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# Queer Anxieties in Washington State History

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# QUEER ANXIETIES IN WASHINGTON STATE HISTORY

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## ABSTRACT

Through the interpretative lens of "queer anxieties," this thesis overviews the history of cultural anxieties about nonnormative gender and sexuality in Washington State since 1889. While employing a capacious "queer" framework, this study highlights the creation, dissemination, and management of individual and cultural anxieties about gender and sexuality. In doing so, this study posits how an "anxious turn" can benefit the study of Washington's history. Ranging from the 1880s to 1990s, this work overviews a wide variety of phenomena which invoked anxiety including: sodomy laws, interracial sexual relations, cross-dressing, the creation of homosocial male spaces, gay travel, LGBT activist organizations, religious upheaval, anti-gay initiatives, gay bars, law and order politics, lesbian feminism, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. By analyzing anxieties in these instances, this thesis explores the interplay of individual, interpersonal, communal, and social affects/actions relating to gender and sexual nonnormativity (often closely associated with a seemingly lucid, individual or social understanding about what that norm *is*, *was*, *has been*, or *should be*). Specifically, this approach allows this thesis to supplement the dominant narrative of literature on the LGBT history of Washington which tends to focus on the narrative of moving from "exile to belonging." To do so, this thesis engages with a wide range of primary source materials including: newspaper articles, court cases, letters, advertisements, pamphlets, newsletters, flyers, religious literature, legislation, photographs, phonebooks, travel guides, and archived oral histories. At its broadest level, "Queer Anxieties in Washington State History" reminds its readers that the specter of queerness has haunted the enforcement of normative gender and sexuality in Washington's history and, within modernity, queer anxieties have served as one of the crucial tools from which individuals have been "disciplined" socially while also disciplining themselves and others.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Many historians, archivists, and librarians helped me navigate and locate sources, especially during the summer of 2019. Beth Kraig and Suzanne Killinger deserve special praise for their tireless support of my work.

Writing and research is not as lonely an endeavor as some might think (yes, I know this expression has become cliché). Chapter 3 has taken on many forms throughout its journey to becoming a part of my thesis. Portions of this paper were accepted for presentation at the 2019 Queer History Conference, the 2019 PCA/ACA National Conference, and the 2018 Phi Alpha Theta North California Regional Conference, where I received excellent feedback. An abridged version of Chapter 4 was presented at the 2020 meeting of the AHA in New York City on the Panel "Criminalizing and Policing HIV," where I received tremendously influential comments. Gary Atkins also provided several documents that shaped Chapter 4. Matthew Salzano, Lexi Jason, and Anna Sieber also kindly reviewed portions of this thesis. Thank you to all.

I, of course, would have been unable to earn my M.A. in History without the love and support (financial, emotional, and intellectual) of countless family members, friends, and roommates, many of whom have transformed into chosen-family (you know who you are!). My academic parent Gina Hames deserves special praise as she has been supporting me since 2014 when she convinced me to major in history instead of journalism. My mother, Alice Diambri, deserves final thanks here, she has my endless gratitude for those moments when she taught me to *just go with it*.

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## INTRODUCTION: ANXIETY

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*In Spring 2018, while finishing my undergraduate degree at Pacific Lutheran University, I was fortunate enough to work as an education intern at the Washington State History Museum in Tacoma. At the museum, I had the distinct privilege of teaching, sometimes hundreds of young students, the history of my home state. Students who sometimes thought their state was quite ordinary would leave the museum with a new understanding of their place of residence, especially as they learned about the moments and periods of anxiety that had so clearly shaped the identity, culture, and history of Washington. While teaching, I became aware of why Washington's history captivated me: it was filled with spectacles like the 1991 WTO protests in Seattle, the eruption of Mount Saint Helens in 1980, and the collapse of the Tacoma Narrows Bridge, or "Galloping Gertie," in 1940. I remembered learning about these events as a child and thinking: "Well, what if massive protests happen again? What if Mount Saint Helens erupts? What if something terrible happens to the Narrows Bridge?" These were, of course, the melodramatic thoughts of my younger self; yet, they reveal something central to this thesis and history. Both personally and socially, I was constantly engaged in an interplay of discourses about the histories and feelings of anxiety that had shaped my life and the place I lived. Sometimes this anxiety was in the background, distant, almost as if I had lost all knowledge of it. Still, other times (like when protests broke out after Donald Trump's election victory when Mount Saint Helens had a minor eruption in 2004, and when I witnessed suicide attempts at the Narrows Bridge as a teenager) anxieties were*

*palpable, inexorable, and became permanently woven into the tapestry of my life and Washington's history. At the Washington State History Museum, as I began teaching the state's history to students (who were accompanied by their parents, teachers, and chaperones), other forms of anxiety also became evident, anxieties about the storyteller. In some cases, I wondered if the students, teachers, and chaperones I met on the job were more perplexed and anxious about the history I taught or by the person sharing these stories. Queer subjectivities may not have been noticeable in the stories of the State that I could share with students; however, there certainly was something queer about each of these stories, even if it was just their orator.*

* * *

This thesis began as an effort to supplement Seattle's gay and lesbian historiography, a niche branch of study within the field of queer history I concluded sacrificed nuance, discord, and diversity for a clear narrative of an increasingly successful and accepted community.[1] This thesis' purpose was originally to supplement the dominant narrative by highlighting stories of failure, shame, disorientation, and chosen-isolation in which "belonging" and "community" were uncemented.[2] I concluded that the study of Seattle followed trends of responding "to the history of violence and stigmatization by affirming the gay past."[3] Undoubtedly, Washington-based queer histories predominately showcase a trajectory of the LGBT community moving from "exile to belonging."[4] In my time spent researching Seattle, it became evident that the overarching story of the city was not one that—neatly with the arrow of time—tracked from Point A (exile) to Point B (belonging and community). Rather, I began comprehending Seattle's history as better

understood within a model of modern anxieties about gender and sexuality defined by constant confrontations between queerness and normativity. My archival work then also inspired me to begin looking outside the confines of "LGBT community" as a motivating analytical framework and toward anxiety. This "anxious turn" caused me to think broadly about the contours of the history of nonnormative gender, sex, and sexuality within Washington rather than just Seattle. In other words, using the analytical tool of "queer anxieties" caused my research to extend beyond both the metropolis and the LGBT community. As this thesis shows, an interplay of queer anxieties (their creation, proliferation, intensification, management, disillusionment, navigation, and suppression) at the individual, interpersonal, communal, and sociopolitical levels is an effective way of discerning Washington's queer history (including Seattle's gay and lesbian history).

As an analytical framework, "Queer Anxieties" takes on several meanings in this thesis. The constant confrontation with queerness, and the subsequent affects and reactions amidst these confrontations are integral to Washington's history. By analyzing queer anxieties, this thesis explores the interplay of individual, interpersonal, communal, and social affects/actions related to gender and sexual nonnormativity (often closely associated with a lucid, individual or social understanding about what that norm *is*, *was*, *has been*, or *should be*). These anxieties have often arisen from *seeing* visual representations of both the normative and nonnormative; however, cultural anxieties about gender and sexuality also emerge from experiences of *knowing*, *learning*, *thinking*, *changing*, *feeling*, and *processing*. Queer anxieties have thus functioned as a self-imposed and societal "discipline" shaping lived-experience while treating "individuals both as objects and as

instruments of its exercise."[5] Manifested in modern history, which is intimately bound up in notions of progress and regress, the affects and effects of anxieties have mapped and disciplined queer subjects who "were marked as inferior by the allegation of backwardness."[6]

"Anxiety" in its application to the study of historic queer subjectivities, is multilateral.[7] Most often, queer anxieties in Washington's history have reflected the reaction to or a perceived threat that would change in the norm (*comme d'habitude*) which shifts corporeal, affilial, and sociopolitical status quos. Anxiety replicates a psychic state of being "flung into" (and often "flung out" of) the future. Anxiety is an "expectation emotion" based around "future-orientedness" which engrains temporality and, arguably, one's relation with history, into lived-experiences.[8] Thereby, within modernity, anxiety—working alongside broad vocabularies, and understandings of queerness—persists as one of those forces through which people have been *managed*. Thus, queer anxieties have served a functional role in how humans *managed* themselves and others. This also indicates sexuality as "one of the most important" of the "concrete arrangements (*agencements concrets*) that would go to make up the great technology of power" in modernity.[9] I posit that reading for anxiety allows historians to more thoroughly express how "queer" subjects have haunted modern history: and in this case—by using Washington-oriented archives—local, state, and regional histories of the modern United States.[10]

This thesis focuses on how this *process* and the discursive interplay of "queer" anxieties can be deciphered within Washington's history since 1889.[11] This thesis concludes that much like sexuality and gender have shaped human experiences in modern

history, queer anxieties have been a crucial tool in this process. On the one hand, the roots and origins of anxieties are difficult to pinpoint. Responses to anxiety, on the other hand, are much easier to track. Most notable are calamitous reactions to anxiety (those of melodrama, harm and injury, performance, and zealous indignation). Spaces marked by the movement of queer people and ephemera also provide some of the most fruitful sources. Queer anxieties have also been preserved in more subtle ways, however. For example, portions of this thesis show how queer anxieties have also been preserved within Washington's histories of gender and sexual normativity, especially in representations of ideal cisgender, heteronormative individuals.[12] Within these kinds of "normative" representations, there is much to be read about the separating, silencing, and refusal of queer experiences. The diverse and creative archive through which the history of queer anxieties in Washington can be delineated is indicative of bricolage: a construction from various *things*, moving objects and actors which have ignited, distilled, and disseminated the stories contained in this thesis.[13] In an attempt to express this object and actor-oriented history, in which queer anxieties have been preserved, this thesis is analytically grounded in a diverse arrangement of primary sources ranging from phonebooks and photographs to more traditional sources like newspaper-sources and court cases.

Ultimately, "Queer Anxieties in Washington State History" focuses on developments in the history of sexuality and, more particularly, queer history.[14] Given where this project originally focused, on Seattle, this thesis heavily concerns itself with the urban/rural divide in queer history—hoping in many ways to bridge this division while also continuing the critique of "metronormativity" in studies of queer history and modern

America.[15] Again, by purporting a metronormative critique, there is also something to be said for the limits of using LGBT-community as a motivating framework to explore queer history. In fact, I have come to believe that scholars interested in exposing the roots of power and identity should be wary of the pitfalls of using "community," which is particularly noteworthy in my various critiques of Gary Atkins' *Gay Seattle*.[16] Importantly, a hesitant approach to the idea of "community" itself enables this project to explore and share stories of people who never fully belonged within any perceived LGBT community, more so than previous studies of Seattle and Washington. This thesis also notably engages with important conversations in the history of gender and sexuality through discussions of the histories of cross-dressing, interracial sex, sodomy, masculinity, beauty, gay literary culture, religion, nightlife, political opposition, law, and HIV/AIDS. This thesis brings the literature on Seattle into a discussion with more recent innovations in queer historiography, all of which showcase the power of gender and sexuality as categories of historical analysis.

Returning to where I began this introduction, the current writings on Washington's gay and lesbian history require supplementation. Foremost, a more capacious queer framework allows for various nonnormative gender and sexual representations to be explored extending beyond contemporary conceptions of identity. The restrictions set in those Seattle-focused projects by only exploring representations we might think of as LGBT (or becoming LBGT in the future) neglects numerous forms of gender and sexual divergence shaped the state's history: especially in the era before Seattle's discernable Gay and Lesbian Movement in the mid-twentieth century. Likewise, by liberating Seattle and Washington State's queer history from the urban confines of Seattle, this thesis shows a

history of queer *movement*: a flow of ideas, exchanges, enterprises, and issues that cannot be seen as just representative of one community within one metropolitan space.

This thesis also works to assert the importance of analyzing gender and sexuality in tandem when analyzing Washington's history, a project which has had little undertaking.[17] For example, most gender scholarship on Washington *forgets* sexuality and vice versa; I attempt here to begin purposefully showing the benefits of mutual analysis. A vested interest of this thesis then is a criticism of Washington's women's history, which fails to consider nuances of sexuality within analyses of modernity but also the predominately gay male histories of Seattle, which fail to dynamically explore gender or employ gender analysis. The historical study of Washington must begin recognizing the importance of tandem, nuanced analysis of gender and sexuality, and "that doing one without the other is intellectually and politically a seriously damaged enterprise."[18] Because gender and sexual identities do not form in a vacuum and have wide-reaching analytical connections, this thesis highlights the seriously underemphasized importance of race, age, and religion as underexplored forces imbricating with gender and sexuality in Washington's history.

In the following four chapters, I begin the project of utilizing queer anxieties as a methodological approach in investigating Washington's history. I consider the first chapter of this project to be a Pre-Movement queer history, surveying four important levels at which queer anxieties played out during the period before a discernable Gay and Lesbian Movement existed in Washington. Chapter 1 argues for the use of a capacious queer framework to engage with the Pre-Movement period in Washington's history of gender

and sexuality nonnormativity through case studies on sodomy, miscegenation politics, cross-dressing, and male homosociality. Chapter 1 thus provides the broad contours of queer anxieties grounding the rest of this project while suggesting room for exponential growth regarding research on queer histories of the Pacific Northwest.

After Chapter 1, I consider the subsequent three chapters to be queer histories of the Gay and Lesbian Movement in Washington since its consolidation through the apex of the AIDS epidemic. Chapter 2 begins by describing actual *movement* of queer people and objects along with the creation and dissemination of sexual-knowledge since the 1960s. This chapter analyzes the flow of queer people and materials through, throughout, and outside of Seattle through acts of letter-writing, travel, reading, cruising, and activism. In so doing, Chapter 2 showcases the increasingly complex networks of sexual knowledge-making and queer culture that were tied to the increased public presence of the Gay and Lesbian Movement in the mid-twentieth century. While using Seattle as an archival-base, Chapter 2 challenges the metronormative and community-focused assumptions made about the city's gay and lesbian history by showing its intimate connections to rural spaces throughout the Pacific Northwest but also with other major cities along the West Coast like Portland, Vancouver B.C., and San Francisco.[19]

Next, Chapter 3 showcases the wide-reaching influence that Judeo-Christian religious worldviews had on people *affiliated* with both queerness and religion amidst the emergence of the Gay and Lesbian Movement through the end of the 1980s. In this chapter I suggest, that anxieties concerning (and discerning) religious and queer affiliation were a sustained force shaping both lived-experience and sociopolitical discourse throughout this

period (and not always in ways that positioned Christianity as an antithesis to the Gay and Lesbian Movement). Chapter 3 challenges assumptions that Save Our Children (and in the case of Seattle "Save Our Moral Ethics") was the short-lived, pinnacle example of anti-gay religiously-backed upheaval in the last several decades of the twentieth century. Instead, I suggest that these organizations' anxieties never dissipated but rather reorganized into New Right coalitions in the 1980s. Subsequently, these New Right coalitions' maintained strong gender and sexual anxieties which served as fuel to enact law and order policies at the state and local level which policed lesbian and gay life in an attempt to preclude a queer-influence on youth. Importantly, this chapter explores these themes through the case study of The Monastery, a gay disco that was also, for some time, a licensed church that took a more sexually as well as socially liberated and whimsical approach to Christian values as a way to create a feeling of affiliation. Tied up in the story of the Monastery were longstanding anxieties about race, youth and intergenerational sex, drug use, and socioeconomic status.

Chapter 4 turns to the multitude of queer anxieties found amidst the heights of social upheaval, moral panic, and media sensationalism in the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 90s. Particularly, I turn my attention to the story of Steven Farmer, the first person in Washington state to undergo involuntary blood testing to screen for HIV in 1988. In this chapter, I show how anti-queer sentiments, panic over the spread of disease, and sentiments about the wellbeing of minors prompted media sensationalism and translated understandings of state and local policy as a guarantor of "the people's welfare" into nonconsensual HIV-testing.[20] Chapter 4 also takes up conversations on the complex roles

victimization, childhood, awareness, and criminality functioned during the HIV/AIDS crisis. My exploration of queer anxieties in Washington ends with the news reporting on Farmer's death in 1995 as the narrative of anxiety around Farmer continued through his final days. Crucially, though, to not present Farmer as the ultimate victim of AIDS-based discrimination, this chapter pays careful attention to the various emotional and intellectual ways various individuals responded to the Farmer story. Likewise, this section takes far more seriously than previous accounts, the allegations of rape and sexual assault made against Farmer by teenage sex workers, complaints that fueled calls for the forced blood test.

In the Epilogue, I provide some thoughts on the possibilities and pitfalls of using anxiety as an analytical framework. At various points in this thesis, I choose to focus on individual anxiety rather than a social one, for example. This is because, instead of inundating the reader with continuous pages of how I see anxieties emerging in specific documents or at specific moments, I allude to these broader, sometimes obvious, anxieties through creative writing. . Therefore, I often rely on narrative styles to guide my readers through the lived-experiences of queer anxieties. At other points, I lean toward imparting significant insights that I find significant to my overarching thesis, in a way distancing myself as the historian from the lived-experience of my subject.[21] I see my presentation of materials as using my own informed judgment to present examples of what *was* and what *certainly happened* in order to illuminate the vast landscape on which queer anxieties were managed.[22] This approach is inspired by Saidiya Hartman's work on the intimate lives of African American women at the turn of the twentieth century. Like Hartman, I attempt to

signify to the reader how, even this perspective, which I have found so beneficial, is still shaped by levels of historical silence only parts of which I can attempt to elucidate. As she puts it, "every historian of the multitude, the dispossessed, the subaltern, and the enslaved is forced to grapple with the power and authority of the archive and the limits it sets on what can be known, whose perspective matters, and who is endowed with the gravity and authority of historical actor."[23] As much as this study is historically accurate, I would like to conceive of it as a reflection on the limits historians face.

In summation, if this thesis assists in the work of re-envisioning how we think about the history of Washington, if it moves us toward a more comprehensive form of queer historical analysis if it promotes an "anxious turn" for the study of gender and sexuality in the Pacific Northwest, and if it complicates current historiographic understandings of Seattle's LGBT history, it will have achieved more than I could ever hope.

## CHAPTER 1: LEVELS

Washington's history—as well as the history of the Pacific Northwest—is far queerer than we realize. As much scholarship from outside Washington has done, this chapter analyzes gender and sexuality in tandem while exploring how these forces imbricate with other historical forces to unearth a statewide history of queer anxieties.[1] The earliest histories of the state of Washington avoided explicit conversations of modern gender, sex, and sexuality; yet, in many ways (by listing births, stories of fatherhood, mentions of "half-breed" children, and reflections on "good" men and women), early accounts engrained queer anxieties into the fabric of the state's past.[2] Explorations into gender, sex, and sexuality in Washington's history followed innovations in the field of social history; yet, within sociohistorical explorations, analytically, these three concepts were isolated from one another. This chapter uses queer anxieties to begin bridging this divide by showing how the interplay, influx, and management of anxieties about nonnormative gender, sex, and sexuality has been orienting Washington residents since the state entered the Union in 1889. This chapter focuses on how lived-experiences were oriented, fractured, and distinguished by means of experiencing, navigating, and managing queer anxieties through case studies on sodomy, interracial sexuality, cross-dressing, and heterosexual manhood.[3] A framework of queer anxieties thus better captures the contours of Washington State's gender and sexual history than previous studies, meaning this approach deserves utilization when Washington's history is explored, surveyed, and shared.[4]

Because this chapter looks at the period before the emergence of the US Gay and Lesbian in the 1940s and 50s, it is distinctly a Pre-Movement queer history. With the lack of a distinguishable Gay and Lesbian Movement, the study of this period's queer history benefits by broadly exploring gender and sexual nonnormativity as a phenomenon.[5] This chapter follows Julio Capó's lead in *Welcome to Fairyland,* which delineates that, "queer subjects" have not necessarily been associated with what became the Gay and Lesbian Movement and LGBTQ identity in the mid-twentieth century. Capó's work:

> places the man caught performing oral sex on another man, for example, alongside the trousered lesbian, the female and male impersonator, the mannish woman, the sex worker, the brothel-visiting summer, the woman donning a scandalous two piece bathing suit, the thrill-seeking tourist, the interracial and intergenerational couple, the surveilled migrant and immigrant, and the vagrant, hobo, and transient… as queer, to, even if they might not have seen or labeled themselves as such.[6]

The "queer" people, places, and experiences surveyed in this chapter were subversive, alternative, and often willfully eccentric historical representations of gender and sexual variance, ebbing and flowing in their acceptance and regulation but ultimately contrasted with many of modernity's assumptions of normative desire and lived-experience.[7] A hegemonic filter has thus delineated nonnormative gender, sex, and sexuality while these lived-experience imbricated with race, ethnicity, ability, age, religion, economic status, and other loci of power, knowledge, identity, and anxiety.[8]

This chapter contributes to the study of Pre-Movement queer history by investigating the ignition and management of queer anxieties through a study of sodomy, interracial sex/marriages, cross-dressing, and heterosexual manhood. Exposing queer anxieties at these four *levels* urges a thoughtful return to Cathy Cohen's call for a more

expansive sociohistorical notion of queerness beyond just identifiable/identifying same-sex desire and gender transgression.[9] Moreover, the history of the state as a whole can be retold through the myriad representations which sparked, experienced, and managed queer anxieties at the personal, interpersonal, and sociopolitical levels.[10]

Crucially, this chapter posits an analysis of same-sex attraction (but also queerness) in Washington unbound to the metropolis, thereby supplementing the dominating perspective in queer historiography.[11] Of course, the majority of queer experiences and histories have not taken place in the meccas that would come to be associated with the Gay and Lesbian Movement in the mid-twentieth century.[12] As Colin Johnson indicates, scholarship pertaining to queer life in nonmetropolitan contexts has come in a second wave.[13] This second wave has mimicked a larger trend in queer studies challenging "metronormative" assumptions about queer life and history.[14] Crucially, in contrast to the dominant perspective produced in part by historians of Seattle, this chapter's analysis attempts to bridge the urban/rural divide, thus pushing the field into a direction that does not necessitate a confluence of urban space and queer communal history.[15]

**Queer Anxieties at Four Levels**

At the point of Washington's admission into the Union in 1889, national concerns about gender and sexual normality and nonnormativity were entering a phase of sociopolitical and personal intensification. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of Americans were recognizing same-sex desires as crucial to their *raison d'être* and began actively seeking likeminded individuals.[16] George Chauncey has helped locate the emergence of early gay cultures during this period in urban spaces like

New York by looking at Liquor Control Board Reports, police and court records, as well as tabloids and other media.[17] Simultaneously, the federal regulation of sexuality—via military, immigration, and welfare policies—helped solidify modern, large-scale conceptualizations of identity and "over the course of the early to mid-twentieth century, the state crafted citizenship policies that crystallized homosexual identity."[18] Establishing a concrete sociopolitical concern with same-sex desire and gender inversion occurred during the Progressive Era (roughly, the late-1880s to 1924), the same period Washington gained statehood. Kevin Murphy points out in his work that, "while worries about the stability of male identity and related concerns about the meanings and effects of homosexuality may have been more pervasive in Cold War culture, this nexus became firmly established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, at the very same time the 'sexual invert' was identified as a particular social, cultural, and political type."[19] Between 1865 and 1914, forty US cities thus implemented cross-dressing laws to regulate the clothing assigned to specific sexes in public spaces.[20] This concern continued to pique as newspapers increasingly disseminated stories of individuals choosing not to live as their birth-assigned sex.[21] Distinctly "queer" figures also came to produce and increasingly be represented in literature and performance art. The varying sexual practices and gender structures of differing cultures emigrating into the United States also vexed many Americans. The scientific study of sexuality known as sexology began to powerfully impact public perceptions of normative and deviant actions and desires around the turn of the twentieth century. Simultaneously, throughout the Western world, people wondered how progress (industrialization, mechanization, consumerism, women's political and

public-sphere involvement, etc.) would transform "true" manhood and womanhood, thus creating an imperative to preserve the ideals and meanings assigned to biological sex. Additionally, prostitution, masturbation, pornography, bestiality, sexual violence, reproductive health, sexual "fitness," ability, and beauty all increasingly entered the public consciousness through a language of sociopolitical anxiety. Washington's statehood thus coincided with related anxieties about gender, sex, and sexuality, all shaping the zeitgeist of the Progressive Era.

**Sodomy Outside of Seattle**

Washington State's sodomy laws, as well as reporting on same-sex activity, extended beyond Seattle during the Progressive Era. Policing and reforming male same-sex sexuality, and thereby creating the category of "homosexual," was a statewide process indicating the management of queer people and anxieties outside of Seattle.[22] Washington State adopted its first sodomy law in 1893, which was readily used to police same-sex sexual intimacy throughout the state.[23] Later, a reformatory opened in Monroe, Washington in 1908 specifically designed to "reform" men aged 16 to 30 who broke sodomy laws by having sex with other men: individuals who "sodomized" children, younger girls, or animals were punished more harshly and sent to a different facility.[24] In 1909 Washington's sodomy statute was expanded to include detailed explanations of the *acts* associated with sodomy such as voluntary anal and oral sex, bestiality, and necrophilia.[25] Explicitly concerned about the spread of knowledge about same-sex interactions among children and young men, "in 1909 the Washington state legislature attempted to limit public discussion of same-sex activities," which included a new statute making it a potential misdemeanor

to publish "detailed" accounts of sodomy.[26] Nonetheless, in the first decades of the twentieth century, Seattle, Tacoma, Vancouver, Aberdeen, Spokane, and Walla Walla all underwent periods of intense social concern about the intensification of sodomy between men.[27] Peter Boag's work on this topic has shown that two overlapping, yet seemingly distinct male same-sex sexual cultures began to be noticed in the Pacific Northwest (although he states they "emerged") during this period: one within intensely homosocial industries like mining, logging, and fishing (which will play a role in this chapter's final section), and another among white-collar men in towns and cities.[28] Gendered and sexual anxieties about homosexuality were, increasingly, ravaging the psyches of Washingtonians who learned about sodomy (or even witnessed it or experienced "sodomist" desires for themselves).

Homosex was noticed and recorded as illegal sodomy among various types of men of differing professions, ages, religions, and races. For example, in February 1896, the *Yakima Herald* reported on an older barber named Joseph Monhallan from Walla Walla being sentenced to the State Penitentiary in Walla Walla for ten years.[29] In 1910, the *Yakima Herald* reported several stories on two young lovers, Frank Nichol and James S. Ryan, described as young "*sodomists*" and "lads" who sought "liberty" from their impending imprisonment. In mid-October 1910, both were convicted of sodomy—Frank Nichol being 21 and James S. Ryan being referred to only as a "lad"—and on November 1, 1910, they escaped from prison. Subsequently, Nichol was then re-captured and brought to Walla Walla while Ryan escaped as he had "completely eluded" officers of the law.[30] Yet, not all the stories focused on white men, in 1912, the *Morning Olympian* reported on

"three Hindus employed in a mill at Gate City" who were arrested and charged with Sodomy after "having committed an unnatural act of the person of Clarence Murray, a young boy" and "two other Hindus."[31] Racial anxieties, likely, usually caused white-focused newspapers not to report on nonwhite sodomy infractions; yet, in the abovementioned case, a white boy (the only individual whose full name is recognized) was a member of the group accusing three nonwhite men. Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, local newspapers also published lists of court cases, prisoners awaiting trials, and recent arrests that frequently included "sodomy" between men, including in the state's far-flung regions.[32] During this period, Progressive Era activists worked to have boys younger "than sixteen… sent to the State Training School in Chehalis" so they could help reform "sodomist" behavior.[33] The wide range of individuals captured in these cases reflects the complex anxieties that these interactions produced as these actions were increasingly policed via law. Moreover, these cases exemplify the various pathways through which same sex-desires were actualized.

Two Washington Supreme Court cases from 1911—*State v. McDowell* (decided in January) and *State v. Harsted* (decided in December)—reflect how the anxiety of confronting sodomy disoriented those individuals in many cases as they were subsequently forced to confront the reality of intergenerational sex. In *McDowell*, the court affirmed the sentencing of Alex McDowell for "assault with intent to commit sodomy" upon several 13-year-old boys.[34] In this case, jurors and lawyers notably maintained that it was generally inappropriate to question younger boys about sexual acts, preferences, and desires that they had or partook in (with or without consent). Arising from Kittitas County in Central

Washington, Alex McDowell's actions were reported on in newspapers such as *The Ellensburg Dawn,* although these reports never detailed how teens or boys were involved in the case.[35] Similarly, in *Harsted*, the Supreme Court affirmed the conviction of Ole Harsted for attempting Sodomy upon an 11-year-old named Virgil Cooper in March of the same year.[36] Justice Gose wrote that:

> One may be guilty of an attempt to commit the offense without the acts having proceeded… further than a general intent to commit the completed offense…Virgil Cooper… testified that he was 11 years old, and that after the arrest of the appellant his throat and mouth were sore. While the boy was being detained one of the juvenile officers informed the prosecuting attorney that he had reason to believe that the boy had syphilis. Acting upon this statement, the prosecutor had the appellant's bond increased... Appellant's counsel thereafter offered to prove that the county physician 'examined the boy and reported' that he had syphilis in the mouth, that the appellant's blood had been tested and 'found free from exterior evidence of siphilis,' [sic.] and 'found free from taint.'…[37]

The attempt to exonerate Harsted was thus built upon a notion that if Virgil Cooper had syphilis (which still seemed unproven) then Harsted likely did not assault the boy. The claim essentially rested on an argument about "taint" in that it was alleged that the "true" sodomite would have been the one who was more likely to have a sexually transmitted infection. However, having been caught "in the act" of seemingly pursuing sodomy, Harsted was castigated whether or not he "fully" had sex with Cooper. Harsted's vague, spatial interaction with Cooper was enough to necessitate discipline. In *McDowell* and *Harsted,* anxieties induced by same-sex activity were navigated through feelings of propriety, abject potential, contamination, and a sense of social peculiarity. Most notably though, queer anxieties were managed through the notion that both legal and social innocence (in its various formulations) *could* accompany young age; yet, as seen in

*Harsted,* the attempt to exonerate Ole Harsted was vested in bringing this latter notion into question.[38]

The mere potential for homosex, and its apparent proliferation, was spurring on anxieties to prevent the sexual status quo from being altered: this is noticeable in the fact that newspapers published accounts about the potential for sodomy from areas outside Washington. By 1891, *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer* was reporting on incidents of sodomy in British Columbia.[39] Likewise, Oscar Wilde served as a non-American, representative "sodomite" in the 1890s especially during his 1895 trial which was reported on widely throughout the state including *Anacortes American*, *Washington Standard*, *Pullman Herald*, *The Yakima Herald*, *The Islander*, *The Mason County Journal*, *Olympia Tribune*, and the *Spokane Falls Review*.[40] In 1895, the *Washington Standard* levied that the charges against Oscar Wilde, "the prince of the aesthetic realm," showed that "the uppercrest [sic.] of society is permeated with the most nauseous corruption, and the evidence in the trial is of a nature to make the cheek of humanity redden over the depravity of human nature."[41] Blame and complaint within the Wilde case helped manage anxieties as one could claim they were "elsewhere" by attributing the proliferation of homosex to foreignness or the excesses of the upper-class.

The potential for sodomy was also utilized within the state to degrade and abate certain individuals. For example, the Baptist Reverend J. W. Kramer of Spokane launched a campaign to mar local politicians through his speaking engagements entitled, "Has Spokane a Sodomite Alderman?" in 1909.[42] Due to Washington's laws against publishing explicit accounts of sodomy, Kramer could at least present the element of a sodomist threat

in the newspaper which galvanized individuals to hear him speak about allegedly corrupt local politicians. This also goes to show that, in some cases, intent or potential to sodomize (which was not an explicit *act* necessarily) could have been more of a pressing, ongoing social concern than the revelation of sodomy (which, however, proved more momentous when unearthed). Numerous Washington Supreme Court cases over the next several decades grappled (albeit rather vaguely) with the idea of the *intent* to sodomize. Within several cases, sodomy was expanded beyond mere actions and incidents into the realm of affect; as, in such cases, if certain feelings "proceeded any further" they would have constituted sodomy as seen in *State v. Oberg* (WA-1936), *State v. Swane* (WA-1944), *State v. Collier* (WA-1945) and *State v. Johnson* (WA-1949).[43]

"Sodomites" and "Homosexuals" were appearing in increasing numbers since the turn of the century through the 1950s. During this period, the abject, disoriented mental state of the sodomite/homosexual became a powerful motif to characterize same-sex desire and activity. External forces could deflect their ability to fully control this proliferation of allegedly immoral feelings in that the "homosexual," "sexual invert," "queer," and "sodomite" was labeled as possessing internal anxieties destabilizing a true, heterosexual, mentally fit selfhood. In the late-1940s and early-1950s, this sentiment was best exemplified in the case of Bill Smith Jr., who was implied to be a "homosexual" during the murder trial of 17-year-old Noreen McNicholas. In January 1948, Bill Smith Jr. was convicted of murdering McNicholas, who he had attended beauty school with in Tacoma, Washington and was given the death penalty. Smith was arrested in California in July 1947 after McNicholas' naked, "badly battered" body was discovered laying "in a shallow,

moss-covered grave for more than two months" in Spanaway Park (near Tacoma). Ella Mae Cooper, a fellow beauty school student, testified that she witnessed Smith "choke Noreen to death." Noticing Bill Smith Jr.'s *obvious homosexuality,* the prosecution began contending that "the murder was an outgrowth of Smith's jealousy over Noreen's interference… between Smith and another man." Another man, 74-year-old Robert Goebel, was originally charged with the murder but was released upon Smith's arrest, Thomas McNicholas (Noreen's father) was also suspected as he could not provide an alibi. The jury sentenced Bill Smith Jr. to death; yet, in 1952 he was given a new trial as jurors admitted to having been influenced by sensational reporting on Smith as even the inference of his "homosexuality" (which was not proven at the time) implied the self-possessed jealously and rage to fuel the murder and indicate guilt.

Bill Smith's second trial in March 1952 was equally plagued with sensationalism, as news outlets and legal agents targeted his mental condition as inexorably attached to his, now identified same-sex desire. Before the new case was even argued, reports filled Seattle and Tacoma newspapers that Smith "could not hide his degeneracy" and that "his peculiarities showed." Smith, who was 28 at the time, was described as "well dressed" by newspapers, "a red-haired Kentuckian" looking "dapper in a light tan suit and brown tie and a fawn-colored shirt. To encounter the newspaper image of an aesthetically rigid, queer southerner, the defense attorney highlighted Smith's military service to present the image of a decent, gender-conforming man at the time of the murder. In contrast, the defense attorney tried to posit that Ella Mae Cooper was hysterical (her gender being a crucial part of this). Nonetheless, the image of a jealous, hysterical male hairdresser who was obsessed

with a man proved to be a more poignant argument to the jury comprised mostly of women with children living in Tacoma. Crucially, Bill Smith's trial never shifted away from the discourse about the competing feelings and jealousies over the man, both Bill and Noreen allegedly desired (who never appeared in court). Likewise, the narrative was never able to avoid the idea that Ella Mae Copper, despite any "hysteria," was *able* to pinpoint the deviance of Bill Smith Jr. vested in his sexual desires. Finally, anxieties about *what the sodomite was* fully enabled even the slightest indications that Bill was indeed a jealous, limp-wristed, homosexual trying to steal this man's attention away from a "pretty" young woman. In December 1952, Bill Smith Jr. was sentenced to 99 years in prison with no chance at parole.[44] In many ways, Bill Smith Jr. was incarcerated because of queer anxieties. Given the power of complaint about male same-sex desire which had been developing for decades in Washington, there was little room for Bill Smith Jr. to prove that he *was not* queer. Smith's ability to alleviate queer anxieties about his role in the case were also debilitated by his gendered performances which, in combination with his sexual preferences enabled the prosecution and media to portray him as a jealous, unstable man driven to sexual madness. Smith Jr. and other "sodomites" reflected the levels of anxiety that surrounded any sort of accusation homosex, from the internal anxieties of the same-sex desiring man himself over his voice, clothing, body language, feelings, and activities to the broader zeitgeist increasingly concerned with building a purposefully, legally-mandated heterosexual world.

**Cross-dressing, Masquerading, and "True Sex"**

Records of cross-dressing, whether indicative of a transgender experience or not, cultivated, reflected, and have ignited queer anxieties since Washington gained statehood in 1889. Nonetheless, stories about the revelation of "true sex," "masquerading as a different sex," and the defiance of one's sex-assigned-at birth disseminated throughout the state reveals a long history of disturbing gender norms. The study here adds to, what might be considered the larger trans-American history explored in recent scholarship by Emily Skidmore, Clare Sears, and C. Riley Snorton.[45] Importantly, incidents of cross-dressing were noted in both rural and urban settings; in this section, I pay greater attention to those rural stories to show the wider breadth of queer anxieties beyond Seattle. In what follows, I recount the interest, fascination, and concern that stories of cross-dressing resulted in throughout the state of Washington before the 1940s, but particularly around the turn of the twentieth century. Fascination with gender *transgressive* displays of the body were widespread in Washington beginning in the Progressive Era as newspapers recounted stories of cross-dressing and "true sex" from across the United States.[46] Crucially, these stories imply to historians that many other people likely transgressed norms of gender performance and assigned sex without having their "true sex" "discovered," and disseminated to the public. Nonetheless, accounts of cross-dressing and "true sex" took various forms showcasing the ways in which individuals lived in opposition to the sex they were assigned at birth and the various meanings ascribed to male and female bodies.

Reflecting both the *movement* of queer anxieties and the figure of the cross-dresser, published stories about "true sex" and "masquerading" fascinated Washingtonians.[47] The story of Fred Johnson proved to be one particularly powerful

example drawing attention across the Puget Sound region. In June 1896, *The Islander* (the newspaper of the San Juan Islands) reported that in May of that year, "Fred Johnson" who "several years ago came to" San Juan had their identity revealed while living in Helena, Montana. The report stated, "he is a woman, and for fourteen years has been masquerading as a man… Since coming to Helena, she has gained the confidence of prominent merchants," yet "drink caused her to lose" this prominence. *The Islander* reported that Johnson refused to give their birth-name and then became an inmate of the Salvation Army Rescue Home.[48] For fourteen years, Johnson *moved* throughout the West, avoiding detection that they were—to the outsider looking on—*not presenting what their body should have been*. The Johnson story must have profoundly impacted individuals living in the San Juan islands who had thought "he" was a *normal man*. Perhaps, San Juan residents who met Johnson had previously questioned Johnson's body, thinking that he appeared less masculine or more feminine than their sons, brothers, uncles, fathers, husbands, and neighbors. Most powerful though, the silence that had fallen upon Johnson after the revelation of their "true sex" reflect Johnson's internal anxieties, longings, and discomforts in the world; and, for the reader of this newspaper article, might have left them feeling perplexed as to what was going on in Johnson's mind.

Across Washington, stories of "masquerading" focused on the length and feats accomplished in the act of successfully cross-dressing. For example, in October 1905, the *Washington Standard* reported the "astounding story of a woman masquerading as a man for a lifetime—over forty years."[49] Perplexed by this individual's identity, the *Washington Standard* refused to name this individual, they did, however, express astonishment at the

fact that "a woman" from France living in Missouri was able to live until the age of 84, and take up "men's" work, without ever having been "discovered" until "her reluctance to take a bath… aroused suspicions," and a medical examiner declared "he" was actually "she."[50] Likewise, in December 1908, the *Pullman Herald* reported a story from Bozeman, Montana of "Sammy Williams" who surprised the town after their death at 80 years of age when "it was discovered that she was a woman who had been masquerading as a man for… most of her life… and had acquired considerable property."[51] Masculine and heterosexual authority thus served as the matrix through which these stories were digested by readers. In March 1916, 44-year-old Robert A. Gaffney of Lynden Washington, "admitted to the police at Seattle and to representatives of the prosecuting attorney's office the 'he' is a woman and has been masquerading as a man for 20 years." Gaffney had a wife, which proved to be the most shocking element of the story for readers; yet, the queer anxieties produced by this story were managed, or alleviated, due to the fact that Gaffney had failed as a husband as his inability to provide for his wife led to him being "sentenced to a term in the stockade" by way of Washington's 1913 Lazy Husband Act.[52]

Especially regarding "men who masqueraded in women's clothes" or a "man who lived as a girl," newspaper reports ferreted over how "men" were able to penetrate feminine spaces. In 1917, *The Tacoma Times* expressed befuddlement when an astonishingly beautiful woman with "the features of a young girl, and the frame of a woman" was revealed to have been "a man" who "lived all her life as a girl."[53] Another widely discussed cross-dressing story in Washington was that of "Peg Leg Ann," who, in May 1904, was discovered to have been "masquerading as a woman for nearly half a century, receiving

and rejecting at least half a score of proposals of marriage." This incident stood out and shocked readers because Ann's female experience spanned decades. Moreover, Ann's "female-achievements" like proposals of marriage flummoxed readers. Interestingly, reporters managed queer anxieties about Peg Leg Ann's sex by paying substantial attention to Ann's "masculine" features and accomplishments such as owning a 120-acre farm and maintaining a muscular, "powerful build." Assumed by reporters posthumously, Ann's masculinity was affirmed by noting her refusal of marriage proposals from men. Crucially, this attribution of male-identity through heterosexuality shows how sexuality and gender were used together to navigate queer anxieties about the cross-dressed, trans-fashioned body.[54]

Because they distorted normative notions of gender, sex, sexuality, anxieties about the cross-dressing body were often managed by reports highlighting failure and ephemerality. In 1908, *The Colfax Gazette* wrote a story about Emma Carson, a woman who had "dressed as a man" but only did so, reportedly, because her husband had been failing to provide, causing Carson to move to the remote, small-town of Tekoa in Whitman County and seek work as a male. This attempt was highlighted as short-lived and that the pretty, 23-year-old had little success in passing for a male due to Carson's physical features and demeanor, which, according to authorities, made her stand out amongst the men she worked with leading to her inevitable arrest.[55] Failure to perform the male breadwinner role was also highlighted in one story from *Anacortes American* (from Washington coast) in which a woman admitted to only dressing as a man because her husband deserted her and moved east.[56] In 1915, the *Aberdeen Herald* published the story of 18-year-old Edna

Puffer, who "was a man five years" and traveled "all over the United States and northern Europe" and suggested that Puffer took this course of action after her English mother and father who "had Indian blood… both died before she was seven years old."[57] Failure is inserted into Puffer's narrative on multiple levels through which gender anxieties were managed, for example: 1) she was a young orphan 2) she was the product of interracial sex and 3) by moving she never stayed under a singular male gaze long enough to be figured out. Further, some newspapers like *The Spokane Press* in 1910, *Washington Standard* in 1911, each published fictional accounts in which individuals, in short-lived attempts, failed to maintain the "illusion" of gender transformation, especially once they entered male-dominated homosocial environments like the military.[58] The motif of cross-dressing failure and ephemerality under the watchful eye of white male superiority thus implies that although these gender and sexual representations flummoxed many Washingtonians. Therein, anxieties were managed by insisting the anxieties produced by cross-dressing were diaphanous, ephemeral illusions against progress which were ultimately fettered, perforated, and espied through a strengthening of gender norms and the authoritative male gaze.

Given how cross-dressing stories were distilled through an androcentric matrix, the function of the phallus—the inability to produce or hid a penis, and the desires assumed to occur because one had a penis—served an indispensable role in managing cross-dressing anxieties.[59] For example, in 1894, *The Mason County Journal* shared the story of "a young man passing as a girl all his life until a month or two ago." "Laura" apparently hoped to live as "the weaker sex" until male sexual and romantic desires re-established his gender

identity.[60] In an even more telling story from October 1905, *The Seattle Republican* reported on the how "Rev. F. M. Sutton… proved that he is no female in disguise."[61] Immediately, the writer for the *Seattle Republican* mentioned how Sutton's story, although rather humorous, would ease anxieties amid the recent proliferation of "several cases wherein women have for years masqueraded as men." Reverend Sutton was reported to have been giving a sermon to his congregation when "a mouse ran up his trousers" and, as the article stated, "without a second's pause in his sermon he reached his left hand down to the seat of trouble and quickly grasped the intruder. With a firm clutch he squeezed it to death… No woman, regardless, of how long she had been masquerading as a man could have stood that test." Sutton's strength in killing the rodent, quick impulse to protect his phallus, and bravery to reach "down into the seat of trouble" in front of an audience assured his manhood in this case (while suggesting a "real woman" would not have acted similarly). Reflecting on the triumph of true manhood vested in the phallus, the report noted that, "if the fad" of masquerading continues "there may be doubt as to who is who," but that if the time comes to *prove* "who is who," it would be easy for *real men*. Amid cross-dressing and gender transgressive stories, the phallus functions as a reassuring mechanism to ultimately determine sex and thereby gender (as well as assumed sexuality) but also to manage underlying fears about the mutability of hegemonic masculinities within modernity.

The most prolific motifs attached to noncommercial cross-dressing in Pre-Movement Washington were criminality, legal consequence, and mental delirium. For example, from 1902 to 1910, stories of "Jack the Hugger" were published in Walla Walla, Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma, Wenatchee, Leavenworth, Newport, and Yakima presenting the

malicious intentions of men donning women's clothes for criminal and sexually deviant purposes. Several different men were accused of being "Jack the Hugger" in these stories throughout this period; yet, all of them donned women's clothes and "hugged" women (in some cases, police also dressed as women to catch the Hugger). The two most famous of these "huggers" were both George Hanson (Tacoma) and Clark Lounsbury (Spokane) who were "terrorizing" the "aristocratic women" of their cities from 1908 to 1910 whom police officers described as "some unclassified form of a sex pervert."[62]

Other frequently mentioned instances in Washington were hold-ups of stores and banks in which men dressed as women to appear non-threatening.[63] In 1906, *The Spokane Press* wrote a scathing story of "two negroes dressed in women's clothes" who robbed a man but were also not smart enough to get his cash. This article, "Thugs Wore Dresses," we see both gendered and racialized renderings and psychological evaluations of the individuals being made to navigate cross-dressing's intersections with various crimes. Indeed, the man who was mugged could not *truly* identify the gender of the muggers as "it was too dark" and he could not see them that well; nonetheless, he evaluated them mentally as a method to assume that they were black "thugs" (despite presenting and being dressed entirely as women) built on the allegation the "thugs" were too incompetent to get his cash.[64] In these instances, we see that the criminal association of cross-dressing was used to associate those individuals who cross-dressed as means of survival or in order to fulfill individual desires were convoluted by those assumptions that there was always an ulterior motive to the action which indicated the corruptness' of cross-dressing, or gender transgressive individuals.

**Interracial Sexuality and Anti-Miscegenation Moments**

From the 1880s to 1940s, concern with "miscegenation" sparked queer anxieties throughout Washington. Of course, numerous scholars of African American and Asian American history have shown the racialized components of these kinds of gender and sexual anxieties through studies of the Progressive Era revitalization of miscegenation laws and the urban policing of racial minorities's gender presentations and sexual relations.[65] A brief glimpse into how the legacies of old miscegenation laws and the calls for new miscegenation laws during the Progressive Era fueled queer anxieties throughout Washington can help decipher just *how* interracial sexuality served a queer function in the state. Washington Territory had banned interracial marriage in 1855 and repealed these laws in 1868. Numerous attempts were made throughout the Progressive Era to install miscegenation laws, which often targeted Asians, marking a shift from the initial laws which targeted white and Native relations. Yet, since gaining statehood in 1889, Washington never formally held laws prohibiting interracial marriage.[66]

Washington's 337.5 percent change in populations between 1890 (around 357,000) and 1930 (around 1,200,000) resulted in webs of ethnic and racial diversity embedded with anxieties closely associated with national and regional trends in race relations. Despite the lack of formal statewide bans on interracial marriage, Jason A. Gillmer's work on the period from the 1850s to 1940s successfully posited that "Washington elites and powerbrokers used legal mechanisms to discourage and penalize interracial families," and in doing so ensured "that wealth and property remained in the hands of white rather than racial minorities."[67] In Washington, anxieties about interracial sexuality were navigated,

deciphered, and acted upon despite an absence of formal miscegenation laws since the 1860s.

Legal battles for inheritance and spousal rights exemplify how courts navigated sexual and racial anxieties to ensure an intimate divide between whites and nonwhites. In 1894, a Tacoma Judge ruled on an "unusual case" involving a 17-year-old white girl named Georgie Kirch who hoped to marry "a colored barber" named Fred Ross after they were "arrested for unlawfully living together."[68] The Judge took more concern with the actions of Kirch than Ross and hoped to stop their marriage by describing Kirch as "but 17 years of age, but… as brazen and bereft of womanly modesty as the most depraved woman of the town."[69] Unable to find a way to stop Kirch and Ross' marriage Judge Reid "remanded them to jail" for five days, hoping they would change their minds.[70] Reaching the higher courts, in *Follansbee v. Wilbur* (WA-1896) the Supreme Court ruled that a Native American woman's claims to her deceased, former husband's estate were invalid because Follansbee could not produce a legal record on the marriage's validation after 1867, when miscegenation laws existed in the Washington Territory. Because Kitty Follansbee, could not discern the exact date of her marriage (she was married when she was 13) and because it had occurred around the time miscegenation laws were put into effect, the justices ruled that the marriage was invalid. However, Follansbee's half-white half-Native sons, John and Charles Wilbur, were rules to be rightful heirs to the estate as Sarah Wilbur, a white woman, as well as their biological father, John T. Wilbur adopted them after miscegenation laws were repealed.[71] Later in *Weatherall v. Weatherall* (WA-1909), *Wilbur* was used as precedent to hold that any "common-law marriage and a marriage according to Indian

custom" was invalid; thus, helping secure notions that marriage and property ownership was determined by association white heterosexual, patriarchal, family, traditions, and laws.[72]

Examples of "miscegenation," "amalgamation," and "mixing," continuously fueled queer anxieties that produced melodramatic condemnation along with notions of the importance of preserving racial stock and segregation. Olympia-based newspaper the *Washington Standard* published that even most blacks detested racial mixing as he reported how many black people were "filled with wrath because one of their number, Fred. [sic.] Douglass… married a white woman."[73] Miscegenistic impulses were reported on at mining camps during the first decade of the twentieth century; for example, in 1905, one reporter mentioned that "mining camps are not wholly free from freaks on the race questions" and that, "in a camp where black and white men work together legal miscegenation is not uncommon, while cohabitation is rather common."[74] In 1909, the Walla Walla based newspaper *The Evening Statesman* incorrectly reported the passage of a new law prohibiting miscegenation, which one reporter learned by word of mouth from a man passing through town. The report mentioned that this news resulted in "rejoicing" throughout Walla Walla as, "judges and clergymen alike will not beforced [sic.] to incur the enimty [sic.] of contrasting parties who are legally separated by the bar of color."[75] The emotions, reactions, and feelings that incidents of interracial sexuality produced throughout the state certainly perpetuated the sentiment that, despite being legal, interracial sexuality back largely considered non-progressive, "backward," and uncivilized.

Although most people frowned upon black/white race-mixing, it appears that, during the Progressive Era, the most concerning interracial sexual relations occurred between whites and Asians. This occurred during a time of intense Anti-Asian political activity and socioeconomic discrimination in the United States. Washington was a hotbed of Chinese and Japanese hatred propagated by individuals and groups with white supremacist sentiments. For example, from 1885-86 white citizens forcefully expelled hundreds of Chinese people from Seattle and Tacoma, burning down Chinese homes and places of business. That same year, there were several largescale violent attacks against Chinese people occurred in Walla Walla and Pasco. Some individuals seemed willing to overlook the problems of black/white mixing if it meant that Asian/white mixing would still be deterred as these bodies presented a more pressing, abject threat. For example, in 1904, the *Bellingham Herald* shared a speech given by John Alexander which claimed miscegenation between whites and blacks was ordained by God and hinting that, "if white people in the south do not stop this abuse of the colored folk, they will be punished by being made inferior to the yellow and black races."[76] Alexander also noted the strength of "the Mongoloid race" in the east as impressive, suggesting that whites needed to assimilate black people's genetics into their racial stock in order to stave off Asian influence.[77] Crucially, a year after Alexander's speech, in 1905, the Asiatic Exclusion League was consolidated.[78] White fears about racial and socioeconomic futurity made interracial sex a formidable platform from which to police race, gender, and sexuality in Washington during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

In 1909, John E. Humphries notably led a sensationalist movement for passing new miscegenation laws in Washington. Humphries advocated making, "Intermarriage with white persons and members of the negro, Mongolian, and other inferior races… a felony, subjecting the offenders to from two to fourteen years in the state penitentiary."[79]At the beginning of the twentieth century Oregon, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Wyoming, all maintained bans on interracial marriage thus interracial couples across the west sought refuge and legal validation in Washington.[80] Humphries and his supporters were inspired after the media sensationalized the 1909 story of Helen Emery, the daughter of an Episcopal archdeacon, marrying Gunjiro Aoki, a Japanese student of "noble" lineage. "California's ban, combined with public outcry, prompted the couple, along with Helen's mother, to head north to Washington."[81] The anxieties over infiltration, threat to the status quo, and loss of purity all accompanied "Miss Emory's" move to Washington. Humphries and others were responding to this case by mourning the loss of white women's natural romantic affinity toward white men. Humphries and his supporters began professing that inferior races were seducing innocent girls, and the result was a destruction of true romance, white families, and civil society. When it became clear that the marriage was going to proceed, attacks began to be waged against Emory's intelligence. One report stated, "Miss Emory Marrying Akoi? With all due respect to Miss Emery and her family it is very doubtful she is a whit more intellectual than the Japanese she has married."[82] The need to control women's sexuality and romantic musings became utilized along with racial hatred to motivate Humphries and his supporters, to convince the Washington House of

Representatives to come together "as an emergency measure" to create miscegenation legislation targeting "Hindus, Chinamen, Japanese and negroes."[83]

Garnering support for a new law proposed by the end of 1909, stories about "prominent" and "wholesome" women in Seattle were utilized to suggest a widespread white female disavowal of racial mixing amongst *true* women. One reporter went so far as to say that, "Prominent Seattle women are unanimous in their condemnation of the intermarriage of white girls with Orientals and express themselves strongly in the belief that something must be done."[84] Within this report, Mrs. Thomas Burke (none of the women's first names were given) expressed that "no girl should ever marry outside her countrymen, we have the best the world has to offer in our own land. The American men are kings. Even among the uncultured they are gentlemen at heart." Mrs. J. E. Chilberg expressed that women and men alike needed to look to protect "the American girl's pride" and hoped that "there will be no necessity for legislation" as "the cases we hear are the exception, not the rule"[85] Mrs. W. C. Wood was reported as saying that because girls are easily influenced, they must be protected and that if things do not change, "the mothers and representative women of our Pacific coast country will be forced to do something."[86] Mrs. I. H. Jennings believes that allowing people of color to marry whites would fundamentally alter the sociopolitical system stating, instead, "we have representative colored people who have won in the world through merit," and not through marriage.[87] Miss Emery, a "miscegenist," thus stood in stark contrast to the "proper" women who opposed this kind of activity. Concerns over proper sexual behavior (monogamous sexual activity within the confines of marriage) were substantial ; thus, a female marrying the Japanese man in

Washington, in this case, was presented as, at least, taking more responsibilities for her racial failings but also sexual impropriety.

Humphries' bill failed miserably upon reaching the Senate; yet, from the 1910s onward political debate over the legality of interracial sex and marriage continued. Of course, cultural opprobrium continued to flourish. In 1910, one man wrote to the *Seattle Republican* stating:

> There is but one solution to the race question of the United States—Extermination of the blacks—which will be done either by violence or absorption, the frmer [sic.] will never be tolerated by the more human whites and the latter cannot be prevented, if the former is not tolerated. An [sic.] hundred years hence and the American Negro will be found in every country of North and South American and his blood will, without reserve, mingle with that of the white man regardless of his station in life.[88]

Queer anxiety was vested in the notion that future generation were bound to lose vitality as race-mixing was destined to persist unless blacks were to be wiped from the face of the earth. A year later, boxer Jack Johnson's marriage to Etta Duryea (one of his three white wives), prompted insurgent debate about interracial sex and marriage. Symbolically, Johnson's marriage to Duryea fueled three additional failed attempts to ban interracial marriage in 1911.[89] Subsequently, other bills passed in the house in 1917 and 1921 but failed in the Senate. The final attempts to pass formal miscegenation laws in Washington occurred during the Depression Era as anxieties about economic downturn motivated attempts to bar the increasing number of South-Asian immigrants from entering the state as workers, trying to marry whites, and eventually claiming property. Miscegenation laws and interracial sexual anxieties thus were fundamentally tied to notions of white economic stability, which was preserved in many ways through networks of white heterosexual affiliations.

**Loggers: Queer Anxieties and the Heterosexual Man**

In this final section, I analyze how queer anxieties were managed by solidifying heterosexual gender norms. This section is ultimately a launching point for a larger study on how the solidification of heterosexual gender roles in Washington's history depended on the navigation of queer anxieties. There are, of course, boundless pathways through which I can provide my analysis of a heterosexual culture in Washington; yet, here I will focus on just one during the period from 1900 to 1930 known as the period in US history in which the "Heterosexual Mystique" was diffused.[90] In this brief but crucial addition to this chapter, I delve into the homosocial world through photographs of logging camps and the bunkhouse at the Washington State Reformatory from the early-to-mid twentieth century to show how heterosexual male-identity was increasingly affirmed withing overwhelmingly homosocial spaces. The increased reassurance of heterosexual masculinity in the first decade of the twentieth century (and the diffusion of the heterosexual mystique) emerged amid an increasing concern with the potential for homosex within male homosocial spaces. Curiously, as Peter Boag's work indicates, the first decades of the twentieth century played host to numerous panics throughout the Pacific Northwest about same-sex desire and sodomy amongst men, including within male-dominated spaces like logging camps.[91] Amid this broad fear of the homosexual, queer anxieties were managed through *displays* of normative male-behavior. These two forces underwent a hegemonic homogenization, thus becoming recognized and mutually constitutive for valid male-identity within homosocial spaces. The shifting gender and sexual roles of normative women and men within Washington's public sphere during the

Progressive Era— in politics, the economy, and social life—was thus enabled by a disciplining of same-sex desire and navigation of various queer anxieties. By exploring the intimate worlds of intensely male homosocial spaces in Progressive Era Washington, this section shows how the proliferation of the heterosexual mystique and modern gender and sexual normativity was integrally fueled by queer anxieties. This section serves to suggest that perhaps the concern with homosex (in its various formulations) was the strongest queer anxiety in shaping modern gender and sexual identities during this period: and we see this by looking at a persistent displays and indications of *being heterosexual*.[92]

Hundreds of photographs paint the male-dominated world of logging camps in Washington from the 1890s to 1930s. Candid and staged photographs both reveal a world of men in action. In 1895, twenty-two loggers and two dogs posed for a photo in Cowlitz Country; two of the men wore wearing aprons likely serving as cooks, all but three men wore hats on. Some of the men sat with their arms crossed or in their laps, while others rested their hands on each other's shoulders or behind one another's others backs. Many of the men were older, but most of the men must be in their mid-to-late 20s.[93] Five young men—one, a teenage boy—posed for a photograph in 1912 in Lexington standing atop dozens of logs they had freshly topped. Working long hours in Washington's forests and using heavy axes and saws to cut down mammoth trees, some of which pre-date European colonization, made these young men's forearms and biceps large and their shoulders strong.[94] A 1914 photograph taken by Darius Kinsey in Elbe, Washington captured thirty loggers standing in front of a small bunkhouse: all men, all white. A cook, dressed up in all white was placed in the center of the photograph easily standing out from the rest of the

men wearing mostly muted, dark coloured shirts and pants hiked up to their hip bones (some of them pulled up with suspenders). Only a few men dared to smile; the majority donned stoic faces, crossing their arms showing off large biceps. Darius Kinsey sat at the end of the first row of men holding a film holder and dressed in a suit (he was different from *these* men but was welcomed into their space).[95] Over sixty white men were captured in a 1915 photograph from Shelton huddled together near a railroad track on a site owned by the Simpson Logging Company.[96] The closeness and proximity of male bodies were almost always tangible for the Washington logger.

Images inside of bunkhouses allow for an intimate reading of male lives, thoughts, and anxieties. A bunkhouse for loggers captured in a 7-inch by 9-inch photograph from 1903 highlights a packed room filled with white men of all ages. The bunkhouse had no windows, but light squeaked into the room from slivers of open space in-between the ceiling boards. Two rows of bunkbeds lined both sides of the long room; the photographed captured men sitting on benches, some posing for the photograph while others socialize. The 22 men were dressed in work clothes, most of them had stoic expressions of fortitude and masculine strength. Many of the men had mustaches, some had beards, but most of the younger men had little to no facial hair. Several bald men stood out but amongst the many men with dark black and charcoal hair whereas others had light blond hair (both perhaps, suggesting the presence of Washington's large immigrant population from "desirable" Scandinavian countries and less desired Eastern European locales).

The bunkhouse was dirty, many men appear unbathed and unkempt. A few men in the background appear to be having a conversation. Several men, mostly those who appear

older, wore wearing hats. Bunches of clothing hanged from the ceiling rafters—possibly drying after being dampened in one of Western Washington's rainstorms. Objects were strewn throughout the bunkhouse including shovels, buckets, a wood stove, several tables, a singular lamp, and an ax. All the men have kept their shoes on. One must consider the musky, sweaty smell of the space when someone cooked on the woodstove it could have smelled of smoke which stained the clothes. The reader of the photo can only speculate about there more intimate thoughts: Did these men lay with each other for warmth during dark, wet nights? Did they write letters to absent wives, mothers, sisters, and friends? Were the nights restless, filled with snoring, coughing, and moaning from injuries on the job? Did these men get naked in front of each other? Did they masturbate clandestinely in their beds? Did they ever slip out into the woods and make love with each other? This 1903 photo shows the wide potential within these spaces but also the cloistered experiences of the men who often inhabited them.[97]

Some photos suggest the sometimes boisterous feeling these bunkhouses conjured up. One 1918 photograph from Hoquiam, showed a group of sturdy lumberjacks using the space for various purposes. One man was playing a ukulele; another was cleaning up in the background. Meanwhile, two men rested under the covers in their bunks. Next to them, six men sat around playing cards. Bunkhouses were places of performance, play, provocation, and possibility in which each man could work toward *becoming* some version of himself that he hoped to fashion.[98]

Other photos showed men in action, working. A 1915 photograph shows a man smiling down at the camera while using a high rigger while another man climbs the tree.[99]

Men proved themselves as such on the job by being able to handle equipment and tools, especially modern machines which threatened to suggest that technology had superseded male efficiency. As photographs from the 1910s show, men posed with these kinds of machines and with their tools as an expression of their mastery of them—in logging camps men performed male normativity and superiority than by mastering both the machines of the industrial and modern world but also overcoming and controlling the natural world.[100] If cameras were present, men hoped to get photographs taken with the massive trees they had cut down as well as the allotments of once "crowded" land they, and their fellow-workmen, had cleared. One photograph from 1908 in Kapowsin shows nine men exuberantly posing atop a pile of logs showing the barren tree line behind them, exemplifying their feelings of success and camaraderie.[101] Before giant Douglas firs toppled to ground men posted together with these mammoth beasts like hunters with trophy kills.[102]

Animals often appeared in photos, suggesting that these men lived near both those animals found in the forests and mountains of Washington but more crucially, as seen in the photos, animals who were used for labor and, in some cases, companionship. A 1910 photograph from Sedro-Woolley shows 11 loggers next to a tree that was at least 12 feet in diameter, alongside these men are two horses who were used for transportation.[103] Many photographs also contained dogs, which proved helpful for security but also for friendship.[104] The remote wilderness of Washington contained elk, deer, beavers, squirrels, birds, lizards, and mountain goats but also animals that could "threaten" or "disturb" these men like cougars, snakes, black bears, fox, lynx, coyotes, skunks, and porcupines. Animals

were among one of the several reasons that many men brought guns with them, as seen in a 1914 picture of five, young loggers in a remote logging camp in Skamokawa, Wahkiakum County.[105] Crucially, as Washington's wilderness proved daunting, dominion, and strength overall, these animals who lived in the area (both those domesticated and those found in the wild) was likely seen as a crucial endeavor for these men whose well-being depended on triumphing over the environment.

The natural and industrial male-dominated world of logging camps preserved in early-twentieth century photographs was delineated by race; yet, photographic records also show how Japanese Americans worked as loggers and encountered nature as men.[106] A beautiful photograph from Skagit County in April 1909 shows a massive, recently cut stump on top of which two young Japanese men perform handstands for their friends and coworkers, a group of Japanese men both old and young. Despite being segregated from the white world in this case, we see how Japanese men, too, found ways into nature and to perform masculinity; however, one might suggest that the validity of their masculinity might have been defined through an increasingly hegemonic white scope. Nonetheless, the feat of strength through the handstand and the symbolism of doing such skill on a stump a massive tree that used to stand hundreds of feet in the air the suggests the liberating potential of these encounters with nature; or, at least, the potentiality for Japanese men to glimpse or perform the aesthetic vision of masculinity that would have been validated more widely if not for their alleged racial inferiority.

The reassurance of masculinity through activities and the defining of homosocial and natural space, as claimed by men helped reassure notions of masculine virility and

strength (even the way men posed in photographs were expressions of their gender). Yet, as queer anxieties crept in throughout the first decades of the century, the performance of heterosexual masculinity would involve further staging that was increasingly common in this period. All kinds of working men living in bunkhouses throughout Washington engaged in this activity. Crucially, a bunkhouse for thirteen white men working in Berne captured in a 1928 photograph shows the walls covered with photographs, mostly of white women.[107] Some of them posted photos of wives, girlfriends, and lovers, but other men more brazenly showcased their male virility and heterosexual desire by posting images of pin-ups girls that were highly- erotic. By owning pieces of these women and displaying these women, many of these men felt like trophy-collectors, proud of showing off their masculine conquests (actual, intended, envisioned, and fictitious) while reminding the men around them of how their heterosexual desires were crucial to their lived-experiences. As commercial and personal photography had become increasingly popular during the US Gilded Age and Progressive Eras, so too did it become an avenue through which individuals could *fashion* themselves and present their desires to the world; this self-fashioning being a crucial way of managing, and navigating queer anxieties through the performance of heterosexual masculinity. Yet, the insertion of these photos into a male-homosocial space also suggests the heightening of erotic energy within these confines where, for most of the time, there were no tactile and fleshy female bodies, mainly just those who were captured in photos and gazed at by men. Interestingly, in this photograph from 1928, compared to other this section has surveyed from the preceding three decades, the men also show more diversity in clothing and style choices—many also have slicked

back, styled hair—suggesting that the use of fashion itself was key to the self-fashioning of their masculine presentation.

Women and children's bodies did enter these spaces though. Yes, through photographs, love letters, and the occasional visit to lodging sites, they found their bodies near (or even sometimes within) these male-defined bunkhouses. Sometimes two or three older women can also be seen in photographs working as cooks.[108] They must have talked with the men they served, perhaps they even flirted, and worse, many of these men may have acted sexually violent toward these women. In some photos from 1900 to the 1920s, children sat on their father's laps: when children entered these spaces, they also could reaffirm a man's masculinity (his role as a father and a working man could impress his gender and sexual-experience on his children, colleagues, and himself).[109] When Industrial Workers of the World-associated loggers from Elma went on strike in 1917, perhaps their sisters and wives helped fashion the white headpieces they wore, and perhaps wives, daughters, and mothers proudly stood by their husbands who they saw not only as strong men but also champions of fairness.[110]

Importantly, men also returned to the spaces they associated with *their* women and children, such as the company towns and cities throughout the region where they lived, many went to church, some joined unions, and raised families. Some camps and small company towns were very close to worksites. Other company towns were further away from the mines, forests, and fisheries where men (and increasingly some women) found employment. Alpine had 200 residents in 1929, Barneston had 231 residents in in 1920 (74 of whom were Japanese), Burnett had 400 residents when it was taken over by the Pacific

Coast Coal Company in 1906, Cumberland had 800 residents in 1919. Hanford was a thriving camp for industrial workers and their families until it was condemned during World War II.[111] Here, men slept with their wives, spent time with their children, ate, drank, and invariably died. While their fathers worked, children would attend school—like the over 80 children attending day school in the coalmining-town of Fairfax in the 1920s.[112] Women, men, and children celebrated as well, like the over 200 people annually who attended Holden's Christmas parties during the 1930s.[113] Many of these towns had basketball teams, clubs, reading groups; for some men it must have felt that life *happened* in the company town whereas worked occurred *elsewhere*.[114]

But what about those men whose movement and ability to engage in heterosocial activities were limited? It was not only those men who *worked* in homosocial spaces (loggers, miners, fishers, contractors working on railways) who engaged in the display of heterosexual masculinity but also those men who were *confined* to these spaces as prisoners in the Washington State Reformatory in Monroe. A 1913 photograph of a small prisoner bunkhouse with seven bunkbeds—each with a narrow space for bedding and personal belongings—also contains this display of heterosexual identity. Importantly, most, if not all, the photographs displayed were of women in this cramped room. There are also drawings of women; yet, one bunk has no photographs pinned up; only a drawing of what appears to be a landscape perhaps providing an aesthetic vision of the world he wished to be in on the *outside* (did this world have women in it?). Having been imprisoned by the State, these men who had failed to uphold the morals and values of US citizens could affirm their masculinity and hence their heterosexuality through the display of identity using

photographs and art.[115] Unlike logging camps where men would eventually return home where their wives, children, mothers, and sisters lived, these imprisoned men were slated for years of a restricted, homosocial life. In many cases, aside from photographs that helped relieve erotic fantasies, the *bodies* which could be enjoyed and experimented with sexually were those of their own and their fellow inmates.

**Re-Thinking Pre-Movement Washington**

The four sites of queer anxieties explored in this chapter show the wider-breadth of queerness, both in potential and in practice, throughout the state of Washington in the period before the emergence of the Gay and Lesbian Movement. Moreover, these anxiety-riddled stories that I have shared in this chapter suggest the importance of analyzing both gender and sexuality in tandem when exploring Washington State (and paying careful attention to how both gender and sexuality were perforated, defining, and defined by other forces like race). LGBT Histories of Washington have carefully pay attention to the idea of sex and the emergence of deviant sexual identity but do not adequately examine gender. In contrast, a laundry list of work on women in Washington state focus on gender but do not give adequate attention to sex and sexuality. Likewise e, when sexuality is looked at it is not presented in a way that considered the broad sexual forces impacting Washington during this period (for example, many sources look at cisgender female heterosexuality but fail to consider histories of trans-womanhood, gender inversion, same-sex attraction, and male heterosexuality to help with this analysis).[116] This chapter thus shows that a broader gender and sexual world existed in Washington state since its entry into the Union in 1889; the goal of scholarship on the state in the future should thus, perhaps, when attempting to

explore, for example, histories of Progressive Era Womanhood in Washington, the broader contours of gender, sex, and sexuality in shaping this history. Here, I have hopefully shown how the lens of anxieties can be a particularly effective method to begin such explorations. Finally, this chapter shows how a history of "queer anxieties" may be a more efficient way to characterize the gender and sexual history of Washington State (even before more contemporary notions of *queerness* were formalized). This is especially true for the gay and lesbian history that has focused so intensely on Seattle's community as moving along the arrow of time from "exile to belonging."[117]

## CHAPTER 2: MOVEMENT

Despite the central function of the Gay and Lesbian Movement in Seattle since WWII, gay and lesbian life, culture, and related queer anxieties have always persisted far beyond city limits.[1] *Gay Seattle* correctly documents the distinctive gay and lesbian culture which began budding in the city during the early-twentieth-century and then blooming after World War II. Queer people and a collection of queer materials (*bricolage*), however, moved through, throughout, or entirely outside of the urban spaces associated with the Gay and Lesbian Movement.[2] Nevertheless, if one reads the historiography, thick archival and intellectual borders define Seattle as the premier space to explore Washington's gay culture and history.[3] Seattle-focused scholars like Gary Atkins, Michael Brown, and Larry Knopp have made substantial contributions to the study of Washington but also to calcified archival and intellectual borders around the city, which silence queer historical narratives outside the metropolis. This chapter attempts to unfix this trend by refusing to cloister Washington's gay and lesbian history within Seattle as this trend alienates broader histories of queer lived-experiences and culture. Through this effort, this case study emphasizes an interconnected queer cultural history of the Pacific Northwest since the 1960s. Given its wider focus, this chapter functions as a queer history delineated by both the concept of *movement* as well as the well-documented Gay and Lesbian Movement.[4] By providing a history of queer *movement* through and throughout Seattle and Washington, this chapter encourages future projects to be wary of the current metronormative cloistering of Washington's queer historiography and—for scholars interested in this region in

particular—begin considering the more extended project of framing the Queer Pacific Northwest.

Not only does this chapter emphasize queer histories outside of Seattle after 1960, but it also showcases Seattle's connectivity to other queer spaces and places in the Pacific Northwest, West Coast, and United States. Increasingly, queer institutions and people in Seattle were connected to larger, national—and sometimes international—feelings of gay and lesbian culture as well as those sociopolitical sentiments associated with the Gay and Lesbian Movement.[5] Albeit an obvious point, this chapter shows that despite historical accounts that cloister gay and lesbian life within Seattle, queer people, objects, and materials (*bricolage*) moved, and were not stationary. This chapter illustrates how community-based approaches can restrict and fail to capture those queer experiences and lives that did not neatly fit within this collective history.[6] Equally so—in an attempt to bridge the urban-rural divide in queer historiography—this chapter shows that many same-sex desiring individuals actively chose to live outside Seattle. [7] Nonetheless, Seattle remained a crucial site in the space of establishing the Gay and Lesbian Movement and of creating and disseminating sexual knowledge and queer culture.[8]

In sum, this chapter provides a cultural history of queer *movement* in Washington since the 1960s, which showcases Seattle's significance yet avoids cloistering the state's queer history within the confines of the city. In doing so, this chapter highlights the dramatic impact of the Gay and Lesbian Movement on queer life in Washington while also presenting a broader, semi-borderless, world of queer culture developing in the mid-to-late-twentieth century. As it pertains to this larger project, the function of Seattle as a

"queer mecca" of sorts meant there was a sense of queer visuality and potentiality (and hence queer anxieties, including those of interest, concern, and longing).[9] Seattle's function as, to paraphrase Timothy Stewart-Winter, a "queer mecca," indicates its pertinent in the creation, dissemination, of sexual knowledge. The spread of sexual knowledge "through" and "throughout" Washington was politically influential while also establishing notions of queer desire, beauty, and culture. Queer bricolage flowed in and out of Washington, surveying this flow of people, objects, and materials indicated the increasingly complex world of sexual knowledge-making that was tied to the increased public presence of the Gay and Lesbian Movement in the mid-twentieth century, and crucially the anxieties imbued by this increased visibility and active *movement*.

Broken into three sections, this chapter provides a glimpse into the flow of queer bricolage in-and-out of Seattle that signifies increasing sexual knowledge-making amongst gays and lesbians in the mid-to-late twentieth century. The first section highlights letters showcasing anxieties of desire and interest (personal, sexual, and political) that drew people throughout Washington to the Gay and Lesbian Movement in Seattle. These examples of anxious desire and interests were indicative of the web of materials that moved throughout the state as queer people ventured throughout and outside urban confines, flowing in and out of the various spaces associated with the Gay and Lesbian Movement. Briefly, the next section re-emphasizes the significance of *movement* through an overview of organizations, events, and conferences developing because of the increasing influence of the Gay and Lesbian Movement throughout Washington; this section formulates how these agents sent out and received queer inquiries, desires, and political messages. Lastly,

this chapter reflects on the exchange of queer literature and the impact of queer travel in creating and spreading sexual knowledge through and throughout Washington. The final section exemplifies that queer interests in Washington were never solely directed at Seattle. This section—in a correction to Washington's "sanitized" gender and sexual historiography especially of the 1970s—also interjects that Washington's Gay and Lesbian Movement in the 1960s and 70s maintained a vested interest in the erotic and was shaped by the impact of porn, ideas of sexual liberation, and hierarchies of ability and beauty that dramatically influenced queer culture, in some cases more so than organizational development, the promotion of political change, and the idea of community-building.[10]

**Letters In, Out, and Around Seattle**

Since organizing itself as the Dorian Society in 1967, Seattle' leading homophile organization garnered interest and accrued membership far beyond Seattle's city limits. For example, in 1967, one man from Vashon Island became involved in the organization—traveling over an hour, including a ferry ride to attend Dorian Society events.[11] By early-1968, the Dorian Society added members from Bellingham who also commuted several hours for meetings and social events.[12] Individuals across Washington quickly became vested in the Dorian Society and homophile causes. For example, in April 1968, Eddie Dannenmiller from the small town of Bow in Skagit County—73 miles north of Seattle—wrote a letter apologizing for missing the Dorian's latest meeting and requesting a summary of relevant information.[13] Showing both political and sexual interest, in June 1968, Dannenmiller also wrote to the Dorian requesting information so that he could plan trips to explore gay life in Tacoma, Washington, and Vancouver, British Columbia.[14] This

type of behavior and inquiries were common, especially among men who did not live in Seattle. After 1968, women outside of Seattle also increasingly engaged with the Dorian Society in the organization's early years. For example, several same-sex desiring women from Tacoma were invited by the Dorian Society to attend its Symposium on Religion and the Homosexual in 1969.[15] Several men from Vancouver B.C. also attended this event, which helped stimulate communication between homophile-organizers in both cities.[16] In 1970, one Dorian-member sent a letter thanking the group for sending him updates and newsletters to his residence in Hilo, Hawai'i.[17] Clearly, from the onset of the Homophile Movement in Seattle, the city was developing into a pivotal site of sexual knowledge-making but queer people were not confined to urban spaces. Queer individuals increasingly felt compelled—a kind of anxiety—to engage with (or gain knowledge from) the homophile movement developing in Seattle motivated by various interests, desires, and experiences.

Furthermore, not everyone who became active in the Queer Movement necessarily lived in Seattle's notable queer hotspots like Capitol Hill and Pioneer Square. Cherry Johnson, an active member of the Dorian Society and eventual board member, lived in Leavenworth, Washington, a mountain village 117 miles east of Seattle. Johnson managed to live in Leavenworth for several years while also being actively involved in the organization. For some time, Johnson also worked near Stevens Pass in Chelan County.[18] Economic circumstances and employment factored heavily into where gays and lesbians lived. For example, Gary L. Gensen, who was eventually elected to the Dorian Group's board in 1976, lived in Ellensburg in Central Washington (over 100 miles from Seattle)

because he was as a school counselor.[19] Some people also preferred living outside of the bustling city. For example, C. Slade Crawford lived in Kenmore, a suburban town on the northernmost shore of Lake Washington. Seattle's queer history was also not confined to its own city-limits but rather was enveloped in the queer *movement* of differing experiences, interactions, and people.

Queer *movement* in and out of Seattle was unmistakable. Like many scholars have documented, there was an allure or pull toward the city that brought people toward gay enclaves like Seattle; however, most individuals frequently reflected on their pre-urban experiences as an essential dynamic in quests to understand sexuality.[20] The experiences of various individuals migrating to Seattle to live long-term or engage with the city's lesbian and gay community in the 1970s exemplify this trend of queer *movement*. The limited sexual knowledge, as well as sexual and romantic prospects found in rural life, motivated much of this movement toward the city. Lary Darby—one of the members of the interracial acceptance and social advocacy group, Black and White Men Together, Seattle—was born in Mississippi but grew up in Yakima, Washington.[21] Darby, found being a gay, African-American man difficult, thus motivating his move to Seattle. Similarly, before becoming Vice President of the Seattle Gay Clinic, Roger Axline recalled attempting a life of domestic bliss in Idaho Falls. Axline spent years in Idaho Falls living with a male lover despite the town being "very small," "very Mormon," and "very conservative."[22] Crucially, these men considered themselves same-sex desiring before coming to the city and in rural spaces were able to be queer—and had queer experiences—the city was not the whole of their history. Moreover, the stories of Darby and Axline show

sexual anxieties imbricating with racial and religious tensions, which factored into individual experiences of queer *movement*.

Information—and thus sexual knowledge—from people who lived beyond Seattle frequently filtered into the city, which provides insight into how queer culture was crystallized in Washington. Upon request, a man listed only as "Alan" wrote to Tim Mayhew and the Seattle Gay Alliance in 1976 about the gay world, culture, and life in Central Washington. Alan indicated that there were indeed places in Central Washington to find same-sex sexual companionship and that *being* gay and pursuing gay desires was not impossible in this region. Of course, Alan also highlighted there were pitfalls to this experience or rural-queer life if one had grown accustomed to frequenting "all gay establishments in Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane."[23] Nonetheless, Alan indicated that gay people were indeed *out there* in Central Washington but were likely not *out of the closet* due to socioeconomic pressures as well as the persistent threat of violence. Alan testified that the region's hostility toward gays and lesbians made passing as heterosexual vital for security. This reality mixed with the threat of violence, in Alan's perception, scared those who came out of the closet toward big cities and kept out-gays and lesbians living in the city from wanting even to visit Central Washington. He also expressed that, when seeking out other gays or lesbians, in Central Washington, one would likely have to search and cruise through mixed-gender spaces dominated by heterosexuals. Nonetheless, Alan indicated that there were chances of "being aptly rewarded" if one "perseveres." Alan indicated that resourceful gay men would be especially successful in Yakima, Wenatchee, and Ellensburg (home to Central Washington University). Significantly, Alan also included

eight examples of popular cruising spots in Yakima, including River Park and "Yakima Avenue in the mall area, 2 to 2:30 a.m., especially Friday, Saturday, and Sunday."[24] Queer cultures outside of Seattle were inherently anxious, distinctly defined by strategy, management, and deployment of sexual skills, knowledge, and often gender performances.

Alan's letter implied an art to "successfully" being gay during the 1960s and 70s in culturally hostile regions like Central Washington. In sum, Alan's "successful" stratagem meant having as much gay sex with the fewest possible adverse consequences. Alan stated in the introduction to his letter that a "perceptive visitor stands a good chance," suggesting that some people had or could get this hunt for same-sex experience in Central Washington down to a science.[25] Alan noted that many gay men relied on experiences like hitch-hiking and cruising bathrooms to find sexual encounters, but the most successful gay men were those who could speak their desires without words.[26] Alan further suggested that attractive, masculine-gays would likely have more luck than "effeminate men" who would likely have little-to-no success and were at higher risk of being attacked or persecuted. An internalized sense of anxiety about gender performance and visible masculinity helped many gay men go undetected within the heterosexist matrix of Central Washington. Interestingly though, Alan also expressed that—especially for masculine, gay men—there was an element of safety when living in Central Washington as they tended to avoid the surveilling gaze that accompanied gay life in the city. He posed that, because stereotypical gay life was seemingly absent in Central Washington, most people (including some closeted gays and lesbians) believed homosexuality's influence was absent in the region. Alan noted that heterosexual-ignorance and ineptitude also meant that the police and hostile bigots were

not always actively searching for and rooting out gay behavior. Alan's comments presented an alternate vision of rural space; yes, gays could not be as "out" as they could living in the city but if one was macho, enjoyed a quieter life, and was sexually resourceful he could likely live free from the policing and socioeconomic discrimination faced by gays in the city on a daily basis.

The perception of many gays and lesbians from Seattle was that east of the Cascade Mountains, one would have to travel the 279 miles from Seattle to Spokane to find an even remotely adequate gay community. Indeed, during the 1970s, there appears to have been a notable population of gays and lesbians—a united population of people living out of the closet in this case—in Spokane, the state's second-largest city. Spokane's lesbian and gay population was unified enough that during the mid-1970s, the city maintained a chapter of the Dorian Group while many younger LGBT people also became actively involved in the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). In this case, Spokane's proximity to Eastern Washington University, (and it being one of the closest cities to Washington State University, Whitman College, and University of Idaho) made Spokane a vital place for collegiate gays and lesbians to congregate.[27] Individuals at other colleges like Whitworth University and Gonzaga University perhaps contributed to queer *movement* in the greater-Spokane region; yet, these institution's deeply-conservative, religious histories make it seem less likely. The Dorian Group in Spokane was also well-enough organized by the late-1970s—under the direction of Dr. Jim Edmonds and Gene Otto—that "Spokane Area" gay events were published along those occurring in Seattle in the Dorian Group's monthly newsletter.[28] As gay and lesbian visibility increased in Eastern Washington, by 1979, a Spokane-based gay

publication—led by editor-in-chief Mike Eggert—emerged entitled *The Empire Gazette,* which "focused on serving the Gay community of the Inland Empire (Eastern Washington, Eastern Oregon, and Western Idaho)."[29] *The Empire Gazette* thus tried connecting gay people living within some of the three mentioned state's most stalwart conservative (and anti-gay) political contingencies while addressing the unique experiences and anxieties of people living in this region.

In the early-1970s, letters to Seattle Gay Alliance (the organization which would eventually become the Dorian Group) proliferated from outside of the city because of a desire for sexual knowledge. To some extent, Seattle's active lesbian and gay population became a model for individuals wanting to *learn* what being gay meant (and most often these people admitted, or alluded to, being queer themselves). There were a significant number of people from outside of Seattle who wrote to organizations hoping to see what they could do to help and inquire about what gay activists were working for (especially as mainstream news media often could not be trusted). These letters reflect queer anxiety in that many of them expressed broad concerns about the gay way of life. Inquiring letters expressed the complicated feelings of disorientation that accompanied queer desire and experiences. Moreover, this queer anxiety reflected ongoing attempts to understand the self (and the role of an individual not necessarily a part of a community but rather connection, albeit sometimes remotely, a part of a Movement). Of course, there were also numerous queer anxieties about what it would mean to "come out" and how individuals feared for themselves and loved ones because of sexual orientation, and also to some extent, gender identity.[30]

People wrote to organizations centered in Seattle requesting information and sharing their stories and experiences (both negative and positive). For example, in 1979, Bob Daniel wrote the Dorian Group hoping the organization's newspaper would begin to speak more aboutt "the plight of the Gay person living in a rural community." Daniel worked as a teacher in the small town of Randall, which, as he described, is "about 50 miles east of Chehalis." Daniel, like many gay men who wrote the Dorian Group, expressed his feelings of loneliness despite being in a beautiful place and enjoying his life. Daniel maintained anxieties about sexual and romantic dissatisfaction amidst the enjoyment of other elements in life, including his surroundings and career. Daniel penned, "This is beautiful country. Tall majestic mountains, covered with evergreens; beautiful lakes mirroring lush forest; snow-covered Mt. Adams and Rainier rise proudly against the blue sky. No one could ask for a more beautiful surrounding."[31] Daniel expressed, to some degree, that activists needed to think of ways for people like himself to live better in rural areas (and for gay people to experience and embrace the natural beauty of the state while also being their authentic selves). Perhaps, Daniel wished that being a part of the Gay and Lesbian Movement did not mean having to undergo the pressure of *moving* to the city while also longing for more gays and lesbians to move "out" of these spaces so that people like him would not be so lonely. In some ways, Daniel expressed that there were persistent anxieties about *becoming* a part of the Movement. Melancholy aside, Daniel's letter also thanked the Dorian Group for publishing their newsletter because it was helping him see a wider gay-world and gave him information to plan trips to Seattle and partake in gay culture (although he did not have the desire to leave Randall, where he felt he belonged). Letters

like Daniel's show the conflict of queer anxieties stemming around loneliness and, to some degree fear, but also how individuals made compromises and found fulfillment outside of established queer communities—while still often finding some way to connect with the "Gay World."

Letters requesting information about Gay Liberation and what it meant to be gay or lesbian were abundant in the early-1970s. These letters were frequent, and SGA-leader Tim Mayhew (who was also a founding member of Seattle's GLF in June 1970) wrote that SGA had received and responded to over 20,000 total letters of inquiry between SGA's founding in 1967 to the end of 1971.[32] For instance, in January 1971, F. Ken van Ochten from Richmond (a municipality of Vancouver BC) wrote SGA to express his interest in Gay Liberation because he and his "gay friends have sparse information about it."[33] Not all these letters were necessarily from identified gays and lesbians or people with queer feelings; however, to the extent they all expressed or appertained to queer anxieties. In May 1971, a student named Cindy from Wenatchee High School wrote to the Dorian Society in 1971 wanting to know more about the function of the Dorian Society and what the Gay Liberation Movement's goals for a school project.[34] Equally significant were people wondering about what gay life was like in Seattle. Eric Applegate from Staten Island New York wrote to Dorian Group in 1971 that he would be moving to Seattle but was worried as "the possibility of being lonely bothers me," and wanted to know if gays in Seattle were "uptight." Applegate also inquired about anxieties over the cost of living in Seattle, wondering if there was frequent housing discrimination and if he would need to find a roommate to make living in the city affordable.[35]

However, the inquiries of letter writers (like many of those mentioned above) were not always inquiring about Seattle, as many people had no desire to become full-fledged "community" members. Instead, SGA served as a helpful outlet for people who were interested in gay activism and life. In August 1971, Wallace Gober of Dillon, Montana wrote SGA asking if they could help him get in contact with "an active homophile group in the Montana area" as he had learned from Mattachine Midwest that they might be able to help, to which members of the Dorian later did.[36] Likewise, eighteen-year-old Martin Lee from Yakima wrote to the Dorian Society in 1971 looking for information, as he put it, "concerning the homosexual world that I wish to become a part of." Lee, although expressing some interest in Seattle's gay community, was more interested in getting help, as he put it, to "lead me to finding other guys in this city of Yakima with whom I could indulge my homosexual desires."[37] Although he did frequently reflect on the role of place within his sexuality and desired to visit Seattle to engage with and learn from the community there, Martin would send another letter several weeks later expressing the anxiety central to his queries and that he was hoping for the Dorian Group's help in how to fulfill same-sex desires. Lee wrote to Herb Lee of SGA, stating, "I've attempted to explain a little of my problems which have arisen from my desire to establish homosexuality as part of my life, and I hope that you can offer your advice and assistance."[38] Seattle, and thus the Dorian Group figured into a more extensive queer network by emblemizing sexual knowledge and representatives of the Gay and Lesbian Movement; however, this shows that in the era after the formulation of the Homophile

Movement in Seattle during the 1950s and 60s there was an expansion of sexual knowledge and hence queer anxieties in Washington and the American West Coast.

A crucial component of seeing what the Gay World was *like* was an inspection of age dynamics, as seen in responses to letters from Arthur Peterson of Kennewick writing in December 1972. Being an older gay man himself (above 40 in this case), Peterson requested information from Tim Mayhew about the participation of older men in Seattle's gay community. Mayhew's response provides an interesting insight into the function of age in gay life (and the spread of sexual knowledge) during this period:

> Lots of older men participate. Some people wish there were more younger ones (they're nice to look at), and special efforts are made to recruit bright young men and women because they are potentially very useful in reaching the mass of teenagers in school, who need to be liberated most of all. If it's rough to be gay in a hostile world, when you know who you are, it's rougher for an adolescent who must mostly believe what his parents and teachers tell him and is under tremendous peer-group pressures. However, there is felt a definite need to reach out to older men, who can be pretty isolated, because they are seldom successful in the cruising game… The membership of SGA is about half under 35 and half over 35. The membership of the Metropolitan Community Church is perhaps one in this older group… Some of the gay bars cater more to older clientele for that matter. In particular, you should know about the Over-21… Rap Group… It is named so because it was formed for those excluded from the Under-21 Rap Group (gay youth have special problems with schools, poverty, and older men, so they want a group of their own).[39]

The above suggests unique anxieties about how one will "fit" into the Gay World in Seattle. Likewise, meaningful age-based divisions were established because of age-related struggles such as poverty amongst youth. Later in the letter, Mayhew expressed that it is essential for more "professional men" to get involved, something that younger gays (below 21) were not as capable of contributing to the Gay and Lesbian Movement, and the culture surrounding it, at this point. Mayhew mentioned that there were also several groups in the

city for men in their 40s to 60s, most of whom had only recently come out or who "still have one foot" in the closet. Interestingly, the fact that many younger gay people had "special problems" with "older men" was significant, perhaps, speaking to the role of age in formulating desires, broader social intergenerational divides, the function of patriarchy, the fear (and reality) of sexual assault, and various forms of manipulation within gay cultures, spaces, and communities. SGA likely conceived that some age-based separation was necessary among gay men.

Most letters to SGA came from males who were bisexual or gay; however, there were also letters from lesbians that reflected female-specific anxieties. In response to a letter from a lesbian named Sandy Wroe, living in Richland, Washington, Tim Mayhew wrote that her involvement in the Dorian via membership and financial support would be "valuable even from Richland."[40] Mayhew provided Wroe with advice about coming out and the importance of it to the Gay Movement but also mentioned that Wroe might be interested in directly connecting with other lesbians as well. The Gay Women's Resource Center was vital, in his opinion, for cultivating lesbian culture and community in Washington, not just Seattle. Mayhew also passed Wroe's information onto the Gay Women's Alliance, which he described as "militant feminists, young and sharp and working hard; we respect them as one of the most cohesive hard-hitting groups in town, building dignity for women and Lesbians." Lesbians had similar anxieties and interests in sexual knowledge but also clearly faced unique problems that required inquiring with lesbian-specific groups.

**Organizations, Events, Colleges: Sending Out and Receiving Queerness**

The increasing prevalence of gay organizations in the 1960s showcases the flow of queerness in and out of Washington. Queer organizations promoted events that brought people interested in gay and lesbian life into Washington State while also helping "send out" gays and lesbians to have queer experiences and seek sexual knowledge outside of Seattle. Through this exchange of information and people, which the increasing prevalence of organized gay and lesbian groups provided, allowed for an exchange of queer anxieties as well—as gay and lesbian people made themselves known to the outside world—beyond the confines of queer communal spaces—they created reactions and ripples effects.

SGA's mission since the late-1960s was to "promote the welfare of homosexuals in the Pacific Northwest."[41] As an organization, this meant engaging with individuals outside Seattle (and the state's capital, Olympia), to create conversations about homosexuality across the state. Importantly, SGA maintained goals to venture throughout the region to discuss their political goals. SGA's Speaker's Bureau was thus developed and was particularly active in the early-1970s, often sending panels of four or five to churches, high schools, and colleges throughout Oregon, Idaho, and Washington.[42] To counter adverse medical, scientific, and psychological beliefs about homosexuality members of SGA traveled, for example, to places like Walla Walla Community College in 1972 to have conversations with nursing students.[43] SGA was also actively involved in helping emerging homophile organizations on college campuses. On college campuses, for example, GLF members managed their own anxieties about how the world perceived gays and lesbians while also attempting to actively manage the anxieties about gays and lesbians that

persisted through the movement of individuals and ideas through Washington's universities and colleges.

The function of college campuses and college-based organizations throughout the state should not be underestimated, especially when considering the spread of queer anxieties. GLF took an active role on college campuses throughout Washington. The state's largest collegiate chapter of GLF was at the University of Washington in Seattle, a group that made active efforts to extend its reach beyond the city. For example, GLF visited and held panels at Bellevue Community College and other community colleges up and down the Interstate-5 Corridor. In 1970 GLF made it one of their primary goals was to have their activism filmed and broadcasted by news outlets like KIRO and KING-TV effectively allowing themselves to be seen throughout Western Washington on people's televisions within their homes. [44] The UW-based GLF also used media coverage as a crucial platform to criticize the presentation of gay people to the public. GLF would also later form a group in the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla.[45] Western Washington College (now, Western Washington University) in Bellingham also hosted annual Gay Awareness Symposiums in the early 1970s that drew in relatively large crowds of people from the broader Pacific Northwest.[46] The 1973 symposium brought in speakers like Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, the founders of the Daughters of Bilitis, Jim Foster from San Francisco's Society for Individual Rights, and members of the group Responsible Gay Mothers which was founded in Seattle.[47] College-life and campus spaces indeed enabled gays, lesbians, and (slowly, increasingly) bisexuals to congregate, thus propelling the flow of queer bricolage and people. The attempts to ameliorate queer anxieties were frequent on college

campuses; university-life often proved to be a more liberating, open-minded space in which fears, concerns, and confusion could be dissected and turned into fuel for sociopolitical and economic change.

In Seattle, non-collegiate organizations also frequently hosted conferences and symposia, which brought gays and lesbians into Washington. In 1968 the Dorian Society held its first Conference on Human Sexuality, which brought in speakers from across the region to speak on issues such as religion and "coming out."[48] Members of the Dorian Society also sponsored the Northwest Homophile Conference in 1968, which drew numerous individuals from Portland and other Northwest cities and towns.[49] In the 1970s, organizations like SGA, the Lesbian Resource Center, and the Dorian Group flew in prominent gay-rights activists to discuss sociopolitical issues such as when they brought in Jean O-Leary, who was, at that point, on the National Gay Task Force in 1977.[50] Earlier, in 1975, the Seattle Gay Community Center determined that it was crucial to make efforts to bring in more "National Gay Speakers" to speak about pertinent issues faced by gays and lesbians. In that year, speakers included Nathalie Rockhill and Bruce Voeller, who spoke about mental health, working with the ACLU, passing gay rights legislation, and working on getting positive lesbian and gay representation on television.[51] Gay conferences and organizations with Black and White Men Together hosted regional conferences, such as the Pacific Coast Regional Network, in March 1985 and often hosted events in Seattle.[52] Black and White Men Together brought interracial gay couples and LGBT supporters of racial equality together. Further, the religious conferences talked about in the following chapter also brought queer people from across the US and Canada into spaces to discuss

faith and sexuality throughout the 1970s and 80s. Queer anxieties, therefore, were extending through various channels of affiliation, affect, and identity shaping other lived-experiences like socioeconomic status, age, race, and religion.

Gay and lesbian organizations in Seattle also sent their members across the United States to attend conferences and events, creating networks of queer affiliation and exchange. From the 1960s onward, many gay and lesbian Seattleites became aware of and attended gay events throughout the country that focused on pertinent social issues. For example, the National League for Social Understanding invited members of the Seattle Gay Community to "A Special Rally for Gay Legal Reform" in Los Angeles in 1968. Additionally, gay and lesbian Seattleites affiliated with the Metropolitan Community Church—an organization to discussed more in-depth in the following chapter—were invited to, and attended, a conference on "The Church and the Homosexual" in Boston.[53] As an organization based in Los Angeles, but with branches across the country including what would eventually be several branches in Washington State, the Metropolitan Community Church connected queers throughout the country (as will be seen in the following chapter). Accounts also indicate that Black and White Men Together sent representatives to the organization's 6th Annual Convention in 1986 in New York to discuss the overlap of racial and sexual issues in America.[54] As a growing network of queer-people, and anxieties, became visible alongside the increasing flow of queer materials and people through and throughout Washington.

**Part III: Literature, Travel, Recent State History**

Queer literature was a crucial form of connection amongst gays and lesbians in the 1960s. Exploring the flow of queer literature through and throughout Seattle exemplifies how the city's gays and lesbians were connected to a broader queer network; likewise, it shows how individuals outside of Seattle had a vested interest in the city's queer culture. Literature from the early-era of the movement found in Washington also exemplifies how political work *and* manifesting same-sex desire were both integral to these organizations, meaning a history of queer Washington should pay attention to political elements but also be rooted in an exploration of desire. Moreover, the flow of literature, especially advertising, shows how queer people—especially gay men—expressed interests in travel and built networks of affiliation with other gay people and populations. Interests like that of travel reflected the production of queer anxieties that were disseminated, ameliorated, and maintained via gay literature  The flow of queer literature also shows that the wider-queer population knew of places to find sex and/or gay communities outside of the city of Seattle, as much of this literature indicated the presence of queer people, places, and events in Washington.

A crucial part of gay life in the post-1960 era was engagement with media (from across the country), which connected individuals to queer spaces, opportunities, and people. In doing so, queer literature and advertising showcased that Washington State's gay life beyond Seattle. The *Gayellow Pages*, published in New York, proved to be a media source showing just how far gay culture had spread throughout the country but also, importantly, that Seattle was not the only place one could find gay culture, or at least gay people, in Washington. Nonetheless, the *Gayellow Pages* also listed "cruisy" and gay-

friendly bars in Jefferson County: Brinnon; Snohomish County: Everett; Kitsap County: Bremerton; Pierce County: Tacoma; Yakima County: Yakima; and Spokane County: Spokane. *Gayellow Pages* also listed Gay Liberation Groups and Counseling Groups in Bellingham (both a college town and close to the Canadian Border) and Pullman (home to Washington State University). Media outlets like the *Gayellow Pages* also promoted Gay Alliances that had also sprung up in Tacoma and Spokane by 1973.[55] Gay literature and advertising also highlighted Tacoma as one place in which gay influence expanded during the 1970s. A well-known Rap Center had opened in Tacoma by the 1970s that was described as a "community exploration center with mental health and educational services," given its close proximity to Joint Base Lewis McCord (the State's Largest military base and one of the largest in the nation) a coffeehouse also developed centering around catering to the needs of people in the military.[56] According to queer literature from the 60s and 70s, queerness' spread throughout Washington was indelible, palpable, and only on the upswing.

Gay literature proved vital, especially those depicting pleasure and aesthetics, but it also connected members of the Homophile and later the Gay and Lesbian Movement to a broader culture; however, this connection was vested in racialized and corporeal norms. Magazines like *Vector*—published by the Society for Individual Rights in San Francisco were read widely among the Dorian Society in the 1960s and into the 1970s.[57] *Vector* portrayed advertisements and images of attractive, often-naked men alongside discussions of "homosexual" social concerns. Magazines like *Vector* exemplify how an interest in sex,

beauty, and the erotic was as crucial to the spread of the Gay and Lesbian Movement as were pertinent social and political concerns.

The juxtaposition of aesthetic desire and political purpose in magazines like *Vector* help capture the essence of queer life in the 1960s and 70s for many people. Some literature that focused on both aesthetics and politics spread through smaller regions such as *Pot Pourri,* which had a mailing list mainly in Washington and Oregon. *Pot Pourri* advertised gay bars in both Seattle and Portland and wrote articles on the gay scene in both cities mutually.[58] *Pot Pourri* showcased aesthetic gay masculinity on their cheap, colored paper, often featuring full-body nude images of young, athletic white men.[59] The lacuna of racial and corporeal diversity in magazines such as *Pot Pourri* suggests how Seattle's queer literature and culture—much like its political movement—were impacted by the racialization of intimacy, the white-washing of beauty, and compulsory able-bodiedness. Importantly, it was not only magazines and flyers containing this mix of desire and political purpose from the United States that made their way to Seattle. For example, Issues of *Two: The Homosexual Viewpoint In Canada* was often read by Seattleites. *Two* gained popularity because of nearby Vancouver B.C. and because of *Two*'s supplements that featured male physique photographers—which mainly focused on athletic-bodied, white gay men.[60] Moreover, issues of *Two* found in Washington represent the anxieties of gay men wanting information, wanting connection, and arguably wanting sexual satisfaction.

Gay guides and pamphlets from the 1970s showcase how the gay and lesbian world was mapped out for visitors flowing through Washington but also how white middle-class (mostly male) queer folks perceived their cultures and communities. *Jeff Taylor's Gay*

*Guide for the Pacific Northwest*—covering mainly Seattle, Portland, and Vancouver B.C.—published maps that pinpointed the most popular bars in each city, giving readers a visual understanding of where gays congregated within city space.[61] Interestingly, Seattle's section in the *Jeff Taylor*'s gave a particularly heavy spotlight to lesbian bars like the Silver Slipper Tavern on Jackson Street and the Crescent Tavern on Capitol Hill.[62] *Jeff Taylor's Gay Guide* also exemplified the close connection between Bellingham and Vancouver B.C. by expressing that in many ways, gay culture traversed borders and sexuality flowed more freely between the gay population of Bellingham and Vancouver than. Additionally, B.C.'s drinking age of 19 was also, likely, alluring to younger gays in the Pacific Northwest who wanted to be able to drink while they were at night clubs—guides like *Jeff Taylor's* thus gave information about drinking ages and the kinds of identification one needed to maneuver certain cities and enter certain bars and social spaces. Certainly, the queer world was becoming increasingly social and adventurous in the 1970s while it was increasingly confronting political issues. Gay culture was structured by age because the "gay world" was formulated in such a way to manage (but also ignore) age-based anxieties: demanding IDs to enter bars, aging out of desirability, and becoming old (or staying young) enough to gain access to cruising sites to name a few.

The queer connection between Vancouver and Seattle persisted, especially from the late 60s into the 70s. This can be seen in a continual trade of information about the two queer cultures as well as a flow of people. In 1968, 29-year old Tacoma-resident Sig Larson, who had "a desire to affiliate… with an organization for males having an interest in other males" learned about the Dorian Society during a trip to Vancouver B.C. from a

friend.[63] SGA member Frank Meyer wrote the Vancouver Magazine *Thrust* monthly to provide updates about gay life in Seattle.[64] The exchange of information was frequent betweens gays in Seattle and Vancouver. In another example, a publication called *Sunshine Mail Services* from Vancouver sent out free informational flyers to individuals in Seattle, as well as organizations like the Dorian Group, updating them every six months with important new details. These flyers, for example, advertised bathhouses, clubs and discos, activist organizations, crisis centers, health clinics, important local gay and lesbian publications, and churches.[65] In 1972, SGA urged and formally invited members of the Gay Alliance Toward Equality in Vancouver to join them for their city's Pride Week and vice versa hoping to use the opportunity to meet and discuss activist and organizational strategies.[66] There was a similar sense of organizational affiliation with the Vancouver branch of the Canadian Gay Activists' Alliance. SGA, later becoming the Dorian Group, also continued to send newsletters and respond to frequent inquiries from throughout the Pacific Northwest.

The highest exchanges of queer literature were certainly in the Pacific Northwest; however, queer information about Seattle was spread nationwide, and individuals from Seattle were often genuinely interested in queer life and experiences outside of the Pacific Northwest. Based out of San Francisco*, Bob Damron's 1973 Address Book* (often called the gay version of the Green Book used by African Americans), shows how people had been collecting information on same-sex desiring spaces and that they could be collected and disseminated to the gay population. In fact, by 1972, *Bob Damron's* had already published nine editions, although there is no evidence of it being widely read in

Washington before this point. Nonetheless, *Bob Damron's* may have been *used* in Washington before 1972 for queer people traveling across the country, searching out spaces both for communal affirmation but also for sexual fulfillment. Interestingly this booklet included a "explanations of listings," shedding light on the interests of gay and lesbians in the 1960s and 70s. Among the 18 special markers in the book were asterisks (*) symbolizing broad popularity among gay men whereas "B" which signified that "blacks frequent," "RT" meant a place was "raunchy," and "YC" meant that the usual crowd contained young, college-aged people. Showing how class and gender also stratified queer interactions, the booklet also indicated when a bar was frequented by many women (including lesbians), the quality of food in spaces, and places that were "Pretty Elegant" and catered toward a more "refined" and "sophisticated" audience. *Bob Damron*'s also listed "cruisy areas" but warned that "these areas may be very dangerous, for various reasons, and should be visited strictly at your own risk." Seattle's Colonial Theatre, First Avenue Movie Arcades, Madison beach, Pike & Union, Volunteer Park, and Smith Hall at the University of Washington were all highlighted as Cruisy Areas. Interestingly, sexual knowledge of Spokane, the state's most populous city in the east, was prolific enough that it listed two Cruisy Areas, including Manito Park and Botanical Gardens. *Bob Damron's* highlights how information about queerness was spreading and increased substantially enough that queer spaces in multiple Washington cities were documented for gays and lesbians.[67]

*Bob Damron's* indicated an increasing significance of and interest in international, regional, and statewide queer travel. Since the late-1940s, Washington has been home

Seattle-Tacoma International Airport, one of the nation's largest airports bringing millions of visitors annually through the Western Washington region (Boeing's economic impact in the region is crucial). Undoubtedly, thousands of queer people from across the globe entered Washington each year for purposes of business and pleasure. Importantly, we also know from Paul Tiemeyer's *Plane Queer* about the rich history of same-sex desiring male flight attendants—these individuals perhaps directly symbolized a confluence of queer travel for both business and pleasure.[68] As alluded to in the previous chapter, the Port of Seattle and Port of Tacoma, as well as the state's expansive railway systems, also helped create a flow of people and goods throughout the region. Designated in 1956, Interstate-5, the largest north–south Interstate Highway on the West Coast, also enhanced movement through Washington. I-5 helped better connect Tacoma, Seattle, and Everett while also running through Vancouver, Washington (which borders Portland), and reaching to the Canadian border at Blaine, Washington. The development of highways undoubtedly helped connect the queer communities of Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, and Vancouver, British Columbia. Migration patterns also brought in a substantial number of gay and lesbian individuals, creating opportunities for queer, interracial affiliation. Of course, the cultural impact of migration was complex and this kind of movement could create, disseminate, and ameliorate queer anxieties. Since World War II (when the population remained around 98 percent white) Washington experienced substantial increases in African American populations (in the 1940s), took on about 30,000 Vietnamese refugees (since 1975), the development of Ethiopian and Eritrean Communities in Seattle (since 1960), and an increasing Japanese and Chinese presence (since the mid-century, although already

substantial throughout the twentieth century), the state's Latinx population also increased 4-fold from 1980 to 2005, all having dramatic impacts on the state's culture and demographics.

Numerous cultural events, and the tourist industry, have also impacted the influx of people in Washington—and hence the possibility for queer encounters—since the 1960s. From April to October of 1962, the Seattle World's Fair brought in nearly 10 million attendees and had 24 countries represented at the fair (the same fair for which the Space Needle was built and became a popular tourist attraction). Large cultural festivals taking place across the Puget Sound region attracted thousands of visitors each year, such as Seafair (est. 1950), Bumbershoot (est. 1971), Northwest Folklife Festival (est. 1972). Interestingly, in 1974, Spokane also held a World's Fair focused on the theme of environmental awareness brining in over 1.5 million visitors and representatives from ten countries.[69] Since 1977 Seattle has hosted a popularly attended (but often protested) "Gay Pride Week." Washington's tourism and parks industry has burgeoned since the twentieth-century and has benefited from increased travel to the region—which likely also heavily enabled queer encounters. Olympic National Park (one of the ten most popular national parks) and Mount Rainier National Park attract hundreds of thousands of visitors per year. An economy built around skiing and winter sports has been especially impactful to the Cascade Mountain Region, helping sustain tourist towns like the Bavarian-themed village of Leavenworth. Mount St. Helens has also been massively popular both before—and even more so, after—its famous eruption in May 1980. The wine and beer industry have also thrived in Washington—which also promoted tourism to areas like Walla Walla,

Woodinville, and the Yakima Valley. Throughout the twentieth century, there was also a thriving artistic culture in Washington, which impacted tourism. World-famous glass blower Dale Chihuly's influence on the region was particularly notable, with much of his work being featured in the Tacoma Glass Museum. Washington's artistic scene also boomed from its associated with the Northwest School, an art movement beginning in Skagit, Washington most notably associated with Guy Anderson, Mark Tobey, and Morris Cole Graves (the latter two both being gay men).[70]

Gay people, like many Americans, sought personal and sexual fulfillment through travel. By the time the 1984-85 Seattle Gay Guide of the Gay Seattle Business Association was published, there were three gay-friendly travel agencies based in Seattle, including "It's Your World-Travel! Inc." which claimed to have been "Serving the Gay Community Since 1973."[71] Similarly, since the early-1970s, *Gayellow Pages* was also promoting travel and gay-oriented vacationing. In the interest of travel, by the release of the *Gayellow* issue form March 1973, sites like baths were listed in almost all 50 US states as well as Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.[72] Letters written to SGA and the Dorian Group expressed interest in travel. Jeff Ide of Indianola, Iowa, wrote to Tim Mayhew of SGA in November 1973 about where he should go and what he should do when he visits.[73] In Ide's case, one can note the management of anxieties about both eagerness and loneliness. By the early 1980s, the *Gay Areas Private Telephone Directory*—which heavily featured advertisements to promote gay travel—featured a section on the Pacific Northwest that included women-only bars, bookstores, bed and breakfasts, and beauty salons. Suggesting the impressive aesthetic and potential erotic experience one could have on a trip to the

Pacific Northwest, interspersed with images of the region's environmental diversity such as coastal beaches, Cascade mountain ranges, huge forests, and developing cities were images of attractive men exploring the city and advertisements for male photograph studios.[74]

Although broadly disseminated queer advertisement, physique, and travel literature catered predominately toward white gay men, there were significant female-oriented sources of queer literature spread from and throughout Seattle throughout the rest of the state and nation.[75] This lesbian-oriented literature also was disseminated in and out of Seattle, more notably in the 1970s. Arguably, the most important source connecting lesbian women based-in Washington (and also northern Oregon) was *Pandora*. One of the most significant sources within *Pandora* connecting queer women was the "Dyke Directory" which highlighted important local organizations like large women's bookstore on University Way, It's About Time, which contained a "large selection of lesbian literature, periodicals, etc.," and held study groups and book clubs for lesbian women, hence connecting them to a broader lesbian-specific flow of literature and queer culture.[76] The Dyke Directory also listed health clinics, divorce lawyers, athletic clubs, and lesbian-oriented bars (most notably the Silver Slipper, the most popular lesbian bar in Seattle for many years, and The Century, which for some time as identified as the only feminist-oriented bar in town).[77] Seattle was also the headquarters of the Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund, which published a bi-monthly newsletter *Mom's Apple Pie*; this organization also spread its influence throughout the region by working closely with the ACLU. LMNDF also sent representatives to meetings of lesbian mothers across the West

Coast. *Mom's Apple Pie* updated members throughout the country about the ongoing legal and socioeconomic struggles of lesbian mothers wishing "Good Luck" to the mothers involved while criticizing the treatment of lesbian mothers by mainly local and district courts.[78] In the early-to-mid-1970s, the Gay Women's Resource Center in Seattle also published a pamphlet that was read by gays and lesbians throughout the region.[79] Again, here we see how lesbian-specific anxieties fueled the creation of queer bricolage focused on women.

**Conclusion**

The queer world since the 1960s was far more connected and defined by *movement* than has been captured in the historiography focusing on Washington State. Queer desires and anxieties filtering through and throughout Seattle can be mapped onto the broader regions of Washington, the Pacific Northwest, and North America. Although there are benefits to urban studies of queer history, historians of queer culture, desires, and people should avoid an urge to strictly analyze neat cloisters of queer people confined to urban communities as it continues the metronormative views of the queer past that leave stories of queer rural life but also queer interconnection on the backburner. For the sake of this thesis, a mapping out of anxieties and a capacious definition of queer would only suffer from a strictly metronormative view into Washington's queer history. This chapter has exemplified the bricolage of queer materials and people flowing in and out of Washington and a broader, nuanced world of sexual knowledge-making and pursuits of desire that was associated with—while also stimulating—the Gay and Lesbian Movement in the mid-twentieth century. This flow of bricolage and people clearly defied stationary notions of

community—hence bringing the urban communal approach into question. Equally important, the flow of bricolage and people show that both political work *and* manifesting same-sex desire were both integral to this idea of queer *movement* and the Gay and Lesbian Movement since the 1960s in Washington. A potential suggestion to be made now is thus that histories of the Gay and Lesbian Movement should not be pursued without understanding and pursuing notions of queer *movement*; but with that too, something that this work will benefit from in the future—deeply exploring the various antitheses to queer *movement* along with those of the Gay and Lesbian Movement.

## CHAPTER 3: AFFILIATION

In October 1971, M. Franklin Ryan penned a letter to Seattle Gay Alliance (SGA), expressing that he was "anxious to see the Gay Community Center (GCC) in full swing" and was looking forward to his next trip to Seattle. Desiring gay affiliation, Ryan sought contact with SGA's President, Herb Lee, asking him to send the latest issue of the Homophile magazine, *Columns Northwest*.[1] On November 12, 1971, SGA received a new, discordant letter from M. Franklin Ryan stating, "I am a Christian + wish to serve and do the will of my Master + Lord Jesus Christ. I cannot serve both Jesus and the Gay World. Jesus is the Utmost + Center of my life + my Church… I trust you will take care of destroying membership + subscription."[2] Juxtaposed, these letters represent the disorienting discourse found at the confrontation of queer and religious anxieties as well as the hybrid experience of gay and religious affiliations that are central to this chapter and integral to Washington's gender, sexual, and religious history since the 1960s.

In a matter of weeks, compulsions toward Christianity dejected Ryan's desire to partake in the "Gay World" as he had through SGA and *Columns Northwest*.[3] Ryan, who was a student at Spokane Falls Community College, felt an insurmountable sense of binary opposition between his gay and Christian affiliations.[4] Through anxious language, Ryan expressed that hybrid positionalities of this kind were impossible to ascertain if one envisioned a future in both the "Gay World" and the Kingdom of God. Seeing no immortal futurity in the "Gay World" (and perhaps being flung into this psychic space lacking futurity because of queer anxieties), Ryan hoped that embracing Christianity would help him "destroy" all evidence of his gay affiliation. Nonetheless, this retelling of Ryan's

experience and the archival preservation of Ryan's queer experiences makes known the staying power of both queer and religious affiliations upon the historical subject despite the attempt to silence one and intensify the other. M. Franklin Ryan's anxieties, as well as his religious and gay/queer subjectivities, persist in the language, tone, and urgency of the letter, thus showing how Ryan's affiliation with the "Gay World" was not destroyed; rather, it was frayed, broken, unraveled.

The shift between October and November in Ryan's life is but one example of the anxieties emerging at the intersections of gay and religious "worlds" (to borrow Ryan's language) in Washington since the 1960s. An exploration of these experiences exemplifies how Judeo-Christian religious beliefs were sustained forces producing intense queer anxiety production and management since the 1960s for gays and lesbians but also individuals unaffiliated with the Gay and Lesbian Movement. This exploration also exemplifies an ongoing prominence of Judeo-Christian affiliation within the individual, communal, and political lives of gays and lesbians. This chapter explores several manifestations of religious and queer affiliation and anxieties to highlight religion's sustained importance within the history of the Gay and Lesbian Movement in Washington. Likewise, this chapter speaks to the significance of religious and queer affiliation within the lives of anti-gay detractors and those individuals, like M. Franklin Ryan, whose relation to the "Gay World" unraveled. The stories shared in this chapter, focus on hybrid figures with experiences in both the "Gay World" and Christian churches, thus supplementing Washington's gay and lesbian historiography by showcasing the sustained statewide Judeo-Christian culture emerging in the 1960s to the 1980s in which queerness—or in this

case gay affiliation—served as an impactful, disorienting psychic force. Moreover, in many cases, affiliation galvanized many Christians to pursue and support anti-gay and lesbian efforts in the 1970s and 80s within the New Right.

This chapter shows the various levels and pathways through which queer anxieties were entangled within the Judeo-Christian experience and vice versa. Although primarily presented as an antithesis to the Gay and Lesbian Movement, several historiographic interventions take a greater interest in seeing how religion, but particularly modern Christianity, has played a role in complicating, enriching, and shaping the lived experience of LGBT identity.[5] This chapter follows the latter trend to explore the imbrications of gay and lesbian and religious identities in Washington's history. Furthermore, this chapter encourages students of queer history to conceptualize religion, and the religious lives of queer people, as needing to be further integrated into the study of modern queer history. If an integrated understanding of the imbrications of gay and religious affiliation occurs, religion should be presented as a constant source of anxiety through which queer and religious subjectivities were discerned, ordered, and preserved in modernity, but not an antithesis to gay and lesbian existence.

The tension between Judeo-Christian culture and queerness in modern US history has been most carefully studied in scholarship on anti-gay efforts in the 1970s; the same rings true for Seattle.[6] The powerful anti-gay rhetoric of individuals like Anita Bryant and the Save Our Children Campaign has served as a springboard through which Christianity and same-sex attraction have come to share a sense of historical polarity within modern US history. Studies suggest that individuals like Bryant managed to ignite a religious,

mostly right-wing, population who wanted to demolish the Gay and Lesbian Movement by utilizing notions of privacy, parental rights, and state-sanctioned interests in the welfare of children. In the case of Seattle, this religious polarity and insurgence of anti-gay and anti-lesbian bigotry in the late-1970s has been carefully documented in studies of Initiative-13 (I-13), which sought to repeal Seattle's inclusion of "sexual orientation" in the city's fair housing and employment ordinances in 1978.[7] Regarding religious opposition, scholars have especially focused on how a Mormon man, police officer David Estes, mobilized anti-gay sentiments to pursue this repeal, which ultimately failed by a dramatic margin.[8] Instead of showcasing I-13 as a particular moment of religious and sexual anxieties coming to a head, I dig deeper toward the roots of I-13 showing how religiously-grounded anxieties about sexuality were prevalent since the emergence of the Homophile Movement in Seattle. Likewise, I showcase how after I-13 was defeated, anxieties about gays and lesbians persisted but shifted toward being utilized by an increasingly influential Religious New Right during the 1980s to control the influence of gay and lesbian culture. Therefore, this chapter also seeks to reframe Fred Fejes' claim that during the second half of the twentieth century, most American religions gave little attention to homosexuality aside from the campaigns of 1977 and 1978, which drew heavily on Biblical allegories to promote the idea that homosexuality was abominable.[9] Across the three decades discussed here, Washingtonians found themselves vexed, unsettled, and impassioned because of the interplay of sociocultural and personal affiliations and anxieties.

Due to Seattle's queer historiography's focus on the political success of the Gay and Lesbian Movement, there has not been substantial attention paid to other instances of

intense religious upheaval about sexuality since the 1960s. Perhaps this is because, outside of examples in which gays and lesbian staved off religious discrimination like with I-13, the Religious Right's success in controlling the influence of gay culture in the city. One exemplary story of this idea, ignored by scholars, is The Monastery (1977-1985), a gay bar owned by an African=American man named George Freeman that was also, for some time, a licensed church and homeless shelter for LGBT youth.[10] This thesis integrates The Monastery into the timeline of Seattle's history, expressing its central role as a site marked by its association with queer historical failure and the success of the New Religious Right.[11] Importantly, members of The Monastery expressed a sense of dissatisfaction with Seattle's leading class of white gay male professionals who led the activist community, particularly the Dorian Group, as well as the bigotry within the white gay male population that the current historiography tends to avoid explicitly discussing.[12] Seattle's gay and lesbian history is rife with feminist dissatisfaction with leading gay male activists in the 1970 and 80s. Importantly, The Monastery further establishes that there were mutually powerful anxieties about and dissatisfaction with leading gay male activists amongst people of color and youth. The Monastery thus serves as another example troubling the narrative of "exile to belonging" as being an accurate way to frame Washington's queer past, as belonging was neither felt nor fully achieved. [13] Anxieties held about gay people in the Save Our Children Campaign, SOME, and later Parents in Arms, campaigns also trouble ideas of increased gay and lesbian political "successes" in the 1970s and 80s (only to be momentarily disrupted by the AIDS epidemic) as these conservative organizations

continually wove racial, age-based, and religious anxieties into the public perception of queer culture.[14]

**Hybrid Figures: Judeo Christian Affiliation in The Gay and Lesbian Movement**

In the 1960s and 70s, Seattle's Dorian Society, the city's first major Homophile Organization, spent a great deal of time attempting to decipher the idea, role, and meaning of the "Christian homosexual." In fact, church-life and spiritual development can be deciphered as a crucial part of the Gay and Lesbian Movement in Seattle during this period. This was particularly notable in the growing influence of literature from the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC).[15] From the late-60s through the early-70s, there were several discussions had about formulating a chapter of MCC in Seattle, which would equally serve as an important meeting place for the entire Homophile Movement.

By early-1972, MCC-Seattle opened led by Reverent Robert Sirico, a young, attractive, openly-gay pastor.[16] Within a month of opening, MCC averaged over 100 attendees at its Sunday services. Sirico maintained an MCC policy that "While M.C.C. has a special ministry to homosexuals, everyone is welcome… Christ did not say, come unto me all ye heterosexuals or whites or men; but He said ALL YE. Christ did not limit His love and acceptance. And His church can do no less." [17] This statement—implying openness to transsexuality—suggested that gays and lesbians needed to be willing to worship alongside heterosexuals and utilize church-space to bridge gaps of difference. Candace Naisbitt, also a pastor at MCC, promoted that it was necessary for gays and lesbians to "muster up enough courage to come in the local churches and be open and willing to educate people within their own congregations."[18] Naisbitt and Sirico maintained

that a religious ministry among gays and lesbians but that outreach to straight Christians was an important first step and a difficult task but one that transformed hearts and minds, albeit slowly. For Christian gays and lesbians, notions of repair in establishing an affiliative network that bridged gaps of difference were established through new, creative readings of the Bible and inclusive forms of spirituality.

Lesbian pastor Candace Naisbitt started working at MCC in 1972 alongside Sirico, a factor which proved rather significant. Naisbitt expressed that she had wanted to be a Lutheran pastor since she was 14 but could not because of the church's opinions on female pastors.[19] Naisbitt's ministry proved particularly effective in bringing lesbian women into MCC. Clearly, the presence of religious gays and lesbians in Seattle in the 60s and 70s and the emergence of MCC, as a gay-affirming church, allowed for gays and lesbians to begin deciphering the role of religion and sexuality in their own lives and in their communities. However, important here too was that there were both gay male and lesbian female leadership amongst the church. Empowering a female/lesbian pastor and then reaching out across various demographics substantially expanded queer and religious affiliations, which, in turn, helped to confront anxieties within both the religious and gay and lesbian populations. MCC was actively inviting people not only to embrace the space but also to use church space to discern their own sexuality and spirituality, itself a kind of anxiety management.[20]

Before MCC-Seattle opened in 1972, religion was already a crucial interest of the Dorian Society. In an unpublished letter to the Editor of *Columns Northwest*, an anonymous author expressed gratitude after attending a Catholic mass hosted by the Dorian Society in

May 1970. The author stated, "as a gay social reject, I was deeply moved by this participation experience. Just imagine, someone cares [sic.] enough for me to bring this worship opportunity to me and let me feel at home in God. Thank you, Father. Thank you, Dorians. I thought the guitar player was very handsome. People look more beautiful to me now."[21] In response to Catholic Mass being hosted by the Dorian, Don Labrenz of the Capitol Hill Association of Christian Churches wrote to the organization saying he would be happy to help them put on, "a general 'celebration of life' type of worship, or a general 'Protestant' worship." Labrenz also praised Dorian Members, particularly Tim Mayhew, who published an article entitled, "Oh God! I'm A Homosexual" in *Columns Northwest*, which discussed the stigmas found at the intersections of gay and religious affiliation.[22] Religion was a crucial concern amongst gays and lesbians in Seattle since the onset of a distinguishable Movement.

Church-involvement was fairly widespread in the 60s and 70s among gays and lesbians. Conversations about sex and sexuality in church spaces were common.[23] Homophile outreach to straight clergymen was also frequent. For example, in February 1968, the United Church of Christ's Reverend Mineo Katagiri was involved in discussions to help planners of the Northwest Homophile Conference in Seattle at the Park Haviland Hotel and helped them reach out to sympathetic clergy in Portland.[24] By November 1969, The Dorian Society had hosted two conferences on Human Sexuality in conjunction with the Ecumenical Metropolitan Ministry at Capitol Hill Methodist Church. Likewise, Dorian Society President Ken Gilbert wrote to attendees from Portland, Vancouver, Seattle, and other areas about the great success of their Symposium on Religion and the Homosexual

in 1969, which brought clergy and members of the Homophile Movement together to have frank discussions about sexual desire and Christianity.[25] Around this time, Tim Mayhew, the Education Chairman for SGA, wrote a letter to a gay man from Wenatchee who was hoping to explore Seattle's homosexual scene and learn more about "the organized gay community of Seattle" that he could "visit the services at the gay Metropolitan Community Church of Seattle at 2 pm Sunday; it is a large and important social and political institution in our community even for those of us who are atheists."[26] Thus we can see how churches hosting programs for gays, lesbians, and bisexuals that were not strictly religious were also frequent as a number of event calendars from the era show as well.

Many churches hosted events and meetings to host discussions about sexuality, a common example of anxiety management. The group "Family and Friends of Gays and Lesbians" formed in the mid-70s hosted by the Church Council of Greater Seattle.[27] In March 1974 Northlake Unitarian Church hosted a symposium—sponsored by the Puget Sound Unitarian Council—entitled "Not So Straight: A workshop on Sexual Minorities and the Nuclear Family," which helped parents and children answer questions about sexuality and address their own questions about sexuality such as, "what is the difference between a transvestite, transsexual and a gay," and address their own children's nonnormative sexuality.[28] In the 1970s, Seattle's various Gay and Lesbian Movement-organizations focused heavily on religion in their event planning. SGA's Speaker's Bureau, discussed in the previous chapter, was known for organizing speakers to go to churches and "represent the homosexual viewpoint."[29] In 1979, the Dorian Group brought Reverend Ellen Barrett, described as the "first openly gay woman ever ordained to the

priesthood of the Episcopal Church," to give a talk on the role of gays and lesbian in churches.[30] Seattle, too, was not the only place with gay-affirming churches in Washington during the second half of the twentieth century. By the turn of the 1980s, the *Gay Areas Private Telephone Directory* listed Seattle's MCC and also a branch in Kennewick, showing how gay and religious affiliation (and the management of related anxieties) persisted beyond city-limits.[31]

This is all to say that many gays and lesbians in Washington during the 60s and 70s affiliated themselves with Judeo-Christian religious networks; thereby, religion and sexuality both had power directly impacting how gays and lesbians figured themselves into their relationships, communities, and society. Crucially, when SGA fractured and consolidated into the Dorian Group in 1976, several nominees to the Board of Directors expressed deep connections to religion. For example, 37-year-old C. Slade Crawford was a monk for eight years and an ordained Catholic Priest who had an M.A. in Jewish Theology and a doctorate from the Graduate Theological Union at the University of California.[32] 51-year-old Reverend Wallace E. Lanchester, also elected to the Dorian Group's Board, worked at MCC and served on the Seattle Council of Churches' Task Force on the Affirmation of Gay People.[33] A wide variety of Judeo-Christian gay and lesbian representation would come to be a defining feature of queer life in Washington during the late-70s and 1980s. From the late-70s to early-80s, gay and lesbian religious groups for Mormons, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Christian Scientists, Seventh-Day Adventists, and a thriving Gay/Lesbian Jewish Congregation all developed in Seattle.

Of course, accepting gay people was not easy for heterosexuals in Washington. Frequently, this was fueled by the different interpretations (queerings) of the Scriptures embraced by gays and lesbians. Indeed, religious gay people often maintained differing, sometimes radical, interpretations of the Bible which they used to validate their sexual desires. For example, Rev. Siricio's statements and interpretations of the Bible interjected homoeroticism and same-sex romance into Bible verses. In his widely spread pamphlet, "the Christian Homosexual," Siricio provides a same-sex desiring reading of King David (honored as an ideal king and forefather of the Messiah) who is a central figure from I Samuel to I Chronicles in the Bible (and alluded to heavily afterward).[34] Rev. Siricio wrote that

> The Bible shows that the blessing of the Lord can rest upon a homosexual by stating that David was a man after God's own heart. Notice these following points about David the King. A) He never had a successful relationship with a woman. B) He loved Jonathan with his own soul. C) Jonathan stripped himself, and kissed David. D) David, at this point, "exceeded" (Hebrew, to make great, derivative of orgasm?). E) Saul accused his son Jonathan of being perverted because of this closeness to David. F) David stated that he loved Jonathan more than he could love a woman. (See 1 Samuel 15 through 2 Samuel 1).[35]

This ahistorical framing of David through modern conceptions of sexual identity (although some would argue merely reflect *a queerness* about David) would have certainly irked many Christians as a blasphemous cherry-picking of the Bible to confer one's own experience as moral. MCC members also spread pamphlets—with rather humorous cartoons—like one stating, "There are 415 warnings in the Bible about heterosexual abuse –there are only 6 Bible warnings of HOMOSEXUAL abuse. According to GOD hetero-sex is 69 times the problem of HOMOSEXUAL abuse."[36]

Queer religious pamphlets and literature were often visually jarring, presenting both a dramatically queer reading of the Bible while also actively pointing the proverbial finger back at heterosexuals for their own sins. Radically reframing the Bible was thus targeted by anti-gay Christians. For example, one pamphlet published in the 70s (which actually *did* attempt to disprove several adverse myths about gays and lesbians in society, like their alleged inclination toward pedophilia and sexual assault) focused on how homosexuality was still immoral and would lead to eternal damnation. This pamphlet, written by a Seattle-based, ex-lesbian Christian, took special aim in criticizing, "those theologians attempting to justify homosexual behavior and… homosexual couples defending their homosexual conduct as Scriptural."[37] In the 70s, ex-gay and anti-gay religious voices would help create a sense of insurmountable difference between queerness and Christianity—an affiliative gap of difference which could only be bridged by abandoning same-sex attraction and dedicating oneself to God who would, hopefully, change the "queer" individual, lest their soul be condemned to an eternity without heaven. This type of approach would come to define how I-13 supporters viewed gays and lesbians: because gays and lesbians *weren't* changing and *continued* to progress toward sin, this also meant that they (in their eyes) deserved retribution (as many Christians thought God was capable of working through the US government) and should not have the same privileges as regular Christians (like employment and housing protections).

**Initiative-13**

In the mid-1970s, gay activists and several feminist city council constituents collaborated to ban discriminatory employment practices and anti-gay housing practices

by 1976.[38] Following national trends in the late-1970s, Initiative-13 best exemplified a religious, social, and political-rallying against the Gay and Lesbian Movement and LGBT people more generally. The anti-gay group, Save Our Moral Ethics (SOME) consolidated in Seattle after local TV commentator Lloyd Cooney, inspired by Anita Bryant's anti-gay campaigning, called for removing sexual orientation from employment and housing ordinances in the city. "Cooney's arguments appealed to antigay Seattleites and David Estes," a Seattle police officer who "took on the task of seeking a repeal in January 1978, filing to collect signatures to put I-13 on the November ballot."[39] Another police officer, Dennis Falk, quickly took on the role as co-leader of SOME alongside Estes.[40] Fred Fejes has posited that the bulk of signatures supporting Initiative-13 came from Seattle's Mormon Churches—as Estes was Mormon, he used his connection to the Mormon community to market the initiative.[41] SOME's efforts were validated as they turned in "10,000 more signatures than the required 17,000" signatures to qualify I-13 for the November ballot (although it was later proven that many of these signatures were unfounded or forged).[42] SOME also gained support from Save Our Children and Anita Bryant. Washington's gay and lesbian citizens thus mobilized to broadcast their discontent with the police, the city's conservative churches, and SOME, eventually defeating I-13 in the November election by a dramatic margin.

Importantly, Seattle's leading, politically-influential gay rights organization during the late-1970s was the Dorian Group. Founded in December 1974 by Glen Hunt and Charles Brydon (a notable shift from SGA which had previously convalesced from the Dorian Society), the Dorian Group began its work by holding "lunches in downtown

Seattle for gay business workers (initially men only)" and seeking "political and economic influence in the service of gay rights."[43] Hoping to assimilate into the hierarchies of American politics and business, the goal of this group's activism was largely inclusion into historically heterosexual-exclusive cultural frameworks while *still being gay*. Of course, most male members of the Dorian Group were, at this point, negotiating anxieties of their gay-male identities by affecting a specific kind of masculinity affirmed by American capitalism. Indeed, Brydon, to some extent, believed gay activism's purpose should be to prove "homosexuals" were no threat to heterosexuals and that fears about gay people were merely outdated.[44] For the majority of the 1970s, LGBT people hoping for radical sexual liberation lambasted Charles Brydon (who will play an important part in the story of The Monastery), as a military-inspired imperialist, anti-feminist, and a self-interested capitalist.[45] Faced with the task of combatting I-13, the professionally-oriented Dorian Group focused on building coalitions with local, straight business owners forming the group Citizens to Retain Fair Employment (CRFE). The Dorian Group and CRFE focused on the idea that privacy rights would be dramatically diminished if I-13 proved successful.

Increasingly, in the latter half of the 1970s, Brydon and the Dorian Group's rhetoric, as *Gay Seattle* notes, "differed from feminist and socialist analyses that linked the homosexual cause with struggles against sexism, classism, and racism. The Dorians instead adopted a classic singular civil rights agenda that argued solely against discrimination. Instead of urging new styles of communication that challenged the patriarchy and traditional hierarchies, they adopted the rules by which the patriarchy and hierarchy operated."[46] This was a lasting legacy of the Dorian Group; Dorian members like Roger

Winters would later attest that the Dorian Group had been doing things "correctly" in Seattle, unlike the lesbian feminist and radical leftists from which they differed ideologically.[47] Winters' sentiments, lingering in oral histories, reflected a belief in the superiority of the Dorian Group's methods. Winters' opinion, like many Dorian members, was that it was always better to "write letters to the editor… or set up speaking engagements," and work with local politicians on single-issue concerns that gays (mostly professional, white gay men) felt were most important. Winters stated that other Seattleites who did not work with the Dorian Group—in his comments he mainly targeted leftist, lesbian feminists—instead wanted to team up with the "ACLU" and "be out there fighting with the unions and the [pro] choice people, and so forth," which the Dorian believed were distractions from rapidly attaining gay rights.[48] In short, the Dorian Group—rather than demanding an end to heterosexism in all its forms—took a case-by-case approach to solve issues faced by gay men and some lesbian women. Working alongside, and arguably ceding to, heterosexual groups and alliances, the Dorian Group—and some other mainstream gay activist groups—gained more public acceptance than radical activists like those in the Gay Liberation Front (most often associated with younger gays), Lesbian Feminist Liberation, and, later, organizations like Queer Nation and ACT UP. As they were "deeply embedded in the political and economic mainstream," these "selected gay representatives" were able to make public comments on gay-rights issues; in contrast, there was "low visibility for all other sexual minorities" who did not fit the mold of the Dorian Group.[49]

More so than Dorian Group-sponsored advocacy, coalitions forged by lesbian feminists—who felt anxious about their position in both the Gay and Lesbian Movement

and the Feminist Movement—led the radical fight against I-13. [50] The Seattle Committee Against Thirteen (SCAT) formed as a more notably feminist-aligned organization with the goal of educating voters on the various dangers posed by I-13.[51] Likewise, Women Against Thirteen (WAT) mobilized feminists—including heterosexuals—who found the male-leadership vested in the Dorian Group narrow-minded and willfully ceding to heterosexual authority. Connecting the oppressions of I-13 to other social justice issues, "members of WAT and SCAT remained committed to working coalitions and refused to attack antigay discrimination while leaving other forms of discrimination untouched."[52] When SOME organizer and co-leader Dennis Falk shot and killed an unarmed black man named John Alfred Rodney, SCAT and WAT members were able to utilize their overarching justice-oriented model to address the issues of and connections between heterosexism, racism, and police violence and discrimination against minorities.[53] Seattle's black and Latinx populations and activist groups began discerning a shared political plight with SCAT and WAT and began mutually supporting one another's causes in the upcoming election. Although public attention remained on the white-male dominated groups, lesbian-feminist organizers had created a radical pathway toward connecting gay rights with racial justice and worked to show the negative consequences of police-led injustice against minorities. Notably, WAT helped disseminate bumper stickers stating, "Let People Live! Vote NO on 13 & 15," as initiative 15 was seen as racially biased against Latinx and African American communities.[54] The ongoing fear of police-violence and the imbrication of racial and sexual anxieties thus served as a mobilizing for lesbian activists interested in coalition building.

Whereas hundreds of the city's white male gay activists were disavowing "lesbian separatism" (which was more likely just lesbian feminism with a wider affiliative network) by claiming it was worsening the cultural gap between lesbian women and gay men, many radical lesbian women continued working to dismantle the movement for I-13. Cookie Hunt would pretend to be a "housewife" who pestered and questioned SOME petitioners to prevent other individuals from signing petitions on the streets.[55] In another example, in June 1978, as supporters of I-13 were collecting signatures, Betty Johanna and Jane Meyerding carried squirt bottles into SOME's headquarters in Seattle's Lake City neighborhood and "splattered the contents of a couple of filing cabinets" with their own blood.[56] Inaccurately analyzed in Atkin's account of this story as adversely impacting the fight against I-13, Beth Kraig's research reintroduces these women as indeed radical but also intelligent and deliberative activists who had an intense level of commitment to social justice. These women, committed to nonviolence, handed a written statement to SOME volunteers eloquently detailing that "with our blood we are telling you today that we cannot live without our lives… You are trying to take our lives."[57] However, these types of radical actions by lesbians did not impress the leaders of major activist groups; CRFE, which many Dorian Group members found themselves involved with (including Gary Atkins at the time), who then immediately condemned Meyerding and Johanna.[58]

The historiography's main concern with changes in gay and lesbian activism during this period which positions the religious supporters of I-13 (and the police) as the main antagonist to the LGBT community; here though I think it is crucial to showcase how many religious groups played a more substantive role in the fight against I-13. Religious

sentiment was not vested solely in the attack on gay and lesbian rights in Seattle during the late-70s. SCAT held its early-meetings to mobilize against I-13 at MCC Seattle.[59] MCC hosted events as large as 400 people to discuss how precedent set by I-13 would replicate and enable dehumanizing and economically unjust political tactics historically used on women, people of color, gays and lesbians, and the working class. MCC hosted frank and honest conversations between gay and lesbian groups fighting I-13 and organizations such as the Feminist Coordinating Council, the Native American Solidarity Committee, and the Church Council of Greater Seattle.[60] When the Church Council of Greater Seattle voted on whether or not they should tell their congregations to vote "no" or "yes" on I-13, the 52 voting parties all decided to oppose I-13.[61] Pastors like David C. Colwell then gave sermons to their congregations about I-13, often focusing on how the "caricature" made of "homosexuals," especially that they "are always trying to influence children," was largely inaccurate.[62] The Church Council of Greater Seattle went so far as to host "pray-ins" at Volunteer Park after Sunday church services, as they did on November 5, 1978, to fight I-13 and "demonstrate human dignity for all people."[63] The privacy-oriented CRFE was able to gain support from the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Federation of Seattle, St. Mark's Cathedral, Integrity Puget Sound (a gay Episcopal group), The Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, the Church Council of Greater Seattle, as well as others.[64] The Monastery (albeit an informal spiritual center), also hosted dance marathons to raise money for the fight against I-13.

Not to paint an overly optimistic view of religious-involvement, many churches responded to I-13 with indifference or adamant support. Many churches opposing

"homosexuality" navigated anxieties about both enabling "homosexual" rights and discrimination in various ways. For example, Enumclaw's Seventh-day Adventist Church issued a press release stating they traditionally "defended human rights and has applauded all efforts, politics, and religion to emancipate minorities and provide them equal treatment under the law."[65] This group noted that they were committed to silence on political issues of homosexuality but could speak to it "as a moral issue," to which they criticized the sexual and moral "perversion" of gay culture especially worrying about how further enabling this culture would "adversely affect the integrity of homes, schools, and communities." Because Enumclaw Adventists perceived an attack on these three staples of their religious experiences and Christian-affiliative networks they chose not to condemn homosexual individuals but rather the culture and politics of the "the gay movement" as it "strikes at the very heart of family life" by encouraging "a destructive lifestyle rather than one that contributed to healthy, growing families, communities and nation."[66] In this way, the Enumclaw Adventists suggested that they were not taking a firm political stance on I-13 but also would not dissuade anyone from voting "yes" on I-13 or condemning the Gay and Lesbian Movement.

The drive to "fix" and "discipline" homosexuality, and cure anxieties amongst Christians, prompted other Christian responses in favor of I-13. The group Church Leaders for Community Standards sent a memo to its congregations urging them to:

> VOTE YES ON NOVEMBER 7! Your vote will be a strike against immorality. Church Leaders for Community Standards is deeply concerned about the current city ordinance prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation because it stands in opposition to Biblical morality. While believing homosexuality to be immoral behavior, C.L.C.S. does not want to

> misunderstood as approving of homophobia, dishonesty, or ungodly… arbitrary action toward anyone.[67]

By calling for support on I-13, the Church Leaders for Community Standards noted that the management of sexual behavior and immorality was a political crisis that Christians in the late-1970s were increasingly taking seriously. However, at the same time, this group purported the idea that sociopolitical and economic discrimination against gays and lesbians (permitted by local and state governments) was by no means an "ungodly" "homophobic" act. This is also to suggest that many Christians in Washington did not see themselves as supporting an "exile" for the gay and lesbian population but saw themselves as having an interest in reforming perceived immoral behaviors, emotions, and mentalities, which they increasingly conceived as attainable through sociopolitical and economic action.

Crucially during this period, many Christians, including those who were ambivalent to or opposed to I-13, thought "homosexuality" could be cured and thus political mobilization against gays and lesbians was not the "most Christian" route. Throughout the twentieth century, US Christians tended to perceive curing "hearts and minds" at being a part of their religious identity and not necessarily a crucial component of their function as political beings (of course, though, there was never a complete divide in this regard). Yet, "curing" homosexuality (which has an extensive technological history within the United States) took on an increasingly important political function with the emergence of the ex-gay ministry during the latter-half of the twentieth century. For example, Love in Action was founded in 1973 figured amongst a plethora of other groups in the 70s and 80s who claimed to provide a cure for men and women struggling physically,

psychologically, and spiritually with SSA (Same Sex Attraction). Interested Washingtonians in 1977, for example, would have noted events like the Joe Price Crusade coming to Seattle which shared stories of individuals like Annie Rucker who "was bound for fifteen years by the devil" into lesbianism but "delivered and set free by the power of God" which enabled a transformation which resulted in heterosexual monogamy, marriage, and lifelong Christian devotion.[68] Testimonials and transformation settled anxieties amongst Christians while also, perhaps, spurring on anxieties that someone they loved, especially a child, friend, sibling, parent, or spouse, might one day to need to be re-oriented toward God and away from a gay lifestyle by disciplining out urges, feelings, fantasies, and actions. The failure to pass I-13 (to allow gays and lesbians in neighborhoods and workplaces) then likely caused these same, flummoxed individuals to seek both social and political avenues to protect the basis of their Christian affiliative network from the influence of the Gay and Lesbian Movement. The key to protecting Christian networks from the Gay and Lesbian Movement's influence was vested in preventing their most vulnerable members, children, from exposure and coaching these individuals to maintain certain, threatening anxieties about what homosexual influences *would do* to them if they got the chance. With the failure of I-13, religious Christians in Seattle turned to a broader sociopolitical culture found within the New Right, which enabled citizens at the local, state, and federal governments to willfully ignore homosexuality in some cases while willfully disciplining the cultures around gay and lesbian life in other cases.

**The Monastery and its Demise**

A church containing both a "baptismal font" and a disco might sound unorthodox to Christian ears. However, a handful of Seattleites managed to find themselves in such a space from 1977 to 1985 at The Monastery, a gay bar that was also a church (albeit taking a sometimes-whimsical approach to religion). Yes, George Freeman, the owner of The Monastery, deliberately sectioned off part of his disco/church as a baptismal spa. After its opening on May 13, 1977, it was quickly celebrated as one of the "hottest" gay bars in town by *Seattle Gay News* (*SGN*).[69] Humorously, several of The Monastery's initial advertisements beseeched its patrons to attend events "under threat of excommunication."[70] Regardless, membership at The Monastery increased throughout the late-70s, and its patrons began building a network of sexual and spiritual affiliation within the walls of the disco/church (how long this affiliative network *truly* stayed spiritual is debatable). In defiance of conventional religious norms Freeman's establishment had a the dancefloor double as the sanctuary and the area that served alcohol was the refectory.[71] Seattleites must have wondered if The Monastery was really a church. Yet, according to a 1982 article from *Seattle Times*, The Monastery received a church charter by 1979 from the Universal Life Church. Amid controversy and conflicting opinions on the bar, one thing is certain: The Monastery exemplified queer anxieties that imbricated with religion as well as age and race.

Within a year of opening, George Freeman's resistance to the law and to both gay and straight social norms helped establish The Monastery as one of the most consciously subversive sites in Seattle's history. This radical resistance and dedication to cultivating a space for queer affiliation, however, was not without consequence. Acting as bar-owner

and church-leader, Freeman believed that gays and lesbian should and could defy age-based regulations on nightlife to build a social, spiritual, and likely sexual community. As many queer-cultural experiences existed around gay bars and clubs, it seems Freeman believed that gay and lesbian people who were beneath the legal drinking age should have been allowed to experience gay nightlife.[72] However, Freeman's decision to welcome young gay people into the disco/church created controversy. He continually suggested that the decision to include younger people in the bar was an act of liberating young gays and lesbians. When questioned about this, Freeman simply stated that, "one-third of the population is minors and gays discriminate against them."[73] Amplified scrutiny toward George Freeman and The Monastery also accompanied the publication of articles such as 1977's *Seattle Daily Times,* "Boys weren't offered as prostitutes, court told."[74]

Since opening in 1977, many people found it contradictory that The Monastery was both a gay nightclub and a church; indeed, it looked like a church (residing in a large brown building built by Methodists in 1906).[75] Yet, the disco/church persisted in its attempts to foster both the spiritual community and nightlife. The Monastery's calendar of events soon promoted religious events, film screening, and all-night parties. During the daytime, portions of the building were also used as a shelter for homeless and struggling LGBT youth.[76] Given that homeless teenagers were at the bar during the day and that loud, drug and disco-fueled parties raged at night (and would often conclude with breakfast in the morning), many sought a clearer understanding of The Monastery's purposes. Local accounts of the bar suggested that The Monastery got its church license in order to maneuver alcohol laws and that by attempting to use banquet licenses and hosting "Bring

Your Own Beer" events, "members" of the disco/church tried to avoid Seattle police's aggressive surveilling of gay bar's liquor licenses. A memo from employees at the Monastery written in June 1977, just before its June 25th party commemorating the "ongoing struggle for Human Rights," seemed to have hedged its liability in reminding members that, "Washington State Law prohibits all underage members from drinking alcohol."[77] Given its interesting position within the cultural and legal cityscape, the Seattle Gay Business Association's guidebook listed "The Monastery" right after churches as Seattle's sole "After Hours" institution.[78]

Members of The Monastery took advantage of the fact that, as a memo written by "Brother and staff" stated, "we are so programmed that life seems to center around a Marlboro and a can of Budweiser!!"[79] However, in promoting events to members, Monastery leaders also would add that, "Our church would be nothing but one more bar if we were to promote the use of alcohol or any other drug. However, your freedom of choice allows you the privilege to B.Y.O.B."[80] The Monastery took advantage of its own puzzling message, its vague wording, religious language (such as putting "A.D." after every date they listed and using fonts reminiscent of the Bible), and sentiments of individual freedom. Regarding partying, Freeman and bar managers created a sense of peculiarity that members, including prominent activists like Tim Mayhew, reveled in. In May 1978, The Monastery promoted its anniversary party with the message, "Once upon a time everything good had to be bad. However, everything bad was not necessarily Good… and vice viersa. Confused? … Don't be. One certainty is… The Monastery."[81] The Monastery quickly

became a popular location for gays and lesbians, and eventually, many people became official "members" of the church.

For the first two years of its existence, the "Brothers and staff" at The Monastery suggested that this church/disco had an extensive impact on Seattle. Residing in a former church itself gave The Monastery an aesthetic appeal that was complimented inside by space to worship as well as a complimentary buffet, a dance floor, lounges for intimacy, and other spaces for socialization.[82] The Monastery believed that within this space that they were making a difference. By 1978 members were professing that this was, "A place where all kinds of people could join hands, dance, worship and sing together… A place that spoke through the message of music… A place that would not exclude our young."[83] Because of its welcoming atmosphere, many young heterosexual people (anywhere from age 14 to 24) also began to frequent the disco during this period.

Yet, since its inception, The Monastery was a sight of controversy, and its consistent legal battles, as well as confrontations with police, stimulated anxieties about the disco/church. Emerging amidst increasing tensions between police, conservatives, and the LGBT population in Seattle—which would increase during 1977 and 1978 with the struggles surrounding I-13—The Monastery opened amidst a time of increased surveillance over and criticism of gay life. By October of 1977—five months after opening—George Freeman had already hosted press conferences accusing "Seattle police vice agents of harassing its clientele."[84] On October 9, 1977, a heated confrontation between police and "several hundred persons" broke out at The Monastery when police entered the club to, reportedly, "request that music from a stereo system be turned down,"

but then began policing the bar for drugs and arrested three people, including George Freeman.[85] Members of the Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights responded by hosting a massive protest at the Public Safety building the following day.[86] Freeman also expressed concern that police agents surveilled the church/disco demanding the bar release membership lists; in this instance, Freeman also stated that Monastery guests had witnessed police distributing drugs at the Monastery.[87]

Police frequently-issued members of The Monastery citations despite the disco/church's use of banquet licenses, including 28-year old Jerry De Grieck who was hosting a 300-person invite-only fundraiser against I-13 in May 1978.[88] Police Lieutenant Bill Taylor, along with Liquor Control Board officers, believed that because invitations mentioned "free unlimited beer" that they interpreted this as being "open to the public" and thus in violation of banquet licensing.[89] The formal survelliance of The Monastery intitially focused on drug and alcohol use in the bar but in the coming years would increasingly focus on concerns about youth stemming from Seattle's New Religious Right who then argued the bar be closed for moral reasons. In November 1977, *Seattle Gay News* reported that they had accessed "a confidential police report showing that undercover agents were working with police uncover male prostitution," and that disguised agents had become members in order to ask Monastery leaders if they could obtain "a 12-year old boy for the production of a pornographic movie," and another agent successfully "turned a trick" with another man for 20 dollars.[90] Here began the widespread rumors about age-based immorality at The Monastery that would lead to its eventual closure eight years later.[91] The role of police incursion amidst I-13 showcases that a bar, owned by an African American

man, was being actively surveilled, and accusations were laid against The Monastery to suggest that it was a site of disorder, drug use, and deviance. The Monastery was presenting, embodying, and disseminating the layers of overlapping anxieties which never worked in just one direction; circles and circles of feelings (many of which could not be fully defined) accompanied the sociopolitical dilemmas and controversies which were engrained within public and private perceptions of this locus of sociopolitical, economic, and sexual movement.

The Monastery's legal troubles and tensions about The Monastery within the queer community would eventually lead influential Seattle activists to distance themselves from George Freeman and his constituents, which in turn inspired many Monastery members to critique activist leaders.[92] The Dorian Group, Seattle's leading gay activist organization, became more professional, whiter, and more male during the late-1970s; especially, as radical lesbian feminists, concerned people of color, and working-class LGBT people defected from the organization. Members of the Dorian Group appear to have created some resolve for the situation in October 1977 as Charles Brydon expressed satisfaction meeting with representatives from the mayor's office, the Police Department, and The Monastery. Brydon's main critique was that Mayor Wesley Uhlman's control over many departments, including the police, had been diminished in recent years, suggesting there was not enough executive oversight over the police.[93] When reading Brydon's statement on the situation, the Dorian Group's authority appeasing tactics shine through in Brydon's stating that Deputy Mayor Woody Wilkinson handled the situation "beautifully." Following the incident at The Monastery, many members of the gay-community used the altercation to

demand that police harassment in bars end. The Dorian Group seemed to have ignored these calls for tolerance and change, which caused many gay and lesbian patrons of The Monastery and other gay bars to grow angry with the Dorian Group. In response, Brydon chastised the "radical" gays and lesbians in the city for demanding large-scale reform in Seattle, saying that these types of gay and lesbians were illogical for expecting city hall to adhere to their "unreasonable," constant demands.[94] However, when the city's corporation counsel decided to prosecute the three gay men arrested in the altercation, Brydon did something highly unusual: he condemned the council's actions by calling members "terribly insensitive."[95]

Other gay and lesbian activists, especially members of the Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights, responded to situations like this much differently than members of the Dorian Group, alluding to broader anxieties about political approaches. Activists like Michael Siever—who helped organize the rally after the November 1977 police raid and Freeman's arrest—noticed how discrimination was following a clear pattern that Dorian Group members were not picking up or addressing as a serious concern. Siever wanted to draw attention to the intense policing of young gay and lesbian involvement at the club and throughout other gay affiliated spaces in Seattle. There was a direct interest in separating young people from sites of gay-influence or affiliation in Seattle. Activists like Siever demanded an end to age-based discrimination and manipulation from the police (indeed, a homeless queer youth might need the 20 dollars police officers were offering for oral sex) and also demanded the Police Chief Robert Hanson be fired to help end "the murders, brutality and selective enforcement of the law in sexual and racial minority

communities."[96] Siever and other activists criticized Brydon for his professional approach for making "watered-down" compromises with police and city officials and not making the seemingly clear connection of this incident to "part of the growing effort in various segments of the city administration to crack down on the gay community, following the Save Our Children theme of zeroing in on the whole issue of youth."[97] The Union for Sexual Minorities also used the situation at the Monastery to criticize how leading gay activists in the Dorian Group were "genteel to a fault" and unwilling to look beyond sexuality as the only form of discrimination that mattered.[98]

After this event, George Freeman's greater public prominence among Seattle's LGBT community and his differences with the Dorian Group enabled him to have a stage to comment on many of the flaws he saw in Seattle in the late-70s. On July 6, 1979, an article in *SGN* entitled, "Sanctuary Owner Rails Against Intolerance," was published with three images of an angry-looking Freeman. A bold block quote captured attention stating, "Discrimination is more severe in Seattle than anywhere else. We don't like dykes, chickens, straights or blacks."[99] Race was a particularly important issue for Freeman who became an active member of the group Black and White Men Together in the 1980s.[100] In the article, Freeman highlighted how he and others in the LGBT population were marginalized on the basis of age, race, gender, and class. As his bar's "membership" was dwindling in part because of the "white males" who were "uptight assholes who won't shake their asses and be proud of it." Freeman also criticized that other, mostly white bar owners were perpetuating discrimination as "in some bars, blacks must have two or three IDs to get in, and women have to pay more cover than men." He urged for "a sense of

family" among the LGBT population which would allow them to experience liberation—this liberation was indeed based on erotic power. This stood in stark contrasts to the professional stiffness of the Dorian Group as at The Monastery, Freeman noted, "We try to build an environment to titillate all body senses: ears, eyes, nose, touch, palate and sexual concept of the beautiful. We appeal to the senses." For Freeman, embracing the erotic was achievable only by allowing everyone within the LGBT community into The Monastery so that they could have a liberating spiritual experience. Around this time, in countering the Dorian Group's ineffective approach to age-politics, Freeman controversially had older men *sponsoring* gay, mostly male, teenagers who were age "16 to 18" wanting them to experience The Monastery because he believed, "Young (people) are the most valuable resource we have and men in their forties should support them."[101] LGBT youth's movement throughout Seattle unearthed how this "community" of sexual minorities was increasingly stratified by age and through various anxieties which suggested young people were not capable of full-involvement in both the eroticized queer community and increasingly professional gay political groups.

1979—one year after the victory against I-13—marked the beginning of the end for The Monastery; as ongoing legal battles, political opposition, police surveillance, and frayed queer affiliations tarnished its image throughout Washington. Regardless of Freeman's lasting sentiments of LGBT liberation in the space provided by the bar, 1979 marked the beginning of a steady uptake in criticism from people across Seattle. One notable upbraiding Freeman and The Monastery received was from a local Christian church. In mid-1979, it appears the Monastery changed its name to The Sanctuary, and

Freeman's bar/disco/church became a branch of the Universal Life Church. This led to Lynwood Christian Church (LCC) suing the Monastery over its name. LCC disliked The Sanctuary presenting and advertising itself as a church and a place for Christians to attend, LCC pastor Rueben Sapien claimed, "We [Christians] don't want to be identified with what they are doing."[102] Freeman countered the pastor calling church members "die-hard fundamentalists" who were harassing his church because the majority of church members were "homosexual or bisexual."[103] Freeman saw LCC's actions against his church as unwarranted, citing that "other churches and businesses use the name sanctuary" without receiving scrutiny from LCC. More scandalous, in Freeman's defense of his own church, he professed that "Jesus Christ did not have a heterosexual lifestyle."[104] Claiming church status and religious purpose, Freeman would continue to battle against locals who saw his church as disgraceful.

The LCC lawsuit against the Monastery failed, but it did, give indication to Christians throughout the city that The Monastery was an alleged Church which opposed the moral values of conservative Christians. The Monastery increasingly sparked anxieties amongst the Religious Right about what queerness brought to the city and, more importantly, to their children. Lynwood Christian Church's attempt to close The Monastery and change its name proved relatively unsuccessful; however, this helped mobilize more people throughout the Seattle area to believe The Monastery was a particularly powerful example of moral corruption in the city. After the LCC lawsuit, to ensure The Monastery's closure, conservative a Seattle-area attorney David Crosby left his law practice and founded the group Parents-In-Arms in 1980. Crosby claimed that his own teenage son was

corrupted by Freeman and Monastery "members" into a life of mutually constitutive drug use and homosexual behavior. Crosby began speaking at events, sharing tragic stories about his son, Ian, who he could barely recognize as a result of Ian's engagement with gay nightlife.[105]

Meanwhile, in 1980, police officers launched ten formal inspections into The Monastery (which included raids). In April 1981, police succeeded in getting Freeman sentenced to 60 days in prison for violating liquor laws. Freeman, who was living at The Monastery, had his defense lawyers argue that he was a home-owner and church leader and "could serve alcohol to people who were his guests – much as anyone can do in a private home."[106] In 1982, Freeman and members of The Monastery attempted suing Seattle police for their continued harassment by claiming police had impacted the ability of "church members to exercise their rights of freedom of religion and association."[107] When Parents-in-Arms and local police targeted The Monastery in tandem, the bar's presentation in heterosexual newspapers worsened.[108] In September 1982, *Seattle Times* reporter Duff Wilson wrote an exposé on The Monastery and Freeman entitled, "Monastery looks like church; that's the only similarity."[109] Wilson solidified mainstream, conservative views about The Monastery (and gay nightlife more generally) all but securing the bar's eventual demise. Wilson mentioned that the bar only "seemed to be a haven for hundreds of youths" but in fact "members" of The Monastery were getting these children, "some appearing as young as 14" to drink, take drugs (particularly marijuana and cocaine), have sex with each other (potentially across racial and generational divides). Wilson solidified the mainstream view that there was no religious practice (even whimsically) going at The Monastery; even

if The Monastery had been a church or a haven for youth at one point, Wilson professed that it certainly was not anymore.

By reading Wilson's article, many Seattleites conjured up a network of drugs, sex, and immoral behavior proliferating within the dark brown church-building on 1900 Boren Avenue. Crucially, Wilson's reporting showcased an erotically-charged atmosphere containing teens, older men, people of different races, and LGBT people who—instead of communing for religious purposes—were joining together to engage in activities that most Christians considered immoral. Nonetheless, Wilson's article also suggested a certain allure about The Monastery: its bizarreness and bright lights were enthralling. Condemnations and criticism of The Monastery were paired with a sense of community and aesthetics. Wilson illustrated the space as a bar with a:

> Crowded dancefloor with 90 speakers for the sweating, often smiling dancers. It boasted the best disco sound system in the Northwest, and almost certainly the loudest… Most clients were gay, but many were not… Once you were inside, it was a sort of free zone. The dark-brown building is visible from Interstate 5 just northeast of downtown Seattle. After dark, two bands of violet neon light shone from each of the four windows high in the steeple, and rotating blue lights speared to beckon. The closest neighbors were a Chevron gas station and a Goodyear tire store… Knots of people loitered in nearby parking lots… On the dance floor, four pulsing lighted imitations of stained-glass windows dominated the corners A young, intense man on a platform next to the disc jockey used a keyboard-like device to flash on and off the rows of red, blue and pink lights, glass disco balls, strobe lights, vertical neon cylinders…Many men peeled off their shirts in the heat, and the half-dozen young male employees who walked around and picked up trash were also shirtless. Though the atmosphere was that of a wile part, it was also very harmonious. There was no apparent tension between gays… and non-gays, nor between blacks… and whites… Downstairs include private rooms with mattresses, a 'Private, Men Only' sauna… Two girls no older than 16, shared a cup of beer, smoked cigarettes, and held each other's hands.[110]

Interestingly, at the point in which Wilson introduced the "two girls" the illustration of The Monastery became grimmer, with young teenagers doing various kinds of drugs, swearing heavily, and engaging in sexual behavior. Regardless of what The Monastery was to its members and guests, its bewildering power produced anxieties about religion, sexuality, gender, race, age, and bodily-autonomy. Internally, The Monastery may have been a site of anxiety management, but externally it mainly provoked anxious responses and disseminated anti-gay sentiments. Indeed, Wilson left the bar anxious and disoriented; and, these feelings may have been navigated while inside the bar, but his external presentation of The Monastery only amplified increasing citywide concern.

From 1980 to 1985 the group Parents-in-Arms expanded its reach throughout the greater-Seattle area, capitalizing on the anxieties spread the newspaper coverage about youth involvement at The Monastery. The Monastery also served to validate the discophobia of many parents throughout the city, which the evangelical right had been attacking as morally and sexually corrupting youth since the late-70s.[111] Moreover, Parents-in-Arms used local media outlets to promote a dire, corrupt image of Seattle, often suggesting that the Monastery was the pinnacle example of the corruption of youth and the distortion of Christianity. Soon newspaper opinions on the bar were published sharing stories about 12-year old sex workers, old men drugging young boys, and lascivious orgies at the Monastery that were all done to mock the Christian faith and destroy the city's moral fabric. Police raids, interest, and surveillance of The Monastery continued throughout this period. The Monastery faced ongoing fines for violating liquor laws. Freeman continued

to contest that this witch-hunt against The Monastery had racist undertones, especially because, as he stated, "I'm black and I'm queer. That bothers a lot of people," a perspective that many gays, lesbians, and heterosexuals in Seattle scoffed at and rejected.[112] Policing, legal efforts, and a loss of clientele caused The Monastery to lose economic viability in the mid-80s. Supporters of Parents in Arms wrote stories in the *Seattle Times* about the widespread drug use at The Monastery while alleging it was a site for the exploration of pedophilia and teenage sex work. Parents in Arms successfully used concerns about illegal drug use and other "illegal acts" to rally support from King County prosecuting attorney Norm Maleng (discussed in greater detail in the following chapter) who helped the group pursue a civil-abatement to close The Monastery. Maleng presented a case that closing The Monastery was necessary, "to stop a public and moral nuisance."[113] Parents in Arms had a widespread interest in protecting children from experiencing the immoral elements of the city also promoted legislation throughout the city, such as a midnight curfew for everyone under 18 that specifically used The Monastery as an example of moral corruption which Christians needed to be fighting. Some teenagers gave testimony in newspapers that Parents in Arm's claims were wildly out of touch with reality and that The Monastery was an important social spot for LGBT youth.[114] Conservative Christian members of the group Parents-in-Arms also adamantly spoke against the influence of disco on young people.

In late-1985 (which importantly, was the same year most straight Seattleites began to worry about HIV/AIDS) Parents-in-Arms, was using stories about teenage sex work at The Monastery, and also successfully petitioned the Universal Life Church to revoke The Monastery's church-license months before the bar finally closed in May 1985. They

celebrated as Freeman was imprisoned for ten months (after he briefly tried fleeing to California).[115] Freeman then attempted suing Parents-in-Arms several times until 1989, with this unending string of legal battles being won by the Religious Right group.[116] Parents-in-Arms, successfully closed The Monastery and turned Freeman into a social pariah. Parents-in-Arms continued using the deviance they perceived at The Monastery as a precedent for closing other clubs that welcomed youth throughout the city (seemingly to limit the influence of drugs, sex, and homosexuality on these allegedly unsuspecting teens). After the Monastery closed, a short-lived Baptist Church moved into the building that had housed what was once a gay bar, youth shelter, church, and George Freeman's residence. Anxiety haunts the record of The Monastery as it still seems unclear *exactly* what the disco/church really was, although it seems most apparent that it simply represented the different experiences, feelings, and sensations of the different people who either distantly gazed at the building's exterior or danced all night inside its walls. Nonetheless, we see an affiliative network which absorbed religious and queer anxieties.[117]

**Anxiously Religious, Anxiously Queer**

The attack on The Monastery by the New Right of the 1980s was a reconsolidation of the anti-gay, conservative Christian-backed efforts made in the late-70s. I-13 and Save Our Children may not have prevailed in Seattle, but the potential vested within these anti-gay efforts lingered amongst people concerned about the impact that gay and lesbian cultures had on youth. This is to say that through affiliation, anxieties were preserved, reshaped, revitalized, and then repurposed. Furthermore, Christian concern about queerness did not simply blossom in 1977 and 78. In the 1950s and 60s, most American

faiths deemed any sexual activity outside the bonds of marriage to be sinful.[118] Parents in the 1960s, in particular, had increasing anxieties about their kids becoming susceptible to homosexuality, especially as these gay and lesbian subcultures became more notable.[119] Cold War Era anxieties about homosexuality can be traced even further back to the Progressive Era, as noted in the first chapter of this thesis. Queer anxieties thus proliferated throughout Washington since (and before) its statehood. Since the 1960s, so too, did queer affiliation (tying queer subjects to these anxieties and making queer visibility and stories and the Gay and Lesbian Movement's sociopolitical and cultural influence a permanent part of individual and communal histories).

Shifting award the status quo of the 1920s to 1960s in which there was an active sense of separation and church of state amongst Christians, in the 1970s—and then more definitively in the 1980s—Christians felt a need to use law and politics to ameliorate anxieties about queerness[120] Since many Christians believed that God's Kingdom was not a part of this world, these new "worlds" and networks of queer sexuality were pinpointed as proof of their beliefs. Nonetheless, Christian policing of sexuality was crucial fuel within these Christian networks intense reemergence into modern politics.[121] George Freeman then represented the corruption of faith, youth, and perverse sex that most politically active Christians deemed as crucial flaws in modern American that needed correction: normative forms of worship, all night parties, and loosened conceptions of age, gender, racial, and sexual divides was an unserious approach to Christian authority in dire need of disciplining.

Generally speaking, conservative Christians were increasingly perceiving traditional religious life as under attack by the counterculture which was secularizing all

elements of American-life. In contrast Christians believed that these same elements of modern life, including the role of the law and governance, were supposed to be rooted in faith and decency. As historian Sarah Barringer Gordon has showed, concerned Christian parents increasingly took up the fight against the perceived secularization of the United States in the 1970s.[122] Organizations like Christian Women for America formed in 1979—which was particularly active in Washington State—began using the legal system and taking actions to preserve biblical and family values.[123] Along with anxieties over queer sexuality, changes in women's reproductive rights, shifts in education, and the job market fueled conservative Christians to become "a powerful religious voice" in politics. During this period then Christians deemed it necessary to begin speaking more publicly about the role of governance in protecting sexual norms, marriage, and family life—all of which were once perceived to as intensely private issues.[124] These pursuits in Seattle did not die off with the LGBT victory over I-13; rather, conservative Christians latched on to the sentiment of using law to prevent the queer world of affiliation from stretching out to their children and potentially unraveling their family unit's affiliation with conservative Christian life. Nonetheless, the seemingly perpetual battleground of Christian religious and queer anxieties was—as this chapter's exploration of the period preceding the late-1970s anti-gay movements showcases—never without those hybrid figures who maintained networks of affiliation that expanded into the worlds Christianity, the Gay and Lesbian Movement, and all other queer cultural corners of US society.

Finally, returning to M. Franklin Ryan, one can recognize Washington State's history since the emergence of the Gay and Lesbian Movement as bound up in an interplay

of individual, interpersonal, and sociopolitical concern which tinged public and private affiliative networks with queer and religious anxieties. This persistence, interplay, and reshaping of anxieties is a more descript manner of depicting the queer past in Washington rather than the story of moving from exile to belonging. M. Franklin Ryan, in fact, belonged more so in queer space in October of 1971 than he did just one month later. Forces like religion have constantly pressured individuals to fray their affiliation with the Gay World. The next step, although a daunting archival task, should likely be an exploration of these frayed, unraveled queer affiliations in Washington's history.

## CHAPTER 4: BLOOD

"When you feel fear, ask yourself, 'What time is it?' For if you are living one-half second in the future or one-half second in the past, you are living in illusion and that is the province of fear."
--*Emmanuel's Book: A Manual for Living Comfortably in the Cosmos* by Pat Rodegast (1987), this passage was taped to the wall of Steven Farmer's Capitol Hill apartment in 1991.[1]

On February 14, 1991, the Washington Supreme Court upheld Steven George Farmer's sentence of 90 months imprisonment for two counts of exploiting a minor and two counts of patronizing a juvenile sex worker (*State v. Farmer*, WA-1991).[2] The Supreme Court also affirmed that a forcibly taken test to screen Farmer's blood for Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) was a clear violation of his rights to privacy. Previously, on May 31, 1987, Seattle police arrested Farmer on charges of sexual exploitation of 17-year-old Robert P., a youth Farmer photographed in a sexually explicit manner.[3] Robert P. initially reported Farmer to police, claiming that Farmer drugged and sexually assaulted him.[4] Without a search warrant, police entered Farmer's apartment and seized a shoebox containing photos of naked, young men, most appearing to be teenagers. Robert's body was among those captured within Farmer's polaroid photos along with two additional teenage sex workers, Eric N. and Jim L., who would become the central figures used to pursue a blood test by prosecuting attorney Rebecca Roe.[5] Cultural anxieties about HIV/AIDS then fueled a successful attempt to screen Farmer's blood while perpetuating sentiments seeking to criminalize HIV and use law and order politics to strip minority communities of privacy rights and bodily-autonomy.

Seeing Farmer as a threat to youth and public health, on May 24, 1988, Judge Charles Johnson of the King County Superior Court ordered that it was in the best interest

of the public that Steven Farmer undergo involuntary testing for HIV. Upon this ruling, Farmer's public defender Robert Gombiner waved a copy of Washington's new 1988 AIDS Omnibus bill in the air, reciting its contents to the judge. This bill allegedly granted civil rights protections for HIV-positive individuals while restricting forced testing to individuals punished for sex work, crimes related to intravenous drug use, and penetrative sexual assault. Gombiner—as well as activist groups like ACT UP/Seattle and the Stonewall Committee who protested outside the courthouse—believed that a forced blood test was unwarranted as Farmer was tried for paying teenage sex workers to pose naked for photos, not having sex with them. Judge Johnson promised that the media would be shielded from the results of the blood test to hedge claims that the courts were violating Farmer's rights to privacy. Nonetheless, less than a week later, reports flooded local newspaper proclaiming Farmer was HIV-positive. Prosecuting attorney Rebecca Roe—an attorney who advocated for abused women and children—then used Farmer's HIV-positive status to lengthen his sentence from 90 days to 90 months. Farmer's criminality, in this case, was integrally tied to the results of his blood test. After a three-year appeals process, the Washington Supreme Court unanimously ruled "there was no legitimate, compelling state interest that would constitutionally justify ordering the test in violation of Farmer's right to privacy."[6]

Amidst the apex of social upheaval about HIV/AIDS in 1987 and 1988, the Farmer case represented how anti-queer senitments and concern over the spread of disease prompted media sensationalism while translating understandings of state and local policy as a guarantor of "the people's welfare" into nonconsensual HIV-testing.[7] During the

Farmer case, anxieties about HIV/AIDS were managed in such a way that limited the rights to privacy of queer people and HIV-positive individuals. In turn, anxieties were both fueled and managed by reliance on law and order politics, which criminalized HIV and demanded carceral intervention. Queer sexuality underwent regulation because of its quantitative connection to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The policing of HIV/AIDS—via state and local government intervention—also occurred during a moment of federal deregulation and decentralization in the 1980s.[8] Rooted in the law and order politics of the 1970s, a kind of carceral feminism—in this case, feminist politics which sought to utilize police and prison systems to protect abused women and children—swayed the outcome of the Farmer case.[9] This is all to say that layers upon layers of sociopolitical forces imbued gender and sexual anxieties into the Farmer case—while using the case to symbolically manage their own anxieties. In turn, the management of layers upon layers of queer anxieties resulted in Steven Farmer's dramatic castigation after his contentious sexual exchange with Robert P. on May 30, 1987. As the case's instigating figures, this chapter pays careful attention to how the media and courts treated Farmer and Robert P. highlighting how individuals as well as local and state government agent's management of queer anxieties amidst social upheaval about the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Washington, and the broader international pandemic, ultimately fueled Farmer's blood test and resulted in his subsequent punishment.

**Lessons for Historiography**

Both cases protecting Farmer's interests and protecting the interests of the public were complicated by complex assumptions about victimization and due process; for the sake of this chapter, I focus on how anxieties about vulnerable youth, public health, and

the people's welfare empowered a tendencies to police sexuality and criminalize HIV. Ultimately, the Farmer case was a spectacle of queer anxieties, riddled by revelations, rumors, non-consensus, and lack of legal clarity. While the events leading up to the State's first forcibly taken blood test to screen for HIV may seem like an aberration, this story, predominantly spanning from 1987 to 1991, stands out in a line of scholarship expressing how cultural anxieties and backlash shaped the US HIV/AIDS epidemic during the 1980s. This chapter adds to work on the history of HIV/AIDS by showcasing how state and local governments' interests in protecting the people's welfare were translated into pathways to manage anxieties about queerness while enforcing law and order politics, that, in turn, regulated LGBT experiences.[10] By combining both the legal and social histories of the case, this chapter depicts how anxieties permeated and disoriented those who encountered the Farmer story. Self-identified gays and lesbians, conservatives, feminists, lawyers and lawmakers, doctors, and mothers made their voices heard on the Farmer case, rarely coming to a consensus on what its outcome should have been. Nevertheless, anti-gay sentiment and the moral panic over HIV-positive individuals, and particularly their legal rights to privacy and interaction with vulnerable minors, were most powerful in this case. Following this were increasing feminist concerns with sexual assault, male and gay-male privilege. Equally, New Right conservatives ascribing to law and order politics embraced the Farmer case to condemn gay men, sex work, and gender performances and sexual practices that diverged from the norm.[11] Conservative accounts of the Farmer case throughout Washington expressed that punishment, in its various forms, was due unto those who contracted HIV, that having HIV contributed to one's criminality, and those

potentially HIV-positive individuals needed to be surveilled. Overall, anxieties about queerness and HIV-transmission enabled the nonconsensual screening of Farmer's blood.

In this chapter, an analysis of queer anxieties begins tying these strands together, which have been absent or misrepresented in accounts of the legal and political implications of the Farmer case. This chapter also furthers the project of what Marc Stein has termed "queer legal history" more generally.[12] Thinking about the function of the HIV/AIDS crisis in shaping law is an important project for historians of twentieth-century America, especially exploring the roles of local, state, federal, and international political reactions to the HIV/AIDS crisis during the 1980s. This chapter contributes to these studies by emphasizing how state and local authorities responded to the HIV/AIDS crisis. Writing the decision in, *State of Washington v. Steven George Farmer* (WA-1991), the Washington Supreme Court may have ameliorated their rigid policing of disease and sexuality by claiming that taking Farmer's blood to screen for HIV was wrong, but ultimately it failed to relieve the anxieties proliferated by the case or take action by formulating Farmer's sentencing as unjust.[13]

**Supplementing *Gay Seattle***

By using the Farmer case to explore the history of AIDS in Seattle, my aim is not to minimize the well-documented LGBT community activism during the epidemic. Rather most of the writing on the HIV/AIDS crisis is already written through this scope of LGBT community and activism. My explicit aim is to supplement *Gay Seattle*'s focus on the successes of the professional LGBT-community as this approach has produced historical silences that need reevaluation.[14] Moreover, this chapter reveals how Atkins' use of

progress and community-building (toward a brighter gay future) justifies the prevalence of "texts or figures that refuse to be redeemed" in that they disorient and "disrupt not only the progress narrative of queer history but also our sense of queer identity in the present."[15] Crucially, Atkins does not provide a seriously damning view of Farmer, aside from mentioning that he took pictures of teenage sex workers (which he describes more so as Famer's kink without purposefully exploring the subjectivity of the sex workers who were photographed). By neither condemning nor attempting to redeem Farmer but rather exploring his subjectivity, this retelling suggests how each character in the Farmer case was a complex representation of the sociopolitical anxieties Washingtonians had about queer sexuality as well as HIV/AIDS during the 1980s and 90s.

Foremost, in this supplement to *Gay Seattle*, I provide a queer-feminist reading of Seattle in the 1980s, shifting coverage away from how professional (mostly white) gay men overcame oppression during the AIDS epidemic. More significantly, I also reframe Atkins' characterization of Farmer as the epitome of AIDS-related victimization in the 1980s.[16] Furthermore, the Farmer case also shows the dangers of viewing histories of sex without a concordant analysis of gender and vice versa. Atkins' primary focus on sexuality subsequently screens off gender, causing him to miss several developments in this case. The most notable example of *Gay Seattle* screening off gender comes from its failure to include how feminists used the Farmer case to criticize gay-male privilege and express concerns about consensual and intergenerational sexual practices among same-sex desiring men. To construct Farmer as a martyr, Atkins neglects feminist renderings of the case, both from his historical perspective and those coming from the 1980s itself, which showed

Farmer as a privileged, white gay man and guilty of sexual assault against younger, vulnerable boys. Atkins' version of the Farmer case also wrongfully vilifies prosecuting attorney Rebecca Roe and fails to mention how she made a career of protecting the rights of women and children in the state of Washington. Finally, Atkins' inability to explore potentially adverse impacts of gay male sexual cultures in the 1970s and 1980s also leads to an inability to see Farmer as, indeed, a potential sexual predator—something that Farmer, himself, recognized in many ways.

*Gay Seattle* thus represents the pitfalls of sharing histories of gay male sexuality that fail to adequately address masculinity and gender politics. In *Gay Seattle* one can note how studies of(mostly white) gay male activists staving off oppression during the AIDS crisis—while presenting these men as the premier victims of the crisis—risks screening off gender, leading to narrow, simplistic understandings of otherwise complex histories.[17] Thus, this chapter uses queer-feminist analysis to explore the role of the teenage male sex workers who were, in all probability, Farmer's victims (although not victims of HIV-transmission). Indeed, Robert P., Eric N., and Jim L. were nuanced—and archivally frustrating—figures who go completely unnamed in Atkin's overview of the Farmer case.[18] Writing Steven Farmer as the ultimate victim also represents a larger relation of "cruel optimism" at the heart of *Gay Seattle*. As cruel optimism is when the object one desires is also the element that gets in the way of flourishing, Atkins idealized portrayal of the Farmer case represents this relation as it prevents him from conveying an accurate, effective history in which there is no singular victim of the case's discriminatory effects, negative, media coverage, and adverse legal response.[19] Therefore, if this chapter can leave its reader with

one lesson, it is my hope that scholars will conceptualize histories of HIV/AIDS as needing to express that there was (and is) never just one victim of and AIDS-case's adverse legal effects and negative media coverage.[20] By highlighting the Farmer case, the goal of this chapter is thus to express that Steven Farmer fell prey to HIV and anti-queer discrimination; yet, queer and HIV-positive oppression and victimization never worked in just one direction.

**Enter Steven Farmer**

Not a great deal is known about Steven Farmer before his sensationalized court case in 1987; indeed, Famer's historical positionality is plagued by the hindsight of the case's outcome. Nonetheless, several sources help paint a picture of the man who became Washington's first citizen to undergo a forcibly taken blood test to screen for HIV. Farmer was born May 24, 1956, in Monroe, Washington, and was raised in Kirkland, Washington, eleven miles north of downtown Seattle, across Lake Washington.[21] Growing up, Farmer attended Lake Washington High School. Given the recent work of Paul Tieyemer, it is interesting that Farmer, after high school, worked as a flight attendant for Alaska Airlines in the 70s and 80s.[22] This suggests that the Seattle metropolitan area was not the sole LGBT community and sexual culture Farmer partook in. Generally, though, outside of gay communal spaces, Farmer kept his sexuality relatively private as he did not want to endanger his career.[23] Farmer managed his own anxieties about gay sexuality, in part, by adhering to the "macho" gay masculinity popularized in the 1970s.[24] Known for his striking good looks and muscular physique, Farmer also worked as a model posing naked for gay magazines in the 70s and 80s, including an issue of *Playgirl* (enjoyed by both heterosexual

women and gay and bisexual men alike).[25] Farmer, like many LGBT individuals during this period, struggled with drug and alcohol addiction and was involved in Alcoholics Anonymous during the early-80s.[26] Farmer battled his own-internalized homophobia and was anxious about how his sexuality would impact his future, his present, and his relationships; yet, Farmer, like many gays and lesbians who came out in the 1970s and 80s saw sex as integral to the essence of their lived experience. Several people who knew Farmer considered him a friendly person and not all that different from the masculine gay men in their circles of friends, whom they met at bars, and who they enjoyed sleeping with.[27] Yet, Farmer's somewhat liberated gay sexuality was tinged with intergenerational desires, which, in practice, was not liberating, and in fact, was abusive, toward his younger sexual partners. In 1987, a 31-year old Farmer frequently sought out younger male prostitutes and he enjoyed taking photos of them, later he would reflect on this habit and many of the accusations made against him stating, "You can't catch AIDS from a Polaroid Camera."[28]

By 1987, Steven Farmer would have been well-aware of the proliferation of HIV/AIDS throughout the Puget Sound region, especially among the gay-male population. The first recorded death due to AIDS complications in Washington occurred 34 miles south of Seattle in Tacoma in March 1983.[29] Since 1982, groups like Seattle Gay Clinic and the Seattle Counseling Service for Sexual Minorities were organizing forums on the crisis to spread awareness and ease tensions.[30] One of the most prominent, vocal organizations emerging in the region was the Northwest AIDS Foundation. This organization, founded in May 1983, brought together health professionals and middle-class gay activists to

formulate a response to the dramatic increase in sickness and death amongst gay men.[31] By June 21, 1983, members of the Seattle City Council approved resolutions put together by a coalition of activists and health professionals to declare AIDS a public health emergency.[32]

By 1985 "the number of new cases diagnosed in Seattle and King County passed a landmark: the symbolic 100, or to be exact, 104. The next year, the number almost doubled… [and] more than 90 percent" of individuals "would be dead within a few years after their diagnosis; only a few would still be living at the turn of the century."[33] Crusades for gay abstinence were already becoming particularly profound in Seattle during the early-and-mid-1980s and continued with fervor throughout the decade.[34] Into the late-80s, responses to medical reports in *Seattle Gay News* (*SGN*) were frequent; for example, on July 24, 1987, one article estimated that there would soon be anywhere between 4,000 and 10,000 potential new infections in King County alone.[35] By 1987, Seattle's LGBT community grew fearful in the wake of AZT's widespread failure to have substantial impacts on alleviating the suffering caused by HIV/AIDS symptoms. Thus, newspapers like *SGN* actively published their "AIDS Resource List," which contained the locations, telephone numbers, and general information of over 20 organizations, which helped with testing, health care, and posthumous arrangements.[36] Farmer would have encountered widespread advertising for condom-use and safe-sex practices consistently published in the newspapers and posted throughout gay social spaces in Capitol Hill where he lived as activists recognized these measures were crucial in preventing further spread of HIV.[37] Farmer, reportedly, had adopted safer-sex practices in the mid-1980s and, was himself

terrified of infection.[38] Regardless, living in his Capitol Hill apartment, Farmer was at the epicenter of the AIDS crisis in Washington.

Farmer would have also been aware of the national spread of HIV/AIDS in 1987 and the sociopolitical effects the crisis had within the United States. The first US Public Health Service projections released in 1986 estimated that by the end of 1991, there would be over 279,000 recorded cases of AIDS.[39] Almost 12,000 individuals had died after battling AIDS in 1987, and by 1990 there was a 160 percent increase in deaths.[40] Over 75 percent of these AIDS-related deaths were gay and bisexual men.[41] Thus, the association of AIDS with gay male sexuality was indelible during the 1980s. Conservative Christians fueled the spread of anxieties about HIV transmission and freely promoted "AIDS as divine retribution for the sins of homosexuality, some calling for quarantining, segregation, and tattooing people with HIV/AIDS."[42] As Jennifer Brier's study of Queens, New York showcases, panic "completely overshadowed the actual science of disease transmission that connected specific behaviors and actions to the spread of AIDS."[43] In 1986, HIV/AIDS discrimination factored into *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986), which affirmed the constitutionality of Georgia's law classifying homosexual sex as illegal sodomy. Robert Self has noted how responses embraced methods of "conservative obstructionism," which debilitated "nearly the entire first decade of public health response to the epidemic."[44] In particular, the Reagan Era administration and Christian New Right influenced this response as:

> To conservatives, sexual immortality and a general undisciplined profligacy had spread a relentless and deadly disease; sin and sexual permissiveness were being punished. Meanwhile, they believed that liberals were so concerned with the rights of gay men and other potential HIV/AIDS victims

> that they prevented the government from responding effectively—by quarantining all homosexuals, for instance, or requiring the testing of all gay men, two proposals the Reagan White House considered.[45]

Undoubtedly, the individuals articulating these narratives of the crisis conjured up sentiments amongst their followers and produced the culture of anxiety, which criminalized HIV and spread anti-gay rhetoric.[46] Law and order approaches to managing the AIDS epidemic, thus benefitted from longstanding beliefs and anxieties about the alleged immorality of gay male sexuality.

Enmeshed within national discriminatory trends by 1987, Farmer witnessed increasing public panic—as well as anxieties within queer populations—about AIDS. Likewise, Farmer would have noted the increasing attacks on gay male sexuality from the New Right, especially in King County. By February 1983, the Dorian Group held press conferences condemning negative media coverage of the "gay cancer" in Seattle which actively promoted anti-gay discrimination.[47] The Dorian Group also took charge against local political figures like Republican Jim Wright, who went on record claiming: "Hooray! At last science has found a disease (AIDS) to clean the Queers out of Seattle. Let's hope it spreads."[48] By 1985 many heterosexuals no longer ate at restaurants in Capitol Hill—the city's largest gay enclave—because they feared infection with AIDS by mere proximity to gay men.[49] Concerns about AIDS were not confined to Seattle; in 1985, the Dorian Group also held a particularly rambunctious meeting about AIDS at Central Washington University, where they recorded over 50 people actively concerned about the spread of the disease, many anxious that they were going to get infected.[50] Legal cases like that of Jeremy Rogers, a hemophiliac who contracted HIV in 1985 at age five, also prompted public concern that this disease—which was mainly associated with gay men—could infect

children from heterosexual homes.[51] Seattle police also became increasingly hostile toward gay men and trans women during the 1980s, actively surveilling and verbally harassing them while making sure not to touch them without wearing rubber gloves.[52] The New Right in Washington responded to HIV anxieties by enacting law and order policies exemplified by Norm Maleng's 1988 run for governor as the GOP's nominee. Importantly, Maleng, the King County prosecutor, led the office responsible for pursuing the charges against Farmer.[53] Undoubtedly, rampant heterosexist, religiously fervent discrimination, and intense legal desire to control AIDS were only increasing upon Farmer's initial arrest on May 31, 1987.

**Farmer, and Robert P.**

The exchange between Farmer and Robert P. on May 30, 1987, and Farmer's subsequent arrest on May 31 are shrouded in a veil of rumors, inconsistent reporting, and varying responses. Although the extent is unknown, there certainly was sexually pernicious activity on Farmer's part; indeed, *something* had to have happened to make the 17-year old Robert report Farmer to police. Whether Farmer had HIV/AIDS or exposed Robert to the virus is unknown. If Farmer had HIV, it would have been asymptomatic (as it appeared to have been until 1991 when his health began declining). Farmer confessed that he paid Robert to take off his clothes and pose for images he took with a Polaroid camera. Farmer expressed that Robert told him he was 18 years old and that they engaged in no activity that night that could have likely spread HIV.[54] Farmer also confessed to not adequately paying Robert's pimp, who many people speculated instigated the arrest and helped Robert come up with a story he would share with police and later reports.[55]

Speaking out seven months after the incident, Robert P. recalled a different, more gruesome story. In an interview with veteran *SGN* reporter Alan Reade, Robert began his interview claiming that Farmer knew he was 17 but, as he stated, "wanted me… to tell him I was 15."[56] Reade portrayed Robert as a homeless, runaway, a bisexual teenager from Virginia whose wardrobe, "braces and bleached blond hair," caused him to look more like an innocent, Catholic schoolboy than a hustler cruising the mean streets of Pioneer Square (where Farmer picked him up).[57] Robert mentioned that he was HIV-negative before meeting Farmer, had not been tested since the assault, and only anal sex once before (on his own accord, not for sex work). Robert further expressed that this was also only his second time ever engaging in sex work.[58] Reade's reporting instantly transferred several noteworthy potential anxieties. For example, Robert's appearance, age, and backstory suggested anxieties of individual desperation and the struggle for survival. Indeed, Reade picked up on the anxiety vested in Robert's words all the while trying to discern Robert's place in this story: *because he was an inexperienced sex worker, but also above the age of consent was he more adult or child?* More powerful though was the visceral anxiety for queer readers that this was only Robert's second instance of anal sex; yet, in this act, while being raped by Farmer, Robert *might have* contracted HIV. "He went berserk," Robert told Reade in the interview. With tears in his eyes, Robert stated that Farmer made him do poppers (alkyl nitrites), smoke marijuana, and believed that Farmer gave him LSD. Robert said he was most frightened when Farmer demanded to be called "sir" and started taking pictures of Robert showering and posing naked on the bed. Farmer then apparently made Robert take both passive and active roles in anal sex without a condom (an element of the

story Robert would later recant).[59] Farmer was apparently aggressive and demanding, which caused the inexperienced Robert to feel increasingly uncomfortable. Farmer then made Robert perform anilingus and fellatio—which Robert claimed gave him a sore throat. Robert stated that when he finally asked to stop, Farmer began raping him for several hours but crucially, as Robert said, Farmer "did not come in me at all."[60] Farmer then apparently let Robert go without adequate payment. With the help of a local youth-outreach organization, Robert reported the incident to police who arrested Farmer on "suspicion of rape." Robert's words clearly touched Alan Reade who could sense the boy's discomfort; undoubtedly, this narrative and this individual reflected a great deal of trauma inflicted by Farmer.[61]

Farmer's arrest and the evidence used against him were also shrouded in mystery that perhaps imply guilt—in regard to assaulting Robert—but also might imply that the case against should not have been brought to such extremes in subsequent years. On May 31, Seattle police entered Farmer's apartment without a search warrant, seizing his bedding, his camera, and a shoebox containing dozens of photographs.[62] While arresting Farmer, police wore rubber gloves to avoid touching him: a gay man and his potentially tainted possessions. Police then physically and verbally abused Farmer throughout the evening, something gay men had come to expect in this era.[63] Farmer certainly was *anxious* during this altercation with police, producing fear about bodily harm and psychological abuse in an era when police brutality against gays was common. Fascinatingly, police managed anxieties about AIDS and "homosexuals" by taking procedural measures to not come into physical contact with gay men while also, more informally, physically and

psychologically berating, assaulting, and violating gay male bodies. This goes to show how central notions of violence have been in the management of queer anxieties; yet, also how reactions to anxieties about disease within the queer subject (even when the potential seems remote) have been to enact both corporeal and carceral punishment.

The photographs assumed to be of teenage boys quickly became contested materials. It is unknown how many or how explicit the photos *truly* were. Several years after the incident trial, the *Seattle Times* was reporting that Farmer had over 100 photos of at least 20 naked males, most of them looking "underage" from his home.[64] Almost a decade later, prosecuting attorney Rebecca Roe stated that she believed it was around 240 photos of, as she said, "who knows how many boys."[65] While some accounts suggest that the photos were of sexual acts, sources defending Farmer expressed frequently made statements such as, "the photos show no faces or sexual activity, [and] there are no photos of the prostitute."[66] What is known, is that the photos were taken with a polaroid camera and found in a shoebox in Farmer's bedroom, Farmer admitted that photographing his sexual conquests was a kink.[67] Farmer—as well as some members of the news-media—would later reflect that what he did was improper, and to a larger degree immoral, but this kind of done every day by individuals both gay and straight. Nonetheless, the photographs became the main source of evidence through which Rebecca Roe would build a case toward getting Farmer tested for HIV and severely punished for his sexual interactions with minors.

Since Robert was 17, and the age of consent in Washington was 16, no charges of rape were formally issued against Farmer. From June 1 to 4, 1987, Farmer appeared four

times for arraignment before charges were brought for "exploiting a minor" by means of photographing them.[68] As the case proceeded over the next few months, Robert Gombiner was assigned as Farmer's public defender, Farmer resigned from his job at Alaska Airlines, and the evidence against Farmer was deemed impermissible.

Before late-1987, both straight and gay-centered news outlets paid little attention to the Farmer case as the narrative had yet to be shifted toward a heavy-concern with exposing unsuspecting minors to HIV. Several events occurred from September to December, instigating this shift. As mentioned earlier, police arrested Farmer on suspicion of rape, but he was never formally charged for any sexually penetrative act (later becoming an important detail in the discussion about the relevancy of a blood test). Allegedly, police were then able to identify another two teenage sex workers (Eric N. and Jim L.) from several of the photos that were confiscated from Farmer's apartment and not yet destroyed. Attorney Rebecca Roe encouraged Eric N. and Jim L. to give a partial testimony that Farmer had patronized their services and taken inappropriate photos of them as well.[69] As there was no other way to physically prove Farmer had patronized and exploited these teenagers, the photos Farmer took became the crux of the prosecution's arguments. Farmer's public defender Robert Gombiner soon uncovered, though, that police had not obtained a proper search warrant to confiscate the photos and Farmer's property causing the judge to eliminate this evidence.[70] With a weakened case, "the prosecutor bargained; (and) on September 11, Farmer agreed to plead guilty to lesser gross misdemeanor charges of 'communicating with minors of immoral purposes' by asking them to remove their clothes."[71] Farmer cried in court for the first time as his sentencing was set for December

18, 1987 and claiming he was not the monster that the prosecution and media was painting him out to be.

**Media Sensationalism, Panic, and the Case Proceedings**

In November 1987, Julia Blacklow covered the Farmer case. Amidst the prosecution's pursuit of Farmer, Blacklow, a controversial reporter for Seattle's KING-TV fueled ideas that Steven Farmer was a predator knowingly exposing children to HIV. KING-TV had recently rehired Blacklow in 1987 after she had previously been fired in 1985 for false-reporting.[72] Broadcasted on KING-TV, Blacklow's report intensely focused on Farmer and his sexuality, saying that there were legitimate reasons to believe he was carrying the AIDS virus.[73] Infamously televised, "the report included clips of the photos that had long been excluded from the evidence and quotations" framing Farmer as an AIDS-carrier and "compared Farmer to a loaded gun aimed at unsuspecting teenage males."[74] Blacklow had also contacted Robert P. and had told him that Farmer had AIDS and that he now had a good chance of contracting the virus, causing Robert to worry that he had HIV.[75] Blacklow reported that she had encountered two of Famer's former friends who testified to her that Farmer was infected with HIV/AIDS back in 1983. These individuals were Mavis Jones and Patrick Weller. Mavis Jones had befriended Farmer in an Alcoholics Anonymous group in 1983. Jones reported that Farmer was constantly talking about HIV/AIDS in meetings and had confided in her that, at one point, he was convinced that he had had HIV. Patrick Weller was briefly Farmer's lover in the spring of 1982. Weller alleged that the two of them never used condoms, and after three weeks of seeing each other, Farmer revealed he was in an AIDS study group at Harbor View Medical

Center in Seattle.[76] Adding to the image of Farmer as a sexually-uncontrolled gay man, Weller professed that Farmer had had sex with over 200 men, at least half of which were likely younger male prostitutes. Roe then contacted these friends and used their testimonies against Farmer. Interestingly enough, court documents suggest that both Mavis Jones and Patrick Weller also had both helped Farmer destroy a series of photographs that police did not confiscate.[77] After Blacklow's report was televised in November, the public became invested in the case, and many of these spectators wanted Farmer locked up, for the sake of public health and the safety of Seattle's children.

Utilizing Blacklow's reporting, the prosecutor's office was able to turn the case of a gay-man photographing teenage boys naked into a case directly about HIV/AIDS and the state's vested interest in protecting children. Allegedly, in late-October, just before Blacklow's report was televised, the prosecutor's office received an anonymous call from a self-identified doctor who reported that they had treated Farmer for AIDS-related illnesses, this individual never gave any testimony following this call.[78] Taking this information along with contacting the sources Blacklow used to create her story Prosecutor Roe, as correctly stated in *Gay Seattle*, "securely directed the Farmer case into the new realm of public opinion and public fears about AIDS" when she announced that she had reason to believe Farmer tested positive for the virus.[79] Moreover, Roe was working in a prosecutor's office committed to law and order politics and Roe, herself, had led efforts to combat and criminalize sexual assault and protect abused women and children. Roe's own anxieties need to be considered; she was committed to her legal practice while also working in a prosecutor's office determined to intervene in the AIDS crisis by way of carceral force.

This is to say that among the effects of sexuality and HIV/AIDS were also Roe's longstanding feminist legal practice and commitment to the welfare of children combining with the fact that New Right conservatives led the King County prosecutor's office—under Norm Maleng—at the time. Individuals like Maleng symbolized how New Right conservativism and law and order policies flourished in Washington during the 1980s, despite the state (and especially King County) being thought generally socially progressive. Crucially, Maleng and the state's conservative coalition had passed the Sentencing Reform Acts in 1981 and 1984, which establish commission recommending Washington lengthen sentences for violent offenders, sex offenders, and drug offenders. Statewide citizen initiatives in Washington—influenced by individuals like Maleng— also resulted in the imposition of longer prison terms as well as the nation's first "three strikes and you are out" measure. Encapsulating the impact of these policies, Washington State's prison population doubled after the passage of the 1984 Sentencing Reform Act. Rebecca Roe, practicing her carceral feminism, embraced any potential protections for women and children supplied by the state and local government and thus subscribed to law and order policies which she believed allowed her to demand a blood test be done on behalf of, as the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* put it, "the two boys who were his victims, as well as others who may have had contact with him."[80] Roe believed and then effectively argued that if Farmer tested positive for HIV, further charges could be established against him by using arguments that the state-government had a vested interest in protecting children (as well as giving harsh sentences to "dangerous" predators).[81] Thus, when Judge Johnson sentenced Farmer to 90 days in the King County Jail, on December 15, 1987, Roe filed new charges—

attributed to the fact that he had also patronized Eric N. and Jim L.—aiming to see if a blood sample could be taken.

The charges against Farmer puzzled LGBT Washingtonians who were not in the courts watching the case unfold, but who had grown concerned about the case's sociopolitical implications. *SGN* received dozens of responses discussing the various implications of the Farmer case by December, 1987. The testimonies of male sex workers, as well as the stories brought forth in the court originating from Blacklow's reporting, were immediately contested; especially, as they were not being scrutinized or questioned by mainstream media. The heterosexist mainstream media treatment focused on the "new" apparent threat Farmer—and those like him—posed to public health and the welfare of children. Indeed, the mainstream media, and the prosecutor's office, used phrases like "gay rapist," "dangerous pedophile," and "child molester" to describe Farmer without ever recognizing the fact that the sex-workers were above the age of consent (which many queer folks were debating the social and legal implications of). Of course, for many (if not most) Washingtonians who maintained a distance between themselves and gay culture, the story was as simple as Farmer having abused a minor: he did something *wicked* and deserved punishment for that alone, end of story (the other details did not matter, but only fueled other relevant anxieties).[82] LGBT Seattleites, in contrast, were seemingly forced to grapple with this case at various levels as the story flung them into anxious debates and feelings.

In the winter of 1987, media reactions in the gay press proliferated following Blacklow's report, and as Rebecca Roe filed new charges against Famer. Quickly, Robert's story developed into a crucial site of contestation. For some gay men, Robert's account did

not sound so vastly different from the encounters they had had with other sex-workers (some people clearly thought "hustlers" and "prostitutes" willingly lost their subjectivity in the act of sex work). This created conversations in *SGN* about queer sex work within the city. Moreover, one article entitled "What About Farmer's Side of the Story?" chastised the 'biased' reporting that framed Farmer as a monster within his own community, because even though "Steven is no prize, either, but it would be nice if at least *one* part of Seattle's press" would share Farmer's voice and challenge the idea that Robert's story might not be "gospel."[83] This letter to *SGN* correctly stated that "Farmer's voiced remained relatively out of the picture," which allowed the 'picture' to become so horrendous.[84] Whereas mainstream reports fixated on Farmer as a predator and potential HIV-carrier, gay-media commentary was more clearly concerned with exploring the case's broader nuances as well as the anxieties around what was entirely, partially, or absolutely not "true" within the case.

In another example, Douglas J. Allmun wrote to *SGN,* claiming that there were numerous "inconsistencies" in the reporting about Robert, which were oddly not being mentioned or challenged by the courts or the mainstream media. Allmun stated that the mainstream media was completely ignoring Robert's own criminal history as well as the inconsistencies between what he told Alan Reade, Julia Blacklow, and what he testified in court.[85] As *SGN* had also ignored inconsistencies in Robert's story, Allmun stated that they were actually causing the LGBT community to miss the "political implication of Mr. Farmer's plight," which was actually the social, political, and economic ramifications of anti-LGBT attitudes and policing HIV.[86] Allmun mentioned that clearly, even if Farmer had done something wrong to Robert, such sensationalistic news stories would be used to

generate public support for pending state legislation to quarantine some carriers of the AIDS virus."[87] Nonetheless, 'Robert's Story' created conversations that the LGBT community and media—unlike heterosexist media outlets—used to create nuanced conversations about the case's sociopolitical and cultural implications.

Amidst the inability to locate a singular truth, one writer applauded *SGN* for creating a conversation about "what rape is in the LGBT community" by positing that sex workers could indeed be raped—while also challenging both gay and straight people to avoid declaring Farmer innocent or guilty based on prejudices.[88] In particular, this writer, David Myers, brought up how anxieties about rape and consent were central to conversations amongst LGBT folks. The queer community—as Myers seemed to understand it—had an opportunity to use this story as an opportunity to talk about the roles of rape and consent within their community—one that had previously uplifted, and been built on, ideas of sexual liberation. Indeed, across political, sexual, religious, age-based, and other spectrums of identities in the late-80s, rape as well as consent were hotly contested issues that people were anxiously seeking to understand, define, and claim as lived-experience.[89] In contrast, Meyers also discussed how the heterocentric media saw it as their responsibility to use the Farmer story to condemn gay men with HIV while creating a monstrous image of a queer HIV-carrying pedophile.

Another writer pleaded that if "people were tender on the hustler [Robert]" they should at least try and see "whether Farmer has some tender spots" especially as Farmer had been dehumanized and transformed into a symbol used by conservative politicians to justify support laws criminalizing HIV and mandate testing.[90] Yet, regardless of Robert's

truthfulness, some writers alluded to an idea that Robert was clearly uncomfortable in this entire experience whether it was because of Farmer or also because of the immense amount of pressure put on him by Blacklow, Roe, and his pimp (and of course, the fear and trauma a queer teenage sex worker undergoes reporting their rapist to the police, the same institution cracking down on their employment). In this regard, both Robert and Farmer were victims—Robert was Farmer's victim and a victim of a political system that institutionalized crime but not care, and Farmer too was the victim of larger anti-gay bigotry and dehumanization.

In late-1987, many gays were clearly criticizing the case while becoming increasingly concerned about the legal case's proceedings and their larger sociopolitical implications. One crucial site of contention were the testimonies given by Farmer's "former-friends," Jones and Weller.[91] Both Jones and Weller stated that Farmer tested positive for HIV as early as 1982 and 1983, respectively.[92] Informed members of the LGBT community were the first to point out Blacklow's seemingly incoherent acceptance of this information as the truth. In his letter to *SGN* Robert Days claimed that the heterosexual, mainstream media in Seattle, as well as the prosecutor's office, had embraced the sensationalism, panic, and mistruths flying around the city.[93] Days pointed out that, as any informed gay man knew, "the first credible test for AIDS was developed in March 1985," meaning there was no way for the information given by Farmer's old friends to be considered credible.[94] Likewise, several people made fervent attempts to support Gombiner's argument that Farmer was not on trial for any type of sex that could communicate HIV, making his HIV/AIDS status in their eyes irrelevant to the case's

outcome.[95] Some people also pointed out there was no way of pinpointing exactly when Farmer—if he did have the virus—contracted HIV/AIDS, or if he had really been infecting anyone.[96] Scientific knowledge was developing into one way that individuals within the Gay and Lesbian Movement were managing anxieties and discerning truth; yet, as this paper previously has stated, Jennifer Brier's scholarship reflects how panic overshadowed scientific knowledge during the 1980s within the mainstream of society.[97]

1987 and 1988 were years of great concern about the sociopolitical implications of the Farmer case. Amidst the sensationalism of the Farmer case, Washington State's governor, Democrat Booth Gardner, assembled the Governor's AIDS Task Force to devise a strategy to respond to the spread of the disease.[98] The members of the task force reviewed questions about quarantining people and mandatory testing to see who had been exposed to the virus.[99] Gay people noticed that AIDS was becoming a convenient scapegoat used to deny LGBT demands for equal treatment under the law.[100] Individuals like Alan Reade (who was not sympathetic toward Famer likely because of his interview with Robert) grew scared about how Farmer's case was being used to justify what he and others believed were "anti-Gay sentiments" and policies developed by the Governor's Task Force on AIDS.[101] In his article on the Farmer case, O.B Storlie suggested that the Farmer case was more dangerous for the gay community than some had been thinking as:

> [the] Governor has proposed a new law calling for the quarantining of AIDS carriers. Our community is now threatened with enactment of laws that will result in unjustified jailing of many Gay men, the Seattle media has jumped on the bandwagon, and the King County prosecutor's office has obligingly found a handy gay man to display as a monster who goes around infecting as many young 'boys' as possible.[102]

It appears that at least gay and lesbian Seattleites were recognizing that the mainstream media was silencing Farmer's humanity and powerful homophobic people were using Farmer as a symbol to perpetuate unequal sociopolitical treatment of gay people (perhaps, this too was helping create anxiety within the LGBT community). Making Farmer the image of abjection, it would not be too difficult for homophobic people to begin spreading an abject depiction of the rest of Seattle's gay community.[103] The symbol of Farmer—who represented a history of anti-queer prejudice now channeled through anti-AIDS hostilities—mattered more in the eyes of the anxious public than the man himself: he was a platform from which to launch anti-gay policies.

With anti-gay social momentum carrying the case's public platform and perception, even amid new developments, Rebecca Roe seemed prepared to make an example out of Farmer on behalf of the wellbeing of children and families and because of the heinous nature of his sexually subversive actions. Important to this story, leading into 1988:

> During February and March while Farmer awaited trial on the new charges the state legislated [sic.] acted on the recommendations from the governor's task force and passed an AIDS Omnibus Bill that declared civil rights protection for anyone who was HIV-positive and restricted forced testing to prostitutes, those convicted of crimes related to intravenous drug use, and sex offenders. But in a particularly relevant twist for Steven Farmer, the bill limited the required testing to those sex offenders who had been convicted of a crime the included sexual penetration. The charges against Famer did not include any such accusation… On March 23, Governor Booth Gardner signed the bill into law.[104]

Many people—including Farmer's public defender—believed the new laws protected Farmer from forced testing. Yet, when Judge Johnson declared Farmer guilty of the two additional charges levied against him in April 1988, Rebecca Roe demanded that Farmer, "be forced to take a blood test to determine whether he had been exposed to the AIDS

virus."[105] This was, of course, done in the name of those who Roe framed as essentially innocent children who were the victims of Farmer's wicked behaviors.

Between December 1987 and May 1988, several other surprising events occurred which show how sensationalism and anxieties about HIV/AIDS mixed with a desire to implement punishment in the courts shaped the case's outcome. In February 1988, Robert P. recanted statements that Farmer did not use protection and expressed that he just did not know what he was getting into with sex work. Robert then promptly left Washington and was not heard from again. Regardless of this change in the story, Robert still seemed deeply uncomfortable with how Farmer treated him. Likewise, given the manipulative forces around him, Robert's story remained one of abuse. The testimonies of Eric N. and Jim L. also grew more and more contentious as their status as "innocent children" was questioned because one of them already had a child of their own and the other, apparently, was found to have already known their HIV-positive status at the time he had sex with Farmer. These changes to the story, in addition, to the criticisms of the testimony about Farmer knowing his HIV-status before a credible test was developed, were all not strong enough legal ammunition to counteract the idea that it was in the best interest of the public and the welfare of Seattle's children that Farmer undergo testing.

Eric N. and Jim L. never spoke out publicly about Farmer. There is, therefore, even less available information about their experiences with Farmer. Eric N. was 16 years old at the time he had sex with Farmer. Allegedly, Farmer made Eric N. pretend he was 15 and engage in "multiple acts of oral sex" before Farmer "took nude photographs of Eric in a variety of sexually suggestive poses."[106] In a strikingly similar story to Robert, Eric

N. attempted to leave Farmer's apartment after some time, but Farmer physically restrained him and then Farmer anally raped Eric. Farmer then paid Eric $20 and "allowed him to leave."[107] Jim L. also reported an almost identical story to Robert's, including that Farmer asked Jim to call him "sir." In building an argument around these two new testimonies, the prosecution suggested that the State's interest in protecting children from sexual exploitation and abuse constituted a sufficiently compelling reason to justify prohibiting minors from posing for sexually explicit photography and that the adult defendant could not obtain standing to challenge criminal statutes dealing with exploitation of minors based on how it affected minors' right to privacy and alleged right to engage in sexual activity. Meaning, Farmer's rights to privacy—and the argument built around these rights—were superseded by privacy rights maintained by children (this later element being overturned in regard just to the blood test but not to the sentencing).

Farmer's own personal life was bleak in 1988; in short, Farmer was an anxious mess. He had no job and was practically under house arrest. Farmer mentioned that by June 1988, he basically had not left home in eight months because of media attention and police surveillance. Farmer lost many friends because of this incident, and several organizations like the Northwest AIDS Foundation had decided that it was not in the best interest of the gay community to help Farmer. Farmer's experience within his own community was largely typified by exile and not belonging. Nonetheless, The Stonewall Committee, as well as other gay organizations, raised money to cover Farmer's legal and daily expenses. Farmer, already a convicted felon, felt that even if he were to survive this ordeal he has so few socioeconomic prospects that his future was basically destroyed, he was destined for

a future of confinement, not liberty. Farmer also wanted to use his voice for political activism at this point having personally been the victim of AIDS-discrimination; yet, his lawyers encouraged him to stay quiet as anything he said could have been used as ammunition against him and the gay community by the New Right and the prosecutor's office.

On May 24, 1988—on Famer's 32nd birthday—Judge Charles Johnson declared that Farmer would be administered a blood test to screen for HIV. To no avail, Farmer's attorney Robert Gombiner "stood in the courtroom yelling and waving a copy of the new AIDS Omnibus Law at the judge."[108] Thus, on June 1, 1988, Steven George Farmer became the first person in Washington tested for HIV against their will by the state government.[109] Judge Johnson promised to keep the results of Farmer's blood test private, or at least out of the public eye; however, it was obvious that Farmer had tested positive for HIV when Rebecca Roe formally requested lengthening Farmer's sentence.[110] One month later, on July 1, Farmer was sentenced to 90 months (7.5 years) in prison. At this hearing, Judge Johnson castigated Farmer as a wicked sex offender, "malicious" in his disregard for the health and public safety of the teenage prostitutes with whom he had contact.[111] Farmer's legal team quickly began the appeals process, but it was clear that Farmer had "lost" this case in the eyes of the public and the mainstream news.

Over 50 activists—mostly members of the Stonewall Committee—gathered outside of the courthouse on the day Farmer was sentenced to undergo blood testing. Signs held read "Civil Rights or Civil War," "Stop the King County Prosecutor's Witch Hunt," and "We Demand an Enlightened Media."[112] A lesbian feminist, and friend of Farmer,

Veronica Fader expressed that prosecutors knew "the trial of Steven George Farmer was over as soon as it began" because the local and state government agents did not believe in the civil liberties and constitutional rights of gay people and HIV-positive individuals—with Farmer potentially being both.[113] Loren Laureano, a lesbian activist from Texas, gave a speech at the protest criticizing media coverage of the case and expressing that the federal government's slow response to AIDS would only be worsened by ineffective state and local responses. At the end of her speech, Laureano exclaimed that "the answer is education and research, not making it a crime to have AIDS."[114] Members of the Stonewall Committee believed that, despite Farmer's crimes, he was being punished as if he were the cause of larger problems rather than merely expressing symptoms of larger injustices. Other groups lent support to Farmer's cause during this time, including organizers of the Seattle Pride Festival who were readying to make the results of Farmer's test an important part of Pride regardless of the outcome. This suggests how seriously pressing the Farmer case was and how, regardless of its outcome, anxieties were causing members of the gay and lesbian community to rally and demand sociopolitical change in various forms. Later, on June 12, 1988 over 15,000 individuals marches from Capitol Hill to Volunteer Park where they held a rally themed, "Celebrating our love, fighting for our lives," at which speakers focused on two major topics calling for Democratic Party support for legalizing same-sex marriage and criticizing the court-ordered "involuntary AIDS testing of Steven Farmer."[115]

Reactions to Judge Johnson's ruling and reflections on the entire ordeal that had eaten up the news cycle for the past seven months filled pages in both gay and mainstream

news outlets. Farmer, when asked to respond—his legal counsel had encouraged him to not engage with media in the past—did not say much but reflected on his anxieties, frustrations, and sadness.[116] Disbelief and befuddlement were not isolated to Farmer and his attorneys, however. Robert Days' letter to *SGN,* expressed similar feelings stating, "I'm frightened… Not of Steven Farmer, but of the way his case was conducted!"[117] Others echoed this sentiment, such as Charles Vinton Haas III—a gay lawyer from Texas—who *SGN* about policing, legality, and gay unity, as it pertained to the Farmer case stating:

> The system overlooks the particulars of the Farmer case. Even though he might have let the police into his into his apartment, naively believing he could cooperate, they forgot the fourth amendment, illegally searching the place, and illegally seizing his property, all this leading to the 'trumped up' charged of exploiting a minor… Anyone with the slightest legal knowledge recognizes Farmer got shafted with no fourth or 14th amendment protection. Need the Gay Community wait or debate over the obvious significance of the Farmer case before uniting against all the homophobia surrounding these questionable proceedings?... Today the climate is worsening for Gays and Lesbians, and unless we get together, protesting, who can say just how far they'll go in confiscating our rights, just like they've done Farmer's?[118]

Haas' statement emphasized that the government's dehumanization of gays amidst the AIDS crisis empowered them to ignore Constitutional rights. To Hass, Farmer was "naïve" and had indeed exploited minors, but the gay population should not continue allowing "the system" to strip Farmer of his rights, all the making him into a symbol of gay abjection: an AIDS-carrying monster. Crucially here, Haas, like many others, was formulating that anxieties could be used as motivation to mobilize gay and lesbian activists to fight back against AIDS-based discrimination.

Although there was substantial concern about Farmer's victimization, several responses in *Seattle Gay News* implied division among LGBT Seattleites as many saw a

need to discuss their community's internal social issues, particularly sex with minors. Collette Millet invoked in her article, "Appalled at Gay Support for Farmer," published on 15 July 1988 that "the Gay community [is] rallying behind him simply because he is a gay man." Millet made a bold suggestion that Farmer—an attractive white gay male—was certainly an easy person for other gay men to support in this situation but when it came to supporting other victims of the AIDS crisis (including women, the homeless, children, and people of color) the white gay male portion of Seattle's "community" would likely not have paid any attention. Millet asserted that Farmer was a sexual predator who did not respect young people, thus he, in her opinion, lost "his place as a member of our community," especially as the queer community has historically longed for equality and justice. [119] Feminists writing in the mainstream news as well as in *SGN* used the Farmer case to suggest that gay men in Seattle needed to stop hiding behind notions of liberated sexual culture and learn crucial lessons about consent, rape, and agency.[120] Feminist authors also posited that Farmer should not be condemned by the LGBT community because of his HIV-status—as the mainstream media had done—but rather thought he should be used as a figurehead from which to talk about the issue of rape and reforming intergenerational sexual practices within a community that desired liberation.[121] Responses like these show how Farmer's story, with all of its sensationalism, stimulated conversations about consent, rape, and male privilege in the queer community—discussions that also show that for many, if not most, LGBT Washingtonians Farmer was never considered the epitome of AIDS-related victimization.[122]

**Appeals and After**

After two-and-half years of appeals, the Supreme Court issued its ruling on February 14, 1991, and Farmer was slated for imprisonment. Briefly, before he was imprisoned Farmer was permitted by his legal team to give substantial public commentary; this, in turn, humanized Farmer to much of the LGBT community. In his interview with Robert O'Boyle (a journalist living with HIV at the time), O'Boyle reflected that the image he had of Farmer before their meeting—which had been conjured up by media reports—was of "a seedy, ruthless character, mean, greasy and unkempt, like the evil-doer in a comic strip drawn maybe 50 years ago."[123] Like other reporters, O'Boyle reflected that he was shocked by Farmer's impeccable good-looks and that he "didn't expect the pink shirt, the white shorts, the suburban tan or ready smile."[124] Farmer's beauty was accompanied by a vulnerability about himself, in many ways owning his anxieties and his mistakes. In his interview with O'Boyle, Farmer expressed that he had been battling his own internalized homophobia for much of the 1980s, something that many people living with HIV had to confront.[125] Farmer expressed deep-hurt over the idea that he, and gay men like him, were intentionally passing HIV to young people. Farmer expressed that throughout the 1980s, he lived "in dread of the disease" and likely contracted HIV from a male prostitute; however, he, like many men, just did not know when or who he had got it from.[126] Farmer mentioned that the prosecution, "asked me if I had AIDS… I got very frightened. Who didn't think they might have AIDS? We were terrified of it. We avoided it. It was denial."[127] Farmer expressed deep regret over the fact that his sexual practices were serving as a type of "mirror of the gay community." Nonetheless, he also added, "If it wasn't me, it would have been somebody else. I became a dark shadow for people."

Farmer's words reflected befuddlement that could likely only be felt by the kind of person who found themselves in this kind of precarious situation: nowhere to go but toward prison and the grave.

Of course, Farmer's conservations with reporters did not focus on his sadness, pink t-shirts, and handsome smiles, Farmer also used his last days of freedom to express outrage at his predicament. Farmer told many reporters, "You don't get AIDS from passing money or using a camera," when reflecting on the purpose of his blood test within the context of his court case.[128] Farmer also expressed double-standards over the fact that straight men throughout the United States picked up female prostitutes and do the same thing he did every day; however, in this case, he was a gay man, and the sex-workers were teenaged boys. Reflecting on the discrimination and violence, he experienced by the police Farmer recalled a story from 1987 when a police officer "held a gun to seven year old girl's head and took photographs of her in the nude and was never charged with exploitation of a minor. This was a public servant. In his case the prosecutor's office recommended one year in prison."[129] Farmer reflected a feeling of already having died; imprisonment was not going to make his life much worse, although he did express concern over the bleak treatment of incarcerated peoples with HIV/AIDS and gay men. Before being sent to prison, Farmer held press conferences with the Stonewall Committee and Seattle's chapter of ACT UP. Both organizations opposed the mandatory testing of anyone under any circumstances in a broad suggestion that AIDS policy was being developed around institutionalized criminalization and not the radical care needed to address the crisis and heal communities.[130]

**Exit Steven Farmer**

Farmer was imprisoned at the Twin Rivers Corrections Center in Monroe in early-1991. Farmer was included with the general population, he frequently worked out and also took classes. Gay politicians and activists would continue to help Farmer get clemency and be released into hospice care as he began to deteriorate to due having developed AIDS-related symptoms. Democratic Governor Mike Lowry granted the dying Farmer clemency in 1994 allowing him to enter hospice at the Bailey-Boushay House in Tacoma, Washington—which was the nation's first long-term care facility and outpatient health program for people living with AIDS in the country—where Farmer stayed until, at age 39, he died just after midnight on 25 September, 1995.[131] Farmer's arrival to Tacoma in 1994 received largely negative media attention with police issues warning to parent's about the arrival of Farmer and the threat he posed to children in the city.[132] His death also was flagged by severe scrutiny of Farmer, HIV-positive people, and the gay movement.[133] After Farmer's death, Tacoma resident Patrick O'Callahan wrote an op-ed for the *Tacoma News Tribune* decrying both Governor Lowry's weak stance on crime and punishment and chastising Farmer as representative of the faults of the gay movement. O'Callahan went so far to even suggest that Farmer, who he labeled an "HIV carrier, connoisseur of teenage boys" and "a man who spent his nights preying sexually on messed-up adolescents," had been pretending that he was dying for some time to be moved to hospice.[134] Nonetheless, letters to *SGN* still showed general support for Farmer, still reflecting on his blood test and treatment by the state as a huge loss for the LGBT community and people with HIV/AIDS.[135] Unsurprisingly, little attention was given in any of Farmer's posthumous

attention to the teenage sex-workers impacted by Farmer, the diversity of opinions in the gay movement about Farmer, and the work of gay activists in fighting HIV; these elements were just bricolage in further attempts to assess the humanity and worth of a man, now dead, seen by many to be completely unredeemable.

**Conclusion**

This chapter of "Queer Anxieties in Washington State History" has attempted to use the Steven Farmer case to reflect how cultural anxieties about gay male sexuality and HIV/AIDS in the 1980s helped add fuel to the law and order political system through which local and state powers criminalized HIV and stripped individuals of their rights to privacy. Moreover, this chapter reflects how histories of media sensationalism impact law and how historians of the HIV/AIDS crisis and queer history need to be heavily aware of this power and read these sources against the grain. Likewise, through an exploration of both Farmer and the sex workers involved in this case, we see—in a correction of *Gay Seattle*—that Farmer was neither the epitome of HIV/AIDS discrimination in this case nor the premier example of social upheaval and police-state fueled victimization. Nonetheless, Farmer, the legal case, and media coverage serve to represent how HIV-anxieties were used to criminalize and regulate people who could be pinpointed through a vexing matrix of both HIV and queer subjectivity. Therefore, Farmer's inevitably exposed HIV-status produced anxieties that suggested increased criminality, thus necessitating state and local intervention—over federal intervention in a time of decentralization and law and order politics—for the alleged sake of the people's welfare. Particularly persuasive in enabling state and local authorities to then strip Farmer of the right to privacy—the right to his own

blood in some ways—was rhetoric about public health and safety, and especially ideas of a predatory and ignorant sexual deviant preying on vulnerable youth. State and local government in Washington thus embraced its role as a guarantor of public welfare during the AIDS crisis but this, nonetheless, was translated into precedent to use ideas of criminality and queer anxieties to strip HIV-positive individuals, as well as queer people more broadly, of their rights to privacy under the guise of state interest.

## EPILOGUE: POTENTIAL

This thesis has shown how, instead of a focus on the movement from gay exile to belonging, queer histories of Washington can benefit from a framework on anxiety. Indeed, this thesis has shown how various notions and representations of anxiety about the gender and sexually nonnormative historical figure, or "queer," has resulted in both self-imposed and societal "disciplining" which has shaped lived-experience throughout Washington. Queer anxieties, as a tool of power, have treated "individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise."[1] Likewise, in its critical re-frame away from LGBT community as a motivating framework the "anxious turn" provided by this thesis has begun the process of highlighting how histories of gender, sex, and sexuality and Washington need to analyze gender and sexuality in tandem. When attempts are made to share histories of, for example, women increasing political involvement in Washington's history or the history of gay men gaining community the trend often becomes forgetting to do an analysis of gender, sex, and sexuality *together* that would instigate exploring the kinds of anxieties that needed to be managed for these groups to gain, so called, successes or advancement. Especially when exploring the advances of these groups, we find the kind of historical amnesia about the past talked about by historian Afsanseh Najmabaidi. Crucially, Najambadi has remarked that that analysis of gender that screen off gender create a kind of historical amnesia about the past (as well as the present) and vice versa; thus, for example, feminist analyses of modernity must integrate gender *and* sexuality and, in doing so, recognize "that doing one without the other is intellectually and politically a seriously damaged enterprise."[2] Here, I want to posit a different wording of Najmabdi's claims, that

queer analysis of gay history must integrate sexuality *and* gender and in doing so realize the layers and layers of historical anxiety management that necessitate the connections between these strands of analysis. Especially for the study of Washington (and the wider Pacific Northwest) there needs to be a turn toward how the interplay of cultural anxieties motivated individual, interpersonal, and sociopolitical and economic transformations in Washington since statehood. Moreover, these anxieties have been widely concerned with notions of queerness and upholding its inverse: that the queer and the varying feelings and experiences appertaining to the queer have been integral to the state's history. When gender and sexual historians of the Pacific Northwest begin to explore how the advancement, transformations, and of individuals and specific groups (like women, the LGBT community, and even heterosexual white men) within modernity have depended upon navigating and managing queer anxieties they can begin to draw a more nuanced view of the queerness vested in Washington's history.

The anxious turn suggested by this thesis is not without limits. This is to say I am not suggesting, by any means, to have figured out the way in which Washington's gender and sexual histories need to be explored nor am I suggesting an indefinite favoring of queer history over the framework of specifically concocted women's history, gender, history, gay history, etcetera. Rather I suggest a way through which these histories have been supplemented. Nonetheless, I am certain I have forgotten many elements of the past (and many anxieties) that deserved more attention. Anxiety as a framework casts an extremely large net that will, undoubtedly, not be able to catch every lingering sentiment that was crucial to the discourse it suggests is a better way to understand the past. Moreover, levels

of silence in the archive, the production of sources, and in storytelling will always cause certain kinds of anxieties to come to the forefront and others to seem distant. Likewise, anxiety is of course tied to feelings. This thesis suggests a wide-range of feelings and that queer history needs to consider its characters as emotionally dynamic (this of course, lends itself to numerous forms of critique as well: were all individual really *feeling* so pressured by anxiety? At what times was anxiety palpable and at one times was it distant? How can the historian make this as clear as possible?). Anxiety as a framework leads to a rather unending amount of questions; yet, if anxiety itself is an expectation emption (about the future) and if it seems to produce more questions this thesis hope is that it has produced innovate and historically important questions that can be further explored.

The goal of this thesis has been to begin re-invisioning how we think about the history of Washington, moves us toward a more comprehensive form of queer historic analysis, and promote an "anxious turn" for the study of gender and sexuality in the Pacific Northwest, all the while complicating current historiographic understandings of Seattle's LGBT history. Through its explorations on topics ranging from cross-dressing, the homosocial worlds of logging camps, queer travel, law and order politics, the AIDS epidemic, and so many other "anxiety-ridden" topics, it has, at least, begun the substantial work of queering Washington's state history.

# NOTES

## INTRODUCTION

[1] Among these works: Gary Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003); Michael Brown, Stefano Bettani, et. al. "The Gay Bar as a Place of Men's Caring" in *Masculinities and Place* ed. Andrew Gorman-Murray and Peter Hopkins (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014): 299-316; Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, "Queering the Map: The Productive Tensions of Colliding Epistemologies," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 1 (March. 2008): 40–58; Michael Brown, "Sexual Citizenship, political obligation and disease ecology in Gay Seattle," *Political Geography* 25, no. 9. (November, 2006): 874-98; Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, "Sex, Drink, and State Anxieties: Governance Through the Gay Bar," *Social and Cultural Geography* 17, no. 3 (2016): 335-58; Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, "The Birth of the (Gay) Clinic," *Health & Place* 28 (2014): 99-108; Don Paulson and Roger Simpson*, An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

[2] This idea was initiated from reading several works the most important being: Jack [Judith] Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Martin Duberman, *Has the Gay Movement Failed?* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2018); Laura Doan, *Disturbing Practices: History, Sexuality, and Women's Experience of Modern War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[3] Love*, Feeling Backward*, 1-2, 5-10. After reading Love, I concluded that this study needed a "backward turn."

[4] See: Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 9, 381-2. For clarification: I am hesitant to accept many of Atkins' conclusions when considering the broad contours of Washington's history. This does not mean Atkins' is incorrect in his spatial assessment of middle-class gay male community, particularly in the Capitol Hill neighborhood. Atkins work is a foil to my own in many ways; yet, my work is indebted to his initial investigations.

[5] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1977) 2nd. ed. trans. Alan Sheridan. 1995. 170.

[6] Love, *Feeling Backward*, 5-6.

[7] *Oxford English Dictionary* provides several applicable definitions of anxiety to this thesis. "Anxiety" stems from a borrowing of the French *anxieté* and Latin *anxietās* which initially suggested worry, disquieting, extreme care, and in post-classical Latin a physical discomfort in the chest. Around the fifteenth century, "anxiety" began to reflect, "worry over the future or about something with an uncertain outcome; uneasy concern about a person, situation, etc.; a troubled state of mind arising from such worry or concern" here we find those kinds of anxiety related to performance, separation, and status. "Anxieties" also began to reflect instances, cases, causes, matters for, worries, and concerns for/with "anxiety." Anxiousness came to represent not only this state-of-being but also strong desires usually about the future or for "something to happen" or the concern of that. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century psychiatrists and psychologists began to delineate anxiety as, "a pathological state characterized by inappropriate or excessive apprehension or fear, which may be generalized or attached to particular situations, and may be accompanied by physical symptoms such as tachycardia, increased muscle tension, and shortness of breath." See: "anxiety, n.". *OED Online*. December 2019. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/8968?redirectedFrom=Anxiety

[8] Sianne Nga, *Ugly Feelings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 209-13.

[9] Michael Foucault, *The History of Sexuality volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage, 1978) Vintage edition 1990. trans. Robert Hurley. 140.

[10] My inspiration here comes from: Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2005), 232-44.

[11] I chose Washington's 1889 entry into the Union for several reasons. Most importantly, the archival material is much better organized and plentiful after 1889 making it beneficial for an M.A. thesis which needed to be completed under strict time and financial constraints. Second, I am interested in the idea of Washington gaining "statehood" as a kind of "modernization."

[12] This is also to say that not all the anxieties talked about in this thesis are the *same*. Anxiety is a broad lens to decipher various examples which have emerged historically.

[13] For bricolage, see: "bricolage, n.". *OED Online*. December 2019. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/261904?redirectedFrom=bricolage. Also, the theoretical discussion of this idea is important, see: Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 278-94.

[14] For example, see: Regina Kunzel, "The Power of Queer History," *American Historical Review* 123, no. 5 (Dec. 2018): 1560-82. This thesis uses sexuality as a useful category of historical analysis as Kunzel implores scholars to do in this article.

[15] For a critique of "metronormativity" (or the urban bias) in queer studies and history, see: Jack [Judith] Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*, (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

[16] For a successful discussion of this approach, see: Emily Skidmore, *True Sex: The Lives of Trans Men at the Turn of the 20th Century*, (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 6-7, 64-66.

[17] A tandem analysis of gender *and* sexuality is largely absent in accounts of Washington's history. In many ways this thesis attempts to begin bringing both gender *and* sexuality to the forefront of scholarly and educational conversations about state, local, and regional history but especially that of Washington and the Pacific Northwest. Nonetheless, in specific cases, gender and/or sexuality are analyzed together but are, frankly, not portrayed as mutually constitutive and given a dynamic analysis that considered gender, sex, and sexuality from multiple angles or perspectives.

[18] Najmabdai, *Women with Mustaches and Men Without Beards*, 235.

[19] In fact, I believe there is something to be said for creating a queer history of the Interstate-5 corridor through which *queer movement* and the Gay and Lesbian Movement are captured.

[20] I get this idea of state and local policy as a the guarantor of "the people's welfare" from: William Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law & Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), esp. ix-x, 3, 8-11, 13-14, 21-23, 149-57, 191-204, 240-48.

[21] There were, of course, many anxieties people *knew* were happening but others that were less tangible.

[22] Saidiya Hartman: *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* (New York: Norton, 2019), xiii-xv. Hartman makes sure that her reader knows the stories and characters and experiences of her book were all real. She allows the reader to make their own connections to historically important phenomena while also leaving it abundantly clear as to what phenomena and forces were important (and at work) in the lives of women she recounts.

[23] Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, xiii.

**CHAPTER 1**

[1] Mainly: Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men Without Beards*. Also: Hartman: *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*. My note on "imbrication" comes from: Gayle Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, ed. Carole S. Vance (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984): 267–319; Gayle Rubin, "Blood under the Bridge: Reflections on 'Thinking Sex,'" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies* 17, no. 1 (January 2011): 1–48.

[2] I have looked at many of these early-histories in archives, five pertinent examples are: Edmond Stephen Meany, *History of the State of Washington* (New York: The Macmillan company, 1909); Harold Barto and Catharine Bullard, *History of the state of Washington* (Boston: Heath and Company, 1947); George Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1931); J.H. Price, *An official report of the resources of the state, up to and including January 1, 1894* (Olympia, Wash: O.C. White, State Printer, 1894).

[3] For my understanding/use of "orientation" and lived-experience, see: Sarah Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, esp. 1-25, 65-108, 157-80.

[4] For pertinent examples in which gender, sex, and sexuality are not, together critically interwoven into the narrative of the state's entire history (or the history of a given topic within the state), see: Roger Sale, *Seattle: Past to Present* (University of Washington Press, 1976); Norman H. Clark, *Washington, a Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1976); David Jepsen and David Norberg, *Contested Boundaries: A New Pacific Northwest History* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017). Karen Blair ed. *Women in Pacific Northwest History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); John C. Putman, *Class and Gender Politics in Progressive-Era Seattle* (Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2008); Harry Ritter, *Washington's History: The People, Land, and Events of the Far Northwest* (Portland: Westwinds Press, 2018); Shanna Stevenson, *Women's Votes, Women's Voices: The Campaign for Equal Rights in Washington* (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 2009).

[5] For my defining of the Gay and Lesbian Movement, see: Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 5-7. For examples of Pre-Movement histories that have benefited from a capacious queer framework, see: Rachel Hope Cleves, "Six Ways of Looking at a Trans Man? The Life of Frank Shimer (1826-1901)," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 1 (Jan. 2018) 32-62; Julio Capó Jr, *Welcome to Fairyland: Queer Miami Before 1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Skidmore, *True Sex*; Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Rachel Hope Cleves, *Charity and Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[6] Capó Jr., *Welcome to Fairyland*, 18.

[7] Jack (Judith) Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press), 1.

[8] Capó, *Welcome to Fairyland*, 18. Capó is, of course, alluding to J. Jack Halberstam's work. Also, important here: C. Riley Norton, *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

[9] Cathy Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 3, no. 4 (1997): 437-65.

[10] Jonathan Ned Katz, *Love Stories: Sex Between Men Before Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), ix. Jonathan Ned Katz' *Love Stories* exemplifies how the history of sexuality can be framed as contests, likewise, that through various practices, ideas, societal shifts, and struggles one can witness the constant "historical making and remaking of gender and sexuality."

[11] For LGBT urban history as a motivating framework, archival practice, and methodology in a US perspective, see: Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Penguin, 1994); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); Atkins, *Gay Seattle*; Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*.

[12] Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout*, 12.

[13] Colin Johnson, *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 201*f.*16 For the most essential rural/non-metropolitan historical study that helped initiate this "wave," see: John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[14] For a discussion of this, see: Johnson, *Just Queer Folks,* 8-10, 201-202*f.*17.

[15] Johnson, *Just Queer Folks*, 9-10. Collin Johnson writes that the "Rural Turn" (still in its early phases) should posit urban-centeredness as an analytical limitation. Also: Skidmore, *True Sex*, 6-7, 64-66.

[16] Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 22.

[17] Chauncey: *Gay New York*, esp. 1-24, 131-270.

[18] Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009) 10, 11-13.

[19] Kevin Murphy, *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 204.

[20] Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 3.

[21] Skidmore, *True Se*x, 2.

[22] See: Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 1-70.

[23] Brain Stack, "From Sodomists to Citizens: Same-sex Sexuality and the Progressive Era Washington State Reformatory" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 29, no. 2 (May 2019): 173-204, esp. 174.

[24] Brain Stack, "From Sodomists to Citizens," 174

[25] Brain Stack, "From Sodomists to Citizens," 174.

[26] Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2003). 203.

[27] Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 7-8, 52-3, 58-9, 63, 70-85, 136-37, 146-47, 157, 163, 180-81, 202-06.

[28] Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, esp. 1-11, 217-22.

[29] "General News" *The Yakima Herald* 8, no. 4 (February 13, 1896): 2. The Walla Walla State Penitentiary opened in 1886.

[30] For this story, see: "Escaped Prisoner's Pard Leaves for 'Pen,'" *The Yakima Herald* 20, no. 43 (November 2, 1910): 6; "Lads to Pen," *The Yakima Herald* 20, no. 42 (October 26, 1910): 8; "Lad Convict Escapes Jail," *The Yakima Herald* 20, no. 43, (November 2, 1910): 1.

[31] "Hindus Arrested on Sodomy Charge," *Morning Olympian* 21 (February 13, 1912): 1.

[32] "List of Prisoners Now Awaiting Trial," *The Spokane Press* 29, no. 254 (August 1903); "New Cases" *Pullman Herald* 24, no. 40, (July 5, 1912): 2; "In the Local Arena," *The Yakima Herald* 10, no. 25 (July 7, 1898): 8; "Paragraphic [sic.] Pointers," *The Yakima Herald* 9, no. 9, (March 18, 1897): 1.

[33] Stack, "From Sodomists to Citizens," 181. Chehalis is the seat of Lewis County in Southwestern, WA. The largest city in Lewis County is Centralia which in 1910 had a population of just over 7,300. Around this time, Chehalis maintained a population of just over 4,500 (which was almost four times as many people living there just a decade earlier).

[34] *State v. McDowell*, 61 Wash. 398 (WA-1911). 112 P. 521, 32 L.R.A.N.S. 414, Am.Ann.Cas. 1912C,782.

[35] *The Ellensburg Dawn* 16, no. 26, (July 1 1909): 6; "Court News," *The Ellensburg Dawn* 16, no. 37 (September 16, 1909): 2.

[36] *State v. Harsted*, 66 Wash. 158 (WA-1911): 119 P. 24

[37] *State v. Harsted* (WA-1911)

[38] There are fascinating parallels that can be easily made with the Steven Farmer case (see: Chapter 4). Fear of taint/infection but, also, tainted youth and tainting youth, for example.

[39] "Vancouver News," *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 19, no. 159, (18 April 1891).

[40] In Seattle, Wilde was discussed heavily in *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, this newspaper published more than 30 articles focusing of Oscar Wilde in 1895.

[41] "The Dreadful sensation…," *Washington Standard* XXXV, no. 23, (April 26, 1895): 2.

[42] "In the Churches," *The Spokane Press* 8, no. 17, (November 27, 1909): 4; "Has Spokane a Sodomite Alderman?," *The Spokane Press* 8, no. 17, (November 27, 1909): 1.

[43]*State v. Oberg*, 187 Wash. 429 (WA-1936) 60 P.2d 6; *State v. Swane*, 21 Wash.2d 772 (WA-1944) 153 P.2d 311; *State v. Collier*, 23 Wash.2d 678 (WA-1945) 23 Wash.2d 678, 162 P.2d 267; *State v. Johnson*, 32 Wash.2d 268 (WA-1949) 201 P.2d 223.

[44] My retelling of the Bill Smith Jr. case as described comes from several sources but mainly: "Bill Smith Given 99 Years," *Tacoma News Tribune*, (December 6, 1952): 1.; "99 Years For Smith," *Tacoma News Tribune* (December 6, 1952): 1, 6; Harland Plumb, "Judge Hears Smith's Plea for New Trial," *Seattle Daily Times* (February 22, 1952): 7; Harland Plumb, "100 Questioned in Selection of Bill Smith Jury," *Seattle Daily Times* (June 11, 1952): 7; Harland Plumb, "Girl's Father Suspected, Hints Smith Attorney," *Seattle Daily Times* (June 12, 1952): 3. "Prosecution Prejudiced Jurymen—Judge Rules," *Seattle Daily Times* (March 5, 1952): 1; "Hunt Pressed for Witness in Smith Case," *Seattle Daily Times* (March 6, 1952): 20; "Smith Granted New Trial in Girl's Slaying," *Seattle Daily Times* (March 19, 1952): 33.

[45] For my understanding, and what I seek to contribute to here, see: Skidmore, *True Sex*; Sears, *Arresting Dress*; Snorton, *Black on Both Sides*. This study is indebted to the methodologies of these scholars.

[46] In this chapter, I choose to not discuss those incidents in which cross-dressing served as a form of entertainment. Although these instances also produced and resulted in the management of queer anxieties about the body, gender, sex, and sexuality, I have limited my analysis to those cross-dressing instances in which someone attempted to fully live as the opposite sex for an extended period of time, those experiences in which cross-dressing was directly thwarted by law, and various instances in which queer anxieties were not navigated via consumerism and entertainment.

[47] Of course, it is unlikely that all these stories reflected a uniquely transgender experience but, regardless, these stories captured queer anxieties through concern and fascination with gender and sexual transgression represented by cross-dressing upon the gendered/sexed body.

[48] "Disguised as a Man," *The Islander* 6, no. 16 (4 June 1896): 1.

[49] *Washington Standard* XLV, no. 49 (20 October 1905): 2.

[50] *Washington Standard* XLV, no. 49 (20 October 1905): 2.

[51]"Brief Northwest News," *Pullman Herald* 21, no. 13, (December 18, 1908): 2.

[52] "Washington State News of Interest," *The Lynden Tribune* 8, no. 36 (February 24, 1916): 5.

[53] "'Pretty Girl' Is a Man," *The Tacoma Times* 14, no. 285, (November 21, 1917): 2.

[54] "'Peg Leg Ann' Is Dead Posed as a Woman 50 Years," *The Spokane Press* 2, no. 154, (May 4, 1904): 1. Seemingly, in Washington (and throughout much of the nation) at least, there was a belief that women could move up the social hierarchy and become more like men easier, but that there was a certain impracticability and impossibility in a white man becoming like a woman; his true manhood would eventually, always show (even if just posthumously).

[55] "Masquerading as a Man," *The Colfax Gazette* (March 2 1908): 2.

[56] "Woman traveled on brake dreams," *Anacortes American* 6, no. 19, (September 12, 1895): 4.

[57] "She Was A Man Five Years," *Aberdeen Herald* 29, no. 79, (August 12, 1915): 6.

[58] For examples see: "Crippen," *The Spokane Press* 8, no. 251, (August 1, 1910): 8. "She Wouldn't Strip," *Washington Standard* LI, no. 7, (May 5, 1911): 1.

[59] Newspaper sparsely mentioned the word "penis," but rather discussed the seemingly indispensable desires and experiences produced by having a penis.

[60] "He Lived as a Girl," *The Mason County Journal* 8, no. 49 (November 23, 1894): 4. The newspaper reported stated this young man "declared his proper sex" so that he could "woo and win the lady of his choice." This man's gender was then reaffirmed as he joined the military and embraced his masculine voice. The article also alluded to that, in his journey toward accepting his "true sex" this young man also had accumulating a lot of money and was a fine student of medicine, making it seem that his success ran parallel with the acceptance of male-identity which was ultimately assured through his carnal desires

[61] "Human Oddities," *The Seattle Republican* 12, no. 20. (October 13, 1905): 1.

[62] For examples used in my re-telling of "Jack the Hugger" in Washington State, see: "Masquerader's Wife Wins Divorce," *The Tacoma Times* 7, no. 123 (May 12, 1910): 5; "'Jack the Hugger is Under Arrest," *The Evening Statesman,* (May 24, 1909): 3; "Made Demonstration," *The Spokane Press* 4, (November 11, 1902): 1; " 'Jack The Hugger' Flees to Safety," *The Tacoma Times* 6 no. 31 (May 25, 1909): 6; "Washington Notes," *The Newport Miner* 9, no. 2, (May 27, 1909): 3; "Jack The Hugger Attacks Girls," *The Spokane Press* 8, no 20. (December 1, 1909): 8; "Cop Disguised as Woman Loses False Hair and Corsets in Fight But Captures 'Jack the Hugger,'" *The Seattle Star* 15, no. 122 (July 21, 1913): 3; "City News in Brief," *The Spokane Press* 8, no. 247 (July 27, 1910): 10. Of course, the name "Jack the Hugger" itself was a play on "Jack the Ripper" a prolific serial killer in London who mainly targeted female prostitutes (a story also laden with assumption about class and sexuality).

[63] For Example, see: "Attempts a Hold-Up Dressed As a Woman," *The Spokane Press* 84, (February 12, 1903): 1.

[64] "Thugs Wore Dresses," *The Spokane Press* 4, no. 285 (6 October 1906): 1.

[65] On miscegenation law, see: Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (London: Oxford University Press, 2010). For a recent example exploring the policing of black sexuality in urban space, see: Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*.

[66] Jason A. Gillmer, "Crimes of Passion: The Regulation of Interracial Sex in Washington, 1885-1950," *Gonzaga Law Review* 47 no. 2 (2011/12): 393-428, esp. 395

[67] Gillmer, "Crimes of Passion," 395-6. creating laws that banned marriage but instead served as a "deterrent" making interracial marriages difficult to maintain such stripping inheritance rights from nonwhite spouses and mixed race children.

[68] "Miscegenation. White Girl Insists That She Will Marry a Colored Barb.," *Tacoma Daily News* XXIII, no. 85 (July 2, 1894): 3.

[69] "Miscegenation," *Tacoma Daily News* (July 2, 1894): 3

[70] "Miscegenation," *Tacoma Daily News* (July 2, 1894): 3

[71] *Follansbee v. Wilbur*, 14 Wash. 242 (1896).

[72] *Weatherall v. Weatherall*, 56 Wash. 344 (1909).

[73] *Washington Standard* XXIV, no. 11 (February 1, 1884): 2.

[74] "At a Mining Camp" *The Seattle Republican* 12, no. 22 (October 27, 1905): 2.

[75] "Can't Marry Mixed Races," *The Evening Statesman* (14 September 1909): 1. Indeed, the excited reporter in Walla Walla would likely have been sad to know that (despite widespread cultural support) lawmakers saw little need for such laws, especially the one written by Humphries. In an article predicting the outcome of this bill, in "Ghent Against Humphries Bill," *The Seattle Republican*16, no. 9, (July 30 1909) one reporter suggested that "the bill proposed by Humphries" was too "vicious" and therefore would not receive enough votes "in either branch of the legislature.

[76] "Dowie for Miscegenation," *Bellingham Herald* (September 12, 1904).

[77] "Dowie for Miscegenation," *Bellingham Herald* (September 12, 1904).

[78] Two years later, given the particular concerns about white women marrying foreigners Congress passed the 1907 Expatriation Act two years later made "American women who married non-citizens ceased to be U.S. citizens." See: Kunal Parker, *Making Foreigners: Immigration and Citizenship Law in America, 1600-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 9.

[79] "Blow at Miscegenation," *Bellingham Herald* (June 30, 1909)

[80] Gillmer, "Crimes of Passion," 412. Perhaps, so many formal attempts arose during this period as queer anxieties *moved* through and throughout the region

[81] Gillmer, "Crimes of Passion," 412.

[82] "American-Japanese Nuptials," *The Seattle Republican* 15, no. 24, (April 2, 1909): 5.

[83] "Blow at Miscegenation," *Bellingham Herald* (June 30, 1909)

[84] "Mixed Marriage Abhorrent to Prominent Women Here: Mrs. Thomas Berk Says the American Man is the Only Husband for American Girl" *The Seattle Star* 11, no. 179 (September 18, 1909): 1.

[85] "Mixed Marriage Abhorrent," *The Seattle Star* (18 September 1909): 1.

[86] "Mixed Marriage Abhorrent," *The Seattle Star* (18 September 1909): 1.

[87] "Mixed Marriage Abhorrent," *The Seattle Star* (18 September 1909): 1.

[88] What of the Future of the American Negro?," *The Seattle Republican* 16, no. 37 (February 11, 1910): 1.

[89] Gillmer, "Crimes of Passion," *Gonzaga Law Review*, 408-9.

[90] Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Dutton, 1995), esp. 1-18, 57-82.

[91] See: Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*.

[92] By utilizing a different narrative style from much of this thesis, this sections highlights that Washington's heterosexual world(s) of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century heteronormativity, homosocial interactions, and gender performance were superimposed on, albeit guided by, queer anxieties. Hartman: *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, xiii-xv. Hartman effectively uses narrative informed historical knowledge and the borders of the archive to create a sensory, intimate reimagination of these women's worlds and lived experiences

[93] *Group of loggers*, 1895, photograph 6 x 8 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 1996.69.1.24. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=54238&record=10

[94] *Five young loggers at Lexington, WA*, 1912, photograph 4 x 6 in., Washington State Historical Society, Edward Nolan Collection, catalogue: 2006.5.112. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=60309&record=34

[95] Darius Kinsey, *Elbe Lbr Co Logging Camp, Elbe, Wash.* June 1914, photograph 10 x 14 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: C1992.15.9. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=86579&record=191

[96] Clarke Kinsey, *Camp 5, Simpson Log Co., Shelton, Wn.* 1915, photograph 11 x 14 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 1972.56.7. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=10358&record=183

[97] *Loggers in Bunkhouse, Western Washington*, Washington State Historical Society, *Perdose Collection*: 2015.15.2.5.

[98] *Log Camp, Hoquiam, Wash*, 1918, photograph 5 x 7 in., Washington State Historical Society, Edward Nolan Collection, catalogue: 2016.50.13

[99] *Camp 5, Simpson Log Co., Shelton*, 1915, photograph 11 x 14 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 1972.56.5

[100] *Browns Bay Log Co. Donkey Engine and Crew at Greenwood Avenue and Eighty-fifth Street*, *Seattle,* 1909, photograph 5 x 7 in., Washington State Historical Society, Tom Pomeroy Collection, catalogue: 2012.131.4.; *#2 Donkey engine, Lytle Logging Camp 1901, Grays Harbor*, photograph 1901 Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: C1948.18X.34.

[101] Clarke Kinsey, *"Camp #3 St. Paul and Tacoma Lbr. Co."*, 1908, photograph 11 x 14 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 1998.71.1.

[102] *Douglas fir tree with loggers*, 1870-1900, photograph 8 x 6 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: C1957.134X.56. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=93065&record=29

[103] *Loggers with large log near Sedro-Woolley, WA*, 1910, photograph 4 x 7 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 1971.62.10

[104] Darius Kinsey, *Elbe Lbr Co Logging Camp, Elbe, Wash.*, 1914, photograph 10 x 14 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: C1992.15.9. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=86579&record=191

[105] *Five Loggers, Skamokawa, WA, Wahkiakum County*, 1914, photograph 3 x 5 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 2013.159.1. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=122778&record=33

[106] Asahel Curtis, *Japanese boys on big stump at McMurray, April 5, 1909*, 1909, photograph 10 X 8 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 1943.42.13020. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=105284&record=212

[107] Lee Picket, *#50-Bunkhouse-A. Guthrie & Co Contractors-Mill Creek Camp-Berne, WN. GNRY. Co. New 8 Mile Tunnel*, 1928, photograph 8 x 10 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 2003.35.1 http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=82207&record=8

[108] *Group portrait: cookhouse and a logging crew*, ca 1900, photograph 8 x 10 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue**:** 1996.69.1.25.

[109] *Bunch of Stella Loggers*, ca 1900, photograph 7 x 8 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: 1978.52.9. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=70386&record=175

[110] *I.W.W. Loggers from picket line at Sagiman [Saginaw?] Camp*, 1917, photograph 5 x 3 in., Washington State Historical Society, Chaplin Collection, Labor fol. 9, catalogue**:** 1967.30.1. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=84601&record=205

[111] Linda Carlson, *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 213-22.

[112] Linda Carlson, *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest*, 59

[113] Linda Carlson, *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest*, 37

[114] For more, see: Linda Carlson, *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest*.

[115] *The Old Bunkhouse W.S.R.*, 1913, photograph 6 x 8 in., Washington State Historical Society, catalogue: C1993.4.20.2. http://www.washingtonhistory.org/collections/item.aspx?irn=99057&record=14

[116] The "laundry-list" would be too long to keep in an endnote. For one example though, see: Sandra Haarsager, *Organized Womanhood: Cultural Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1840-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

[117] The confrontations of with normative, well-regulated gender and sexuality and its inverse (and within itself) helps create "queer anxieties." My reference to "exile and belonging" here is, again, a reference to: Atkins, *Gay Seattle*. Also, see: Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*.

**CHAPTER 2**

[1] In this chapter, and in the following sections I use Marc Stein's framing from *Re-Thinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* by referring to what we might consider the LGBT Movement or the Queer Movement as the Gay and Lesbian Movement, see: Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 5-7. In this chapter, the individuals discussed did not have a consistent (or collective) way of describing or identifying themselves, thus appropriate nomenclature is difficult to discern.

**[2]** For the early-roots of Seattle's LGBT community and subsequent impact of WWII, see: Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 13-73. Also, helpful on early-roots: Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 7-8, 58-62, 70-85, 167-68, 190-206; Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah.* For the momentary and lasting impact of WWII on US gay and lesbian history, see: Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Plume, 1990); Elizabeth Lee "When Sailors Kiss: Picturing Homosexuality in Post-World War II America," *Journal of American Culture* 32, no. 4 (December 2009): 318–31.

[3] For histories of Seattle written with "thick" urban borders allowing for little historical osmosis or actual movement of people and objects, see: Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 1-12; Brown and Knopp, "Sex, Drink, and State Anxieties" 335-58; Brown, "Sexual Citizenship, political obligation and disease ecology in Gay Seattle," 874-98; Brown et. al. "The Gay Bar as a Place of Men's Caring," 299-316.

[4] My interest in *movement* is drawn primarily from: Howard, *Men Like That*, 78-126.

[5] For several works that I see as fitting this mold, see: David K. Johnson, *Buying Gay: How Physique Entrepreneurs Sparked a Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019); Paul Tirmeyer, *Plane Queer: Labor, Sexuality, and AIDS in the History of Male Flight Attendants* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2013); Lucas Hilderbrand, "A Suitcase Full of Vaseline, or Travels in the 1970s Gay World," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22, no. 3 (September 2013): 373–402; Capó, *Welcome to Fairyland*, 1-196*;* Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

[6] See: Emily Skidmore, *True Sex*, 6-7, 64-66.

[7] For more on queer rural historiographies and the urban/rural divide in US queer history, see: Johnson, *Just Queer Folks*, esp. 1-26, 181-98, 201*f.*16; Howard, *Men Like That*, 1-77, 299-306, 316*f.*7, Brock Thompson, *The Un-natural State: Arkansas and the Queer South* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2010); E. Patrick Johnson, *Sweet Tea: Black Gay Men and the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Colin Johnson, *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013); The most noteworthy queer histories following the metronormative trend are: Chauncey, *Gay New York*; Lillian Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A*; Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*; Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout.*

[8] This chapter takes special concern with the concepts of space and movement in queer history. In writing queer histories, the question becomes how do we "queer" the limits of space in our storytelling and does space itself play a role in "queering" histories of gender and sexuality? In this chapter, I attempt to keep this motivating question in mind while expressing how queerness was, at least in potential, "everywhere" in Washington's history as much, as because of various levels of archival silence, it is now found to be, at least on the surface, only "here" or "there." Here, I pay special attention to the flow of queer "bricolage" meaning the diverse range of available materials as well as the flow of lesbian and gay people through and throughout the state which shows queerness permeating spaces, caring little for the structural confines that indicate city space. This idea of queer history "through" and "throughout" Washington shows how many people chose to live in spaces unassociated with the broader Gay and Lesbian Movement, or, did indeed have queer-experiences shaped by the multitude of places they found themselves in during their lives. Thus, I believe a queer history of Washington and the Pacific Northwest should work toward becoming as much about journeys, outings, travel, feelings, bodily-functions, habits, restrictions, departures, and daily-activities (as well as the anxieties encompassing and invoked by these experiences) than it is about the sociopolitical and communal mechanisms of the Gay and Lesbian Movement.

[9] This phrase "queer mecca" is adapted from the work of Timothy Stewart-Winter who calls heavily-gay populated urban communities in the United States as the "gay coastal meccas", see: Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout*, 12.

[10] I get this idea of "sanitized" queer histories of the Gay and Lesbian Movement (especially in the 60s and 70s) from Martin Duberman's critique of: Jim Downs, *Stand by Me: The Forgotten History of Gay Liberation* (New York: Basic Books, 2016). Downs fails to list physical pleasure as even a tertiary cause for the proliferation of recreational sex among gay men in the 1960s and 70s minimizes the role of sex/the erotic in shaping modern gay-identity and culture. See: Martin Duberman, *Has the Gay Movement Failed?* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2018), 53-54.

[11] For one example, see: Correspondence between Edwin Cole and Peter S. Wichern, November 1967. Series of letters. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 9. University of Washington-Seattle, Special Collections, Suzzallo and Allen Libraries. Seattle, WA, USA.

[12] Correspondence from Mike Allen (Secretary, Dorian Society) to Huntly Gordan, March 1968. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999*:* Box 12, Fol. 10.

[13] Correspondence from Eddie Dannemiller to "Mike" (Mike Allen), April 23, 1968. Letter (handwritten). Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 10.

[14] Correspondence from Mike Allen to Eddie Dannemiller, May 25, 1968. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 10.

[15] For example: Correspondence from Ken Gilbert to Janice Sweeten, Dec.1968/Jan.1969. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 12.

[16] Several examples exist within the following box, for one example: Correspondence from Ken Gilbert to Douglas Sanders, February 11, 1969. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 12.

[17] Correspondence from "B.J." to the Dorian Society, August 21, 1970. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 12.

[18] The Dorian Group News Release (12/7/76) "Dorian Convenes First Elected Board." Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 12.

[19] The Dorian Group News Release (12/7/76) "Dorian Convenes First Elected Board." Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 12.

[20] For the landmark work reflecting this, see: Kath Weston, "Get Thee to a Big City: Sexual Imaginary and the Great Gay Migration." *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1995): 253–77.

[21] See: "Lary Darby" *Seattle Gay Guide* page 35. 1984-85. Booklet/Directory. Don Paulson papers, 1939-2006: Box 1, Fol. 57. University of Washington-Seattle, Special Collections, Suzzallo and Allen Libraries. Seattle, WA, USA.

[22] See: "Roger Axline" *Seattle Gay Guide.* 1984-85. Booklet/Directory. *Don Paulson papers, 1939-2006*: Box 1, Fol. 57.

**[23]** Correspondence between "Alan" and Martin and Tim (Mayhew?) for SGA, March 1976. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 3.

**[24]** Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 3. Alan also mentioned that Yakima Valley Community College had a small openly-gay student group.

[25] This reflects a great deal of scholarly insights into how same-sex desire could emerge situationally and that same-sex desiring acts can, indeed, be traced to places one does not necessarily associate with the gay movement, but rather with the erotic, homosociality, etc. Moreover, this testifies to histories of sexual resourcefulness, the long-history of cruising, and queer communication. For several examples covering these topics see: Howard, *Men Like That*, esp. 21-126; Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2005), esp. 1-18, 43-67, 93-108, 139-194. Emma Vickers, *Queen and Country: Same-Sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939-45* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2013), 56-68, 75-94; Regina Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the*

*Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) 2-4, 50-59, 102-05. Paul Deslandes, "Situational Homosexuality," in *Global Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) History*. Ed. Howard Chiang. (Farmington Hills, MI: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2019): 1501-508. Mark Turner, *Backward Glances: Cruising the Streets of New York and London* (London: Reaktion Press, 2003); Brett Beemyn, "The Geography of Same-Sex Desire: Cruising Men in Washington, DC in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Left History* 9 no. 2 (Spring 2004): 141-59.

[26] Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 3. Beneficial to this analysis has been: Howard, *Men Like That*, xi-xxiii, 21-33, 40-54, 67-68, 87-115, 270-85.

[27] Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 10. Washington State's University's Gay Awareness Committee and its Gay People's Alliance were particularly active in the 1970s. However, by the late-70s these organizations reportedly faced a great deal of discrimination on campus from both administrators and other students.

[28] There are plenty of mentions of this in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 10. See various examples the Dorian's newsletter such as: *The Dorian Group*.

[29] Mentioned throughout the Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 10. For specific noting of this see: "New Gay Newspaper for Inland Empire" in *The Dorian Group*. Newsletter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 10

[30] This focus on sexual orientation over gender-identity is limited because of the organization of the archive that I explored which leans heavily toward the experiences of same-sex desiring men.

[31] "Letter to the Editor" from Bob Daniel, written January 13, 1979 in *The Dorian Group*. Newsletter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 10.

[32] Correspondence from Tim Mayhew to Rick Freeburg, December 18, 1971. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 7.

[33] Correspondence from F. Ken van Ochten to The Dorian Society, January 21, 1971. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 2.

[34] Correspondence from Cindy Moore to *Columns Northwest* Secretary R. L. Pardy, May 7, 1971. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 2.

[35] Correspondence from Eric Applegate to Dorian Society, March 27, 1971. Letter (blue paper). Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 2.

[36] Correspondence from Walter Gober to Dorian Society, August 1, 1971. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 2.

[37] Correspondence from Martin Lee to Dorian Society, September 7, 1971. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 3. Several relevant letters from/regarding Lee can be found in this box including another letter from September 21, 1971 (Box 12, Fol. 3).

[38] Correspondence from Martin Lee to Herb Lee (Seattle Gay Alliance), September 21, 1971. 3-page letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 3.

[39] Correspondence from Tim Mayhew (Seattle Gay Alliance) to Arthur J. Peterson, December 26, 1972. 2-page letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 7.

[40] Correspondence from Tim Mayhew to Sandy Wroe, July 12, 1972. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 7.

[41]"Seattle Gay Alliance," organization history/structure/membership document. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 5. Members of SGA eventually formed the Dorian Group (the organization which is regularly discussed in the following two chapters).

[42] "Seattle Gay Alliance," organization history/structure/membership document, 1971. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 5. I am particularly referring to the "Structure" section of the document. Box 12, esp. Fol. 5 of the Time Mayhew Collection is full of relevant examples.

[43] Correspondence from Tim Mayhew to Patricia Smith, December 18 1971. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 7.

[44] This idea is represented in various copies of *Seattle Gay Liberation Front Newsletter*, 1970-1974, found in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, *1964-1999*: Box 4, Fol. 14. Within this book/folder for the specific example see: "GLF Reaches the Public" on page 2 of the June 22, 1970 issue and also "¿Revolting?" on page 2 of the May, 1973 issue.

[45] Regina Kunzel has mentioned and explored this. See: Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 210-14, 299-300*f.*131.

[46] See various examples in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 4, Fol. 18. Such as: "The Gay People's Alliance of Western Washington State College Presents Gay Awareness Symposium," conference pamphlet.

[47] Schedule for WWU Gay Awareness Symposium, March 8, 1973. Yellow paper. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 4, Fol. 18. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon also w ere at the 1972 symposium.

[48] Correspondence from Ken Gilbert to Dorian Society Members, 1969. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 8.

[49] Several examples in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 10. Such as: Correspondence between Dorian Society and The Greater Portland Council of Churches.

[50] "February Dinner," Dorian Dinner Reminder Memo, February 14, 1977. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 8. Jean O'Leary (1948-2005) was founder of the group known as Lesbian Feminist Liberation which broke from the Gay Activist Alliance (which was made up of dissident members of GLF) in 1972 when members felt that lesbian and feminist issues were not being given value nor attention.

[51] Nathalie Rockhill was the first woman elected to the board of Lambda Legal in 1974—she helped lead a significant wave of lesbian legal experts who became involved with Lambda. Rockhill was also a founder of National Gay Task Force in 1973. Bruce Voeller (1934-1994) was also a founding member of the National Gay Task Force. Voeller—who had a Ph.D. in Biology—founded the Mariposa foundation which specialized in researching sex and STIs. Voeller would go on to coin the term for AIDS, *acquire immune deficiency syndrome*, which he would later die from in 1994.

[52] BWMT Pacific Coast Region Network, conference flyer for March 29-31, 1985. Don Paulson papers, 1939-2006: Box 1, Fol. 57.

[53] Schedule for conference "The Church and The Homosexual," November 10, 1970. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 3.

[54] Schedule for Conference, "Acknowledging Our History/Taking Responsibility for Our lives," conference dates June 28 - July 5, 1986. Don Paulson papers, 1939-2006: Box 1, Fol. 56.

[55] Several examples of *Gayellow Pages* edited by Frances Green in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: esp. Box 1, Fol. 11. For example, see issue from March, 1973.

[56] Ephemera and newsletters in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 4. The rap center also appears to have been open to counseling gays, lesbians, and "transsexuals" across various age groups and racial categories. See: Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 6, Fol. 8. Activism also occurred around Tacoma due to its proximity to the Western State Hospital in Fort Steilacoom which for some time played an active role in treating homosexuals as "sexual offenders" and mentally ill.

[57] Issues of *Vector* in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 6, Fol. 2. The Society for Individual Rights in San Francisco founded *Vector*. For more on *Vector* see: Johnson, *Buying Gay*, 231-34. Johnson's book also overviews similar, important physique magazines.

[58] For example: *Pot Pourri,* November 1976, no. 2 "Kensington Road" models. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box. 1, Fol. 9.

[59] Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box. 1, Fol. 9. Types of physique showcased in *Pot Pourri* exemplified increasingly high standards of beauty and physical fitness among many gay males and worked to create notions of desirability and visuality among the gay population. Examples in *Pot Pourri* (among others in the Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights) show the breadth of the exchange of erotic male-photography and how sexual desire/a type of gay male visual culture was actively shaping notions of queer culture across urban, state, and regional borders.

[60] See: *Two the Homosexual Viewpoint in Canada* in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 1, Fol. 8. For photographs see "*Two* Special Supplement: This Months Guest: Can-art Photographers."

[61] *Jeff Taylor's Gay Guide for the Pacific Northwest*, summer 1975 edition. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 4.

[62] *Jeff Taylor's* in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 4. The Silver Slipper owned by lesbian-identified Ren Miller would develop into, for a while, the most explicitly female bar in Seattle.

[63] Correspondence from Sig Larson to James Lee, March 12, 1986. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 10.

[64] Correspondence from Frank Meyer to *THRUST*, January 1974. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 7.

[65] See various flyers and ephemera in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 8.

[66] Correspondence between Tim Mayhew and Gay Alliance Toward Equality, May/June 1972. Series of letters. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 7.

[67] See: *Bob Damron's Address Book*, 1973 version. Small red booklet. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 5. Although *Jeff Taylor's* was inclusive of lesbian women, *Bob Damron's* was more interested in a white middle-class gay male readership. However, my reading of *Bob Damron's* is that it focused more on queer potential than actual gay and lesbian affiliation.

[68] Paul Tiemeyer, *Plane Queer: Labor, Sexuality, and AIDS in the History of Male Flight Attendants* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2013).

[69] For more on the Expo in Spokane, see: J. William T. Youngs, "Thinking Globally, Acting Locally: Spokane's Expo '74, the Environmental World's Fair," in *Spokane & The Inland Empire: An Interior Pacific Northwest Anthology* edited by David H. Stratton, 2nd ed. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2005): 207-25.

[70] For more on the Northwest School modernist movement in art, see: Sheryl Conkelton and Laura Landau, *Northwest Mythologies: The Interactions of Mark Tobey, Morris Graves, Kenneth Callahan*, *and Guy Anderson* (Tacoma Art Museum/Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).

[71] *Seattle Gay Guide*, 1984-85. GBSA Membership Directory, Page 28. Advertisement. Don Paulson papers, 1939-2006: Box 1, Fol. 57.

[72] Several examples of *Gayellow Pages* edited by Frances Green in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: esp. Box 1, Fol. 11.

[73] Correspondence between Seattle Gay Alliance and Jeff Ide, November 1973. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 7.

[74] *Gay Areas Private Telephone Directory*, 1982. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 1, Fol. 13. For 1983 version see: Tim Mayhew Collection Box 2, Fol. 1.

[75] These lesbian-focused sources often had an aesthetically appealing quality; however, from my understanding, did not tend to present photographic representations of nudity and genitals at the same volume or frequency as male-focused sources. Lesbian-sources often seem to have focused on artistic, literary, sketched and/or abstract representations of the breasts, vagina, buttocks, hair, and other body parts.

[76] "Dyke Directory," *Pandora* 4, no. 5, (1973): 14. Accessed from: Archives of Sexuality & Gender, http://tinyurl. galegroup.com/tinyurl/B7Lkc6. Accessed 8 July 2019. Also found in: *Lesbian Herstory Archives*, Brooklyn New York. *Pandora* also published lists of nationwide fiction and non-fiction work by and for same-sex desiring women mentioning authors like Monique Witting, Sidney Abbott, Radclyffe Hall, Rita Mae Brown, and Isabel Miller.

[77] Ingrid Brown, "Women's Bars Scarce in Seattle," *Pandora* 7, no. 5 (1977). Accessed from: Archives of Sexuality & Gender, http://tinyurl. galegroup.com/tinyurl/B7Lkc6. Accessed 8 July 2019. From Lesbian Herstory Archives. Brooklyn, New York City.

[78] Issues of *Mom's Apple Pie.* Newsletters. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 4, Fol. 30.

[79] "Gay Women's Resource Center" Newsletter and "Lesbian Resource Center" Pamphlet. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 4, Fol. 31.

**CHAPTER 3**

[1] Correspondence from M. Franklin Ryan to Seattle Gay Alliance (Herb Lee), September 24, 1971 & October 13, 1971. Letter (two hand-written letters, both three pages, postage attached). Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 3 *Columns Northwest* was a magazine associated with the homophile movement centered in Seattle Washington. Several issues of *Columns* can be found in the Tim Mayhew Collection.

[2] Correspondence from M. Franklin Ryan to Seattle Gay Alliance, November 12, 1971. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 3.

[3] I have found Ryan's chosen first name with which he signed another letter in the archive but choose here to only use the initial "M" with which he signed his final letter. The abovementioned box and folder have more letters from Ryan of which I read to heighten my analysis.

[4] Etymologically derived from the French term of the same name, "affiliation" denoted the relation of a parent to a child or the adoption of a child; it later came to be defined as the "sociable, friendly," or "sympathetic" feelings these bonds inspire. Moreover, affiliation came to reflect the "senses relating to connection and association" via the connection with an organization or other body. Usually this link or relationship is "maintained for any of various reasons." See: "affiliation, n.". *OED Online*. March 2020. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/3405. In my approach, these historical narratives of affiliation replicate much of the scholarship of Jenny James who shows how affiliations can necessarily combine "sociable, friendly" feelings with the more unwieldy energy of erotic desire, see: Jenny M. James, "The Terms of our Connection: Affiliation and Difference in the Post-1960 North American Novel," PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012.; Jenny M. James, "Making Love, Making Friends: Affiliation and Repair in James Baldwin's *Another Country*" *Studies in American Fiction* 39 no. 1 (Spring 2012): 43-60. I see the entire notion of affiliation when placed within the context of modernity as largely shaped by the psychic, individual, and communal experiences of anxiety. At a broad theoretical level (and thus in my footnotes and not in the main text to burden my reader) I find that in exploring religious affiliation I can, perhaps radically but also perhaps banally, seek to emphasize how notions of the erotic (particularly those pertaining to the body, sex, and togetherness) are as deeply engrained in the collective psyche and cultural history of religion in modern America as much as they are abundant in the, more clearly erotic, story of the Gay and Lesbian Movement in modern American history.

[5] For examples that take the latter approach mentioned (in which religion/Christianity is a crucial part of LGBT lived-experience), see: Howard, *Men Like That*; Kevin Mumford, *Not Straight, Not White: Black Gay Men from the March on Washington to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); John Wenzel, "A Different Christian Witness to Society: Christian Support for Gay Liberation in Minnesota, 1977-1993," *Church History* 88, no. 3 (Sept. 2019): 720-50; Joshua Grace, Christopher Rhamy, and Megan Dukett, et. al., "Coming Out Gay, Coming Out Christian: The Beginnings of GLBT Christianity in San Diego, 1970-1979," *Journal of San Diego History* 53, no. 3 (Summer, 2007): 117-25.

[6] Fred Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic: The Origins of America's Debate on Homosexuality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) esp. 4-9, 92-97, 181-212; Gary Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 238-57; Beth Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing: Conscience, Conflict, and Community in the Struggle Against Seattle's Initiative 13," *Peace & Change* 13, no. 4 (Oct. 2018): 393-419; Gillian Frank, "'The Civil Rights of Parents': Race and Conservative Politics in Anita Bryant's Campaign against Gay Rights in 1970s Florida," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22 no. 1 (Jan. 2013): 126-60; Patrick McCreery, "Save Our Children/Let Us Marry: Gay Activists Appropriate the Rhetoric of Child Protectionism," *Radical History Review* 100 (Winter 2008): 186-207.

[7] For the best overview of I-13, I recommend: Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing," 393-419.

[8] "Yes" votes on I-13 only reached around 37 percent of the ballots cast.

[9] Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic*, 7.

[10]The Monastery was a significant site in Seattle's history yet goes almost completely unmentioned in the city's historiography. The Monastery is only represented in one sentence in an article about gay bars which not express the controversial and tumultuous place the bar has in the city's history, see: Michael Brown, Stefano Bettani, et. al., "The Gay Bar as a Place of Men's Caring," 302. This article by Brown et. al is perhaps one of the most complicit examples of the overly optimistic approach to Seattle's gay history that this thesis finds incredibly misleading as this group of all, older and established male scholars of cultural geography specifically seek to counter negative claims about gay bars by highlighting "emotional caring" and the formation of identity and community, they are not completely wrong in their claims but go to an extreme polar end while missing the anxiety vested in any Seattle gay bar's (usually ephemeral) attempts at activism, employment, and education.

[11] Moreover, The Monastery's rampant drug use, alleged child prostitution, and liberated sexual spaces, also show an un-sanitized version of queer life in the 1970s that is neglected in Seattle's historiography which Martin Duberman has critiqued in *Has the Gay Movement Failed?*. For failure, see: J. Jack Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

[12] An exception to this rule being: Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing."

[13] The Monastery was seen (although at one point very positively) as besmirching the LGBT community and as a queer political loss several years after the success of blocking I-13. In Seattle, Anti-gay efforts were won by New Right Christian Groups who embraced Law and Order Politics in the name of saving the city's children, arguably from the dangers of queer affiliation. Picking an African American man's business to pinpoint as a public enemy, threat to child safety, and proponent of drug use during the 1980s was also uncoincidental. We must recognize how histories of sexual complaint have been used to villainize and incarcerate men of color. This may further muddy an objective stance about The Monastery's ethics but perhaps helps us uncover a longer history of policing men of color, particularly African American men who sought interracial affiliation.

[14] By surveying the Monastery's culture, controversies, and eventual closure in 1985, I want to suggest that I-13 was important historically but also a small scale "victory" over anti-gay discrimination which did not radically change many people's ideas about gay and lesbian life. This was especially true among the increasingly strong New Religious Right which became even more galvanized in the following years as they hoped to limit the influence of gays and lesbians on the nation's youth and culture. Moreover, fervent anti-gay sentiment among New Right Christian Groups in the 1980s and 90s was sustained from feelings which crystalized during the 1960s and 70s.

[15] MCC was founded in 1968 by homosexual-identifying Rev. Troy Perry in Los Angeles. For a decent article on the history of MCC, see: Melissa Wilcox, "Of Markets and Missions: The Early History of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches," *Religion & American Culture* 11 no. 1 (Winter 2001): 83-108.

[16] Robert Sirico publicly declared his homosexuality in 1972 and became a gay rights activist. He was initially a rather radical left-wing political supporter but he grew hesitant of many ideas in his later years. In 1972, Sirico was attempting to perform same-sex marriages in the MCC, see: "Pastor to perform homosexual marriages," *Seattle Times* (May 11, 1972): A7 By 1973 he had a complicated relationship with police, see: "Gay Liberation leader calls arrest police harassment," *Seattle Times* (October 19, 1973): p. B5. For mention of Sirico in Atkins book, see: Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 161-63, 175-77, 198-203, 206.

[17] "The Christian Homosexual," pamphlet by Rev. Robert Sirico. Flyer/Ephemera on yellow paper. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 5

[18] Bio on "Candace Naisbitt" in *GSBA 1985/86* page 49. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 2.

[19] Bio on "Candace Naisbitt" in *GSBA 1985/86* page 49. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 2. A great deal more about Naisbitt is contained in the Tim Mayhew Collection worth exploring especially in Box 2/3.

[20] Importantly, MCC helped establish a nationwide network of affiliation amongst gay and lesbian Christians during the 1960s and 70s. As the previous chapter discusses, Seattle's queer culture and Gay and Lesbian Movement was always in flux with other West Coast cities.

[21] "Not Forgotten" (anonymous letter) to *Column's Northwest*, June 4, 1970. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 12.

[22] Correspondence from Don Labrenz to The Dorian Society, May 13, 1970. "Choice" letterhead. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 12.

[23] Of course, there were also thousands of closeted Christian gays and lesbians who lived in Washington during the 1960s and 70s, perhaps some of which used homosocial church groups to cruise at John Howard discusses in *Men Like That*.

[24] Correspondence between Mineo Katagiri and The Dorian Society, 1968. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 10.

[25] See various correspondence with Dorian Society in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 12.

[26] Correspondence between Tim Mayhew to Randall Thomas, April 4, 1973. Letter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 7.

[27] See: "Dorian Social Calendar" in *The Dorian Group* (newsletter) in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 10. A good example is the issue from June 1, 1979.

**[28]** "Not So Straight: A workshop on Sexual Minorities and the Nuclear Family," March 1974, Flyer, Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 7, Fol. 13.

[29] See various mentions of "Speaker's Bureau" in Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 12, Fol. 5.

[30] "Gay Episcopal Priest to Address Gay Rights Group," The Dorian Group News Release, March 21, 1979. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 12.

[31] *Gay Areas Private Telephone Directory*, "Churches," Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 1, Fol. 13.

[32] "Dorian Convenes First Elected Board," The Dorian Group News Release, December 7, 1976. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 12.

[33] "Dorian Convenes First Elected Board," The Dorian Group News Release, December 7, 1976. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 11, Fol. 12.

[34] Robert Sirico, "The Christian Homosexual." Pamphlet. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 5.

[35] Robert Sirico, "The Christian Homosexual." Pamphlet. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 5.

[36] Paul Robert, "Gay Abominations." Pamphlet. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 5.

[37] Sharon Harington, "Homosexuality: A Christian Response," 1978. Booklet (red). Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 5.

[38] Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic*, 187.

[39] Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing", 397

[40] Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing," 397

[41] Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic*, 189.

[42] Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing," 405.

[43] Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing," 397.

[44] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 210-12.

[45] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 213-14.

[46] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 210.

[47] "Roger Winters" interviewed for *Mosaic no. 1: Life Stories: From Isolation to Community*. Oral history from the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project. Edited by Ruth Pettis (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 174-75.

[48] "Roger Winters," *Mosaic no. 1*, 174-75.

[49] Beth Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing," 395.

[50] CRFE Campaign, "Citizens to Retain Fair Employment Thanks…", *Seattle Gay News* (August 4, 1978): 4.

[51] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 189.

[52] Beth Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing," 404.

[53] Kraig, "Doing the Right Think," 406.

[54] WAT, "Let People Live!," 1977, bumper sticker. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 16.

[55] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 245.

[56] Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing," 393-94.

[57] Kraig, "Doing the Right Thing," 394.

[58] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 245.

[59] SCAT, "Seattle Committee Against Thirteen," 1978, memo. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 16.

[60] John Kurtz, "I-13 Threat Unifies Meeting" *The Other Side* vol 2. No. 1 (Spring 1976): 3. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 6. Fol. 12.

[61] David C. Colwell, "Homosexual and Christian Faith – One Parson's Pilgrimage," April 30, 1978, Sermon given at Plymouth Congregational Church in Seattle. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 6.

[62] David C. Colwell, "Homosexual and Christian Faith – One Parson's Pilgrimage," April 30, 1978, Sermon given at Plymouth Congregational Church in Seattle. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 6.

[63] "Fight I-13: Calendar of Events," Flyer. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 8.

[64] "Vote No on I-13: Your Privacy is at Stake!" 1978 pamphlet. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 8

[65]John Milton, "For Immediate Release," June 24, 1977. News memo. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 6.

[66] John Milton, "For Immediate Release," June 24, 1977. News memo. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 6.

[67] Church Leaders for Community Standards, "The Facts on Initiative 13," 1978 memo. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 6

[68] "Coming to… Seattle.. Joe Price Crusade," April 1977, pamphlet. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 3, Fol. 6

[69] Bill Parkins, "Monastery Alters Church, Opens Disco," *Seattle Gay News* (June 1977): 9.

[70] "Monastery," advertisement, *Seattle Gay News* 5 no. 8 (April 1978): 9. Also, see advertisements in *Seattle Gay News* (May 1977): 14.

[71] The refectory was also Freeman's personal lodging.

[72] For examples of issues around this and Freeman's beliefs being spoken on see *Seattle Daily Times* issues from Monday, Sept. 13, 1982; Dec 1, 1977; Thursday, May 14, 1981.

[73] Dwight Grant, "Sanctuary Owner Rails Against Intolerance," *Seattle Gay News* 6 no. 12 (July 6, 1979): 7.

[74] Larry Brown, "Boy's Weren't Offered as Prostitutes, Courts Told," *Seattle Daily Times* (Dec 1, 1977): B10. To this day, it remains unknown if Freeman played any role in the possible sex-trade occurring in The Monastery. However, this opens several ethical issues considering queer spaces as curtailing both notions of sexual liberation and, in some ways, oppression. Likewise, it causes of to consider age-based sexual norms and how these have changed and been heightened concerns at some points in American history.

[75] Christie Claridge, "BUILDING AND ITS CHECKERED HISTORY," *Seattle Times* (January 4, 1999): B.

[76] See: George Freeman, "History: Seattle and the Monastery," George Freeman personal website, https://www.georgefreeman.com/past/#tab-3 (accessed October 20, 2019).

[77] Correspondence from Monastery leaders to Monastery members (letter to Tim Mayhew), June 28, 1977. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 7. This box/folder has a good deal of Monastery ephemera that paints the site as both deeply spiritual but also whimsical in its approach to religion.

[78] "After Hours" *GSBA Guide,* Summer/Fall 1982. Booklet/pamphlet, page 8. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 2.

[79] Correspondence from Monastery leaders to Monastery members (letter to Tim Mayhew), June 28, 1977. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 7.

[80] Correspondence from Monastery leaders ("Brothers and Staff") to Monastery members (letter to Tim Mayhew), June 28, 1977. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 7.

[81] "Once Upon a Time… The Monastery," Flyer for anniversary celebration May 13, 1977. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 7.

[82] The Monastery advertisement in *Seattle Gay News* (June 1977): 9.

[83] "Once Upon a Time… The Monastery," Flyer for anniversary celebration May 13, 1977. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999: Box 2, Fol. 7.

[84] "Operator of private gay club charges police harassment," *Seattle Times* (October 29, 1977): 12.

[85] Paul Henderson "Confrontation at Gay Club Ends in 3 arrests," *Seattle Times* (October 10, 1977): 14.N

[86] Henderson, "Confrontation at Gay Club Ends in 3 arrests" *Seattle Times*

[87] Unknown author (likely Freeman), "The Truth Shall Set You Free," George Freeman personal website, https://www.georgefreeman.com/the-truth-shall-set-you-free/, May 9, 2018, (Accessed October 20, 2019). Also see: *Seattle Times* (October 29, 1977): 12.

[88] Peter Lewis, "Liquor Agents Cite Gay Rights Backers" *Seattle Times* (May 20, 1978): 6.

[89] Lewis, "Liquor Agents Cite Gay Rights Backers" *Seattle Times*.

[90] *SGN* Staff, "Monastery Raid: What Happened & Why?" *Seattle Gay News* 4 no. 10 (Nov. 1977): 6-7, 26. At this time *SGN* was published monthly. Also good to look at here is: WCSMR, "Save Our Gay Youth!!" *Seattle Gay News* 4, no. 10 (Nov. 1977): 16.

[91] *SGN* Staff, "Monastery Raid: What Happened & Why?" *Seattle Gay News* 4 no. 10 (Nov. 1977): 6-7, 26. At this time *SGN* was published monthly.

[92] For crucial examples of The Monastery's legal issues, see: Duff Wilson, "Disco's Manager has history of legal problems," *Seattle Times* (September 13, 1982): 29; "Conviction of Monastery manager upheld," *Seattle Times* (Oct. 13, 1982): 39.

[93] "Monastery Raid: What Happened & Why?" *Seattle Gay News*.

[94] "Gays, City Officials to Try to 'Work out Problems,' after Ruckus," *Seattle Daily Times*, (Oct. 11, 1977).

[95] "Prosecution of three Gay Men Called 'Insensitive,'" *Seattle Daily Times* (Oct. 23, 1977).

[96] *SGN* Staff, "Monastery Raid: What Happened & Why?" *Seattle Gay News* (Nov 1977): 6, 26.

[97] "Monastery Raid: What Happened & Why?" *Seattle Gay News*.

[98] John Sheets, "The Union of Sexual Minorities Would like to Respond to the Two Press Statements Dorian Issued Soon after the Police Raid on the Monastery Club," editorial. *Seattle Gay News* 4, no. 11 (Dec. 1977): 19.

[99] Dwight Grant, "Sanctuary Owner Rails Against Intolerance," *Seattle Gay News* 6 no. 12 (July 6, 1979): 7.

[100] For example, see, "Steering Committee, Oct. 19, 1985," report/minutes in Don Paulson papers, 1939-2006: Box 1, Fol. 37.

[101] Grant, "Sanctuary Owner Rails Against Intolerance," *Seattle Gay News*

[102] "Church Sues Over Name," *Seattle Daily Times* (Feb. 3, 1980): 17.

[103] "Church Sues Over Name," *Seattle Daily Times* (Feb. 3, 1980): 17.

[104] "Church Sues Over Name," *Seattle Daily Times* (Feb. 3, 1980): 17.

[105] Discussed in Freeman's own account of the history The Monastery, see: George Freeman, "History: Seattle and the Monastery," George Freeman personal website, https://www.georgefreeman.com/past/#tab-3 (accessed October 20, 2019); Unknown author (likely Freeman), "The Truth Shall Set You Free," George Freeman personal website, https://www.georgefreeman.com/the-truth-shall-set-you-free/, May 9, 2018, (Accessed October 20, 2019). George Freeman's website serves as his testament to The Monastery being wrongly attacked by conservative Christians. Other relevant reporting on this, see: Peyton Whitely, "Militant Parents Organize to Fight 'Street Kids' Problem," *Seattle Times* (February 25, 1985): B2.

[106] Staff report, "Seattle gay-disco operator is sentenced to 60 days in jail," *Seattle Times* (April 8, 1981): F6/94.

[107] "Church Sues Over Police Harassment" *Seattle Daily Times* (September 18, 1982): 55. N

[108] Simultaneously, ay-media began to take a step away from covering the disco/church (this is, perhaps, because *SGN* was actively impacted by the politics of the Dorian Group).

[109] Duff Wilson, "Monastery looks like a church; that's the only similarity," *Seattle Daily Times* (September 12, 1982): 56.

[110] Wilson, "Monastery looks like a church" *Seattle Times*.

[111] For "discophobia" and the evangelical right, see: Alice Echols, *Hot Stuff: Disco and the Remaking of American Culture* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 74, 203-14. Echols has a great deal to say about the

impact of disco on gay culture, African Americans, and feminists (all are relevant discussions to this chapter), see: Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 1-38, 71-158. Drugs also played a crucial role in stigmatizing disco which is another reason The Monastery became so contentious, see: Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 54-59, 77, 121-26, 150.

[112] "Quotes of the Week," *Seattle Daily Times* (July 24, 1983): 14.

[113] Peyton Whitely, "Prosecutor Seeks Monastery Closure – Club for Teens Described as A 'Nuisance'" *Seattle Times* (April 29, 1985): A1.

[114] Peyton Whitley, "Young Supporters Oppose Monastery Closure," *Seattle Times* (May 2, 1985): D2.

[115] See: "Ex-Club Owner Held in California," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (January 1, 1986): D1; "Warrant Out for Former Club Owner," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (March 26, 1986): D1; John Hessburg, "Former Operator of Teen Club Goes Free in California Mix-Up," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (January 8, 1986): D1.

[116] See: *Freeman v. Crosby*. United States Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit. 883 F.2d 1023 (Table), 1989 WL 99264

[117] For several reports shaping my retelling on Parents in Arms and The Monastery's final years here, see: Meg Grant, "A Parent's Crusade – Troubles With His Son Prompt An Attorney to Rally Support to Help Keep Kids off the Streets," *Seattle Times* (May 31, 1985): C1; Suzanne Hapala "Club Given Praise, Blame" *Seattle Times* (June 6, 1985): B1; Steven Johnston, "Monastery A Haven For Drugs, Sex Say Officers," *Seattle Times* (June 7, 1985): C1; Steven Johnston, "Monastery 'Devoured Me,' Says Witness in Suit Against Teen Club," *Seattle Times* (June 8, 1985): A7; Marshall Wilson, "Mother Appalled by Drug, Alcohol Use at Monastery," *Seattle Times* (June 11, 1985): E1; Marshall Wilson, "Father Tells of Frustration in Search for Runaway Son at Monastery," *Seattle Times* (June 12, 1985): B11; Marshall Wilson, "Court Told Monastery Hosted Male Prostitution," *Seattle Times* (June 13, 1985): F1; "Judge Puts Head of Monastery Out of Business," *Seattle Times* (June 19, 1985): D4; "The Closed Monastery – A Rotten Place That Exploited the Young," *Seattle Times* (June 24, 1985): A12; "Ex-Owner of Monastery Sues and Alleges Plot to Close Disco," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (March 12, 1986): D2; "Monastery Ex-Owner Now in Cell," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (May 15, 1985): D1; Warren King, "Baptists Turning Monastery Into A Church," *Seattle Times* (August 11, 1987): B3; "An Encouraging Sign – Parent Group Works to Save Children," *Seattle Times* (April 5, 1985): A6; Don Tewkesbury, "A Curfew for Teens? Opinions Divided," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (August 1, 1986): A3.

[118] Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic*, 7.

[119] Parents anxieties over kinds becoming homosexuals were increasing in the 1960s, see: Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic*, 24-26.

[120] Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic*, 86

[121] Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic*, 76. Which was especially true amongst increasingly segregated, white churches who structured idealized heteronormative Christianity as an increasingly white institution

[122] Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Spirit of the Law: Religious Voices, the Constitution, and the Making of Modern America (*Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 133-169

[123] Gordon, *The Spirit of the Law*, 134.

[124] Gordon, *The Spirit of the Law*, 138.

[1] Robert O'Boyle, "The Man Behind the News Stories," *Seattle Times* (June 2, 1991): K6. Open access online: https://archive.seattletimes.com/archive/?date=19910602&slug=1286618

[2] *State of Washington v. Steven George Farmer*; 116 Wash.2d 414, 805 P.2d 200, 13 A.L.R.5th 1070.

[3] *State v. Farmer* (WA-1991)

[4] Alan Reade, "A Victim's Story: Minor Speaks Out About Steven Farmer Case," *Seattle Gay News (SGN)*. (Dec. 11, 1987): 7.

[5] The actual number of photos is unclear from newspaper accounts and court documents and will likely never be known as the originals were destroyed by Farmer's friends.

[6] *State v. Farmer* (WA-1991). Justice Guy (who was the newest justice on the State Supreme Court at the time) wrote the court opinion and all other justices concurred.

[7] I get this idea of state and local policy as a the guarantor of "the people's welfare" from William Novak's book of the same name, see: William Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law & Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), ix-x, 3, 8-11, 13-14, 21-23, 149-57, 191-204, 240-48.

[8] For work on the, or pertaining to, the history of "Law and Order" policy/politics in US history and society, see: Heather Ann Thompson, *Blood in the Water: The Attica Prison Uprising of 1971 and Its Legacy* (New York: Vintage, 2017); Timothy Stewart-Winter, "The Law and Order Origins of Urban Gay Politics," *Journal of Urban History* 41, no. 5 (September 2015): 825–35; Michael Camp, "Resisting 'Law and Order' in California: Howard Moore Jr., Angela Davis, and the Politics of Prison Radicalism," *Journal of African American History* 104, no. 1 (Winter 2019): 84–106; Elizabeth Hinton, *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017); Seth E. Blumenthal, "Nixon's Marijuana Problem: Youth Politics and 'Law and Order,' 1968–72." *Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics & Culture* 9, no. 1 (June 2016): 26–53; Michael C. Campbell, "Politics, Prisons, and Law Enforcement: An Examination of the Emergence of 'Law and Order' Politics in Texas," *Law & Society Review* 45, no. 3 (September 2011): 631–65; Reiko Hillyer, "The Guardian Angels: Law and Order and Citizen Policing in New York City," *Journal of Urban History* 43, no. 6 (November 2017): 886–914.

[9] For carceral feminism: Elizabeth Bernstein, "The Sexual Politics of the 'New Abolitionism,'" *Differences* 18, no.5 (2007): 128-51. Bernstein expanded on this analysis to demonstrate how feminism has more generally become a vehicle of punitive politics in the US and abroad, other important work dealing with this issue: Elizabeth Bernstein, "Carceral Politics as Gender Justice? The 'Traffic in Women and Neoliberal Circuits of Crime, Sex, and Rights," *Theory and Society* 41 (2012): 233-59. For recent work on carceral feminism, see: Carrie A. Rentschler, "Bystander Intervention, Feminist Hashtag Activism, and the Anti-Carceral Politics of Care," *Feminist Media Studies* 17, no. 4 (August 2017): 565–84.; Lorna Norman Bracewell, "Beyond Barnard: Liberalism, Antipornography Feminism, and the Sex Wars," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 42, no. 1 (October 2016): 23–48. Crucially, this carceral feminism believed in regulating, limiting, and criminalizing sex work in various forms and through various methods.

[10] For work specifically on criminalizing and regulating HIV/AIDS in US History see: Trevor Hoppe, *Punishing Disease: HIV and Criminalization of Sickness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); René Esparza, " Black Bodies on Lockdown: AIDS Moral Panic and the Criminalization of HIV in Times of White Injury," *Journal of African American History* 104, no. 2 (Spring 2019): 250-80; Gregory Tomso, "HIV Monsters: Gay Men, Criminal law, and the New Political Economy of HIV," *The War on Sex* eds. David M. Halperin and Trevor Hoppe, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017): 353-377. Historians have been asserting the importance of the AIDS crisis within the 20th century United States, see: Jennifer Brier,

*Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Jennifer Brier, Jonathan Bell, Darius Bost, et al., "Interchange: HIV/AIDS and U.S. History," *Journal of American History* 104, no. 2 (September 2017): 431–60; Martin Duberman, *Hold Tight Gently: Michael Callen, Essex Hemphill, and the Battlefield of AIDS* (New York: The New Press, 2016); Steven Epstein, *Impure Science: AIDS, Activism, and the Politics of Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Stephen J. Inrig, *North Carolina and the Problem of AIDS: Advocacy, Politics, and Race in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Anthony M. Petro, *After the Wrath of God: AIDS, Sexuality, and American Religion* (London: Oxford University Press, 2015); Tiemeyer, *Plane Queer*.

[11] Tied up in this sentiment were longstanding concerns over intergenerational sex between men and same-sex sexuality more generally.

[12] For where this idea of queer legal history emerged, see: Marc Stein, "Crossing the Border to Memory: In Search of Clive Michael Boutilier (1933-2003)," *Torquere* 6, (2005): 91-115, esp. 111. For more on queer legal history as a field see: Felicia Kornbluh, "Queer Legal History: A Field Grows Up and Comes Out," *Law & Social Inquiry* 36, no. 2 (2011): 537-59. For more relevant works, see: Marc Stein, "Boutilier and the U.S. Supreme Court's Sexual Revolution," *Law and History Review* 23, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 491-536; Marc Stein, *Sexual Injustice: Supreme Court Decisions from Griswold to Roe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Canaday, *The Straight State*; Scott de Orio, "The Invention of Bad Gay Sex and the Creation of a Criminal Underclass of Gay People," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 26, no. 1 (Jan. 2017): 53-87; Whitney Strub, "Lavender, Menaced: Lesbianism, Obscenity Law, and the Feminist Antipornography Movement," *Journal of Women's History* 22, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 83–107; Gillian Frank, "'The Civil Rights of Parents': Race and Conservative Politics in Anita Bryant's Campaign against Gay Rights in 1970s Florida," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22, no. 1 (January 2013): 126–60; Marie-Amelie George, "The Harmless Psychopath: Legal Debates Promoting the Decriminalization of Sodomy in the United States," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 2 (May 2015): 225–61; Stephen Robertson, "What's Law Got to Do with It? Legal Records and Sexual Histories," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 1/2 (April 2005): 161–85.

[13] This is not by any means an attempt to say that Farmer's sexual assaults did not deserve a lengthy sentence. This is to express that there was clear indication in law and via public sentiment that Farmer's elongated sentence solely stemmed from the results of his blood test; the applicability of which contained layers ambiguity, impertinence, and needlessness. This is also a chance to reflect on the fact that I am a historian who began his training in #MeToo era. As a student of history and gender/sexuality studies, sexual assault and harassment has been a crucial element in my education and are concepts that have undergone significant change during short amount of time I have been pursuing historical study.

[14] I too though must silence some things in writing this history. Therefore, I see my work as supplementary and neither a complete overhaul nor a definitive history of AIDS in Seattle or even the Farmer case itself. I get this idea of "historical silences" from: Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 2-9, 15-17, 22-30.

[15] Love, *Feeling Backward*, 8.

[16] Gary Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 325-30.

[17] Again, my entire thinking about the dangers of historians screening off gender in an analysis of sexuality (and vice versa) stems from Afsaneh Najmabadi who expresses that analysis of gender that screen off gender create a kind of historical amnesia about the past (as well as the present), see: Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*, 1-8, 233-44.

[18] Atkins' exultation of Farmer of the ultimate victim in this case has created a narrative in which the experience of anxiety is minimized. Importantly, the experience individuals directly impacted by Farmer's actions were not inspected by Atkins which protects Farmer's victim-status.

[19] "Cruel Optimism" in this instance is drawn from: Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 1-2.

[20] Marita Sturken posits that popular culture remembers individuals with HIV/AIDS as "figures of contamination." Crucial to this project, Sturken posits, "Media representation of the person with AIDS as a source of contamination and sexual deviancy proliferated in the mid-to-late 1980s, primarily in the form of starkly lit photographs portraying signs of the disease, lesions, wasting limbs, loss of hair." The beautiful Steven Farmer is someone who is seen as heading toward abjection (if not already abject at his core in public perception). Crucially, media depictions of HIV/AIDS tended to lose "a sense of the subject's humanity" and in this there is a crucial "loss of identity" within media representation and symbolism, see: Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and The Politics of Remembrance* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997), 148, 152, 154-60.

[21] In 1956, Monroe's population was somewhere between 1,500 and 1,900 residents.

[22] Tiemeyer, *Plane Queer*, 136-193. For discussion Farmer's life before 1987, see: Terry Tang, "Forcing an AIDS Test in An Ugly Case" *Seattle Weekly* 13, no. 25 (June 2, 1988): 19. Here, we also see Farmer as a figure of *queer movement* more so than a member of the Gay and Lesbian Movement (which pertains to my discussions in Chapter 2).

[23] Robert O'Boyle, "The Man Behind the News Stories," *Seattle Times* (June 2, 1991): K6. Open access online: https://archive.seattletimes.com/archive/?date=19910602&slug=1286618

[24] For more on this see: Martin Levine and Michael Kimmel, *Gay Macho: The Life and Death of the Homosexual Clone* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); Echols, *Hot Stuff*, 121-59.

[25] Gary Atkins, "Steven Farmer: Media Case Plays Supporting Actor in State's Drama of Making new AIDS Policy" *The Dorian Group Newsletter* (June 1988): 37. Also received and discussed contents of newsletter in email communication with Gary Atkins: 10/31/2019.

[26] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 326-28.

[27] Chris Dziewiontkoski, "Legal Defense Fund Established for Steven Court Costs" *SGN* (Jan 1. 1988): 4.

[28] O'Boyle, "The Man Behind the News Stories" *Seattle Times*.

[29] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 298. For more on the emergence of AIDS as a disease and a (racialized) medical community crisis in Seattle, see: Kevin McKenna, *Safer Sex: Gay Politics and the Remaking of Liberalism in Seattle, 1966-1995.* Ph.D. Dissertation, (University of Washington, 2017), esp. 140-49.

[30] McKenna, *Safer Sex*, 145.

[31] McKenna, *Safer Sex*, 146.

[32] McKenna, *Safer Sex*, 148. The Northwest AIDS Foundation (which did not support Steven Famer) along with white middle-class male AIDS activists generally ignored Seattle's African American, Asian American, and Latinx communities—this eventually led to the creation of the People of Color Against AIDS

Network in 1987 (which seemed to have supported Farmer). This organization became one of the city's most inclusive and progressive groups in the fight against AIDS along with the Chicken Soup Brigade.

[33] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 311

[34] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 300, 312

[35] Chris Dziewiontkoski, "AIDS cases continue to climb in county," *SGN*, (July 24, 1987): 17. This article reported that only 42 percent of those who had HIV diagnoses made in the last two years and were still alive in 1987.

[36] For example, see: "AIDS Resource List" *Seattle Gay News* (Feb 6 1987): 40. Resources included the Seattle Gay Clinic, "Blood Sisters Seattle" a lesbian blood donor coalition, and the "David Morgan AIDS Relief Fund" which was "established to provide financial help for destitute people with AIDS." Resource lists can be found in numerous issues of *SGN* during this period.

[37] "Get Into This First" *SGN* (June 19, 1987): 15. Ads like this could be found in virtually every *SGN* issue during the late-1980s. Also, see: Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 315-23.

[38] Tang, "Forcing an AIDS Test in an Ugly Case."

[39] Ron Brookmeyer, "AIDS, Epidemics, and Statistics," *Biometrics* 52, no. 3 (Sept., 1996): 781-96, esp. 782.

[40] Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), 228.

[41] Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), 385.

[42] Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 146.

[43] Jennifer Brier, ""Save Our Kids, Keep AIDS Out:" Anti-AIDS Activism and the Legacy of Community Control in Queens, New York." *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 4 (2006): 965–87, esp. 973.

[44] Self, *All in the Family*, 385.

[45] Self, *All in the Family*, 384.

[46] Self, *All in the Family*, 384. In response to the Reagan administration's slow and ineffective response, increasing death tolls, and widespread misinformation and "hysteria" about HIV/AIDS, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power! (ACT UP) formed in March 1987.

[47] See various in: Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999. Box 11 Fol. 6.

[48] Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999. Box 11 Fol. 6. Later in September 1985, when Jim Wright was a candidate for King County Chief Executive, he made quarantining people with AIDS the centerpiece of his campaign, see: Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 310.

[49] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 310.

[50] *The Dorian Group*, June, 1985. Newsletter. Tim Mayhew Collection on Gay Rights, 1964-1999. Box 12, Fol. 1.

[51] *Rogers v. Miles Laboratories, Inc.* (WA-1991): 116 Wn.2d 195. There are numerous other cases about young children and older heterosexuals being infected see also: *Doe v. Spokane and Inland Empire Blood Bank* (WA-1989): 55 Wash. App. 780 P.2d 853.

[52] McKenna, *Safer Sex*, 230-32.

[53] See: Su Docekal, "Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights: Notice of News Conference," Feb 27, 1991. Broadway Performance Hall Lobby, Seattle, Washington. Ephemera acquired from personal exchange with Gary Atkins. Email received 10/31/2019. Copies of press conference reports in author's possession. From the same conference see: Steven Farmer, "State to the Media" Feb 27, 1991. Danny Gibbons (speech), "ACT UP/Seattle: Steve Farmer Press Conference 2/27/91" Feb 27, 1991. Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights, "Statement to the Media on the Steve Farmer Case," Feb 27, 1991.

[54] "A Dangerous National Precedent: Having AIDS in now Punishable with a Prison Term," The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Records, 1973-2000: Box 113, Fol. 41. Cornell University Libraries. Digitally accessed through 'Archives of Sexuality & Gender'. Accessed 8 July 2019. What Farmer expressed was not comprehendible to police whose understandings of HIV-transmission were not those held by an informed gay man. This reflects the overarching anxiety of transmission awareness as the "AIDS virus," for the average American or, more so, conservative anti-gay lawmakers and police officers tasked with enforcing strict law and order policies, was seen as infecting people in numerous ways through various potential sources and activities.

[55] The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Records, 1973-2000. Box 113, Fol. 41.

[56] Reade, "A Victim's Story," *SGN*.

[57] Reade, "A Victim's Story", *SGN*.

[58] Reade, "A Victim's Story," *SGN*.

[59] See: Tom Flint "Eve of Prison Term: Steven Farmer speaks out" *SGN* (March 1, 1991). Also: "A Dangerous National Precedent," The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Records, 1973-2000: Box 113, Fol. 41.

[60] Reade, "A Victim's Story," *SGN*.

[61] Although this thesis uses other compiled oral histories, it does not seek to create new oral histories as part of its methodologies (mainly due to limits in the production time). The next step of this project beyond the thesis will be to interview individuals like Alan Reade to explore their insights into the Farmer case as well as their own emotional lived-experiences.

[62] "A Dangerous National Precedent," The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Records, 1973-2000: Box 113, Fol. 41.

[63] "A Dangerous National Precedent," The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Records, 1973-2000: Box 113, Fol. 41.

[64] John Carlson, "Lowry Was Wrong to Grant Clemency to Steven Farmer" *Seattle Times* (Jan 11 1994): B4.

[65] Patrick O'Callahan, "Steven Farmer Didn't Deserve His Friends" *Tacoma News Tribune* (Oct. 19, 1995): A10.

[66] "A Dangerous National Precedent," The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Records, 1973-2000: Box 113, Fol. 41.

[67] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 325-30; The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Records, 1973-2000: Box 113, Fol. 41.; O'Boyle, "The Man Behind the News Stories."

[68] "A Dangerous National Precedent," The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Records, 1973-2000: Box 113, Fol. 41.

[69] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 326.

[70] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 326.

[71] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 326.

[72] Kit Boss, "Julie Blacklow Quits King-TV," *Seattle Times* (January 28, 1992). Open access online: http://community.seattletimes.nwsource.com/archive/?date=19920128&slug=1472521

[73] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 327.

[74] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 327.

[75] Alan Reade, "A Victim's Story."

[76] Julie Emery, "Sex Offender Said He Tested Positive for AIDS, Friends Say" *Seattle Times* (May 25, 1988): H1.

[77] *State v. Farmer* (WA-1991).

[78] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 325-330.

[79] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 327.

[80] Steve Miletich and Rita Hibbard, "Teen-Sex Abuser is Believed to Have AIDS Virus", *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, (Dec. 1, 1987): A1.

[81] This is to say that Roe built an extremely effective argument using legislation and judicial precedent around the idea of state interests in protecting public welfare but especially the rights to privacy and wellbeing of children. For instance she used ideas that the adult defendant (Farmer) could not obtain standing about his own rights to privacy in order to challenge criminal statutes impacting him because of how it affected minor's rights to privacy. Likewise, her legal team formulated that a state's interest in protecting children from sexual exploitation is sufficiently compelling to justify prohibiting possession of child pornography (or asking a child to take part in pornographic photographing). Even if the children had agency as sex-workers—because of Farmer's behavior and HIV-status—State gov had a vested interest in protecting its minors from sexual exploitation and abuse thus the state's regulatory powers supersede rights to privacy and the choice to engage in sex work. See this legislation: RCWA9.68A.040, RCWA9.68A.001 et seq., 9.68A.110(1). Justice Guy also pointed out how prosecution arguments were effectively made via: *State v. Davis* (WA-1989) which recognized the limits of privacy rights and how this impacts how the state navigates the exploitation of children.

[82] In many ways I think of my mother's life in Seattle during this time as a young woman from fairly-conservative Catholic Croatian family. My mother graduated from UW-Seattle in 1989. If she encountered this story, she would likely have drawn a hard line of condemnation toward Farmer because of his violation

of a teenager (which was how it was presented in mainstream media). This is all to say that the rest of the details simply did not matter to most people, but were only accoutrements to a story of a vulnerable individual being mistreated and abused by someone more powerful than themselves.

[83] Kay Olheiser, "What About Farmer's Side of the Story?" *SGN* (Dec. 25, 1997): 2.

[84] Olheiser, "What About Farmer's Side" *SGN*.

[85] Douglas Allmun, "Reader Criticized Farmer Story" *SGN*, (Dec. 25, 1987): 3-4.

[86] Allmun, "Reader Criticized Farmer Story."

[87] Allmun, "Reader Criticized Farmer Story."

[88] David Myers, "Kudos for Interview with Robert" *SGN*, (Dec. 25, 1987): 2.

[89] The late-80s to early-90s saw rape and consent become in culturally significant films like *The Accused* (1988), *The Color Purple* (1985), *Thelma & Louise* (1991).

[90] O.B. Storlie, "Farmers News Coverage Boggles the Mind" *SGN*, (Dec. 25 1987): 2-3.

[91] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 326-28.

[92] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 327.

[93] Robert Days, "I'm Frightened by the Seven Farmer Case," *SGN* (July 1, 1988): 4.

[94] Days, "I'm Frightened by the Seven Farmer Case."

[95] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 329.; Days, "I'm Frightened by the Seven Farmer Case" *SGN*.

[96] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 327-30.

[97] Brier, "Save Our Children, Keep AIDS Out," 973.

[98] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 326.

[99] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 326.

[100] T.T. Roth, "Steven Farmer: A Victim of Circumstance," *SGN* (Dec. 15, 1987): 6.

[101] Reade, "Steven Farmer Sentenced to 60 days for Communicating with Minor" *SGN,* (Dec. 25 1987): 7.

[102] O.B. Storlie, "Farmer's News Coverage Boggles the Mind," *SGN* (Dec. 25, 1987): 2-3.

[103] My understanding of "abjection" is formulated from: Julia Kristeva, *The Powers of Horror*: *An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 1-8.

[104] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 328.

[105] Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 329.

[106] *State v. Farmer* (WA-1991).

[107] *State v. Farmer* (WA-1991).

[108]Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 329.

[109] Casey Hannan, "Justice and the Media: The Steven Farmer Case" *SGN* (June 2, 1988): 1, 12.

[110] Julie Emery, "Sex Offender said he tested Positive for AIDS Friends Say" *Seattle Times* (May 25, 1988): H1.

[111] Tom Paulson, "Mandatory Testing Raises a Host of Fears" *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (July 15, 1988): E1.

[112] Liz Brown, "Protesters decry forced AIDS test" *Tacoma News Tribune* (June 22, 1988): B-1.

[113] Brown, "Protesters decry forced AIDS test." Some individuals were also, perhaps, melodramatic in their approach as Eric Poling a member of the Stonewall Committee expressed that he believed the government's anxieties about gay people during the AIDS crisis were becoming dangerously close to Nazi policies fearing that, "pretty soon you start locking up people who have AIDS, then you lock up people who might have AIDS, then you have Nazi Germy all over."

[114] Brown, "Protesters decry Forced AIDS test."

[115] "Seattle Briefly" *Seattle Times*, June 27, 1988. b3.

[116] Hannan, "Justice and the Media: The Steven Farmer Case" *SGN* (June 3, 1988): 1, 12.

[117] Days, "I'm Frightened by the Steven Farmer Case." *SGN*

[118] Chester Hinton Haas III, "Farmer Got Shafted, How Far Will They Go?" *SGN* (July 22, 1988): 2-3.

[119] Collette Millet, "Appalled at Gay Support for Farmer" *SGN* (July 2, 1988): 2.

[120] Of course, we see a carry over from Chapter 3 (as well as Chapter 1) about the longstanding concerns of intergenerational sex between men. Indeed, these kinds of sexual relations were consistently happening in Washington and instances like this forced people to grapple with their reality.

[121] Marsha King, "AIDS As Issue in Farmer Is Subject of Heated Debate-'homophobia,' 'politics' cited,'" *Seattle Times*, (June 5, 1988): D12.

[122] One significant article in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* by a reporter named Tom Paulson also exemplified how Farmer was never considered the epitome of AIDS-related victimization, or even the most significant actor perhaps within this political and media drama. Farmer was just one piece of a larger puzzle of anxiety and attempts at repairing gay political status. Paulson's article "Mandatory AIDS Testing Raises a Host of Fears" frames "the Farmer decision" as having "become an uncomfortable focal point for the broader public health and civil liberties issues surrounding AIDS." See: Paulson, "Mandatory Testing Raises a Host of Fears." Despite being published in a mainstream newspaper, this report did not focus on the perpetuated idea that a sex-offender was being brought to justice by the legal system, Paulson rather paid careful attention to the idea of autonomy within the realm of forced testing and the implications of this phenomena. Gay activist Don Moreland was quoted in the article as saying, "I see the potential for very serious abuses of civil rights" as individuals would lose the right to confidentiality. Moreland reiterated his belief there were not many people who wanted to stand up for Farmer because of his crimes but that,

"mandatory testing of any kind is not good public policy" as it infringes on individual autonomy. Paulson then delved into brief interviews he conducted with both attorneys (prosecutor and defender) to leave readers with a sense of the complexity of the case. Although a rare instance, Paulson's reporting shows a mainstream news reporter taking time to consult both queer and straight sources and synthesize this material together. Indeed, there was division about support over Farmer; nonetheless, this did not stop significant gay-rights figureheads like Perry Watkins—an African American man who lived in Tacoma known for fighting the gay-exclusionary policy of the military— and Cal Anderson—Washington's first openly gay legislature having served in both the state house and senate—from supporting Farmer throughout this ordeal and over the next several years. Both Watkins and Anderson died of AIDS-related complications in 1996 and 1995 respectively.

[123] O'Boyle, "The Man Behind the News Stories."

[124] O'Boyle, "The Man Behind the News Stories."

[125] O'Boyle, "The Man Behind the News Stories."

[126] Other gay men with HIV knew *exactly* when they contracted HIV, they could pinpoint the date and the person they got it from. Farmer's many sexual partners with whom he did not maintain contact with probably made this a difficult task. Here, with Farmer, we see the double-edged sword of *knowing versus ignorance* of sexual health status and the anxieties that can accompany both of these positions.

[127] O'Boyle, "The Man Behind the News Stories." All gay men during the AIDS crisis were then possibly better described as anxious figures due to their potential HIV-positive status (not necessarily because of an actual status).

[128] Flint "Eve of Prison Term: Steven Farmer speaks out"

[129] Flint "Eve of Prison Term: Steven Farmer speaks out"

[130] See: Su Docekal, "Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights: Notice of News Conference," Feb 27, 1991. Broadway Performance Hall Lobby, Seattle, Washington. Ephemera acquired from personal exchange with Gary Atkins. Email received 10/31/2019. Copies of press conference reports in author's possession. From the same conference see: Steven Farmer, "State to the Media" Feb 27, 1991. Danny Gibbons (speech), "ACT UP/Seattle: Steve Farmer Press Conference 2/27/91" Feb 27, 1991. Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights, "Statement to the Media on the Steve Farmer Case," Feb 27, 1991.

[131] Department of Health, Death Index, 1965-2017, Washington State Archives, Digital Archives, http://www.digitalarchives.wa.gov. State Government Archives. Health, Department of. Steven Farmer Died in King County on 9/25/1995 at the age of 39.

[132] Kathy George, "Sex Predator Warning Sent on Farmer," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Jan 6, 1994; B1.; "Sexual Offender Dies in Hospice," *Seattle Times* (Sept. 29, 1995): B2. "Fears Over Farmer's Transfer to a Hospice," *Seattle Times* (Jan 15. 1994): A15.

[133] "Sexual Predator Dead From AIDS" *The Columbian* (Sept. 29, 1995): A2. Debra Carlton Harrell, "Steven Farmer, Central Figure in Case on HIV Testing Dies," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (Sept. 30, 1995): B2.

[134] O'Callahan, "Steven Farmer Didn't Deserve His Friends." Other generally negative coverage can be read in: Anthony Albert, "Freed Sex Predator Dies of AIDS," *Tacoma News Tribune*, (Sept 29, 1995): B2.

[135] J.R. Stone, "Resting in Peace: Steven Farmer Dies in Tacoma," *SGN* (Oct. 6, 1995): 1; Bruce Caszat, "Steven George Farmer," *SGN* (Oct 14, 1995): 16.

**EPILOGUE**

[1] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 170.

[2] Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*, 235.

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