

SOURCES

INTERVIEWS

1. The following oral history interviews were part of the Seattle University Community and Communication Project, conducted under my supervision from 1994 until 1997: Cal Anderson, Faygele benMiriam, Jennifer Burton, Laura Byrne, Corey Clemons, Ric Cohen, John Coker, Catherine Crossan, Jason Crowley, Sheldon Daniels, Vinh Do, Sam Elwonger, Patty Ferris, Mark Finley, Charles Fite, Thomas Gamble, Gerald Garret, Maura Geary, Mitchell Gonzales, Martin Gouterman, Nicholas Heer, Jeff Henness, Bryher Herak, David Hoffman, Edward Janos, Andrew Johnson, David Johnson, Jeanne Johnston, Matthew Kangas, Greg Kucera, Skippy LaRue, Ross and Luis Lopton, Rick Mangin, Michael Martin, Isidor Martinez, John McCoy, Rose Mesec, Jeffrey Mitchell, Ruby Montana, Diane Moore, Matt Nagle, Evelyn Nichols, Rita Okura, Don Paulson, Rick Peterson, Michael Ramey, Mark Richards, Rev. Gerald Stanley, Karen Swannek, Carol Sterling, Cynthia Taylor, Scott Taylor, William Wassmer, Kathy Wheeler, Doug Wyman, Ashleigh Sandy Yati. Some interviews were quoted directly in the text. Others were used for context. Individuals were interviewed for their knowledge of relevant city or lesbian/gay history; therefore, no presumption should be made about their sexual orientation from their inclusion in the project. The videotapes and indices are currently housed as part of the author's lesbian/gay history collection and in the future, may be relocated to the Seattle University and University of Washington libraries.

2. The following interviews were conducted by the author between 1992 and 2001: John Chadwick, Joe McGonagle, Ed Murray, Rick Rankin, MacIver Wells. In addition, numerous informal conversations were held with individuals not named here. Also, interviews with Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen were conducted in 1982.

3. The following oral history interviews were part of the Alice B. Theatre Oral History Project in 1992: Stephen Blair, Nola Blanes, Robert Carter, Kay Engel, Glen Hunt, Margaret King, Malcolm McKay, Robert Riopelle, Hurdie Styles, Tamara Turner. Some interviews were quoted directly in the text. Others were used for context. Individuals were interviewed for their knowledge of relevant city or lesbian/gay history; therefore, no presumption should be made about their sexual orientation from their inclusion in the project. Some names are deleted for purposes of confidentiality. The audiotapes are currently housed at the University of Washington Libraries.

4. The following oral history interviews were conducted for the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project: Reverend Thomas Anastasi, Larry Anderson, Doug Barnes, Paul Barwick, Faygele benMiriam, Rose Bohanan, Marsha Botzer, Charlie Brydon, Elaine Burnell, Robert Carter, Leigh Champlain, Armand Dalmage, Jerry DeGriek, Jan Denali, Bob Deisher, Christopher Durant, Pam Flodine, Ward Folsom, Sandra Fosshage, Pat Freeman, Richard Gates, Dawn Griffin, Martin Gouterman, Mel Habel, Rev. Gwen Hall, Jan Harnish, Leslie Harnish, Nick Heer, John Hoy, Tasceaie Jennings, Harold Johnson, Selma Kannel, Nancy King, Linda Knighton, Bill Kramer, Rae Larson, Skippy LaRue, Ann Manley, Gail McDougall, Joe McGonagle, Paul McPherson, Jane Meyerding, Lenore Norrgard, Michele Nota, Dale Peters, Vernell Pratt, Mike Ramey, Dennis Raymond, John Reed, Greg Redfox, Bill Regan, Irene Reynolds, Tom Richards, Sunny Rivera, Dorothy Rockwell, Ken Sanchez, John Sheets, Chris Smith, Margaret Sorrel, Marvin Sterling, Beth Strayer, Greg Swales, Lois Thetford, Lynn Tritsch, Janice Van Cleve, Lynn Waddington, MacIver Wells, George Whitaker, Roger Winters, Larry Woelich. Some interviews were quoted directly in the text. Others were used for context. Individuals were interviewed for their knowledge of relevant city or lesbian/gay history; therefore, no presumption should be made about their sexual orientation from their inclusion. Some names are deleted for purposes of confidentiality. The audiotapes and transcripts are currently housed with the NLGHMP and in the future may be relocated to the University of Washington libraries.

MANUSCRIPTS

Cal Anderson Papers, Washington State Historical Society
 Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society
 George Cotterill Papers, University of Washington Libraries, MSCUA
 John Eccles Papers, University of Washington Libraries, MSCUA
 Tom Flint Papers, Washington State Historical Society
 Charles Harbaugh Papers, University of Washington Libraries, MSCUA
 Mark Matthews Papers, University of Washington Libraries, MSCUA
 Tim Mayhew Papers, University of Washington Libraries, MSCUA
 Northwest AIDS Foundation Papers, Washington State Historical Society
 Seattle Mayors' Papers, University of Washington Libraries, MSCUA

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

King County Superior Court. Criminal Appearance Dockets, 1893–1914.
 King County Superior Court. *Shelly Ann Bauman v. Morris Hart, Pioneer Square Association, et al.*, Civil No. 726096, 1971.
 King County Superior Court. *Madison Tavern Inc. and James G. Watson dba Blue Note v. H. J. Lawrence and City of Seattle*, No. 527-660, 1958.
 King County Superior Court. *James Earl Schuster v. Sandra Lee Schuster and Jerry Floyd Isaacson v. Madeleine Cecil Isaacson*, D-36867, 1974.

- King County Superior Court. *State v. Carroll et al.*, Criminal No. 57842, 1971.
- Seattle–King County Public Health Department. *Quarterly Reports and Annual Reports*, 1990–99.
- U.S. District Court for Western Washington. *Keith M. Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay*, Civil No. 8447, 1969, and *Keith M. Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay et al.*, Civil No. 8448, 1969.
- U.S. District Court for Western Washington. *U.S. v. M. E. Cook*, No. 51944, 1970.
- U.S. District Court for Western Washington. *Western Amusement Company v. City of Seattle et al.*, Civil No. 655-72C2, 1972.
- U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. *Rhinehart v. Rhay*, 440 F. 2d 718, 1971.
- U.S. Supreme Court. *Boutilier v. Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 387 U.S. 118, 1967.
- U.S. Supreme Court. *California v. LaRue*, 409 U.S. 109, 1972.
- Washington State House of Representatives. *Journal of the House*, 1893, 1909.
- Washington State Senate. *Journal of the Senate*, 1893, 1909.
- Washington State Supreme Court. *James Earl Schuster v. Sandra Lee Schuster*, and *Jerry Floyd Isaacson v. Madeleine Cecil Isaacson*, 90 Wn. 2d 626, 1978.
- Washington State Supreme Court. *State of Washington v. Rhinehart*, 70 Wn. 2d 649, 1967.
- Washington State Supreme Court. *Gaylord v. Tacoma School District*, 88 Wn. 2d 286, 1977.
- Western State Hospital. Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and Thirteenth Biennial Reports, 1932–46.
- Western State Hospital. Untitled Record of Lobotomies, October 1946–June 1954.
- Western State Hospital. Register of Inmates.
- Western State Hospital. Report to the Legislature on “Mental Institutions in the State of Washington,” January 1948.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- Andrews, Mildred T. *Washington Women As Pathbreakers*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hall, 1989.
- Arnold, William. *Shadowland*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978.
- Bartee, Wayne and Alice. *Litigating Morality: American Legal Thought and Its English Roots*. New York: Praeger, 1992.
- Bensing, Robert C. “A Comparative Study of American Sex Statutes.” *Journal of Criminal Law* 42 (1951): 57–72.
- Berner, Richard. *Seattle 1900–1920: From Boomtown, Urban Turbulence, to Restoration*. Seattle: Charles Press, 1991.
- . *Seattle, 1921–1940: From Boom to Bust*. Seattle: Charles Press, 1992.
- . *Seattle Transformed, World War II to Cold War*. Seattle: Charles Press, 1999.
- Bowman, Karl, and Bernice Engle. “A Psychiatric Evaluation of Laws of Homosexuality.” *Temple Law Quarterly* 29 (1956): 273–326.
- Bruggemann, Walter. *The Land: Place As Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977.
- Castells, Manuel. *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

- Chambliss, William. *On the Take*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978.
- Clark, Norman. *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988.
- Crowley, Walt. *Seattle University: A Century of Jesuit Education*. Seattle: Seattle University, 1991.
- Deaderick, Sam, and Tamara Turner. *Gay Resistance: The Hidden History*. Seattle: Red Letter Press, 1997.
- Deisher, Robert. "The Young Male Prostitute." *Pediatrics* 43 (June 1969): 936.
- . "Young Male Prostitutes: The Physician's Role in Social Rehabilitation." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 212 (June 1970): 1661.
- D'Emilio, John. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Doctors, Samuel I., and A. S. Huff. *Minority Enterprise and the President's Council*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1973.
- Doss, David. "Becoming Visible: The Dorian Society of Seattle and the Emergence of Seattle's Gay Community." Undergraduate research paper, Seattle University, 1994.
- Elliott, Eugene. *A History of Variety-Vaudeville in Seattle: From the Beginning to 1914*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944.
- Faderman, Lillian. *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Farley, Kristi. *A Primer: Preservation in Seattle*. Seattle: City of Seattle, 1977.
- Farmer, Frances. *Will There Really Be a Morning*. New York: Dell Books, 1972.
- Ford, Mary Ellen. "A History of Lobotomy in the United States." *The Pharos* (Summer 1987): 7–16.
- Freeman, Walter, and James Watt. *Psychosurgery in the Treatment of Mental Disorders and Intractable Pain*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1950.
- . "Transorbital Lobotomy." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 105 (April 1949): 734.
- . "Level of Achievement after Lobotomy: A Study of One Thousand Cases." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 110 (1953): 269–76.
- . "Lobotomy in Limbo?" *American Journal of Psychiatry* 128 (April 1972): 1315.
- . "Sexual Behavior and Fertility after Frontal Lobotomy." *Journal of Biological Psychiatry* 6, no. 1 (February 1973): 100.
- Friedman, Laurence. *A History of American Law*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985.
- Gill, John. *Gill's Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*. Portland, Oreg.: J. K. Gill Company, 1909, reprinted in 1989 by the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe and White River Valley Historical Society.
- Hadden, Samuel. "Newer Treatment Techniques for Homosexuality." *Archives of Environmental Health* 13 (September 1966): 284.
- Haggerty, Patrick. "The Oppression of the American Male Homosexual: A View by a Homosexual Social Worker." M.S.W. thesis, University of Washington School of Social Work, 1972.

- Hanna, Judith Lynne. *To Dance Is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979.
- Hansen, Kent. "Gaylord v. Tacoma School District No. 10: Homosexuality Held Immoral for Purposes of Teacher Discharge," *Willamette Law Journal* 14 (1977): 101–14.
- Hawley, Lowell S., and Ralph B. Potts. *Counsel for the Damned*. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1953.
- Hoagland, Sarah Lucia, and Julia Penelope, eds. *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology*. London: Onlywomen, 1988.
- Jones, Charles, and James Shanklin. "Transorbital Lobotomy." *Northwest Medicine* 47, no. 6 (June 1948): 421–27.
- Jones, Nard. *Seattle*. New York: Doubleday, 1972.
- Klein, Charna. *Counseling Our Own: The Lesbian/Gay Subculture Meets the Mental Health System*. Seattle: Publication Services, 1986.
- Light, Ivan. "Ethnicity and Business Enterprise." In *Making It in America: The Role of Ethnicity in Business Enterprise, Education, and Work Choices*. M. M. Stolarik and Murray Friedman, eds. Lewisburg, Penn.: Bucknell University Press, 1986.
- Marcus, Eric. *Making History: The Struggle for Gay and Lesbian Equal Rights, 1945–1990*. New York: HarperCollins, 1992.
- Martin, Del, and Phyllis Lyon. *Lesbian/Woman*. San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1972.
- McLean, Albert Jr. *American Vaudeville As Ritual*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
- Morgan, Murray. *Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle*. New York: Viking Press, 1960.
- Newton, Esther. *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972.
- Paulson, Don, and Roger Simpson. *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Peavy, Linda, and Ursula Smith. *Women in Waiting in the Western Movement*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Rayside, David. "American Exceptionalism in Sexual Diversity Politics: A Washington State Case Study." Paper presented to the American Political Science Association, August–September 2000.
- Rosenstein, Sophie, Larrae Haydon, and Wilbur Sparrow. *Modern Acting: A Manual*. New York: Samuel French, 1936.
- Sachs, Curt. *World History of the Dance*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938.
- Sale, Roger. *Seattle: Past to Present*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976.
- Samuels, Charles and Louise. *Once upon a Stage: The Merry World of Vaudeville*. New York: Dodd and Mead, 1974.
- Schoenberg, Wilfred P. *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest, 1743–1983*. Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1987.
- Schwantes, Carlos. *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

- Seattle Convention and Visitors Bureau. "Let Us Show You Pioneer Square." Seattle: Seattle Convention and Visitors Bureau, 1976.
- Shaw, George C. *The Chinook Jargon and How to Use It*. Seattle: Rainier Printing Company, 1909.
- Shilts, Randy. *And the Band Played On*. New York: St. Martin's, 1987.
- Soden, Dale. *The Reverend Mark Matthews: An Activist in the Progressive Era*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.
- Spiedel, William. *Sons of the Profits*. Seattle: Nettle Creek Publishing, 1967.
- Steinbrueck, Victor. *Architectural and Historical Survey of Pioneer Square*. Seattle: City of Seattle, 1969.
- Szasz, Thomas. *The Manufacture of Madness*. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.
- Taubman, Howard. *The Making of American Theater*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1967.
- Thomas, Edward H. *Chinook: A History and Dictionary*. Portland, Oreg.: Binfords and Mort, 1935. Third ed., 1970.
- Weinberger, Laurence. "Lobotomy: A Personal Memoir." *The Pharos* (Spring 1988): 17–18.
- Williams, Walter. *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.
- Winthrop, Theodore. *Canoe and Saddle*. Portland, Oreg.: Binfords and Mort, 1956. Originally published by Ticknor and Fields, 1862.