

NOTES

PROLOGUE

1. For the criminal case against John Collins, see King County Superior Court Criminal Appearance Dockets, book 5, case 1195 (1895). The dialogue from this case that is presented in the text is taken from the court testimony. For discussions of Seattle's history of moral conflict, see, among many sources, Norman Clark, *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), especially chapters 1–8; Murray Morgan, *Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle* (New York: Viking Press, 1960); Roger Sale, *Seattle: Past to Present* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976); William Spiedel, *Sons of the Profits* (Seattle: Nettle Creek Publishing, 1967); and “Let Us Show You Pioneer Square,” (Seattle: Seattle Convention and Visitors Bureau, 1976).

2. For examples of sexual diversity in Native American tribes, see Walter Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), chapter 8 generally and 153–54 and 159–60 particularly. Three dictionaries of Chinook list the word *burdash* and indicate that it was adopted into the jargon from French, although all three, interestingly, translate the word to mean “hermaphrodite” rather than the usual French reference to men who cross-dressed as women and were believed to be the recipients of anal sex. It seems unlikely that true biological hermaphrodites would have been numerous enough in the Northwest to be named within a sparse trade jargon; more likely, the translators had not yet come upon the modern words “homosexual” or “transgendered” and felt it indiscreet to describe the sexual behavior *burdashes* were believed to engage in. See John Gill, *Gill's Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon* (Portland, Oreg.: J. K. Gill, 1909; reprinted in 1989 by the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe and White River Valley Historical Society), 24; George C. Shaw, *The Chinook Jargon and How to Use It* (Seattle: Rainier Printing Company, 1909), 34; and Edward H. Thomas, *Chinook: A History and Dictionary* (Portland, Oreg.: Binfords and Mort, 1935; 3rd ed. 1970), 58. The story of Sarah Yesler's friendship with Eliza Hurd is detailed in Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, *Women in Waiting in the Western Movement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), especially 160–62.

3. Clark, *The Dry Years*, xi.

4. Walter Bruggemann, *The Land: Place As Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 187.

5. Martin Heidegger, “Building Dwelling Thinking,” in *Basic Writings from Being and Time to The Task of Thinking*, ed. David Farrell Krell (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

I / THE LAW

1. For background on sodomy laws generally, see Wayne and Alice Bartee, *Litigating Morality: American Legal Thought and Its English Roots* (New York: Praeger, 1992); Laurence Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985); Robert C. Bensing, “A Comparative Study of American Sex Statutes,” *Journal of Criminal Law* 42 (1951): 57–72; and Karl Bowman and Bernice Engle, “A Psychiatric Evaluation of Laws of Homosexuality,” *Temple Law Quarterly* 29 (1956): 273–326. Quote from Bowman and Engle is on p. 275; quote from Bartee is on p. 40.

2. To track the evolution of Washington’s penalties for “offenses against morality and decency,” it is useful to compare sections of the state penal code for 1873 and 1881 (prior to the passage of the sodomy law) and for 1893, 1902, and 1909. For the passage of the laws, see *Journal of the House* (1893): 333, 335, 565; *Journal of the Senate* (1893): 443, 458, 627; *Journal of the Senate* (1909): 464, 632; and *Journal of the House* (1909): 585.

3. Carlos Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 221.

4. “Two People in Bed: It Is Not a Healthy Way to Sleep,” *Seattle Press-Times*, Feb. 10, 1893, 3.

5. The records of early sodomy cases are in the microfilm archives of the King County Superior Court and are indexed in the Criminal Appearances Dockets, located at the King County Archives. Cases mentioned in this chapter are Charles Wesley and Eddie Kalberg, book 4, case 854 (1895); J. P. MacKendray and Oscar Brunson, book 5, case 1173 (1895); Andrew Cleary, book 11, case 3104 (1904); Pat Morrow and Alfred Franseen, book 12, case 3230 (1904); Philip McGuire and Herbert Carpenter, book 3, case 3718 (1906); Thomas Longbottom and Albert Jenner, book 14, case 3851 (1907); A. Mor and Robert Timmons, book 18, case 5277 (1910); Frederick Evans and Dan Paxman, book 18, cases 5056 and 5303 (1910) and book 19, case 5329 (1910); Charles Morrhauser and Ora Spriggs, book 19, case 5521 (1910); and Harry Douglass and Russell Spitler, book 19, case 5540 (1910).

6. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 5, case 1173 (1895).

7. Theodore Winthrop, *Canoe and Saddle* (1862; reprint, Portland, Oreg.: Binfords and Mort: 1956), especially 18, 82.

8. Roger Sale, *Seattle: Past to Present* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), 87. Additional information about Cotterill in this chapter comes from the collection of his personal papers and diaries at the University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.

9. George Cotterill Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.

10. Murray Morgan, *Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle* (New York: Viking Press, 1960), 116–47, details the role of John Considine and the People’s Theater. Additional information about Considine can be found in Richard Berner, *Seattle 1900–1920: From Boomtown, Urban Turbulence, to Restoration* (Seattle: Charles Press, 1991), especially 35–36, and

Eugene Elliott, *A History of Variety-Vaudeville in Seattle: From the Beginning to 1914* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944), 25–44.

11. Morgan, *Skid Road*, 116–17.

12. “Where Music and Vaudeville Flourish in Dog Days,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 30, 1899, 10.

13. Berner, *Seattle 1900–1920*, 9.

14. For information on Mark Matthews, see the Mark Matthews Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle; and Dale Soden, *The Reverend Mark Matthews: An Activist in the Progressive Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). The quoted sermons are from Matthews, *Sermonettes*, in the Mark Matthews Papers, particularly “Seattle’s Unemployed Church Forces,” 1906, and “Coffee or Coffin Houses—Which?” 1907.

15. For a sprinkling of the comments about the city’s tenderloin problem, as well as about Matthews and the evangelist Wilbur Chapman, see “The Removal of the Tenderloin,” *Seattle Times* illustrated section, May 11, 1902, 1–8; “Church People in Big Parade,” *Seattle Times*, Apr. 18, 1905, 1; “Children on Parade,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Apr. 19, 1905, 1; and “Matthews, the Boss,” *Seattle Times*, May 28, 1911, 2.

16. Useful newspaper articles about Cotterill include an untitled cover article, *Seattle Mail and Herald*, Jan. 23, 1904, 1; untitled article, *Seattle Mail and Herald*, Feb. 13, 1904, 3; “Election Aftermath,” *Seattle Mail and Herald*, Nov. 10, 1906, 3; untitled article, *Patriarch*, Sept. 28, 1907, 1; “George Cotterill and Co., Moralists,” *Patriarch*, Nov. 2, 1907, 4; “George Cotterill—The Characterless,” *Patriarch*, March 6, 1909, 1; “The Triumph of Rascality,” *Patriarch*, Nov. 26, 1910, 1; “Ex-Mayor Cotterill, 92, Dies,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 14, 1958, 39; “Just Cogitating: G. F. Cotterill Was Leader in Temperance Movement,” *Seattle Times Magazine*, June 19, 1960, 6. Norman Clark’s *The Dry Years* considers Cotterill’s and Matthews’s roles, in chapters 5–7 particularly.

17. The collection of Vaseline jars is mentioned, for example, in the cases against Pat Morrow and against Thomas Tassus, King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 12, case 3230 (1904) and book 22, case 6398 (1912), respectively.

18. Lowell S. Hawley and Ralph B. Potts, *Counsel for the Damned* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1953), 66.

19. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 12, case 3230 (1904). Besides the case of Alfred Franseen, two other early-twentieth-century cases involved “children” who were likely teenagers rather than preteens. In a case against Nicholas Davlopsolus, book 15, case 4147 (1908), Davlopsolus was accused of having sex with John Blakey, a “male child” whom the prosecutor asked to either post a two-hundred-dollar bond or be committed to jail. Not much is recorded about Blakey other than that he apparently did not live in Washington State and had no permanent abode. Given the prosecutor’s concern that he would leave town, it can be surmised that Blakey was also not intent on pressing charges against Davlopsolus and was not a preteen. Davlopsolus was found not guilty. In another case, involving R. E. Hurzman, book 15, no. 4232 (1908), the teen witness Jim Whitehead apparently did leave town before he could be committed to the jail, so the prosecutor had to drop the case.

20. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 3, case 3718 (1906).
21. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 14, case 3851 (1907).
22. Sale, *Seattle: Past to Present*, 106–7.
23. *Journal of the Washington Senate* (1909): 464, 632; *Journal of the Washington House* (1909): 585.
24. The *Sermonettes* file in the Mark Matthews Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, contains the vice committee's May 1910 report.
25. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 18, case 5277 (1910).
26. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 18, cases 5056 and 5303 (1910) and book 19, case 5329 (1910).
27. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 19, case 5540 (1910).
28. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 19, case 5521 (1910). Only a very few early cases of heterosexual or oral sodomy were prosecuted. Besides the Morrhauser case mentioned, William Cogswell, book 20, case 5842 (1911) was accused of knowing a woman "by the mouth and tongue." The charge against Cogswell was dismissed. Where heavy sentences occurred for oral sex, either force or a female preteen may have been involved, although the docket records are often not specific about the details or the age of the victim. See, for example, cases involving John Schencke, book 22, case 6314 (1912), sentence of five to ten years; Adam Mayer, book 22, case 6516 (1913), sentence of eighteen months to ten years; and Avery Houston, book 24, case 6866 (1914), sentence of two to five years.
29. Letter to Seattle Police Chief Claude Bannick, March 14, 1914, George Cotterill Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
30. The incidents at Walla Walla are mentioned in John McCoy, *Concrete Mama: Prison Profiles from Walla Walla* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), 4–5.

2 / MENTAL HEALTH

1. The most thorough books available on Frances Farmer's life are William Arnold, *Shadowland* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), and Farmer's autobiography, *Will There Really Be a Morning* (New York: Dell Books, 1972). Additional published information about Farmer comes from newspaper and magazine accounts. Many of these are most easily accessible in Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, or, in 2001, at a website dedicated to Frances Farmer, <http://www.geocities.com/~themistyone>. The website collection contains unpaginated articles from the following movie magazines: *Modern Screen*, Dec. 1957; *Movie Mirror*, uncertain month 1937; *On the QT*, uncertain month 1957; *Screen Album*, summer 1937. The actress's obituaries can be found in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Aug. 3, 1970, A5; and the *Seattle Times*, Aug. 3, 1970, D16. Fictional accounts

of her life are contained in the Brooksfilm 1983 movie *Frances* and in an Orion Television drama “Will There Really Be a Morning.” The Seattle lesbian newsletter *Out and About* published a two-part series about Farmer, written by Cookie Hunt, in June 1979, 11, and Sept. 1979, 17.

2. There are many sources available on the psychiatric profession’s classification of homosexuality. See, for example, Thomas Szasz, *The Manufacture of Madness* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), chapter 13 especially, and John-Manuel Andriote, “Shrinking Opposition,” *Percent Magazine*, (fall 1993): 61. An example of psychiatric treatment for homosexuality is discussed in Samuel Hadden, “Newer Treatment Techniques for Homosexuality,” *Archives of Environmental Health* 13 (Sept. 1966): 284.

3. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 18, cases 5056 and 5303 (1910).

4. Register of Inmates, Western State Hospital, Washington State Archives, Olympia. Specific case references mentioned are: George Kincaid, 10305; Albert Kohlmorgan, 10938; Fred Schlig, 10397; Carl Sundling, 10902; and Annie Walton, 11421.

5. Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 109.

6. Sophie Rosenstein, Larrae Haydon, and Wilbur Sparrow, *Modern Acting: A Manual* (New York: Samuel French, 1936), 3.

7. Virginia Boren, “Enthusiastic Audience Witnesses ‘Alien Corn,’” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 13, 1934, 9.

8. For information about The Group Theater, see Howard Taubman, *The Making of American Theater* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1967), chapter 21.

9. Frances Farmer, “Why I Am Going to Russia,” *Seattle Times*, March 29, 1935, 2.

10. “Frances Farmer, U.W. Girl, Gets Ingenue Lead in Movies,” *Seattle Times*, Jan. 10, 1936, 15.

11. Walter Freeman’s views on lobotomy are explained in a book he coauthored with James Watt, *Psychosurgery in the Treatment of Mental Disorders and Intractable Pain* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1950), as well as in several articles, among them: “Transorbital Lobotomy,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 105 (Apr. 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, no. 10–11 (Apr. 1972): 1315; and “Sexual Behavior and Fertility after Frontal Lobotomy,” *Journal of Biological Psychiatry* 6, no. 1 (Feb. 1973): 100. Additional information on Freeman comes from Mary Ellen Ford, “A History of Lobotomy in the United States,” *The Pharos* (summer 1987): 7–16; Laurence Weinberger, “Lobotomy: A Personal Memoir,” *The Pharos* (spring 1988): 17–18; and Don Jackson, “A Clockwork Orange: It’s Not Fiction,” *Advocate*, May 10, 1972, 12.

12. Lucille Cohen, “New Brain Surgery Used on 9 Patients,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 8, 1949, 3. See also “Surgery Aid in Insanity Told,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 15, 1948, 8.

13. From the preface to the second edition of Freeman and Watt, *Psychosurgery in the Treatment of Mental Disorders and Intractable Pain* (1950), x, xv.

14. For general information about conditions at Western State Hospital, a variety of periodicals and annual reports were used, including the Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and Thirteenth Biennial Reports of Western State Hospital (covering a period from 1932 to 1946), and a Report to the Legislature on “Mental Institutions in the State of Washington,” Jan. 1948. Newspaper articles about Western State included an early *Tacoma Times* series published on front pages March 18–20, 1920, with headlines such as “Brutality is Described by Eyewitness,” “A Naked Idol of Barbarity,” and “Inmates Victims of Gross Neglect.” Other sources included a *Seattle Times* series examining conditions at Western State Hospital, published Feb. 27–March 1, 1947; another *Times* series on treatments at Washington mental hospitals, Apr. 26–30, 1953; and a three-part *Times* series on shock treatment development at Northern State Hospital, Nov. 13–15, 1955. Other references can be found in the *Seattle Weekly*, Nov. 15, 1978, 10; *Seattle Times*, Nov. 3, 1979, A1, Aug. 24, 1980, A28, Feb. 15, 1982, C2, and Jan. 9, 1989, A1. See also a *Post-Intelligencer* special report on “What’s Wrong with Washington’s Mental Health System,” including an article on hydrotherapy and electroshock, published Aug. 29, 1985, section C.

15. See Freeman and Watt, *Psychosurgery in the Treatment of Mental Disorders and Intractable Pain* (1950), 132, 346; and Freeman, “Sexual Behavior and Fertility after Frontal Lobotomy,” 97–104.

16. Case 465 is discussed in Freeman and Watt, *Psychosurgery in the Treatment of Mental Disorders and Intractable Pain*, (1950), 142; and Freeman, “Sexual Behavior and Fertility after Frontal Lobotomy,” 100.

17. Western State Hospital Records, Oct. 1946–June 1954, Washington State Archives, Olympia. Although the ledgers are dated from Oct. 1946, they also contain a typewritten note stapled to an entry page that states that between July 3, 1942, and June 12, 1953, 252 lobotomies were performed at the hospital.

18. Charles Jones and James Shanklin, “Transorbital Lobotomy,” *Northwest Medicine* 47, no. 6 (June 1948): 421–27. In the same volume are reports on Vancouver General Hospital’s use of prefrontal leucotomy in Canada.

19. Personal communication from David Farmer, June 2001.

20. A taped excerpt from the program, “Mysteries and Scandals,” broadcast in fall 1998, could be found in 2001 at http://www.geocities.com/~themistyone/related_audio.htm

21. “Memories of a Street Dyke,” the oral history interview with Jackie Cachero, was published in *Out and About* in Apr. 1979, 13; May 1979, 13; June 1979, 13; Aug. 1979, 15; Sept. 1979, 13; and Oct. 1979, 11. The interviewers were Karen Strawhat, Janet Lewis, Jane Meyerding, and Betty Johanna.

3 / NEW SALOONS AND VAUDEVILLE

1. Clark, *The Dry Years*, 54.
2. *Polk’s Seattle City Directory*, 1928–1940.
3. Don Paulson and Roger Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 22–28.

4. Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest*, chapter 16 generally, and Richard Berner, *Seattle Transformed, World War II to Cold War* (Seattle: Charles Press, 1999), 68–79.
5. All material from Rose Bohanan comes from an interview by Ruth Pettis and Lisa Cohen, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, May 1998.
6. Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972), 100–4.
7. See the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, “Stuart—The Male Patti,” Feb. 27, 1898, 14–15; and “With the Players,” March 6, 1898, 14–15; in the *Seattle Times*, “Amusements,” Feb. 26, 1898, 5, and March 2, 1898, 5.
8. King County Superior Court Criminal Appearances Docket, book 18, cases 5056 and 5303 (1910) and book 19, case 5329 (1910).
9. Advertisements for the People’s Theater listing acts can be found weekly in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, beginning Feb. 1, 1898. The ad for *Damon and Pythias* appeared Feb. 21, 1898.
10. “Vaudeville: A Sketch” and “Vaudeville in the Northwest,” *Washington Magazine*, Sept. 1906, 1.
11. Albert McLean Jr., *American Vaudeville As Ritual* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), especially chapters 1 and 2. See also, generally, Charles and Louise Samuels, *Once upon a Stage: The Merry World of Vaudeville* (New York: Dodd and Mead, 1974).
12. The summary of information about the Garden of Allah comes from an unpublished interview with Skippy LaRue by Emilie Hafner, the Seattle University Community and Communication Project, May 1995, as well as from Paulson and Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*.
13. Interview with Rose Bohanan, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, May 1998.
14. Interview with Elaine Burnell, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, March 1995.
15. Shirley Maser, in Paulson and Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 60–64.
16. Pat Freeman, in Paulson and Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 64–68.

4 / STIRRINGS OF RESISTANCE

1. All material in this book attributed to MacIver Wells and John Chadwick comes from a personal interview conducted by the author in June 1992. A subsequent interview with Wells by Ruth Pettis of the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project occurred in Dec. 1997.
2. In 1955 another young Canadian national, twenty-one-year-old Clive Michael Boutilier, entered the United States. Four years later, he was arrested for sodomy, but the charge was dismissed. In 1963 he applied for U.S. citizenship and admitted the previous charge to the naturalization examiner. When the government demanded to know his full sexual history, Boutilier conceded that he had had regular homosexual experiences, as well as a few heterosexual ones. He was then excluded when a Public Health Service examiner deemed him “afflicted with” a “psychopathic personality.” On Boutilier’s appeal, the

Supreme Court ruled in 1967 that “the legislative history of the [1952 Immigration and Naturalization] Act indicates beyond a shadow of a doubt that Congress intended the phrase ‘psychopathic personality’ to include homosexuals.” *Boutilier v. Immigration and Naturalization Service*, U.S. Supreme Court, 387 U.S. 118 (1967).

3. Extensive newspaper material on the Seattle police payoff system is available from *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and *Seattle Times* coverage after 1967. For an overview, see William Chambliss, *On the Take* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978). However, neither the newspapers nor Chambliss extensively report the involvement of gay business owners in challenging the system.

4. The specifics on payoffs by gay bar owners come from affidavits filed in the federal case of *U.S. v. M. E. Cook*, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, no. 51944 (1970).

5. This affidavit was filed as part of the case of *Keith M. Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay*, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, civil no. 8447 (1969), and *Keith M. Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay et al.*, civil no. 8448 (1969).

6. *Madison Tavern Inc. and James G. Watson dba Blue Note v. H. J. Lawrence and City of Seattle*, King County Superior Court, no. 527-660 (Oct. 9, 1958).

5 / IS DANCE THE ENEMY?

1. Interview with Margaret King, Alice B. Theatre Oral History Project, 1992, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

2. All material attributed to Joe McGonagle is from a personal interview by the author, May 1992.

3. For background on dance as a communication process that builds a sense of ritual, particularly for minority groups that do not have access to other forms of mass media communication, see, for example, Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938) and Judith Lynne Hanna, *To Dance Is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979).

4. Quotations about dance at the Casino come from affidavits filed in support of Keith Rhinehart. His case is discussed more extensively and cited in the next chapter.

5. Interview with Stephen Blair, Alice B. Theatre Oral History Project, 1992, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

6. Interview with Tamara Turner, Alice B. Theatre Oral History Project, 1992, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

7. “Memories of a Street Dyke,” *Out and About*, Apr.–Oct. 1979.

6 / CROSSING OVER

1. Author’s personal interviews with Joe McGonagle, May 1992, and MacIver Wells and John Chadwick, June 1992.

2. From prosecution memos filed in *U.S. v. M. E. Cook*, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, no. 51944 (1970).

3. Records of the prosecution against Keith Rhinehart come from the U.S. National Archives for the Pacific Northwest Region, King County Superior Court, and the U.S. District Court for Western Washington. See *Keith M. Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay*, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, civil no. 8447 (1969); *Keith M. Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay et al.*, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, civil no. 8448 (1969). Arrest reports, parole reports, and affidavits from Rhinehart's accuser, James Gary Miller, are available as exhibits in the file of case 8447. Details are also available from Rhinehart's appeal to the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, *Rhinehart v. Rhay*, 440 F. 2d 718 (1971). See also Ed Jackson, "Seattle Group Tries to Free 'Innocent' Man, Overturn Sex Laws," *Advocate*, Nov. 1969, 5. Information about the mid-1960s membership and locations of the Aquarian Foundation, as well as its position on the privacy of sexual relations, is included in a statement filed by Rhinehart's attorney in the U.S. District Court, civil no. 8447. The state supreme court decision in the case can be found at *State of Washington v. Rhinehart*, 70 Wn. 2d 649. For the marriage of two gay men at the Aquarian Church, see "Seattle Psychic Church's Founder Marries Two Men," *Advocate*, June 6, 1973, 9. Rhinehart's Aquarian Foundation is located at 315 15th Avenue East on Capitol Hill.

4. In a later civil suit, the officer, William Allmon, would explain that a statement attributed to him that Miller was "known to hustle homosexuals" should have read that Miller was "known to allow himself to be hustled" by homosexuals. *Keith M. Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay*, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, civil no. 8447 (1969).

5. John Wilson, "Seattle Homosexual Problem Reported to Be 'Out of Hand,'" *Seattle Times*, Sept. 21, 1966, 48.

6. A partial list was published in an article by Patrick Douglas, "Sin, Seattle Style," *Seattle*, Aug. 1967, 27–32. A more complete listing can be found in Deputy Police Chief C. A. Rouse, intra-department communication to F. C. Ramon, Chief of Police, Sept. 22, 1966, Seattle Mayors' Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries. The businesses listed as either off-limits or under investigation because of "homosexual patronage" were the Atlas Steam Baths, Busy Bee Cocktail Lounge, Café Club, Double Header, Gallery (MacIver Wells's 614), Golden Goose Submarine Room, Golden Horseshoe Tavern, Madison Tavern, Mocambo Cocktail Lounge, Pike Street Tavern, 611 Tavern, South End Steam Baths, Spag's Tavern, and the Stage Door Tavern. The Casino Club was listed as under investigation for homosexual activity, but for unstated reasons the Armed Forces board recommended that it be dropped from observation.

7. John and Marshall Wilson, "Homosexual Club: Police Made Mistake, Says License Head," *Seattle Times*, Sept. 22, 1966, 9.

8. F. C. Ramon, intra-department communication to Mayor J. D. Braman, Sept. 27, 1966, Seattle Mayors' Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

9. J. D. Braman, letter to Police Chief Frank Ramon, Sept. 28, 1966, Seattle Mayors' Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

10. Deputy Police Chief C. A. Rouse, intra-department communication to F. C. Ramon, Chief of Police, Sept. 22, 1966, Seattle Mayors' Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

11. Douglas Willix, “Standards Studied for Deviate Cabarets,” *Seattle Times*, Nov. 29, 1966, 48.

12. Mineo Katagiri, letter to Mayor J. D. Braman, Dec. 1, 1966, Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries. A “Memorandum of Authorities” arguing the case for the gay bars was submitted to the council by the attorney Richard Kane and can be found in the Charles Harbaugh Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

13. E. L. McAllascser, memo on the Gallery, Dec. 5, 1966, originally an exhibit in the case of *State v. Carroll et al.*, King County Superior Court, no. 57842 (1971).

14. Author’s personal interview with MacIver Wells, June 1992.

15. See, in particular, the following *Seattle Times* articles, all written by John Wilson and Marshall Wilson: “Ramon Probes Report Some On-Duty Policemen Play Poker in Tavern,” Jan. 13, 1967, 1; “Surveillance Like a Keystone Cop Comedy,” Jan. 13, 1967, 9; “Tavern Operators Describe Payoffs,” Jan. 16, 1967, 4; and the article in which MacIver Wells is quoted anonymously, “\$30-a-month payoff grew to \$370, Says Club Operator,” Jan. 17, 1967, 19.

16. *State v. Rhinehart*, Washington State Supreme Court, 70 Wn. 2d 649 (1967).

17. See pp. 390–96 in particular, Reporter’s Transcript of Proceedings before Judge William Gray, *Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay*, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, civil no. 8447 (1969).

7 / ROBERT’S RULES AND GAY LIBERATION

1. John Eccles Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

2. Dorian Society members Nicholas Heer, Martin Gouterman, Sheldon Daniels, Andrew Johnson, Michael Ramey, and Doug Wyman were interviewed by the author and by David Doss, of the Seattle University Community and Communication Project, Nov. 1994. For Dorian Society minutes and other documents, see the Tim Mayhew Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, and David Doss, “Becoming Visible: The Dorian Society of Seattle and the Emergence of Seattle’s Gay Community” (undergraduate research paper, Seattle University, 1994). See also “Seattle Welcomes West-Con with Open Arms—Really,” *Advocate*, Jan. 1968, 3.

3. Gouterman interview, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, Nov. 1994.

4. Wyman interview, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, Nov. 1994.

5. See *University of Washington Daily* stories by Bob Hinz: “Homosexuality More Prevalent,” Apr. 25, 1967, 4; “Homosexuality a Sickness, Not a Sin, Say Ministers,” Apr. 26, 1967, 8; “Lawyers Desire Tolerance of Homosexual Acts,” Apr. 27, 1967, 6; “My Personality Seems Permeated by Homosexuality,” Apr. 28, 1967, 8; and “Most Don’t Really Want to Change,” May 2, 1967, 3.

6. Bill Sieverling, “It’s a Gay, Gay World,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, *Northwest Today*, Apr. 30, 1967, 14.

7. Patrick Douglas, “Sin, Seattle Style,” *Seattle*, Aug. 1967, 27.

8. Ruth Wolf, "The Homosexual in Seattle," *Seattle*, Nov. 1967, 35.
9. Peter Bunzel, "A Post-Mortem while the Body is Still Warm," *Seattle*, Dec. 1970, 22.
10. Heer interview, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, Nov. 1994.
11. A copy of Ken Hoole's letter is contained in the Tim Mayhew Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.
12. *Gaylord v. Tacoma School District*, Washington State Supreme Court, 88 Wn. 2d 286 (1977). For a discussion of the case, see, for example, Kent Hansen, "Gaylord v. Tacoma School District No. 10: Homosexuality Held Immoral for Purposes of Teacher Discharge," *Willamette Law Journal* 14 (1977): 101.
13. A copy of questions from the Portland State University students is contained in the Tim Mayhew Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.
14. Heer, Gouterman, Wyman, and Daniels interviews, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, Nov. 1994.
15. For accounts of Dr. Robert Deisher's views and activities, see "Troubled Teens—Growing Problem," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Oct. 14, 1979, C5; Robert Deisher, "The Young Male Prostitute," *Pediatrics* 43 (June 1969): 936; and Deisher, "Young Male Prostitutes: The Physician's Role in Social Rehabilitation," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 212 (June 1970): 1661. Other material comes from an interview with Deisher by Ruth Pettis and Jeannie Galloway of the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Aug. 1999.
16. Interview with Paul Barwick by Ruth Pettis, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Jan. 2000.
17. Interview with Faygele benMiriam/John Singer by Jill Bateman, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, June 1995. Additional material about Singer is drawn from an interview by Ruth Pettis, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Jan. 2000, as well as from multiple conversations with Singer conducted by the author between 1995 and 2000.
18. "Two Men Refused License to Marry," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 21, 1971, A14; "Gay Groups Back License Seekers," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 26, 1971, E4; and "Non-believers Seek License to Wed," *Advocate*, Nov. 10, 1971, 12.
19. For news accounts, see, for example, Sasha Yasinin, "Gay Marriage Test Due in Washington State Courts," *Advocate*, Jan. 16, 1974, 14, and "Wedding Licenses are Not for Gays," *Advocate*, July 3, 1974, 10.
20. "Gays Arrested at Roller Rink," *Northwest Fountain*, May 1972, 3; "Hand-holding Gets Pair Busted at Roller Rink," *Advocate*, May 10, 1972, 10.

8 / CHAUTAUQUAS OF FEMINISM AND LESBIANISM

1. Interview with Bryher Herak by Marianne Onsrud of the Seattle University Community and Communication Project, Dec. 1994. Interview with Jane Meyerding by Ruth Pettis of the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Feb. 1997.

2. 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); Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman* (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1972).

3. Susan Paynter, “After 20 Years, Cause Comes of Age,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Apr. 6, 1973, A12.

4. For details on the planning of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, see, for example, Nard Jones, *Seattle* (New York: Doubleday, 1972). Background on women’s roles at the exposition, and on the YWCA, can be found in Mildred T. Andrews, *Washington Women as Pathbreakers* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hall, 1989).

5. Paul Anderson, “University Y.W.: It Sure Isn’t Like It Used to Be,” *Seattle Times*, March 29, 1972, C1. Other information about the YWCA’s transformation can be found in “U District Y.W. ‘Alive and Kicking,’” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 6, 1971, 4; Susan Paynter, “YWCA Gets Involved ‘Because We Must,’” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 11, 1971, 15; Joanne Hooker, “Banishment of an Institution,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 23, 1980, D3; “U.W. Branch of Y.W. Praised by Magazine,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 26, 1975, D2; and Jane Cartwright, “Rent Increase Threatens Women’s Groups,” *Seattle Times*, Nov. 11, 1980, C2.

6. Rachel daSilva, “First Gay Women’s Meeting,” *Pandora*, Dec. 1, 1970, 2.

7. “Gay Women’s Alliance,” *Pandora*, Dec. 14, 1970, 2.

8. Susan Paynter, “Lesbianism: A New Center Will Help Gay Women,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Oct. 3, 1971, C1.

9. Anderson, “University Y.W.: It Sure Isn’t Like It Used to Be,” *Seattle Times*, March 29, 1972, C1; Kathleen Fury, “Can the YWCA Really Swing?” *Redbook*, March 1975, 59.

10. Diane Winslow, “We Dare to Be Honest,” *Pandora*, Nov. 1976, 6.

11. Betty Johanna, “Open Letter to Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights,” *Out and About*, May 1978, 10. See also Johanna’s letter to the editor in *Seattle Gay News*, Apr. 14, 1978, 9.

12. Gwen (no last name given), “C. C. Grains: Sharing the Changes,” *Out and About*, Apr. 1978, 12.

13. Interview with Lois Thetford by Jody Doherty and David Huddleston, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 1995. See also Regina Hackett, “Lois Thetford: Commitment to Community Health,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Apr. 9, 2001, A7.

14. Interview with Jan Denali by Karina Luboff, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, March 1998.

15. For specific references to the relationship between Seattle’s lesbians and the National Organization for Women, see, for example, Barbara Love, “NOW It Is,” *Advocate*, March 28, 1973, 3; and several noteworthy articles in *Pandora* such as Meredith Stannard, “Lesbians Protest at Friedan Speech,” May 29, 1973, 4; “The Politics of Lesbian Separation: An Open Letter to Radical Women,” May 29, 1973, 6; and Colleen Patrick, “Friedan Unresponsive to Movement,” June 25, 1973, 4.

16. Background on the socialist relationship to homosexuals, as well as a radical analy-

sis of gay history from the time of the Greeks, can be found in an eight-part series by Sam Deaderick, Robert Crisman, and Tamara Turner, originally published in the *Freedom Socialist* newspaper in fall 1978 to fall 1980. See especially “The SWP and Gays: The Boys on the Bandwagon.” The series was reprinted as Deaderick and Turner, *Gay Resistance: The Hidden History* (Seattle: Red Letter Press, 1997). See also Laurie Morton, “The Feminist Movement and the Gay Movement: How Are They Related?” speech to the Bicentennial Conference on Gays and the Federal Government, Washington, D.C., Oct. 12, 1975, issued as a booklet by Radical Women, 1975. For an overview of the first ten years of the history of Radical Women, see Sarah McCoy, “Ten Years of Strife: The Politics of Principle,” *Seattle Sun*, Feb. 1, 1978, 1.

17. For writings by Alice, Gordon, Debbie, and Mary, see *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology*, ed. Sarah Lucia Hoagland and Julia Penelope (London: Onlywomen, 1988), 31–44, 304–9, 379–94.

18. For writings by the Gorgons, see Hoagland and Penelope, *For Lesbians Only*, 394–98. For the Gorgons’ raid on Red and Black Books and It’s About Time, see “The Switch,” *Out and About*, Feb. 1978, 5; and “Open Letter to the Gorgons,” *Out and About*, March 1978, 16.

19. “Does the Slipper Still Fit?” “Lesbian Flash” edition, *Pandora*, Dec. 11, 1973, 7. A similar sentiment about gay men was expressed in a later letter to the *Seattle Gay News*, in which a woman complained that on the Slipper’s ninth anniversary, “I could not help feeling angry and resentful at the presence of men—males were on the dance floor, they were seated around several tables, and campaign posters for the court [of Seattle] were plastered on the walls.” She continued: “I don’t expect anyone (male or female) who has never experienced a women’s space to truly understand my point, but the difference in women when we are in an all-female environment is striking. It is one place where we are truly free. So men, stay away, don’t invade our space.” Ren Miller, the Slipper’s owner, argued against such an approach and noted that some women viewed the men’s presence as “a means to get to know one’s gay brothers.” See *Seattle Gay News*, Feb. 17, 1978, 12, and March 3, 1978, 5.

20. Meyerding interview, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Feb. 1997.

21. Cindy Gipple’s criticism was printed in *Pandora*, Nov. 30, 1971, 6. See also Susan Paynter, “Message from a Sexual Minority,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Apr. 1, 1971, D6.

22. See the following in *Pandora*: “Political Hassles Hurt F.C.C.,” Apr. 17, 1973, 4; “Vandalism of Freeway Hall Denounced,” May 1, 1973, 6; “Letters to Pandora: Feminist Coordinating Council,” May 15, 1973, 6; “Letters,” May 29, 1973, 6.

23. Meredith Stannard, “Lesbians Protest at Friedan Speech,” *Pandora*, May 29, 1973, 4.

24. Carol Strong, “Lesbian Mothers: Victims,” *Pandora*, May 16, 1972, 7.

25. Sources for the custody case involving Sandra Schuster and Madeleine Isaacson, as well as other lesbian mothers, are: “Gay Mothers’ Group Formed,” *Pandora*, Feb. 8, 1972, 2; Susan Paynter, “Lesbian Mothers: Their Lives and Fears,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 11, 1972, D1; “A Small Victory for Lesbian Mothers,” *Pandora*, Oct. 17, 1972, 5; “Gay Mothers

Win Children But Lose Each Other,” *Advocate*, Jan. 17, 1973, 10; Susan Paynter, “The Lord and Lesbians, Strange Mix for Half-Victory in Court,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1973, D1; Susan Paynter, “Loving the Lord, the Kids, Each Other,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Feb. 19, 1973, A15; “Lesbian Couple to Keep Custody of Six Children,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 4, 1974, A11; Kirie Pedersen, “Lesbian Mothers Win Right to Live Together,” *Pandora*, Oct. 1, 1974, 9; “National Defense Fund Planned,” *Pandora*, Oct. 1, 1974, 9; Randy Shilts, “Sandy and Madeleine,” *Advocate*, Oct. 22, 1975, 26; Katie Robinson, “Lesbian Mothers in Child Custody Dispute,” *Pandora*, Jan. 1, 1976, 5; “Two Lesbians Win Child Custody Fight,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Oct. 5, 1978, 1; “Two Lesbian Mothers Win in Court,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 5, 1978, A18; Roger Winters, “Sandy and Madeleine: ‘We Won It All,’” *Seattle Gay News*, Oct. 13, 1978, 1; Susan Paynter and Bruce Sherman, “KIRO Cancels Show on Lesbian Mothers,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 29, 1978, A1. See also the court records for *James Earl Schuster v. Sandra Lee Schuster* and *Jerry Floyd Isaacson v. Madeleine Cecil Isaacson*, King County Superior Court, D-36867 (1974), and Washington State Supreme Court, 90 Wash. 2d 626, 585 P. 2d 130.

26. Thetford interview, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 1995.

27. “Planned Parenthood,” *Advocate*, Oct. 22, 1975, 30.

28. Herak interview, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, Dec. 1994.

9 / PULPITS FOR HEALING

1. “Renton Hill Has Had Large Growth,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 26, 1905, 14.

2. Information on the Seattle Counseling Service comes from an interview with Andrew Johnson by the author and David Doss of the Seattle University Community and Communication Project in Nov. 1994; interviews with Robert Deisher and Rae Larson by Ruth Pettis and Jeannie Galloway of the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project in Aug. 1999; Charna Klein, *Counseling Our Own: The Lesbian/Gay Subculture Meets the Mental Health System* (Seattle: Publication Services, 1986); and the Tim Mayhew Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

3. For background on the activists’ philosophy and the conflict over funding, see Klein, *Counseling Our Own*, chapter 6, as well as Patrick Haggerty, “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, chapter 8 particularly.

4. Larson interview, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Aug. 1999.

5. This quote and those that follow are from Earl Hansen, “Not Much Rejoicing in Plans for a Gay Church,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 13, 1972, A8. For periodical coverage of the Reverend Robert Sirico, see “Pastor to Perform Homosexual Marriages,” *Seattle Times*, May 11, 1972, A7; Ray Ruppert, “Seattle Churches Grapple with Role of Homosexuals,” *Seattle Times*, June 17, 1972, A11; “Young Revivalist Minister Starting MCC in Seattle,” *Advocate*, June 21, 1972, 33; “Rebuttal Offered on Homosexuality,” *Seattle Times*, June 24, 1972, A10; “MCC/Seattle Squares Off with Newspaper Over Ad,” *Advocate*, July 5, 1972, 12; Charles

Brown, “Church for Homosexuals to Get Charter,” *Seattle Times*, Aug. 5, 1972, B5; Earl Hansen, “Gay Church: Bodyguards to Keep It Gay,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Aug. 5, 1972, A8; “Evangelist’s Seattle MCC Already ‘In,’” *Advocate*, Aug. 30, 1972, 2.

6. For background on the Carmelite monastery, see, for example, “New Carmelite Monastery Planned Here,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 20, 1958, 2; Lane Smith, “Monastery a Powerhouse of Prayer,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 6, 1958, 4; Jerolyn Ann Nentl, “Monastery Marks 75th Anniversary,” *The Northwest Progress*, Dec. 8, 1983, 12.

7. For background on William DuBay, see Earl Hansen, “Former Priest Critical of Church Roles,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Aug. 2, 1970, 34; William H. DuBay, “The Fragile Marriage of an Ex-Priest,” *McCall’s*, Sept. 1970, 70; Ray Ruppert, “Transition: Celibate Priest to Husband,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 12, 1970, A10; William H. DuBay, “Gays Should Avoid Condemning All Religion,” *Advocate*, Dec. 22, 1971, 27; William H. DuBay, “Gay ‘Seekers’ are Free to Find Own Answers to Life,” *Advocate*, Jan. 3, 1973, 37; William H. DuBay, “Gay Sex Slandered!” *Advocate*, March 27, 1974, 37; Emmett Watson, “A Native Son: When You Talk Seattle, You Have to Talk Al Rochester,” *Seattle Times*, Nov. 27, 1983, C1.

8. For information about the founding and philosophy of the Stonewall community, see Marjorie Jones, “A ‘Realistic’ Center for Homosexuals,” *Seattle Times*, Jan. 5, 1972, B2; William H. DuBay, “Seattle’s Experience: Steps to a Halfway House,” *Advocate*, March 15, 1972, 29; “Prison Officials Accused of Bias Against ‘Gay’ Inmates,” *Seattle Times*, May 20, 1972, A12; “Stonewall Prison Program Wins Approval from State,” *Advocate*, Aug. 30, 1972, 16; “Stonewall OK’d by State,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 12, 1972, A9; “Stonewall Center May Get \$10,500,” *Advocate*, Dec. 6, 1972, 2; “Minneapolis Branch for Stonewall,” *Advocate*, Feb. 14, 1973, 14; “Halfway House,” *Northwest Fountain*, Aug. 1973, 3; Sasha Yasinin, “Rustic Retreat Acquired by Gay Halfway House,” *Advocate*, Aug. 29, 1973, 2; Diana Montgomery, “Stonewall: Gay Is Good and Caring Is Everything,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Dec. 9, 1973, C1; Sasha Lewis, “Center in Seattle Gets \$120,000,” *Advocate*, Nov. 6, 1974, 3; Randy Shilts, “Way Out: Stonewall Therapy,” *Advocate*, June 30, 1976, 23. For a statement of Stonewall’s philosophy, see, “The Gays: Who Are We? Where Do We Come From? What Are We For?” *Stonewall Report*, Sept. 1975. See also the Charles Harbaugh Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries. Harbaugh worked briefly for Stonewall.

9. Paul Henderson, “Seattle’s Homosexuals Ask: ‘Understand, Don’t Generalize,’” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 9, 1969, 60.

10. Klein, *Counseling Our Own*, 1986.

11. Interviews with Paul Barwick and Faygele benMiriam by Ruth Pettis of the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Jan. 2000. Volunteers from both the old Dorian Society and the Gay Women’s Alliance helped staff the first community center, and it even managed to secure a cabaret license from the city—despite the reluctance of some Seattle City Council members. See “Seattle Gay Community Tries Unity,” *Advocate*, Sept. 15, 1971, 2; “Gay Alliance Dance Hall Recommended,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 19, 1971, D1; “Seattle Center Shut; New Location Sought,” *Advocate*, Nov. 8, 1972, 19; Katherine Grant-Bourne, “Gay and Lesbian Pride—A History,” *Seattle Gay News*, June 27, 1986, 25. Once the first center closed, several activists formed a new organization called Gay

Community Social Services, which then began funding new cultural projects, such as a rural gay collective on the Olympic Peninsula and, when arsonists burned that down, a national rural gay magazine called *RFD*.

12. Grant-Bourne, “Gay and Lesbian Pride—A History,” 25.

13. See *Seattle Sun* stories by Bruce Olson: “Land Owners Grab for Hill Power,” Sept. 25, 1974, 1; “Activists Sweep Community Council Elections,” Oct. 2, 1974, 1.

14. Susan Chadwick, “Battle of the Notices,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 13, 1974, 3.

15. “Use Zoning to Enforce Morals, Says Chamber of Commerce President,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 27, 1974, 3.

16. “Scrapbook,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 27, 1974, 1.

17. “Sick No More,” *Advocate*, Jan. 16, 1974, 1. See also David Aiken, “Gays Leave Psychiatric ‘Sick’ List,” *Advocate*, Jan. 2, 1974, 1.

18. “Counselors for Gays Regain County Funds,” *Seattle Sun*, Oct. 26, 1977, 3.

19. Bruce Olson, “‘Dress, Demeanor’ of Gay Counseling Causes Fund Cut,” *Seattle Sun*, Oct. 30, 1974, 3; Joan Moritz, “Counseling Center May Lose Funding,” *Pandora*, Nov. 1974, 4.

20. Lou Corsaletti, “Fund Cut May Be Restored to Gay Counseling Service,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 11, 1976, A9.

21. Steve Mettner, “Snedigar Leaves SCSSM,” *Seattle Gay News*, Apr. 1977, 6; “Counselors for Gays Regain County Funds,” *Seattle Sun*, Oct. 26, 1977, 3.

22. Marjorie Jones, “Program for Homosexuals Finding No Welcome Mat in Small Towns,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 24, 1975, G5; “Stonewall R.F.D.,” *Stonewall Report*, Sept. 1975, 1; Randy Shilts, “Homophobia Backfired When Stonewall Went House-Hunting,” *Advocate*, Nov. 5, 1975, 17.

23. Robert Myerson, “Stonewall to Close,” *Seattle Sun*, Aug. 18, 1976, 5; “Stonewall Center to Close in Fall,” *Seattle Times*, July 29, 1976, D1; “Stonewall Decides to Close,” *Advocate*, Sept. 8, 1976, 11; Hilda Bryant, “New Tenant at Old Monastery,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Oct. 1, 1976, A11. See also Charles Harbaugh Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

24. Ray Ruppert, “Capitol Hill Pastor Caught in Conflict over Homosexuals,” *Seattle Times*, March 8, 1975, A10.

25. Earl Hansen, “A Showdown in an Old Sanctuary,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 5, 1976, A11. See also Ray Ruppert, “Methodists May Close Unorthodox Capitol Hill Church,” *Seattle Times*, May 24, 1976, A6; Ray Ruppert, “Century’s Fight: Laity v. Clergy in Capitol Hill Church,” *Seattle Times*, June 5, 1976, A4; Ray Ruppert, “Church, Congregation Compromise on Issues,” *Seattle Times*, June 11, 1976, B5; “Conference Marks Turning Point,” *Advocate*, July 28, 1976, 20.

26. “Arsonist Hits Gay Center,” *Seattle Gay News*, Apr. 1976, 11; “Arson Fire Damages Gay Community Center,” *Seattle Sun*, March 31, 1976, 5; “Gay Center Destroyed After Second Fire Set,” *Seattle Sun*, Apr. 14, 1976, 3; “Arson Fire,” *Seattle Sun*, Apr. 21, 1976, 2; “Hate Mail,” *Seattle Sun*, Apr. 28, 1976, 2; Robert Mayerson and Lenore Norrgard, “Gay Leaders Blame Courts and Jackson for Backlash,” *Seattle Sun*, May 12, 1976, 7.

1. On Pioneer Square's restoration, see, for example, Kristi Farley, *A Primer: Preservation in Seattle* (Seattle: City of Seattle, 1977). See also Victor Steinbrueck, *Architectural and Historical Survey of Pioneer Square* (Seattle: City of Seattle, 1969); Department of Community Development, "Pioneer Square Profile: An Update on Redevelopment," (Seattle: City of Seattle, 1979); James Halpin, "Square Dance," *Seattle Weekly*, June 17, 1992, 25.

2. For details on the Bastille Day celebration, see *Shelly Ann Bauman v. Morris Hart, Pioneer Square Association, et al.*, King County Superior Court, civil no. 726096 (1971), and the news reports on the accident: "Woman, 23, Hurt by Blast from Cannon," *Seattle Times*, July 15, 1970, A5; "Woman Badly Hurt," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 15, 1970, 4; Jim Sass, "Shelly's Leg," *Vector*, Aug. 1974, 33.

3. Author's interview with Joe McGonagle, May 1992.

4. Author's interview with Joe McGonagle, May 1992. See also the affidavit of Joe McGonagle, *State v. Carroll et al.*, King County Superior Court, criminal no. 57842 (1971).

5. Mike Mowrer, "Shelly's Leg: Dancing in a Sexual Twilight Zone," *University of Washington Daily*, July 25, 1974, 12.

6. Eric Lacitis, "Shelly's Leg Draws All Kinds to Dance," *Seattle Times*, Aug. 31, 1975, E4. See also Bruce Buls, "Disco Madness," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Northwest Magazine*, Apr. 25, 1976, 7.

7. Charles Brown, "Viaduct Fire Destroys 17 Cars," *Seattle Times*, Dec. 4, 1975, 1. See also Martin Works, "Viaduct Fire Sparks Action," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Dec. 5, 1975, A8. For a while, it seemed as if the Our Home Hotel would be torn down. Instead, it was eventually restored. See Dick Clever, "Crumbling 90-Year-Old Hotel May be Doomed," *Seattle Times*, March 15, 1985, A1; Maude Scott, "Tricky Rehab Begins at Our Home Hotel," *Seattle Daily Journal of Commerce*, Sept. 15, 1986, 1.

8. After the fire damaged Shelly's Leg, two other gay-oriented discos quickly replaced it in popularity. The Dancing Machine was located in Seattle's Fremont neighborhood several miles north of downtown, while the Boren Street Disco moved into an old heavily timbered building below Capitol Hill, in what is called the Regrade area. For the decline of Shelly's Leg, see "Where Have the Crowds Gone?" *Seattle Gay News*, March 1977, 11. Pat Nesser died in 1991. Joe McGonagle wrote a tribute: "We will all miss you, Patty Mae. The light came on when I met you. It shined bright over the years. You were a shining example of what we wanted life to be. You taught me to be the best person I could be. . . . We laughed, cried, bitched and complained and got so close with each other I felt I became of age. I'll miss you Patty, God how I'll miss you." *Seattle Gay News*, July 12, 1991, 4.

1. Murray Morgan, *Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle* (New York: Viking Press, 1960), 137–39.

2. David Suffia and Jerry Bergsman, “Ramon to Retire November 6,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 8, 1969, 1, 39; David Suffia, “Ramon Termed Good Cop,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 10, 1969, 6; “Police Chiefs Come and Police Chiefs Go,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 25, 1972, A3.

3. In the *Seattle Times*, see Dee Norton and Lou Corsaletti, “30-Year History of Police Payoffs Unfolding,” June 28, 1970, A8; “Police Are Competent Despite Difficulties, Says Acting Chief,” Aug. 28, 1970, A7; “Tielsch: New Chief Stresses Discipline, Education,” Sept. 3, 1970, B9.

4. In the *Seattle Times*, see David Suffia, “Tielsch Appointed Seattle Police Chief,” Sept. 3, 1970, A1; Don Tewkesbury, “Chief Tielsch: Outspoken-Hero to Most Policemen,” Aug. 15, 1971, 19.

5. In the *Seattle Times*, see Lou Corsaletti, “Tielsch Is Neat, Business-Like Man,” and David Suffia, “Race Issues, Gambling Get Main Attention,” Oct. 18, 1970, E7; also “Tolerance Ruled Out by Tielsch,” Sept. 24, 1970, C6.

6. In the *Seattle Times*, see Don Tewkesbury, “Chief Tielsch: Outspoken-Hero to Most Policemen,” Aug. 15, 1971, 19. See also John Wilson, “Tielsch Had a ‘Muddy’ Beginning as Chief,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 13, 1972, C6.

7. “Topless Decision May Lead to Bottomless, Says Tielsch,” *Seattle Times*, Apr. 6, 1972, D15. That same year, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *California v. LaRue*, 409 U.S. 109 (1972), that topless dancing was indeed entitled to some First Amendment protection.

8. *Western Amusement Company v. City of Seattle et al.*, U.S. District Court, Western Division of Washington, civil no. 655-72C2 (Oct. 1972). Statistics on arrests in the arcades come from a Defendant’s Brief in Opposition to a Petition for a Temporary Restraining Order, dated Oct. 20, 1972. See also George Arthur, “ACLU to Help Seattle Gays Counter Arrests,” *Advocate*, Jan. 17, 1973, 16.

9. Letter from Richard Andrus to Mayor Wes Uhlman, Sept. 26, 1972, Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

10. For protest letters written to Mayor Uhlman about the police crackdown, see the Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, particularly box 61, which contains letters from Dr. Benjamin Spock, Sept. 19, 1972; the Reverend Peter Raible, Oct. 2 1972; the U.W. Gay Students Association, Oct. 4, 1972; and Karen West, Nov. 10, 1972. See also John Bell, “Homosexuals Charge Harassment,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 6, 1972, E18; George Arthur, “ACLU to Help Seattle Gays Counter Arrests,” *Advocate*, Jan. 17, 1973, 16.

11. “Pickets Charge Police Harassment,” *Seattle Times*, Apr. 24, 1973, E5; letter from Robert Sirico to Mayor Wes Uhlman, May 25, 1973, Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries; “Police Beating of Gay Woman Triggers Protests in Seattle,” *Advocate*, June 6, 1973, 10.

12. “Police Beating of Gay Woman Triggers Protests in Seattle,” *Advocate*, June 6, 1973, 10. See also, “‘Gay’ Pickets Pay a Call on Chief Tielsch,” *Seattle Times*, May 6, 1973, D11.

13. Letter from William DuBay to Mayor Wes Uhlman, May 21, 1973, Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

14. Tim Mayhew Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

15. “Police Up Arrests,” *The Fountain*, Aug. 1973, 1; “Seattle Public Defender–ACLU–SGA Fight Entrapment,” *The Fountain*, Sept. 1973, 2; Sasha Yasinin, “Male Prostitution Charges Soar in Seattle,” *Advocate*, Sept. 12, 1973, 8.

16. “Gay Liberation Leader Calls Arrest Police Harassment,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 19, 1973, B5; “MCC Pastor Is Arrested in Seattle,” *Advocate*, Nov. 7, 1973, 3; “Sirico Let Off with Warning on Jaywalking Charge,” *Advocate*, Nov. 21, 1973, 16.

17. Sam Elwonger, “The Vice Squad—Never Say Yes,” *The Gay Pub*, Feb. 1974, 3.

18. For background on Jeanette Williams and the revision of Seattle’s civil rights ordinances, see a video interview with the councilwoman by Donald A. Schmechel, Seattle Public Library oral history collection. For the creation of the Women’s Commission, and feminist controversy surrounding it, see “Council Unit Approves Commission,” *Seattle Times*, Apr. 7, 1971, D1, and the following articles in *Pandora*: “Seattle Women’s Division,” Jan. 11, 1971, 1; “City Commission Lacks Knowledge, Commitment,” Oct. 19, 1971, 5; “Lackluster Commission Needs Push,” Dec. 14, 1971, 3; “Aliesan Quits City Commission,” May 2, 1972, 4; “Commission Leaves Questions Unanswered,” June 13, 1972, 2.

19. Ann Montague, “Gay Action Caused Seattle Law,” *Advocate*, Nov. 7, 1973, 36. For additional background on the adoption of the ordinances, from a gay perspective, see William DuBay, “Seattle Mayor Admits Prejudice,” *Advocate*, July 4, 1973, 19; Tim Mayhew, “Seattle Protects Gay Jobs,” *Fountain*, Oct. 1973, 1; “New Seattle Law Protects Gay Jobs,” *Advocate*, Oct. 10, 1973, 1; Sasha Yasinin, “Seattle Rights Law: Seldom Has So Little Produced So Much,” *Advocate*, Oct. 24, 1973, 2; “Seattle Rights Law Belatedly Becomes Political Issue,” *Advocate*, Nov. 7, 1973, 21.

20. “Ruling on Ordinance,” *Advocate*, Nov. 5, 1975, 15.

21. George Foster, “A ‘Policeman’s Policeman’ Stars,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 21, 1974, A15.

22. Dick Clever, “Why Uhlman Stepped into Police Breach,” *Seattle Times*, March 21, 1974, A15. See also Ross Anderson, “Incident 4-1/2 Months Ago Led to Resignation by Tielsch,” *Seattle Times*, March 16, 1974, A3.

23. On Tielsch’s final days in office, see “Tielsch to Resign, Take California Job,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 27, 1974, A1; “New Chief from Ranks—Larkin,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 27, 1974, A15; Sam Sperry, “Mayor Considers Civilian Chief,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 28, 1974, A1; Dave Birkland and Sam Sperry, “Hanson Is Acting Chief As Tielsch Walks Out,” *Seattle Times*, March 16, 1974, A1; “Anti-Gay Police Chief Hired in Santa Monica,” *Advocate*, Apr. 10, 1974, 3; “Mayor Shackles Million-Dollar Vice Squad,” *Advocate*, Apr. 24, 1974, 3.

12 / INSIDERS AT CITY HALL

1. Quoted material from Charlie Brydon in this chapter comes from interviews conducted by Larry Knopp and Mikala Woodward, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 2000; and from Eric Marcus, *Making History: The Struggle for Gay and Lesbian Equal Rights, 1945–1990* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

2. Charlie Brydon, letter to KTVU-TV, Oakland, Aug. 4, 1970, and letter to KQED-

TV, San Francisco, Feb. 5, 1971, Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.

3. For accounts of the start of the Dorian Group, see Randy Shilts, “Future of Gay Rights? The Emerging Middle Class,” *Advocate*, Oct. 22, 1975, 10; Bob Kus, “History of TDG,” *Seattle Gay News*, Oct. 1977, 22; interviews with Glen Hunt, Alice B. Theatre Oral History Project, Nov. 1991, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries; and interviews with Charlie Brydon, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 2000.

4. Charlie Brydon, letter to David Goodstein, Sept. 15, 1977, Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.

5. Sale, *Seattle: Past to Present*, 85, 147.

6. Randy Shilts, “Seattle Adds More Rights,” *Advocate*, Sept. 10, 1975, 6.

7. “Questioning Dr. Ray,” *Advocate*, Oct. 22, 1975, 11.

8. “A Team Player He Is Not,” *Seattle Gay News*, June 1977, 7. The editorial was also quoted in Roger Downey, “Ready When You Are, Anita,” *Seattle Weekly*, June 29, 1977, 8. Virginia Lambert’s reply was printed in the letters to the editor, *Seattle Gay News*, July/Aug. 1977, 7.

9. Randy Shilts, “Future of Gay Rights? The Emerging Middle Class,” *Advocate*, Oct. 22, 1975, 10.

10. For coverage of the Gipple-Brydon dispute, see Sam Deaderick, “Unfair Politics,” *Seattle Gay News*, Apr. 1976, 2, and “Editorial,” 14; Lenore Norrgard, “Gays: Left, Right Square Off,” *Seattle Sun*, Apr. 28, 1976, 5; Mike Kenney, “Gays on Women’s Commission,” *Seattle Gay News*, May 1976, 2; “Rights Panel Replacing Its Nominee?” *Seattle Times*, May 12, 1976, F5; Patricia Foote, “Gay Nominees Included on Commission Slate,” *Seattle Times*, May 18, 1976, D1; Mike Kenney, “C. F. Brydon Named to Women’s Commission,” *Seattle Gay News*, July 1976, 4; “Gay Rep Seated on Women’s Panel,” *Seattle Sun*, Aug. 4, 1976, 3.

11. Cindy Gipple’s response was included in Mike Kenney, “C. F. Brydon Named to Women’s Commission,” *Seattle Gay News*, July 1976, 4. For Brydon’s letter to Uhlman, written July 14, 1976, see the Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

12. For background on the debate about Mayor Uhlman’s endorsement of the gay pride parade, see letters from Gavin Dillard of the Union of Sexual Minorities to Wes Uhlman, and Uhlman’s reply, June 6 and 18, 1975; the exchange of letters between Uhlman, Charlie Brydon, and Jack Anderson on May 21 and 22 and June 25, 1975; the letters between David Neth and Wes Uhlman, June 10 and 17, 1976; and a letter from Uhlman to James Tochla, June 17, 1976, all in the Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries. See also David Neth, “Open Letter to Mayor Uhlman,” *Seattle Gay News*, June 1976, 3; “Your Emerging Sense of Pride,” *Seattle Gay News*, July 1976, 2.

13. Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

13 / AT THE CAPITOL

1. Information in this chapter about the treatment of Keith Rhinehart and the eventual dismissal of his conviction comes from documents filed in *Keith M. Rhinehart v.*

B. J. Rhay, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, civil no. 8447 (1969), and *Keith M. Rhinehart v. B. J. Rhay et al.*, U.S. District Court for Western Washington, civil no. 8448 (1969).

2. Letter from Peter Francis to Michael Ramey, June 27, 1968, Tim Mayhew Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

3. Bob Liff, “A Good Guy Resigns,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 23, 1977, 1.

4. See, for example, “Sex Reform: Adult Consent Law Adopted; Nation’s Third,” *Advocate*, June 9, 1971, 1; “Oregon Reform Bill Sent to Governor,” *Advocate*, June 23, 1971, 1; “Major Sex Reform Measure Signed into Law for Oregon,” *Advocate*, Aug. 14, 1971, 1.

5. In the *Advocate*, see “Washington State Mulls Reform,” Jan. 6, 1971, 1; “New Code Logjammed in Washington State Senate,” June 23, 1971, 5; Arthur Evans, “Washington Reforms Pass Senate Panel; Success Predicted,” Apr. 11, 1973, 3.

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7. Shilts, “Sodomy Repeal Signed by Washington Governor,” 5.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Randy Shilts, “Seattle Adds More Rights,” *Advocate*, Sept. 10, 1975, 6.

10. On Dave Kopay’s coming out, see, for example, Robert McQueen and David Rothenberg “Interview,” *Advocate*, March 10, 1976, 18; Kirk Smith, “An All-American Story Jumbled,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 1, 1976, A4.

11. Letter from Charlie Brydon to Governor Dan Evans, Jan. 29, 1976; letter from Charlie Brydon to William C. Jacobs, June 19, 1976; letter from Governor Dan Evans to Charlie Brydon, June 16, 1976, all in Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

12. Marjorie Jones, “Editor Cites Progress of Gay People in Seattle,” *Seattle Times*, Apr. 14, 1976, A11.

13. Jack Hopkins, “A Test Case in Tacoma,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 25, 1977, A14.

14. *Gaylord v. Tacoma School District No. 10*, Washington State Supreme Court, 88 Wn. 2d 286, 559 P. 2d 1340. For earlier proceedings, see *Gaylord v. Tacoma School District No. 10*, Washington State Supreme Court, 85 Wn. 2d 348, 535 P. 2d 804.

15. For additional information on Gaylord, see, for example, Kent Hansen, “Gaylord v. Tacoma School District No. 10: Homosexuality Held Immoral for Purposes of Teacher Discharge,” *Willamette Law Journal* 14 (1977): 101–14. News reports include Hal Nelson, “SGN Talks with Jim Gaylord,” *Seattle Gay News*, March 1977, 4; “ACLU Takes Gaylord Case to Supreme Court,” *Seattle Gay News*, July/Aug. 1977, 3.

16. “Kopay, Uhlman Push Rights Bill,” *Seattle Gay News*, Apr. 1977, 1.

17. “Gay Rights Bill Stalled” and “Gays Picket KIRO,” *Seattle Gay News*, May 1977, 1, 3.

18. Susan Paynter, “KIRO Wires on Fire Over Gay Editorials,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 18, 1977, B3. See also “Pickets Protest KIRO Attack on Gay Rights,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 20, 1977, A8; “Battle of KIRO,” *Seattle Gay News*, June 1977, 1; “KIRO Editorials Get Heated Response,” *Seattle Sun*, Aug. 31, 1977, 3. For a later story on Lloyd

Cooney, see Emmett Watson, “Lloyd Cooney: A Free Spirit Beneath a Stuffed Shirt,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 20, 1992, D2.

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20. Carol Ostrom, “Behind Mormon Power,” *Seattle Sun*, Sept. 21, 1977, 1.

21. For background on the International Women’s Year battle, see Diane Clark, Kathleen Foley, Donna Kanter, and Colleen Patrick, “In the Face of Opposition—Unity Is Born,” *Pandora*, Aug. 1977, 1; Sarah McCoy, “Feminists Try to Unify,” *Seattle Sun*, Aug. 31, 1977, 1; “Ellensburg—Victory or Defeat for Feminism,” *Pandora*, Sept. 1977, 2; “Victory or Defeat for Feminism?” *Seattle Gay News*, Sept. 1977, 6.

22. Alex MacLeod, “Francis to Resign As State Senator,” *Seattle Times*, Nov. 22, 1977, B1; Bob Liff, “A Good Guy Resigns,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 23, 1977, 1.

23. For Charlie Brydon’s involvement in the White House meeting, see the Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma, and Karen West, “Seattle Gay Leader Praises Carter for Policy Changes,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 9, 1977, A6.

24. One council member, Tim Hill, refused the pledge. “I don’t see lumping gay rights together with well-established rights of racial minorities and women,” he said. He also promised that if the ordinances came before the council, he would vote to repeal the sections protecting homosexuals. See Steve Johnston, “Mayor and Council Back Gay Rights,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 9, 1977, A8. Years later, however, as chief executive of King County, Tim Hill would sign a similar county ordinance into law, protecting gay and lesbian jobs in areas outside Seattle.

25. For the 1977 debate about Gay Pride Week, see the copies of many letters to the mayor in the Seattle Mayors’ Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries. Relevant news reports include: Steve Johnston, “Mayor and Council Back Gay Rights,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 9, 1977, A8; “‘Gay Pride’ March Set Saturday,” *Seattle Times*, June 19, 1977, A22; Charles Dunsire, “Uhlman Provokes Protests,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 30, 1977, A3; Robert Mayerson, “Gay Voters Brandish Ballots,” *Seattle Sun*, Sept. 14, 1977, 14.

26. On the establishment of the Seattle Municipal Elections Committee, see, for example, “SEAMEC Leads in Voter Registration,” *Seattle Gay News*, Sept. 1977, 3; Mayerson, “Gay Voters Brandish Ballots,” 14; “Lloyd Cooney Roast Nets \$2000 for SEAMEC” and “SEAMEC Endorses,” *Seattle Gay News*, Oct. 1977, 1, 3; “Gay Group Flexes Muscle,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 12, 1977, 3.

27. Kent Stevenson, “A Nautical Night,” *Seattle Gay News*, Dec. 1977, 8.

28. See Dorian Group Board minutes, July 23, 1977; and letters from Charlie Brydon to “Michael,” the Dorian board, George Gosselin, and Mort Schwab, dated, respectively, Nov. 8, 1977; Nov. 30, 1977; Dec. 14, 1977; and Dec. 30, 1977, in the Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.

29. Mike Wyne, “Gays Will Have Part in Police-Chief Selection, Says Royer,” *Seattle*

Times, Dec. 13, 1977, A14. See also “Royer Talk Sets Off Anti-Gay Caller,” *Seattle Sun*, Dec. 21, 1977, 3.

30. Frank Tenczar, “Who Are These People and What Do They Want?” KING-TV, Dec. 2, 1977. See also Bill Alpert, “KING’s Gay Special Tops,” *Seattle Gay News*, Dec. 1977, 17. For background on Greg Kucera and his gallery, see, for example, *Seattle Times* articles by Deloris Tarzan Ament, “Gallery’s Success Is His Masterpiece,” Oct. 24, 1984, F7; and “Kucera’s Secret: ‘I Know How to Sell Things,’” Oct. 28, 1993, E4; as well as a *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* article by Regina Hackett, “Greg Kucera: The Seattle Art Dealer and Gallery Owner Is Best Known for Two Passions: Love of Art and Love of Controversy,” Apr. 29, 1996, C1. Frank Tenczar eventually died of AIDS at age forty-five. At the time, he was working as a reporter in New Jersey. See “Ex-Seattle TV Reporter Dies,” *Seattle Times*, Nov. 24, 1988, H7.

31. Doug Honig, “David Estes, Sodomy and the Family,” *Seattle Sun*, Apr. 2, 1980, 7.

32. Stan Nast and Paul Boyd, “What Is Brutality? Police Officer Asks,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 24, 1974, A1.

33. See Dave Birkland, “Probing Policeman Suspended” and “Police Chief Denies He is ‘Out to Get’ Suspended Officer,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 15, 1976, A1, A7; Dee Norton, “Hot Loads: Gun Enthusiast Tells How” and Dave Birkland, “Suspended Officer Carried Forbidden Ammo, Say Tests,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 16, 1976, A6; Dave Birkland, “Review Panel Member Named,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 18, 1976, A5; “Disciplinary Hearing on Policeman Continues,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 28, 1976, A11; “Officer Suspended for Month,” *Seattle Times*, Jan. 10, 1977, A6; “Suspended Officer Returns,” *Seattle Times*, March 9, 1977, D4.

34. Doug Honig, “David Estes, Sodomy and the Family,” *Seattle Sun*, Apr. 2, 1980, 7.

35. For background on Wayne Angevine and David Estes’s filing of Initiative Thirteen, see, for example, Bob Kus, “Gays in Action,” *Seattle Gay News*, Dec. 1977, 18; Martin Works, “Gay Rights Target of Drive,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Jan. 23, 1978, A4; Ross Anderson and Dave Birkland, “Police Officer Begins Gay Rights Repeal Drive,” *Seattle Times*, Jan. 26, 1978, A14; Ross Anderson, “Gay City Clerk Steps into the Middle,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 5, 1978, A14.

14 / INITIATIVE THIRTEEN

1. Roger Winters, “TDG Honors Brydon at Brass Door,” *Seattle Gay News*, Feb. 3, 1978, 18. See also, in the same issue, Orv Johnson, “The Estes Petition Threat,” 6.

2. Early correspondence of Citizens to Retain Fair Employment, along with notes from early political committee meetings, can be found in the Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.

3. Orv Johnson, “An Answer to Estes,” *Seattle Gay News*, Feb. 17, 1978, 6. See also a letter to the editor critical of Wayne Angevine’s attack on Charlie Brydon written by Mike Ramey, *Seattle Gay News*, March 3, 1978, 5.

4. Joel Connolly, “Gays Meet to Map Strategy,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 20, 1978, B1; Orv Johnson, “Gays Meet to Fight Initiative 13,” *Seattle Gay News*, March 31, 1978, 1.

5. Interview with Charlie Brydon by Mikala Woodward and Larry Knopp, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 2000. For the poll results, see the Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.

6. Anita Bryant's campaign generated a great deal of magazine and newspaper publicity. Among the relevant local and gay press articles about the start of the Bryant campaign see "Money for Miami," *Seattle Gay News*, June 1977, 3; Steve Johnston, "Mayor and City Council Back Gay Rights," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 9, 1977, A8; John Hinterberger, "Anita Bryant Strikes Out with Seattle Gay Groups," *Seattle Times*, June 11, 1977, A11; Roger Downey, "Ready When You Are, Anita," *Seattle Weekly*, June 29, 1977, 8; "After Miami, What's Next?" *Seattle Gay News*, July/Aug. 1977, 19; Joe Baker, "Miami," *Advocate*, July 13, 1977, 6; Lee Solomon, "Lessons from Losing," *Advocate*, Aug. 24, 1977, 7; Orv Johnson, "Dade County—Lessons for Seattle," *Seattle Gay News*, May 26, 1978, 7.

7. Ray Ruppert, "Preacher Visits Seattle to Advise Campaigners Against Gay Rights," *Seattle Times*, March 31, 1978, D16; Ray Ruppert, "Rival Groups Fire Opening Volleys," *Seattle Times*, Apr. 2, 1978, C15; "Anti-Gay Drive Finally Comes Out," *Seattle Sun*, Apr. 5, 1978, 3.

8. Brydon interview, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 2000.

9. Ibid. For other local reaction, see Hilda Bryant, "Seattle Reaction to Gay Rights Repeal in St. Paul," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Apr. 27, 1978, A5; "Anti-Gay Vote Hit by Foe of Initiative 13," *Seattle Times*, May 24, 1978, B12; "Once Again, We Lose Our Rights," *Seattle Gay News*, May 26, 1978, 1; Ross Anderson, "Gays Reassess Initiative Strategy," *Seattle Times*, May 28, 1978, B4.

10. See Walt Crowley, "A Point of View: Citizens to Retain Fair Employment," *Seattle Gay News*, June 9, 1978, 4; Ross Anderson, "Gays Reassess Initiative Strategy," *Seattle Times*, May 28, 1978, B4. See also Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma, for CRFE's position statement.

11. Interview with Dennis Raymond by Larry Knopp and Charles Fuchs, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, May 2000.

12. For the original letter by Betty Johanna and Jane Meyerding, see "So Many Lives Have Been Lost," *Out and About*, July 1978, 15. See also Orv Johnson, "Lesbian Blood Protests 13," *Seattle Gay News*, June 23, 1978, 1, and "Trial Set for Two Accused of Splattering Blood in Office," *Seattle Times*, June 17, 1978, E6. An angry criticism of the Johanna/Meyerding action written by Roger Winters, who was working with the Dorian Group, can be found in the letters to the editor, *Seattle Gay News*, July 7, 1978, 9.

13. For the 1978 gay pride parade dispute, see in *Seattle Gay News*, June 9, 1978: Debra Dragovich, "Some Groups Ignore Pride Parade," 1; Walt Crowley, "A Point of View: Citizens to Retain Fair Employment," 4; "Citizens Against Parade," 6; the editorial "Gays v. Gays," 7; and a report from the Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights, 11. See also "Anti-13 Groups in Rift on March," *Seattle Sun*, June 21, 1978, 3. For additional coverage see *Seattle Gay News*, June 23, 1978: Jerry Bock, "March Endorsed by Majority," 1; "Rights Week Lacks Royer's Support," 3; and the editorial "March!" 7. For coverage of the march itself, see Jack Broom, "Gays to March Downtown Saturday," *Seattle Times*, June 27, 1978, B10; John O'Ryan,

“3,000 in March for Gay Rights,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 2, 1978, D10; Timothy Egan, “Gay-Rights Backers March in Downtown,” *Seattle Times*, July 2, 1978, F18; Debra Dragovich and Jim Arnold, “4,000 Gays March in Seattle,” *Seattle Gay News*, July 7, 1978, 1.

14. Jack Broom, “Initiative 13 Backers, Foes Vie for Attention As Petitions Are Filed,” *Seattle Times*, Aug. 8, 1973, A10.

15. Jim Arnold and Steve Mettznar, “SOME Hands in Signatures,” *Seattle Gay News*, Aug. 4, 1978, 1.

16. See report by Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights, *Seattle Gay News*, May 12, 1978, 6.

17. Ray Ruppert, “Church Council Hits Anti-Gay Move,” *Seattle Times*, March 16, 1978, G1. For the earlier acceptance of MCC by the Church Council, see Ray Ruppert, “Church Council Accepts Faction with Gay Membership,” *Seattle Times*, June 11, 1975, A16.

18. Ray Ruppert, “Evangelical Group Takes Stand on Gay Rights,” *Seattle Times*, March 30, 1978, A9.

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20. See, for example, “Police File on Black Leader Released,” *Seattle Times*, Apr. 17, 1978, A14; Larry Brown, “Judge to Ban Transfer of Disputed Police Files,” *Seattle Times*, June 5, 1978, A1; Larry Brown, “Officer Won’t Be Held in Contempt,” and “Police Misled Council on Intelligence Access, Says Anti-Spying Group,” *Seattle Times*, June 7, 1978, C3.

21. For news reports on the John Rodney shooting, see, for example, “Fleeing Man Shot, Killed by Officer,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Aug. 20, 1978, A1; “Stricter Firearms Policy Called For,” and “Slain Man’s Relatives Charge Police Cover-up,” *Seattle Times*, Aug. 22, 1978, A14; “Demonstrators March on Police Headquarters” and “Mental Problems in Victim’s Past,” *Seattle Times*, Aug. 23, 1978, A10; “SPD and ERA” and John Carl, “Shot in the Back,” *Seattle Gay News*, Sept. 1, 1978, 3; Jack Broom, “Inquest Opens into Police Shooting,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 7, 1978, A1; S. L. Sanger, “Police-shooting Inquest Stirs a Demonstration,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 8, 1978, A1; Wendy Walker and Jack Broom, “Suspect Warned Four Times, Says Falk,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 8, 1978, C10; Jack Broom, “Four Say They Heard Shots, No Warning,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 9, 1978, A3; Jack Broom, “Jury Clears Officer in Shooting,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 10, 1978, A1.

22. Dave Birkland, “Officer Falk Taken Off Patrol Duty Indefinitely,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 12, 1978, A1. See also Wayne Jacobi, “Falk Won’t Face Criminal Charges,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 12, 1978, A1; Marcia Friedman, “Falk Is Removed from Street Duty,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 13, 1978, A1; Ray Ruppert, “Church Council Calls for Inquiry of ‘Morally Unacceptable’ Shooting,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 14, 1978, B3; Ross Cunningham, “John Rodney, Larry Ward,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 15, 1978, A12.

23. “Poll Shows 66% Support, Says Gay-Rights Group,” *Seattle Times*, Aug. 29, 1978,

A14; Erin Van Bronkhorst, “How 13 Can Win: Don’t Mention It,” *Seattle Sun*, Sept. 13, 1978, 6; CRFE records in the Charlie Brydon Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.

24. Robert Mayerson, “Angevine Defeat—An Omen?” and “SGN Agrees,” *Seattle Gay News*, Sept. 29, 1978, 2, 3.

25. “SOME Changes Tactics to Gain Support,” *Seattle Gay News*, Sept. 29, 1978, 7; Robert Mayerson, “Anti-Gay Campaign Leaders Revealed,” *Seattle Sun*, Oct. 4, 1978, 1. See also a letter to the editor by Wayne Perryman, *Seattle Sun*, Oct. 24, 1978, 6.

26. “Teamsters Swat Initiative 13,” *Seattle Sun*, Oct. 18, 1978, 3; “Editorial,” *Seattle Gay News*, Oct. 27, 1978, 3; “Citizens to Retain Fair Employment Report,” *Seattle Gay News*, Oct. 27, 1978, 9.

27. For financial figures, see Robert Mayerson articles, “This is It, Folks,” *Seattle Gay News*, Oct. 27, 1978, 1; “We Won!” *Seattle Gay News*, Nov. 10, 1978, 1; and “Saving the Queen City’s Honor,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 15, 1978, 1.

28. Robert Mayerson, “Saving the Queen City’s Honor,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 15, 1978, 1.

29. For the post-election coverage, see Neil Modie, “Homosexuals Celebrate the Rejection of Initiative 13,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 8, 1978, A4; Neil Modie, “Gays Gain Political Clout with Defeat of Initiative 13,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 9, 1978, A16; Robert Mayerson, “We Won!” “Thank You, Seattle,” and “Gay Rights Wins in California,” *Seattle Gay News*, Nov. 10, 1978, 1, 2; Robert Mayerson, “Saving the Queen City’s Honor,” and Michelle Celarier, “Facing Fear in the Voting Booth,” *Seattle Sun*, Nov. 15, 1978, 1, 5; Jeanne Cordova, “Gay Rights Victories—Enemies Can Be a Blessing,” *Seattle Gay News*, Nov. 24, 1978, 9.

15 / ON BROADWAY

1. Katherine Grant-Bourne, “Espresso Yourself with Community Activist and Friend: Jan Denali,” *Seattle Gay News*, March 18, 1988, 16. See also interview with Jan Denali by Karina Luboff, Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, March 1998.

2. Samuel I. Doctors and A. S. Huff, *Minority Enterprise and the President’s Council* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1973).

3. The difficulty for Seattle gay organizations in relying on federal funding is noted in Karen Frank, “Is the End of CETA the End of Gay Agencies,” *Seattle Gay News*, June 5, 1981, 1, which points out that all four then-existent lesbian/gay agencies were in financial difficulties because of government cutbacks. The four were the Seattle Counseling Service, the Lesbian Resource Center, the Gay Community Center, and Stonewall’s successor, the Chemical Dependency Program. GCC never did recover and folded in August 1981.

4. Ivan Light, “Ethnicity and Business Enterprise,” in *Making It in America: The Role of Ethnicity in Business Enterprise, Education, and Work Choices*, ed. M. M. Stolarik and Murray Friedman (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1986), especially 13ff.

5. See “The Homosexual Economy,” *Economist*, Jan. 23, 1982, 71; Evelyn Iritani, “Gays Play Significant Role in Business, Leader Says,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 18, 1984, B6;

“The Surprising Health of Gay Businesses,” *Advocate*, March 3, 1987, 43; David Jefferson, “Leaving the Corporate Closet,” *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 22, 1991, A8; Barbara Marsh, “More Gay Women Are Starting Own Businesses,” *Wall Street Journal*, July 1, 1992, B2.

6. “QCBG Helps Index,” *Seattle Gay News*, May 1976, 7; “QCBG Annual Picnic Succeeds in Sun,” *Seattle Gay News*, Sept. 1977, 16.

7. Ed Estes, “Business Group Organizes,” *Seattle Gay News*, May 8, 1981, 1; “Local Guide Released by GSBA,” *Seattle Gay News*, Dec. 31, 1981, 4; Lynn Tilden, “GSBA Network of Vision,” *Seattle Gay News*, Jan. 29, 1983, 25. See also “Capitol Hill Booms with Gay Business,” *Seattle Gay News*, Feb. 15, 1980, 10.

8. Susan Phinney, “Broadway’s for Shoppers,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 15, 1977, C1.

9. Robert Mayerson, “Regulars at Elite: There for Doreen,” *Seattle Sun*, Apr. 28, 1976, 7.

10. For a sampling of the controversies and accomplishments in Broadway’s redevelopment from the early 1970s to the early 1980s, see, for example, “Capitol Hill Residents Erect ‘Public’ Park on Site of Parking Lot,” *Seattle Times*, July 20, 1970, B8; Stephen Dunphy, “Another Skirmish in City’s Land-Use War,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 1, 1971, E7; “Architect Resketches QFC Plan,” *Seattle Sun*, Sept. 11, 1974, 8; Bruce Olson, “Landowners Grab for Hill Power,” *Seattle Sun*, Sept. 25, 1974, 1; Bruce Olson, “Activists Sweep Hill Elections,” *Seattle Sun*, Oct. 2, 1974, 1; Brandt Morgan, “Sparring Between Community, Developers Changes Broadway,” *Seattle Sun*, Jan. 8, 1975, 3; Patrick Douglas, “Booming Broadway,” *Seattle Weekly*, July 20, 1977, 15; Lara Ringneth, “Henry’s: Bigtime Comes to the Hill,” *Seattle Weekly*, July 20, 1977, 18; Patrick McDonald, “Seattle’s Broadway Has Plenty of Bright Lights,” *Seattle Times, Tempo*, Nov. 7, 1980, 3; Jane Hadley, “City Denies Parking Lot for Safeway,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 26, 1981, E1; Don Duncan, “Jackhammers Tap Out Broadway Lullaby,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 22, 1981, C1; Susan Biskeborn, “So Long, Broadway,” *Seattle Weekly*, Sept. 29, 1982, 6; Rae Tufts, “Broadway Parade Is Seattle’s Version of Italian ‘Passeggiata,’” *Seattle Times*, Nov. 20, 1983, D18; Norman Johnston, “Teamwork by Merchants, City and Planners Rebuilt Broadway,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 18, 1983, D20.

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State Supreme Court, 116 Wn. 2d 414, 805 P. 2d 200 (1991), and numerous news articles. The most important are indicated in subsequent notes. For a chronology of the case, see “Sentence Upheld: Farmer to Go to Prison,” *Seattle Gay News*, Feb. 22, 1991, 1. For an overview, see Gary Atkins, “Steven Farmer: Media Case Plays Supporting Actor in State’s Drama of Making New AIDS Policy,” *Dorian Group Newsletter*, June 1988, 2.

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12. Warren King, “State Panel Rejects Forced AIDS Test for All but One Group,” *Seattle Times*, Nov. 24, 1987, A1; “State Panel’s AIDS Proposals,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 27, 1987, A14.

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52. For background on Kris Anderson (Crystal Lane), see these *Seattle Gay News* stories: Chris Dziewiontkoski, “Crystal Lane: I’ll Be Back!” Oct. 31, 1986, 28; Tom Flint, “Seattle Entertainment Icon: Crystal Lane,” Sept. 13, 1991, 25; and numerous articles and letters to

the editor, March 4, 1994. See also Carole Beers, “Kristopher Anderson’s Shows Were Anything but a Drag,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 26, 1994, B10.

53. Jody Becker, “A Touch of Dignity,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 23, 1987, C1. Other stories focused on families caring for their dying. For one example, see Larry Brown, “An AIDS Patient and His Family Tell about Coping with Crisis,” *Seattle Times*, July 23, 1987, D1.

54. Mary Pols, “Actor Robert Cole Maintained a Flair for the Dramatic Right up to the End,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 1, 1994, B6.

19 / CAL’S CONSCIENCE

1. Sources for general background in this chapter include the author’s personal discussions with and observations of Cal Anderson, 1992–95; Cal Anderson Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma; author’s interviews with Ed Murray, May 1996 and Oct. 2001; an interview with Cal Anderson by Jill Bateman of the Seattle University Community and Communication Project, July 1995; and numerous news articles as indicated in subsequent footnotes. The photographs of Cal as a teenager working for the Democratic Party were on display at a Paramount Theater reception following his memorial service in 1995.

2. Anderson interview, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, July 1995.

3. Elizabeth Rhodes, “A New Face in the House,” *Seattle Times*, Jan. 10, 1988, K1.

4. For Anderson’s military career, see Mindy Chambers, “Openly Gay Lawmaker Is Bronze Star Winner,” *Daily Olympian*, Feb. 4, 1993, A2.

5. Anderson interview, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, July 1995.

6. Elizabeth Rhodes, “A New Face in the House,” *Seattle Times*, Jan. 10, 1988, K1.

7. Ibid.

8. Author’s interview with Ed Murray, May 1996.

9. See, for example, the following articles in *Seattle Gay News*: Mike McNamara, “Lawmakers Break Stalemate; Pass Omnibus Bill,” March 11, 1988, 1; ShaniBear Woman, “AIDS Omnibus Bill ‘Irrational and Illogical,’” March 18, 1988, 6; Chris Dziewiontkoski, “Gov. Gardner Signs AIDS Omnibus Bill” and Chuck Martin, “Representative Cal Anderson Talks about His First Year in Olympia,” March 25, 1988, 1, 8. Anderson’s home was also vandalized by AIDS activists in 1993. See Tom Flint, “Cal Anderson’s Home Vandalized,” *Seattle Gay News*, March 5, 1993, 7.

10. Author’s interview with Ed Murray, May 1996.

11. Elizabeth Rhodes, “Freshman Diary,” *Seattle Times*, March 11, 1988, D1.

12. For Anderson’s humor, see *Seattle Times* articles by Carole Beers et al., “Cal Anderson, Legislator, Dies,” Aug. 5, 1995, A1; and Jim Simon, “Anderson Used His Life to Educate,” Aug. 6, 1995, B1.

13. Quoted in Kery Murakami, “Anderson Makes His Fight with AIDS a Public One,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 14, 1995, A1.

14. Cal Anderson Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.
15. Anderson interview, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, July 1995.
16. A chronology of the gay/lesbian civil rights bill, prepared for Anderson, can be found in the Cal Anderson Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma. For Thorsness's change to the hate crimes bill in 1992, see Tom Flint, "Hate Crimes Bill Goes to Senate, without Those Words," *Seattle Gay News*, March 6, 1992, 1.
17. Letter to the author from Charlie Brydon, Oct. 28, 1992. Author's personal files.
18. "Oregon Anti-Gay Group Fires First Shots Here," *Everett Herald*, Jan. 30, 1993, B4.
19. The description of the March 2, 1993, hearing is based on the author's personal observations. For news coverage, see, for example, Kathy George, "Crowd Packs Hearing for Gay Rights Bill," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 3, 1993, A1; Pat Matuska, "Gay-Rights Hearing Is Packed with Emotions," *Seattle Times*, March 3, 1993, B1; Mindy Chambers, "Gay Rights Heats Up," *Daily Olympian*, March 3, 1993, A1; David Postman, "Angry Exchange on Gay Rights," *Tacoma News-Tribune*, March 3, 1993, B1; Tom Flint, "Hearings on Civil Rights Bill Packed," *Seattle Gay News*, March 5, 1993, 1; Kathryn Robinson, "Gay Rights Showdown," *Seattle Weekly*, March 31, 1993, 27.
20. Carol Ostrom, "Coadjutor's Good Humor Allays Catholics' Concerns," *Seattle Times*, May 30, 1987, A10.
21. Ibid.
22. Carol Ostrom, "Hunthausen Steps down at Warm Farewell," *Seattle Times*, Aug. 13, 1991, A1. See also these articles by Ostrom in the *Seattle Times*: "A Change of Leadership for Catholics," June 19, 1991, D1; "At Heart, He's a Pastoral Priest," *Seattle Times*, June 22, 1991, A16.
23. Tom Flint, "Vatican Demands Opposition to Gay/Lesbian Rights," *Seattle Gay News*, July 24, 1992, 1.
24. Author's observation of the hearing, March 2, 1993.
25. Author's interview with Ed Murray, May 1996. See also Joni Balter, "Gay Power Brokers: Money, Stature and Savvy Give Leaders More Clout," *Seattle Times*, Aug. 1, 1993, A1.
26. See *Seattle Times* stories by Bill Dietrich, "Vatican's Stance Dismays Seattle's Homosexuals," July 19, 1992, B3; Lee Moriwaki, "Ex-Leader of Catholic Gays Applauds Support," July 21, 1992, B4; "Rally Protests Document from Vatican on Gays," July 27, 1992, E2; Lee Moriwaki, "Area's New Archbishop Quiets Some Criticism," Aug. 24, 1992, B2.
27. Author's interviews with Ed Murray, May 1996 and Oct. 2001.
28. Jim Simon, "Bill's Death a Bitter Loss for Gay Legislator," *Seattle Times*, Apr. 18, 1993, B1.
29. See *Seattle Times* articles by Jonathan Martin, "Anderson Ponders Whether to Resign," May 10, 1995, B1; and Carole Beers et al., "Cal Anderson, Legislator, Dies," Aug. 5, 1995, A1.
30. For a review of the HOW campaign, see David Rayside, "American Exceptionalism in Sexual Diversity Politics: A Washington State Case Study," paper presented to the American Political Science Association, Aug.–Sept. 2000.

31. On the 1994 attempt to pass the civil rights bill and the Catholic lobbying against it, see articles by Tom Flint in the *Seattle Gay News*: “Gay/Lesbian Civil Rights Bill Moves Steadily Forward,” Feb. 4, 1994, 1; “Gay/Lesbian Civil Rights Bill Grinds through Senate Hearing,” Feb. 18, 1994, 1; “Lesbian/Gay Catholics Furious with Bishops over SHB 1443 Opposition Letter to State Senators,” Feb. 25, 1994, 1; “Civil Rights Bill Passes/Fails,” March 4, 1994, 1; “Gay/Lesbian Catholics Pray for Bishops’ Change of Heart,” March 18, 1994, 8; and the *Seattle Gay News* editorial, “We’ll Be Back,” March 11, 1994, 1. See also *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* articles by Michael Paulson, “Gay Rights Bill Goes to Senate,” Jan. 29, 1994, B1; “Two Senators Control Fate of Gay Rights Bill,” March 1, 1994, B1; and “Gay Rights Bill on Verge of Another Defeat,” March 4, 1994, A1; as well as *Seattle Times* articles by Jim Simon, “Bishops Fight Bill Protecting Gay Rights,” Feb. 22, 1994, A1; “Battle Lines Blur over Gay Rights Bill as Supporters Work to Win Senate Backing,” Feb. 27, 1994, A1; “Gay Rights Bill Dies in Senate with No Vote,” March 5, 1994, A1.

32. Tom Flint, “Initiatives 608/610 Go Down in Defeat,” *Seattle Gay News*, July 15, 1994, 1.

33. See *Seattle Times* articles by David Postman and Dee Norton, “State Sen. Cal Anderson Says He Has AIDS,” Feb. 13, 1995, A1; and Kery Murakami, “Anderson Makes His Fight with AIDS Public,” Feb. 14, 1995, A1. See also James Burke, “Cal Anderson Goes Public with Fight against AIDS,” *Seattle Gay News*, Feb. 17, 1995, 1.

34. Cal Anderson Papers, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.

35. Author’s interview with Ed Murray, May 1996.

36. Anderson interview, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, July 1995.

37. John Carlson, “Republicans Should Also Appreciate Cal Anderson,” *Seattle Times*, Aug. 8, 1995, B4.

38. See *Seattle Times* articles by Jim Simon, “Anderson Used His Life to Educate,” Aug. 6, 1995, B1; and “Cal Anderson’s Legacy to his City and the State,” Aug. 7, 1995, B4.

39. James Burke, “Thousands Mourn Anderson,” *Seattle Gay News*, Aug. 11, 1995, 1.

40. Author’s personal observation of Anderson funeral, Aug. 10, 1995. See also David Ammons, “A Final Tribute to Cal Anderson,” *Seattle Times*, Aug. 11, 1995, B4.

EPILOGUE

1. For coverage of the 1993 lesbian/gay pride parade, see Paul Shukovsky, “Marchers Turn up Gay Solidarity,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 28, 1993, B1; Susan Gilmore, “Pride in Numbers: Gays March in Seattle,” *Seattle Times*, June 28, 1993, B1; and “Rain on Parade Doesn’t Dampen the Pride,” *Seattle Gay News*, July 2, 1993, 1.

2. Rob Boling was interviewed by Tom Flint of the *Seattle Gay News* in “Gay Police Officer Drives down Broadway and Comes Out,” July 2, 1993, 1. Chief Norm Stamper’s decision to join drew front-page coverage in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. See “A March for Pride” and Arthur Gorlick, “Jammin’ Broadway,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 27, 1994, A1, B1;

and Alex Tizin, “Less Skin and More Politics at Seattle Gay-Pride Parade,” *Seattle Times*, June 27, 1994, B1.

3. Information about the people mentioned in this section comes from the author’s personal knowledge and from published articles. For Mineo Katagiri, see “Katagiri Quits Post for N.Y. Church Job,” *Seattle Times*, Apr. 15, 1970, B8; and Don Fair, “A Food Bank Founder Sees ‘Seeds for Revolution’ in the Growth of Poverty,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Apr. 23, 1986, A3. For Robert Sirico, see Randy Shilts, “Will the Gay Community Services Center Survive?” *Advocate*, May 19, 1976, 10. Many articles were published about Faygele benMiriam over the course of two decades; for an overview see “Grand Marshal—Faygele benMiriam,” *Seattle Gay News Pride Week Program*, June 21, 1991, 14. For Lois Thetford’s Jefferson Award, see Regina Hackett, “Lois Thetford: Commitment to Community Health,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Apr. 9, 2001, A7. For Shelly Yapp’s background, see <http://www.washington.edu/regents/yapp.html>. Sam Deaderick’s obituary can be found in *Seattle Gay News*, Feb. 15, 1991, 3. Dick Snedigar’s fight with the Freedom Socialist Party is documented in Susan McDonald, *They Refused to Name Names: The Freeway Hall Case Victory* (Seattle: Red Letter Press, 1995).

4. For Steven Farmer’s later years, see in the *Seattle Gay News* J. R. Stone, “Letters Pour in to Free Farmer, but Governor’s Hands Are Tied,” Nov. 20, 1992, 8; “Rest in Peace: Steven Farmer Dies in Tacoma,” Oct. 6, 1995, 1; and Bruce Caszatt, “Steven George Farmer,” Oct. 13, 1995, 16. See also Peyton Whitely, “Lowry Grants Clemency to Inmate Who Has AIDS,” *Seattle Times*, Jan. 5, 1994, B2; Kathy George, “Steven Farmer, Dying of AIDS, Is Granted Clemency,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Jan. 5, 1994, A1; Kathy George, “Sex-Predator Warning Sent on Farmer,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Jan. 6, 1994, B1; Kathy George, “Farmer Outcry Noted, Public Misled, Says Correction Official,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Jan. 8, 1994, A1; “Fears over Farmer’s Transfer to a Hospice,” *Seattle Times*, Jan. 15, 1994, A15; Anthony Albert, “Freed Sex Predator Dies of AIDS,” *Tacoma News-Tribune*, Sept. 29, 1995, B2; Dave Birkland, “Sex Offender’s Death Linked to AIDS,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 30, 1995, B10; Debra Harrell, “Steven Farmer, Central Figure in Case on HIV Testing, Dies,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 30, 1995, B2; and Patrick O’Callahan, “Steven Farmer Didn’t Deserve His Friends,” *Tacoma News-Tribune*, Oct. 19, 1995, A10.

5. In one story, for example, Tina Podlodowski was first referred to as “a former Microsoft executive making her first try at public office.” A paragraph later, she was referred to as “a newcomer, a woman, and a lesbian.” That was the only mention of her sexual orientation in the story. Subsequent references repeated the “former Microsoft executive” identification. See Scott Sunde, “Wineberry, Podlodowski Vie for Popular ‘Outsider’ Role,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Sept. 21, 1995, A10. Similarly, in endorsing her, the *Seattle Times* first referred to Podlodowski as a “former Microsoft executive and political newcomer.” Her sexual orientation was only implied in a much later reference to her service as “past president of the Pride Foundation, a funding source for gay and lesbian organizations.” See “Tina Podlodowski for Seattle City Council,” Oct. 23, 1995, B4.

6. For Rick Rankin’s early involvement in gay theater in Seattle, see, for example, Alan

Neff, “Gay and Lesbian Theatre Festival for Pride Week,” *Seattle Gay News*, June 15, 1984, 13; also “Alice B. Theatre—It’s Not a Place, It’s a State of Mind,” *Seattle Gay News* Pride Week Program, June 21, 1991, 30.

7. For the start of the Seattle Men’s Chorus, see in the *Seattle Gay News* Bruce Stores, “Men’s Chorus Prepares for Appearance,” Apr. 25, 1980, 15; and the letter from the chorus’s executive director, C. David George, “Chorus Leader Explains,” May 23, 1980, 4; also, Andre Rolff, “Men’s Chorus Steals Audience Hearts in Smash Debut,” June 20, 1980, 13.

8. For a review of Initiative 677 and the collapse of Hands Off Washington, see David Rayside, “American Exceptionalism in Sexual Diversity Politics: A Washington State Case Study,” paper presented to the American Political Science Association, Aug.–Sept. 2000.

9. For the change to the Seattle ordinance, see Tom Brune, “New Seattle Ordinance Lets Gays Sue for Job Bias,” *Seattle Times*, Feb. 19, 1999, A1.

10. For an overview of the debates about lesbian and gay family relationships, see Ray-side, “American Exceptionalism in Sexual Diversity Politics: A Washington State Case Study.”

11. The struggles by Perry Watkins and Margarethe Cammermeyer were extensively documented. For overviews, see Gary Atkins, “I’m Not Trying to Be a Hero,” *Seattle Weekly*, March 8, 1989, 1; and Linda Keene, “The Colonel Fights Back,” *Seattle Times Pacific Magazine*, Jan. 3, 1993, 10.

12. For the debate at the Woodland Park United Methodist Church, see *Seattle Times* stories by Marsha King: “Gay Pastor Seeks Seattle Post,” Apr. 7, 2001, A1; “Gay Clergywoman Puts Methodist Law to Test,” June 15, 2001, A1; “Gay Pastor’s Declaration Startles Church Meeting,” June 16, 2001, B1; “Church Debates Pastor’s Future,” June 20, 2001, B1; and “Religions Divided over Gays in Clergy,” July 1, 2001, B1; as well as Eli Sanders, “Methodist Clergy Create Activist Alliance,” *Seattle Times*, July 28, 2001, B1; Sara Green and Janet Tu, “A Show of Support for Gay Pastors,” *Seattle Times*, Oct. 31, 2001, B2; Janet Tu, “Gay Minister Won’t Lose Post As Pastor,” *Seattle Times*, May 31, 2002, A1; Sheila Lalwani, “Gay Pastor Won’t Face Methodist Trial,” *Seattle Times*, July 26, 2002, B1.

13. On the appointment of Archbishop Brunett, see the *Seattle Times* articles by Sally Macdonald, “Western Washington Catholics Get a New Archbishop,” Oct. 28, 1997, A1; “New Archbishop Gets a Lesson in Seattle’s Media,” Nov. 1, 1997, A12; “Archbishop a Healer, Here and Abroad,” May 20, 2000, A1.

14. Interview with the Reverend Gerald Stanley by LaShawna Lako and Christina Richards, Seattle University Community and Communication Project, Oct. 1994.

15. “Gay Catholic Group, Dignity/Seattle, to Leave St. Joseph’s Catholic Church after 21 Years,” *Seattle Gay News*, Oct. 5, 2001, 2.

16. On the declining support, see, for example, Alex Tizon, “As AIDS Deaths Drop, So Does Support for Walk,” *Seattle Times*, Sept. 22, 2000, A1.

17. See the *Seattle Times* articles by Warren King, “Syphilis Increase among Gays Points to Unsafe Sex Practices,” Sept. 10, 1989, B1; and “Some Gays Say They’re Burned out on Safe Sex,” Sept. 26, 1999, A1. See also Neil Modie, “Sexual Diseases Are up Sharply in Seattle,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 21, 2001, B1; news release from the Seattle/King County Public Health Department, March 22, 2001; Tom Paulson, “State AIDS Cases Rise for the

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18. See Diedra Henderson, “Catwalk Nightclub Attempting to Get Liquor License Back,” *Seattle Times*, May 28, 1996, B2; Florangela Davila, “Hemp Fest—A Learning Experience?” *Seattle Times*, Aug. 24, 1997, B1; Pam Sitt, “Hip-Hot: There’s More than Puff to the Hip-Hop Scene,” *Seattle Times*, Dec. 6, 2001, E1; and advertisement for Catwalk Club, Apr. 23, 2001, <http://www.catwalkclub.net/sat.htm>.

