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Final Draft Historic Context Statement

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- I. **NAME OF CONTEXT:** The theme, time period, and geographic limits of the study should be stated.

Sexing the City:

The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979

San Francisco is the primary location where sexuality became the basis for mobilizing for community rights and cultural recognition in the twentieth century. The city has served as a catalyst for national discussions about revaluing categories of gender and sexual difference and as a proving ground for forming modern sex and gender-based identities. A new historical district should be established to recognize how the city has contributed to the growing recognition and legitimation of sexual and gender minorities as full members of American society.

The period of significance (1933-1979) begins with the repeal of Prohibition and ends with the first National March on Washington in 1979. The repeal of Prohibition coincided with the proliferation of public spaces that began to attract increasing numbers of gays and lesbians and provided the social milieu for San Francisco's sexual minorities to strengthen communal ties. The growth of gay social networks would provide the basis for an emergent self-styled cultural and political movement that attracted gay migrants from other parts of the country. The period of significance concludes with the expansion of the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) cultural and political movement from the local stage to its "coming out" into the national arena. The first National March on Washington in October 1979 marked the posthumous realization of Harvey Milk's hopes for building a national sense of gay solidarity and the articulation of a national political agenda.¹ This event marks the consolidation and nationalization of the GLBT identity movement that began in San Francisco's relatively tolerant social and political environment. It also signaled the diversification of the GLBT movement as the intersections of sexuality with gender, race, class and ethnicity became increasingly foregrounded.

¹ Paraphrased from Armstrong (130): At a party celebrating the defeat of the Briggs Initiative in early November 1978, Milk called for a march on Washington in 1979. Although the idea had been discussed earlier, the assassination of Milk on November 27, 1978 consolidated support for holding the march. The march occurred in October 1979, was attended by 25,000 people, and was later described in the San Francisco Chronicle as the "coming out of the movement on the national political agenda" (Louis Freeberg and Christopher Heredia, "Mixed Feelings about Gay March", April 10, 2000, A2).

The city's built environment provides excellent opportunities to interpret the growth, expansion and diversification of sexual-identity-based subcultures during the last century. Woven into the city's fabric of urban villages, significant sites that mark the development of modern gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identities include places of social interaction, political action, and community organizing. These sites are not restricted to a single area, but are spread throughout a number of different neighborhoods, including North Beach, the Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, South of Market, the Haight, the Castro, and the Mission. In order to capture the diversity and complexity of the social formation of GLBT identity, the geographic limits of the study should not exclude any of these areas of the city. It is proposed that significant sites should be organized into sub-districts where they form (or once formed) an identifiable, coherent GLBT-oriented neighborhood or commercial zone. Based on these criteria, candidates for sub-districts include North Beach, the Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, and the Castro. In addition, significant sites that exist outside the bound of these sub-districts should be designated as landmarks and interpreted in the context of their contribution to GLBT social history. Examples of such sites can be found South of Market, in the Haight, and along both 16th and Valencia streets in the Mission. The attached map provides a preliminary plan for the delineation of sub-districts. Additional study needs to be conducted to fix the precise limits of the sub-districts and to identify all potential sites for nomination.

- II. **SYNTHESIS OF INFORMATION:** After data has been collected and analyzed, prepare a written narrative which synthesizes the gathered information. Important patterns, events, persons, architectural types and styles, or cultural values should be identified and discussed with an eye towards evaluating related properties.

General Background

The most enduring contribution of San Francisco to the social history of sexual minority subcultures has been its role in forging a political self-consciousness among gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender peoples. Scholars have debated how this modern consciousness emerged and what social and organizational settings were most instrumental (i.e. D'Emilio, Meeker, Boyd, Armstrong, Chauncey). Among the factors most influential in forming a sense of collective identity and political purpose are: 1) the establishment of permissive social spaces (e.g. bars, bathhouses, night clubs), 2) the founding of sexual identity-based political and social organizations (e.g. the Mattachine Society, the Daughters of Bilitis, Society for Individual Rights), and 3) the consciousness raising effect of demonstrations of social and political power, sometimes circulated through mass media (e.g. Compton's Cafeteria riots, the campaign and election of Harvey Milk, and California Hall Incident). Acknowledging the cumulative influence of meeting places, community-building organizations, and public demonstrations, sites significant in the formation, expansion and diversification of modern sexuality-based subcultures can be traced to the city's

nighttime entertainments that gained visibility with repeal of Prohibition.² Public visibility of gays and lesbians in bars and nightclubs facilitate the growth of social networks and planted the seeds for collective resistance against persecution meted out by the city's police force.

Prohibition and the Growth of Gay and Lesbian Social Spaces

With the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, zones of nighttime entertainments emerged where even older vice districts had existed and provided the relatively open social environment for sexual and gender transgressions to flourish.³ The 1930s saw the rapid growth of nightlife on and near Broadway which became the central artery of the city's vice and tourist district--North Beach. Establishments catering to a whole range of desires emerged, reviving the area's earlier association with the adult entertainments of the Barbary Coast. Homosexual and transgender populations defined a vibrant and publicly visible culture that commingled with the nighttime entertainments of adventurous tourists and heterosexual residents. The close association of the district with the tourist industry cemented the city's reputation as a 'wide open town' and provided a monetary incentive to continue to promote the area as a zone of sexual license. In this climate, a number of bars opened their doors and began attracting gay and lesbian clientele. The first--and longest running--was Finocchio's⁴, a former speakeasy that showcased female impersonation and contributed to the city's reputation as a center of bohemian culture. As a venue for gender transgressive performances, Finocchio's became a gathering place for San Franciscans and tourists seeking an alternative to prevailing expectations of gender and sexual conformity. Over the course of seventy years, Finocchio's contributed to the development of the city's vibrant gay, lesbian and transgender public culture. Other nightspots were soon established in North Beach, most notably Mona's⁵ -- the city's first lesbian establishment--and the Black Cat⁶.

Mona's, was originally opened in 1934 by Mona Sargent as hangout for artists and writers, but soon became associated with sexually unconventional 'bohemians'. After moving to 440 Broadway in 1939, the club began to hire and promote male impersonators from New York and Los Angeles. Soon it became a place where "the little girl waitresses look like boys. The little-girls-who-sing-sweet-songs look like boys. And many of the little girl customers look like boys."⁷

² In "Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965", Nan Boyd reconstructs the sex and gender transgressive milieu of North Beach in the post-Prohibition era. She argues that this climate promoted 'multiple cultures and communities that overlapped and, at times, commingled in the intimate spaces of bars and baths, dances and house parties (5).'

³ The first same-sex oriented commercial establishment in the city was the Dash, a saloon and dance hall featuring female impersonators that opened and closed in 1908 in the notorious Barbary Coast (Stryker and Buskirk, 19).

⁴ From Boyd, 2003. Finocchio's, 406 Stockton (1929-1937); 506 Broadway (1937-1999).

⁵ From Boyd, 2003. Mona's, 431 Union (1934-1935); Mona's Barrel House, 140 Columbus (1936-1938); Mona's 440, 440 Broadway (1939-1949).

⁶ From Boyd, 2003. the Black Cat Café, 710 Montgomery (1933-1963).

⁷ Quoted in Boyd 2003 from *Where to Sin in San Francisco*, 1939.

Shut down in the earlier crackdown on prostitution, the Black Cat reopened after the repeal of Prohibition in North Beach and soon became a fashionable destination for homosexuals and thrill-seeking tourists.



Figure 1: Black Cat Cafe [n.d.], 708 and 710 Montgomery

Building on its long reputation for flaunting convention and cultivating a bohemian flair, the Black Cat served as a popular--although officially 'off limits'--hangout for large numbers of military personnel stationed in the city. In the post-war era, the bar became a social and cultural center for San Francisco's emerging gay community. The bar's straight owner, Sol Stoumen, played an important role in the 1951 California Supreme Court case that prohibited the practice of revoking liquor licenses solely on the basis of catering to homosexual clientele. Jose Sarria, a regular drag performer who charmed the crowd with his campy songs and witty political commentary, encouraged patrons to celebrate their homosexuality and promoted the idea that gays and lesbians so join together and form a more visible presence in society. In the early 1960s, Sarria ran for city supervisor blurring the lines between the theatrical stage and the political arena, as well as making a public declaration for the political mobilization of gays and lesbians. Current efforts to landmark the Black Cat are underway based on its significance to "gay rights and gay pride movement". The connection between the Black Cat and Jose Sarria provide the basis for nominating the site. These efforts parallel and reinforce the goals of creating a sub-district in North Beach to recognize the neighborhood's contribution to GLBT social history.

In addition to North Beach, the Tenderloin was another urban zone where prevailing social mores were relaxed. During the 1920s, the area was known for its thinly veiled speakeasies and so-called 'vice' activities--prostitution, gambling, and drug and alcohol use. With the legalization of alcohol, several gay bars appeared in the Tenderloin, including Old Crow, College Inn, and the Pirate's Den⁸.

⁸ From GLBT Historical Society, Partial List of Site in Mid-Market Area. Old Crow, 962 Market (1935-1984); College Inn, 970 Market (1930s-?); Pirate's Den, 972 Market (1933-1942).

World War II and the Mobilization of New Desires

World War II was a transformative event for both the city as a whole and its relationship to newly emerging sexual subcultures. The mass mobilization of troops and rapid growth of wartime industries touched the personal lives of millions of Americans. Military service and wartime labor drew masses of people away from the familiarity of their customary lives and into new single sex environments where the normal rules for social interaction were sometimes overlooked. For some who felt the pull of same sex desire these new social settings facilitated homosexual encounters. As a major military and industrial center for wartime mobilization, San Francisco's existing adult entertainment districts of North Beach and the Tenderloin became important gathering places for gays and lesbians. The number of gay bars and restaurants grew in the city along with the new influx of soldiers and war-related laborers. A cruising strip emerged along Market Street where sailors and men who sought out sex with them mingled. Important gay-oriented sites from this era include: Streets of Paris, Bobby's Three Vet's, and the Silver Rail.⁹ In North Beach, a number of new bars opened during World War II and in the period after to cater to a predominantly lesbian clientele, including: Tommy's Place, 12 Adler Place, Ann's 440, Miss Smith's Tea Room, the Tin Angel, the Copper Lantern, the Anxious Asp, and the Front.¹⁰

Organizing Sexual Identities in the Post-War Era

While new venues for gays and lesbians to gather and socialize emerged as a consequence of the social changes brought about by World War II, several groups began to organize in San Francisco around the goal of improving the social status of gays and lesbians. These organizations can be served an important role in raising the status of gays and lesbians by building both a local and a national membership base. By 1956, the two most prominent national organizations dedicated to the improvement of gays and lesbians were headquartered in San Francisco—the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis.¹¹ Although the Mattachine Society was founded in Los Angeles in 1950 with a local chapter organized in 1953, by 1956 the national headquarters were relocated to San Francisco. In the same year, the organization began publishing its monthly magazine, *The Mattachine Review* with a national readership. In 1955, several women came together in the city and formed the Daughters of Bilitis, the first lesbian social and political organization in the United States. The DOB published a monthly journal, *The Ladder*, chronicling major social and political events in the 1950s and 1960s. The locations of the organizational headquarters of these

⁹ From GLBT Historical Society, Partial List of Site in Mid-Market Area. Streets of Paris 54 Mason (1939-1960s); Bobby's Three Vet's, 72 Eddy (1940s-1964); and the Silver Rail, 974 Market (1942-1960).

¹⁰ From Boyd, 2003. Tommy's Place, 529 Broadway (1952-1954); 12 Adler Place, 12 Adler Place (1952-1954); Ann's 440, 440 Broadway (1952-1962); Miss Smith's Tea Room, 1353 Grant (1954-1960); the Tin Angel, 987 Embarcadero (1954-1960); the Copper Lantern, 1335 Grant (1955-1965); the Anxious Asp, 528 Green (1958-1967); and the Front, 600 Front (1958-1961).

¹¹ From GLBT Historical Society Sites Database, Meeker 2001: the Daughters of Bilitis offices have been located at the following addresses: 330 Grove, 453 Hyde, 1005 Market, 1232 Market (SF Chapter), 165 O'Farrell, 3470 Mission; the Mattachine Society: 693 Mission (1955-1967), 300 block of Ellis (1967-?)

organizations should be marked and interpreted for their role in promoting the gay and lesbian rights and culture both locally and nationally.

Set in motion by the candidacy of Jose Sarria for city supervisor, several more explicitly political organizations formed in the 1960s. The League for Civil Education formed in 1961 and began publishing the city's first gay tabloid, *Citizen News*.¹² The LCE sought to build a gay voting bloc through organizing bar patrons. In 1964, a new spin-off group formed--the Society for Individual Rights (SIR)--and began publishing and distributing to a national audience *Vector*, its monthly new magazine.¹³ SIR soon became the largest national organization devoted to homosexual rights. In 1962, the Tavern Guild formed in San Francisco as a response by bar owners to police harassment.¹⁴ The first gay business association in the United States, the Guild fought the discriminatory practices of the police and the liquor board. In the 1969, the Committee for Homosexual Freedom formed, making it the first gay liberation group in the Bay Area. Advocating a more militant approach, the CHF carried out public protests drew inspiration from the many radical, youth-based countercultural movements of the 1960s.

Communities of Resistance

In addition to the emergence of new social spaces and identity-based organizations, several significant demonstrations of political strength can be credited with shaping the city's sexual subcultures. In 1964, Glide Memorial Church, in an effort to reach out to the marginalized members of the community, began a dialogue with the city's homosexual activists over the situation of young male hustlers in the Tenderloin. An outgrowth of those discussions was the Council on Religion and the Homosexual which devoted itself to combating homophobia within mainline churches.¹⁵ At a

benefit held on New Years Day, 1965 for CRH, police harassed guests--including liberal, heterosexual ministers--by taking photographs and entered the event without a search warrant. Held at California Hall at 600 Polk Street, the event led to a series of high profile discussions about the unjust treatment of gays and lesbians. With ministers leading the charge against police harassment, the California Hall incident marks a significant improvement in the social standing of gays and lesbians in the city. It brought together bar patrons and political organizers, forced police to rethink their practices of



Figure 2: California Hall [1964], 600 Polk

¹² Location of League of Civil Education not known.

¹³ From GLBT Historical Society Sites Database: 67 Sixth Street (April 1966- 1978)

¹⁴ From Boyd, 2003: The Tavern Guild met at the bar the Suzy-Q (1960-62) at 1741 Polk Street.

¹⁵From GLBT Sites Database: the CRH activity at 83 Sixth Street (Society for Individual Rights), 330 Ellis (Glide Methodist Church) and 83 McAllister (currently the Church of Scientology).

intimidation, and boosted the membership of political organizations like SIR and the Tavern Guild.

Less than two years later, police harassment provoked a more violent response. In August of 1966, Compton's Cafeteria, a Tenderloin all-night restaurant frequented by the neighborhood's poor and often gender-transgressive youth, was the site of an explosive reaction to on-going police harassment. It has been credited as the first known militant resistance to police oppression by members of sexual minority communities in the United States.¹⁶ Reacting to the hassling of transgender and gender-transgressive patrons (with the permission of the Compton's management) by police, gay and transgender rioters broke the restaurant windows, attacked the officers, damaged squad cars, and set a newspaper stand on fire. Pre-dating the Stonewall Riot by several years, the Compton's Riot illustrates the importance of San Francisco in the struggle for sexual minority rights and highlights the early involvement of transgender people.

Taken together, the organizational headquarters (Mattachine, Daughters of Bilitis, SIR, CRH), the bar culture (e.g. Streets of Paris, Bobby's Three Vet's, and the Silver Rail, Old Crow, College Inn, and the Pirate's Den), and political action at Compton's Cafeteria highlight the importance of the Tenderloin to GLBT social history and support its nomination as a sub-district.

Self-Representation and the Flourishing of a New Culture

In the mid-1960s, with growing strength of gay and lesbian organizations and the mobilization of previously non-politicized bar patrons in response to police harassment, San Francisco became increasingly associated in the minds of most Americans with sexual freedom and gender transgressions. In 1964, a *Life* magazine article entitled "Homosexuality in America" identified the city as a "the capital of the gay world" and featured photos of the interior of two local bars--the Tool Box and the Jumping Frog¹⁷. With its profile raised by national media coverage, San Francisco's sexual minority subcultures began to grow as new migrants arrived seeking relief from the oppressive environments they left behind. From 1960 to the end of the decade, the number



**Figure 3: Harvey Milk
[August 1978]**

of bars catering to gay clientele rose from 53 to 86.¹⁸ Coincident with an increasing out-migration of San Franciscans to the suburbs, the new arrivals began to take up residence in new parts of the city that previously had no direct connection to sexual minorities. Bypassing North Beach and the Tenderloin--the centers of adult entertainments

¹⁶ From GLBT Historical Society, Partial List of Site in Mid-Market Area. Compton's was part of a chain of restaurants throughout the city. The Compton's riot occurred at 101 Taylor.

¹⁷ From GLBT Queer Sites database. Tool Box, 399 Fourth (1962-1971); Jumping Frog, 2111 Polk (1960?-1964).

¹⁸ From Meeker, 2002.

and sexual and gender transgression in the 1940s and 1950s--the Polk, the Haight, and South of Market increasingly gained a visible gay and lesbian presence in the 1960s.

Beginning in the early 1970s, the Castro became an increasingly important destination for gay men and lesbians. In 1971, the opening of Castro Camera (575 Castro) by Harvey Milk reflected the neighborhood's quickly changing demographics. San Francisco's gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender population grew explosively during the 1970s. The Department of Health estimated the GLBT population in 1972 to be around 90,000; just



five years later the *Chronicle* placed the figure at 120,000.¹⁹ This rapid growth had several significant effects on sexual minority subcultures: 1) numerous new, cultural traditions were established,²⁰ 2) the diversity of sexual expression became more evident,²¹ 3) the political strength of the San Francisco GLBT community resulted in electoral successes,²² and 4) the intersection of sexuality with identifications based on gender, race, ethnicity and class became increasingly important. The 1970s saw the crystallization of the gay identity movement in San Francisco as the number of gay-oriented organizations exploded, the gay-targeted commercial sector gained strength, numerous gay people swelled the city's population, and the organization of a gay voting bloc paid off with electoral successes. Several sites in the Castro have achieved landmark status: Castro Theater (SF Landmark #100, 1977); McCormick House (SF Landmark #208, 1999); Carmel Fallon Building (SF Landmark #223, 1998); Harvey Milk Residence/Camera Shop (SF Landmark #227, 2000); AIDS Memorial Quilt (SF Landmark #241, 2004). These sites should be highlighted for their connection to the GLBT history of the neighborhood and serve as anchors to a new sub-district.

Churches

A number of religious spaces and groups have been connected with gays and lesbians in the city. The following listing reflects the diversity, tenure and location of GLBT congregations some of the most well known.

¹⁹ Stryker and Buskirk, 1996.

²⁰ For example, the Castro Street Fair was spearheaded by Harvey Milk and first held in 1974. It just celebrated its 30th anniversary. The San Francisco International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival, the oldest continuing lesbian and gay film festival in the world, started in 1977. Stryker and Buskirk, 1996.

²¹ Society of Janus--a 'pansexual' organization for sadomasochists of all genders and orientations--was founded in 1974. The Bisexual Center was founded in 1976 by Dr. Maggi Rubenstein. The Sexual Freedom League founded in 1967, originating in San Francisco, is considered a precursor to the bisexual movement as well.

²² Principally, the defeat of the Briggs Initiative (November 1978) and the election of Harvey Milk as SF Supervisor (November 1977).

- Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) (founded 1970)—second oldest GLBT congregation in US
 - Prayer meetings begin, Jackson's Bar and Grill 1970
 - California Hall, 625 Polk (1970-1971)
 - St. Aiden's, Diamond Heights (1971-1972)
 - Stewart Memorial Presbyterian Church, 23rd and Guerrero (1972-1973)
 - Mission Presbyterian Church, 23rd and Capp (1973-1979)
 - Pentecostal Church, 150 Eureka (1979-present)
 - Golden Gate MCC, (est. 1980), 1600 Clay, 48 Belcher, 134 Church
- Most Holy Redeemer--Began to conduct outreach to gays in the neighborhood in 1982 with new pastor Father Tony McGuire
- Glide Memorial Methodist Church--Cecil Williams becomes pastor 1963, helped create Council on Religion and the Homosexual (1964) changed conservative practices of church
- Achvah Chutzpah, Jewish Gay Union (1972-1989), 279 Ney
- Sha'ar Zahav (1977-present), 220 Danvers and later 290 Dolores
- Integrity San Francisco: Gay and Lesbian Episcopalians (1976-)

Glide Memorial Methodist has had the longest history ministering to gays and lesbians. Its leaders also played a significant role in organizing the Council on the Church and the Homosexual. For these reasons, its contribution to the social history of the GLBT community should be recognized.

Publishing

Publishing became an increasingly significant vehicle for sexual subcultures to build social networks, mobilize politically, and promote business interests. In the 1950s, the Mattachine's *Review* and the Daughters of Bilitis' periodical, *The Ladder* played an important role in building a stable mode of communication to geographically (and socially) isolated readers across the country. They provided information and discussions about the social and political forces seeking to marginalize homosexuals as well as the emerging homophile movement. In addition to the *Review*, Mattachine's Pan-Graphic Press published gay-oriented books and the first edition of *The Address Book* (1964)—a very successful bar and sites guidebook that evolved into the still popular *Damron* guides.

Pan-Graphic Press also published *Town Talk*—one of the first gay newspapers in the United States in 1964. Several years earlier, the *Citizen's News*—the city's first gay tabloid. The *News* publisher Guy Strait sought to politically organize gay bar patrons by distributing the paper for free. In the late 1960s, the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) sold its monthly publication *Vector*.

In the 1970s, new forms of communication emerged to deliver news and events listings to the city's growing GLBT residents. The *Bay Area Reporter* (B.A.R.) was started in 1971 by Bob Ross and has become one of the oldest gay

publications in the country.²³ The B.A.R. has historic ties to the city's bar culture. In the same year, Winston Leyland started publication of the *Gay Sunshine Journal*.²⁴ With international circulation, the *Sunshine Journal* played an important role in distributing in depth analysis on politics, literature and gay liberation movement news. The *San Francisco Sentinel* appeared in 1974. The *Bay Times* debuted in 1979 under its original banner *Coming Up!* Because many of these publications contributed to the formation and expansion of GLBT political and social consciousness, the locations of these publications should be researched and evaluated for possible nomination.

Internal Divisions

In the closing decades of the past century, struggles over urban space have led to intense discussions about the ways race, ethnicity, gender, and class intersect sexuality. In the process, new subcultures bridging a diversity of collective personal experiences have formed resulted in greater levels of cultural sophistication and political engagement. For women who either could not afford or did not feel welcome in the increasingly middle class, white gay male Castro district, the western edge of the Mission began attracting lesbians in the mid to late 1970s. Valencia Street between 24th and 16th became the principal residential and commercial areas for women. Specific sites of note are:

- Old Wives' Tales Bookstore (1976-1980, 532 Valencia; 1980-1995, 1009 Valencia);
- Artemis Café (1199 Valencia, 1977-1986)
- Women's Building—"the first woman-owned and operated community center in the country"—(3543 18th 1979-present)
- Amelia's bar (647 Valencia, 1980-1991)
- *Oseto* bathhouse (955 Valencia, 1981-present)
- Valencia Rose (766 Valencia, 1982-1986).

These sites are significant to GLBT social history of San Francisco as they reflect the growing sense that a greater diversity of social spaces and political projects were needed to combat the sexism, racism and classism found



in the more established districts.

Gays and lesbians of also began to create social and organizational spaces for themselves in the mid-1970s.²⁵ In part, this was a reaction to overt racism encountered at some of the gay-oriented venues in the city. At some bars, gays of color were asked for multiple pieces of identification to dissuade them from entering. In other cases, they entry as simply refused. A number of organizations

²³ Szymanski, 107.

²⁴ Stryker and Buskirk note that *Gay Sunshine* began publishing in 1970. Szymanski specifies that the first edition of the *Gay Sunshine Journal* came out in March 1971.

formed during this time to begin to address the needs of gays and lesbians of color. They include:

- Gay Latino Alliance/GALA (1975, second meeting at Sir Center)²⁶
- Native American Gay Rap Group (605 Brunswick, 1972-1973)
- Gay Native American Indians, first gay American Indian liberation organization (890 Hayes, 1975-1992)
- Asian-American Alliance (active 1979-1980)
- Gay Asian Support Group (1978-1981)
- Black Gay Caucus (1977-1978)
- Third World Lesbian Caucus (1977-1979).

These groups merit additional research to locate specific sites that correspond with their formation or ongoing activities. The history of the formation of modern GLBT identity would be incomplete unless attention is given to the ways that singular or monolithic notion of identity (and community) has been challenged.

III. **PROPERTY TYPES:**

a) Identification

Within San Francisco, a number of places and events serve as important markers to interpret the development of a collective gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender political and cultural consciousness. Three different kinds of places have been instrumental to the emergence of this collective consciousness:

1. Sites of social interaction, including bars, entertainment venues, bath houses, and public festivals;
2. Sites of political action and reaction, such as California Hall, Compton's cafeteria, the Elephant Walk bar, Castro Camera and;
3. Institutional centers dedicated to community development, such as the Daughters of Bilitis, the Mattachine Society, the Society for Individual Rights, the Bisexual Center, the Sexual Freedom League, Gay Latino/a Alliance, Asian/Pacific Lesbian and Bisexual Network.

b) Description

²⁵ From Stryker and Buskirk: the first black owned and oriented gay bar in the city was the Big Glass in the Fillmore (1964-1968, 1801 Fillmore). The Pendulum, 4146 18th, opened in 1970 and by 1975 had become the Bay Area's best know interracial bar.

²⁶ Roque Ramirez recounts how the organization first formed at a house meeting in San Jose. A second meeting was held at the SIR Center that established the group in the city with a much larger following.

The property types are united and defined by their cultural and historical association with the formation of a collective gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identity. They are dispersed throughout the city and include a diversity of architectural styles.

c) **Significance**

The specified property types are important locations where the development of a gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender identity can be interpreted. These sites possess significance in understanding the social, cultural, political and economic history of San Francisco's diverse sexual subcultures. These sites include places where social interaction among sexual subcultures has persisted for an extended period of time in the past, where influential local and national sexual-identity based organizations have conducted activities, and locations where sexual minorities have demonstrated their collective social and political power.

IV. **REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS:** What attributes, historical associations and level of integrity are necessary to list members of the property type in the National Register of Historic Places? This section should provide specific information that can be used for comparing actual historic properties and for making judgments about their relative significance.

Sites associated with the development of a sense of collective gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identity should be considered for potential inclusion in the Historic District. These sites can take the form of organizational headquarters, commercial establishments with a long history of serving sexual minority clientele, places of protest against homophobia and heterosexism, and venues that have promoted social and cultural identification within and among sexual subcultures. Four sub-districts are proposed for additional research and evaluation: North Beach, Tenderloin, Polk Gulch, and the Castro. These sub-districts contain geographically clustered sites with a strong connection to gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender subcultures should be recognized and designated. The primary aspect of integrity should be Association with the social history of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender San Franciscans, followed in descending order by Location, Feeling, and Setting.

V. GOALS AND PRIORITIES FOR IDENTIFICATION, EVALUATION, REGISTRATION AND TREATMENT OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES:

- a) GOALS. A goal is a statement of preferred preservation activities, which is generally stated in terms of property types. For each goal, a statement should be prepared identifying the activities and strategies most appropriate for accomplishing the goal.

GOAL 1: *A Survey of Potential Sites associated with the formation, expansion and diversification of San Francisco's sexuality-based subcultures should be undertaken.* As a starting point, the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society of Northern California maintains a database of over 1,300 sites that have been associated with sexuality-based subcultures. Most of the entries contain information about the location, opening date and closing date of the establishment. Listed sites include bars, bathhouses, restaurants, community centers, religious centers, social service organizations, bookstores, non-profit organizations, publishers, gay-oriented businesses, etc. These sites have been mapped with attention given to how the geographic focus of GLBT activities has shifted over time. Appendices C – F provide additional information about sites that should be included in the survey.

GOAL 2: *The relative significance of the Potential Sites should be evaluated.* The preceding discussion is meant to provide a basis for evaluating the historic significance of sites connected to the GLBT past. The most complete scholarly account of the city's GLBT history is Stryker and Buskirk's *Gay By the Bay*. Sites, organizations, and events mentioned in that account should be considered of great significance to the social and political history of the GLBT community. Greater consideration should also be given to sites that have had a long association with GLBT individual. Due to the diversity of the GLBT community, adequate opportunities for public comment on the inclusion and evaluation of sites should be provided.

GOAL 3: *From the Survey of Potential Sites, the Boundaries of the four proposed sub-districts should be delineated.* The rough outlines of the districts have been provided in Appendix B and are based on information in the GLBT Historical Society database. The proposed sub-districts were constructed to reflect capture the major spatial-temporal shifts in the focus of the city's sexual minority population. The generalized outlines are meant to focus attention on the areas in the city with the greatest densities of GLBT-oriented sites. Additional work should be conducted to construct more precise boundaries after the relative significance of sites has been determined.

GOAL 4: *The most significant sites should be marked with interpretive signage to highlight their connection to the context theme.* The sidewalk plaque noting the location and history of Harvey Milk's residence and camera store should serve as a model. The most significant sites should be given similar treatment.

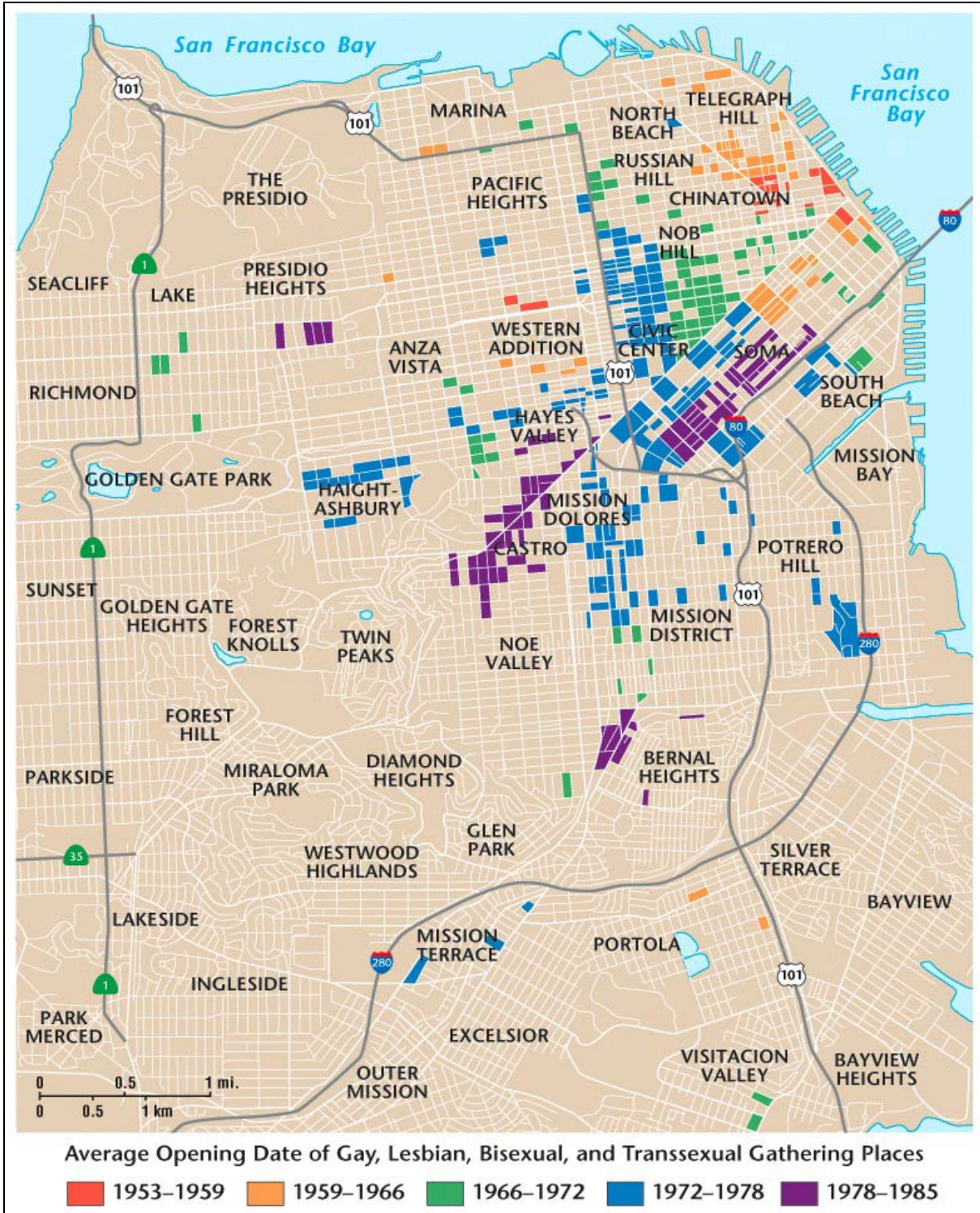
GOAL 5: *Once established, the sub-districts should be marked by permanent interpretive signs that recount the historic significance of the area to GLBT history.* Although individual sites provide the opportunity to interpret specific aspects of the GLBT past, districts plaques will allow the larger social and historic currents to be highlighted. They will provide a useful guide to the city's residents, visitors, and tourists. Ideally, the signs will give visitors a sense of the unique and socially progressive culture of the city and may provide the markers for a series of self-guided walking tours similar to the already established *Barbary Coast Tour*.

GOAL 6: *Existing and future SF Landmarks should be reviewed for possible connections to this context statement.* Gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender residents have made significant contributions to the city's artistic, literary, and cultural scene. Landmarked sites that highlight the artistic, literary and cultural history of the city should acknowledge, where relevant, the individual contributions of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender San Franciscans.

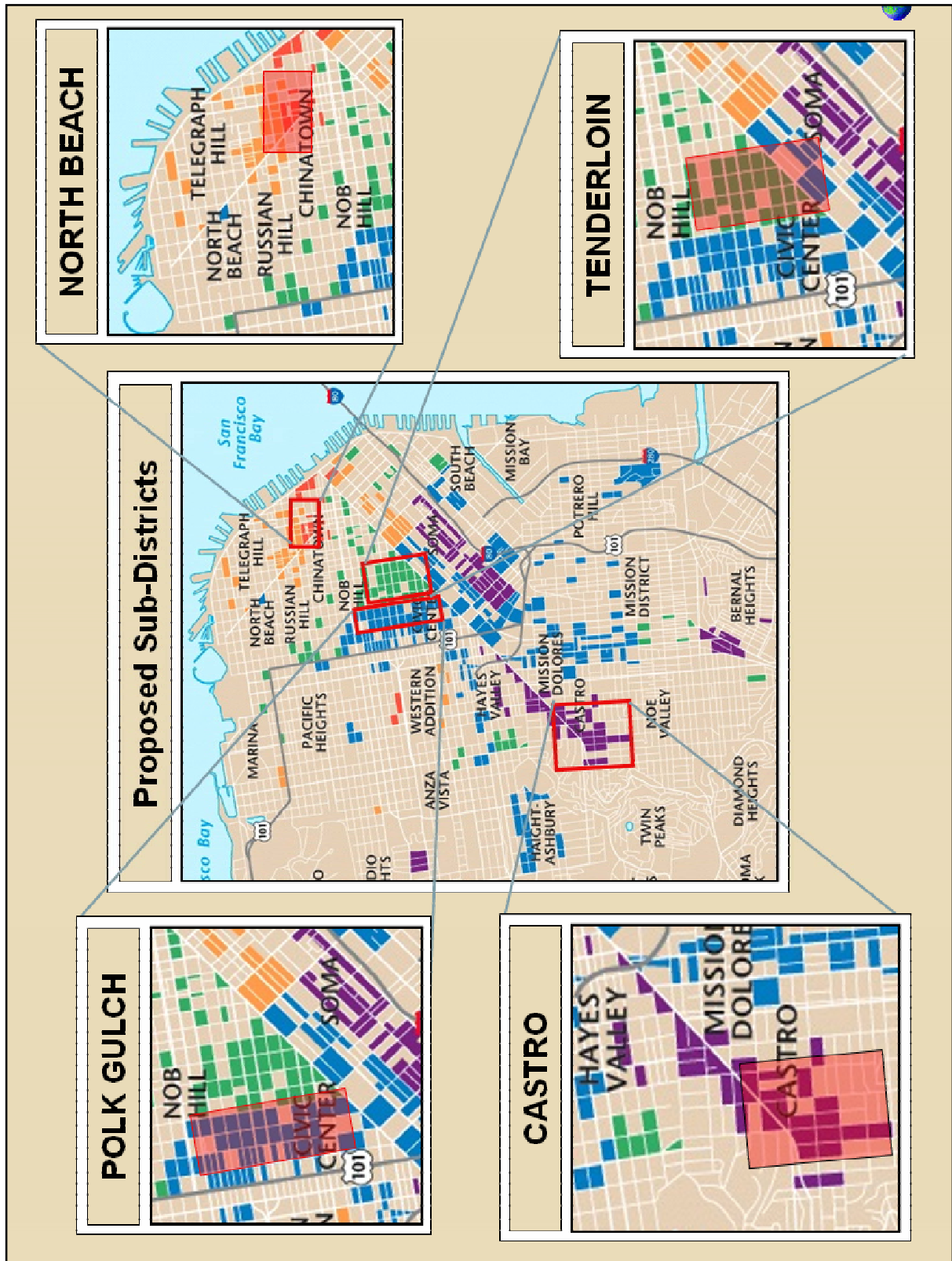
- b) **PRIORITIES.** Once goals have been developed, they need to be ranked in importance. Major cost or technical considerations, general social, economic, political and environmental conditions will affect the ranking of goals. Some properties may be more directly threatened by deterioration, land development patterns, legislative requirements or the public's perception of their safety or worth. These factors should all be considered in setting priorities.

The goals are listed in the sequence they should be addressed. Goals 1-3 can be achieved by additional research using archival materials, organizational records, government documents, oral histories and city records. Completing these goals will require funding a research project to meet the objectives outlined. Goals 4 and 5 will require the drafting of interpretive text as well as the design, construction and installation of sidewalk plaques and pedestrian-oriented signs. Goal 6 requires a possible change in the landmarking procedure to ensure connections to GLBT history have been considered for new nominations.

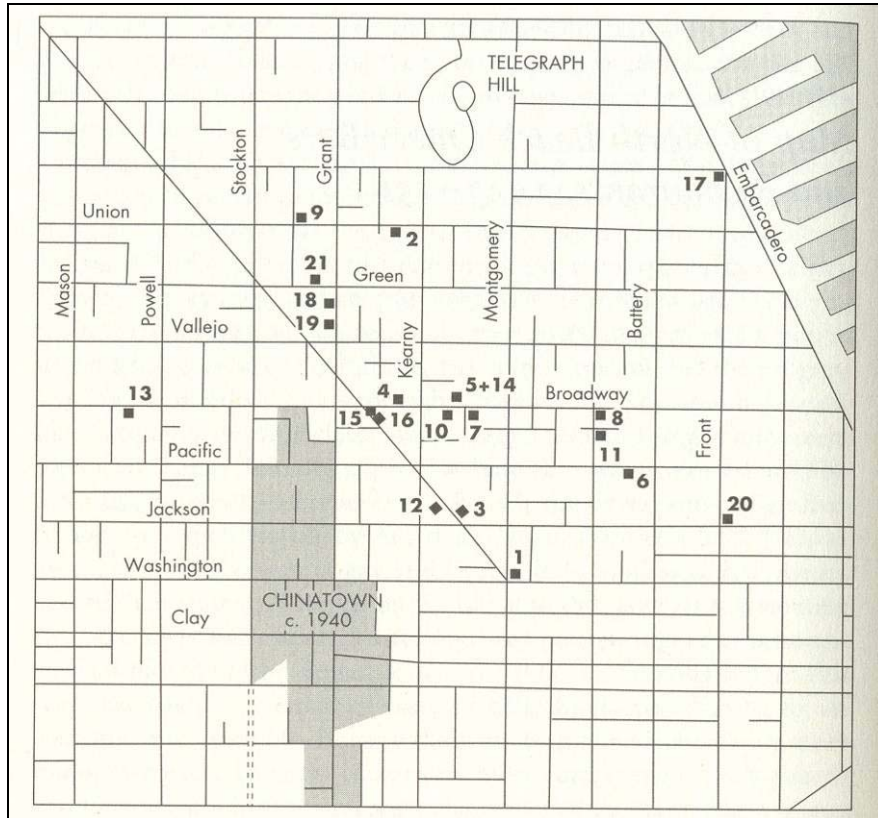
Appendix A: Map of Distribution of Historic GLBT Gathering Places in San Francisco (1908-2000), Showing Average Opening Date for Establishments by City Block



Appendix B: Proposed Sub-Districts to be Recognized for their Association with the Formation, Expansion and Diversification of GLBT Subcultures



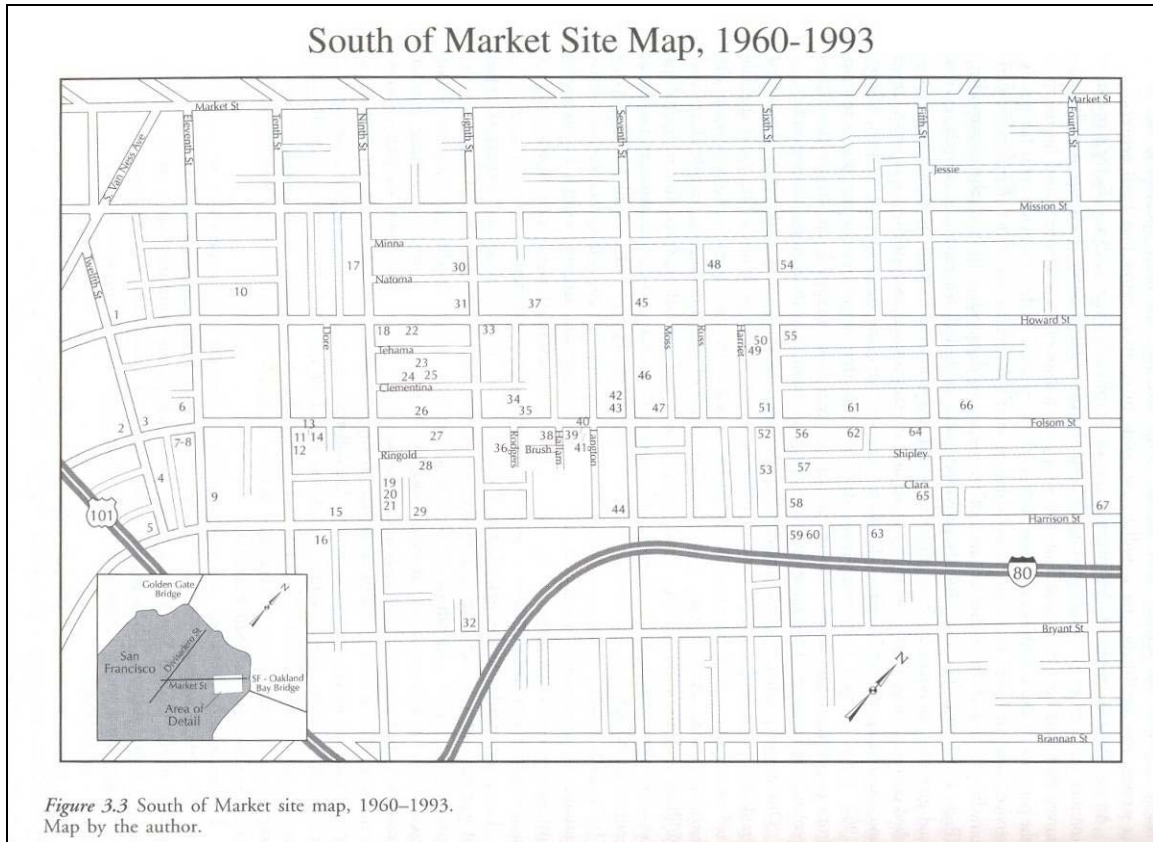
**Appendix C: Sites for Evaluation and Possible Nomination in North Beach
(from Boyd, 2003)**



**NORTH BEACH QUEER BARS AND RESTAURANTS, 1933-1965
(PARTIAL LIST)**

1. Black Cat	710 Montgomery	1933-1963
2. Mona's (original)	431 Union Street	1934-1935
3. Mona's Barrel House	140 Columbus	1936-1938
4. Finocchio's	506 Broadway	1937-1999
5. Mona's 440	440 Broadway	1939-1948
6. Artist's Club	345 Pacific Street	1946-1949
7. Mona's Candlelight	473 Broadway	1948-1957
8. 299 Club	299 Broadway	1948-1952
9. Paper Doll	524 Union Street	1949-1961
10. Chi Chi Club	467 Broadway	1949-1956
11. Gordon's	840 Sansome Street	1949-1970
12. Opus One	141 Columbus	1951-1959
13. Beige Room	831 Broadway	1951-1958
14. Ann's 440	440 Broadway	1952-1962
15. Tommy's Place	529 Broadway	1952-1954
16. 12 Adler Place	12 Adler Place	1952-1954
17. Tin Angel	987 Embarcadero	1954-1960
18. Miss Smith's Tea Room	1353 Grant Avenue	1954-1960
19. Copper Lantern	1335 Grant Avenue	1955-1965
20. The Front	600 Front Street	1958-1961
21. Anxious Asp	528 Green Street	1958-1967

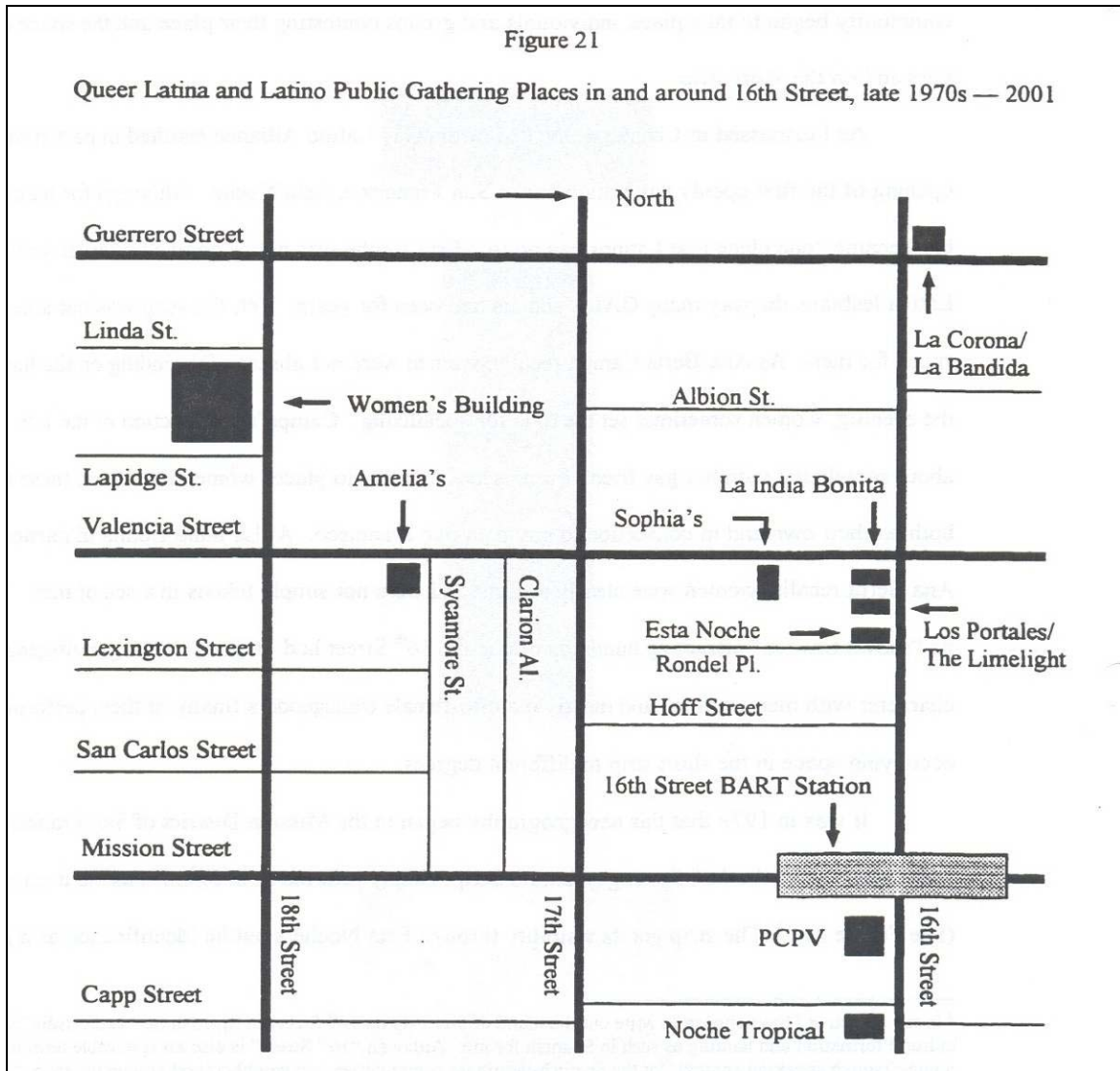
Appendix D: Sites for Evaluation and Possible Nomination in South of Market (from Rubin, 2000)



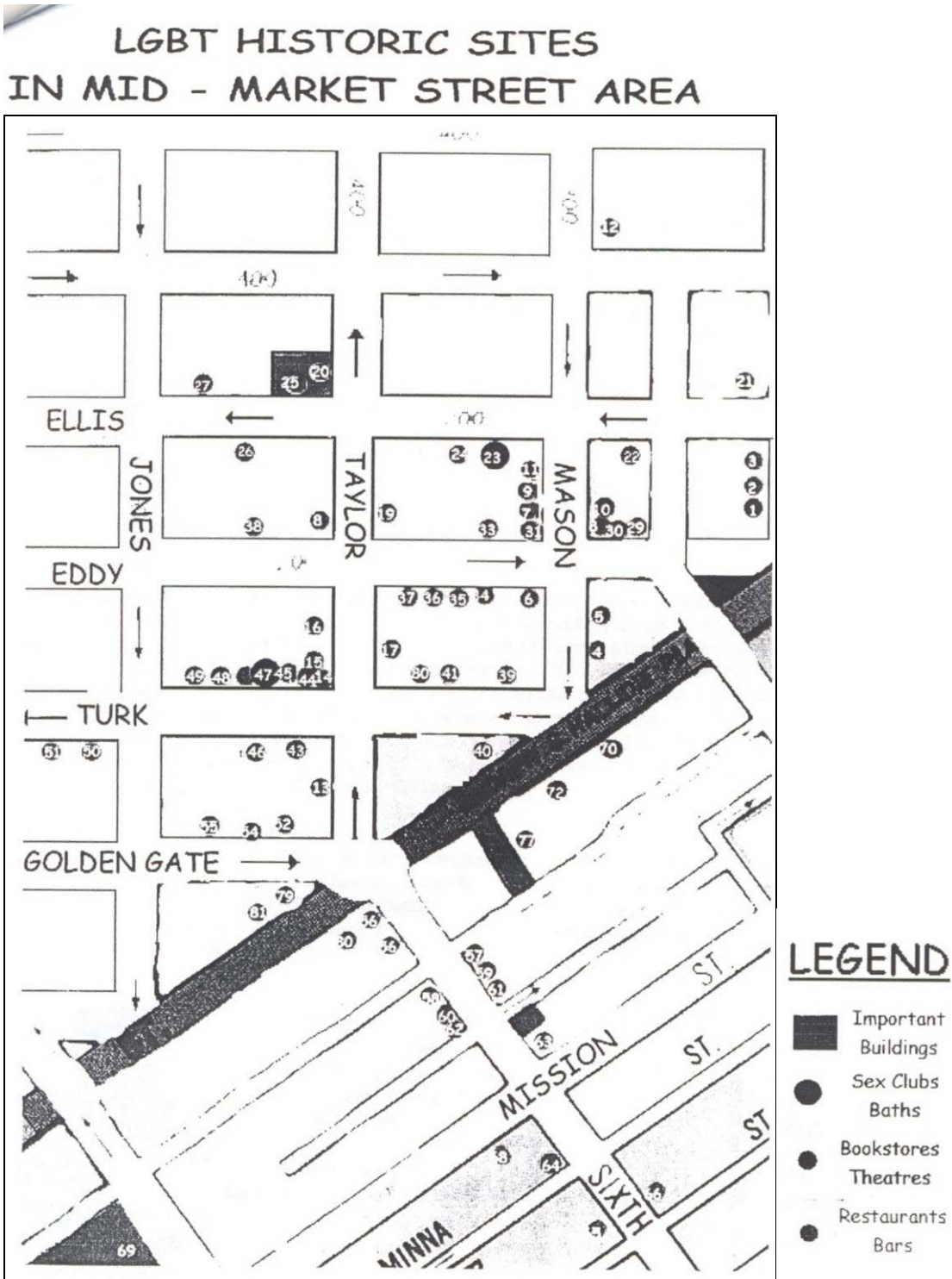
KEY FOR FIG 3.3

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|----|---|----|---|
| 1 | 1550 Harrison, Warehouse, 1969–72, bar | 15 | 1354 Harrison, The Lone Star, 1990–, bar | 35 | 1188–1190 Folsom, The Waiting Arms, 1974; Earthquake Ethel's, 1974 (located below The Waiting Arms); The Hungry Hole, 1976–77, bar; Playland, 1976–77, hotel, restaurant (connected to the Hungry Hole Bar, same owners as Slot; Brown's Pub 1980–83; The Baybrick Inn, 1982–87, bar, lesbian; became Southside Restaurant 10 Rodgers, 10 Rodgers, 1984–85, play space | 52 | 1015 Folsom/115 Harriet, Big Town, 1973–74 (gay business complex); The Tubs, 1976–77, bathhouse; Folsom Street Baths, 1978–79, bathhouse; Sutro Bath House, 1979–83, bathhouse, co-sexual; became Colossus, Product, 1993 |
| 2 | 1600 Folsom, Brasserie Castle Grand Restaurant, 1977–86 | 16 | 1351 Harrison, The Ambush, 1973–86, bar, leather shop, restaurant and art gallery | 36 | 1158 Howard, Worn Out West, early 1980s, used clothing store; Stormy Leather 1990–, leather shop | 53 | 336 Sixth, A Taste of Leather and Trading Post Emporium, 1984–89, leather shop (moved with Trading Post, third location) 161 Sixth, Animals, 1983–85, bathhouse |
| 3 | 1582–1590 Folsom, Cruiser Cafe, 1967–68, restaurant; The Dead End, 1969–72, bar; Cissy's Saloon, 1972–, bar; Hamburger Mary's, 1972, restaurant (currently mostly straight) | 17 | 154 Ninth, The Golden Rivet 1976–80, bar; the Web, 1981, bar; The Rivet, 1982–83, bar (aka Golden Rivet); The Buller, 1984, bar | 37 | 1145–47 Folsom, Folsom Street Barracks, 1972–76, bathhouse (destroyed by fire, October 1976); Casey's, 1972–73, bar (operated as part of Folsom Street Barracks); 1145 Saloon, 1973, bar (attached to Folsom Street Barracks); Red Star Saloon, 1973–76, bar (connected to Folsom Street Barracks); site destroyed again by 1981 Folsom fire; Watering Hole, 1984–, bar; became Globe Hotel, upstairs | 54 | 225 Sixth, South of Market Club, 1978–85, sex club (also known as Gloryholes) |
| 4 | 367 Twelfth, Service of Mankind Church, 1980–81, heterosexual | 18 | 201 Ninth, Cocktails/The Pit, 1991– | 38 | 1145–47 Folsom, Folsom Street Barracks, 1972–76, bathhouse (destroyed by fire, October 1976); Casey's, 1972–73, bar (operated as part of Folsom Street Barracks); 1145 Saloon, 1973, bar (attached to Folsom Street Barracks); Red Star Saloon, 1973–76, bar (connected to Folsom Street Barracks); site destroyed again by 1981 Folsom fire; Watering Hole, 1984–, bar; became Globe Hotel, upstairs | 55 | 225 Sixth, South of Market Club, 1978–85, sex club (also known as Gloryholes) |
| 5 | 367 Twelfth, San Francisco Eagle, 1982–, bar | 19 | 367 Ninth, Bar Magazine/Brush Creek Media, 1992– | 39 | 1137 Folsom, Billy's Hotel and Locker Club, 1978–80, hotel, bathhouse | 56 | 979 Folsom, The Hula Shack, 1962–67, lesbian bar; Rama, 1968–69, afterhours; The Lumbyard, 1970–71, afterhours; The South of the Slot, 1976–85, sex club (also known as The Slot); became Shiva Hotel |
| 6 | 280 Eleventh, The Covered Wagon, 1968–76, bar, afterhours, pool; Leatherneck, 1977, bar; Dirty Sally's 1978, afterhours; San Francisco Plunge, 1978–80, bar, pool, afterhours; The Gold Coast, 1981–82, bar; Drummer / Drummer Key Club, 1982, bar, private club; Dan's Compound, 1983–84, sex club (also known as the Compound); The Oasis, 1984–, bar, dance club, straight | 20 | 367 Ninth, Bay Area Reporter, 1983–, newspaper | 40 | 1127 Folsom, Templar Hall, 1985–86, clubhouse | 57 | 285 Shipley, Drummer Magazine, 1987–89; The Sentinel, 1992–, newspaper |
| 7 | 1535 Folsom, The Stud, 1966–87, bar (moved to 399 Ninth at Harrison); became Holy Cow | 21 | 399 Ninth, The Arena, 1979–85, bar; The Stud, 1987–, bar | 41 | 1123 Folsom, The Stables, 1979–80, bar; became Julie's Supper Club | 58 | 340 Sixth Street, Church of the Secret Gospel, sex club |
| 8 | 1501 Folsom, Febe's, 1966–86, bar; A Taste of Leather, 1966–78, first location of leather shop owned by Nick O'Demus (above Febe's); became Paradise Lounge | 22 | 1287 Howard, Fey-way Studio, 1977–79, art gallery owned by Robert Opel | 42 | 280 Seventh, The Cave, 1981–82, bar; The Rawhide II, 1982–, bar | 59 | 401 Sixth/995 Harrison, The end Up, 1973–, bar; Harrison House, 1976–79, boarding house above End Up, large gay clientele |
| 9 | 375 Eleventh, Claps, 1984–85, bar; became DNA Lounge | 23 | 735 Tehama, Church Annex, sex club | 43 | 288 Seventh, Bay Times, 1990–, newspaper | 60 | 973 Harrison, The Hotel, 1976–78, bathhouse; the Handball Express, 1979–82, bathhouse; currently a storage lot |
| 10 | 953 Natoma, The Caldron, 1980–84, sex club; became a car radio/cell phone operation | 24 | 768 Clementina, Taylor at San Francisco, 1979–early 80s; leather shop (also in The Brig and The Ramrod) | 44 | 398 Seventh, The Line-Up, 1982–, restaurant | 61 | 960 Folsom, Trading Post Emporium, 1976–83, leather shop; Long Dong Club, 1977–78, bookstore; sex club; A Taste of Leather, 1978–84, leather shop (part of the Trading Post Emporium); Studstore, leather shop; became City Entertainment Video |
| 11 | 1389 Folsom, Folsom Street club, 1978–83, sex club (aka Cornholes, 1980–81) | 25 | 744–746 Clementina, Church of the Secret Gospel, sex club | 45 | 1098 Howard, the Lone Star, 1989, bar | 62 | 947 Folsom, Folsom Gulch Books |
| 12 | 317 Tenth, A Taste of Leather, 1990–, leather shop; Mack, sex gallery | 26 | 1250 Folsom, National Leather Association, 1993– | 46 | 227 Seventh, Mister S, 1980–88, leather shop | 63 | 933 Harrison, Blowbuddies, 1992– |
| 13 | 1365 Folsom, Night Gallery, 1991–, sex club | 27 | 1225 Folsom, Ramrod, 1968–86, bar, (had a leather shop in the 1980s); New world, 1986, bar; My Place, 1987–, bar | 47 | 1082 Folsom, Folsom Street Hotel, early 1980s | 64 | 917 Folsom, C. W. Saloon, 1985–, bar |
| 14 | 1347 Folsom, In Between, 1971–72, bar (in between Febe's and the Ramrod); Cow Palace Saloon, 1972, bar; The Phoenix, 1973, bar; No Name, 1973–76, bar; The Bolt, 1976–79, bar; The Brig, 1979–85, bar; Powerhouse, 1985–91; bar, became vacant | 28 | Ringold Alley, cruising street | 48 | 544 Natoma, 544 Natoma, 1981–83, art gallery and performance space | 65 | 374 Fifth, The Hot House, 1979–83, bathhouse |
| | | 29 | 1270 Harrison, Canary Island Diner, 1981–85, restaurant | 49 | 15 Harriet, Drummer Magazine, 1979–87 | 66 | 890 Folsom, 890 Folsom, 1986–1991; became J. C. Graphics |
| | | 30 | 164 Eighth, The Bell Club, 1978, bar; The Trench, 1979–83, bar | 50 | 224 Sixth, Warehouse, 1982–83, sex club (aka Black Hole) Mister B's Ballroom, 1976–81, restaurant, afterhours, sex club | 67 | 399 Fourth, Tool Box, 1962–71, bar |
| | | 31 | 198 Eighth, Tattoo Lagoon, 1977–78, bar; The Black and Blue, 1978–79, bar; Backstreet and Company, 1979–80, bar; Chains, 1979–80, bar (attached to Backstreet and Company); became a paint store | 51 | 298 Sixth, The Gas Station, 1968–70, bar; Round-Up, 1970–78, bar; Watering Hole, 1979–84, bar; became a playground | | |
| | | 32 | 1010 Bryant, Ride On, 1970–71, bar; The Boot Camp, 1971–85, bar and later sex club (after 1978); The Cellblock, 1971–72, leathershop in Boot Camp; later became Pit Stop | | | | |
| | | 33 | 201 Eighth, Club Baths of San Francisco, 1976–86, bathhouse; became the Episcopal Sanctuary homeless shelter | | | | |
| | | 34 | 683 Clementina, Headquarters, 1981–82, bar, afterhours; became Baybrick Inn | | | | |

**Appendix E: Sites for Evaluation and Possible Nomination in the Mission
(from Roque Ramirez, 2001)**



**Appendix F: Sites for Evaluation and Possible Nomination in the Tenderloin
(from Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California)**



**Appendix G: Sites of Significance to GLBT History with San Francisco Landmark Status
(from Pearlman)**

Castro Theater
SF Landmark #100 (1977)

McCormick House
SF Landmark #203 (1999)

Carmel Fallon Building
SF Landmark #223 (1998)

Harvey Milk Residence/Castro Camera
SF Landmark #227 (2000)

AIDS Memorial Quilt Building
SF Landmark #241 (2004)

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