

National Park Service
Department of the Interior

Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science

2016

National Park Service
CENTENNIAL

LGBTQ AMERICA

A THEME STUDY OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL,
TRANSGENDER, and QUEER HISTORY

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Published online 2016

www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm

LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History is a publication of the [National Park Foundation](#) and the [National Park Service](#).

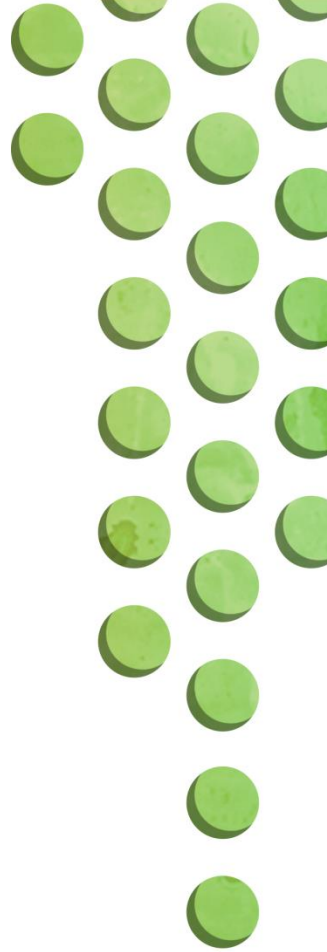
We are very grateful for the generous support of the [Gill Foundation](#), which has made this publication possible.

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Washington, DC

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THEMES

The chapters in this section take themes as their starting points. They explore different aspects of LGBTQ history and heritage, tying them to specific places across the country. They include examinations of LGBTQ community, civil rights, the law, health, art and artists, commerce, the military, sports and leisure, and sex, love, and relationships.

16 LGBTQ BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

David K. Johnson

As the field of gay and lesbian studies first began to take shape in the 1980s, writer and activist Dennis Altman called attention to the central role that commercial enterprises played in the development of LGBTQ communities. “One of the ironies of American capitalism,” he observed, “is that it has been a major force in creating and maintaining a sense of identity among homosexuals.” While other minority groups depended on home and religious institutions to support their social and cultural practices, Altman observed that “for homosexuals, bars and discos play the role performed for other groups by family and church.”¹ As numerous historians have since demonstrated, LGBTQ communities first coalesced and became visible to themselves and the larger society in the early twentieth century largely in bars, rent parties, diners, bathhouses, and other commercial establishments.²

¹ Dennis Altman, *The Homosexualization of America: The Americanization of the Homosexual* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 21.

² See Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Commercial enterprises played a key role in the development of LGBTQ communities at both the local and national level. It was in such commercial establishments that gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender patrons could find lovers, make friends, form communities, and learn to navigate in a hostile environment. As historian Nan Boyd argues, such commercial spaces “facilitated the development of a shared public culture, a new language and lexicon of sexual meanings.” When such important sites of community building became contested, raided, or otherwise closed to the LGBTQ community, they became important sites of community resistance to authority. Boyd calls them “politicized community center[s].”³ Indeed the most iconic moment in LGBTQ history—now commemorated annually in LGBTQ Pride festivals all over the world—was the June 28, 1969 riot at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City’s Greenwich Village. It was the first LGBTQ site to be designated a National Historic Landmark.⁴

Hundreds of commercial sites figure prominently in the history of LGBTQ community formation and deserve recognition. Because of the regularity of police raids and crackdowns on such spaces, especially in the early twentieth century, many were short-lived. This essay will discuss those most iconic types of LGBTQ businesses that have gained recognition at the national scale, paying great attention to those that were the first of their kind, most enduring, or were the site of noteworthy events in LGBTQ history. Favoring the oldest LGBTQ sites, this essay primarily highlights pre-Stonewall/pre-1969 sites rather than the much larger number of places that eventually proliferated in the wake of gay and lesbian liberation. I will look at five types of businesses of historic significance to LGBTQ community formation: bars and rent parties; diners and cafeterias; bathhouses; book and clothing retailers; and media companies.

³ Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 61–62.

⁴ David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004). Stonewall at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016. Because The Stonewall Inn has already been designated an NHL, it is not detailed here.

Because the sites focused on here are commercial enterprises, they reflect the inherent biases of a capitalist economy. Both the founders and patrons of these businesses tended to be people with financial means; they were more often male than female and much more often white than they were people of color. Although I have attempted to be inclusive, documenting the history of commercial spaces tends necessarily to privilege white men. Gay bars in particular—like many drinking and eating establishments in the mid-twentieth century United States—often adhered to informal codes of racial exclusion. Lesbian-centered businesses tended to develop later than those targeting or founded by gay men. So while these commercial establishments fostered community, it was not always an inclusive one.⁵

The history of LGBTQ-centered businesses follows a fairly uniform trajectory. Early in the twentieth century, most such businesses were straight-owned sites that became important to the LGBTQ community through a process of spatial appropriation. Certain straight-owned bars, for example, became well-known sites where LGBTQ people gathered and socialized. After World War II, LGBTQ entrepreneurs began to open their own bars, bathhouses, magazines, and bookstores to cater to this growing market. In many cities, these businesses encouraged the formation of LGBTQ neighborhoods.⁶ The postwar rise of LGBTQ entrepreneurs represented a clear manifestation of community empowerment, parallel to and often supportive of the community's political involvement. The story of Harvey Milk's political campaign to become an openly gay San Francisco city supervisor from his Castro Camera storefront perhaps most clearly embodies this process.⁷ With increasing visibility, the gay market was discovered by mainstream advertisers, who began special niche marketing campaigns. As large corporations become more gay-friendly and as the LGBTQ community has won basic legal protections, such as marriage equality, there has been a decline in many LGBTQ-centered businesses

⁵ Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed, *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

⁶ See Hanhardt (this volume).

⁷ Castro Camera was located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

due to a perceived process of assimilation. The historic ebb and flow of LGBTQ commercial enterprises underscores the need to commemorate such sites.⁸

Bars and Rent Parties

Bars have played a more central role in LGBTQ community formation than perhaps for any other social group.⁹ Like the immigrant saloon or the African American barbershop, the gay bar created a sense of camaraderie and provided a space not only for personal intimacy but also to share gossip and exchange information. Ricardo J. Brown recalled what an important social setting the gay bar Kirmser's was to life in 1940s St. Paul, Minnesota, typical of bars across the nation. Run by a straight German couple, the working-class bar served as "a refuge, a fort in the midst of a savage and hostile population."¹⁰ As a patron of Maud's summarized about her experience at the lesbian bar that closed in 1989 after over twenty years of business in San Francisco, "It was just home."¹¹ As a longtime bartender at Chicago's Lost and Found, a lesbian bar that served the community for over fifty years explained, "Everything happened here. It was the only place."¹² The 2006 documentary *Small Town Gay Bar*

⁸ Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); Moira Rachel Kenney, *Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Mark Abrahamson, *Urban Enclaves: Identity and Place in the World* (New York: Worth Publishers, 2006); Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁹ See Giesekeing (this volume).

¹⁰ Ricardo J. Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's: A Gay Life in the 1940s* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 7. Kirmser's was located at 382 North Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.

¹¹ *Last Call at Maud's*, directed by Paris Poirier (San Francisco: Frameline, 1993). Maud's opened in 1966, and was located at 937 Cole, San Francisco, California. See "Maud's," *Lost Womyn's Space* (blog), March 30, 2011, <http://lostwomynspace.blogspot.com/2011/03/mauds.html>. Former patrons of Maud's hold an annual reunion at Finnegan's Wake, the current bar in the old Maud's space. See San Francisco Bay Times Facebook page, "Maud's Reunion," May 11, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/SanFranciscoBayTimes/posts/1198052323547064>.

¹² Marie Cartier, *Baby, You Are My Religion: Women, Gay Bars, and Theology Before Stonewall* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 10. Lost and Found, 3058 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, Illinois, was in business from 1965 through early 2008. "Lost & Found," *Lost Womyn's Space* (blog), March 21, 2011, <http://lostwomynspace.blogspot.com/2011/03/lost-found-chicago.html>.

demonstrated the continuing vital role bars hold for LGBTQ citizens, particularly in rural America.¹³

Before the advent of an organized political movement, such sites were one of the few places where LGBTQ people came together in public and began to develop a common sense of community. Even the early gay organization, the Mattachine Society, recognized their importance. When Mattachine established a press in the 1950s, the first novel it published was *Gay Bar*, the memoir of a straight owner of a bar on Los Angeles's Melrose Avenue and how she protected her gay male clients. Mattachine leaders hoped it would change the public's perception of gay bars as seedy pockets of immorality and see how they functioned as sanctuaries

of support.¹⁴ Such bars were not only important sites where mostly working-class gay men and women "pioneered ways of socializing together" but also where they began the struggle for public recognition. For example, in the years long before same-sex marriage was legal, they were sites for informal same-sex wedding ceremonies. As Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis showed in their study of Buffalo lesbian bars, they acted as "a crucible for politics."¹⁵

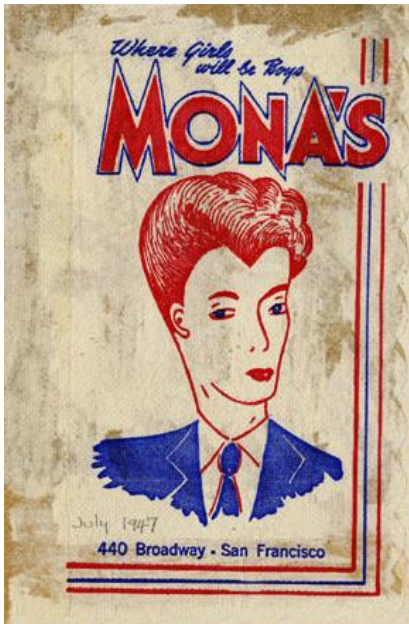


Figure 1: Mona's Where Girls will be Boys, Anonymous Artist, 1947. Printed Napkin, courtesy of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

The first bars with an identifiable gay clientele date from turn-of-the-century New York City and were often associated with the world of

¹³ *Small Town Gay Bar*, directed by Malcolm Ingram (Red Envelope Entertainment, 2006).

¹⁴ Helen P. Branson, *Gay Bar* (San Francisco: Pan-Graphic Press, 1957); Will Fellows and Helen P. Branson, *Gay Bar: The Fabulous, True Story of a Daring Woman and Her Boys in the 1950s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).

¹⁵ Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, 3, 29.

prostitution. One of New York City's earliest commercial gathering spots for gay men was The Slide, a Greenwich Village basement dive bar popular in the 1890s with "fairies" and male prostitutes. The penny press derided it as "one of the most vile, vulgar resorts in the city." Waiters with rouged cheeks and falsetto voices would entertain guests with "filthy ditties."¹⁶ A few blocks away was Columbia Hall, better known as "Paresis Hall" (paresis was a slang term for insanity associated with syphilis). Known as "the principal resort in New York for degenerates,"¹⁷ it featured a small bar room, a back beer garden, and rooms to rent upstairs. Fairies would wait tables, entertain, and sometimes solicit customers. Owned by gangster James "Biff" Ellison, this was one of the few places working-class men attracted to other men could be themselves. Some of the fairies who frequented Paresis Hall formed a club called the Cercle Hermaphroditis "to unite for defense against the world's bitter persecution."¹⁸

With the nationwide repeal of Prohibition in 1933, bars catering exclusively to gays and lesbians could be found in most major American cities. San Francisco's touristed vice district of North Beach was home to Mona's 440, an early lesbian nightclub that featured female waiters in tuxedos and entertainment by male impersonators, including noted African American lesbian blues singer Gladys Bentley (Figures 1 and 2). One of the first and most popular lesbian bars in the country, Mona's advertised itself as a place "where girls will be boys." Its success encouraged similar bars to open in the neighborhood, which became a well-known lesbian enclave.¹⁹

¹⁶ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 39. The Slide was located at 157 Bleecker Street, New York City, New York. Slide was a slang term used by prostitutes for an establishment where male homosexuals dressed as women and solicited men.

¹⁷ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 33. Columbia Hall was located first at 32 Cooper Square, then 392 Bowery, New York City, New York. See also Melissa Hope Ditmore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work*, vol. 2 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2006), 343–344.

¹⁸ Ralph Werther, *The Female-Impersonators* (New York: The Medico-Legal Journal, 1922), 151.

¹⁹ Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 63–76. From 1935 to 1938, Mona's Barrel House was located at 140 Columbus, San Francisco, California. In 1938, she opened Mona's 440 at 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California. It remained in business into the 1940s.

In the same North Beach neighborhood, the Black Cat attracted a large gay male clientele, who came to watch host and drag entertainer José Sarria, whose banter with the crowd always assumed everyone was queer.²⁰ Sarria instilled a sense of cultural pride in gay patrons by ending the night with an audience rendition of “God Save us Nelly Queens,” a parody of “God Save the Queen.” Beat poet Allen Ginsberg described it as “maybe the greatest gay bar in America.”²¹ As one woman patron recalled, “The Black Cat was not a bar. It was family. They were my friends. They took me in. They took care of me.”²² When the Black Cat lost its liquor



Figure 2: Mona's 440 Broadway, San Francisco. Photo courtesy of (Wide Open Town History Project Records 2003-05), Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

license for being a “hangout for homosexuals,” straight owner Sol Stoumen took the decision to court.²³ In 1951, in one of the first legal gay rights victories, the California Supreme Court found that homosexuals had

²⁰ The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat had enjoyed a reputation as a gathering spot for bohemians and other nonconformists in the 1910s, but it was the post-1933 location at 710 Montgomery that became predominately gay. It is a contributing property to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

²¹ 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), 186–187.

²² *Before Stonewall*, directed by Greta Schiller (New York: First Run Features, 1985).

²³ Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 121-122; *Stoumen v. Reilly* 234 P.2d 969 (Cal 1951).

the right to assemble in bars and restaurants. Sarria used his notoriety from the Black Cat to launch a run for San Francisco city supervisor in 1961, becoming the first openly gay candidate for public office. Garnering six thousand votes, Sarria succeeded in getting LGBTQ citizens to think of their identity in political terms. Under continual harassment by state and local authorities, who used undercover police officers to entrap patrons, the Black Cat closed in 1964. Sarria went on to found the International Imperial Court System, one of the largest LGBTQ organizations in the world. Court events raise money for charities while building community relationships.²⁴

In the wake of World War II, gay and lesbian bars proliferated, becoming the primary gay social institution in cities of all sizes. As gay men like Ricardo Brown returned home from the war, they were pleased to discover that cities such as St. Paul, Minnesota, had their own gay bars.²⁵ The first underground gay bar guide from 1949 listed over seventy bars in cities from Albany to Seattle.²⁶ By the 1960s, the first commercial guides to gay bars boasted over one hundred pages of entries. As with any growing commercial market, bars began to specialize, with the opening of bars to serve African Americans, the leather community, and others.²⁷ They also began to organize. As Boyd argues, “The bar was the space where queers learned to resist police harassment and to demand the right to public assembly.”²⁸ After a particularly devastating 1961 police raid at the Tay-Bush Inn, an after-hours club that served a mixed clientele, bar owners organized to form the Tavern Guild, the first gay business association in the United States.²⁹

²⁴ Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 56-60.

²⁵ Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's*.

²⁶ Hugh Hagus, *Swasarnt Nerf's Gay Guides for 1949* (New York: Bibliogay Publications, 2010).

²⁷ Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Lesbians in World War II* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 271; Hagus, *Swasarnt Nerf's Gay Guides for 1949*; and Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 201-224.

²⁸ Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 146.

²⁹ The Tay-Bush Inn (now demolished) was at 900 Bush Street, San Francisco, California. The Tavern Guild met at Suzy-Q, a gay bar at 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, California. Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 213-216, 223-227.

In Washington, DC, black gay entrepreneur James E. Jones opened the Nob Hill in 1953 in the Columbia Heights neighborhood, not far from Howard University.³⁰ An upscale private dinner club, the Nob Hill opened as a public bar a few years later and continued to be patronized by middle-class African American men. Because in the early years jackets and ties were required for admittance, it earned the nickname “Snob Hill” by more working-class men. The oldest African American gay bar in Washington, and one of the oldest in the country, by the 1960s the Mattachine Society of Washington leafleted the bar to diversify its membership. By the 1970s it was offering a popular Sunday evening Gospel Hour featuring local singers. It remained a center of black gay life and a well-known drag performance space for fifty years, until its closure in 2004.³¹

For white gay men in the postwar years, the Chicken Hut located just two blocks from Lafayette Square (a well-known cruising area) was Washington DC’s most popular bar.³² On the second floor above Leon’s restaurant, it was owned by a straight Italian couple and known affectionately as “the Hut.” Gay patrons came to drink beer and sing along to pianist Howard Cooper and his renditions of show tunes and ballads with campy lyrics. Howard would close out the night with a rendition of the Yale “Whiffenpoof Song,” with lyrics that invoked the solace of convivial drinking among a group of friends at their favorite watering hole. The owners kept a watchful eye on patrons, who could neither walk around the bar with a drink in hand nor dance. They hired only female servers, fearing gay male servers might lead to disreputable behavior. They turned away African American patrons by using “reserved” signs on tables.³³ Within

³⁰ Nob Hill opened at 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC. It was replaced by the Wonderland Ballroom.

³¹ Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington, D.C.* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 106; and Justin Moyer, “D.C.’s oldest gay bar keeps flying under the radar,” *Washington City Paper*, October 29, 2007, accessed June 25, 2015, www.washingtoncitypaper.com/articles/21134/on-the-hill. The Nob Hill is recognized for its historic significance by both the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Cultural Tourism DC.

³² The Chicken Hut (now demolished) was located at 1720 H Street, Washington, DC, from 1948 until 1970.

³³ David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 163–165; Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 102–106; Hagius, *Swasarn Nerf’s Gay Guides for 1949*. It is listed as the Lafayette Chicken

several blocks of the Chicken Hut, other bars catered to a lively gay and lesbian clientele, including the men's bars in the Mayflower and Statler Hotels, and a lesbian bar known as the Redskin Lounge.³⁴

Julius' is one of the oldest, continuously operating gay bars in New York City and the site of a groundbreaking confrontation between the organized LGBTQ community and the New York State Liquor Authority.³⁵ In the heart of Greenwich Village, Julius' had developed a large gay male following in the 1950s and 1960s, but its liquor license was suspended in 1965 when an undercover police officer arrested a patron for solicitation—part of a periodic police crackdown. To avoid being closed as a “disorderly house,” the management forced all patrons to face the bar, claiming it was state law. In 1966, members of the local Mattachine Society, inspired by the black civil rights movement, staged a “sip-in” at Julius' after several thwarted attempts at other locations. They wanted to assert that the assembling of homosexuals in a bar was a civil right, rather than evidence of a “disorderly house” subject to closure. “We are homosexuals and want service,” declared the Mattachine representatives as the bartender began to pour. At their declaration, the bartender put his hand over the glasses and denied them service. Their protest received coverage in the *New York Times* and support from the city's Commission on Human Rights. Mattachine New York challenged the law in court, which ruled that homosexuals had the right to peacefully assemble—voiding the State Liquor Authority's contention that the mere presence of homosexuals was “disorderly.” Julius' got their liquor license reinstated, establishing the precedent that gay bars were legal. Mattachine New York was also successful in getting the New York City police to stop entrapping gay men. This demonstrated how gay people were increasingly willing to defend

Hut in International Guild Guide 1965. It was not uncommon for mainstream restaurants to become gay bars at night. See Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's*, xii.

³⁴ Redskin Lounge (formerly the Jewel Box and the “Maystat”) was at 1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC, midway between the Mayflower Hotel at 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW and the Statler Hotel (now the Capital Hilton) at 1001 Sixteenth Street NW. The Mayflower Hotel was added to the NRHP on November 14, 1983.

³⁵ Julius' Bar remains in business at its original location at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

their right to assemble in bars and helped encourage legitimate business owners—rather than the mafia—to invest in such establishments (Figure 3).³⁶

In Chicago, The Gold Coast, America's first and longest running leather bar, was also one of the first gay bars owned and operated by gay men.³⁷ Physique photographer Chuck Renslow owned Kris Studio, which he operated with his lover Don Orejudos, a physique artist. Connected to a growing population of gay men interested in leather, Renslow and Orejudos sought to create a place where the community could socialize.



Figure 3: Julius', 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York, 2015. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

³⁶ Carter, *Stonewall*, 49–51; Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 114–117; James McCurrach, *Unrequited Time* (Indianapolis, IN: Dog Ear Publishing, 2001), 201; *New York Times*, April 22 and 26, 1966, March 9, May 11, and November 30, 1967, January 3, 2012; "Three Homosexuals in Search of a Drink," *The Village Voice*, May 5, 1966; Julius' was featured in the film *The Boys in the Band*, directed by William Friedkin (Hollywood, CA: Cinema Center Films, 1970).

³⁷ The original Gold Coast (1130 North Clark Street) later moved to 1110 North Clark Street and 2265 North Lincoln, but its longest location (1967–1993) was 501 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.



Figure 4: Exterior photograph of the Gold Coast, 501 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, 1980s. Photo from the Renslow Photograph Collection, courtesy of the Leather Archives & Museum, Chicago, Illinois.

They started meeting on weekend nights at bars without an established clientele, moving around the city until, by 1959, they found The Gold Coast Show Lounge, where the straight Italian owner welcomed their business. After Renslow and several partners bought it, Orejudos, (who painted under the name Etienne) decorated it with murals of leather men and women. Thursday night featured a spaghetti buffet and Sunday nights were highlighted with a film screening. On weekends, customers had to adhere to a strict leather dress code to descend into The Pit, which featured a second bar, a small leather shop, and catacombs. Renslow hired attractive gay bartenders—both black and white—and was known for providing health insurance and other benefits to his employees. By 1972 the bar was host to the Mr. Gold Coast contest, until it outgrew the bar space. It has since become the International Mr. Leather contest, which continues to attract thousands of leather men and women to Chicago every year in one of the largest LGBTQ events in the country. After relocating several times, the bar closed in 1988, by which time Renslow

had expanded his businesses to include a gay bathhouse, disco, and newspaper (Figure 4).³⁸

Beyond the bars described here, whose popularity and longevity is well documented, hundreds of other bars are worthy of historic recognition. Among the more notable are Café Lafitte in Exile (dating back to the early 1930s and still in operation)³⁹ and the UpStairs Lounge (site of a tragic anti-LGBTQ arson in 1973), both in New Orleans' French Quarter.⁴⁰ New York City's East Side in the 1950s was home to several bars known collectively as the "Bird Circuit" (the Blue Parrot, the Golden Pheasant, and the Swan).⁴¹ The Atlantic House in Provincetown, Massachusetts has had a gay following since the 1950s and remains in operation.⁴² Many major disco palaces from the 1970s, such as Studio One in Los Angeles and The Lost & Found in Washington, DC, also deserve attention.⁴³

Not all men and women attracted to members of their own sex found solace in bars. For many African Americans and poorer members of the community (including many women, who made less money than men), rent parties, house parties, or "buffet flats" served a similar purpose. Because of both racial discrimination and the need for discretion,

³⁸ Joseph W. Bean, ed., *Kris: The Physique Photography of Chuck Renslow* (Las Vegas: Nazca Plains Corporation, 2007); Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, *Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).

³⁹ Café Lafitte in Exile is one of the oldest LGBTQ bars in the United States. It is located at 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Café Lafitte in Exile is located within the Vieux Carre Historic Landmark District, designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Frank Perez and Jeffrey Palmquist, *In Exile: The History and Lore Surrounding New Orleans Gay Culture and Its Oldest Gay Bar* (Hurlford, Scotland: LL-Publications, 2012).

⁴⁰ The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Clayton Delery-Edwards, *The Upstairs Lounge Arson* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014); *Upstairs Inferno*, directed by Robert L. Camina (Camina Entertainment, 2014).

⁴¹ Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: 1940-1996* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 106.

⁴² Karen Christel Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: New York University Press, 2005). The Atlantic House, located at 4-6 Masonic Place, Provincetown, Massachusetts, opened in the eighteenth century. The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

⁴³ Studio One/The Factory is located at 661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. Studio One opened in 1975 and closed in 1988 after a decline in popularity after allegations of racism, sexism, and homophobia were made. The building is currently home to The Factory. The Lost and Found was located at 56 L Street SE, Washington, DC. It opened in 1971, and was almost immediately picketed by the newly formed Committee for Open Gay Bars because of their carding policies designed to keep out African Americans, women, and people in drag. They closed in 1990.

socializing in private homes has had a long tradition in black culture. These were often all-night or all-weekend affairs in private homes where admission was often charged and food and drinks were sold. After the bars closed, many patrons would join the festivities. And like gay bars, such parties often caught the attention of the police. This is another example of the community taking responsibility for creating its own social life despite the dangers involved.⁴⁴

Diners and Cafeterias

In many cities, certain cafeterias and diners became well-known LGBTQ hangouts because of their cheap prices, late hours, and proximity to nearby cruising areas or bars. These sites were particularly important for persons too young or too poor to socialize in gay bars that served alcohol and often had restrictive entrance policies. They also served as places to socialize once the bars closed. Sometimes the campy clientele turned the place into a tourist attraction, while other times managers found LGBTQ patrons an objectionable nuisance. In New York City, Childs cafeteria chain was a favorite place to socialize, especially the outlet on Columbus Circle, known campily as “Mother Childs.” Another Childs in the Paramount Theater Building on Times Square was generally taken over by hundreds of gay men after midnight.⁴⁵ As one Childs patron explained, he and his gay friends would “sit and have coffee and yak-yak and talk til three and four and five o’clock in the morning . . . that was the social thing to do.” One 1930s guide to New York said it “features a dash of lavender.”⁴⁶ In Chicago, Thompson’s Cafeteria on Michigan Avenue at

⁴⁴ Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather*, 42-43; 123-131; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 250. The locations of such parties has been lost to history.

⁴⁵ The Columbus Circle Childs (“Mother Childs”) was located at 300 West 59th Street, New York City, New York. The Paramount Theater Building in Times Square was located at 1501 Broadway, New York City, New York.

⁴⁶ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 164-66.

Ohio Street served a similar function, becoming the most popular commercial rendezvous spot for young gay men.⁴⁷

Dewey's was an all-night Philadelphia-based restaurant chain frequented by gay, lesbian, and transgender people in the Rittenhouse Square neighborhood.⁴⁸ In April 1965—four years before the Stonewall Riots—the management started to deny service to customers they perceived to be gay or gender nonconforming. One Sunday, LGBTQ patrons organized a protest, and after 150 people had been denied service, a group of teenagers refused to leave and were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

The Janus Society, Philadelphia's homophile organization, began several days of leafleting the restaurant with fliers protesting the treatment.⁴⁹ At a subsequent sit-in the next Sunday, no arrests were made and the Janus Society claimed victory and an end to discriminatory practices at Dewey's. *Drum* magazine called it "the first sit-in of its kind in the history of the United States."⁵⁰ Although overshadowed in historical memory by the Mattachine-led picket in front of Independence Hall down

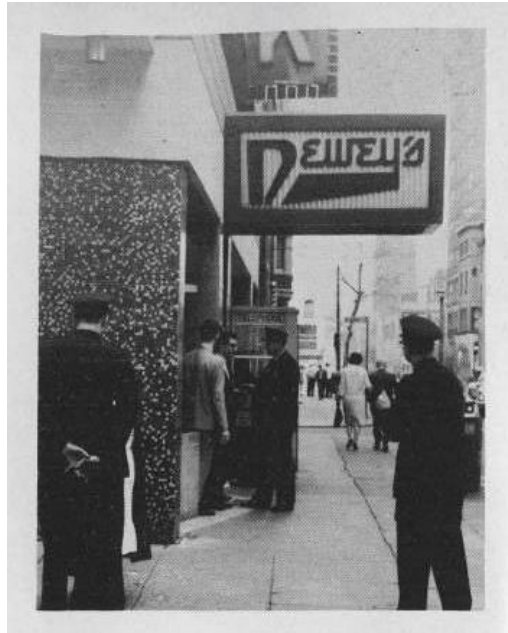


Figure 5: Dewey's Sit-in, April 1965, 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Photo from *Drum* magazine, August 1965.

⁴⁷ David K. Johnson, "The Kids of Fairytown: Gay Male Culture on Chicago's Near North Side in the 1930s," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Community Histories*, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 103.

⁴⁸ Dewey's was located at 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the location is now occupied by Little Pete's Restaurant.

⁴⁹ The Janus Society was based for many years at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

⁵⁰ *Drum*, August 1965, 5–6.

the street that same year, this sit-in represented the claiming of public space by a younger and more gender nonconformist queer group (Figure 5).⁵¹

Compton's Cafeteria, a twenty-four hour eatery, was part of a large San Francisco chain owned by Gene Compton.⁵² Situated in the Tenderloin neighborhood of gay bars and bathhouses, Compton's was frequented by transgender people and young street hustlers, but not always welcome by the management, who increasingly harassed them. Vanguard, a group of street youths organized through the nearby Glide Memorial Methodist Church, picketed Compton's for discriminating against drag queens and hustlers.⁵³ Late one night in the summer of 1966, the management called the police on a particularly unruly table. When confronted by the police, one transgender customer threw her coffee in his face, and soon "general havoc was raised in the Tenderloin"—the fifty to sixty customers turned tables, smashed windows, fought the police, and burned a newsstand to the ground. It was one of the first transgender-led instances of militant queer resistance.⁵⁴

The Dewey's protest and Compton's Cafeteria uprising demonstrate that LGBTQ direct action did not begin with Stonewall, nor was it centered only around bars. Such diners and cafeterias served as important sites of community formation and were fiercely defended by their LGBTQ patrons both before and after Stonewall. More recent scholarship is beginning to uncover similar stories in smaller cities with less well documented LGBTQ

⁵¹Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245–247. Marc Stein, "The First Gay Sit-in happened 40 years ago," *History News Network*, May 9, 2005, accessed June 12, 2015, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/11652>.

⁵² Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Turk Street, San Francisco, California. This building is a contributing element (but not for its LGBTQ history) to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

⁵³ Glide Memorial Church at 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California is a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

⁵⁴ Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008); *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

histories, including a sit-in at the Denny's in downtown Tampa, Florida, led by the Metropolitan Community Church in 1972.⁵⁵

Bathhouses

Of the many commercial settings in which LGBTQ persons gathered in the early twentieth century, bathhouses were among the most important to gay men. According to historian George Chauncey, bathhouses were “the safest, most enduring, and one of the most affirmative” of such spaces. Initially opened for tenement-living immigrant communities in large American cities, Turkish bathhouses became sites that gay men appropriated. As the first exclusively gay private commercial spaces, they affirmed same-sex desire and offered an environment free from threat of blackmail or harassment. For legal reasons, most operated as private membership clubs. Even the occasional police raids themselves became part of gay folklore.⁵⁶

One of the earliest known bathhouses with a substantial gay following was New York City's Ariston Hotel Baths.⁵⁷ A 1903 police raid resulted in numerous arrests ranging from disorderly conduct to sodomy, and a series of sensational trials. It was the earliest known raid of a gay bathhouse in the United States and twenty-five of those arrested were sent to prison. Another early twentieth-century bathhouse was The Lafayette, frequented by composer Charles Tomlinson Griffes and painter Charles Demuth—who painted a watercolor of himself and other patrons—until the locale was

⁵⁵ Denny's was located at 102 Parker Street, Tampa, Florida. Stratton D. Nauman, “The Metropolitan Community Church goes to Denny's: Religion, Bar Culture, and the Origins of LGBT Activism in Tampa,” *Tampa Bay History* 28 (2015): 1-24. On why Stonewall became the symbolic origin of gay liberation, see Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Cragg, “Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth,” *American Sociological Review* 71 (October 2006): 724-751.

⁵⁶ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 207-225; Allan Bérubé, “The History of Gay Bathhouses,” in *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism*, ed. Ephen Glenn Colter (Boston: South End Press, 1996), 187-220. On the history of gay bathhouses more generally, see Grey Pierce, “Throwing Open the Door: Preserving Philadelphia's Gay Bathhouses,” Master's Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2015.

⁵⁷ The Ariston Hotel, with the baths in the basement, was located at 1732 Broadway, New York City, New York.

raided and closed in 1916.⁵⁸ The Mount Morris Turkish Baths in Harlem catered to black men who would have been denied entry to similar establishments elsewhere in New York City. Opened in 1893, the Mount Morris baths began attracting a gay and bisexual clientele in the 1930s, and continued to do so until 2003, having escaped the AIDS panic of the mid-1980s that resulted in most of New York City's bathhouses being forced to close.⁵⁹ But it was The Everard, in the heart of the city's Tenderloin entertainment district, which became the most popular gay bathhouse in New York City.⁶⁰ Founded as a Turkish bath in 1888 by financier James Everard in a former Romanesque revival church building, The Everard was known as the "safest" such establishment—rumor was



Figure 6: The Everard, 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York, 2015. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

that it was owned by the Patrolman's Benevolent Association. It served a worldwide gay male clientele—including luminaries Gore Vidal, Truman Capote, and Rudolph Nureyev—from World War I into the 1970s. Writer and frequent patron James McCourt was amazed that in its post-World War II glory days, "a whole culture's mating, food-finding, navigational and social behavior should

⁵⁸ The Lafayette was located at 403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).

⁵⁹ Aviva Stampfer, "Mt. Morris Turkish Baths (former)," Place Matters: Places That Matter website, July 2010, <http://www.placematters.net/node/1368>; Alan Feuer, "Mount Morris Journal; A Gay Bathhouse in Harlem? Hey, It's No Secret," *New York Times*, January 19, 2003. The Mount Morris Turkish Baths were at 1944 Madison Avenue, New York City, New York.

⁶⁰ The Everard Turkish Bathhouse was located at 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York. The Romanesque façade of the building largely survives.

converge at a single point on West 28th Street in New York City.”⁶¹ Featured in classic gay novels *Dancer from the Dance* by Andrew Holleran and *Faggots* by Larry Kramer, the legendary Everard deteriorated in the 1970s and was almost destroyed by fire in 1977, when nine customers were killed. It reopened, only to be closed by the city of New York in 1986 in the midst of the AIDS crisis (Figure 6).⁶²

In San Francisco, the first bathhouse to open specifically to cater to a gay clientele was The Club Turkish Baths in the Tenderloin, down the street from Compton’s Cafeteria and a host of queer bars. A 1954 Mattachine Society convention guide to the city called it “plush.” Referred to affectionately as “the Club Baths” in the 1968 Broadway play *Boys in the Band*, its name became an iconic symbol of gay male sexual culture.⁶³ In 1965, Jack Campbell and several partners purchased an old Finnish bathhouse in downtown Cleveland determined to bring the luxury and reputation of this San Francisco bathhouse to the rest of the country. Called The Club Baths, it included amenities such as a television room, Jacuzzi, and free weeknight buffets.⁶⁴ At the peak of its expansion in the 1980s, Campbell’s Club Baths chain operated over forty bathhouses in the United States and Canada with several hundred thousand card-carrying members. After moving to Miami, Campbell became a leader in local LGBTQ politics and helped lead the charge against Anita Bryant’s Save Our Children crusade to overturn a local gay rights ordinance.⁶⁵ With his considerable fortune, he supported not only the Miami LGBTQ community but national organizations such as the Metropolitan Community Church, the Gay Games, The National Gay and Lesbian Task

⁶¹ James McCourt, *Queer Street: Rise and Fall of an American Culture, 1947-1985* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 194.

⁶² Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 207-225.

⁶³ The Club Turkish Baths, later Bulldog Baths, was located at 132 Turk Street, San Francisco, California until 1984. Allan Bérubé, “The History of Gay Bathhouses,” indicates it opened in the 1950s, while the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Historical Society suggests the 1930s. Matt Crowley, *The Boys in the Band: A Play in Two Acts* (New York: Samuel French, 1968), 29; *Ciao!* January–February 1973, 20; *Drummer* 4, no. 34 (1979): 74–75.

⁶⁴ The original building of the Club Baths at 1448 West Thirty-Second Street, Cleveland, Ohio is gone, but Club Cleveland, in a new building at 3219 Detroit Avenue, sits on the same block. See *Ciao!* January–February, 1974, 10, and the Club Cleveland website, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://theclubs.com/page.cfm?location=Cleveland>.

⁶⁵ See Capó (this volume).

Force, and the Human Rights Campaign.⁶⁶ Later, during the AIDS pandemic, he was a vocal advocate of turning bathhouses into health clubs that could educate members about safe sex.⁶⁷

In 1968 in New York City, Steve Ostrow opened The Continental Baths and Health Club in the historic Ansonia Hotel building. The Baths were a modern pleasure palace featuring an Olympic swimming pool, color TV, rooftop sundeck, reading room, café, cabaret entertainment, and art exhibitions.⁶⁸ Rather than exploit customers, like many mafia-run LGBTQ businesses, Ostrow, a bisexual man, was determined to give his patrons a clean, full-service entertainment experience. Boasting nearly a thousand lockers, the Continental Baths offered a daily VD clinic and religious services on Friday and Sunday nights. The disco featured DJ Frankie Knuckles, who developed what became known as house music, while the cabaret acts featured then-unknown performers including Bette Midler and Barry Manilow. Gay Activists Alliance leaders Vito Russo and Arnie Kantrowitz considered the place a home away from home. During her first campaign for Congress in 1970, Bella Abzug, one of the first candidates to openly seek the gay vote, made a campaign stop at the Continental Baths. Growing popularity convinced Ostrow to admit straight customers which alienated the gay male clientele and led to its close in 1975.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Although many activists shunned him because of the source of his money, others found his financial support indispensable. Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 293–295; Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 180, 306.

⁶⁷ Steve Endean, *Bringing Lesbian and Gay Rights into the Mainstream: Twenty Years of Progress*, eds. Vicki Eaklor, Robert R. Meek and Vern L. Bullough (New York: Routledge, 2012), 244; "Saunas, Sex & Steam," *The Vital Voice*, September 1, 2012, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://thevitalvoice.com/saunas-sex-a-steam>; Campbell continues to own an interest in several bathhouses, such as Club Cleveland on the site of the original bathhouse that created his empire.

⁶⁸ The Continental Baths and Health Club were located at 2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, New York. The Ansonia Hotel, where they were located, was added to the NRHP on January 10, 1980.

⁶⁹ Frank Keating, "Pleasure Palace," *Queen's Quarterly*, Winter 1970, 8-12; *Continental*, directed by Malcolm Ingram (Blowhard Films, 2013); Steve Ostrow, *Live at the Continental: The Inside Story of the World-Famous Continental Baths* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2007); Michael Schiavi, *Celluloid Activist: The Life and Times of Vito Russo* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 104–106; Suzanne Braun Levine and Mary Thom, *Bella Abzug: An Oral History* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007), 99. Among the many fictionalized accounts of the Continental are John Paul Hudson and Warren Wexler, *Superstar Murder? A Prose Flick* (New York: Insider Press, 1976) and *The Ritz*, directed by Richard Lester (Hollywood: Warner Brothers, 1976).

As gay male bathhouses were closing, lesbians began opening women-only communal bathhouses. Among the first and most long-lasting was Oseito, a Japanese-style spa located along Valencia Street in San Francisco's Mission District. It was founded and operated by lesbian-feminist Summer Kraml who opened its doors in 1980. Oseito was located in a Victorian townhouse with no sign outside—you had to know about it to find it. Inside was a large communal hot pool, two relaxation rooms, a bathroom, and a small kitchen. In the backyard were a showerhead, two small saunas, a cold plunge, and a deck that was secluded enough to permit nude sunbathing.⁷⁰ Unlike men's bathhouses, such lesbian enclaves often discouraged sexual contact and emphasized social bonding. Because its women-only policy excluded transgender women who had not had sexual reassignment surgery, Oseito became the target of boycotts.⁷¹ Other lesbian-feminist businesses on Valencia included Old Wives' Tales Bookstore and Amelia's, a lesbian bar.⁷²

Bookstores and Book Clubs

Literature by and about LGBTQ people has been integral to the history of community formation. "The gay revolution began as a literary revolution," argues Christopher Bram, pointing to a slew of post-World War II books, such as Gore Vidal's *City and the Pillar* and James Barr's *Quatrefoil*.⁷³ While largely dependent on mainstream presses to publish these books, gay men and lesbians developed their own ways of selling

⁷⁰ Oseito closed in 2008 when the owner retired. The building is now a private residence.

⁷¹ Josh Sides, *Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 115; and Stephanie J. Rosenbaum, "Oseito, 1980-2008," *The Adventures of Pie Queen* (blog), accessed April 18, 2016, <http://piequeen.blogspot.com/2008/08/oseito-1980-2008.html>.

⁷² Old Wives' Tales opened in 1976 on Valencia at Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California; it closed in 1995. Amelia's, open from ca. 1977 until 1991, was located at 647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California. This is now the location of the Elbo Room. Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Robin, "The State of the Lesbian Bar: San Francisco Toasts to the End of an Era," *Autostraddle*, November 11, 2014, <http://www.autostraddle.com/the-state-of-the-lesbian-bar-san-francisco-toasts-to-the-end-of-an-era-262072>.

⁷³ Christopher Bram, *Eminent Outlaws: The Gay Writers Who Changed America* (New York: Twelve, 2012).

and distributing them, first through mail-order book services and later through brick-and-mortar bookstores. Both helped demonstrate the market for LGBTQ literature and connect readers. Bookstores featured book signings, community bulletin boards, reading groups, and other activities that helped turn them into informal community centers. They served as resources for activists fighting for LGBTQ rights and anchors for burgeoning gay neighborhoods. Unlike gay bathhouses and some bars, LGBTQ bookstores were the most integrated of spaces across gender, sexuality, race, and class. The focus on literature and knowledge afforded LGBTQ people a space to unite in understanding themselves as a community with a shared history and culture.

The man who founded both the first gay bookstore and the first gay mail-order service in the United States was Edward Sagarin, author of *The Homosexual in America*, the first nonfiction, insider account of the American LGBTQ community.⁷⁴ Writing under the pseudonym Donald Webster Cory, he was one of the first to proclaim that gay people constituted a minority group similar to African Americans and Jews. His book politicized so many young men and women who went on to become LGBTQ activists that Cory has been dubbed the “father of the homophile movement.”⁷⁵ Leveraging the names and addresses of the thousands of men and women who wrote praising his book, Cory founded the Cory Book Service in 1952, the first independent business devoted exclusively to selling books on LGBTQ topics.⁷⁶ By identifying, reviewing, and selling gay fiction and nonfiction, the Cory Book Service not only encouraged and popularized LGBTQ literature, it was one of the first national LGBTQ organizations. Its mailing list was instrumental in the founding a year later, of *ONE* magazine, the major homophile periodical of the 1950s. In April 1953, Cory expanded his successful mail-order service to open The Book

⁷⁴ In 1936, Sagarin married Gertrude Liphshitz; together they had a son. As Cory, Sagarin pursued same-sex relationships as well as working for gay rights.

⁷⁵ Donald Webster Cory, *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach* (New York: Greenberg, 1951); Martin Duberman, *Left Out: The Politics of Exclusion: Essays 1964–2002* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002), 59–94.

⁷⁶ The Cory Book Service first operated out of 58 Walker Street, New York City, New York.

Cellar, the first bookstore tailored to the gay market.⁷⁷ Gore Vidal and other gay authors occasionally did book signings at the bookstore. Cory described it as a “small but very personal place” that he hoped would become both a local and national destination.⁷⁸

While The Book Cellar lasted only a few years, the Cory Book Service developed a wide and loyal following, reaching more than five thousand subscribers under its successor organization, The Winston Book Club.⁷⁹ It inspired over a dozen similar LGBTQ mail-order book services, including the Guild Book Service (by H. Lynn Womack), the DOB Book Service (by the Daughters of Bilitis), and the Dorian Book Service (by Hal Call).⁸⁰ Hal Call of the San Francisco-based Mattachine Society was the first to turn his Dorian Book Service into a successful storefront bookstore. In March 1967, Call partnered with Bob Damron and Harrison Keleinschmidt (a.k.a. J. D. Mercer) to open the Adonis Bookstore in San Francisco’s Tenderloin neighborhood, around the corner from the Club Turkish Baths and Compton’s Cafeteria.⁸¹ It featured books, magazines, paintings, physique art, gay greeting cards, records, sculptures, novelties, and gifts. Promotional material touted it as a “gay supermarket.”⁸²

When Craig Rodwell opened the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore in New York’s Greenwich Village on Thanksgiving weekend in 1967, he

⁷⁷ The Book Cellar was located at 237 East 56th Street, New York City, New York.

⁷⁸ Cory Book Service circular, April 6, 1953, Kepner Papers, ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives; Cory Book Service to George Quaintance, April 16, 1953, folder 4, box 4, Mattachine Society Records, New York Public Library; Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis*, 126. The shop at 237 East 56th Street probably lasted until 1955, when Cory sold the Cory Book Service.

⁷⁹ Elsie Carlton, interview by Martin Duberman, September 1, 1996, Duberman Papers, New York Public Library; Winston Book Club circulars, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (Toronto), The Winston Book Club was located at 250 Fulton Avenue, Hampstead, New York.

⁸⁰ The Guild Book Service began in 1964 and operated out of Womack’s Guild Press, 807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC. The DOB Book and Records Service launched in May 1960 and lasted a few years. The Dorian Book Service began in 1957. Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006), 59-60; Drewrey Wayne Gunn, ed., *The Golden Age of Gay Fiction* (Albion, NY: MLR Press, 2009), 95; Mark Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 61.

⁸¹ Adonis Bookstore opened at 350 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California.

⁸² *Free Press*, July 21, 1967 in Kepner Papers, ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives at the USC Libraries; *Golden Boys #1*, 1967; James T. Sears, *Behind the Mask of Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles and the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation* (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2006), 519.

envisioned it as an arm of the homophile movement.⁸³ Touted as “the first shop of its kind in the United States,” what set it apart from previous gay bookstores (such as Adonis in San Francisco) was that Rodwell carried only literature he considered serious and gay affirming. He refused to offer physique magazines or pulp fiction he considered exploitative, at least until economic pressures convinced him otherwise. Rodwell began with only twenty-five titles, gay slogan buttons, and free literature from gay organizations. It was from this “bookshop of the homophile movement” that he encouraged people to “Buy Gay” and launched a newsletter attacking mafia control of gay bars.⁸⁴ Over the years, the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore (and its later incarnation, the Oscar Wilde Bookshop) suffered bomb threats, break-ins, and homophobic graffiti, but thousands of gay, lesbian, and questioning customers came to find literature, advice, and check out the bulletin board of movement events (Figure 7).⁸⁵

As a gay businessman, Rodwell hoped his store would inspire others to open businesses serving the LGBTQ community to “help build the gay dollar” and thus “gay power.”⁸⁶ One of those he inspired was Harvey Milk, a former lover of Rodwell’s and a frequent customer, who, after his move in 1972 from New York City to San Francisco, opened Castro Camera, which also became an informal community center.⁸⁷ Other LGBTQ bookstores across the country followed in the footsteps of Adonis and Oscar Wilde. In 1973, Ed Hermance opened Giovanni’s Room in

⁸³ The Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore opened at 291 Mercer Street, New York City, New York. In 1973, as the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, it moved to 15 Christopher Street, New York City, New York where it stayed in business until 2009.

⁸⁴ Rodwell began the organization Homophile Youth Movement in Neighborhoods (HYMN) out of his bookshop. In February 1968, in the first issue of the group’s newsletter *Hymnal* Rodwell protested mafia control of gay bars, calling out the Stonewall Inn specifically. David Carter, *Stonewall: The Raids that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004), 78, 80, 98.

⁸⁵ Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker, *The Gay Crusaders* (New York: Paperback Library, 1972), 65-76; “Gay is Good,” *Queen’s Quarterly*, Summer 1969, 38ff; Duberman, *Stonewall*, 165; Lionel Cuffie, “Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore: Nine years of successful service to the community,” *Gay Community News*, December 18, 1976, 12-13; Martha E. Stone, “After Many a Season Dies the Oscar Wilde,” *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*, (July-August 2009), 9.

⁸⁶ “Gay is Good,” *Queen’s Quarterly*, Summer 1969, 38-39.

⁸⁷ Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*; Duberman, *Stonewall*, 165. Castro Camera was located at 575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California, and served as campaign headquarters for Milk’s runs for city supervisor; Milk lived in an apartment above the store.



Figure 7: Oscar Wilde Bookstore, 15 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Photo by Steve and Sara Emry, 2009.⁸⁸

Philadelphia's Rittenhouse Square neighborhood.⁸⁹ L. Page "Deacon" Maccubbin opened the Lambda Rising bookstore in Washington, DC's Dupont Circle neighborhood in 1974 and sponsored the city's first gay and lesbian pride celebration, then just a block party in front of the store.⁹⁰ By the 1980s, Maccubbin had opened additional stores and founded the *Lambda Book Report* and the Lambda Literary Awards to recognize the best in LGBTQ literature.⁹¹ In 1979 Canadian businessmen George Leigh

⁸⁸ License: CC BY-NC SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/emry/3321249085>

⁸⁹ Giovanni's Room opened in 1973 at 232 South Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It moved to 345 Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, located within the Washington Square West Historic District, added to the NRHP on September 20, 1984.

⁹⁰ The original Lambda Rising began as a selection of LGBTQ publications at Earthworks, Maccubbin's craft shop in the Community Building at 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC. In 1974, Maccubbin rented another space in the Community Building and opened Lambda Rising. In 1979, Lambda Rising moved to 2001 S Street NW and in 1984 moved to 1625 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It closed in 2009. The Community Building was also home to the Gay Switchboard, the *Blade* newspaper, *off our backs* magazine, and the Black Panther Defense League among other counterculture and antiwar organizations. Sue Levin, *In the Pink: The Making of Successful Gay- and Lesbian-Owned Businesses* (New York: Haworth Press, 1999), 9. Both the S Street NW and the Connecticut Avenue NW locations were within the Dupont Circle Historic District, listed on the NRHP on July 21, 1978.

⁹¹ Other Lambda Rising stores could be found in Baltimore, Maryland (1984-2008); Rehoboth Beach, Delaware (1991-2009); and Norfolk, Virginia (1996-2007). The Lambda Literary Awards and the book

and Norman Laurila opened A Different Light bookstore in Los Angeles' Silver Lake neighborhood and soon expanded to locations in San Francisco and New York as well as a second Los Angeles location.⁹² After serving the community for decades, most of these independent bookstores had closed by 2010, largely due to competition from major bookstore chains and online retailers. Deacon Maccubbin saw it as a sign that his initial goal of getting LGBTQ literature into mainstream stores had succeeded.⁹³

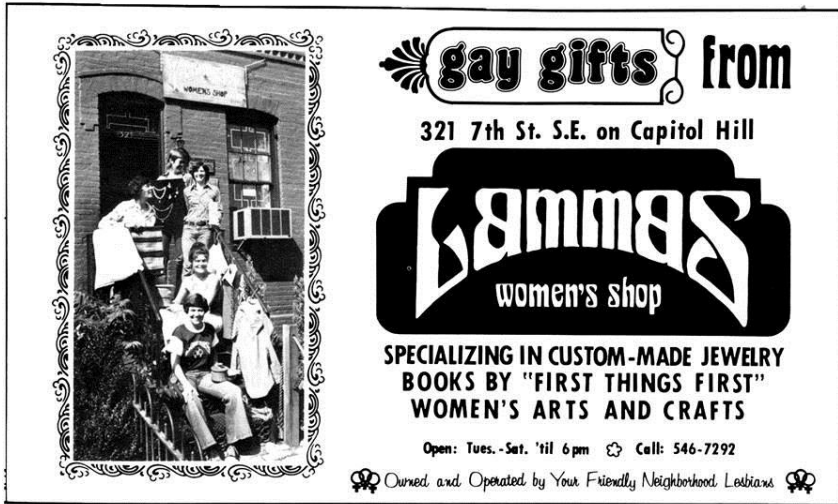


Figure 8: Lammas Women's Shop advertisement.

Although such bookstores served gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians, lesbians and feminists often felt their interests were being underserved

report (now the *Lambda Literary Review*) continue today under the auspices of the Lambda Literary Foundation.

⁹² A Different Light's first location was at 4014 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The second Los Angeles location was in the West Hollywood neighborhood at 8853 Santa Monica Boulevard. In San Francisco, A Different Light was at 489 Castro Street. A Different Light opened at 548 Hudson Street, New York City, New York in 1983, moving to 151 West 19th Street, New York City in 1994. It closed in 2001. Before moving to Los Angeles, Laurila had been an employee of Toronto's Glad Day Bookstore, which claims to be the longest-operating LGBTQ bookstore in the world. George Leigh Obituary, *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1998. Jayson Blair, "Bookstore On Gay Life is a Victim of Tolerance," *New York Times*, March 19, 2001.

⁹³ Lambda Rising, "Whole Gay Catalog," Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco; Paul Schwartzman, "End of the Story for Gay-Oriented Bookshop," *Washington Post*, December 8, 2009.

and formed their own specialty stores. Leslie Reeves and Judy Winsett founded Lammas in 1973 as a handmade jewelry and craft shop, but soon carried books and became a veritable lesbian community center (Figure 8).⁹⁴ In 1979 Ann Christopherson and Linda Bubon opened Women & Children First on Chicago's North Side, which continues to feature author book signings, reading groups, and other community events.⁹⁵ At the height of the feminist bookstore movement, over one hundred such bookstores sustained lesbian, feminist, and antiracist community building efforts through nonhierarchical cooperatives that were bound together through *Feminist Bookstore News*, before it ceased publication in 2000.⁹⁶

Clothing Retailers

If gay and lesbian bookstores served as important early LGBTQ businesses and sites of community empowerment, so too did clothing stores. Together these retail establishments often served as anchors for LGBTQ urban neighborhoods. The first gay retail outlet in what would become West Hollywood was Ah Men, a men's clothing store founded in 1962 by Jerry Furlow and Don Cook.⁹⁷ Known nationwide for its sexy mail-order catalogue, Ah Men employed innovative marketing techniques, such as all night sales, fashion shows with live models, and an Ah Man of the Year contest. Specializing in body conscious swimwear, posing straps, and underwear, it became known as a gay fashion trendsetter. By 1967 its

⁹⁴ Lammas Crafts and Books opened at 321 Seventh Street SE, Washington, DC. In 1989, they moved to the Dupont Circle neighborhood at 1426 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC (located within the Dupont Circle Historic District, added to the NRHP on July 21, 1978). It was at the later location that Loraine Hutchins did much of her research for the pathbreaking book about bisexuality, *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out*, co-edited with Lani Ka'ahumanu (Boston: Alyson, 1991).

⁹⁵ Women & Children First is located at 5233 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois. Sold by the original owners in 2013, the store remains open. See Cheryl Corley, "One Way for an Indie Bookstore to Last? Put Women 'First,'" NPR All Things Considered, October 27, 2013 <http://www.npr.org/2013/10/27/239710557/one-way-for-an-indie-bookstore-to-last-put-women-first>.

⁹⁶ Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

⁹⁷ Ah Men was originally located at 8933 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. In 1972 it relocated to the corner of Santa Monica and San Vicente, West Hollywood, California, now a Citibank.

catalog featured campy books, such as *The Gay Cook Book* and *Summer in Sodom*, and its photo spreads appeared in physique magazines, demonstrating the integration of the growing gay consumer culture network. With a manufacturing plant, mail-order department, and sales staff, Ah Men employed over fifty people. By 1972, the success of Ah Men allowed Cook to buy the building at the intersection of Santa Monica and San Vicente, open a second store in nearby Silver Lake, and a franchise in Houston.⁹⁸ Encouraged by the success of Ah Men, other gay entrepreneurs, such as Gene Burkard, founder of International Male in San Diego, entered the gay mail order business. International Male's popular mail-order catalog appealed to generations of gay men well into the twenty-first century.⁹⁹

In San Francisco, The Town Squire was also instrumental in creating a gay business corridor and gay enclave along San Francisco's Polk Street. Founded by gay couple August Territo and Terry Popek in 1960 The Town Squire was soon joined by Casual Man. As the area's white, blue-collar patrons left the city in the 1960s, many bars cultivated a new gay male clientele. It was at Suzy-Q, a gay bar on Polk Street, that a group of gay bar owners and bartenders established the Tavern Guild of San Francisco in 1962, which became an important force in protecting gay bars and shaping local politics.¹⁰⁰ Because of its large number of gay businesses, Polk Street was the site of San Francisco's first pride parade in 1970 and remained a thriving LGBTQ neighborhood into the 1980s.¹⁰¹ Not far away

⁹⁸ Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 231-234; Ah Men Clothing Catalogues, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives; Don Cook, interview with David K. Johnson, November 14, 2011, Los Angeles; "The Male a la Mode," *Around the World with Kenneth Marlow* (April-May 1966), 16ff.

⁹⁹ Douglas Edwards, "Gene Burkard: The Man Behind International's Mail Male," *The Advocate*, June 28, 1979; Pat Sherman, "Moments in Time: Never Get Respectable," *San Diego Gay*, January 3, 2011, accessed April 25, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/moments-in-time-never-get-respectable>. When he retired, in 1986, Burkard sold International Male to Horn & Hardart, a New York-based mail-order company part of Hanover Direct. The last International Male catalog was mailed in 2007, though the company's website continued to be available through 2009. Bill Ritter, "International Male Catalogue Retailer Sold," *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1986; Steve Weinstein, "The End of International Male and Undergear," *Out*, June 25, 2015.

¹⁰⁰ The Town Squire was located at 1318 Polk Street; Casual Man at 2060 Polk Street; and Suzy-Q at 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, California.

¹⁰¹ Joey Plaster, "Polk Street History Project," Outhistory.org, accessed June 15, 2015.

in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, bisexual Peggy Caserta opened a clothing boutique in 1964 called Mnasidika as a store for "gay girls."¹⁰² Meant as a signal to local lesbians, the name was a literary reference to Bilitis' young lover in Pierre Louÿs's nineteenth century *Songs of Bilitis*. The store soon became popular not only with lesbians but with the growing counterculture, including singers Janis Joplin and Jerry Garcia. It was after a visit to Mnasidika that journalist Herb Caen coined the term "hippie."¹⁰³

Gay Commercial Media

While gay bars, bathhouses, bookstores, and clothing stores were all initially local enterprises, the first truly national LGBTQ businesses were media companies that could sell magazines, books, or music to a national audience. Lesbian media companies and publishing houses developed much later than those of gay men and were often rooted in 1970s feminist and gay liberation political activism.¹⁰⁴ In 1973, two lesbians living outside Kansas City, Missouri, formed Naiad Press to publish and distribute lesbian literature.¹⁰⁵ It was led by Barbara Grier, longtime editor of *The Ladder*, the homophile publication of the Daughters of Bilitis, and her librarian partner Donna McBride. At the time, mainstream publishers and bookstores carried little material that explored lesbian lives outside of exploitative lesbian pulp fiction, and in its early years, Naiad Press relied heavily on mail order. Utilizing the mailing list of the recently defunct *Ladder*, they published out-of-print lesbian fiction and new emerging authors such as Sarah Schulman, Katherine V. Forrest, and Pat Califia. Over thirty years, Naiad published over five hundred books and spawned

¹⁰² Mnasidika was located at 1510 Haight Street, San Francisco, California. It closed in 1968.

¹⁰³ Alice Echols, *Scars of Sweet Paradise: The Life and Times of Janis Joplin* (New York: Macmillan, 2000), 141; Sides, *Erotic City*, 113; Sheila Weller, "Suddenly that Summer," *Vanity Fair*, July 2012.

¹⁰⁴ Heather Murray, "Free for All Lesbians: Lesbian Cultural Production and Consumption in the United States during the 1970s," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16 (May 2007): 251-275.

¹⁰⁵ Although originally founded in Bates City, Missouri, from 1980 to 2003, Naiad was headquartered in Tallahassee, Florida.

many more publishing houses specializing in lesbian content. As journalist Victoria Brownworth argues, “Grier built the lesbian book industry.”¹⁰⁶

It was also in 1973 that members of The Furies, a lesbian separatist collective in Washington, DC, created Olivia Records, the first woman-centered recording company.¹⁰⁷ Although controversial within the lesbian feminist community, the idea was to create a woman-only business that would use the medium of music to promote feminist consciousness-raising and affirm lesbian relationships. Organized as a nonhierarchical collective where workers were paid according to need, Olivia Records by 1978 had a paid staff of fourteen that produced four women’s music albums per year. Distributed through a local network of grassroots volunteers and a growing mailing list, Olivia Records produced popular albums by Meg Christian, Cris Williamson, Teresa Trull, and Linda Tillery. In 1977 they produced *Lesbian Concentrate* in response to Anita Bryant’s anti-gay crusade in Miami. By 1988 a series of fifteenth anniversary concerts led to a new line of business—sponsoring lesbian cruises and vacation packages as Olivia Travel. In producing albums, concerts, and cruises, they created safe space for lesbian culture to flourish.¹⁰⁸

Gay men began publishing their own magazines in the 1950s, taking advantage of a tradition of exchanging bodybuilding and artistic studies of the male body. Physique magazines circulated widely throughout the pre-

¹⁰⁶ Victoria A. Brownworth, “Barbara Grier: Climbing the Ladder,” in *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context*, ed. Vern L. Bullough (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002), 253-264; Victoria Brownworth, “In Remembrance: Barbara Grier,” *Lambda Literary Report*, November 11, 2011; *New York Times*, November 3, 2011.

¹⁰⁷ The Furies Collective operated largely out of a row house in Washington, DC’s Capitol Hill neighborhood. The Furies Collective House was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016. In 1975, Olivia Records moved to a warehouse at 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California.

¹⁰⁸ Bonnie Morris, “Olivia Records: The Production of a Movement,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 19: 290-304; Judith A. Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to Hedwig* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 163-165; Alice Echols, *Shaky Ground: The Sixties and its Aftershocks* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 87; Sue Rochman, “Cruising for Success,” *The Advocate*, April 24, 2001, 28-31. Olivia Travel became the focus of the business in 1990. See Olivia website, “About Olivia,” <https://www.olivia.com/content/about.aspx>.

Stonewall period, with circulation figures ten times of those of the first gay and lesbian political magazines, *Mattachine Review*, *ONE*, and *The Ladder*. Art historian Thomas Waugh called physique magazines the “richest documentation of gay culture of the period.”¹⁰⁹ For countless men growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in rural areas, their first recognition of gay culture came from purchasing a physique magazine from their local newsstand. Because of their clear homoerotic content and intended audience, local censorship groups and the US Post Office considered these magazines obscene and tried to shut them down.¹¹⁰

The first and most long-lasting physique studio was Bob Mizer’s Athletic Model Guild, founded in 1946. It operated out of its original location, just



Figure 9: Bob Mizer’s Athletic Model Guild Compound, 1834 West Eleventh Street, Los Angeles, California, 2009. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Waugh, *Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 217-219.

¹¹⁰ David K. Johnson, “Physique Pioneers: The Politics of 1960s Gay Consumer Culture,” *The Journal of Social History*, 43 (2010): 867-892; David L. Chapman and Brett Josef Grubisic, *American Hunks: The Muscular Male Body in Popular Culture 1860–1970* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2009).

outside downtown Los Angeles, for over forty years.¹¹¹ As his magazine *Physique Pictorial* and his related mail-order business flourished, Mizer expanded his compound to include a pool, rooftop stages, and a bunkhouse for models. It became a major destination for gay men visiting Los Angeles and was featured in his magazine and films, providing a sense of homoerotic camaraderie to thousands of customers. His feisty editorials against the forces of censorship politicized his readers and urged them to organize and fight for their rights (Figure 9).¹¹²

If the Athletic Model Guild was the first of the major gay physique studios, Lynn Womack's Guild Press was the largest. In 1952, Womack purchased a small company called the Guild Press. By 1960, the Guild Press was publishing several physique magazines, including titles that Womack had purchased from other publishers. In addition to developing a veritable gay physique magazine empire of over forty thousand subscribers, Womack expanded his business to include the Guild Book Service, a directory of gay bars, a bookstore chain (Village Books), a gay cinema, pen pal club, and a clothing line. In 1964, he purchased a large publishing plant in Washington, DC, to house the Guild Press (Figure 10).¹¹³ When the Postmaster General banned distribution of several Guild Press periodicals as obscene, Womack took the case to the US Supreme Court. He argued that gay men had an equal right to view images which were no more explicit than those found in magazines aimed at

¹¹¹ The Athletic Model Guild (AMG) was located at 1834 West Eleventh Street, Los Angeles, California. Mizer died in 1992. AMG's archives was eventually purchased by Dennis Bell, who formed the Bob Mizer Foundation to advocate for the preservation of gay physique photography. See Bob Mizer Foundation website, <http://bobmizerfoundation.org/foundation>.

¹¹² Whitney Strub, "Challenging the Anti-Pleasure League: Physique Pictorial and the Cultivation of Gay Politics," in *Modern Print Activism in the United States*, ed. Rachel Schreiber (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013); Dian Hanson, *Bob's World: The Life and Boys of A.M.G.'s Bob Mizer* (Taschen, 2009); Volker Janssen, *Bob Mizer: Athletic Model Guild: American Photography of the Male Nude 1940-1970*, vol. 7 (London: Janssen Publishers, 2007); *Beefcake*, directed by Thom Fitzgerald (Culver City, CA: Strand Releasing, 1998).

¹¹³ The Guild Press printing plant at 507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC, which operated from 1964 to 1970, survives as the Shakespeare Theatre Company Education and Rehearsal Studios.

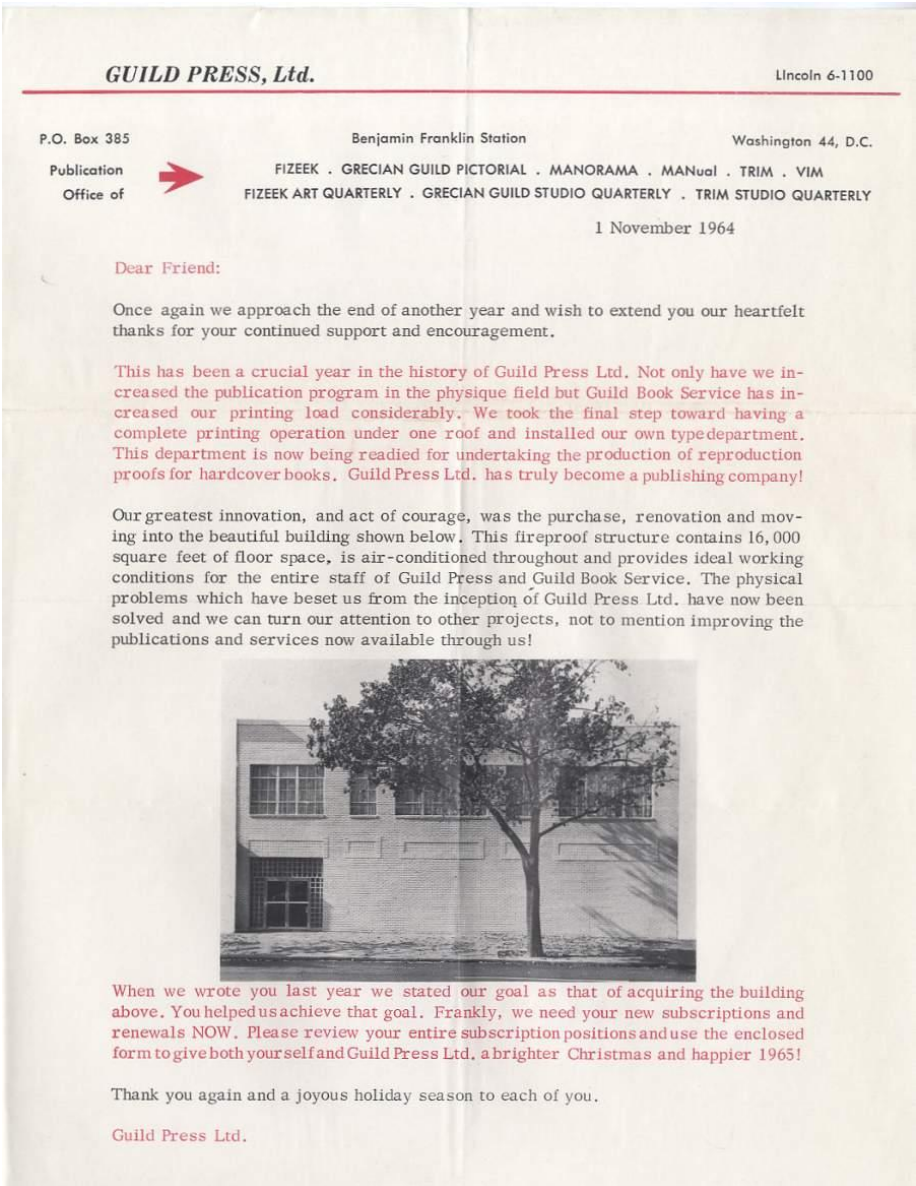


Figure 10: Guild Press customer letter showing their location at 507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC where it operated from 1964 to 1970. Image courtesy ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

heterosexuals. In 1962 in *MANual Enterprises v. Day*, the Supreme Court found in Womack's favor, arguing that homosexuals enjoyed equal protection under the First Amendment.¹¹⁴

In 1963, Womack was joined by another gay press, Directory Services, Inc. (DSI) in Minneapolis that grew to offer a similar line of physique magazines, books, toiletries, and clothing to a nationwide mailing list of fifty thousand customers.¹¹⁵ In 1965, the owners of DSI, Lloyd Spinar and Conrad Germain, challenged American censorship laws by publishing an issue of *Butch* magazine that featured photographs of full-frontal male nudes. A "Publisher's Creed" in the same issue asserted, "Those concerned with freedom have the responsibility of seeing to it that each individual book or publication, whatever its contents, is given the freedom of expression granted to it by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America."¹¹⁶ In 1967, DSI was raided by postal inspectors, US Marshals, and other law enforcement officials, and Spinar and Germain were brought up on obscenity charges. DSI won their court case, *US v. Spinar and Germain*. With full-frontal nudity deemed legal, physique magazines (which had featured "posing straps") became less popular. The court victories of DSI and Guild Press ushered in an era of open homoeroticism in the gay press and paved the way for gay publications that proliferated in the 1970s, such as *The Advocate*, *Queen's Quarterly*, *Fag Rag*, *Mandate*, *Drummer*, and *Christopher Street*.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Philip Clark, "Accept Your Essential Self: The Guild Press, Identity Formation, and Gay Male Community," in *1960s Gay Pulp Fiction: The Misplaced Heritage*, eds. Drewey Wayne Gunn and Jamie Harker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 78-119; Jackie Hatton, "The Pornography Empire of H. Lynn Womack: Gay Political Discourse and Popular Culture 1955-1970," *thresholds: viewing culture* 7 (Spring 1993): 9-32; Joyce Murdoch and Deb Price, *Courting Justice: Gay Men and Lesbians v. The Supreme Court* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 65-88; Rodger Streitmatter and John C. Watson, "Herman Lynn Womack: Pornographer as First Amendment Pioneer," *Journalism History* 28 (Summer 2002): 56-66; *MANual Enterprises Inc. v. J. Edward Day* (370 US 478).

¹¹⁵ DSI's offices were located at 2419 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

¹¹⁶ Johnson, "Physique Pioneers," 878.

¹¹⁷ Johnson, "Physique Pioneers," 878-882; Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*, 280-283; *U.S. v. Spinar and Germain*, Decision, US District Court, Minneapolis, Case 4-67 CR 15, July 26, 1967; *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 1.

It was not until the development of desktop publishing in the 1980s that lesbians began to mass-produce their own commercial magazines with openly sexual content. *Bad Attitude* was a grassroots publication produced by lesbians through the leftist *Gay Community News* in Boston, while the more commercial erotica publication *On Our Backs*—a parody of the radical feminist publication *off our backs*—emerged from workers in San Francisco’s thriving adult industry.¹¹⁸ *On our Backs* was the first woman-owned and run erotica magazine in the United States, and the first featuring lesbian erotica specifically for a lesbian audience. Such publications played a central role in the “sex wars” of the 1990s over the complicated relationship between women, sex, and pornography. Many feminist bookstores refused to carry such openly erotic magazines, considering them objectifying and exploitative pornography. Their founders saw them as women-centered periodicals where lesbians took control of their own sexuality.¹¹⁹

Generally excluded from coverage and consideration in the gay and lesbian press, bisexuals began publishing their own periodicals that addressed issues of importance to them (including the phenomenon of bisexual erasure).¹²⁰ In 1990, the Bay Area Bisexual Network began publishing *Anything That Moves: Beyond the Myths of Bisexuality*. The name referenced the common assumption that bisexual people have indiscriminate intimate relationships. Over time, the tag line changed; in

¹¹⁸ *On Our Backs* began publishing in 1984. Founded by Myrna Elana and Debi Sundahl who worked in the peep shows and sex clubs of the Tenderloin, they brought Susie Bright on board as advertising director. *On Our Backs* ran from 1984 through 2006. *Bad Attitude* was published from 1984 to 1987 at *Gay Community News* offices at 20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Susie Bright, “A Brief History of On Our Backs, 1984-1991,” *Susie Bright’s Journal* (blog), November 15, 2011, http://susiebright.blogspot.com/susie_brights_journal/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-on-our-backs-1984-1991.html; Rebecca Beirne, *Lesbians in Television and Text After the Millennium* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 211.

¹¹⁹ Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber & Faber, 1995), 294-299; Arlene Stein, *Shameless: Sexual Dissidence in American Culture* (New York: NYU Press, 2006), 39-58.

¹²⁰ Bisexual erasure occurs when people in same-sex relationships are assumed to be/labeled homosexual and those in opposite-sex relationships are assumed to be/labeled heterosexual, thus erasing the possibility that someone is bisexual. See Hutchins (this volume).

1999, the magazine was called *Anything That Moves: The Magazine for the Family Bisexual*. The last issue of *Anything That Moves* was published in 2002.

Conclusion

By the 1990s, corporate America discovered the LGBTQ market. Companies such as Absolut Vodka, AT&T, and Ikea offered some of the first national print and television advertisements targeting an LGBTQ audience.¹²¹ But history shows that by the time such mainstream corporations picked up on the trend, the gay market was decades old and had already played a prominent role in the development of a distinct LGBTQ community. It was largely through patronage of bars, diners, bathhouses, bookstores, physique studios, record companies, and other businesses that LGBTQ communities first coalesced and became visible. In opening their own bars, bookstores, and other businesses, LGBTQ entrepreneurs helped LGBTQ-friendly neighborhoods to flourish and facilitated the formation of social service organizations, Pride celebrations, and other community institutions. And it was also through such commercial enterprises that the community first began to organize and fight for its rights. Indeed, many of the first LGBTQ protests were about the right to assemble in commercial spaces. And many of the first legal victories for gay rights were to secure the right to assemble in bars or circulate gay literature. For LGBTQ activists, “gay power” has long meant not only electoral and political clout but also economic muscle.

¹²¹ Gluckman and Reed, *Homo Economics*.