dorothy "Del" Martin was born in San Francisco in 1921. After a year of studying journalism at UC Berkeley, Martin transferred to San Francisco State College (now San Francisco State University) where she was managing editor of the student newspaper the *Golden Gater*. While working at the paper, she met and married Jack Martin. The two had a baby and Del Martin was forced to drop out of school to become a full-time mother. A few years later, she fell in love with a female neighbor and filed for divorce. In 1949, Martin moved to Seattle, where she worked as an editor at *Daily Construction Reports.*

Phyllis Lyon was born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1924. Her family later moved to the San Francisco Bay Area. Lyon graduated from UC Berkeley with a degree in journalism. After working for the *Chico Enterprise*, Lyon moved to Seattle, where she found a job at the *Pacific Builder and Engineer*.

Lyon and Martin met while working in the same building in Seattle and the two became lovers. In 1953, Lyon moved back to San Francisco, living on the ground floor of the four-unit building at 685 Castro Street (extant). Martin moved in on Valentine's Day 1953. Early in their relationship, Lyon and Martin tried meeting other lesbians at bars, including Mona's Candle Light, the Black Cat, and Tommy's Place. The two women became friendly with the gay male bartender at Tommy's Place, Jerry, and his partner, Rikki, a female impersonator. For a brief period, the four of them operated the dining room at the rear of Tommy's Place, with Phyllis Lyon and Rikki waiting tables.[791] Lyon and Martin purchased a house at 651 Duncan Street (extant) in 1955. Their only requirement was a "house with a view."[792]

789 Meeker, *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History in America.*
790 Ibid.
791 David Mixner and Dennis Bailey, *Brave Journeys: Profiles in Gay and Lesbian Courage* (New York: Bantam Books, 2000).
792 Phyllis Lyon, personal communication with Shayne Watson, August 25, 2011.



Copies of DOB newsletter, *The Ladder*, from 1957, 1965, and 1966. Note the addition of "A Lesbian Review" on the middle cover. (Courtesy Shayne Watson)

Founding the Daughters of Bilitis

On September 21, 1955, four female couples gathered in San Francisco to lay the framework for founding the nation's first lesbian-rights organization. The women were Rose Bamberger and her partner, Rosemary Sliepan; Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon; Noni Frey and her Latina partner, Mary; and Marcia Foster and her partner, June (last name unknown). The founders decided to call the organization the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), a coded reference to lesbianism inspired by *The Songs of Bilitis*, a book of poems about lesbian love by 19th century French poet Pierre Louÿs. At a follow-up meeting on October 5, Bamberger and Sliepan hosted the Daughters at their home in the Bayview.[793] At that gathering, the group elected the organization's first leaders: Del Martin as president, Noni Frey as vice president, Phyllis Lyon as secretary, Rosemary Sliepen as treasurer, and Marcia Foster as trustee.[794]

DOB was initially conceived as a social group for lesbians. Rose Bamberger loved to dance, and because lesbians could be arrested for dancing in bars in the 1950s, the founders wanted to create a space where lesbians could meet without risk. The founders wanted "a club for Lesbians… to meet and socialize outside of the gay bars" where they could find "privacy not only from the watchful eye of the police, but from gaping tourists in the bars."[795] The founders also wanted to use the organization as a forum for educating lesbians about homosexuality and promoting social acceptance. The eight women met at Marcia Foster and June's home on October 19, 1955, and discussed goals for the organization, establishing four primary objectives: 1.) Education of the variant [DOB's preferred term for homosexual]; 2.) Education of the public; 3.) Participation in research projects; and 4.) Investigation of the California Penal Code.[796]

Historian Marcia Gallo credits Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon for shaping the DOB's objectives from the outset, especially the group's focus on reaching and educating the individual lesbian. The founders "knew instinctively that, without support to develop the self-confidence necessary to advocate for one's rights, no social change would be possible for lesbians," writes Gallo.[797] The DOB was equally emphatic about educating the public about homosexuality, and felt that contributing to medical and sociological research projects would produce data that could change public perceptions about lesbians and gay men. This approach "reflected the members' beliefs that a conscious, carefully constructed program of discussion, information, and outreach to sympathetic professionals would best advance the nascent movement for gay and lesbian rights."[798]

Similar to the Mattachine Society, the DOB thought they could change public perceptions by conforming to gender-normative self-presentation, encouraging members to adopt a "mode of dress and behavior acceptable to society"—a position that prompted heated debates about cross-dressing and butch styles.[799] As for the DOB's fourth objective to investigate the California Penal Code, Phyllis Lyon said, "We wanted to change the sex laws that made people felons. We thought

793 Personal communication between Marcia Gallo and Shayne Watson, September-October 2014. Dr. Gallo said, "[I]t is not clear exactly where the very first gathering of the founders of DOB took place on September 21, 1955," but the follow-up meeting occurred at 53 Venus Street.

794 Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2006), 5.

795 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 219.

796 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 11.

797 Ibid., 17.

798 Ibid., 13.

799 Ibid., 24.



The Hotel Whitcomb at 1231 Market Street, site of the first DOB national convention in 1960. It was the largest public gathering of lesbians in the country up to that date. (Photo by Shayne Watson)

that there would come a time, hopefully, when there wouldn't be any laws against our sexuality and we'd be accepted as people by the outside community."[800]

When the DOB's mission changed from a purely social group to an organization more focused on advocacy, it created a rift among the founding members. Rose Bamberger and Rosemary Sliepan left the DOB in January 1956 to form a lesbian social sorority. Marcia Foster, Noni Frey, and June left a while later. Two other women joined the DOB early on, including Barbara Deming, one of the five cosigners of the Articles of Incorporation, and Helen "Sandy" Sandoz, who became a longtime and very active DOB member. The remaining members of DOB, especially Lyon and Martin, began collaborating with the Mattachine Society and the Los Angeles homophile group ONE Inc. In January 1956, Lyon, Martin, and a few other DOB women attended ONE's Midwinter Institute in Los Angeles, one of the largest homophile conferences held to that time. In April 1956, DOB held its first public event, a forum at the California Hall at 625 Polk Street (extant, S.F. Landmark No. 174) on problems faced by gay men and lesbians, co-sponsored by the Mattachine Society.

Publishing The Ladder

The DOB's first national headquarters was on the third floor of the Williams Building at 693 Mission Street, a small office they shared with the Mattachine Society beginning around 1956.[801] Martin and Lyon described the set up: "A member donated a desk [and] … we bought a used typewriter and filing cabinet ….We were in business."[802] In the summer of 1956, as part of an "all-out [publicity] push," the DOB published a newsletter called *The Ladder*.[803] DOB leaders and members used *The Ladder* to reach and educate individual lesbians. They "consciously aimed the magazine at 'the lonely isolated lesbians away from the big cities,'" according to John D'Emilio.[804] They wanted *The Ladder* to help "end the perceived isolation among lesbians like themselves," adds historian Martin Meeker.[805]

The first issue of *The Ladder* was published in October 1956 using the Mattachine Society's mimeograph machine. Phyllis Lyon, using the pseudonym "Ann Ferguson," was the editor. Del Martin's "staunchly feminist orientation" came out in the first newsletter:

> It took women with foresight and determination to attain this heritage which is now ours…. Nothing was ever accomplished by hiding in a dark corner. Why not discard the hermitage for the heritage that awaits any red-blooded American woman who dares to claim it?
>
> What will be the lot of the future Lesbian? Fear? Scorn? This need not be—IF lethargy is supplanted by an energized constructive program, if cowardice gives way to the solidarity of a cooperative front, if the 'let Georgia do it' attitude is replaced by the realization of individual responsibility in thwarting the evils of ignorance, superstition, prejudice, and bigotry.[806]

800 Ibid., 16.
801 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 11. Quoted in Meeker, *Contacts Desired*, 86.
802 Ibid.
803 Ibid.
804 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 104.
805 Meeker, *Contacts Desired*, 86.
806 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 31.

Over 200 copies of the first edition of *The Ladder* were distributed. The next three issues were printed after hours by Helen Sandoz on the printing machine at Macy's Union Square where she worked. Later, the DOB had *The Ladder* printed at other presses, including Pan-Graphic Press.[807]

In addition to editorials by DOB leaders and members, *The Ladder* featured organizational reports, schedules of upcoming events, fiction and poetry, nonfiction essays, and international news. Martin Meeker argues that "[e]ven without a physical space for lesbians to meet and exchange information, the DOB and *The Ladder* provided a conceptual space for lesbians" throughout the world to find information and camaraderie.[808] *The Ladder* also enticed lesbians living elsewhere to move to San Francisco after reading descriptions of activities in the city. Meeker cites an example of a woman from Southern California who learned about San Francisco as a lesbian mecca by reading about it in *The Ladder* and expressed a desire to move north. "Learning that something was happening in San Francisco quite apart from her own experience led this lesbian to yearn for more, for an experience she had up to that point only imagined."[809]

The Ladder went through a series of notable changes over the years. In 1960, the DOB started a Book and Record Service, organized through *The Ladder*, that allowed women throughout the country to order gay-themed books that were otherwise difficult or risky to obtain. DOB shipped the material and asked for a small handling charge. In 1964, "A Lesbian Review" was added to the title, "marking the first time the word 'lesbian' was used as part of an ongoing magazine title."[810] In November 1964, *The Ladder* featured the first full-face photo of a lesbian on the cover, an Indonesian woman named Ger van Braam who became a member of DOB to feel less isolated.[811] In 1968, Barbara Grier, who had been contributing to *The Ladder* since 1957, became editor. Grier wanted to turn *The Ladder* into "the *Atlantic Monthly* of Lesbian thought."[812] *The Ladder* was no longer published and distributed from San Francisco beginning in 1970. "DOB was falling apart," Grier said, and "we wanted *The Ladder* to survive."[813] It was "divorced from DOB" in 1970 and became "an independent lesbian-feminist publication, according to Barbara Grier.[814]

Biennial Conventions

On May 27-30, 1960, the DOB hosted its first biennial convention, "A Look at the Lesbian," at the Hotel Whitcomb at 1231 Market Street (extant).[815] It was the first large-scale public gathering of lesbians in the country and drew over 200 registrants. The schedule included speakers and panel discussions, including one moderated by Dr. Bernice Engle of the Langley Porter Clinic at UC San Francisco Medical Center. At a banquet, Lisa Ben, now famous for authoring *Vice Versa*, the nation's first magazine for lesbians, in 1947, entertained guests with "gay folk songs.[816] The Homosexual Detail of the San Francisco Police Department showed up to make sure women were not cross-dressing, and officers attended a panel discussion gay bars. On Sunday, conference attendees were invited to a women-only dinner at Charlotte Coleman's bar, The Front.[817] The conference was

807 Meeker, *Contacts Desired*, 89.
808 Ibid., 90.
809 Ibid.
810 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 95.
811 Ibid., 94.
812 Ibid., 146.
813 Ibid., 161.
814 Ibid., 198.
815 1st National Convention (1960) - San Francisco, Box 7, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Cited in Watson, *Preserving the Tangible Remains of San Francisco's Lesbian Community in North Beach*, 89.
816 Ibid.
817 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 62.

a memorable experience for attendees. DOB member Helen Sandoz said that by Sunday night, "the feelings of euphoria overwhelmed [our] exhaustion…. Those of us who attended will never forget the excitement, the living proof of our worth."[818] The DOB's first convention generated lots of local media attention and surprisingly little negative reaction. It was through public events like conventions that the DOB, argues Marcia Gallo, "carefully at first and then with increasing candor … slowly lifted the veil of secrecy that surrounded lesbians' daily lives in mid-20th-century America."[819]

DOB returned to San Francisco for its fourth annual convention on August 19-21, 1966, at the Jack Tar Hotel at 1101 Van Ness Avenue (later renamed the Cathedral Hill hotel, which was demolished in 2014). Titled, "San Francisco and Its Homophile Community—A Merging Social Conscience," the 1966 convention was "a historic occasion," as the convention guide noted, because the event brought together "representatives from City Hall and the police department" and "members of the homophile community and allied civic organizations" for a discussion.[820] The following week, DOB cosponsored the National Planning Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO) on August 25–28 at the Bellevue Hotel at 501 Geary Street (extant) with other San Francisco homophile groups, the Mattachine Society, Council on Religion and the Homosexual, Tavern Guild, Society for Individual Rights, and Guy Strait and Associates. The DOB convention and the NACHO events were called "Ten Days in August" and included discussions, training, and "parties, dances, a musical-variety show, and gay bar tours."[821]

Research Projects

One of the primary objectives of the DOB was to participate in research projects. Beginning in 1957, the DOB formed a relationship with San Francisco psychiatrist Dr. Blanche Baker after meeting her at ONE's Midwinter Institute in 1957. In the 1950s, Dr. Baker was one of a small handful of professionals "pushing … for the recognition of gay people as healthy and whole by the medical establishment."[822] When Dr. Baker died in 1960, the DOB established a scholarship in her name. Early DOB member and activist Florence Jaffy (aka Florence Conrad) was a research director for DOB and oversaw many of DOB's research projects with doctors in the late 1950s and early 1960s. According to Lyon and Martin, "She carefully screened researchers who approached DOB, to check their credentials, hypotheses and biases. She was determined that it was possible to refute negative psychological theories about Lesbians and homosexuality."[823] Jaffy believed research projects were a critical step toward progress for lesbians because "valid scientific studies were necessary and important tools in dismantling prejudice and discrimination against homosexuals," and that data could change public opinion.[824] In 1966, Jaffy worked with Dr. Joel Fort of San Francisco's National Sex and Drug Forum on a study titled, "Attitudes of Mental Health Professionals Toward Homosexuality and Its Treatment." Over 160 therapists in the Bay Area were included in the survey, which asked about both treatment and the therapists' opinions about homosexuality.

818 Ibid., 66.
819 Ibid., xxi.
820 "DOB Puts San Francisco on the Spot," *The Ladder: A Lesbian Review* (August 1966).
821 Ibid.
822 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 84.
823 Ibid., 45.
824 Ibid., 46.

Social Side of DOB

In addition to major efforts like publishing the newsletter and hosting national conventions, the DOB in San Francisco hosted many social activities, including "gab 'n' java" discussion groups (renamed rap sessions in the 1970s); picnics; and sports events, including bowling at the Sports Center at 30th and Mission Streets. Perhaps one of the most important social activities hosted by DOB, and in line with the organization's original mission, was the private parties held at the home of Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon on Duncan Street, including many holiday parties. Lyon said the Daughters socialized in her home's living room and on the grass in the backyard, and women danced together in the dining room.[825] The main façade of the Lyon/Martin house was punctuated by an enormous picture window overlooking the city, which prompted some women to fear that neighbors would see them dancing together in the house.[826] DOB member Lois Beebe recalled that she "got to meet a lot of different people" at DOB parties. "There was singles there and there was couples there and a lot of times there was theme ones like Valentine's Day and New Year's Eve and Halloween."[827] When member Barbara Gittings attended a DOB event in 1956, she remarked, "There were about a dozen women in the room and I thought—wow! All these lesbians together in one place! I had never seen anything like it."[828]

Growth and Membership

The DOB was never a huge organization in terms of membership. The founders attributed this to lesbians' reticence about joining a public organization, and feeling that "they had everything to lose from identification with a gay group," according to John D'Emilio.[829] Sten Russell, one of the DOB's most active leaders, described the organization as a "revolving door" for women in need. "They joined the group, put their lives in order, acquired pride and self-respect, and then 'graduated.'"[830] Internal conflicts about organizational priorities, class, race, and gender conformity also contributed to low numbers of members. For example, "The Daughters looked askance at both bar life and the butch lesbian," which ostracized a wide strata of women.[831] Nonetheless, DOB was able to maintain enough of a membership that local chapters formed in cities throughout the country beginning in 1958. By the mid-1970s, there were chapters in 20 cities throughout the U.S.

The DOB was a predominantly white and middle-class organization, but women of color were part of leadership and membership throughout the organization's history. The 1956 articles of incorporation made sure to state that the DOB welcomed all women, "regardless of race, color, or creed."[832] African American member Billye Talmadge said, "Unlike many other groups in the 1950s, there were no color bars in DOB…. There were not just African-Americans, but Asians, Latinas…. The driving force was that we were gay women."[833] Pat "Dubby" Walker, a blind, African American woman, became president of the San Francisco DOB chapter in 1960.[834] Walker said, "I didn't think about being black that much, until it was brought up. I think that [my] being blind was more of an issue."[835] At the time, Walker said only one other black woman was a member of the San Francisco

825 Phyllis Lyon, personal communication with Shayne Watson, August 25, 2011.
826 Ibid.
827 Lois Beebe, interviewed by Nan Alamilla Boyd, April 7, 1992, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
828 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 12.
829 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 106.
830 Ibid.
831 Ibid.
832 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, xxii.
833 Ibid.
834 Ibid., 58.
835 Ibid., 59.

chapter, Cleo "Glenn" Bonner. Bonner was elected as DOB's national president from 1963 to 1966, the first African American lesbian to lead a nationwide gay or lesbian rights organization.[836] "Bonner's assumption of the leadership of the Daughters," according to Marcia Gallo, "can be viewed as an organizational statement in favor of the larger issues of racial as well as sexual equality."[837]

Political Activism

Some DOB leaders and members adopted a more direct, militant political stance in the mid-1960s as they participated in public demonstrations throughout the country. Marcia Gallo explains, "'Changing Society' was becoming more of a priority for many Daughters … than the old goal of 'changing the variant.'"[838] When the Mattachine Society and other homophile organizations began demonstrating on the East Coast in 1964, *The Ladder* reported: "Now there seems to be a militancy about the new groups and new leaders. There's a different mood."[839] On September 26, 1965, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, along with 30 others, including José Sarria, picketed in front of Grace Cathedral (1100 California Street, extant) to protest the Episcopal Diocese "sharply curtail[ing]" the responsibilities of Rev. Canon Robert W. Cromey.[840] Cromey, an ardent member of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, was punished by the church for his support of gay and lesbian rights.

These public demonstrations marked a distinct change in the DOB as an organization, as "the Daughters in the second half of the [1960s] transformed themselves from female homophiles into lesbian rights activists."[841] Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon began to move away from DOB in the mid-1960s when they became more active in organizations like The Council on Religion and the Homosexual (CRH) and Citizens Alert (discussed later in this section). In 1966, Martin wrote to DOB leadership: "Phyllis and I find ourselves moving in a direction that no longer encompasses DOB … This is an era of change, and both [CRH and Citizens Alert] represent action and change. We wish to be helpful to you, but cannot see our way clear to continued involvement with the S.F. chapter. We would prefer to remain inactive members."[842]

End of the DOB and Legacy of Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon

By the late 1960s, DOB was the only homophile organization in the country with local chapters and a strong national governing group. This reflected a nationwide trend wherein gay and lesbian organizing focused "on local activism rather than national organizing."[843] By the end of the 1970s, homophile organizing had been replaced by more activist and militant gay liberation movements. One consequence of this larger trend was the end of San Francisco's DOB chapter, which closed in 1978.

836 Ibid., xxii.
837 Ibid., 91.
838 Ibid., 124.
839 Ibid., 112.
840 Ibid., 114.
841 Ibid., 120.
842 Ibid., 125.
843 Ibid., 139.

Roberta Achtenberg, a former San Francisco supervisor and assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development, said, "Phyllis and Del are even better than their reputation. As younger women came up behind them, they were so encouraging and so helpful and so desirous of us to be everything that the times would allow us to be—times which, by the way, they helped to create. Everything that was possible for us was because of the battles they fought. They won them for us."[844]



Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon in their Duncan Street living room (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

844 Mixner and Bailey, *Brave Journeys: Profiles in Gay and Lesbian Courage*.

League for Civil Education

The League for Civil Education (LCE) was first conceived by Guy Strait and José Sarria in March 1961 at Sarria's bar, Talk of the Town at 90 Market Street (demolished to make way for the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Embarcadero Center).[845] The organization had a few goals that included political mobilization and improving the gay community's relationship with the San Francisco Police Department. LCE had discussions with the police about harassment at gay bars, police entrapment, and public sex.[846] Another LCE objective was to convince queer people to register to vote, which would give the community more power as a voting bloc. Strait and Sarria set out to register new voters at gay bars across San Francisco. They urged community members to get involved in politics, using "language that went beyond the assimilative goals of the early homophile movements," according to Nan Alamilla Boyd. Strait and Sarria wrote:

> The League is for your protection. Your support is necessary. If you expect to have others do the things that need being done such as [the] election of public officials who are not bigots, stopping entrapment, discreet handling of blackmail threats, employment of attorneys to fight civil rights cases, the securing of a list of competent, reasonably priced legal counsel and so forth you are going to be very disappointed when you need help.[847]

LCE was instrumental in José Sarria's campaign for city supervisor in 1961. "Strait and Sarria worked together to promote Sarria's candidacy as a kind of test balloon of queer electoral strength," writes Boyd.[848] Sarria left LCE in March 1962.

LCE published a newsletter, which Guy Strait transformed from a one-page bulletin into a biweekly magazine called *LCE News* that featured community gossip, events, and warnings about places being raided by police.[849] The first newsletter of its kind in the city, "Strait's journal featured useful instructions on how to avoid police entrapment and what to do in case of arrest."[850] The newsletter, which was distributed in gay bars throughout the city, "constituted the first sustained attempt to bring the [homophile] movement into the world of the gay bar," according to John D'Emilio.[851] "By the spring of 1962 its circulation in San Francisco alone exceeded the nationwide figures of *ONE*, the *Ladder*, and the *Mattachine Review*—7,000 copies came off the presses." The newsletter featured paid advertisements, including three by mayoral candidates in 1963. LCE dissolved as an organization in 1964, after which the publication continued commercially, changing names a few times and eventually becoming *The Citizen News* before ceasing publication in 1967. It was published at the Strait and Associates office at 226 Embarcadero (not extant).

Society for Individual Rights

The Society for Individual Rights, which eventually became the largest homophile organization in the country, was formed in San Francisco in September 1964. The founders—Bill Plath, William Beardemphl, Jim Foster, and Mark Forrester—met in the basement of a residential building at 529 Clayton Street (extant) for the months leading up to SIR's founding.[852] SIR was started during the

845 "League for Civil Education," José Sarria Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
846 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 221.
847 "Bulletin," League for Civil Education, April 15, 1961, José Sarria Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Quoted in Ibid.
848 Ibid.
849 Ibid.
850 Ibid.
851 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 189.
852 "Society for Individual Rights," José Sarria Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

period when gay and lesbian activism was becoming more militant, which was reflected in the organization's statement of policy: "We find ourselves scorned, our rights as persons and citizens before the law imperiled, our individuality suppressed by a hostile social order, and our spirit forced to accept a guilt unwarranted by the circumstances of our existence."[853] The founders, aware of the Mattachine Society's shortcomings, including "near-dictatorial control," wanted SIR to be a democratic organization that would include "*all* expressions of the homosexual community."[854]

SIR's concept of a homosexual community was novel at the time, and community formation became a critical component of the organization's mission. SIR became very popular with gay men in San Francisco for its social events, according to John D'Emilio: "It held dances, parties, brunches, and drag entertainment. It sponsored bridge clubs, bowling leagues, outings in the country, meditation groups, and art classes."[855] SIR also operated the Sirporium, a thrift shop at 515 Hayes Street (extant) in Hayes Valley that sold items collected from members; SIR used the proceeds to fund community events. In April 1966, SIR opened a community center—the first gay community center in the country—on the second floor of the building at 83 Sixth Street (extant). Nan Alamilla Boyd describes the space: "[T]he center boasted office space, a boardroom, library, kitchen, and a public assembly area large enough to hold 500 people."[856] SIR was proud of its community center, writing "The Center itself will become a symbol of our unity and will show that we not only desire but are able to function effectively and responsibly in the larger community."[857]

One of the reasons SIR was so successful, argues D'Emilio, is that, unlike its predecessor homophile organizations, SIR acknowledged the importance of gay bars and formed a strong connection to the gay bar community. SIR was actively involved with the Tavern Guild and held many of its fund-raising events in gay bars throughout San Francisco. SIR and the Tavern Guild worked together to educate the community about legal rights and resisting police harassment and entrapment. Many gay men arrested for frequenting gay bars or public sex were assisted by SIR-funded attorneys. SIR also worked with gay bars to post information about sexually transmitted diseases, one of the organization's major campaigns in the 1960s. "By not forcing patrons to make a choice between the [homophile] movement or the bars," writes D'Emilio, "SIR was managing both to increase the strength of the movement in San Francisco and to stimulate a deepening of political consciousness in the bar milieu."[858]

SIR began publishing a magazine called *Vector* in 1964. Other services offered by SIR were job referrals, legal aid, financial advice, and health and wellness. SIR worked with the City Health Clinic to promote a campaign called "Clinic 33." The Health Clinic provided screening for venereal disease. Community historian Jim Kirkman recalled that many gay men took advantage of the services at 33 Hunt Street in the 1960s.

After more than a decade of serving the Bay Area's LGBTQ community, SIR was disbanded in the late 1970s. Similar to the closing of San Francisco's DOB chapter in 1978, SIR was replaced by more militant and activist gay liberation groups.

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853 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 190.

854 Ibid.

855 Ibid.

856 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 230.

857 Letter to members from the SIR Board of Directors, March 17, 1966, José Sarria Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Quoted in Ibid.

858 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 191-192.



The former home of the SIR Community Center at 83 Sixth Street, the first gay community center in the country (Photo by Shayne Watson)

The Council on Religion and the Homosexual

By the early 1960s, as historian John D'Emilio describes, the Tenderloin had become home to the "castoffs of American society—the poor and the aged, alcoholics and addicts, prostitutes, petty criminals and male hustlers."[859] Glide Memorial Methodist Church was the heart of the Tenderloin. African American minister A. Cecil Williams was at the helm of Glide Memorial Church in the Tenderloin in the early 1960s. Reverend Williams was a veteran in the racial justice movements, and Glide Memorial had a long history of working for progressive social causes. Glide Memorial and Reverend Williams were part of national movement among the nation's religious organizations to focus on social justice. "Social concerns dominated the country's ministry in a way that they had not since the 1930s," writes D'Emilio. "Among black and younger clergy in particular, service to God and to the church increasingly meant active engagement in the world. In San Francisco, where homosexuality had achieved a greater visibility than elsewhere, it was perhaps natural that a portion of this social concern would be spent on behalf of the gay rights cause."[860]

In 1962, Reverend Williams hired Ted McIlvenna, a young social worker from Kansas City, to oversee one of Glide's special programs focusing on the Tenderloin's growing population of homeless youth.[861] Soon after arriving in San Francisco, McIlvenna discovered that many of the program's youth were young gay men "driven to street hustling by the hostility and ostracism of their parents and peers."[862] Because McIlvenna was heterosexual and unfamiliar with gay issues, he consulted with the Mattachine Society, Daughters of Bilitis, Society for Individual Rights, and the Tavern Guild to understand more about gay and lesbian communities. McIlvenna's "crash course on society's treatment of gay men and women," as John D'Emilio calls it, resulted in the minister's sudden awareness of "an entire population with real grievances against the church."[863] Almost immediately, McIlvenna became an advocate for gay and lesbian causes.

In late May 1964, Ted McIlvenna, with sponsorship from the Glide Urban Center (330 Ellis Street, extant), organized a three-day conference attended by twenty Protestant clergymen and over a dozen members of the homophile movement, including representatives from the DOB, Mattachine Society, SIR, Tavern Guild, and *Citizens News*.[864] One of the first events was a tour of San Francisco's queer hotspots, including gay bars and drag shows.[865] That was followed by a two-day retreat at the Ralston L. White Memorial Retreat on Mount Tamalpais above Mill Valley.[866] For many of the ministers in attendance, the "face-to-face confrontation" with the homophile activists was "the first time they had ever knowingly talked with a homosexual or a lesbian."[867] Del Martin wrote of the retreat: "San Francisco was the setting for the historic birth of the United Nations in 1945. And again, in 1964, San Francisco provided the setting for the re-birth of Christian fellowship in the United States to include all human beings regardless of sexual proclivity."[868]

After the retreat, homophile activists and religious leaders in San Francisco continued to meet until December 1964 when the Council on Religion and the Homosexual was formed—the first

859 Ibid.
860 Ibid.
861 Roxanna Thayer Sweet, *Political and Social Action in Homophile Organizations* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 118. Cited in Ibid.
862 Ibid.
863 Ibid., 192-193.
864 Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 103.
865 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 193.
866 The retreat center, which was originally a residence designed by Willis Polk, had been donated from the original owner to the Northern California Conference of Congregational Churches (now United Church of Christ). Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 105.
867 D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 193.
868 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 106.

organization in the U.S. to have "homosexual" in the title. The CRH was incorporated six months later. "Working with open-minded members of the clergy was a historic shift for gay activists," writes historian Marcia Gallo, "and [homophile] leaders recognized that without Glide Memorial Methodist Church, none of the organizing of religious leaders would have been possible."[869] Glide Memorial Church's involvement in homophile activism was extraordinary in the mid-1960s. The church and the Glide Foundation became "centers for urban activism, racial and social justice organizing, and progressive politics in San Francisco for the next two decades."[870] Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin called Glide "the most unusual Methodist Church in the country."[871] In addition to Ted McIlvenna and A. Cecil Williams, two other ministers were instrumental in the fight for LGBTQ rights: Louis Durham (the Glide Foundation's executive director) and Don Kuhn.

One of the most transformative events in LGBTQ history in San Francisco occurred in 1965 and involved the CRH. San Francisco's major homophile groups and clergy joined together to cosponsor the New Years Mardi Gras Ball at California Hall (625 Polk Street) on January 1, 1965, to raise funds for and celebrate the newly incorporated CRH. To ensure the success of this event, members of the CRH negotiated with the San Francisco police and city officials to prevent harassment. In spite of the preparations, as guests began to arrive at the event dozens of police officers appeared on the street with klieg lights and cameras and periodically entered the hall on the pretense of making safety inspections. Ignoring the police presence, more than 500 people—including a number of clergymen and their wives—entered the event. The party continued past midnight, at which point the San Francisco police arrested six attendees, including attorneys Evander Smith and Herbert Donaldson, who had been retained in anticipation of such harassment.

In a remarkable turn of events, Marshall Krause, an ACLU attorney, agreed to defend those arrested at California Hall and organized a press conference on January 2, 1965. Ministers involved with CRH spoke out against police harassment, marking one of the first times in U.S. history that religious leaders spoke publicly about gay rights.[872] The ministers' outrage and their call to end police harassment of homosexuals provoked unprecedented public support and a mobilization by homophile groups and leaders to fight against police oppression. The sudden surge of activity following the California Hall incident often referred to as San Francisco's "Stonewall," thrust the newly formed CRH into the spotlight. Homophile activist Phyllis Lyon remarked, "[It was] our very first step into some kind of connectedness with the rest of the city."[873] Mayor Shelley urged the police to appoint a liaison to the LGBTQ community; they selected Sergeant Elliott Blackstone. Phyllis Lyon said it was "the first time we had any contact with city government. We'd tried over the years. We'd gone to talk and they wouldn't talk. We sent them letters, they didn't answer. All of a sudden we had Elliott Blackstone for police community relations and he was our key. That made us suddenly a persona, the gay community was something here in the city."[874]

869 Ibid., 109.
870 Ibid.
871 Ibid.
872 Ibid., 108.
873 Ibid.
874 Phyllis Lyon, interviewed by Paris Poirier. Featured in *Last Call at* Maud's, Documentary, directed by Paris Poirier, produced by Karen Kiss and Paris Poirier (1993; San Francisco).



LEFT: Invitation to the CRH's 1965 Mardis Gras Ball benefit at California Hall (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BOTTOM LEFT: California Hall at 625 Polk Street (Photo by Shayne Watson)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Patrons being harassed by police as they enter the Maris Gras Ball (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)





CRH's influence continued to grow after the California Hall incident, with protests, publications such as Del Martin's *The Church and the Homosexual,* and a series of symposia held at the CRH offices at 330 Ellis Street.[875] In June 1965, CRH published a report called "A Brief of Injustices: An Indictment of Our Society in Its Treatment of the Homosexual." It presented a "clear and strong affirmation of lesbian and gay people, the first of its kind from a group of religious leaders."[876] The brief delineated ten ways in which LGBTQ people were denied rights, and it concluded with a "call for self-definition, dignity, and justice for homosexuals."[877] Also in 1965, CRH organized a Candidates' Night, to which local politicians were invited to participate in a town-hall-style community meeting. The politicians were asked questions about "police misconduct and other issues of concern to gay and gay-friendly constituencies."[878] According to historian Marcia Gallo, this Candidates' Night is significant as "the first time that 'the gay vote' was courted in San Francisco. "[I]t began a pattern of well-organized electoral activity among lesbians, gay men, and their allies that continues to this day."[879]

The Council on Religion and the Homosexual continued to operate through the 1970s.



ACLU and CRH press conference on January 2, 1965, about police harassment at the CRH Mardis Gras Ball. Rev. Cecil Williams, pastor at Glide Memorial Church, is second from left. Rev. Ted McIlvenna, founder of CRH, is at far right. (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

875 Another attorney Elliot Leighton, backup to Donaldson and Smith, along with Nancy May, who was taking tickets at the front door, were arrested for obstructing the police. Two guests in the hall, Konrad Osterreich and Jon Borset (names as reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*) were arrested for "disorderly conduct."

876 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 108.

877 Ibid.

878 Ibid., 109.

879 Ibid.

VI. EVOLUTION OF LGBTQ ENCLAVES AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW NEIGHBORHOODS (1960S TO 1980S)[880]

Social, political, and cultural changes associated with LGBTQ migration, organizing and activism in San Francisco from the 1960s through the 1980s led to the emergence of new queer neighborhoods and changes to existing enclaves. There were six neighborhoods that were welcoming to LGBTQ communities during this period, each of which had distinctive profiles:

- North Beach
- The Tenderloin
- Polk Street
- South of Market
- Haight-Ashbury
- The Castro
- Mission-Valencia

The history of gay men in the Castro has dominated much discussion of such enclaves in San Francisco (and the nation) because, as historian Josh Sides notes in his study of the city, it took "spatial congregation to a new level" as "the first true gay neighborhood in the United States."[881] Yet there were a variety of thriving gay male neighborhoods in the city during this period, summed up by local columnist Marcus Hernandez, who coined names for three of them: Polk Street was "Valley of the Queens," Folsom was "Valley of the Kings," and Castro was "Valley of the Dolls."[882] As Sides described in his book *Erotic City*, "At no time in the history of the world had as many openly gay men claimed as much urban terrain as they did in San Francisco during the 1960s and 1970s."[883]

In the Mission-Valencia neighborhood, women created what has been described as the most concentrated lesbian enclave in the U.S. And transgender people actively organized to make the Tenderloin a place that recognized their desires and needs. Yet, no neighborhood was completely homogenous in its identity; gay men and bisexual women had a longstanding presence in the Mission-Valencia neighborhood, and the Tenderloin was important to gay and lesbian San Franciscans. And many significant LGBTQ events, organizations and businesses were not confined to these visible neighborhoods. Queer groups used available spaces throughout the city for meetings, performances, and social and recreational events and claimed public spaces for celebration and protest.

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880 Beginning in the 1960s, the number of sites associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco expands exponentially. For many of the historic properties mentioned in this and the following sections, the authors consulted the San Francisco Property Information Map and Google Streetview to make a preliminary determination of whether or not the properties are intact. When possible, notation is included as to whether a building or site survives (extant) or not. However, a more intensive survey is needed to confirm the presence of these potential resources.

881 Sides, *Erotic City,* 116

882 Gayle Rubin, "The Miracle Mile: South of Market and Gay Male Leather, 1962-1997" in James Brook, Chris Carlsson and Nancy Peters eds., *Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1998) 258

883 Sides, *Erotic City,* 102.

The following sections describe the evolution of existing LGBTQ enclaves in San Francisco from the 1960s to 1980s, and the development of new LGBTQ neighborhoods throughout the city. The neighborhood descriptions include examples of unique or significant LGBTQ establishments located in the various queer enclaves; the examples are not intended to be all-inclusive.

THE TENDERLOIN

When the Red-Light Abatement Act closed brothels throughout California in 1914, prostitution moved to the streets. The Tenderloin became a headquarters for San Francisco's sex trade, as straight, gay and transgender prostitutes worked the streets and taverns in the Tenderloin and on Market Street between the Tenderloin and the waterfront.[884] Along with North Beach, the Tenderloin became one of the city's earliest queer enclaves. The concentration of multi-story residential hotels constructed in the first decades after the 1906 earthquake and fire helped create a dense neighborhood that served many working-class and lower-income residents. In addition to affordable housing, the large number of queer bars, nightclubs, bathhouses, theaters, and bookstores located in the Tenderloin from the early 20th century through the 1990s helped sustain a lasting LGBTQ presence in the neighborhood.

During the 1960s, longstanding queer gathering places such as the Old Crow at 962 Market Street (which was known for excluding women) and the Club Turkish Baths at 132 Turk Street were joined by new businesses such as the Gilded Cage (126 Ellis Street) and the Trapp (722 Eddy Street).

Opened c. 1961 on the border between the Tenderloin and Union Square, the Gilded Cage was one of San Francisco's premier drag nightclubs in the 1960s, featuring popular performers such as Rio Dante, Lori Shannon, and Charles Pierce. The Cage had an after-hours club with a separate entrance on Fifth Street (now Cyril Magnin Street). San Francisco native Ron Williams visited the Gilded Cage from 1963 to 1965 as a young man just out of his teens and described a long, narrow front room with a mirrored wall on the right and a bar on the left, with stools "occupied by older men: over 30, was older." At the end of the bar was a small performance space with a grand piano; behind that was "another spacious lounge area with small round cocktail tables and a makeshift theatrical stage, surrounded with black velvet drapery, stapled along the top."[885] At The Gilded Cage, Williams, along with many others, delighted in performances by Charles Pierce, who had a swing installed in order to perform Janette Macdonald's famous song from the film *San Francisco*. "He pulled back on the swing and out over the audience with the blinking lights and flowered ropes, as his dress swept off all the tables below of any cocktails glasses that weren't being held onto. He received an uproarious standing ovation, hoots and whistles."[886]

The Trapp, which opened c. 1965, drew a very different crowd. Guides from the 1970s described the Trapp as drawing a "tougher Tenderloin crowd" and that the bar was "not for the faint hearted but busy, busy, busy." In addition to drag queens and hustlers, the Trapp welcomed young and old and drew many African American patrons. The building was demolished in the early 1980s by the Redevelopment Agency.[887]

In the 1960s, the Tenderloin saw an influx of socially and economically marginalized people who had been forced out of areas in San Francisco that had been targeted for redevelopment, especially the Western Addition and South of Market areas. The combination of the increased and very mixed

884 Boyd, *Wide-Open Town,* 39.
885 Ron Williams, *San Francisco's Native "Sissy" Son*, (San Francisco: 2013) 73-75.
886 Ibid., 73-75.
887 Notes from various guides cited in The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.



The El Rosa Hotel at 166 Turk Street, one of the few residential hotels in San Francisco to offer housing to transgender women begininning in the 1960s (Photo by Katherine Petrin)







TOP LEFT: The Grubstake diner at 1525 Pine Street, one of the longest-running businesses in the Polk District catering to LGBTQ communities (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

TOP RIGHT: Advertisement for the Town Squire at 1318 Polk Street, one of the first gay-owned businesses on Polk Street (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

LEFT: The Cinch at 1723 Polk Street, the longest-running gay bar on Polk Street and one of the longest-running gay bars in San Francisco (Photo by Shayne Watson)

population, along with the Tenderloin's already high number of low-income residents living in single-room-occupancy hotels or on the streets, led to neighborhood activists organizing for financial and social assistance. Glide Memorial Church was a center for Tenderloin organizing. Rev. Edward Hansen describes their work as supporting Tenderloin residents to speak in a united voice to the powers that be. "We knew that finally the people of the Tenderloin, of the central city, had to be empowered to have their own voice. And so we were getting them together…."[888] Glide Memorial, along with gay and transgender activists, social workers, and residents organized to "remap the definition of minority groups" in San Francisco in order to access new federal War on Poverty funds for the Tenderloin. They argued that definitions of disadvantaged minorities needed to go beyond race and ethnicity to support residents of the Tenderloin who were disadvantaged by poverty, sexual orientation, and gender identity.[889]

In 1966, a group of young gay men and transgender women took direct action during the Compton's Cafeteria riot, which "resulted in lasting institutional change" notes Susan Stryker (explained in more detail below).[890] Part of a local chain, the Compton's Cafeteria at 101 Taylor Street (extant) at the corner of Turk and Taylor Streets in the heart of the Tenderloin was considered a relatively safe space for transgender women, who often scraped together a living by working as street prostitutes. Cheap residential hotels in the neighborhood were among the very few places that would rent rooms to them. Transgender activist Felicia "Flames" Elizondo found her first San Francisco home near Compton's in the El Rosa Hotel (166 Turk Street, extant), where a transgender clerk named Amanda "let us take tricks up to the room for five dollars."[891] Elizondo says, "Golden Gate, Mason, Geary and Hyde Streets were the blocks where we felt comfortable." Tamara Ching, another long-time transgender activist, says the Tenderloin was the easiest place for transgender women to engage in sex work "because everyone knew what was what, the customers knew who we were, what we were."[892]

The Gilded Cage closed in 1970 and the Trapp in 1981. The Bulldog Baths closed in 1984 during the height of the AIDS epidemic, another common thread in this neighborhood's history.[893] Yet the Tenderloin has continued to be home to many LGBTQ people, who live alongside more recent immigrants from Southeast Asia and the Middle East, in large part due to controls that have maintained the neighborhood's residential hotel housing stock.[894] The neighborhood is also still home some of the city's longest-running LGBTQ gathering places including Aunt Charlie's Lounge (133 Turk Street) and the Tea Room Theater (145 Eddy Street), which has screened explicit films and showcased live dancers since the 1970s.[895]

POLK STREET

In the mid-1950s, Polk Street was featured as a place to be visited in Mattachine Society convention bar guides. During the 1960s, the street's gay footprint moved north from where it began near Civic

888 Rev. Edward Hansen in in documentary film, *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, 2005.

889 Martin Meeker, "The Queerly Disadvantaged and the Making of San Francisco's War on Poverty, 1964-67," *Pacific Historical Review* v. 81, n 1 (February 2012) 21.

890 Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008) 64. Earlier transgender protests have been documented in Los Angeles (Cooper's Donuts in 1959) and Philadelphia (Dewey's in 1965).

891 Felicia Elizondo Flames, interviewed by Donna Graves, 15 March 2014. Elizondo also mentioned hotels named Camelot, King Edwards, and 111 Mason as places transgender women lived.

892 Tamara Ching, interviewed by Donna Graves, 10 March 2014.

893 When the Bulldog closed in 1984, several gay historians rescued the panels that made up this mural. These ten panels have been stored for years by the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Most recently they were installed at the gay men's sex club Eros on upper Market Street according to the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

894 Tenderloin Housing Clinic "History," http://www.thclinic.org/1990s.php accessed 3 September 2014.

895 Aunt Charlie's opened in 1989, following a gay bar at the same address called Queen Mary's Pub, which opened in 1979.

Center and California Hall, and its economic and demographic profile moved beyond the old vice-district nightlife model. Retail businesses opened that targeted gay consumers, thanks in part to the emergence of commercial gay publications that advertised to target a gay market. In 1961, a gay couple opened Town Squire clothing store at 1318 Polk Street, and the next year Randall Wallace and his partner opened Gramaphone Records (1558 Polk Street). Wallace recalls that soon "the [gay] bars began. Slowly people began to open more things that were gay oriented. It just began to multiply, and it was the place to be on the weekends and the weeknights."[896] Polk Street thus emerged as San Francisco's first modern gay neighborhood.

At the same time, the long-established practice of cruising on the street and in bars remained a favorite pastime for many men in the Polk. The Cloud Seven bar at 2360 Polk Street, which turned gay in 1962, offered sex for hire in a novel way. An interviewee for the Polk Street History Project describes the bar's numbered tables and lip-shaped phones during the late 1960s: "The johns were at the tables, and the hustlers were all up on the bar," he said. "And the people at the table would call the bar and say, 'I'd like to talk to the third guy from the end,' and say, 'I'm over at table seven.' So the guy goes to table seven and they have a few quick words and out they go."[897]

Polk Street gay bars provided a foundation for the establishment of the Tavern Guild of San Francisco, the first gay business association in the country. The organization's first president, Phil Doganiero, bartended at Polk Street's Suzy-Q bar.[898] By the mid-1970s, the Tavern Guild President was Wayne Friday, who bartended at the New Bell Saloon (1203 Polk Street). One patron described it as a political hub. "Straight politicians would come into that bar, and that was their first overture to the gay community," he said. "They would have a drink with Wayne and meet people in the gay community, and it was kind of like a white politician in New York, going into Harlem for the first time."[899]

Although Polk Street is on the western edge of the Tenderloin, it drew a range of gay men including a more affluent group of older men, many of whom worked in the Financial District.[900] It was never as commercially or residentially concentrated as the Castro became, but Polk Street boasted a lively gay business corridor with bars, baths and gay-owned shops.[901] In 1971, the gay magazine *California Scene* described it as the "gayest street in San Francisco" with florist, clothing and gift shops, a record store, a bookshop and an art framing business, along with bars and nightclubs.[902] Gay-owned hotels included in the magazine's coverage reflect the neighborhood's position as a gay tourist destination.

As the Castro grew in vitality during the 1970s, and as Market Street, which had been a center for sex work, was disrupted for BART construction, Polk Street became home to increasing numbers

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896 Joey Plaster, "Mom and Pop to "Gay Mecca"" Polk Street History Project http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/polk-street/gay-economic-engine/mom-and-pop-to-gay-mecca accessed 31 August 2014.

897 Joey Plaster "Commercialized Sex and Economic Uplift" Polk Street History Project http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/polk-street/gay-economic-engine/commercialized-sex accessed 30 August 2014.

898 Joey Plaster, "The Tavern Guild and the Imperial Court," Polk Street History Project http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/polk-street/gay-economic-engine/tavern-guild-imperial-courtaccessed 31 August 2014.

899 Joey Plaster, "Economic Power to Political Power," Polk Street History Project http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/polk-street/gay-economic-engine/economic-to-political-power accessed 30 August 2014.

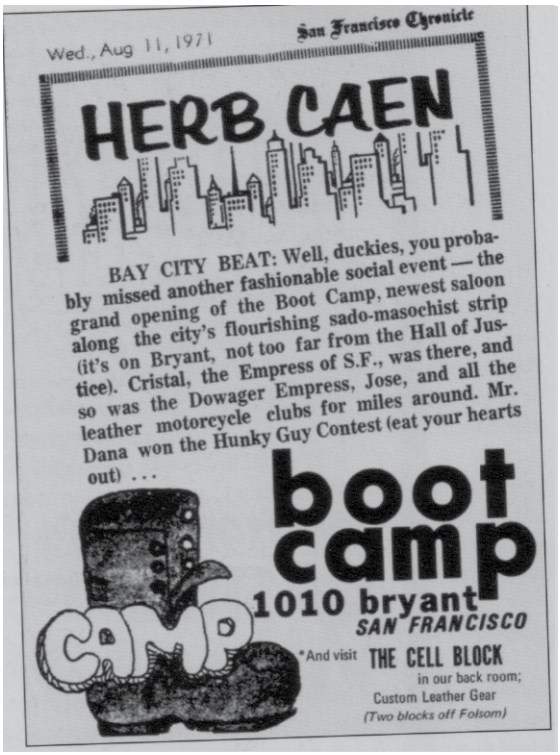
900 Sides, *Erotic City,* 103.

901 Gayle Rubin, "The Miracle Mile: South of Market and Gay Male Leather, 1962-1997" in James Brook, Chris Carlsson and Nancy Peters eds., *Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1998) 253.

902 Sides, *Erotic City,* 103.







TOP: South of Market night scene, c. 1970s (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BOTTOM LEFT: Former home of the Boot Camp at 1010 Bryant Street (Photo by Shayne Watson)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Ad for the Boot Camp (From *Gay and Lesbian San Francisco*, 2006)

of young male hustlers and transgender women.[903] Transgender woman Regina McQueen recalled Polk Street in the mid-1970s:

> You could walk down Polk Street, and the whole street would be full of prostitutes. One side would be men standing there posing, luscious little creatures—oh! And on the other side of the street would be women dressed in evening gowns with feather boas and big hair and lots of make-up. And the next night, some of the boys would be over there on the other side of the street, in femme drag, and vice versa.[904]

Historian Joey Plaster notes that Polk Street in the following decades was "a home, refuge, and family for queer runaway and homeless youth, often fleeing abusive or unwelcome homes; immigrants, primarily from Asia and Latin America; and, increasingly in the 1990s, lower-income transgendered women and seniors."[905]

SOUTH OF MARKET

South of Market in the 1960s was a mix of large industrial sites, junkyards, vacant buildings and lots, and cramped residential districts left over from the post-1906 earthquake era. The demographic was largely working class and included a thriving Filipino American community and many artists. A large part of the population was single men who were living in the neighborhood's single-room-occupancy hotels, many of whom were living on low incomes or retired. Because of the mostly low-income population, along with a high number of bars and seedy entertainment venues, City officials viewed South of Market as a "skid row" that needed to be cleaned up. Redevelopment Agency Executive Director Justin Herman saw South of Market as an untapped financial asset: "The land is too valuable to let poor people park on it," he stated.[906] The Redevelopment Agency tapped South of Market as part of a citywide redevelopment scheme and proceeded with land acquisition, including eminent domain and resident eviction processes. In 1969, community members tried to prevent redevelopment by forming the Tenants and Owners in Opposition to Redevelopment, which filed a series of lawsuits that delayed and reshaped the City's planned redevelopment schemes.[907]

When the fate of South of Market was in limbo "during the period of political and legal wrangling" over redevelopment, San Francisco's gay male community took advantage of the area's cheap rents and vacant buildings—and the fact that large parts of the neighborhood were empty at night—and established the city's first leather community.[908] "The relative lack of other nocturnal activity provided a kind of privacy, and urban nightlife that was stigmatized or considered disreputable could flourish," historian Gayle Rubin writes.[909]

One of the city's first leather bars, the Tool Box at 399 Fourth Street (not extant) opened in 1962 and became a magnet for local and out-of-town leathermen. The bar and its enormous mural by gay artist Chuck Arnett were featured in a two-page spread in *Life* magazine in a groundbreaking 1964 article, "Homosexuality in America"—believed to be the first time a photograph of a gay bar with

903 Joey Plaster, "A Study of Transitions," Polk Street History Project http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/polk-street/essay/study-of-transitions accessed 30 August 2014.
904 Regina McQueen quoted in Sides, *Erotic City,* p. 104.
905 Joey Plaster, "Introduction," Polk Street History Project http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/polk-street/lives-in-transition/introduction accessed 30 August 2014.
906 Rubin, "The Miracle Mile: South of Market and Gay Male Leather, 1962-1997," 249.
907 Ibid., 250.
908 Ibid., 250-51.
909 Ibid.









TOP LEFT: Building that housed the Golden Cask at 1725 Haight Street, one of the earliest gay businesses in the neighborhood (Photo by Shayne Watson)

TOP RIGHT: The former home of the Mnasidika boutique at 1510 Haight Straight, owned by bisexual woman and girlfriend of Janis Joplin, Peggy Caserta (Photo by Shayne Watson)

BOTTOM LEFT: Maudies gathered in front of lesbian bar Maud's at 937 Cole Street (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Rikki Streicher, lesbian businesswoman and owner of Maud's (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

its patrons visible appeared in the national mass media in the United States.[910] A second leather bar, FeBe's at 1501 Folsom Street, opened in 1966. FeBe's became famous for featuring a statue by gay artist Mike Caffee that transformed Michelangelo's David into a shirtless man in motorcycle garb; the *FeBe's Man* (or *Leather David*) sculpture was reproduced and distributed internationally.[911] When FeBe's replaced the Tool Box as the most prominent leather bar, it helped to make Folsom Street the anchor of the leather scene. By the late 1970s, the Mr. SF Leather contest was being held there; that in turn became the International Mr. Leather competition. Titleholders were expected to use their distinction to further charitable and political work needed on behalf of their community.

South of Market expanded quickly as a sexual center for gay men and acquired new nicknames such as The Miracle Mile and Valley of the Kings. In 1970, there were nearly twenty gay bars and bathhouses, leather and non-leather, in the neighborhood; by 1980, the introduction of discos and the expansion of gay bars and bathhouses brought the total close to forty.[912]

One interesting bar in the South of Market area was a themed bar called the Bootcamp, which opened at 1010 Bryant Street (extant) in 1971. Like many of the gay establishments in the South of Market area, the Bootcamp was housed in a former Victorian residence, dimly lit with blacked-out windows. The first floor was made up of larger rooms, including a covered backyard; upstairs bedrooms had been converted into theme rooms.[913] In 1978, the Bootcamp converted to a private sex club. San Jose State student Tom Drew spent many long weekends at the Bootcamp sex club and recalls that patrons brought their own alcohol: "I remember weekends when I went there on Friday night and didn't leave until Sunday afternoon, when I drove home, literally did not leave the Bootcamp."[914] Marcus Hernandez was one of the Bootcamp's first managers; in 1972 he began writing a regular column devoted to leather information and gossip for the *Bay Area Reporter* under the name Mr. Marcus.[915]

One of the most popular restaurants in the South of Market area was Hamburger Mary's (a play on the longstanding slang term "Mary" used for gay men). Described as a "gay-friendly truck stop," Hamburger Mary's opened at 1582 Folsom Street (extant) in 1972. By the time it closed 30 years later, the tiny storefront eatery had grown to include a bar and spread into four adjacent storefronts at the corner of 12th and Folsom Streets. Hamburger Mary's had also become a small chain adding locations across the U.S.[916]

In the 1970s, redevelopment and large-scale demolition in the South of Market area began to have an effect on the leather community, as many of the area's bars and sex clubs were forced to relocate. According to historian Gayle Rubin, during the height of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s, the leather community and its inherent ties to gay sex became "prominent among the ideological scapegoats for AIDS fear, panic, and loathing."[917] When bathhouses and sex clubs were forced to

910 Ibid., 256.

911 Ibid., 256-57.

912 Sides, *Erotic City,* 105. Sides described the South of Markey gay scene as more gender- and racially-segregated than earlier gay areas such as the Tenderloin, p. 107.

913 Eric Rofes, "A Walking Tour of South of Market in the 1970s: San Francisco, California," 2005, 6-8. http://www.ericrofes.com/speaking/soma_tours.php accessed 14 June 2014.

914 Ibid.

915 "Leather History Timeline," http://web.archive.org/web/20050308053012/http://www.leatherarchives.org/exhibits/deblase/timeline2.htm

916 Ken Garcia "Hamburger Mary's Will Be Missed, San Francisco Chronicle, March 6, 2001 http://www.sfgate.com/restaurants/article/Hamburger-Mary-s-Will-Be-Missed-Folsom-Street-2945558.php accessed 4 February 2015. The owners granted licensing agreements to Hamburger Mary's franchisees after 1988 and Hamburger Mary's became a small, national chain according to "Mary's Memoirs," http://www.hamburgermarys.com/2012/06/lordy-lordy-look-whos-40/ accessed 4 February 2015.

917 Rubin, "The Miracle Mile: South of Market and Gay Male Leather, 1962-1997," 260.

close, it had a substantive impact on South of Market's sex-based leather economy and further weakened the community, though it managed to survive through the 1990s—and a tiny handful of leather-related establishments remain in business in South of Market today.

HAIGHT-ASHBURY

From the 1950s through the 1980s, the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood received many refugees pushed out of other San Francisco neighborhoods by urban renewal projects, as well as new migrants attracted to the city's reputation as a center for counterculture. The neighborhood's cheap rents and central location drew new residents who created a multiracial neighborhood of hippies, old-timers, gays and lesbians, and African Americans who relocated from the Western Addition.

The D'Oak Room (350 Divisadero, extant), which opened in 1961, was one of the first gay bars in the area known as the Lower Haight. The D'Oak Room was owned by Bill Plath, who later co-founded the Tavern Guild and the Society for Individual Rights.[918] Community member Jimmy Owens recalls the D'Oak as a bar that "came and went in a flash."[919] Romeo's at 1605 Haight Street, which served a more lesbian clientele, also opened in 1961 and is remembered as a "small, dirty, sleaze bar" by one woman who found her first female lover there.[920] By 1965, there was a small cluster of gay and lesbian bars in or near the neighborhood, including the Golden Cask (1725 Haight Street, extant), Maud's (937 Cole Street, extant), and Bradley's Corner (900 Cole Street, extant).

The neighborhood also was home to a movie house targeting gay cinema-goers. In 1964, new owners purchased the Haight-Ashbury Theatre (1702 Haight Street, not extant) and described their business as the first "gay theater" in the country; they screened artistic films and campy movies such as the 1953 transgender drama *Glen or Glenda* and hosted the Mr. San Francisco physique and drag contests.[921] Harassed by neighborhood protesters who formed a picket line and by local youth and the police, the theater lasted only one month.[922]

Within just a few years of the gay theater's closure, the hippie ethos of free love and sexual exploration made the Haight-Ashbury a welcoming neighborhood for many gay and lesbian migrants. In 1967, Dr. David E. Smith opened the Haight-Ashbury Free Clinic at 558 Clayton Street (extant), offering substance abuse and medical services to young people drawn by the "summer of love," including gay men and lesbians. The principles of nonjudgmental care, provided by Free Clinic volunteers in consultation with professionals, became a national model. Several members of the Society for Individual Rights lived in the building on Clayton Street and enlisted their associates to support the clinic.[923]

The Haight-Ashbury in the 1970s and 1980s also had numerous gay-owned retail businesses and restaurants that advertised in the gay press and were listed in gay directories. Those establishments also marked the neighborhood as a very gay-friendly area and helped attract gay residents. One example of an important LGBTQ business in the Haight-Ashbury area is Mnasidika clothing boutique, which was housed in the storefront at 1510 Haight Street (extant) from 1965 to 1968. (The

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918 Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

919 Jimmy Owens, interviewed by Donna Graves, 10 February 2014.

920 Kay Wiley quoted Boyd, *Wide Open Town,* 160.

921 Denne Petitclere, "The Haight is Transformed: A Special Theater for Special People" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 July 1964, 30. Sides, *Erotic City*, 66.

922 "7 Teenagers Arrested at the Haight," 11 August 1964, "Another Arrest at The Haight Theater," 11 August 1965 and "Sordid End to "Gay " Haight Theater" 19 August 1964, clippings in Wide Open Town Collection, Box 1, folder "Media Haight Theater 1964," Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

923 Sides, *Erotic City,* 73.

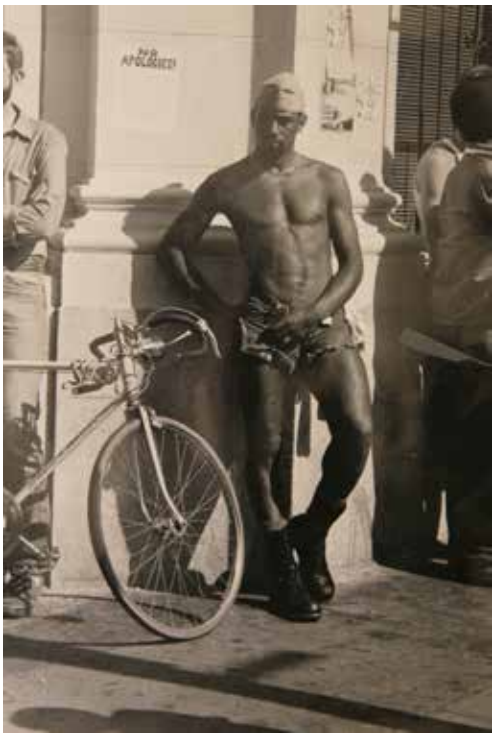


LEFT: The Missouri Mule at 2348 Market Street, the first gay bar in the Castro

BOTTOM: 1970s scenes of the Castro

(All courtesy GLBT Historical Society)





name Mnasidika derives from Greek poetry – Mnasidika was a young female lover of Sappho.) Mnasidika was owned by an openly bisexual woman named Peggy Caserta. Caserta had a long-term relationship with Kim Chappell, a former lover of Joan Baez. Mnasidika was reportedly the first "hip" clothing store in the neighborhood and was highly instrumental in the development of Haight-Ashbury as a hippie enclave. In 1966, Peggy Caserta became the primary female love interest of Janis Joplin, and the two remained lovers until Joplin's death in 1970. Joplin was a regular at Mnasidika and purchased clothes at the boutique.

While the visible lesbian and gay culture of the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood dwindled after the 1960s, Maud's (937 Cole Street) remained open until 1989. Owned by lesbian businesswoman Rikki Streicher, it was the longest-running lesbian bar in San Francisco. Longtime manager Susan Fahey said that Maud's opened in the "twilight of the closeted days and the beginning of the hippies."[924]

Streicher, who stated, "I've always felt that bars were the most honest, open, free place that women could go," founded Maud's with a "no labels" policy, welcoming women who did not fit the butch/fem dress and manners code preferred by some other lesbian bars.[925] Yet bar employees and patrons still faced restrictions. One 1969 visitor from Kansas City described her disappointment that dancing and mixed drinks were prohibited at Maud's and that an "uptight atmosphere seemed to prevail as to what you could or couldn't do in the establishment."[926] Until 1973, California law prevented women from serving alcohol, so early bartenders at Maud's had to be men.

Known far beyond San Francisco, Maud's was as popular as it was long-lived. Historian Nan Alamilla Boyd describes it "as a central gathering spot for a new and counter-cultural generation of lesbians for over twenty years."[927] Long-time patrons, known as "Maudies," created community through celebrating birthdays, anniversaries, graduations, and other events together. Streicher was an enthusiastic supporter of lesbian and gay sports, and Maud's softball team was one of the most active in the lesbian and gay leagues. Just before the bar closed in 1989, Streicher recalled, "I've always stayed open 365 days of the year because I thought… 'if they can go to [this place] the rest of the [year] it better be here on Christmas for them. And it always was.'"[928]

Trax Bar at 1437 Haight Street (extant) is the longest-running queer bar in the neighborhood and the only remnant of the Haight's history as a pre-Castro LGBTQ enclave. The space that houses Trax has been queer since the early 1970s when it was a gay bar called the Question Mark.[929] Other long-standing LGBTQ institutions in the neighborhood were the Park Bowl at 1855 Haight Street (extant), a bowling alley popular with gay and lesbian leagues from the 1960s until the 1990s; and the famous I-Beam gay disco club, which opened at 1748 Haight Street (not extant) in the late 1970s and stayed in operation through the 1990s.[930]

924 Heather Cassell, "Maud's and Amelia's Made Space for Women," *Bay Area Reporter*, 3 November 2010 http://www.bartabsf.com/2010/11/barchive-come-as-you-are/ accessed 5 August 2014.

925 Ibid.

926 "The San Francisco Scene — 1969-1970," *San Francisco Bay Area Gay and Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter* v.2 n.2 (December 1986) 6.

927 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 238.

928 Rikki Streicher in documentary film *Last Call at Maud's*, Paris Poirier director, 1993.

929 Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database

930 Ibid.

THE CASTRO

Originally known as Eureka Valley, the area later called the Castro was a predominately Irish-Catholic community that many knew as the parish of Most Holy Redeemer Church. The GI Bill gave service members returning from World War II access to home mortgages, which expanded demand for new houses in the suburbs. During the 1950s and 1960s, families began to leave Eureka Valley's Victorian houses for new homes in the Sunset District, areas south of San Francisco, Marin County, and the East Bay.[931]

In 1963, the Missouri Mule (2348 Market Street) became the first gay bar in the Castro. The tavern had been operating as a straight watering hole under the same name for over a decade. John Burgoa took over in 1963 and ran the bar until 1973. A "campy" singer named Vivacious Vivian accompanied herself on honky-tonk piano as "all order of gay men gathered round."[932] Soon after, a large variety of gay-oriented and or gay-owned businesses opened in the neighborhood. Some of the earliest bars were the I-Do-No (address unknown), the Honey Bucket (4146 18th Street), and The Mistake (3988 18th Street). Early restaurants included The Metro (3897 18th Street) and Burke's Corner House (2100 Market Street). One of the first gay-oriented clothing stores was Valet Men's Wear (564 Castro Street), and the first dry cleaners was Toni's (270 Noe Street).

By 1970, the Castro began to draw new energy away from Polk Street and Haight-Ashbury. "Polk Street area was tired. Castro was fresh and vibrant," remembered early resident Sam Crocker.[933] Judd Zeibell, another resident, recalled that people moved from Haight-Ashbury to the Castro "where rents were cheaper. The Castro started filling up with people and sexual freedom all day and all night. Gay men, especially."[934] Run-down Victorians were restored by new residents who shopped for paint, hammers, and other tools and supplies at Cliff's Variety Store (479 Castro Street, extant).

By the mid-1970s, the Castro was the cultural, economic, and political center for gay San Francisco. Gay rights activist Cleve Jones remembers the Castro around the time of his arrival in 1973: "There was just this electricity, this knowledge that we were all refugees from other places and we'd come here to build something that was new."[935] Even more bars, restaurants, and shops tailored to and run by gay men had opened on and around Castro Street.[936] The Twin Peaks Tavern (410 Castro Street, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 264), situated since 1935 at a prominent location near Market Street, was purchased in 1972 by two lesbians, Mary Ellen Cunha and Peggy Forster. The women transformed the bar by installing large, plate-glass windows, creating what many locals have described as the first known gay bar in the U.S. to feature such a visible space where patrons could be seen from the street.[937] "It became a symbol, if imperfect, of a liberated, visible lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community," according to Don Romesburg.[938] Yet its visibility

931 Donal Godfrey, *Gays and Grays: The Story of the Gay Community at Most Holy Redeemer Catholic Church* (Lanham Maryland: Lexington Books, 2007) 5-7.

932 Polk's San Francisco Directories, 1951-1972. Mike Hippler *Bay Area Reporter* June 28, 1984 quoted in The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

933 Sam Crocker quoted in San Francisco Planning Department, *Twin Peaks Tavern Draft Landmark Designation Report*, 2012, 10.

934 Judd Zeibell quoted in San Francisco Planning Department, *Twin Peaks Tavern Draft Landmark Designation Report*, 2012, 10.

935 Sides, *Erotic City,* 107.

936 The Castro District added services common to other communities, but with a new gay identity; Andy's Doughnuts (460 Castro Street) provided an all-night gathering spot, Dave Valentine Graphic Service (556 Castro) provided printing; a gay realtor, a gay health club, gay florists, and a gay laundromat… The maternity shop became "The All American Boy (463 Castro Street)."Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

937 Twin Peaks Tavern Landmark Designation Initiation, 19 September 2012, 4.

938 Don Romesburg, "The Glass Coffin," *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* v. 14, n. 2 (2013) 164-65. Twin Peaks Tavern Landmark Designation Initiation, 19 September 2012, 15.

relied on patrons' propriety as they followed Cunha and Forster's house rule against patrons touching or kissing.[939]

Two other popular Castro bars were the Midnight Sun (506 Castro Street, extant), a cruising bar that opened in the mid-1970s, and Toad Hall (482 Castro Street, extant), in operation from 1971 to 1978. What made Midnight Sun unique was an elaborate film, video, and sound system that showed old movies, popular and vintage television shows, cartoons, and music videos on several screens. Knowing of its popularity, police looking to harass gay drivers stopped them and asked if they were "going down to the Midnight Sun," according to journalist Randy Shilts. If the man showed recognition of the bar name, he received a ticket.[940] A 1977 bar guide describes Midnight Sun patrons as: "Heads and blacks frequent, although no element dominates."[941] Midnight Sun moved to a new location in fall 1981 (4062 18th Street) and is still in operation.

Toad Hall was the first gay bar to jettison a jukebox and adopt music mix tapes and was "the first to offer a clean, well-decorated space in a hip atmosphere."[942] Toad Hall is credited with attracting many gay men to the Castro and "setting the standard for what makes a good gay bar."[943] Like the Midnight Sun, its popularity drew police attention. According to Randy Shilts, growing confrontations between gay men and police in the Castro peaked in the early morning hours of Labor Day 1974, "when police attacked gay men outside Toad Hall and knocked down and beat dozens of gay men; 14 were taken to jail for 'obstructing a sidewalk.'"

The Castro was not exclusively a gay-male enclave in the 1970s. In 1974, the Full Moon Coffeehouse opened at 4416 18th Street (extant). Collectively owned by a group of lesbian women, it was the first explicitly women-only establishment in San Francisco. Activist Carol Seajay recalls that "it was a dyke thing to do everything ourselves," so collective members installed new floors and plumbing for the coffeehouse.[944] Until it closed in 1977, the Full Moon served food, hosted poetry readings, and organized performances by newly popular women's musicians such as Chris Williamson and Meg Christian. Increasing numbers of women showed they could start and run businesses by themselves with help from the Women's Skills Center (51 Waller Street), which taught women vocational skills such as laying tile, building shelves, and printing flyers.[945]

The establishment of the Castro Street Fair in 1974, the relocation of gay Halloween festivities from Polk Street and North Beach to the Castro in 1976, and the revival of the Castro Theatre (479 Castro Street, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 100) as a repertory house catering to camp-attuned audiences, all further solidified the neighborhood's gay identity. The 1970s also saw rents for residential and commercial properties escalate, driving out many lower-income gay and lesbian denizens. In spring of 1980, Muni opened an underground metro station at the corner of Market and Castro Streets, increasing the integration of the neighborhood into San Francisco's economic and cultural landscape. As the decade progressed, the Castro solidified as a magnet for gay tourism, in part

939 Romesburg, "The Glass Coffin," 15.

940 Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 92.

941 *California Hotline*, 1977 in Sites Database Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

942 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro* , 92.

943 Katie Szymanski and Willie Walker " Walk This Way: A Walking Tour of the Castro" in Winston Leyland ed. *Out in the Castro: Desire, Promise, Activism* (San Francisco: Leyland Publications, 2002) 343.

944 Carol Seajay, "An Old Wives' Tale" in Katherine V. Forrest and Jim Van Buskirk eds., *Love, Castro Street; Reflections of San Francisco* (New York: Alyson Books 2007) 78.

945 Ibid.

through promotion by the Golden Gate Business Association (described in detail in "Building Gay Communities").[946]

While gay bars and commercial establishments were clustered together in specific neighborhoods of many major urban areas in the United States throughout the 20th century, the Castro took this spatial congregation to a new level, extending the model that had first emerged on Polk Street. The Castro became a gay neighborhood, not simply an area frequented for commercial and sexual purposes.[947] Nonprofit organizations and commercial establishments catering to predominantly gay men—such as bookstores, restaurants, florists, barbers, gay newspapers, hardware stores, and clothing shops—helped form the Castro's identity as a gay residential, cultural and social center.[948]

MISSION DISTRICT AND VALENCIA CORRIDOR

The Mission District, of which Valencia Street is a major corridor, underwent a post-World War II population transition similar to that of the adjacent Eureka Valley neighborhood. White families, many of German, Scandinavian, and Italian ancestry, moved out for newer homes in other San Francisco neighborhoods and the suburbs. They were replaced by students, artists, and others who appreciated the neighborhood's affordable, older building stock. Immigrants from Mexico and Central America joined an existing Latino community that dated back to the 1930s. By 1970, Latinos represented 40 percent of the overall neighborhood population. Yet the Latino proportion of the Mission's western area, including the Valencia Corridor, declined in the 1960s and 1970s as increasing numbers of young, middle-class people moved in, including lesbians and gays.[949]

The Mission District holds an important role in LGBTQ history as one of the most vital and visible lesbian neighborhoods in the U.S. in the 1970s and 1980s, but it was never a predominantly lesbian neighborhood. The Mission was always home to LGBTQ Latinos and businesses catering specifically to those communities. The Mission was also home to a population of gay men who had been living and socializing in the neighborhood from at least the 1960s. The Fickle Fox at 842 Valencia Street (extant) was one of the city's most popular restaurants. Nude go-go dancers performed at the Gaslight at 645 Valencia Street (threatened with demolition) and Hans Off at 199 Valencia Street in the 1960s and early 1970s.[950] Even more gay men moved to the Mission District when the Castro became expensive and increasingly exclusive—including many who identified with broader activist causes with which lesbians were involved. However, beginning in the late 1970s, as historian Eric Garber points out, anti-gay violence in the Mission led to a decline in white gay male socializing in the neighborhood.[951]

The first lesbian bar in the neighborhood, the Ebbtide at 853 Valencia Street (extant), opened c. 1966. Lesbians started moving in greater numbers to the Mission District and had formed a visible community in the mid-1970s. By that time, the population of the Mission District had declined and the area's large apartment buildings and residential flats were cheaper to rent. The neighborhood became a magnet for women with low-paying jobs who needed to pool funds and share space in

946 Nan Alamilla Boyd, "San Francisco's Castro District: From Gay Liberation to Tourist Destination," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* v. 9, no. 2 (2011) 228-239, cited in Don Romesburg, "Presenting the Queer Past: A Case for the Gay, esbian, Bisexual, Transgender History Museum" Queering Archives Special Double Issue in *Radical History Review* 120 (Fall 2014) 131-144.

947 Elizabeth A. Armstrong *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950 to 1994* (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press 2002) 113.

948 Sides, *Erotic City,* 102.

949 City and County of San Francisco Planning Department, "City Within a City: Historic Context Statement for San Francisco's Mission District" (2007) 86-87, 92.

950 Eric Garber, "Valencia's First Gay Bars," *San Francisco Bay Area Gay & Lesbian Historical Society* v.5 n. 1 (Fall 1989) 5-6.

951 Ibid., 6.





LEFT: Flyer for opening of Amelia's at 647 Valencia Street (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

ABOVE: Announcement for Sofia's at 627 Valencia Street, San Francisco's first Latina lesbian bar (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BELOW: Drag performer at Esta Noche at 3079 16th Street (Courtesy USC Digital Library)



order to live in San Francisco.[952] The Mission's proximity to the gay Castro District made it even more attractive for lesbians. "The boys were all moving into the Castro, but the Mission was what most dykes could afford," recalls activist Carol Seajay.[953]

Lesbians who moved into the neighborhood experienced relatively little hostility from existing straight and Latino residents. Historian Josh Sides attributes this to the fact that, unlike many gay men, most lesbians did not own homes during this period—so there was little fear of lesbians pushing out existing owners. Also, many women saw themselves as part of a larger struggle for social change that included ethnic and racial minorities, and people with fewer resources—so the new lesbian residents became part of the neighborhood's existing activist fabric.[954] The lesbian community coalesced and grew quickly in the Mission District. Carol Seajay tells of her arrival in San Francisco in 1973: "I found a room in a lesbian household in the Mission, a job on a women's job board, signed up for a class called 'Lesbianism, socialism and feminism' at the Liberation School, and went to women's events of one kind or another almost every night."[955]

One of the earliest lesbian organizations in the neighborhood was the Women's Press Collective, launched from a Valencia Street storefront in 1971 using a $500 grant from Glide Memorial Church. In a pre-Internet age, bookstores and presses were precious community resources. Women's publications spoke for and to lesbians in dense urban neighborhoods and to those isolated in suburban and rural settings. The Women's Press Collective published work by lesbian poets including Judy Grahn, Willyce Kim, and Pat Parker. It moved to A Woman's Place Bookstore in Oakland soon after its founding.[956]

Another early lesbian-owned and –oriented business in the Mission District was Old Wives Tales at 532 Valencia Street (extant), a women's bookstore opened by Carol Seajay and Paula Wallace in 1976. The pair funded the venture with a loan from the Feminist Federal Credit Union at 944 Market Street #616 (extant), the first financial institution in San Francisco to be owned by women. Seajay and Wallace chose the Mission District for their bookstore because they wanted it located in an area "accessible to women of color, to women traveling by public transit, and to Dykes and feminists."[957] Old Wives Tales moved to a larger space at 1009 Valencia Street (extant) in 1981. The business became collectively owned and organized a broad variety of programs. The store flyer for July 1981, for instance, lists a reading of work-in-progress by Judy Grahn, an event focused on the history of Angel Island, new poetry read by Chinese American feminists, historian Allan Bérubé's slide lecture "Lesbian Masquerade: Some Lesbians in Early San Francisco Who Passed as Men," and a film about women's white-water rafting.[958] Old Wives Tales became the longest-running lesbian feminist bookstore in San Francisco. It closed in 1995.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, many other lesbian businesses had opened on the Valencia Corridor, the nickname for the area along or around Valencia Street between 18th and 23rd Streets. Artemis Cafe opened at 1199 Valencia Street (extant) in 1977. Owner Sarah Lewenstein opened

952 Sides, *Erotic City,* 116.

953 Seajay, "An Old Wives' Tale," 85.

954 Sides, *Erotic City,* 117.

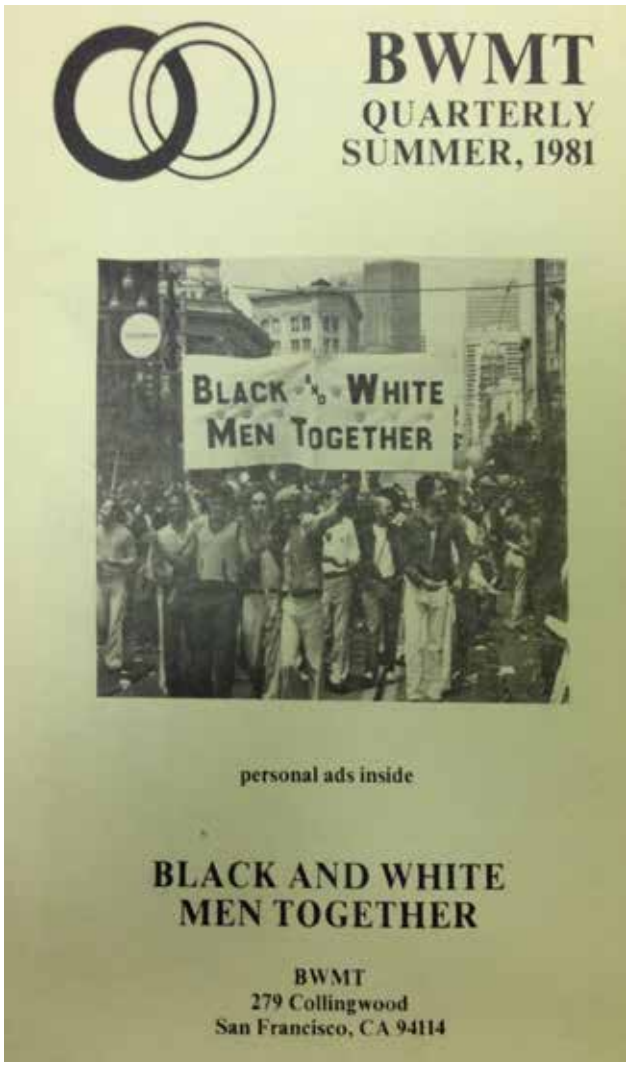
955 Forrest and Van Buskirk eds., *Love, Castro,* p. 77.

956 Judy Grahn, *A Simple Revolution: The Making of an Activist Poet* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books 2012) 140, 145. Research for this report has not uncovered the exact address on Valencia Street. The Women's Press Project began in 1974 as a project of the Women's Skills Center; the press ran first as a collective and later as a business until 1987, but it continued its mission of teaching women printing trades and printing political and feminist projects. It is listed in the "San Francisco Survival Manual," c. 1975 at 51 Waller Street. The GLBT Sites Database lists the Women's Press at 2680 21st Street in 1982 and 50 Otis Street in 1986.

957 Seajay, "An Old Wives' Tale," 85. Also Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

958 Old Wives' Tales July 1981 calendar in Old Wives Tales file, Ephemera Business Collection, GLBT Historical Society.





LEFT: Anti-Racism Protest on Castro Street, 1980
RIGHT: Black and White Men Together newsletter, 1981
(Both courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

Artemis as a women-only space to provide "an alternative to the bars." Places such as Artemis, which fielded its own softball team and hosted numerous benefits for women's issues, served as community hubs as much as business establishments. Artemis also was one of several places across San Francisco that featured women's music events.[959]

Amelia's, a bar owned by lesbian businesswoman Rikki Streicher, opened at 647 Valencia (threatened with demolition) in 1978. Amelia's featured dancing and hosted community events in its second floor space. Amelia's differed from Streicher's first lesbian bar, Maud's, because it offered dancing in a second floor space that was also used for community gatherings. Fundraisers hosted by Amelia's supported a broad range of community issues, such as the Gay Games, the AIDS/ARC Vigil, the Women's Blood Drive Mobile, and African American lesbian candidate Pat Norman's 1986 campaign for the Board of Supervisors.[960] Amelia's "was a place to come and get dressed up, not any old bar. [It] became a place to be seen and be proud," said Joan Crittenden, one of the nightclub's original managers, who also worked at Maud's.[961] Amelia's was "less cliquey" than Maud's, according to patron Evie Blackwood, and drew a more interracial crowd.[962] Amelia's also fielded teams in the lesbian softball league and sent a team to the 1988 Gay World Series in Dallas.[963] Page Hodel got her start as an important Bay Area DJ and dance club organizer at Amelia's. Hodel liked to "throw huge parties" and rented an empty storefront for her birthday party one year that drew 600 people. "The next morning I got a call from…Amelia's," Hodel said. "The owner said, 'I don't know what you are doing over there, but we were empty all night. How about you come here and play your records?'" Hodel's ongoing nights at Amelia's were so popular the bar reportedly had to hire a bouncer to keep the crowds within fire code limits.[964]

Other lesbian-owned or –oriented spaces open in the neighborhood in the early 1980s were Osento, San Francisco's first bathhouse for women, opened in the ground floor of a Victorian at 953 Valencia Street in 1981; Garbo's, a salon at 696 Valencia Street; Lyon-Martin Health Services, a medical clinic at 2480 Mission Street; and a lesbian-run crafts shop called Womencrafts West at 1007 Valencia Street. Modern Times Bookstore moved from its original space in the Castro (3800 17th Street) to the Mission District (888 Valencia Street, extant) in 1981. Although its primary identity was as a center for leftist politics, the Modern Times collective included many gay men and lesbians as members, and it supported lesbian-feminist writers and causes.

In addition to catering to LGBTQ residents through commercial businesses, the Mission District became a queer cultural and community center. This was celebrated beginning in 1977 when the first Women's Street Fair took place along Valencia Street, the heart of the lesbian community in the Mission District. And by 1979, The Women's Building at 3543 18th Street (extant, S.F. Landmark No. 178) had opened as the first women-owned and women-operated community center in the U.S.[965]

In addition to founding and patronizing the many women's spaces in the Mission District, lesbians formed a cohesive commercial, cultural and residential lesbian enclave—prompting historian

959 "Artemis Adopts Open-Door Policy,' *Noe Valley Voice*, v. V n. 6 August 1981, 1. By 1981, rising operating costs led Lewenstein to open the café to men.

960 Amelia's file, Ephemera Businesses Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

961 Mary Midgett described meeting other African American lesbians for the first time at Amelia's. Heather Cassell, "Maud's and Amelia's Made Space for Women," *Bay Area Reporter* http://www.bartabsf.com/2010/11/barchive-come-as-you-are/ accessed 5 August 2014.

962 Evie Blackwood, interviewed by Donna Graves, 18 June 2014.

963 Deb Trapani, interviewed by Donna Graves at Maud's Reunion, 26 June 2013.

964 Meredith May, "Pioneer Female DJ Page Hodel Has Marched to Her Own Beat," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 March 2014.

965 "History of The Women's Building" http://www.womensbuilding.org/The Women's Building/index.php/about-us/history accessed 15 November 2013.

John D'Emilio to write in 1981, "San Francisco is one of the very few cities where lesbians are residentially concentrated enough to be visible."[966]

EVOLUTION AND DECLINE OF BAR-BASED COMMUNITIES, 1960 TO 1980S

Bars continued to be an important social space and economic component of LGBTQ life throughout the 1960s to 1980s. As queer people gained a more secure purchase on public life through organizing and activism and through changes in laws and police practices, the number of bars and nightclubs that catered to them proliferated. The increasing quantity and variety of gay bars offered a major attraction to tourists and residents.

Owners and patrons of bars and nightclubs created spaces that reflected a variety of sexual interests and stylistic choices. In the 1960s, go-go dancers performed at clubs like the Capri (1326 Grant Street) in North Beach and drag queens performed at the Frolic Room (141 Mason Street) and the Gilded Cage (126 Ellis Street) in the Tenderloin. Drag performances were the rage beginning in the 1970s. Long-time drag performer Vicki Marlene recalls that drag was so popular in the 1970s that "every little bar wanted to put a show in, everything from black drag, biker drag, Western drag."[967] Drag king shows featuring women impersonating men were sometimes held at lesbian bars such as the Ebbtide (853 Valencia Street) in the Mission District in the 1960s and later at A Little More (702 15th Street, extant) in the South of Market area.[968] During the 1970s, gay hippies hung out at the Eagle Creek Saloon (1884 Market Street, extant), the Rainbow Cattle Company (199 Valencia Street), and the Stud (1535 Folsom Street, extant).[969]

By the mid-1970s, the gay disco dance scene was thriving in San Francisco at such establishments as the Trocadero Transfer (520 Fourth Street, extant), the End-Up (401 Sixth Street, extant) in the South of Market area, Buzzby's (1436 Polk Street), and the Mind Shaft (2140 Market Street, extant), which had an elevated gazebo in the middle of the dance floor.[970] Allan Bérubé describes the euphoria of dancing at the Mind Shaft:

> Those moments when you smoke a joint, and there'd be all these lights and fans in this wonderful disco music, where you felt this beat that really united you, I had this kind of spiritual moment revision where I said, "this is what it could be like." You could see what it could be like, and be inside it, and feel it, if we were totally free.[971]

During the same period, bars became sites of intense discrimination within queer communities, as lesbians, queer people of color, and transgender individuals were often not welcome in mainstream gay bars. Many bars weeded out unwanted customers by demanding multiple forms of identification. Transgender women and queers of color were especially vulnerable. Bart Casimir, an African American gay man was harassed at the Midnight Sun: "People couldn't figure out what ethnicity I was, but some of the gay bars figured it out and the Midnight Sun bartenders wouldn't

966 D'Emilio, "Gay Politics, Gay Community," 75.

967 Vicki Marlene in documentary film, *Forever's Gonna Start Tonight* Michelle Lawler director, 2009.

968 Garber, "Valencia's First Gay Bars," 5-6. A Little More folder, Business Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

969 Garber, "Valencia's First Gay Bars," 5-6.

970 The space that housed the Mind Shaft from 1972 to 1977 was occupied by a succession of dance clubs in the following years that, except for a brief period, continued to cater to gay clientele. These dance clubs included Alfie's, the Prism, 2140 Market, the Industrial Dance Company, High Chaparral, and the Corral. Similarly, 177 Townsend Street was the home of a succession of dance halls beginning around 1989 named Club Townsend, Skirts, Thunderdome, Pleasuredome, and Club Universe. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

971 Joshua Gamson, *The Fabulous Sylvester: The Legend, The Music, The 70s in San Francisco* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2005) 110.

serve me."[972] In 1980, Randy Kikukawa and the short-lived Gay Asian Information Network organized a protest after being discriminated against at a gay bar called Castro Station (456 Castro Street, extant). The protest was a "test case with lots of press on hand. It was about putting all gay establishments on notice, not just Castro Station."[973]

The gay liberation organization Black and White Men Together conducted a survey of racism in gay bars in New York and San Francisco and determined that "gay bars in San Francisco are highly segregated in terms of employment and patronage."[974] Michael J. Smith describes San Francisco's gay bar scene in the early 1980s:

> Everything is neatly segregated and commercialized. It's like a supermarket. Black and White men interested in each other meet at The Pendulum [4146 18th Street, extant] or The Ambush [1351 Harrison Street, extant]. Blacks interested in Black scooted Different Strokes [1550 Polk Street]. Latins? Esta Noche [3079 16th Street, extant]. Asians? The End-up [401 Sixth Street, extant]. There's an assigned place for everybody and everything. If none of it fits your requirements, you don't exist. If you make the mistake of going where you don't fit in, you're studiously ignored.[975]

Racial discrimination continued through the 1990s. In 1990, activists picketed Midnight Sun after charges of racism and sexism toward patrons were made public.[976] Discrimination within the lesbian community was mixed. African American lesbian activist Gwen Craig recalls, "you never heard of any discrimination on the basis of color in women's bars."[977] However, community historian Julie Gonzales remembers being turned away from a small lesbian bar on Ocean Avenue in the Sunset district because a woman in her group was African American.[978]

Despite the many cases of discrimination within the queer communities in the 1960s to 1980s, a number of gay and lesbian bars were known for welcoming a mixed clientele or known for catering to queers of color. The Trapp (72 Eddy Street) in the Tenderloin was patronized by "Blacks, whites, old guys and young ones, hustlers and liberated gays."[979] Leonarda's (16 Leland Avenue) in Visitacion Valley and the Highlander (395 Vermont Street) on Potrero Hill were welcoming to African American lesbians.[980] A dance club called A Little More (702 15th Street) was popular with African American, Latina, and Asian/Pacific Islander lesbians.[981] Colors, a roving dance party organized by and for lesbians of color, was held at several San Francisco locations, including Amelia's, the American Indian Center (225 Valencia Street, extant), and Scooter's/Raggs (22 Fourth Street).[982] Clementina's/Baybrick Inn (1118 Folsom Street), in South of Market, was very welcoming to lesbian of color.

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972 Bart Casimir, interviewed by Donna Graves, 5 August 2014.

973 Randy Kikukawa, interviewed by Donna Graves, 15 March 2014.

974 "Black and white men charge ghetto racism," *The Advocate,* May 1982, 19.

975 Michael J. Smith ed., *Black Men/White Men: A Gay Anthology* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press 1983) 60.

976 Midnight Sun file, Businesses Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

977 Gwen Craig in documentary film *Last Call at Maud's*, Paris Poirier director, 1993.

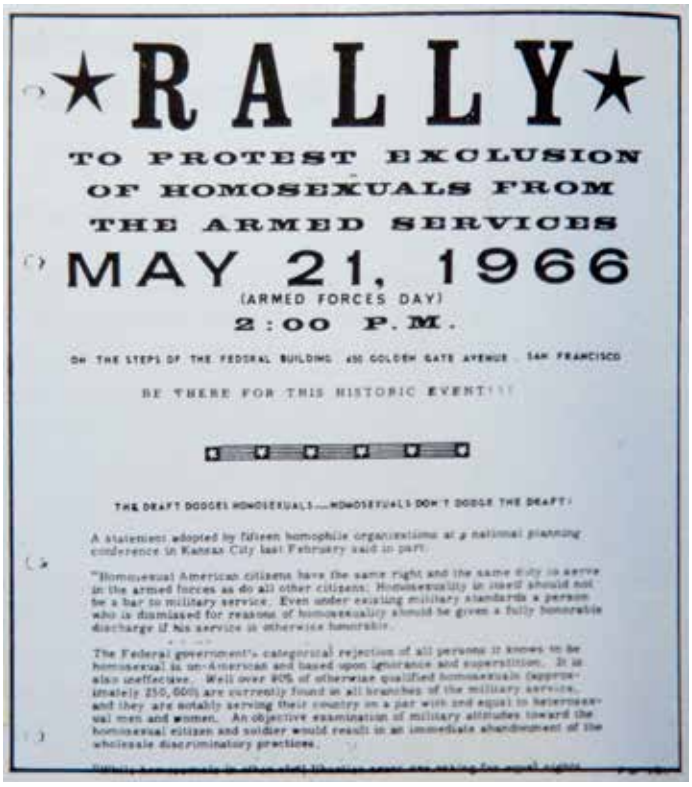
978 Julie Gonzales, interviewed by Donna Graves at Maud's Reunion, 29 June 2013. Research for this report has not established the name and address of this bar.

979 1976 Spartacus Gay Guide quoted in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database

980 Sharon Tracy oral history interview with Nan Alamilla Boyd 10/9/91, Wide Open Town Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

981 Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

982 *Ache: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent*, v. 1 n.2, March 1989, p. 2. *Ache: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent* v.1 n.7 August 1989, p. 18. *Ache: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent*, v.2 n.3 June 1990, p. 22



★RALLY★

TO PROTEST EXCLUSION
OF HOMOSEXUALS FROM
THE ARMED SERVICES

MAY 21, 1966
(ARMED FORCES DAY)
2:00 P.M.

ON THE STEPS OF THE FEDERAL BUILDING 450 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE SAN FRANCISCO

BE THERE FOR THIS HISTORIC EVENT!!!

THE DRAFT DODGES HOMOSEXUALS....HOMOSEXUALS DON'T DODGE THE DRAFT!

A statement adopted by fifteen homophile organizations at a national planning conference in Kansas City last February said in part:

"Homosexual American citizens have the same right and the same duty to serve in the armed forces as do all other citizens. Homosexuality in itself should not be a bar to military service. Even under existing military standards a person who is dismissed for reasons of homosexuality should be given a fully honorable discharge if his service is otherwise honorable.

The Federal government's categorical rejection of all persons it knows to be homosexual is un-American and based upon ignorance and superstition. It is also ineffective. Well over 80% of otherwise qualified homosexuals (approximately 250,000) are currently found in all branches of the military service, and they are notably serving their country on a par with and equal to heterosexual men and women. An objective examination of military attitudes toward the homosexual citizen and soldier would result in an immediate abandonment of the wholesale discriminatory practices.



LEFT: Flyer announcing Armed Forces Day Protest at the Federal Building in San Francisco, 1966 (From *Coming Out Under Fire, 1994*)

RIGHT: Del Martin speaking at the rally (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

The drinking and casual sex associated with bars became less appealing for many during the 1980s due to the emergence of AIDS and a greater recognition of the negative impacts of alcoholism. Lesbian and gay chapters of Alcoholics Anonymous and other recovery groups formed as early as the 1960s; one account traces the origins of a local gay chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) to a 1968 meeting at an Episcopal church. In the following decade, a growing number of churches began housing gay and lesbian AA chapters, reportedly due to the influence of clergy affiliated with the homophile organization Council on Religion and the Homosexual.[983] San Francisco writer Jean Swallow published *Out From Under*, the first book by and about lesbians recovering from substance abuse, in 1983.[984] In 1976, the first annual gay and lesbian AA conference, Living Sober, was held at San Francisco State University's Student Union (1650 Holloway Ave, extant). By the late 1980s, the annual Living Sober conferences were drawing several thousand people and had moved to the Civic Center auditorium (99 Grove Street, extant).[985] As a response to the growing number of LGBTQ people seeking alternatives to bars, non-alcoholic social establishments opened in the 1980s, including Artemis Café on Valencia Street and The Castro Country Club (4058 18th Street, extant), which was founded as a "clean and sober gathering place" in 1983 and is still in operation.[986]

VII. GAY LIBERATION, PRIDE, AND POLITICS (1960S TO 1990S)

INTRODUCTION

Conceptualizing gay rights, and organizing for them, evolved and became more complex in the 1960s to the 1980s. Homophile activists had worked on the premise that rights would be gained by arguing that sexual behavior was a private matter and only one small part of their identity; in all other ways they were the same as straight people—and should therefore be equal to them. Gay liberationists believed that incorporating homosexuality into public behavior and discussion of identity was important and could transform society in coalition with other progressive movements. Historian Elizabeth Armstrong notes the shift from liberation to gay pride as the beginnings of the "gay identity movement" that focused on freedom of individual expression.[987]

Both gay liberation and gay pride or gay identity movements assumed the central importance of coming out publicly as gay or lesbian. "Coming out of the closet was incorporated into the basic assumptions of what it meant to be gay," write historians John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman. Coming out also meant "the adoption of an identity in which the erotic played a central role. Sexuality became emblematic of the person, not as an imposed medical label connoting deviance, but as a form of self-affirmation. No longer merely something you did in bed, sex served to define a mode of living, both private and public, that encompassed a wide range of activities and relationships."[988]

983 Audrey Borden, *The History of Gay People in Alcoholics Anonymous: From the Beginning* (Routledge, 2007) 133-34, 137. The church is described as on Fell Street, most likely the Church of Advent of Christ the King at 261 Fell Street. The narrator states that a chapter made up of gays and lesbians began meeting at 330 Grove Street in late 1968.

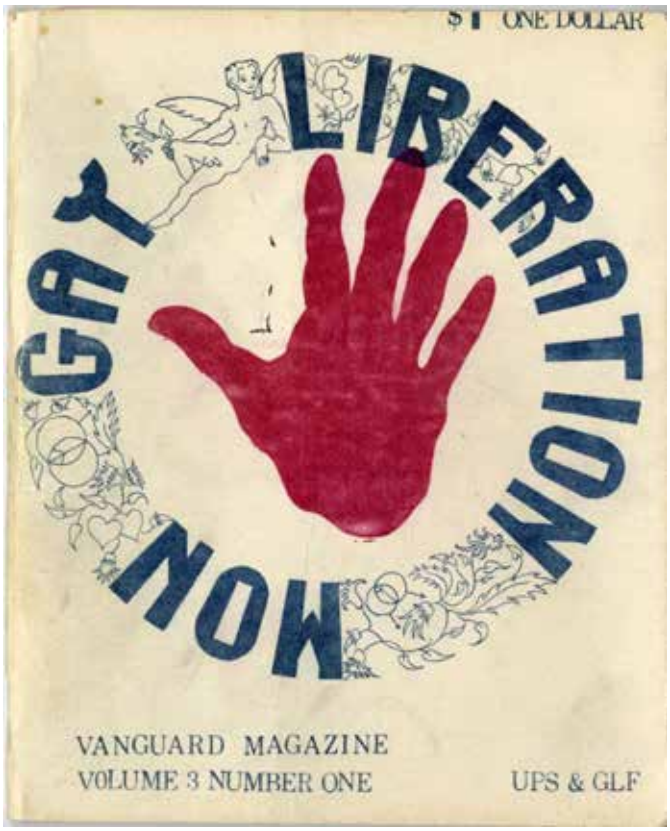
984 San Francisco Public Library James Hormel Center blog http://queerestlibraryever.blogspot.com/2014/07/a-bit-about-abbott.html.

985 Western Roundup Living Sober webpage, http://www.livingsober.org/archives.html accessed 15 January 2015. *Bay Area Career Women Newsletter* April May 1988, 6.

986 Castro Country Club website, http://castrocountryclub.org/site/?page_id=55 accessed 15 January 2015.

987 Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities,* 3.

988 John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012, third edition) 323.



LEFT: First copy of Vanguard Magazine, 1966 (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BELOW: 1966 Vanguard "sweep-in" on Market Street (Courtesy Tenderloin Museum)



FROM HOMOPHILES TO GAY LIBERATION

Homophiles in the Streets

Homophile organizers began to employ more assertive tactics in the 1960s that reflected those of other protest movements. San Francisco homophile groups organized one of their first public protests on Armed Forces Day in May 1966 at the plaza in front of the Federal Building (450 Golden Gate Avenue, extant) to protest the exclusion and dishonorable discharge of homosexuals from military service. The Mattachine Society, the Daughters of Bilitis, the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, and the Society for Individual Rights notified the San Francisco Police Department of their plans and distributed more than 20,000 leaflets to promote and explain the protest. The gathering drew more than 40 protestors and several hundred onlookers—the largest gay rights demonstration up to this point in San Francisco.[989] The crowd listened to speakers such as Glide Memorial Church's Rev. Cecil Williams, who announced, "There is a homosexual revolution here and across the land." The protest received extensive local print and television coverage, as well as articles in *The New York Times* and *Newsweek*.[990] Later that year, the same group of organizations cooperated to protest cancellation of a homophile booth they had proposed for the California State Fair in Sacramento. In September 1967, homophile groups again came together to lodge a complaint with the California Public Utilities Commission, asking for a separate listing under "homophile" in the Yellow Pages; this request was not granted until 1971.[991]

In 1966, the Society for Individual Rights established what is commonly described as the nation's first gay community center at 83 Sixth Street (SIR is described in detail in *Homophile Movements: 1950s to 1960s*).[992] By the late 1960s, the organization had 900 members, had created an educational program on sexually transmitted diseases, sponsored candidate nights, and ran the Sirporium, a second-hand clothing store in Hayes Valley.[993] Yet as historians Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk explain, within a few years, SIR's campaign to methodically win gay rights was overshadowed by more militant gay liberation groups. These new groups enlisted a younger generation and drew from "student unrest, the tactics of the civil rights struggle and black militancy, labor organizing, social critiques rooted in the antiwar movement, the second wave of feminism, and Marxist political analysis…."[994] They also parted from the assimilationist stance of earlier gay rights groups by, as historian George Chauncey describes, "publicly affirming, celebrating, and even cultivating homosexual difference."[995]

The Beginnings of Gay Liberation

Historian Elizabeth Armstrong describes the birth of gay liberation as the encounter between homophile organizing and the New Left, and its peak as the years 1969 to 1971. Armstrong delineates the "redistributive politics" of more radical gay groups who saw their fate linked to other oppressed groups and viewed sexual liberation "as merely one aspect of a broader social transformation."[996] Bay Area activist Carl Wittman's "A Gay Manifesto," published in 1970, was an influential and widely distributed declaration of these views. Wittman describes San Francisco as "a refugee camp for homosexuals. We have fled here from every part of the nation, and like

989 Sides, *Erotic City,* 88.
990 Ibid.
991 Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of The Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York St. Martin's Press , 1994) 5.
992 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 46.
993 Salvatore J. Licata, Robert P. Petersen, *Historical Perspectives on Homosexuality*, (New York: Haworth Press, 1981) 174.
994 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 53.
995 George Chauncey, *Why Marriage?: The history shaping today's debate over gay equality* (Basic Books, 2004) 29.
996 Armstrong *Forging Gay Identities*, 2.

refugees elsewhere, we came not because it is so great here, but because it was so bad where they are."[997] Wittman decried the "gay ghetto[s]" created by gay bars, and called for recognizing male chauvinism and racism among gay men, as well as recognition of the different experiences and perspectives of lesbians, bisexuals, drag queens, and others.

Wittman's points were echoed by the keynote speaker at the August 1970 National Gay Liberation Front Student Conference held at the SIR Community Center. San Francisco militant Charles P. Thorpe told fellow students:

> Gay liberation has been made up mostly of young gays, because, as in the rest of society, it is young gays, as it is young blacks or young white radicals, it is the young that are aware and aware is synonymous with desperate. That means a new culture, a new society, and a new education. This has scared the don't-rock-the-boat older gays.[998]

The Gay Liberation Book, a pioneering anthology published by San Francisco-based *Ramparts* in 1973, added that "gay liberation is a radical movement that advocates a radical change in society—its social structures, power structures, its racism and sexual dogmas. We have a commitment not just to homosexual liberation but to total human liberation."[999]

Younger gay people started shifting the terms and tactics of the movement for gay rights, although sometimes their campaigns were supported by older members of SIR and the Council on Religion and the Homosexual. Protests by Vanguard (described in the next section), CRH, and Compton's Cafeteria patrons illustrated a new era of gay radicalism that preceded the now far better-known events at New York's Stonewall Inn of June 1969, which were followed by the founding of the Gay Liberation Front there. As Elizabeth Armstrong and others note, Stonewall did not catalyze the gay liberation movement in San Francisco, "which had been underway for at least two months, perhaps considerably longer. The events surrounding the Stonewall Inn raid were barely acknowledged in San Francisco's homosexual press in 1969."[1000] However, with San Francisco's first gay rights march in June 1970, which ran down Polk Street from Aquatic Park to City Hall, locals recalled the Stonewall Riots. The next day, the city's first "gay-in" was held at Speedway Meadows in Golden Gate Park.[1001]

The following paragraphs describe some of the most active gay liberation organizations in San Francisco. Further research on early gay liberation organizations in San Francisco is warranted.

Vanguard

Although only active from 1966 to 1969, the San Francisco organization Vanguard is described by several historians as prefiguring subsequent stages of the gay rights movement.[1002] Organized as part of the social programs of Glide Memorial Church, Vanguard targeted Tenderloin youth, drawing in young gay men, hustlers and "hair fairies" (men who acted and dressed in a manner drawing on a mix of current feminine and masculine styles). Glide's outreach to Tenderloin youth

997 Carl Wittman, "A Gay Manifesto" in Karla Jay and Allen Young eds. *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation* (New York: Douglas Book Corp, 1972) 332-42.

998 Charles Thorp (sic), "Identity, Leadership and Violence" in *Out of the Closets*, 352. SIR center is identified as location in finding aid for Liberation Front's papers.

999 Tommi Avicolli Mecca ed., *Smash the Church, Smash the State! The Early Years of Gay Liberation (*San Francisco 2009), xi.

1000 Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities*, 62. Armstrong writes,"[M]any gay liberation organizations [were] ephemeral, short-lived, and hard to document."

1001 The "Human Be-in" at Golden Gate park of January 1967 presumably inspired the "Gay-in" gathering.

1002 Salvatore J. Licata and Robert J. Peterson, *Historical Perspectives on Homosexuality*, (New York: Haworth Press, 1981) 175.

recognized that young gay residents faced overwhelming challenges despite the safety in numbers and cheap hotel rooms the neighborhood offered. As Vanguard member Joel Roberts remembers, the price of coming out for many young people was being "disinherited…. You no longer had any family. So, in a way, the street was the only place to go. There was no place and middle-class gays were in the closet, they weren't going to help us. We were really on our own."[1003]

With additional support from the Society for Individual Rights and Daughters of Bilitis, Vanguard members organized dances and holiday dinners and self-published a journal filled with art, poetry, advice, and political analysis of larger events such as the Vietnam War and of their own situation in San Francisco.[1004] "We of the Central City are going to have to start fighting…exploitation by slum landlords, gouging store owners, drug dealers, and men who patronize young hustlers but won't hire them for work."[1005] Vanguard member Adrian Ravarou later recalled "many of the street people felt that they had nothing to lose, so why not stand up for their rights?"[1006]

In the fall of 1966, Vanguard organized a "sweep-in" to remove litter from the Meat Rack, a section of Market Street where "drug addicts, pill heads, teenage hustlers, lesbians and homosexuals" made their homes, but who were "often the object of police harassment."[1007] Using brooms lent by the City, about forty youth swept the blocks between Powell and Turk Streets. "We're considered trash by the rest of society," Vanguard's president Jean-Paul Marat stated, "and we wanted to show the rest of society that we want to work and can work."[1008]

Vanguard representatives' experience at a planning meeting of the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations illustrated the difference in generational perspectives. Reporting "this conference was a waste of time and money," Vanguard's writer notes, however, that "Vanguard made quite an impression on the other delegates," whose organizations reportedly planned to publish feature articles on the youth group.[1009]

Committee for Homosexual Freedom

While listening to Martin Luther King Jr. speak about the civil rights movement on a radio broadcast in early 1969, Leo Laurence had an epiphany: "If I replace the word 'black' with the word 'gay,' we would have a gay revolution."[1010] Laurence soon helped to found the Committee for Homosexual Freedom in 1969; based on its ideology and tactics, many historians identify the group as the first gay liberation organization in the U.S. Laurence, had been recently elected editor of the SIR-published magazine, *Vector*. Frustrated by what he perceived as the slow pace of change by homophile organizations, he wrote a scathing editorial titled "Gay Revolution" in the April 1969 issue of *Vector*:

1003 Oral Histories of the original Vanguard members were conducted by Joey Plaster as part of the public history project *Vanguard Revisited* in 2010 http://vanguardrevisited.blogspot.com accessed 8 September 2014.

1004 Vanguard's first issue lists resources including Missions for meals, a barber college for free hair cuts and SF Suicide Prevention *Vanguard* Issue 1(1966) 8.

1005 Jean-Paul Marat, "Exploitation," *Vanguard* vol. 1, no. 1 (1966) 3. Mailing address listed as 330 Ellis, Glide Memorial Church. By Vol. 1, no.7, the address for subscriptions is listed as 203 Clayton Street.

1006 Oral histories from Vanguard Revisited http://vanguardrevisited.blogspot.com accessed 8 September 2014.

1007 "Sweep-in," *Vanguard,* vol. 1, no 2 , (October 1966) 4. The article says that the "sweep-in" was covered by local news and picked up by AP and UPI.

1008 Jean-Paul Marat, "Exploitation," *Vanguard* vol. 1, no. 1 (1966) 3.

1009 "National Planning Conference of Homophile Organizations" *Vanguard* Vol.. 1, no.2, (1966)10 says the event was held at Bellvue Hotel (501 Geary Street).

1010 Sides, *Erotic City,* 92.

> Homosexual organizations on the West Coast are doing very little to spark the homosexual revolution of '69. Timid leaders with enormous ego trips, middle-class bigotry and racism, and too many middle-aged uptight conservatives are hurting almost every major homosexual organization on the West Coast and probably throughout the nation.[1011]

The *Berkeley Barb* ran a similar piece by Laurence, accompanied, without permission, by a photograph of Laurence and his lover, Gayle Whittington, in a shirtless embrace. Whittington's employer, the States Steamship Lines in San Francisco, fired him almost immediately. Whittington and Laurence formed the new Committee for Homosexual Freedom, which sprang into action. The organization was headquartered in an office at 148 Leavenworth Street (extant) in the Tenderloin.[1012] Historian Josh Sides notes that, "unlike the Armed Forces Day protesters, who had picketed on a weekend, the CHF began daily picketing at lunch time for maximum visibility" at the Steamship Lines offices (320 California Street, not extant) in the Financial District. The ongoing protest was successful in drawing more participants and media attention, and Whittington later attributed the protest's success to the fact that CHF "accept[ed] everyone," including the drag queens and "gender fuckers"--groups discouraged by older organizations such as SIR.[1013]





LEFT: Protest at State Steamship Lines offices, 320 California Street, May 1969 (Courtesy Gale Chester Whittington)

RIGHT: Flyer for BAGL party at the 32 Page Street Gay Community Center (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

1011 Ibid.

1012 CHF address from Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

1013 According to Sides, CHF expanded "the traditional locale of homophile politics in San Francisco by holding meetings at Cabaret, a club located at 260 Valencia in the Mission district." Josh Sides, *Erotic City,* 93-95.

Bay Area Gay Liberation

Although some historians suggest that the flowering of gay liberation was over by the early 1970s, San Francisco's Bay Area Gay Liberation,1975 to 1978, continued a radical agenda for gay rights. BAGL's goals were "based on a multi-issue critique of capitalism and the state" according to historian Christina Hanhardt.[1014] Organizational meetings were held at the SIR Center and at the Gay Community Centers that developed in San Francisco at 32 Page Street (extant) and later at 330 Grove Street (not extant).[1015] BAGL activities included a protest supporting the Gay Teachers Coalition; another against police repression of White Panthers on Polk Street; and another at the Club Baths (201 Eighth Street) against the practice of turning away customers who were effeminate, elderly or African American. Equally committed to women's issues, BAGL hosted lectures about Rosie the Riveter and women's history, and a film screening and discussion on "rape culture." Within a year, BAGL split into two factions, Hanhardt reports, with the Progressive Caucus continuing to align themselves with other progressive social movements, including farmworkers, labor unions, housing rights and Chilean resistance.[1016] The other group, Gay Action, focused more on making San Francisco's streets safe for queer people.[1017]

New Social Support Networks

"By the mid-1970s," writes historian John D'Emilio, "San Francisco had become, in comparison with the rest of the country, a liberated zone for lesbians and gay men. It had the largest number and widest variety of organizations and institutions."[1018] A *San Francisco Survival Manual* published about 1975 illustrates the city's extensive LGBTQ social support network and the number of newcomers taking advantage of it. Produced by Page Street Survival House, SIR, and *Vector*, the manual announced its purpose:

> Many times as part of our lifestyle we pick up and relocate ourselves, often with just the clothes on our backs to a new place and a new beginning…. Most of the organizations listed are operated by volunteer workers who care about people and try to make things a little easier for you, the newcomer, and to supply a readily available access of information that may prove valuable to you, the residents of San Francisco and the Bay Area.[1019]

Examples of organizations listed in the *Survival Manual* include the Helping Hands Center (225 Turk Street) and the Page Street Survival House (934 Page Street), a source for drug help, free clothes, legal help, and a "crash pad." The Society for Individual Rights and Neighborhood Legal Assistance (5329 Natoma Street) offered support for problems with the military or the draft.

A section in the manual titled "Women's Survival" lists the Women's Skill Center (51 Waller Street) as a place to learn mechanics, art, music, carpentry, self-defense, and more. Six sources are listed under counseling, including the Center for Special Problems, the Tenderloin Clinic (200 Golden Gate Avenue), and Women for Women (4220 California Street). The Women's Switchboard is listed

1014 Christina B. Hanhardt, "Butterflies, Whistles and Fists: Gay Safe Streets Patrols and the New Gay Ghetto, 1976-1981" *Radical History Review* (Winter 2008) 65.

1015 Bay Area Gay Liberation file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Christina B. Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham and London, Duke University press 2013) 98.

1016 Hanhardt, "Butterflies, Whistles and Fists: Gay Safe Streets Patrols and the New Gay Ghetto," 65. Randy Alfred, "Resurgence of Militant Activism" *The Advocate* 14 January 1976 says BAGL founded in January 1975. BAGL Newsletters in the collection of The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society end in late 1978.

1017 Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence,* 98.

1018 D'Emilio "Gay Politics, Gay Community" in *Making Trouble*, 87.

1019 "San Francisco Survival Manual" c. 1975, Gay Health Project Papers, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society

(without address) for rap groups, legal aid, babysitters, rentals, doctors, and other activities, adding, "Call us with any kind of problem; will try to help." Under legal matters, the Bay Area Women's Jail Coalition (558 Capp Street) and Women's Litigation Unit of San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance (1095 Market Street) offered counsel on sexual discrimination, lesbian mothers' defense, and custody issues.

ORGANIZING

Organizing for Health

Homophile Organizations

As part of their civil rights agenda, homophile organizations sought to overturn persistent views of homosexuality as pathological in the medical and psychiatric fields. The first *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, Mental Disorders*, published in 1952, included homosexuality among the sociopathic personality disturbances. Prominent San Francisco physician Tom Waddell recalled that his medical training taught homosexuality "as a perversion, as something grossly abnormal…. There was a profound ignorance of gay people. Doctors saw them as perverts who in turn had an STD…. They were no longer clean."[1020]

Homophile activists and their allies campaigned to raise understanding of gay men and lesbians among medical doctors and mental health professionals. Glide Memorial Church's Rev. Edward Hansen led a group of psychiatrists and psychologists from the Langley Porter Institute and San Francisco General Hospital on a tour through the Tenderloin in the mid-1960s to discuss anti-homosexual discrimination.[1021] Challenges such as these from homophile activists and their sympathizers led to the 1968 reclassification of homosexuality by the American Psychiatric Association to rank it with other "nonpsychotic mental disorders" such as fetishism, pedophilia, transvestism, sadism and masochism.[1022]

That year, San Francisco hosted the annual meeting of the American Medical Association, which included a speech given by Charles Socarides, author of *The Overt Homosexual*. Socarides described homosexuality as "a dread dysfunction, malignant in character, which has risen to epidemic proportions" and offered a proposal for the establishment of a network of government-sponsored "sexual rehabilitation centers."[1023] Gay and lesbian activists, already having distributed thousands of leaflets to participants as they arrived, called a press conference to rebut Socarides' theories. The Council on Religion and the Homosexual joined members of the Daughters of Bilitis and Society for Individual Rights in this effort; their position was featured prominently in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner*. Two years later gay rights activists disrupted panels on homosexuality at the annual convention of the American Psychiatric Association, held in San Francisco at the Civic Auditorium (99 Grove Street).[1024] In 1973, the Board of the AmericanPsychiatric Association voted to remove homosexuality from its official list of mental diseases.[1025]

1020 Wadell is quoted in Frank M. Robinson "Castro Street, Is that Great Street" in Leyland, ed. *Out in the Castro*, 49.

1021 Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence*, 42.

1022 Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry,* 39-40.

1023 Edward Alwood, *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians, and the News Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) 75. Location for the Meeting of the American Medical Association was not identified in the course of this research.

1024 One protestor describes meeting with a small group of gay lib activists to disrupt the American Psychiatric Association meeting at "a Civic Center convention hall." Mark Freeman, "Coming Out as a Reluctant Activist in a Gay Maoist Cell who Mostly Just Wanted to Get Laid" in Tommi Avicolli Mecca ed., *Smash the Church, Smash the State! The Early Years of Gay Liberation*, 88.

1025 Although it would be fair to say this was not without controversy among the directors and membership as described by Ronald Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry: The Politics of Diagnosis (Princeton University Press, 1987),* passim.

Early Community Health and Clinics

Even as the battle for gay rights was being waged with national medical and psychiatric organizations, local perspectives on mental health and homosexuality were being transformed. Sponsored by the San Francisco Department of Public Health, the Center for Special Problems (2107 Van Ness Avenue, extant) was opened by Dr. Joel Fort in 1965. The center was a direct result of the work of homophile activists and the rising tide of homosexual and transgender militancy in the Tenderloin; it was developed to "provide outpatient treatment, education and research on a number of major (and growing) social and health problems," including alcohol and drug abuse, violence, and so-called sexual deviants.[1026] While its name implied a pathological approach to addressing homosexuality, the center was an important progressive force for homosexual, bisexual and transgender integration into mainstream society; it reportedly hired the first openly gay city employee.[1027] Later, the center created the Sexual Minority Youth Service, a drop-in employment center to help Tenderloin gay, bisexual, and transgender youth find jobs outside the sex industry.[1028]

Dr. Fort was terminated from the Center for Special Problems after just a few years for being what he characterized as "too independent," but the center continued to operate for several decades. In 1967, Fort opened a private nonprofit clinic called Fort Help at 169 Eleventh Street (extant).

In 1975, the San Francisco Department of Public Health opened a Gay Health Project clinic at 250 Fourth Street (threatened with demolition) in the South of Market area, using funding from a one-year federal grant. The mission was to educate San Francisco's gay community more effectively about sexually transmitted diseases, which were becoming endemic. Staffed by openly gay men, the project offered educational materials and referrals for specialized care and conducted STD testing at the clinic and various bathhouses.[1029]

Pat Norman was the first openly gay or lesbian employee of the San Francisco Department of Public Health and later became its first formal liaison to the gay and lesbian community. In 1978, she helped initiate a mandated training workshop titled "Gay Male, Lesbian and Bisexual Lifestyles" for 400 City employees; the training was conducted by staff from the National Sex Forum (540 Powell Street, extant). According to homophile activists Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, African American, Latino and Asian American social workers and therapists, "who had thought homosexuality was only a white or Anglo phenomenon, had to face and respond to lesbians and gay men of their own race and national origin."[1030]

By 1979, the San Francisco Department of Public Health also ran the Tenderloin Clinic at 251 Hyde Street (extant), which provided services to gay San Franciscans and was staffed by openly gay employees as well as others "trained and prepared to relate to gays simply as people." [1031] The Tenderloin Clinic was one of five programs run by Urban Mental Health, a private mental health organization offering housing, treatment, and outreach. After receiving pressure from a coalition of gay psychiatric professionals and consumers known as the Daffodil Alliance, the Department of Public Health increased the size and scope of the Tenderloin Clinic to encompass six psychiatrists,

1026 San Francisco Department of Public Health Weekly Bulletin May 23, 1966. Appendix to Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, "Joel Fort, M.D.: Public Health Pioneer, Criminologist, Reformer, Ethicist and Humanitarian," (1997).

1027 The employee is described but not named in "Joel Fort, M.D.: Public Health Pioneer, Criminologist, Reformer, Ethicist and Humanitarian," 47-48.

1028 Sides, *Erotic City,* 100.

1029 Gay Health Project file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society

1030 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*,) 319.

1031 "The Tenderloin Clinic," *Tenderloin Times* v. 3. n. 2 April 1979, 2.

a psychologist, two social workers, eight counselors, and one psychiatric technician. The *Tenderloin Times* reported that "volunteers, students and interns bring the total staffing for the program to more than 30." [1032]

Gay Community Clinics

Historian Catherine Batza's work on the development of gay health clinics during the 1970s notes that these institutions grew "directly out of the radicalism of the 1960s, a national discussion on healthcare and medical authority, and efforts by the state ... to provide health care services to underserved communities."[1033]

Operation Concern began in 1973 as a gay counseling program at Pacific Medical Center (2323 Sacramento Street) to address the "compelling need for mental health service where gays could seek help in a comfortable and understanding atmosphere."[1034] Around 700 people attended a benefit for Operation Concern held at California Hall on Polk Street in July 1973, testifying to the amount of community enthusiasm for issues related to LGBTQ mental health support. By the late 1970s, the organization ran mental health programs, services for LGBTQ people and their families, and a clinical intern-training program. A drop-in program for lesbians and gays with chronic illnesses was founded in the mid-1980s at 1853 Market Street.[1035]

Recognizing the isolation that many older gays and lesbians experienced, Operation Concern launched a program dubbed Gay and Lesbian Outreach to Elders in 1982. GLOE sponsored an Older Men's Rap Group meeting every other Thursday afternoon at 711 Eddy Street in the Tenderloin. About twenty men gathered to discuss current events and social life. They also planned field trips to places like the Monterey Bay Aquarium and the San Francisco Zoo. "The reason why so many people come to our session," said program coordinator Elaine Porter, "is because there is no other place older gay men can come for socialization. They are an invisible group who don't hang out in singles bars."[1036]

Eighteenth Street Services, which provided substance abuse counseling for gays and lesbians, opened in 1976; in 1995, it merged with Operation Concern, with the combined operation renamed New Leaf. The organization disbanded in 2010.

A 1979 study of lesbian health needs by lesbian medical professionals revealed that they were far less likely to access medical care than straight women. In response, San Francisco General Hospital held a clinic once a week for lesbians, which was immediately oversubscribed. In 1980, a nonprofit clinic for lesbians began operating in the evenings out of a Department of Public Health facility in the Castro. Named in honor of activists Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, the Lyon-Martin Women's Health Clinic moved to its own medical building in the Mission, and in 1991 to 1748 Market Street (extant).[1037]

1032 Ibid.

1033 Catherine P. Batza, Before AIDS: Gay and Lesbian Community Health Activism in the 1970s (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois Chicago, 2011) xi.

1034 Operation Concern brochure, Gay Health Project Papers file, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1035 *Tenderloin Times* v. 9. N. 4 April/May 1985, 2.

1036 "Older Men's Rap Group," *Tenderloin Times* vol. 9 n. 4 April/May 1985, 2.

1037 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 322. 1982 Polk's San Francisco Directory lists Center at 2252 Fillmore Street.

Organizing Among People of Color

By the late 1970s, many of San Francisco's LGBTQ residents did not find themselves reflected in the white gay-male identity that had developed in the Castro. Coming out, the prerequisite for creating a visibly gay culture and neighborhood, did not hold the same significance for everyone, and particularly not for many LGBTQ people of color. An African American resident of San Francisco recalled that coming out was a difficult decision because she "didn't want to be pigeon-holed," but even more importantly because of concerns about safety and self-preservation. "As an African American woman, sole bread winner, I had a lot to lose."[1038] While gay activists had come to view privacy about sexual identity as psychologically unhealthy and inauthentic by the 1970s, many LGBTQ people of color did not identify with the highly individualistic foundation of coming out.[1039] For them, losing ties to family and community networks was often considered too great a cost, as they faced additional barriers to employment and housing due to racism. Race and class were unavoidable dimensions to the identities of LGBTQ people of color, who often held low-paying jobs that did not allow them to survive independent of kin networks. Instead, they tried to balance their sexuality with their identities as members of families and ethnic/racial/immigrant communities where open declarations of homosexuality were often unwelcome.

In an essay from the early 1980s, *Racism from a Black Perspective*, Thom Beam notes the following:

> [I]t's easy to see why San Francisco's called the gay mecca, but it's not a mecca for gay Blacks. Los Angeles, Atlanta, Chicago and New York …. have larger and more politically aware Black communities. I say that, because I'm Black first and gay second.[1040]

LGBTQ people of color often felt they could not break with lifelong social and familial ties in their communities of origin. Gisele Pohan, a Japanese–Indonesian American lesbian who worked at Artemis Café on Valencia Street, felt that white lesbian feminists did not welcome conversations about family, but that an Asian-American feminist group she met with were open to those kinds of discussion. She described many of the women she knew in the feminist movement as cut off from their family: "I did not meet many people who were excited about getting together with their cousins, were celebrating the holidays. They were developing their own little networks. I already had mine. I did not need to reinvent the wheel."[1041]

Bay Area Gay Liberation: The Third World Caucus and Third World Gay Coalition

Gay liberation organizations like BAGL were often eager to address class, race, and gender as well as homosexual issues.[1042] Around 1975, a number of BAGL members formed a Third World Caucus open to Latino, African American, Native American, and Asian American gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals:

> We feel that, as nonwhite gays, we have special needs and concerns that are not being met by existing (mostly white) organizations. We are getting together to deal with racism in the gay community and anti-gay prejudices in our own communities.… We will also be sponsoring events for our members including: dances, parties, political events, education projects, etc.[1043]

1038 Marilyn H., interviewed by Shayne Watson at Open House, San Francisco, 17 May 2014.
1039 Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities,* 33. Activists began to view privacy about sexual identity as "psychologically unhealthy" in the late 60s.
1040 Smith ed., *Black Men/White Men: A Gay Anthology*, 57.
1041 Ordaña, "Coming Out Together, 131.
1042 Hanhardt, *Safe Space,* 56.
1043 Flyer for 3rd World Gay Caucus, 1975, BAGL file, Groups Ephemera Collection, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.





TOP: Activists, including Reggie Williams (at left) conducting a survey of Black gay men on 18th Street in the Castro (Photo by Rink, from *Out in the Castro*)
BOTTOM: Announcement for Gay American Indians (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

Another organization, the Third World Gay Coalition, was based at Berkeley's Pacific Growth Center but was active during the mid-1970s in San Francisco, fostering conversations among diverse people about homophobia, racism and "gay gentrification."[1044]

African American Organizing

Black Gay Caucus

In July 1976, the Gay Community Center (32 Page Street) hosted a Black Gay Conference.[1045] A few months later, a Black Gay Caucus started meeting biweekly at the center. *Lesbian Tide* described the group as "perhaps the first Bay Area organization to address the social, cultural and political concerns of black gays, both young and older alike." The Social-Cultural Committee of the caucus announced that it would sponsor dances, rap groups, poetry recitals, drama productions, and symposiums.[1046]

Lesbian Organizing

Singer Gwen Avery remembers how difficult it was to find other black lesbians to connect with in the Bay Area in the mid-1970s: "By 1974 I had worked my way into these white women-run establishments," she recalled, where she met a handful of other African American lesbian artists including poet Pat Parker and singer Linda Tillery.[1047] "We would be the only few Black women who would come out to each other's gigs. We were it! I'm just saying how it hurt and how scary it was not to see any Black women." Activist Mary Midgett, who moved to the Bay Area in the mid-1970s, recalls "there were no African American lesbians in San Francisco."[1048] She eventually found the popular Valencia Street lesbian bar Amelia's, where she "hooked up with the black community."

The first conference of African American lesbians, "Becoming Visible," was organized in 1980 at The Women's Building. (More information on organizing among lesbians of color appears under the heading "Lesbian Organizing.")

Black and White Men Together

One of the longest-lasting gay groups focused on race began in 1980 as Black and White Men Together (BWMT). Founder Michael Smith described BWMT's origins as "an intuitive decision. I stood on the corner of Castro and 18th, looked around at all those bars, and thought to myself, 'There's got to be a better way.' So I ran an ad in *The Advocate,* and that's where it began."[1049] Long-time African American activist Bart Casimir remembers that at the 1980 Gay Freedom Day parade in San Francisco, a kiss planted on his lips and a flyer thrust into his hands by leader Reggie Williams invited him to the first BWMT meeting.[1050] The gathering was held at Smith's home at 279 Collingwood Street (extant) in the Castro, which became the group's longtime base.

1044 Hanhardt, *Safe Space,* 131-133.

1045 Flyer for Black Gay Conference, 32 Page Street file, Groups Ephemera Collection, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1046 "Black Gays Reach Out," *Lesbian Tide,* v. 6., no. 5, March/April 1977, 20.

1047 "An interview with "Sugar Mama," *Ache: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent,* v.2., no. 6.

1048 Heather Cassell, "Black lesbians recall their Sapphic history" *Bay Area Reporter*, 7 December 2009.

1049 Smith ed., *Black Men/White Men: A Gay Anthology,* 192.

1050 Bart Casimir, interviewed by Donna Graves, 5 August 2014.

BWMT's mission was to provide a social, consciousness-raising, and support group for gay men interested in interracial relationships. An informal newsletter led to formation of BWMT groups in San Francisco, Chicago, Boston, and New York. One year later Smith reported that there were thirty groups, and BMWT held its first convention in San Francisco.[1051] The organization invited people to join them for a party at First Unitarian Church (1187 Franklin Street, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 40) after the 1981 Lesbian & Gay Freedom Day parade, proclaiming that everyone is welcome, "especially men and women interested in interracial relationships" and "announcing the formation of a women's inter-racial social/support group."[1052]

In addition to supporting interracial relationships, BWMT worked to bring awareness of racism within the gay community. In 1982 and 1983, the organization surveyed employment practices in gay bars and found pervasive discrimination against people of color. BWMT met with the gay business groups Tavern Guild and Golden Gate Business Association and formed a Task Force on Racism in the Lesbian/Gay Community that drew more than fifty people to its first meeting. In November 1983, the Task Force testified before the San Francisco Human Rights Commission on racial discrimination in employment and admission to bars; continued pressure from BWMT and others led the city to pass an ordinance banning the requirement of multiple forms of identification that had been used to turn away people of color from gay bars.[1053]

Bay Area Black Lesbians and Gays

Bay Area Black Lesbians and Gays was an "association of Black gay men and lesbians who [met] regularly for social and educational activities and to address…common concerns as Black people, lesbians and gays."[1054] The earliest dates for the organization are not clear, yet a letter from May 1988 to the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays states that the San Francisco group had "voted to be reinstated as a chapter of NCBLG." An organizational kickoff event was held May 16, 1988, at the Western Addition Cultural Center (762 Fulton Street, extant). Minutes from an early meeting in 1988 noted, "It was agreed that additional outreach to our East Bay brothers and sisters was needed if the chapter is to really be successful. This means meetings will have to be scheduled over there too."[1055] San Francisco meetings were held at members' homes, including those of prominent AIDS activist Reggie Williams (630 Fillmore Street, extant) and Mary Midgett (437 Webster Street, extant).[1056] Midgett's home was also opened for a 1988 holiday party and Thanksgiving dinner and open house—important gatherings for people who could not always join their biological families for these events.[1057]

Latino Organizing

The Gay Latino Alliance (GALA) was founded in 1975, with approximately fifty men and women attending its second meeting at the SIR Center. The first appearance of GALA at the San Francisco

1051 Black and White Men Together file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Research for this report did not uncover the location for the conference.

1052 Ibid. The organization continued to be a gay male group.

1053 Donald Romesburg, "Racism and Reaction in the Castro—A Brief, Incomplete History," 2004. Originally written for IsBadlandsBad.com. https://www.academia.edu/9677965/Racism_and_Reaction_in_the_Castro_A_Brief_Incomplete_History

1054 Minutes from Bay Area Black Lesbians and Gays meetings in National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays Bay Area file, Groups Ephemera, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1055 Ibid.

1056 National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays Bay Area file, Ephemera Groups. A Press release from NCBLG headquarters in June 1986 says it is a network of 3,000 people with chapters in SF, New Orleans, Washington DC and Minneapolis.

1057 1988 Fall Calendar Bay Area Black Lesbians and Gays, John Teamer Collection, Carton 1, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

Gay Freedom Day parade was the following year.[1058] GALA, which had an office at the Gay Community Center (32 Page Street), allowed queer Latinos to connect their social, cultural, and political identities through organizing around local and international political causes. Horacio Roque Ramirez's study of GALA illustrates the development of one of the first queer Latino organizations in the United States, as well as the geographic reach of such groups. Ramirez writes that without explicitly gay and Latino spaces to meet, GALA's early founders "typically visited and met one another in homes, bars, and clubs in San Jose and San Francisco, but in the bars and in the clubs they were outnumbered by predominantly white crowds."[1059] They also faced, as did other gay people of color, practices meant to prevent their entry into gay bars, such as demands for multiple forms of identification.

GALA organized popular benefit dances that featured live salsa bands at sites such as Amelia's (647 Valencia Street), the American Indian Center (225 Valencia Street), and the Gay Community Center on Page Street. Showing their continued connection to the Latino community at large, GALA organized benefits for nongay institutions such as the Mission Neighborhood Adult Center and the offices of a local newspaper, *El Tecolote*.[1060] The core of GALA's philosophy was "not to alienate our selves from our families and community but to help them come to understand our gayness in a Latino context."[1061]

Gay American Indian Organizing

Randy Burns and Barbara Cameron founded Gay American Indians in San Francisco in 1975; it was the first reported organization for queer Native Americans in the U.S. Burns recalled later that the American Indian Center had refused to post the group's first flyers, and that GAI was not welcome at the American Indian Day held at a local university. But by 1983, GAI had a booth at the annual American Indian Street Fair and held a dance at the American Indian Center. As Burns writes:

> We've gone a long way in challenging double oppression and ending the isolation of gay Indians…. GAI has become an extended family for gay Indians—not only those of us who live in the San Francisco Bay Area, but for many family and friends who regularly visit from other areas, as well.[1062]

GAI's programs included referral services, cultural and educational projects, and active involvement with local and national networks of Native American organizations and agencies. GAI prepared articles of incorporation in 1983 with offices at Pride Center (890 Hayes Street), where they hosted dances and special events honoring American Indian women.[1063] By 1985, GAI had moved to 1347 Divisadero Street and had released a call for contributions to its groundbreaking anthology *Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology* edited by Will Roscoe, published in 1988.[1064] In the early 1990s, GAI was continuing to advocate for issues related to health, employment, education, substance abuse, and housing for Native Americans.[1065]

1058 Horacio N. Roque Ramírez, "That's My Place!": Negotiating Racial, Sexual, and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance, 1975-1983" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* (vo. 12, n. 2, 2003). 237.

1059 Ramírez, "That's My Place," 228.

1060 GALA file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Ramírez, "That's My Place," 241-243.

1061 "GALA: In the Community" *Coming Up!* (February 1982) 4 cited in Ramírez, "That's My Place," 250-51.

1062 Gay American Indians *Living the Spirit: a Gay American Indian Anthology* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988) 3-4.

1063 Gay American Indians file, Groups Ephemera Collection, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1064 Gay American Indians, *Living the Spirit: a Gay American Indian Anthology.*

1065 1993 Letter in Gay American Indians file shows 1347 Divisadero Street letterhead. A letter in the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Archive dated March 1993 from founder Randy Burns to Mayor Frank Jordan.

Asian/Pacific Islander American Organizing

Gay Asian Support Group

Asian/Pacific Islander Americans have been described as the last major ethnic and racial group to form gay and lesbian organizations in the Bay Area.[1066] As a radical 20-year old living in San Francisco in the 1970s, Canyon Sam says it was difficult to meet other Asian American lesbians. "They were from the generation shaped by WWII and anti-Asian discrimination. Very conservative, don't rock the boat."[1067] Gay Asian Support Group appears to be the first formal APIA organization for LGBTQ people. Beginning sometime in 1977, GASG held bimonthly meetings at the Gay Community Center on Page Street "to rap, socialize, do outreach work, get into politics, develop ourselves more, make new friends and/or develop relationships."[1068] The group also organized disco dances at the Gay Community Center at 32 Page Street with music provided by gay bars the End Up (401 Sixth Street) and N'Touch (1548 Polk Street), a disco bar that drew a substantial Asian American clientele during the 1970s.[1069] The limited documentation for GASG indicates that it was a primarily gay male organization, but activist and transgender woman Tamara Ching also was very involved. Ching authored a letter to the Coalition for Human Rights to inform them about GASG, describing it as "not just a gay group supporting Asians, we are gay Asians supporting ourselves. In the Gay Community as in the straight Asian Community, we are not accepted. We had to band and work together in striving for our equal rights and opportunities in *both* communities."[1070]

Association of Lesbian and Gay Asians

The next formal group in San Francisco was Association of Lesbian and Gay Asians, founded in 1981 following several nights of protest at the N'Touch on Polk Street, which had suddenly instituted a requirement that APIA patrons show three forms of ID.[1071] ALGA published a monthly newsletter, held general meetings at the Metropolitan Community Church (150 Eureka Street, threatened with demolition) with guest speakers, and organized social and cultural activities.[1072] ALGA was active until sometime in 1986, when it held a black tie benefit for San Francisco AIDS Foundation at the recently reopened and once-again APIA friendly N'Touch.

Gay Asian Pacific Alliance, Asian Pacifica Sisters, and Trikone

ALGA was followed by Gay Asian Pacific Alliance (founded 1988) and Asian Pacifica Sisters (founded 1989).[1073] Both organizations drew members from around the Bay Area, published newsletters, and held events at gay spaces and at community-based businesses such as Chinatown

1066 Ordaña, "Coming Out Together: an ethnographic history of the Asian and Pacific Islander Queer Women's and Transgendered People's Movement of San Francisco," 19.

1067 Canyon Sam, interviewed by Donna Graves, 14 November 2013. Sam remembers being part of an informal group of Asian American lesbians formed a consciousness-raising group that met a private homes c. 1977.

1068 Gay Asian Support Group (GASP) Newsletter, 22 September 1977 in The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Newsletters

1069 Ibid.

1070 Letter from GASP to Human Rights Coalition dated 29 September 1977 in The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Gay Asian Support Group Newsletter file, Groups Ephemera Collection, Gay, esbian, BisexualHistorical Society. The address for the Human Rights Coalition is at the Gay Community Center at 330 Grove Street.

1071 Bill Matsumoto untitled account of ALGA origins and anti-Asian discrimination at gay bars in ALGA Newsletter January 1986. ALGA file, Groups Ephemera Collection, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1072 Brochure for ALGA and AIGA Newsletter January 1986 in ALGA file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1073 David L. Eng and Alice Y. Hom eds., *Q&A: Queer in Asian America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998) 2.

restaurants.[1074] GAPA and APS collaborated on hosting candidate nights, and on a campaign protesting Lambda Legal Defense Fund's choice to feature the play *Miss Saigon* as a fundraiser.

An organization for LGBTQ South Asians, Trikon (later Trikone), was formed by Arving Kumar and Suvir Arvind in 1986 to connect gay South Asians in the U.S. and internationally, and to combat invisibility for gay South Asians.[1075] Trikone quickly changed its mission to be for "gay and lesbian South Asians," but it continued to be a primarily male organization, recalls Dipti Ghosh, saying that in 1993, she was only the second woman to join the board. Ghosh states that, because her focus was coalition building, she chose to join Trikone when she moved to the Bay Area to help make the organization's leadership more equal, and to increase understand of the economic differences between men and women.[1076]

By the early 1990s, Trikone, GAPA, and Asian Pacifica Sisters were cohosting events such as a monthly Asian Social Hour at Josie's Cabaret (3583 16th Street) and Gay Pride week dances at The Box.[1077] The Box and Club Q, roving dance clubs organized by pioneering lesbian DJ Page Hodel, were particularly important for creating multiracial LGBTQ social events in the late 1980s and 1990s. Hodel played hip-hop as well as disco for lesbians at Club Q, which opened in 1987, and most often appeared at Club Universe (177 Townsend Street), and at The Box, drawing hundreds of gays and lesbians to a monthly dance at the Kennel Club (628 Divisadero Street).[1078]

Lesbian Organizing

The vitality and reach of feminist activism, organizing, and writing in the U.S. profoundly shaped discussions about gender in the 1970s and 1980s. Many lesbians began to see the gay liberation movement as reproducing oppressive patterns that privileged men's voices and issues.

While they recognized that heterosexual women dominated aspects of the feminist movement, for many lesbians their identity as lesbians and as feminists became inextricably intertwined. Some associated with a more radical political stance within feminism, while others began to perceive society in terms of cultural feminism, which valorized traits viewed as essential to women's natures, including collectivism, egalitarianism, nurturance, and pacifism. Historian Lillian Faderman writes: "There were probably more lesbians in America during the 1970s than any other time in history, because radical feminism had helped redefine lesbianism to make it almost a categorical imperative for all women truly interested in the welfare and progress of other women."[1079] Separatism—avoiding all involvement with and resemblance to men—became a guiding political tenet for some lesbians, although not one that many women followed rigidly.

In the 1960s, lesbian activist Del Martin wrote a manifesto titled *If That's All There Is* that voiced the objections of lesbians who had felt sidelined or condescended to. Published in the October 1970 issue of *Vector*, the essay stated the long-time activist's new perspective bluntly: "I've been forced to the realization that I have no brothers in the homophile movement … Fifteen years of masochism is enough."[1080] Martin expanded on this observation in *Lesbian/Woman*, coauthored with her partner

1074 According to Vincent Crisostomo, GAPA held meetings at MCC Church. Vincent Crisostomo, interviewed by Donna Graves, 18 April 2014. Asian Pacifica Sister 's meetings appear to have taken place at members' homes. Association of Lesbian and Gay Asians (ALGA) and Asian Pacifica Sisters files, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1075 *Trikon Newsletter*, January 1986, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Newsletters Collection.

1076 Dipti Ghosh, interviewed by Donna Graves, 7 April 2014.

1077 Trikone Calendar Dec 1993, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Newsletter Collection.

1078 Page Hodel, electronic communication with Donna Graves, 20 July 2014.

1079 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers,* 207.

1080 Sides, *Erotic City,* 114.



The Women's Building at 3543 18th Street. The mural, Maestrapeace, was painted in 1995. (Photo by Jumilla/Flickr)

Phyllis Lyon in 1972. One of their landmark accomplishments, the volume was originally produced by the publications arm of Glide Memorial Church. *Lesbian/Woman* was unique and influential for describing lesbian lives in a confident, comprehensive, and knowledgeable way. It was quickly picked up by a national publisher, Bantam Books, and went through two more editions before the end of the year.[1081]

Many lesbians resided in collective, feminist households that aimed to live the phrase "the personal is political" on a daily basis. Judy Grahn writes about the importance of these households in creating a "powerful economic, social, political and familial network."[1082] Photographer and activist Lenn Keller recalls the "dyke house collectives" scattered around San Francisco in the 1970s and notes that "each had their own personalities and the dramas going on." (Like other black lesbians who made their way to California during that time, Keller quickly found her home in Oakland after making brief stops in Santa Cruz and San Francisco.)[1083]

Historians such as Faderman argue that as lesbian-feminist culture developed, some women "believed that they had discovered not just a path but the *only* path … [Meaning] that one adhered to the various doctrines regarding dress; money; sexual behavior; language use; class, race, food, and ecology consciousness; political activities; and so forth."[1084] One of the most wounding conflicts arising out of this period of what was also called political correctness was a polarizing debate known as the feminist sex wars. Rigid theories about universal male oppression meant that bisexual women were suspect; and transgender women were deemed by some to be "by definition, violators of women."[1085] Activist, musician, and transgender woman Beth Elliott was ejected in the early 1970s from the San Francisco chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis, for which she had served as vice president; her presence at the West Coast Lesbian Feminist Conference at UCLA drew protests from members of the crowd including group from San Francisco who called themselves the "Gutter Dykes," as well as a vitriolic harangue by the keynote speaker, author Robin Morgan.[1086]

The goal of diversity had an increasingly broad reach in the lesbian feminist community in the 1970s and 1980s, replacing for the most part the urge toward conformity of the first wave of lesbian feminism. Separatism was no longer high on the agenda; AIDS, parenting, and intersectional analysis of the effects of race and class were topics of concern. In addition, consciousness about challenges that disabled or overweight lesbians and lesbian mothers faced shaped public events and organizations. By 1990, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin wrote that attitudes toward butch/fem couples, seen as captives to patriarchal role-playing by some 1970s lesbian feminists, had changed: "Today the butch/femme persona is strong and healthy."[1087]

Lesbian Liberation Organizations and Institutions

Gay Women's Liberation

San Francisco's first lesbian liberation organization was founded sometime around 1969. In her autobiography, *A Simple Revolution*, poet Judy Grahn describes forming the "Gay Women's Liberation" group in San Francisco with other Bay Area lesbians. Grahn and others had attended a

1081 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*.

1082 Grahn, *A Simple Revolution,* 167. Although stereotypes painted lesbians as lacking humor, a comedy about 4 lesbians sharing an apartment titled "Dolores Street" played at Theatre Rhino, *Ache: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent*, v. 2., n.3 May/June 1990 p. 23.

1083 Heather Cassell, "Black Lesbians Recall Their Sapphic History" *Bay Area Reporter*, 7 December 2009.

1084 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers,* 230.

1085 Stryker, *Transgender History,* 102.

1086 Stryker, *Transgender History,* 102. Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History,* 190-191.

1087 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman,* 313.

gay rights conference that year at UC Berkeley and shared dissatisfaction with the lack of discussion about women's issues. According to Grahn, the group's regular meetings drew up to sixty women to the Lexington Street flat that Grahn shared with artist Wendy Cadden in the Mission District.[1088]

San Francisco Women's Centers

The San Francisco Women's Centers (SFWC) was founded in the early 1970s to serve as an incubator for a broad range of women's rights organizations and projects. In 1973, the SFWC moved with the newly formed San Francisco Women's Switchboard into shared offices at 63 Brady Street (extant) near Market and Gough Streets. In addition to phone lines where switchboard volunteers counseled callers or directed them to resources closer to their location, the office housed a resource library and a meeting room for women's organizations.[1089] One of the first major projects SFWC took on was forming a credit union to increase women's economic power. The SFWC worked in partnership with the Daughters of Bilitis, Black Women Organized for Action, and the Golden Gate Chapter of the National Organization for Women. The resulting Bay Area Feminist Federal Credit Union (944 Market Street, Suite 616, extant), active from 1975 to 1979, solved the SFWC's problem of finding a landlord who would rent to "a bunch of women" by providing backing.[1090]

Sally Gearhart, then a San Francisco State University professor of speech communication, suggested in 1976 that SFWC organize a Conference on Violence Against Women. SFWC had already sponsored La Casa de las Madres, a battered women's shelter. That same year, early SFWC board member Del Martin published *Battered Wives*, the first book on the subject of domestic violence in the U.S.[1091] The conference organizers' stance was that only women and girls would be admitted, prompting SFSU to pull its sponsorship within weeks of the event. The ensuing scramble for a site resulted in moving the program to Grace Cathedral (1100 California Street, extant) and Cogswell College (600 Stockton Street, extant), a trade school a few blocks away; in spite of the last-minute relocation, 1,300 people attended the groundbreaking conference.[1092]

The Women's Building

Although not an exclusively lesbian organization, The Women's Building of San Francisco (3543 18th Street, extant) is one of the anchors of the history of women, feminists, lesbians, and queer and progressive groups more generally in San Francisco. By 1977, SFWC had outgrown its space on Brady Street, and in 1978 a core group of women began looking into purchasing a building. Sushawn Robb's *Mothering the Movement* details the complexities of organizing support and resources for this ambitious undertaking—including endless meetings. A sympathetic realtor pointed the women towards the Dovre Hall. The hall was a former meeting place of the Sons of Norway, built in the Mission District in 1910 as a Turnverein (German gymnastics society) hall, which no longer housed organizations, just a ground-floor bar. Negotiations moved forward, and The Women's Building opened in the fall of 1979.[1093]

1088 Grahn, *A Simple Revolution,* 117-119. Research for this report did not uncover the exact address for this apartment.

1089 Sushawn Robb *Mothering the Movement: The Story of the San Francisco Women's Building* (Denver: Outskirts Press, 2012) 11-12. The SF Women's Switchboard is listed at 620 Sutter Street in a list of gay organizations compiled by the Gay Activists Alliance in early 1973. According to Robb, core members of both organizations were mostly lesbian.

1090 Ibid., 17-19.

1091 Ibid., 27.

1092 Robb *Mothering the Movement,* 28-29.

1093 Ibid., 47-48. Among the fundraisers for the building were a feminist film series at SFSU and the Roxie Theatre, and "Mile-a-Thons" at Golden Gate Park that involved over one hundred organizations that split proceeds with the Building Fund.

The number and range of events and meetings important to LGBTQ history held at The Women's Building is significant; examples appear throughout this report. In addition to providing space for community gatherings and performances, another important service the institution provided was fiscal sponsorship for multiple projects. Many organizations initially supported by The Women's Building went on to form their own nonprofits, such as Lesbian Visual Artists, the San Francisco Network for Battered Lesbian and Bisexual Women, Older Lesbian Organizing Committee, and Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center.[1094]

Old Lesbians Organizing for Change

As the community of openly lesbian women who had been coming out since the early years of the Daughters of Bilitis reached midlife and beyond, individuals and groups in San Francisco began to raise issues of concern to older women. At the 1988 San Francisco Gay & Lesbian Freedom Day parade, a group of older lesbians chanted, "2, 4, 6, 8, how do you know your grandma's straight?"[1095] The following year, SFSU was the location for the second West Coast Conference of Old Lesbians, which inspired the founding of the national organization Old Lesbians Organizing for Change.[1096]

Organizing Among Lesbians of Color

As has been mentioned here, many people of color viewed the women's movement as primarily for white, middle-class women. Lesbians of color stood in complex relation to both the women's movement and gay and lesbian rights organizations. Bay Area lesbian writers Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa helped shape discussion of these issues with an influential 1981 anthology they edited, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. The Latina, African American, Asian American, and Native American writers represented in the book—many of them from San Francisco—challenged claims of sisterhood made by white feminists and explored the links between race, class, feminism, and sexuality.[1097]

The book found an enthusiastic audience, and a second edition was published in 1983. Moraga's foreword describes the feminism illustrated in the book as a "political necessity."[1098] Contributions from lesbians of color explain that they did not have the privilege that white lesbians did to prioritize their sexual orientation over other aspects of their identity. Native American poet and Mission District resident Chrystos (Menominee) writes, "I felt so much stricture and censorship from lesbians / I was supposed to be a carpenter to prove I was a real dyke / My differences were sloughed over / None of them came to a pow wow or an AIM fundraiser to see about me / I felt the women's movement utterly drained."[1099] Anzaldúa writes, "We are the queer groups, the people that don't belong anywhere, not in the dominant world nor completely within our respective cultures."[1100]

During the late 1970s and 1980s, lesbians of color formed numerous political, social, and cultural organizations and publications to create a new sense of belonging. The Women's Building was the

1094 Ibid., 315-317.
1095 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 277-78.
1096 Ordaña, "Coming Out Together," 328 states that in 1991 three Bay Area Asian lesbians formed Oasis Older Asian Sisters in Solidarity.
1097 Cherie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua ed. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981).
1098 Ibid.
1099 Chrystos, "I Don't Understand Those Who Have Turned Away From Me," in Moraga and Anzaldua ed. *This Bridge Called My Back*, 69.
1100 Moraga and Anzaldúa eds. *This Bridge Called My Back*, 209.





TOP: The former home of Compton's Cafeteria at 101 Turk Street (Photo by Donna Graves)

BOTTOM: The Center for Special Problems was opened at 2107 Van Ness Avenue in 1965 (Photo by Shayne Watson)

site for three conferences for lesbians of color, held in 1986, 1987, and 1988.[1101] The first conference inspired the formation of Bay Area Lesbians of Color and the Nia Collective, reportedly the only African American lesbian organization in Northern California at that time.[1102] African American lesbians were the focus for *Onyx* and later *Ache*, periodicals that included interviews, event calendars, poetry, and thought pieces on a variety of topics.[1103] Latina lesbians founded Mujerio, active from 1988 to 1992, and in the early 1990s Ellas en Acción, a group for lesbian and bisexual Latinas that met at The Women's Building.[1104] According to Trinity Ordoña, the first public event for Asian American lesbians was organized in 1983 at the Swedish American Hall (2174 Market Street, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 267), with the purpose of forming an ongoing group.[1105] Asian Pacific Sisters formed in 1989, and Shamakami, a group for South Asian lesbians, started the following year. [1106]

By the 1980s, lesbians, and especially lesbians of color, were making their homes outside of San Francisco. In 1989, *Ache* announced a meeting at the Western Addition home of one of its founders for a new women's center specifically for women of color to be located "in the East Bay, where a high percentage of women of color reside."[1107] Many of the organizations described previously held events and retreats in the East Bay, Marin and Sonoma Counties, and Santa Cruz. But San Francisco was still a magnet for lesbians of color. Bay Area Lesbians of Color and members of Lesbian Agenda for Action organized an influential conference that focused on race, gender, and sexual orientation in 1989: "Dynamics of Color," was held at Mission High School (3750 18th Street, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 255), while a concurrent exhibition of work focusing on race and racism by lesbian visual artists was mounted at Sargent Johnson Gallery in the Western Addition Cultural Center (762 Fulton Street, extant).[1108]

Transgender Organizing

Throughout history, many men and women struggled to find and express their identities within the artificially constructed gender and sexual binaries of male/masculine and female/feminine. Beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, as more people began to study and understand the concept of transgender identities, perceptions about and language defining transgender men and women began to change. The concept of a transgender identity was not formed in the popular imagination until the early 1950s when the American Christian Jorgenson travelled to Denmark for what was referred to as sex reassignment surgery; media coverage of her transition from male to female made

1101 The first conference emerged from a ten-week support group for lesbians of color at The Women's Building in 1986. Trinity Ordaña "Coming in Out Together: an ethnographic history of the Asian and Pacific Islander Queer Women's and Transgendered people's Movement of San Francisco" (PhD Dissertation UCSC, 2000) 206, 227. Robb *Mothering the Movement,* 249-50.

1102 Profile of Mary Midgett by OpenHouse http://openhouse-sf.org/mary-midgett/ and Heather Cassell, "Black lesbians recall their Sapphic history" *Bay Area Reporter*, 7 December 2009.

1103 *Onyx* began in San Francisco as *Black Lesbian Newsletter* in 1982 and became *Onyx* the following year; at some point it moved to Berkeley according to the blog for the James C. Hormel Center at San Francisco Public Library, http://queerestlibraryever.blogspot.com. *Ache: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent*, v. 1 n.3 Apr, 1989 says *Ache* was distributed in San Francisco at Old Wives Tales, The Women's Building, and SF State Women's Center.

1104 Latina/o LGBT History Brief Timeline: 1955-2013, prepared by Letitia Gomez http://www.latinolgbtqhistory.org/lgbtq-latino-timeline. Mujerio was formed in 1989 according to Juana Maria Rodriguez *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces*

(New York and London: New York University press, 2003) 42.

1105 Ordaña, "Coming in Out Together," 148.

1106 Rakesh Ratti ed. *A Lotus of Another Color: And Unfolding of the South Asian Gay and Lesbian Experience*, (Boston, Alyson Publications, 1993) 303.

1107 *Ache: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent* v.1 n/8 Sept. 1989, p. 9. The founders of the idea for a new center were named as Suzanne Lovest and Annette Martin, at whose home the organizing meeting was held.

1108 Dynamics of Color was organized by BALOC and a group of white lesbians, some of whom were members of Lesbian Agenda for Action, according to Robb, *Mothering the Movement ,* 250.

Jorgenson an international sensation.[1109] Publicity about Jorgenson's surgery, her willingness to speak publicly, and a film made later about her life were significant sources of inspiration for many transgender people who felt they were alone in their situation.[1110]

For decades, drag queens and transgender men and women were highly discriminated against, even within the larger queer communities. They were turned away from many gay bars where bar owners were trying to cultivate a more "respectable" clientele—or a clientele deemed more acceptable to society. Drag queens and transgender people had very little support from homophile organizations, which often drew a hard line between themselves and anyone who fell outside of the gay/lesbian binary. In San Francisco, transgender men were largely invisible, and transgender women were welcome only to a limited degree in the Tenderloin, where many of them lived in cheap SRO hotels and made a living as sex workers on the streets. Tenderloin resident Amanda St. Jaymes recounts, "Most of the transsexuals were prostitutes because they didn't have jobs. There was no way to get jobs then."[1111]

The San Francisco Police Department during this period could be particularly vicious to transgender women, who were often arrested in the Tenderloin on charges of obstructing the sidewalk or prostitution when simply going about their daily lives. They were held in the men's jail, where they were especially vulnerable to violence and rape. Amanda St. Jaymes recalls that police harassed and arrested people for female impersonation because their hair was a bit too long or because they were wearing lipstick or "blouses that buttoned on the wrong side."[1112] Violators would be humiliated by a strip search at the police station and would endure lengthy stays in solitary confinement if they refused to have their head shaved.

In general, transgender women in the Tenderloin routinely faced violence and even murder that drew no sympathy or action from the rest of society. As transgender activist Felicia Elizondo notes, "It was dangerous dressing up like a girl and still having men's parts there."[1113] She recalls being attacked and raped at knifepoint at a popular bar, The Shed (2725 Market Street), but not bothering to call the police because she knew they would not take her statement seriously.

Compton's Cafeteria Riot

Susan Stryker's pioneering work on the Compton's Cafeteria Riot documents transgender women in the Tenderloin participating in one of a series of early incidents of militant resistance against police harassment; a smaller, but similar "riot" occurred in 1959 at Cooper's Doughnuts in Los Angeles.[1114] The riot took place over several days in August 1966—three years before the more well-known Stonewall riots in New York.

Gene Compton's Cafeteria (101 Turk Street, extant), part of a local restaurant chain, was a favorite late-night spot for transgender women, young male hustlers, and others who lived and worked in the Tenderloin in the early 1960s. A brightly lit, inexpensive restaurant that was open 24 hours a day, Compton's was one of the few places where transgender women could feel safe socializing. Members of the Tenderloin youth group Vanguard also gathered at Compton's, bringing a more

1109 Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: a History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002) 98.
1110 Ibid., 15. Felicia Flames Elizondo, interviewed by Donna Graves, 15 March 2014.
1111 Amanda St. Jaymes in documentary film, *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, 2005.
1112 Ibid.
1113 Felicia Flames Elizondo, interviewed by Donna Graves, 15 March 2014.
1114 Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History* , 1.

assertive attitude that annoyed management, who began asking police to remove some patrons. In July 1966, a few dozen Vanguard youth organized a picket line in front of Compton's to protest "physical and verbal abuse by the management and the Pinkerton Special Officers assigned there."[1115]

In August 1966, a police attempt to evict transgender women from the cafeteria inspired patrons to rebel, rather than submit as they had previously. Transgender women and drag queens threw crockery and turned over tables as they fought with police, shattering the restaurant's plate-glass windows in the process. An angry crowd gathered, and police called in backup, but the night ended with a police car wrecked and a corner newsstand set on fire. Many went to jail, but "there was a lot of joy after it happened" according to Amanda St. Jaymes. The next night a picket line with placards appeared at Compton's and again, shattered glass littered the sidewalk. Although the event did not receive press coverage at the time, Stryker notes that the Compton's Cafeteria Riot demonstrated a growing assertiveness and community consciousness among some transgender people and represented what Stryker describes as "the transgender community's debut on the stage of American political history."[1116]

Transgender Community Services and Support Networks

Rev. Edward Hansen of Glide Community Church recalls that, despite not having a context to understand transgender people, he approached "[his] encounters with them… just as [he] would with anybody. You know, here is another child of God—[who needs] someone to listen to, talk to, and without any judgment…."[1117] Hansen's work with Glide's night ministry and Vanguard actively tried to include young transgender women who lived and worked in the Tenderloin.

In late 1966, San Francisco police sergeant Elliot Blackstone became a vocal advocate for transgender rights from within his post as the department's first liaison to the gay and lesbian communities. Blackstone helped coordinate efforts by transgender people and allies and connected them with growing community services. Blackstone educated police in San Francisco and helped convince the department not to arrest transgender women for wearing female clothing and using women's restrooms.[1118]

Center for Special Problems

As mentioned in an earlier section, in 1965 the San Francisco Department of Public Health established the Center for Special Problems (2107 Van Ness Avenue, extant). Led by Dr. Joel Fort and activist and transgender woman Wendy Kohler, the Center supported transgender people with discussion groups, mental health counseling, and hormone prescriptions. Dr. Harry Benjamin, a prominent figure in early treatment of transgender people, was brought in to consult and to train staff.[1119] The center also produced ID cards signed by a public health doctor that matched a transgender person's gender identity. State issued IDs could not be amended, so these seemingly innocuous forms were critical to changing transgender individuals' lives by allowing them to obtain

1115 Both protests received media coverage. The Compton's picket received television coverage by local ABC news. "Young Homos Picket Compton's Restaurant" *Cruise News & World Report*, vol. 2, no. 8 August 1966 p 1.accessed http://auralstories.blogspot.com/2013/07/vanguard-revisited-online-exhibit_1.html

1116 Susan Stryker in documentary film, *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, 2005. The film states that Compton's started closing at midnight after the riot, and patronage decreased. It closed in 1972 and was replaced by a porn shop.

1117 Rev. Edward Hansen in documentary film, *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, 2005.

1118 Members of the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California, "MTF Transgender Activism in the Tenderloin" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* (1988) vol. 4 no. 2, 349-372, passim.

1119 Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 230.

bank accounts and housing and to submit job applications.[1120] The Center for Special Problems worked with Conversion Our Goal (described below) to connect transgender women to War on Poverty-funded training programs. Amanda St. Jaymes took classes through the Neighborhood Youth Corps, leading to a clerk-typist job.[1121] After Dr. Fort left the Center for Special Problems, his Fort Help practice (169 Eleventh Street) hired a transgender psychologist to help others with "gender identity problems."[1122]

Helping Hands Center (474 Eddy Street, extant), another Tenderloin-based organization, also offered counseling to transgender men and women. The Center's director, Rev. Ray Broshears, worked with drag queens and transgender individuals to protest police sweeps and housing evictions in the early 1970s.[1123]

This growing network of support for transgender men and women was reinforced by broader cultural shifts represented by youthful questioning of rigid gender norms. Activist Tamara Ching recalls: "One good thing about the 1960s was the hippies came. They gave everyone permission to grow our hair and be flamboyant. It took police pressure off us. Thank God for the hippies, they took a lot of heat off of us."[1124]

Transgender Organizations

Conversion Our Goal (sometimes referred to as Change Our Goal), formed in 1967 by a group of transgender women, is described as "probably the first formal organization of self-defined transsexuals in the world."[1125] For approximately two years, COG met twice monthly at Glide Memorial Church, offering mutual support to its members and calling publicly for freedom from police harassment, legal rights to medical care for transition, job opportunities, and fair housing.[1126]

The National Transsexual Counseling Unit was founded in 1968 by COG veteran Wendy Kohler and supported by the transgender philanthropist Reed Erickson's Erickson Education Foundation. Less politically focused than COG, NTCU was renamed the Transsexual Counseling Service after a few years; Kohler hosted a bimonthly radio program and organized a seminar at Glide on transgender issues. For six years, the organization provided street outreach and counseling locally and mailed educational materials to people around the world.[1127]

Another significant Bay Area transgender group, Educational TV Channel, began holding monthly social events in 1983. They soon expanded their activities and began publishing a newsletter and organizing a resource library. More important, ETVC moved from holding events in the homes and backyards of members to meeting in public spaces such as Chez Mollet (527 Bryant Street, extant) and Kimo's (1351 Polk Street, extant) to reinforce transgender visibility.[1128]

1120 Sides, *Erotic City,* 100.

1121 Amanda St. Jaymes in documentary film, *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, 2005.

1122 David Perlman, "A Nice Place to Get Help" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 10 November 1970.

1123 Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 235.

1124 Tamara Ching comments at "Trans in the Tenderloin" panel discussion at Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum 6 March 2014.

1125 Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 230.

1126 Ibid.

1127 Stryker, *Transgender History,* 79-81. Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 231. Meyerowitz states that NCTU was in the same building as Mattachine Society and DOB. DOB is listed at 3470 Mission in 1966 and at 1005 Market Street in 1975 in the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database

1128 Transgender San Francisco "History" http://tgsf.org/history/ accessed 2 May 2014. Adresses are from Polk's San Francisco Directories. Chez Mollet is listed without an address in the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

AIDS and Transgender People

Scholars of transgender history depict the 1980s as a time of dwindling public resources for transgender services and a dramatically increased need for AIDS services; fewer resources were devoted to transgender people who engaged in sex work or shared needles for injection drugs or hormones. In the early years of the epidemic, most AIDS funding substantially neglected marginalized populations in the Tenderloin. In 1985, a group of activists founded the Tenderloin AIDS Network, which operated on shoestring funds out of a storefront. In 1989, monies from the San Francisco Department of Public Health allowed the newly renamed Tenderloin AIDS Resource Center to move to 187 Golden Gate Avenue, where it served transgender people among its client pool. According to activist Tamara Ching, the first AIDS project specifically for transgender people began in 1993 as collaboration between the Asian AIDS Project and the GAPA Community HIV Project.[1129] Stryker describes this program as "part of a larger trend to fund HIV education and prevention efforts in communities of colors, based on the assumption that these were 'vulnerable populations' that became infection vectors for society at large.[1130] Other HIV/AIDS programs dedicated to transgender people of color that started at roughly the same time as GAPA included Proyecto Contra SIDA por Vida and Brothers Network. (The impact of the AIDS epidemic in San Francisco is discussed in more detail below).

Organizing for Transgender Men

Organizations for transgender men began later than those for transgender women. The most prominent voice among transgender men was Lou Sullivan, who moved to San Francisco in 1975 for sex-reassignment surgery. Stanford's program rejected Sullivan because he identified as a female-to-gay-male (FTM), but he found other doctors who helped him transition, a process he documented in great detail as a tool for mentoring other transgender men.[1131] Sullivan became a counselor at the Erickson Foundation–funded Janus Information Facility and participated in Golden Gate Girls/Guys (681 Ellis Street, extant), one of the first transgender organizations that catered to transgender men. In 1980, Sullivan began living full-time as a gay man and published a groundbreaking booklet, *Information for the Female-to-Male Cross-Dresser and Transsexual*. In 1986, Sullivan founded the first FTM educational and support organization in the United States and in 1987 established its newsletter. The organization was renamed FTM International in 1994 in recognition of the group's scope, and the local chapter was named after Lou Sullivan, who had died of AIDS in 1991.[1132] The year before, he published *From Female to Male: The Life of Jack Bee Garland,* a pioneering biography about a biologically female person who chose to dress and live as a man 19th-century San Francisco. In 1995, the first FTM conference of the Americas was held at The Women's Building.[1133]

In the 1960s, feminists, gay liberationists and others began to argue that masculinity, femininity, heterosexuality, and homosexuality were artificial categories created by a sexist and homophobic society, and that a fluid approach to sexuality should be the new norm. By the mid-1990s, the anti-heteronormative debates had inspired a group calling themselves Transgender Nation (a subset of Queer Nation, an activist group described more fully in the section titled *San Francisco's*

1129 Tamara Ching described the TARC as offering a transgender support group five days a week. Tamara Ching, interviewed by Donna Graves, 10 March 2014.

1130 Susan Stryker, electronic communication with Donna Graves, 17 November 2014.

1131 Megan Rohrer, "Man-i-Fest: FTM Mentorship in San Francisco from 1976-2009." http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/man-i-fest/letters-privacy-ethics accessed 2 May 2014.

1132 Stryker, *Transgender History,* 9.

1133 Ibid., 144.



First National Bisexual Conference, June 1990, Mission High School at 3750 18th Street (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

AIDS Epidemic: 1981 to 1990s), which met with lesbian, gay, and bisexual groups in San Francisco, demanding publicly that they include transgender people.[1134] San Francisco's Human Rights Commission worked with transgender activists in 1993 and 1994 to develop a report documenting human rights abuses experienced by transgender people, which led to the passage of the City's landmark transgender antidiscrimination ordinance in 1995.[1135]

Bisexual Organizing

Introduction

As gender norms increasingly were upended in the U.S. during the 1960s, awareness of bisexual identity increased. During the 1960s and 1970s, bisexual activists began to organize for greater visibility and acceptance. They had to battle against the views of many straight, gay, and lesbian people who regarded their identity as suspect or unresolved. Like transgender men and women, bisexuals during this period and beyond had to fight against being marginalized or ostracized not only by the dominant culture, but also by most gay and lesbian groups.

Bisexual Center

Longtime San Franciscan Marguerite "Maggi" Rubenstein is widely regarded as a pioneer for bisexual visibility, rights, and education. She first came out publicly as a bisexual while working as a staff member at the Center for Special Problems and subsequently was a founder in 1972 of the San Francisco Sex Information switchboard, a resource where callers could find answers to sexual questions that emphasized an inclusive and positive attitude toward diverse expressions of sexuality, including bisexuality.

Along with approximately twenty other people, Rubenstein went on to found the Bisexual Center in 1976, the first specifically bisexual organization in the U.S. "We decided … it was going to be a bisexual center, but it wasn't going to limit itself to supporting bisexual rights only. It was going to support lesbian and gay rights, and all peoples' rights," she recalls.[1136] The center, which operated first out of offices at 544 Market Street (extant) and later from the home of cofounder David Lourea (1757 Hayes Street, extant), offered counseling and support services to Bay Area bisexuals and published a newsletter, the *Bi Monthly*, from 1976 to 1984.[1137]

BiPol

In her book *Bisexual Spaces,* Clare Hemmings describes the 1983 founding of the first bisexual political organization, BiPol (584 Castro Street, extant), as reflecting a shift in bisexual organizing away from the "revolutionary power of liberatory (bi) sexuality, and toward a more focused identity politics."[1138] Viewing themselves as "the political arm of the community," with an explicitly feminist agenda, BiPol sought to increase bisexual visibility and to challenge stereotypes about bisexuality.[1139] In 1984, the organization registered officially at the Democratic National Convention and nominated member Lani Ka'ahumanu as a vice presidential candidate. She was not awarded the fifteen minutes of time on the convention floor they were aiming for, in which Ka'ahumanu had

1134 Ibid., 135-36.

1135 Ibid., 141-142.

1136 Clare Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces: a Geography of Sexuality and Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002) 156.

1137 The first Bi Center meetings were held at Rubenstein's home, which Lani Ka'ahumanu said was at 46 Stillings. Lani Ka'ahumanu, interviewed by Donna Graves, 17 March 2014.

1138 Ibid., 158.

1139 "An Introduction to the San Francisco Bay Area Bi Community and the Bay Area Bisexual Network (BABN)" by Lani Ka'ahumanu and Melissa White (with minor edits in 2012 by Martin Rawlings-Fein) http://www.bayareabisexualnetwork.org/about-babn.html.

planned to speak about lesbian, gay, and bisexual rights and to demand more support for AIDS research. The National March for Lesbian/Gay Rights that a number of community organizations planned to coincide with the convention excluded bisexuals, but BiPol successfully organized a rally outside the Moscone Center where the convention was taking place, reportedly the first-ever such public demonstration for bisexual rights.[1140]

Out of solidarity with gay men, who were hit particularly hard by the AIDS epidemic, and to push back against scapegoating of bisexuals, BiPol leaders were active in AIDS demonstrations and education; the group organized one of the first public demonstrations focusing on AIDS issues in summer 1983 outside the Haitian Consulate in San Francisco.[1141] Activist Maggi Rubenstein also was a founder of Mobilization Against AIDS in 1984, an early AIDS advocacy organization established in San Francisco. David Lourea campaigned to get the San Francisco Department of Public Health to identify bisexuals as a demographic category in the department's AIDS statistics, and with others brought safer-sex classes to local universities and colleges, bathhouses, and other public sex sites. As male founders of bisexual organizations perished from AIDS in the mid-1980s to early 1990s, leadership became predominately female.

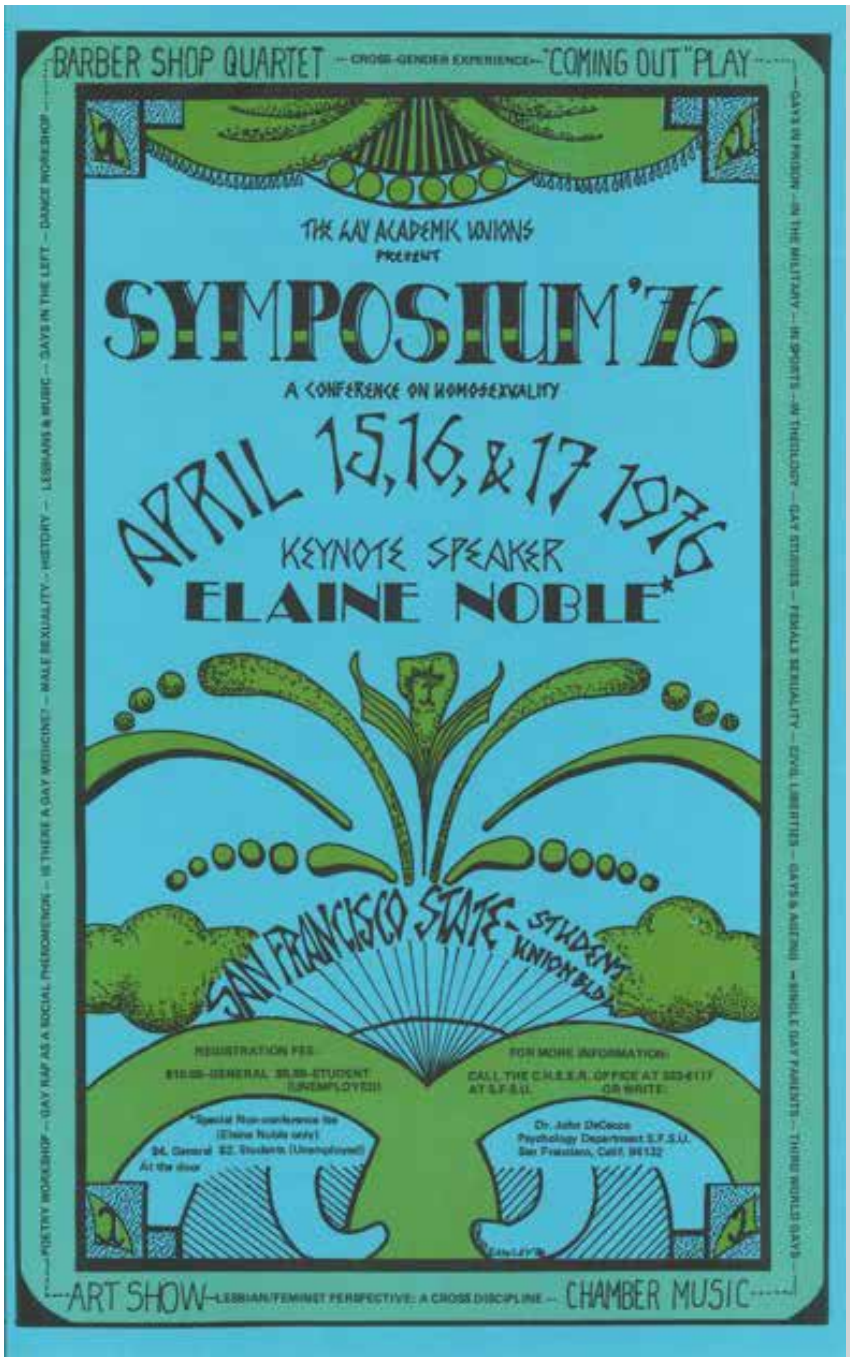
Facing cultural exclusion and social persecution, many Bay Area bisexual activists turned to humor as a political tactic. Bisexual contingents for the Gay and Lesbian Freedom Day Parades featured members dressed as "Princess Bi" and "Mayor Bi-anne Feinstein," and BiPol members organized a "sexual healing" in Union Square for right-wing activist Jerry Falwell when he visited San Francisco for the 1984 Democratic Convention.[1142]

In June 1990, BiPol organized the first national bisexual conference, an event that was understood as a "key moment in the development of bisexual identity and community," according to Clare Hemmings.[1143] Lani Ka'ahumanu remembers that conference organizers lived and met in an area around Noe, Valencia, 18th and 20th Streets, a "bisexual neighborhood situated perfectly" between the gay enclave in the Castro and lesbian enclave in the Valencia Corridor.[1144] The conference took place at Mission High School, drawing nearly 450 people from twenty states and five countries.[1145] A writer for the *San Francisco Bay Times* noted the following about the gathering:

> One of the most positive and promising aspects of the conference was its overwhelmingly feminist character. … There was an overriding sentiment that one of the best things about the bisexual movement was that it inherently challenges traditional attitudes about sex roles and relations between men and women.[1146]

The Bisexual Conference coincided with the Sixth International Conference on AIDS, which was held at Moscone Center during the last week of June 1990; the epidemic was a central theme for those gathered at the Bisexual Conference, as well as ethnic and racial diversity.[1147] To reach a more diverse audience, conference press and registration materials were distributed in English and Spanish, a People of Color Caucus was formed, and a benefit dance organized with LGBTQ

1140 Bi Conic Flashpoints exhibit text, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum, San Francisco.
1141 Lorraine Hutchins and Lani Ka'ahumanu eds., *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out (*Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 1991) 362.
1142 Lani Ka'ahumanu, interviewed by Donna Graves, 17 March 2014.
1143 Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces,* 145.
1144 Lani Ka'ahumanu, interviewed by Donna Graves, 17 March 2014.
1145 Hemmings, *Bisexual,* 166, states that the majority of conference participants came from California.
1146 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman,* 315.
1147 Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces,* 165, 170; see also Bi Conic Flashpoints exhibit text.



Flyer for Gay Students Symposium at San Francisco State University, 1976 (Courtesy John Blackburn)

organizations of color was held at The Women's Building. The organizations Binet USA and 3x3 Bisexual People of Color grew from the Bisexual Conference.[1148]

Bay Area Bisexual Network and Bi-Friendly

In 1987, the Bay Area Bisexual Network (2404 California Street, extant) was formed to continue the educational purposes of the Bisexual Center; it coordinated a speaker's bureau, a newsletter, retreats, and monthly cultural and educational forums. Under the leadership of Karla Rossi, BABN's newsletter transitioned into a literary and topical magazine in 1991 titled *Anything That Moves: Beyond the Myths of Bisexuality*.[1149] Another group, Bi-Friendly, was formed in 1988 to offer opportunities for bisexual people to connect socially outside of political gatherings and bars.[1150] Weekly meetings were organized at cafes and restaurants around the Castro. People who came through town would use the group's network to meet up, and within a year Bi-Friendly chapters were formed in Oakland, San Jose, and the North Bay.

Intersex Organizing

Until very recently, doctors usually excluded a child born "of indeterminate sex" (and often their parents) from decision-making about how the child's gender would be assigned. Victorian medical providers assigned a "true sex" based on analysis of gonads. By the 1950s, the physician was regarded as arbiter of the person's "optimum sex," based on a notion of mutable gender identity that could include a number of factors and exclude the child's genetic sex. In any case, whatever medical procedures were done when the child was small were invariably kept secret from the individual, and sometimes even from their parents.[1151]

Intersex Society of North America

San Francisco's international reputation as a place that challenged gender norms also drew an individual who would found the first intersex rights organization. Cheryl Chase, who had been designated male at birth, was later raised as a girl after doctors changed their decision and performed surgery on her. Her discovery as an adult of these childhood manipulations of her gender identity led Chase to move to San Francisco and form the Intersex Society of North America in 1993. Chase compares her experience to genital mutilation practiced on girls in some African cultures but states, "The difference is that women in Africa experience genital mutilation as a shared experience with everyone around them, and they would feel freakish if they didn't have it. We are isolated by this experience and made to feel like freaks because we did have it."[1152] In its early years, the ISNA operated out of Chase's home in the Twin Peaks neighborhood, and early meetings were held at the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality (1523 Franklin Street, extant), where Chase was a student.[1153] Within a few years, the organization was providing peer support to approximately 400 people around the world, educating medical providers about treating people with ambiguous genitalia, and providing education about intersexuality to the general public.[1154]

1148 Biconic Flashpoints exhibit text, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum.

1149 A 2002 letter from Bay Area Bisexual Network lists the office at 1800 Market Street, and says that Anything That Moves was celebrating its tenth year in 2001. "Anything That Moves" file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1150 Lani Ka'ahumanu, interviewed by Donna Graves, 17 March 2014.

1151 Gerald N. Callahan, *Between XX and XY*: *Intersexuality and the Myth of Two Sexes* (Chicago Review Press, 2009) 7, 118.

1152 Natalie Angier, "Intersexual healing," *New York Times* 4 February 1996.

1153 Bo Laurent (formerly Cheryl Chase), electronic communication with Donna Graves, 23 July 2014.

1154 Cheryl Chase, "Surgical Progress is Not the Answer to Intersexuality" in *Intersex in the Age of Ethics*, Alice Domurat Dreger ed., 147. Susan Stryker, *Transgender History (*Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008) 138. ISNA closed in 2006 and turned its mission over to Accord Alliance http://www.isna.org

Student Organizing

Gay Students Union at SFSU

From November 1968 to March 1969, students at San Francisco State University (SFSU, then known as San Francisco State College) organized the longest student strike in U.S. academic history. Students charged the administration with racism and authoritarian behavior and demanded more sensitive and transparent communication, especially regarding minority groups' criticism that higher education ignored both their needs as students and academic topics that reflected their experiences.[1155] Gay students and faculty were inspired by the strike and the increasingly active gay liberation movement in San Francisco, prompting them to seek change on campus for themselves.

A Gay Students Union formed at SFSU in 1974. John Blackburn recalls that their offices opened on the second floor of the new Student Union building alongside those of African American and Asian American student groups. In 1976, the Gay Student Union and faculty members organized the first Conference of Gay Academic Unions of California, which was formed after several SFSU students attended a gathering called Gaythink at Long Beach State University.[1156] The three-day conference at SFSU featured a remarkably rich and diverse set of panel topics and was held at the Student Union building, which organizers "tried to transform…from stone into people, ideas, experience, [and] beauty…."[1157] The program describes the conference's 300 contributors as "women as well as men, public officials as well as private citizens, and individuals of many different ethnic and social backgrounds. Many of them are leaders in community organizations, scholarship, the professions and the arts. They represent a wide range of sexual and affectional preference."[1158] The conference drew national participation, including keynote speakers Congresswoman Elaine Noble, an openly lesbian woman from Massachusetts; Alan Bell from the Kinsey Institute in Indiana; and California Assemblyman Willie Brown.[1159]

Youth Leadership and Activism

The San Francisco Board of Education established a Lesbian/Gay Resource Center for students in 1990.[1160] That same year, SFSU was the location for a 1990 summer program created by Cleve Jones and Luke Adams "to train the next generation of gay and lesbian activists." One hundred young people, ages 18-30 — half of them men, half women, with equal distribution of white students and students of color — from all over the United States attended the month-long session at San Francisco State University."[1161] Class topics included lesbian and gay history, philosophy, and psychology; confronting homophobia; AIDS; and lesbian health issues.[1162]

An ad hoc Committee for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Youth formed by Donna Keiki Ozawa and Beth Kivel organized its inaugural event in October 1988, a dance attended by approximately 40 queer youth at The Women's Building. Initial meetings were held at the Center for Special Problems

1155 Helene Whitson "Introductory Essay" The San Francisco State College Strike Collection, http://www.library.sfsu.edu/about/collections/strike/essay.html.

1156 This was the first gay students conference on any campus in the United States according to Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 74. But the conference program says that the Gay Academic Union began in 1973 and had held three prior conferences. "Symposium '76; April 15-17, San Francisco State University" conference program from collection of John Blackburn.

1157 "Symposium '76; April 15-17, San Francisco State University" conference program from collection of John Blackburn.

1158 Ibid.

1159 John Blackburn, interviewed by Donna Graves, 21 December 2013. *Patchwork, Newsletter of the California Association of Gay Student Organizations*, vol. 1, no. 5 May 1976 from the collection of John Blackburn.

1160 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 329

1161 Cleve Jones with the Jeff Dawson, *Stitching a Revolution: The Making of an Activist* (San Francisco: Harper One, 2000) 207.

1162 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 391

and the group, which took the name LYRIC in 1989, set up office space at Operation Concern. Leaders of other youth advocacy groups helped LYRIC's founders in developing an organizational structure and mission to support "lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and questioning youth, their families, and allies of all races, classes, genders, and abilities." In 1991, LYRIC received support from the City of San Francisco to develop educational programs about sexuality, gender, homophobia, and transphobia. After operating briefly at The Women's Building, LYRIC moved to its current home at 127 Collingwood Street in the Castro in 1993.[1163]

Organizing to Fight Anti-LGBTQ Violence

Historian Christina B. Hanhardt calls being the object of violence a "structuring feature in the lives of many who lived outside dominant heterosexuality in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century."[1164] Being attacked in the home, on the streets, or in jails and prisons was especially common for women and men who "refused gender norms or those who lacked the privileges that came with wealth or whiteness," Hanhardt notes.[1165]

LGBTQ San Franciscans formed organizations to fight anti-LGBTQ violence because protection from the police department could not be expected; in fact the police themselves were often perpetrators of violence. Leaders at Glide Memorial Church and homophile activists such as Del Martin organized a citywide police watchdog program, Citizens Alert, in the mid-1960s. Supported financially by the Tavern Guild, Citizens Alert hoped to reform the police department and offered advice and referrals to all who were socially marginalized and targets of violence — across race, sexual orientation, and other categories.[1166]

Carl Wittman's influential and widely distributed "Gay Manifesto," published in 1970, calls physical attacks by police on San Francisco residents an important aspect of the oppression of queer people.[1167] Christina Hanhardt credits political strategies developed by LGBTQ activists in San Francisco and New York with demonstrating the nexus between LGBTQ visibility and anti-LGBTQ violence, as well as the importance of documenting anti-LGBTQ acts. These groups laid the foundation for the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the federal Hate Crimes Statistic Act, introduced to Congress in 1985 and finally passed in 1990. The act is considered the first federal statute to explicitly acknowledge and counter the persecution of lesbian, gay, and bisexual people.[1168] (The first federal legislation to provide civil rights protection to transgender people was not passed until 2009.) Police violence against LGBTQ people in San Francisco was not eradicated, however. One of the most notable incidents was the notorious Castro Sweep Police Riot of 1989 when approximately half the officers on duty on a Friday evening closed down several blocks of Castro Street and beat up peaceful participants in an AIDS protest, as well as passersby.[1169]

1163 LYRIC History, http://lyric.org/history/ accessed February 13, 2015. Lesbian activist/artist Karla Rosales remembers that, prior to LYRIC, Huckleberry House provided a supportive space for lesbian and gay youth. Initiated by Glide Memorial Church and the San Francisco Foundation in 1967, Huckleberry House was developed to provide services for runaway teens converging on San Francisco, especially the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood. Huckleberry House operated a shelter for runaways at 1 Broderick Street and Cole Street Youth Clinic at the corner of Cole and Haight Street. "Hickleberry Youth Programs:Our History." http://www.huckleberryyouth.org/History.htm accessed 12 June 2015.

1164 Hanhardt, *Safe Space,* 38.

1165 Ibid.

1166 Ibid., 67.

1167 Ibid., 87.

1168 Ibid., 162-163.

1169 Gerard Koskovich, "Remembering a Police Riot: The Castro Sweep of October 6, 1989" in *Out in the Castro*.

Early LGBTQ Anti-Violence Organizations in San Francisco

Lavender Panthers

In 1973, Rev. Ray Broshears, founder of the Gay Activists Alliance (225 Turk Street, not extant), formed the Lavender Panthers to protect gay and transgender residents of the Tenderloin and Central City.[1170] Broshears' confrontational style, which included arming members with sawed-off pool cues and shotguns, led to extensive media coverage, including articles in *Time* and *Rolling Stone* magazines and in newspapers as far away as Texas.[1171]

Butterfly Brigade

In 1974, two years after the Lavender Panthers disbanded, the Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade, which operated out of the Gay Community Center at 330 Grove Street, was formed in response to the vitriolic antigay proclamations of Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign (discussed in more detail under the heading "Politics") and to the slaying of Richard Heakin, a 21-year-old gay man killed in Tucson, Arizona by teenagers who received probation for their crime.[1172] Members of the brigade included journalist Randy Alfred; activists Hank Wilson and Ron Lanza; and Ali Marrero, one of the few women and people of color in the brigade. Weekend patrols started at Castro and 18th Streets; monitors armed with whistles and walkie-talkies were ready to draw attention to and stop anti-gay actions around the neighborhood. Like the Lavender Panthers, the Butterfly Brigade ended after about one year, but Wilson estimated that over 30,000 whistles continued to be distributed for an ongoing campaign to both welcome and warn new gay arrivals to San Francisco.[1173]

Community United Against Violence

The assassination of San Francisco City Supervisor Harvey Milk at City Hall on November 27, 1978, was not an isolated occurrence; it was perceived by many as "merely the most high-profile act of violence in an era that was marked by shocking violence against …homosexuals."[1174] After the assassinations of Milk and Mayor George Moscone, Community United Against Violence (CUAV) was formed to protect gay residents of the Castro and promote overall community safety. CUAV created a speakers bureau whose members spoke about homophobia in schools, collected statistics on antigay violence, and pressured the San Francisco Police Department to record antigay incidents.[1175] The organization also developed surveys, reports, statistics, and analyses of hate crimes against the LGBTQ communities.[1176] In 1981, the City and County of San Francisco contracted with CUAV to provide supportive services for victims of hate crimes and to develop a safety-monitoring program for large public events such as the annual Freedom Day parade, Halloween on Castro Street, the Gay Games (described in more detail below), and the Folsom Street Fair.

1170 An undated flyer for Gay Activists Alliance lists Lavender Panthers as among the activities at the Helping Hands Center, 225 Turk Street. Gay Activists Alliance (Gay Liberation Alliance) folder, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1171 Hanhardt, *Safe Space,* 93, 98.

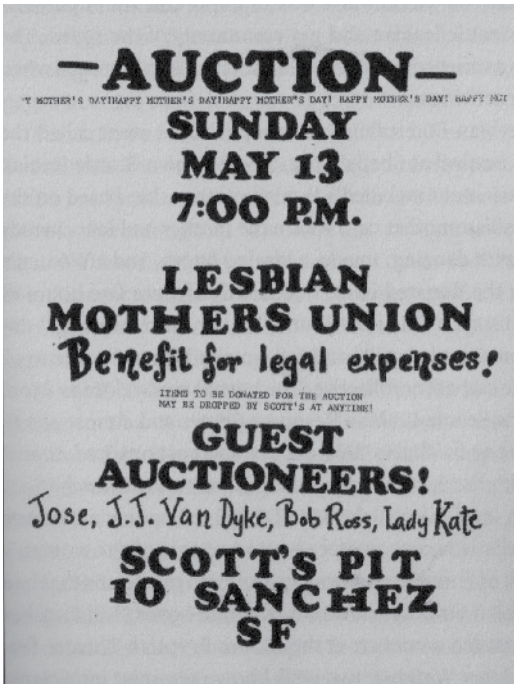
1172 "Richard J. "Dickie" Heakin Jr. Collection" Tucson LGBTQ Museum, http://tucsongaymuseum.org/richardheakincollection.htm accessed 12 May 2014.

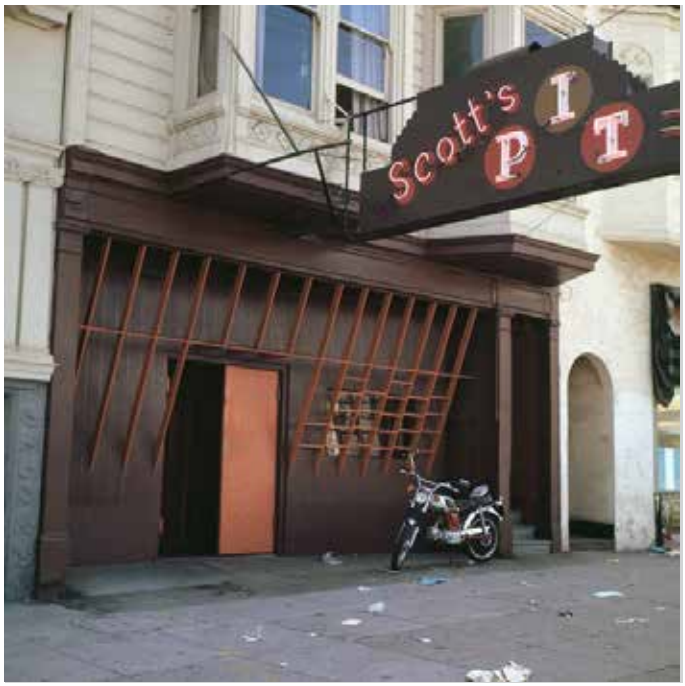
1173 Hanhardt, *Safe Space,* 100-10. An Illustration of a Butterfly Brigade card on p. 102 shows that it was located at 330 Group St. and a flyer reproduced on p. 103 shows that a public meeting was held at the Collingwood Recreation Ctr.

1174 Sides, *Erotic City,* 7.

1175 Hanhardt, *Safe Space,*) 158. Organizational History, Finding Aid for CUAV, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1176 Organizational History, Finding Aid for CUAV, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.





LEFT: Flyer for Lesbian Mothers Union benefit, date unknown

RIGHT: Scott's Pit at 10 Sanchez Street

(Both courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

Lesbians Against Police Violence

While lesbians had been less victimized by antigay violence (though they were subjected to ongoing violence that women have always faced), two 1979 attacks by San Francisco police officers on patrons in lesbian bars inspired women to organize around this issue. In the first incident, a group of rowdy drunk men, including several off-duty San Francisco police officers, were denied entry to Peg's Place (4737 Geary Street), a Richmond District lesbian bar. The men burst into the bar, reportedly yelling, "Let's get the dykes!" The doorwoman was put in a chokehold, and the bartender was beaten so badly with a pool cue that she spent ten days in the hospital.[1177] In the second incident, two women leaving the Valencia Street bar Amelia's were beaten by police, strip-searched, charged with disorderly conduct, and detained in jail overnight.[1178]

In response to these incidents, a meeting at The Women's Building drew over 100 women who created a new organization, Lesbians Against Police Violence (LAPV). LAPV members saw their own vulnerability as connected to that of low-income people and people of color, especially in the Mission District they shared. For two years, LAPV produced cartoons, skits, and street performances that pointed out the selective nature of police violence.[1179] LAPV brought 250 members and allies to a women's professional basketball league "banner day" game at Civic Auditorium (99 Grove Street). They unfurled a huge banner announcing LESBIANS AGAINST POLICE VIOLENCE. When auditorium security could not get them to remove the sign, the San Francisco police were called. Reportedly, the police declined after saying, "You want *us* to take down a banner that says 'Lesbians Against Police Violence'? You've got to be kidding!"[1180]

Family Rights and Marriage

LGBTQ experience and history are deeply related to questions about family identity and the formation of intimate kinship. For most queer people, even today, relationships to members of their family of origin and their families of choice present complicated emotional, social, and legal issues. Until relatively recently, medical and legal perspectives on marriage and parenthood limited many possibilities for LGBTQ people. Growing up in San Francisco, activist Del Martin recalls, even women who understood their lesbian identity felt great pressure to marry a man and have children. "That was the thing you're supposed to do—to get married and have kids."[1181]

When homosexuality was defined as criminal and pathological, gay men and lesbians who had married and were parents before the 1970s usually chose to live double lives or otherwise hide their full identities. The consequences of revealing that they were gay or lesbian were usually swift and severely negative. The central issues that gay fathers and lesbian mothers faced included loss of custody and visitation rights with their children from marriages to members of the opposite sex. Historian Daniel Rivers says that California was one of the "early and frequent battlegrounds between gay and lesbian parents, their ex-spouses, and sometimes other family members, along with political, legal, and religious advocates on either side."[1182] Judges in custody cases often based their decisions on the premise that gay men and lesbians might molest their children, and that their children would suffer from social stigma. Even when lesbian or gay parents were granted custody,

1177 Sides, *Erotic City,* 165.
1178 Finding Aid to Meg Barnett and Lesbians Against Police Violence Records, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
1179 Hanhardt, *Safe Space,* 117, 130.
1180 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman,* 394.
1181 Rivers, *Radical Relations,* 16.
1182 Ibid., 56.

they could be required to sign affidavits agreeing that their homosexual partners would never be around their children, or that they would stop engaging in any gay rights activism.[1183]

Homophile Organizations and Family Rights

In 1956, the Daughters of Bilitis held the first known discussion groups on lesbian motherhood; they were titled "Raising Children in a 'Deviant' Relationship."[1184] Daughters of Bilitis founder Del Martin, who had lost custody of her daughter to her ex-husband, was among the homophile activists who drafted a "Homosexual Bill of Rights" in 1961 that included the right to have children and the right to retain custody of them. In partnership with the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, the Daughters of Bilitis organized the first public discussion on parenting for both gay men and lesbians at Glide Memorial Church in 1966. Gay male organizations in San Francisco in the early 1960s were apparently less focused on parental issues; the Mattachine Society supported "legal recognition of permanent homosexual relations," but claimed that adoption of children by gay couples should not occur until it was established that their living situation would not cause a child to become homosexual. The Society for Individual Rights said that questions of marriage and parenthood should be deferred until sexual conduct between men was decriminalized.[1185]

Lesbian Mothers Union

Women in the San Francisco Bay Area formed the first lesbian-mother activist group in 1971, the Lesbian Mothers Union (LMU). Pat Norman, Del Martin, Phyllis Lyon, and others founded the LMU after attending a lesbian-feminist conference in Los Angeles where their concerns as mothers were dismissed. The LMU organized discussion groups and social events and provided childcare at lesbian-feminist gatherings. Pat Norman, who became the San Francisco Department of Public Health's first liaison to the gay and lesbian communities, recalls that LMU took:

> [R]esponsibility for teaching people who had any say in our lives. Social workers, judges, doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists. We actually went to schools, we went to high schools, we went anywhere there were people that we could talk to, to explain not only homosexuality and gay rights, but also lesbian mothers and lesbian mothers' rights. And children of lesbian mothers as well.[1186]

The LMU and other organizations also raised funds to help women with legal defense of their parental rights.

The custody case in 1977 of a San Francisco woman named Jean Jullion received national attention and raised visibility for lesbian mothers. Jullion had moved to San Francisco and come out the previous year during a separation from her husband—prompting her husband to sue for custody of their children. Jill Lippitt, a partner at the Feminist Law Offices (1197 Valencia Street, extant), helped Jullion create a defense committee that included about twenty-five women.[1187] The committee sought support from numerous Bay Area progressive individuals and organizations,

1183 Ibid., 61.
1184 Ibid., 49.
1185 Ibid., 48.
1186 Ibid., 237.
1187 The Feminist Law Offices of Jill Lippitt and Judy Baer were located at 1197 Valencia Street in the mid-1970s. Valencia Street map in Businesses Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

ranging from Harvey Milk to the Black Panthers to Bay Area Women Against Rape, but ultimately Julian lost custody of her older son because the judge would not place an adolescent with a lesbian parent.[1188]

Gay Father Organizing

Gay men had an even more difficult time gaining custody of their children from previous heterosexual relationships and usually lost any rights to contact if they came out. Even for those who held on to custody, the path was not smooth. Author Alysia Abbott describes being raised in San Francisco by her openly gay father, poet and literary organizer Steve Abbott, after her mother died in a car accident: "It wasn't easy being a single gay father in the 1970s. There were no books on gay parenting, no listservs, as there would be decades later. There were no models. For better or for worse, my father was making up the rules as he went along."[1189]

In 1975, the San Francisco-based magazine *Gay Sunshine* published a groundbreaking article titled "A Faggot Father Speaks Out." Later that year a group of fathers found each other at the Gay Freedom Day parade and went on to form San Francisco Bay Area Gay Fathers. Among the organization's founding members was Bill Jones (owner of the Sutro Bathhouse, described in "Development of Sex-Based Communities"), who was reportedly the first single gay man (although closeted at the time) to adopt a child in the U.S. Jones recalls that the sympathetic social worker in charge of the adoption took a "don't ask, don't tell" approach to his identity.[1190] The San Francisco Bay Area Gay Father's membership, which included about 40 fathers by the end of its first year, transitioned quickly from an initial focus on radical gender politics to organizing assistance around custody and visitation. Jones remembers the monthly meetings held in members' homes ballooning in 1977, when the larger mobilization of gays and lesbians against Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign took hold.[1191] Records indicate that the group met at the Haight Senior Center (1360 Waller Street, extant), the First Congregational Church (491 Post Street, extant), and St. Francis Lutheran Church (152 Church Street, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 39) in the early 1980s.[1192] By 1984, the group had created a Gay Fathers' Crisis Fund, and one of their members spoke about fathers' rights at a gay rights rally outside the 1984 Democratic National Convention, which was held at the Moscone Center. Within a few years, however, the group began declining because a large percentage of members suffered and died of AIDS; historian Daniel Rivers estimates that AIDS killed anywhere from 70 to 90 percent of members of gay fathers' groups in Los Angeles and San Francisco.[1193]

Lesbian Rights Project/National Center for Lesbian Rights

San Francisco attorney Donna Hitchens formed the Lesbian Rights Project in 1977 as a program of Equal Rights Advocates, a San Francisco women's organization. In 1982, the LRP published the *Lesbian Mother Litigation Manual*, providing a critical tool for lawyers fighting lesbian custody cases across the United States.[1194] By the early 1980s, the LRP was operating out of an office at 1370 Mission Street (extant) and was helping women with issues regarding donor insemination, parental rights, and employment. The women's health movement of the 1960s and 1970s, combined with

1188 Rivers, *Radical Relations,* 66, 91.
1189 Alysia Abbott, *Fairyland: A Memoir of My Father* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2013) 94.
1190 Rivers, *Radical Relations,* 181. Bill Jones, interviewed by Donna Graves, 30 June 2014.
1191 Bill Jones, interviewed by Donna Graves, 30 June 2014. Rivers, *Radical Relations* 120-21.
1192 SF Bay Area Gay Fathers Newsletters 1982-1985, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Newsletters Collection.
1193 Rivers, *Radical Relations,* 134-35.
1194 Ibid., 109.





TOP: Parade on Polk Street, 1976 (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

BOTTOM: Gay Pride Parade on Market Street, 1982 (Photo by Greg Day, courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

advances in medical and popular understanding of fertility and insemination, led to a fundamental shift in the nature of gay, and especially lesbian, parenthood. According to Daniel Rivers, by the mid-1970s informal lesbian insemination networks were active in selected areas of the U.S. and were especially prominent in the Bay Area.[1195] The number of inquiries to the LRP about donor insemination climbed steeply during the 1980s, and in 1983, LRP published *Lesbians Choosing Motherhood: Legal Implications in Donor Insemination*.[1196]

In 1988, the LRP became independent from Equal Rights Advocates and was renamed the National Center for Lesbian Rights to reflect its broader geographic reach. Among the issues it pioneered in this period was adoption by gay and lesbian parents. In 1986, the NCLR successfully supported San Franciscans Becky Smith and Annie Afleck, who became the first lesbian or gay couple in the U.S. to jointly adopt. In 1987, NCLR founder Donna Hitchens and her partner Nancy Davis were the first couple to successfully petition in Family Court in a second-parent adoption case, in which one partner adopts the birth child of the other.

The emergence of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s reinforced a shift toward domestic and relational rights that gay and lesbian parents already had been struggling with. As the epidemic took its toll, LRP/NCRL began representing gay men in cases related to child custody and access to family leave to care for a dying lover.[1197] In 1989, the New York–based National Gay and Lesbian Task Force partnered with NCLR to launch the Lesbian and Gay Families Project, which focused on gay and lesbian parenting rights, with work on domestic partnership, employment and insurance benefits, and the rights for lesbians and gay men to be involved in medical and legal decisions about their partners.[1198]

NCLR also supported lesbian and gay issues on immigration, military service, and employment discrimination, but partnership, custody, adoption, and reproductive rights made up the majority of the work. According to a 1992 NCLR annual report, these topics increased in the preceding five years from just under 65 percent of their work to over 75 percent.[1199]

Domestic Partnerships and Marriage

Among Western nations, the U.S. legal system draws the sharpest line between the rights of married and unmarried people; many benefits associated with marital status in the U.S., such as access to coverage under a partner's health insurance, have no association with marriage in other countries. During the 1960s and 1970s, the gay liberation and feminist movements sought to challenge the fundamental role marriage and gender played in society and individual lives. The New Right backlash against these movements focused on family as the battleground for American values. During the 1980s, gay and lesbian advocates continued to argue for a more inclusive definition of family but also strengthened efforts to gain access to rights and benefits associated with traditional marriage.[1200]

1195 Ibid., 169. The Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center established a sperm bank in 1986 that served women throughout Northern California. *Radical Relations*, 179

1196 Lesbian Rights Project Newsletter, v.1. n.1. n.d. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Newsletter Collection.

1197 Lesbian Rights Project Newsletter, v.2. n. 1 November 1985. Lesbian Rights Project Newsletter, v.3. n. 1 Fall 1987. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Newsletter Collection.

1198 Rivers, *Radical Relations,* 196.

1199 National Center for Lesbian Rights, "15th Anniversary Report." National Center for Lesbian Rights file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1200 Nancy D. Polikoff, *Beyond (Straight and Gay Marriage): Valuing All Families Under the Law* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2008) passim.

Historian George Chauncey asserts that "profound changes wrought in lesbian and gay life in the 1980s and 1990s by the AIDS crisis and the boom in lesbian and gay parenting" helped propel the debate over, and quest for, marriage rights.[1201] From 1982 to 1990, San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt and others worked to pass local legislation supporting domestic partnerships, giving same-sex couples some of the municipal protections and benefits that straight married partners enjoyed; in 1990, the legislation finally passed.[1202] The following year more than 275 couples registered their relationships on Valentine's Day in San Francisco City Hall, where an interdenominational religious ceremony was held on the outside steps and the newly registered partners filed in procession down the ornate interior staircase to the rotunda floor.[1203]

GAY PRIDE IN THE STREETS: PARADES AND STREET FAIRS

LGBTQ Freedom and Pride Parades

Pride parades have become significant events in most North American cities and in many European, Asian, and South American cities as well. Typically held in conjunction with other gay pride events, often in June, pride parades offer a visible collective "coming out," and opportunities for local LGBTQ communities to advocate for legal and social change. As Elizabeth Armstrong describes them, pride parades are "an annual celebration of the organizational infrastructure that grounds the life of San Francisco's lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender community.[1204] The San Francisco parade has become a major tourist attraction and one of the largest annual celebrations of its type in the country.

The first San Francisco parade was formed by a small group that marched down Polk Street from Aquatic Park to City Hall in June 1970; it was one of a handful of events held in a few cities to commemorate the Stonewall Riots that happened in New York the previous year.[1205] Gay liberationists gathered the next day for a "gay-in" in Golden Gate Park.[1206] The following year, a parade titled Christopher Street West—in reference to the main street in the gay section of New York's Greenwich Village—drew 50,000 onlookers who watched dozens of floats and 4,000 marchers go from Pine and Polk Streets to City Hall.[1207] Rev. Ray Broshears, one of the parade organizers, led a chant against Mayor Alioto for not proclaiming the day as Gay Pride Day.[1208] The national magazine *The Advocate* described the parade participants:

> [A]lmost every specter of the gay community was pulled together in the parade, including every San Francisco Gay organization except the Daughters of Bilitis, the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, and the Gay Sunshine Collective, some of whose members participated as individuals. Drag queens, gay businesses, entertainers, religious groups, prison groups, gay organizations, reigning "royalty," leather men, radicals, street people, conservatives, lesbians, and "hunky guys" were all represented in parade contingents.[1209]

In 1973, two events competed for participants: a Gay Freedom Day parade and a Festival of Gay

1201 George Chauncey, *Why Marriage?: The history shaping today's debate over gay equality* (Basic Books, 2004) 3.
1202 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 405.
1203 Ibid., 407.
1204 Armstrong *Forging Gay Identities*, 1.
1205 Sides, *Erotic City,* 96.
1206 Ibid., 135.
1207 Greg L. Pennington, "Mirrors of Our Community: A History of the Gay Parades in San Francisco," *San Francisco Bay Area Gay and Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter* v.1 n.4, (June 1986) 4.
1208 Pennington, "Mirrors of Our Community," 4.
1209 Attendance is from Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 67. *The Advocate* 19 July 1972 cited in Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities,* 108.

Liberation, which took place at the Civic Center. Later that year, a nonprofit organization known as Pride Foundation was formed, in part to prevent future conflicts. Several thousand people gathered for a post-parade celebration in Golden Gate Park's Marx Meadow. [1210] The 1975 parade featured Empress Doris, a member of San Francisco's Imperial Court, who led the parade while riding on an elephant, as well as a larger number of women and gay professionals, according to historian Greg Pennington. Bay Area Gay Liberation was the largest contingent.[1211] In 1977, the parade began a route up Market Street from downtown to City Hall, and in 1982 added a celebration in Civic Center Plaza.[1212]

From 1988 to 1992, the route began in the Castro District, with the traditional endpoint in Civic Center Plaza.[1213] In 1993, the route returned to Market Street but began at Civic Center and ended at the Embarcadero, as a means to avoid major construction projects.[1214] The parade's current route west from lower Market Street to around Eighth Street began in the late 1990s.

Inspired by antigay backlash, the parades of 1977 and 1978 drew record numbers—200,000 and 350,000 respectively. Gay Freedom Day became the biggest parade in San Francisco. Randy Shilts called the 1978 parade "the signal event of the gay emergence in San Francisco during the late 1970s," and speculated that it may have been the largest single political gathering in San Francisco, and perhaps in the country, in the 1970s.[1215] The record turnout was in large part due to organizing against the growing national antigay activism of the New Right. Harvey Milk spoke at the rally at City Hall at the end of the parade: "I want to recruit you. I want to recruit you for the fight to preserve your democracy from the John Briggses and Anita Bryants who are trying to constitutionalize bigotry."[1216] For that same parade, a group of artists created a rainbow flag based on a design by artist Gilbert Baker. The flag was fabricated at the Pride Center (330 Grove Street); according to Baker, the colors of the hand-dyed fabrics were symbolic: hot pink for sexuality; red for life; orange for healing; yellow for sun; green for serenity with nature; turquoise for art; indigo for harmony; violet for spirit.[1217] In subsequent years, the rainbow flag gradually came to be recognized and used internationally as a symbol for LGBTQ pride.

As historian Elizabeth Armstrong documents, the annual parades reflect the "cultural elaboration of gay life in San Francisco" as well as gay commercial and political development.[1218] Bars could afford to build elaborate floats, thus enlivening the events. Given its importance as a tourist attraction and economic engine, the parade began receiving funding from the City of San Francisco in 1978.[1219]

In 1977, a small group of lesbians informally rode motorcycles at the head of the parade; in 1980, a male parade organizer tried to push the bikes out of the lead, according to community historian Glenne McElhinney.[1220] That year, a group of lesbians criticized Gay Freedom Day as a male-dominated event and requested that women not participate. Others aired critiques about relative

1210 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 67.
1211 Pennington, "Mirrors of Our Community," 4.
1212 SF Pride "History of Pride 1977" http://www.sfpride.org/heritage/1977.html accessed 12 June 2014.
1213 SF Pride "History of Pride 1988" http://www.sfpride.org/heritage/1988.html accessed 12 June 2014.
1214 SF Pride "History of Pride 1993" http://www.sfpride.org/heritage/1993.html accessed 12 June 2014.
1215 Shilts quoted in Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities,* 129.
1216 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 70.
1217 Glenne McElhinney shared her research on the Rainbow Flag and its initial production by a group of artists. Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 70.
1218 Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities,* 119.
1219 SF Pride "History of Pride" http://www.sfpride.org/heritage/1978.html accessed 12 June 2014.
1220 Glenne McElhinney in "Dykes on Bikes Exhibit Tour" 2008 video Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZ3alostOhQ.

absence of people of color and people with disabilities. In February 1981, the event unified under the new name International Lesbian & Gay Freedom Day. The Freedom Day parade added bisexual and transgender to its official name in 1994.[1221] In 1995, it became the San Francisco Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Pride Celebration.[1222]

Women and transgender organizers in San Francisco eventually decided not only to participate in the LGBT Pride event, but also to launch separate marches during Pride weekend to celebrate together and bring visibility to their own communities and concerns. In June 1993, the first San Francisco Dyke March was held on the Saturday evening before the annual LGBT Pride parade. In contrast to the increasingly elaborate and commercial LGBT Pride parade, the Dyke March was a militant, participatory, informal walk from Dolores Park in the Mission District to Castro and Market Streets. The city's first Dyke March was attended by 10,000 people; in 1994 attendance more than doubled to 25,000. [1223] Transgender community members followed with a march of their own on the Friday of Pride weekend starting in 2004; the procession takes marchers from a rally in Dolores Park to Turk and Taylor Streets in the Tenderloin, the former site of Compton's Cafeteria.[1224]

Street Fairs and Festivals[1225]

Castro Street Fair

The Castro Village Association, organized in 1974 by Harvey Milk and others to better represent gay business interests in the increasingly gay Castro, began hosting an annual Street Fair in 1975. The first event drew 5,000 participants. In 1977, fairgoers could try their hand at dunking Harvey Milk in a water tank erected in front of Castro Camera, a stunt to raise money against the Briggs Initiative.[1226]

South of Market Street Fairs

The Folsom Street Fair was started in 1984 by a group of local activists led by lesbian Kathleen Connell and gay Filipino American Michael Valerio. They wanted to demonstrate that the neighborhood—which had been significantly disrupted by demolition undertaken by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency but was still home to populations of immigrants, elders, gay men, and others—was not simply an empty shell waiting for urban renewal. Working with several community groups, they organized Megahood, the first Folsom Street Fair, which drew 30,000 people to an area from Seventh to Twelfth to Streets, between Howard and Harrison, with Folsom Street at the center. Connell and Valerio had been inspired by how Harvey Milk had used the Castro Street Fair as a platform to mobilize and organize diverse LGBTQ constituencies. The first fair included local crafts and a dance stage run by the emerging lesbian DJ Page Hodel.

The inaugural SoMa fair drew approximately 30,000 people and raised almost $20,000 for charity; attendance reportedly doubled each year for many years, expanding the fair to Division Street and other side streets. It also rapidly became more than just a local event, drawing people from across

1221 Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities,* 146, 184.

1222 SF Pride "History of Pride" http://www.sfpride.org/heritage/1995.html accessed 12 June 2014.

1223 Elizabeth Gail Currans *Performing Gender, Enacting Community: Women, Whiteness and Belief in Contemporary Public Demonstrations* (PhD diss 2007 UCSB) 53.

1224 "A History Of Gay Freedom Day, Dyke March, And Trans March" *sfist* http://sfist.com/2013/06/28/reminder_trans_march_today_dyke_mar.php accessed 12 January 2015.

1225 A Valencia Street Fair was organized for some time in the 1980s. But only a single poster associated with the fair from 1983 was found during the course of this research.

1226 Matthew Bajko, "Castro fair marks 40 years," *Bay Area Reporter* October 3-9, 2013.

the U.S. and eventually from all over the world. What had began as a neighborhood empowerment event soon evolved into a leather, sadomasochist, and kink fair. A smaller leather fair called Up Your Alley was first held in 1985. In 1990, it merged with the Folsom Street Fair and the two fairs became known as the South of Market Merchants' and Individuals Lifestyle Events (SMMILE). Although not exclusively leather-focused, the SMMILE events continue as "occasions[s] for the leather community to come out in force and in full dress."[1227]

By the mid 1990s, organizers of the major LGBTQ street fairs realized that they needed to coordinate scheduling of their events to maximize attendance and save the energy of the many volunteer organizers. For this reason, San Francisco LGBT Pride events are held on the last weekend in June, Up Your Alley on the last Sunday in July, Folsom Street Fair on the last Sunday in September, and Castro Street Fair on the first Sunday in October.[1228]

POLITICS

LGBTQ struggles for equal rights were fought using community-based street politics along with more formal mainstream politics. The Council on Religion and the Homosexual may have provided the first link between mainstream politicians and homophile activists in San Francisco. Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin remembered an explicitly political impetus for reaching out to clergy to form the CRH. Politicians such as Congressman Phillip Burton had advised them that they would need religious leaders behind them in order to change laws related to sexuality. The CRH organized the first-ever candidate night with a homosexual audience in the summer of 1965 at Glide Memorial Church.[1229]

Increasing geographic concentration and visibility of gay men and lesbians in San Francisco through the 1970s meant that opportunities for achieving local power through electoral politics grew. Candidate nights sponsored by gay and lesbian organizations became common and virtually required for those who were seeking local office from all but the conservative end of the spectrum. Community member David Harrell recalled that the Society for Individual Rights formed a political committee that organized candidate nights for hopeful campaigners who were "willing to come and speak to a gay group … I'll vote for them …. It had a real impact …. Here are these guys [who] had the nerve to show up and be proud of it …. They could have gotten … a lot of flack from other organizations if they knew they had done it."[1230] SIR had become the largest gay group in the nation by 1967, with a membership of more than 1,200, reinforcing the fact that gay people could be a potent political constituency.[1231]

Alice B. Toklas Memorial Democratic Club

In 1971, Jim Foster, cofounder of the Society for Individual Rights, activist lawyer Rick Stokes, and David Goodstein, owner of *The Advocate* (which had moved from Los Angeles to the Bay Area), formed San Francisco's Alice B. Toklas Memorial Democratic Club, the first registered gay Democratic Party organization in the nation. Foster and his colleagues wanted a forum that would

1227 Rubin, "The Miracle Mile" in Brook, Carlsson and Peters eds, *Reclaiming San Francisco,* 268. The Up Your Alley Fair began on Ringgold Alley and changed its name to Dore Alley Fair in 1986 when it moved to Dore Alley.

1228 Kathleen Connell and Paul Gabriel, "The Power of Broken Hearts: The Origin and Evolution of the Folsom Street Fair." This article is provided with the permission of authors Kathleen Connell and Paul Gabriel for the LGBT Historical Society. All rights reserved, Folsom Street Events, http://folsomstreetfair.org/heritage/ accessed 4 May 2014.

1229 Interview with Lyon and Martin in "The Council on Religion and the Homosexual," LGBT Religious Archive Networks http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/CRH/Room.aspx?RID=2&CID=7. Location of meeting from *Before Stonewall*

1230 David Harrell interviewed by Terence Kissack 7/2/2000, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society oral history collection.

1231 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 50.

focus more gay-movement energy on electoral politics.[1232] Meetings took place at the SIR Center (330 Grove Street), the Eureka Valley Recreation Center (100 Collingwood Street, extant), and a rotating set of gay bars and restaurants.[1233] Club members canvassed door-to-door, raising "Dollars for Democrats" and reaching out to Democratic Party elected officials in local, state, and national offices. The club showed its value to Democratic officials in 1972, when members raised funds and secured a disproportionate number of signatures at gay bars to ensure that Senator George McGovern would appear as a presidential candidate on the California primary ballot.[1234] Returning the favor, the Democratic Party allowed Jim Foster and Madeline Davis to speak at their convention in Miami, the first openly gay and lesbian speakers to address a national party convention. In his televised speech, Foster proposed a gay rights plank for the party platform, proclaiming, "We do not come to you pleading your understanding or begging your tolerance. We come to you affirming our pride in our life-style, affirming the validity to seek and maintain meaningful emotional relationships and affirming our right to participate in the life of this country on an equal basis with every citizen."[1235] Foster was able to focus his time increasingly on Toklas Club activities after he began to draw a salary as executive director of the newly formed Whitman-Radclyffe Foundation in 1971. The foundation was bankrolled by David Goodstein, a financial professional and lawyer whose termination from a San Francisco bank inspired his activism and philanthropy related to gay rights.[1236]

By 1972, Foster and the Toklas Club had built an especially close relationship with San Francisco Supervisor Dianne Feinstein.[1237] Foster had been encouraging Feinstein to amend San Francisco's nondiscrimination law to add the words "sex and sexual orientation" since 1969. In 1972, with urging from the Toklas Club, Feinstein successfully introduced the ordinance prohibiting city contractors from discriminating against gays and lesbians.[1238] Feinstein ally and Toklas Club vice president Jo Daly was active in local, statewide, and national Democratic politics. She was appointed a staff member of the San Francisco Human Rights Commission in 1975, reportedly the first government official anywhere whose salaried job was to serve the gay community.[1239] She went on to be named the first openly gay member of the San Francisco Police Commission, serving from 1979 to 1986, then was appointed as the first openly lesbian woman appointed to the San Francisco Human Rights Commission, serving from 1980 to 1986.

Labor organizer Sal Rosselli became President of the Toklas Club in 1984, the year after representatives from a number of unions came together to create the San Francisco Lesbian-Gay Labor Alliance. The organization aimed to address employment issues faced by gay and lesbian workers and to increase awareness of class issues and unions among gay men and lesbians.[1240]

1232 John-Manuel Andriote, *Victory Deferred: How AIDS Changed Gay Life In America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1999) 9.

1233 Alice Reports: Newsletter for the Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Alice Reports newsletters for the mid-1970s show meetings and events at the 527 Club (527 Bryant), Jackson's Restaurant, Sutter's Mill, and the Corner Grocery Bar.

1234 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 63.

1235 Ibid., 64.

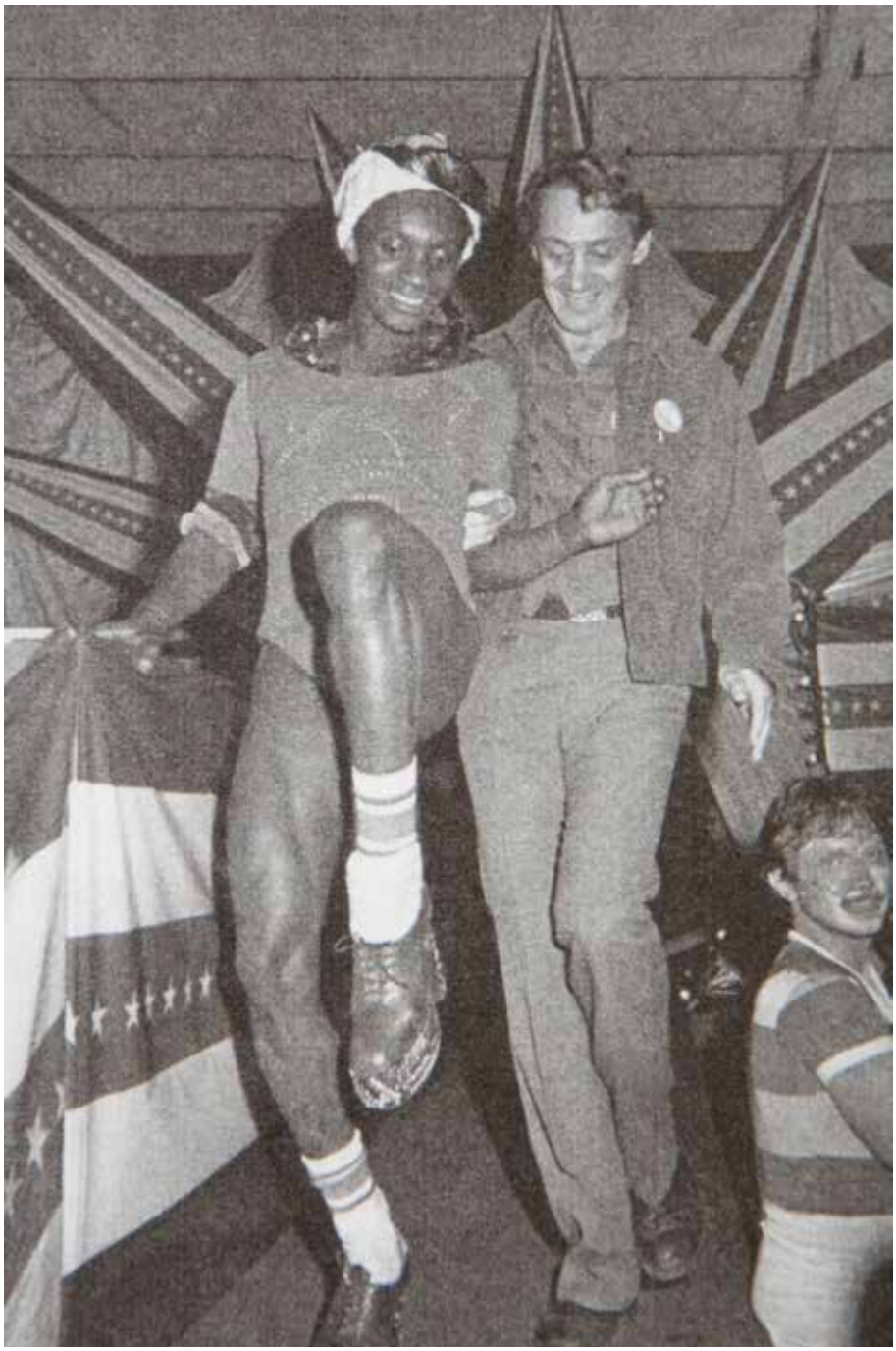
1236 Dudley Cleninden and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999) 248. Goodstein purchased *The Advocate,* the only national gay magazine, in late 1974 and moved it to the Bay Area until c. 1982. The Whitman-Radclyffe Foundation is listed at 2131 Union Street in a 1976 newsletter of the Alice B. Toklas Memorial Democratic Club.

1237 "The History of the Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club, San Francisco, 1971-2004," http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/alice-b-toklas-lgbt-democratic accessed 10 September 2014.

1238 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*, 64.

1239 Sabin Russel, "Jo Day, 51, First Lesbian on S.F. Police Panel," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 October 1997 http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Jo-Daly-51-First-Lesbian-on-S-F-Police-Panel-2803150.php accessed June 14, 2014.

1240 Tina Gianoulas, "Organized Labor," (2008) Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Culture http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/organized_labor.html accessed 13 June 2015.



Harvey Milk celebrating his election to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, 1977 (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

A.B. 437 Campaign

One of the most important statewide political campaigns for San Francisco activists was passage of A.B. 437, which repealed state laws related to sodomy and other sexual acts that for over 100 years had been used to harass and imprison LGBTQ people. On June 20, 1971, members of San Francisco's Metropolitan Community Church congregation marched from Lake Merritt in Oakland to the state capitol in Sacramento for a statewide A.B. 437 rally.[1241] The Toklas Club worked closely with the legislation's author, San Francisco Assemblymember Willie Brown, to prepare and pass the bill. Brown's early years as an attorney, which included defending closeted gay and lesbian teachers whose employment was threatened, had sensitized him to discrimination against homosexuals. His assembly district included many gay and lesbian constituents, and he had participated in a SIR candidate night in 1968.[1242] SIR had engaged a young Latino activist, George Raya, as the first full-time lobbyist in Sacramento to work on the bill. Rick Stokes' lobbying also secured many endorsements, including some from law enforcement organizations.[1243] In May 1975, State Senator George Moscone and Assemblymember Willie Brown led an effort to repeal California's sodomy law in both houses of the legislature. It was soon signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown Jr.[1244]

Harvey Milk

Experiencing explosive growth and activism in the 1970s, the gay community also saw the development of internal differences regarding political goals. As historian John D'Emilio recounts:

> For some gay men liberation meant freedom from harassment; for radical lesbians that meant overthrowing the patriarchy. Bay Area Gay Liberation participated in anti-imperialist coalitions while members of the Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club sought to climb within the Democratic Party hierarchy…. Sexual orientation created a kind of unity, but other aspects of identity brought to the surface conflicting needs and interests.[1245]

Harvey Milk's rise as an activist and gay community organizer highlighted the growing fissure between the reform politics of groups like the Society for Individual Rights and the Toklas Club and a more confrontational approach that in some ways carried the left-coalition social-movement positions of gay liberation into the field of electoral politics.

Milk, a former Wall Street investment researcher and theater producer, moved to San Francisco in 1973 and opened a small camera shop at 573 Castro Street; he lived upstairs with his lover, Scott Smith, at 575 Castro Street (extant, S.F. Landmark No. 227). That same year, Milk decided to run for a seat on the Board of Supervisors on a broadly progressive platform and approached Jim Foster for an endorsement. Foster declined, setting up a dynamic that reinforced tensions between the more accommodationist strategists Foster represented and the growing faction of supporters of Milk, who believed "you're never given power, you have to take it."[1246] As journalist Randy Shilts relates, "Harvey's angry outbursts at Foster and the gay moderates only solidified their opposition to him. The gay Alice Toklas Democratic club did not even come near endorsing him…. Drag queens, however, did not share the moderates' disdain of Harvey. They had no investment in respectability. José Sarria proudly put his name at the top of Milk's endorsement list."[1247]

1241 MCC San Francisco, "MCCSF Timeline," http://mcccsf.org/timeline/ accessed 22 February 2014.
1242 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions,* 195.
1243 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 105. "George Raya" http://gayinsacramento.com/raya01.htm accessed 12 June 2014.
1244 Sides, *Erotic City,* 115.
1245 D'Emilio, "Gay Politics, Gay Community," *Making Trouble*, 87.
1246 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 75.
1247 Ibid.

Milk lost the election for supervisor, but discovered another forum for creating change and getting votes by joining the new Castro Village Association, a merchant's group that harnessed the increasing economic clout of business owners who were a key part of the Castro neighborhood's transformation. Milk saw that one way to gain power was through economic power—and he tested the idea through a partnership with organized labor. Howard Wallace, one of the founders of Bay Area Gay Liberation, was instrumental in connecting Milk and the gay community with the Teamsters union-led boycott against distributors of Coors beer in 1973.[1248] Milk and Bob Ross, publisher of a local gay weekly, the *Bay Area Reporter*, enlisted gay bar owners and patrons in a successful campaign.[1249] Labor historian Miriam Frank writes that the "gaycott" did not transform the cultures of the Castro or the Teamsters, but it "did become the talk of the San Francisco labor scene, inspiring curiosity and respect."[1250] Milk's speechwriter, Frank Robinson, recalled that endorsements for Milk by the Electrical Workers, the Fireman's Union, and the Union Labor Party followed.[1251] The gay-labor alliance created during the Coors boycott continued in the 1978 campaign against the Briggs Initiative (described under the heading "Briggs Initiative: Proposition 6").

Milk continued to run for office with a growing cadre of volunteer supporters from his Castro Street storefront: He ran unsuccessfully a second time for supervisor in 1975 and then for State Assembly in 1976. Mainstream Democratic leaders and their moderate gay followers did not support Milk in either race, and even went so far as to bring in Massachusetts Rep. Elaine Noble, the first openly gay member of the United States Congress, to stump for his opponent, Art Agnos.[1252] Although Milk lost, the fall election of 1976 also featured a proposal to shift from citywide election of supervisors to district election, which would permit candidates to run with less downtown funding and more neighborhood support; the initiative passed with support from an alliance of union, gay, and neighborhood activists.

In 1977, Milk ran for the board again, and in November, he was elected as the first openly gay person to win public office in California. Heralding a different era of San Francisco politics, Harvey Milk was part of a newly diverse board along with Carol Ruth Silver, a single mother; Gordon Lau, a Chinese American; and Ella Hill Hutch, an African American woman. Milk introduced successful legislation that expanded gay rights, including protection from being fired because of one's sexual orientation. But Milk's political vision was not solely focused on gay rights. He forged a productive bond between the Chinese-American and gay Democratic clubs in the city, argued against major redevelopment projects that evicted longtime neighborhood residents, and received much attention for his "pooper scooper" law that required dog owners to clean up after their pets in public parks and on the street.[1253] *Bay Area Reporter* publisher Bob Ross relates how Milk took a "dog for a walk through Duboce Park and purposely left a mess, then brought all the news crews up there. He knew exactly where that mess was, and stepped in it while he was talking to reporters. You can't make a better point than that."[1254]

1248 Tim Redmond, "Howard Wallace, LGBT Icon, Dies at 76," *San Francisco Bay Guardian* 15 November 2012 http://www.sfbg.com/politics/2012/11/15/howard-wallace-lgbt-icon-dies-76 accessed 15 June 2015.

1249 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street.* 82-83.

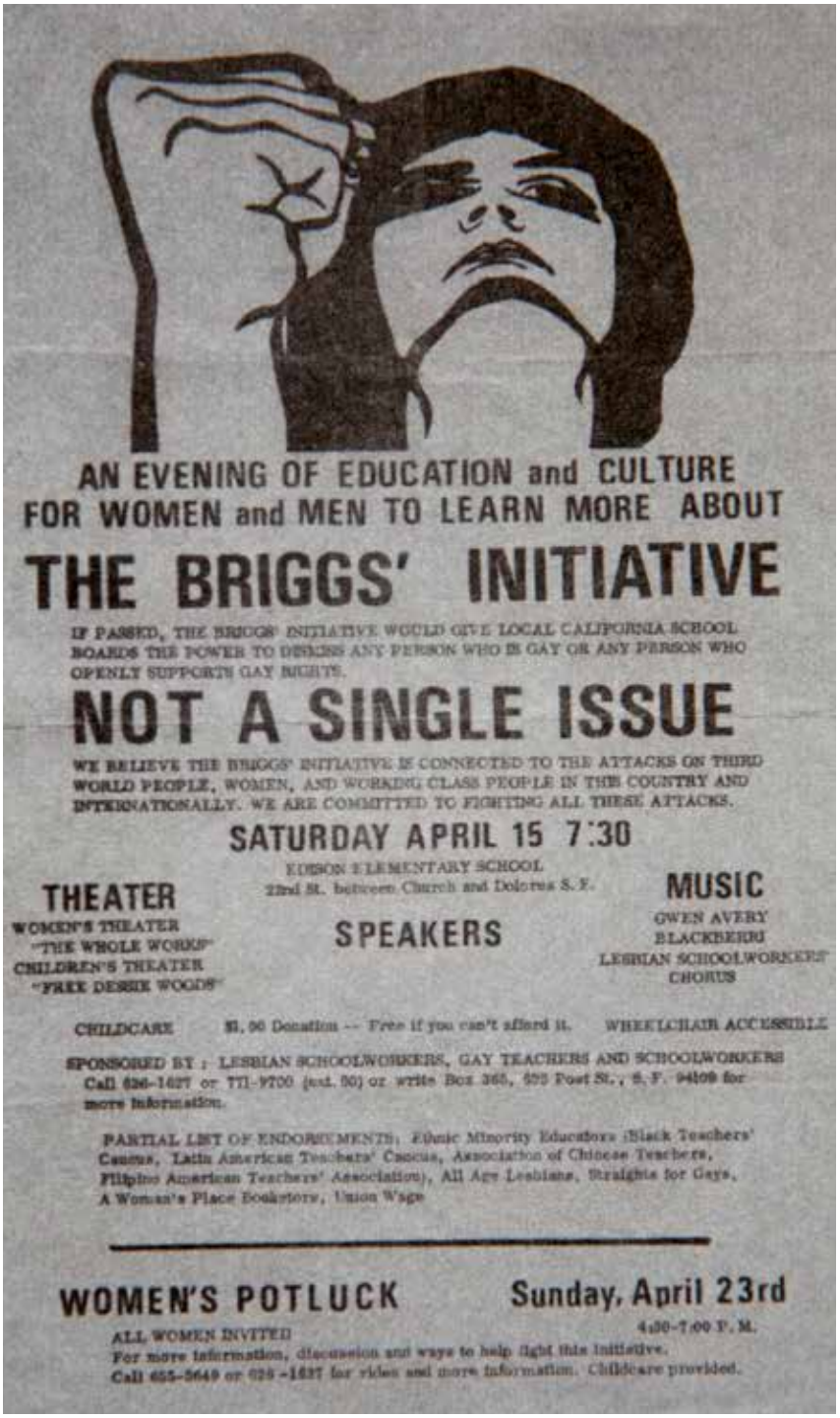
1250 Miriam Frank, *Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014) 79

1251 Frank Robinson, "Castro Street, That Great Street," *Out in the Castro*, 55.

1252 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 125.

1253 Robinson, "Castro Street, That Great Street," 64-65.

1254 Katie Szymanski, "Bob Ross: 30 Years of *Bay Area Reporter*" in *Out in the Castro*, 109.



Poster for a Brigg's Initiative event (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

San Francisco Gay Democratic Club

Activists formed a new Democratic Club in 1976 as an alternative to the Toklas Club. Joining Milk in forming the San Francisco Gay Democratic Club were a number of the city's activists, including Harry Britt; Dick Pabich; Jim Rivaldo; and Chris Perry, the first president of the organization. The club's organizing principles state:

> No decisions which affect our lives should be made without the gay voice being heard. We want our fair share of city services. We want openly gay people appointed and elected to city offices—people who reflect the diversity of our community. We want the schools of San Francisco to provide full exposure to and positive appreciation of gay lifestyles. We are asking no more than we deserve: We will not settle for less.[1255]

Anita Bryant and the Save Our Children Campaign

As the gay movement for political and economic rights became more prominent, public opinion in parts of the country seemed to be moving in favor of gay rights. By 1977, nineteen states had legalized sexual acts between consenting adults of the same sex, forty cities had gay rights ordinances, and nearly thirty states were considering such legislation. When Anita Bryant, a singer and spokesperson for Florida orange juice, rallied a Save Our Children campaign to overturn the recently passed gay rights ordinance in Dade County, Florida, San Franciscans such as Jim Foster and Hank Wilson sprang to action. Foster went to Miami to help local gay activists and to coordinate a national boycott of Florida orange juice. Wilson took six months off his job and traveled to Miami, where he gathered homophobic campaign ads to create a cautionary display back on Castro Street. "I would stand back and watch people watch the displays. Our people could not believe what was being said about us. That generated cash."[1256] Wilson later recalled the campaign as "an opportunity for us. For the first time, the word was out. Talk shows were talking about homosexuality. There were more articles written about homosexuals and all the cumulative history up to that point."[1257]

Dade County voted to repeal its gay rights ordinance; in response, on June 7, 1977, San Franciscans protested on what became known as Orange Tuesday. A crowd of San Franciscans chanting "we are your children" began marching from the Castro, stopping at Most Holy Redeemer Church, the Catholic Church at 110 Diamond Street (extant), just over two blocks from the intersection of Castro and 18th Streets, to shout, "Two, four, six, eight, separate the church and state." Harvey Milk, who had been asked by the police to help prevent a riot, led the crowd down Market Street to Union Square, where a crowd of over 3,000 people gathered. "This is the power of the gay community. Anita's going to create a national gay force," said Milk. A photo of Milk with the bullhorn made the next day's front page of the *San Francisco Examiner*. For the rest of the week, angry crowds marched through San Francisco's streets. [1258]

A gay and lesbian political action organization, The Coalition for Human Rights, formed in June 1977 with the stated goal "We must all work together to prevent an anti-gay backlash from overwhelming us. Effective legislation will guarantee us what the majority of people take for granted: the right to live as we wish and to pursue our livelihoods without fear." The Coalition, which held meetings at 330 Grove and New College, worked to bring the issue of anti-gay violence to the mainstream media, organized activists to press Vice President Walter Mondale to support

1255 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 150.
1256 Shepherd, *White Nights and Ascending Shadows,* 32.
1257 Ibid.
1258 *San Francisco Examiner*, June 8, 1977, 1. Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 159-160.

gay rights legislation at a San Francisco rally, and blanketed that year's Gay Freedom Day Parade with placards.[1259]

Briggs Initiative: Proposition 6

In June 1977, two weeks after the Dade County election, John Briggs, a member of the California state senate from Orange County, announced from the steps of San Francisco's City Hall a campaign to qualify a state ballot initiative that would remove all gay teachers from California's public classrooms.[1260] The following week, a gay man named Robert Hillsborough was stabbed to death outside of Whiz Burger (700 South Van Ness Avenue, extant), a restaurant in the Mission District. The four young men who attacked him yelled, "Faggot, faggot, faggot."[1261] Responding to the incident, many local gay men and lesbians who had not been activists became political overnight. A few days later, the annual Gay Freedom Day events drew a quarter-million people, in part in reaction to the virulent antigay backlash represented by Bryant, Briggs, and others.

Proposition 6, as the initiative promoted by Briggs was named, was part of a growing conservative movement that targeted women's rights, including abortion and other reproductive rights, as well as the rights of gay men and lesbians. Supported by a growing number of fundamentalist Christians, the movement argued that liberated women and homosexuals were dangerous threats to what the conservatives dubbed traditional family values.[1262] Antigay organizers supporting Proposition 6 gathered enough signatures to qualify the initiative for the 1978 ballot. Efforts by gay and lesbian people and their supporters to defeat the measure were "the most far-reaching and sustained gay organizing campaign in history," according to historian John D'Emilio.[1263] An intense amount of this energy came from San Francisco. Three major groups working against Proposition 6 were formed in the city, with different leaders and different strategies. The statewide Concerned Voters of California, led by Jim Foster and David Goodstein, worked at the upper level of organized politics and favored a general civil-liberties argument against Briggs' proposal. Gay men and lesbians who wanted to organize more explicitly against homophobia joined the Bay Area Coalition Against the Briggs Initiative, with headquarters at 2049 Market Street (extant).[1264] San Franciscans Against Prop. 6, formed by Harvey Milk and his allies, focused on defeating the measure locally.[1265] Amber Hollibaugh, who worked full time for BACABI, spent a significant portion of her time traveling around Northern California speaking in small towns and rural areas. In an interview from 1979, she recalls the opportunities these forums presented to open minds and foster discussion about homosexuality in churches and union halls, where she addressed audiences using arguments such as the following:

> There are gay people in this room, in your union, that you will never know are gay. You have to deal with the homosexual issue whether you know it or not because people you work with are homosexuals whether they're out to you or not. I have to come and speak

1259 Coalition for Human Rights brochure, Paula Lichtenberg Papers, GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER Historical Society.

1260 Sides, *Erotic City,* 155.

1261 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 163. Sides wrote that Hillsborough lived in an apartment at 19th and Lexington, p. 153, but an exact address did not turn up in research for this study.

1262 Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions,* 203-209.

1263 D'Emilio, "Gay Politics, Gay Community," *Making Trouble,* 89.

1264 According to Paula Lichtenberg, BACABI evolved from the Coalition for Human Rights, which formed around June 1977. Paula Lichtenberg, personal communication with Donna Graves, 20 August 2015. Lichtenberg recalled that BACABI moved to the Market Street address sometime in Spring or Sumer of 1978 and that "an apartment building was opened next door at 2051 Market and for a few months at the end of the campaign we rented an apartment there, where we had some office space." Paula Lichtenberg, electronic communication with Donna Graves, 24 February 2014.

1265 Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk* (New York: St. Martin's Press 1982) 221.





TOP: Candlelight march from the Castro to City Hall after the assassination of Harvey Milk, November 1978

BOTTOM: Crowd marching from the Castro to City Hall at the beginning of the White Night Riot, May 1979

(Both photographs by Donald Eckert)

> because the people that are actually gay in your union can't be here, can't be acknowledged as gay people. What does that mean, not to be able to acknowledge the primary things in your life? What would it mean to you not to be able to acknowledge your children, your primary relationships, your parents?[1266]

As Hollibaugh points out, "The way Briggs wrote the initiative meant it forced people to examine it who otherwise might not have been sympathetic."[1267] Proposition 6 was different from earlier antigay ballot measures in that it was directed not only against gay people, but also would have mandated the investigation and dismissal of any school employee who engaged in "advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging or promoting of private or public homosexual activity directed at, or likely to come to the attention of school children and/or other employees." BACABI and others organized numerous lectures, teach-ins, debates and rallies, and distributed cards that said, "You may not realize it but you just spoke with a gay person."[1268] BACABI cochair Paula Lichtenberg recalled that KQED, the San Francisco public television station, organized a debate between Briggs, Milk, and San Francisco State professor and lesbian activist Sally Gearhart that was broadcast on stations around California: "We had a big viewing at Mission High School. Harvey and Sally walked triumphantly into the auditorium afterwards."[1269] Although months before the vote, polls had not been encouraging, closer to the election more and more organizations, newspapers, and elected leaders including former California Governor Ronald Reagan and President Jimmy Carter went on record against the initiative; it ended up losing by a large margin. The jubilant victory party held at BACABI's space on Market Street included inspiring speeches by Milk and San Francisco Mayor George Moscone. [1270]

Following the Briggs Initiative, Milk's role as a favored media voice placed him at the forefront of the gay movement in California. The many televised debates about Proposition 6 had created a statewide profile for him as the "chief gay wheeler-dealer" with state and national politicians, notes Randy Shilts.[1271] In San Francisco, Milk was no longer perceived as "the Gay Supervisor," but was known as a champion of many progressive causes, giving him a constituency beyond his own district.[1272] During his almost 11 months in office, Milk submitted a landmark gay-rights ordinance to the Board of Supervisors. The measure—which addressed anti-gay discrimination in housing, employment and public accommodations—was passed by the board and signed into law by Mayor Moscone. The single dissenting vote was cast by Supervisor Dan White, a former San Francisco police officer and firefighter.[1273]

George Moscone and Harvey Milk Assassinations

In 1975, George Moscone, a liberal California state senator who co-sponsored A.B. 437, was elected mayor of San Francisco by a narrow majority of 3,000 votes, a margin of victory that he credited to gay supporters. In thanks, Moscone selected several gay and lesbian leaders for political appointments; lesbian activists Jo Daly and Phyllis Lyon joined the Human Rights Commission; Del Martin was appointed to the Commission on the Status of Women; and Harvey Milk was chosen for the Board of Permit Appeals, an appointment Moscone later reversed, replacing Milk with Rick Stokes.

1266 "Interview with Amber Hollibaugh," *Socialist Review*. 9(3) May-June 1979.
1267 Ibid.
1268 Paula Lichtenberg, interviewed by Donna Graves, 21 February 2014.
1269 Ibid.
1270 Ibid.
1271 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 253.
1272 Ibid.
1273 Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom,* 166.

On the morning of November 27, 1978, Dan White, who had recently resigned his seat as city supervisor and then asked the mayor to reappoint him, sneaked into City Hall through a basement window, carrying a hidden handgun. He met with Moscone, who told him he would not be reappointed; White then shot Moscone to death. He proceeded to seek out Milk, following him into his office and killed him. That night, a mourning crowd numbering in the tens of thousands silently marched down Market Street from the Castro to City Hall carrying candles. Joan Baez sang, and Cleve Jones recited words from a song by Meg Christian and Holly Near: "Can we be like drops of water falling on the stone/Splashing, breaking, dispersing in air/Weaker than the stone by far but be aware/ That as time goes by the rock will wear away/ And the water comes again." Many marchers placed their candles at the base of the 1927 statue of Abraham Lincoln on the east side of City Hall.[1274] Milk speechwriter Frank Robinson recalls, "In the morning, you couldn't see the statue at all, only a small mountain of candle wax."[1275] In the week that followed, memorial services for Milk and Moscone were held in City Hall and special services for Milk took place at numerous sites, including Temple Emanu-El (2 Lake Street) in Presidio Heights, the first time an openly gay rabbi officiated there; the San Francisco Opera House (301 Van Ness Avenue); San Francisco State University; and The Women's Building. The following Tuesday the San Francisco Gay Democratic Club voted unanimously to rename itself the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club.[1276]

White Night Riot

On May 21, 1979, six months after the assassinations of Harvey Milk and George Moscone, White was convicted on two counts of manslaughter, rather than first-degree murder. That night, thousands of furious protesters marched down Market Street from the Castro to Civic Center, overwhelming the San Francisco Police, shattering windows at City Hall, and setting police cars on fire. In response, two-dozen police officers descended on the Castro, smashing passersby with billy clubs and attacking those seeking safety in the Elephant Walk Bar (500 Castro Street, extant). Cleve Jones tells of running back to his nearby apartment after seeing the first sweep of police.[1277] "I had a telephone tree. I knew people in at least every other building on those several blocks. My roommate and I would call each of these 50 people. That would get the phone tree started…each of these 50 people had 10 people that they would call."[1278] Heeding the alarm, a crowd gathered shouting "Go home, go home" to the police, who finally disbanded after Police Chief Charles Gain ordered them to stand down.[1279]

The following morning an emergency meeting was held at City Hall where leaders from the Harvey Milk Democratic Club made clear that they would not apologize for the community's response to the verdict. They would also proceed with a party to celebrate what would have been Milk's 49th birthday that had already been planned for the Castro that evening. Hundreds of volunteers enlisted by Jones' phone tree and other community connections met at the auditorium of Douglass Elementary School (4235 19th Street, extant) in the Castro for training as safety officers and monitors. Not trusting the police response, Jones recalls that legal observers and hidden infirmaries were set up in nearby apartments and shops and in the parking lot behind the Castro Theatre.[1280]

1274 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*, 280.
1275 Gamson, *The Fabulous Sylvester*, 151
1276 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 283. Professor Robert Cherny pointed out the memorial service at San Francisco State; long-time member of Sha'ar Zahav, Robert Tta, remembered the service at The Women's Building.
1277 Address from Cleve Jones and Jeff Dawson, *Stitching a Revolution: The Making of an Activist,* 75
1278 Shepherd, *White Nights and Ascending Shadows,* 48-50.
1279 Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street,* 333.
1280 Jones and Dawson, *Stitching a Revolution*, 70-71. The school has been renamed Harvey Milk Civil Rights Academy.

Ultimately, an estimated 20,000 people celebrated their own power and Milk's legacy as disco diva Sylvester, who had sung at Milk's birthday party the previous year, entertained the crowd with his hit "You Make Me Feel Mighty Real."[1281] Speaking to the crowd, San Francisco State professor Sally Gearhart said, "There is no way that I will apologize for what happened last night…. Unless we display our ungovernable rage and injustice, we won't get heard."[1282]

Consolidating Political Influence

Historian John D'Emilio describes the last half of the 1970s as a "rapid coming-of-age of gays as a political force in San Francisco."[1283] A panel titled "Gays in Politics" at the first gay students conference held at San Francisco State University discussed politics both within and outside of the gay community. The panel was chaired by Jo Daly, chair of the Gay Caucus of the California Democratic Council, and included Jim Foster, also on the California Democratic Council; Harvey Milk, then-candidate for State Assembly; Phyllis Lyon, member of the Day Advisory Committee to the Human Rights Commission; George Raya, a registered lobbyist in Sacramento; and Massachusetts congresswoman Elaine Noble, the first gay or lesbian person elected to national office in the United States.[1284]

In 1975, the San Francisco Unified School Board approved a nondiscrimination policy drafted by the Gay Teachers Coalition, whose founders included activists and teachers Hank Wilson and Tom Ammiano.[1285] Ammiano, a teacher at Buena Vista School in the Mission neighborhood, remembers, "Through the efforts of many teacher friends, both straight and gay, we organized a protest outside the school district before the meeting of the Board of Education at the District Office" at 170 Fell Street.[1286] The board postponed the vote but a sympathetic front-page article in the *San Francisco Examiner* and more organizing led to a packed boardroom on June 17, 1975. "The board voted 7 to 0, unanimous in our favor," Ammiano proudly recalls.[1287]

After Harvey Milk's death, California Governor Jerry Brown Jr. named lesbian activist Del Martin to the California Commission on Crime Control and Violence Prevention, and Cleve Jones became the first openly gay staff person in the California State Legislature after Assemblymember Art Agnos hired him as a consultant.[1288]

In 1980, CBS television aired a show nationally about the San Francisco mayoral race titled "Gay Power, Gay Politics." Rather than a serious examination of the expanded political landscape, the TV special was a prurient expose centered on sadomasochism. "There is a consequence to the homosexual lifestyle here. Traditional values are under attack," intoned producer-reporter George Crile. Mayor Dianne Feinstein compared the show to "doing a documentary on Italians and only showing the Mafia."[1289] *Sentinel* reporter Randy Alfred, concerned that the show would influence less discerning Americans, filed a detailed complaint with the National News Council, an advisory board that monitored mainstream news coverage. The council ultimately agreed with the *Sentinel*

1281 Gamson, *The Fabulous Sylvester*, 135, 181
1282 Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom,* 182.
1283 D'Emilio, "Gay Politics, Gay Community," *Making Trouble,* 88.
1284 Program for Symposium '76" April 15-17, San Francisco State University" conference program from collection of John Blackburn.
1285 Hank Wilson described forming the Gay Teachers Alliance after meeting Tom Ammiano at a Bay Area Gay Liberation meeting. Shepherd, *White Nights and Ascending Shadows,* 28.
1286 Tom Ammiano, "My Adventures as a Gay Teacher", *Smash the Church*, 41.
1287 Ammiano, "My Adventures as a Gay Teacher" , 41.
1288 Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom,* 190. Shepherd, *White Nights and Ascending Shadows,* 58.
1289 Dudley Cleninden and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999) 449.

on some aspects, specifically that "justification cannot be found for the degree of attention CBS gave to sadomasochism."[1290] CBS News acknowledged its errors on the air in October 1981; "never before had gay activists managed to win an official apology from a major news organization," notes journalism professor Edward Alwood.

Despite the CBS attack on their political influence, gay men and lesbians in San Francisco continued to make incremental progress in local and statewide appointments and elections. Highlights of the accomplishments include the following: Mary Morgan became the first openly lesbian judge in the country in 1981 when California Governor Jerry Brown Jr. appointed her to a Municipal Court judgeship in San Francisco; Harry Britt, who replaced Harvey Milk after his assassination, served on the Board of Supervisors from 1979 to 1990; the last two years he was president of the board; A "Lavender Sweep" in 1990 elected openly lesbian lawyer Donna Hitchens as a Superior Court judge and two lesbians to the Board of Supervisors: Roberta Achtenberg and Carole Migden.[1291]; Tom Ammiano was elected to the San Francisco School Board in 1990 with the most votes of any candidate; In November 1990, San Francisco voters passed Proposition K, which established a municipal registry for domestic partnerships including same-sex couples.[1292]

GAY RIGHTS AND THE MILITARY

During the Vietnam War, the U.S. military continued to view homosexuality as a moral defect meriting discharge (although earlier justifications on the basis of the security threat posed by blackmail lost strength as more people came out of the closet). This made gay men one of the few groups of young males who were theoretically ineligible for the draft. Because so many young people supported the peace movement, many of the numerous antiwar groups in the Bay Area counseled even straight young men to proclaim their homosexuality as a way of avoiding military service. At the same time, of course, there were gay people who wanted to serve despite the military's ban.[1293]

Leonard Matlovich

Enforcement of the ban on gays became strict again only after the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. Air Force Sergeant Leonard Matlovich was discharged for proclaiming his homosexuality after three tours of duty in Vietnam, for which he received an Air Force Commendation Medal, a Bronze Star, and a Purple Heart. Born in 1943 in Savannah, Georgia, Matlovich grew up in a religious, conservative family. His final assignment in the Air Force was to teach race relations courses, which helped him to apply lessons of inclusion and equality to his own status as a gay man.[1294]

After a protracted court battle over his discharge, the Air Force settled Matlovich's case without acknowledging that there was anything wrong with the ban on gay people serving in the military. In the meantime, Matlovich's cause drew national attention. In September 1975, Matlovich appeared in uniform on the cover of *Time* magazine with the headline "I Am a Homosexual: The Quest for Acceptance"; it was one of the first times an openly gay person appeared on the cover of a national newsmagazine in the United States.

1290 Alwood, *Straight* , 189.

1291 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 417.

1292 Ibid.

1293 "Vietnam" text for Out Ranks, exhibit materials, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, http://Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgenderhistory.org/OutranksWeb/Vietnam/Vietnam.htm accessed 12 October 2014.

1294 Leonard P. Matlovich Jr, *glbtq: an encyclopedia of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender & queer culture* http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/matlovich_lp.html.

Matlovich moved to San Francisco in 1978, the same year that NBC broadcast *Sgt. Matlovich vs. the Air Force*, one of the first feature stories about gay rights to air on national television. He was active in gay rights issues, including the struggle against Anita Bryant's Save Our Children campaign and California's Briggs Initiative. Matlovich lived briefly on the Russian River, where he ran a restaurant, but returned to San Francisco in 1984. In 1986, he announced his HIV diagnosis on the national television show *Good Morning America* and devoted his remaining years to AIDS activism.[1295] Matlovich died in 1988 and is buried in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D.C., under a stone with two pink triangles and the inscription "When I was in the military they gave me a medal for killing two men—and a discharge for loving one." A memorial plaque with the same inscription has been installed near the entrance of the San Francisco apartment building at the northeast corner of 18th and Castro Streets (extant) where Matlovich lived.[1296]

Alexander Hamilton American Legion Post

The Alexander Hamilton Post 448 of the American Legion was founded in 1984 by gay rights activist Dr. Paul D. Hardman. Hardman had advertised for other eligible gay and lesbian veterans to join him in establishing a new post of the American Legion; the city's previous posts operated out of the War Memorial Veterans Building (401 Van Ness Avenue, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 84) in San Francisco's Civic Center. In 1921, the War Memorial Trust was established to administer the building for the benefit of San Francisco's military veterans.[1297]

The name for the only gay and lesbian group affiliated with the American Legion was chosen to recognize Revolutionary-era leader Alexander Hamilton, whose letters have been interpreted as indicating he was homosexual.[1298] Hardman's goal was to secure respect and acceptance for gay and lesbian veterans. However, some of the existing posts in the largely conservative American Legion attempted to block official organization of the new post.

Despite their resistance, San Francisco's nondiscrimination ordinances prevailed because the War Memorial Veterans Building is City-owned; a charter for the Alexander Hamilton Post 448 was granted in October 1985. Even after winning their charter, the Hamilton Post continued to face opposition from older posts regarding space in the Veterans Building. In 1987, Post 448 took legal action to secure their right to space at the Veterans Building.

Post 448 includes veterans serving up to the Gulf Wars. Although the membership has predominately consisted of gay men, former Sgt. Diana Vasquez joined because other Legion groups were too "male-dominated." "Alexander Hamilton accepts women. It's a younger post. They want to move for change," Vasquez noted.[1299]

The post formed a color guard for the opening and closing ceremonies of the 1986 Gay Games, and every year the post marches in the LGBT Pride parade and the city's Veteran's Day parade. The post also led a contingent of veterans in the 1987 and 1993 National Marches on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Rights.[1300]

1295 Cleninden and Nagourney, *Out for Good*, 561.

1296 Regina Marler, "He Told Before "Don't Ask," *The Advocate* 3 March 2009.

1297 Kevin Davis, "Gay Legion Post Marks 20 Years," *Bay Area Reporter*, 11 August 2005.

1298 "Our History" Alexander Hamilton Post 448 American Legion http://www.post448.org/history.htm accessed 10 October 2014. The Post offices and meeting site are now in other locations, but the Post newsletter from November 2007 lists 401 Van Ness as location for the office and monthly meetings.

1299 Gary Libman, "These Gay Ex-Soldiers Reject the Traditional Organizations for Veterans or Homosexuals." *Los Angeles Times* 21 July 1993.

1300 "Our History" Alexander Hamilton Post 448 American Legion http://www.post448.org/history.htm accessed 10 October 2014.

VIII. BUILDING LGBTQ COMMUNITIES (1960S TO 1990S)

GAY PRESS

In addition to providing a forum for breaking the silence about gay and lesbian lives, homophile-era publications of the 1950s such as the Mattachine Society's *Mattachine Review* and the Daughters of Bilitis' *The Ladder* offered much-needed information about legal and moral questions that caused anxiety in people's day-to-day lives, such as the legal limits of police entrapment and how much information an arrested person was required to give a police officer. The *Mattachine Review* included discussions of employment issues faced by gay men and offered strategies for how to avoid job discrimination.[1301] Publishers had to self-fund their work because it was difficult to find advertisers.[1302] Periodicals associated with homophile groups were in decline by the late 1960s. For instance, the *Mattachine Review* ended in 1967, and *The Ladder* ceased publication in 1972.

In the years after these publications' demise, publications in San Francisco emerged as voices of liberation and reflections of the growing economic and political power of increasingly visible LGBTQ communities.

Examples of LGBTQ Periodicals in San Francisco

Early Gay Media

The Society for Individual Rights founded *Vector* in 1964. Historian John D'Emilio observes: "Rather than denigrate the gay bar culture as *Mattachine Review* and *The Ladder* had done in the 1950s, *Vector* embraced the culture and celebrated its ability to equalize persons of diverse social strata." *Vector* placed news about the bars on its front page, listed the names and addresses of the dozens of gay bars in cities around the country, and made sure copies of each issue were available in every bar in San Francisco.[1303] The publication highlighted and legitimized gay social activities such as picnics, theater productions, and drag shows.[1304] But it, at times, presented a hostile attitude toward drag queens, unless they were on stage. A 1974 essay proclaims: "it is time to retire the image of gay-person-as-drag-queen in favor of an image of the homosexual as 'an ordinary guy.' It would make good sense if drag stayed out of the spotlight."[1305]

Guy Strait, who had been active in the homophile organization League for Civil Education began publishing *Cruise News & World Report* in 1965. Historian Nan Alamilla Boyd describes Straits newspapers as "the first of their kind" in combining social items and commentary on gay and lesbian bar-based cultures.[1306] Distributed in gay bars and gay-friendly businesses, Strait's papers also provided a connection between gay and lesbian commercial establishments and queer patrons.

Gay Liberation Press

New publications established to provide a forum for debate about gay liberation were more inclusive of drag queens and transgender people. Charles Thorpe began editing the short-lived *San Francisco Gay Free Press* in 1970 and hired writer Angela Douglas, whose stories provided the gay liberation press with a rare transgender voice. When she was arrested for cross-dressing, the *Gay*

1301 Rodger Streimatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995) 42.
1302 Ibid., 49.
1303 Ibid., 72.
1304 Ibid., 64.
1305 Ibid., 199.
1306 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 223.

Free Press blanketed its front page with a two-inch-high headline: "Free Angela Douglas!"[1307] The radical tabloid's pages frequently used terms such as "gay genocide" and ran drawings of bullets exploding in the faces of police officers. Thorpe argued that lesbians and gays in the U.S. would achieve equality only by wrenching it forcibly from straight society. The publication closed down by the end of 1971.[1308]

Another gay liberation periodical, *Gay Sunshine: A Journal of Gay Liberation,* was published in Berkeley by a collective of gay men starting in 1970. The debut issue featured an interview with Huey P. Newton, one of the few Black leaders who expressed sympathy for the struggles of gay men and lesbians.[1309] *Gay Sunshine* moved to San Francisco within a year under the leadership of Winston Leyland, who called it a "quarterly male gay lib tabloid of activism, literature and culture… with a small national circulation."[1310] Under Leyland, *Gay Sunshine* shifted toward more literary concerns, running interviews with prominent gay writers such as William Burroughs, Jean Genet, Allen Ginsberg, Christopher Isherwood, Gore Vidal, and Tennessee Williams.[1311]

Other Gay Periodicals

Drummer Magazine (1971–1999) moved from Los Angeles to San Francisco in 1977 and brought a focus on the leather community to the gay press. Published by Alternate Publishing Company, the magazine was for "masculine-identified gay men," according to editor from 1977 to 1979, Jack Fritscher. *Drummer* began at 1730 Divisadero Street but in 1980 moved to a building in the South of Market neighborhood (15 Harriet Street, extant), which housed the "boy-lesque" *Stars Magazine*.[1312]

A paper called the *San Francisco Bay Times* became the first newspaper in the city to be jointly published by both gay men and lesbians in 1978. In 1979, the *Times* evolved into a popular monthly (later biweekly) events calendar called *Coming Up!* (847 Valencia Street), then changed its name back to the *San Francisco Bay Times* in 1988.[1313] The *Bay Times* continues to publish as of early 2015.

Bay Area Weeklies

Two long-running commercially published gay weeklies were launched in San Francisco in the first half of the 1970s. The *Bay Area Reporter* was founded in 1971, and the *San Francisco Sentinel* (500 Hayes Street, extant) started up three years later. Both weeklies combined cultural reporting and news with pages of ads that created the first commercially successful gay periodicals in San Francisco. The *Sentinel* went through several changes of leadership, including founder Charles Morris and Bill Beardemphl, and had an on-and-off relationship with pioneering gay reporter Randy Alfred. The paper stopped publication as a weekly in 1995.

1307 Streimatter, *Unspeakable,* 133, 141.

1308 Ibid., 370.

1309 Ibid., 126.

1310 Winston Leyland "Introduction" *Out in the Castro*, Winston Leyland ed. (San Francisco: Leyland Publications, 2002 Press) 12.

1311 Charles Kirtley "The Pioneering Role of Winston Leyland in Gay Publishing," Spring 1988 http://www.leylandpublications.com/article_leyland.html accessed 12 June 2014.

1312 Jack Fritscher, *Gay San Francisco: Eyewitness* Drummer *Magazine*, 2013 http://www.jackfritscher.com/ Fritscher says Embry bought the Harriet Street building in 1980 and that Drummer's office was at 1730 Divisadero Street.

1313 Tom Zoellner, "Roland Schembari -- Co-Founder of S.F. Bay Times," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 2000. 288 7th Street is address for SFBT in 1990s from The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

Bay Area Reporter and Bob Ross

The *Bay Area Reporter* is reportedly the oldest LGBTQ weekly in continuous publication in the U.S.[1314] It was founded by Bob Ross and Phil Bentley in 1971 as a way to provide more comprehensive information for and about the gay community. Known informally as the *BAR*, the paper was distributed at bars because, according to Ross, "that's where people got their knowledge."[1315] Full-page ads for bars ran on its front cover, and the paper carried a column of bar-related news inside. The *BAR* also ran articles on politics, civil rights, and the arts.[1316]

The New Right backlash of the late 1970s and early 1980s inspired a new level of professionalism in the gay press. George Mendenhall, former *Vector* editor who became news editor of the *BAR* in the late 1970s, remembers, "The gay press had matured. We took journalism a lot more serious than in the beginning of the decade. We had to. Marching in the streets wasn't going to get us liberated. The battlefront was the ballot box—and that called for a new kind of gay journalism."[1317] The *BAR* and *The Sentinel* ran copious coverage of campaigns that lesbians and gays mounted against Proposition 6 and other New Right assaults, as well as articles about antigay violence and community efforts to curb it.[1318]

By the early 1980s, the *BAR* (1528 15th Street, extant) and the *Sentinel* were examples of gay newspapers that could turn a profit by combining community news with abundant ads for gay bars, nightclubs, and bathhouses.[1319] The papers drew criticism in the early years of the AIDS epidemic for weak coverage of the epidemic; opponents charged them with sacrificing their readers' health to ad revenue from bathhouses and other commercial sex establishments. But within a few years, the papers were covering the impact of AIDS on local lives, as well as advances in research and treatment. From December 1981 to August 1984, the *Sentinel* featured the "Gay Cancer Journal" by Bobbi Campbell, known as San Francisco's "KS [Kaposi's Sarcoma] Poster Boy"; the column juxtaposed research findings with reports on the funerals of Campbell's friends.[1320] In 1989, the *BAR* devoted eight full pages to over 600 images of people who had died of AIDS.[1321] The *BAR* and other gay periodicals also played an important role in the increasingly important crusade to raise funds for AIDS.[1322] In August 1998, the *BAR* made national news when it reported that it had received no obituaries for the week, the first time that had happened since the AIDS epidemic began.

Bob Ross, who remained the publisher of the *BAR* until his death in 2003, was an influential figure in San Francisco LGBTQ history. A cofounder of the Tavern Guild, Ross raised money and provided support for numerous pro-gay politicians. He held frequent political and professional events at his home at the corner of 20th and Castro Streets (4200 20th Street, extant). Ross was instrumental in helping Harvey Milk win election and was one of four names on Milk's short list to replace him if he died in office along with Frank Robinson, Anne Kronenberg, and Harry Britt. Mayor Dianne Feinstein reportedly vetoed Ross because he had recently been elected the first Emperor of the Imperial Court—a yearlong role bestowed by election of court members. Yet, after the riot that

1314 "About the B.A.R." http://www.ebar.com/about/ accessed 7 June 2014.

1315 Szymanski, "Bob Ross: 30 Years of *Bay Area Reporter*," 107.

1316 Streimatter, *Unspeakable,* 191, 208.

1317 Ibid., 219.

1318 Ibid., 239. The BAR and Sentinel published photos of gay people who had disappeared, a precursor to the images of missing children that would appear on America's milk cartons a decade later.

1319 Cynthia Laird of the *Bay Area Reporter* shared the paper's following addresses: 1550 Howard Street, in 1980; 1528 15th Street in 1982-1988; 395 9th Street, 1989-mid-2013; 225 Bush Street #1700, 2013-14; 44 Gough Street #204, July 2014-present.

1320 Streimatter, *Unspeakable,* 263-264

1321 Nanette Asimov, "Bob Ross—pioneering gay journalist and activist" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 December 2003.

1322 Streimatter, *Unspeakable,* 266

erupted in the wake of the Dan White verdict, Feinstein turned to Ross and others to undertake a joint investigation into the police response.[1323] Ross served on the board of the Gay Games and cofounded the LGBTQ mental health organization Operation Concern. He also served for many years on the Golden Gate Bridge District Board and on the board of trustees of the San Francisco Ballet, illustrating the reach that some prominent gay leaders achieved into the halls of power.[1324]

LGBTQ Coverage in the Mainstream Press

As gay and lesbian media grew in numbers and increased their already central role in sustaining LGBTQ communities and identities, mainstream media coverage of gay communities expanded as well. Historians John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman argue that a crucial factor was "the collapse in the 1960s of strictures against the portrayal of sexual matters, [which] gave the media license to turn its attention to homosexuality."[1325] Between 1964 and 1970, national magazines such as *Life*, *Look, Esquire*, and *Time* ran extensively illustrated feature articles that introduced their audiences to "homosexual subculture" and reinforced San Francisco's image as a gay mecca.[1326]

San Francisco Chronicle **and** *San Francisco Examiner*

As described in earlier sections of this report, San Francisco's local papers before the 1960s often treated LGBTQ people and events with derision or scorn, if they mentioned them at all. In the 1960s, queer activists found this pattern increasingly unacceptable. In October 1969, the *San Francisco Examiner* ran an article full of stereotypes about gay men, lesbians, and transgender people that inspired a protest organized by Committee for Homosexual Freedom, the Gay Liberation Front, and Society for Individual Rights. When one of the *Examiner*'s staff dumped printing ink out a window onto the peaceful demonstrators, they used it to leave handprints and scrawl, "Gay is Good" and "Fuck the Examiner" on the walls of the *Examiner* offices at 860 Howard Street (not extant). Society for Individual Rights President Larry Littlejohn recalls:

> At that point, the tactical squad arrived—not to get the employees who dumped the ink, but to arrest the demonstrators who are victims. The police could've surrounded the *Examiner* building… but no, they went after the gays…. The police came racing in with their clubs swinging, knocking people to the ground. It was unbelievable.[1327]

Police response led to a battle with protestors known as the "Friday of the Purple Hand," with another demonstration the next day at City Hall.[1328] The protest against the *Examiner* gave San Francisco's local media a wake-up call that they needed to take the increasingly vocal LGBTQ communities into account.

Both the *San Francisco Examiner*, the city's afternoon daily, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the morning daily, expanded their perspective on the roles of gays and lesbians in San Francisco life in the 1970s. In 1978, the *Examiner* published one of the earliest in-depth examinations of gay life ever carried by a major American newspaper; titled "Gays and the City," it ran for 13 weeks. The series covered various facets of gay life—politics, religion, sexuality, social life, employment, and more.[1329]

1323 Ibid., 225.

1324 Asimov, "Bob Ross—pioneering gay journalist and activist" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 December 2003.

1325 D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 319.

1326 Meeker, *Contacts Desired*, passim.

1327 Littlejohn quoted in Tommi Avicola Mecca, "Sometimes You Work With the Democrats, and Sometimes You Riot," in Chris Carlsson and LisaRuth Elliot, *Ten Years that Shook the City: San Francisco 1968-1978* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2011) 186.

1328 Alwood, *Straight News*, 93. Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 54.

1329 Alwood, *Straight News,* 173.

In 1981, the *Chronicle* hired openly gay reporter Randy Shilts, who had been a freelance reporter for KQED and on staff at a national gay magazine, *The Advocate*. As the first reporter hired to cover the gay community full time at a mainstream daily newspaper, Shilts was uniquely positioned to bring the AIDS crisis to a broader public. His 1987 book *And the Band Played On: Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic* was described by Frank Robinson as "the loudest cry of protest from a gay man at what the national government was doing to its own citizens," but drew the ire of many gays who found his calls for bathhouse closure anathema.[1330]

GAYS AND LESBIANS IN BUSINESS

Although San Francisco was widely acknowledged to be a more open place for gays and lesbians to live in by the early 1970s, it was still difficult for most people to be out at work. A sympathetic researcher from the Kinsey-founded Institute for Sexual Research estimated that 60 percent of homosexuals he sought to interview in San Francisco in 1970 were in the closet. "I talked with a woman for 20 minutes this afternoon. She's a professional and she has a number of professional people who would like to sign up [for the interview], but they're afraid to."[1331]

Activist Larry Littlejohn mentions the "front marriages" that many gay men, especially those in white-collar jobs, arranged to meet employers' expectations during the period. "Most large companies aren't going to take a person into a management position if he doesn't have the right kind of social life…and that means a wife. So a lot of people get married to a lesbian or heterosexual woman who knows you're gay."[1332]

Even gay men who founded their own small businesses in the Castro to circumvent these restrictions found that they were unwelcome in the local business group, the Eureka Valley Merchants Association. In 1973, when the association tried to block a business license for two gay men who were seeking to open an antiques store, Harvey Milk organized gay small-business owners to create a competing organization, the Castro Village Association. The next year, the CVA organized the first Castro Street Fair, which drew 5,000 people to the neighborhood and brought a flood of dollars into local cash registers. Even the old-time business owners came to see that the merchants group had harnessed the increasing economic clout of gay business owners who were a key part of the neighborhood's transformation.[1333]

Although the Tavern Guild and many Castro-area businesses joined the Teamster's union anti-Coors campaign, many employers could be resistant to organizing among their own workers. Efforts by Hotel Employees and Retail Employees Local 2, which formed a gay and lesbian caucus in the late 1970s, to represent workers at the Patio/Bakery café (531 Castro Street, extant) , the popular bar and restaurant Church Street Station (2100 Market Street, threatened with demolition) and the York Hotel (940 Sutter Street, extant), were all quashed in 1979-1980.[1334]

1330 Jennifer Warren and Richard C. Paddock, "Randy Shilts, Chronicler of AIDS Epidemic, Dies at 42 : Journalism: Author of 'And the Band Played On' is credited with awakening nation to the health crisis," *Los Angeles Times,* 18 February 1994.

1331 Tom Maurer quoted in John Burks and Geoffrey Link, "The Gay Mecca: But San Francisco is Still No Utopia for Homosexuals," *San Francisco* v. 12 n. 4 (April 1970) 30.

1332 Larry Littlejohn quoted in Burks and Link, "The Gay Mecca: But San Francisco is Still No Utopia for Homosexuals," 31.

1333 Cleninden Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America*, 338-339.

1334 Miriam Frank, *Out in the Union* 143. More research on LGBTQ union caucuses and the places they met and organized should be conducted.

Golden Gate Business Association

Known as the first LGBTQ chamber of commerce, the Golden Gate Business Association was founded in 1974 under the leadership of president Rick Stokes. By the early 1980s, it had offices in the Financial District in the Russ Building (235 Montgomery Street, extant). By 1980, the Golden Gate Business Association had 500 members, including nineteen lawyers, thirteen contractors, twelve realtors, eleven printing firms, six hair salons, four savings and loan associations, and three antique shops.[1335] Corporate members included Union Bank and Holiday Inn.[1336] Six years later, President Arthur Lazere stated in *San Francisco Magazine* that the organization's goal was to visibly build "bridges to the straight community," as opposed to previous generations of gay business owners who hid their identities. The people building those bridges described by Lazere were overwhelmingly male; less than 10 percent of the GGBA members were women in 1980. Lawyer Donna Hitchens estimated for *San Francisco Magazine* that the Bay Area held 5,000 lesbian professionals, yet the reporter found that few were ready to be out, and the article noted only a very small handful of "social organizations of lesbian professionals."[1337] As one anonymous woman told the reporter, "Who needs the risk? It is hard enough for a woman to be successful in the business world without the added burden of the prejudices people have against homosexuals."[1338]

Lesbian Financial Institutions and Business Groups

Understanding the difficulties businesswomen faced, lesbians founded two separate financial institutions in San Francisco. In 1975, as mentioned earlier, the San Francisco Women's Centers, the Daughters of Bilitis, Black Women Organized for Action, and the Golden Gate Chapter of the National Organization for Women had formed the Bay Area Feminist Federal Credit Union, which operated at 944 Market Street until 1979.[1339] In 1977, the *Noe Valley Voice* announced that a second women-run financial institution was to open at Sacramento and Battery Streets. Lesbian businesswoman Charlotte Coleman was profiled as the board director's chair and a founding member of the First Women's Savings and Loan Association, one of the few of its kind in the nation. Coleman, longtime owner of several gay bars including The Front, the Golden Cask, and the Mint, said she had been encouraged to initiate the women's bank by then-Board of Supervisors candidate Carol Ruth Silver, but no records of the institution have yet been located.[1340]

An organization that brought together lesbian professionals was founded in 1982: San Francisco Bay Area Career Women aimed to "empower lesbians to achieve their full promise and potential" with programs on real estate transactions, estate planning, and travel. Up to 2,000 women reportedly attended the group's occasional dances.[1341] By 1988, BACW had an estimated 1,200 members, who were sometimes referred to as "Dykes on Spikes"—a reference to the high heels favored by many members. Activists Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon wrote in 1991 that BACW's president and many of the organization's members had been inspired to come out in the previous few years; "having an organization the size of BACW gives lesbians more visibility and political clout."[1342] Around that

1335 Joe Flower, "Gays in Business: The Prejudice and the Power," *San Francisco Magazine,* (September 1980) 44.

1336 Guide to the Golden Gate Business Association records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1337 Flower, "Gays in Business: The Prejudice and the Power," 44.

1338 Ibid.

1339 Robb, *Mothering the Movement*, 17. The Market Street address is from The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database.

1340 "Local Ms. Applies Dollars and Sense to Women's Savings and Loan," *Noe Valley Voice* volume 1 no. 4 August 1977 page 3. Not listed in 1978 Polk's City Directory under First or Women, but Charlotte Coleman is listed "The Trapp," which was located at 72 Eddy Street.

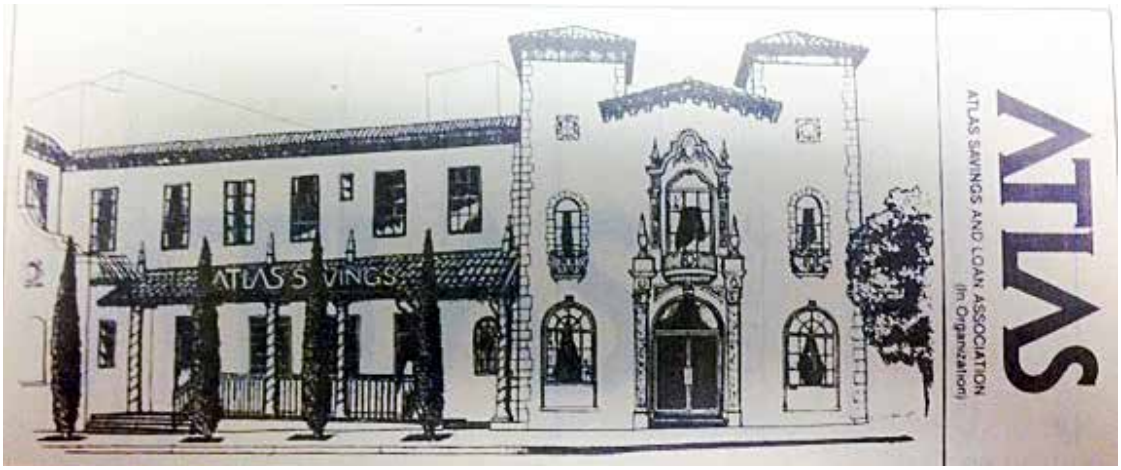
1341 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 100.

1342 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman,* 399.

time, BACW members participated alongside Fortune 500 leaders in a symposium on the region's economic future, a reflection of their growing stature.[1343]

Atlas Savings and Loan

Charlotte Coleman, who had also been active in the Society of Individual Rights, Operation Concern, and the Tavern Guild, became involved a few years later in Atlas Savings and Loan, which is often described as the first financial institution established by a partnership of gays and lesbians in the United States.[1344] Coleman was one of two women on a 10-person board chaired by John Schmidt. Atlas incorporated in 1979 and opened for business in late 1981. A May 1981 press release from the savings and loan announced that shares had been purchased by over 2,000 people, three-quarters of whom lived in San Francisco.[1345] The main office at 1967 Market Street (extant) was expanded in 1982 with a branch midway between 18th and Market Streets on Castro Street (444 Castro Street). By 1983, Atlas reportedly had 12,000 depositors with total capitalization of $85 million and $830,000 in profit. But the expansion, which included loans to large real estate projects in Southern California, had dire costs, and Atlas reportedly lost more than $2 million in 1984.[1346] Two years later, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board deemed Atlas Savings and Loan insolvent; Empire Savings, a national bank, took over the institution in 1986.[1347]



Atlas Savings and Loan, 1967 Market Street
(Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

1343 Ibid.

1344 Flower, "Gays in Business: The Prejudice and the Power," 45.

1345 Atlas Savings & Loan Press Release of May 1981, in IRA Empire Savings file, Gay Tennis & Gay Softball Materials Carton 1, Gay Games Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1346 Lloyd Watson, "Gay S&L Expects More Losses in '85," *San Francisco Chronicle* June 29, 1985.

1347 Letter from Federal Home Loan Bank Board, IRA Empire Savings file, Gay Tennis & Gay Softball Materials Carton 1, Gay Games Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

EXPANSION OF SEX-BASED COMMUNITIES

One of the basic tenets of 1960s counterculture was the concept of sexual liberation, which was supported by the birth control pill and increasing acceptance of public nudity and of sex outside marriage. New attitudes about sexuality were not confined to hippies but were spread throughout consumer culture from large-circulation magazines such as *Playboy* to advertisements that used sexual imagery to glamorize products. Sexual liberation manifested in many dimensions in San Francisco. Historian Josh Sides' *Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco* situates the city at the epicenter of national changes in attitudes about sexuality during the post-war period: "San Francisco's street-level battles over prostitution, pornography, homosexuality, nudism, transgenderism, 'social diseases,' AIDS, and marriage have prefigured the nation's for almost half a century."[1348] Gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people were often at the forefront of these struggles.

The boundaries between hippie-era sexual freedom and gay and lesbian liberation were becoming ever more blurry. The hippie culture of the 1960s, which challenged conventions and authority in everything from unisex haircuts and clothes to preaching free love, made homosexuality appear less outrageous and abnormal to many young people, according to historian Lillian Faderman.[1349]

The combination of sexual liberation, sex radicalism, and public sex was most developed in San Francisco's gay male culture, which created a large network of spaces, some commercial and some not, for sexual activities. By the mid-1970s, according to Sides, the city had "geographically distinct gay male neighborhoods, which were beginning to reflect the diversities in class, style, and sexual behavior among residents."[1350]

By the late 1980s, the spirit of sexual freedom that emerged two decades earlier was overwhelmed by the AIDS epidemic, which led to the closure of San Francisco's gay bathhouses and other changes in the city's sexual culture. Author and sex activist Patrick Califia was among those who mourned the changes: "It seems that the only way we can legitimately talk about our sexuality is under the rubric of death and disease. We can't celebrate, defend or describe queer pleasure even though it was the quest for pleasure that made so many of us HIV-positive."[1351]

Sex Groups and Networks

Beginning in the 1960s, LGBTQ people organized groups, networks, and new institutions that supported sexually liberated San Francisco. One of the first sex organizations to form was the San Francisco chapter of the Sexual Freedom League, begun in 1965 at a café called the Blue Unicorn (1927 Hayes Street, extant) near the Golden Gate Park Panhandle with discussions like "How to Be Queer and Like It" and "Sex and Civil Rights."[1352] In 1969, SFL's founder, Jefferson Poland, went on to initiate the Psychedelic Venus Church, which organized dances and orgies that welcomed gays and straights.[1353]

In 1968, Glide Memorial Church founded the San Francisco Sex Information switchboard and the National Sex Forum (540 Powell Street, extant), both of which sought to dispel misinformation

1348 Sides, *Erotic City*, 6.
1349 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 204.
1350 Sides, *Erotic City,* 102.
1351 Pat Califia, *Public Sex: The Culture of Radical Sex (*San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2000) xxiv.
1352 Sides, *Erotic City,* 71. Andrea Sharon Dworkin, "Bisexual Histories in San Francisco in the 1970s and Early 1980s,," *Journal of Bisexuality*, Vol. 1, no. 1, 2001, p. 93.
1353 Sides, *Erotic City,* 71.

about sex, including damaging myths about gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender men and women. In 1976, the Sex Forum evolved into the Institute for the Advanced Study of Human Sexuality (1523 Franklin Street, extant).[1354] The institute, which included Phyllis Lyon and bisexual activist Maggi Rubenstein on its faculty, was the first institution of higher education in the U.S. to grant advanced degrees in sexology.

Leather Culture

Sociologist and leather historian Gayle Rubin defines "leather" as a "distinctive subgroup of male homosexuals … organized around sexual activities and erotic semiotics that distinguish it from the larger gay male population."[1355] Leather communities began to form in the 1940s as a revolt against the common perception that gay men were effeminate. Masculine men, especially motorcyclists who wore leather, "began to carve out alternative gay social spaces."[1356] Bars that catered to the leather community were a stark contrast to the "fuzzy sweater" bars of the 1950s, such as Gordon's in North Beach, described in an earlier section. Gay bikers formed gay motorcycle clubs, first the Satyrs in Los Angeles in 1954, and later the Warlocks and California Motor Club in San Francisco in the 1960s.

The leather community, as Rubin describes it, had subcommunities devoted to specific types of sexual practices, including sadomasochism (S/M), bondage and discipline, and fetishism. Sex clubs devoted to alternative sexual practices appeared in San Francisco in the 1960s. The first leather bar in San Francisco was the Why Not at 518 Ellis Street in the Tenderloin, opened by Tony Tavarossi in 1962. The Why Not closed within a few months. The first leather bar in the South of Market area was the Tool Box at 399 Fourth Street at Harrison, opened in 1962. Later that year, a typical piece by *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen noted that "some of young fellers" at the Tool Box "wear an 'S' or 'M' on their shirt pockets to indicate 'Sadist' or 'Masochist.'"[1357] The Tool Box closed in 1971, and that same year the building was demolished as part of a redevelopment project. Although men were the most numerous and visible leather demographic, Pat Califia described Scott's (10 Sanchez Street, extant) as a "lesbian leather bar" that provided "a haven for role-playing dykes, punk dykes, black lesbians, and lesbians in leather."[1358]

One of the more popular public spaces for sex in the South of Market area was Ringold Street, discretely tucked away in the middle of the block bounded by Folsom and Harrison and Eighth and Ninth Streets. Community historian Philip Rossetti describes the scene in the 1970s:

> [Ringold Street] was popular for years for sex late at night for the leather boys—in doorways, under stairs, dark corners. Many hard core denizens of Folsom Street in the seventies and maybe later drove there in vans all tricked out for sex with curtains in the windows, a mattress, and all the necessary accoutrements for dragging men into it from all the bars up and down the street.[1359]

1354 Martin, Finding Aid, p. 40, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
1355 Rubin, "The Miracle Mile," Brook, Carlsson and Peters, eds., *Reclaiming San Francisco,* 253.
1356 Ibid., 254.
1357 Herb Caen, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 July 1964, quoted in Rubin, "The Miracle Mile," Brook, Carlsson and Peters, eds., *Reclaiming San Francisco,* 255.
1358 Samois, eds., *Coming to Power: Writings and Graphics on Lesbian S/M*, 279.
1359 Philip Rossetti, interviewed by Shayne Watson, 7 August 2014.

LGBTQ Sadomasochism Groups

Public discussion or displays of sadomasochism were initially shunned by many in the LGBTQ communities as offensive or as behavior that would reinforce the worst fears of straight society. In 1978, a contingent of S/M practitioners were booed at the Gay Freedom Day parade, yet within a few years there was a local S/M scene with clubs and publications. Gay male leather and S/M erotica produced in San Francisco included the magazines *Drummer* and *Bound & Gagged*. During the 1980s, sex radicalism became a more common topic for some people within and outside of LGBTQ communities. In the 1991 edition of *Lesbian/Woman*, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon wrote that "lesbian sadomasochism is a disturbing subject for some. In the Gay 90s, however, S/M has joined with the discussion/debate over butch/femme and lesbians 'sleeping' with men."[1360]

Gay, Bisexual, and Lesbian S/M Culture

San Francisco's S/M community expanded during the sexually liberated 1970s. Legendary among private S/M sex clubs was the Catacombs (3343 21st Street, extant), which opened in 1975 in the basement of an Edwardian residence. Property-owner Steve McEachern transformed the rooms into a space for sexual pleasure and boundary pushing that historian Gayle Rubin has called "A Temple of the Butthole."[1361] Catacombs parties continued until the original space closed upon McEachern's death in 1981; the club subsequently operated out of spaces on Larkin Street, then on Shotwell Street.[1362]

In 1973, Cynthia Slater, a bisexual woman, and her male partner, Larry Olson, founded San Francisco's first S/M club, the Society of Janus.[1363] The following year they began publishing a newsletter titled *Growing Pains*. Cynthia Slater and Susan Thorsen rented the Catacombs for the first mixed-gender, mixed-orientation S/M sex party.[1364] To draw more women, they also created a short-lived group called Cardeus, with meetings held in member's homes.[1365]

San Francisco's unique sexual culture attracted international attention during this period. In 1975, for instance, French philosopher Michel Foucault spent a portion of the year teaching at the University of California, Berkeley, and was excited by the liberated gay sexuality he found in San Francisco, especially in the bathhouses. He became particularly fascinated by "limit-experiences" such as S/M. He published the first volume of his influential study *The History of Sexuality* in 1976 and continued to visit San Francisco regularly through 1983.[1366]

In 1978, Gayle Rubin and Pat (now Patrick) Califia founded Samois, the San Francisco Bay Area's first lesbian-feminist S/M group.[1367] In 1979, the group produced a pamphlet, "What Color is

1360 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 311.

1361 Gayle Rubin, "The Catacombs: A Temple of the Butthole," in *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011) 224-240. A detailed description of the layout and activities at the Catacombs is found in Jack Fritscher's The Catacombs: Fistfucking in a Handball Place" first published in *Drummer* Issue 23 1978 as found in *San Francisco: Eyewitness* Drummer *Magazine*, at www.JackFritscher.com.

1362 "Leather History Timeline" http://web.archive.org/web/20050308053012/http://www.leatherarchives.org/exhibits/deblase/timeline2.htm accessed 12 June 2014.

1363 Sides, *Erotic City,* 119.

1364 "Leather History Timeline" http://web.archive.org/web/20050308053012/http://www.leatherarchives.org/exhibits/deblase/timeline2.htm accessed 12 June 2014.

1365 "History of Our Leather Women's Group in San Francisco" http://theexiles.org/history/cardea-samois-outcasts-exiles/Cardea Samois Outcasts Exiles accessed 12 June 2014.

1366 "Leather History Timeline" http://web.archive.org/web/20050308053012/http://www.leatherarchives.org/exhibits/deblase/timeline2.htm accessed 12 June 2014.

1367 Samois eds., *Coming to Power,* 249-251. Califia went on to become a prominent voice in public conversations about sexuality, public sex, gender, prostitution, and the anti-pornography movement through her articles and an advice column in *The Advocate* and books.

Your Handkerchief," adapting a hanky-code popular with local gay men so that women could identify other women's sexual preferences by handkerchief color. For example, an olive-colored handkerchief in the back left pocket meant that the woman was interested in military-themed sex.[1368] Some bookstores refused to carry the pamphlet and other literature produced by Samois for women interested in S/M.

By the late 1970s, San Francisco was home to organizations that would take the sex wars public. In 1978, the two-year-old organization Women Against Violence in Pornography and the Media hosted the first national feminist conference on pornography. WAVPM and others employed analyses that argued that pornography and S/M practices were reflections of patriarchy and were counter to true feminism and lesbianism.[1369] According to Gayle Rubin and Patrick Califia, Samois asked repeatedly to meet for dialogue with WAVPM, which had offices in The Women's Building. When Samois was not included in a forum on women and pornography organized by WAVPM, they requested rental space for a public event to present their own views at The Women's Building, which led to lengthy, tense, and unsatisfying communications between the two groups.[1370]

In 1981, Samois published the book *Coming to Power: Writings and Graphics on Lesbian S/M,* launched with a book party at the Valencia Street bar Amelia's.[1371] The book sold out quickly, and a second edition by Alyson Publications was printed. The onslaught of attention from media and interested readers and the labor it took to respond reportedly created strains with Samois that led to its dissolution in 1983.[1372]

By the mid-1980s, attitudes toward S/M were less hostile; Stormy Leather (855 Page Street, extant) was doing a booming business selling leather products made specifically for lesbian S/M.[1373] In 1984, a successor organization to Samois was founded with the name Outcasts. Around eighty women responded to an advertisement and met at Valencia Rose Café on Valencia Street to discuss what a new lesbian S/M group should look like and ultimately concluded that the group should welcome everyone, including "faggot-identified dykes, bisexuals, transsexuals and other weirdos and perverts."[1374] Outcasts organized Butch Fashion Shows and Dyke Daddy Contests and published a newsletter, *Lunatic Fringe*, until the organization closed in 1997.

Sex Shops, Theaters, and Sex Clubs

Beginning in the 1930s, historians John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman report, U.S. courts began narrowing the definition of obscenity so that, by the 1960s "forthright presentation of sexual matters in literature and other media" faced few legal barriers.[1375] A series of court decisions and changes in police practices during the 1960 and 1970s gradually legalized the commercial display and sale of explicit representations of straight and gay sex in magazines, stage revues, and porn films shown in theaters. Beginning in the early 1960s, the U.S. Supreme Court began a series of rulings that made prosecution of obscenity more difficult. In 1962, the court decided in *MANual Enterprises v. J.*

1368 Sex Clubs, General, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Ephemera Collection.

1369 Robb, *Mothering the Movement*, 153-156.

1370 Samois, eds., *Coming to Power*, 255-258, 280.

1371 Ibid., 278.

1372 "History of Our Leather Women's Group in San Francisco" http://theexiles.org/history/cardea-samois-outcasts-exiles/ accessed 12 June 2014.

1373 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers,* 255.

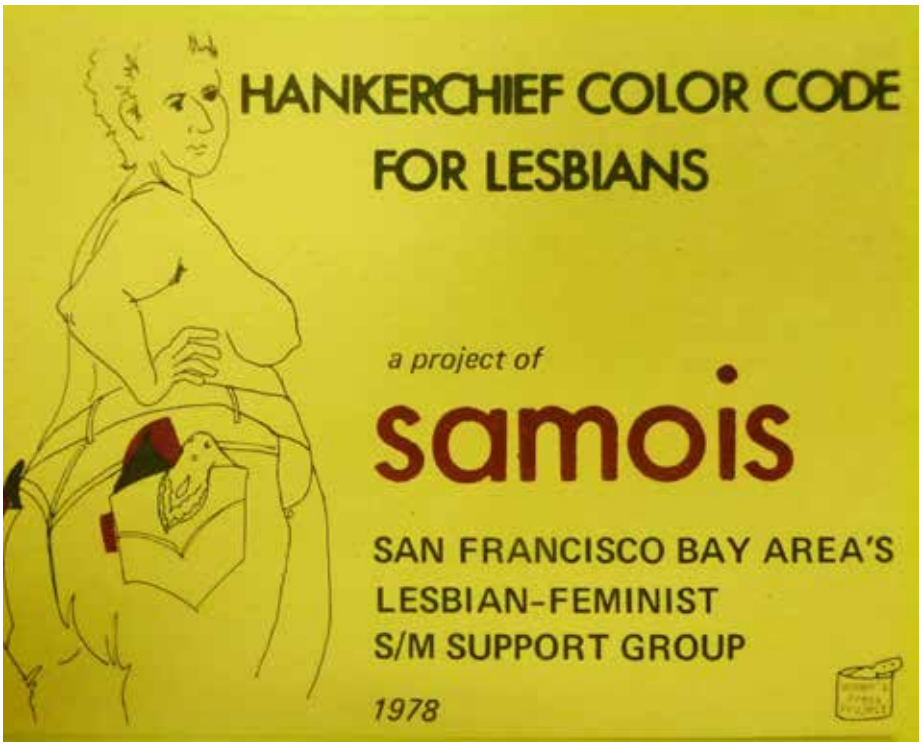
1374 Gayle Rubin. "The Outcasts: A Social History," in *The Second Coming – A Leatherdyke Reader*, edited by Pat Califia and Robin Sweeney (Los Angeles, CA: Alyson Publications 1996). "History of Our Leather Women's Group in San Francisco" http://theexiles.org/history/cardea-samois-outcasts-exiles/ accessed 12 June 2014.

1375 D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters,* 277.









TOP LEFT: Leather man in South of Market area, c. 1970s
TOP RIGHT: Business card for a BD/SM club on at 2570 Ocean Avenue
BOTTOM LEFT: Advertisement (censored) for the Catacombs at 3343 21st Street
BOTTOM RIGHT: Booklet for the lesbian S/M group, Samois
(All courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

Edward Day that publishing and distributing physique magazines was legal. In its 1973 ruling *Miller v. California*, the court defined obscenity as a violation of the community standards in the location where it is viewed.[1376] San Francisco became the "Smut Capitol of the World" as hardcore porn and live sex shows proliferated; most of these were geared to straight-male consumers, but gay porn was becoming an important social and economic phenomena.[1377]

In reaction to these changes, local, regional, and national campaigns were mounted to halt public sexual expression and representation. By 1971, Dianne Feinstein was telling her gay supporters "porno movie houses and bookstores and smut papers are making it harder for the gay community to become part of the accepted mainstream of America."[1378] But many Americans, including many gay men, saw these expressions as part of a valuable social transformation. Jeffrey Escoffier claims that "the sexual revolution would never have taken place if it weren't for the struggles over pornography and obscenity. Those gave us the right to make explicit sexual speech and to express our sexual feelings and also to talk about it in a frank, blunt way."[1379]

Bookstores and Sex Paraphernalia

Adonis Books at 348 Ellis Street (not extant) was one of the first gay bookstores in the country and the first place in San Francisco to sell beefcake magazines, nude photographs, and hardcore gay porn on 8mm film. Opening in the Tenderloin in March 1965, the store was founded by Bob Damron, Jack Trollop, Jack Tennyson, and Hal Call (one of the leaders of the Mattachine Society).[1380] Soon after opening the Adonis, Hal Call and his partners started screening pornographic films and gay peep shows to private audiences. Call's bookstore, which he called a "gay supermarket," was very successful—a fact he attributed in part to less intrusion from the police: "Many of the photographs [we sell in 1970] we would not have dared sell even a year ago."[1381]

In 1971, an erotic bookseller, the Jaguar (4052 18th Street, extant), opened in the Castro and soon became known as the "Quick Stop of casual sex." A small fee granted patrons access to the rest of the building, which was furnished with bunk beds, and featured a maze for sexual pursuit and a disco floor "rarely used for dancing."[1382]

In addition, four shops catering to leathermen opened in 1979 alone: Taylor of San Francisco (1225 Folsom Street) and Mr. S Leather (277 7th Street) were established in the South of Market area; Leather Forever (1702 Washington Street) and Leatherworld (735 Larkin Street) opened in the Polk District.[1383] Commercial sites that catered to lesbian sexuality were small in number compared to gay men's. They included Good Vibrations (3416 Guerrero Street, extant), described as one of the first women-oriented sex toy stores in the country. In 1977, Joani Blank opened the store near the growing lesbian corridor on Valencia Street.[1384] Blank had authored several books, including *My Playbook for Women About Sex*, and her shop included a museum display of historic vibrators.[1385] Advocating for women's, and more specifically, lesbian, sexual empowerment took

1376 Sides, *Erotic City,* 57.
1377 Excerpts from documentary film, *Smut Capital of America*, Michael Stabile director http://vimeo.com/15163640.
1378 Sides, *Erotic City,* 144.
1379 Jeffrey Escoffier in excerpts of documentary film, *Smut Capital of America,* Michael Stabile director 2011 http://vimeo.com/15163640.
1380 Jeffrey Escoffier, *Bigger than Life: The History of Gay Porn Cinema from Beefcake to Hardcore*, 120.
1381 Burks and Link, "The Gay Mecca," 30.
1382 Sides, *Erotic City,* 110.
1383 Leather Archives, "Leather History Timeline" http://web.archive.org/web/20050308053012/http://www.leatherarchives.org/exhibits/deblase/timeline2.htm accessed 12 June 2014.
1384 Sides, *Erotic City,* 122. Eve's Garden in New York City has been described as the "nation's first feminist sex-toy store" in Hallie Lieberman, "If You Mold It, They Will Come," *Bitch* (Sumer 2015), 21.
1385 "She's Givin' Out Good Vibrations" *Noe Valley Voice,* v.1., n.3., July 1977, p. 5

place everywhere from stores like Good Vibrations to political meetings aimed at defeating the 1978 Briggs Initiative. Anti-Briggs activist Amber Hollibaugh says that her presentations throughout California during the campaign would include "what it means to be a sexual outlaw. I used that visual image to talk about what it meant to be female and try to discover my own sexuality in a society that refused to acknowledge me as having rights of my own as a sexual person."[1386]

Theaters, Strip Clubs and Other Public Sex Performance Spaces

Around 1970, Hal Call opened the Circle J Theater at 369 Ellis Street (extant) to screen pornography and host group masturbation sessions for gay men. When asked why he opened the Circle J, Hall replied, "Well I believed in sex and I believed in gay sex and we were trying to achieve the freedom to have it and all that, and I said well god dammit, let's have some."[1387] The Circle J was immediately popular: "We had anywhere up to fifty, sixty, seventy-five people a day visiting that, and most of them jacking off." The Circle J stayed opened through the AIDS epidemic because, as Call noted, "We've hardly lost anybody to AIDS, because you don't get AIDS from jacking off."[1388]

From 1970 until ca. 1983, lesbian activist Arlene Elster screened sexually explicit films at the Sutter Cinema (355-363 Sutter Street, extant) in a second floor theater space. The business drew attention from politicians, in part for its proximity to Union Square, and Elster was arrested on obscenity charges fourteen times.[1389]

Bars sometimes gave lesbians access to public sexual representation. According to Lillian Faderman, lesbian bars in San Francisco hosted some of the first public lesbian strip shows in the 1970s, which were organized by women for political as well as erotic purposes. Faderman quotes one stripper who performed but also booked shows with diverse female body types: "I pray to the goddess before I go out on stage to help me do it right."[1390] A 1989 advertisement for the stripping skills of "Dancing Lady," claimed she has danced locally at Amelia's, A Little More and the Bay Brick Inn.[1391]

One of the most notable gay public sex establishments in the 1990s was the community space at 848 Divisadero Street (extant), known as 848 which opened in fall of 1991 as an arts venue that organized and welcomed sex events as, in part, a means to address healing around AIDS. One of 848's founders, Bay Area dancer and performance artist Keith Hennessy, remembers that "at 848 we bragged that anything could happen. For $100 a night we handed the keys to the space to almost anyone." Numerous queer and sex radical events were held at 848, including sex education events, participatory sexual art performances, sex parties and sexual performances by Body Electric, Queen of Heaven, Radical Faeries, Black Leather Wings, and Annie Sprinkle.[1392]

1386 "Interview with Amber Hollibaugh," *Socialist Review*. Vol. 9 no. 3, May-June 1979.

1387 Hal Call, interviewed by Dennis Saxman, 30 August 1995, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Oral History Collection.

1388 The Circle J closed in 2005. Zay Szymanski, "Historic Circle J Club Closing," http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=375 accessed 12 February 15.

1389 Arlene Elster Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society cited in Christopher VerPlanck, Draft Historic Resource Report on 355-363 Sutter Street, February 2015.

1390 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers,* 257. Faderman cites interviews but no published sources for bar names.

1391 Ache*: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent* v. 1. N. 11 Dec 1989, p. 30.

1392 Tessa Wills, "848 Community Space: Performance and Sex in 1990s San Francisco," Republished with permission at http://tessawills.com/848-performance-sex-1990s-san-francisco-keith-hennessy/. Originally published in George, Doran, Hargreaves, Martin, Shaw, Thom and Wills, Tessa eds. *Dance Theatre Journal* 25.2. London: Laban, 2013. Print.

Pornographic Film Production

San Francisco also was home to some of the earliest commercial gay pornography film production in the U.S. Falcon Studios was opened in 1972 by Charles "Chuck" Holmes, initially as a production and mail-order distribution business for 8mm films. Falcon was reportedly one of the first to move into the home-video arena, which expanded the industry enormously. Falcon specialized in using models who presented a certain type: "idealized...blonde California surfer," according to one account. The well-groomed, healthy image became even more important as the AIDS epidemic affected gay men's sexual behavior and their perceptions of their own and other gay men's bodies. John Rothenberg, a later president of Falcon, remembered Holmes lecturing to students at San Francisco State's "Sexual Variations" course.[1393]

Many lesbian and straight women during the 1970s through 1990s found pornography of little interest or downright offensive. Three lesbian sex films nonetheless were produced during the 1970s by the National Sex Forum in San Francisco; Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon describe them in their 1991 edition of *Lesbian/Woman* as "distributed nationally but only to professionals for use in sex education or therapy."[1394] In 1984, the new lesbian pornography magazine *On Our Backs* (526 Castro Street, extant) described its purpose as encouraging "sexual freedom, respect and empowerment for lesbians."[1395] Two of the founders created a video company in the mid-1980s, named Satow Private Pleasures. By the late 1980s, Satow Media was the world's largest producer of lesbian pornography, and their lesbian erotica event at the Castro Theatre featuring Susie Bright was a huge hit.[1396]

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

LGBTQ people have always participated in the full range of religious organizations in the U.S., but their inclusion almost always was premised on hiding their sexual orientation and non-normative gender identities. Glide Memorial Church's pioneering role in the 1960s has already been described in this report. In 1972, the Bay Area's Golden Gate Association of the United Church of Christ became the site of Rev. William Johnson's ordination, the first openly gay man to be ordained in a mainstream denomination in the U.S. This event was part of a new era in which LGBTQ people developed lesbian and gay ministries within established churches and founded new religious homes for themselves.[1397]

Some San Francisco churches paid a price for becoming more inclusive. Rev. Jim Lowder of the Dolores Street Baptist Church (15th and Dolores Streets, not extant) was fired from his part-time post at Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary in 1985 for making sympathetic statements about gay church members on a television show, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America expelled the pastor of St. Francis Lutheran Church (152 Church Street, extant) for ordaining three openly gay clergy in the mid-1980s.[1398] In 1990, two Lutheran churches in San Francisco—First United Lutheran

1393 Wyatt Buchanan, "Hub of all that's hot / San Francisco -- surprise! -- has surpassed Los Angeles as the capital of the gay adult entertainment industry" *San Francisco Chronicle,* 23 February 2007. Lord Martine, "Studios President Gives Us the Dirt on Dirty Movies," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 June 2002. Holmes went on to become an important philanthropist, giving $1 million toward the San Francisco LGBT Community Center.

1394 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman,* 309.

1395 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers,* 258.

1396 Sides, *Erotic City,* 219.

1397 Jeffrey S. Siker ed. *Homosexuality in the Church: Both Sides of the Debate* (Westminster: John Knox Press 1994) 151.

1398 Gary Klein, "Former Mill Valley Seminary President Dies, " *Marin Independent Journal* December 2, 2008 http://www.marinij.com/millvalley/ci_11122004 accessed 3 January 2015. Rev. Jim Mitulski "The Castro is a Sacred Place" in Winston Leyland ed. *Out in the Castro: Desire, Promise, Activism* (San Francisco: Leyland Publications, 2002) 220.

at 1031 Franklin Street and St. Francis—again came under fire from the ECLA.[1399] St. Francis extended pastoral calls to Ruth Frost and Phyllis Zillhart, a lesbian couple. First United called Jeff Johnson, a gay man. All three were controversial picks because homosexuality was prohibited among pastors. Zillhart, Frost, and Johnson were ordained at a ceremony on January 20, 1990, at St. Paulus Lutheran Church (1541 Polk Street, extant), an ELCA congregation. Soon after, the ELCA suspended St. Francis and First United for "willfully disregarding criteria for recognition as ELCA congregations by failing to call pastoral leadership in accordance with church call procedures."[1400] The congregations were expelled from the ELCA December 31, 1995.

There are exceptions to the many LGBTQ people who have felt great prejudice and stigma within predominantly heterosexual churches. Long-time San Francisco resident Joseph Warren recalls growing up gender fluid in the 1960s in the predominately African American neighborhood of Ocean View and finding camaraderie and a measure of acceptance at his Catholic school, St. Michael's (32 Broad Street, extant), where "some days I would go as a girl, and some days as a boy."[1401] Warren also recalled participating in the choir of the Baptist Church nearby, where youth singers were "gay, straight and bi and the adults knew it."

LGBTQ Churches and Congregations in San Francisco

Metropolitan Community Church

San Francisco's Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) began in 1970, two years after Rev. Troy Perry began the groundbreaking Protestant Christian church for lesbians and gays in his Los Angeles living room. Howard Wells conducted San Francisco's first MCC meeting in Jackson's Bar and Grill (118 Jones Street), and the first public service took place at California Hall on Polk Street.[1402] During the early 1970s, the church's services and meetings were held in a variety of locations including weekend services at Mission United Presbyterian Church (23rd Street at Capp Street) and at the Society for Individual Rights Community Center, and weeknight services at the parsonage and social hall of a church at 1074 Guerrero Street. In June 1973, an arson fire caused extensive damage to the Guerrero Street building, which MCC had been renting on a monthly basis.[1403] Within a few months, the congregation began a fund drive to purchase a building that "would not only house the church sanctuary but include a library, offices and meeting rooms to be made available to other homophile organizations."[1404] Community fundraisers featured Jos**é** Sarria and other entertainers and were sponsored by individuals such as Bob Ross, president of the Tavern Guild, who chaired benefit auctions at various gay bars throughout the city.[1405]

By 1980, the nomadic congregation had 100 members and was finally able to locate a permanent home at 150 Eureka Street (threatened with demolition) in the Castro, "one of the first gay-owned

1399 Justin Berton, "2 S.F. Lutheran Churches Win Fight for Gay Pastors," *San Francisco Chronicle,* February 12, 2011 http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/2-S-F-Lutheran-churches-win-fight-for-gay-pastors-2475517.php accessed December 31, 2014.

1400 Dr. Kimberly Rae Connor, personal communication with Shayne Watson.

1401 Joseph Warren, interviewed by Donna Graves at OpenHouse, 17 May 2014.

1402 Metropolitan Community Church history, MCC SAN FRANCISCO, "MCCSF TIMELINE," HTTP://MCCCSF.ORG/TIMELINE/ ACCESSED 22 FEBRUARY 2014. Timeline http://MCC San Francisco, "MCCSF Timeline," http://mcccsf.org/timeline/ accessed 22 February 2014..org/timeline/

1403 9 September 1973 Letter to "All members and Friends of Metropolitan Community Church" in MCC Building Drive 8/1/73-12/73 folder, Barry Shands Papers, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society The letter describes an earlier fire destroying their Church Center in a "skid row" location on Sixth Street.

1404 "Metropolitan Community Church Announces Fund Drive" 18 September 1973 Press Release in MCC Building Fund Drive 8/1/73-12/73 folder, Bond Shands Papers, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society

1405 MCC Building Fund Drive 8/1/73-12/73 folder, Barry Shands Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

public properties in the city" according to long-time pastor Jim Mitulski.[1406] The turn-of-the-century building had been an independent Pentecostal church; MCC purchased it for $250,000. Churches such as MCC offered important meeting spaces for gay men and lesbians who looked for places to connect beyond the bar scene.[1407] MCC started new ministry programs focused on gay bars and bathhouses and began a program at Atascadero State Hospital and Prison, where individuals convicted of sex crimes often were incarcerated.[1408] Rev. Jim Mitulski, MCC pastor from 1985 to 2000, led the congregation as a progressive center for liberation theology, social justice, and civil rights both in the broader community and in the larger MCC church. By the mid-1980s, the congregation had grown to approximately 500 members, as gay people sought solace in the face of suffering caused by AIDS.[1409] During the peak of the HIV/AIDS crisis, before effective treatments were available, the church regularly held three or four funerals on each day of the weekend.[1410]

Jewish Congregations

A San Francisco organization founded around 1973, Chutzpah (later known as Achvah), was reportedly the first gay Jewish group on the West Coast.[1411]

In 1977, Congregation Sha'ar Zahav was formed but faced several challenges including finding a regular place to meet, unwillingness of local publishers to accept advertisement for their public services, and initial lack of acceptance from other local Jewish organizations. For a time, however, members joined regular Friday services at the Jewish Community Center of San Francisco (3200 California Street), which furthered their outreach.[1412] Robert Tat, one of Sha'ar Zahav's founding members, recalls that members organized a Jewish memorial service for Harvey Milk at the newly purchased Women's Building on the Friday night after his assassination in 1978.[1413] By the early 1980s, Sha'ar Zahav had raised funds to purchase a former Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints at 220 Danvers Street (extant). Tat recalls moving into "a home of our own" as a profoundly important experience. Irene Ogus, who was active in church fundraising, says the congregation grew so fast that the new 120-seat sanctuary quickly became too small. "For big celebrations we used to use the alley space at the side of the building."[1414] In 1998, Sha'ar Zahav left the Danvers Street site for a more spacious former funeral home at 290 Dolores Street (extant) at the corner of 16th Street.[1415]

1406 Jim Mitulski, "The Castro is a Sacred Place," in *Out in the Castro*, 225.

1407 Wendy Cadge, "Reconciling Congregations Bridging Gay and Straight Communities" in Scott Thumma and Edward R. Gray, eds. *Gay Religion* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2005) 38.

1408 The effort to minister in prisons led to a lawsuit establishing that MCC was a bona fide religion under federal laws. MCC San Francisco, "MCC SAN FRANCISCO, "MCCSF TIMELINE," HTTP://MCCCSF.ORG/TIMELINE/ ACCESSED 22 FEBRUARY 2014. Timeline," http://MCC San Francisco, "MCCSF Timeline," http://mcccsf.org/timeline/ accessed 22 February 2014..org/timeline/ accessed 22 February 2014.

1409 Christopher Heredia, "Compassion of the Castro: The Rev Jim Mitulski cedes his pulpit tomorrow after years as a community's playful conscience," *San Francisco Chronicle* 2 December 2000. http://www.sfgate.com/health/article/Compassion-of-the-Castro-The-Rev-Jim-Mitulski-3236381.php accessed 18 October 2014.

1410 "MCC San Francisco: From a Nomadic Tribe to Our Castro Home" http://mccsf.org/history accessed 22 February 2014.

1411 Description for Steve Ginsberg Papers at Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. "Sexing the City" lists Achvah Chutzpah at 279 Ney Street from 1972-1989, p. 9.

1412 Jonathan Silverman, "Joy and Sadness Mark Sha'ar Zahav's 25th Anniversary," Jweekly.com 7 June 2002, http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/17938/joy-and-sadness-mark-sha-ar-zahav-s-25th-anniversary/ accessed 15 February 2015.

1413 Robert Tat, interviewed by Donna Graves, 18 October 2013.

1414 Dana Perrigan, "Gay Jewish Lesbian group outgrows and sells former Mormon Church" *San Francisco Chronicle* 29 July 2007.

1415 Perrigan, "Gay Jewish Lesbian group outgrows and sells former Mormon Church,". Jim Mitulski recalls the building as former home of the "previously gay-owned and operated California Funeral Service, ironically the business through which many AIDS funerals were funneled." "The Castro is a Sacred Place" in *Out in the Castro*, page 221. No additional information was found on this business. Another Jewish gay synagogue Ahav Shalom was formed in the mid-1980s and was listed as sharing space with MCC in the 1988 Pacific Bell Telephone Book.



Congregation Sha'ar Zahav, 290 Dolores Street (Photo by Shayne Watson)

Gay and Lesbian Buddhist Groups

Beat poet Allen Ginsberg and other gay men and lesbians were among the early newcomers introduced to Zen Buddhism at Sokoji Temple (1881 Bush Street, extant) in San Francisco's Japantown. The San Francisco Zen Center (300 Page Street), which evolved out of that meeting between "East" and "West," became a major Buddhist institution in the Bay Area, but was perceived as "overwhelmingly straight" by some gays and lesbians, who created other sanghas (congregations). One account traces the formal beginnings of the relationship between LGBTQ people and Buddhism in San Francisco to an April 1980 meeting in the basement of the Metropolitan Community Church, where about fifty gay men gathered to discuss what it meant to be both Buddhist and gay.[1416] They continued to meet as the Gay Buddhist Fellowship and the following year purchased their gathering place at 57 Hartford Street (extant) in the Castro, forming the Hartford Street Zen Center.[1417] Lesbian and bisexual women founded the Buddhist group Dharma Sisters sometime in the early 1990s.[1418]

The Parsonage

While some LGBTQ people founded new churches as spiritual homes, others worked to change the perspectives of existing congregations to be more inclusive and welcoming. In 1972, gay priests Bernard Duncan Meyes and John Williams sought to build on the work of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual within the Episcopalian Church. Surprised at the San Francisco bishop's positive response, they leased a 19th-century cottage in the Castro with the purpose of supporting what Meyes described as "gay churchpeople." The Parsonage, as it became known, was located behind Heath Realtors at 555 Castro Street (extant) and leased under generous terms by its owners.[1419] Later, the Parsonage became home to Shanti's weekly AIDS support group in 1982.[1420]

Bethany United Methodist Church

In 1984, Bethany United Methodist Church (1270 Sanchez Street), located on the edge of the Castro District, became a "reconciling congregation" that welcomed all, regardless of their sexual orientation. According to one of Bethany's pastors, some of the church's gay members appreciated Bethany because they "are really clear that they don't want this to be another Metropolitan Community Church. They don't want this to be an all-gay church."[1421] By 1984, Bethany had become involved with AIDS work.

Noe Valley Ministry

AIDS spurred a number of congregations to begin consciously addressing gay members and to face homophobia within and outside the church. When a member of the congregation of Noe Valley

1416 Wendy Cadge ""Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Buddhist Practitioners," in *Gay Religion,* edited by Scott Thumma and Edward R. Gray Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, Walnut Creek 2005).

1417 Issan Dorsey was the founder and leader of Hartford Street Zen Center until he died of AIDS at Maitri Hospice in 1990. Dorsey began in 1950s San Francisco as a hustler and drag queen whose close friends included the owners of venerable queer bars, the Beige Room and Ann's 440 Club. David Schneider, *Street Zen: The Life and Work of Issan Dorsey,* p. 128. 57 Hartford Street had been formerly the Dharmadathu Center, where Paperback Traffic owner Steve Lowell was a senior student according to Steve Peskind "AIDs and the Castro, June 1981-June. 1983: A Personal Account" in *Out in the Castro*, p. 142

1418 Roger Corless, "Coming Out in the Sangha: Queer Community in American Buddhism," in *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, ed. Charles Prebish and Kenneth Tanaka (Berkeley: 1998) 262-63.

1419 Bernard Duncan Meyes, *Escaping God's Closet: The Revelations of a Queer Priest*, pp. 223-224. Herth Real Estate was located at 555 Castro Street.

1420 Steven Peskind "AIDS and the Castro" in *Out in the Castro*, 152.

1421 Cadge, "Reconciling Congregations: Bridging Gay and Straight Communities" in *Gay Religion*, 36-38.

Ministry (1021 Sanchez Street, extant) became ill, the church became active in AIDS education, and in October 1987, it sponsored a series of public events on the medical, political, and spiritual aspects of AIDS titled "Gays and Straights Together."[1422]

Most Holy Redeemer

Most Holy Redeemer (110 Diamond Street, extant), the Catholic Church in the Castro, had initially resisted the neighborhood's changing demographics as mostly white, working-class families gave way to increasing numbers of gay men. In 1983, a handful of gay church members began an Outreach Committee to other gay Catholics and set up a booth at the Castro Street Fair. Two years later, the *San Francisco Examiner* described the growth of common ground among congregants at Most Holy Redeemer: "It was mostly older people and younger gay men who—because of AIDS—were facing the same fears of disease and death."[1423] Sister Cleta Harold, who helped lead Most Holy Redeemer's active ministry to people with AIDS in the 1980s, worked with the church's Gay and Lesbian Outreach Committee to host a social hour and dinner with Archbishop Quinn in 1984.[1424] Despite what some saw as a sign that the organized church was opening to gay Catholics, Most Holy Redeemer continued to occupy a difficult, and often strained, position as it tried to balance the needs of gay parishioners with antigay policies of the Vatican and archdiocese.

Dignity

Dignity, the gay Catholic Caucus, began meeting in 1973 in St. Peter's Church (1200 Florida Street, extant) in the Mission District. Members of the group held Mass there every Sunday until 1984, when standing-room-only crowds prompted them to move to a larger space at St. Boniface Church (133 Golden Gate Avenue, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 172) in the Tenderloin.[1425] Dignity held Christmas liturgy at the Castro Theatre in 1987. The following year, Archbishop John R. Quinn forbade Dignity from meeting anywhere on Catholic Church property, and they moved to Dolores Street Baptist Church (208 Dolores Street).[1426] When that building burned down in 1993, the Metropolitan Community Church offered them meeting space.[1427]

City of Refuge

Another pioneering congregation that had its start in the Castro was the City of Refuge Community Church, begun around 1992 by Rev. Yvette Flounder and a group from the Love Center in Oakland. They began in a rented building on 14th Street as an Independent Pentecostal Church with an "intentionally Afrocentric church aimed at lesbian and gay people of color." In later years, the church met in North Beach, downtown, and then finally settled in their own building at 1025 Howard Street (extant).[1428]

1422 "More Light on AIDS" *Noe Valley Voice* vol. X n. 8 Oct. 1986 p. 1.

1423 Donal Godfrey, *Gays and Grays: The Story of the Gay Community at Most Holy Redeemer Catholic Church* (Lanham Maryland: Lexington Books, 2007) 35.

1424 Most Holy Redeemer had an active AIDS ministry under Sister Cleta Harold, *Gays and Grays*, 34. Other Catholic social service organizations responding to AIDS included Kairos House for care providers and Peter Claver Community for previously homeless adults living with disabling HIV or AIDS. Opened in 1985, the program was one of the earliest attempts by any organization to serve those sick and dying from HIV/AIDS, *Gays and Grays,* 96-98.

1425 *Bridges Newsletter*, May 1984. Dignity\San Francisco Bay Area "Bridges" 1979-1984 folder Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1426 "Where do we go from here?" *Bridges Newsletter*, December 1988. Dignity\San Francisco Bay Area "Bridges" 1979-1984 folder The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1427 Godfrey, *Gays and Grays,* 8, 43.

1428 Rev. Jim Mitulski "The Castro is a Sacred Place" in Leyland ed. *Out in the Castro,* 221. This research did not uncover the 14th Street address for City of Refuge.

Nontraditional Religious and Spiritual Organizations

LGBTQ San Franciscans have been active participants in various movements to critique existing spiritual traditions and to create new ones. Longtime educator and activist Sally Gearhart presented one of the first lesbian-feminist critiques of organized religion in an address she gave at Berkeley's Graduate Theological Union in 1972 titled "The Lesbian and God-the-Father or, All the Church Needs Is a Good Lay—On Its Side."[1429] Although Gearhart was active in the Council on Religion and the Homosexual in those years, she made it clear that the organized church and the goals of lesbian feminists were directly contradictory: "Women who are being reborn these days do not want a man to step down from the pulpit so that a woman can step into it. They would do away with the pulpit altogether…."[1430]

Rather than rejecting religion outright, other lesbian feminists proposed a new spirituality for women that drew from understanding of paganism and goddess histories. Many were inspired by Mary Daly's groundbreaking 1973 book *Beyond God the Father* and by the work of Bay Area feminist Z Budapest. San Francisco-based poet Judy Grahn's work from the 1970s and 1980s also contributed to new perspectives on the relationships between gender, patriarchy, and spirituality. By the 1990s, Grahn was teaching courses in the Bay Area on the goddess movement.[1431]

Another neopaganist thread runs through gay men's history in San Francisco. In the fall of 1975, gay activist Arthur Evans, recently relocated from New York, formed a pagan-inspired spiritual group called the Faery Circle in his apartment at 604 Ashbury Street (extant) near the corner of Haight Street. The group combined countercultural consciousness, gay sensibility, and ceremonial playfulness.[1432] Evans published his research on early queer spirituality in 1978 as *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture*.[1433]

Radical Faeries, a movement founded in 1979 by gay rights pioneer Harry Hay and others to redefine gay consciousness through spirituality, also took hold in the Bay Area. Although Faerie sanctuaries and gatherings have been in rural locations, San Franciscans have been active participants. Writer N.A. Diaman recalls attending "several radical faerie gatherings before becoming involved in the Billy Club... This is a social support network for gay and bisexual men living in the country. There are now a lot of Billys living in the Bay Area, and I look forward to monthly potlucks in San Francisco."[1434] In addition to providing support for gay men with AIDS in rural California, the Billys realized by the early 1990s that they filled a need for gay men from urban areas "who were feeling isolated as well. What was happening at these [rural Billy] gatherings was a different nurturing than was available in all the city venues."[1435]

MCC leader Jim Mitulski remembers metaphysical congregations "seeking spirituality, free from the traditional faith, which were seen as hopelessly poisoned by homophobia," forming in the

1429 Profile of Dr. Sally Miller Gearhart, http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=29. Gearhart was co-chair of CRH during the mid-1970s.

1430 Sally Gearhart "A Lesbian Looks at God the Father," 3 http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/Sampler/View.aspx?ID=LAG&Page=3 accessed 8 July 2014.

1431 Judy Grahn, http://www.sofia.edu/content/judy-grahn accessed 8 July 2014. MCC's first worship service focused on the 'feminine divine' – called "One of Many Names" – was held on September 12, 1990. http://MCC San Francisco, "MCCSF Timeline," http://mcccsf.org/timeline/ accessed 22 February 2014..org/timeline/ accessed 8 July 2014.

1432 Evans, a founder of Gay Activists Alliance in New York, continued his activism and research in San Francisco for the rest of his life. Cynthia Laird, "Gay Pioneer Arthur Evans Dies," *Bay Area Reporter,* 15 September 2011.

1433 Arthur Evans, *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture* (Boston: Fag Rag Books, 1978).

1434 N.A. Diaman, "Living in The Castro: a Gay Writer Reminisces,"*Out in the Castro*, page 103

1435 Ron Vonscoyk, "Beginnings: A Billy Story," http://thebillys.org/whoweare/#origins accessed 8 July 2014.

Castro during the late 1980s. These included the California Miracles Center on Market Street and the Radiant Light Ministry, which was "more overtly gay," according to Mitulski, and drew large numbers to celebration services at the Swedish American Hall (2174 Market Street).[1436]

LGBTQ EDUCATION

Lavender University

In March 1974, a group of gay professors in San Francisco launched a pioneering lesbian and gay free university known as Lavender University (or Lavender U) (121 Leavenworth Street, extant) to develop classes and interest groups for gays and lesbians.[1437] Classes over the next two years included body work and gestalt, intimacy and sexuality, a married men's support group, a G40-Plus Club, self defense through martial arts, beginning gay dance, enjoying collective living, and support in coping with the gay mecca.[1438]

Queer Studies and Research at San Francisco State University

Several San Francisco State University faculty members began in 1968 to teach courses in human sexuality, which expanded throughout the 1970s in number and in the departments where courses were taught. Dr. Lois Flynne began teaching a social sciences course in 1972 called "Homosexuality as a Social Issue," thus bringing discussion of lesbianism, male homosexuality, and the gay rights movement into the classroom.[1439] By 1978, a group of faculty began developing an interdisciplinary minor, which was approved in 1980 as the Human Sexuality Studies Program. In 1975, psychology professors John DeCecco and Michael Shively founded the Center for Homosexual Education, Evaluation and Research, which was designed to be an academic institute where scholars from various disciplines could conduct research into the historical, cultural, and social dimensions of homosexuality. It became the Center for Research and Education in Sexuality in 1981 to reflect broader studies including bisexuality and heterosexuality. DeCecco was a leading voice of this academic movement at SFSU and across the nation; in 1977, he assumed the post of editor of the *Journal of Homosexuality*, which he held for over three decades.[1440]

San Francisco City College also started offering courses on homosexuality in the early 1970s. In 1972, the college offered a course in gay literature, reportedly the first of its kind. Jack Collins established the Department of Gay and Lesbian Studies at the college, also in 1972, and reportedly the first in the U.S.[1441] A Gay Student Alliance was formed at City College by 1976.

ARTS

Art by LGBTQ people became more visible, and visibly queer, from the 1970s into the 1990s. Along with New York, San Francisco nurtured particularly thriving communities of LGBTQ artists in all media. This section details a small sampling of the LGBTQ artists, art events, and art spaces in San Francisco during these decades.

Theater

All-male theater underwent a renaissance in 1960s San Francisco and became increasingly campy

1436 Mitulski "The Castro is a Sacred Place" in *Out in the Castro,* 221-222.

1437 Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom,* 99.

1438 Synopsis of March/April 1975 and July/August 1976 course offerings from Tyler and Brad's Index to Early Gay Publications & Periodicals, http://www.tyleralpern.com/indextoregionalg.html accessed 15 July 2014.

1439 Martin and Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman*, 332.

1440 "Guide to the John Paul De Cecco Papers, 1923-1999," (2002) The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1441 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 74.

as the years passed. Susan Sontag's influential 1964 essay "Notes on Camp" brought the cultural connotations of the word to mainstream readers: "The essence of camp is its love of the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration."[1442] In 1966, a San Francisco gay male social club, The Coits, mounted an all-male version of *The Women* at the Society for Individual Rights community center on Sixth Street. The cast built a stage at the facility, which later hosted all-male productions of "frothy book musicals" such as *The Boyfriend, Hello Dolly*, and *Mame*. Drag performances became highlights for events organized by local gay motorcycle clubs, the Tavern Guild, and the Society for Individual Rights, which produced original music revues called the Sirlebrity Capades. Drag theater companies such as Camptown Players, Yonkers Production Company, and City Players mounted productions throughout San Francisco in spaces such as California Hall on Polk Street, Russian Hall (2450 Sutter Street, extant), Village Theatre, Bimbo's 365 Club (1025 Columbus Avenue, extant), Japan Center Theatre (1881 Post Street, extant), and Dovre Hall (3543 18th Street, now The Women's Building). Popular female impersonators such as Michelle, Nancy, Mavis, and Charles Pierce headlined performances and drew enthusiastic crowds.[1443]

In the following decade, the extravagant high camp review *Beach Blanket Babylon* brought mixed-gender drag to mainstream audiences when it opened at Club Savoy Tivoli (434 Grant Avenue, extant) starting in 1974. Created by closeted gay impresario Steve Silver with original dialogue by Armistead Maupin, the show spoofed politics and pop culture. It moved to the 400-seat Club Fugazi at 678 Green Street in 1975. Still on stage as of 2015, it is reportedly the nation's longest-running musical review, drawing locals and tourists alike.[1444]

The Cockettes and the Angels of Light

Another significant San Francisco performance group of the late 1960s and early 1970s was The Cockettes, a gender-bending theater troupe whose members described themselves as mostly "gay, but exploring." They staged regular theatrical extravaganzas at the Pagoda Palace Theatre (1741 Powell Street, not extant) that garnered an avid cult following. The Cockettes began in San Francisco on New Year's Eve 1969, and lasted for a little more than two years. They represented a new approach to drag performance shaped by hippie culture and the younger generation of gay activists. One member, Richard "Scrumbly" Koldewyn, recalls in the 2002 documentary film *The Cockettes*, "I began to feel that I was performing gay liberation through my art at that point." Member Sweet Pam Tent says their approach "wasn't just a drag show. It was a hippie sideshow."[1445] Allen Ginsberg referred to Cockettes' productions as "part of a large-scale spiritual liberation movement and reclamation of self from the homogenization of the military state."[1446] For a period, members lived in a communal household at 946 Haight Street.

Cockettes' shows featured irreverent—and barely rehearsed—parodies of Hollywood musicals by stoned performers; the productions had titles such as *Pearls Over Shanghai, Gone With the Showboat to Oklahoma*, and *Tinsel Tarts in a Hot Coma*. Thrift shopping at Goodwill and St. Vincent De Paul stores was a "beloved ritual" for the Cockettes, who were known for wearing their elaborate, handmade regalia onstage and off.[1447] As the Cockettes gained renown, their performances drew

1442 Susan Sontag, "Notes on Camp," 1964 http://faculty.georgetown.edu/irvinem/theory/Sontag-NotesOnCamp-1964.html accessed 5 May 2014.

1443 Joe Campanella wth Dick Bumpus, "The Rise, Fall and Resurrection of All-Male Theatre" undated clipping (c. 1980) in General, Ephemera Collection, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1444 Glenn Rifkin, "Steve Silver, 51, Creator of Revue That Captivated San Francisco" *New York Times*, 14 June 14 1995.

1445 Sweet Pam in *The Cockettes* directed by Bill Weber and David Weissman, 2002, GranDelusion Production.

1446 Joshua Gamson, *The Fabulous Sylvester: The Legend, The Music, The 70s in San Francisco* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005) 54.

1447 *The Cockettes* directed by Bill Weber and David Weissman, 2002, GranDelusion Production

a broad audience from San Francisco socialites to writer Truman Capote, critic Rex Reed, the film director John Waters and drag star Divine, who returned to San Francisco in 1973 to perform in the Cockettes' production *Journey to the Center of Uranus*.[1448]

In 1971, an ideological rift led to the formation of a splinter group, the Angels of Light, which was dedicated to free performances and was active throughout the 1970s. Sylvester, Divine, and Allen Ginsberg performed with them at various times. The Angels continued to perform at the Pagoda Palace Theatre and lived and worked together in a communal house on Oak Street in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood until the early 1980s.[1449]

Gay Men's Theatre

The San Francisco Gay Men's Theatre Collective was formed in 1976 and in the following year staged *Crimes Against Nature: A Play by Faggots About Survival*, a collectively authored piece about gay identity and homophobia at Gumption Theater (1563 Page Street, extant). "Widely regarded as one of the seminal gay theater productions, *Crimes* played for nearly two years—here, in Santa Cruz, Toronto and New York," according to *San Francisco Examiner* theater critic Robert Hurwitt.[1450]

Theatre Rhinoceros

Theatre Rhinoceros, founded by Larry Baugniet and Allan B. Estes Jr. in August 1977, is described as the world's oldest continuously producing professional queer theater. Early productions included *The West Street Gang* by Doric Wilson, staged in South of Market leather bar The Black and Blue (198 Eighth Street), and Estes' *Gayhem: A Happening*, a performance installation that took place in eight rooms at the 330 Grove Street Gay Community Center.[1451] The productions were reportedly so successful that they provided the impetus for a move to Theatre Rhinoceros' first home in the Goodman Building (1117 Geary Boulevard, extant). In 1981, the theater group moved to the Mission District's Redstone Labor Temple Building (2926-2948 16th Street, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 238), where it remained until 2009, when rent increases forced the Theatre Rhinoceros to become an itinerant troupe producing in temporary spaces.[1452]

Numerous San Francisco playwrights premiered work at Theatre Rhinoceros, including C.D. Arnold, Cal Youmans, Philip Real, and Dan Curzon. *San Francisco Bay Guardian* critic Robert Chesley's first one-act play, *Hell, I Love You* was produced at Theatre Rhinoceros in 1980, as was his 1984 play *Night Sweat*, the first full-length play about AIDS.[1453] That same year, Theatre Rhino commissioned and produced the ground-breaking *The AIDS Show: Artists Involved with Death and Survival*. Lesbian writers who performed or produced plays at Theatre Rhino included Pat Bond, Jane Chambers, and Adele Prandini.[1454] In 1989, Theatre Rhinoceros mounted Kate Bornstein's

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1448 Ibid. Bernard Jay, *Not Simply Divine: Benath the Makeup, Above the Heels, and Behind the Scenes with a Cult Superstar* (Simon & Schuster, 1993) 33.

1449 Julia Bryan–Wilson, "Handmade Genders: Queer Costuming in San Francisco circa 1970" in *West of Center: Art and the counterculture experiments in America, 1965-1977* Elyssa Autherr and Adam Lerner eds., (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press 2012) 81. Research for this report has not uncovered the exact address on Oak Street.

1450 Robert Hurwitt, "Crimes Against Nature Shows Gay Issues of 1977," *San Francisco Examiner,* 19 September 1997.

1451 John Fisher, "Theatre Rhinoceros History" http://www.theatrerhino.org/history accessed 14 February 2014 and "Stage Left: A Story of Theater in San Francisco" http://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/embed/17614/9600784965/#vars!panel=183856! accessed 14 February 2014.

1452 Richard Dodds, "Itinerant Rhinoceros: Theatre Rhino Moves From Its Mission District Digs," *Bay Area Reporter*, July 30, 2009 http://ebar.com/arts/art_article.php?sec=theatre&article=540 accessed 3 January 2015.

1453 Finding Aid to Robert Chesley Papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1454 Fisher, "Theatre Rhinoceros History."







TOP & LEFT: Posters for various LGBTQ art shows and performances (Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

ABOVE: Former home of Theater Rhinoceros and GLBT Historical Society Archives, 2926-2948 16th Street, 1997 (Courtesy FoundSF)

Hidden: A Gender, "one of the earliest plays written and performed from a trans perspective," according to its author.[1455]

Lesbian Theater

San Francisco was home to several lesbian theater groups in the 1970s–1980s. Lilith, a theater collective founded in 1974, used feminist consciousness-raising sessions as a creative starting point for performance. Lilith toured California and parts of Europe; its performances, workshops, and benefits were held in prisons and mental health centers as well as Intersection for the Arts, an arts venue in North Beach, and Mission District venues such as the Valencia Rose Café, and The Women's Building, where their offices were located.[1456] Performers included comedienne Marga Gomez, Joan Holden (San Francisco Mime Troupe), Cynthia Moore (Blake Street Hawkeyes), comedienne Paula Poundstone, and Rhodessa Jones.[1457]

Another troupe, the Mothertongue Feminist Theater Collective, was founded in 1976 to use theater as a way to promote deeper understanding of women's concerns including gender roles, lesbianism, body issues, motherhood, and spirituality. Within ten years, the collective had seventy-five members. Fat Lip Reader's Theater, founded in 1982, specialized in fat-positive performances.[1458] Wry Crips Disabled Women's Theatre, formed in 1985, was based in San Francisco and the East Bay and performed poetry and short theater pieces that reflected the experiences of women with various disabilities and sexual orientations.[1459]

Other Theater Events and Venues

San Francisco was an important stop on tours of prominent queer performers. Ephemera in the collection of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society from various dates in the 1970s and 1980s record performances such as Vincent Price's one-man show *Diversions and Delights* about Oscar Wilde at the Marines Memorial Theatre (609 Sutter Street, extant); Lily Tomlin at the Curran Theatre (445 Geary Street, extant), the Palace of Fine Arts (3301 Lyon Street, extant) and the Great American Music Hall (859 O'Farrell Street, extant); Whoopi Goldberg performing her one-woman show about Moms Mabley as a benefit performance for The Women's Building at the Victoria Theater (2961 16th Street, extant); Quentin Crisp at Marines Memorial Theatre; and Charles Busch at Valencia Rose Café.[1460]

Ron Lanza and Hank Wilson, pioneer activists in gay liberation organizations, owned and operated the Valencia Rose Café and later Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint, two groundbreaking queer performance venues that "kept performing arts alive … through the worst years of AIDS and political artphobia."[1461] Valencia Rose Café (766 Valencia Street, extant) opened in a former

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1455 Kate Bornstein blog, http://katebornstein.typepad.com/kate_bornsteins_blog/2008/09/gender-outlaws.html accessed 12 March 2014.

1456 Renee Koury, "Who Says Feminists Have No Sense of Humor," *Noe Valley Voice*, v. IV, n. 9, November 1980, 12. Intersection for the Arts was based in North Beach until 1985, when it moved into 766 Valencia Street when Valencia Rose Café closed according to former Intersection director Roberto Bedoya, quoted in Steve Winn, "The Art of Relocating/Part Three: 1985-95 Intersection had to leave its North Beach home and make a new one -- in the Mission," *San Francisco Chronicle* June 15, 2005 http://www.sfgate.com/performance/article/THE-ART-OF-RELOCATING-Part-Three-1985-95-2627614.php accessed 4 February 2015.

1457 "Stage Left: A Story of Theater in San Francisco" http://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/embed/17614/9600784965/#vars!panel=183856! Accessed 7 February 2015.

1458 Elana Dykewoman, "Fat Liberation" in Bonnie Zimmerman, ed. *Encyclopedia of Lesbian Histories and Cultures*, (New York: Routledge, 2013) 291.

1459 Pamela Kay Walker, *Moving Over the Edge: Artists With Disabilities Take the Leap* (Michael Horton Media, 2005) 100-103.

1460 Dance, Performance, Art 1930-1989 file, Ephemera Collection, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1461 Marke B. quoted in Tim Redmond, "Ron Lanza, queer impresario, dies at 78," *San Francisco Bay Guardian* 12 April 2013.

mortuary in January 1982 and is commonly described as the first gay comedy club in the U.S. In 1984, journalist Randy Shilts wrote: "With gays eager to find nonsexual social alternatives in the face of the AIDS epidemic, audiences have grown substantially in recent months. About 300 customers now crowd to the three venues or shows at the Valencia Rose on a typical weekend night."[1462] Valencia Rose helped launch many careers including those of Tom Ammiano, Whoopi Goldberg, Marga Gomez, Doug Holcslaw, Lea de Laria, Monica Palacio, and Margaret Cho. The venue also hosted queer musicians such as Gwen Avery, Blackberri, and Avotcja.

In addition to a place to gather and laugh, Valencia Rose served as an important community center. Historian Allan Bérubé and performer Pat Bond presented "Marching to a Different Drummer," and in 1984, the café hosted "Gay and Lesbian Pioneers," a groundbreaking series of presentations on queer history.[1463] The cafe also provided space for numerous community organizations, "encouraging political rallies and other kinds of organizing to take place there, as well as hosting educational evenings on spirituality or holistic living."[1464] Valencia Rose closed in 1985, but three years later, manager Doug Montwill and owner Ron Lanza opened Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint in the Castro (3583 16th Street, extant). Like Valencia Rose, Josie's was a community institution that mixed politics with humor, hosting plays, comedy acts, and many benefits and political meetings until it closed in 1999.[1465]

Writing, Bookstores, and Publishing

Creative Writing

Creative writing, especially poetry, was an important component of LGBTQ arts in San Francisco. The breadth and number of writers is remarkable; the following is a sampling of some of their activities.

Bay Area poets Richard Taggett and Paul Mariah founded *ManRoot* poetry magazine and ManRoot Press in San Francisco in 1969.[1466] ManRoot Press took its name from a word Walt Whitman coined in his poem "I Sing the Body Electric." The first issue of *ManRoot* featured work by poets enrolled in a workshop sponsored by the Society for Individual Rights and taught by gay poet Robert Duncan.[1467] ManRoot Press published a dozen issues of the journal and thirty monographs including work by important Bay Area poets such as Jack Spicer, James Broughton, Robert Peters, and Thom Gunn.[1468]

ManRoot was just one of a growing number of new venues for queer writing including publishers, distributors, and reading spaces. Poet Judy Grahn and others established the Women's Press Collective in 1969 (discussed in an earlier section) that opened a path for lesbian poets. Grahn

1462 Randy Shilts, Datebook *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 1984 quoted in *A Funny Time to be Gay* ed. Ed Karvoski, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011) 30.

1463 Undated flyer for "Marching to a Different Drummer" in Valencia Rose file, Business Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Guide to Doug Montwill Papers, Group 1 – Records of Valencia Rose, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1464 Guide to Doug Montwill Papers, Group 1 – Records of Valencia Rose, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1465 Finding Aid to Ron Lanza Collection of Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint Records, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1466 For a 1974 reading at the Coffee Gallery (1353 Grant Avenue) Mariah described himself as "ex-convict, gnostic spiritualist, ex-mental health workers, former president of council of religion and the homosexual, one of the coordinators for the new Kinsey study…, former secretary to Kay Boyle and Robert Duncan…" Paul Mariah "Profile," 3 July 1974 in Paul Mariah 1 of 2, Biography Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1467 Text from exhibit "Hymns to Hermes: The Poetics of James Broughton" at San Francisco Public Library 2013.

1468 Stephen Schwartz, "Paul Mariah Obituary," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 January 1996.

describes the 1960s and 1970s as a time when Bay Area poets would "read anywhere for any number of righteous causes."[1469] In 1973, she participated in a benefit reading at Glide Memorial Church for the Council on Religion and the Homosexual that included Harold Norse, Richard Tagget, Paul Mariah, Jim Mitchell, Elsa Gidlow, Alta, and Pat Parker.

LGBTQ writers of color organized and created work that drew increasing attention in the 1970s and 1980s. Poetry ran throughout lesbian feminist culture; in 1976, Pat Parker and Judy Grahn were recorded by Olivia Records for the spoken-word album *Where Would I Be Without You? The Poetry of Pat Parker and Judy Grahn*. Parker was among the lesbian poets who contributed to the Women's Press Collective; she also helped found Gente, an organization for Bay Area lesbians of color. In 1979, Olivia Records sponsored a tour by a group of African American poets and musicians including Parker, Linda Tillery, Mary Watkins, and Gwen Avery as the Varied Voices of Black Women.[1470] Asian American writers Nellie Wong, Canyon Sam, Kitty Tsui, Genny Lim, Nancy Hom, and Merle Woo formed a predominately lesbian poetry and performance collective called Unbound Feet that was active in the 1970s and early 1980s and "gathered a strong following in the Asian-American community and among lesbians and radical gay men."[1471] In 1985, Francisco X. Alarcón, Juan Pablo Gutierrez, and Rodrigo Reyes formed a writing collective, Las Cuarto Espinas, and published *Ya Vas Carnal* the first out gay literary work published and distributed inside the American Latino literary circuit.[1472]

Tales of the City

Armistead Maupin's *Tales of the City* is probably the most widely known queer fiction produced and set in San Francisco. Maupin began writing a daily serial for the *San Francisco Chronicle* in May 1976, "pumping out 800 words a day, five days a week," the writer recalls,[1473] adding that the "plotting emerged from my own skipping, stumbling life as a just-out gay man in San Francisco, that veritable asparagus garden of carnal delights."[1474] The serial centers on a fictional wooded urban enclave, Barbary Lane, inspired by Macondray Lane on San Francisco's Russian Hill.

Tales of the City, which was so popular that people xeroxed copies of the daily installments and mailed them to friends around the country, included current events, real-life figures, and a diverse cast of fictional characters including gay men and a transgender woman. Maupin describes working in the *Chronicle* office (901 Mission Street, extant) as offering:

> [A] treasure trove of material, since my desk was adjacent to that of the society editor.… Sometimes, when the panic overwhelmed me, I would flee the building entirely and walk two blocks to a plywood-cubicled sex club, where cheap daytime rates referred to as "The Businessman's Special" offered a moment or two of welcome mindlessness. After one such escape from my never-ending story, I was called unexpectedly to the editor's office where, 10 minutes into our discussion, I discovered a big pink glob of bubble gum stuck to the knee of my Levi's 501s.[1475]

1469 Judy Grahn, *A Simple Revolution*, (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012) 68.

1470 Ibid., 198, 259

1471 Trinity Ordaña "Coming in Out Together," 134-35.

1472 Juan Felipe Herrera "Historical Essay: Chicano Gay Poets" on FoundSF http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=Chicano_Gay_Poets

1473 Paula Martinac, "The Real Barbary Lane," *The Queerest Places: A Guide to LGBT Historic Sites* http://queerestplaces.com/2009/07/22/the-real-barbary-lane/ accessed 2 September 2014. Fittingly, Maupin based the setting on Macondray Lane, which had played a role in the city's 19th-century bohemian life when Ina Coolbrith hosted salons there.

1474 John Mullian, "Armistead Maupin on how he wrote his Tales of the City" *The Guardian* 14 February 2014 http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/feb/14/armistead-maupin-tales-of-the-city-guardian-book-club accessed 2 September 2014.

1475 Ibid.

Tales of the City was first published as a novel by Harper & Row in 1978; four sequels appeared in subsequent years. By 1991, *Tales of the City* had reportedly sold over 600,000 copies in the U.S. alone, and three years later, a miniseries titled *Armistead Maupin's Tales of the City* ran on PBS (after premiering in the U.K.).[1476]

Queer Science Fiction

A genre that features heavily in queer Bay Area writing is science fiction. Visual artist Nayland Blake notes, "the lesbian and gay fascination with science fiction and the alien life is part of the desire for a third term, neither male nor female."[1477] The first gay and lesbian science fiction group, the Urania Science Fiction Club, was founded in 1980 by Jerrold Jacks to support discussion of lesbian, gay, and alternate sexuality in science fiction and fantasy.[1478] The previous year, activist and San Francisco State professor Sally Gearhart had published a lesbian feminist science fiction utopian novel *The Wonderground,* about a matriarchal female society in which the "Hell Women" had escaped the misogyny rampant in cities.[1479] Another contributor to the genre was Frank M. Robinson, speechwriter and advisor to Harvey Milk, who wrote science fiction from the 1950s to 1990s, including the Lambda Literary Award-winner *The Dark Beyond the Stars*.[1480] And the first major book-length bibliography of queer science fiction and related genres was produced in 1983 by two San Francisco writers: Eric Garber and Lynn Paleo's *Uranian Worlds: A Guide to Alternative Sexuality in Science Fiction, Fantasy and Horror*.

Queer Bookstores

The Walt Whitman Bookstore has been described as one of San Francisco's first gay literary bookstores and as the first gay antiquarian bookstore in the U.S. Founded in 1978 by Charles Gilman, it moved from its first location at 1415 Sutter Street to a new location at 2319 Market Street (extant) in the Castro in 1982, where it remained in operation until Gilman's death in 1987. In its Castro location, the store offered new, used, and antiquarian books, as well as exhibitions and frequent author events that featured such writers as Armistead Maupin and Samuel Steward.[1481]

In the early 1970s, Paperback Traffic (558 Castro Street, extant) also served the interests of LGBTQ readers and ran a poetry series featuring gay writers such as Tede Matthews, Thom Gunn, and Robert Gluck.[1482] Matthews, a gender-bending artist and activist, had performed with Angels of Light and had worked with groups supporting liberation struggles in Chile and Nicaragua. He was also a member of Modern Times, a collectively owned bookstore that became an institution in the Bay Area's progressive and LGBTQ communities.[1483] Modern Times opened at 3800 17th Street

1476 Edmund White, "Out of the Closet, Onto the Bookshelf" *New York Times*, 16 June 1991 http://www.nytimes.com/books/97/09/14/reviews/24032.html. Armistead Maupin—Tales Timeline, http://www.armisteadmaupin.com/TalesTimeline.html accessed 2 September 2014.

1477 Nayland Blake, Lawrence Rinder, Amy Scholder eds.,*In a Different Light: Visual Culture, Sexual Identity, Queer Practice*, (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1995) 34-35.

1478 Finding Aid to Jerrold "Jerry" Jacks papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1479 Rivers, *Radical Relations,* 166.

1480 Paul Vitello, "Frank M. Robinson Dies at 87; Author and Advisor to Harvey Milk" *New York Times,* 4 July 2014.

1481 Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database. Gerard Koskovich, "The 'Modest Collection' of Bud Flounders: How 5,400 Gay Novels Came to Stanford," *Imprint: Journal of the Associates of the Stanford University Library* 24:1 (fall 2005): 24–32 (citation pages 27f).

1482 Paperback Traffic moved to Polk Street within a short span of time according to the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database. Juan Felipe Herrera from "Chicano Gay Poets," FoundSF http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=Chicano_Gay_Poets accessed 13 March 2014.

1483 Juan Felipe Herrera from "Chicano Gay Poets," FoundSF http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=Chicano_Gay_Poets accessed 13 March 2014.

in 1971 as a "movement" bookstore, committed to the relationships between readers, writers, and social change.[1484] In 1980, Modern Times moved to 968 Valencia Street (extant) near another collectively owned feminist bookstore, Old Wives Tales (mentioned in an earlier section). "At that time," Modern Time's website states, "writers, artists, and queers from all over were moving to the Mission, attracted by cheap rent, to take up residency next to already thriving Latina/o cultural spaces and movements, including Galeria de la Raza and the Mission Cultural Center."[1485] In 1991, the shop relocated to a larger space at 888 Valencia Street (extant) where it remained until moving to 24th Street in 2011.

For many Castro residents and visitors, the opening of A Different Light Bookstore at 489 Castro Street (extant) in fall of 1987 represented the promise of cultural renewal in the midst of the AIDS crisis. San Francisco was the third in a small chain of stores opened under the A Different Light name, which referred to a popular science fiction novel by Bay Area lesbian author Elizabeth A. Lynn.[1486] Store manager Richard Labonte's remembrance, "A Different Bookstore, a Different Time," recalls that "the burnout of the middle decade was being replaced by an activist phase" that shaped activities at A Different Light.[1487] AIDS and queer activist groups such as ACT/UP, Queer Nation, and Boy with Arms Akimbo used A Different Light as a mail-drop and community and educational space. Artist Jerome Caja designed window displays that infuriated "Catholics, straits, fussy homosexuals and even the police."[1488] A Different Light scheduled as many as twenty events a month featuring author readings, book signings, and launch parties, gay and lesbian writing series, open mics, art exhibits, dance performances, play readings, and sketch classes. The upstairs storeroom and office was the site for writing workshops conducted by queer poet and playwright Kenny Fries and novelists Bo Huston and Dorothy Allison.

OutWrite Literary Conferences

A Different Light also hosted planning meetings that led up to OutWrite 1990, the first-ever national lesbian and gay literary conference. The event was organized over a series of weeks by over a dozen queer writers, including Jeffrey Escoffier, Dorothy Allison, Bo Huston, Kevin Killian, Lew Ellingham, Amy Scholder, and D.L. Alvarez."[1489] Held at the Cathedral Hill Hotel (1101 Van Ness Avenue, demolished) in March 1990 and again in June 1991, OutWrite was sponsored by *Out/Look*, a San Francisco lesbian and gay magazine.[1490] Novelist Edmund White reported in the *New York Times* after attending the 1991 OutWrite conference: "[A]long with some 1,800 lesbians and gay men… I met gay Japanese-American writers, gay Pueblo Indians, gay black writers, and heard a whole panel devoted to gay Jews. There were panels conducted by writers recovering from addiction, by authors with disabilities, by Latin American authors, by Chicanos and Chicanas, and of course by those with AIDS."[1491] Keynote speakers at OutWrite 1991 included playwright Edward Albee, feminist author Kate Millett, Native American writer Paula Gunn Allen, and gay novelist John Rechy.[1492]

1484 Modern Times History, http://moderntimesbookstore.com/about/history/accessed 12 March 2014.

1485 Ibid.

1486 A Different Light opened in Los Angeles' Silverlake neighborhood in 1979 and in Greenwich Village in 1983. Christopher Heredia "Gay Bookstore Founder to Lead a Different Life" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 September 2000, p.1. The association with Elizabeth Lynn's novel is found at "Elizabeth A Lynn: A New Spring," http://www.locusmag.com/1997/Issues/10/Lynn.html accessed 5 June 2014.

1487 Richard Labonte, "A Different Bookstore, a Different Time" *Out in the Castro*, 162.

1488 LaBonte, "A Different Bookstore, a Different Time," 163.

1489 Ibid., 162.

1490 "Albee a Keynoter For Gay Writers" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 February 1991, p. E3.

1491 White "Out of the Closet, Onto the Bookshelf".

1492 "Albee a Keynoter For Gay Writers" *San Francisco Chronicle*, E3.

The OutWrite gatherings had at least one local predecessor: A decade earlier a discussion between two gay poets, Steve Abbott and Bruce Boone, had sparked a two-day conference at Noe Valley Ministry (1021 Sanchez Street) in February 1981. *Left/Write* brought activist writers together to face the growing conservative tenor of the new decade. Panels included "The Political Impact of Lesbian and Gay Writing," "Criticism as a Political Tool," and "Radical Asian-American Writing."[1493]

Publishers

A number of Bay Area publishers supported this flowering of queer writing. Castro neighborhood-based Small Press Traffic, formed in 1974 to support experimental writers, writers of color, and queer writers, held a gay writers group and offered workshops by gay poets such as Robert Gluck.[1494] Two San Francisco-based publishers of particular importance are Gay Sunshine/Leyland Press and Aunt Lute Books. Winston Leyland took over *Gay Sunshine Journal* in 1971 and moved it from Berkeley to San Francisco; in 1975, he added Gay Sunshine Press, which published gay literature and nonfiction as a nonprofit organization. He formed Leyland Publications in 1985 to produce gay erotica and translations of works by gay writers from Japan and Latin America.[1495] According to several sources, Leyland ran the press from his various homes in the Castro.[1496]

In 1986, Aunt Lute Books moved from Iowa—home to several lesbian and feminist publishers—to San Francisco; the enterprise was led by Barb Wieser and Joan Pinkvoss, who believed that "neither mainstream publishing nor the feminist movement of that time was promoting the voices of lesbians, especially lesbians and women of color."[1497] They partnered with the small lesbian press Spinsters Ink and did business under the name Spinsters/Aunt Lute. Aunt Lute Foundation (2180 Bryant Street, extant) became a separate nonprofit with the intention of creating a culturally diverse collective to address the lack of presses run by women of color. Many of Aunt Lute's publications are acknowledged as important contributors to lesbian studies and gender studies, including titles such as Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderland/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987) and Audre Lorde's *The Cancer Journals* (1980).

Film

Poet James Broughton was one of the first openly gay individuals to explore film as a creative medium. His 1946 short *The Potted Plant* is credited with helping to launch American experimental filmmaking in the post–World War II years. He later taught film and ritual at San Francisco State and the San Francisco Art Institute. His 1968 film *The Bed* combined mythological imagery, experimental visuals, nudity, and humor. Broughton describes the film, which reportedly ran for a year in a local theater: "I wanted to use a bed as a stage for the variety of acts of the human comedy. My theme: 'All the world's a bed, and men and women merely dreamers.'"[1498]

1493 Abott, *Fairyland: A Memoir of My Father*, 116-117. Abbot describes the home she shared with her father at 545 Ashbury Street during the 1980s as a gathering place for writers, filmmakers and other artists.

1494 Ibid., 116, 148-149. Small Press Traffic began out of a backroom rented from Paperback Traffic on Castro Street, then moved to an apartment at 24th and Church Streets, http://smallpresstraffic.org/about/history accessed February 5, 2015.

1495 Charles Kirtley, "Let the Sunshine In: The Pioneering Role of Winston Leyland in Gay Publishing" originally in *Lesbian and Gay New York* Spring 1998. http://www.leylandpublications.com/article_leyland.html accessed 27 May 2014.

1496 City directories show that he lived in several places in the Castro but by 1982 had moved to 327 Texas Street, where he resided until at least the late 1980s. Communications with Leyland Press-published authors Gerard Koskovich and Tommi Avicola Mecca.

1497 "About Us: Aunt Lute Press" http://auntlute.com/about accessed 8 June 2014.

1498 Exhibit text from "Hymns to Hermes: The Poetics of James Broughton," San Francisco Public Library, 2013. David Lamble, "Sissy Makes Good" *Bay Area Reporter*, 13 June 2013.

In 1977, a San Francisco-based collective created the first feature-length documentary about gay and lesbian identity, *Word Is Out: Stories of Some of Our Lives,* which premiered at the Castro Theatre.[1499] The Mariposa Film Group included Peter Adair; his sister, Nancy; Andrew Brown; Rob Epstein; Lucy Massie Phenix; and Veronica Selver. *Word Is Out*, which was also published as a book from New Glide Publications in San Francisco, presented 26 individuals telling their stories to the camera, from everyday people to well-known figures such as gay rights pioneer Harry Hay; poet Elsa Gidlow; World War II veteran and performer Pat Bond; San Francisco State professor Sally Gearhart; political leader Rick Stokes; and journalist George Mendenhall. In 1981, San Francisco Gay Teachers held a benefit party at 766 Valencia Street to purchase *Word Is Out* for the school district; in addition to the film, the party featured the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, the Choral Majority, and master of ceremonies Tom Ammiano.[1500]

Word Is Out was broadcast nationally on PBS and reached a wide audience, instantly becoming a highly influential film. "The silence of gay people on the screen has been broken," reported film critic Vito Russo after the film's release. Janet Cole, who worked on the film, reported that the filmmakers received thousands of letters from viewers: "People who were alone and hopeless in Idaho, Utah and Kansas for the first time saw realistic and positive images of gay people on screen," she said.[1501] "[T]he film had a huge impact when it was released and became an icon of the emerging gay rights movement of the 1970s," according to the *New York Times*.[1502] The youngest member of the Mariposa group, Rob Epstein, went on to direct two Academy Award-winning documentaries about LGBTQ life in San Francisco, *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and *Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt* (1989).[1503]

LGBTQ Film Festivals

Bern Boyle reminisces about organizing what may be the first gay film series "around 1976" at the UC Extension building's theater on 55 Laguna Street (not extant). Suspecting that a right wing-inspired backlash led the theater to balk at continuing to rent to him, Boyle then moved the series to Gay Community Centers at 32 Page Street and 330 Grove Street.[1504] The first formal gay film festival in the U.S. was organized at 32 Page Street in 1977.[1505] Filmmaker Marc Heustis recalls:

> Years ago, we were a group of queer, subversive self-promoting gold diggers who got together and decided to put on a film show. Those first years were cost-free packed houses, with movies projected on a hanging bedsheet. It was Harvey Milk's camera store where we developed our films, and our 'counter girl' was 19-year-old Dan [Nicoletta].[1506]

Frameline, the nonprofit sponsor of what is now the annual San Francisco International LGBT Film Festival, was created in 1981 to support distribution, promotion, funding, and exhibition of LGBTQ

1499 Stryker and Van Buskirk, , *Gay by the Bay*. 1978 Polk's Directory does not list Mariposa Films, but Peter Adair, movie/films is listed at 2051 3rd Street.

1500 Flyer in Performance file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1501 David W. Dunlap, "Peter Adair, 53, Director, Dies; Made Films With Gay Themes," *New York Times*, 30 June 1996. http://www.nytimes.com/1996/06/30/us/peter-adair-53-director-dies-made-films-with-gay-themes.html accessed 6 June 2014.

1502 Dunlap, "Peter Adair, 53, Director, Dies; Made Films With Gay Themes."

1503 *Common Threads* was produced by Telling Stories, a San Francisco-based production company formed in 1987 by Epstein with Jeffrey Friedman.

1504 "Documents in Contemporary History: A Conversation with Bern Boyle, Artist," May 15, 1989 *Gay and Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter*, v.4 n.4, Summer 1989. Boyle states that he'd heard there was "some kind of gay film festival in the '60's" but never saw documentation.

1505 The film festival was so popular, it was reprised at 330 Grove one month later according to Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 71.

1506 Roger Rose, "Frameline" *Cinesource* 2 July 2008, http://cinesourcemagazine.com/index.php?/site/comments/the_edge_of_heaven/#.U8VteRanH6o accessed 14 May 2014.

film and video.[1507] That same year, the Castro Theatre became the primary venue for the festival's growing presentation of films by and about LGBTQ people.

Music

LGBTQ Bands and Choruses

In 1978, San Franciscans formed the first openly gay marching band in the world, the San Francisco Gay Freedom Day Marching Band and Twirling Corps, led by transplanted Kansan John Sims. At that year's Gay Freedom Day parade, they "stepped out of the closet and into a tableau of Americana" as they swung onto Market Street playing "California, Here I Come," which became one of their trademark tunes.[1508]

The San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus was also organized in 1978. Bob Rufo recalled seeing a flyer reading, "Gay Chorus Forming," on a Castro Street telephone pole in fall of 1978. One month after their first rehearsal, the chorus sang at the candlelight vigil held at City Hall the night Harvey Milk was murdered. In 1981, the chorus went on a national tour and filed a successful lawsuit against the University of San Francisco, after the archbishop canceled the space rental for a scheduled concert at St. Ignatius Church.[1509] The chorus grew in size and quality throughout the 1980s. In 1988, the San Francisco Opera recognized the stature of the group by inviting them to sing in performances of *Parsifal* and *The Flying Dutchman* at the War Memorial Opera House (301 Van Ness Avenue, extant).

Another choral group, the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay Men's Community Chorus, was formed in 1980 and participated that year in a Gay Musical Celebration at Grace Cathedral and the annual Gay Freedom Day parade. A quartet of lesbians and gay men who prized humor founded yet another group, the San Francisco-based Choral Majority (964 Valencia Street, extant), that performed and recorded songs that parodied Christian religious music and the New Right. Their hymnal, printed by the Women's Press Project, included such ditties as "The Old Closet Door," "Amazing Gays," and "Were you there when they murdered Harvey Milk?"[1510] An additional gay choral group, the Golden Gate Men's Chorus, was founded in 1982.

Inspired by examples such as these, other LGBTQ choruses formed, and an international movement began. San Francisco hosted regional and national conferences of gay and lesbian choruses at the Nourse Auditorium (275 Hayes Street, extant) and Mission High School in the 1980s.[1511] San Franciscans were instrumental in the founding of the Gay and Lesbian Association of Choruses (GALA) in 1981.[1512]

The AIDS epidemic took a toll on San Francisco gay choruses in the 1980s. By 1988, AIDS had killed 35 members of the Gay Men's Chorus, which recognized the epidemic by commissioning works of music that described the impact of AIDS in the lives of LGBTQ people.[1513] The choruses also provided a network of care for members who were sick. Randy Kikukawa, who has sung with Golden Gate Men's Chorus since it was founded in 1982, says "choruses provided an important

1507 "25th Anniversary of the International Lesbian/Gay Film Festival" in *Out in the Castro* (2002) 326. Frameline, "About" http://www.frameline.org/about accessed 14 May 2014.

1508 Heidi Beeler, "About Jon Sims." Jon Sims Endowment Fund http://www.jsef.org/about-jon-sims accessed 7 June 2014.

1509 Text from San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus exhibit at The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum, 2014.

1510 "Choral Majority" on http://queermusicheritage.com/dec2001cm2.html accessed 12 April 2014.

1511 GALA Gay and Lesbian Performing Arts Groups folder, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1512 The Lesbian/Gay Chorus of San Francisco "History," http://lgcsf.org/history accessed 7 June 2014.

1513 Jane Gross, "In Face of AIDS, a Chorus Stands Taller" *New York Times*, 14 May 1988.

support system during the AIDS crisis. They were a safe place to socialize and gave support to those who were ill. We were constantly performing at memorial services."[1514]

Women's Music

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Bay Area was a center for women's music, a central tool for lesbian cultural expression.[1515] Women's music is described as having "a subliminal power to inspire and change women's lives, values, consciousness [and] has become one of life's daily necessities in feminist households and communities around the country."[1516] One of the first places to showcase women's music in San Francisco was the lesbian bar Wild Side West (720 Broadway Street) where singers such as Chris Williamson and Ronni Blakely performed.[1517] While the center of the Bay Area women's music scene was Olivia Records in Oakland, women could hear lesbian singers at San Francisco cafes, theaters, concert halls, bookstores, house parties, community centers, and churches throughout the city. Although a folk music sound characterized most women's music, other genres were popular in the Bay Area. African American blues singer Gwen Avery was a fixture at lesbian community events—performing sounds from her "grandmother's juke joint" and bringing a more formal style of clothing to the women's music stage. "I dressed differently. I would wear satin suits and platform shoes with an afro with neckties and beautiful silk shirts. [Others] were wearing plaid shirts and blue jeans."[1518]

From 1982 to 1987, the Bay Brick Inn (1190 Folsom Street, extant) was a popular South of Market lesbian guest house, club and bar. Also known as the Clementina's Baybrick Inn, the cabaret-style venue was managed by Lauren Hewitt, who booked comedy acts and singers such as Linda Tillery and Bonnie Hayes.[1519]

Disco and Sylvester

The most popular form of music associated with LGBTQ communities in the 1970s and 1980s is disco, and the queen of the genre was San Francisco's Sylvester. Born in 1947, Sylvester (Sylvester James Jr.) grew up in a church-loving family in South Los Angeles; by his teens, he was part of an informal group of African American drag queens. For his high school graduation photo, Sylvester, then known as Dooni, wore a blue chiffon prom dress and a beehive hairdo. After visiting San Francisco in 1970, Sylvester realized, "I could be any kind of person at all, and no one cared. Los Angeles is a role city, but San Francisco is free." He told his sister, "San Francisco is where I can do what I'm here to do."[1520] Sylvester moved to the city in 1970 and was invited to join the Cockettes in their Haight Street commune as well as in their performances, where he added his own tongue-in-cheek version of soul. Sylvester soon was performing at venues including the Rickshaw Lounge (37 Ross Alley, extant) in Chinatown with pianist Peter Mintun, another refugee from the Cockettes. By early 1972, Sylvester and his Hot Band were playing at clubs including The Shed (2725 Market Street), the Keystone (68 4th Street, extant), Bimbos 365 Club (1025 Columbus Avenue, extant), and

1514 Randy Kikukawa, interviewed by Donna Graves, 15 March 2014.

1515 Blake, Rinder and Scholder, *In a Different Light,* 22

1516 Kirsten Grimsted, "Sounds That Are Already There," *Lesbian Tide,* March 1976, 16. http://queermusicheritage.com/lesbiantide2.html accessed 7 June 2014.

1517 In 1977, bar owners Nancy White and Patricia Ramseyer moved the bar to 424 Cortland Street in Bernal Heights and renamed it Wild Side West. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Sites Database and Michael Flanagan, "Wild Side West, A Refuge in Bernal Heights," *Bay Area Reporter*, 30 January 2014.

1518 Tim Dillinger, "Blues and Gospel singer Gwen Avery dies at 71*" Soul Tracks,* http://www.soultracks.com/story-gwen-avery-dies accessed 4 March 2014.

1519 Finding Aid to the Bay Brick Inn records, 1982-1987, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1520 Gamson, *The Fabulous Sylvester,* 4, 31, 43

the Boarding House (960 Bush Street, not extant), where he saw Bette Midler perform. In 1972, rock music impresario Bill Graham booked Sylvester as the opening act for David Bowie's Ziggy Stardust stop at Winterland Ballroom (1725 Steiner Street, not extant).[1521]

In 1977, Sylvester recorded his first album with Bay Area-based Fantasy Records, where "a conscious effort was made to normalize him" by erasing his drag queen identity in publicity materials.[1522] Although he had one major hit and was played widely in dance clubs, Sylvester's records did not take off nationally. Despite the growing dominance of the Castro's hyper-masculine clone ideal, which Sylvester flouted with his glitter and platform shoes, and the national backlash against disco, Sylvester remained a beloved figure in San Francisco. As divisions grew among LGBTQ communities, Sylvester described his shows as "Equal Opportunity Queen."[1523] He performed frequently at the Elephant Walk (500 Castro Street, extant) with his backup singers Two Tons of Fun. In March 1979, he was one of the first pop acts to do a solo show at the War Memorial Opera House. Sylvester sang his hit single "You Make Me Feel (Mighty Real)" at the May 22, 1979, Castro Street party in honor of the late Harvey Milk's birthday, held the evening after the White Night Riot.[1524]

Sylvester performed at the opening of the Castro Street Muni Station in May 1980. By late 1989, Sylvester was suffering from AIDS, and the 15th annual Castro Street Fair was dedicated as a "Tribute to Sylvester." Although he was too weak to leave his nearby apartment, he was serenaded by 70,000 people who filled the streets that day chanting, "We love you, Sylvester!"[1525]

Visual Arts

The number and variety of LGBTQ people who have been active in the visual arts in San Francisco is substantial. The photographic record of LGBTQ lives from the 1960s to today was created by talented artists such as Cathy Cade, H. Lenn Keller, Greg Day, Daniel Nicoletta, Rick Gerharter, Rink, and Jane Philomen Cleland. The list of artists, curators, and exhibits that could be described in this section is long and important, but only a few examples will be described here. (A discussion of visual arts related to the AIDS epidemic is in a later section of this report.)

One of the early queer art venues in San Francisco was called the Hula Palace, a gay communal household at 598 Castro Street (extant). Periodically, the residents would empty their flat and transform the space into an art salon exhibiting work by a variety of individual artists, often centered on a theme. Poet-activist Tede Matthews recalls the Hula Palace as a space that combined art with activism:

> We would do an evening of political culture there. They weren't that political, but they would invite the Ho Chi Minh crowd. So, we did an event for the political prisoners of Chile, the whole coup thing… and we started Gay Solidarity with Chilean Resistance, which was the first solidarity group right after the coup.[1526]

Writer N.A. Diaman mentions that one of the Hula Palace organizers, Lee Mentley, volunteered to be the representative of the Eureka Valley Artists Coalition and eventually opened an art exhibition

1521 Ibid., 62, 89-92.
1522 Ibid., 124.
1523 Ibid., 222.
1524 Ibid., 131, 169, 181.
1525 Ibid., 260. Jewelle Gomez, "Mighty Real" In *Out in the Castro* p. 261
1526 Juan Felipe Herrera from "Chicano Gay Poets," FoundSF http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=Chicano_Gay_Poets accessed 13 March 2014.



Disco artist Sylvester performing with LZ Love in the Castro in the early 1980s. Note the Star Pharmacy at upper left, discussed in a later section titled "San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic" (From *The Austin Chronicle*)

space at the Gay Community Center at 330 Grove Street.[1527] 330 Grove had an active visual and performing arts component in its few years of operation until it was demolished by its owner, the Redevelopment Agency.

Another artists space also threatened by redevelopment, the Goodman Building (1111 Geary Boulevard, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 71), hosted several important LGBTQ arts events.[1528] In 1980 and 1981, a collective of "progressive queer cultural workers" calling themselves Mainstream Exiles organized a gay and lesbian cultural festival there that included a month-long exhibit by queer painters, photographers, and sculptors. As exiles from the mainstream art world, the Mainstream Exiles also felt that "the only gay culture being recognized was the marching band, cabaret and so on." Tede Matthews described the Exiles' purpose as using the arts to take a "strong stand against culture and politics that are sexist, racist, ageist or imperialist, or which support the class structure."[1529] The cultural festivals included music, theater, and readings by Bay Area lesbian and gay poets at the Goodman Building and in Oakland at a popular lesbian bar, Ollie's (4130 Telegraph Avenue).

Lesbians in the Visual Arts (870 Market Street, extant) was founded in 1990 in response to a 1989 exhibition in San Francisco, "The Dynamics of Color: Lesbian Artists Respond to Racism." Held at the Sargent Johnson Gallery in the Western Addition Cultural Center (762 Fulton Street), the show was organized in conjunction with a major conference of the same name described in an earlier section of this report. The goal of Lesbians in the Visual Arts was to promote and support lesbian artists through a slide registry depicting members' work and promotion of lesbian arts events and exhibitions. According to founder L.A. "Happy" Hyder, the organization also sought to visually demonstrate the lesbian community's vital, thinking, and active part in the civil rights struggle.[1530]

Starting in the 1970s, increasing numbers of queer artists began to see their work as a way to reinforce aspects of identity and to build community. Shanghai-born artist Freddie Niem's home on Collingwood Street in the Castro became Shanghai-West, an art studio and a community center for queer Asian Americans. Niem notes that "there were very few Asian faces on the street. I wanted to make a place that was comfortable for Asians." The first Asian-themed quilt for the Names Project AIDS memorial quilt was produced at Niem's home, as well as a balloon dragon float for "the very first time the Chinese New Year parade in San Francisco invited gay Asians in 1993."[1531]

San Francisco-based African American queer artist Nayland Blake curated two important local group shows that surveyed queer arts in the first half of the 1990s. In 1991, he organized "Situation: Perspectives on Work by Lesbian and Gay Artists" at New Langton Arts (1246 Folsom Street, extant), a show that included over 30 young artists. In 1995, he collaborated with curator Lawrence Rinder to organize a major exhibition at the Berkeley Art Museum titled "In a Different Light" that "explored the resonance of gay and lesbian experience in twentieth-century arts."

1527 N.A. Diaman, "Living in The Castro: a Gay Writer Reminisces," *Out in the Castro*, 102.

1528 The Goodman Building provided a low-cost haven for artists to create and show their work. When the Redevelopment Agency threatened to demolish the building they worked with the owner to designate the building as a landmark and ultimately protect it. Martha Senger, "The Goodman Building: I was There…" *Found SF* http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Goodman_Building accessed 28 January 2014.

1529 "Exiled Artists Expose Queer Culture" *Coming Up!* June 1981.

1530 Tee A. Corinne, "The Dynamics of Color and LVA: Lesbians in the Visual Arts" Women Artists of the American West http://www.cla.purdue.edu/WAAW/corinne/Essay4.htm accessed 28 January 2014.

1531 Tim Kingston "Freddie Niem's Shanghai-West: Asian Harbor from the Castro's White Storm" in *Out in the Castro*, 234-235.

The multigenerational exhibit was especially inspired by the works of artists in San Francisco, where:

> there is a palpable sense of community: visual artists, playwrights, poets, performance artists, filmmakers, and video artists present their work together in a variety of nonprofit venues and small commercial galleries, work that is itself often interdisciplinary and collaborative… These artists live in a generally hostile social climate, amid the constant threat of "gay bashings," proscriptive legislative initiatives, and surrounded by the tragedy of AIDS. Remarkably, they not only persist in making art, but do so in a spirit of humor, generosity, and flamboyance.[1532]

Kiki Gallery (493 14th Street) exemplified this perspective. Opened by impresario Rick Jacobsen in 1993 as a place to showcase queer contemporary visual art and performance, the space shared a back patio with noted lesbian cafe and performance space Red Dora's Bearded Lady Café and Truckstop at 485 14th Street (extant).[1533] Kiki Gallery offered a small space for younger queer artists who were not shown in San Francisco's blue-chip galleries. Describing the gallery, writer Kevin Killian notes, "If it was a clubhouse, Kiki was the clubhouse for the poor boys, and the rich boys were hanging around [high-end galleries] Fraenkel or Berggruen or Anglim."[1534] During its three years of operation, Kiki hosted art exhibits, readings, and performances on subjects as far ranging as scatology, AIDS humor, and recreational drug use. Among the featured artists and performers were Joan Jett Blakk, D.L. Alvarez, Nayland Blake, Jerome Caja, Catherine Opie, and Vincent Fecteau.[1535]

A queer arts space known as 848 Community Arts Space (848 Divisadero Street, extant) was one of the first venues to present work by transgender artists, including a 1994 photo exhibition by Loren Cameron, "Our Vision, Our Voices: Transsexual Portraits and Nudes." Keith Hennessey, 848 founder, recounts that:

> Cameron dedicated several years to documenting his own and other trans people's bodies and lives. When no other gallery in San Francisco would present the work, Cameron came to 848 and self-produced the exhibit, buying the track lighting that shifted 848 from an empty room with good intentions to an actual gallery.[1536]

The opening featured readings and performances by writer Kate Bornstein and leading trans advocate Jamison Green of FTM International, as well as transgender community historian Susan Stryker.[1537]

A number of people active in the LGBTQ arts community formed an organization to support queer arts and artists in San Francisco in 1993 and to create a unified voice in lobbying for support from the City. Several members had recently served on the Mayor's Cultural Affairs Task Force including

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1532 Lawrence Rinder "Introduction," *In a Different Light*, 1-2.

1533 Liz Wing, "Kiki: Exhibitions and Bits" Stretcher: Visual Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area and Beyond http://www.stretcher.org/features/kiki_exhibitions_bits/ accessed 16 August 2014.

1534 Kevin Killiam "Kevin Killian presents.... Kiki Gallery: A Year or Two of Crazy Art Making" 5 July 2008 http://denniscooper-theweaklings.blogspot.com/2008/07/kevin-killian-presents-kiki-gallery.html?zx=4809e726eec252dd accessed 18 June 2014.

1535 Wing, "Kiki: Exhibitions and Bits."

1536 "848 Community Space: Performance and Sex in 1990s San Francisco, Keith Hennessy in Dialogue with Tessa Wills" *Dance Theatre Journal,* v. 25, no. 2, 2013. Republished at http://tessawills.com/848-performance-sex-1990s-san-francisco-keith-hennessy/ accessed 23 May 2014.

1537 Ibid. Communication with Susan Stryker November 17, 2014.

photographer Carol Stuart, arts consultant Jeff Jones, artist Rudy Lemcke, and Theater Rhinoceros assistant artistic director Pam Peniston. Adrienne Fuzee, a cofounder of Lesbians in the Visual Arts and one of the first openly queer African American curators in the U.S., recalls, "Seeing that historic attempts to establish a cultural center for the gay community often succumbed to poorly planned strategies or simply the winds of political change, organizers took the longer but perhaps more established route of long range planning."[1538]

Along with Fuzee, photographer Greg Day, painter Lenore Chinn, filmmaker Osa Hidalgo-de la Riva, photographer Freddie Niem, and performance artist Blackberri formed the first board of directors of the San Francisco Center for Lesbian Gay Bi and Transgender Art and Culture. In the early years, the organization was largely an ad hoc lobbying force that worked to change the city's arts policies to better support artists outside of large, mainstream cultural institutions such as the opera and symphony. It developed relationships with local arts activists through townhall meetings and surveys and supported a series of arts events through shared technical assistance, publicity, and grant-writing workshops. [1539] The organization is now the Queer Cultural Center (762 Fulton Street); it documents, commissions, and presents queer artists, promotes the development of culturally diverse queer arts organizations, and organizes the annual National Queer Arts Festival in San Francisco.[1540]

SPORTS

Sports teams for gay and lesbian athletes first appeared in the 1960s. As a new arena for socializing and a refuge from the often hypermasculine attitudes and homophobia of many organized sports, these teams became an important social and community-building focus for many gay men and lesbians. According to journalist Jim Provenzano, "Bowling maintains the honor of being one of the first—if not the first—sports that brought Bay Area lesbians and gay men together in recreational leagues."[1541] Bowling teams played at Park Bowl (1855 Haight Street, extant) in the upper Haight, Japantown Bowl (1600 Webster Street, not extant), and at the Sports Center at 30th and Mission Streets. Another early organized sporting activity was a running club affiliated with the short-lived Lavender University in 1974. It offered group jogging that started at the Golden Gate Park windmills. In 1978, the group evolved into San Francisco Frontrunners, which has inspired chapters around the world and is still running.[1542]

Gay Softball League

The most organized and popular sport for gays and lesbians was softball. Bar-owner Rikki Streicher later recalled that softball games began in the early 1960s on Sunday afternoons out of a bar in Sausalito named the Bridgeway. Within a few years a cluster of San Francisco bars, including the Capri, the Golden Cask, and Bradley's fielded teams.[1543] The San Francisco Gay Softball League dates its inception to 1973, when a men's softball game at a Tavern Guild picnic inspired a tournament and then formation of what was then called the Community Softball League. According to one source, managers of City recreational fields initially resisted allowing gay softball teams

1538 Adrienne Fuzee, "The Birth of Qcc, The Center for Lesbian Gay Bi Transgender Art & Culture" 2001 http://www.queerculturalcenter.org/Pages/MainMenu/About.html#history accessed 15 August 2014.

1539 Ibid.

1540 Qcc Mission Statement http://www.queerculturalcenter.org/Pages/MainMenu/About.html#aboutqcc accessed 15 August 2014.

1541 Jim Provenzano, text from The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum exhibit *Sporting* Life, 2005..

1542 San Francisco Frontrunners History http://www.sffr.org/history accesed 21 June 2014. Jim Provenzano, text from The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum exhibit *Sporting* Life, 2005.

1543 Rikki Streicher, "And Then There Was Softball," in *Maud's, The First Twenty Years: 1966-1986*, 34. Wide Open Town Collection, Box 8, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

access until Mayor George Moscone and State Senator Willie Brown intervened. Games were then held at softball diamonds in parks throughout the city.[1544]

In 1974, the tradition of an annual game between a gay all-star softball team and the San Francisco Police Department softball league team was established. The police chief reportedly threw out the ceremonial first ball (painted pink with silver glitter), and the Sutter's Mill (a gay bar) softball team hosted 200 people at an awards banquet following the game, which featured a drag performance. Provenzano remarks, "The resounding 9-4 victory [of the gay team] in 1974 began a watershed moment, proving that not only did 'the gays' deserve respect as people, but as athletes."[1545] The following year's game against the police was held at Potrero Hill Playground on August 9, 1975.[1546] The game was followed by a "Meet the Champs" champagne party at the Pendulum (4146 18th Street), a gay bar that hosted a softball team like many other gay bars. Other events associated with the game included police-sponsored transportation for a "BarStorm" of gay bars to fundraise for league-related events. The 1975 gay softball season ended with a party at Sailor's Union Hall (450 Harrison Street, extant).

By 1977, the Community Softball League included four divisions of sixteen teams.[1547] In addition to providing camaraderie, the league and its members raised funds for charities such as Meals on Wheels and Guide Dogs for the Blind. League teams also participated in a Memorial Day Tricycle Race, a charity event organized by Charlotte Coleman's gay bar, The Mint (1942 Market Street, extant), in which two-person teams careened through the Civic Center and the Castro, stopping at gay bars along the way and ending at The Mint.[1548]

Lesbian Teams

Softball was a key social activity for many lesbians and a way to connect to the broader lesbian community. Maud's patron Joann Shirley remembers that before there was a well-publicized lesbian bar scene, "People would get into town and say, 'Where do the girls play softball?'"[1549] Sociologist Evelyn Blackwood, who lived in San Francisco in the 1970s and 1980s, recalls,

> The first generation of lesbian ballplayers in the Bay Area played in the Bay Area Women's Softball League, which started in 1966 and lasted until the early 1980s! Rikki helped found that league, and each team was from a women's bar. All the women's bars had a team at different times, including Maud's, Kelly's, Scott's, Peg's, A Little More, Amelia's, Driftwood, Jubilee and Ollie's.[1550]

By the mid-1980s, teams competed in San Francisco's Parks and Recreation League as well as the gay and lesbian leagues. Player Wendy Gershow recalls that "for the first couple years, we played against the men because there was only one women's team. By the third year, we had four. After

1544 "The Gay Community Softball League" Uncle Donald's Castro Street, http://www.thecastro.net/street/softball/softballpage.html accessed 22 June 2014.

1545 Provenzano, *Sporting* Life, 2005.

1546 Police Game Committee Meeting Minutes 4 August 1975. Gay Games collection, Box 2 The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1547 CSL Committee Meetings 1975-75 Gay Games Collection, Box 2 Community Softball League files, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1548 Folder "Mint Tricycle Race, CSL Benefit" The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society Gay Games Collection Box 2 http://thecastro.net/street/tracepage/tracepage.html

1549 Joann Shirley in documentary film Last Call at Maud's, Paris Poirier director, 1993.

1550 Evelyn Blackwood, electronic communication with Donna Graves, 8 September 2014. Jubilee and Ollie's were East Bay bars.



LEFT: Kokpit Bar pitcher at a Community Softball League game, James P. Lang Field at Gough Street and Golden Gate Avenue (Courtesy GLBT HIstorical Society)

BOTTOM: Maud's softball team, c. 1970s (Courtesy Mary Sager)



that we boosted it, promoting it, and got the league up to 12 women's teams."[1551] Players recalled a loose approach to building women's teams: Julie Gonzales remembered two gay men playing for Amelia's, and Gershow says that straight women played alongside lesbians on a number of teams.[1552]

Lesbian teams played slow-pitch and fast-pitch ball in baseball diamonds across the city, including James Rolph Jr. Field on Potrero Hill, Rossi Field in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, and James P. Lang Field at Golden Gate Avenue and Gough Street. Deb Trapini recounts managing Amelia's team but playing on the team for Wild Side West because "Maud's and Amelia's were too competitive."[1553] Despite the competition, players and spectators gathered together after each game at the winning team's bar.

One of the Bay Area women's softball teams called Gente was formed by an independent group of over twenty lesbians of color from San Francisco and the East Bay. Gente's purpose was to provide an opportunity for African American, Latina, and Asian American lesbians to form a community that they were not finding in the predominantly white bar teams.[1554] By the mid-1980s, San Francisco also hosted Asian American lesbian basketball and softball teams through the city league, according to player Canyon Sam, who notes that the teams helped "unite Asian American lesbians, many of whom were not political or were in closet, and didn't want to call themselves lesbians or dykes."[1555]

Other Sports

Gay basketball teams date back to charity games organized by the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence in the early 1980s. A group of former college players, including former pro baseball player Glenn Burke, formed a team that played in the first Gay Games (described in detail later in this section). In the summer of 1987, the men's team played against a lesbian team in "The Battle of the Sexes" at the Eureka Valley Gym and raised $800 for the AIDS Emergency Fund.[1556]

In the 1980s and 1990s, many other gay and lesbian sports clubs were established, including the San Francisco Track and Field Club, the Golden Gate Wrestling Club, and San Francisco Tsunami Aquatics. In 1986, Gay and Lesbian Sierrans, a hiking and conservation club, was formed, the first LGBTQ club sponsored by the Sierra Club.[1557] In 1996, the field at the City-owned Eureka Valley Recreation Center at 100 Collingwood Street was named for Rikki Streicher in honor of her contributions to women's sports and to LGBTQ athletics.[1558]

1551 Jim Provenzano "Outfield of Dreams" *Bay Area Reporter* 22 June 2006 http://www.ebar.com/pride/article.php?sec=pride&article=18 accessed 17 March 2014. Records of the Women's Softball league were not found; By 1977, the Bay Area Women's Softball League fielded ten teams from San Francisco and the East Bay; these figures come from the LA-based newspaper, *Lesbian Tide* July 1974, p. 6.

1552 Julie Gonzales, electronic communication with Donna Graves, 6 September 2014 and Jim Provenzano "Outfield of Dreams," *Bay Area Reporter* 22 June 2006 http://www.ebar.com/pride/article.php?sec=pride&article=18 accessed 17 March 2014.

1553 Evelyn Blackwood, Deb Trapini and Linda Parios, interviewed by Donna Graves at Maud's Reunion, 26 June 2013.

1554 "We Have to Be Our Own Spark: An Interview With "Gente" Third-World Lesbian Softball Team," *Lesbian Tide* July 1974.

1555 Canyon Sam, interviewed by Donna Graves, 6 March 2014. Sam said the basketball team was named "Firebirds" and the softball team "Tom's Girls."

1556 Provenzano, text from Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum exhibit, 2005.

1557 San Francisco Bay Chapter of Gay and Lesbian Sierrans, http://www.glshikes.org accessed 8 August 2014.

1558 Rachel Gordon, "Castro Park May Honor Lesbian Activist," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 October 1996, http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Castro-park-may-honor-lesbian-activist-3119319.php accessed 6 June 2014.

Gay Games

1982 marked a watershed year for gay and lesbian athletics, with San Francisco hosting the first Gay Games (initially called the Gay Olympics) from August 28th to September 5th. Physician and former Olympic decathlete Dr. Tom Waddell had initiated the idea of a Gay Olympics, and in the summer of 1981, he drove around the country with Eric Wilkinson and Roger Taub to see if the notion appealed to other gay men and lesbians. When it became clear that there was enthusiasm for the venture, Waddell organized planning meetings at his home at 141–143 Albion Street (extant).[1559]

As part of the organizing of the first Gay Games, Rikki Streicher, Sara Lewenstein, and Paul Mart, along with Waddell, Wilkinson, and Taub, established San Francisco Arts and Athletics Inc. to raise funds and organize events. With offices in the Castro (597 Castro Street) and dozens of volunteers, the scope of the Gay Games grew to include concerts and exhibitions, in addition to the athletic competitions.

The first Gay Games was held at Kezar Stadium (670 Kezar Drive, extant) near Golden Gate Park. According to Gay Games veteran Paul Mart, Sara Lewenstein recruited dozens of lesbians to repair crumbling portions of the stadium: "She had 40-50 dykes out there pouring cement, stealing lumber back from people who owed us. Instead of paying the bills, she got people to donate $100 checks. That was the way we had to do it!"[1560]

The Gay Games started with a ceremonial procession of gay and lesbian runners carrying a torch from New York's Stonewall Inn to Kezar Stadium, arriving on August 28th . Tina Turner performed at the opening ceremony, with novelist and activist Rita Mae Brown serving as MC. During the following week, 1,300 athletes from around the world competed before an estimated crowd of 10,000.[1561]

The months leading up to the Gay Games had been shadowed by demands from the United States Olympic Committee that the events not use the word Olympics. Just days before the games began, the USOC obtained a federal court order restraining the local group from using the word; they were forced to scratch Olympics off thousands of posters, flags, banners, and tickets.[1562] Thus the Gay Olympics became the Gay Games. Overcoming the controversy, the Gay Games were a huge success, and plans began almost immediately for Gay Games II, again to be held in San Francisco. Despite the assault of AIDS in the intervening years, more than twice as many competitors participated in 1984. After the opening procession, Waddell addressed over 3,500 athletes from seventeen nations in his remarks: "With these Games and the Procession of the Arts, we hereby serve notice that we are fully vested citizens of the world, with a thriving and bona fide culture, and that we are worthy of the respect and esteem of all other citizens of this world."[1563]

1559 Waddell and his partner Charles Deaton had received national attention when they were featured in *People* magazine's "Couples" section in October 1976, an early depiction of gay partnership in a national publication. Tom Waddell and Dick Schaap, *Gay Olympian: The Life and Death of Dr. Tom Waddell* (New York: Alfred a Knopf 1996) 124. Their Albion Street home was a former German American. *Arbeiterbildungsverein* (Workers' Educational Society), a German socialist group that offered English classes and, of course, beer and the signing of Lieder. This building was called Equality Hall and was used by a variety of radical groups in the 1930s. Among those who met there was the caucus within the longshoremen's union that included Harry Bridges, Henry Schmidt, and several other future leaders of the SF longhore local; they called it Albion Hall.

1560 Jim Provenzano "Our Pioneers" Bay Area Reporter 18 August 2005 http://www.ebar.com/columns/column.php?sec=sports&id=3 accessed 17 March 2014.

1561 Tom Waddell and Dick Schaap, *Gay Olympian: The Life and Death of Dr. Tom Waddell* (New York: Alfred a Knopf 1996) 161.

1562 Ibid., 158.

1563 Ibid., 195.



Former home of Tom Waddell, 141-143 Albion Street
(Photo by Shayne Watson)

That same year, the USOC filed a lawsuit demanding that San Francisco Arts and Athletics Inc. and Tom Waddell pay its legal fees, and the U.S. District Court ruled in their favor, freezing Waddell's assets and placing a lien on his home. In 1987, Waddell, Gay Games Board member Rikki Streicher, and attorney Mary Dunlap traveled to Washington, D.C., for a hearing at the U.S. Supreme Court, which narrowly ruled in favor of the USOC. In the face of negative publicity and pressure from elected officials, the USOC removed the lien on Waddell's home just two weeks before he died of AIDS on July 11, 1987.[1564]

LGBTQ HISTORY

Early LGBTQ History Organizations and Events

Influenced by the queer liberation movements and new social histories that told American history "from the bottom up," pioneers of LGBTQ history began to emerge during the 1970s. Bay Area feminist Max Dashu founded the Suppressed Histories Archive in 1970 and by the middle of the decade was presenting slide lectures on international women's history at Full Moon Coffeehouse and The Women's Building.[1565] In January 1977, the Gay Community Center at 330 Grove Street hosted a talk by historian Jonathan Ned Katz based on his groundbreaking book *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.*[1566]

A small group of Oakland-based women began the West Coast Lesbian Collections in 1981, an archives with the aim to acquire "anything a lesbian ever touched." The WCLC's mission was to create an archives "not just for scholars and historians, though it is open to them. It is a community archives, based on community and social history, and dedicated to preserving the details of our lives."[1567] The Golden Gate Business Association gave $1,000 to the WCLC to pilot a membership program in 1983, but three years later the struggling archives moved to Los Angeles.[1568] The WCLC, which included material from a number of important San Francisco organizations and individuals and is now the June L. Mazer Lesbian Archives housed at the UCLA Center for the Study of Women.[1569]

San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project

Community historian and activist Allan Bérubé moved to the Bay Area in 1973 and began to search for documentation of gay and lesbian histories in local libraries and archives. His first slide lecture, "Lesbian Masquerade," was presented at The Women's Building in 1979 as a benefit for the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, a private study group that he had helped to found the year before. Five years later, Bérubé's article, "The History of Gay Bathhouses," was printed in the San Francisco newspaper *Coming Up!* and submitted as a brief to the California Supreme Court, which was considering legal issues around bathhouse closure in response to the AIDS epidemic. As described in detail in the section titled "Development of Sex-Based Communities," Bérubé's history describes bathhouses as spaces with multiple meanings for gay men that went beyond sex to

1564 Ibid., 210-224.
1565 "Suppressed Histories Archive," http://www.suppressedhistories.net/aboutmax.html accessed 15 August 2014.
1566 Flyer for Katz lecture in 330 Grove folder, Groups Ephemera Collection, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society
1567 "West Coast Lesbians Collections Builds Our Community Scrapbook," *Bay Area Career Women Newsletter* October-November 1983, p. 1
1568 "Ibid.
1569 Kathleen A. McHugh, Brenda Johnson-Grau, and Ben Rapahel Sher, *The June L. Mazer Archives: Making Invisible Histories Visible* (UCLA Center for the Study of omen, 2014) 11.

support important political and social ties. The book *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism* (2008) describes the article as:

> a unique historical document not only in its content, but in its very existence. [I]t represents a specific effort by historian/activist to intervene in public policy during a time of intensified anti-gay repression. By documenting the development of gay bathhouses into essential community institutions, Bérubé constructs an alternative legal argument for allowing them to remain open.[1570]

Among the other founding members of the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project were Estelle Freedman, Gayle Rubin, Jeffrey Escoffier, Amber Hollibaugh, Eric Garber, Lynn Fonfa, Bertie Yusba, Joanne Castillo, Robert Epstein, Frances Reid, Elizabeth Stevens, John D'Emilio, and William "Willie" Walker.[1571]

Gay and Lesbian/ Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society

The idea of creating a historical society to document and share gay and lesbian history in San Francisco is attributed to Willie Walker, who remembers, "It just seemed really clear that if anyone was going to try and collect and preserve queer history that we were going to have to do it ourselves."[1572] The formation of LGBTQ archives in the U.S., which largely began with the gay liberation movement in the 1970s and picked up speed in the 1980s, was directly shaped by the AIDS epidemic. The imperative to remember the lives, challenges, and accomplishments of those who were dying so young and so rapidly gave urgency to the idea of a place to collect gay history and catalyzed the formation of a number of queer archives.[1573]

This was personal for individuals such as Bérubé and Walker (a nurse on an AIDS ward), both of whom were members of the Forget-Me-Nots, an affinity group for men whose lovers had died of AIDS.[1574] Walker recalls that "from early on we wanted to get the papers of people that were dying of AIDS because we had a clear sense that these were people whose voices were gonna be erased, and they had important things to say and teach to future generations."[1575]

A public meeting was held in March 1985 at the Commission Room of the San Francisco Public Library in the Civic Center (200 Larkin Street; now the Asian Art Museum), to discuss founding the organization, which was named the San Francisco Bay Area Gay and Lesbian Historical Society. Walker remembers that among the people who responded to the notice were members of the group Gay American Indians.[1576] After polling attendees, the organization's goals included creating an archives and library, conducting oral history projects, and supporting research.[1577] Debate over whether "gay" or "lesbian" should be first in the organization's name was reportedly solved by Paula Lichtenberg who Walker recalls saying, "just do it in alphabetical order, it does not make any difference, there are tons of both. Let's just get over it."[1578] The decision to be a historical

1570 Dangerous Bedfellows eds., *Policing Public Sex*, (Boston: South End Press, 1996) 185.

1571 Boyd, *Bodies of Evidence*, 18.

1572 Willie Walker interviewed by Terence Kissack, 2003, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, p. 51. Walker describes two other nascent collections forming in SF, the Harvey Milk Archives and the collection of Greg Pennington.

1573 Diane Kiyo Wakimoto, *Queer Community Archives in California Since 1950* (PhD Dissertation; Queensland University of Technology, 2012) 93.

1574 Slideshow by Estelle Freedman and John D'Emilio, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum 7 July 2011 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kucy_Z9Pnfo&list=UU5bo70dFJUnw8Yh9peIZTBQ accessed 8 August 2014.

1575 Willie Walker, interviewed by Terence Kissack, 2003, p. 58.

1576 Ibid., 51-52.

1577 Wakimoto, *Queer Community Archives in California Since 1950*, 95

1578 Willie Walker, interviewed by Terence Kissack, p. 52.

society, and not just an archives, reflected the founders' "aim to have a community space that could accommodate and foster the many diverse interests represented by the community members."[1579] Within three years, the organization successfully petitioned Mayor Art Agnos to proclaim June as Lesbian and Gay History Month.[1580]

Walker, who enrolled at UC Berkeley in a master's program in library science, housed the archives initially in his apartment (3823 17th Street, extant); for several years, meetings and additional archival collections were spread among other members' homes and rented storage space. In 1990, the archives moved to a space in the basement of the Redstone Labor Temple Building (2940 16th Street), which offered space for public meetings, and room to actively collect further more periodicals, personal papers, and organizational records.[1581] The same year, the organization changed its name to the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California to reflect the broader regional scope of its collections. Bisexual activist Maggi Rubenstein pressured the organization to add "bisexual" to its name, which became the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual Historical Society in 1999.[1582] Transgender was added to the name in the early 2000s.

Women historians and activists were involved from the organization's beginning, and one of the first major organizational collections the society gathered was the records of the Daughters of Bilitis. Early newsletters indicate that society members were actively seeking oral histories and archival materials from people of color and women. Yet, in a recent review of the archives, board member and curator Amy Sueyoshi found that less than one-third of the collection covered women's history and less than 5 percent reflected Asian American Pacific Islander queer communities.[1583] Still, the Historical Society has remained committed to its ambitious goals and to ensuring that members of all LGBTQ communities have access to their historical materials through the growing archive and the organization's Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender History Museum, which opened in the Castro District in 2011.

The connection between documenting LGBTQ history and supporting social change was central to the work of Bay Area–based independent scholars and academic historians, especially before academia recognized queer scholarship as a legitimate pursuit. The 1988 book *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America,* written by Stanford professor and San Francisco resident Estelle Freedman and coauthor John D'Emilio, was noted by the U.S. Supreme Court in its landmark ruling that struck down sodomy laws nationwide. Allan Bérubé's 1990 book *Coming Out Under Fire*, which documents the World War II experiences of gay men and lesbians in the military, influenced the 1990s debate on President Bill Clinton's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy and was the basis for an award-winning 1994 documentary film of the same name.

The Historical Society began an ambitious oral history project in 1992, founded by historian Nan Alamilla Boyd, which ultimately encompassed over 500 interviews recorded to "capture the stories and real voices of community members past and present." The 1990s also saw the initiation of the James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center at the San Francisco Public Library's Main Library (100

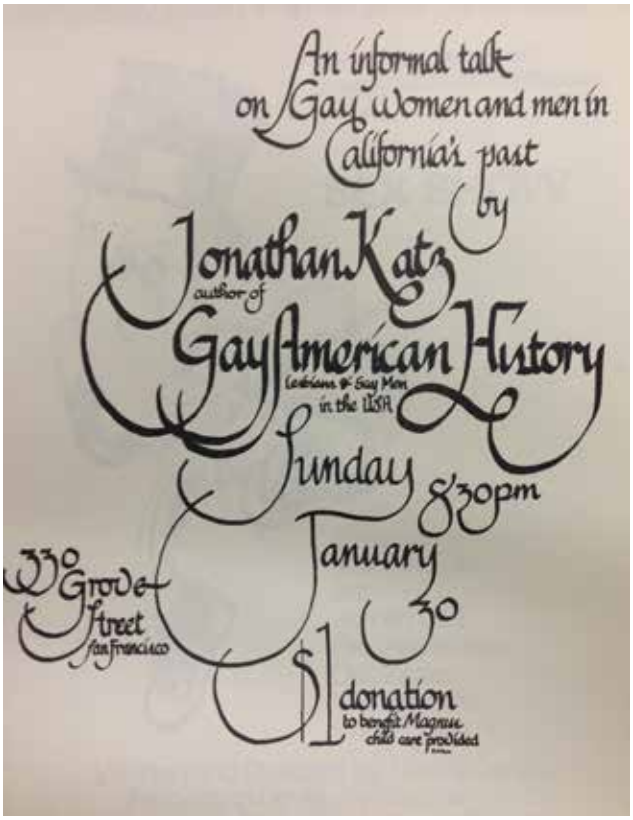
1579 Wakimoto, *Queer Community Archives in California Since 1950,* 95.

1580 "Mayor Proclaims Lesbian & Gay History Month", San Francisco Bay Area Gay and Lesbian Historical Society Newsletter, v.4 n.4 (Summer 1989).

1581 Wakimoto, *Queer Community Archives in California Since 1950,* 99. Walker stated that the early years of collecting focused on replaceable periodicals because he lived in a wooden Victorian home that was not appropriate for long term preservation. Willie Walker, interviewed by Terence Kissack, 2003, p. 55.

1582 Gerard Koskovich, "Displaying the Queer Past: Purposes, Public, and Possibilities at the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender History Museum," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* v. 1, no. 2 (2014) 64.

1583 Don Romesburg, "Presenting the Queer Past: A Case for The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum," Queering Archives Special Double Issue in *Radical History Review* 120 (Fall 2014): 131-144.



LEFT: Flyer for Gay American History lecture at Gay Community Center, 330 Grove Street

BOTTOM LEFT: Willie Walker, credited for idea of a GLBT Historical Society

BOTTOM RIGHT: Early GLBT Historical Society historians and board members Eric Garber, Greg Pennington, and Paula Lichtenberg, 1989

(All courtesy GLBT Historical Society)





Larkin Street), which opened in 1996. The library was funded by and named for Hormel, who helped found the LGBT civil rights organization Human Rights Campaign in 1981. Hormel was appointed to the United Nations delegation as the first openly gay ambassador (to Luxembourg) by President Bill Clinton. He purchased a residence at 181 Buena Vista Avenue East (extant) in 1986, where he lived for over twenty-five years.[1584] Over the next several years, the Historical Society and SFPL negotiated an agreement that deposited a number of the society's most heavily used collections with the library, with the overarching purpose of ensuring the broadest possible access to queer history.

As a community-based archives, the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society continues to make critical contributions to scholarship and public memory. Historian Gerard Koskovich, a founding member of the institution, has summarized the importance of queer archives and libraries such as the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society: They are part of "a wider strategy of promoting equal rights, social respect and cultural space for LGBT people" and play important roles "in community organizing; in supporting queer studies in the academy; and in the creation of books, articles, films, exhibitions and other cultural products."[1585]

IX. LGBTQ MEDICINE (1940S TO 1970S)

LANGLEY PORTER CLINIC

San Francisco became an important center for the study of gender and sexuality in the 1940s and 1950s through the work of the Langley Porter Clinic (401 Parnassus Avenue; later the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, extant). The UCSF Medical School and the California Department of Institutions, which oversaw the state's psychiatric hospitals, founded the clinic in 1941 as a joint venture. In March 1943, it opened its doors as a center for treatment, research, and teaching, with the goal of creating California's first "psychiatric institute where several specialties in medicine, especially neurology and neurosurgery, would collaborate in a true multi-discipline approach to mental illness."[1586] The clinic's founding director and psychiatry department chair, Dr. Karl Bowman, had taught psychiatry at New York University and then was clinical director of psychiatry at Bellevue Medical Center in New York City.

During World War II, Bowman conducted research on gay men held in the psychiatric ward of the U.S. Naval Hospital on Treasure Island after their sexuality had been discovered while in uniform.[1587] In 1949, Bowman led a comprehensive statewide investigation into "sex crimes and sex deviants," initiated and funded by the California State Legislature. The resulting reports, coauthored by Bowman and UCSF research associate Bernice Engle, represented a newly liberalized attitude meant to shape future legislation and therapeutic recommendations. The authors argued that relying on imprisonment for sex offenders without psychiatric treatment merely worsened their problems and the potential threat they posed to the society. Their report suggested that the State should reform and standardize legislation regarding sex offenses and recommended that laws criminalizing sex between consenting adults should be repealed, a suggestion particularly important for LGBTQ Californians. Bowman and Engle recommended legal reforms to ensure

1584 Page & Turnbull, "181 Buena Vista Avenue East, San Francisco: Historic Resource Evaluation," March 2013.

1585 Gerard Koskovich, "Libraries and Archives," in John C. Hawley (ed.), *LGBTQ America Today: An Encyclopedia* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2008), vol. 2, 684–692.

1586 Mariana Robinson, *The Coming of Age of the Langley Porter Clinic: The Reorganization of a Mental Health Institute* (Inter-University Case Program; Bobbs-Merril Company, Inc. 1962), pp. 2-3. Bowman's tenure ended in 1956. P. 8

1587 Stryker, *Transgender History,* 41-42.



Langley Porter Institute, 401 Parnassus Avenue, 1941
(*The Coming of Age of the Langley Porter Clinic*, 1962)

the right to privacy and to eliminate police entrapment and other violations of the First and Fifth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.[1588]

However, the California "sex deviants" study still presented gay men, lesbians, and transgender individuals as psychologically and morally—if not criminally—problematic. Bowman writes, "Most exhibitionists, homosexuals and peepers may fit into the class of psychopaths and yet be socially harmless individuals."[1589] Bowman and Engle's 1953 article, "The Problem of Homosexuality," described the use of therapeutic castration in European countries without making a distinction between consensual or coercive homosexual acts.[1590] Bowman and Engle believed that current approaches such as aversion therapy could be useful for suppressing homosexuality through techniques that punished erotic responses to homosexual stimuli and rewarded responses to heterosexual images.[1591] Electroshock, drug-induced shock treatments, and even lobotomy were used on homosexual patients in state hospitals, private psychiatric clinics, and prisons from the 1940s through the 1960s.[1592]

KINSEY, HOOKER, BAKER

Starting in the 1950s, homophile organizations and a handful of medical professionals worked to transform the relationship between psychiatry and homosexuality. Dr. Bowman's work, as incomplete as it appears in hindsight, helped to shift the perception of LGBTQ people from a criminal to a psychological one. Bowman was part of a network of researchers and practitioners including Alfred Kinsey, Evelyn Hooker, Thomas Szasz, and others, whose work called into question long-held beliefs about the pathology of same-sex relationships. Kinsey's research on the sexual behavior of American men and women (published in 1948 and 1953 respectively) showed that homosexual behavior was far more common than had been understood and was therefore not psychologically abnormal.[1593] In 1954, with funding from the National Institute of Mental Health, UCLA psychologist Evelyn Hooker expanded on this observation, starting her groundbreaking work comparing the psychological adjustment of homosexual and heterosexual men. Inspired by her friendship with gay novelist Christopher Isherwood and her personal relations with some of her gay male students (which included a trip to San Francisco's Finocchio's), Hooker's findings demonstrated that it was impossible to distinguish homosexual and non-homosexual men by looking at results of standard tests of mental health.[1594] Historian Nan Alamilla Boyd writes, "The research of reputable scientists like Alfred Kinsey and Evelyn Hooker bolstered homophile confidence and fueled the belief that scientific research would pave the way for homosexual integration."[1595]

Former surgeon turned psychiatrist Blanche M. Baker treated straight and gay clients in San Francisco in the 1950s and 1960s. She wrote to one of her critics that she practiced "the art of healing by being a kind, friendly, motherly sort of doctor who preaches self-acceptance and even enjoys the

1588 Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 326.

1589 Karl Bowman and Bernice Engle, "Review of Scientific Literature on Sexual Deviation: A Review of Recent Medicolegal Opinion regarding Sex Laws," *California Sexual Deviation Research* January 1953, p. 109.

1590 Katz, *Gay American History,* 182.

1591 Terry, *An American Obsession,* 325.

1592 Ibid., 470. Regina Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008) 218.

1593 Ronald Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry,* 44.

1594 Boyd, *Wide Open Town,* 187-188.

1595 Ibid., 189.

companionship of 'dirty' homosexuals."[1596] In 1955, Dr. Baker gave an address titled "A Psychiatric Evaluation of Homosexuality; Causative Factors and Therapeutic Suggestions," at homophile organization ONE Inc.'s first Midwinter Institute in Los Angeles. This gathering was reportedly the first forum in North America that was organized by homosexuals, for homosexuals, and focused on the scientific, philosophical, legal, and social questions pertaining to their lives. In 1957, Dr. Baker defended the homosexual male lifestyle in the introduction to Helen P. Branson's book *Gay Bar*, published by the homophile Pan-Graphic Press in San Francisco:

> Homosexuals are human beings, too. They are interesting, real, unusual, creative, beauty-loving people, if one can get behind the mask of camping pretense and sham so many of them feel compelled to wear to protect their sensitive souls from the condemnation and hate leveled at them by a hostile, prejudiced and uncomprehending society.[1597]

Beginning in January 1959, Dr. Baker began writing a regular advice column, "Toward Understanding," in the Los Angeles-based homophile monthly *ONE Magazine*; the column was cut short by her death the following year.[1598] In 1965, the ONE Library in Los Angeles was named after Blanche M. Baker.[1599]

ADVANCEMENTS IN TRANSGENDER MEDICINE AND RESEARCH

Transgender Medical Research and Procedures

According to historian Susan Stryker's *Transgender History*, in the mid-20th century, San Francisco became the nexus for transgender people and others who "produce[d] long-lasting organizations and provide[d] the base for social movement."[1600] Dr. Karl Bowman of UCSF's Langley Porter Clinic and internationally renowned sex researcher Alfred Kinsey advised California State Attorney general Edward G. (Pat) Brown Sr. on an important 1949 legal case that made genital modification a criminal offense in California, curtailing transgender access to medical procedures in the U.S. for a number of years. The case, which involved a patient of Dr. Harry Benjamin (more on Benjamin in a later section), could be interpreted as making doctors vulnerable to prosecution for performing genital modifications such as castration and penectomy (removal of testicles or penis).[1601]

One of Karl Bowman's key collaborators was Louise Lawrence, who had been living full-time as a transgender woman since 1942. Lawrence lectured on transgender topics at UCSF and created an expansive international network of transgender people, some of whom stayed with her at her home at 11 Buena Vista Terrace (extant).

Susan Stryker describes Lawrence's residence as a "waystation for transgender people from across the country who sought access to medical procedures in California."[1602] Lawrence's diary from 1944 records an early case of a female-to-male transgender person who had convinced

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1596 Will Fellows and Helen Branson, *Gay Bar: The Fabulous True Story of a Daring Woman and her Boys in the 1950s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2010) 1. Polk's City Directory for 1959 lists her office at 150 Delta Street.

1597 Blanche M. Baker, "Introduction," in Helen P. Branson, *Gay Bar* (San Francisco: Pan-Graphic Press, 1957) 7.

1598 Kyle Morgan, "Dr. Blanche Baker and ONE Inc." One Archives at USC http://one.usc.edu/dr-blanche-baker-and-one-inc/ accessed 27 August 2014.

1599 "Blanche M. Baker Memorial Library" Online Tangent: Homosexual Information Center, http://tangentgroup.org/mediawiki/index.php/Blanche_M._Baker_Memorial_Library accessed 27 August 2014.

1600 Stryker, *Transgender History,* 41.

1601 Ibid., 44-45.

1602 Ibid., 44.



Former home of transgender activist Louise Lawrence, 11 Buena Vista Terrace (Photo by Shayne Watson)

doctors at the Langley Porter Clinic to perform a double mastectomy.[1603] Lawrence's carefully compiled information about transgender people supported medical research and treatment by the mostprominent doctors dealing with transgender issues, including Alfred Kinsey, Karl Bowman, and Harry Benjamin.[1604]

Dr. Harry Benjamin was a German-born, New York-based endocrinologist who had been friends with the pre-World War II German homosexual- and transgender-emancipation pioneer Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld. Benjamin popularized the term transsexual and publicly defended homosexual rights and the rights of such individuals to medical support rather than psychiatric "cures."[1605] New York-based Benjamin kept a medical office in San Francisco (450 Sutter Street, extant) during summers from the 1930s to the 1970s.[1606] Transgender activist Felicia Elizondo was inspired by Christine Jorgenson, who underwent a sex reassignment operation in Denmark in 1952. After seeing the film *The Christine Jorgenson Story* (1970), Elizondo said to herself, "That's what I want to do. How I'm going to get there I don't know."[1607] Elizondo had already been receiving hormone treatment from Benjamin. Benjamin continued his advocacy for transgender people when he published his influential book, *The Transsexual Phenomenon,* in 1966.

Expanding Medical Services

As transgender activists became radically more vocal about their rights, an increasing number took advantage of expanded opportunities in medical services that allowed them to transition toward their chosen gender identity. University-based clinics began performing sex reassignment surgery in the 1960s. Bay Area transgender individuals could seek care at Stanford University's sex reassignment clinic after it opened in 1968 under the direction of Donald Laub, a plastic surgeon.[1608] These university programs helped codify procedures and protocols into guidelines for treating transgender people, and from the 1970s to the 1980s, a number of private doctors discovered that sex change surgery was a profitable component of medical practice.[1609] According to those guidelines, anyone seeking gender reassignment had to first spend months in psychotherapy and hormone therapy, then live socially as a member of the desired gender for a year, and finally undergo a psychiatric evaluation that included proving they would be exclusively heterosexual after transition. Only when all these requirements had been fulfilled could sex reassignment procedures go forward.[1610] This level of medical oversight of an individual's gender identity was painful for many, and the months of various treatments were expensive and, by the early 1970, excluded for coverage by insurance plans. Transgender activist Tamara Ching recalls seeing a San Francisco doctor in the late 1970s: "A lot of girls were going to him because he'd give you a scrip for hormones" without having to undergo psychotherapy, which saved costs and potential humiliation. Although Ching described the doctor's office as dirty and his level of professionalism as quite low, the other options were "black-market drugs or going to Tijuana."[1611]

1603 Records indicate that three Male-to-Female surgeries were performed at UCSF between 1954 and 1964. Members of the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California, "MTF Transgender Activism in the Tenderloin" *GLQ* 4:2 1988, 369.

1604 Stryker, *Transgender History,* 44.

1605 Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 144. Susan Stryker, "Dr. Harry Benjamin," GLBTQ.com http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/benjamin_h.html.

1606 Benjamin organized Magnus Hirschfeld's tour of the United States in 1930. Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 44.

1607 Felicia Flames Elizondo, interviewed by Donna Graves,15 March 2014.

1608 Stanford News Service, "Transsexuals talk about Stanford's role in their complex lives" 2 May 2000, accessed at http://news.stanford.edu/pr/00/sexchange53.html 29 July 2014.

1609 Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 276.

1610 Stryker, *Transgender History,* 111.

1611 Tamara Ching, interviewed by Donna Graves, Ching recalled that other doctors who treated transgender women were in the same building. Meyerowitz describes a Dr. Ronald Brown whose practice in SF and LA offered "cut-rate surgery to MTF (and at least one FTM)," Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed,* 271.

X. SAN FRANCISCO AND THE AIDS EPIDEMIC (1981 TO 1990S)

The AIDS epidemic is among the most significant events to shape the LGBTQ history of the 20th and 21st centuries. The social, psychological, and financial costs are stunning, and the epidemic has wrought enormous changes in medical research, healthcare delivery, and gay culture. By killing a significant number of gay and bisexual men and transgender women, the disease underscored major issues associated with homophobia and discrimination, medical research, and the provision of healthcare in the U.S. It also brought to the fore the ability of communities to rally in the face of discrimination and death. The San Francisco model of HIV/AIDS care, which utilized medical facilities and community-based organizations to mobilize compassionate and respectful treatment, became a global standard.

EARLY MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH RESPONSE

San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles were the first American cities to face the AIDS crisis. Young men began exhibiting unusual and severe illnesses and symptoms in 1981; a pathologist at UCSF identified the first diagnosis of Kaposi's Sarcoma in April of that year.[1612] Two months later, the Centers for Disease Control released an alarming report describing *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia and Kaposi's Sarcoma in a handful of gay and bisexual men. In response, the San Francisco Department of Public Health contacted local physicians and hospitals to identify any suspicious recent diagnoses among gay men; they discovered nine cases from the previous year of gay or bisexual men whose symptoms or deaths appeared to be related to an as-yet unidentified new disease.[1613]

Within a few weeks of the CDC's announcement, clinicians, public health officials, and other medical professionals in San Francisco realized the potential tsunami. The San Francisco DPH, headquartered at 101 Grove Street (extant), quickly established a system for reporting and registering cases; the reporting network grew over the years to include major hospitals and private clinics.[1614] By August 1981, Marcus Conant, a dermatologist at UCSF who had treated early cases of Kaposi's Sarcoma, and oncologist Dr. Paul Volberding had established a specialty clinic called the Kaposi's Sarcoma/Opportunistic Infections Clinic at UCSF.[1615] Doctors across Northern California began to send their patients to the new clinic.[1616]

Though they had little concrete information, Conant and Volberding visited gay political groups in fall of 1981 to inform them about the deadly new condition, which many were referring to as "gay cancer." By December of that year, eighteen San Francisco residents had been diagnosed with the disease, and four had died.[1617] The same month, the *San Francisco Sentinel* published an article in which Bobby Campbell became the first Kaposi's Sarcoma patient to publicly declare his illness. A registered nurse and a patient of Dr. Conant, Campbell was frustrated by the lack of coverage the new disease received in local gay papers. Declaring himself the "KS Poster Boy," Campbell convinced Star Pharmacy (498 Castro Street, extant), a drugstore in the heart of the Castro, to allow him to put up posters in their storefront windows warning neighborhood denizens about the gay cancer.[1618] Campbell began writing a regular column on living with the condition for the *Sentinel*

1612 Shilts, *And the Band Played On,* 60.
1613 Cochrane, *When AIDS Began,* 55.
1614 Sides, *Erotic City,* 177.
1615 Cochrane, *When AIDS Began,* 85.
1616 Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 91.
1617 Ibid., 100.
1618 Ibid., 10 -108.

and in 1983, soon after the disease was labeled Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), cofounded a group that became People with AIDS, the first organization in the world by and for those living with HIV/AIDS.[1619]

The range of symptoms and opportunistic infections that were appearing in previously healthy young men mystified medical professionals and terrified the gay community. Theories about the source and transmission vectors of the burgeoning epidemic were heatedly contested. The San Francisco DPH had already been closely monitoring sexually transmitted infections that spread among gay men.[1620] Well before the identification of AIDS, Dr. Selma Dritz, the assistant director for disease control at the San Francisco DPH, warned physicians that previous studies showed that "too much is being transmitted" among gay men who represented an estimated three-quarters of the patients at the department's venereal disease clinic.[1621] Some theorized that plentiful sex and recreational drug use, aspects of the so-called "gay lifestyle" that were favorite targets of mainstream media, overloaded gay men's immune systems and left them victim to a plethora of opportunistic infections.[1622] Gay physicians, including members of Bay Area Physicians for Human Rights, which had 350 members in 1982, found themselves in a conflicted position. On the one hand, they wanted to serve the gay community and its commitment to sexual liberation; on the other, some expressed concern about the consequences of suspected risky behaviors. In 1983, BAPHR cosponsored a symposium, "The Physician and the AIDS Crisis," at the San Francisco Medical Society Auditorium (250 Masonic Avenue) with the UCSF Department of Psychiatry and the American Association of Physicians for Human Rights.[1623]

AIDS HYSTERIA AND DISCRIMINATION

Increasing fear of the disease shaped broader responses in the city. AIDS hysteria and the discrimination that followed it meant gay men's housing and employment were jeopardized. Job loss could compound their predicament by removing access to health insurance.[1624] Journalist Carol Pogash reports that by the middle of 1982, enough doctors at UCSF were anxious about having patients with a deadly, unknown disease in their waiting and exam rooms, that the clinic begun by Drs. Conant and Volberding was moved to San Francisco General Hospital, UCSF's associated public teaching hospital.[1625] Dr. Mervyn Silverman, the City's director of public health, remembers the pervasive fear in San Francisco: "Policemen driving down the streets of the Castro District wearing surgical masks, nurses refusing to care for AIDS patients [and] a bus driver refusing to touch a transfer that was handed to him by a possibly gay male."[1626] Some funeral homes denied care for the bodies of AIDS patients; the Neptune Society and Sullivan's Funeral Home in the Castro (2254 Market Street, extant but threatened) were reportedly a few of the first to offer services to

1619 Campbell was instrumental in coining the term "Person With Aids" rather than AIDS victim at the Denver AIDS Forum held in June 1983. Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 170-71. Ephemera in the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society indicates that People with AIDS-SF had an office at 519 Castro Street and held meetings in the San Francisco AIDS Foundation Conference Room at 333 Valencia Street (1988) and at the Eureka Valley Recreation Center 100 Collingwood (1995). People with AIDS file, Groups Ephemera Collection.

1620 DPH had undertaken intensive surveillance of gay men's health in the 1970s, and in 1979 recruited nearly 7,000 "high risk" homosexuals to participate in a hepatitis B cohort study and vaccine trial. Dritz's quote is from 1980, Cochrane, *When AIDS Began,* 55.

1621 Sides, *Erotic City,* 176.

1622 Stephen Epstein, *Impure Science: AIDS, Activism and the Politics of Knowledge (*Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1996) 48

1623 Ibid., 54. Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 55. Bay Area Physicians for Human Rights file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. A 1984 safe sex card lists the organization at 54 Tenth Street.

1624 Streitmatter, *Unspeakable,* 262.

1625 Carol Pogash, *As Real as it Gets: The Life of a Hospital at the Center of the AIDS Epidemic,* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1992) 14.

1626 Christopher Dishman, "The San Francisco Bathhouse Battles of 1984: Civil Liberties, AIDS Risk, and Shift in Public Health Policy," *Journal of Homosexuality*, 44 (2003) 77.

those felled by AIDS.[1627] In the early months of the disease, the only regular support services offered to those who were suffering from the disease were held at the Kaposi's clinic at UCSF and a weekly support group started by Bobbi Campbell and a grief counselor from the Shanti project, held in a lounge at Davies Medical Center and in patients' homes.[1628]

ESTABLISHMENT OF SF AIDS FOUNDATION

By September 1982, the disease had been named AIDS by the CDC, but the handful of scientists and community advocates focused on the growing epidemic battled apathy from elected officials, the scientific establishment, and most gay leaders. Dr. Marcus Conant approached activist Cleve Jones in 1982 about creating an organization that could mobilize the gay community to address the threat and pressure the government for additional funds. The resulting Kaposi's Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation (later renamed the San Francisco AIDS Foundation) initially operated from folding tables covered with flyers and leaflets at the corner of 18th and Castro Streets. Within a few months, it opened the first agency specifically addressing the new disease at 520 Castro Street (extant), where Jones recalled that, even though initially unlisted, their phone immediately rang off the hook with calls for help and information.[1629] The organization sponsored a community forum on AIDS in September 1982 at Everett Middle School—the first public event, according to Jones, dedicated to discussing the epidemic.[1630] In October 1983, the KS/AIDS Foundation offices received national attention when a Florida hospital flew a critically ill AIDS patient to San Francisco and had him dumped at the organization's front door.[1631]

BATHHOUSE BATTLES

Members of the gay community were working quickly to inform their compatriots about the risks associated with sexual activities and the possibly related effects of amyl nitrate poppers—but with no cause yet identified for the disease, the medical science regarding risk reduction remained unclear. In 1982, psychologists and other gay health professionals developed the nation's first safe sex guidelines for gay men that shaped messages from BAPHR and KS/Aids Foundation.[1632] Sexual health promotion had long been a theme for the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence (now joined by KS poster boy Bobbi Campbell as Sister Florence Nightmare); they worked with medical experts to create and distribute a sex-positive, humorous educational pamphlet titled "Play Fair!" in 1982. According to the organization's "Sistory," the pamphlet went into a second printing within a few months, "paid for in part by sex party benefits and the sale of ashes from the burned-down Barracks Bath House" on Folsom Street.[1633]

The role of gay bathhouses and sex clubs in supposedly facilitating the transmission of AIDS and in supporting safer sex practices led to a pitched battle between members of the gay community,

1627 "San Francisco Funeral Home Could Close Soon Following Big Rig Crash" 15 May 2014 accessed at http://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2014/05/15/san-francisco-funeral-home-could-close-soon-following-big-rig-crash/ accessed 16 May 2014. SF general AIDS nurse Diane Jones recalled that the Neptune Society was "always helpful" and that Pacific Internment Mortuary on Folsom Street gave free and discounted burial services to patients who died, Diane Jones, interviewed by Donna Graves, 17 July 2014.

1628 Shilts, *And the Band Played On,* 123. Steve Peskind recalls the early meetings at Davies Medical Center,"AIDS and the Castro" *Out in the Castro*, p. 146-47. Peskind says the weekly support group grew and moved to the KS Foundation offices on Castro and later a large room at MCC, 148.

1629 Shilts, *And the Band Played On,* 161. The initial address of 520 Castro is from "The View From Here: Cleve Jones and Dr. Marcus Conant" San Francisco AIDS Foundation, http://www.sfaf.org/hiv-info/hot-topics/from-the-experts/the-view-from-here-cleve-jones-marcus-conant-2011.html accessed 1 June 2014.

1630 Jones with Dawson, *Stitching a Revolution,* 91-93.

1631 Thompson ed., *Long Road to Freedom,* 240.

1632 Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 127-128.

1633 Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence "Sistory," http://www.thesisters.org/sistory Accessed 1 June 2014.

gay business owners, and public officials. By 1984, San Francisco's rate of infection was the highest per capita in the nation. Gay men were estimated to make up about 95 percent of AIDS cases in the city, and transmission through gay sex was a focus for public health debate. As the most visible, concentrated space for male sexual encounters, bathhouses came under intense scrutiny, with some advocating for their closure as a step toward community survival and others arguing that it was a fallacy to conflate location with risk of infection. Closure advocates saw an evil alliance between gay newspapers, which did a relatively poor job covering AIDS in the early years, and the bathhouses that were a primary source of advertising revenue.[1634] Closure opponents said that bathhouses were a crucial location for education about safer sex, especially for men who had sex with men but were not actively engaged with the out gay community.

Members of the gay community, doctors, public health workers, and others debated their concerns over public health, privacy rights and civil liberties for over a year; in the meantime, nearly a third of the city's twenty bathhouses had closed, primarily because business was down as a result of patrons' fear of contracting AIDS.[1635] The City of San Francisco ordered bathhouses to close in October 1984. One bathhouse, the 21st Street Baths (3244 21st Street, not extant), refused to comply but ultimately gave in and closed in 1987 when threatened with a lawsuit by the City. It was the last licensed gay bathhouse in the city.[1636] The San Francisco DPH focused on developing a comprehensive education program with specific cautions about high-risk sexual behavior. The campaign, which became a national model, included billboards, ads in gay newspapers, and broadcast public service announcements. The CDC reported in 1984 that of nine cities surveyed, only San Francisco had the needed partnerships between community AIDS organizations and public health officials to develop effective prevention programs.[1637]

SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL HOSPITAL AND THE "SAN FRANCISCO MODEL" OF HIV/AIDS CARE

In response to exploding numbers of patients and increased fear about them being treated in conventional medical units, San Francisco General Hospital's (1001 Potrero Avenue) Ward 5B opened in July 1983—the first dedicated inpatient AIDS ward in the world. Eleven nurses and two unit clerks volunteered to work under Cliff Morrison, the first nurse manager, who helped steer an innovative program of integrated treatment, care, and support services for patients, partners, friends, and family members. In addition to medical care, Ward 5B emphasized mental health support and respect for gay relationships, allowing patients to designate a significant other to be involved in medical decisions and to visit without restricted hours.[1638]

Medical staff were joined by counselors from the Shanti Project (described later in more detail below), social workers, chaplains, and an increasing number of volunteers.[1639] In January 1986, the ward moved from its twelve-bed unit to the twenty-bed Ward 5A. According to one account,

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1634 Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 76.

1635 Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 78. By Spring 1984, The Cauldron, Cornholes, Liberty Baths, Sutro Baths, and Bulldog Baths all closed according to Streitmatter, *Unspeakable* p. 257.

1636 "14 San Francisco Sex Clubs Told to Close to Curb AIDS" *New York Times*, October 10, 1984. http://www.nytimes.com/1984/10/10/us/14-san-francisco-sex-clubs-told-to-close-to-curb-aids.html accessed 12 June 2014. Johnny Miller, "Last Gay Bathhouse in S.F. Shuts Down Over AIDS," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 10, 2013 http://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/Last-gay-bathhouse-in-S-F-shut-down-over-AIDS-3549850.php accessed 12 June 2014.

1637 Shilts, *And the Band Played On,* 499.

1638 Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 116. Pogash describes AIDS treatment at SF General starting in the 7-story main building constructed in the 1970s and moving to an older brick structure late in 1982. Pogash, *As Real As It Gets*, 21. More research is needed to establish the exact locations and dates for the AIDS wards.

1639 Finding Aid to AIDS Ward 5A/5B San Francisco Public Library, 6-7.



The building at San Francisco General Hospital that housed the world's first dedicated inpatient AIDS ward, 1001 Potrero Avenue (Photo by Shayne Watson)

"At the height of the epidemic (late 80s–early 90s), there were often as many patients with AIDS off of 5A as there were patients on the ward, all waiting for available beds."[1640] Women, especially lesbians, were a critical part of AIDS care at San Francisco General Hospital and in other settings. Although lesbians and gay men had established separate neighborhoods and cultures during the 1970s, the rise of AIDS drew many lesbians into action in part because, as journalist John-Manuel Andriote writes, they "understood the connection between personal health, the power dynamics of healthcare, and one's position in society."[1641] Cliff Morrison remarked that, even when gay men hesitated to volunteer at the AIDS ward, "our sisters really stepped to the forefront and said to hell with everybody else, we'll do what we have to do."[1642]

Working in an unusually interdisciplinary clinic, doctors and nurses at San Francisco General Hospital experimented with new treatments as their patients suffered from increasing complications, generally leading to great suffering and death.[1643] In her book *As Real as it Gets: The Life of a Hospital at the Center of the AIDS Epidemic*, journalist Carol Pogash writes that it is hard to overstate the importance of San Francisco General Hospital to the history of AIDS care and research:

> General was the first hospital to have an inpatient HIV ward [in Wards 5A and 5B], the first to have an outpatient HIV clinic [in Ward 86], the first institution outside the federal government to investigate the sexual behavior that might spread the disease, and the first to realize that the old way that hospitals cared for patients needed to be changed if the institution was going to be able to cope with this horrible new disease.[1644]

Staff designed special programs to share their experience with doctors from around the world; later San Francisco General Hospital nurse Cliff Morrison brought the San Francisco model of care to other hospitals across the U.S. through an eleven-city program funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.[1645]

LAGUNA HONDA AIDS UNIT

In early 1990, an AIDS unit opened at San Francisco's Laguna Honda Hospital (extant) to provide long-term care (as opposed to the acute care provided at San Francisco General Hospital) to people with AIDS who did not have resources elsewhere. Founding physician Grace Damman says that caregivers worked to balance the understanding that their patients, who were primarily poor people of color, many of whom had been IV drug users, were terminally ill but also living what was left of their lives at Laguna Honda. Damman said that some patients stayed in the hospital up to two years; before effective antiretroviral medications changed the prognosis for people with AIDS in the mid-1990s, Laguna Honda physicians signed over 1,000 death certificates.[1646]

1640 Ibid., 6.

1641 Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 41.

1642 Ibid., 117.

1643 Pogash, *As Real As It Gets,* 16 *THE AIDS EPIDEMIC IN SAN FRANCISCO: THE RESPONSE OF THE NURSING PROFESSION, Volume IIII,* 1999, xv, 275 pp. Series Introduction Helen M. Miramontes, R.N., M.S., F.A.A.N. *http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId=kt2t1nb1sc;NAAN=13030&doc.view=frames&chunk.id=d0e139&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e139&brand=calisphere.*

1644 Pogash, *As Real As It*, ix-x. Although not recorded as a center for research, Davies Medical Center (also known as Franklin Hospital) at Castro and Duboce Streets treated many gay men with AIDS.

1645 Pogash, *As Real As It Gets,* 60.

1646 Diane Jones, interviewed by Donna Graves, 16 July 2014. Grace Damman, interviewed by Donna Graves, 18 August 2014. Damman shared that Laguna Honda has the only remaining HIV unit in the U.S.

SAN FRANCISCO AIDS RESEARCH

In addition to pioneering patient care, San Francisco was the location for a number of important studies of AIDS prevention and treatment. A consortium that included UC Berkeley, UCSF, and state and local public health departments conducted the San Francisco Men's Health Study, which comprised over 1,000 single men between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-four; it ran from 1984 through 1992.[1647] After the Food and Drug Administration approved a screening test for HIV in 1985, San Francisco's Irwin Memorial Blood Bank (270 Masonic Avenue, extant) was the first to use it.[1648] The same year, a coalition of San Francisco researchers and doctors with AIDS practices initiated the County Community Consortium, which facilitated dissemination of new treatment information and evolved into a strategy for community-based drug trials.[1649] Their study of aerosolized pentamidine as a prophylactic treatment for pneumocystis pneumonia led to FDA approval in 1989—the first time that the federal agency solely relied on community-based research to approve a drug.[1650] Similar community-based studies by Dr. Paul Volberding helped establish in 1989 that azidothymidine (AZT), an antiretroviral drug, had the ability to delay onset of AIDS in people who were infected with the virus but not yet symptomatic.[1651]

One of San Francisco General Hospital's studies emblemized the struggle between traditionally cautious medical professionals and public agencies, and AIDS activists who wanted "drugs in bodies" as quickly as possible. In 1989, San Francisco General Hospital ran an FDA-sanctioned trial of Trichosanthin or Compound Q, a drug used for cancer and abortions in China, which killed cells infected with HIV in test tube experiments. While the hospital worked in a traditional fashion for a Phase I experimental drug trial—steadily increasing doses to monitor efficacy and side effects—activists were furious that a promising drug was not being more widely tested and observed that patients were taking the drug on their own. The San Francisco organization Project Inform worked with private doctors in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles to administer the drug in a trial of approximately seventy AIDS patients without authorization by the FDA.[1652] Project Inform's founder, Martin Delaney, argued that they faced a situation "that has been typical throughout the AIDS epidemic, in that patients are gearing up for large-scale importation and distribution and use of this drug because it appears to be so promising."[1653] Jesse Dobson, a member of the AIDS activist organization ACT UP/San Francisco (described in more detail below), argued to one reporter that he did not need federal regulators to decide for him what risks he could and could not take with his life: "I'm scared, but I'm willing to throw away the three or four years I have left for a chance at 30 or 40."[1654] Ultimately the FDA authorized Project Inform's study, but neither their research nor that at San Francisco General Hospital showed lasting benefit from Compound Q.[1655]

COMMUNITY AIDS ORGANIZATIONS

Large public agencies such as San Francisco General Hospital and the San Francisco Department of Health played major roles in the AIDS crisis, and the City of San Francisco was the very

1647 Study participants donated laboratory samples and underwent physical exams and intensive interviews at six-month intervals to gather evidence regarding their sexual behavior, nutrition, drug use, etc. Cochrane, *When AIDS Began,* 37.

1648 Pogash, *As Real As It Gets,* 26.

1649 Epstein, *Impure Science,* 216.

1650 Ibid., 218.

1651 Ibid., 237.

1652 Gina Kolata "Private Study of AIDS Drug: Praise and Warning," *New York Times*, September 20, 1989.

1653 *Frontline: The Age of AIDS*, "The Trial of Compound Q." http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/aids/docs/compoundq.html accessed 3 March 2014.

1654 Kolata, "Trial of Experimental AIDS Drug To Be Continued, With Revisions."

1655 Project Inform held a public meeting to share their findings at The Women's Building and later at the 6th International AIDS Conference at Moscone Center. Pogash, *As Real as It Gets*, 229-231.

first to allocate municipal funds to the AIDS crisis, in part because leadership could not see it as an abstraction: Mayor Dianne Feinstein, Dr. Mervyn Silverman, and members of the Board of Supervisors all personally knew gay people.[1656] Yet as historians Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk point out, "The San Francisco model relied largely on volunteer labor and charitable giving because public funds simply were not made available."[1657] Many, if not most, gay men with AIDS in San Francisco were estranged or at least distanced from their biological families, so other sources of informal care were required. Chosen family members, friends, and community volunteers stepped up to fill the gap. At least as important as elected officials and public agencies was the role of community-based organizations and individuals who cared for the sick, researched treatment options, raised funds, and pressured government agencies to do more. The plethora of organizations that grew in response to the AIDS epidemic is an index of the scale of the emergency and the capacity of various communities, especially LGBTQ individuals, to heed the call. Because these organizations usually formed as small, grassroots efforts and evolved with the crisis, their space needs and locations shifted over time. This report includes addresses found in association with organizations, but careful tracking of when and where each organization moved merits further research.

Even in the center of the maelstrom, people realized how remarkable this response was. In 1987, UCSF began an AIDS History Project based on collections created by nurse Willie Walker that included information from twenty-six different community-based AIDS organizations—just a fraction of those that had formed to fight the epidemic.[1658] Among the most renowned AIDS programs in San Francisco was the Shanti Project, a nonprofit social services agency founded in 1974 that relocated from Berkeley to focus on AIDS. With the promise of City support, Shanti moved to the Pride Center at 330 Grove Street in October 1982. The first large Shanti volunteer training was held there the next month.[1659] By 1983, Shanti's newsletter listed 890 Hayes Street (extant), Pride Center's new location, as its address.[1660] In addition to grief and support groups, Shanti developed a Buddy Program of volunteers who cleaned, shopped, and cooked for people who were ill. Shanti also started the first housing program for people with AIDS under contract from San Francisco DPH. The organization leased houses and apartments, furnished them using donations, and rented them to young sick men who were not welcome in traditional nursing homes. San Francisco AIDS Foundation also provided short-term emergency and longer-term low cost housing for people with AIDS.[1661] A City program to provide supportive services to residents of existing single-room-occupancy hotels was established but in at least some cases, could not ensure the owners provided appropriate care for people with AIDS.[1662]

AMBASSADOR HOTEL

One of the most important residential sites associated with the AIDS epidemic in San Francisco is the Ambassador Hotel at 55 Mason Street (extant) in the Tenderloin. The hotel accepted all comers, including drug users and acutely sick people who would had been screened out by other

1656 Andriote, *Victory Deferred*, 84.

1657 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 93.

1658 Finding Aid to the AIDS Community-Based Organizations Records, 1989-1993. San Francisco Public Library http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt009nc872/ accessed 3 March 2014.

1659 Steven Peskind, "AIDS and the Castro," in *Out in the Castro*, 151-52.

1660 E*clipse: The Shanti Project Newsletter*, Fall 1983, 2.

1661 Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 107. The City responded to the problem of people being forced from their homes and jobs, by passing an AIDS Discrimination Ordinance in 1985. Sides, *Erotic City,* 196-97.

1662 Karen Koenig, "Folsom St. Hotel: Final Haven for AIDS Patients?" *The Tenderloin Times*, v. 11., n. 7 p. 1 describes unsanitary conditions exacerbated by the manager's fear of contacting AIDS from residents.

programs.[1663] The 150-unit Ambassador was one of a handful of residential hotel buildings managed by gay activists Hank Wilson and Ron Lanza and was run by Wilson and Tom Calvanese "with an all-queer staff: drag queens, pre-op and post-op transsexuals, dykes and fags, queers of all colors." As residents of the hotel began to suffer from HIV/AIDS, Wilson enlisted a nurse who provided care at the Ambassador during off hours from his full-time nursing job.[1664] Eventually one-third of the Ambassador's residents were HIV-positive or had full-blown AIDS, and an entire floor of the hotel was set up as a hospice for those dying of the disease.[1665] Volunteers from San Francisco Network Ministries, Project Open Hand, the Visiting Nurses Association, Lutheran Social Services, and others contributed to the Ambassador's pioneering harm-reduction model for caring for people with AIDS and substance addictions.[1666] The Ambassador's location in the Tenderloin helped situate the providers to address AIDS as it spread beyond gay men; the hotel also was home to the Association of Women's AIDS Research and Education (A.W.A.R.E.), which ran educational programs and studied AIDs risk among women.[1667]

AIDS HOSPICES AND OTHER SERVICES

While the majority of people with AIDS (PWA, the term of choice for those with the disease as it foregrounded the person and avoided the term "victim") died in the care of lovers and friends, some San Francisco organizations pioneered the field of organized end-of-life AIDS care. In 1987, the defunct convent of Most Holy Redeemer Church in the Castro became Coming Home Hospice (115 Diamond Street, extant), reportedly the first AIDS hospice in the nation, and was followed a short time later by Maitri Hospice (59 Hartford Street, extant), started by the Hartford Street Zen Center, which purchased the building next door to the center to serve people with AIDS.[1668] Because PWAs had limited access to social services, a broad array of organizations was founded to attend to their needs. The KS/AIDS Foundation began a food bank to supply groceries to low-income people with AIDS and organized its first Thanksgiving dinner at Valencia Rose Café in 1983.[1669] In 1985, Project Open Hand began delivering meals to people too weak or impoverished to shop and cook for themselves, but who were not old enough to qualify for Meals on Wheels. Founder Ruth Brinker convinced Trinity Episcopal Church (1668 Bush Street, extant, S.F. Landmark No. 65) to open its kitchen, and within two years, 450 volunteers were delivering two hot meals per day to hundreds of clients.[1670] Even cats and dogs received loving care: Pets Are Wonderful Support was formed in 1986 to provide food, daily walks, grooming, and veterinary care for pets of PWAs.[1671]

Fundraising events to support these and other AIDS programs became a daily feature of San Francisco life. Major productions included the annual AIDS Dance-a-thon, a multihour event, and the San Francisco AIDS Walk through Golden Gate Park; both were initiated in 1987 and went on

1663 Shanti screened and would not accept people with substance abuse problems according to Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 107.

1664 "Hank Wilson—Teresa of the Tenderloin" *Central City Extra*, December 2008., http://studycenter.org/centralcityextra/2008/12/hank-wilson-–-teresa-of-the-tenderloin/ accessed 4 March 2014.

1665 "Life and Death at the Ambassador Hotel", 1994. Bob Ostertag, "The City of San Francisco Loses Its Own Saint Henry," *HuffPost Healthy Living* 11 November 2008. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/bob-ostertag/the-city-of-saint-francis_b_143131.html accessed 4 March 2014.

1666 "Hank Wilson—Teresa of the Tenderloin." Wilson helped found the Tenderloin AIDS Network which became the Tenderloin AIDS Resource Center in 1990.

1667 Dennis Conkin, "Fight Against AIDS Comes to the Tenderloin," *The Tenderloin Times* v. 9 n. 7 Aug. 1985, 1-6.

1668 Godfrey, *Gays and Grays,* 89. The Hartford Street Zen Center purchased 61 Hartford Street in 1988. *Street Zen: The Life and Work of Issan Dorsey* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2000) 174-175.

1669 Cary Norsworthy, former SF AIDS Food Bank Coordinator, electronic communication with Donna Graves, 24 June 2014.

1670 Andriote, *Victory Deferred*, 108.

1671 "Our History and PAWS History Timeline" http://www.pawssf.org/ accessed 6 June 2014. Beginning in 1988, PAWS operated out of the basement of Bethany Methodist Church.

to raise millions of dollars for numerous AIDS organizations.[1672] In 1989, leaders from San Francisco art and business communities launched Art Against AIDS with a press conference luncheon at the Fairmont Hotel (950 Mason Street, extant) and a subsequent fundraising cocktail party hosted by Elizabeth Taylor.[1673] These large and grand fundraisers drew press coverage, but bars, churches, and other social spaces across the city also hosted countless events where resources were raised to support AIDS organizations or the costs of one person's treatment.

ACTIVISM

As the numbers of the dead grew with no cure on the horizon, many San Franciscans turned their anger and frustration into direct action protests and civil disobedience. They focused their fury and despair on fighting the powers that prevented appropriate resources for medical research and patient care. In his book *Impure Science: AIDS, Activism and the Politics of Knowledge*, sociologist Stephen Epstein describes AIDS activism as "the first social movement in the United States to accomplish the large-scale conversion of disease 'victims' into activist-experts."[1674]

AIDS Candlelight Vigil and Mobilization Against AIDS

KS Poster Boy Bobbi Campbell, Ambassador Hotel manager Hank Wilson, and others organized one of the first public demonstrations as an AIDS Candlelight March from the Castro to Civic Center on May 2, 1983, behind the banner "Fighting for Our Lives." As Wilson recalled, "It was the first time that we put the call out to the community to support people with AIDS and again we didn't know if people would come. The parade was totally controlled by people with AIDS. We put up signs everywhere…. I remember yelling at a guy that owned a gay bookstore because he wouldn't let us post a sign about the candlelight march. I disrupted his store and he changed his mind."[1675] Under Mobilization Against AIDS, this event grew to become an annual, international vigil of protest and commemoration. Established in 1984, Mobilization's mission was to fight attacks on the civil rights of PWAs and to advocate for increased public funding, access to treatment, better processes for drug trials and approval, and lower drug costs. In 1985, the organization's activities included circulating a national petition calling for the government to adopt a "moon launch mentality" that would bring all necessary resources to bear in overcoming AIDS; leafleting about civil liberties issues raised by HIV testing; calling for an investigation of the treatment of prisoners with AIDS; holding a chapter meeting at the Swedish American Hall (2174 15th Street, extant); and supporting candlelight vigils in forty cities as well as a candlelight memorial for Rock Hudson, the actor whose death from AIDS drew attention from many Americans for the first time.[1676]

Project Inform and Other Treatment Education Groups

San Francisco-based Project Inform, whose newsletter became a must-read for activists, researchers, and doctors, is one important example of AIDS grassroots activism and citizen science.[1677] Founded in 1985 by Martin Delaney and therapist Joseph Brewer, Project Inform helped create an army of lay experts by translating highly technical knowledge about prevention, treatments, and antibody

1672 *Shanti Newsletter* Feb-Mar-April 1992. Organizational address is 525 Howard Street 1992, event was held at Festival Pavilion Fort Mason. http://www.sfexaminer.com/sanfrancisco/aids-walk-sf-marks-20th-year/Content?oid=2159261 http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/we-were-here/timeline.html.

1673 Will Snyder, "Art Against AIDS Launches Campaign," *Bay Area Reporter*, 13 April 1989, 14.

1674 Epstein, *Impure Science,* 8.

1675 Shephard, *White Nights and Ascending Shadows,* 73.

1676 Mobilization Against AIDS brochure, 1986. Mobilization Against AIDS file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Other ephemera in this collection indicate that the first meeting of MOB was held at 647-A Castro Street, and by 1986 offices were located at 2120 Market Street, Suite 106.

1677 Epstein, *Impure Science,* 23.



"Fighting for our Lives" candlelight march from the Castro to City Hall, 1983. The march was the first public demonstration organized by people with AIDS. (From PBS. com)

testing into comprehensible language. The organization provided a key voice in arguing that clinical trials were not just scientific experiments but means of access to potentially life-saving drugs and that PWAs should be involved in developing experimental treatment plans. In addition to its newsletter, Project Inform organized town-hall meetings at sites such as the Metropolitan Community Church and The Women's Building; it also created a telephone hotline that answered more than 100,000 calls annually from their office.[1678] While Project Inform and other organizations such as San Francisco-based AIDs Treatment News focused on experiments and advances within conventional medicine, some groups cohered out of skepticism of medical models and the pharmaceutical industry. Among these was the early self-help group the AIDS Healing Alliance (1986–1989) that distributed information about alternative therapies and potential cures for AIDS.[1679]

As people with AIDS took a more active role in their own care, some turned to buyer's clubs such as San Francisco's Healing Alternatives Foundation, founded in April 1987 to increase access to treatment information and products, including pharmaceuticals that had not yet been approved by the FDA. The organization's activities were based on the belief that HIV/AIDS could be a treatable, chronic disease that required early preventive measures, along with aggressive, accessible, and affordable treatment of opportunistic infections.[1680] One example was the Guerilla Clinic in San Francisco, an informal, underground group of AIDS activists who obtained unapproved, experimental drugs (mostly from Mexico) and distributed them at cost upon request to PWAs.[1681]

AIDS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Anger fueled by the mounting numbers of people who were sick or dead, discrimination against people with AIDS, and hostility toward gay men on the streets and in the media led to militant action by AIDS activists in San Francisco and in other cities across the U.S. starting in the mid-1980s.

ARC/AIDS Vigil

Several protesters with ARC (AIDS Related Complex) and AIDS, in what has been described as the first use of civil disobedience against the AIDS epidemic anywhere in the world, chained themselves to the doors of the federal building housing the regional office of Health and Human Services at 50 United Nations Plaza (extant) on October 27, 1985.[1682] Protesters demanding that the U.S. government increase funding for research, care, and social services continued blocking the doors for weeks, then established the ARC/AIDS Vigil, an encampment that occupied a lawn in United Nations Plaza in front of the building twenty-four hours a day. For ten long years, the vigil in such a prominent public space gave visibility to people with AIDS, provided special outreach to the many homeless in the area, and held the fact of the disease before the eyes of daily passersby, including those who worked for City and federal government.[1683] The vigil finally ended when the tents were flattened during a massive storm in 1995, just as effective antiretroviral treatments were becoming available.[1684]

1678 Flyer, Project Inform File, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. The undated flyer states that Town Meetings were held first and last Wednesdays of the month at MCC Church 150 Eureka Street. Other materials in the file show PI at 25 Taylor Street 1987 (Golden Gate Theatre Bldg.), 347 Dolores Street 1988-1990, 1965 Market Street in 1992.

1679 Finding Aid for AIDS Healing Alliance, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

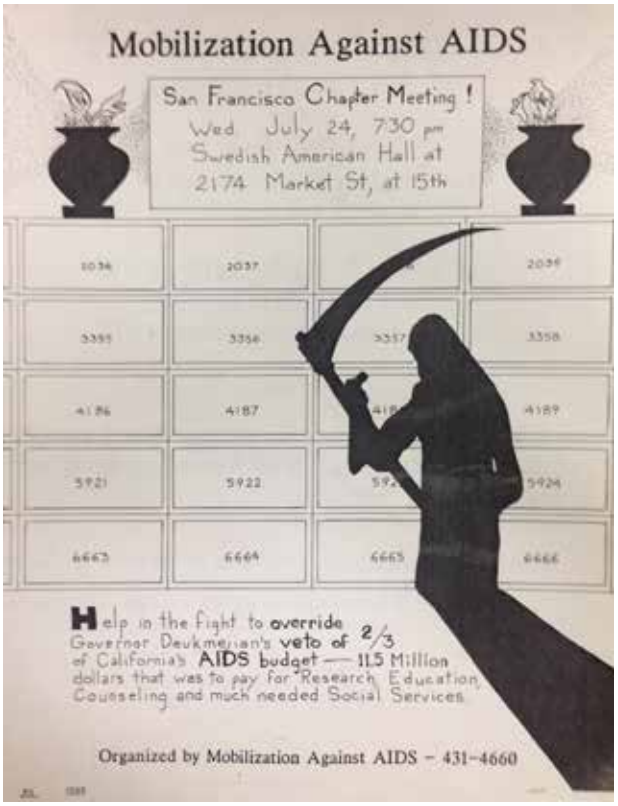
1680 Finding Aid to the Healing Alternatives Foundation Records, 1986-1994. UCSF Special Collections http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt9489r2wk/.

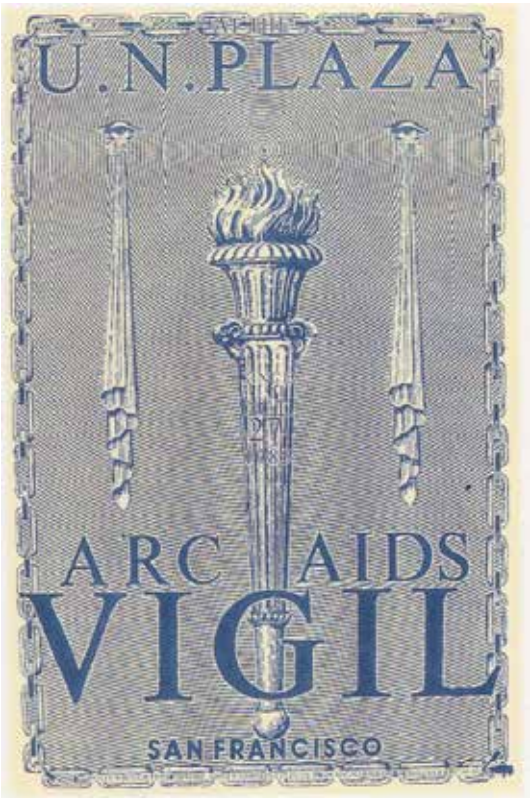
1681 Register of the Guerrilla Clinic Records, (1985-1990). UCSF Special Collections http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf8b69p2zc/.

1682 Libby Ingalls, "AIDS/ARC Vigil 1985-1995." Found SF http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=AIDS/ARC_Vigil_1985-1995 accessed 22 March 2014.

1683 Sides, *Erotic City,* 192.

1684 Ingalls, "AIDS/ARC Vigil 1985-1995."







TOP LEFT: Mobilization Against AIDS Calendar, 1985
TOP RIGHT: ARC/AIDS Vigil flyer designed by Ron Henggeler
BOTTOM: ARC/AIDS Vigil, 50 U.N. Plaza
(All courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

ACT UP

A group of San Franciscans calling themselves Citizens for Medical Justice organized a series of demonstrations in 1986 protesting the price of AZT at the Bay Area offices of pharmaceutical giant Burroughs Wellcome. In 1987, the group renamed itself the AIDS Action Pledge, which changed names again in 1988, becoming ACT UP/San Francisco, to adopt the successful branding of the Aids Coalition to Unleash Power that had been founded in New York City the year before.[1685] The San Francisco group, whose meetings were initially held at the Metropolitan Community Church and subsequently The Women's Building,[1686] used tactics that "included marching without permits, halting traffic, blocking buildings, occupying government and corporate offices, shouting down speeches, and staging die-ins."[1687] On January 31, 1989, Stop AIDS Now or Else (SANOE), largely made up of ACT-UP/SF members, dramatized their cause by staging the only sit-in ever organized on the Golden Gate Bridge.

In June 1990, the Sixth International Conference on AIDS took place at the Moscone Center in San Francisco; it was sponsored by UCSF, the City and County of San Francisco, the American Foundation for AIDS Research, the World Health Organization, and the International AIDS Society. Despite a boycott sparked by the U.S. government's refusal to grant visas to people who were HIV positive, the conference drew approximately 11,000 doctors, scientists, journalists, and increasingly enraged gay activists.[1688] The conference coincided with the city's annual Lesbian & Gay Freedom Day, which brought tens of thousands of people to San Francisco, many of whom joined marches and protests. Years of AIDS community organizing had created a new set of insider/outsider relationships at the conference. While leaders of some community-based AIDS organizations mingled or presented inside the convention center, others protested outside calling for changes in immigration policy, better access to drug treatments, more money for research, and other improvements to the domestic fight against AIDS.

One of the most visible groups was ACT UP/SF, which hosted hundreds of activists from around the country and organized protests that drew worldwide media attention. Among their efforts to underscore a message that the San Francisco model of AIDS care was crumbling, ACT-UP collaborated with Queerline Tours to organize a protest excursion during the conference titled "SF AIDS Model: A Tour of the Ruins" pointing out the continued inadequacy of a strategy they argued was built to serve "white middle-class gay men living in the Castro" and its failure to address the needs of other people affected by the disease who did not fit that profile.[1689] The protest included a die-in where dozens of activists blocked the intersection of Market Street and Van Ness Avenue. In addition, the militants invaded the conference itself at the closing session in the main hall at Moscone Center, with hundreds of activists shouting down the keynote speech by Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan. Although ACT UP itself was a predominately white, middle-class organization, some of its members argued for a more thorough examination

1685 Epstein, *Impure Science,* 219.

1686 Gerard Koskovich, personal communication with Donna Graves, 20 June 2014. Joshua Gamson describes ACT UP SF as membership of over 700 with an average of 50 participating in meetings in 1988-89. Joshua Gamson, Joshua Gamson, "Silence, Death and the Invisible Enemy: AIDS Activism and Social Movement 'Newness'," *Social Problems,* 36 (1 October 1989), P. 352. Accessed at http://repository.usfca.edu

1687 Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Museum, "Life & Death in Black & White: AIDS Direct Action in San Francisco, 1985-1990," curated by Gerard Koskovich, Don Romesburg and Amy Sueyoshi; exhibition texts.

1688 Finding Aid to the Sixth International Conference on AIDS Records, 1988-1990. UCSF Special Collections http://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt1q2nc9z9/.

1689 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay,* 92.



ACT UP die-in on Market Street during the Sixth International Conference on AIDS in 1990 (Courtesy ONE Archives)

of the inequality of the U.S. healthcare system and with the medical field's racism, sexism. and homophobia that stemmed from U.S. society as a whole.[1690]

AIDS ORGANIZING BY AND FOR PEOPLE OF COLOR

Of the 1,061 reported AIDS cases in San Francisco in early 1985, 98 percent were gay men and just over 11 percent were identified as involving African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and other nonwhites.[1691] In cities such as New York, the profile for people with AIDS was more complex, including larger numbers of male and female intravenous drug users and hemophiliacs and a higher percentage of people of color. San Francisco health officials acknowledged that cases of AIDS in communities of color in the city were probably undercounted and growing.[1692] From the mid-1980s on, a number of HIV/AIDS organizations were formed by LGBTQ people of color to advocate on their own behalf. Much of the focus of early AIDS organizations was on the Castro, a neighborhood that was predominately white and relatively wealthy. Queer people of color argued that they needed to develop services within their communities that were not being met by the more mainstream organizations such as the San Francisco AIDS Foundation and Shanti Project.

One of the very first national conferences on AIDS and people of color was organized by the San Francisco-based Third World Advisory Task Force in April 1986 at the UCSF Medical Center. Founded in 1985, the task force was a primarily gay organization that described itself as "an advisory group to service providers addressing AIDS prevention, education, and delivery of direct services to Third World communities in the Bay Area."[1693] (Third World was a term in popular use to signify alliances with people of color internationally.) Five months after the conference, UCSF was awarded a major grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to create a multidisciplinary AIDS Research Center. A cadre of African American and Latino public health activists had insisted that their concerns be incorporated into the federal grant application alongside those of white doctors, statisticians, epidemiologists, sociologists, and psychologists. By the end of the year, the new Multicultural Inquiry and Research on AIDS had set up shop in a clinic at the Bayview Hunters Point Foundation (3801 3rd Street).[1694]

African American AIDS Organizing

In 1985, San Francisco members of Black and White Men Together formed an AIDS Task Force to support "people of all color who are HIV positive," the first BWMT chapter to work on AIDS prevention and education.[1695] The organization evolved into the nonprofit Bay Area Health Support and Education Services, which served the larger region from offices in San Francisco and Oakland.

1690 Gamson, "Silence, Death and the Invisible Enemy," 352. Epstein, *Impure Science* 291. In fact, after its success at the 1990 AIDS Conference ACT-UP/SF grew then split acrimoniously into two chapters. Epstein describes ACT-UP/SF as mostly HIV-positive gay white men whose basic goal was "drugs into bodies" while ACT-UP Golden Gate was committed to a more inclusive membership and broader set of goals.

1691 *Eclipse: The Shanti Newsletter*, Spring 1985, p. 4.

1692 The DPH had only recently started to count Latino AIDS cases separately according to Tim Kingston "The First Six Months: Latino AIDS Project Grapples with the Epidemic," *Coming Up,* September 1987 in George Raya Papers, folder 1, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1693 Brochure for "Western Regional Conference: AIDS and Ethnic Minorities, April 25-27, 1986," in National Task Force on AIDS Prevention file, Ephemera Groups, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Cathy J. Cohen states that this was one of two early conferences dedicated to AIDS and people of color in Cathy J. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics (*Chicago and London, the University of Chicago Press, 1999) 97.

1694 Jacob Levenson, *The Secret Epidemic: The Story of AIDS and Black America* (New York, Pantheon Books, 2004). 50. Dr. Mindy Fullilove, who directed MIRA's ethnographic and epidemiological study of AIDS in Bayview Hunters Point, was the one of the few witnesses to bring the situation of black and other minority gay men to a congressional hearing in 1987 "The AIDS Crisis in Two American Cities," in Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness,* 328.

1695 BAHSES/BWMT/MACT brochure, n.d. in BWMT (MACT) General file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

The Black Coalition on AIDS began in 1986 as a group of gay and straight men and women who "responded to the urgent needs of the African American community that was being devastated by HIV/AIDS."[1696] BCA provided education and advocacy services along with case management, needle exchange and street outreach, youth services, transgender services, HIV testing, and overall health and wellness programs and services from an office and clinic housed in the Bayview Hunters Point Foundation (3801 3rd Street). In response to increasing HIV/AIDS-related homelessness, BCA obtained its first contract from the San Francisco Department of Public Health in 1991 to provide HIV/AIDS services in Bayview Hunters Point in a fourteen-bed facility.[1697]

Latino AIDS Organizing

Conversations about the impact of AIDS in the Latino community also began in 1985, when a group of activists met to discuss the lack of culturally and linguistically relevant AIDS programs. With funding from the State and fiscal sponsorship provided by longtime Mission-based community organization Instituto Familiar de la Raza, activists created the Latino Community AIDS Education and Prevention Project (also known as Latino AIDS Project or LAP). LAP organized public and confidential meetings at homes, churches, workplaces, and other locations to educate San Francisco's diverse Latino population about AIDS. Mission District sites along 16th Street were used as backdrops for a bilingual AIDS prevention video *Ojos Que No Ven* (Eyes That Don't See).[1698]

A handful of LAP staff and other gay Latino activists went on to found CURAS (Comunidad Respueste a la SIDA/Community in Response to AIDS) in 1987 as a more gay-, bisexual-, and lesbian-focused health education program. CURAS hosted its first annual PRISMA Award ceremonies in 1987 at the Victoria Theatre (2961 16th Street, extant), showcasing artists and activists from the queer Latino and allied communities as a way "to honor people and to have something positive to share in midst of sadness" according to CURAS founder Marcos Guttierez.[1699] A subsequent Latino AIDS organization, Proyecto Contra SIDA Por Vida, incorporated the arts and artists as a central strategy toward addressing AIDS not as an isolated disease, but by building a "healthy community of Latina and Latino lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in San Francisco capable of resisting HIV and other diseases through creativity, strength and faith."[1700]

Asian American AIDS Organizing

Asian American Recovery Services began the first program in 1987 to address the needs of Asian/Pacific Islander Americans with AIDS through their Asian AIDS Project, which went on to create programs serving transgender APIs.[1701] In 1988, the Filipino Task Force on AIDs began offering

1696 According to long-time BCA staffer, Bart Casimir, the organization began with offices at Bayview Hunters Point Foundation, moved for a few years in the late 1980s to 333 Valencia Street and then to 1042 Divisadero. Bart Casimir, interviewed by Donna Graves, 5 August 2014.

1697 Black Coalition on AIDS, "History of BLCA," http://www.bcoa.org/history.html. Bart Casimir recalled the Kirkland Street location for the facility, Casimir, interviewed by Donna Graves, 5 August 2014.

1698 Instituto Familiar de la Raza "AIDS and the Latino Community: testimony to the Presidential Commission on HIV Epidemic," in George Raya Papers, folder 1, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Marcos Guttierez, interviewed by Donna Graves, June 2, 2014.

1699 Horacio N. Roque Ramírez, "Memory and Mourning: Living Oral History with Queer Latinos and Latinas in San Francisco," in *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 168). According to Marcos Guttierez, CURAS operated from a ground floor office at the historic Notre Dame School building at 347 Dolores Street (extant). Its PRISMA Awards ran from 1987-1991. The Victoria also hosted an AIDS benefit by The Words Project for AIDS featuring Jewelle Gomez, Essex Hemphill and June Jordan, *Ache: A Journal for Lesbians of African Descent*, v.1 n.9. October 1989.

1700 KOKUA Partners brochure, n.d. John Teamer Collection, carton 1, AIDS Organization file, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Juana Maria Rodriguez *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2003). Proyecto's offices were initially at 18th and Dolores and later 16th and Mission according to Juana Maria Rodriguez. P. 49, 51. A flyer dated 1994 shows Proyecto's address as 3690 18th Street, National Task Force on AIDS Prevention folder in Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1701 Asian and Pacific Wellness Center History, http://www.apiwellness.org/history.html accessed 4 April 2014.



Former location of CURAS, 347 Dolores Street (Photo by Shayne Watson)

HIV/AIDS-related services.[1702] The following year, Gay Asian-Pacific Alliance Community HIV Project was organized to create a social, political, and support organization of gay and bisexual men of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage. Providing services in Cambodian, Cantonese, Mandarin, Tagalog, Vietnamese, and French, as well as English, GCHP was the first organization in the country to provide a broad spectrum of culturally appropriate direct services for Asians and Pacific Islanders living with AIDS and HIV.[1703]

National Task Force on AIDS Prevention

Reggie Williams, longtime San Francisco BWMT member and African American activist, became one of the most prominent leaders in the international movement to address AIDS among gay men of color. Williams was founding director of the National Task Force on AIDS Prevention, which began in 1988 with early funding from the CDC and which became the largest prevention and advocacy organization for gay and bisexual men of color. NTFAP worked to bring the AIDS education and prevention programs developed by BMWT and BAHSES, with whom it shared offices on Church Street.[1704] In 1988, Williams enlisted leaders from CURAS, the American Indian AIDS Institute, GCHIP, and GAPA to create the San Francisco Gay Men of Color Consortium to talk "about our communities, and what was not happening through the mainstream health delivery system and community organizations for gay men of color." According to Williams, one of the consortium's most successful programs was EACH (Early Advocacy and Care of HIV), which developed peer treatment support that gave HIV positive people access to medical, legal, and social services, as well as alternative treatments and clinical trials—a model that was used by other cities across the U.S.[1705]

The 1990 Ryan White CARE (Comprehensive AIDS Resource Emergency) Act created the largest federal outlay for services to people in cities and states hit hardest by the AIDS epidemic. Modeled on San Francisco General Hospital's program, which had been taken nationwide by Cliff Morrison and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the CARE Act provided funds for prevention, education, and treatment.[1706] Some accounts state that San Francisco benefited from the CARE Act far more than any other city in the country. One estimate determined that for every $1,100 spent on a person with AIDS in cities such as Pittsburgh or Cincinnati, individuals in San Francisco received $6,000 of care.[1707] Tremendous efforts had been made by San Franciscans to mobilize community and media support for passage of the CARE Act. Pat Christen, policy director of the San Francisco

1702 Finding Aid for Filipino Task Force on AIDS, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

1703 Finding Aid to the GAPA Community HIV Project (CGHP) Papers, 1989-1995. According to former GCHP staff member, Daniel Bao, AAP was more geared toward serving Asian immigrants and GCHP toward serving bay and bisexual Asian Americans. Daniel Bao, interviewed by Donna Graves, 6 March 2014. Asian AIDS Project and GCHP merged to become the API Wellness Project in 1996.

1704 In 1992 NTFAP received its own non-profit status and direct ties between it and BAHSES began to unravel. BAHSES eventually closed in early 1994. NTFAP moved from Church Street to offices at 944 Market Street and in 1994 moved to a larger suite at 973 Market. "NTFAP Organizational History," https://sites.google.com/site/reggiewilliamsexhibit/ntfap accessed 28 April 2014.

1705 Reggie Williams, "San Francisco Gay Men of Color Consortium" 1996 https://sites.google.com/site/reggiewilliamsexhibit/80s/consortium. Accessed 28 April 2014. The other founding members were Douglas Yaranon, Steve Lew, Phill Tingley, and Rodrigo Reyes.

1706 Joel Gardner, "The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 1974-2002," http://www.rwjf.org/content/dam/web-assets/2006/01/the-robert-wood-johnson-foundation accessed 18 March 2014.

1707 Cochrane, *When AIDS Began,* 156.

AIDS Foundation. likened the disease to a natural disaster at a congressional field hearing held in San Francisco:

> AIDS should be considered no less a natural disaster than any of these other tragedies... In the same way that we spread the cost of the drought, flood or earthquake over the whole population to assist those regions hardest hit by such anticipated disasters, we must also spread the cost of AIDS over the entire nation.[1708]

Ryan White CARE funding supported the National Task Force on AIDS Prevention and a variety of AIDS service providers to collaborate on the Center for Positive Care, which opened in October 1991 at 3180 Folsom Street. The center was designed to provide multicultural, multilingual outreach, intake assessment, case management, education, and psychosocial support to people who had AIDS or were HIV positive.[1709] Yet some needs remained unmet. Diane Jones, a long-time AIDS nurse at San Francisco General Hospital, says that the "$42 million that poured into San Francisco" from the act was mostly granted to organizations that excluded many of her patients who did not meet requirements such as being six months clean and sober. Jones described her mission as cochair of the Ryan White Planning Council in the mid-1990s as "wrestling money away from the big organizations" to support housing, primary care, mental health care, and case management services for those who were at highest risk.[1710]

ARTS AND AIDS

As a city with robust artistic communities, San Francisco became a hub for creative expression in all media that communicated aspects of the AIDS crisis. Exhibits too numerous to catalog were hung everywhere from blue chip galleries to community art spaces and coffee shops. Among the most unconventional was "Remains of the Day" at the non-profit arts space Southern Exposure (3030 20th Street, extant). The 1992 exhibit featured paintings by Jerome Caja and Charles Sexton, a pair of HIV-positive artists and friends who were dead by the time their work was exhibited. Caja's works incorporated Sexton's ashes into reliquary-like works that fulfilled a pact the friends had made, that the "loser" would incorporate the others ashes into works of art.[1711]

Activists artists also brought their messages to the streets; the anonymous collective known as Boy/Girl with Arms Akimbo (active 1989-1992), peppered San Francisco with posters, stickers, and protest signs during the Sixth International AIDS conference. Their "Safe/Unsafe" street-poster series used the visual language of safer sex literature to condemn homophobic religious and political figures by juxtaposing "unsafe" images of individuals such as antigay U.S. Senator Jesse Helms with "safe" images showing sexual activities that did not transmit HIV.[1712] The nonprofit organization Visual Aid was founded in 1989 by a group of San Francisco artists, collectors, and art dealers to help preserve, present, and promote the work of Bay Area professional artists living with

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1708 Hearing Before the Task Force on Human Resources of the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives, 101st Congress, 2nd Session, January 16 and 17, 1990, San Francisco and Los Angeles, CA, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC; 1990:41 cited in http://hab.hrsa.gov/livinghistory/legislation/enactment-2.htm accessed 25 March 2014. As policy director for SF AIDS Foundation, Christen was involved with crafting the legislation, *Victory Deferred*, p. 232

1709 UCSF Press Release. "Center for Positive Care Officially Open With Ceremony, Oct. 18" 15 October 1991. http://books.google.com/books?id=_fE2AQAAMAAJ&pg=PT101&lpg=PT101&dq=american+indian+aids+institute+san+francisco&source=bl&ots=WJjolJLn94&sig=KTDhc5KtGIo1b_SeAppePcJJR6U&hl=en&sa=X&ei=NbCsU72vOJKOyASA6IGYBA&ved=0CDgQ6AEwBA#v=onepage&q=american%20indian%20aids%20institute%20san%20francisco&f=false accessed 25 March 2014.

1710 Diane Jones, interviewed by Donna Graves, 16 July 2014.

1711 "Jerome Caja" glbtq.com http://www.glbtq.com/arts/caja_jerome.html Accessed 14 February 2014.

1712 Boy/Girl with Arms Akimbo was active in San Francisco from 1989-1992. http://www.queerculturalcenter.org/Pages/QIY/BoywArms.html accessed 1 June 2014.

HIV/AIDS. Underground publications such as the black-humor zine *Diseased Pariah News* (1990–1999) and films such as Marlon Riggs' *No Regret* (Reggie Williams was one of the HIV-positive men depicted) explored social, political, and emotional aspects of life with AIDS.

Theater was among the first of the popular art forms to address AIDS. In 1984, San Francisco playwright (and *Bay Guardian* theater critic) Robert Chesley wrote *Night Sweat*, the first full-length drama to deal with the disease.[1713] The same year, Theater Rhinoceros's founder Alan Estes died from AIDS, and the troupe premiered *The AIDS Show: Artists Involved with Death and Survival*, a ground-breaking work coauthored by twenty San Francisco Bay Area artists and produced in Theatre Rhinoceros' basement space on 16th Street. The play, which ran for two years and toured nationally, was the subject of a 1986 PBS documentary directed by San Francisco filmmakers Rob Epstein and Peter Adair.[1714] Internationally renowned artworks centered on the epidemic also have roots in San Francisco: avant-garde musician Diamanda Galas began her epic oratorio *Plague Mass* while living in San Francisco during the mid-1980s; and the first part of Tony Kushner's award-winning play *Angels in America* premiered in May 1991 by the Eureka Theatre Company (215 Jackson Street, extant).[1715]

The NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt and The AIDS Memorial Grove

San Francisco is the birthplace of two of the nation's most visible and enduring memorials to AIDS: the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt and the National AIDS Memorial Grove (extant) in Golden Gate Park. Longtime San Francisco gay rights activist Cleve Jones conceived the quilt in November 1985. While planning the annual memorial march honoring Harvey Milk and George Moscone, Jones learned that over 1,000 San Franciscans had been lost to AIDS. He asked each of his fellow marchers to write the names of friends and loved ones who had died of AIDS on placards. At the end of the march, Jones and others taped the placards to the walls of 50 United Nations Plaza, where the regional office of the Department of Health and Human Services was located. The collection of names looked like a patchwork quilt to Jones, inspiring him to team with Mike Smith and several others in 1987 to formally organize the NAMES Project Foundation, which envisioned creating a massive memorial quilt as a political organizing tool and an expression of worldwide grief.[1716]

From a storefront at 2362 Market Street (extant, S.F. Landmark No. 241), the NAMES Project rallied volunteers to work on donated sewing machines to create three-by-six-foot quilt panels commemorating individuals who had died of AIDS; the project also accepted a growing flood of panels contributed from across the country. First shown as forty panels at the 1987 Lesbian & Gay Freedom events in San Francisco, the quilt had grown to nearly 2,000 panels when it was displayed four months later on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., during the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Half a million people visited the quilt that weekend. In the subsequent four-month, twenty-city tour, the quilt became a tool to illustrate the devastating impact

1713 Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom,* 260. *Night Sweat* opened in New York in 1984 and was followed by long runs in Los Angeles and San Francisco theaters.

1714 Theatre Rhinoceros History

1715 Jim Provenzano, "Diva for the dead**:** Diamanda Galas brings 'Defixiones' to Yerba Buena Center," *Bay Area Reporter,* 12 October 2006. Paul Attinello, "Music and AIDS" GLBTQ.com describes Galas as "probably the most important figure in music about AIDS." http://www.glbtq.com/arts/music_aids.html Eureka's web site, as part of its history, says " In the early 1980s, the company moved into a building in the Inner Mission."

1716 Jonathan Pearlman, Landmark Nomination for NAMES Project Building/Jose Theatre, San Francisco, 2.







TOP LEFT: NAMES Project Visitor Center Coordinator Kimberly Rae Connor and her son, Gabriel, at the NAMES Project founding site at 2362 Market Street, 1990s (Courtesy Kimberly Rae Connor)

TOP RIGHT: Portion of the AIDS Quilt and NAMES Project volunteers at a San Francisco Giants game, 2000 (Courtesy Kimberly Rae Connor)

BOTTOM: The NAMES Project/AIDS Quilt inaugural display in Washington, DC, October 11, 1987 (Photo by Tom Alleman, courtesy Shayne Watson)

of AIDS and to humanize its victims.[1717] Literary and religious scholar, Kimberly Rae Connor, describes the quilt as at once "magnificently gaudy and bold," and "one of history's most powerful works of political art and creative, indeed, spiritual vision."[1718] Until 2001, when the AIDS Memorial Quilt moved to Atlanta, 2362 Market Street was a pilgrimage site for people from all over the nation and the world "to deliver a panel made by friends back home or to come together to meet, perhaps for the first time, to make a panel for a cherished friend, child or partner."[1719]

In 1988, another group of friends who were facing their own diagnoses or the loss of loved ones to AIDS began discussing the creation of a public memorial garden in San Francisco to the victims of the epidemic. "It was an idea born out of desperation," recalled Alice Russell-Shapiro, one of the project's founders. "We all felt the need for a place where people could find solace, solidarity, and hope—and the sense of renewal that is inspired by nature."[1720] The following year, the newly formed Grove Steering Committee began discussions with San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department, and by 1990 had chosen the de Laveaga Dell in Golden Gate Park. The site had been derelict for nearly a decade, but committee members saw their efforts to lovingly revive the 7.5 acres as a metaphor for resilience and the power of community. They also believed that the memorial should be in the most prominent and most well used of the city's open spaces. A team of architects, landscape architects, and designers volunteered hundreds of hours to create the memorial landscape plan. September 19, 1991, marked the physical birth of the AIDS Memorial Grove with the first of the monthly volunteer workdays that have brought together diverse Bay Area residents affected by the pandemic. In 1994, the City of San Francisco signed a 99-year lease with The AIDS Memorial Grove, and two years later it was designated the only national AIDS memorial authorized by Congress and the president.[1721] A quatrain by poet Thom Gunn, author of the 1992 book of poetry about his companions suffering with AIDS, *The Man with Night Sweats*, encircles an area of the grove titled the Circle of Friends.[1722] Since its founding, the grove has been the site for countless memorial services for individuals lost to AIDS.

The NAMES Project Quilt and the AIDS Memorial Grove were efforts undertaken by San Franciscans to memorialize those who had died and to educate people about the devastation wrought by the AIDS pandemic. In 1994, AIDS became the leading cause of death for all Americans ages 25 to 44. That same year, San Francisco AIDS educator Pedro Zamora brought the reality of the epidemic to mass popular culture as a gay man living with AIDS on MTV's television show *The Real World*, which was filmed at 953 Lombard Street.[1723] Zamora died at age 22 on November 11, 1994.

1717 The NAMES Quilt was nominated by Representative Nancy Pelosi for a Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, the same year that San Francisco filmmaker Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman won an Academy Award for the documentary film, *Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt* (San Francisco: Telling Pictures Films).

1718 Kimberly Rae Connor, "'A Common Geography of the Mind:' Creating Sacred Space in the Autobiographical Writings of Paul Monette and the NAMES Project," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* v. 68, n. 1 (March 2000) 60, 50.

1719 Jonathan Pearlman, Landmark Nomination for NAMES Project Building/Jose Theatre, San Francisco 11.

1720 Rudy Bruner Foundation, "National AIDS Memorial Grove, 1999 Silver Medal Winner." http://www.brunerfoundation.org/rba/pdfs/1999/03_NationalGrove.pdf, p. 71 accessed 12 May 2014.

1721 Ibid., 70

1722 An article published one year after Gunn's death describes his purchase of a house on "upper Cole" in 1971 and the decades Gunn lived there. No listing was found in San Francisco City Directories. Edward Guthmann, "A Poet's Life/Part Two: As Friends Died of AIDS, Gunn Stayed Healthy __ Until His Need to Play Hard Finally Killed Him, *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 26, 2005 http://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/A-POET-S-LIFE-PART-TWO-As-friends-died-of-2638955.php accessed 2 February 2015.

1723 Wikipedia, "The Real World San Francisco" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Real_World:_San_Francisco accessed 8 August 2014. *The Real World* was filmed at 949-953 Lombard Street in Russian Hill.

CHANGING AIDS

Between 1986 and 1996, AIDS cases among San Francisco women, heterosexuals, and IV-drug users increased rapidly. Meanwhile, AIDS cases among gay and bisexual men dropped from 1,679 to 688, most likely reflecting the success of efforts to reduce transmission by promoting safer sex. Starting in the mid-1990s, highly active antiretroviral therapy and combination drug therapies transformed HIV/AIDS from a horrifying death sentence to a relatively manageable chronic disease for those with adequate resources. AIDS dropped as a leading cost of death for young, white male Americans, yet the epidemic continued to grow in communities of color and among transgender people.[1724] The *San Francisco Weekly* warned in 1997 that "as the pandemic continues this shift away from gay men who can afford the new treatments, and as AIDS promises to become for them a chronic condition rather than a fatal disease, what's occurring is nothing less than a fracturing of S.F.'s AIDS coalition, in its best moments the uniting of straight and gay, white and people of color, toward a common and urgent purpose. Born in San Francisco, it now may die here, too."[1725]

POLITICS AND AIDS

The 1980s and 1990s saw significant steps forward for LGBTQ people in organized politics but also a contraction of political focus as the AIDS epidemic became a crisis. *Advocate* writer and sex radical Patrick Califia notes:

> The gay movement has been transformed from a broad-based attempt to address several issues (sodomy laws, anti-gay discrimination, homophobia and religious institutions, military which-hunts, porn laws, police crackdowns on public sex, registration of so-called "sex offenders," the age of consent, child custody, etc.) to a crusade for a cure. Our agenda has pretty much shrunk to one item.[1726]

San Francisco AIDS leaders fought for more resources for research, support, and treatment. The political power LGBTQ people had accrued meant that the response to the epidemic was faster and more generous than in any other city. Journalist Randy Shilts reports that by mid-1983, the more than $3 million San Francisco had spent on AIDS "exceeded the funds released to the entire country by the National Institutes of Health for extramural AIDS research."[1727] Longtime activist Bill Kraus, who served as a legislative aid to U.S. representatives Philip and Sala Burton, crafted the first legislation that brought federal funds for AIDS research..[1728] Mobilization Against AIDS and other San Francisco groups worked tirelessly against statewide measures that targeted gay people and people with HIV, such as initiatives to quarantine people with AIDS, to impose forced HIV testing, and to bar people with HIV from certain jobs, most of which were defeated at the polls.[1729]

1724 AIDS.gov "A Timeline of AIDS," http://www.aids.gov/hiv-aids-basics/hiv-aids-101/aids-timeline/

1725 George Cothran, "The AIDS Civil War," *SF Weekly*, 19 February 1997 http://www.sfweekly.com/1997-02-19/news/the-aids-civil-war/2/ accessed 12 November 2014.

1726 Pat Califia, *Public Sex: The Culture of Radical Sex* (San Francisco: Cleis Books, 2000) xxiii.

1727 Shilts, quoted in Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities,* 157.

1728 Shilts, *And the Band Played On,* 187.

1729 Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom:The Advocate History of The Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994) 292, 311.

CHAPTER 3.
METHODOLOGY



NOVEMBER 2013 COMMUNITY WORKSHOP BY RANDOLPH JONSSON

I. PROJECT TEAM AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco is the result of a successful collaboration among many organizations and individuals. Shayne Watson and Donna Graves served as codirectors and coauthors, overseeing all administrative aspects of the project, conducting research and outreach, and producing the written report. The GLBT Historical Society was fiscal sponsor, enthusiastic partner, and curator of one of the world's renowned archives for LGBTQ history—an invaluable source of information for this project.

Graves and Watson were guided and supported by an extraordinarily talented and diverse advisory committee. Dr. Nan Alamilla Boyd, professor of women and gender studies at San Francisco State University, served as academic reviewer. Katherine Petrin, architectural historian and preservation planner, served as preservation peer reviewer. Other advisory committee members are Tamara Ching, transgender activist; Dr. Kimberly Rae Connor, University of San Francisco; Dr. Gail Dubrow, University of Minnesota; Gerard Koskovich, independent scholar; Alan Martinez, AIA, architect and former member, San Francisco Historic Preservation Commission; Glenne McElhinney, community historian; Dr. Don Romesburg, Sonoma State University; Jody Stock, historic preservation consultant; Dr. Susan Stryker, University of Arizona; and Dr. Amy Sueyoshi, San Francisco State University.

II. COMMUNITY OUTREACH AND ENGAGEMENT

GENERAL OUTREACH EFFORTS

The community outreach and engagement plan for this LGBTQ Historic Context Statement consisted of multiple strategies to announce the project to diverse LGBTQ communities in San Francisco and to enlist their assistance in providing stories, ideas, and material for the context statement. General outreach and engagement efforts included the following:

- Establishment of a project email address for community members to contact the project team (sflgbthistory@gmail.com).
- Collaboration with the San Francisco Planning Department staff to develop content for a project page on the city's website (http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673).
- Production of an informational project brochure distributed at public events and at the GLBT Historical Society and Museum.
- Postings about research findings on the Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California Facebook page (facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory).
- Multiple interviews in national and local newspapers and other media to engage with the public about the project.

COMMUNITY WORKSHOPS

The first community workshop for the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was held on November 14, 2013, at The Women's Building in the Mission District. It was cosponsored by the GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco Heritage, and The Women's Building. Approximately sixty community members enthusiastically shared their memories in small working-group breakouts. Volunteers facilitated the working groups and took notes. Watson and Graves incorporated stories

from the workshop into the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement.

A second community workshop was held on May 17, 2014, at the LGBT Community Center on Market Street. Called "Our Stories Too," this workshop had two purposes: to capture information about sites important to elders in underdocumented communities, including people of color and people who identify as bisexual or transgender; and to foster intergenerational dialogue with youth from the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center (LYRIC) summer internship program. With assistance from LYRIC youth and Arcus Endowment intern Kurt Schumacher from the University of California, Berkeley, Graves and Watson conducted individual interviews with elders about places in San Francisco that are an important part of their histories. In addition, Archive Productions video-recorded place-based memories from elders and LYRIC youth. More than thirty LGBTQ elders and youth attended this event.

A final community meeting was held at the GLBT History Museum in November 16, 2014, to share research findings.

Watson and Graves conducted community outreach at various events, meetings, and conferences throughout the duration of the project, including Maud's Annual Reunion (June 2013 and June 2014); National Trust for Historic Preservation Conference in Indiana (October 2013); San Francisco Primetimers (November 2013); Merchants of Castro /Upper Market (December 2013); California Preservation Foundation Conference at Asilomar (April 2014); Senior Center Without Walls (June and October 2014 and March 2015); Shaping San Francisco (October 2014); and a California Preservation Foundation workshop on historic context statements at the Presidio of San Francisco (October 2014).

With the national oral history organization StoryCorps, Graves and Watson facilitated oral history interviews with community historians to capture stories about LGBTQ experience in San Francisco. The interviews are available to the public through the Library of Congress. They were also used to develop content for "California Pride: Mapping LBTQ Histories," a crowd-sourced online map developed by Watson and Graves with Historypin. Many of the historic properties mentioned in the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, as well as the City of Los Angeles' LGBT historic context statement (*SurveyLA: LGBT Historic Context Statement*), are featured on the California Pride map. The map also includes stories about LGBTQ experience in California that have been shared by community historians across the state.

III. RESEARCH

This LGBTQ Historic Context Statement benefits from a rich collection of existing scholarship on LGBTQ history in San Francisco, including:

- *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (1983) by John D'Emilio
- *Gay by the Bay: A History of Queer Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area* (1996) by Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk
- *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (2003) by Nan Alamilla Boyd
- *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (2006) by Martin Meeker

For primary source material, Watson and Graves conducted research at various brick-and-mortar and digital archives over the course of the project, including the GLBT Historical Society; the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center (San Francisco Public Library); the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives Digital Collection; the San Francisco History Center (San Francisco Public Library); the California Ephemera Project; and the California Digital Newspaper Collection.

IV. ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Graves and Watson conducted oral history interviews with numerous community members and used transcripts from over twenty-five existing interviews in the GLBT Historical Society's oral history collection. These oral history interview subjects—some long deceased—served as extraordinarily important guides for navigating this complex history, and their stories are woven throughout the historic contexts. The following is a list of oral history interviews conducted by the project team and used as part of this study:

- John Blackburn, interviewed by Donna Graves, December 21, 2013
- Bart Casimir, interviewed by Donna Graves, August 5, 2014
- Tamara Ching, interviewed by Donna Graves, March 10, 2014
- Luis de la Garza, interviewed by Donna Graves, May 17 and 27, 2014
- Jasmine Gee, interviewed by Donna Graves, May 17, 2014
- Felicia Elizondo, interviewed by Donna Graves, March 15, 2014
- Marcos Guttierez, interviewed by Donna Graves, June 4, 2014 and May 17, 2014
- Roma Guy, interviewed by Donna Graves, November 10, 2013
- Jorge (Gina) Huerte, interviewed by Shayne Watson, May 17, 2014
- Bill Jones, interviewed by Donna Graves, June 30, 2014
- Diane Jones, interviewed by Donna Graves, July 16, 2014
- Lani Ka'ahumanu, interviewed by Donna Graves, March 17, 2014
- Randy Kikukawa, interviewed by Donna Graves, March 15, 2014
- Marilyn H., interviewed by Shayne Watson, May 17, 2014
- Paula Lichtenberg, interviewed by Donna Graves, February 21, 2014
- Phyllis Lyon, interviewed by Shayne Watson, August 25, 2011
- Jimmy Owens, interviewed by Donna Graves, February 10, 2014
- Margo Rila, interviewed by Shayne Watson, May 17, 2014
- Karla Rosales, interviewed by Donna Graves, June 18, 2014
- Philip Rossetti, interviewed by Shayne Watson, August 7, 2014
- Canyon Sam, interviewed by Donna Graves, March 6, 2014
- Robert Tat, interviewed by Donna Graves, October 18, 2013
- Lisbet Tellefsen, interviewed by Donna Graves, March 11, 2014

CHAPTER 4.

HOW-TO-GUIDE FOR PRESERVING LGBTQ HISTORIC PROPERTIES IN SAN FRANCISCO

I. INTRODUCTION

The City of San Francisco Planning Department defines historic preservation as "a strategy for conserving significant elements of the built environment in order to maintain a tangible physical connection to the past."[1730] One way to ensure that important places in San Francisco are conserved is by landmarking individual properties or groups of properties in historic districts. Another way is to thoroughly evaluate properties as part of an environmental review process to ensure that important properties are not substantively altered in substantial ways or demolished without process. (Note: Properties can be buildings, structures, sites, landscapes, or objects.)

Evaluating a property as a potential landmark and evaluating a property as part of environmental review both require essentially the same three steps: understanding the property within a larger historic context, assessing whether or not the property is significant within the historic context, and determining if the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance. This chapter presents a general overview for navigating those three steps, with the goal of helping community members not familiar with historic preservation to better understand the evaluation process. The building at 710 Montgomery Street that housed the Black Cat Café from 1933 to 1963 is used in examples of how to complete each step. This chapter concludes with general information on how to pursue landmarking of LGBTQ properties in San Francisco.

The how-to guide does not cover every detail of steps required for the evaluation or landmarking processes. For detailed guidance on the Planning Department's landmark and historic district designation process, see the *Application for Historic Landmark Designation* on the Planning Department website. For guidance on the Planning Department's environmental review process, see the Environmental Planning section of the Planning Department website.

II. STEP-BY-STEP GUIDE TO EVALUATION

STEP 1: DEVELOP HISTORIC CONTEXT

The first step in any evaluation process is to understand the importance of a property within a larger historic context. Historic context is essentially historical background on a theme—in this case, LGBTQ history in San Francisco. In order to judge if a property is historically significant, it is critical to understand how the property fits into a larger picture, or historic context. The historic context will also establish a period of significance—a specific date range during which significant events occurred, or during which important individuals or organizations were active. Historic contexts related to LGBTQ history in San Francisco were developed as part of this report and are presented in Chapter 2: LGBTQ History. The historic contexts are also listed in Chapter 5: Evaluation Framework.

Example of How to Place an LGBTQ Site in San Francisco within a Historic Context

The building that housed the Black Cat Café at 710 Montgomery Street is described in detail in two historic contexts in this report: "Early Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco – 19th Century to 1960s" and "Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities – 1933 to 1960s." Therefore, the building at 710 Montgomery is potentially significant for its contributions to history within those two themes.

1730 San Francisco Planning Department, "Historic Preservation," http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=1825.

Further Guidance

For detailed guidance on developing and applying historic contexts, see *National Register Bulletin 16a: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* and *National Register Bulletin 16b: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*.

STEP 2: DETERMINE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF A PROPERTY

The next step in the evaluation process is to determine if the property is significant. Words like "historic" and "significant" have very specific meanings in historic preservation. Just because a building is old does not mean it is historic or significant. If a property is determined to be significant within its historic context, it means that the property rises to a higher level of importance relative to other similar properties within the same context.[1731]

In order for a property to be determined significant, it must meet at least one of four criteria. The California Office of Historic Preservation uses California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) criteria to evaluate significance. The California Register criteria are modeled on criteria used for National Register of Historic Places (National Register). The table below defines both the California Register and National Register criteria for evaluating significance.

Most properties determined significant to LGBTQ history in San Francisco will be significant under Criterion A/1 (events) and Criterion B/2 (people), the two criteria assigned to properties that relate to social and cultural aspects of history. Properties found significant under Criterion C/3 would be important for their architecture, design, or construction—or individuals who were responsible for design or construction; examples could include homes designed by a pioneering lesbian architect or a sculpture designed by an influential gay artist. Criterion D/4 is reserved for archaeological properties; properties found significant under this criterion would be sites where Native Americans were known to live or are buried, or at sites where LGBTQ-related buildings have been demolished or lost to earthquakes or fire.

National Register	California Register	Criterion Definition
Criterion A	Criterion 1	Properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history
Criterion B	Criterion 2	Properties associated with the lives of significant persons
Criterion C	Criterion 3	Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction
Criterion D	Criterion 4	Properties that have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory

The National Register provides additional criteria for properties that for various reasons would not ordinarily qualify for listing in the National Register (e.g., cemeteries, birthplaces, and structures that have been reconstructed or moved, and places associated with the recent past). Known as "criteria considerations," these additional criteria allow properties to qualify for landmarking if they fall under certain categories. The criteria consideration categories that would apply to LGBTQ

1731 The California Environmental Quality Act, which provides regulations for historic preservation in California, defines significant properties as historical resources.

history in San Francisco are listed in the following table. Criteria and criteria considerations that are applicable under each of the nine historic contexts/themes presented in this report are listed in Chapter 5: Evaluation Framework.

National Register Criteria Consideration	Definition
A	A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance
C	A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life
F	A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance
G	A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance

Example of How to Apply Criteria to an LGBTQ Site in San Francisco

The building that housed the Black Cat Café at 710 Montgomery Street is significant under multiple criteria and themes. Within the theme of "Early Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco – 19th Century to 1960s," the Black Cat Café is significant under Criterion A/1 for its role in the early development of bar-based LGBTQ communities in San Francisco. Additionally, under the same theme, the Black Cat Café is significant under Criterion B/2 for its association with gay rights pioneer José Sarria; in 1961, Sarria used the Black Cat as campaign headquarters when he ran for San Francisco city supervisor—the first openly gay person in the country to run for public office. Within the theme of "Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities – 1933 to 1960*s*," the Black Cat Café is significant under Criterion A/1 for the role it played in *Stoumen v. Reilly*, a court case in 1951 that essentially legalized gay and lesbian bars in California.

For other examples of how to apply significance criteria, see Chapter 5: Evaluation Framework.

Further Guidance

For detailed guidance on determining significance and applying significance criteria, see *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*.

STEP 3: EVALUATE INTEGRITY OF A PROPERTY

After determining the significance of a property within a historic context, the third step in the evaluation process is to assess the historic integrity of the property. Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance, both physically and in intangible ways. For example, if a building is determined to be significant under Criterion C/3 as the sole surviving building designed by a famous architect, but it was remodeled over time so that the original design is unrecognizable as the architect's work, the building's integrity has been compromised. When evaluating integrity, it is important to understand the difference between integrity and condition. A 100-year-old building with deteriorating walls and a leaky roof would be in poor condition, but it could have excellent integrity if the original walls and roof are intact.

There are seven aspects of historic integrity that must be evaluated: location, design, setting,

materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To retain integrity, a property should posses several or most of the aspects. Not all aspects of integrity are important to all properties—it depends on the historic context and the criterion or criteria under which the property is significant.

There are two important steps to evaluating the integrity of a property: 1.) Determine which physical features must be present for a property to be able to convey its significance; and 2.) determine if those essential physical features are visible or intact enough for the property to represent its significance. For the first step, it is important to understand ***why*** the property is significant—in other words, under which historic contexts is it important. Is it significant for its architecture (Criterion C/3)? Or, in the case of most places significant to LGBTQ history in San Francisco, is it important for social or cultural histories (Criteria A/1 and B/2)?

For properties that are significant for social or cultural histories, the important aspects of integrity that need to be present are generally location, design, feeling, and association.

- **Location**: the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event took place.

- **Design**: the composition of elements that constitute the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. (Note: for properties significant to LGBTQ history, only the very basic features of a property are important, such as original form, and window and door configuration, with exceptions such as storefront reconfiguration. Integrity of style is not important, as styles can be updated over time.)

- **Feeling**: the quality that a historic property has in evoking the aesthetic or historic sense of a past period of time.

- **Association**: the direct link between a property and the event or person for which the property is significant.

The aspects of integrity that are generally less important for social or cultural histories are setting, materials, and workmanship.

- **Setting**: the physical environment of a historic property that illustrates the character of the place.

- **Materials:** the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

- **Workmanship:** the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period of history.

Example of How to Evaluate Integrity of an LGBTQ Site in San Francisco

As determined in the previous examples, the Black Cat Café at 710 Montgomery Street is significant under Criterion A/1 and B/2. Because the Black Cat's significance derives from its association with historic events and people (i.e., social and cultural history), the important aspects of integrity that need to be present are location, design, setting, feeling, and association.

One test to apply when evaluating integrity of a historic property is to assess if someone who was familiar with the property when it was important within its historic context would recognize it if

they visited today. In the case of the Black Cat, the building is still in its original location, so that aspect remains recognizable and intact; and the main façade's original composition and many of the original materials are intact, so integrity of design is good. As for integrity of association and feeling, two aspects that require enough intact physical material so that the building would be easily recognizable to someone who visited the Black Cat in the 1950s, the overall façade of the building has undergone very few changes and is recognizable—so integrity of association and feeling remain intact. Thus, the building at 710 Montgomery Street retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance and easily passes the test.

Further Guidance

For detailed information on the nuances of evaluating the integrity of properties significant to LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see Chapter 5: Evaluation Framework. For additional guidance on assessing integrity, see *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (section VIII).*

FINAL STEP: LANDMARKING

Anyone can pursue landmarking for a property in California. There are several options for official landmark designation in San Francisco. A property can be designated as a local (San Francisco) landmark. A property can be listed in the California Register of Historical Resources or the National Register of Historic Places. A property can be designated as a National Historic Landmark, one of the highest honors to bestow on a historic property in the U.S. At the international level, a property can be designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Or a property can maintain multiple designations (e.g., properties in California that are listed in the National Register are automatically listed in the California Register).

The San Francisco, California, and federal programs for landmarking or registering properties vary in the procedures required for nomination. A general overview of the steps required for all three programs follows. Designation as a San Francisco landmark offers a property the most protection from significant alteration or demolition. Registering properties at the California and federal levels can make owners eligible for tax credit and grant programs.

San Francisco City Landmarks

The City of San Francisco maintains a list of designated Local Landmarks and Historic Districts determined to be an important part of the City's historical and architectural heritage. The process for nominating a property as a Local Landmark or a group of properties as a Historic District is overseen by the San Francisco Planning Department. Anyone can nominate a property for designation as a Local Landmark by completing the *Application for Historic Landmark Designation* and submitting it to the Planning Department for review. Final nominations are reviewed and approved by the Historic Preservation Commission. Property owners must be notified about the nominations before they are approved. Specific directions for nominating a property can be found on the Planning Department website.

California Register of Historical Resources

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is California's list of the state's significant historical and archaeological resources. The process for nominating a property for inclusion in the California Register is overseen by the California Office of Historic Preservation. Nominations are reviewed by OHP staff. Final nominations are reviewed and approved by the State Historic Resources Commission. Properties cannot be listed in the California Register if a property

owner objects to the nomination. Specific directions for nominating a property can be found on the OHP website.

National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places (National Register) is the nation's list of properties determined to be significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture. The National Register is administered by the National Park Service. National Register nominations are reviewed by OHP staff. Final nominations are reviewed and approved by the State Historic Resources Commission and then sent to the State Historic Preservation Officer for nomination to the National Register. The Keeper of the National Register in Washington, D.C., makes the final determination for listing. Properties cannot be listed in the National Register if a property owner objects to the nomination. Specific directions for nominating a property can be found on the OHP website.

National Historic Landmarks

National Historic Landmarks are historic properties that have been determined to possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting United States heritage. The NHL Program is administered by the National Park Service. NHL nominations are reviewed by NPS staff and are designated by the Secretary of the Interior. Properties cannot be designated as NHLs if a property owner objects to the nomination. Specific directions for the NHL nomination process can be found on the NPS NHL website.

UNESCO World Heritage Sites

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is a branch of the United Nations dedicated to international collaboration through education, science, and culture. The UNESCO World Heritage Committee maintains a list of World Heritage Sites. World Heritage Sites are places of international cultural or natural significance. As of July 2015, there are 1031 World Heritage Sites. Only countries that have signed the World Heritage Convention, pledging to protect their natural and cultural heritage, can nominate properties to be considered for inclusion in UNESCO's World Heritage List. Current criteria for nomination to the World Heritage List present nearly insurmountable barriers for this level of recognition. According to the National Park Service, World Heritage Sites in the U.S. "must be either federal property, such as national parks, or sites already designated as national historic landmarks or national natural landmarks. Properties not owned by the federal government are nominated only if their owners wish to do so and pledge to protect their property in perpetuity."[1732] Directions for the UNESCO World Heritage Site nomination process can be found on the UNESCO website.

1732 National Park Service, "World Heritage Sites," http://www.nps.gov/oia/topics/worldheritage/worldheritage.htm accessed 14 August 2015.



The former home of the Black Cat Cafe at 710 Montgomery Street is listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District. This building is an example of an LGBTQ historic property that is eligible for individual listing in the National Register and eligible for designation as a National Historic Landmark (Photo by Shayne Watson)

CHAPTER 5.
EVALUATION FRAMEWORK

I. PROPERTY TYPES AND FUNCTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH LGBTQ HISTORY IN SAN FRANCISCO

LGBTQ history in San Francisco is represented in all of the standard property types: buildings, structures, landscapes, sites, objects, and historic districts. Each of those types of properties can be categorized by function or use. For example, buildings can be categorized as residences, schools, or funeral homes; they are all buildings, but their functions and spatial organizations are very different. The following is a list of common functions or uses found in property types associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco.

Function or Use	Common Subcategories
Domestic	Private residence, apartment building, hotel
Commercial	Restaurant, saloon, bar, nightclub; retail store (e.g., bookstore, department store); financial institution, bank; professional office (e.g., architectural studio); bathhouse, sex club
Social	Meeting hall, community center, clubhouse; political headquarters
Governmental	Municipal building (e.g., City Hall or courthouse); correctional facility, police station, firehouse; post office
Educational	University or college, school, library
Religious	Church, temple, synagogue, ceremonial site
Funerary	Cemetery, burial site; funeral home, crematorium
Recreational	Movie theater, playhouse; museum, gallery, artist's studio; park, picnic area
Cultural	Cultural event, fair, parade; commemorative marker, statue, monument; work of art, mural
Industrial	Television station, telephone company; newspaper, publisher, publishing plant; porn studio or porn distribution
Health and Medicine	Hospital, mental hospital, health clinic, medical office, pharmacy; medical research facility; nursing home, hospice
Defense	Military base or facility
Landscape	Park, garden, plaza; street furniture or object
Transportation	Rail-related (e.g., Muni or BART station, train, line); road-related (e.g., street, bridge, parking lot/garage); pedestrian-related (e.g., walkway, trail)
Legacy Business	Legacy Businesses are "establishments [that] have achieved longevity of 40 years or more, possess distinctive architecture or interior design, and contribute to a sense of history in the surrounding neighborhood."

All property types apply to the nine themes presented in Chapter 2 of this report, but only certain functions or uses will be applicable under each theme. The tables in the following section list functions and uses applicable under each theme.

II. FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATING LGBTQ PROPERTIES IN SAN FRANCISCO

The nine tables on the following pages can be used by San Francisco Planning Department staff, preservation professionals, and community members for guidance on evaluating properties related to LGBTQ history in San Francisco. The tables are organized by the nine historic themes presented in Chapter 2: LGBTQ History. Each table contains the following information: summary of significance for the theme; common property functions that are representative of the theme; period of significance; applicable California Register and National Register criteria, along with examples of properties potentially significant under each of the criteria; and eligibility requirements, which provide nuanced guidance on how to evaluate significance of certain property functions under a particular theme.

The following tables are meant to provide a framework for understanding how potential historic resources relate to themes presented in LGBTQ Historic Context Statement. In cases where a potential resource is one of many similar property types throughout San Francisco (e.g., gay bars), a historic resource assessment should entail nuanced analysis and judgment. For example, evaluating a building that housed an LGBTQ bar during the 1970s will require taking into account the importance of bars as gathering places for queer people, but also the fact that one's experience in bars was shaped by such variables as gender identity, race, and class. Therefore, preserving one bar would not reflect the complexity of LGBTQ lives from that era. Furthermore, given that bars that welcomed women, people of color, and those who identified as bisexual or transgender were far outnumbered by bars catering to white, gay men, assessments of potential resources that reflect these marginalized communities should be conducted with their relative scarcity in mind.

Theme 1: Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (19th Century to 1950s)

Significance

Historic properties representing the theme of "Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities" are significant for an association with: 19th and early 20th century medical theories and literature relating to understanding LGBTQ gender, sexuality, and homosocial and homosexual relationships; early sex laws and policing, including 19th and 20th century vagrancy and sodomy laws; the Gold Rush period and its influence on nonnormative sexual activity and gender presentation; cross-gender entertainment and identities; Progressive Era women's reform movements; and bohemianism, including arts and literature. Sites associated with Native American two-spirits would be significant under this theme. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities" may be comprised of the following functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Governmental, Educational, Religious, Funerary, Recreational, Cultural, Industrial, Health Care, Defense, Landscape, and Transportation. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	19th Century to 1950s

National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	The commercial building at 574 Pacific Avenue is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 for its association with 19th century cross-gender entertainment. The building housed a dancehall called The Dash in 1908 and is the only known extant example of a Barbary Coast establishment that featured female impersonators and homosexual sex for sale.
Criterion B/2	The landscape of Ocean Beach is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 for its association with bohemian lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow, author of the first published book of lesbian poetry in the U.S. Gidlow said she wrote some of her "best poems" at Ocean Beach.
Criterion C/3	The domestic building at 1037-39 Broadway is potentially significant under Criterion C/3 for its association with groundbreaking lesbian architect Emily Williams. The Broadway residence was the San Francisco home of Williams and her lifelong romantic partner, metal artist Lillian Palmer.
Criterion D/4	Archaeological sites associated with Native Americans in San Francisco are potentially significant under Criterion D/4 for their potential to reveal information about two-spirit people among the Ohlone.
Consideration A	Criteria Consideration A could be applicable for religious sites of historical importance that are associated with this theme.

Consideration C	Because so many of the sites associated with this theme pre-date the 1906 earthquake and are not extant, Criteria Consideration C could be applicable for birthplaces of historical figures if there are no other extant properties associated with the person's life.

Eligibility Requirements

Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in early influences on LGBTQ identities and communities in San Francisco during the period of significance. Properties associated with this theme are relatively rare, and therefore consideration should be given to lowering requirements for integrity.

When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events. If there are no other properties that can be tied to an important individual, an individual's residence can be potentially significant.

Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

Theme 2: Early Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early 20th Century to 1960s)

Significance

Historic properties representing the theme of "Early Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco" are significant for an association with: development of bar-based communities in San Francisco's bars, restaurants, and nightclubs; development of sex-based cultures and communities in bathhouses and public spaces throughout the city; and community development in private residences and at private parties. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "Early Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco" may be comprised of the following property functions: Domestic, Commercial, Recreational, Cultural, Defense, Landscape, Transportation, and Legacy Business. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	Early 20th century to 1960s

National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	The residential hotel at 166 Turk Street is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 for its association with development of sex-based cultures and communities in San Francisco. The El Rosa Hotel, as it was called in the 1960s, was one of the only residential hotels in San Francisco to provide housing for transgender sex workers.
Criterion B/2	The commercial building at 710 Montgomery Street is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 for its association with gay rights pioneer José Julio Sarria. From 1933 to 1963, the building housed the Black Cat Café, where Sarria became famous for his drag performances. Sarria used the Black Cat as headquarters for his historic campaign for city supervisor in 1961.
Criterion C/3	The murals at the building that housed the Paper Doll at 524 Union Street were reportedly created by North Beach artists including Emmy Lou Packard. If extant, the murals are potentially significant under Criterion C/3 for association with the development of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco.
Criterion D/4	Subsurface material at 299 Broadway is potentially significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to reveal information about Tommy's 299 Club, a lesbian bar located on the site from 1948 to 1952. Tommy's was the first lesbian bar in San Francisco owned by an openly lesbian woman, Tommy Vasu.

Eligibility Requirements
Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in the early development of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco during the period of significance. Properties associated with this theme are relatively rare, and therefore consideration should be given to lowering requirements for integrity. When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events. If there are no other properties that can be tied to an important individual, an individual's residence can be potentially significant. Landscapes and open spaces could be significant under this theme for their association with development of sex-based culture and communities in San Francisco (i.e., sites of cruising, hustling, and sex in public). Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

Theme 3: Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to 1960s)

Significance

Historic properties representing the theme of "Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities" are significant for an association with: bar raids and policing (including military policing during World War II); federal, state, and local anti-homosexual laws and politics; significant court cases and legal battles; and early efforts by the LGBTQ communities to fight back against oppression. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities" may be comprised of the following property functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Governmental, Educational, Religious, Recreational, Cultural, Health Care, Defense, Landscape, and Transportation. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	1930s to 1960s

Applicable National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	The social hall at 625 Polk Street known as California Hall is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 for its association with the Council on Religion and the Homosexual's New Year's Eve Mardi Gras fundraiser in 1964, one of the worst cases of homophobic police harassment in the city's history.
Criterion B/2	The commercial building at 585 Post Street is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 for an association with William Morrell, owner of the 585 Club, a gay bar at the site from 1952 until 1961. Morrell is significant as the first gay-bar owner to take a stand against police demanding payoffs in exchange for not harassing gay bars. Morrell's historic fight against the police resulted in what is now known as the Gayola Scandal.
Criterion C/3	Potentially applicable but no examples surfaced during research.
Criterion D/4	Subsurface material at 900 Bush Street is potentially significant for its potential to reveal information about the Tay-Bush Inn, a gay bar located at the site in the early 1960s. The largest gay bar raid in San Francisco's history happened at the Tay-Bush in 1961. Over 100 people, mostly lesbians, were arrested.
Consideration A	Criteria Consideration A could be applicable for religious sites of historical importance that are associated with this theme. One example is Glide Memorial Church, which was instrumental in the founding of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual and played a significant role in the fight against police oppression after the California Hall New Year's Eve raid in 1964.

Eligibility Requirements
Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in policing and harassment of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco during the period of significance. Properties associated with this theme are relatively rare, and therefore consideration should be given to lowering requirements for integrity. When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events. If there are no other properties that can be tied to an important individual, an individual's residence can be potentially significant. Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

Theme 4: Homophile Movements (1950s to 1960s)

Significance

Historic properties representing the theme of "Homophile Movements" are significant for an association with the development of homophile organizations in San Francisco, such as the Mattachine Society, the Daughters of Bilitis, the League for Civil Education, the Society for Individual Rights, and the Council on Religion and the Homosexual. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "Homophile Movements" may be comprised of the following property functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Governmental, Educational, Religious, Recreational, Cultural, Industrial, Health Care, Defense, Landscape, and Transportation. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	1950s to 1960s

Applicable National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	The social hall at 83 Sixth Street is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 for its association with the development of homophile organizations in San Francisco. The hall was the headquarters and community center for the Society for Individual Rights from 1966 through the 1970s. It was the first gay community center in the country.
Criterion B/2	The residence at 651 Duncan Street is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 as the longtime home of gay rights pioneers and co-founders of the Daughters of Bilitis, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin.
Criterion C/3	Potentially applicable but no examples surfaced during research.
Criterion D/4	Subsurface material at 117 Turk Street is potentially significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to reveal information about the Turk Street Temple. In the summer of 1899, Emma Goldman, an early advocated for gay rights, lectured at the Turk Street Temple while on a lecture tour of the U.S.
Consideration A	Criteria Consideration A could be applicable for religious sites of historical importance that are associated with this theme. One example is Glide Memorial Church, which was instrumental in the founding of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual.

Eligibility Requirements
Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in Homophile movements in San Francisco during the period of significance. Properties associated with this theme are relatively rare, and therefore consideration should be given to lowering requirements for integrity. When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events. If there are no other properties that can be tied to an important individual, an individual's residence can be potentially significant. Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

Theme 5: Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods (1960s to 1980s)

Significance

Historic properties representing the theme of "Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods" are significant for an association with the transformation and growth of existing LGBTQ enclaves, such as North Beach and the Tenderloin, and the development of new LGBTQ neighborhoods, like Polk Street, Haight-Ashbury, South of Market, Mission-Valencia, and the Castro. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods" may be comprised of the following property functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Educational, Religious, Funerary, Recreational, Cultural, Health Care, Landscape, Transportation, and Legacy Business. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	1960s to 1980s

Applicable National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	The commercial building at 2111 Polk Street is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 for its association with the development of Polk Street as an LGBTQ enclave in the 1960s. In the mid-1960s, the building housed a bar called the Jumpin' Frog, which in 1964 was featured in a highly influential *Life Magazine* article that called San Francisco the "Gay Capital of America." The article was one of a handful of factors that contributed to Polk Street's rise as a gay enclave.
Criterion B/2	The commercial building at 937 Cole Street is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 for its association with Rikki Streicher, one of San Francisco's most influential and successful lesbian businesswomen. The building was home to Maud's, Rikki's first lesbian bar in the city, from the 1960s to 1980s.
Criterion C/3	Potentially applicable but no examples surfaced during research.
Criterion D/4	Subsurface material at 399 4th Street is potentially significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to reveal information about the Tool Box, the leather bar that was on the site from the early 1960s to 1971 when it was demolished. The Tool Box was one of San Francisco's earliest and most popular leather bars. In 1964, it was featured in a highly influential *Life Magazine* article that called San Francisco the "Gay Capital of America."
Consideration A	Criteria Consideration A could be applicable for religious sites of historical importance that are associated with this theme.

Consideration G	Neighborhoods such as the Mission-Valencia and the Castro developed in the 1970s and 1980s, so Criteria Consideration G would be applicable for sites associated with exceptionally important events or individuals related to LGBTQ enclaves that developed within the past fifty years.

Eligibility Requirements

Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in the evolution of LGBTQ enclaves and development of new neighborhoods in San Francisco during the period of significance. Within this theme, there are multiple examples of certain property types. Using bars as an example, sites that would rise to exceptional significance would be places such as the Elephant Walk, a Castro neighborhood bar where an important battle with San Francisco police took place.

Properties with significance to LGBTQ history in San Francisco often had relatively brief periods of association with relevant events, individuals, and organizations (for more on this see Notes on Integrity). Therefore, short-tenure should not be a factor weighing against significance when evaluating a particular property under this theme. One example of an exceptionally important short-lived bar is the Why Not, San Francisco's first leather bar, which operated for a few months in 1962 at 518 Ellis Street.

When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events. If there are no other properties that can be tied to an important individual, an individual's residence can be potentially significant. As an example of evaluating significance of a residence associated with an individual, several residences in San Francisco are associated with lesbian businesswoman Rikki Streicher, but the places of business associated with her (e.g., lesbian bars Maud's and Amelia's) would be the obvious properties associated with her significance.

Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

Theme 6: Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to 1990s)

Significance

Historic properties representing the theme of "Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics" are significant for an association with: gay rights and gay liberation movements beginning in the 1960s; gay pride; community power gained through LGBTQ politics and politicians; homophobic violence against LGBTQ people; and resistance to oppression. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics" may be comprised of the following property functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Governmental, Educational, Religious, Recreational, Cultural, Industrial, Health Care, Defense, Landscape, Transportation, and Legacy Business. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	1960s to 1990s

Applicable National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	Market Street from the Embarcadero to the Castro is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 as the walking route for exceptionally important LGBTQ pride events, such as the annual Gay Pride parade beginning in 1977; and exceptionally important vigils and marches, such as the candlelight vigil from the Castro to Civic Center the night of Harvey Milk and George Moscone's assassinations in 1978; and the White Night Riot march from the Castro to Civic Center in 1979 after assassin Dan White avoided a first-degree murder charge.
Criterion B/2	The mixed-use building at 573-575 Castro Street is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 as the residence, workplace and campaign office of gay civil rights leader Harvey Milk. From 1973-1978 the property's first floor housed Milk's Castro Camera shop and was the center for his four campaigns for public office, including his 1978 victory in an election for San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Milk lived in the upstairs flat at 573 Castro from 1975-1978. The building may be exceptionally significant for its association with Milk's rise to local and national prominence as a leader of the gay and lesbian civil rights movement.
Criterion C/3	The former Bulldog Baths at 132 Turk Street had elaborate murals by gay artists, including M. Brooks Jones. Now in the collection of the GLBT Historical Society, the murals are potentially significant under Criterion C/3 for their association with development of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco.

Criterion D/4	Subsurface material under 330 Grove Street is potentially significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to reveal information about the Gay Community Center that occupied the former photo processing building from approximately 1968-1975. 330 Grove was used as a multi-faceted community center providing meeting and exhibition space, as well as a venue for performing arts that included LGBTQ people. The building was leased from the Redevelopment Agency by a series of community groups, which bought the building in the mid-1960s. It was demolished in 1981 to make way for the Performing Arts Garage.
Consideration A	Criteria Consideration A could be applicable for religious sites of historical importance that are associated with this theme, such as the Metropolitan Community Church at 150 Eureka Street.
Consideration G	Criteria Consideration G would be applicable for properties associated with exceptionally important events or individuals who achieved significance within the past fifty years.

Eligibility Requirements

Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in gay liberation, pride, and politics in San Francisco during the period of significance. Within this theme there are multiple examples of certain property types.

Properties with significance to LGBTQ history in San Francisco often had relatively brief periods of association with relevant events, individuals, and organizations (for more on this see Notes on Integrity). Therefore, short-tenure should not be a factor weighing against significance when evaluating a particular property under this theme.

When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events.

Landscapes and open space are particularly important under this theme because of their role as setting for exceptionally significant protest marches and parades.

Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

Theme 7: Building LGBTQ Communities (1960s to 1990s)

Significance

Historic properties representing the theme of "Building LGBTQ Communities" are significant for an association with development of a broad definition of community: social interaction; sports; entertainment; commerce; sex; religion and spirituality; education; and history. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "Building LGBTQ Communities" may be comprised of the following property functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Governmental, Educational, Religious, Recreational, Cultural, Industrial, Health Care, Landscape, Transportation, and Legacy Business. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	1960s to 1990s

Applicable National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	The social building at 3543 18th Street is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 for its association with events that took place at The Women's Building. Originally constructed as a hall for German and then Norwegian communities of San Francisco, the structure was repurposed in 1979 as The Women's Building. Since then it has been an anchor of the histories of women, feminists, people of color, lesbians, and queer and progressive groups more generally in San Francisco. The Women's Building, which was created by a predominately lesbian group, may be exceptionally important as one of the very few surviving centers for women created during the 1970s and second-wave feminism.
Criterion B/2	The residential building at 141–143 Albion Street is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 for its association with Gay Games founder Dr. Tom Waddell from 1975 to his death in 1987. Waddell and his partner Charles Deaton had received national attention when they were featured in *People* magazine's "Couples" section in October 1976, an early depiction of gay partnership in a national publication. By 1981, Waddell, a former Olympic decathlete began hosting meetings at his home that initiated the 1982 Gay Games (originally called the Gay Olympics). The Gay Games challenged stereotypes about gays and lesbians and have continued as an international event. Waddell's life was also notable for his decision, with lesbian athlete and businesswoman Sara Lewenstein, to become parents to a daughter born in 1983, when such co-parenting arrangements were highly unusual.
Criterion C/3	Works by LGBTQ architects or designers could be significant under Criterion C/3 under this theme if they are determined to be of exceptional significance.

Criterion D/4	If the building that once housed exceptionally significant lesbian bar Amelia's at 645 Valencia Street is demolished, subsurface material is potentially significant under Criterion D/4 for its potential to reveal information about the lesbian community in the Mission District.
Consideration A	Criteria Consideration A could be applicable for religious sites of historical importance that are associated with this theme.
Consideration G	Criteria Consideration G would be applicable for properties associated with exceptionally important events or individuals who achieved significance within the past fifty years.

Eligibility Requirements

Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in building LGBTQ communities in San Francisco during the period of significance. Within this theme there are multiple examples of certain property types, such as bars. Compared to bars for white gay men, there were relatively few that served as gathering places for people of color, lesbians, and people who identified as bisexual and transgender. Therefore, this aspect of rarity should be considered when evaluating properties for potential significance.

Properties with significance to LGBTQ history in San Francisco often had relatively brief periods of association with relevant events, individuals, and organizations (for more on this see Notes on Integrity). Therefore, short-tenure should not be a factor weighing against significance when evaluating a particular property under this theme.

When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events. If there are no other properties that can be tied to an important individual, a residence can be potentially significant. For example, if no other sites associated with pioneering historian Allan Bérubé are extant, the home he purchased in the Castro District with monies from his MacArthur Genius grant would be potentially significant.

Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

Theme 8: LGBTQ Medicine (1940s to 1970s)

Significance

Historic properties representing the theme of "LGBTQ Medicine" are significant for an association with: events related to LGBTQ medicine and health; and progress in medicine, especially in the area of transgender medicine and health. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "LGBTQ Medicine" may be comprised of the following property functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Governmental, Educational, Cultural, Industrial, and Health Care. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	1940s to 1970s

Applicable National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	The medical building at 401 Parnassus Avenue is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 for its association with the Langley Porter Clinic (later the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute), which helped to make San Francisco an important center for the study of gender and sexuality. The clinic's founding director, Dr. Karl Bowman, collaborated on a number of studies on homosexuality in the 1950s and 1960s, including "The Problem of Homosexuality." Beginning in the 1940s, Bowman and his colleague Louise Lawrence made Langley Porter an international hub for research and medical care for transgender people.
Criterion B/2	The office building at 450 Sutter Street is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 for its association with Dr. Harry Benjamin, a groundbreaking endocrinologist and influential advocate of both medical treatment and social respect for transgender people. New York-based Benjamin kept a medical office in San Francisco during the summers from the 1930s to the 1970s. Benjamin popularized the term transsexual and publicly defended homosexual rights and the rights of transgender people to medical support rather than psychiatric "cures." Benjamin published his influential book, *The Transsexual Phenomenon,* in 1966.
Criterion C/3	Potentially applicable but no examples surfaced during research.
Criterion D/4	Potentially applicable but no examples surfaced during research.
Consideration A	Criteria Consideration A could be applicable for religious sites of historical importance that are associated with this theme.
Consideration G	Criteria Consideration G would be applicable for properties associated with exceptionally important events or individuals who achieved significance within the past fifty years.

Eligibility Requirements
Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in the evolution of LGBTQ medicine in San Francisco during the period of significance. Many associated properties are medical facilities that are required to change over time to meet more stringent codes, and therefore consideration should be given to lowering requirements for integrity. Properties with significance to LGBTQ history in San Francisco often had relatively brief periods of association with relevant events, individuals, and organizations (for more on this see Notes on Integrity). Therefore, short-tenure should not be a factor weighing against significance when evaluating a particular property under this theme. When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events. If there are no other properties that can be tied to an important individual, their residence can be potentially significant. Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

Theme 9: San Francisco's AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 1990s)

Significance and Associated Property Types

Historic properties representing the theme of "San Francisco's AIDS Epidemic" are significant for an association with the AIDS epidemic in San Francisco. See Chapter 2: LGBTQ History for historic contexts related to this theme.

Historic properties representing the theme of "San Francisco's AIDS Epidemic" may be comprised of the following property functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Governmental, Educational, Religious, Funerary, Recreational, Cultural, Health Care, and Landscape. For a full list of property functions associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, see the table at the beginning of this section.

Period of Significance	1981 to 1990s

Applicable National Register and California Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

Criteria	**Example**
Criterion A/1	The entrance to 50 United Nations Plaza is potentially significant under Criterion A/1 for its association with the AIDS/ARC Vigil. On October 27, 1985, several protesters with AIDS chained themselves to the doors of the federal building housing the regional office of Health and Human Services in what has been described as the first use of civil disobedience against the AIDS epidemic anywhere in the world. Protesters demanded that the U.S government increase funding for research, care and social services. The AIDS/ARC Vigil became a round-the-clock encampment that lasted ten years and brought powerful visibility to people with AIDS due to the vigil's prominent location.
Criterion B/2	The Ambassador Hotel at 55 Mason Street is potentially significant under Criterion B/2 for its association with prominent gay rights and AIDS activist Hank Wilson. As residents of the 150-unit hotel began to suffer from HIV/AIDS, Wilson, who lived in and ran the Ambassador, enlisted individuals and organizations to care for these patients. Together they pioneered a new harm-reduction model for caring for people with AIDS and substance addictions who often did not meet criteria for services by other AIDS organizations. Eventually one third of the Ambassador's residents were HIV-positive or had full-blown AIDS, and an entire floor of the hotel was set up as a hospice for those dying of the disease. Wilson, along with others, organized one of the first public AIDS demonstrations as a Candlelight March from the Castro to Civic Center on May 2, 1983, behind the banner "Fighting for Our Lives."
Criterion C/3	The "Life of Christ" triptych altarpiece in Grace Cathedral's Interfaith AIDS Memorial Chapel was artist Keith Haring's last artwork completed just weeks before his death from AIDS. This artwork is potentially exceptionally significant under Criterion C/3 for its association with important gay artist Keith Haring.

Criterion D/4	Potentially applicable but no examples surfaced during research.
Consideration A	Criteria Consideration A could be applicable for religious sites of historical importance that are associated with this theme.
Consideration F	Criteria Consideration F would be applicable for properties that are primarily commemorative in intent—if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance. The National AIDS Memorial Grove in Golden Gate Park is an example.
Consideration G	Criteria Consideration G would be applicable for properties associated with exceptionally important events or individuals who achieved significance within the past fifty years.

Eligibility Requirements

Properties significant under this theme must be directly associated with an event, individual, organization, or institution that played an important role in the San Francisco AIDS epidemic during the period of significance.

Within this theme there are multiple examples of certain property types, such as storefronts and offices that provided space for AIDS organizations and service providers. In these cases, special consideration should be given to properties associated with exceptionally significant organizations and individuals, and those associated with underrepresented LGBTQ groups.

Many associated properties are medical facilities that are required to change over time to meet more stringent codes, and therefore consideration should be given to lowering requirements for integrity.

Properties with significance to LGBTQ history in San Francisco often had relatively brief periods of association with relevant events, individuals, and organizations (for more on this see Notes on Integrity). Therefore, short-tenure should not be a factor weighing against significance when evaluating a particular property under this theme.

When evaluating a residence associated with an individual significant under this theme, the property must have been their primary place of residence during their productive life or site of an important event or series of events. If there are no other properties that can be tied to an important individual, their residence can be potentially significant.

Important Note: For all property types under this theme, special consideration should be given to places associated with particularly underrepresented communities including people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

III. NOTES ON INTEGRITY[1733]

When a resource is determined to be potentially eligible for listing in the California Register or National Register, its historic integrity must be evaluated. The National Park Service defines historic integrity as the "ability of a property to convey its significance," or more broadly as "the authenticity of a property's historic identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic or prehistoric period."[1734] As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the National Register defines the seven primary aspects of integrity as location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, association, and feeling.[1735]

Evaluating integrity is similar for both the California Register and the National Register, although the state standards provide more flexibility in assessing degrees of integrity. Properties that may not retain sufficient integrity to meet the criteria for listing in the National Register may still be eligible for listing in the California Register.[1736] This flexibility is particularly important for evaluating sites associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco. Historians such as Judith Wellman and Raymond Rast have described how existing applications of integrity standards favor aesthetic values and physical characteristics dating to the property's period of significance.[1737] This can prevent full consideration of properties whose significance stems from cultural practices, specific historic events, or broad patterns of events, especially those of marginalized communities such as LGBTQ people.

Because so many aspects of LGBTQ history were intentionally buried or hidden, the luxuries of physical visibility and longevity-in-place were not available until relatively recently. Even as LGBTQ history became more public, properties with significance to this history in San Francisco often had relatively brief periods of association with relevant events, individuals, and organizations. Events important to LGBTQ political, social, and cultural history often took place in spaces owned by others that were made available on a one-time or short-term basis. LGBTQ rights organizations of the 1950 to 1980s were often run on shoestring budgets; groups usually operated out of buildings they did not own, and they moved frequently to reduce rental costs or to remain hidden.

Ray Rast argues that the very premise that resources can and should always convey their significance through their physical fabric is flawed.[1738] Very few sites important to LGBTQ history in San Francisco will express their historic associations solely through their physical fabric, so integrity of design, workmanship, and materials are not generally critical when evaluating a property. Instead, the important aspects of integrity for most LGBTQ resources are location, feeling, and association. Location contributes an important aspect of a resource's physical record of events and patterns; where sites associated with LGBTQ history took place can reveal important information. Feeling is a relatively subjective criterion based on the property's ability to express a sense of its

1733 Donna Graves and Shayne Watson are grateful to UC Berkeley Ph.D. candidate Elaine Brown Stiles for her insight and contributions to this section. With support from UC Berkeley's Arcus Foundation Endowment, Stiles wrote a white paper on integrity titled, "Integrity Considerations in Evaluating LGBTQ Historic Sites."

1734 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: 2002), 44.

1735 Ibid.

1736 California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #6, California Register and National Register: A Comparison* (Sacramento, CA: 2004).

1737 Judith Wellman, "The Underground Railroad and the National Register of Historic Places: Historical Importance vs. Architectural Integrity," *The Public Historian* (February 2002), 11-29. See also Raymond W. Rast, "A Matter of Alignment: Methods to Match the Goals of the Preservation Movement," *Forum Journal* 28, (Spring 2014), 13-22.

1738 Rast, "A Matter of Alignment," *Forum Journal*.

period of significance. Association is the connection between a property and the historic patterns, events, and people related to it. In evaluating LGBTQ sites, it is important to recognize that associational qualities are not usually conveyed by the resource itself, but by scholarly and popular historical narratives, oral histories, photographs, continued use, interpretive projects (including plaques), and other means that connect the property to its significance.

Many civic or religious buildings associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco, such as San Francisco City Hall or Glide Memorial Church, have been well preserved and demonstrate all seven aspects of integrity outlined by the National Register guidelines. However, few places associated with this history have received official recognition or designation; of San Francisco's hundreds of landmarked resources, only a small handful were designated for their LGBTQ associations. Lack of this type of recognition and protection has been among the factors that have led to alteration, and even loss, of many historic buildings. In his book *Place, Race and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (2009), historian and preservationist Ned Kaufman argues that protecting historic resources that survive, even without high integrity, is crucial to preserving the diverse histories that make up American heritage.[1739]

Evaluating Integrity of Physical Spaces

Integrity evaluations of properties significant to LGBTQ history in San Francisco should be handled on a case-by-case basis, but there are a few things to keep in mind for all evaluations. Many properties significant to LGBTQ history in San Francisco have undergone extensive changes in ownership and tenants over the years. Building styles and functions often change over time. Commercial storefronts are commonly reconfigured. Because of this, properties significant to LGBTQ history may present substantial exterior and interior alterations—but exterior and interior alterations alone should not disqualify a property for eligibility. Most properties significant to LGBTQ history in San Francisco are eligible for their associations with important people, organizations, events or patterns of events, or cultural or social traditions. The aspects of integrity important for such properties are location, association, and feeling. Aspects that are less critical are design, setting, materials, and workmanship. It is also worth noting that standard historic preservation guidance acknowledges that material alterations or changes to a property "may themselves have historical, cultural, or architectural significance."[1740]

Evaluating Integrity of Landscapes and Open Spaces

When evaluating the integrity of landscapes and open spaces, the most important aspects of integrity are location, association, setting, and feeling. An open space may maintain historic associations through the retention of certain features, such as a wooded area used for cruising. Also important to the integrity of open spaces is the aspect of materials, which in some cases may be somewhat impermanent if they include elements of vegetation. See *National Register Bulletin 18: How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes*.

1739 Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009), passim.

1740 California Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #7, How to Nominate a Resource to the California Register of Historical Resources* (Sacramento, CA: 2001), 11.

Evaluating Integrity of Rare Property Functions

When evaluators face questions of a rare property function and its integrity, comparative analysis of extant properties associated with the relevant contexts should be conducted to determine the level of integrity needed for designation. A building that represent one of the last remaining examples of a post-Prohibition bar, for example, would justify a lower threshold for integrity when evaluating eligibility for National and California Registers.

CHAPTER 6.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROTECTING AND INTERPRETING LGBTQ HISTORIC PROPERTIES IN SAN FRANCISCO

I. INTRODUCTION

The Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco is not intended to be an all-inclusive history of San Francisco's LGBTQ communities. It was developed to serve as a first step in documenting the historic properties associated with the events, people, and organizations that define this important history. The following recommendations are intended to inform decision-makers and community members about possible next steps to protect and interpret LGBTQ historic properties in San Francisco.

II. CONTINUE TO IDENTIFY, DOCUMENT, AND DESIGNATE LGBTQ HISTORIC PROPERTIES IN SAN FRANCISCO

COMPLETE A HISTORIC RESOURCE SURVEY OF LGBTQ SITES IN SAN FRANCISCO

A historic resources survey (survey) is the act of identifying and gathering data on a community's cultural and resources. Surveys include a first phase of documenting potential historic properties in the field, and a second phase of creating an inventory in which the survey data can be organized. The final phase is evaluation of the surveyed properties, which includes determining whether the properties meet the criteria of historical, architectural, archaeological, or cultural significance.

The authors of this report recommend funding a citywide LGBTQ cultural heritage survey that would result in a comprehensive list of properties with important ties to San Francisco's LGBTQ communities. A survey would record and evaluate in detail historic properties identified in this context statement, locate additional LGBTQ historic properties, and create the framework for landmarking at the local, state, and national levels.

If a citywide survey cannot be undertaken, smaller neighborhood-based surveys should be evaluated as time or funding allows. Priority neighborhoods include the Mission-Valencia and South of Market areas where new development threatens many potential historic resources. Neighborhood surveys would also aid in the development of district boundaries for landmarking purposes and for the development of Special Use and Community Benefit Districts.

DESIGNATE CITY, STATE, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL LANDMARKS

It is time that San Francisco's essential place in queer history receives appropriate national and even international recognition. Sites such as the Black Cat Café, the home of Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, Compton's Cafeteria, Castro Camera/Harvey Milk Residence, The Women's Building, and The NAMES Project building are among the most obvious local sites that appear eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, or even as National Historic Landmarks. More sites should be evaluated for their eligibility to these rosters, and support for developing nominations should be assembled so that San Francisco is accurately represented in federal landmark registers. A case could also be made that San Francisco is of international importance as a place for queer cultural expression and political organizing, and a long-standing beacon of possibility for LGBTQ people.

Based on the results of the citywide LGBTQ cultural heritage survey proposed above, as well as the recommendations contained within the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, the City, in conjunction with community stakeholders, could pursue the registration of properties associated with San Francisco's LGBTQ communities as local landmarks or landmark districts, as well as listing in the

National Register of Historic Places. Currently, there are only three City Landmarks designated for significant associations with LGBTQ San Francisco:

- Harvey Milk Residence/Castro Camera 573-575 Castro Street
- NAMES Project/AIDS Quilt Founding Site 2362 Market Street
- Twin Peaks Tavern 401 Castro Street

There are no properties listed in the National Register in San Francisco that were nominated for their association with LGBTQ culture or history. The following is a list of properties identified in the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement that may be eligible for City Landmark, California Register, or National Register status.[1741]

- AIDS Foundation 520 Castro Street
- 585 Club 585 Post Street
- Ambassador Hotel 55 Mason Street
- Atlas Savings and Loan 1967 Market Street
- Baker Street Club Scandal Site 2531-2533 Baker Street
- Beige Room 831 Broadway Street
- Bisexual Center 544 Market Street
- Castro Rock Steam Baths 582 Castro Street
- Center for Special Problems 2107 Van Ness Avenue
- Clarkson Crane Residence 34 Joice Street
- Club Fugazi 678 Green Street
- Coming Home Hospice 115 Diamond Street
- Compton's Cafeteria 101 Taylor Street
- Daughters of Bilitis Founding Site 53 Venus Street
- El Rosa Hotel 166 Turk Street
- Embarcadero YMCA 169 Steuart Street
- Emily Williams/Lillian Palmer Residence 1037-1039 Broadway Street
- Finocchio's 506 Broadway Street
- Full Moon Coffeehouse 4416 18th Street
- Gay Community Center 32 Page Street
- Glide Memorial Church 330 Ellis Street
- Gordon's 840 Sansome Street
- Hotel Whitcomb 1231 Market Street

1741 This list excludes properties that have been previously designated as San Francisco Landmarks or as contributors to San Francisco Historic Districts but for non-LGBTQ significance. The list includes properties that are listed in the National Register or as contributors to National Register Historic Districts but not listed as San Francisco Landmarks or as contributors to San Francisco Historic Districts. For a list of properties significant to LGBTQ that have been designated at the local level for non-LGBTQ reasons, see section below titled "Expand Significance for Existing San Francisco Landmarks and Historic Districts."

- Institute for the Advanced Study of Human Sexuality — 1523 Franklin Street
- Jack's Turkish Baths — 1143 Post Street
- Japantown YWCA — 1830 Sutter Street
- King Ubu/Six Gallery — 3119 Fillmore Street
- Langley Porter Clinic — 401 Parnassus Avenue
- Lesbian Rights Project — 1370 Mission Street
- Maud's — 937 Cole Street
- Metropolitan Community Church — 150 Eureka Street
- Missouri Mule — 2348 Market Street
- Mona's 440 Club — 440 Broadway Street
- Nob Hill Cinema & Arcade — 729 Bush Street
- Office of Harry Benjamin, M.D. — 450 Sutter Street
- Old Crow — 962 Market Street
- Paper Doll — 524 Union Street
- Phyllis Lyon/Del Martin Home — 651 Duncan Street
- Pride Center — 890 Hayes Street
- Queen Mary's Pub/Aunt Charlie's — 133 Turk Street
- Robert Duncan/Jess Residence — 3267 20th Street
- San Francisco General Hospital — 1001 Potrero Avenue
- San Francisco Turkish Baths — 229 Ellis Street
- Scottish Rite Hall — 1320 Van Ness Avenue
- Sha'ar Zahav — 220 Danvers Street
- Silver Rail — 974 Market Street
- S.I.R. Community Center — 83 Sixth Street
- Suzy-Q — 1741 Polk Street
- The Gangway — 841 Larkin Street
- Tom Waddell Residence — 141-143 Albion Street
- Tommy's Place/12 Adler Place — 529 Broadway Street
- Valencia Rose Café — 766 Valencia Street

This list is not meant to be all-inclusive. It is intended to serve as a sampling of the types of properties that are eligible for local, state, or national designation. If a property mentioned in the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is not listed above, it does not mean that it is ineligible for landmarking. Any property mentioned in the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement should be considered potentially significant to LGBTQ history.

Potential landmarks included in the list above would required further research and integrity analyses to determine whether they qualify for local landmark status. If a property qualifies for landmark status, it would be necessary to obtain the permission of the religious congregations to

nominate any of the churches. Furthermore, the City could decide not to proceed with nominating non-religious properties if their property owners object to the nomination.

DESIGNATE LGBTQ HISTORIC DISTRICTS

The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement deepens the understanding of the four areas identified as potential historic districts in San Francisco's first LGBTQ historic context statement, "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979" (2004): North Beach, Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, and Castro. Each of these neighborhoods holds clusters of extant resources that should be more carefully documented to determine the boundaries and periods of significance for each potential district. "Sexing the City" also pointed to concentrations of LGBTQ historic sites in the South of Market area and the Mission District. It is recommended that these neighborhoods receive similar attention, particularly for their associations with San Francisco's historic leather community, queer Latinos, and the concentration of lesbian cultural, political, and social spaces along the Valencia Street corridor.

Consideration should be given to the development of thematic historic districts to allow for the possibility of documenting resources that are related thematically but not located within contiguous districts. An example of this would be a citywide lesbian historic district that includes resources from the 1930s to 1950s in North Beach and sites related to the lesbian community in the Mission District and Haight-Ashbury area in the 1960s to 1990s. A second example is a discontiguous citywide historic district of sites associated with transgender history from the 1940s to the 1990s.

Designation of historic districts requires intensive research to determine historic district boundaries and periods of significance. LGBTQ historic districts, in addition to and including the areas mentioned above, may be identified as a result of future surveys and research.

EXPAND SIGNIFICANCE FOR EXISTING SAN FRANCISCO LANDMARKS AND HISTORIC DISTRICTS

Information in this report can guide efforts to expand statements of significance in existing San Francisco Landmark and Historic District designations. A significant number of places noted in the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement are already designated San Francisco Landmarks or are contributors to San Francisco Historic Districts. Examples of locally designated properties that are significant to LGBTQ history include the following:

- Abner-Phelps House 1111 Oak Street
- ARC/AIDS Vigil Site 50 United Nations Plaza
- Bisexual Center 544 Market Street
- Black Cat Café 710 Montgomery Street
- California Hall 625 Polk Street
- Castro Theatre 479 Castro Street
- First Unitarian Church 1187 Franklin Street
- Goodman Building 1111 Geary Boulevard
- Mission High School 3750 18th Street
- Mona's Barrel House 140 Columbus Avenue
- Osento 955 Valencia Street
- Redstone Labor Temple 2926-2948 16th Street

- St. Boniface Church 133 Golden Gate Avenue
- St. Francis Lutheran Church 152 Church Street
- Swedish American Hall 2174 Market Street
- The Dash 574 Pacific Avenue
- The Women's Building 3543 18th Street
- Trinity Episcopal Church 1668 Bush Street
- War Memorial Veterans Building 401 Van Ness Avenue
- Williams Building 693 Mission Street

Revising documentation of existing landmarks and historic districts will create a more accurate record of San Francisco's history while acknowledging the multiple layers of history embedded in much of the city's historic built and natural environments.

CONSIDER AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Shayne Watson and Donna Graves developed an extensive community outreach and engagement program and conducted targeted research to ensure that the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement represents the diverse histories of all LGBTQ communities. However, the scope of the project and the gaps in existing archives meant that some communities were very difficult to document. Graves and Watson recommend further original research on and documentation of properties associated with LGBTQ people of color, lesbians, and people who identify as transgender or bisexual.

III. DEVELOP PROGRAMS FOR INTERPRETATION AND EDUCATION

CREATE A HISTORICAL PLAQUE PROGRAM AND INTERPRETIVE EXHIBITS

In instances where a historic property associated with an important person, event, or institution is gone, the City could install a historical plaque to provide information about the history of the site. If the space is available, especially for more important properties, a larger interpretive display could be installed. Either way, the plaque or display ought to have text and images that provide a valuable and instructive experience.

Documentation, and even landmark designation, of places important to LGBTQ communities whose histories have not been given pride of place is only part of the work necessary to raise these histories in public memory. Developing powerful and sustained ways to make the histories of those sites available and relevant to people today is just as crucial. Even best efforts to steward historic sites can be incomplete if their stories are inaccurately conveyed or not told at all. The premise that physical structures can tell their own stories is embedded in the National Register and National Historic Landmark Programs, which suggest that buildings and other properties that meet high standards of integrity can "speak" to present-day visitors. Yet, the reality is that historic places cannot communicate their historic significance without interpretation or educational programs that inform the visitor.

Most of the sites documented in the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement are often modest, vernacular buildings whose physical shells do not communicate the power and value of their history. Many people who pass by the commercial building at 440 Broadway will never know about the extraordinary history of Mona's 440 Club. Even high-style buildings like the Beaux Arts 50 UN Plaza are hiding critical histories such as the AIDS/ARC vigil held there for ten years in the 1980s

and 1990s. As historian Dolores Hayden writes in her book *The Power of Place: Public Landscapes as Urban History* (1997):

> The places of everyday urban life are, by their nature, mundane, ordinary, and constantly reused, and their social and political meanings are often not obvious…. It takes a great deal of research, community involvement and inventive signing and mapping to bring these meanings out—as well as restoration—to bring these social meanings forward. But this process can lead from urban landscape history into community–based urban preservation, as understanding the past encourages residents to frame their ideas about the present and future.[1742]

Historic site interpretation can take myriad forms. The promise of new technologies as a means to recover, recall, and share histories is still unfolding. New social media including Facebook, Twitter, and Tumblr can share information broadly and allow for crowd-sourcing history, and can be an important way to engage youth in preservation. As an outgrowth of the LGBTQ Historic context statement, Donna Graves and Shayne Watson developed "California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories" (https://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/), a crowd-sourced web project that invites community members to share their own memories and research in building a fuller understanding of the California's queer historic places.

Familiar strategies of plaques and walking/driving tours can also be expanded to include interpretive artworks, performances, and film showings. Interpretive and educational projects are especially useful to mark sites where historic resources no longer stand or places important to the recent past that might not qualify for traditional landmark designation.[1743] Permanent or temporary interpretation and art projects have been shown to be powerful ways to recall histories that have been erased. Examples include the reconstruction of historic slave quarters at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, and the Pop-Up Museum of Queer History, which has organized temporary exhibits and events in New York City, Philadelphia, and Bloomington, Indiana. In circumstances where historic fabric is no longer extant and the historic meaning of a site is known to have extraordinary salience, the San Francisco Planning Department and the San Francisco Arts Commission might undertake an inter-agency project to use art to convey the resonance of a place.

In cases where preservation of a building or site is not feasible, interpretation and educational projects may serve as mitigations for demolition. To take a hypothetical example, if the site of the important leather bar Fe-Be's at 1501 Folsom Street were to be approved for a demolition permit, mitigation could include organizing a community memory-gathering event to collect stories and material associated with the bar. Assessing whether aspects of the bar's physical fabric should be preserved on site or donated elsewhere would be an important step.

CREATE EDUCATIONAL TOURS

Many of the properties listed in the previous sections are clustered geographically or thematically. In neighborhoods that have many LGBTQ historic sites—such as North Beach, the Tenderloin, Polk Street, Mission-Valencia, Haight, and Castro—walking or vehicular tours would provide valuable educational opportunities. For example, a walking tour of North Beach could include aspects of San Francisco's LGBTQ history such as the development of transgender culture through cross-gender

1742 Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 227, 59.

1743 The California Office of Historic Preservation defines site as "the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value regardless of the value of any existing building, structure, or object."

entertainment; or the beginning of institutionalized harassment of queer communities through oppressive laws and bar raids. Likewise, a tour illustrating the history of the AIDS epidemic in San Francisco could span most of the city.

Sample AIDS Epidemic Tour

- **498 Castro Street**: Former location of Star Pharmacy where handmade flyers warning of a new disease were posted in 1981.
- **520 Castro Street**: Former location of advocacy organization founded in 1982, the Kaposi's Sarcoma Research and Educational Foundation, which was renamed San Francisco AIDS Foundation.
- **Castro Street to Civic Center Via Market Street**: Route of initial AIDS Candlelight Memorial March (1983), one of the first public demonstrations about AIDS.
- **101 Grove Street**: San Francisco Department of Public Health headquarters, which coordinated City response to AIDS.
- **55 Mason Street**: Ambassador Hotel, residential hotel for people with AIDS. Pioneered "harm reduction" approach.
- **115 Diamond Street**: Former location of Coming Home Hospice, reportedly the first AIDS hospice in U.S. Created in former convent of Most Holy Redeemer Catholic Church.
- **890 Hayes Street**: Building held offices and meetings of Shanti Project, a non-profit agency that provided services to people with AIDS and trained volunteers to support them.
- **1668 Bush Street, Trinity Episcopal Church**: Former location of Project Open Hand, which delivered meals to people with AIDS.
- **380 Third Street, Former Bayview Hunters Point Foundation**: Offices/clinic of Multicultural Inquiry & Research on AIDS (MIRA), which brought public health activists of color into the AIDS medical arena in 1985 and the Black Coalition on AIDS, an education and advocacy organization founded in 1986.
- **347 Dolores Street**: Former office of CURAS (Comunidad Respueste a la SIDA/Community in Response to AIDS), which provided health education from and to LGBT Latinos.
- **50 U.N. Plaza**: Site of ARC/AIDS Vigil (1985-1995), described as the first use of civil disobedience to demand that the U.S. government increase funding for AIDS research and services.
- **150 Eureka Street, Metropolitan Community Church**: Location of meetings of Project Inform (founded 1985), which created an army of lay experts by translating highly technical knowledge into comprehensible language, and ACT-UP, which used civil disobedience tactics to draw attention to the AIDS crisis.
- **2926-2948 16th Street, Redstone Labor Temple**: Location of Theatre Rhinoceros 1984 production of *The AIDS Show, Artists Involved with Death and Survival*, a ground-breaking work coauthored by twenty San Francisco Bay Area artists.

- **747 Howard Street, Moscone Convention Center**: Site of 6th International AIDS Conference (1990) drew medical professionals, scientists and activists from around the world and drew major protests. Also the location of a display of the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt in 1987.
- **Golden Gate Park, de Laveaga Dell**: AIDS Memorial Grove, a public memorial garden initiated in 1988. In 1996, it was designated as a National Memorial, the only AIDS-related site in the county honored as a National Memorial by Congress.
- **2362 Market Street**: Former location of the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt (1987), which invited everyday people to create quilt squares for people who died of AIDS.

FUND YOUTH CULTURAL HERITAGE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Youth engagement is an essential part of maintaining cultural memory and transmitting traditional knowledge and skills from generation to generation. San Francisco Unified School District recently introduced the first LGBT studies course at Ruth Asawa San Francisco School of the Arts. The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement can provide a foundation for similar curricula and studies and research projects undertaken by students and teachers.[1744] One example could be youth-led walking tour programs, such as the "Alleyway Tours" program developed by the Chinatown Community Development Center (Chinatown CDC) in 2001 as part of its Adopt-An-Alleyway" initiative. Youth participants conduct archival research and oral history interviews and develop a tour route, script, and training manual. The "Alleyway Tour" program demonstrates the potential links between heritage tourism and community empowerment, particularly among youth.

IV. SUPPORT EXISTING AND NEW STRATEGIES TO PRESERVE HISTORIC LGBTQ PROPERTIES, NEIGHBORHOODS, AND CULTURE

The following strategies continue to be or could be implemented by City agencies, such as the Office of Economic and Workforce Development and the Planning Department. They also include tools that would need to be implemented by the community itself, via new or existing non-profit organizations or other means.

HONOR INTANGIBLE HERITAGE AND LEGACY BUSINESSES

In 2013, San Francisco Heritage, the city's main preservation advocacy group, launched a pioneering educational program called the Legacy Project. The Legacy Project is a registry of important, long-time businesses whose retention is important to the preservation of San Francisco's culture and history. Places of business that provide goods and services create some of the critical elements in any social or cultural community. The Legacy program identified 100 establishments that are at least forty years old, "possess distinctive architecture or interior design, and/or contribute to a sense of history in the surrounding neighborhood."[1745] This campaign already includes a number of LGBTQ businesses such as the Bernal Heights bar, Wild Side West, the Gangway Bar in the Tenderloin, and the Castro neighborhood restaurant Café Flore. In recent years, several factors, including a dramatic rise in commercial rents, have led to the closure of long-

1744 Laura Dudnick, "Curriculum Completed for First-Ever LGBT Studies Course at SF Public High School," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 21, 2015 http://www.sfexaminer.com/curriculum-completed-for-first-ever-lgbt-studies-course-at-sf-public-high-school/.

1745 San Francisco Heritage, "San Francisco's Legacy Bars and Restaurants," http://www.sfheritage.org/legacy/.



Map of San Francisco Heritage's Legacy Bars and Restaurants (Courtesy SF Heritage)

standing queer institutions, such as Latino drag bar Esta Noche (3079 16th Street) and the city's last full-time lesbian bar, the Lexington Club (3464 19th Street).

In 2014, San Francisco Heritage published a report "Sustaining San Francisco's Living History" that developed a framework for advocates and planners to work together to identify and protect "social heritage" resources.[1746] San Francisco's Board of Supervisors recently created a related program to create a "Legacy Business Registry" comprised of bars, restaurants, retail stores, arts, and performance spaces, and businesses engaged in production, distribution, and repair that have been located in San Francisco for at least thirty years and have contributed to the history and identity of a neighborhood or community. While a registry simply identifies important heritage businesses, the legislation tasks the Small Business Commission with recommending programs to aid in their retention that might include public education and commendation initiatives, technical assistance for business operations and property acquisition, and financial incentives such as a rebate of the City's transfer tax.[1747] A ballot measure slated for the Fall 2015 San Francisco election proposes creation of a Legacy Business Historic Preservation Fund to support some of these strategies.

It is recommended that more LGBTQ businesses be added to this program to gain heightened exposure through Heritage's Legacy program and the City's Legacy Business Registry—especially as a way to stave off closure of important queer places that cannot compete with rents as they escalate in San Francisco's hyper-speculative real estate market.

CREATE LGBTQ HERITAGE CORRIDOR SPECIAL USE DISTRICTS

The intent of a Special Use District is to help protect cultural character by requiring Planning Commission approval for many retail uses in the neighborhood. SUDs can protect cultural character of a specific community by requiring conditional use authorizations from the Planning Commission for changes in use or the merger of existing uses. To receive this conditional use authorization, the Planning Commission has to determine that the land use is compatible with the cultural and historic integrity, neighborhood character, development pattern, and design aesthetic of the neighborhood. A Japantown Special Use District was established in 2006 and covers the area between Fillmore Street, Bush Street, Laguna Street, and Geary Boulevard. One key component of that project was the development of a Social Heritage Inventory, which lists the important intangible aspects of the neighborhood's culture such as family businesses, cultural events, and musical traditions.

The strategies explored in Japantown have inspired other attempts to pursue the idea of cultural preservation through city planning.[1748] At the outset of the Western South of Market (SOMA) Community Plan process, representatives of the area's long-standing Filipino and LGBTQ communities worked with a citizens' task force and City planners to propose a pair of "Social Heritage Districts" aimed at protecting their legacies. The proposed LGBTQ Social Heritage SUD would establish a Citizens Advisory Committee to guide the Planning Department on support for LGBTQ businesses, preservation of cultural heritage assets, and leverage of Community Benefit Agreements.[1749] This approach could also be applied to LGBTQ cultural heritage assets in other

1746 San Francisco Heritage, "Sustaining San Francisco's Living History: Strategies for Conserving Cultural Heritage Assets," (2014) http://www.sfheritage.org/cultural-heritage/.

1747 San Francisco Board of Supervisors, "Legacy Business Registry," https://sfgov.legistar.com/View.ashx?M=F&ID=3519861&GUID=7F9A3D13-2959-4CC5-A836-CA5C63BE42D1.

1748 San Francisco Planning Department et. al. "Japantown Cultural Heritage and Economic Sustainability Strategy (JCHESS)," (2013), http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=1692.

1749 Western SOMA Citizens Planning Task Force, "Recognizing, Protecting and Memorializing South of Market LGBTQ Social Heritage Neighborhood Resources," (2010) http://www.sf-planning.org/Modules/ShowDocument.aspx?documentid=7352.

neighborhoods, such as the Castro, Mission, and Tenderloin. LGBTQ Cultural Heritage Corridor SUDs would help to ensure that the community has a voice in ensuring that businesses located within an established district reflect the neighborhood's culture and history and enhance the viability of the individual businesses.

MARKET SIGNIFICANT LGBTQ SITES AND NEIGHBORHOODS THROUGH SF TRAVEL

San Francisco Travel Association (SFTravel) is a non-profit whose mission is to "enhance the local economy by marketing San Francisco and the Bay Area as the premier destination for conventions, meetings, events and leisure travel." It functions as the City's convention and visitors bureau, aggressively marketing and selling San Francisco to attract visitors. About half of SFTravel's funding is public money generated from the City's assessment on gross hotel room revenue. Most of the rest comes from the private sector in the form of membership dues, advertising, e-commerce and program revenues. SFTravel provides visitors with the information they need for an enjoyable and productive visit, including where to stay, eat, and shop, how to get around, and what to do (e.g., arts, culture, and nightlife). San Francisco Travel membership provides admission to events, market briefings, outlook forums and partner business exchanges, listings online and in publications, and access to the convention calendar.

SFTravel's marketing materials, website, and partnerships can be used to emphasize the social heritage of any cultural heritage corridors, such as Broadway Street in North Beach and Castro Street in the Castro, and other visitor attractions. This can help increase business and turnout at cultural performances, events, and festivals, and, thereby, support the affiliated organizations and institutions. This process can help these corridors to better capture some of the billions of dollars spent annually by tourists in San Francisco.

IMPLEMENT INVEST IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Invest in Neighborhoods (IIN) is a new program of the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development. The purpose of IIN is to foster job creation and economic development in neighborhood commercial districts through strategic and coordinated deployment of existing City programs across multiple departments. These programs offer a variety of tools focused on neighborhood revitalization and business assistance that could assist with the preservation of social heritage in LGBTQ cultural heritage corridors.

Benefits: Invest in Neighborhoods can provide a range of benefits, including:

- Design and development assistance that could be targeted to specific businesses and buildings (e.g., compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act) and/or be provided to the neighborhood in general (e.g., graffiti abatement)
- Loans/grants/financial assistance services that could be targeted to businesses, organizations, and institutions, including the SF Shines: Façade and Tenant Improvement Grant.
- Marketing services, business recruitment, and programming and activation services that could be targeted to specific business, properties, and for cultural activities and events, and that could be used to market LGBTQ neighborhood businesses and events to other San Franciscans.

- Technical assistance that can help businesses, organizations, and cultural events navigate the City's permit system
- Organizational support services that could be targeted to specific organizations, including those that are involved with traditional arts, crafts, and practices
- Having a single point of contact within City government that can help support all cultural preservation and enhancement efforts

V. CONTINUE TO OFFER INCENTIVES FOR PRESERVING LGBTQ HISTORIC PROPERTIES

There are a number of incentives currently place that could help to support and promote the cultural heritage of LGBTQ communities and economic sustainability of LGBTQ-owned businesses in San Francisco. The following is a list of some of the incentives that are implemented by the City of San Francisco, State of California, and National Park Service.

LANDMARK DESIGNATION UNDER ARTICLE 10 OF THE PLANNING CODE

Article 10 of the San Francisco Planning Code contains lists of individual buildings and districts considered historically, architecturally, or socially significant, either individually or as a contributor to a landmark district. Buildings listed under Article 10 receive specialized review and protection by the City of San Francisco. As a benefit, the buildings' owners are eligible for economic incentives to help keep their properties economically viable.

MILLS ACT FOR DESIGNATED HISTORIC RESOURCES

The Mills Act is one of the best preservation incentives available to private property owners to help rehabilitate, restore and maintain their historic buildings. Enacted by the State of California in 1976 and adopted by the City of San Francisco in 1996, the Mills Act allows the City to enter into a contract with owners of privately owned historic properties to ensure the rehabilitation, restoration, preservation and long-term maintenance of the property. In exchange, the property owner receives a reduction in property taxes for the life of the contract.

CALIFORNIA HISTORIC BUILDING CODE (CBHC)

The renovation of historic buildings is often difficult when older buildings must meet the standards of modern building codes (including Uniform Building Code, City Building Code, Fire Code, Plumbing Code) whose regulations are designed for contemporary construction technologies. Application of the CHBC can provide creative solutions to achieve the health, safety and welfare requirements for these historic buildings. The measures permitted by the CHBC are more sensitive to the historic conditions of a building than standard building codes. The CHBC allows flexibility in meeting building code requirements for rehabilitated structures. Generally, building owners can enjoy substantial cost savings when rehabilitating an historic structure by using the CHBC. The Department of Building Inspection applies the CHBC, including determining which buildings are eligible.

FEDERAL REHABILITATION TAX INCENTIVES

The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives program is one of the nation's most successful and cost- effective community revitalization programs. There are two levels of tax incentives: 20% and 10%. The 20% Rehabilitation Tax Credit applies to any project that the Secretary of the Interior designates a certified rehabilitation of a certified historic structure. The 20% credit is available for properties rehabilitated for commercial, industrial, agricultural, or rental residential purposes, but it is not available for properties used exclusively as the owner's private residence. The 10% Rehabilitation Tax Credit is available for the rehabilitation of non-historic buildings placed in service before 1936. The building must be rehabilitated for non-residential use.

ENCOURAGE FAÇADE EASEMENTS FOR DESIGNATED HISTORIC PROPERTIES

One of the oldest strategies for historic preservation is a historic preservation façade easement. An easement ensures the preservation of a property's significant architectural and essential features while allowing the owner to continue to occupy and use the property subject to the provisions of the easement. A preservation easement is created by deed and is typically donated or sold to a public or private preservation organization. Either the City or a qualified preservation group, such as San Francisco Architectural Heritage can hold title to the easement, which allows the property owner a one-time tax deduction and the holder has the right to review any changes to features covered by the easement.

Each of the tools described above could be used to rehabilitate and preserve important buildings and structures. Doing so helps to maintain space for the businesses and organizations that are housed within. Most preservation tools require that buildings meet rigorous criteria, as described below. This is a challenge with African American culturally significant structures, because many of the cherished buildings and buildings occupied by social heritage resources may not rise to the level of significance necessary for local, state or national designation.

CHAPTER 7.
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Community historians at the November 2013 workshop sharing memories of LGBTQ sites in San Francisco that are important to their history (Photos by Randolph Jonsson)

CHAPTER 8.
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Attachment C:

Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979

July 3, 2004 8, 2004

Final Draft Historic Context Statement
Prepared by: Damon Scott for the Friends of 1800

I. **NAME OF CONTEXT:** The theme, time period, and geographic limits of the study should be stated.

Sexing the City:
The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979

San Francisco is the primary location where sexuality became the basis for mobilizing for community rights and cultural recognition in the twentieth century. The city has served as a catalyst for national discussions about revaluing categories of gender and sexual difference and as a proving ground for forming modern sex and gender-based identities. A new historical district should be established to recognize how the city has contributed to the growing recognition and legitimation of sexual and gender minorities as full members of American society.

The period of significance (1933-1979) begins with the repeal of Prohibition and ends with the first National March on Washington in 1979. The repeal of Prohibition coincided with the proliferation of public spaces that began to attract increasing numbers of gays and lesbians and provided the social milieu for San Francisco's sexual minorities to strengthen communal ties. The growth of gay social networks would provide the basis for an emergent self-styled cultural and political movement that attracted gay migrants from other parts of the country. The period of significance concludes with the expansion of the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) cultural and political movement from the local stage to its "coming out" into the national arena. The first National March on Washington in October 1979 marked the posthumous realization of Harvey Milk's hopes for building a national sense of gay solidarity and the articulation of a national political agenda.[1] This event marks the consolidation and nationalization of the GLBT identity movement that began in San Francisco's relatively tolerant social and political environment. It also signaled the diversification of the GBLT movement as the intersections of sexuality with gender, race, class and ethnicity became increasingly fore grounded.

[1] Paraphrased from Armstrong (130): At a party celebrating the defeat of the Briggs Initiative in early November 1978, Milk called for a march on Washington in 1979. Although the idea had been discussed earlier, the assassination of Milk on November 27, 1978 consolidated support for holding the march. The march occurred n October 1979, was attended by 25,000 people, and was later described in the San Francisco Chronicle as the "coming out of the movement on the national political agenda" (Louis Freeberg and Christopher Heredia, "Mixed Feelings about Gay March", April 10, 2000, A2).

The city's built environment provides excellent opportunities to interpret the growth, expansion and diversification of sexual-identity-based subcultures during the last century. Woven into the city's fabric of urban villages, significant sites that mark the development of modern gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identities include places of social interaction, political action, and community organizing. These sites are not restricted to a single area, but are spread throughout a number of different neighborhoods, including North Beach, the Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, South of Market, the Haight, the Castro, and the Mission. In order to capture the diversity and complexity of the social formation of GLBT identity, the geographic limits of the study should not exclude any of these areas of the city. It is proposed that significant sites should be organized into sub-districts where they form (or once formed) an identifiable, coherent GLBT-oriented neighborhood or commercial zone. Based on these criteria, candidates for sub-districts include North Beach, the Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, and the Castro. In addition, significant sites that exist outside the bound of these sub-districts should be designated as landmarks and interpreted in the context of their contribution to GLBT social history. Examples of such sites can be found South of Market, in the Haight, and along both 16th and Valencia streets in the Mission. The attached map provides a preliminary plan for the delineation of sub-districts. Additional study needs to be conducted to fix the precise limits of the sub-districts and to identify all potential sites for nomination.

II. **SYNTHESIS OF INFORMATION:** After data has been collected and analyzed, prepare a written narrative which synthesizes the gathered information. Important patterns, events, persons, architectural types and styles, or cultural values should be identified and discussed with an eye towards evaluating related properties.

General Background

The most enduring contribution of San Francisco to the social history of sexual minority subcultures has been its role in forging a political self-consciousness among gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender peoples. Scholars have debated how this modern consciousness emerged and what social and organizational settings were most instrumental (i.e. D'Emilio, Meeker, Boyd, Armstrong, Chauncey). Among the factors most influential in forming a sense of collective identity and political purpose are: 1) the establishment of permissive social spaces (e.g. bars, bathhouses, night clubs), 2) the founding of sexual identity-based political and social organizations (e.g. the Mattachine Society, the Daughters of Bilitis, Society for Individual Rights), and 3) the consciousness raising effect of demonstrations of social and political power, sometimes circulated through mass media (e.g. Compton's Cafeteria riots, the campaign and election of Harvey Milk, and California Hall Incident). Acknowledging the cumulative influence of meeting places, community-building organizations, and public demonstrations, sites significant in the formation, expansion and diversification of modern sexuality-based subcultures can be traced to the city's

nighttime entertainments that gained visibility with repeal of Prohibition.[2] Public visibility of gays and lesbians in bars and nightclubs facilitate the growth of social networks and planted the seeds for collective resistance against persecution meted out by the city's police force.

Prohibition and the Growth of Gay and Lesbian Social Spaces

With the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, zones of nighttime entertainments emerged where even older vice districts had existed and provided the relatively open social environment for sexual and gender transgressions to flourish.[3] The 1930s saw the rapid growth of nightlife on and near Broadway which became the central artery of the city's vice and tourist district--North Beach. Establishments catering to a whole range of desires emerged, reviving the area's earlier association with the adult entertainments of the Barbary Coast. Homosexual and transgender populations defined a vibrant and publicly visible culture that co-mingled with the nighttime entertainments of adventurous tourists and heterosexual residents. The close association of the district with the tourist industry cemented the city's reputation as a 'wide open town' and provided a monetary incentive to continue to promote the area as a zone of sexual license. In this climate, a number of bars opened their doors and began attracting gay and lesbian clientele. The first--and longest running--was Finocchio's[4], a former speakeasy that showcased female impersonation and contributed to the city's reputation as a center of bohemian culture. As a venue for gender transgressive performances, Finocchio's became a gathering place for San Franciscans and tourists seeking an alternative to prevailing expectations of gender and sexual conformity. Over the course of seventy years, Finocchio's contributed to the development of the city's vibrant gay, lesbian and transgender public culture. Other nightspots were soon established in North Beach, most notably Mona's[5] -- the city's first lesbian establishment--and the Black Cat[6].

Mona's, was originally opened in 1934 by Mona Sargent as hangout for artists and writers, but soon became associated with sexually unconventional 'bohemians'. After moving to 440 Broadway in 1939, the club began to hire and promote male impersonators from New York and Los Angeles. Soon it became a place where "the little girl waitresses look like boys. The little-girls-who-sing-sweet-songs look like boys. And many of the little girl customers look like boys."[7]

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[2] In "Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965", Nan Boyd reconstructs the sex and gender transgressive milieu of North Beach in the post-Prohibition era. She argues that this climate promoted 'multiple cultures and communities that overlapped and, at times, commingled in the intimate spaces of bars and baths, dances and house parties (5).'

[3] The first same-sex oriented commercial establishment in the city was the Dash, a saloon and dance hall featuring female impersonators that opened and closed in 1908 in the notorious Barbary Coast (Stryker and Buskirk, 19).

[4] From Boyd, 2003. Finocchio's, 406 Stockton (1929-1937); 506 Broadway (1937-1999).

[5] From Boyd, 2003. Mona's, 431 Union (1934-1935); Mona's Barrel House, 140 Columbus (1936-1938); Mona's 440, 440 Broadway (1939-1949).

[6] From Boyd, 2003. the Black Cat Café, 710 Montgomery (1933-1963).

[7] Quoted in Boyd 2003 from *Where to Sin in San Francisco*, 1939.

Shut down in the earlier crackdown on prostitution, the Black Cat reopened after the repeal of Prohibition in North Beach and soon became a fashionable destination for homosexuals and thrill-seeking tourists. Building on its long reputation for flaunting convention and cultivating a bohemian flair, the Black Cat served as a popular--although officially 'off limits'--hangout for large numbers of military personnel stationed in the city. In the post-war era, the bar became a social and cultural center for San Francisco's emerging gay community. The bar's straight owner, Sol Stoumen, played an important role in the 1951 California Supreme Court case that prohibited the practice of revoking liquor licenses solely on the basis of catering to homosexual clientele. Jose Sarria, a regular drag performer who charmed the crowd with his campy songs and witty political commentary, encouraged patrons to celebrate their homosexuality and promoted the idea that gays and lesbians so join together and form a more visible presence in society. In the early 1960s, Sarria ran for city supervisor blurring the lines between the theatrical stage and the political arena, as well as making a public declaration for the political mobilization of gays and lesbians. Current efforts to landmark the Black Cat are underway based on its significance to "gay rights and gay pride movement". The connection between the Black Cat and Jose Sarria provide the basis for nominating the site. These efforts parallel and reinforce the goals of creating a sub-district in North Beach to recognize the neighborhood's contribution to GLBT social history.



Figure 1: Black Cat Cafe [n.d.], 708 and 710 Montgomery

In addition to North Beach, the Tenderloin was another urban zone where prevailing social mores were relaxed. During the 1920s, the area was known for its thinly veiled speakeasies and so-called 'vice' activities--prostitution, gambling, and drug and alcohol use. With the legalization of alcohol, several gay bars appeared in the Tenderloin, including Old Crow, College Inn, and the Pirate's Den[8].

[8] From GLBT Historical Society, Partial List of Site in Mid-Market Area. Old Crow, 962 Market (1935-1984); College Inn, 970 Market (1930s-?); Pirate's Den, 972 Market (1933-1942).

World War II and the Mobilization of New Desires

World War II was a transformative event for both the city as a whole and its relationship to newly emerging sexual subcultures. The mass mobilization of troops and rapid growth of wartime industries touched the personal lives of millions of Americans. Military service and wartime labor drew masses of people away from the familiarity of their customary lives and into new single sex environments where the normal rules for social interaction were sometimes overlooked. For some who felt the pull of same sex desire these new social settings facilitated homosexual encounters. As a major military and industrial center for wartime mobilization, San Francisco's existing adult entertainment districts of North Beach and the Tenderloin became important gathering places for gays and lesbians. The number of gay bars and restaurants grew in the city along with the new influx of soldiers and war-related laborers. A cruising strip emerged along Market Street where sailors and men who sought out sex with them mingled. Important gay-oriented sites from this era include: Streets of Paris, Bobby's Three Vet's, and the Silver Rail.[9] In North Beach, a number of new bars opened during World War II and in the period after to cater to a predominantly lesbian clientele, including: Tommy's Place, 12 Adler Place, Ann's 440, Miss Smith's Tea Room, the Tin Angel, the Copper Lantern, the Anxious Asp, and the Front.[10]

Organizing Sexual Identities in the Post-War Era

While new venues for gays and lesbians to gather and socialize emerged as a consequence of the social changes brought about by World War II, several groups began to organize in San Francisco around the goal of improving the social status of gays and lesbians. These organizations can be served an important role in raising the status of gays and lesbians by building both a local and a national membership base. By 1956, the two most prominent national organizations dedicated to the improvement of gays and lesbians were headquartered in San Francisco—the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis.[11] Although the Mattachine Society was founded in Los Angeles in 1950 with a local chapter organized in 1953, by 1956 the national headquarters were relocated to San Francisco. In the same year, the organization began publishing its monthly magazine, *The Mattachine Review* with a national readership. In 1955, several women came together in the city and formed the Daughters of Bilitis, the first lesbian social and political organization in the United States. The DOB published a monthly journal, *The Ladder*, chronicling major social and political events in the 1950s and 1960s. The locations of the organizational headquarters of these

[9] From GLBT Historical Society, Partial List of Site in Mid-Market Area. Streets of Paris 54 Mason (1939-1960s); Bobby's Three Vet's, 72 Eddy (1940s-1964); and the Silver Rail, 974 Market (1942-1960).

[10] From Boyd, 2003. Tommy's Place, 529 Broadway (1952-1954); 12 Adler Place, 12 Adler Place (1952-1954); Ann's 440, 440 Broadway (1952-1962); Miss Smith's Tea Room, 1353 Grant (1954-1960); the Tin Angel, 987 Embarcadero (1954-1960); the Copper Lantern, 1335 Grant (1955-1965); the Anxious Asp, 528 Green (1958-1967); and the Front, 600 Front (1958-1961).

[11] From GLBT Historical Society Sites Database, Meeker 2001: the Daughters of Bilitis offices have been located at the following addresses: 330 Grove, 453 Hyde, 1005 Market, 1232 Market (SF Chapter), 165 O'Farrell, 3470 Mission; the Mattachine Society: 693 Mission (1955-1967), 300 block of Ellis (1967-?)

organizations should be marked and interpreted for their role in promoting the gay and lesbian rights and culture both locally and nationally.

Set in motion by the candidacy of Jose Sarria for city supervisor, several more explicitly political organizations formed in the 1960s. The League for Civil Education formed in 1961 and began publishing the city's first gay tabloid, *Citizen News*.[12] The LCE sought to build a gay voting bloc through organizing bar patrons. In 1964, a new spin-off group formed--the Society for Individual Rights (SIR)--and began publishing and distributing to a national audience *Vector*, its monthly new magazine.[13] SIR soon became the largest national organization devoted to homosexual rights. In 1962, the Tavern Guild formed in San Francisco as a response by bar owners to police harassment.[14] The first gay business association in the United States, the Guild fought the discriminatory practices of the police and the liquor board. In the 1969, the Committee for Homosexual Freedom formed, making it the first gay liberation group in the Bay Area. Advocating a more militant approach, the CHF carried out public protests drew inspiration from the many radical, youth-based countercultural movements of the 1960s.

Communities of Resistance

In addition to the emergence of new social spaces and identity-based organizations, several significant demonstrations of political strength can be credited with shaping the city's sexual subcultures. In 1964, Glide Memorial Church, in an effort to reach out to the marginalized members of the community, began a dialogue with the city's homosexual activists over the situation of young male hustlers in the Tenderloin. An outgrowth of those discussions was the Council on Religion and the Homosexual which devoted itself to combating homophobia within mainline churches.[15] At a benefit held on New Years Day, 1965 for CRH, police harassed guests--including liberal, heterosexual ministers--by taking photographs and entered the event without a search warrant. Held at California Hall at 600 Polk Street, the event led to a series of high profile discussions about the unjust treatment of gays and lesbians. With ministers leading the charge against police harassment, the California Hall incident marks a significant improvement in the social standing of gays and lesbians in the city. It brought together bar patrons and political organizers, forced police to rethink their practices of



Figure 2: California Hall [1964], 600 Polk

[12] Location of League of Civil Education not known.
[13] From GLBT Historical Society Sites Database: 67 Sixth Street (April 1966- 1978)
[14] From Boyd, 2003: The Tavern Guild met at the bar the Suzy-Q (1960-62) at 1741 Polk Street.
[15]From GLBT Sites Database: the CRH activity at 83 Sixth Street (Society for Individual Rights), 330 Ellis (Glide Methodist Church) and 83 McAllister (currently the Church of Scientology).

intimidation, and boosted the membership of political organizations like SIR and the Tavern Guild.

Less than two years later, police harassment provoked a more violent response. In August of 1966, Compton's Cafeteria, a Tenderloin all-night restaurant frequented by the neighborhood's poor and often gender-transgressive youth, was the site of an explosive reaction to on-going police harassment. It has been credited as the first know militant resistance to police oppression by members of sexual minority communities in the United States."[16] Reacting to the hassling of transgender and gender-transgressive patrons (with the permission of the Compton's management) by police, gay and transgender rioters broke the restaurant windows, attacked the officers, damaged squad cars, and set a newspaper stand on fire. Pre-dating the Stonewall Riot by several years, the Compton's Riot illustrates the importance of San Francisco in the struggle for sexual minority rights and highlights the early involvement of transgender people.

Taken together, the organizational headquarters (Mattachine, Daughters of Bilitis, SIR, CRH), the bar culture (e.g. Streets of Paris, Bobby's Three Vet's, and the Silver Rail, Old Crow, College Inn, and the Pirate's Den), and political action at Compton's Cafeteria highlight the importance of the Tenderloin to GLBT social history and support its nomination as a sub-district.

Self-Representation and the Flourishing of a New Culture

In the mid-1960s, with growing strength of gay and lesbian organizations and the mobilization of previously non-politicized bar patrons in response to police harassment, San Francisco became increasingly associated in the minds of most American's with sexual freedom and gender transgressions. In 1964, a *Life* magazine article entitled "Homosexuality in America" identified the city as a "the capital of the gay world" and featured photos of the interior of two local bars--the Tool Box and the Jumping Frog[17]. With its profile raised by national media coverage, San Francisco's sexual minority subcultures began to grow as new migrants arrived seeking relief from the oppressive environments they left behind. From 1960 to the end of the decade, the number of bars catering to gay clientele rose from 53 to 86.[18] Coincident with an increasing out-migration of San Franciscans to the suburbs, the new arrivals began to take up residence in new parts of the city that previously had no direct connection to sexual minorities. Bypassing North Beach and the Tenderloin--the centers of adult entertainments

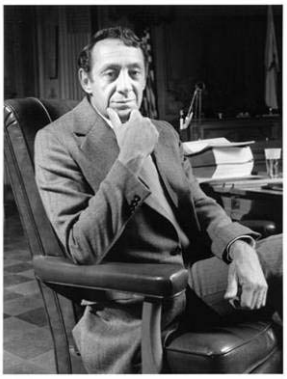


Figure 3: Harvey Milk [August 1978]

[16] From GLBT Historical Society, Partial List of Site in Mid-Market Area. Compton's was part of a chain of restaurants throughout the city. The Compton's riot occurred at 101 Taylor.

[17] From GLBT Queer Sites database. Tool Box, 399 Fourth (1962-1971); Jumping Frog, 2111 Polk (1960?-1964).

[18] From Meeker, 2002.

and sexual and gender transgression in the 1940s and 1950s--the Polk, the Haight, and South of Market increasingly gained a visible gay and lesbian presence in the 1960s.



Beginning in the early 1970s, the Castro became an increasingly important destination for gay men and lesbians. In 1971, the opening of Castro Camera (575 Castro) by Harvey Milk reflected the neighborhood's quickly changing demographics. San Francisco's gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender population grew explosively during the 1970s. The Department of Health estimated the GLBT population in 1972 to be around 90,000; just five years later the *Chronicle* placed the figure at 120,000.[19] This rapid growth had several significant effects on sexual minority subcultures: 1) numerous new, cultural traditions were established,[20] 2) the diversity of sexual expression became more evident,[21] 3) the political strength of the San Francisco GLBT community resulted in electoral successes,[22] and 4) the intersection of sexuality with identifications based on gender, race, ethnicity and class became increasingly important. The 1970s saw the crystallization of the gay identity movement in San Francisco as the number of gay-oriented organizations exploded, the gay-targeted commercial sector gained strength, numerous gay people swelled the city's population, and the organization of a gay voting bloc paid off with electoral successes. Several sites in the Castro have achieved landmark status: Castro Theater (SF Landmark #100, 1977); McCormick House (SF Landmark #208, 1999); Carmel Fallon Building (SF Landmark #223, 1998); Harvey Milk Residence/Camera Shop (SF Landmark #227, 2000); AIDS Memorial Quilt (SF Landmark #241, 2004). These sites should be highlighted for their connection to the GLBT history of the neighborhood and serve as anchors to a new sub-district.

Churches

A number of religious spaces and groups have been connected with gays and lesbians in the city. The following listing reflects the diversity, tenure and location of GLBT congregations some of the most well known.

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[19] Stryker and Buskirk, 1996.

[20] For example, the Castro Street Fair was spearheaded by Harvey Milk and first held in 1974. It just celebrated it 30th anniversary. The San Francisco International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival, the oldest continuing lesbian and gay film festival in the world, started in 1977. Stryker and Buskirk, 1996.

[21] Society of Janus--a 'pansexual' organization for sadomasochists of all genders and orientations--was founded in 1974. The Bisexual Center was founded in 1976 by Dr. Maggi Rubenstein. The Sexual Freedom League founded in 1967, originating in San Francisco, is considered a precursor to the bisexual movement as well.

[22] Principally, the defeat of the Briggs Initiative (November 1978) and the election of Harvey Milk as SF Supervisor (November 1977).

- Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) (founded 1970)—second oldest GLBT congregation in US
    - Prayer meetings begin, Jackson's Bar and Grill 1970
    - California Hall, 625 Polk (1970-1971)
    - St. Aiden's, Diamond Heights (1971-1972)
    - Stewart Memorial Presbyterian Church, 23rd and Guerrero (1972-1973)
    - Mission Presbyterian Church, 23rd and Capp (1973-1979)
    - Pentecostal Church, 150 Eureka (1979-present)
    - Golden Gate MCC, (est. 1980), 1600 Clay, 48 Belcher, 134 Church
- Most Holy Redeemer--Began to conduct outreach to gays in the neighborhood in 1982 with new pastor Father Tony McGuire
- Glide Memorial Methodist Church--Cecil Williams becomes pastor 1963, helped create Council on Religion and the Homosexual (1964) changed conservative practices of church
- Achvah Chutzpah, Jewish Gay Union (1972-1989), 279 Ney
- Sha'ar Zahav (1977-present), 220 Danvers and later 290 Dolores
- Integrity San Francisco: Gay and Lesbian Episcopalians (1976-)

Glide Memorial Methodist has had the longest history ministering to gays and lesbians. Its leaders also played a significant role in organizing the Council on the Church and the Homosexual. For these reasons, its contribution to the social history of the GLBT community should be recognized.

Publishing

Publishing became an increasingly significant vehicle for sexual subcultures to build social networks, mobilize politically, and promote business interests. In the 1950s, the Mattachine's *Review* and the Daughters of Bilitis' periodical, *The Ladder* played an important role in building a stable mode of communication to geographically (and socially) isolated readers across the country. They provided information and discussions about the social and political forces seeking to marginalize homosexuals as well as the emerging homophile movement. In addition to the *Review*, Mattachine's Pan-Graphics Press published gay-oriented books and the first edition of *The Address Book* (1964)—a very successful bar and sites guidebook that evolved into the still popular *Damron* guides.

Pan-Graphic Press also published *Town Talk*—one of the first gay newspapers in the United States in 1964. Several years earlier, the *Citizen's News*—the city's first gay tabloid. The *News* publisher Guy Strait sought to politically organize gay bar patrons by distributing the paper for free. In the late 1960s, the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) sold its monthly publication *Vector*.

In the 1970s, new forms of communication emerged to deliver news and events listings to the city's growing GLBT residents. The *Bay Area Reporter* (B.A.R.) was started in 1971 by Bob Ross and has become one of the oldest gay

publications in the country.[23] The B.A.R. has historic ties to the city's bar culture. In the same year, Winston Leyland started publication of the *Gay Sunshine Journal*.[24] With international circulation, the *Sunshine Journal* played an important role in distributing in depth analysis on politics, literature and gay liberation movement news. The *San Francisco Sentinel* appeared in 1974. The *Bay Times* debuted in 1979 under its original banner *Coming Up!* Because many of these publications contributed to the formation and expansion of GLBT political and social consciousness, the locations of these publications should be researched and evaluated for possible nomination.

Internal Divisions

In the closing decades of the past century, struggles over urban space have led to intense discussions about the ways race, ethnicity, gender, and class intersect sexuality. In the process, new subcultures bridging a diversity of collective personal experiences have formed resulted in greater levels of cultural sophistication and political engagement. For women who either could not afford or did not feel welcome in the increasingly middle class, white gay male Castro district, the western edge of the Mission began attracting lesbians in the mid to late 1970s. Valencia Street between 24th and 16th became the principal residential and commercial areas for women. Specific sites of note are:

- Old Wives' Tales Bookstore (1976-1980, 532 Valencia; 1980-1995, 1009 Valencia);
- Artemis Café (1199 Valencia, 1977-1986)
- Women's Building—"the first woman-owned and operated community center in the country"—(3543 18th 1979-present)
- Amelia's bar (647 Valencia, 1980-1991)
- *Osento* bathhouse (955 Valencia, 1981-present)
- Valencia Rose (766 Valencia, 1982-1986).



These sites are significant to GLBT social history of San Francisco as they reflect the growing sense that a greater diversity of social spaces and political projects were needed to combat the sexism, racism and classism found in the more established districts.

Gays and lesbians of also began to create social and organizational spaces for themselves in the mid-1970s.[25] In part, this was a reaction to overt racism encountered at some of the gay-oriented venues in the city. At some bars, gays of color were asked for multiple pieces of identification to dissuade them from entering. In other cases, they entry as simply refused. A number of organizations

[23] Szymanski, 107.

[24] Stryker and Buskirk note that Gay Sunshine began publishing in 1970. Szymanski specifies that the first edition of the Gay Sunshine Journal came out in March 1971.

formed during this time to begin to address the needs of gays and lesbians of color. They include:

- Gay Latino Alliance/GALA (1975, second meeting at Sir Center)[26]
- Native American Gay Rap Group (605 Brunswick, 1972-1973)
- Gay Native American Indians, first gay American Indian liberation organization (890 Hayes, 1975-1992)
- Asian-American Alliance (active 1979-1980)
- Gay Asian Support Group (1978-1981)
- Black Gay Caucus (1977-1978)
- Third World Lesbian Caucus (1977-1979).

These groups merit additional research to locate specific sites that correspond with their formation or ongoing activities. The history of the formation of modern GLBT identity would be incomplete unless attention is given to the ways that singular or monolithic notion of identity (and community) has been challenged.

III. PROPERTY TYPES:

a) Identification

Within San Francisco, a number of places and events serve as important markers to interpret the development of a collective gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender political and cultural consciousness. Three different kinds of places have been instrumental to the emergence of this collective consciousness:

1. Sites of social interaction, including bars, entertainment venues, bath houses, and public festivals;
2. Sites of political action and reaction, such as California Hall, Compton's cafeteria, the Elephant Walk bar, Castro Camera and;
3. Institutional centers dedicated to community development, such as the Daughters of Bilitis, the Mattachine Society, the Society for Individual Rights, the Bisexual Center, the Sexual Freedom League, Gay Latino/a Alliance, Asian/Pacific Lesbian and Bisexual Network.

b) Description

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[25] From Stryker and Buskirk: the first black owned and oriented gay bar in the city was the Big Glass in the Fillmore (1964-1968, 1801 Fillmore). The Pendulum, 4146 18th, opened in 1970 and by 1975 had became the Bay Area's best know interracial bar.

[26] Roque Ramirez recounts how the organization first formed at a house meeting in San Jose. A second meeting was held at the SIR Center that established the group in the city with a much larger following.

The property types are united and defined by their cultural and historical association with the formation of a collective gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identity. They are dispersed throughout the city and include a diversity of architectural styles.

c) Significance

The specified property types are important locations where the development of a gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender identity can be interpreted. These sites possess significance in understanding the social, cultural, political and economic history of San Francisco's diverse sexual subcultures. These sites include places where social interaction among sexual subcultures has persisted for an extended period of time in the past, where influential local and national sexual-identity based organizations have conducted activities, and locations where sexual minorities have demonstrated their collective social and political power.

IV. **REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS:** What attributes, historical associations and level of integrity are necessary to list members of the property type in the National Register of Historic Places? This section should provide specific information that can be used for comparing actual historic properties and for making judgments about their relative significance.

Sites associated with the development of a sense of collective gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identity should be considered for potential inclusion in the Historic District. These sites can take the form of organizational headquarters, commercial establishments with a long history of serving sexual minority clientele, places of protest against homophobia and heterosexism, and venues that have promoted social and cultural identification within and among sexual subcultures. Four sub-districts are proposed for additional research and evaluation: North Beach, Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, and the Castro. These sub-districts contain geographically clustered sites with a strong connection to gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender subcultures should be recognized and designated. The primary aspect of integrity should be Association with the social history of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender San Franciscans, followed in descending order by Location, Feeling, and Setting.

V. GOALS AND PRIORITIES FOR IDENTIFICATION, EVALUATION, REGISTRATION AND TREATMENT OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES:

a) GOALS. A goal is a statement of preferred preservation activities, which is generally stated in terms of property types. For each goal, a statement should be prepared identifying the activities and strategies most appropriate for accomplishing the goal.

GOAL 1: *A Survey of Potential Sites associated with the formation, expansion and diversification of San Francisco's sexuality-based subcultures should be undertaken.* As a starting point, the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society of Northern California maintains a database of over 1,300 sites that have been associated with sexuality-based subcultures. Most of the entries contain information about the location, opening date and closing date of the establishment. Listed sites include bars, bathhouses, restaurants, community centers, religious centers, social service organizations, bookstores, non-profit organizations, publishers, gay-oriented businesses, etc. These sites have been mapped with attention given to how the geographic focus of GLBT activities has shifted over time. Appendices C – F provide additional information about sites that should be included in the survey.

GOAL 2: *The relative significance of the Potential Sites should be evaluated*. The preceding discussion is meant to provide a basis for evaluating the historic significance of sites connected to the GLBT past. The most complete scholarly account of the city's GLBT history is Stryker and Buskirk's *Gay By the Bay*. Sites, organizations, and events mentioned in that account should be considered of great significance to the social and political history of the GLBT community. Greater consideration should also be given to sites that have had a long association with GLBT individual. Due to the diversity of the GLBT community, adequate opportunities for public comment on the inclusion and evaluation of sites should be provided.

GOAL 3: *From the Survey of Potential Sites, the Boundaries of the four proposed sub-districts should be delineated.* The rough outlines of the districts have been provided in Appendix B and are based on information in the GLBT Historical Society database. The proposed sub-districts were constructed to reflect capture the major spatial-temporal shifts in the focus of the city's sexual minority population. The generalized outlines are meant to focus attention on the areas in the city with the greatest densities of GLBT-oriented sites. Additional work should be conducted to construct more precise boundaries after the relative significance of sites has been determined.

GOAL 4: *The most significant sites should be marked with interpretive signage to highlight their connection to the context theme*. The sidewalk plaque noting the location and history of Harvey Milk's residence and camera store should serve as a model. The most significant sites should be given similar treatment.

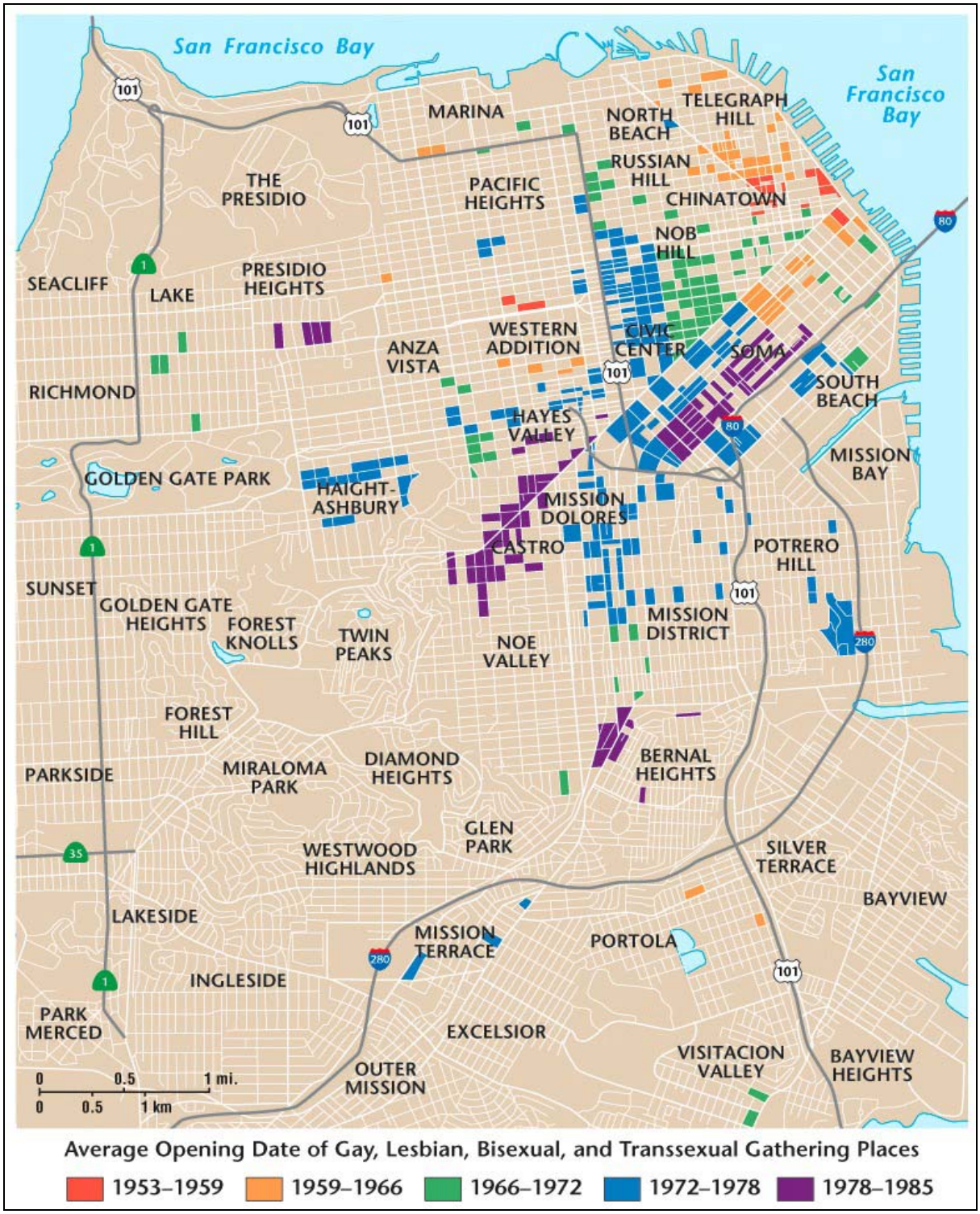
GOAL 5: *Once established, the sub-districts should be marked by permanent interpretive signs that recount the historic significance of the area to GLBT history.* Although individual sites provide the opportunity to interpret specific aspects of the GLBT past, districts plaques will allow the larger social and historic currents to be highlighted. They will provide a useful guide to the city's residents, visitors, and tourists. Ideally, the signs will give visitors a sense of the unique and socially progressive culture of the city and may provide the markers for a series of self-guided walking tours similar to the already established *Barbary Coast Tour*.

GOAL 6: *Existing and future SF Landmarks should be reviewed for possible connections to this context statement.* Gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender residents have made significant contributions to the city's artistic, literary, and cultural scene. Landmarked sites that highlight the artistic, literary and cultural history of the city should acknowledge, where relevant, the individual contributions of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender San Franciscans.

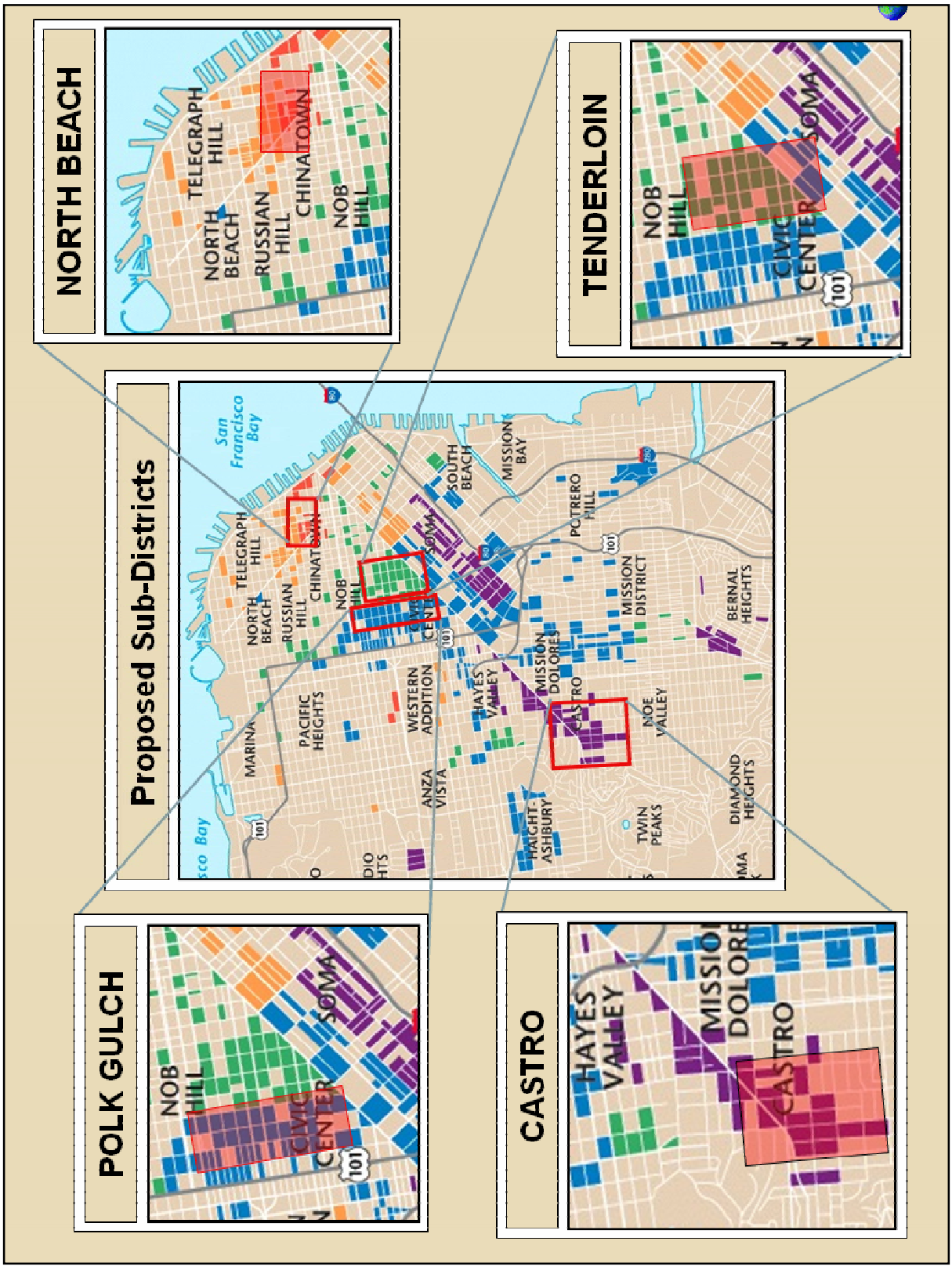
b) PRIORITIES. Once goals have been developed, they need to be ranked in importance. Major cost or technical considerations, general social, economic, political and environmental conditions will affect the ranking of goals. Some properties may be more directly threatened by deterioration, land development patterns, legislative requirements or the public's perception of their safety or worth. These factors should all be considered in setting priorities.

The goals are listed in the sequence they should be addressed. Goals 1-3 can be achieved by additional research using archival materials, organizational records, government documents, oral histories and city records. Completing these goals will require funding a research project to meet the objectives outlined. Goals 4 and 5 will require the drafting of interpretive text as well as the design, construction and installation of sidewalk plaques and pedestrian-oriented signs. Goal 6 requires a possible change in the landmarking procedure to ensure connections to GLBT history have been considered for new nominations.

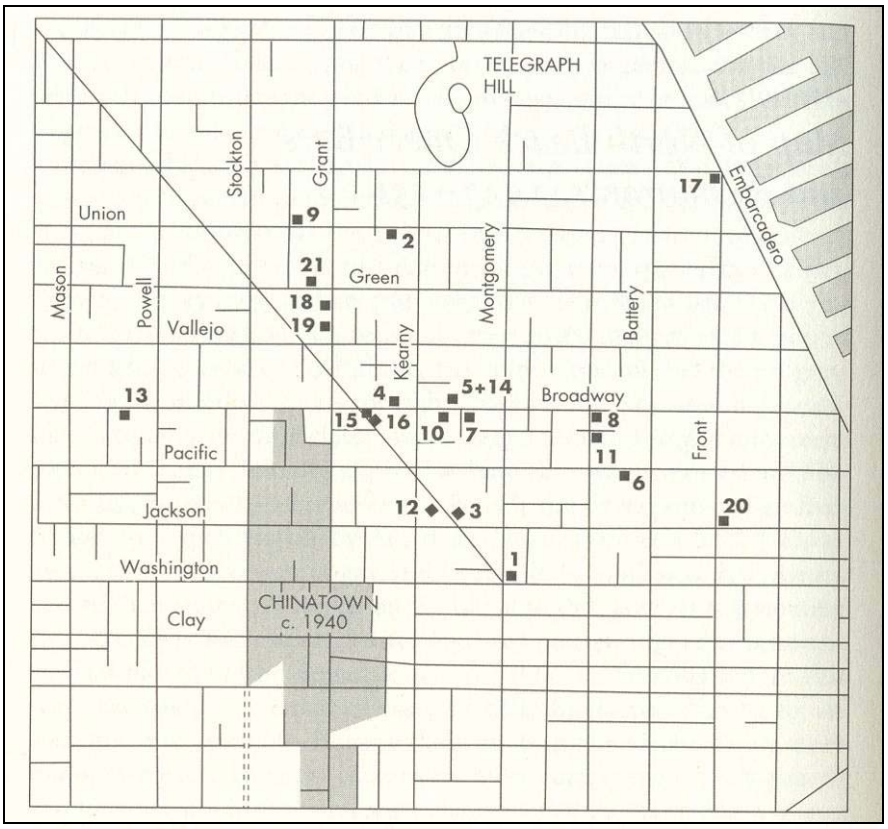
Appendix A: Map of Distribution of Historic GLBT Gathering Places in San Francisco (1908-2000), Showing Average Opening Date for Establishments by City Block



Appendix B: Proposed Sub-Districts to be Recognized for their Association with the Formation, Expansion and Diversification of GLBT Subcultures



Appendix C: Sites for Evaluation and Possible Nomination in North Beach (from Boyd, 2003)



NORTH BEACH QUEER BARS AND RESTAURANTS, 1933–1965 (PARTIAL LIST)

1. Black Cat	710 Montgomery	1933–1963
2. Mona's (original)	431 Union Street	1934–1935
3. Mona's Barrel House	140 Columbus	1936–1938
4. Finocchio's	506 Broadway	1937–1999
5. Mona's 440	440 Broadway	1939–1948
6. Artist's Club	345 Pacific Street	1946–1949
7. Mona's Candlelight	473 Broadway	1948–1957
8. 299 Club	299 Broadway	1948–1952
9. Paper Doll	524 Union Street	1949–1961
10. Chi Chi Club	467 Broadway	1949–1956
11. Gordon's	840 Sansome Street	1949–1970
12. Opus One	141 Columbus	1951–1959
13. Beige Room	831 Broadway	1951–1958
14. Ann's 440	440 Broadway	1952–1962
15. Tommy's Place	529 Broadway	1952–1954
16. 12 Adler Place	12 Adler Place	1952–1954
17. Tin Angel	987 Embarcadero	1954–1960
18. Miss Smith's Tea Room	1353 Grant Avenue	1954–1960
19. Copper Lantern	1335 Grant Avenue	1955–1965
20. The Front	600 Front Street	1958–1961
21. Anxious Asp	528 Green Street	1958–1967

Appendix D: Sites for Evaluation and Possible Nomination in South of Market (from Rubin, 2000)

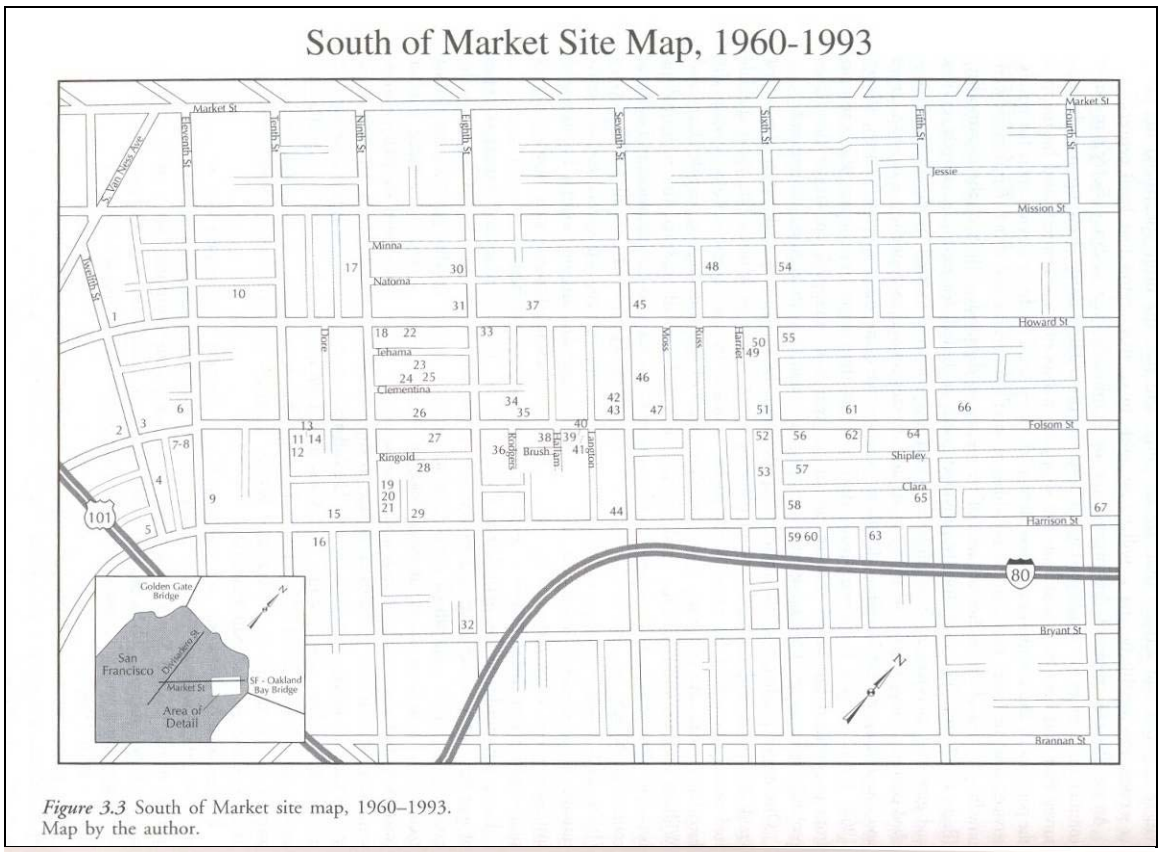
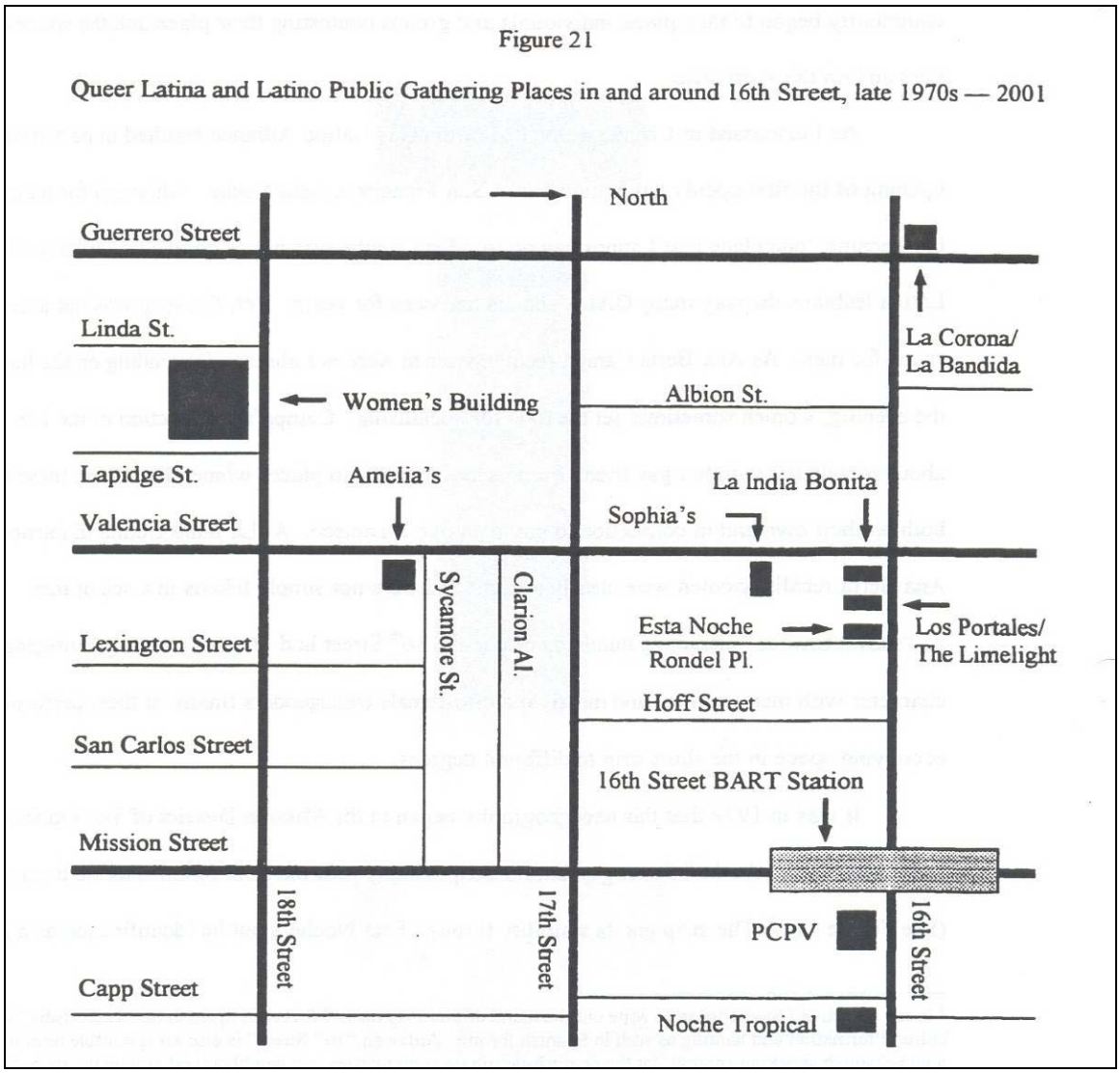


Figure 3.3 South of Market site map, 1960–1993.
Map by the author.

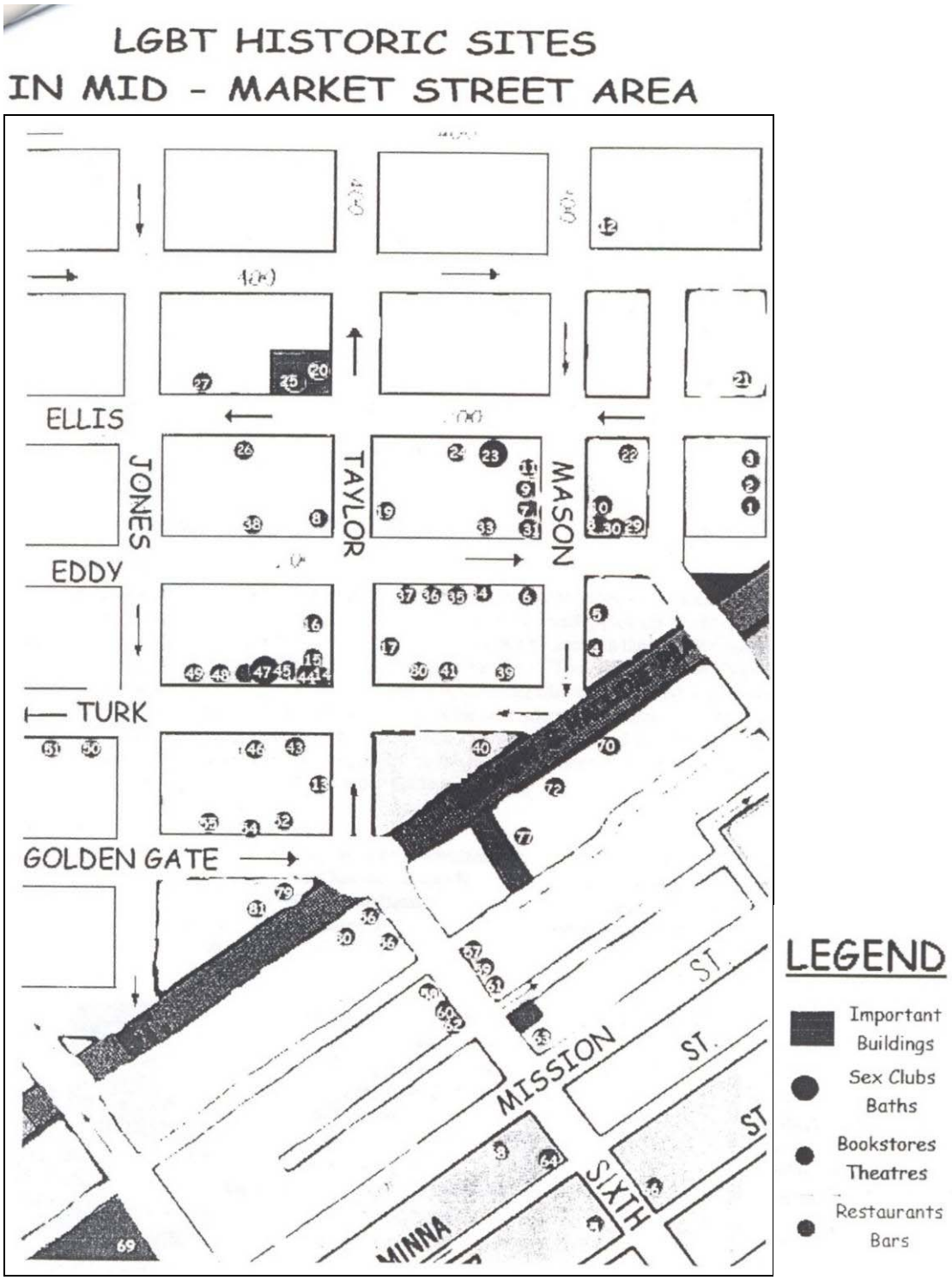
KEY FOR FIG 3.3

1 1550 Harrison, Warehouse, 1969–72, bar
2 1600 Folsom, Brasserie Castle Grand Restaurant, 1977–86
3 1582–1590 Folsom, Cruiser Cafe, 1967–68, restaurant; The Dead End, 1969–72, bar; Cissy's Saloon, 1972–, bar; Hamburger Mary's, 1972, restaurant (currently mostly straight)
4 367 Twelfth, Service of Mankind Church, 1980–81, heterosexual
5 398 Twelfth, San Francisco Eagle, 1982–, bar
6 280 Eleventh, The Covered Wagon, 1968–76, bar, afterhours, pool; Leatherneck, 1977, bar; Dirty Sally's 1978, afterhours; San Francisco Plunge, 1978–80, bar, pool, afterhours; The Gold Coast, 1981–82, bar; Drummaster / Drummer Key Club, 1982, bar, private club; Dan's Compound, 1983–84, sex club (also known as the Compound); The Oasis, 1984–, bar, dance club, straight
7 1535 Folsom, The Stud, 1966–87, bar (moved to 399 Ninth at Harrison); became Holy Cow
8 1501 Folsom, Febe's, 1966–86, bar; A Taste of Leather, 1966–78, first location of leather shop owned by Nick O'Demus (above Febe's); became Paradise Lounge
9 375 Eleventh, Chaps, 1984–85, bar; became DNA Lounge
10 953 Natoma, The Caldron, 1980–84, sex club; became a car radio/cell phone operation
11 1389 Folsom, Folsom Street club, 1978–83, sex club (aka Cornholes, 1980–81)
12 317 Tenth, A Taste of Leather, 1990–, leather shop; Mack, sex club
13 1365 Folsom, Night Gallery, 1991–, sex club
14 1347 Folsom, In Between, 1971–72, bar (in between Febe's and the Ramrod); Cow Palace Saloon, 1972, bar; The Phoenix, 1973, bar; No Name, 1973–76, bar; The Bolt, 1976–79, bar; The Brig, 1979–85, bar; Powerhouse, 1985–91; bar, became vacant
15 1354 Harrison, The Lone Star, 1990–, bar
16 1351 Harrison, The Ambush, 1973–86, bar, leather shop, restaurant and art gallery
17 154 Ninth, The Golden Rivet 1976–80, bar; the Web, 1981, bar; The Rivet, 1982–83, bar (aka Golden Rivet); The Bullet, 1984, bar
18 201 Ninth, Cocktails/The Pit, 1991–
19 367 Ninth, Bar Magazine/Brush Creek Media, 1992–
20 367 Ninth, Bay Area Reporter, 1983–, newspaper
21 399 Ninth, The Arena, 1979–85, bar; The Stud, 1987–, bar
22 1287 Howard, Fey-way Studio, 1977–79, art gallery owned by Robert Opel
23 735 Tehama, Church Annex, sex club
24 768 Clementina, Taylor at San Francisco, 1979–early 80s, leather shop (also in The Brig and The Ramrod)
25 744–746 Clementina, Church of the Secret Gospel, sex club
26 1250 Folsom, National Leather Association, 1993–
27 1225 Folsom, Ramrod, 1968–86, bar, (had a leather shop in the 1980s); New world, 1986, bar; My Place, 1987– bar
28 Ringold Alley, cruising street
29 1270 Harrison, Canary Island Diner, 1981–85, restaurant
30 164 Eighth, The Bell Club, 1978, bar; The Trench, 1979–83, bar
31 198 Eighth, Tattoo Lagoon, 1977–78, bar; The Black and Blue, 1978–79, bar; Backstreet and Company, 1979–80, bar; Chains, 1979–80, bar (attached to Backstreet and Company); became a paint store
32 1010 Bryant, Ride On, 1970–71, bar; The Boot Camp, 1971–85, bar and later sex club (after 1978); The Cellblock, 1971–72, leathershop in Boot Camp; later became Pit Stop
33 201 Eighth, Club Baths of San Francisco, 1976–86, bathhouse; became the Episcopal Sanctuary homeless shelter
34 683 Clementina, Headquarters, 1981–82, bar, afterhours; became Baybrick Inn
35 1188–1190 Folsom, The Waiting Arms, 1974; Earthquake Ethel's, 1974 (located below The Waiting Arms); The Hungry Hole, 1976–77, bar; Playland, 1976–77, hotel, restaurant (connected to the Hungry Hole Bar, same owners as Slot; Brown's Pub 1980–83; The Baybrick Inn, 1982–87, bar, lesbian; became Southside Restaurant
36 10 Rodgers, 10 Rodgers, 1984–85, play space
37 1158 Howard, Worn Out West, early 1980s, used clothing store; Stormy Leather 1990–, leather shop
38 1145–47 Folsom, Folsom Street Barracks, 1972–76, bathhouse (destroyed by fire, October 1976); Casey's, 1972–73, bar (operated as part of Folsom Street Barracks); 1145 Saloon, 1973, bar (attached to Folsom Street Barracks); Red Star Saloon, 1973–76, bar (connected to Folsom Street Barracks); site destroyed again by 1981 Folsom fire; Watering Hole, 1984– bar; became Globe Hotel, upstairs
39 1137 Folsom, Billy's Hotel and Locker Club, 1978–80, hotel, bathhouse
40 1127 Folsom, Templar Hall, 1985–86, clubhouse
41 1123 Folsom, The Stables, 1979–80, bar; became Julie's Supper Club
42 280 Seventh, The Cave, 1981–82, bar; The Rawhide II, 1982–, bar
43 288 Seventh, Bay Times, 1990–, newspaper
44 398 Seventh, The Line-Up, 1982–, restaurant
45 1098 Howard, the Lone Star, 1989, bar
46 227 Seventh, Mister S, 1980–88, leather shop
47 1082 Folsom, Folsom Street Hotel, early 1980s
48 544 Natoma, 544 Natoma, 1981–83, art gallery and performance space
49 15 Harriet, Drummer Magazine, 1979–87
50 224 Sixth, Warehouse, 1982–83, sex club (aka Black Hole) Mister B's Ballroom, 1976–81, restaurant, afterhours, sex club
51 298 Sixth, The Gas Station, 1968–70, bar; Round-Up, 1970–78, bar; Watering Hole, 1979–84, bar; became a playground
52 1015 Folsom/115 Harriet, Big Town, 1973–74 (gay business complex); The Tubs, 1976–77, bathhouse; Folsom Street Baths, 1978–79, bathhouse; Sutro Bath House, 1979–83, bathhouse, co-sexual; became Colossus, Product, 1993
53 336 Sixth, A Taste of Leather and Trading Post Emporium, 1984–89, leather shop (moved with Trading Post, third location)
54 161 Sixth, Animals, 1983–85, bathhouse
55 225 Sixth, South of Market Club, 1978–85, sex club (also known as Gloryholes)
56 979 Folsom, The Hula Shack, 1962–67, lesbian bar; Rama, 1968–69, afterhours; The 979, 1970–71, afterhours; The Lumberyard, 1973–75, bar, afterhours; South of the Slot, 1976–85, sex club (also known as The Slot); became Shiva Hotel
57 285 Shipley, Drummer Magazine, 1987–89; The Sentinel, 1992–, newspaper
58 340 Sixth Street, Church of the Secret Gospel, sex club
59 401 Sixth/995 Harrison, The end Up, 1973– bar; Harrison House, 1976–79, boarding house above End Up, large gay clientele
60 973 Harrison, The Hotel, 1976–78, bathhouse; the Handball Express, 1979–82, bathhouse; currently a storage lot
61 960 Folsom, Trading Post Emporium, 1976–83, leather shop; Long Dong Club, 1977–78, bookstore, sex club; A Taste of Leather, 1978–84, leather shop (part of the Trading Post Emporium); Studstore, leather shop; became City Entertainment Video
62 947 Folsom, Folsom Gulch Books
63 933 Harrison, Blowbuddies, 1992–
64 917 Folsom, C. W. Saloon, 1985–, bar
65 374 Fifth, The Hot House, 1979–83, bathhouse
66 890 Folsom, 890 Folsom, 1986–1991; became J. C. Graphics
67 399 Fourth, Tool Box, 1962–71, bar

Appendix E: Sites for Evaluation and Possible Nomination in the Mission (from Roque Ramirez, 2001)



Appendix F: Sites for Evaluation and Possible Nomination in the Tenderloin (from Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California)



Appendix G: Sites of Significance to GLBT History with San Francisco Landmark Status (from Pearlman)

Castro Theater
SF Landmark #100 (1977)

McCormick House
SF Landmark #203 (1999)

Carmel Fallon Building
SF Landmark #223 (1998)

Harvey Milk Residence/Castro Camera
SF Landmark #227 (2000)

AIDS Memorial Quilt Building
SF Landmark #241 (2004)

Reference List

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D'Emilio, John. "Gay Politics and Community in San Francisco Since World War II." Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinius and George Chauncey Jr, editors. Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past. New York: New American Library; 1989; pp. 456-473.

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Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California's Center for the History of Sexual Diversity. Partial List of Sites in the Mid-Market Street Area of Historical Interest to Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgender Communities.

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Ordona, Trinity. Coming Out Together: An Ethnohistory of the Asian Pacific Islander Queer Women's and Transgendered People's Movement of San Francisco. Santa Cruz: History of Consciousness, University of California, Santa Cruz; 2000. Dissertation.

Pearlman, Jonathan. From Closet to Mainstream: The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender American Experience: Recognition of Sexual Minority Communities. Paper presented to the 28th Annual California Preservation Conference, April 20, 2004.

Roque Ramirez, Horacio. Communities of Desire: Queer Latina/Latino History and Memory, San Francisco Bay Area, 1960s to 1990s [PhD]: Comparative Ethnic Studies; University of California, Berkeley; 2001.

Rubin, Gayle. "Sites, Settlements, and Urban Sex: Archaeology and the Study of Gay Leathermen in San Francisco, 1955-1995." Robert A. Schmidt and Barbara L. Voss, editors. Archaeologies of Sexuality. New York: Routledge; 2000.

---. The Miracle Mile: South of Market and Gay Male Leather, 1962-1997. James Brook, Chris Carlsson and Nancy J. Peters, editors. Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture. San Francisco: City Lights; 1998; pp. 247-272.

Stryker, Susan and Jim Van Buskirk. Gay By the Bay: A History of Queer Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area. San Francisco: Chronicle Books; 1996.

Szymanski, Katie. Bob Ross: Thirty Years of Bay Area Reporter. Out in the Castro: Desire, Promise, Activism. Winston Leyland, editor. San Francisco: Leyland Publications; 2002.

Wright, Les. San Francisco. David Higgs, editor. Queer Sites: Gay Urban Histories Since 1600. New York: Routledge; 1999.

Attachment D:

Department Webpage and Mailings

From:	San Francisco Planning Department
To:	Chen, Gary (CPC); Parks, Susan (CPC); Simi, Gina (CPC); Hilyard, Gretchen (CPC); Thibodeau, Martin (CPC); SooHoo, Candace (CPC)
Subject:	Courtesy Copy: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement Available for Public Review & Comments
Date:	Tuesday, October 13, 2015 2:48:48 PM

This is a courtesy copy of an email bulletin sent by Candace SooHoo.

This bulletin was sent to the following groups of people:

Subscribers of African American History Project, Civic Center Cultural Landscape Inventory, Design Guidelines for Historic Structures and Districts, Historic Preservation Commission, or Preservation Element, (1195 recipients)

SF Planning banner graphic

San Francisco Planning is pleased to announce the completion of the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement*, produced by architectural historian Shayne Watson and public historian Donna Graves. The project was supported by a grant from the Historic Preservation Fund Committee, with technical oversight and review provided by San Francisco Planning.

About the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

The *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* documents lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history and experiences in San Francisco from the Native American period through the AIDS epidemic in the 1990s. The report presents historical background on the following nine major themes: Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (19th Century to 1950s); Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early 20th Century to 1960s); Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to 1960s); Homophile Movements (1950s to 1965); Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods (1960s to 1980s); Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to 1990s); Building LGBTQ Communities (1960s to 1990s); LGBTQ Medicine (1940s to 1970s); and San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 1990s). The report pays particular attention to incorporating the place-based histories of under-documented groups within the LGBTQ communities, including lesbians, transgender women and men, and LGBTQ people of color.

Begun in September 2013, the project builds upon existing LGBTQ scholarship, including the nation's first LGBTQ historic context statement, *Sexing the City* (2004), and includes additional research conducted at repositories such as the GLBT Historical Society, the San Francisco Public Library's James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives and Digital Collection, and others. To

inform the historic context statement and provide firsthand accounts of community life, Project Directors Graves and Watson hosted community events where participants were able to share their stories and experiences, including a kick-off event in November 2013, followed by two more open house-style events in May 2014 and November 2014.

Consideration for Adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission

The *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* has been posted on San Francisco Planning's website for the publics' review in anticipation of its adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission (HPC) at its regularly-scheduled public hearing on November 18, 2015. Copies of the context statement will also be placed at the Public Information Center, 1660 Mission Street, First Floor. If adopted by the HPC, the document can be used by community history advocates and city planners to provide a foundation for the protection, identification, interpretation, and designation of historic LGBTQ-related sites and places.

Contact Preservation Planner Susan Parks for additional information regarding the use of historic context statements or for more information on the Historic Preservation Commission's review and adoption process. Public comment in support or opposition of the document must be received by San Francisco Planning by October 23, 2015. Comments should be mailed or emailed to:

Susan Parks, Preservation Planner
San Francisco Planning
1650 Mission Street, Suite 400
San Francisco, CA 94103
susan.parks@sfgov.org

中文詢問請電: (415) 575-9010
Para información en Español llamar al: (415) 575-9010
Para sa impormasyon sa Tagalog tumawag sa: (415) 575-9121

Please do not Reply to this automated email.

San Francisco Planning

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Planning Department

LGBT Historic Context Statement



© photo credit: Greg Day / Courtesy GLBT Historical Society

UPDATE

Consideration for Adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission

The **LGBTQ Historic Context Statement** is available for review in anticipation of its adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission (HPC) at its regularly-scheduled public hearing on November 18, 2015. Copies of the context statement will also be placed at the Public Information Center, 1660 Mission Street, First Floor. If adopted by the HPC, the document can be used by community history advocates and city planners to provide a foundation for the protection, identification, interpretation, and designation of historic LGBTQ-related sites and places.

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Susan Parks, Preservation Planner
San Francisco Planning Department
1650 Mission Street, Suite 400
San Francisco, CA 94103
susan.parks@sfgov.org

ON THIS PAGE

- **OVERVIEW**
- **HOW TO PARTICIPATE**
- **DOWNLOAD MATERIALS**

UPCOMING EVENTS

None at this time.

View More Events

San Francisco is internationally recognized as a city where LGBTQ culture, advocacy and politics have made history.

Overview

A team of historians, in partnership with the GLBT Historical Society, is developing a citywide historic context statement to document lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (LGBTQ) history in San Francisco. Sites that tell the stories of LGBTQ communities can be found in neighborhoods, public spaces and individual buildings throughout the city. Focusing on the 19th century through the 1980s, the Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco will be distributed publicly and will be used by community history advocates and city planners. The final document will provide a foundation for identifying, interpreting, and, in some instances, landmarking historic places. The project is supported by a grant from the Historic Preservation Fund Committee; it will be reviewed by the Planning Department, and considered for adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission at a future hearing.

What is the Focus of the San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement?

The overarching theme will be the formation and development of the city's LGBTQ communities from their roots in the 19th century through the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. The geographical scope will be citywide. Themes to be addressed will include same-sex social and sexual relations in the 19th century; the influence of 1920s bohemian culture; the establishment of social gathering places in 1933 after the repeal of Prohibition; the effects of World War II; police harassment, bar raids, lawsuits and the consequential formation of gay and lesbian rights organizations in the 1950s; formation and establishment of various LGBTQ communities in neighborhoods throughout the city; LGBTQ rights movements in the 1970s; and the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. This project builds on the pioneering efforts of the organization Friends of 1800 that produced the nation's first LGBTQ historic context statement in 2004; titled "Sexing the City," the report is available online as a 23-page PDF.

How to Participate

LGBTQ history is best told by the people who have lived it—you can help this project reflect the diverse places that tell the stories of LGBTQ experiences in San Francisco. Where was the heart of your LGBTQ community? Where did you go to house parties? What was your favorite bar or club? Where did you shop for books, music and fabulous clothes? Where did you attend activist meetings or go to cultural events? The project team is particularly interested in hearing from people with information about sites important to LGBTQ communities of color, transgender people, the bisexual community, and other under-documented groups within the LGBTQ communities.

To share your story or for more information on the project, please email the project team at sflgbthistory@gmail.com.

Project Team and Advisory Committee

Project Directors for the Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco are architectural historian **Shayne Watson** and public historian **Donna Graves.**

The Project Advisory Committee is made up of academic scholars and community activists including **Nan Alamilla Boyd,** SF State University; **Deborah Brown,** SF State University; **Tamara Ching,** transgender activist; **Kim Connor,** University of San Francisco; **Gerard Koskovich,** independent scholar and founding member of the GLBT Historical Society, **Alan Martinez,** former member Historic Preservation Committee; **Glenne McElhinney,** community historian; **Martin Meeker,** Regional Oral History Office, UC Berkeley; **Mark Paez,** Friends of 1800; **Katherine Petrin,** historic preservation consultant; **Don Romesburg,** Sonoma State University; **Jody Stock,** historic preservation consultant; **Susan Stryker,** University of Arizona; and **Amy Sueyoshi,** SF State University.

Project Timeline

The Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco was initiated in September 2013.

Events

Please check back often for updates on the specific date, time and location.

Downloadable Materials

- Project Fact Sheet
- Community Workshop - Our Stories Too, May 17, 2014 - flyer
- LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Contacts

To be added to the mailing list and kept informed of the project, please send an email request to sflgbthistory@gmail.com.

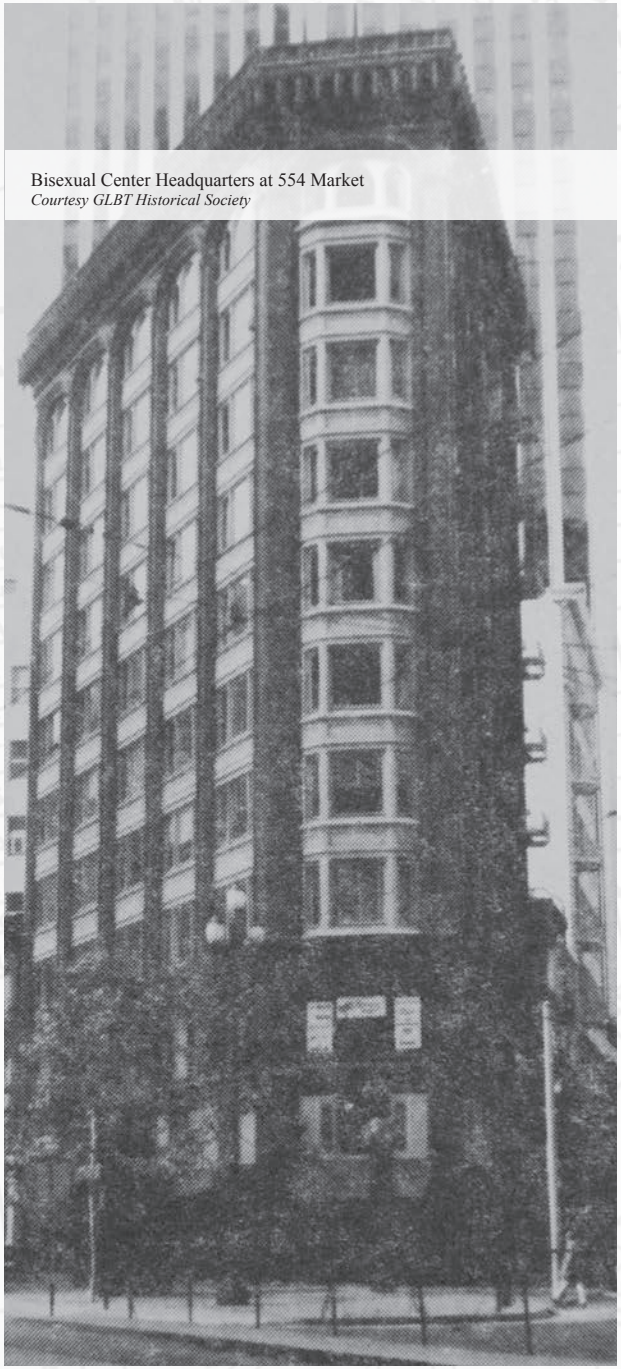
Project Historians (Consultants)
Donna Graves and Shayne Watson
sflgbthistory@gmail.com

Contact the Planning Department for more information regarding its use of historic context statements or the Historic Preservation Commission's review and adoption process. Technical support for this project is provided by the Planning Department.

Attachment E:
Outreach Materials



Lesbian-rights pioneer Phyllis Lyon at her home in San Francisco
Courtesy GLBT Historical Society



Bisexual Center Headquarters at 554 Market
Courtesy GLBT Historical Society

LGBT History Project for San Francisco
sflgbthistory@gmail.com
lgbthistory.sfplanning.org
www.facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory

LGBT
History Project for San Francisco



Early gay pride parade on Market Street
Photo by Greg Day / Courtesy GLBT Historical Society

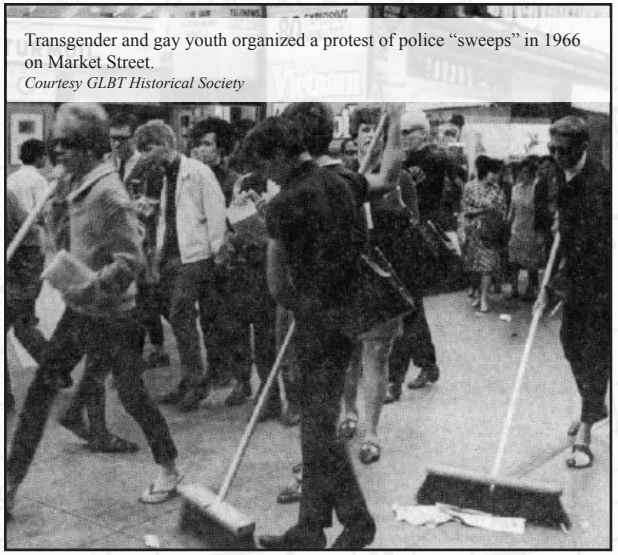
About the LGBT HISTORY PROJECT

San Francisco is internationally recognized as a city where lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) culture, advocacy and politics have made history. A team of historians, in partnership with the GLBT Historical Society, is developing a report to document LGBT history and its relationship to the buildings, neighborhoods, and landscapes that played a significant role in this history.

The **Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBT History in San Francisco** will focus on the 19th century through the 1980s. The final document will provide a foundation for identifying, interpreting, and, in some instances, landmarking historic places associated with LGBT history.



Lesbian bar Maud's located in Cole Valley sponsored a softball team that played against other bar-sponsored teams at fields throughout San Francisco.
Courtesy GLBT Historical Society



Transgender and gay youth organized a protest of police "sweeps" in 1966 on Market Street.
Courtesy GLBT Historical Society

We want to hear from YOU

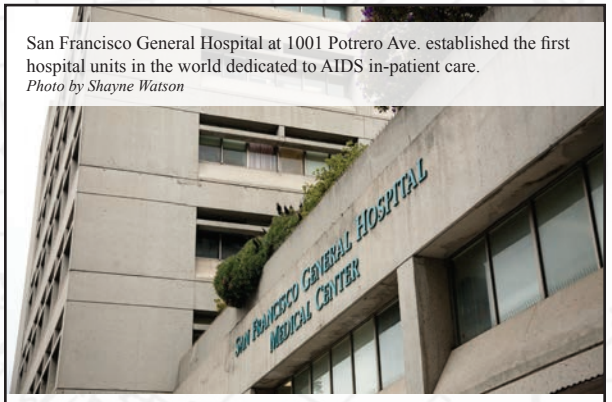
Where did you attend activist meetings or go to cultural events? Where did you go to house parties? What was your favorite bar or club? Where did you shop for books, music, and fabulous clothes?

The history of the LGBT community in San Francisco would be incomplete without the stories of those of you who have lived it. We are looking to you to help us make this project as inclusive and comprehensive as possible.

To share your story or for more information on the project, please e-mail the project historians at sflgbthistory@gmail.com or visit http://lgbthistory.sfplanning.org.



Guests entering a 1964 New Year's Eve party for the Council on Religion and the Homosexual at California Hall (925 Polk Street).
Photo by Ray Morris/San Francisco Examiner / Courtesy GLBT Historical Society



San Francisco General Hospital at 1001 Potrero Ave. established the first hospital units in the world dedicated to AIDS in-patient care.
Photo by Shayne Watson

Project TEAM

Donna Graves
Public Historian, Project Director

Shayne Watson
Architectural Historian, Project Director

GLBT Historical Society
Fiscal Sponsor and Partner Organization

Historic Preservation Fund - City of San Francisco
Granting Agency

San Francisco Heritage
Partner Organization

FACT SHEET: Historic Context Statements

What is a Historic Context Statement?

A historic context statement is a document to organize and interpret history. It pulls together information about a particular theme, in this case LGBTQ history; in a geographic area, such as San Francisco; and for a given time period. In this case, the time period is from the late 19th century to the 1980s. The historic context statement pays particular attention to how the theme is related to the built environment. For example, what buildings and sites are important to San Francisco's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) history?

Historic context statements for the African American community, Latino community, and the Filipino community in Western SoMa are currently in development or have been recently completed. Other recently adopted historic context statements focused on Japantown, SoMa, the Mission District, Sunset District tract houses, and Modern architecture and landscape design.

How will the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement used?

The San Francisco Planning Department uses historic context statements to guide the surveying, identification, and evaluation of buildings and sites. The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement will build upon previous research and documentation of significant people, events, and properties associated with LGBTQ history in San Francisco. It will provide a contextual framework for identifying significant buildings and sites and will aid in future property evaluations.

The Historic Preservation Commission has made it a priority to identify places associated with San Francisco's social and cultural heritage. A historic context statement serves as a guide for the identification of those places. The historic context statement will also provide recommendations for tools to recognize, celebrate, and protect LGBTQ contributions to San Francisco. One way to recognize these places is through landmark designation. Landmark status was recently granted to the Twin Peaks Tavern. Other examples of landmark designations related to LGBTQ history include the Harvey Milk Camera Shop (Landmark No. 227) and the San Jose Theatre/AIDS Quilt building (Landmark No. 241).

Who is working on the historic context statement?

A team of historians, sponsored by the GLBT Historical Society, is developing the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement. The team is led by architectural historian Shayne Watson and public historian Donna Graves. A Project Advisory Committee made up of scholars, preservation professionals, and community activists will guide the review and development of the historic context statement. Funding is provided by a grant from the Historic Preservation Fund Committee, and additional technical support and review is provided by the Planning Department. A final draft of the historic context statement will be submitted to the Historic Preservation Commission for consideration of adoption at a public hearing.

How can I participate?

To learn more about the project or to share stories focused on the LGBTQ experience, please contact the project historians Donna Graves and Shayne Watson at sflgbthistory@gmail.com.

For general questions about the use of historic context statements or the Historic Preservation Commission's review and adoption process, contact Mary Brown, Preservation Planner, at 415-575-9074 or mary.brown@sfgov.org.

http://LGBThistory.sfplanning.org

SAN FRANCISCO PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Historic Context Statement for

LGBTQ History

in San Francisco

To be completed in Spring 2015



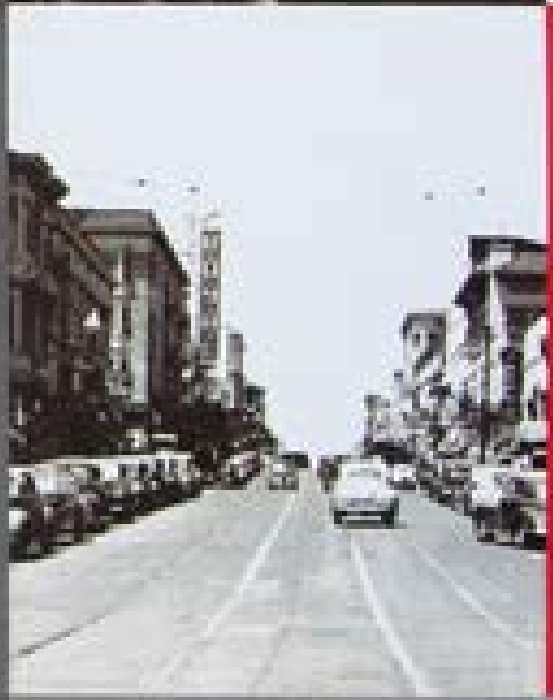
Photograph courtesy of Greg Day

For information or to share your LGBTQ stories, contact:
Shayne Watson & Donna Graves at sflgbthistory@gmail.com
lgbthistory.sfplanning.org

LGBTQ POLK



QUEER HISTORY OF POLK STREET



A FREE PRESENTATION TO THE COMMUNITY BY
LOWER POLK NEIGHBORS

LPN

A presentation by Shayne Watson,
Architectural Historian with Watson Heritage Consulting

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12 AT 7PM

First Congregational Church of San Francisco at 1300 Polk Street



ARE YOU LGBT 60+ AND IDENTIFY WITH ONE OF THESE COMMUNITIES?

PEOPLE OF COLOR * TRANSGENDER * BISEXUAL

WE WANT TO HEAR YOUR STORIES
ABOUT PLACES IN SAN FRANCISCO THAT MATTER TO YOU!

OUR STORIES



The authors of a report on LGBTQ history in San Francisco need your help to identify buildings and places that are an important part of your history. Bring your memories, photographs, and scrapbooks!

JOIN US FOR A COMMUNITY WORKSHOP

WITH LIGHT REFRESHMENTS

Saturday, May 17, 2014 from 1:00 to 3:00 PM
Openhouse Community Room 306
LGBT Community Center @ 1800 Market Street

Sponsored by:

housing, services, and community for LGBT seniors
openhouse

GLBT Historical Society
a home for our history

RSVP to Michelle Alcedo: 415.296.8995 x306 | michelle@openhouse-sf.org

Want more information about the project? E-mail sflgbthistory@gmail.com or visit lgbthistory.sfplanning.org

SENIOR CENTER
Without Walls

A Telephone Community for California Elders

An Award Winning Program

- *2010 Jefferson Award for Public Service*
- *2009 Citation of Honor, International Association of Homes and Services for the Ageing*
- *2008 MindAlert Award from the American Society on Aging and MetLife Foundation*







Fall 2014 Session
September 22 - December 14

Senior Center Without Walls is committed to serving seniors regardless of race, ethnicity, sex, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender identity, ancestry, military discharge status, marital status, source of income, housing status, or other protected classifications.

SENIOR CENTER
Without Walls

Welcome to Senior Center Without Walls!

Senior Center Without Walls (SCWW), a non-denominational program of Episcopal Senior Communities, offers telephone activities, friendly conversation, and an assortment of classes and support groups to older adults in California who find it difficult to participate in activities in their community. Seniors participate in the free activities using their own telephones in the comfort of their homes.

SCWW is a community made up of participants, staff, facilitators, presenters, and othervolunteers who care about each other and who value feeling connected.

SCWW is largely a volunteer driven program with over 90 volunteers, many of them seniors, donating their time and expertise to develop and facilitate groups.

SCWW works with community partners to identify and serve older adults who are isolated. Last year, SCWW served over 800 older adults across California and plans to serve a greater number of older adults through use of online technologies and expanded outreach to language diverse, LGBT seniors, and traditionally isolated/underserved communities.

How can I support Senior Center Without Walls?

Donate - SCWW is a community outreach program of Episcopal Senior Communities, a 501 (c)(3) non-profit organization. We gratefully accept all tax-deductible donations and bequests, which assist us in our mission to offer this program free of charge to all participants. If you would like to donate, please make checks payable to “Episcopal Senior Communities” and note “SCWW” on the check. Mail to Senior Center Without Walls - 114 Montecito Ave, Oakland, CA 94610.

Volunteer - We are grateful to our caring team of volunteer facilitators and presenters, outreach representatives and office helpers. If you would like to discuss volunteering with SCWW, please contact Amy Schaible at (510) 444-5974 or aschaible@jtm-esc.org.

Thank you to our funders - Episcopal Senior Communities, St. Paul’s Episcopal Church, and all the individual contributors. We could not do our work without you!

Senior Center Without Walls uses a telephone conference format, which should be considered a public forum. Although we do our utmost to secure privacy and confidentiality for each participant, we cannot guarantee it. The content material presented in each group is selected by the facilitator. The views and opinions expressed by our facilitators and participants are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views of Senior Center Without Walls or Episcopal Senior Communities.

On the cover: Jan, Jean, Endre. Let us know if you would like your photo on a future catalog!



CELEBRATING DIVERSITY

housing, services, and community for LGBT seniors openhouse

RAINBOW COMMUNITY CENTER

LAVENDER SENIORS of the East Bay

LGBT Architecture

Friday, October 3 *3:00 - 4:00pm*

The stories of LGBT communities can be found in neighborhoods, public spaces, and individual buildings throughout San Francisco. Examples of places that are significant in LGBT history are Mona's 440 Club, the Black Cat Café, and Harvey Miilk's home and camera shop in the Castro district. Architechtural historian Shayne Watson will lead us on a tour of these and more San Francisco sites and invite participants to share stories about LGBT places in San Francisco and California that are meaningful to them.
Photo handout available.

National Coming Out Day

Thursday, October 9 *4:00 - 5:00pm*

On October 11, 1987, half a million people participated in the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Transgender Rights. National Coming Out Day continues to promote a safe world for LGBT individuals to live truthfully and openly. In honor of National Coming Out Day, please join Rainbow Community Center's Jill Meyers, M.A., and Openhouse's Fairley Parson, MSW and LGBT community members and allies across generations for a discussion and celebration of this awareness raising event. We welcome your stories, questions and quandaries. How do you understand "coming out" and what has it meant for you or those you love? In partnership with Openhouse, San Francisco and Rainbow Community Center, Concord, CA.

Transgender Awareness

Thursday, November 13 *4:00 - 5:00pm*

Transgender Day of Remembrance is an annual observance on November 20 that honors those whose lives were lost in acts of anti-transgender violence. In honor of this event, join Fairley Parson, MSW, and LGBT senior community members from Openhouse, San Francisco, for an informative discussion including a sharing of experiences and perspectives from transgender seniors. Call in to this welcoming dialogue to share your thoughts and questions toward creating a more inclusive world. In partnership with Openhouse, San Francisco.

LGBT Primer

Tuesday, December 9 *11:00am - noon*

Join D'Anne Bruetsch and guests as we go beyond the acronyms and dive into what Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Questioning/Queer (LGBTQ) really means. This group is intended to provide a safe space for information sharing, questions, and stories. In partnership with Lavender Seniors of the East Bay.

SHAPING SAN FRANCISCO
— PUBLIC EVENTS —

HISTORY IS A CREATIVE ACT IN THE PRESENT.

FALL 2014

Wednesday Public Talks

all Talks held at 518 Valencia (near 16th) in San Francisco, 7:30-9:30 pm, FREE

September 10
The Evolving Eastern Shoreline
Shaping SF's Chris Carlsson provides an historic tour of the eastern shoreline from its days as tidal mudflats and open sewers crisscrossed by piers and wharves to its new incarnation as a site of ecological restoration and recreation. Literacy for Environmental Justice (LEJ) presents a plan to revitalize Candlestick shoreline.

September 24
No Future at College?!?
A discussion among adjunct faculty (aka temp teachers), City College of San Francisco advocates and defenders, and Student Debt activists—how to understand the current neoliberal-imposed crisis in higher education, and what is a future worth fighting for? with Joe Berry of COCAL, an SFAI adjunct, and TBA.

October 1
A History of LGBTQ Activist Spaces… Where you Least Expect Them
To start LGBTQ History Month, a group of distinguished historians come together to orient us to queer historic sites and events in the city. The presentation will also showcase the Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History, a planning document that will guide the documentation and commemoration of LGBTQ places in San Francisco. With Glenne McElhinney, Gerard Koskovich, Shayne Watson, and Donna Graves.

October 8
Making History by Making Maps
Nicole Gluckstern and Burrito Justice trace the lines of their literary history mapping project and map-making, and are joined by historical geographer Dick Walker with his fantastic "State of California" atlas.

October 29
San Francisco's Housing Wars 2014
Decades of displacement and eviction have reached another crescendo during 2013-14. Key activists from the 1990s to the present will share tactics and strategies as the war enters its latest stages. James Tracy with his new book *Dispatches Against Displacement* with Erin McElroy of the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and Maria Zamudio of Causa Justa and TBA.

November 5
Trees and History
Jared Farmer presents his book "*Trees in Paradise,*" reading California history through Redwoods/Sequoias, Palms, Citrus, and Eucalyptus, and he is joined by Craig Dawson of the Sutro Stewards, a group dedicated to untangling San Francisco's most fraught forest atop Mt. Sutro.

November 12
Art & Politics
Janet Delaney, A Photographic History of South of Market
Janet Delaney has been documenting the changing South of Market since its days as a recently deindustrialized district in the early 1970s to its present boom in luxury residential towers.

December 3
Tunneling San Francisco Then and Now: Where's the Public Interest?
A discussion of the west side tunnels and MUNI expansion in the 1910s, simultaneous to the building of the Hetch Hetchy water and power system by Elizabeth Creely and Catherine Powell, with Tim Redmond to compare today's infrastructure build-out (Central Subway, sewers, rebuilding Hetch Hetchy aqueduct).

December 12
Latin American Social Movements
Clif Ross and Marcy Rein, editors of *Until the Rulers Obey: Voices from Latin American Social Movements* present a broad overview of the social movements that have pressured one regime after another in Latin America, changing the political calculations for everyone from right to left, from Venezuela to Argentina, Mexico to Chile and more. Co-hosted by PM Press

Walking Tours

$10-20 sliding scale donation requested (no one turned away)
Second Saturday of the month, August-December

Saturday, August 9
Ten Years That Shook the City
Meet in front of La Boheme cafe, 24th Street across from BART, 12 noon-1:30
Tour ends at 20th and Lexington in the Mission.

Saturday, September 13
History of Market Street
Meet at south tower in Ferry Plaza
(betw. north- and south-bound Embarcadero), 12 noon-2 pm
Tour ends at 7th and Market, UN Plaza.

Saturday, October 11
Beer, Trains and Dunes—SOMA's forgotten history
Meet at SOMARTS, 938 Brannan 1-3:00 pm
Tour ends at 7th and Mission Creek.

Saturday, November 8
Cutting Corners: Rincon Hill, South Park, and Beyond
Meet at 1st and Mission, 12 noon
Tour ends at Pier 36

Saturday, December 13
Poets and Writers: A Literary Exploration
Meet at 518 Valencia, 12 noon



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SOCIAL, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL TOURS

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Saturday, August 23, 12 noon-3 pm
Dissent
Tour ends at Dolores Park.

Sunday, September 21, 12 noon-3 pm
Transit
Tour ends near Embarcadero and Market.

Saturday, October 4, 12 noon-4 pm
Food Politics
Tour ends at Mission Pie, 25th & Mission.

Saturday, October 18, 12 noon-4 pm
Ecological History South
Tour ends at Warm Water Cove (24th at bay shore).

Sunday, November 2, 12 noon-4 pm
Halloween Tour of Colma Cemeteries! (meet at COLMA BART)
Tour ends at COLMA or South San Francisco BART.

Saturday, November 22, 12 noon-4 pm
Labor History
Tour ends at Spear and Market.

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San Francisco, California December 2013

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Castro News Briefs

Neighbors vs. AT&T

San Francisco Beautiful and neighborhood organizations are taking action to stop AT&T from installing utility boxes in city neighborhoods. “We’ve filed an appeal to the lawsuit we lost last year,” said Kearstin Krehbiel, executive director, SF Beautiful. Since the group’s loss to AT&T, AT&T has installed 100 utility boxes in the city, Krehbiel said. One has been or may be installed at the foot of Lombard Street, she said. “It just goes to show diligence on the part of neighbors is critical at this time,” Krehbiel added. Neighbors and neighborhood groups argue that the boxes attract graffiti, impede access to parked cars, create safety issues for drivers, cyclists and pedestrians, and are pedestrian impediments.

Neighborhood Association Saves Sites

The Mission Dolores Neighborhood Association (MDNA) has saved three historic buildings from demolition. At 200 Dolores St., “We challenged the demolition” of the building, said Peter Lewis, president of MDNA. As a result, the building has been “completely restored,” Lewis said. Also saved from the wrecking ball were 601 and 651 Dolores St. At 601 Dolores St. is Golden Gate Lutheran Church, which is now being transformed into a middle school for the Children’s Day School, a project MDNA supported. At 651 Dolores St. is the Second Church of Christ Scientist. MDNA’s primary focus here is land use.

MUMC To Become Castro Merchants

The Merchants of Upper Market and Castro (MUMC) is changing its name to Castro Merchants starting early 2014. “Quite frankly The Merchants of Upper Market and Castro is one heck of a mouthful to say, and the average person doesn’t know what MUMC is, said MUMC president Terry Asten Bennett. “Castro Merchants is obvious and marketable,” Asten Bennett said. The group will be promoting its brand with advertising and social networking. Already the address of the organization’s website is www.CastroMerchants.com. “‘The Castro’ is the identifiable shopping area, and it is desirable to be part of the Castro,” Asten Bennett said. “Our research found that most people consider Upper Market” to be where

Market Street turns into Portola Avenue.

Duboce Park Now Historic

The Castro area acquired a historic district this year. Known as the Duboce Park Landmark District, the group of nearly 90 homes represented San Francisco's newest historic district when Mayor Ed Lee signed the legislation, effective July 12, 2013. Homes in the district represent "exceptional and remarkably intact architectural character," the Planning Department says on its web page devoted to the new district. The new district joined 11 others such as the Dogpatch Landmark District and the Telegraph Hill Landmark District. To distinguish between local, state and federal historic districts, local districts are known as landmark districts, said Mary Brown, preservation planner, San Francisco Planning Department. Bounded by Waller, Scott and Steiner streets, the Duboce Park Landmark District also includes Duboce Park.

New Exhibit of Early Drag Performer

The GLBT History Museum in the Castro opened a new exhibit last month on the life of Vicki Marlane. Marlane was a transwoman and drag performer who worked as a carny in the early 1950s, gained fame as a female impersonator in the 1960s, and was beloved as a leader of shows at Aunt Charlie's Lounge in the Tenderloin neighborhood. "Vicki opened a lot of doors for transgender girls," said Felicia Elizondo, curator for the show and close friend of Marlane. "She gave us the courage to become ourselves and live our own lives." On display through February 28, 2014, are videos, photos and artifacts of Marlane, some of which have never be seen by the public. Marlane died in 2011. She was 76 years old.

GLBT Historical Society Searching for Historic Sites in the City

The GLBT Historical Society has started a project to identify historic LGBT sites in San Francisco. "I think that remembering our histories is a way for us to understand what shapes the present," said Donna Graves, a public historian who is leading the project with Shayne Watson, an architectural historian. Graves said it is important that LGBT history is given the same care and respect as any other history. And Graves said history is incomplete without the histories of queer people. Supporting the project financially is a grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee. Graves said, "We are particularly interested in hearing from people with information about sites important to LGBT communities of color, transgender people, the bisexual community and others who are undocumented in LGBT history." Graves and the team expect to complete the project by early 2015. "The outcome will be a formal document known as a historic context statement, which will be distributed publicly and will be used by community history advocates and city planners," a press release about the project says.

20 Chromebooks Donated to School

After a Thanksgiving weekend fundraiser at Cliff's Variety store in the Castro, 20 Chromebooks will be given to Harvey Milk Civil Rights Academy, a public kindergarten through 5th grade school in the Castro. "We would like to thank the community for stepping forward and making a difference," said Terry

Historians seek LGBT POC, bi, and Trans Persons

Matthew S. Bajko | May 20, 2014

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Researchers mapping San Francisco's LGBT past are seeking help from people of color, bisexuals, and transgender members of the community so that their histories are recorded.

Architectural historian Shayne Watson and Donna Graves, a public historian based in Berkeley, are creating an historic context statement for the city's LGBT community in partnership with the GLBT Historical Society. The document is a preservation planning tool that federal, state, and local governments utilize when considering requests for historic landmark status of places or buildings.

As the *Bay Area Reporter* has previously noted, the pair of historians won a $76,000 grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee to write the LGBT historic context statement. A draft version should be submitted to the city's Planning Department this fall with final approval from the Planning Commission likely to occur in early 2015.

After hosting a community meeting last fall to gather public input for the project, Watson and Graves determined a second gathering was needed targeted specifically to LGBTQ communities whose histories are underrepresented or non-existent in local archives.

"The workshop we had in November had a big crowd but it was predominately men. There were not a lot of men of color, very few women and very few bisexual and transgender people," said Watson, an out lesbian whose graduate work focused on lesbian history in San Francisco's North Beach neighborhood. "It is critical that we have these members of these communities tell their story so we can include them in the survey."

They are asking LGBTQ people of color, bi or trans age 60 and older to participate in a workshop Saturday, May 17 at San Francisco's LGBT Community Center that is being co-hosted by the historical society and Openhouse, a local LGBT seniors service provider.

"We haven't found a lot of info on their histories. This is a way to try to bring them out," said Watson. "We will be doing informal oral history interviews. We are also asking people to bring materials to share with us and we will photograph and scan them on site."

San Francisco native Tamara Ching, 64, a transgender woman active in organizing the city's gay Asian community in the late 1970s, plans to attend the workshop.

"It is important for our voices to be heard before we are silenced by death or before our voices can be silenced by sickness or illness," said Ching, who helped found the Gay Asian Support Group in 1977 and took part in protests of gay bars that discriminated against Asian patrons. "We need to get out there and speak while we can."

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The workshop will be held from 1 to 3 p.m. in Room 306 at the center located at 1800 Market Street.

For more information about the project, visit http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673.

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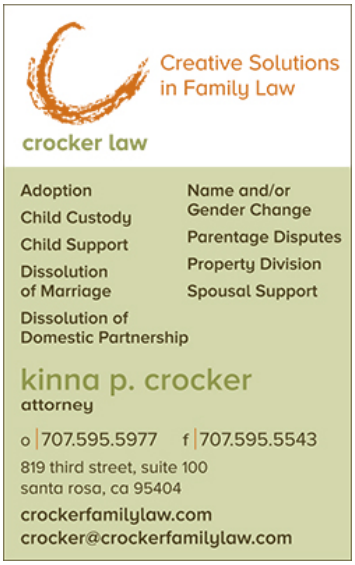
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LGBT landmarks will get park service billing

By Carolyn Lochhead Updated 9:19 am, Thursday, June 12, 2014



In San Francisco, the problem may be winnowing down the key LGBT sites.

(06-12) 09:17 PDT WASHINGTON -- Until recently, the federal government ignored or even erased the history of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender Americans. On Tuesday, the National Park Service began the process of identifying the significant historical sites of their struggle for civil rights.

The Park Service's plan is to convene scholars and community leaders and come up with landmarks in the LGBT movement, much as the government already does for historically significant buildings for African Americans and other minority groups.

San Francisco has so many places of historical significance - everything from bars to City Hall - that the problem will be how to winnow them down, said Paul Boneberg, executive director of San Francisco's GLBT Historical Society, which runs the nation's largest gay and lesbian museum.

Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin founded the first lesbian social and political organization, the Daughters of Bilitis, in 1955 in San Francisco, meeting in Mission Street building. The couple married at City Hall in 2004, the site of the first mass gay and lesbian weddings.

Quilt, rainbow flag

"In 1961, Jose Julio Sarria runs for public office in San Francisco, the first openly gay candidate in history," Boneberg said. "The creation of the rainbow flag - it occurred here in San Francisco. The birth of the Names Project AIDS Quilt, that was here in San Francisco."

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MORE IN LGBT

Gay Wisconsin couples grab possibly brief chance to wed

Interior Secretary Sally Jewell and Park Service officials convened a meeting in the nation's capital Tuesday of 18 prominent LGBT historians and scholars, the first step in identifying significant place in the gay civil rights movement. Funded by the Gill Foundation, an LGBT group, the Park Service





San Francisco City Hall gives Harvey Milk stamp of approval



Same-sex couples celebrate Pennsylvania action on marriage ban

effort is aimed at designating historically significant buildings, places and other sites by 2016.

Only one landmark

Currently, only one LGBT site, Stonewall Inn in New York City, is listed as a National Historic Landmark, and four East Coast properties are listed o the National Register of Historic Places. San Francisco has none.

"It's about ending discrimination, it's about expanding freedom, it's about making America more American," House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, D-San Francisco, said at the Washington event. She said candidates for designation in San Francisco could include the site of slain Supervisor Harve Milk's camera store at 575 Castro St. and U.N. Plaza, where for 10 years people held vigils against AIDS.

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Shayne Watson, a San Francisco architectural historian who is helping the city identify possible landmarks, said her favorite San Francisco candidates include the site of Mona's 440 Club on Broadway, one of California's first lesbian bars, opened by Mona Sargent in 1939.

During the 1940s and 1950s it was "the scene for lesbians in San Francisco if not the entire state," Watson said. "It gave women a place to go in public, where before everyone was hidden."

Bar with windows

Another popular landmark is Twin Peaks Tavern, already designated a historical site by the city. It is believed to be the first gay bar that had large gla windows that allowed its patrons to be visible from the outside.

Watson said scholars will look not just at buildings but at places such as Market Street, site of the city's annual gay pride parade as well as LGBT protests and vigils following Milk's assassination and the passage of Proposition 8 banning same-sex marriage.

Public buildings that could be considered include City Hall and San Francisco General Hospital, where many men with AIDS were treated at the height of the epidemic in the 1980s.

Vanished history

The Park Service's program follows private efforts across the country to preserve the history of LGBT Americans.

"So much gay and lesbian history is deleted or vanished or destroyed or burned," said Charles Francis, founder of the new Mattachine Society. The original group was led by the late Frank Kameny, who was fired from his job in the federal government in 1957 and led the first tiny protests at the White House against federal employment discrimination.

Francis founded the new organization after sorting through boxes of Kameny's old picket signs, petitions and other memorabilia that were found in his attic. They are now in the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian.

The new group promotes what Frances calls "archive activism" not just to preserve historical documents for academic study, but to educate policymakers "about the extent of the federal persecution, the depth of it, the virulence of it." The FBI, he said, has destroyed thousands of papers documenting antigay hunts under longtime director J. Edgar Hoover.

San Francisco is one of just two cities, with Los Angeles, to identify LGBT landmarks, said Donna Graves, who is working with Watson to identify San Francisco landmarks. They are looking at everything from the Bay Area's indigenous cultures to the 1990s.

"We know our work will have an impact," Graves said, "partly because San Francisco is an epicenter of queer history."

Carolyn Lochhead is the San Francisco Chronicle's Washington correspondent. clochhead@sfchronicle.com

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LGBT landmarks will get park service billing



Leah Millis, The Chronicle

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R-Rated and Ephemeral: Spinning LGBT History

By Daniel Hirsch
(http://missionlocal.org/author/danh/)
(http://twitter.com/danieljayhirsch)
Posted July 18, 2014 6:00 am

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It was San Francisco's last Latino-owned gay bar—open from 1981 to 2014, featured on HBO's *Looking*, the launching pad of countless drag queens' careers, a safe haven for many. Nowadays, Esta Noche is being gutted and built out into a brand new bar, with a decidedly less gay identity. But is this the end of Esta Noche's story? Might a U.S. Park Ranger include this infamous gay hangout on walking tours and describe the bar's importance in history?

If that sounds impossible, consider this: When the U.S. National Parks Service recently invited historians to Washington, D.C., the topic on the table was a startling departure for the federal bureau: the history of LGBT people. It was a kickoff meeting to launch a new study of LGBT history, with the goal of adding more LGBT-related sites to the nation's registry of historic places and landmarks. The Stonewall Inn in New York is currently the only LGBT National Historic Landmark.

Nan Alamilla Boyd, a professor at San Francisco State and author of *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (http://www.amazon.com/Wide-Open-Town-History-Queer-Francisco/dp/0520244745) , attended the meeting. And she recalls that one guest nominated the Liberty Hill Victorian once occupied by José Sarria, the country's first openly gay politician.

Boyd agreed that the location is historically significant. Sarria was not only a pioneering drag queen, he was also a civil rights trailblazer. Yet, she said later, she felt keenly aware of one big omission—Sarria's building also housed a notorious sex club called the Catacombs.

"It's this historic fist-fucking place," Boyd said. "This site had this dual usage, both significant, but that other one isn't going to get remembered."

The Sarria/Catacombs dichotomy highlights a key issue facing projects designed to publicly commemorate LGBT history. For many, the vast array of sexual expression and experimentation should be a central part of any telling of queer history. Yet, as local and national efforts try to determine the what and how of LGBT commemoration efforts, they run the risk of over-simplifying, or even putting a PG spin on episodes that are frankly R-rated.

At a time when bars and other queer spaces are struggling to stay open (http://www.sfweekly.com/2014-06-04/news/lgbt-castro-gay-bars/), the approach some groups are taking to mark LGBT history also has the potential to forever alter, and possibly diminish,

surviving spaces. The fear is that by marking a place as historic, its current inhabitants may get pushed out to make more room for all the memories.

Street Stories, Commemorative Conflict

In the Castro, there's a current plan by the Department of Public Works and the Castro/Upper Market Community Benefit District (CBD) (http://www.castrocbd.org/), to paint the district's crosswalks in rainbow colors. It might seem at first glance like a whimsical way to celebrate the neighborhood's queer history and culture. But for some, being somewhere over these rainbows represents further gentrification and worse, "Disneyfication."

"How many more rainbows do we need, I mean, jesus," said Waiyde Palmer, a contributor to the Castro Biscuit (http://castrobiscuit.com/)and Castro-resident since 1986. "I'm fine with a little bit of fey, but the rainbow crosswalks are the equivalent of a cheap souvenir T-shirt, like, 'I went to the Castro, and all I got was this rainbow crosswalk.'"

Rainbow crosswalks date back to 2008, when efforts of the Castro CBD (Castro/Upper Market Community Benefit District) coalesced with the city's plans to repave roads and improve sidewalks, in a large effort called the Castro Street Improvement Project. (The Castro CBD, one of many in the city, is a special business district funded by a special tax, made up of merchants organized to improve the neighborhood as they see fit.)

In conjunction with the Planning Department and Department of Public Works, the Castro CBD took on the task of "beautifying" the neighborhood. Through a process of public input and outreach, this means the improvement project will include the following decorative elements: 20 sidewalk etchings featuring highlights of Castro history, as well as decorative LED sidewalk lights, and those rainbow-colored crosswalks.

The 20 sidewalk etchings (http://castrobiscuit.com/2014/05/05/castro-cbd-releases-draft-summary-20-castro-facts-stamped-sidewalks/) span the neighborhood history, from the first indigenous people to the Supreme Court's striking down of Prop 8. (Along with the rainbow crosswalks and LED lights, they're expected to be installed by October.) About half of the historical facts are LGBT-related.

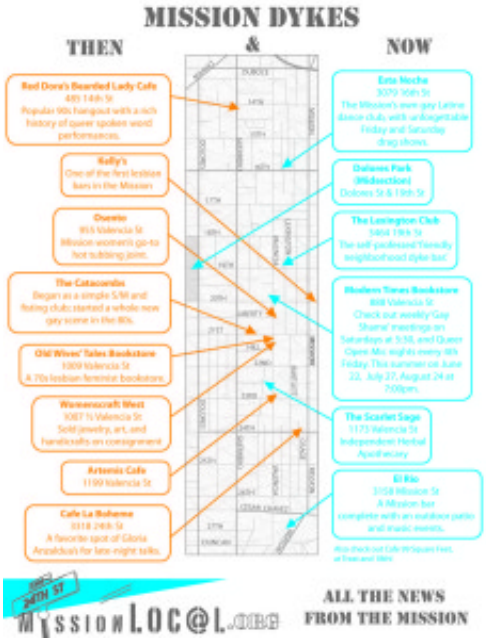
At the same time, an independent coalition of community members and business leaders raised funds to create a "Rainbow Honor Walk," a collection of plaques commemorating historic LGBT figures that will be installed in conjunction with the Castro Street Improvement Project.

"The idea was really to have something in the streetscape that would ID the Castro," said Andrea Aiello, executive director of the Castro CBD. She added that while the $8.3-million improvement street project was funded through municipal bonds and federal grants, The CBD contributed $121,860 to fund the decorative extras when a contractor's bid fell short.

(http://i1.wp.com/missionlocal.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/Mission-Dykes-Map.jpg)

A map of historic queer spaces in the Mission. CLICK TO ENLARGE. Created by Molly Roy.

The entire commemorative effort has raised its fair share of eyebrows. During public hearings, several people objected to the inclusion of the name of Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk's assassin, Dan



White, in the sidewalk. Others have noted that the 20 highlights skimp on the history of lesbians, people of color and the transgender community of the Castro.

Aiello, arguing that only historical facts were included in the project that were supported by a certain level of historical research, noted that the CBD plans on having a website with more information about "more transgender and people of color."

The initiative is "well meaning, but dubious," said Gerard Koskovich, a founding member of the GLBT (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender) Historical Society. The historical society consulted with the Castro CBD on which facts to include, but the final project decisions were made by the Planning Department and the CBD. Not only will there be omissions, said Koskovich speaking on his own behalf, but "when an official institution [like the CBD] is involved, they don't include content that makes trouble."

As someone who has dedicated his career to studying queer history and lived through much of it—he first moved to the Bay Area in 1979—Koskovich is quick to tick off such trouble areas. For one, the proposed etchings make no mention of the watershed 1989 "Castro Sweep," in which nearly half of San Francisco's police force swept through Castro Street following an ACT UP rally. In one night, 53 people were arrested and 10 injured, and the police locked moviegoers inside the Castro Theater for roughly two hours.

"I don't think the CBD is eager to antagonize the SFPD," Koskovich said.

Many worry that the Castro CBD's chief motivation is promoting its members' businesses, which can mean creating an environment that brings in tourists. By keeping things "clean, safe and green," as Aiello describes the group's mission, the CBD will not only sanitize the neighborhood's history, it might exclude many residents from sharing in the project's potential benefits.

"The city is interested in the Castro being a destination, trying to make a kind of tourism that has a mass appeal," said historian Nan Boyd, who is working on a book about the role tourism plays in gentrification. "Increased tourism will raise property values and contribute to the gentrification of the neighborhood, which will squeeze out community members who do not own property in the neighborhood."

Aiello says the CBD's efforts are what's best for the neighborhood as a whole, not just for tourists or businesses catering to tourists.

"I just don't see us ever becoming Fisherman's Wharf or Union Square," Aiello said.

But that's exactly how Palmer, a neighborhood blogger who recently left the Castro for the East Bay, does see it.

“It’s become a destination only because queers made it a destination, and now they’re not even getting to reap the benefits,” Palmer said. “We’re calling it the ‘gay Fisherman’s Wharf.’”

Queering America’s Landmarks

For historian Donna Graves, commemorating LGBT historic sites shouldn’t be about tourism, it should be about being inclusive.

“When people think queer San Francisco, they think Castro, gay, male and white, but that’s not the whole story,” Graves said.

Currently, the city has three LGBT-related places in its local roster of landmark historic sites: the location of Harvey Milk’s Camera Store, Twin Peaks Bar, and the San Jose Theatre/AIDS Quilt building. Graves hopes that list grows longer, more diverse and includes federally recognized spots as well.

San Francisco’s Historical Preservation Commission granted Graves, along with Shayne Watson, $75,000 to research and write San Francisco’s Citywide LGBT Historical Context Statement (http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673). “One of our important tasks is to research the breadth and depth of LGBT history,” she said.

The endeavor runs parallel to the National Parks Service effort. The Historical Context Statement is a planning tool, that can “lay the groundwork” for various educational programs, guide the city in construction decisions and potentially get more of San Francisco’s LGBT-related sites on to the prestigious National Registry of Historic Landmarks.

“We’re also planning to write it in accessible language,” Graves said. “We want this to be used by individuals and community groups to better understand the neighborhoods in which they live.”

But being comprehensive is a challenge. For one thing, many places where LGBT people organized and socialized were ephemeral spaces such as bars in working class neighborhoods that have since been shut down or demolished. At many significant sites, there’s no actual building left to commemorate.

Another issue is the multi-faceted nature of the public spaces in which LGBT people congregated. Now the Elbo Room on Valencia Street, the bar Amelia’s was not only a site of fundraisers for queer nonprofits and political organizations but also the starting point of countless lesbian hookups. What’s a commemoration effort to do with this duality? How do sites of violence and civil unrest, like the Castro Sweep or the Compton’s Cafeteria riot (https://vimeo.com/1667849) fit into this picture? Will a private sex club like the Catacombs—which you can find referenced in many academic essays, including Gayle Rubin’s “Temple of the Butthole”—make it onto the list of landmarks?

(http://i0.wp.com/missionlocal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/catacombs.jpg)

Sex club or historic Victorian home? This site was home to José Sarria and the Catacombs, a private sex club. Photo courtesy of Gerard Koskovich.

"It will be fascinating to see how the Parks Service deals with the challenges of putting up these landmarks in a palatable form," said Koskovich, who expressed optimism about Graves' and Watson's local efforts. "Hopefully, it will retain some of the grit of LGBT history."



Drag Queens or Disneyland

The renovation of Esta Noche's former home in the Mission is just the latest example of a site LGBT historians and preservationist must reckon with.

Eduardo Morales, executive director of Aguilas (http://sfaguilas.org/), an organization dedicated to serving gay Latinos, noted it was the last in a long line of vanishing queer spaces popular in his community. He remembers when there were three bars side by side on 16th Street that catered to LGBT Latinos.

Morales would like to see a plaque at this former locus of queer life, and countless others around the city. As a professor of psychology at Alliant International University, Morales believes that commemorative efforts will fill in a part of history that's too often forgotten by his students.

"A lot of gay kids come into my class and they don't know their history," he said. Morales would welcome ways to fight against collective memory loss but adds "it would need to include diversity… the first gay history book written didn't have the words 'Latino' or 'Hispanic' anywhere in it."

One interesting model of commemoration could be a recent event part of author Michelle Tea's RADAR reading series (http://www.radarproductions.org/reading-series/). One night in June, scholars, including Nan Boyd, and performers led a guided walking tour of North Beach's historic queer sites.

"I was there doing very straightforward, very academic history of North Beach," said Boyd, who led one part of the tour. "But then you also had all these drag queens doing crazy and creative interpretations of these famous queer spaces in businesses that are no longer queer. I really like that pairing."

Perhaps for a community as diverse as the queer one, no single effort can fully capture the complexity of a history that has long been on the margins. Plaques and texts will inevitably fall short. When New York City drafted language for the historic marker at the Stonewall Inn, the country's only LGBT National Landmark, controversy erupted. Critics perceived the marker as not fully inclusive of the range of people who rioted at Stonewall (http://gaycitynews.com/community-board-2-takes-stalled-stonewall-plaque-project-october-15/). In fact, participants from the original 1969 riots protested again—this time not to make history, but to shape the telling of it.

For Esta Noche, set to open as a new bar later this year, and the many erstwhile San Francisco queer sites, its history isn't a thing of the past, but something being drafted right now at this very moment.

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PRINT

LGBT History Month: Project looks to survey SF's LGBT past

by Matthew S. Bajko

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A new project aims to map the history of the LGBT community in San Francisco as the first step toward remembering and preserving the people and places that played critical roles in cementing the city as a gay mecca.

The project and a separate one currently under way in Los Angeles are believed to be the first two efforts anywhere in the United States to produce documents detailing their municipalities' comprehensive, citywide LGBT histories.

"I like to refer to it as the final frontier of historic preservation," said architectural historian Shayne Watson, 36, an out lesbian who lives in San Francisco, of the effort to document LGBT history.

Watson and Donna Graves, a public historian based in Berkeley, in partnership with the GLBT Historical Society won a $76,000 grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee, overseen by the Office of Economic and Workforce Development, to complete by early 2015 what is known as an historic context statement. It is a preservation planning tool that federal, state and local governments can refer to when determining what places and structures hold importance to telling a historical theme.

"We reviewed their application and we worked with them over a number of months to try to ensure that it was going to be a sound project and one that would have wide and long-term community benefit," said Mark Ryser, chair of the fund committee.

The document, by unearthing sites of historical significance to the LGBT community, could assist in efforts to landmark certain buildings or possibly establish a historic district in the gay Castro neighborhood. To date San Francisco has named just three sites, all in the Castro, as local historic landmarks due to their ties to LGBT history: the Twin Peaks Tavern, the building that housed Harvey Milk's Castro Camera shop, and the home of the AIDS quilt.

"We want to make sure important places are interpreted, protected, and designated as landmarks," said Graves, 57, a straight ally who recently worked on a project aimed at preserving and reviving the city's Japantown district.

Los Angeles' LGBT context statement is part of its larger SurveyLA project that began in 2007 as a

joint project between the city's planning department and the Getty Trust. This year it won a $20,000 federally funded grant from the state Office of Historic Preservation to survey the city's LGBT history and expects to complete the work by next September.

"We are going to have all our survey results and context online in a searchable database we are working with the Getty Conservation Institute to development that will be online in the next year," said Janet Hansen, deputy manager of the Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources.

Back in 2004 the group known as Friends of 1800 published a partial report on San Francisco's LGBT history called "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979." The group had formed to protect from demolition the Carmel Fallon Building at 1800 Market Street that was eventually incorporated into the LGBT Community Center.

"The Friends of 1800 sparked this idea of the importance of preserving not just buildings but land-marking areas that were of importance and crucial to LGBT history," said Nan Alamilla Boyd, a professor at San Francisco State University who identifies as queer and wrote a book about the city's LGBT history up to 1965. "A historic context statement really tries to create a guide to the historical narrative that can frame the way people make decisions about land-marking so it is not random."

The 23-page Friends report called for the creation of an historical district "to recognize how the city has contributed to the growing recognition and legitimation of sexual and gender minorities as full members of American society." It also called for sub-districts created in North Beach, the Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, and the Castro.

It noted that the GLBT Historical Society's archival database lists more than 1,300 local sites associated with sexuality-based subcultures, such as bars, bathhouses, restaurants, community centers, religious centers, social service organizations, bookstores, nonprofit organizations, publishers, and gay-oriented businesses.

"It officially recognized the legitimacy of queer history when it came to planning issues," said architect Alan Martinez, who chaired the Friends group and is a former member of the city's Historic Preservation Commission.

Graves and Watson plan to keep the scope of their work between the early roots of the city's LGBT community in the 19th century through the AIDS crisis in the 1980s.

Some of the themes they intend to explore include the influence of 1920s bohemian culture; the establishment of social gathering places in 1933 after the repeal of Prohibition; the effects of World War II; police harassment and bar raids in the 1950s as the first LGBT activist groups began to form; and the LGBT rights movements in the 1970s.

Martinez, who with Boyd is serving on the project's advisory committee, is eager to see important lesbian historical sites be given prominence due to the document's production.

"If nothing else, finding some appropriate ways to honor lesbian history probably is the most important thing," he said.

For her master's in historic preservation thesis in 2009 at the University of Southern California, Watson documented the lesbian history of San Francisco's North Beach neighborhood. She now plans to gather information on sites across the city to include in the historic context statement, such as Maud's in Cole Valley, a lesbian bar opened in the 1960s that closed in the 1980s.

The bar, at 937 Cole Street, is now called Finnegan's Wake but remains largely as is from its days as Maud's, said Watson, who grew up in San Jose and has lived in San Francisco since 2002.

"It was sort of like a community center for the lesbian community," she said.

Rikki Streicher, an out lesbian who died in 1994, owned Maud's and also helped found the Federation of Gay Games. The site of the early games, Kezar Stadium in Golden Gate Park, is an example of a place most people don't associate as being of LGBT historical import, said Graves, that likely will be highlighted in the context statement.

"I am also really interested in LGBT culture being part of this study. I am very interested in finding the homes, studios, and performance spaces of LGBT artists," she said.

The document is not meant to be exhaustive, the women pointed out, though they do intend for it to be as broad as possible, with special attention made to including important sites related to bisexuals, LGBT people of color, and the transgender community.

"It is a very big story," Graves said of the city's LGBT past. "We feel committed to making sure we do represent the range of diverse experiences of the LGBT community."

They are asking the public's help in locating people and sites to include and are inviting people to come share their stories with them at a forum next month.

"We are going to need people's help in telling those stories," said Graves. "Sometimes it is big stories and sometimes it is everyday experiences that have shaped the community. We want to hear all of that from people."

The first public presentation on the project, titled "Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco: A Community Workshop," will take place from 6 to 7:30 p.m. Thursday, November 14 in the Audre Lorde Room at the San Francisco Women's Building, 3543 18th Street in the Mission.

For more information, contact Watson and Graves at sflgbthistory@gmail.com or visit the "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites" page on Facebook at http://www.facebook.com/preservinglgbthistory.

10/24/2013



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Shaping SF Public Talks: A History of LGBTQ Spaces…Where you Least Expect Them

Wednesday Oct 1, 2014 7:30pm-9:30pm in San Francisco

I'm Going Bookmark

At the outset of the LGBTQ History Month of October, a group of distinguished historians come together to orient us to queer historic sites and events in the city. They reflect on those that have been torn down and what it means that these centers of community are missing, and present a sampling of the many still extant social, cultural, and sexual spaces, and why these places are critical components of LGBTQ history. The presentation also showcases the work going into the Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History, a planning document that will serve as a guide in the documentation and commemoration of LGBTQ places in San Francisco.

With Glenne McElhinney, Gerard Koskovich, Shayne Watson, Donna Graves, and Felicia Elizondo

Image of Talk of the Town advertisement used with permission from the GLBT Historical Society.

http://www.shapingsf.org/public-talks/index.html#lgbtq

These talks are meant as an antidote to historical amnesia, to change the climate of critical discussion in San Francisco, and as a place to meet and talk unmediated by corporations, official spokespeople, religion, political parties, or dogma.

We are grateful to the City Lights Foundation and the Rainbow Grocery Cooperative for helping make these Talks happen.

All events are FREE (donations appreciated).

3
going



The Mission

Who Really Owns the Rights to the Elbo Room?

by Rachel Balik
Nov 18, 2014 at 9am
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In the almost 70 years that he's lived in San Francisco, Richard S. E. Johns says that one thing has remained the same about the city. "What attracts people here is that it is vibrant," says Johns, who serves as a historian on the city's Historic Preservation Commission. "This is where people come to fulfill themselves." Inevitably, with vibrancy comes change, and Johns doesn't think that that's necessarily a bad thing. "If you tried to stop [it], we'd become like Venice: a museum piece that is slowly sinking. That's the real challenge – to balance the past with the future."

For many, that balance feels woefully skewed lately. The city's economic and development booms are threatening the viability of music venues essential to the city's DNA as buildings that once housed shows become upscale restaurants and condos. Now it looks like the Elbo Room is the next music club with an uncertain future. Just who can lay claim to that future is up for debate.

The Elbo Room was "a home for many people," according to owner Matt Shapiro. Paul Costuros, who DJs Saturday Night Soul Party twice a month, says that his connection to the place was immediate and that a community has formed around the shows he plays there. Unfortunately, although the Elbo Room is home to many, only two people – Dennis Ring and Susan-Rokisky Ring – own the building, and they're ready to do something else with the property.

In a heated community meeting last week, the Rings positioned the condominium they plan to build in the Elbo Room's place as a home for them to retire to. But according to Shapiro, who leases the space from the Rings and remains close with the couple, they are not specifically building a senior living home. When asked whether he thought they were playing up the retirement aspect to garner sympathy, he declined to comment. The Rings did not respond to multiple requests for a comment, perhaps because real estate developers, and certainly the Rings themselves, are typically portrayed in an unflattering light in this city.

> In a city where the population is growing – and certain industry incomes along with it – one person's opportunity can be another's heartbreak. Places like the Elbo Room inspire intense feelings of ownership, even when the legal backing for that sentiment is murky.

The new plan for a nine-unit building will certainly be a lucrative investment for the Rings (the condos on 20th and Valencia Streets sold for around $1,400 per square foot), but Shapiro believes they are sincere about their plan to live there long-term. He believes that if the market was not as strong, they might postpone their decision to build the condo, but ultimately, he accepts their plans for the building. "It's their right," he says. "I wish they wouldn't, but it's their building. What are you going to do?"

In a city where the population is growing – and certain industry incomes along with it – one person's opportunity can be another's heartbreak. Places like the Elbo Room inspire intense feelings of ownership, even when the legal backing for that sentiment is murky. As Phengren Oswald, who also DJs Saturday Night Soul Party, says, "I've DJ'd there, played in bands there, seen great bands there, and played my best game of pinball ever there. I'm not even being nostalgic; it's just that kind of place." It's also been life changing at a professional level; his co-DJ Sean "Lucky" Siegle says, "It has given me the opportunity to pursue my dreams and make those dreams a reality."

Knowing that the Rings are within their rights to turn their building into condos hasn't stopped the wave of community dissent; perhaps since the closing is part of a larger trend, it has a negative impact beyond the emotions of its loyal clientele. Matt Haze Kaftor, DJ, business owner, and Mission resident,

believes that places like the Elbo Room are fixtures of the neighborhood's culture. With each new condominium, "the grit, the DIY culture, [and] collaboration" disappear, he says.

> Places like the Elbo Room are fixtures of the neighborhood's culture. With each new condominium, "the grit, the DIY culture, [and] collaboration" disappear.

Brian Adler, a live sound engineer who worked at Cafe Du Nord until it closed, adds that these club closings threaten SF's identity as a place where music is created, because small clubs present opportunities for artists at all levels to develop and express their craft. "If bands can't play, they can't get new fans; they can't fill a club. And if you can't get shows, what's the point?" Keith Kanoff, a booker at the Hotel Utah, says this situation is a reminder that even with clubs like the Utah, Milk Bar, and Bottom of the Hill around to perform in, San Francisco is slowly becoming uninhabitable for musicians due to the cost of living.

Kerry LaBelle, former owner of Cafe Du Nord, agrees that the music scene in SF is going through some hard times, but she doesn't think that that precludes the Rings from living their lives. "I don't hold it against them," she says of their decision to turn their building into condos. "They've contributed a lot to SF. They've done more for the city than most. [But] is it sad? Yes." Although landlords are entitled to using their property however they legally see fit, other members of the community still wonder why the Rings, who own a number of other buildings in San Francisco, can't find an alternative condo location.

The biggest roadblock for the Rings doesn't come from the music or bar-going community, however. According to Tim Frye, Preservation Coordinator at the San Francisco Planning Department, the Elbo Room has undergone a standard historic evaluation from an outside consultant to determine if the building should be protected for architectural, historical, or cultural reasons. Researchers Shayne Watson and Donna Graves have written an LBGTQ Historic Context Statement that includes the Elbo Room's building. It previously housed a lesbian bar called Amelia's, owned by Rikki Streicher, whom Watson calls "one of the top three most influential lesbians of all time in San Francisco." They believe the building should be preserved because of its significance in LGBT history.

If Watson and Graves' research successfully demonstrates the historical relevance of 647 Valencia street, it will be a significant step for the LBGTQ community and a happy coincidence for Elbo Room lovers. It could also impact real estate developers, who may find themselves more limited in their ability to develop certain properties.

In a city that is inherently transient, there's a lot of disagreement about what should stay the same and what should change. As Johns points out, "If we had preserved the Castro as it was in 1968, there would be no gay people there."

> Watson and Graves' research [could] be a significant step for the LBGTQ community and a happy coincidence for Elbo Room lovers. It could also impact real estate developers, who may find themselves more limited in their ability to develop certain properties.

Additionally, because only buildings, not businesses, are covered by the Preservation Commission's statute, it can only protect the physical structure, not its use. However, the SF Heritage organization's Legacy Project, which identifies historic bars and restaurants, might be able to help local businesses in specific ways. Its goal, says Renee Cohn, SF Heritage's communications and programs manager, is to set up legacy businesses for continued success by providing visibility and tax incentives.

Unlike some other small businesses in the city, the Elbo Room is financially secure and stands a good chance of continuing in another location. But the change in address will still be symbolic of a significant shift in the city's culture. "Whatever happens, it will be different," say Shapiro. "I have no idea in what context." As sad as it is for many residents, those who have been in San Francisco for a long time understand that, as Johns says, "Whatever you do in SF, there's someone there that was here before you, and there will be someone here after you."

LaBelle, who lived through the last tech boom while working in the music industry, is slightly more sentimental. "What's going to come out of the ashes of what we hold dear to us? I guess we don't know yet."

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PRINT

Authors submit SF LGBT history document for review

by Matthew S. Bajko

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San Francisco planning and historic preservation officials are currently reviewing a draft version of a wide-ranging survey of the city's LGBT past.

It spans the centuries and features various groups of LGBT residents who called the city home, from Native American two-spirit tribe members and gender nonconforming Chinese immigrants to various artists and service members.

Officially titled the "Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer History in San Francisco," the *Bay Area Reporter* obtained a copy of the 355-page draft document through a public records request.

Funded several years ago by a $76,000 grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee, overseen by the Office of Economic and Workforce Development, the historic context statement is a preservation planning tool that federal, state, and local governments can refer to when determining what places and structures hold importance to telling a historical theme.

Once adopted as an official city document, it will assist with efforts to landmark, either by the city or national programs, properties of historical significance to the LGBT community.

Authors Donna Graves, a public historian based in Berkeley who is straight, and Shayne Watson, an architectural historian based in San Francisco who is lesbian, declined to be interviewed about the document while city officials review the preliminary draft.

But in an emailed statement to the *B.A.R.* , Watson wrote that the project "has been a labor of love for both Donna and me since we wrote the first draft grant application in 2012."

Their report begins in the late 15th century when European settlers first encountered the *berdache*, meaning "kept boys," members of local Native American tribes who adopted the roles of the opposite sex and faced eradication under Spanish missionaries who arrived later.

The document then traces the introduction of laws in the mid-19th century that targeted people for "nonnormative sexual or social behavior or acts" and the "homosocial activity among men" that existed during the Gold Rush days to the birth in 1910 of "an active gay network" of servicemen

and civilians in the city "that gathered at private residences and bathhouses."

Cross-dressing by both men and women in the 19th and 20th centuries is covered, as are several of the more noteworthy Barbary Coast female impersonators, like Bothwell Browne, Julian Eltinge, and Ah Ming, whose 1892 obituary declared that "As a female impersonator ... Ming led all of his countrymen."

It delves into the role of bohemians, such as poets and lovers Charles Warren Stoddard and Yone Noguchi, and lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow in helping turn Jackson Square and North Beach into a haven for homosexuals from around the world.

Later arrivals, such as poet Robert Duncan and his partner, visual artist Jess Collins, are included among the Beat generation who played a hand in attracting other LGBTQ artists to the city in the 1950s. The art gallery the couple helped co-found was where gay poet Allen Ginsberg recited his coming-out poem "Howl" in October 1955.

The birth and migration of the city's gay and lesbian bar scene is documented from its early incarnation in North Beach, at places like Finocchio's, Mona's 440 Club, and the Black Cat Cafe between the 1930s to the mid-1960s, to its eventual spread south into the Tenderloin, Polk Street, Haight-Ashbury, South of Market, the Mission and Valencia Corridor, and the Castro, where it remains centered to this day.

Bathhouse culture

Bathhouse culture and the various establishments catering to a gay clientele are covered, as is the sole women-focused bathhouse Osento that was housed in a Victorian on Valencia Street. Public cruising spots for sex are also documented, from the northern blocks of Market Street in the 1920s and the Tenderloin in the 1940s to various parks and open spaces in later decades.

Other sections delve into police harassment faced by LGBTQ communities; homophile movements in the 1950s and 1960s; the growth of Pride celebrations and a gay press; queer arts groups; the emergence of an LGBT political presence; and the launch of organizations with specific racial and gender focuses.

It ends with the advent of AIDS in the 1980s and the city's response to the deadly disease over the ensuing decades.

"The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is not intended to be inclusive of all aspects of LGBTQ history or associated sites, but instead aims to provide a broad overview of the many and complex patterns, events, influences, individuals, and groups that shaped this history," Graves and Watson explain in the introduction.

The women credit Damon Scott and Friends of 1800, a San Francisco-based advocacy organization that fought to protect from demolition the Victorian that is now incorporated into the LGBT Community Center at 1800 Market Street, for laying the groundwork for their historic context statement.

Their jumping off point was the 2004 document "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979," written by the Friends group and Scott as the country's first LGBTQ historic context statement.

Graves and Watson began the research for their project in October 2013 and last October delivered the first rendition of their work to an advisory committee comprised of local historians and preservationists. After receiving feedback from the group, the women did additional research, revised the document, and submitted it in March to the city's planning department and the Historic Preservation Fund Committee for feedback.

Both entities are now reviewing the preliminary draft and will submit any comments or suggested revisions to Graves and Watson. A second draft will then be submitted to planning officials before a final version is sent to the city's Historic Preservation Commission to be voted on at a public hearing.

So far the women have received "super positive comments" about their initial version of the document, wrote Watson.

"We have dedicated thousands of hours (many pro bono) to making the HCS as comprehensive and inclusive as possible," she wrote, referring to the historic context statement. "This is by far the most meaningful and personally rewarding project of my career, and I know Donna feels the same. We couldn't be more excited that we are this close to having it adopted by the city."

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PRINT

CA LGBT history project launches

by Matthew S. Bajko

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A project has been launched in California to focus on the state's LGBT history as work advances on a National Historic Landmark LGBTQ Theme Study and proposed framework for the National Park Service.

Called California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories, the online, crowdsourced archive will feature, according to organizers, the "memories, stories, and images related to sites throughout the Golden State associated with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer experience."

A series of statewide meetings, called pinning parties, is being held to collect information on sites across the state that are of special significance to the LGBT community. The launch event will take place in San Francisco Wednesday, June 10 and will focus on the Bay Area's lesbian history.

Attendees will learn how to "pin" their favorite LGBTQ historic sites to the web-based California Pride map. The National Trust for Historic Preservation and the California Preservation Foundation are supporting the project.

It is similar to the interactive online map of U.S. LGBT historic sites created as part of the National Park Service's ongoing LGBTQ Heritage Initiative. The map, which can be accessed at http://tinyurl.com/l5mz3pg, now includes more than 650 sites in 48 states.

As the *Bay Area Reporter* first noted in a January 2014 story, the national effort is aimed at having more LGBT sites listed on the National Register of Historic Places, be designated as a National Historic Landmark, or both. To date only five properties in the country have been granted some form of federal historic preservation recognition specifically due to their relationship to LGBT history.

The documentation for properties already listed on the national register or that have landmark status are being reviewed to see if their connections to LGBT history can be added. It is one piece of the National Park Service's initiative to highlight LGBT history throughout the hundreds of properties, national monuments, conservation areas, and park sites that are under its jurisdiction.

Megan Springate, who is overseeing the creation of the National Historic Landmark LGBTQ Theme Study and proposed framework, was in San Francisco in early April to update local

advocates of preserving LGBT history about the project. She is racing to complete the more than 600-page-long document by June 2016, months ahead of the presidential election that November, which could marshal in a less gay-friendly administration in early 2017.

"We want it done and released before the administration changes in D.C.," said Springate, who identifies as queer and is seeking a Ph.D. in archaeology at the University of Maryland.

Theme study

The theme study, largely funded by a $25 million grant from the Gill Foundation, has been broken into 32 chapters written by various authors from across the country. As of last month 22 people had signed contracts to write one of the sections. The topic headings run the gamut from "health," "military," "art and artists" to "spirituality and religion," "leisure and sport," and "sex, love and relationships."

Demographic groups receiving their own chapters include two-spirit, Latino/a, African American, Asian American, Pacific Islander, and transgender people. Each chapter will be capped at 20 pages.

"A lot of history written for the LGBTQ community tends to focus on white, middle class history," said Springate. "All of the writers need to recognize the breadth of diversity under the LGBTQ umbrella."

Some have questioned the absence of a dedicated chapter about bisexuals, but Springate said the authors of all chapters have been instructed about "bisexual erasure and how not to do it."

Elaine Jackson-Retondo, Ph.D., a San Francisco-based history program manager for the National Park Service's Cultural Resources Pacific West Region, said historic context statements often leave out specific groups due to space constraints. The documents, she noted, can be revised in the future.

"We know it doesn't always satisfy everybody," said Jackson-Retondo. "The studies are not the end all, be all. They can be amended."

New York City, San Francisco, Chicago, Miami, and Reno will each have their own chapters. One will be titled "rural," and many cities will be mentioned throughout the document, said Springate.

"We wanted to represent different regions of the country. When you talk about LGBT history, a lot of people think of New York City and San Francisco. But our history is all over the place," said Springate, who chose Reno to represent the Southwest. "These regional histories are different from each other. And people are often left out in rural places."

The San Francisco chapter is being co-written by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson, the authors of a citywide LGBTQ historic context statement now under review by San Francisco planning and historic preservation staff.

Several other authors have Bay Area ties. Sonoma State University history professor Steve Estes, Ph.D., is writing the military chapter, while Stanford University historian and archivist Drew Bourn, Ph.D., is covering spirituality and religion.

Will Roscoe, Ph.D., a San Francisco-based community organizer, is writing the two-spirit chapter, while Susan Stryker, Ph.D., is authoring the transgender section. Stryker commutes from San

Francisco to her job as a professor of gender and women's studies at the University of Arizona and director of the Institute for LGBT Studies.

Bill Lipsky, a gay man and author of the 2006 book *Gay and Lesbian San Francisco*, attended the April 13 meeting, and afterward, told the *B.A.R.* "the project is excellent and very much needed."

Visitors to the country's historical sites and monuments need to be informed about their connections to LGBT history, added Lipsky.

"Because our gender identification and sexual orientation imbue us with everything we are, it needs to be part of the narrative told to people visiting businesses, homes, and places of importance," he said.

Gay former Hayward City Councilman Kevin Dowling, who also was at the meeting, said chronicling LGBT history is particularly important as gay neighborhoods in cities throughout California, and across the country, are fading away as longtime establishments such as gay bars and bookstores close.

"I think the gay community is under assault. The gayborhoods across the country are shrinking and changing rapidly, especially the bars really. In Hayward we have lost four of our five bars," noted Dowling, who is active with the Hayward Historical Society and a supporter of the San Francisco-based GLBT Historical Society. "It is important to honor where we have come from and the pioneers in civil rights, the people starting businesses, and politicians."

The first California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories pinning party will be held from 6 to 7:30 p.m. Wednesday, June 10 at the California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street in San Francisco. To RSVP, go to http://capridepinningparty.eventbrite.com.

For more information about California Pride, visit http://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/.

For more information about the National Park Service LGBT initiative, visit http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/LGBThistory/.

05/21/2015



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Oct. 9, 2013

CONTACT
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San Francisco Launches LGBT Heritage Project; Community Workshop Will Pinpoint Historic Sites

San Francisco -- The San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee has awarded a grant to the GLBT Historical Society to develop a comprehensive study of places associated with lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender history in the city. The project will be unveiled November 14 at a public workshop where community members will be invited to contribute their own stories about meaningful LGBT places.

"San Francisco is internationally recognized as a city where LGBT culture, advocacy and politics have made history," notes architectural historian Shayne Watson, who is leading the project with public historian Donna Graves. "Sites that tell the stories of this movement can be found in neighborhoods, public spaces and individual buildings throughout the city. We're excited about documenting the diversity of these evocative sites, many of which have been largely forgotten."

The workshop will bring together community members to share their recollections of places that have been important to their past experiences of LGBT life in San Francisco. "We're eager to hear from everyone who has participated in the community in any way up through the 1980s," says Graves. "Where did you go to house parties? What was your favorite bar or club? Where did you shop for books, music and fabulous clothes? Where did you attend activist meetings or go to cultural events?

"We are particularly interested in hearing from people with information about sites important to LGBT communities of color, transgender people, the bisexual community and others who are underdocumented in LGBT history," Graves adds.

The project is expected to take a year to complete, with extensive archival research, further interviews with groups and individuals, and a final community meeting at the end of the study. The outcome will be a formal document known as a historic context statement, which will be distributed publicly and will be used by community history advocates and city planners.

Titled "Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco: A Community Workshop," the initial public presentation and discussion is set for Thursday, November 14, 6:00-7:30 p.m., at the San Francisco Women's Building, 3543 18th St. in San Francisco. The event is cosponsored by San Francisco Heritage and the San Francisco Women's Building. Admission is free of charge, and light refreshments will be served.

For more information, contact Watson and Graves at sflgbthistory@gmail.com or visit the

"Preserving LGBT Historic Sites" page on Facebook at www.facebook.com/preservinglgbthistory.

-- 30 --

What: Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco: A Community Workshop
When: Thursday, Nov. 14, 2013. 6:00 - 7:30 p.m.
Where: Audre Lorde Room at the San Francisco Women's Building, 3543 18th St., San Francisco
Admission: Free

EDITOR'S NOTES

ABOUT HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENTS

What is a historic context statement?

A historic context statement is a preservation planning tool used by federal, state and local governments to present information on a historical theme, such as the history of a city, a culture or an architectural style in a given geographical area and chronological period.

How are historic context statements used?

A historic context statement helps community members and public agencies make preservation and historical interpretation decisions about individual properties and historic districts. Preparation of the historic context statement is often followed by a survey that may result in designating landmarks at the local, state or national level. Historic context statements also can provide a foundation for interpretive and educational projects such as walking tours, publications, exhibitions, websites and mobile apps.

What is the focus of the San Francisco LGBT historic context statement?

The overarching theme will be the formation and development of the city's LGBT communities from their roots in the 19th century through the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. The geographical scope will be citywide. Themes to be addressed will include same-sex social and sexual relations in the 19th century; the influence of 1920s bohemian culture; the establishment of social gathering places in 1933 after the repeal of Prohibition; the effects of World War II; police harassment, bar raids, lawsuits and the consequential formation of gay and lesbian rights organizations in the 1950s; formation and establishment of various LGBT communities in neighborhoods throughout the city; LGBT rights movements in the 1970s; and the AIDS crisis in the 1980s.

Is this the first citywide LGBT historic context statement in the United States?

The San Francisco project and a separate project currently underway in Los Angeles appear to be the first two efforts to produce comprehensive, citywide LGBT historic context statements anywhere in the United States. San Francisco also was the setting for an earlier pioneering effort by the organization Friends of 1800 that produced the 2004 document "Sexing the City," an LGBT historic context statement covering a shorter period of time and a smaller area within the city. "Sexing the City" is available online as a 23-page PDF: www.friendsof1800.org/context_statement.pdf

ABOUT THE PROJECT DIRECTORS

Donna Graves is a public historian and urban planner with over 20 years experience developing projects that document and interpret underrecognized histories.

Shayne Watson is a San Francisco-based architectural historian and preservation planner who specializes in LGBT heritage conservation as part of her larger preservation practice.

ABOUT THE GLBT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

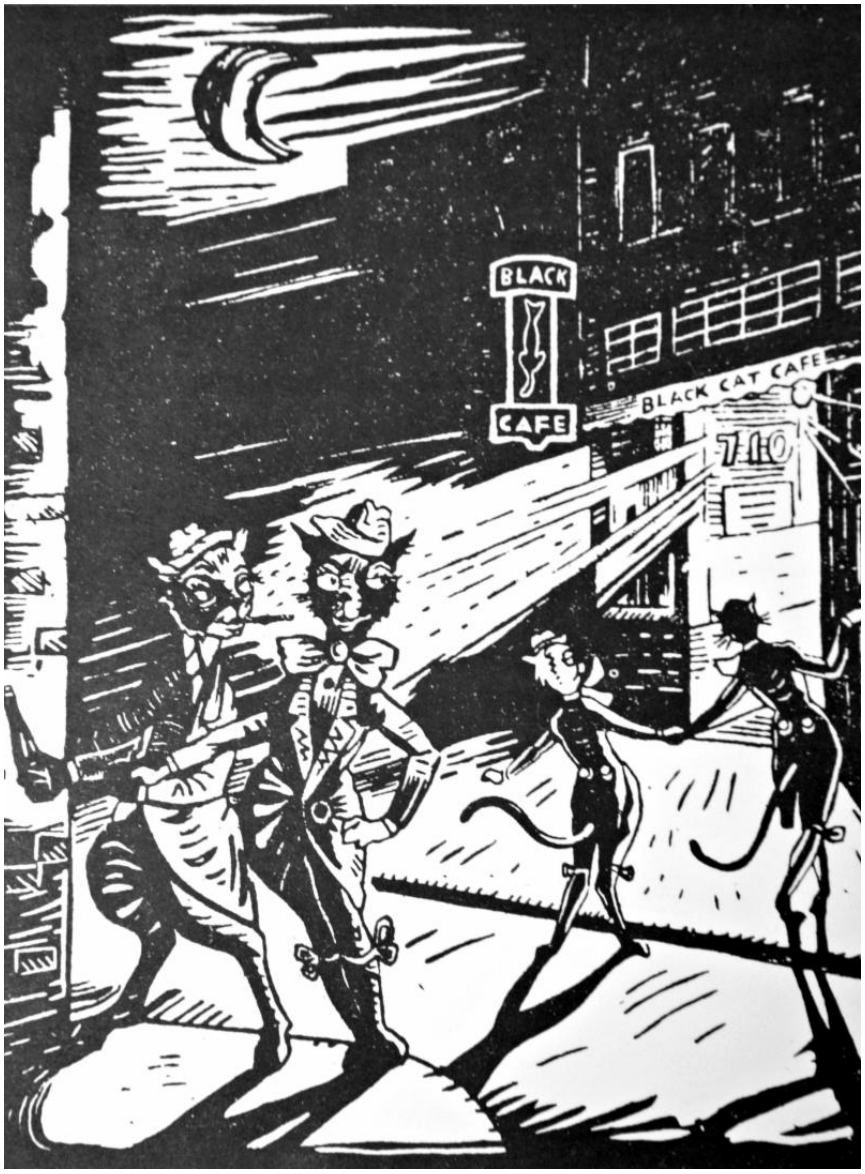
Founded in 1985, the GLBT Historical Society is an archives and research center often referred to as San Francisco's "queer Smithsonian." It houses one of the world's largest collections of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender historical materials. The society also sponsors The GLBT History Museum in the city's Castro District -- the first full-scale, stand-alone museum of GLBT history and culture in the United States. For more information, visit www.glbthistory.org.

ABOUT THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION FUND COMMITTEE

The San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee is a committee of the City and County of San Francisco that operates under the purview of the Mayor's Office of Community and Economic Development. For more information, visit the committee's home page: http://sfgsa.org/index.aspx?page=676.

GRAPHIC & PHOTOGRAPHS

Media may reproduce the following images in conjunction with coverage of the community workshop; inclusion of the photo credits is mandatory:



The Black Cat Café at 710 Montgomery St., opened in 1933, was the home base of drag performer and civil rights activist José Sarria in the 1950s and early 1960s. The owner, Sol Stoumen, lost his liquor license in 1949 for serving "persons of homosexual tendencies," but took his case successfully to the State Supreme

Court. The outcome initially legalized homosexual assembly in California, but authorities continued looking for ways to ban such gatherings. Historic Illustration: Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco)



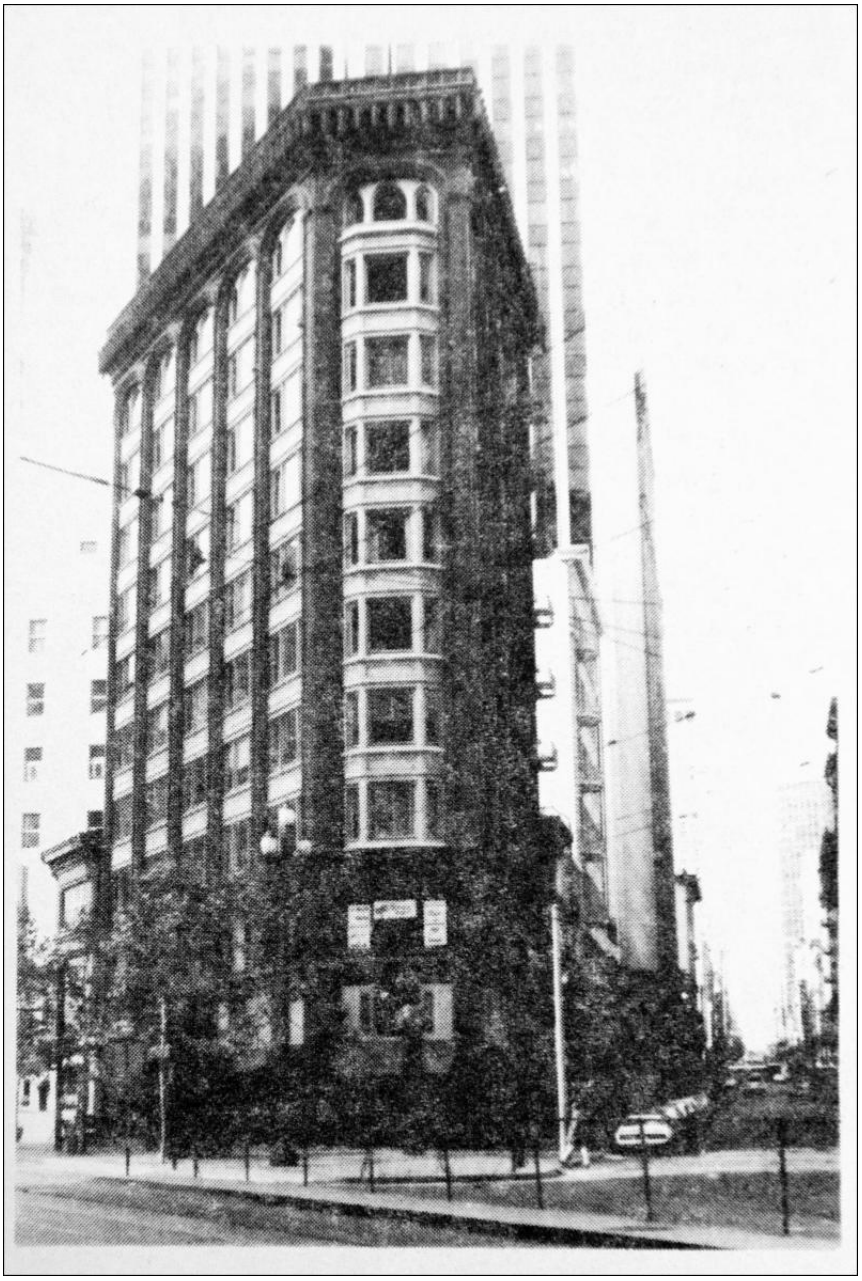
California Hall at 925 Polk St. hosted a New Year's Eve party on Dec. 31, 1964, organized by the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, a new organization created to educate religious communities about gay and lesbian concerns. San Francisco police harassed guests and arrested party organizers, who were successfully represented at trial by the ACLU. Photo: Ray Morris/*San Francisco Examiner*. Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco)



Streets as well as buildings can be LGBT historic sites: Transgender and gay youth living in the Tenderloin organized a protest of police "sweeps" in 1966 by theatrically cleaning a block of **Market Street** and carrying signs demanding rights. Photo: *Vanguard* (October 1966). Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco).



Maud's at 937 Cole St. was a center for the San Francisco lesbian community from 1966 to 1989. Regulars at the bar, known as Maudies, fielded the Lesbian Softball League team in this 1976 photo. Not only is the bar a historic site; so are the ball fields where the league played. Photo: *Maud's Platinum 20th Anniversary Program* (1986). Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco).



One year after its founding as a groundbreaking advocacy organization, the **Bisexual Center** moved into a 3rd floor office at 554 Market St., where they hosted potluck dinners, parties and support groups. More than 100 people attended the grand opening in September 1977. Photo: *The Bi-Monthly* (January-February 1978). Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco).



Between 1981 and 1997, more than 15,500 San Franciscans died of AIDS. Approximately one-third of those individuals were hospitalized at some point during their illness in Wards 5A or 5B at **San Francisco General Hospital** at 1001 Potrero Ave., the first hospital units in the world dedicated to AIDS in-patient care. Photo: Shayne Watson

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News » National

San Francisco Set to Adopt LGBT Historic Statement

by Matthew S. Bajko
Bay Area Reporter
Sunday Nov 1, 2015

PRINT EMAIL COMMENTS (0)



Two men share a romantic moment on a Ferris wheel in front of City Hall in this undated photo that's included in the LGBT historic context statement (Source:Courtesy GLBT Historical Society)

Two years after a pair of local historians began researching San Francisco's queer past, their report documenting often overlooked chapters of the city's history is set to be adopted by city officials. Their hope is it will boost efforts to preserve various sites of particular importance to the LGBT community.

Officially titled the "Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer History in San Francisco," the 381-page report will be voted on Wednesday, November 18 by the city's Historic Preservation Commission. Once adopted as an official city document, it will assist with efforts to landmark, either by the city or state and national programs, properties of historical significance to the LGBT community.

As the Bay Area Reporter reported in May, after obtaining a draft version of the document through a public records request, the report spans the centuries and features various groups of LGBT residents who called the city home, from Native American two-spirit tribe members and gender nonconforming Chinese immigrants to various artists and service members.

Authors Donna Graves, a public historian based in Berkeley who is straight, and Shayne Watson, an architectural historian based in San Francisco who is lesbian, wrote the report, which was funded by a $76,000 grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee, overseen by the Office of Economic and Workforce Development.

It builds off the 2004 document "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979," the country's first LGBTQ historic context statement. It was written by Damon Scott and the Friends of 1800, a San Francisco-based advocacy organization that fought to protect from demolition the Victorian that is now incorporated into the LGBT Community Center at 1800 Market Street.

Asked recently about shepherding their more expansive report toward its soon-to-be conclusion, Watson joked, "I am sleeping a lot. I have been feeling exhausted."

She added that, "The good news is I feel like it is gratifying on many levels. Most importantly, I feel like we have opened another window on history that has been shadowed for so long."

Graves also told the B.A.R. she feels gratified "to have co-created something so robust. But I also know that it is not the encyclopedia we would all love to see."

Their report begins in the late 15th century when European settlers first encountered the berdache, meaning "kept boys," members of local Native American tribes who adopted the roles of the opposite sex and faced eradication under Spanish missionaries who arrived later.

The document then traces the introduction of laws in the mid-19th century that targeted people for "nonnormative sexual or social behavior or acts" and the "homosocial activity among men" that existed during the Gold Rush days to the birth in 1910 of "an active gay network" of servicemen and civilians in the city "that gathered at private residences and bathhouses."

Cross-dressing by both men and women in the 19th and 20th centuries is covered, as are several of the more noteworthy Barbary Coast female impersonators, like Bothwell Browne, Julian Eltinge, and Ah Ming, whose 1892 obituary declared that "As a female impersonator ... Ming led all of his countrymen."

It delves into the role of bohemians, such as poets and lovers Charles Warren Stoddard and Yone Noguchi, and lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow in helping turn Jackson Square and North Beach into a haven for homosexuals



Related Stories



BARchive :: Sutter's Mill and Ginger's Trois - San Francisco's Historic Bars

BARS | By Michael Flanagan | Aug 30

From the mid-'60s through 2008 there was another type of downtown bar - the businessman's bar. The two downtown bars which lasted the longest and had the biggest impact were Sutter's Mill and the various incarnations of Ginger's.



San Francisco Mayor 'Open' to Allowing Gay Bathhouses

NATIONAL | By Matthew S. Bajko | Oct 24

San Francisco Mayor Ed Lee is "open" to allowing gay bathhouses to once again operate in the city as long as public health officials believe doing so would not hinder their plan to eliminate by 2020 nearly all new HIV infections.



from around the world.

Later arrivals, such as poet Robert Duncan and his partner, visual artist Jess Collins, are included among the Beat generation who played a hand in attracting other LGBTQ artists to the city in the 1950s. The art gallery the couple helped co-found was where gay poet Allen Ginsberg recited his coming-out poem "Howl" in October 1955.

Birth of the Bar Scene

The birth and migration of the city's gay and lesbian bar scene is documented from its early incarnation in North Beach, at places like Finocchio's, Mona's 440 Club, and the Black Cat Cafe between the 1930s to the mid-1960s, to its eventual spread south into the Tenderloin, Polk Street, Haight-Ashbury, South of Market, the Mission and Valencia Corridor, and the Castro, where it remains centered to this day.

The women split the timeline in half, with Watson focused on the earlier decades up until 1965. One development she was especially taken by was the creation of sex space communities, such as bathhouses and cruising spots.



"The development of bar spaces has been documented so well and so has the homophile movements. But the cruising and hustling and kind of the edgy side of this history was fun for me to research," she said.

One section she added late in the drafting process was on the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, a left-leaning group that supported men discharged from the military for homosexuality being hired for jobs in the maritime industry.

"I had no idea about it. I went and looked again at Allan Berube's work," said Watson, referring to a local gay historian who had begun looking into the union's history prior to his death in 2007. "He was the only historian to document it in detail."

In her section detailing the more recent decades of LGBT history, Graves said one chapter she particularly found compelling centers on the work of the Langley Porter Clinic at UCSF, which she writes in the report was responsible for San Francisco becoming "an important center for the study of gender and sexuality in the 1940s and 1950s."

"It looms pretty large in transgender history, not just in the Bay Area but nationally," said Graves.

Two eras she documented that Graves found especially powerful were the early gay liberation movement and the early years of the AIDS epidemic.

"A lot of the early gay liberation activists saw their work intimately tied to the work against racism and for economic justice for a new world. That was very inspiring," she said. "In some ways, it echoes the kinds of complex issues about power we are trying to deal with today in San Francisco. Another part that was emotional to research was, of course, the AIDS section. I do think there could and should be more ways to make that story public for people."

To assist in the preservation and land-marking of important LGBT sites, the women created a how-to guide on how to navigate the city's historic landmark designation process as well as how to petition both the California Office of Historic Preservation and the National Register of Historic Places to list a property on their registries.

Recommendations

The women concluded the report with five recommendations for further action to be taken to preserve and highlight the city's LGBT history. Their suggestions include funding a citywide LGBTQ cultural heritage survey to create a comprehensive list of properties worthy of recognition and pursuing the registration of such sites as local landmarks or landmark districts and by the state and federal governments.

Another idea they promote is for the city to install a historical plaque, and/or interpretative display, at sites where the historic property?is now gone.

Both women pledged to ensure their report doesn't merely gather dust on a shelf at City Hall and intend to advocate for the land marking of various sites.

"Hopefully, it will have a life as a tool for the planning department to check against as they are looking at



potential development in San Francisco," said Graves. "Likewise, the city, I think, might elect to assign either staff or resources to nominate sites as landmarks based on the research."

In delivering the completed document to the city and the community, Watson said she and Graves feel like they are also "passing the torch" on to others involved in pushing for official recognition of San Francisco's LGBT history.

"I think the fact this is going to be a part of the official city record ... you take a step back and it is pretty special. Because not too long ago, this would have been unthinkable," said Watson. "On a personal level, I have been working on historic preservation for a while as a historian and a member of this community. This is my first time to research and document my own history so that is pretty special."

The Historic Preservation Commission meeting will begin at 12:30 p.m. Wednesday, November 18 in Room 400 at City Hall, 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place.

A copy of the LGBTQ historic context statement can be downloaded online at http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673

Bay Area Reporter

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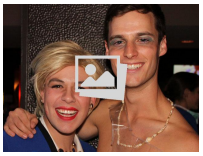
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Thursday, June 11, 2015

Recap: California Pride Pinning Workshop in San Francisco



Lauren Tabak of the Lexington Club Archival Project, presenting on how they are working to preserve the memories of San Francisco's iconic lesbian bar. The lovely California Historical Society served as our venue for the night.

Last night, we held the first workshop for California Pride, our new project to map out important LGBTQ places and stories in the state of California. With collaborators the Lexington Club Archival Project, GLBT Historical Society, and Bay Area Lesbian History Archives Project on hand, the aim of night was to introduce attendees to the project on Historypin and facilitate a story-collecting session focusing on LGBTQ places in California meaningful to them. We called it a "pinning party" and it was certainly a lot of fun! Our friends at the California Historical Society (CHS) were kind enough to host the event in their exhibition space in downtown San Francisco, and helped us organize the event along with California Pride power co-founders Donna Graves and Shayne Watson.

After great introductions from CHS, the Lexington Project, Shayne, and Donna, we broke into smaller groups for our story-collecting session. Thanks to outreach from Donna and Shayne, we had over 7 fantastic volunteers including students from UC Berkeley and friends from SF Heritage and the National Park Service. Each volunteer helped to facilitate conversations in each group and the filling-out of story sheets we created for the night; these sheets asked for information specific to pinning on Historypin such as location and date, and stories shared will either contribute to a new pin or help enrich an existing pin in the project.

A highlight of the night was the end of the event, where Donna invited volunteers and participants to come up to the mic and share a story heard or told as part of their individual groups. This was a great way to tie-together the session, and an opportunity for the entire room to share in some of the stories collected throughout the night.

Pages

- About This Project
- How-to Contribute to this Project
- California Pride on Historypin

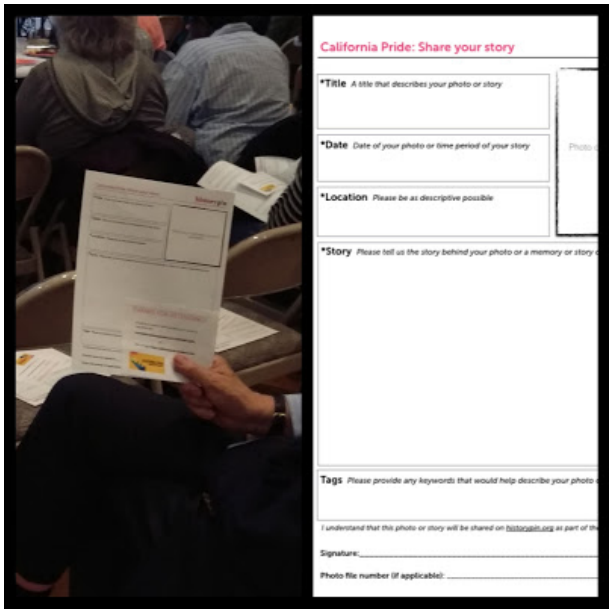
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Overall, this was a fantastic event that helped bring together those in the local community both actively preserving and interested in preserving LGBTQ history, while introducing how participants could continue sharing their stories on Historypin. Hopefully this is first of many, we've already received interest from Sacramento and Los Angeles. Thanks to all who helped organize!



Lenn Keller poses with a board of memories she brought in as part of the Bay Area Lesbian History Archives Project. Photo credit Matthew S. Bajko.



(right) a partial view of the story sheet that we distributed for the event, and (left) a (unfortunately) blurry photo of an attendee holding one!



Moses Corrette posing with his pin on Historypin after we recorded his story about the house where the "guerilla bar movement" was formed, where members of the LGBTQ community would meet once-a-month and pick out non-queer bars in which to gather and hang out. Though not planned for the night, I managed to live-pin Moses' story with my laptop, and we were even able to do some quick-fire research on places to help jog some memories.

Attendee Drew shares a funny and powerful story of reclaiming Halloween for the LGBTQ community in San Francisco's Castro district.



Posing with my fantastic story-group members (from left) Xan, Patricia, and Zoe, who shared wonderful stories of their LGBTQ activism in the last few decades, not only in California but around the country. I felt lucky to be able to spend time with these fantastic women and to help record some of their stories onto Historypin.



Posing with the night's great organizers Shayne Watson (middle) and Donna Graves (right), who have taken years of work on San Francisco's Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ history to now a new project collaboration over Historypin.

-Kerri, Historypin Community Officer

Posted by Historypin at 11:57 AM 1 comment:

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Tuesday, May 19, 2015



Historypin Pinning Party | Wednesday 10 June 2015
California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco
6:00-7:30 PM

On June 10, 2015, join us for the first in a series of statewide events for a new project called *California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories*. *California Pride* is designed to be an online, crowd-sourced archive of memories, stories, and images related to sites throughout the Golden State associated with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) experience.

Bay Area lesbian history will be the focus of the first *California Pride* pinning party, although all LGBTQ stories and anyone interested in LGBTQ history are welcome. In April 2015, San Francisco saw its last full-time lesbian bar, the Lexington Club, close its doors for good—leaving the city without a lesbian bar for the first time since the 1930s. The site of another beloved gathering spot, Amelia's on Valencia Street, is threatened with demolition.

The *California Pride* pinning party will begin with a short presentation by the directors of the Lexington Club Archival Project, an effort to document this popular queer space. Attendees will then learn how to "pin" their favorite LGBTQ historic sites to the *California Pride* map.

California Pride can help bring awareness to the powerful, diverse stories that make up LGBTQ history — from major events to commonplace histories of daily life. People with stories, photos, flyers and other ephemera associated with LGBTQ history throughout the Bay Area are invited to help build this on-line archive as well as people interested in learning more about preserving California's LGBTQ history are encouraged to attend.

For more information on *California Pride* visit www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/ or contact sflgbthistory@gmail.com. To RSVP, go to http://capridepinningparty.eventbrite.com

This event is sponsored by the California Historical Society and the GLBT Historical Society. *California Pride* is supported by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the California Preservation Foundation.

Posted by Donna Graves at 1:29 PM No comments:

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Monday, March 23, 2015

How-To Contribute to this Project



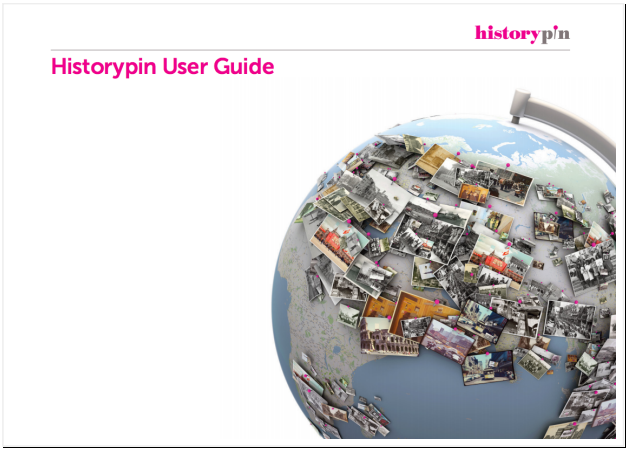
Here are some helpful resources for contributing to California Pride on Historypin:

How to Create a Profile on Historypin

Before adding to California Pride, you must first create a free Historypin profile. Here is a short video on how to create and customize your profile.

How to Pin a Photo to California Pride

Short video on how-to pin to California Pride on Historypin. Remember that you must pin through the project page in order for your content to appear in the project.



To learn more about all of Historypin's features more generally, check-out this complete User Guide (click image).

If you have any general questions about using Historypin, please email Kerri Young kerri.young@historypin.org.

Posted by Historypin at 9:50 AM No comments:

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Tuesday, March 3, 2015

About California Pride



California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories is designed to be an online archive of memories, stories, and images related to sites throughout the Golden State that are associated with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) experience in California.

LGBTQ history is best told by the people who have lived it. Your pins will help make California Pride a reflection of the diverse places that define LGBTQ experience. Where was the heart of your LGBTQ community? Where did you attend activist meetings or go to cultural events? Where were the great house parties? What was your favorite bar or club? Where did you shop for books, music, and clothes?

California Pride is led by architectural historian **Shayne Watson** and public historian **Donna Graves**. The project is supported by a grant from the National Trust for Historic Preservation and fiscal sponsorship by the California Preservation Foundation.

This project builds on two recent studies in San Francisco and Los Angeles that document the critical role California has played in LGBTQ history in the United States: the Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco, co-authored by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson; and the LGBT Historic Context Statement for Los Angeles, authored by Teresa Grimes, Laura O'Neill and Amanda Yoder of GPA Consulting.

If you'd like to get in contact or have any questions, please email: sflgbthistory@gmail.com.

California Pride banner images courtesy of GLBT Historical Society and ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives.





Posted by Historypin at 3:13 PM No comments:

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PRINT

Projects preserve Bay Area's lesbian past

by Matthew S. Bajko

m.bajko@ebar.com

Concerned that the Bay Area's lesbian past was quickly disappearing, Oakland resident Lenn Keller put out a call in April 2014 for anyone with stories to tell and ephemera to donate to contact her.

So began the Bay Area Lesbian History Archives Project. It grew out of a talk Keller had given a few months prior about the need to preserve "Bay Area lesbian legacies" and what was being done in regard to Bay Area lesbian history preservation.

As she notes on the project's website, "Currently, little representation of lesbians exists in local archives. Some are almost out of space, creating a critical and immediate need for a local facility to preserve and process the activist, cultural, and community history of lesbians from the last sixty years, and into the future."

Keller, 63, a photographer and filmmaker, in 1975 moved to the Bay Area. Six years later she began documenting the Bay Area lesbian scene, with a special focus on lesbians of color, and other marginalized communities through photography, film, video, and oral history.

Her collection of lesbian archival material includes posters, fliers, and other memorabilia. It is modeled after the Lesbian Herstory Archives located in Park Slope, Brooklyn and the June L. Mazer Archives in West Hollywood, billed as "the largest major archive on the West Coast dedicated to preserving and promoting lesbian and feminist history and culture."

The Bay Area collection, said Keller, "is not just for the lesbian community and it is not just for the queer community. I feel it is for everybody."

Her goal is "to house it, to preserve it, and to make it accessible to everyone."

Eventually, Keller would like to lease or purchase a building, most likely in Oakland or another East Bay city, where she can process the various items she is gathering and make them available online "for the enrichment of the public."

There already is the GLBT Historical Society, which maintains an archive accessible to researchers and others in downtown San Francisco and operates a museum in the city's gay Castro district. The preservation group traces its beginnings to the early days of the AIDS epidemic when gay community members began saving the belongings of the hundreds of men dying from the little understood disease.

There is also the San Francisco Public Library's GLBT Archival Collections, which houses the papers of many LGBT people and organizations, some of which is held on behalf of the GLBT Historical Society.

Since her collection has a more regional focus, Keller does not see her project as competing with the already established LGBT archives.

"There is a whole lot that has not been captured," said Keller, who is unsure of how many items she has amassed for the local lesbian archive and is starting to catalogue it.

Lexington Club history

One project with a specific focus that touches upon the more universal approach Keller has taken in documenting Bay Area lesbian history is the Lexington Club Archival Project. It is described by its founders as "documenting the stories, sounds and images of San Francisco's iconic queer and lesbian bar, the Lexington Club."

After 18 years of serving up drinks in a small, corner Mission district dive bar, the Lexington closed April 30. It was the last full-fledged lesbian bar in the city.

After news of its pending closure broke last fall, documentary filmmakers Susie Smith and Lauren Tabak decided to create a celluloid record of the Lexington's history.

"I heard about the closing via a Facebook post and had a deeply emotional reaction," said Tabak, even though it had been a while since she last visited the bar, citing "Netflix, domestic partnership, you get older" as the cause of her absence. "Nonetheless, I felt a deep sadness."

They captured the bar's last days with their cameras and have been filming interviews with its patrons and employees – 40 to date – in addition to collecting old photos, videos, and other ephemera from the Lexington's heydays. This summer the filmmakers plan to visit New York; Washington, D.C.; Los Angeles; and New Orleans "to collect more stories from the lesbian diaspora," said Tabak.

They also have stacks of old Polaroids taken at the Lex over the years, a collection of hundreds of photos of patrons that needs to be organized.

"We feared the project would be overly nostalgic," said Tabak. "But it is a way to grieve and memorialize the space and show the public the importance of queer spaces. If the trend continues, younger people will be asking what is a lesbian bar?"

Assisting on the project is Diana Yip, 26, a queer woman born and raised in San Francisco who had only been to the Lexington once before it closed.

"There is no substitute for a peer-to-peer, in-person community," said Yip, adding that helping to gather patrons' recollections "allowed me to live the Lex experience through those stories. It has given me a chance to be part of a community I missed out on."

Separate from the video project, former patrons of the Lexington have been raising money to install a plaque in the sidewalk in front of the building that housed the bar. The project has drawn backing from San Francisco Beautiful, the Board of Supervisors, and San Francisco Public Works.

A GoFundMe campaign has raised more than $5,400 toward a total goal of $6,500 to pay for the creation of the plaque, which is currently being produced, as well as its installation.

"This is an opportunity for us all to give back and say thanks, and to immortalize its presence on 19th and Lexington," notes a message on the donation page. It adds that, "Remember – we never had to pay a cover or drop a dime. All we had to do was show up and walk in. Now's our time to give back."

Both the Bay Area lesbian archives and Lexington Club film archival projects were featured at a kick off event held June 10 for California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories. The online database, which is crowd-sourced and hosted by History Pin, features places and sites of significance to the LGBT community throughout the Golden State.

Anyone can add a specific site to the map – found at http://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/ – as well as post photos, other images, or videos that correspond to the address. Already people have posted about LGBT places in Los Angeles, Bakersfield, Fresno, San Jose, Oakland, San Francisco, and Eureka.

One posting recalls the history of the former Los Guilucos School for Girls in Santa Rosa, which housed "delinquent and wayward" teenagers, many of whom were lesbians. When a dozen of the residents were transferred in March 1953 to the Mendocino State (psychiatric) Hospital for "engaging in homosexual practices," according to the posting, the remaining women rioted.

The mapping project is an offshoot of the work being done by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson, the authors of a citywide LGBTQ historic context statement for San Francisco now under review by city planning and historic preservation staff. After the women revise the 355-page draft document, they expect to publicly release it sometime this fall ahead of official adoption by the city.

"We knew that these histories can't get told without people's personal stories," said Graves, a public historian based in Berkeley who is straight. "It is important to get them now. So many structures and places that hold these histories are being replaced."

One of the lost places featured on the California Pride map is Maud's, a lesbian bar that was located at 937 Cole Street in San Francisco's Cole Valley neighborhood from 1966 to 1989. Since 2009 former Maud's patrons have gathered at the site, now home to the bar Finnegan's Wake, the Saturday of Pride weekend.

This year's reunion will take place from noon to 6 p.m. Saturday, June 27. During the event Graves and Watson will be teaming up with StoryCorps to record reminiscences from six of the Maud's regulars.

Not only will the recordings become part of StoryCorps' OutLoud initiative, snippets of them will be

added to the Maud's pin on the California Pride map.

"As far as we know, the Maud's reunion is the only event of its kind in the country where an LGBT bar's former patrons reclaim the space every year to honor and remember their history," Watson, an architectural historian based in San Francisco who is lesbian, wrote in an email. "It's an incredibly poignant example of grassroots preservation and a very sweet event."

To learn more about the Maud's reunion, visit its Facebook page at https://www.facebook.com/events/980402068671089.

For more information about the Bay Area Lesbian History Archives Project, visit its website at http://labryshealthcarecircle.com/ace/balhap.html.

To learn more about the Lexington Club Archival Project, visit http://www.lexingtonclubarchivalproject.org/.

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The GLBT Historical Society

October 13 at 8:00am · Edited ·

The just-completed LGBTQ Historic Context Statement for San Francisco lays the groundwork for historic preservation by offering a wide-ranging look at themes and places central to the city's queer history from the 18th century through the 1980s.

The report offers a fascinating introduction to three centuries of San Francisco's past and an intriguing guide to dozens of queer historic sites, many of them highlighted here for the first time ever. The GLBT Historical Society served as fiscal sponsor for the project, which was carried out with a grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee.

Kudos to public historian Donna Jane Graves and architectural historian Shayne Watson, who led the project and researched and wrote the report. The document was produced with assistance from an advisory committee of historians and preservation professionals — including several who have long been active with the Historical Society.

Click below for a link to the full LGBTQ Historic Context Statement and for details on how to submit comments to the Historical Preservation Commission, which will consider formally adopting the report at its November 18 meeting.



San Francisco Planning Department : LGBT Historic Context Statement

The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is available for review in anticipation of its adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission (HPC) at its…

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More LGBTQ sites, places may be preserved if new report adopted

By Joelle Burnette (http://kron4.com/author/joelleburnette/)
Published: October 11, 2015, 8:48 am



SAN FRANCISCO (BCN) — A new report could lead to the historic preservation of more LGBTQ sites and places in San Francisco, two historians who produced the report said Sunday.

The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is available for public review at http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673 (http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673) on the San Francisco Planning Department's website.

The report may be used to protect, identify, interpret and designate historic LGBTQ sites and places in San Francisco if the Historic Preservation Commission adopts it, co-author and architectural historian Shayne Watson said.

The Historic Preservation Commission will decide whether to adopt the report Nov. 18 in City Hall Room 400 starting at 12:30 p.m., Watson said. She said the public can participate at the hearing by offering comments to the commissioners during the meeting.

Until then the public can review and submit comments by mail or email in support or opposition of the report until Oct. 23, she said. Comments should be sent to Susan Parks, preservation planner, San Francisco Planning Department, 1650 Mission St., Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94103 or susan.parks@sfgov.org.

The report documents LGBTQ history and experiences in the city from Native American times through the AIDS epidemic of the 1990s, she said.

Watson and co-author Donna Graves, a public historian, started the report in September 2013, building upon previous scholarship, Watson said.

The two historians conducted oral history interviews and listened to stories at community events to inform the report, Watson said.

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More LGBTQ Sites, Places May be Preserved if New Report Adopted

By Bay City News



File Image

A new report could lead to the historic preservation of more LGBTQ sites and places in San Francisco, two historians who produced the report said Sunday.

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PRINT

SF set to adopt LGBT historic statement

by Matthew S. Bajko

m.bajko@ebar.com

Two years after a pair of local historians began researching San Francisco's queer past, their report documenting often overlooked chapters of the city's history is set to be adopted by city officials. Their hope is it will boost efforts to preserve various sites of particular importance to the LGBT community.

Officially titled the "Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer History in San Francisco," the 381-page report will be voted on Wednesday, November 18 by the city's Historic Preservation Commission. Once adopted as an official city document, it will assist with efforts to landmark, either by the city or state and national programs, properties of historical significance to the LGBT community.

As the *Bay Area Reporter* reported in May, after obtaining a draft version of the document through a public records request, the report spans the centuries and features various groups of LGBT residents who called the city home, from Native American two-spirit tribe members and gender nonconforming Chinese immigrants to various artists and service members.

Authors Donna Graves, a public historian based in Berkeley who is straight, and Shayne Watson, an architectural historian based in San Francisco who is lesbian, wrote the report, which was funded by a $76,000 grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee, overseen by the Office of Economic and Workforce Development.

It builds off the 2004 document "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979," the country's first LGBTQ historic context statement. It was written by Damon Scott and the Friends of 1800, a San Francisco-based advocacy organization that fought to protect from demolition the Victorian that is now incorporated into the LGBT Community Center at 1800 Market Street.

Asked recently about shepherding their more expansive report toward its soon-to-be conclusion, Watson joked, "I am sleeping a lot. I have been feeling exhausted."

She added that, "The good news is I feel like it is gratifying on many levels. Most importantly, I feel like we have opened another window on history that has been shadowed for so long."

Graves also told the *B.A.R.* she feels gratified "to have co-created something so robust. But I also know that it is not the encyclopedia we would all love to see."

Their report begins in the late 15th century when European settlers first encountered the berdache, meaning "kept boys," members of local Native American tribes who adopted the roles of the opposite sex and faced eradication under Spanish missionaries who arrived later.

The document then traces the introduction of laws in the mid-19th century that targeted people for "nonnormative sexual or social behavior or acts" and the "homosocial activity among men" that existed during the Gold Rush days to the birth in 1910 of "an active gay network" of servicemen and civilians in the city "that gathered at private residences and bathhouses."

Cross-dressing by both men and women in the 19th and 20th centuries is covered, as are several of the more noteworthy Barbary Coast female impersonators, like Bothwell Browne, Julian Eltinge, and Ah Ming, whose 1892 obituary declared that "As a female impersonator ... Ming led all of his countrymen."

It delves into the role of bohemians, such as poets and lovers Charles Warren Stoddard and Yone Noguchi, and lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow in helping turn Jackson Square and North Beach into a haven for homosexuals from around the world.

Later arrivals, such as poet Robert Duncan and his partner, visual artist Jess Collins, are included among the Beat generation who played a hand in attracting other LGBTQ artists to the city in the 1950s. The art gallery the couple helped co-found was where gay poet Allen Ginsberg recited his coming-out poem "Howl" in October 1955.

Birth of the bar scene

The birth and migration of the city's gay and lesbian bar scene is documented from its early incarnation in North Beach, at places like Finocchio's, Mona's 440 Club, and the Black Cat Cafe between the 1930s to the mid-1960s, to its eventual spread south into the Tenderloin, Polk Street, Haight-Ashbury, South of Market, the Mission and Valencia Corridor, and the Castro, where it remains centered to this day.

The women split the timeline in half, with Watson focused on the earlier decades up until 1965. One development she was especially taken by was the creation of sex space communities, such as bathhouses and cruising spots.

"The development of bar spaces has been documented so well and so has the homophile movements. But the cruising and hustling and kind of the edgy side of this history was fun for me to research," she said.

One section she added late in the drafting process was on the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, a left-leaning group that supported men discharged from the military for homosexuality being hired for jobs in the maritime industry.

"I had no idea about it. I went and looked again at Allan Berube's work," said Watson, referring to a local gay historian who had begun looking into the union's history prior to his death in 2007. "He was the only historian to document it in detail."

In her section detailing the more recent decades of LGBT history, Graves said one chapter she particularly found compelling centers on the work of the Langley Porter Clinic at UCSF, which she writes in the report was responsible for San Francisco becoming "an important center for the study of gender and sexuality in the 1940s and 1950s."

"It looms pretty large in transgender history, not just in the Bay Area but nationally," said Graves.

Two eras she documented that Graves found especially powerful were the early gay liberation movement and the early years of the AIDS epidemic.

"A lot of the early gay liberation activists saw their work intimately tied to the work against racism and for economic justice for a new world. That was very inspiring," she said. "In some ways, it echoes the kinds of complex issues about power we are trying to deal with today in San Francisco. Another part that was emotional to research was, of course, the AIDS section. I do think there could and should be more ways to make that story public for people."

To assist in the preservation and land-marking of important LGBT sites, the women created a how-to guide on how to navigate the city's historic landmark designation process as well as how to petition both the California Office of Historic Preservation and the National Register of Historic Places to list a property on their registries.

Recommendations

The women concluded the report with five recommendations for further action to be taken to preserve and highlight the city's LGBT history. Their suggestions include funding a citywide LGBTQ cultural heritage survey to create a comprehensive list of properties worthy of recognition and pursuing the registration of such sites as local landmarks or landmark districts and by the state and federal governments.

Another idea they promote is for the city to install a historical plaque, and/or interpretative display, at sites where the historic propertyis now gone.

Both women pledged to ensure their report doesn't merely gather dust on a shelf at City Hall and intend to advocate for the land marking of various sites.

"Hopefully, it will have a life as a tool for the planning department to check against as they are looking at potential development in San Francisco," said Graves. "Likewise, the city, I think, might elect to assign either staff or resources to nominate sites as landmarks based on the research."

In delivering the completed document to the city and the community, Watson said she and Graves feel like they are also "passing the torch" on to others involved in pushing for official recognition of San Francisco's LGBT history.

"I think the fact this is going to be a part of the official city record ... you take a step back and it is pretty special. Because not too long ago, this would have been unthinkable," said Watson. "On a personal level, I have been working on historic preservation for a while as a historian and a member of this community. This is my first time to research and document my own history so that is pretty special."

The Historic Preservation Commission meeting will begin at 12:30 p.m. Wednesday, November 18

in Room 400 at City Hall, 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place.

A copy of the LGBTQ historic context statement can be downloaded online at http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673.

10/29/2015



Entertainment » Culture

California LGBT History Project Launches

by Matthew S. Bajko
Bay Area Reporter
Sunday May 24, 2015



Megan E. Springate, left, primary consultant for the National Park Service's LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and Elaine Jackson-Retondo, history program manager at the National Park Service Pacific Coast Region, talked about the heritage initiative at the GLBT History Museum (Source:Rick Gerharter)

A project has been launched in California to focus on the state's LGBT history as work advances on a National Historic Landmark LGBTQ Theme Study and proposed framework for the National Park Service.

Called California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories, the online, crowdsourced archive will feature, according to organizers, the "memories, stories, and images related to sites throughout the Golden State associated with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer experience."

A series of statewide meetings, called pinning parties, is being held to collect information on sites across the state that are of special significance to the LGBT community. The launch event will take place in San Francisco Wednesday, June 10 and will focus on the Bay Area's lesbian history.

Attendees will learn how to "pin" their favorite LGBTQ historic sites to the web-based California Pride map. The National Trust for Historic Preservation and the California Preservation Foundation are supporting the project.

It is similar to the interactive online map of U.S. LGBT historic sites created as part of the National Park Service's ongoing LGBTQ Heritage Initiative. The map, which can be accessed at http://tinyurl.com/l5mz3pg, now includes more than 650 sites in 48 states.

As the Bay Area Reporter first noted in a January 2014 story, the national effort is aimed at having more LGBT sites listed on the National Register of Historic Places, be designated as a National Historic Landmark, or both. To date only five properties in the country have been granted some form of federal historic preservation recognition specifically due to their relationship to LGBT history.

The documentation for properties already listed on the national register or that have landmark status are being reviewed to see if their connections to LGBT history can be added. It is one piece of the National Park Service's initiative to highlight LGBT history throughout the hundreds of properties, national monuments, conservation areas, and park sites that are under its jurisdiction.

Megan Springate, who is overseeing the creation of the National Historic Landmark LGBTQ Theme Study and proposed framework, was in San Francisco in early April to update local advocates of preserving LGBT history about the project. She is racing to complete the more than 600-page-long document by June 2016, months ahead of the presidential election that November, which could marshal in a less gay-friendly administration in early 2017.

"We want it done and released before the administration changes in D.C.," said Springate, who identifies as queer and is seeking a Ph.D. in archaeology at the University of Maryland.

Theme Study

The theme study, largely funded by a $25 million grant from the Gill Foundation, has been broken into 32 chapters written by various authors from across the country. As of last month 22 people had signed contracts to write one of the sections. The topic headings run the gamut from "health," "military," "art and artists" to "spirituality and religion," "leisure and sport," and "sex, love and relationships."

Demographic groups receiving their own chapters include two-spirit, Latino/a, African American, Asian American, Pacific Islander, and transgender people. Each chapter will be capped at 20 pages.

"A lot of history written for the LGBTQ community tends to focus on white, middle class history," said



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Philly Celebrates its Gay Past

NATIONAL | By Christiana Lilly | May 31

To commemorate the 50th anniversary of early GLBT civil rights demonstrations, the people of Philly are coming together in a big way.



Springate. "All of the writers need to recognize the breadth of diversity under the LGBTQ umbrella."

Some have questioned the absence of a dedicated chapter about bisexuals, but Springate said the authors of all chapters have been instructed about "bisexual erasure and how not to do it."



Elaine Jackson-Retondo, Ph.D., a San Francisco-based history program manager for the National Park Service's Cultural Resources Pacific West Region, said historic context statements often leave out specific groups due to space constraints. The documents, she noted, can be revised in the future.

"We know it doesn't always satisfy everybody," said Jackson-Retondo. "The studies are not the end all, be all. They can be amended."

New York City, San Francisco, Chicago, Miami, and Reno will each have their own chapters. One will be titled "rural," and many cities will be mentioned throughout the document, said Springate.

"We wanted to represent different regions of the country. When you talk about LGBT history, a lot of people think of New York City and San Francisco. But our history is all over the place," said Springate, who chose Reno to represent the Southwest. "These regional histories are different from each other. And people are often left out in rural places."

The San Francisco chapter is being co-written by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson, the authors of a citywide LGBTQ historic context statement now under review by San Francisco planning and historic preservation staff.

Several other authors have Bay Area ties. Sonoma State University history professor Steve Estes, Ph.D., is writing the military chapter, while Stanford University historian and archivist Drew Bourn, Ph.D., is covering spirituality and religion.

Will Roscoe, Ph.D., a San Francisco-based community organizer, is writing the two-spirit chapter, while a former resident of the city, Susan Stryker, Ph.D., is authoring the transgender section. Stryker is a professor of gender and women's studies at the University of Arizona and director of the Institute for LGBT Studies.

Bill Lipsky, a gay man and author of the 2006 book "Gay and Lesbian San Francisco," attended the April 13 meeting, and afterward, told the B.A.R. "the project is excellent and very much needed."

Visitors to the country's historical sites and monuments need to be informed about their connections to LGBT history, added Lipsky.

"Because our gender identification and sexual orientation imbue us with everything we are, it needs to be part of the narrative told to people visiting businesses, homes, and places of importance," he said.

Gay former Hayward City Councilman Kevin Dowling, who also was at the meeting, said chronicling LGBT history is particularly important as gay neighborhoods in cities throughout California, and across the country, are fading away as longtime establishments such as gay bars and bookstores close.

"I think the gay community is under assault. The gayborhoods across the country are shrinking and changing rapidly, especially the bars really. In Hayward we have lost four of our five bars," noted Dowling, who is active with the Hayward Historical Society and a supporter of the San Francisco-based GLBT Historical Society. "It is important to honor where we have come from and the pioneers in civil rights, the people starting businesses, and politicians."

The first California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories pinning party will be held from 6 to 7:30 p.m. Wednesday, June 10 at the California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street in San Francisco. To RSVP, go to http://capridepinningparty.eventbrite.com.

For more information about California Pride, visit http://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride

For more information about the National Park Service LGBT initiative, visit http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/LGBThistory

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November Workshop Will Pinpoint LGBT Historical Sites In San Francisco, Asks For Public Input

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by **Joseph Ehrman-Dupre**
October 17, 2013 | 7:30pm

Share



San Francisco has long been a gay mecca in the United States, and for the entire global community. Now, things are going to become a little more official.

The San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee has issued a grant to the GLBT Historical Society to catalogue a comprehensive listing of all the locations associated with gay, lesbian,

bisexual, and transgender history amongst the city's backdrop of steep hills, rainbow houses, and the Golden Gate Bridge. The project is to be unveiled on November 14th at a workshop where patrons are asked to share their own experiences and favorite locations.

The officlal media release for the workshop **reports**:

> The workshop will bring together community members to share their recollections of places that have been important to their past experiences of LGBT life in San Francisco. "We're eager to hear from everyone who has participated in the community in any way up through the 1980s," says Graves. "Where did you go to house parties? What was your favorite bar or club? Where did you shop for books, music and fabulous clothes? Where did you attend activist meetings or go to cultural events?
>
> "We are particularly interested in hearing from people with information about sites important to LGBT communities of color, transgender people, the bisexual community and others who are underdocumented in LGBT history," Graves adds.
>
> The project is expected to take a year to complete, with extensive archival research, further interviews with groups and individuals, and a final community meeting at the end of the study. The outcome will be a formal document known as a historic context statement, which will be distributed publicly and will be used by community history advocates and city planners.

"Remember LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco: A Community Workshop" will take place on Thursday, November 14th from 6-7:30 p.m. at the San Francisco Womens Building's Audre Lorde Room. Admission is free and participation is encouraged.

For more information regarding the project, check out the full **media release** and the GLBT Historical Society's **homepage**.

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Posted October 17, 2013 at 7:30pm ETC by **Joseph Ehrman-Dupre**
in **Gay Pride**, **News**, **san francisco**, **San Francisco**

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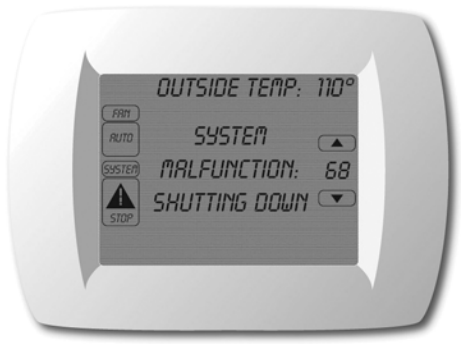
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Briefly Put

Paris to Host Gay Games X

The Federation of Gay Games has announced that Paris, France was chosen over fellow finalists Limerick and London to host the Gay Games X, the 2018 edition of the world's largest LGBT sporting and cultural event open to all.

Paris proposed a wide range of sports in quality venues, many of which offer good visibility for the event. French LGBT sport organizations already have a great deal of experience hosting international multisport tournaments, and their LGBT community presents outstanding cultural events.

The ninth edition of the quadrennial Gay Games will be held in Cleveland and Akron, OH August, 9-16, 2014. For information, visit www.gg9cle.com.

SF LGBT Heritage Project to Pinpoint Historic Sites

The SF Historic Preservation Fund Committee has awarded a grant to the GLBT Historical Society to develop a comprehensive study of places associated with LGBT history in the city. The project will be unveiled November 14 at a public workshop where community members will be invited to contribute their own stories about meaningful LGBT places.

"We are particularly interested in hearing from people with information about sites important to LGBT communities of color, transgender people, the bisexual community and others who are underdocumented in LGBT history," Graves adds.

For more information, contact Watson and Graves at sflgbthistory@gmail.com.

Adidas America Endorses Oregon Freedom To Marry

Adidas America has announced its endorsement of the Freedom to Marry and Religious Protection Initiative that would make it legal for same-sex couples to marry in Oregon.

"Marriage is an important, individual choice that should be extended to everyone. It is time to recognize this important human right by affirming the freedom to marry for same-sex couples in Oregon," said adidas America Vice President Paul Ehrlich.

Adidas is the largest business to join Oregon United for Marriage's effort to secure the freedom to marry on the ballot in November 2014. The Portland Trail Blazers and the Portland Timbers, both adidas partners, announced their support of this initiative last week. Visit OrUnited.org.

New Jersey Supreme Court OKs Same-sex Marriage

The New Jersey Supreme Court has upheld a lower court's decision to proceed with marriages for same-sex couples on Oct. 21. The state asked to delay the weddings until the case Garden State Equality *v.* Dow proceeded through the appeals process. The Courts decision, handed down October 18, denies that request.

On October 21, Governor Chris Christie withdrew his appeal the lower court. "Governor Christie apparently knew he was fighting a losing battle in continuing to fight against marriage equality in the Garden State, and rather than engage in legal gymnastics, decided to plant himself on the right side of history," said Gregory T. Angelo, Executive Director of Log Cabin Republicans.

Michigan Gay Marriage Ban Will Go to Trial

In June, U.S. District Judge Bernard Friedman refused to toss out a lesbian couple's lawsuit challenging the state's ban on adoption by unmarried couples. Citing the June U.S. Supreme Court decision that recognized legally married gay couples, Friedman concluded the plaintiffs are "entitled to their day in court and they shall have it," at an expected court date in late February.

Supporters of the marriage equality had hoped for an earlier decision. The women want the right to pursue their dream of having a family while the state's position is that only men and women can marry and have children. "I have to decide this as a matter of law. I intend to do so," Friedman said.

As of now the status quo remains: no gay marriage in Michigan.

ACLU Asks Federal Court to Strike Down Utah Marriage Ban

The ACLU of Utah has submitted a "friend of the court" brief in support of a case challenging Utah's ban on marriage for same-sex couples. The ACLU brief calls for a heightened level of scrutiny to be placed on any law that discriminates against same-sex couples and their families.

"The past few years have seen an amazing push forward in the fight to achieve equality for every family," said Joshua Block, staff attorney with the ACLU LGBT Project. "We are proud to stand with our allies in Utah and across the country to ensure that couples in all 50 states have the freedom to marry."

ACLU AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

The brief can be found at: www.aclu.org/lgbt-rights/kitchen-v-herbert-amicus-brief.

EDGEMEDIANETWORK

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Project Looks to Survey SF's LGBT Past

by Matthew S. Bajko
Bay Area Reporter
Sunday Oct 27, 2013

A new project aims to map the history of the LGBT community in San Francisco as the first step toward remembering and preserving the people and places that played critical roles in cementing the city as a gay mecca.

The project and a separate one currently under way in Los Angeles are believed to be the first two efforts anywhere in the United States to produce documents detailing their municipalities' comprehensive, citywide LGBT histories.

"I like to refer to it as the final frontier of historic preservation," said architectural historian Shayne Watson, 36, an out lesbian who lives in San Francisco, of the effort to document LGBT history.

Watson and Donna Graves, a public historian based in Berkeley, in partnership with the GLBT Historical Society won a $76,000 grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee, overseen by the Office of Economic and Workforce Development, to complete by early 2015 what is known as an historic context statement. It is a preservation planning tool that federal, state and local governments can refer to when determining what places and structures hold importance to telling a historical theme.

"We reviewed their application and we worked with them over a number of months to try to ensure that it was going to be a sound project and one that would have wide and long-term community benefit," said Mark Ryser, chair of the fund committee.

The document, by unearthing sites of historical significance to the LGBT community, could assist in efforts to landmark certain buildings or possibly establish a historic district in the gay Castro neighborhood. To date San Francisco has named just three sites, all in the Castro, as local historic landmarks due to their ties to LGBT history: the Twin Peaks Tavern, the building that housed Harvey Milk's Castro Camera shop, and the home of the AIDS quilt.

"We want to make sure important places are interpreted, protected, and designated as landmarks," said Graves, 57, a straight ally who recently worked on a project aimed at preserving and reviving the city's Japantown district.

Los Angeles' LGBT context statement is part of its larger SurveyLA project that began in 2007 as a joint project between the city's planning department and the Getty Trust. This year it won a $20,000 federally funded grant from the state Office of Historic Preservation to survey the city's LGBT history and expects to complete the work by next September.

"We are going to have all our survey results and context online in a searchable database we are working with the Getty Conservation Institute to development that will be online in the next year," said Janet Hansen, deputy manager of the Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources.

Back in 2004 the group known as Friends of 1800 published a partial report on San Francisco's

LGBT history called "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979." The group had formed to protect from demolition the Carmel Fallon Building at 1800 Market Street that was eventually incorporated into the LGBT Community Center.

"The Friends of 1800 sparked this idea of the importance of preserving not just buildings but land-marking areas that were of importance and crucial to LGBT history," said Nan Alamilla Boyd, a professor at San Francisco State University who identifies as queer and wrote a book about the city's LGBT history up to 1965. "A historic context statement really tries to create a guide to the historical narrative that can frame the way people make decisions about land-marking so it is not random."

The 23-page Friends report called for the creation of an historical district "to recognize how the city has contributed to the growing recognition and legitimation of sexual and gender minorities as full members of American society." It also called for sub-districts created in North Beach, the Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, and the Castro.

It noted that the GLBT Historical Society's archival database lists more than 1,300 local sites associated with sexuality-based subcultures, such as bars, bathhouses, restaurants, community centers, religious centers, social service organizations, bookstores, nonprofit organizations, publishers, and gay-oriented businesses.

"It officially recognized the legitimacy of queer history when it came to planning issues," said architect Alan Martinez, who chaired the Friends group and is a former member of the city's Historic Preservation Commission.

Graves and Watson plan to keep the scope of their work between the early roots of the city's LGBT community in the 19th century through the AIDS crisis in the 1980s.

Some of the themes they intend to explore include the influence of 1920s bohemian culture; the establishment of social gathering places in 1933 after the repeal of Prohibition; the effects of World War II; police harassment and bar raids in the 1950s as the first LGBT activist groups began to form; and the LGBT rights movements in the 1970s.

Martinez, who with Boyd is serving on the project's advisory committee, is eager to see important lesbian historical sites be given prominence due to the document's production.

"If nothing else, finding some appropriate ways to honor lesbian history probably is the most important thing," he said.

For her master's in historic preservation thesis in 2009 at the University of Southern California, Watson documented the lesbian history of San Francisco's North Beach neighborhood. She now plans to gather information on sites across the city to include in the historic context statement, such as Maud's in Cole Valley, a lesbian bar opened in the 1960s that closed in the 1980s.

The bar, at 937 Cole Street, is now called Finnegan's Wake but remains largely as is from its days as Maud's, said Watson, who grew up in San Jose and has lived in San Francisco since 2002.

"It was sort of like a community center for the lesbian community," she said.

Rikki Streicher, an out lesbian who died in 1994, owned Maud's and also helped found the Federation of Gay Games. The site of the early games, Kezar Stadium in Golden Gate Park, is an example of a place most people don't associate as being of LGBT historical import, said Graves, that likely will be highlighted in the context statement.

"I am also really interested in LGBT culture being part of this study. I am very interested in

finding the homes, studios, and performance spaces of LGBT artists," she said.

The document is not meant to be exhaustive, the women pointed out, though they do intend for it to be as broad as possible, with special attention made to including important sites related to bisexuals, LGBT people of color, and the transgender community.

"It is a very big story," Graves said of the city's LGBT past. "We feel committed to making sure we do represent the range of diverse experiences of the LGBT community."

They are asking the public's help in locating people and sites to include and are inviting people to come share their stories with them at a forum next month.

"We are going to need people's help in telling those stories," said Graves. "Sometimes it is big stories and sometimes it is everyday experiences that have shaped the community. We want to hear all of that from people."

The first public presentation on the project, titled "Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco: A Community Workshop," will take place from 6 to 7:30 p.m. Thursday, November 14 in the Audre Lorde Room at the San Francisco Women's Building, 3543 18th Street in the Mission.

For more information, contact Watson and Graves at sflgbthistory@gmail.com or visit the "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites" page on Facebook at http://www.facebook.com/preservinglgbthistory

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November 2013



GLBT Historical Society Announces New Project to Document Historic Places



San Francisco historic sites (left to right): Street protest by trans and gay youth in 1966; location of the Bisexual Center in 1978; lesbians on a softball field in 1976. Courtesy of the GLBT Historical Society.

The GLBT Historical Society has received a grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee to document sites associated with gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender history. The groundbreaking

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with gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender history. The groundbreaking project will be unveiled on November 14 at a public workshop where community members will be invited to contribute memories about places that have been meaningful to them.

"San Francisco is internationally recognized as a city where LGBT culture, advocacy and politics have made history," notes architectural historian Shayne Watson, who is leading the project with public historian Donna Graves. "Sites that evoke the diverse stories of this movement can be found throughout the city, but many have been largely forgotten."

"We'll be looking at the period from the 19th century through the 1980s," adds Graves. "We are particularly interested in gathering information about places important to LGBT communities of color, transgender people, the bisexual community and others whose histories are underdocumented."

The project is expected to take more than a year, with extensive research and a final community meeting. The outcome will be a historic context statement, a document used by advocates and city planners. A similar project is currently underway in Los Angeles. When both are complete, the two municipalities will have **the first citywide LGBT historic context statements** in the United States.

Entitled "**Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco: A Community Workshop**," **the project launch is set for Thursday, November 14, 6:00-7:30 p.m., at the San Francisco Women's Building at 3543 18th Street**. The event is co-sponsored by Heritage and the Women's Building. Admission is free of charge, and light refreshments will be served.

For more details, please contact ***sflgbthistory@gmail.com***.

Renovations and Repairs to Begin at Coit Tower

After lengthy preparations, a $1.1 million rehabilitation project will begin at Coit Tower on Monday, November 18. The iconic Telegraph Hill monument will close for five months for repairs to a profusion of maintenance concerns, including water damage, asbestos, flaking lead-based paint, and insect problems.



Photo by NikonDavid2007/Flickr.

In June 2012, **Protect Coit Tower** sponsored a successful non-binding ballot measure that called on the City to dedicate the more than $600,000 in revenue it receives each year from concession operations to the renovation and ongoing upkeep of the tower and Depression-era murals.

Architectural Resources Group conducted a conditions assessment in 2012 that evaluated the historic frescoes and prioritized conservation needs. The report found that the major culprits of mural deterioration are graffiti vandalism, water damage from building leaks, and mechanical impacts from visitors and building users.

The **San Francisco Arts Commission**, which is responsible for Coit Tower's artwork, will use the closure as an opportunity to begin restoration work on the murals. Conservators will repair water damage, treat various scratches and surface abrasions, and restore the stucco that frames the paintings.



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Oct. 9, 2013

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San Francisco Launches LGBT Heritage Project; Community Workshop Will Pinpoint Historic Sites

San Francisco -- The San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee has awarded a grant to the GLBT Historical Society to develop a comprehensive study of places associated with lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender history in the city. The project will be unveiled November 14 at a public workshop where community members will be invited to contribute their own stories about meaningful LGBT places.

"San Francisco is internationally recognized as a city where LGBT culture, advocacy and politics have made history," notes architectural historian Shayne Watson, who is leading the project with public historian Donna Graves. "Sites that tell the stories of this movement can be found in neighborhoods, public spaces and individual buildings throughout the city. We're excited about documenting the diversity of these evocative sites, many of which have been largely forgotten."

The workshop will bring together community members to share their recollections of places that have been important to their past experiences of LGBT life in San Francisco. "We're eager to hear from everyone who has participated in the community in any way up through the 1980s," says Graves. "Where did you go to house parties? What was your favorite bar or club? Where did you shop for books, music and fabulous clothes? Where did you attend activist meetings or go to cultural events?

"We are particularly interested in hearing from people with information about sites important to LGBT communities of color, transgender people, the bisexual community and others who are underdocumented in LGBT history," Graves adds.

The project is expected to take a year to complete, with extensive archival research, further interviews with groups and individuals, and a final community meeting at the end of the study. The outcome will be a formal document known as a historic context statement, which will be distributed publicly and will be used by community history advocates and city planners.

Titled "Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco: A Community Workshop," the initial public presentation and discussion is set for Thursday, November 14, 6:00-7:30 p.m., at the San Francisco Women's Building, 3543 18th St. in San Francisco. The event is cosponsored by San Francisco

Heritage and the San Francisco Women's Building. Admission is free of charge, and light refreshments will be served.

For more information, contact Watson and Graves at sflgbthistory@gmail.com or visit the "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites" page on Facebook at www.facebook.com/preservinglgbthistory.

-- 30 --

What: Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco: A Community Workshop
When: Thursday, Nov. 14, 2013. 6:00 - 7:30 p.m.
Where: Audre Lorde Room at the San Francisco Women's Building, 3543 18th St., San Francisco
Admission: Free

EDITOR'S NOTES

ABOUT HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENTS

What is a historic context statement?

A historic context statement is a preservation planning tool used by federal, state and local governments to present information on a historical theme, such as the history of a city, a culture or an architectural style in a given geographical area and chronological period.

How are historic context statements used?

A historic context statement helps community members and public agencies make preservation and historical interpretation decisions about individual properties and historic districts. Preparation of the historic context statement is often followed by a survey that may result in designating landmarks at the local, state or national level. Historic context statements also can provide a foundation for interpretive and educational projects such as walking tours, publications, exhibitions, websites and mobile apps.

What is the focus of the San Francisco LGBT historic context statement?

The overarching theme will be the formation and development of the city's LGBT communities from their roots in the 19th century through the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. The geographical scope will be citywide. Themes to be addressed will include same-sex social and sexual relations in the 19th century; the influence of 1920s bohemian culture; the establishment of social gathering places in 1933 after the repeal of Prohibition; the effects of World War II; police harassment, bar raids, lawsuits and the consequential formation of gay and lesbian rights organizations in the 1950s; formation and establishment of various LGBT communities in neighborhoods throughout the city; LGBT rights movements in the 1970s; and the AIDS crisis in the 1980s.

Is this the first citywide LGBT historic context statement in the United States?

The San Francisco project and a separate project currently underway in Los Angeles appear to be the first two efforts to produce comprehensive, citywide LGBT historic context statements anywhere in the United States. San Francisco also was the setting for an earlier pioneering effort by the organization Friends of 1800 that produced the 2004 document "Sexing the City," an LGBT historic context statement covering a shorter period of time and a smaller area within the city. "Sexing the City" is available online as a 23-page PDF: www.friendsof1800.org/context_statement.pdf

ABOUT THE PROJECT DIRECTORS

Donna Graves is a public historian and urban planner with over 20 years experience developing projects that document and interpret underrecognized histories.

Shayne Watson is a San Francisco-based architectural historian and preservation planner who specializes in LGBT heritage conservation as part of her larger preservation practice.

ABOUT THE GLBT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

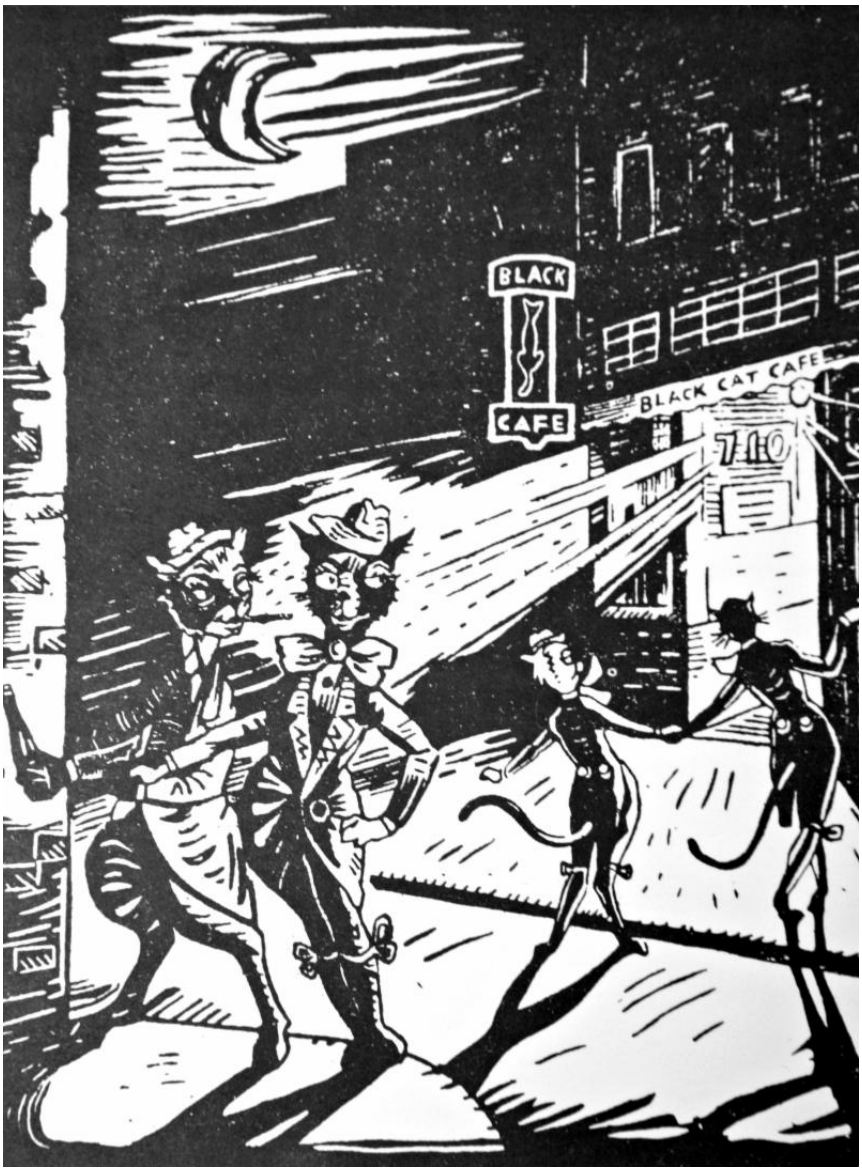
Founded in 1985, the GLBT Historical Society is an archives and research center often referred to as San Francisco's "queer Smithsonian." It houses one of the world's largest collections of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender historical materials. The society also sponsors The GLBT History Museum in the city's Castro District -- the first full-scale, stand-alone museum of GLBT history and culture in the United States. For more information, visit www.glbthistory.org.

ABOUT THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION FUND COMMITTEE

The San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee is a committee of the City and County of San Francisco that operates under the purview of the Mayor's Office of Community and Economic Development. For more information, visit the committee's home page: http://sfgsa.org/index.aspx?page=676.

GRAPHIC & PHOTOGRAPHS

Media may reproduce the following images in conjunction with coverage of the community workshop; inclusion of the photo credits is mandatory:



The Black Cat Café at 710 Montgomery St., opened in 1933, was the home base of drag performer and civil rights activist José Sarria in the 1950s and early 1960s. The owner, Sol Stoumen, lost his liquor license in 1949 for serving "persons of homosexual tendencies," but took his case successfully to the State Supreme Court. The outcome initially legalized homosexual assembly in California, but authorities continued looking for ways to ban such gatherings. Historic Illustration: Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco)



California Hall at 925 Polk St. hosted a New Year's Eve party on Dec. 31, 1964, organized by the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, a new organization created to educate religious communities about gay and lesbian concerns. San Francisco police harassed guests and arrested party organizers, who were successfully represented at trial by the ACLU. Photo: Ray Morris/*San Francisco Examiner*. Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco)

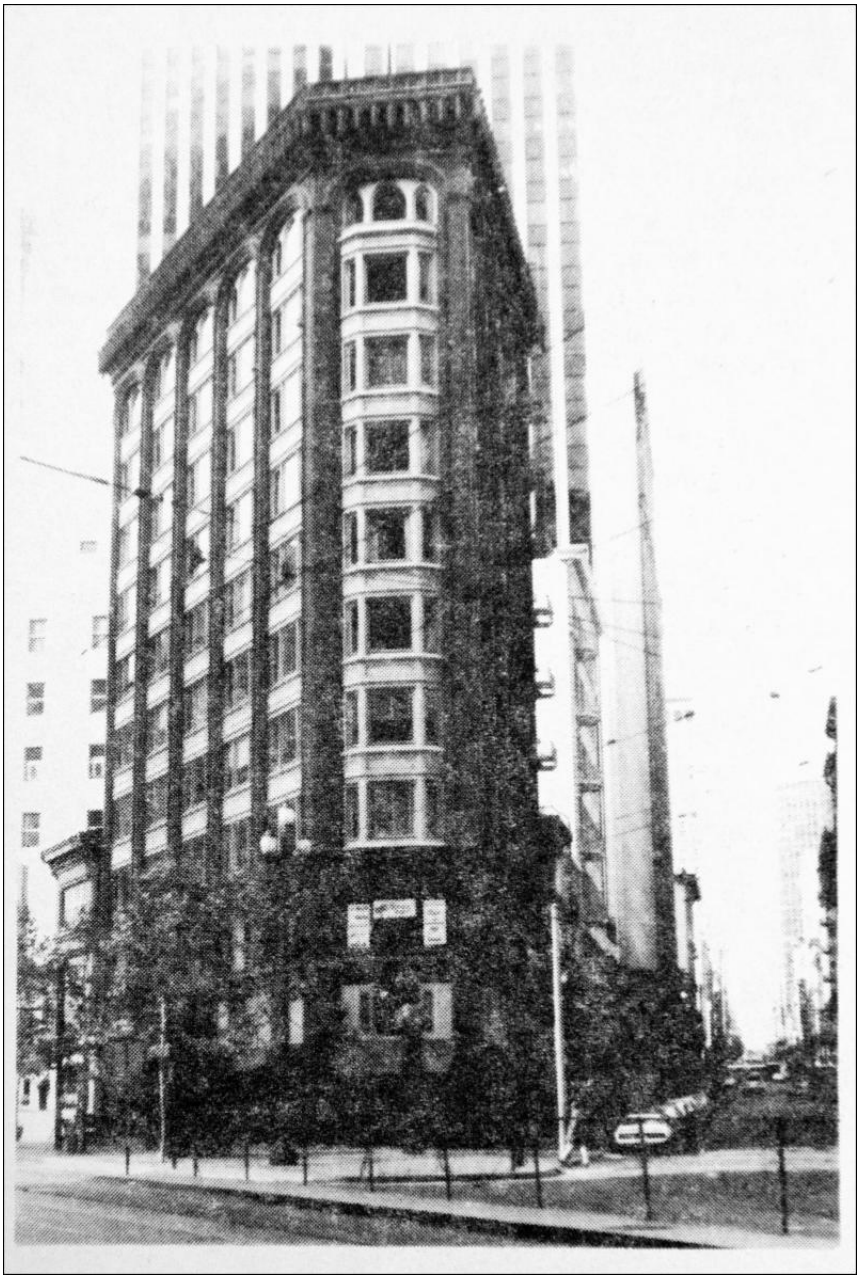


Streets as well as buildings can be LGBT historic sites: Transgender and gay youth living in the Tenderloin organized a protest of police "sweeps" in 1966 by theatrically cleaning a block of **Market Street** and carrying signs demanding rights. Photo: *Vanguard* (October 1966). Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco).



Maud's at 937 Cole St. was a center for the San Francisco lesbian community from 1966 to 1989. Regulars at the bar, known as Maudies, fielded the Lesbian Softball League team in this 1976 photo. Not only is the bar a historic site; so are the ball fields where the league played. Photo: *Maud's Platinum 20th Anniversary Program* (1986).

Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco).



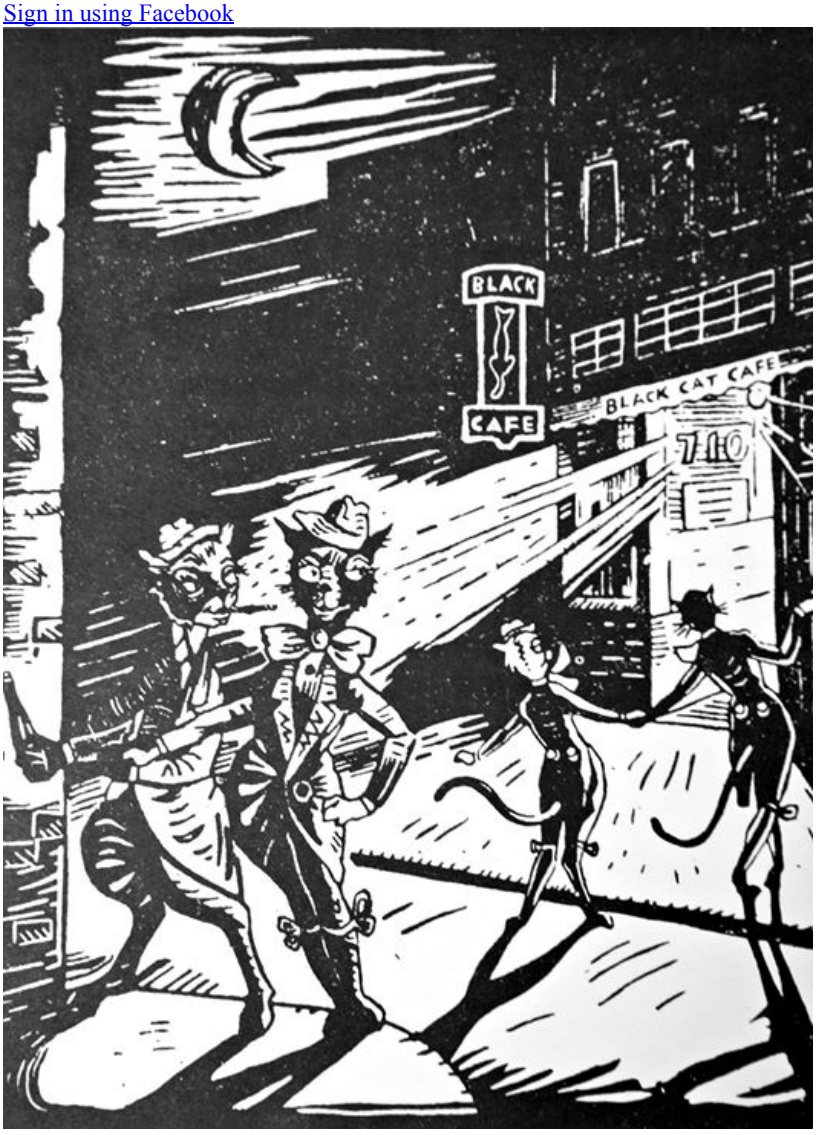
One year after its founding as a groundbreaking advocacy organization, the **Bisexual Center** moved into a 3rd floor office at 554 Market St., where they hosted potluck dinners, parties and support groups. More than 100 people attended the grand opening in September 1977. Photo: *The Bi-Monthly* (January-February 1978). Courtesy GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco).



Between 1981 and 1997, more than 15,500 San Franciscans died of AIDS. Approximately one-third of those individuals were hospitalized at some point during their illness in Wards 5A or 5B at **San Francisco General Hospital** at 1001 Potrero Ave., the first hospital units in the world dedicated to AIDS in-patient care. Photo: Shayne Watson

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Community Workshop | Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco

A workshop bringing together community members to share recollections of places in San Francisco that have been meaningful to their lives as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. A brief panel presentation will be followed by facilitated break-out discussions where participants will contribute their memories. Light refreshments will be served.

The event marks the launch of a comprehensive study of LGBT historic sites in the city sponsored by The GLBT Historical Society, supported by ...

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Community Workshop | Remembering LGBT Historic Sites in San Francisco



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3543 Eighteenth Street between Valencia and Guerrero
San Francisco, CA 94103

Upcoming

6:00 p.m. Thursday, Nov. 14, 2013

Categories

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A workshop bringing together community members to share recollections of places in San Francisco that have been meaningful to their lives as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. A brief panel will be followed by facilitated break-out discussions where participants will contribute their memories. Light refreshments will be served. The event marks the launch of a comprehensive study of LGBT historic sites in the city sponsored by The GLBT Historical Society, supported by the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee, and directed by architectural historian Shayne Watson and public historian Donna Jane Graves. "We're eager to hear from everyone who participated in the community up through the 1980s," says Graves. "Where did you go to house parties? What was your favorite bar or club? Where did you shop for books, music and clothes? Where did you attend activist meetings or cultural events? We particularly welcome participation from those with information about sites important to LGBT communities of color, transgender people, the bisexual community and others who are underdocumented in LGBT history."

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PRINT

Ideas vary for LGBT history document

by Matthew S. Bajko

m.bajko@ebar.com

What constitutes LGBT history in San Francisco?

The question was poised to roughly 50 people who attended a recent workshop launching a new project aimed at developing a comprehensive survey of LGBT historical sites in the city.

The answers, unsurprisingly, varied based on the participants' personal connections and remembrances. Suggestions ran the gamut from the streets of the Tenderloin and the location of an early LGBT community center to places of worship welcoming to LGBT people of faith and athletic fields where LGBT sports teams played.

Crystal Jang, 67, a fourth generation San Francisco resident, attended the November 14 public meeting to ensure that the places of importance to LGBT people of color are included in the survey.

"Sometimes, our perspective as the API LGBT community is often not heard," said Jang, using the acronym for Asian Pacific Islander. "I came to give feedback to make sure it is all included."

A former public schoolteacher and the San Francisco Unified School District's first LGBTQ middle school coordinator who worked with gay-straight alliances, Jang is now retired. Taking part in the workshop "also jogs my memory," she joked.

"I want to make sure this part of my history is heard," said Jang.

Bill Lipsky, 67, a gay man who moved to San Francisco in 1981 and wrote the 2006 book *Gay and Lesbian San Francisco* , attended the workshop as he has worked for years to preserve the city's LGBT past.

"I've always been concerned about that. A lot has been lost; a lot of historic places have disappeared," said Lipsky, a former GLBT Historical Society board member who is now helping with the Rainbow Honor Walk LGBT history project set for the Castro. "Younger people are unaware of the travails the people before them went through."

As the *Bay Area Reporter* noted in a story last month, the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee awarded local historians, Shayne Watson and Donna Graves, a $76,000 grant to create what is known as a historic context statement for the city's LGBT community. The document is considered the first step toward preserving places and structures of import to LGBT history and is often referred to by government agencies when determining requests for historic preservation designations.

"Overall, very little has been done to preserve and communicate this community's history," said Watson, 36, an out lesbian who lives in San Francisco. "Things are moving very slowly but they are moving."

The GLBT Historical Society is serving as the project's fiscal sponsor, while a community advisory panel is providing guidance. The city's planning department will review the work before it is presented to the Historic Preservation Commission for adoption.

Watson and Graves, a straight ally who lives in Berkeley, plan to complete the historic context statement in early 2015. They are particularly focused on the early roots of the city's LGBT community in the 19th century through the AIDS crisis in the 1980s.

"We are looking at the places important for the stories being told," explained Graves. "No one in this room needs to be reminded that LGBT history is overlooked and ignored."

To kick off the workshop, five people with ties to the local LGBT community were invited to briefly speak about what areas of town they felt correspond to LGBT history.

Among them was transgender community leader and LGBT activist Tamara Ching, herself a San Francisco native, who recalled that during the 1960s and 1970s trans women often worked the streets of the Tenderloin to make a living.

"We were queens or 'the girls.' We were targeted by the police and harassed; we were the lowest of the low," said Ching.

But along Mason Street and O'Farrell, Jones and Larkin, where many drag clubs and gay bars could be found, transgender people felt welcome, recalled Ching.

"The streets we worked need to be recognized," she said.

Blackberri, a gay black musician who uses one name and who has performed at various venues around town, noted that "Mission Street in the 1970s was very cruisey" from 24th to 16th streets.

Oral historian Glenne McElhinney recounted the history of 330 Grove Street, the site of an LGBT community center during the 1970s where the first gay "circuit party" was held in 1978. The late gay Supervisor Harvey Milk kicked off his third bid for supervisor there on June 24, 1977 with a speech that was the first to include his now famous line "You've got to give them hope."

"It's one of those few buildings that contribute in a very unique way to the hopes and aspirations of a particular group of people," said Milk, according to a version of the speech included in the book *An Archive of Hope: Harvey Milk's Speeches and Writings* (University of California Press, 2013). "It's not as architecturally beautiful as the B of A or even the TransAmerica. But unlike those buildings, it has a

'heart and soul.'"

Milk chose the location because one of his main campaign promises that year was fighting the city's plan to demolish the building in order to build a parking structure. (The site is now the Performing Arts parking garage.)

"For months this building has served as a focal point for the gay community. It's where we meet. It's our own little section of the city's turf," said Milk.

Without the building young gay people would still find places to congregate and access services, Milk acknowledged, "but they won't find much hope."

Although "it is too late for 330 Grove," McElhinney said, "there is still much work to do" to preserve its history and protect other buildings with ties to the LGBT community from the same fate.

For more information about the LGBT history project, visit http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673.

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Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California

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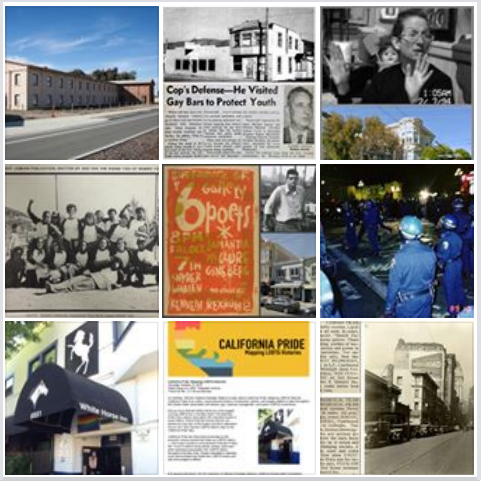
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ABOUT

An interactive, online archive dedicated to the identification, interpretation and commemoration of places associated with LGBT history in California.

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Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California
November 6 at 9:06am ·

Vallejo: Established in 1871, the naval brig (prison) at Mare Island Naval Shipyard was the first naval prison in the country. Up until World War II, it was the primary west coast confinement facility for U.S. Navy and Marine Corps personnel serving in the Pacific Fleet who had been convicted of a crime. Sailors convicted of sodomy or “scandalous conduct” (an umbrella charge that including homosexuality), were categorized as criminals and incarcerated with men convicted of mo... See More



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Marlo Longley, Arthur W. Corbin, Tony Belcher and 2 others like this. Chronological

3 shares

Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California Photo by Shayne Watson. And side note: In 1934, when the Army prison on Alcatraz Island transferred to the the Department of Justice, a quarter of the Army inmates remaining on the island were serving sentences for sodomy.

1 · November 6 at 9:22am · Edited

1 Reply

Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California And here's a historic drawing of the prison from the Historic American Buildings Survey collection at the Library of Congress.

Mel Black
September 25 at 1:44pm

Just sharing this piece about the Seattle LGBT film festival... See u :)

Like · Comment · Share

Mark Meinke
September 21 at 10:22am

Please sign the petition if you agree with the campaign goal.

Like · Comment · Share 1

Bill Cohen
September 13 at 2:58pm

New & forthcoming..LGBT Studies from Harrington Park Press, LLC

Like · Comment · Share

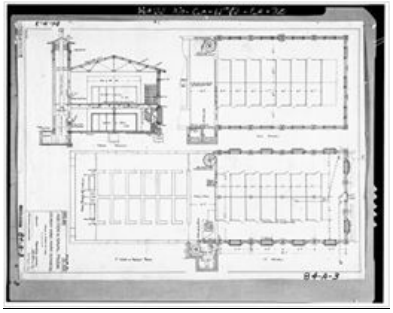
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California Preservation Foundation

Los Angeles Conservancy

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2 · November 6 at 9:10am

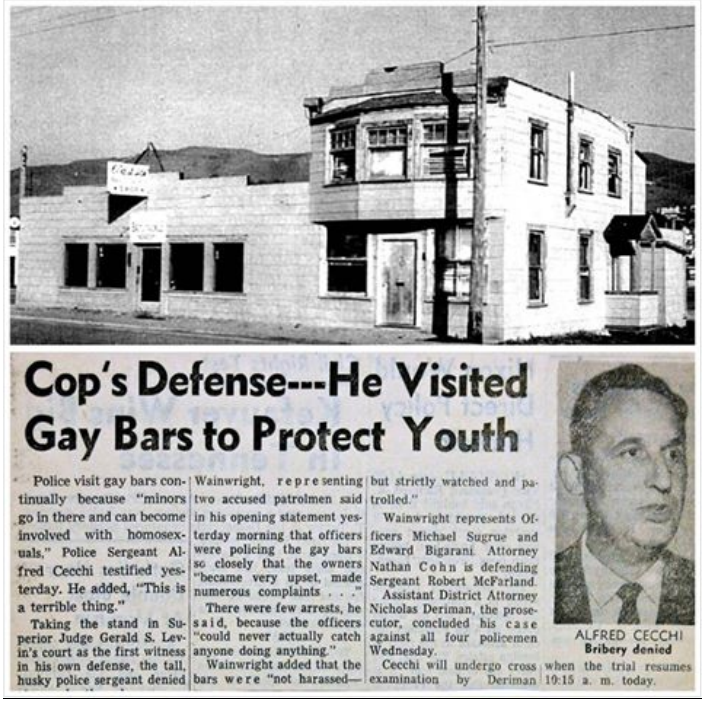
1 Reply

Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California
November 4 at 8:00am ·

Please share with friends in London: One of the administrators of Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California will be presenting later this month at the University of London. Here are the details:

"Missing Places: Lost and Endangered Queer Historic Sites of San Francisco and the Bay Area," an illustrated talk by Gerard Koskovich. Wednesday, November 25, 6:00–7:30 p.m. at Birkbeck, University of London, Room 108 (28 Russell Square, WC1E 7HX).

Drawing on examples from San Fra... See More



Cop's Defense---He Visited Gay Bars to Protect Youth

Police visit gay bars continually because "minors go in there and can become involved with homosexuals," Police Sergeant Alfred Cecchi testified yesterday. He added, "This is a terrible thing."

Taking the stand in Superior Judge Gerald S. Levin's court as the first witness in his own defense, the tall, husky police sergeant denied Wainwright, representing two accused patrolmen said in his opening statement yesterday morning that officers were policing the gay bars so closely that the owners "became very upset, made numerous complaints . . ."

There were few arrests, he said, because the officers "could never actually catch anyone doing anything."

Wainwright added that the bars were "not harassed— but strictly watched and patrolled."

Wainwright represents Officers Michael Sugrue and Edward Bigarani. Attorney Nathan Cohn is defending Sergeant Robert McFarland.

Assistant District Attorney Nicholas Deriman, the prosecutor, concluded his case against all four policemen Wednesday.

Cecchi will undergo cross examination by Deriman when the trial resumes 10:15 a. m. today.

ALFRED CECCHI
Bribery denied

Like **Comment** **Share**

Bill Murphy, Jo Harrison, Midge Elliott and 8 others like this. Chronological

View 2 more comments

John J McCarthy I think that bar needs a makeover. Lol
2 · November 4 at 2:56pm

Gerard Koskovich Casey: The GLBT History Museum is currently making plans to sponsor the talk in mid-January. I have given earlier 15-minute versions in San Francisco as part of panel presentations. I'll be coming back with a full-length talk that I'll be giving at the Ecole du Louvre in Paris on November 16 in addition to Birkbeck, University of London, on November 25.
1 · November 6 at 10:11am · Edited

Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California
November 3 at 8:00am · Edited ·

San Francisco: Twenty years ago today, artist Jerome Caja (1958–1995) died of AIDS in his apartment at the corner of Hayes and Fillmore streets. Noted for his miniature paintings that were at once whimsical and anarchic, Caja also was an innovative drag performer who emphasized tatters, trash and surreal juxtapositions over old-school glamour.

Caja's originality earned him esteem as the patron saint of San Francisco's queer punk scene — and growing recognition from the art w ... See More



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Thom Story, Meg Lamparyk Fox, Kyle Cole and 99 others like this. Chronological

41 shares

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Helyx Helyx Sometimes it is downright difficult to see photos of Jerome. I never wanted him to suffer. Big heart, super friendly. I am glad his Art work is appreciated. I hope more video footage is found and made accessible to the public.
2 · November 4 at 3:24am

Stephen Courter Jerome was a warm and inclusive person who was always a joy to see. I will never forget the sight of him dancing like mad at the Crystal Pistol in a bikini, bra and heels with paper mâché duck feet attached to the front. A brilliant man.
November 4 at 7:52pm

Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California shared ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives's event.
November 1 at 9:39am ·

Los Angeles folks, next Sunday, November 8th, ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives is hosting a public program on efforts to map queer history in LA and California as a whole.
Hope you can attend.



08
NOV

California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories
Sun 2 PM · ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives · Los Angeles, …
101 guests

Like **Comment** **Share**

Bay Area Reporter, Michel Konstantyn, Kimberly Rae Connor and 18 others like this. Chronological



Pride of Place: England's LGBTQ Heritage Good luck to this wonderful LGBTQ mapping and heritage initiative!
1 · November 2 at 12:58am

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Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California
February 20 ·

StoryCorps' Out Loud project has been gathering stories from some of the wonderful people interviewed by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson for the Citywide LGBTQ Historic Context Statement.

One of those was featured today on Morning Edition. Bill Jones shares his memories of adopting his son in 1968, when adoption by a single male, let alone a gay man, was extraordinary. Within a few years, Bill helped to found a support/social group called San Francisco Bay Area Gay Fathers.

Jones is also known as the owner of the Sutro Bath House (first at 312 Valencia Street, then at 1015 Folsom Street), which was one of the only public sex clubs that invited lesbian and bisexual women.



Pain, But No Regrets: A Father Remembers His Adopted Son

In the 1960s, Bill Jones was the first single man to adopt a child in California. His son died of an overdose at 30. Jones says he still feels sad about the loss, but…

NPR.ORG | BY MORNING EDITION

28 Likes 2 Comments 1 Share

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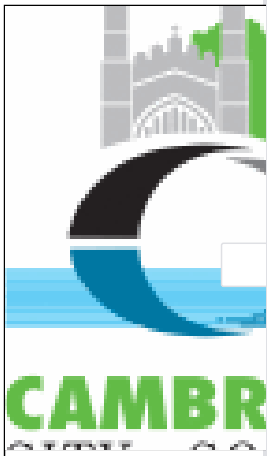
Queer History Headquarters
7 hrs ·

LGBT History Month 2016 Showcase
Thursday 26 November 2015
Queens College, Cambridge

https://www.cambridgelivetrust.co.uk/…/lgbt-history-month-2…



LGBT History Month 2016 Showcase | Cambridge Live



LGBT History Month 2016 Sho
Live

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Queer History Headquarters
23 hrs ·

Dedication of Kameny memorial set for Veterans Day

A soon-to-be-installed memorial headstone honoring gay rights pioneer Frank Kameny will be dedicated on November 11 at Congressional Cemetery

http://www.washingtonblade.com/…/dedication-of-kameny-mem…/…



Dedication of Kameny memorial set for Veterans Day

A soon-to-be-installed memorial headstone honoring gay rights pioneer Frank Kameny will be dedicated on Nov. 11 at Congressional Cemetery as part of a . . .

WASHINGTONBLADE.COM

Like Comment Share

Queer History Headquarters
Yesterday at 9:51am ·

Diversity and Leadership in Preservation Roundtable
Tuesday, November 3, 2015
National Parks Conservation Association (NCPA)
777 6th Street, Suite 700
Washington, DC 20001... See More



Diversity and Leadership in Preservation Roundtable

Tuesday, November 3, 2015 National Parks Conservation Association (NCPA) 777 6th Street, Suite 700 Washington, DC 20001 Host community partners are Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation (APIAHiP),...

DOCS.GOOGLE.COM

Like Comment Share

Queer History Headquarters
Yesterday at 7:42am ·

LGBT History Month 2016 Nominees

Submit your nomination for LGBT History Month 2016 by filling out the form. Criteria for choosing LGBT History Month Icons are as follows. They may be living or deceased, recognized for their achievements in their field of endeavor; for their status as a national hero; or for their significant contribution to LGBT civil rights.

https://docs.google.com/…/1tHclRivJVoJZcZdVOf7o6Z…/viewform…



LGBT History Month 2016 Nominees

Submit your nomination for LGBT History Month 2016 by filling out the form below. Criteria for choosing LGBT History Month Icons are as follows. They may be living or deceased, recognized for their achievements in their field of endeavor; for…

DOCS.GOOGLE.COM

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Queer History Headquarters
November 1 at 4:18pm ·

UTSA Libraries Special Collections
San Antonio, Texas
16 items in collection

T-shirts and other textiles from the UTSA Libraries Special Collections located in San Antonio, Texas. The textile collection was digitized in October 2015 with the assistance of Melissa Gohlke. ... See More



· Wearing Gay History



· Wearing Gay History

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Queer History Headquarters
November 1 at 9:46am ·

Orphan Andy's: The Story Behind The Popular Castro Eatery And Its Owners

The story behind the popular Castro restaurant Orphan Andy's and the couple that owns it.

https://hoodline.com/…/orphan-andy-s-the-story-behind-the-p…



Orphan Andy's: The Story Behind The Popular Castro Eatery And Its Owners | Hoodline

The story behind the popular Castro restaurant Orphan Andy's and the couple that owns it.

HOODLINE.COM

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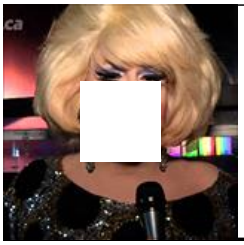
Craig Marshall, Queer History Headquarters and Brianna Caulfield Kimpton like this.

Queer History Headquarters
October 31 at 6:58am ·

Lady Bunny coming out story

Lady Bunny, female impersonator, tells her 'coming out' story. It sounds like is wasn't a big surprise for anyone... until it came to the sex part.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lady_Bunny



Lady Bunny coming out story

Lady Bunny, female impersonator, tells her 'coming out' story. It sounds like is wasn't a big surprise for anyone... until it came to the sex part. See story...

YOUTUBE.COM

Like Comment Share

Brian Marshall likes this.

Queer History Headquarters
October 31 at 3:52am ·

Center for Creative Initiatives in Health and Population's archive seeks to preserve homosexual culture

Discrimination is a foreign concept since many LGBT people in Vietnam hide who they are

http://www.thanhniennews.com/…/ngos-archive-seeks-to-preser…



NGO's archive seeks to preserve homosexual culture

Discrimination is a foreign concept since many LGBT people in Vietnam hide who they are

THANHNIENNEWS.COM

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1 share

Queer History Headquarters
October 30 at 2:34pm ·

Boston University students and faculty take educational trip through Boston LGBT history

Boston isn't widely known for its LGBT history and community, but there is a rich history to be found in the city if one is willing to listen and look.

http://dailyfreepress.com/…/bu-students-and-faculty-take-…/…



BU students and faculty take educational trip through Boston LGBT history - The Daily Free Press

Boston isn't widely known for its LGBT history and community, but there is a rich history to be found in the city if one is willing to listen and look.

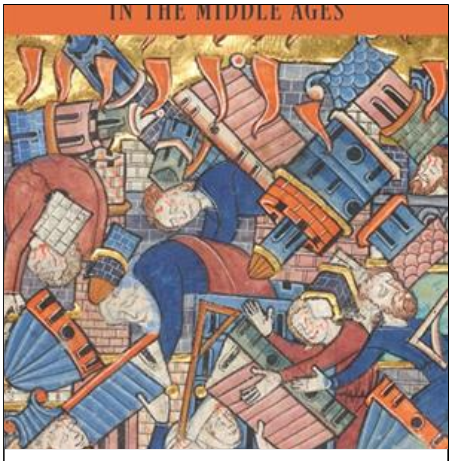
DAILYFREEPRESS.COM

Like Comment Share

Queer History Headquarters
October 30 at 3:21am ·

Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages: An Interview with Robert Mills

http://notchesblog.com/…/seeing-sodomy-an-interview-with-…/…



Seeing Sodomy: An Interview with Robert Mills



Seeing Sodomy: An Interview

Like Comment Share

PEOPLE

431 likes

ABOUT

Posting items which document the history of the GLBT community.

PHOTOS



VISITOR POSTS

Michael Janz
June 12 at 7:25am

If you haven't had a chance to check out the Edmonton Queer History Project...

Like · Comment · Share

San Diego LGBTQ Historic Sites Project
June 3 at 11:07am

Like · Comment · Share

S Bin Aksah
November 15, 2014 at 4:04am

Nice page :) You are welcome to visit Sex and Desperate Hearts

Like · Comment · Share

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The Chanticleer

World AIDS Museum & Educationa...

Portraits by Efrain John Gonzalez

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Queer History Headquarters
October 29 at 7:24pm ·

San Francisco set to adopt LGBT historic statement

Two years after a pair of local historians began researching San Francisco's queer past, their report documenting often overlooked chapters of the city's history is set to be adopted by city officials. Their hope is it will boost efforts to preserve various sites of particular importance to the LGBT community.

http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php…



The Bay Area Reporter Online | SF set to adopt LGBT historic statement

Breaking news & opinion from the B.A.R.

EBAR.COM

Like Comment Share

Robin Will likes this.

Queer History Headquarters
October 29 at 12:55pm ·

GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco is hiring

The GLBT Historical Society is hiring for the position of Executive Director. We're looking for someone who is great at development and wants to take that next step to head an organization known worldwide as a leading steward of queer history. Take a look at the job description. If you're interested and qualified, send your cover letter and résumé to board chair Brian Turner.

http://www.glbthistory.org/2015/10/13/were-hiring/#QHHQ



We're Hiring | GLBT Historical Society



We're Hiring | GLBT Historical

Like Comment Share

Gerard Koskovich likes this.

Queer History Headquarters
October 29 at 4:40am ·

Democrats Want To Remove J. Edgar Hoover's Name From FBI Headquarters Over His Civil Rights Abuses

House Democrats have introduced a bill that would take former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's name off of the FBI building, due to Hoover's

targeting of LGBT people and minorities, including Martin Luther King, Jr.

http://www.thenewcivilrightsmovement.com/…/house_democrat_i…



Democrats Want To Remove J. Edgar Hoover's Name From FBI Headquarters Over His Civil Rights Abuses

House Democrats have introduced a bill that would take former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's name off of the FBI building, due to Hoover's targeting of LGBT…

THENEWCIVILRIGHTSMOVEMENT.COM

Like Comment Share

Sharon Richardson, Gloria L Shreve and 2 others like this.

2 shares

Queer History Headquarters
October 28 at 7:01pm ·

Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle (Untorellipress, 2013)

https://untorellipress.noblogs.org/…/street-transvestite-…/…

http://untorellipress.noblogs.org/files/2011/12/STAR.pdf



Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggl…



Street Transvestite Action Re
Survival, Revolt, and Queer A

Like Comment Share

Jo Harrison likes this.

Queer History Headquarters
October 28 at 4:28am ·

Watch rare footage of Bette Midler performing in a gay bathhouse

Bette Midler has for a long-time been a gay icon, but you probably haven't seen this performance she did in 1971.

www.pinknews.co.uk/…/watch-rare-footage-of-bette-midler-p…/…



Watch rare footage of Bette Midler performing in a gay bathhouse

Bette Midler has for a long-time been a gay icon, but you probably haven't seen…

PINKNEWS.CO.UK | BY PINKNEWS

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Queer History Headquarters, Don Ralph and Michael Bell like this.

2 shares

Queer History Headquarters
October 27 at 12:48pm ·

See Roz Joseph's Lost Photos of the Early San Francisco Drag Scene

Exclusive images from an exhibition of Roz Joseph's work.

http://nymag.com/…/see-lost-photos-of-early-san-francisco-p…



See Roz Joseph's Lost Photos of the Early San Francisco Drag Scene

Exclusive images from an exhibition of Roz Joseph's work.

NYMAG.COM | BY HUGH RYAN

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Queer History Headquarters and Gerard Koskovich like this.

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Queer History Headquarters
October 11 at 1:34pm ·

San Francisco LGBT Historic Context Statement

The San Francisco Planning Department has announced the completion of a citywide historic Context statement for LGBTQ history in San Francisco, a 381-page document offering a wide-ranging look at key themes and associated places central to understanding the city's queer history from the 18th century through the 1980s.

Produced by architectural historian Shayne Watson and public historian Donna Graves with assistance from an advisory group of academic and community historians and preservation professional, the project is supported by a grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee, with The GLBT Historical Society serving as fiscal sponsor.

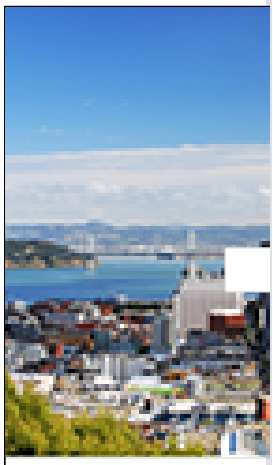
The LGBTQ historic context statement has been posted on the Planning Department website for public review in anticipation of its adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission at its regular public meeting on Nov. 18, 2015. If the report is adopted by the commission, history advocates and city planners will use it as a foundation for the protection, identification, interpretation and designation of LGBTQ-related historic places in San Francisco.

The Planning Commission welcomes public comment on the LGBTQ historic context statement; the deadline for submitting comments is Oct. 23, 2015. See the Planning Department website linked below for details about how to submit comments.

http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673#QHHQ



San Francisco Planning Department : LGBT Historic Context Statement



San Francisco Planning Depa Historic Context Statement

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#IShouldWarnYou
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#My3WordHappiness
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OpTic
Jon Stewart

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Saving Places @SavingPlaces · Oct 15
.@sfplanning **Historic** #Preservation Commission to Meet 11/18 to Discuss **#LGBTQ Historic Context** Statement savingplac.es/1X49KG5



Jen Jack Gieseking @jgieseking · Oct 10
Now open for comments!: City of #SF **#LGBTQ Historic Context** Stmt sf-planning.org/ftp/files/Pres… >> send comm to susan.parks@sfgov.org #lgbt #gay

Attachment G:
HPFC and Department Comments

SAN FRANCISCO
PLANNING DEPARTMENT

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Information:
415.558.6377

June 4, 2015

John Lau
Historic Preservation Fund Committee
Office of Economic and Workforce Development
City Hall, Room 448
1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place
San Francisco, CA 94102

Memo to the HPFC re: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Thank you for submitting the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement to the San Francisco Planning Department. Department Staff have completed the review of the LGBTQ HCS, which was submitted to the Department on March 26, 2015. Documents such as this help provide a foundation for historic surveys and historic resource assessments, while also adding to our collective knowledge about the development of the city. Ultimately, these cultural-based historic context statements will also aid in the development of a city-wide historic context statement.

The Planning Department congratulates the consultants on their extensive research; the number of sources, including interviews, organizations, and repositories referenced; and the level of community outreach conducted, including those in-person and through social media. Shayne and Donna's hard work and dedication to this project is clearly evident in this Draft.

As the document is currently in a Draft form, the Department realizes that the following issues will be resolved before the document is presented to the Historic Preservation Commission;

It is understood that the final document will be designed and illustrated. The Department encourages the consultants to be creative with the design of the document. As many photos, maps, ephemera, and other illustrations should be included in the document to provide the reader with the best understanding of the subject matter as possible.

It is also understood that the sequence of the context statement, as a cultural-based context statement, is different from the standard historic context statement outlines. This format is great and allows the reader to immediately dive into the narrative history, rather than being bogged down with technical planning-based information (such as methodology and evaluative framework).

Lastly, it is understood that many footnotes are still in draft form and will be formatted properly in the Final Draft (including shortened second mentions, and ibid.). Footnotes are an acceptable option and are consistent with the format of the African American Historic Context Statement.

The Planning Department is extremely pleased with the format and content of this document, in particular;

"Chapter 7: Acknowledgements", The Department appreciates the inclusion of so many community historians. As with the African American Historic Context Statement, community members' histories lay the foundation and serve as invaluable references for the development of context statements.

The Department believes the "Chapter 4: How-To Guide" and "Chapter 5: Evaluation Framework" sections will be a public-friendly, easily-accessible resource for non-preservationists. This format in lieu of the standard significance/integrity boilerplate eliminates preservation jargon and will allow property owners and other community groups to better understand the significance of their property, and make the argument for the significance of a threatened property.

The "Evaluative Framework", in chart form and divided according to themes, will be excellent tools for both planners and the public to reference. This type of format should be considered for all cultural heritage context statements.

In "Chapter 4: How To Guide", The Department appreciates how the "How to Place an LGBTQ site in San Francisco within a Historic Context" and "How to Apply Criteria to an LGBTQ site in San Francisco" is so clearly spelled out.

The "Chapter 5: Evaluation Framework", "Notes on Integrity" section is an excellent explanation of the challenge associated with preserving culturally significant buildings.

The majority of the Department's comments, listed below, are focused on Chapters 4-6 of the document;

- The Department believes that formatting the lists of Landmark-worthy or Interpretation-worthy properties into a paragraph overview followed by bulleted lists will make the document easier to use and quicker to read. See the format of the Draft African American Historic Context Statement for guidance. For instance in "Chapter 6, Recommendations";
    - Recommendations should be numbered.
      For instance: "1. Complete a Historic Resource Survey of LGBTQ Sites"
    - Include a list of Landmarks that have been designated for their association with LGBTQ history.
      For instance:
        - Harvey Milk Camera Shop, address, Landmark No. xx
        - Twin Peaks Tavern, address, Landmark No. xx
    - Include a list of existing Landmarks that should be re-examined to include their LGBTQ significance.
      For instance, in "2. Expand Significance for Existing San Francisco Landmarks and Historic Districts":

….. Examples of existing San Francisco Landmarks that are significant to LGBTQ history are;

- California Hall, 625 Polk Street, Landmark No. xx
- The Women's Building, 1835 18th Street, Landmark No. xx

- Include a list of potential Landmark Districts, in "3. Designate LGBTQ Historic Districts". Include proposed rough boundaries, if possible.

  For instance:
  - North Beach (boundaries?)
  - Tenderloin (boundaries?)
- Include a list of properties worthy of Landmark status for their associations with LGBTQ history.

  For instance,
  - The Black Cat Café, address
  - Glide Memorial Church, address
- Include a list of interpretive sites or educational/walking tour sites that have associations with LGBTQ history.

  For instance,
  - UN Plaza, address

- In "Chapter 4, How To Guide": The Planning Department's Preservation Bulletins are outdated, the most current information regarding Landmark Designation and the Landmarking Process can be found in the Article 10/11 Designation Application.
- In the "Final Step: Landmarking"section include information about the City's Article 10/11 Designation Application. The public can complete the form and submit to Department Staff.
- In "Chapter 6: Recommendations: 5. Honor Intangible and Legacy Businesses": Consider beefing up this section. Add information from SF Heritage's *Sustaining San Francisco's Living History* and the Planning Department's Japantown Cultural Heritage and Economic Sustainability Strategy. The Draft African American Historic Context Statement Recommendation section references these papers.
- There was a question about whether to keep the "extant"/ "demolished" denotation for each property within the context statement. The first half of the document notes if buildings mentioned are extant or demolished. The Department believes that each time a new property is discussed in the context statement, a denotation of "(extant)" or "(not extant)" should be included. If the property is included as part of an Interpretation-worthy list, it should be clarified whether or not the property is extant.
- Where are the Oral History transcripts located? Consider creating an appendix of all the oral history transcripts. This would be large, and a huge task, but perhaps there is funding or a grant available to outsource the work? The appendix could be included at a later date-after the document is adopted.) Or, consider posting the recordings online (project website, Historypin, etc.). If these were archived through StoryCorps, include information on how to access the

recordings. The Library should be a repository for those transcriptions and the Department can also keep a copy on file as part of the public record.

- Consider adding indices so that the document is even easier to navigate. For instance, an Index to Proper Names, an Index to Community Groups and Organizations, or an Index to Prominent Locations.

Department Staff are happy to work with the Consultants to develop the recommendations section of the document prior to the HPC's adoption. The Department recommends that the context statement be edited to reflect the concerns stated above, as well as to reflect those comments and suggestions that the Historic Preservation Fund Committee may have. Please do not hesitate to contact us if any of the above information needs further clarification, and thank you again for the opportunity to review the document.

LGBTQ HCS – Final Comments and Responses – September 18, 2015

Comment	Requested by	Response
Format (Chicago) and shorten footnotes	N/A	Completed
Revise according to comments from HPFC (Bob Cherny)	HPFC	Completed. (Exception is short paragraph on Marine Cooks & Stewards Union. SW contacted Estelle Freedman and was directed to a book. Waiting for book to arrive.)
Insert Article 10 designations for properties mentioned that are already SF landmarks.	Gee Gee Platt/HPFC	Completed. Also created Excel spreadsheet showing partial list of designation-worthy properties and current status (including local, CR, and NR designations and historic districts).
Format the lists of Landmark-worthy or Interpretation-worthy properties into a paragraph overview followed by bulleted lists will make the document easier to use and quicker to read. See the format of the Draft African American Historic Context Statement for guidance. For instance in "Chapter 6, Recommendations"	Planning Department	Completed
Number recommendations in "Chapter 6, Recommendations"	Planning Department	Completed
Create a list of Landmarks that have been designated for their association with LGBTQ history.	Planning Department	Completed
Create a list of existing Landmarks that should be re-examined to include their LGBTQ significance	Planning Department	Completed
Include a list of potential Landmark Districts, in "Chapter 6, Recommendations." Include proposed rough boundaries, if possible.	Planning Department	Completed. Boundaries not suggested. Survey needed for boundaries.
Include a list of the most obvious properties worthy of Landmark status for their associations	Planning Department	Completed

with LGBTQ history.		
Include a list of interpretive sites or educational/walking tour sites that have associations with LGBTQ history	Planning Department	Completed
In "Chapter 4, How To Guide": The Planning Department's Preservation Bulletins are outdated, the most current information regarding Landmark Designation and the Landmarking Process can be found in the Article 10/11 Designation Application.	Planning Department	Completed
In the "Final Step: Landmarking"section include information about the City's Article 10/11 Designation Application. The public can complete the form and submit to Department Staff.	Planning Department	Completed
In "Chapter 6: Recommendations: 5. Honor Intangible and Legacy Businesses": Consider beefing up this section. Add information from SF Heritage's *Sustaining San Francisco's Living History* and the Planning Department's Japantown Cultural Heritage and Economic Sustainability Strategy. The Draft African American Historic Context Statement Recommendation section references these papers.	Planning Department	Completed
There was a question about whether to keep the "extant"/ "demolished" denotation for each property within the context statement. The first half of the document notes if buildings mentioned are extant or demolished. The Department believes that each time a new property is discussed in the context statement, a denotation of "(extant)" or "(not extant)" should be included. If the property is included as part of an Interpretation-worthy list, it should be clarified whether or not the property is extant	HPFC/Planning	Completed

Consider creating an appendix of all the oral history transcripts. This would be large, and a huge task, but perhaps there is funding or a grant available to outsource the work? The appendix could be included at a later date-after the document is adopted.) Or, consider posting the recordings online (project website, Historypin, etc.). If these were archived through StoryCorps, include information on how to access the recordings. The Library should be a repository for those transcriptions and the Department can also keep a copy on file as part of the public record.	Planning Department	Beyond scope of project
Consider adding indices so that the document is even easier to navigate. For instance, an Index to Proper Names, an Index to Community Groups and Organizations, or an Index to Prominent Locations.	HPFC/Planning Department	Not completed. PDF will be searchable.
Create Excel spreadsheet of "obvious" LGBTQ resources for Planning	Planning Department	Completed

Comments on LGBTQ context statement
Bob Cherny

First of all, my congratulations on a most impressive body of work. You've done a great deal in a relatively short time. I've scattered editorial suggestions and comments about content throughout, using track-changes. Most are for you to consider. Some of the editorial changes are minor but necessary.

There is one topic that seems to be missing: organized labor. Allan Berube was working on a book on the Marine Cooks and Stewards at the time of his death, for which he had received a very competitive and prestigious grant. Estelle Friedman is completing that book using Allan's research, and she should be able to provide a paragraph or so on that union, including locations: ebf@stanford.edu (I think that any locations have been demolished, and the union itself was red-baited out of existence after being expelled from the CIO. There was an AFL union by the same name that succeeded to the jurisdiction of the CIO MC&S.)

While the MC&S should receive the most attention, there were gay caucuses in a number of unions. You mention the teachers. I cannot recall with any certainty which other unions had gay caucuses, but Catherine Powell at the Labor Archives and Research Center at SF State should be able to provide some information. I suspect that the SF Labor Council may have been the first city central body--and if not the first then surely have been among the first--to support gay rights. The Teamsters' boycott of Coors was important in this, and you do mention that. Again, Catherine Powell is probably your best source, although Lynn Bonfield, the founding director of LARC, now emeritus, may also have some valuable insights. I encourage you to contact them: cpowell@sfsu.edu, bonfield@sfsu.edu .

It may also be relevant somewhere to have a sentence or two about the Friends of 1800 and their role in historic preservation.

I suggested in a side comment that you might want to say more about John De Cecco and the *Journal of Homosexuality* and suggested that John Elia could probably provide more information. I don't know if John De Cecco is still alive—if so, he would be in his 90s--but John Elia is likely to know. John Elia is: jpelia@sfsu.edu

Again, congratulations. This is an excellent model for other HCSs to come.

Bob

Advisory Committee Comments Summary
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement | October 2014 Draft

Dr. Nan Alamilla Boyd | San Francisco State University (Academic Reviewer)
"The Historical Context Statement is an impressive and unique document. The presentation of material is well organized; the research is exceptionally comprehensive; and the writing is, on the whole, vivid and strong….The organizational frame of the Historic Context Statement works well to highlight the history of LGBTQ people and places in San Francisco….The research that supports the Context Statement's narrative and analysis is impressively comprehensive, even exhaustive….The most impressive aspect of the Historic Context Statement is its comprehensive overview of San Francisco's LGBTQ history. An overarching narrative of San Francisco's queer history has not been articulated in a single storyline before, so this is a unique piece of work…. In addition to providing a reliable reference for the possible identification of historical landmarks, the document asserts a compelling narrative and organizes material in a comprehensive way that will be useful to a more general audience….Terrific work! The Historic Context Statement is a remarkable document and a substantial accomplishment."

Katherine Petrin | Historic Preservation Consultant (Preservation Peer Reviewer)
"The draft LGBTQ HCS is impressive. It synthesizes and presents an incredible breadth of information. The scope and scale of the document is impressive. The authors have drawn together a rich cache of facts, stories, and trends and created a narrative that is compelling. Telling the story neighborhood by neighborhood is effective. The draft LGBTQ HCS relies on a variety of sources; the narrative is well documented and thoroughly cited."

Tamara Ching | Transgender Activist and Community Historian
"Was very well written, I learned a lot myself. Thank you."

Dr. Kimberly Rae Connor | University of San Francisco
"What an impressive piece of work!... Your writing is crisp, clear, clean and uncluttered. Strong verbs and active voice also move along the narrative pace and make your document an expression of active, living history, even when you dive into the archives. Terrific writing and narrative structure…. As an academic I am deeply impressed by the quality of your scholarship. As a citizen I am so very grateful that you devoted your labors and your love to this effort. Brava!"

Gerard Koskovich | Independent scholar
"[A]n utterly monumental effort!"

Alan Martinez, AIA | Historic Preservation Specialist
"Great job!"

Dr. Don Romesburg | Sonoma State University
"Great job! Wow, so much ground covered. What a profound accomplishment."

Jody Stock | Historic Preservation Consultant
"First, let me say that the amount of work you have done is phenomenal. I am very impressed by the thoroughness of your research and the amount of information presented. This is a new perspective on history for me (and I assume for a lot of people). I have read a lot of San Francisco history over the last 15 years, but very little of it overlapped with this context statement. It is going to be a very valuable resource for the community and for preservation professionals…. From a preservation perspective, I think the document is good and has a lot of information. I appreciated it when you provided addresses and locations for important events, organizations, and people…. I think this is a very important document, and I am proud to be involved."

Dr. Susan Stryker | Arizona State University
"Looks really solid!"

Dr. Amy Sueyoshi | San Francisco State University
"You folks have done an excellent job!"

Attachment H:
Advisory Committee Comments

Advisory Committee Comments Summary
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Attachment I:
Public Comment Letters

ALPHIN, DIRK
Manager/Owner of LGBTQ Clubs

To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Cc: sflgbthistory@gmail.com
Subject: LGBT History Doc / Valencia Rose / Josie"s Cabaret
Date: Thursday, October 15, 2015 3:09:01 PM

Dear Susan Parks, Donna Graves, Shayne Watson:

I was delighted to read in the Bay Area Reporter today news about the SF LGBT History Documentation project. I wanted to send a thank you to all of you for your very important work.

I have looked at the documentation (found at http://www.sf-planning.org/ftp/files/Preservation/lgbt_HCS/LGBTQ_HCS_October2015.pdf). I thought I should pass along an introduction, and let you know I am still around. I was at The Valencia Rose as management, and was one of the three creators of Josie's (Along with Ron Lanza and Donald Montwill - you incorrectly cite Donald as "Doug" and omit my own involvement entirely). All citations for "Doug" Montwill should be attributed to "Donald" Montwill. Also, Hank Wilson was only involved in The Valencia Rose, and not Josie's. I was also present at the Thanksgiving Dinner cited on page 300 of your document, as well - a real story, that one!

[From your document on page 264: "Valencia Rose closed in 1985, but three years later, manager Doug Montwill and owner Ron Lanza opened Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint in the Castro (3583 16th Street, extant). Like Valencia Rose, Josie's was a community institution that mixed politics with humor, hosting plays, comedy acts, and many benefits and political meetings until it closed in 1999"]

I mention all this because I am the only surviving management/owner members of these two important LGBT clubs that served as types of precursors to the current LGBT Center: The Valencia Rose Cafe and Cabaret, as well as Josie's Cabaret & Juice Joint. I was part of a team consisting of Ron Lanza, Hank Wilson, Donald Montwill and myself - with many others involved over the years as well. I worked in and lived in both buildings of these clubs, and know a lot of inside information about these venues/spaces, and the persons involved.

I have many items, posters, architectual plans, photographs, and other documentation on both clubs, as well as the original building business sign the The Valencia Rose. If there is any interest in this information, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you for the work you are doing.

Dirk Alphin
(415) 863-0777

DAVIS, MATTHEW
(Librarian, SFPL)

From: Davis, Matthew (LIB)
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco
Date: Thursday, October 15, 2015 8:34:57 AM

Hi Susan,

I want to see if it is possible to get 2 copies of the *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* for the Government Information Center's San Francisco Documents Collection to be cataloged and preserved. I realize there is an online version, but we try to physical copies whenever possible and at 381 pages, printing it would break out printer.

Thanks for your help,

Matthew

Matthew Davis
San Francisco Documents Librarian
San Francisco Public Library, Government Information Center
100 Larkin Street, 5th Floor
San Francisco, CA 94102
415-557-4473
I am on a Sunday to Thursday schedule.

From: Shayne Watson <sewatson77@yahoo.com>
Sent: Saturday, October 10, 2015 11:49 AM
To: Shayne Watson
Cc: Donna Graves
Subject: Inviting Public Comments: Report on LGBTQ History in San Francisco

The San Francisco Planning Department has announced the completion of the *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco*, produced by architectural historian Shayne Watson and public historian Donna Graves. The project is supported by a grant from the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee, with technical oversight and review provided by the Planning Department. The GLBT Historical Society is the fiscal sponsor.
The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement has been posted on the Planning Department's website (http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673) for public review in anticipation of its adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission (HPC) at its regularly scheduled public hearing on November 18, 2015. Copies of the context statement will also be placed at the Public Information Center, 1660 Mission Street, First Floor. If adopted by the HPC, community history advocates and city planners can use the report as a foundation for the protection, identification, interpretation, and designation of historic LGBTQ-related sites and

places in San Francisco.

Submit Public Comments by October 23, 2015

Contact Preservation Planner Susan Parks for additional information regarding the use of historic context statements or for more information on the Historic Preservation Commission's review and adoption process. Public comment in support or opposition of the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* must be received by the Planning Department by October 23, 2015. Comments should be mailed or emailed to:

Susan Parks, Preservation Planner

San Francisco Planning Department

1650 Mission Street, Suite 400

San Francisco, CA 94103

susan.parks@sfgov.org

To Attend Historic Preservation Hearing

Members of the public are invited to attend the HPC hearing on Wednesday, November 18, 2015. The hearing will take place from 12:30pm to 4:00pm at San Francisco City Hall, Commission Chambers, Room 400. The public can participate in the hearing by presenting to the commissioners during the public testimony period.

About the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

The *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* documents lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history and experiences in San Francisco from the Native American period through the AIDS epidemic in the 1990s. The report presents historical background on the following major themes: Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (19th Century to 1950s); Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early 20th Century to 1960s); Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to 1960s); Homophile Movements (1950s to 1965); Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods (1960s to 1980s); Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to 1990s); Building LGBTQ Communities (1960s to 1990s); LGBTQ Medicine (1940s to 1970s); and San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 1990s). The report pays particular attention to incorporating the place-based histories of under-documented groups within the LGBTQ communities, including lesbians, transgender women and men, and LGBTQ people of color. Begun in September 2013, the project builds upon existing LGBTQ scholarship, including the nation's first LGBTQ historic context statement, *Sexing the City* (2004), and includes additional research conducted at repositories such as the GLBT Historical Society, the San Francisco Public Library's James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, the ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives and Digital Collection, and others. To inform the historic context statement and provide firsthand accounts of community life, Project Directors Graves and Watson conducted oral history interviews and hosted community events where participants were able to share their stories and experiences, including a kick-off event in November 2013, followed by two more open house-style events in May 2014 and November 2014.

FRENCH, JR., WILLIAM

From: william french, Jr.
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: LGBTQ Survey Issue
Date: Sunday, October 11, 2015 8:37:11 PM

Hello,

Recently a significant factual issue has been discovered in the LGBTQ Survey. You will be contacted by documentary filmmaker Robert James about this. I am greatly concerned that the authors of the survey relied solely on previously published materials instead of doing their own research.

The one identified issue so far has to do with Dr. Ted McIlvenna and his role at Glide Memorial Church. Robert will explain the issue better than I can.

I'd like to encourage you to place this project on hold and allow independent researchers and historians to verify every "fact" contained in the Survey. I would hate to see this project opened up for public comment when it is known the at least even a few simple facts are wrong. It could be a major embarrassment to the City and your office.

Being historically accurate is far more important than getting a survey completed in a timely manner.

Thank you,
William French

FRENCH JR., WILLIAM

From: Shayne Watson
To: william french, Jr.
Cc: Parks, Susan (CPC); Donna Graves
Subject: Re: Survey Accuracy Issue
Date: Sunday, October 11, 2015 10:27:24 AM

Dear Mr. French,

Thank you for your comment on the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement. I am CCing the Planner in charge of compiling comments. We will make sure to correct any inaccuracies associated with Glide and CRH. I'm so happy to hear about your documentation project. What a worthy subject!

Sincere regards,
Shayne Watson

> On Oct 11, 2015, at 9:26 AM, william french, Jr. <frenchjr25@hotmail.com> wrote:
>
> Hello,
>
> As I am reading through the survey one glaring mistake has arisen regarding Glide Memorial Church (page 153).
>
> The Reverend Cecil Williams did not hire Dr. Ted McIlvenna. And Williams was not head of Glide at the time. Dr. Ted had been at Glide for some time before Williams was hired. Dr. Ted was, at that point, a respected Methodist minister. Dr. Ted is one of the people that approved of William's hiring.
>
> NuReality Productions, out of Berkeley, has spent the past 4 years documenting the life of Dr. Ted. We have hundreds of hours of interviews with dozens of people, including some mentioned in your survey. We have also conducted extensive research.
>
> I encourage you to contact NuReality producer Robert James at (415)794-2470.
>
> Thank you,
> William French

LEMKE, BETH
(Grandniece of Mona Sargent)

From: Beth Lemke
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Cc: Shayne Watson
Subject: Re: Inviting Public Comments: Report on LGBTQ History in San Francisco
Date: Thursday, November 05, 2015 1:24:12 PM
Attachments: image004.png
image002.png
image005.png
image001.png
image003.png

Hello Susan,

Thank you for allowing me additional time to read through the materials and provide my statement in support of the project. I have no experience writing a comment of this nature - so here goes! Let me know if I'm off-base, or you need additional information.

I support the adoption of the *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco.* Shayne Watson and Donna Graves, through their thorough and resourceful information gathering, have produced the definitive statement on this subject. Watson and Graves have provided much needed dimension to the story of human experiences, like that of my great aunt Mona Sargent.We now live in a much more tolerant society. This statement is important because it provides a portal back in time allowing us to better understand these rich and complicated human experiences. Every building needs a foundation. To authentically tell the story of a community, you need context - the foundation of every story.
-Elizabeth (Beth) Lemke, Great Niece of Mona Sargent
Pacifica, CA

Additional information:

Ramona (Mona) Sargent (nee' Nystrom) is my maternal great aunt - she is the sister of my grandfather, on my mother's side.. Growing up, I didn't have much contact with Aunt Mona. That side of the family didn't host regular family reunions. Also, Mona was a bit of a black sheep and the family didn't talk about her past as a nightclub owner. Mona was essentially a mystery to me. It wasn't until her 80th birthday party that I really began to get to know her and hear her stories (Aunt Mona loved to tell a story!). Mona was extremely independent - partly out of necessity. She lived her life to the beat of her own drum. When she told me stories about her nightclubs and bars, she was not at all apologetic or ashamed, in any way. She told me that while she hadn't set out to create a business catering to the lesbian community, she saw that there were women being treated poorly by other establishments and wanted to help. I believe Mona identified with their feelings of isolation and rejection - she and her siblings were often shuttled between family members and didn't have a stable home life.

On Mon, Nov 2, 2015 at 9:36 AM, Parks, Susan (CPC) <susan.parks@sfgov.org> wrote:

> HI Beth,

If you want to include a letter in support of the LGBTQ HCS, you can still do so. I am currently working on the packets that will be transmitted to the Historic Preservation Commission, you if you can get something to me in the next couple of days, it should be fine.

Thanks,

Susan

Susan Parks

Preservation Planner

Planning Department, City and County of San Francisco
1650 Mission Street, Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94103
Direct: 415-575-9101 **Fax:** 415-558-6409

Email:susan.parks@sfgov.org

Web:www.sfplanning.org



From: Shayne Watson [mailto:sewatson77@yahoo.com]
Sent: Friday, October 30, 2015 12:55 PM
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Cc: Donna Graves
Subject: Fwd: Inviting Public Comments: Report on LGBTQ History in San Francisco

Hi Susan,

I'm sending this along in case Beth isn't able to submit a comment today. I told her she might be able to since you extended the deadline for Bill

Lipsky. Beth is the great niece of Mona Sargent, owner of SF's first lesbian nightclubs!

Best,

Shayne

Sent from Shayne's iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

> **From:** Beth Lemke <beth.lemke@gmail.com>
> **Date:** October 30, 2015 at 10:00:24 AM PDT
> **To:** Shayne Watson <sewatson77@yahoo.com>
> **Subject: Re: Inviting Public Comments: Report on LGBTQ History in San Francisco**
>
> Hello Shayne,
>
> These days I seem to be a day late and a dollar short. Apparently I missed the time frame for public comment. Would it be helpful for me to attend the hearing on November 18? Is it necessary to be there the entire time (12:30-4pm)? I would like to attend in support.
>
> And I look forward to your visit. I'm at the wine bar M-Th, 4pm to 10pm. Though I can meet you there another day, if easier. And hope to see you on the 18th!
>
> Beth
>
> On Sun, Oct 11, 2015 at 1:00 PM, Shayne Watson <sewatson77@yahoo.com> wrote:
>
> Thanks, Beth! Your support over the years has meant so much to me. Your Aunt has a big role in the report, and two of her bars make the list of recommended landmarks.
>
> Submitting a comment in support of adoption would be great! It can be super quick.
>
> Thanks for the invite to the party. Congrats to you! If I can't make it, Robin and I will drop in another time.

Take care,

Shayne

On Oct 11, 2015, at 10:09 AM, Beth Lemke <beth.lemke@gmail.com> wrote:

Congratulations Shayne! This has been a long time coming! What, specifically, can I do to help support the adoption? Simply make a comment in favor?

Thank you for all the hard work you've spent on behalf of others, including Aunt Mona.

We're celebrating the 5th Anniversary of A Grape in the Fog on 10/18, 2-5pm. Please join, if you can. We'd love to see you.

Beth Lemke

A Grape in the Fog

Rockaway Beach, Pacifica

(415) 410-7960

www.agitf.com

On Oct 10, 2015, at 11:49 AM, Shayne Watson <sewatson77@yahoo.com> wrote:

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JAMES, ROBERT
(Documentary Film-maker)

From: Robert James
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: greetings from a documentary filmmaker
Date: Monday, October 12, 2015 2:36:40 PM

Hi Susan.....
Here is a message I sent to Shayne Watson and Donna Graves about the LGBT Preservation info online...

I'm the one making the 6-part documentary series.
I've been on this story for 4 years now.

While trying to authenticate our story as we know will be scrutinised heavily, we are also seeing a recurrent theme of history being re-written.
Our series is about Dr. Ted McIlvenna who 'hired' Cecil Williams (along with Louis Durham and the Glide Board) in 1963.

Just a note here on lost information:

Because of Ted's involvement in early LGBT activism, he was awarded the Gilbert Baker Founders Award last year and a Grand Marshall in 2014 in the Pride Parade. It was amazing how much more Ted knew when being interviewed by the press than the LGBT historians who were on hand with only limited knowledge of many events. I guess Ted being 83 and sharp as a whip doesn't hurt.

I wanted to impart my working knowledge of the events that William wrote about. My digging around includes going to Glide's archives.

William who works with me saw this bit of inconsistency on page 153 of the LGBT Preservation doc.
I just did a simple search on Wiki and it even states that Cecil came to Glide in 1963, whereas the referred to doc says he came in 1962.
Cecil did in fact come in 1963. Ted McIlvenna had been hired by Louis Durham.
Ted had just resurrected a small parish in Hayward CA (as the Methodist pastor) into a huge community presence the 3 years prior to coming to Glide.
It was Louis Durham at Glide that requested Ted come and be the director of the newly formed National Young Adult Project. This was a multi-demoninational christian group that ran their projects thru the Glide Urban Centre located at Glide Church.
Ted immediately became part of the Glide Board by Durham's request. It was Louis, Ted and the rest of the board that had heard of Cecil's rising star presence as a ministerial student at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley. The Board, including Ted hired Cecil at Glide in 1963.
Ted also sat for Methodist credential exams at PSR in Berkeley.

Ted was not a social worker he 'is' a Methodist Traveling Elder who now is an educator.
Nor was he from Kansas City.

Let us know if we can provide any documents and we would love to know if this will get changed at some point in the near future.

best,

Robert James
Director / Producer
NuReality Productions
415.794.2470
r.james@mac.com

HAGIWARA, NINA
Librarian, San Francisco State University

From: Nina Hagiwara
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: RE: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement Available for Public Review & Comments
Date: Wednesday, October 14, 2015 10:20:56 AM

Hi Susan,

Would the final file be in print or CD? If that's the case, please send us a copy. We have experienced unstable links to government websites, so a hard copy is preferable.

Thanks,
Nina

From: Parks, Susan (CPC) [susan.parks@sfgov.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 14, 2015 10:15 AM
To: Nina Hagiwara
Subject: Re: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement Available for Public Review & Comments

Hi Nina,

Once the document is adopted, I can either email you a final copy or send you the final file, whichever is easier for you.

Thanks

Susan

From: Nina Hagiwara <ninah@sfsu.edu>
Sent: Wednesday, October 14, 2015 10:12 AM
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: FW: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement Available for Public Review & Comments

Dear Ms. Parks,

We are a government depository library at S.F. State University, and would love to put the *LGBTQ Historic Context Statement* into our government publications collections. Student research projects often require historical information about San Francisco communities, and this publication will be of interest to many of them. By any chance, is the publication available in print? If so, we would like a copy for our collection.

Thanks for your consideration.

Best regards,

Nina Hagiwara
Asst. Librarian
Government Publications
J. Paul Leonard Library
San Francisco State University
1630 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94132

Email: ninah@sfsu.edu
Phone: (415) 405-2517

LARSON, NORMAN

From: Norman Larson
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement
Date: Monday, October 19, 2015 5:25:40 PM

Dear Ms. Parks:

This is with regard to pp. 167-169 of the Statement, regarding the shop Mnasidika in the Haight Ashbury. I'm the owner of the property—1510 Haight, and I'm more than interested in its history. It's City Landmark #253, and also on the National Register of Historic Places.

Here is my rewriting:

The Haight-Ashbury in the 1970s and 1980s also had numerous gay-owned retail businesses and restaurants that advertised in the gay press and were listed in gay directories. Those establishments also marked the neighborhood as a very gay-friendly area and helped attract gay residents.

One example of an important LGBTQ business in the Haight-Ashbury area is Mnasidika clothing boutique, which was housed in the storefront at 1510 Haight Street (extant) from 1965 to 1968. (The name Mnasidika comes from the 19th Century poem by Pierre Louys (1870-1925)—"Chansons de Bilitis" ("Songs of Bilitis"). Mnasidika was a young female lover of Sappho in the poem.) "Songs of Bilitis" was the inspiration for the homophile group Daughters of Bilitis founded by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, and the shop name would seem to be a covert reference to Daughters of Bilitls.

Mnasidika was owned by an openly bisexual woman named Peggy Caserta. Caserta had a long term relationship with Kim Chappell, a former lover of Joan Baez. Mnasidika was reportedly the first "hip" clothing store in the neighborhood and was highly instrumental in the development of Haight-Ashbury as a hippie enclave. In 1966, Peggy Caserta became the primary female love interest of Janis Joplin, and the two remained lovers until Joplin's death in 1970. Joplin was a regular at Mnasidika and purchased clothes at the boutique.

My reference for the change in the text is "The Literature of Lesbianism—A Historical Anthology from Ariosto to Stonewall". Terry Castle, Editor. pp. 566-569. Published by Columbian University Press, 2003.

LARSON, NORMAN

From: Norman Larson
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement update
Date: Tuesday, October 20, 2015 10:54:01 AM

Dear Susan,

I've updated my suggested revision of pp. 167-169 of the Context Statement. Thank you for being patient with me.

The Haight-Ashbury in the 1970s and 1980s also had numerous gay-owned retail businesses and restaurants that advertised in the gay press and were listed in gay directories. Those establishments also marked the neighborhood as a very gay-friendly area and helped attract gay residents.

One example of an important LGBTQ business in the Haight-Ashbury area is Mnasidika clothing boutique, which was housed in the storefront at 1510 Haight Street (extant) from 1965 to 1968. (The name Mnasidika comes from the 19th Century poem by Pierre Louys (1870-1925)—"Chansons de Bilitis" ("Songs of Bilitis"). Mnasidika was a young female lover of Sappho in the poem.) "Songs of Bilitis" was the inspiration for the name of the homophile group Daughters of Bilitis, founded by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, and the shop name could be a covert reference to Daughters of Bilitis. Another possibility: Mnasidika is also the name of a poem in Elsa Gidlow's *On a Grey Thread* (1923) the first book of explicitly lesbian poetry published in the US. Gidlow lived on Page St. in the Haight before she moved to Fairfax in the 1940s. Gidlow's poem could also have been the inspiration for the shop name.

Mnasidika was owned by an openly bisexual woman named Peggy Caserta. Caserta had a long term relationship with Kim Chappell, a former lover of Joan Baez. Mnasidika was reportedly the first "hip" clothing store in the neighborhood and was highly instrumental in the development of Haight-Ashbury as a hippie enclave. In 1966, Peggy Caserta became the primary female love interest of Janis Joplin, and the two remained lovers until Joplin's death in 1970. Joplin was a regular at Mnasidika and purchased clothes at the boutique.

My reference for the change in the text is "The Literature of Lesbianism—A Historical Anthology from Ariosto to Stonewall". Terry Castle, Editor. pp. 566-569. Published by Columbian University Press, 2003.

LARSON, NORMAN

From: Norman Larson
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: LGBTQ Statement
Date: Wednesday, October 21, 2015 2:54:05 PM

Dear Ms. Parks,

I just received the following information from Christopher Bowman, regarding Concerned Republicans for Individual Rights, and Log Cabin Republicans San Francisco.

I think it would segue nicely with the information about Leonard Matlovich (p. 237 of the LGBTQ Statement draft), since he was one of Log Cabin's members.

I realize this is a huge document. Hope it works.

* * *

In early August 1977, Concerned Republicans for Individual Rights was organized as a gay/straight alliance of San Francisco Republicans who wanted to oppose the Briggs' Initiative (which would have given local school districts the right to ban LGBT teachers, administrators, counselors, and employees from employment) and to help grow the Party in the burgeoning LGBT Community. Later the same month, completely independent of what happened in San Francisco, a gay/straight alliance of Los Angeles Republicans was formed -- initially called the Lincoln Club (but since there already was a Lincoln Club -- a donor organization of wealthy businessmen and professionals to support moderate Republican candidates), the organization changed its name to the Log Cabin Club of Los Angeles.

There was informal communications between the two organizations during the No on 6 (Briggs) campaign. Subsequently, Log Cabin clubs were organized in San Diego and Orange County (out of Laguna Beach) but the first time that the leadership of the clubs met was in October 1981, when the California Republican Party held its Fall convention in Palm Springs. The members caucused at a hotel half a mile down the road from the convention, went to candidate receptions and reported back, and met with Congressman Pete McCloskey, who was running for U.S. Senate, and agreed to communicate on a routine basis and attend each other club's functions when they were in a respective town.

In 1982-1983, AB 1 (authored by Assemblyman Art Agnos, which would have amended the Unruh Civil Rights Act to ban discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations and services on the basis of sexual orientation) and two bills (authored by State Senators Milton Marks and David Roberti, which would provide the first funding for AIDS research and education) wended their way through the State Capitol, and leaders from all four chapters, independently lobbied their local legislators and others who were friendly, who lived outside of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Diego -- such as Bill Filante, Ken Maddy, and Gordon Duffy), and compared notes. AB-1 passed the Legislature by a very narrow margin only to be vetoed by Governor Deukmejian, but both AIDS bills were signed into law by the Governor. In 1986, CRIR, and Log Cabin Los Angeles helped found the Lobby for Individual RIghts (otherwise known as the LIFE/AIDS Lobby) to handle the flurry of bills -- 40 in number being introduced by Republicans and Democrats in the legislature -- many of which would have rolled back the few civil rights that LGBT people in California had at the time), and all chapters work together to defeat the LaRouche (AIDS Quarantine) Initiative that November.

During the interim, chapters were formed in Palm Springs, Long Beach, and Santa Clara County, and in August, 1987, a statewide conference was held of the clubs was held at the University of California -- Irvine and a formal merger took place. The compromise, was that CRIR would become the Log Cabin Club of San Francisco/CRIR, and the Log Cabin clubs elsewhere in the State, would also add

CRIR to their title.

In October, 1987, representatives from the chapters from California met with chapter leaders from around the Country in Washington, D.C. as an offshoot to the March on Washington, and formed United Republicans for Equality and Privacy (UREP), which was hobbled because it had no funding mechanism and no real endorsing power or the right to speak for Gay Republicans nationally without going through an arduous process, plus its first two Presidents, Peter Thompson from Chicago, and then Stan Berry from San Diego died of AIDS. (You will remember that three of our Presidents died of AIDS -- Duke Armstrong in 1988, Bob Bacci in 1990, and Ron Kershaw in 1991.) In 1992, the remnants of UREP were morphed into what became the Log Cabin Federation (after a national convention was held in Florida that year lead by the leadership of Log Cabin -- Massachusetts -- Rich Tafel and Abner Mason, and in the Fall of 1993, just after the DADT fiasco was over, Log Cabin opened its lobbying office in Washington, D.C., with Tafel as the first Executive Director, and Mason as the Federation's first President. To consolidate power, the Federation morphed in 1994 or 1995 into simply Log Cabin Republicans.

In the first year, CRIR met in people's kitchens and living rooms. CRIR was founded in the kitchen of Bob and Bertha Nelson (Reagan Republican).

Under Kevin Wadsworth, the membership grew like topsy and to accommodate the assemblage we met in the second floor gymnasium (which also had a kitchen, dining tables and chairs, at the MCC from 1979-1980, and we had pot luck dinner/meetings. In April 1980, the club, on the second ballot endorsed John Anderson for the Republican nomination. The MCC, as you are aware, was nearly condemned by the City for dry rot and mold, and the church and adjoining apartment building were sold earlier this year, and may or may not be demolished to build condos.

Duke Armstrong wanted us to patronize Gay bars, and the membership continued to grow to 188 members by the Summer of 1982, and we had fabulous and well attended receptions at Trinity Place and the old Sutter's Mill in the financial district. Both concerns went out of business (although Sutter's Mill did find other venues downtown -- more on that later) as their buildings were torn down to build highrise office and condo buildings. I remember our hosting several Mr. Financial District contests at Trinity Place -- which were fundraisers that Duke organized for the AIDS Emergency Fund. Also, we hosted Dianne Feinstein and Maureen Reagan at Sutter's Mill.

Some of our membership meetings including endorsements meetings during that period were held at the re-located Gay Community Center at 890 Hayes. It was a former nunnery, and we met in the meeting hall, and various non-profits had offices in the former bedrooms of the building. Prior to that time, the GCC was located at 330 Grove -- Paul Hardman was the ED, but that, in turn was torn down to make way for the Performing Arts Garage in the late 1970's. (Paul, by the bye, served on our Board for three years before leaving the Party. He hosted a reception for John Anderson's children at his Victorian at 1792 Pacific and also published an alternative Gay newspaper in the early 80's in his home's basement. In 1985, he founded the Alexander Hamilton Post 448 of the American Legion.)

Because the neighborhood at 890 Hayes was rather dicey at the time and there wasn't a lot of available street parking, the club relocated its membership meetings to the backroom of the German Oak Restaurant on Market between Noe and Sanchez. Bob Bacci, Tom Peretti, Bacci again, yours truly, and Brian Mavrogeorge were the presidents during that era. When Leonard Matlovich returned to SF from his stint as a teacher for military brats in Germany, we had board meetings in his living room at 18th and Castro. After his death, board meetings were held at Ron Kershaw's residence on 21st Street, between Dolores and Church, and after his death at Robert Speer's real estate office on 18th Street between Hartford and Castro.

There's a gap in my memory as to where our membership meetings were held after we left the German Oak (which is no more), but I remember that we met at in a small back room of the relocated Sutter's Mill when Ted Turrell was President, and at Fior D'Italia, and the Marines Memorial when Stephen Fong and Scott Furman were Presidents.

After the Matt Fong/Sal Russo/Lou Sheldon fiasco in 1978, and our membership declined to the point that only about ten members showed up, we held our meetings in the Community Room of the Condo Complex where Mike German lived off of 15th Street between Guerrero and Dolores. In March 2000, all of our members lost re-election to the Central Committee -- the only time in 35 years when we didn't have representation on the SFRCCC.

When we reorganized under Randy Bernard and then Colin Gallagher, Paul Lynd, and Joel Springer, we met at the LGBT Community Center (but due to bad management practices by the Center's staff, we were priced out of the facility -- paying 40% of our annual budget on room rentals), and then met in one of the Community Room next to St. Marks' Lutheran Church at Franklin and O'Farrell. It was convenient for me as I lived up the block at the Cathedral Hill Tower, and I believe the price was either nominal or free.

The club then went moribund in August 2006 when no one chose to run for re-election and we couldn't get a quorum even of our board to keep the organization going.

When Dan Brown was recruited by Scott Schmitt of West Hollywood (since he had relocated to SF) to resurrect the chapter in early 2010, we met at a number of bars, but then settled a year latter to the back-room of the Sausage Factory, where we've held probably 90% of our meetings since.

Other locales of note. Norm Larson hosted several PAC fundraisers and receptions in his attic and home at 557 Ashbury over the years, as has Michael Gallardo hosted several holiday parties and Bay to Breakers parties at his home at 1017 Hayes.

Our largest annual dinners which attracted 250-300 guests were held in 1982 and 1983 at the old Jack Tar (Cathedral Hlll Hotel), which is now the site of the new Van Ness campus for CPMC. We held other annual dinners at Lenny Malloy's Steak House South of Market near Ritch Street, the Cliff House, Holiday Inn at Powell and Sutter, the Hotel across the street (which name escapes me), and back again to the Cathedral Hill around 2002 when we had U.S. Attorney Kevin Ryan speak and the late Ron Smith was honored. Some of our guest speakers included Bonnie Dumanis and Mary Bono.

We've had no annual dinners since 2005.

Also, a fond memory of club members meeting around Duke Armstrong's dining room table folding and compiling multi-paged "Mandates" -- our monthly newsletter where we would exchange gossip and diss. Duke's home was in constant disrepair, as he had ambitions to completely renovate his Victorian flat at 352 Divisadero, but construction ended when he went onto disability because of AIDS.

RODRIGUEZ, MARCOS
Co-Founder, Communidad Unida in Repuesta a AIDS/SIDA

From:	Marcos Rodriguez
To:	Donna Graves
Cc:	Luis Alberto Campos de la Garza; Juan Pablo Gutierrez; Parks, Susan (CPC); Shayne Watson
Subject:	Thanks! Re: COMPLETE EMAIL - for important correction on errors for Latinos noted in your LGBTQ Historical Project
Date:	Wednesday, November 04, 2015 2:30:40 PM

Donna, I appreciate your quick reply and that you or your team will make the necessary corrections as noted.

I know it's important to get the correct SF Latino(a) LGBTQ information & glad Luis de la Garza noticed it and informed us.

My best with the project and thanks again. Please keep me in the loop.

Thanks again,

Marcos

Marcos E Rodriguez

On Nov 4, 2015, at 12:37 PM, Donna Graves <donnagraves01@gmail.com> wrote:

> Hi Again Marcos,
>
> These corrections will definitely go into the final document.
>
> Thanks for the message.
>
> Best,
>
> Donna
>
> Nov 4, 2015, at 11:52 AM, Marcos Rodriguez <mountainviewaz@yahoo.com> wrote:
>
> > Donna,
> >
> > *Sorry sent last email by mistake before completing, this is what I meant to send.*
> >
> > *Marcos*
> > ---
> >
> > Donna,
> >
> > Hoping you're well and the LGBTQ History Project piece is wrapping up.
> >
> > My concern is that Luis just brought to OUR attention your

errors with:
#1-my last name,
#2-correct name @ spelling for CURAS
#3-and CURAS' Founders notation and references.

#1:
I am **MARCOS E. RODRIGUEZ** ....**NOT** marcos gutierrez.

#2:
Your citation in "Latino(a) AIDS Organizing" of CURAS is incorrect.
Correct full name & spelling for CURAS:

(Spanish)
COMUNIDAD UNIDA EN RESPUESTA A AIDS/SIDA

(English)
COMMUNITY UNITED IN RESPONSE TO AIDS/SIDA

#3:
Your citation in "Latino(a) AIDS Organizing" refers to me as Founder - **I was a CO-FOUNDER along with: Rodrigo Reyes, Juan Pablo Gutierrez, Luis de la Garza & Diane Felix (Chili D).**

Please note these very important and critical corrections for the SF LGBTQ HISTORY Final Document. Could you please correct these important errors?

I would also appreciate it if you can contact me about this. My info is below. Gracias

Marcos

Marcos E Rodriguez
(415) 471-4280
PO BOX 190231
San Francisco, CA 94119-0231

From:	Donna Graves
To:	Marcos Rodriguez
Cc:	Luis Alberto Campos de la Garza; Juan Pablo Gutierrez; Parks, Susan (CPC); Shayne Watson
Subject:	Re: COMPLETE EMAIL - for important correction on errors for Latinos noted in your LGBTQ Historical Project
Date:	Wednesday, November 04, 2015 12:38:03 PM

Hi Again Marcos,

These corrections will definitely go into the final document.

Thanks for the message.

Best,

Donna

Nov 4, 2015, at 11:52 AM, Marcos Rodriguez <mountainviewaz@yahoo.com> wrote:

> Donna,
>
> *Sorry sent last email by mistake before completing, this is what I meant to send.*
>
> *Marcos*
> ---
>
> Donna,
>
> Hoping you're well and the LGBTQ History Project piece is wrapping up.
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> My concern is that Luis just brought to OUR attention your errors with:
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>
> #1:
> I am **MARCOS E. RODRIGUEZ** ....**NOT** marcos gutierrez.
>
> **#2:**
> Your citation in "Latino(a) AIDS Organizing" of CURAS is incorrect.
> **Correct full name & spelling for CURAS:**
>
> **(Spanish)**
> **COMUNIDAD UNIDA EN RESPUESTA A AIDS/SIDA**
>
> **(English)**
> **COMMUNITY UNITED IN RESPONSE TO AIDS/SIDA**
>
> **#3:**
> Your citation in "Latino(a) AIDS Organizing" refers to me as Founder - **I was a CO-FOUNDER along with: Rodrigo Reyes, Juan Pablo Gutierrez, Luis de la Garza & Diane Felix (Chili D).**

Please note these very important and critical corrections for the SF LGBTQ HISTORY Final Document. Could you please correct these important errors?

I would also appreciate it if you can contact me about this. My info is below. Gracias

Marcos

Marcos E Rodriguez
(415) 471-4280
PO BOX 190231
San Francisco, CA 94119-0231

ROSETTI, PHILLIP

From: Philip Rossetti
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement
Date: Sunday, November 01, 2015 9:40:22 AM

Susan,

This is an extraordinary accomplishment. I have been living in San Francisco since 1970 and have born witness to so much. Reading through this history was a trip down memory lane. I have known Shayne Watson for about ten years, starting when she was a colleague at my office, Architectural Resources Group, and now as a friend. She too is extraordinary. I would like to have a hard copy so I can read it through more thoroughly. I found just a few items that might need clarification. Thanks for this achievement.

Philip Rossetti

STRACHEN, DAVID
(Intersex Activist)

From: David Strachan
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement needed ADDITION
Date: Wednesday, November 04, 2015 12:49:05 PM

Dear Susan,

I saw this possible adoption in the Bay Area Reporter and would like to ask if intersex people could be added to it? Although we currently do not legally exist, many of us do not fit the 2 sex/2 gender binary system in our culture. My male partner and I are in the New Zealand documentary, **Intersexion** along with 19 others from around the globe. To see the trailer: www.intersexionfilm.com. Also, Lambda Legal is representing an intersex person suing the US State Dept http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/26/passports-third-gender-option-lawsuit-colorado-resident.

In May 2004, the San Francisco Human Rights Commission held a historic hearing at City Hall on cosmetic surgical gender assignments on intersex anatomies and in 2005 adopted *The Intersex Report* with findings and recommendations.

I have been involved with intersex activism for 20 years and although the transgender umbrella includes us (which is incorrect) we have our own realities that are anatomically different from most transgender individuals. AIClegal.org is involved with helping intersex individuals and parents. I hope that an I for intersex can be added to the preservation statement.

Sincerely,

David Cameron Strachan, (a person with xxy-47 sex chromosomes and living in San Francisco since 1979)

Consideration for Adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission

The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is available for review in anticipation of its adoption by the Historic Preservation Commission (HPC) at its regularly-scheduled public hearing on November 18, 2015. Copies of the context statement will also be placed at the Public Information Center, 1660 Mission Street, First Floor. If adopted by the HPC, the document can be used by community history advocates and city planners to provide a foundation for the protection, identification, interpretation, and designation of historic LGBTQ-related sites and places.

LITCHENBERG, PAULA AND KATE BRANDT
Co-Chair, Briggs Initiative and GLTB Historical Society

From: Paula Lichtenberg and Kate Brandt
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: Public comment: Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco
Date: Thursday, October 15, 2015 6:12:12 PM

Congratulations on this stunning publication. It is a tremendous contribution to GLBTQ history.

I just wanted to point out a few corrections/additions to the text regarding the No on 6 campaign and the GLBT Historical Society, particularly regarding items where I am quoted. (I was co-chair of the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative and for several years was co-chair of the GLBT Historical Society.)

INCORRECT INFORMATION:
On page 231, you write: "Amber Hollibaugh, who worked full time for BACABI..."
---Amber worked full time for the California Outreach Group, not BACABI. (See Amber's essay, "My Dangerous Desires.") California Outreach split from BACABI (see Berkeley Barb, 9/15/78).

On page 233, you write: "The jubilant victory party held at BACABI's space on Market Street included speeches by Milk and San Francisco Mayor George Moscone." (Attributed to Donna Graves interview with me, Paula Lichtenberg)
---Although BACABI volunteers first met that evening at our headquarters at 2049 Market St., we moved to a joint celebration at the San Franciscans Against 6 headquarters, up the street (I believe at The Shed at 2725 Market). That is where Harvey and the Mayor spoke.

NOT INCORRECT, BUT PERHAPS UNCLEAR
page 231: "Gay men and lesbians who wanted to organize more explicitly against homophobia joined the Bay Area Coalition Against the Briggs Initiative, with headquarters at 2049 Market St..."
-- The Coalition for Human Rights had formed in June, 1977 to fight expected battles with Anita Bryant and for other gay rights issues. In October 1977, CHR voted to focus solely on opposing the Briggs Initiative and to rename itself the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs Initiative. CHR and BACABI both were headquartered at 330 Grove. BACABI moved to 2049 Market St. in June, 1978. For a few months before the election in November, in addition to their headquarters at 2049, BACABI rented some space in the new apartment building next door at 2051 Market.

page 233: "BACABI co-chair Paula Lichtenberg recalled that KQED ... organized a debate between Briggs, Milk, and .... Sally Gearhart."
BACABI and the Concerned Voters of California worked with KQED to broadcast a public debate televised statewide between Milk and Sally Gearhart vs. John Briggs and Ray Batema. (Just emphasizing that it was CVC/BACABI's idea, not KQED).

Page 231: Differences between the three major groups in SF.
you write: BACABI wanted to organize more explicitly against homophobia and SF Against 6 focused on defeating the measure locally.
--- I'm having trouble writing this clearly and briefly, but the bottom line is that BACABI was a grassroots group formed because we (and also Harvey Milk) felt that CVC was just following policies that had failed in Florida.

--- SFA6 was formed to do voter registration and precinct work (in San Francisco, so to that degree it was working locally).

GLBT HISTORICAL SOCIETY
page 283: Walker quotes me as saying to just put Gay before Lesbian in the name of the organization, "it doesn't make any difference."
--- I said that in the context of "As long as the Historical Society maintains its commitment to equality regarding archival material, programs and board members and with male and female co-chairs - it didn't seem necessary to argue whether gay or lesbian should come first in the name."

Paula Lichtenberg
160 Monterey Blvd. #18, SF CA 94131
PFLKAB@earthlink.net

LIPSKY, WILLIAM
Author, *Gay and Lesbian San Francisco*

Email:susan.parks@sfgov.org
Web:www.sfplanning.org

From: bc [mailto:aybc@aol.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 20, 2015 10:22 PM
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: Comments Regarding Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco

Dear Susan,

Attached are some comments regarding the Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco. The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is a fine draft of what could become an important document. I certainly hope the San Francisco Planning Department and the Historic Preservation Commission do not consider it to have been completed and does not accept it as completed. If nothing else, it has too many errors to be considered complete. In addition, there are some concerns with the structure of the document and what has been selected for inclusion and what has been left out. More important, it does not provide a context to understand how and why the LGBTQ communities of San Francisco developed where and when then did. I assume that is its purpose. With some revisions, however, it will be excellent.

I hope you will consider my comments and submit them to the Historic Preservation Commission should I not be able to attend the meeting on November 18.

In the limited time available to make comments before their closing date for their acceptance, I was not able to detail the entire document. I'm glad to provide more information should you desire it, including references and citations for all the statements in my comments.

Thank you,

Sincerely,

William Lipsky
101 Edna Street
San Francisco, CA 94112-1804
aybc@aol.com

LIPSKY, WILLIAM
Author, *Gay and Lesbian San Francisco*

From: bc
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: Re: Comments Regarding Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco
Date: Friday, October 30, 2015 4:38:19 PM
Attachments: image001.png
image002.png
image003.png
image004.png
image005.png
10-27.doc

Dear Ms Parks,

Attached is a copy of my comments with references.

Please let me know if i can provide additional information or assist your project in any way.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

William Lipsky
101 Edna Street
San Francisco, CA 94112-1804
aybc@aol.com

-----Original Message-----
From: Parks, Susan (CPC) (CPC) <susan.parks@sfgov.org>
To: bc <aybc@aol.com>
Sent: Wed, Oct 21, 2015 10:38 am
Subject: RE: Comments Regarding Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco

Mr. Lipsky,

I just reread that last paragraph of your email. It would be great if you could provide references to some of your comments. If you'd like to submit them by the end of the following week, that would be fine. The early deadline is because I am planning to be out of the office for a week and wanted to allow enough time to create the commissioners packets beforehand.

Please let me know if you have any additional questions.

Susan

Susan Parks
Preservation Planner

Planning Department, City and County of San Francisco
1650 Mission Street, Suite 400, San Francisco, CA 94103
Direct: 415-575-9101 **Fax:** 415-558-6409

LIPSKY, WILLIAM
Author, *Gay and Lesbian San Francisco*

From: bc
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: Comments Regarding Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco
Date: Tuesday, October 20, 2015 10:22:01 PM
Attachments: context statement comments.doc

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Thank you,

Sincerely,

William Lipsky
101 Edna Street
San Francisco, CA 94112-1804
aybc@aol.com

ROSCOE, WILLIAM

From: Shayne Watson
To: willrsf@sbcglobal.net
Cc: Donna Graves; Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: Re: Congratulations...with a couple footnotes
Date: Sunday, November 01, 2015 3:40:57 PM

Dear Will,

I appreciate your insight and thoughtful comments on the LGBTQ HCS. The report has been posted for public review on the City's website since October 10th: http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=3673. The comment period closed October 23rd, but I'm CCing the planner in charge of the project so that she can be aware of your letter. It's not too late to add the books you suggested as a footnote in the section on two-spirits. And it's helpful to know that *berdache* was never used in California. I can also add that as a footnote.

Thanks for taking the time to read through the report and especially for your positive feedback.

Gratefully,
Shayne

On Nov 1, 2015, at 11:02 AM, Will Roscoe <willrsf@sbcglobal.net> wrote:

Hi Shayne—First…congratulations on the completion of the SF Context Statement. Wow! This is a truly impressive document. Nearly 1750 citations! I can't remember if I've ever seen such an extensively documentation historic study. You should be rightfully proud of the incredible amount of work you've put into this. And the rest of us grateful!

Naturally, my first "look" was the section on two spirits. And naturally as a specialist on the subject I would have wished for more. There is a trope one finds in textbook/global narratives of "American history" by which one or two paragraphs at the beginning reference the people who were here before the Europeans…then barely mentions them again (Bronskyi and Eaklor both do it). In this case, there's so little source material for two spirits among the first peoples who occupied the SF area it would be hard to have done much more than you did. And you do come back around later talking about Gay American Indians.

Now, the document looks to be final, so I don't imagine there's the possibility of changes at this point (?)….It does seem odd to me that there wasn't a vehicle for public comment, such as publishing the draft on line and allowing people to post comments.

The brief discussion of two spirits does not always cite the best sources, in fact much work, done with much effort, by queer scholars since the 1980s has been overlooked. There are 4 substantive books that you could have cited, Walter Williams', *The Spirit and the Flesh*, my *Changing Ones*, Jacobs, Thomas and Lang's, *Two-Spirit People*, and Lang's, *Men as Women, Women as Men*. Citing these would have given your readers access to extensive scholarship

and even more extensive source materials cited in them. *Changing Ones*, for example, has an listing of primary sources for sex and gender diversity indexed by tribe. It documents these roles in 36 California tribes. There's also an index of native language terms, organized by language family.

I wouldn't expect that you could devote more discussion of the term "berdache" in this situation, but it has a more nuanced history than is allowed when discussed in the discourses of identity politics. I cover a little of this in my chapter for the NPS Theme Study, attached, and even more in *Changing Ones*. "Berdache" came to be used in anthropology, because anthologists heard it being used in frontier areas throughout the West (except California) when they arrived in the second half of the 19th century. It was Kroeber who first looked up it's original meaning. In the frontier, however, it's meaning was, simply, "two spirit"—it always and only was used to refer to the traditional two spirit role, which existed pan-tribally. It was never used in California, where the Spaniards employed terms like *hermafrodita* and *sodomita*. And, intriguingly, a frontier (intertribal, intercultural) term (and in this respect like "berdache"), "joya," origin obscure, perhaps Spanish but maybe not, which was used in the areas of the Chumash and certain inland, central California tribes. Again, see *Changing Ones.*

I also wish you had reached out to Randy Burns and others of not only the 1975 founders of GAI, but those active in native HIV/AIDS work in the 1990s, who formed new organizations. I told Randy about your project as soon as I got back from the DC roundtable last year, and I tried connecting with Donna as well. Anyways, fyi, 1347 Divisadero Street was only a PO box located a block from where I used to live. I actually opened it up for the group after they lost their offices at the old Pride Center at Fillmore and Hayes. They were located there when I first got connected with them in 1985. In the attached chapter, I identify the site of the American Indian Center in 1975 as the location where the GAI founders first began planning the organization.

With these points, I don't mean to take away from the great job you have done.

As it happens, Randy is in DC right now and I understand he's talking to a curator at the National Museum of the American Indian about some kind of possible exhibit! I know he'll be eager to see the Context Statement.

Best regards,

Will

<TwoSpiritsRoscoe-FINAL.pdf>

WATSON, SHERRY

11-2-2015

Shayne Watson, coauthor of the excellent Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco with Donna Graves, has devoted the past six years of her life to bringing to the forefront the history of the important LGTBQ movements in the City of San Francisco. It began with her Master's Thesis at the University of Southern California in 2009, which focuses on preserving lesbian buildings in the North Beach neighborhood.

As Shayne's mother, I want to commend her for her determination and drive in getting this report where it is today, which is before the city of San Francisco for approval. I have personally seen Shayne spend her limited vacation times at our home in Texas working on this grant over the last two years. On our visits to San Francisco, our knowledge of the LGBTQ history of the city has grown with Shayne pointing out buildings and areas which are historically significant to the movement.

I have been especially impressed with the efforts Shayne and Donna have made to get historically accurate information from local residents. The meetings they organized, that took so much time to prepare, added such wonderful insights from longtime San Francisco residents. I attended a presentation last October and remember how engaged the audience was and how they told many stories about their history. Firsthand information such as that only adds to the readability of the report and will increase the interest value when the report is published.

Thank you for letting me share with you the great pride and love I feel for my daughter, Shayne Watson. She is a real credit to the LGBTQ movement. Through her efforts on this project she and Donna have brought to the public an important piece of history. I look forward to the day when many of the buildings and areas of San Francisco will be designated as landmarks thanks in part to the work Shayne and Donna have done on this project.

Sincerely,

Sherry A. Watson
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KOSKOVICH, GERARD
Member of Advisory Comittee

From: Gerard Koskovich
To: Parks, Susan (CPC)
Subject: LGBTQ Historic Context Statement
Date: Friday, October 23, 2015 4:26:46 PM

Ms. Parks,

A couple of quick revisions for the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement:

> **Page 284:** The name of the GLBT Historical Society was changed to include both the words *bisexual* and *transgender* in 1999 (with bisexual activist Maggi Rubenstein and the transgender executive director of the Historical Society, Susan Stryker, leading the effort). The current draft inaccurately indicates that *transgender* was added later in the 2000s.
>
> **Note 1687:** The proper form of the name here is GLBT History Museum (or Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender History Museum). The citation in the current draft is missing the word *history*.

I have already alerted Shayne Watson and Donna Graves, who suggested that I send the comments to you.

Best regards,

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