

San Diego Citywide LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

City of San Diego
Department of City Planning

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Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Purpose and Scope.....	1
Terms and Definitions	2
Existing Scholarship, Archives, and Outreach	3
How to Use this Document	6
What is a Historic Context Statement?	6
Overview of Applicable Designation Programs.....	6
Document Organization.....	122
Historical Overview.....	15
Theme 1 – Social Life	31
Theme 2 – Community Organizations.....	48
Theme 3 – Political Activism	67
Theme 4 – Religion in the LGBTQ Community	84
Theme 5 – The LGBTQ Media	92
Theme 6 – Arts and Culture.....	99
Recommendations for Future Studies	111
Selected Bibliography.....	114

Introduction

Purpose and Scope

The lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) historic context for the City of San Diego was funded with a grant from the California Office of Historic Preservation. The purpose of this context statement is to provide guidance for identifying and evaluating potential historic resources related to San Diego's rich LGBTQ history. The context offers a broad historical overview on the growth of LGBTQ identities, communities, and politics in San Diego and then focuses on themes and geographic areas associated with extant resources. As the narrative reveals, these resources date primarily from the 1970s and 1980s and are largely concentrated in neighborhoods like Hillcrest, Ocean Beach, North Park, Downtown, Golden Hill, and Pacific Beach. Resources located in adjacent cities are not included in the scope of this context because they are separate jurisdictions. While focusing on historical themes associated with political, social, and cultural institutions, the context also identifies individuals and organizations that played significant roles in LGBTQ history throughout San Diego.

Historic resources associated with the LGBTQ community are the product, at their core, of the dynamic, conflicting, and intersecting perspectives of personal identity, public attitudes about human sexuality, behavioral science theories concerning sex and gender, and the resulting distillation of that discourse as public policy acted upon by agents of local and state government, such as the police. LGBTQ historic resources in San Diego include sites, buildings, structures, and districts in diverse locations throughout the city that were:

- Significant places of social interaction (e.g., city parks, bars, and nightclubs);
- Significant sites of political action and reaction (e.g., parks, city offices, college campuses, and parade routes);
- Associated with LGBTQ persons or key LGBTQ supportive persons who were significant in the political, cultural, and social history of the city (e.g., residences and offices);
- Associated with significant LGBTQ businesses (e.g., such as magazine publishers and bookstores);
- Associated with pioneering institutions and organizations developed as direct products of the early gay liberation movement to address the particular educational, cultural, health, or spiritual needs of LGBTQ persons (e.g., offices, churches, and health facilities).

Generally, resources must be 50 years of age to be considered historic resources. The 50-year benchmark exists to ensure that there is enough scholarly information and historical perspective to adequately evaluate resource significance; however, because it is abundantly clear that the 1970s and 1980s were critical periods in LGBTQ history in

San Diego and have been well-documented to date, the period of study for this historic context statement has been extended to 1990. Evaluating themes and resources after 1990 is not feasible at this time due to a lack of adequate historical perspective. Events occurring within the last 25 to 30 years are considered very recent within the broad scope of history.

Terms and Definitions

It should be noted here that the LGBTQ community is diverse, and segments within the community have been known by a variety of names. What does it mean to call oneself homosexual? Gay? Lesbian? Queer? Where did these and other words come from and how have they changed over time?

The term “homosexuality” is derived from the Greek and Latin words for “same” and “sex.” Thus, it was used historically (particularly in religious, medical, and legal texts) to describe romantic attraction, sexual attraction, or sexual behavior between members of the same sex. Thus, the word homosexual was applied to both men and women. We have avoided using the word homosexual as a noun in this context (as in “he/she is a homosexual”), because it sounds very clinical and is frequently used to denigrate LGBTQ persons, couples, and relationships. We have only used as an adjective, unless directly quoting a source or author.

During the 1930s, men who were attracted to men or in same-sex relationships began calling each other “gay,” although the term did not really catch on until the 1950s. Although homosexual women were referred to as lesbians by this time, gay was also used as an umbrella term that included homosexual men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people. Thus, we have taken the liberty to sometimes use the word “gay” as an umbrella term for men and women.

The term “homophile” is an alternative word for homosexual or gay that was used briefly in the middle of the 20th century. It was preferred by early LGBTQ organizations and individuals because it is derived from the Greek word for “love” rather than “sex.” In recent years it has been adopted by anti-gay groups, so we have only used the word when it is included in titles and direct quotes.

“Transgender” is an umbrella term for people whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from what is typically associated with the sex they were assigned at birth. People under the transgender umbrella may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms - including transgender and transsexual, an older term originated in medical and psychological communities, and trans, shorthand for either transgender or transsexual.¹ We recognize that not all transgender people will or have undergone gender transition. We use both the chosen and given names of transgender persons in this context.

“Cross-dresser” is typically used to refer to heterosexual men who occasionally wear clothes, makeup, and accessories culturally associated with women. This activity is a

¹ “GLAAD Media Reference Guide - Transgender Issues,” GLAAD, accessed August 30, 2016, <http://www.glaad.org/reference/transgender>.

form of gender expression, and not done for entertainment purposes. Cross-dressers do not wish to permanently change their sex or live full-time as women.²

“Queer” is a term with multiple meanings. It is sometimes used as a sexual orientation label instead of bisexual and sometimes used to describe sexually transgressive explorers. For decades queer was used as a derogatory adjective for gays and lesbians, but in the late 1980s gay and lesbian activists began to use it to self-identify. Like many reclaimed words, it is generally considered acceptable when used by a member of the group, but not by outsiders; however, in early discussions about this project among members of San Diego’s LGBTQ community and city staff, the community expressed the desire to include the term “queer” to respect those who identify with it.

Throughout this historic context statement the term “LGBTQ” is used to broadly describe the entire community of “un-straight” people.

Existing Scholarship, Archives, and Outreach

Research on the history of the LGBTQ community was largely restrained by fear and intolerance within academia until the 1970s. The publication of several seminal works on gay history signaled a new era of critical thinking about sexual and gender identity. Many of the early histories focused on establishing the sexual orientation of historical figures such Alexander the Great, Walt Whitman, and Frieda Kahlo, to name a few. In a society that offered only negative images of LGBTQ persons, these biographies of respected historical figures provided the community with much needed heroes. Subsequent histories focused on homosexual repression and resistance, and documented early gay civil rights organizations. The histories of gay men have generally placed emphasis on sexuality, while the histories of lesbians have stressed the importance of romantic friendship.

Several books on LGBTQ history in the United States were used as background information for this context to provide a frame of reference for the events and trends that took place in San Diego. These included *Gay American History* (1976) by Jonathan Katz, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present* (1995) by Neil Miller, *The Gay Metropolis* (1997) by Charles Kaiser, *A Queer History of the United States* (2011) by Michael Bronski, *The Right Side of History: 100 Years of LGBTQ Activism* (2015) by Adrian Brooks, and *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle* (2015) by Lillian Faderman.

There are no known books specifically devoted to the LGBTQ history of San Diego; however, a number of scholarly articles, papers, and websites exist. Those that were especially critical to the development of this context included the Lambda Archives of San Diego’s “San Diego LGBT History Timeline” published on the organization’s website, “Hillcrest: From Haven to Home” (2000) in *The Journal of San Diego History* by Michael E. Dillinger, and “Uptown Community Plan Update: Draft Historic Context Statement” (2015) by the City of San Diego Planning Department.

² Ibid.

The history of LGBTQ persons in the military and defense industries is especially relevant to San Diego. While there are no specific books on this aspect of the city's history, the following were helpful for understanding the role of the LGBTQ community in the nation's 20th century military history at large: *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (1991) by Allan Bérubé and *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (2012) by Craig M. Loftin.

The Lambda Archives of San Diego has extensive collections focused on LGBTQ history in the city. The archive staff provided invaluable guidance and resources for the preparation of this context statement. In addition, the San Diego History Center provided several files of newspaper articles and journal clippings related to LGBTQ resources, and the ONE Archives located in West Hollywood provided periodicals and images from their extensive collection on San Diego. Information from these three repositories was used to fill information gaps in the secondary source material mentioned above and included in the bibliography.

There are a number of social media pages dedicated to LGBTQ history in San Diego and in California. They provide an open platform for members of the community to provide information of properties associated with LGBTQ history. The following pages were reviewed regularly for new information on potential historic resources:

- <https://www.facebook.com/LGBTHistoricSites/>, San Diego LGBTQ Historic Sites Project
- <https://www.facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory/>, Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California
- <https://www.facebook.com/SanDiegoGayBarTimeline/>, San Diego Gay/Leather Bar Historical Timeline
- <https://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/#!/photos/gallery/>, California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories

Lastly and perhaps most importantly, correspondence via email with various members of the LGBTQ community, facilitated by Charles Kaminski of the Lambda Archives, provided firsthand knowledge of important events, people, and places. GPA staff is incredibly appreciative to all who offered their memories and insights in support of this project.

The City of San Diego Planning Department hosted two public workshops in August to present the first full draft of the context statement and solicit input from members of the public. The first workshop was held the evening of Thursday, August 25, 2016, and the second was held the morning of Saturday, August 27th. Historic Resources staff from the Planning Department presented information on the purpose and scope of a historic context statement; how it will be used; and the themes, property types and potential resources identified to that point. Staff sought input on the themes and property types, as well as the location of identified properties whose exact location was unknown, and additional properties not yet identified. Staff received valuable feedback regarding the

location of identified and unidentified sites, as well as aspects of the historic context that required further development. Specifically, staff received comments that bisexual, transgender and queer communities, as well as LGBTQ people of color were not as fully represented in the context as the lesbian and gay communities. This was due in part to limited availability of archival information and the more recent nature of some of the important individuals, events and advocacy associated with these communities.

To address these concerns, City staff and GPA worked with members of the community to incorporate additional information regarding the bisexual, transgender and queer communities, as well as LGBTQ people of color, both in the historical narrative and in the discussion of important themes. Additionally, to capture the information received relating to history outside of the period of study (post-1990), a new section titled “Recommendations for Future Studies” was added. This section identifies areas for future study that emerged from the research and public input, including LGBTQ rights activism in the post-1990 period; significant transgender, bisexual, and queer events, groups, and individuals related to identified and/or new themes that emerge; and significant individuals of color and events and groups associated with LGBTQ people of color related to identified and/or new themes that emerge. The section also includes a sampling of known resources that would assist in the future development of the study areas.

As the San Diego City-Wide LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is a living document, City staff looks forward to ongoing dialogue and collaboration with the community to further develop the history, themes and property types important to San Diego’s LGBTQ community.

How to Use this Document

What is a Historic Context Statement?

Historic context statements identify important themes in history and then relate those themes to extant built resources. They are not intended to be all-encompassing narrative histories. Instead, historic contexts establish the significance of themes and related topics and then provide guidance regarding the characteristics a particular property must have to represent an important theme and be a good example of a property type. The overriding goal of this context statement is to distill much of what we know about the evolution and development of San Diego's LGBTQ community, and to help establish why a particular place may be considered historically significant within one or more themes. It is intended to be used as a starting point for determining whether or not a specific property is eligible for designation as a historical resource under a national, state, or local designation program.

This historic context statement is not a comprehensive history of San Diego's LGBTQ community, and it does not provide a list of eligible properties. In fact, this document does not make eligibility determinations for any potentially important properties. Instead, it presents the information necessary to evaluate properties for significance and integrity on a case-by-case basis, and may be used to guide certain aspects of city planning. Additionally, it will hopefully inspire members of the community to nominate places which they think are important for formal designation.

It is important to note that this historic context statement is intended to be a living document that will change and evolve over time. Much of San Diego's documented LGBTQ history would be considered part of the recent past. Thus, the emergence of new information about the six themes presented in the original iteration of this document, as well as the development of entirely new themes is expected in the future. As explained above, this document is not intended to be a definitive history, but rather a solid foundation.

For more information on what a historic context statement is and is not in general, See "Writing Historic Contexts," by Marie Nelson of the State Office of Historic Preservation:

<http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1054/files/writing%20historic%20contexts%20from%20ohp.pdf>

Overview of Applicable Designation Programs

To use this document, it is necessary to understand the criteria for designation under the applicable designation programs, which in this case include the National Register of Historic Places (National Register, NRHP), California Register of Historical Resources (California Register, CRHR), and the San Diego Register of Historical Resources (San Diego Register, SDRHR). Each is outlined below:

National Register of Historic Places

The National Register is "an authoritative guide to be used by federal, state, and local governments, private groups, and citizens to identify the nation's cultural resources and to indicate what properties should be considered for protection from destruction or impairment."³ The National Register includes individual buildings, structures, sites, objects, and historic districts.

Criteria

To be eligible for listing in the National Register, a property must be at least 50 years of age (unless the property is of "exceptional importance," see information on Criteria Consideration G below) and possess significance in American history and culture, architecture, or archaeology. A property of potential significance must meet one or more of the following four established criteria:⁴

- A. Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. Yield, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Physical Integrity

According to *National Register Bulletin #15*, "to be eligible for listing in the National Register, a property must not only be shown to be significant under National Register criteria, but it also must have integrity."⁵ Integrity is defined in *National Register Bulletin #15* as "the ability of a property to convey its significance."⁶ Within the concept of integrity, the National Register recognizes seven aspects or qualities that in various combinations define integrity. They are feeling, association, workmanship, location, design, setting, and materials, and they are defined by *National Register Bulletin #15* as follows:⁷

- Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

³ Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations Part 60.2.

⁴ Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations Part 60.4.

⁵ *National Register Bulletin #15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997), 44.

⁶ *National Register Bulletin #15*, 44-45.

⁷ *National Register Bulletin #15*, 44-45.

- Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- Setting is the physical environment of a historic property.
- Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
- Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

Context

To be eligible for listing in the National Register, a property must also be significant within a historic context. *National Register Bulletin #15* states that the significance of a historic property can be judged only when it is evaluated within its historic context. Historic contexts are "those patterns, themes, or trends in history by which a specific...property or site is understood and its meaning...is made clear."⁸ A property must represent an important aspect of the area's history or prehistory and possess the requisite integrity to qualify for the National Register.

Criteria Consideration G: The 50-Year Threshold

Certain kinds of properties, such as those less than 50 years of age, are not usually considered eligible for listing in the National Register. Fifty years is generally recognized as a sufficient amount of time needed to develop historical perspective and to evaluate significance. Properties less than 50 years of age can be eligible for listing, however, if they meet special requirements called Criteria Considerations, in addition to meeting the regular requirements. *National Register Bulletin #15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* states that a property less than 50 years of age may be eligible for the National Register if it is of exceptional importance.⁹ Demonstrating exceptional importance requires the development of a historic context statement for the resource being evaluated, a comparative analysis with similar resources, and scholarly sources on the property type and historic context.

⁸ *National Register Bulletin #15*, 7.

⁹ National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin #15*, p. 2.

More Information

For more information on the National Register and how to apply the criteria for designation, see the full text of *National Register Bulletin #15* here:

<https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/>

Additional bulletins on topics related to the National Register can be found here:

<https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/>

California Register of Historical Resources

In 1992, Governor Wilson signed Assembly Bill 2881 into law establishing the California Register. The California Register is an authoritative guide used by state and local agencies, private groups, and citizens to identify historical resources and to indicate what properties are to be protected, to the extent prudent and feasible, from substantial adverse impacts.¹⁰

The California Register includes buildings, sites, structures, objects, and historic districts. It consists of properties that are listed automatically as well as those that must be nominated through an application and public hearing process. The California Register automatically includes the following:

- California properties listed in the National Register and those formally Determined Eligible for the National Register;
- State Historical Landmarks from No. 0770 onward; and
- Those California Points of Historical Interest that have been evaluated by the State Office of Historic Preservation (SOHP) and have been recommended to the State Historical Resources Commission for inclusion in the California Register.¹¹

The California Register may also include properties identified during historical resource surveys. However, the survey must meet certain criteria. See Public Resources Code Section 5024.1 for additional information on the survey requirements.

Criteria

The criteria for eligibility of listing in the California Register are based upon National Register criteria, but are identified as 1-4 instead of A-D. To be eligible for listing in the California Register, a property generally must be at least 50 years of age and must possess significance at the local, state, or national level, under one or more of the following four criteria:

¹⁰ Public Resources Code Section 5024.1 (a).

¹¹ Public Resources Code Section 5024.1 (d).

1. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history, or the cultural heritage of California or the United States; or
2. It is associated with the lives of persons important to local, California, or national history; or
3. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values; or
4. It has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the local area, California, or the nation.

Resources less than 50 years of age may be eligible for the California Register if it can be demonstrated that sufficient time has passed to understand their historical importance.

Integrity

While the enabling legislation for the California Register is less rigorous with regard to the issue of integrity, there is the expectation that properties reflect their appearance during their period of significance.¹²

More Information

For more information on the California Register, visit the SOHP website:

http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=21238

City of San Diego Register of Historical Resources¹³

The City of San Diego's Land Development Manual identifies the criteria under which a resource may be historically designated by the City of San Diego Historical Resources Board (HRB). These criteria are based on the preservation practices established by the Federal regulations outlined in *National Register Bulletin #15* and described in detail above. In San Diego, a historic resource can be any improvement, building, structure, sign, interior element and fixture, site, place, district, area or object.

Criteria

The criteria for designation in the City of San Diego include:

- A. [The resource] exemplifies or reflects special elements of the City's, a community's, or a neighborhood's, historical, archaeological, cultural, social,

¹² Public Resources Code Section 4852.

¹³ Based on the City of San Diego Historical Resources Board, "Guidelines for the Application of Historical Resources Board Designation Criteria," revised February 24, 2011.

economic, political, aesthetic, engineering, landscaping or architectural development;

- B. [Is] identified with persons or events significant in local, state or national history;
- C. Embodies distinctive characteristics of a style, type, period, or method of construction or is a valuable example of the use of indigenous materials or craftsmanship;
- D. Is representative of the notable work of a master builder, designer, architect, engineer, landscape architect, interior designer, artist or craftsman;
- E. Is listed or has been determined eligible by the National Park Service for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or is listed or has been determined eligible by the State Historical Preservation Office for listing on the State Register of Historical Resources; or
- F. Is a finite group of resources related to one another in a clearly distinguishable way or is a geographically definable area or neighborhood containing improvements which have a special character, historical interest or aesthetic value or which represent one or more architectural periods or styles in the history and development of the City.

The resource must be evaluated for the above criteria within the appropriate historic context(s). The City's "Guidelines for the Application of Historical Resources Board Designation Criteria" do not mention a specific age threshold for potentially eligible properties. Similar to the California Register, resources less than 50 years of age may be eligible for designation if it can be demonstrated that sufficient time has passed to understand their historical importance.

Integrity

To be eligible for designation in the City of San Diego, a property must retain sufficient integrity to convey its historic significance. The City recognizes the same seven aspects of integrity as the National Register: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

More Information

For more information on how to apply the City's designation criteria, review the "Guidelines for the Application of Historical Resources Board Designation Criteria" here:

<https://www.sandiego.gov/sites/default/files/legacy//planning/programs/historical/pdf/201102criteriaguidelines.pdf>

Document Organization

This historic context statement is organized into the following primary sections:

- Introduction – provides information on the purpose of this document, its intended use, scope of study, and source material;
- Historical Overview – provides a brief, chronological narrative of what is known about the history of the LGBTQ community in San Diego;
- Themes Related to LGBTQ History in San Diego – presents six themes identified as important to the community's history and which have extant properties associated with them. The six themes are:
 - Social Life
 - Community Organizations
 - Political Activism
 - Religion in the LGBTQ Community
 - The LGBTQ Media
 - Arts and Culture
- Selected Bibliography – lists the major sources of information for this context statement. Additional sources used for specific quotes or subjects are cited directly within the text.

Each theme is divided into three sections. First, a narrative overview of the theme is presented; second, tables of designated resources and identified resources are provided; and finally, eligibility standards are outlined. The narrative overview discusses known persons, groups, events, trends, and locations associated with the theme. The table of designated resources lists properties associated with the subject theme that are already listed in the National, California, and/or San Diego Registers. Some themes may not have a table of designated resources as none may exist. The table of identified resources consists of properties which came up in the course of research for the subject theme. It is simply a list of all of the places mentioned in relevant texts and is provided for informational purposes only. It may be used to guide future research efforts, but the properties included are not necessarily eligible for designation at any level. Lastly, the eligibility standards outline requirements for what would make a property eligible within the subject theme. They provide information on what property types would be associated with the theme, the period of significance for the theme, applicable criteria, and integrity considerations. They are general and broad to account for the numerous variations among associated property types.

The six themes are designed to cover a variety of related topics and associated property types. Themes were only developed if extant properties directly associated with the theme and located within city limits were identified. For example, while the military presence in San Diego was undoubtedly influential in the city's history, research did not reveal any extant properties related to this potential theme that could not be

better addressed under the umbrella of another theme. One would not consider a military building significantly related to the LGBTQ community simply because many members of the military were gay, for instance, but one might consider the residence of a prominent advocate for equal treatment in the military significant for its association with civil rights activism. As a result, military-related topics are woven into the Political Activism, Social Life, and Community Organization themes, and there is no singular military theme. The specific topics covered by each theme are outlined below.

Theme 1 – Social Life

The Social Life theme will cover a wide variety of places that were critical facilitators of social interaction. It addresses the following topics:

- Bars/nightlife
- Coffeehouses
- Military hangouts
- Bathhouses
- Private clubs

Theme 2 – Community Organizations

The Community Organizations theme covers a wide variety of groups that were formed to serve the LGBTQ community's needs. Some organizations had very specific purposes and membership bases; others were more multi-functional. This theme addresses the following topics:

- Social services
- Healthcare, including women's clinics and AIDS organizations
- Fundraising
- Business organizations
- Veterans organizations
- Recreational organizations

Theme 3 – Political Activism

The Political Activism theme includes historical information about events, organizations, and individuals related to shaping the political landscape of San Diego and enacting changes and reforms. It addresses the following topics:

- Gay liberation movement
- Political events, rallies, and marches
- Student activist groups
- Political groups
- Advocates for equal rights
- Advocates for political candidates
- Advocates for equal treatment in the military
- Politicians

Theme 4 – Religion in the LGBTQ Community

The Religion theme includes historical information about events, organizations, and individuals related to religion and spirituality in San Diego's LGBTQ community. It addresses the following topics:

- Religious organizations
- Religious figures

Theme 5 – The LGBTQ Media

The Media theme provides historical information on important print media. It addresses the following topics:

- Newspapers and magazines
- Newsletters
- Publishers

Theme 6 – Arts and Culture

The Arts and Culture theme provides information related to artistic pursuits. It addresses the following topics:

- Performing Arts
- Visual arts and design
- Literary Arts, including bookstores

Historical Overview

Little is known about San Diego's LGBTQ community prior to the 20th century. This is not surprising as living an openly gay lifestyle was not only considered taboo by most conventional 19th century Americans, but also associated with activities that were criminalized by law. Instead, many gay people lived seemingly traditional heterosexual lives, marrying members of the opposite sex, and having their children. Others remained single in the eyes of the outside world, while maintaining long-term, sometimes live-in relationships with their same sex partners. Rumors often swirled about such "friendships," but they were rarely confirmed. Such was the case with two of San Diego's prominent late 19th century citizens: Kate Sessions and Jesse Shepard.



Kate Sessions, undated. Source: San Diego History Center website, <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/bio/sessions/sessions.htm>.

Kate Sessions settled in San Diego in 1884 and remained there until her death in 1940. She was a renowned horticulturist and owned flower shops and nurseries in Coronado, Mission Hills, and Pacific Beach. Her greatest work occurred in Balboa Park, known at the time as City Park. Sessions never married and never had any children, but she maintained a close, lifelong friendship with botanist Alice Eastwood, making her a storied representative of the city's 19th century LGBTQ community.

Jesse Shepard had a much shorter but still quite famous tenure in San Diego. He stayed only a few years, from 1887 to 1889, but he left behind the Villa Montezuma, one of the city's best and most interesting Queen Ann residences.¹⁴ Shepard was a well-known musician when he came to San Diego with his secretary and companion Lawrence W. Tonner at the invitation of real estate investors William and John High. The High Brothers built the Villa Montezuma and gifted it to Shepard with the understanding that he would perform concerts and become a local draw. Shepard took out a loan on the house in 1888 and promptly lost it in the city's real estate bust of 1889. Thus, his residency came to an end, as did Tonner's. The two men left the city together and remained partners until Shepard's death in 1927.¹⁵

San Diego undoubtedly had numerous other gay residents in its formative years, despite the lack of available scholarly information. It is highly likely that they kept their personal lives and relationships completely private, making them difficult to locate. It is also important to note that



Villa Montezuma, 1964. Source: Library of Congress HABS website, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ca0614.photos.015875p/>.

¹⁴ The Villa Montezuma is designated as San Diego Landmark #11.

¹⁵ After leaving San Diego, Shepard authored numerous books under the pen name Francis Grierson, including his most famous work, *The Valley of Shadows: Recollections of the Lincoln Country 1858-1863*, published in 1909.

19th century San Diego was characterized by dramatic periods of boom and bust. Thus, many of its early residents were transient, residing in the city for brief periods before moving elsewhere in search of better economic conditions. The temporary nature of the citizenry as a whole during this period makes reliable information on the local LGBTQ community even more elusive.

At the dawn of the 20th century, San Diego had not yet recovered from its latest 19th century bust. It was a small town with a city population under 18,000. In comparison with the state's other major cities, Los Angeles's population had jumped to 102,479 by 1900, and San Francisco's had reached 342,782, making it the ninth largest city in the country. Growth in San Diego after 1900 was rapid, however, with the population essentially doubling every ten years through 1930, and continuing to increase thereafter. With the growth of the general population, the city's LGBTQ population most certainly increased accordingly, but as in the previous century, there is little recorded history of its size and presence.

San Diego's small population at the turn of the century was largely due to two factors: lack of sufficient transportation systems and stiff competition from Los Angeles. The only rail line to San Diego at the time was the Santa Fe's "Surf Line," a spur off the main line through Los Angeles. By 1920, San Diego had its own direct connection with the east via a new line through the mountains, but by this time Los Angeles had already solidified its role in the region as the center of transportation and commerce.

Meanwhile, a strong new economic force was taking hold in San Diego: the military. The U.S. military first began to pay attention to San Diego during the Spanish-American War. The city's strategic location, natural harbor, and fair weather made it especially attractive to both the Army and the Navy. When the U.S. entered World War I in 1917, the Army selected San Diego as the location of its southwest division and established Camp Kearny, currently Marine Corps Air Station Miramar. The same year, the Army took over an existing flight school on the city's North Island. The North Island hosted both Army and Navy pilots during the war, before becoming an entirely Navy facility, now known as Naval Air Station North and part of the larger Naval Base Coronado.

Around the same time tourism began to emerge as a promising local industry, thanks to its obvious attractions, beautiful beaches and ideal weather. In 1915 and 1916, San Diego played host to the Panama-California Exposition, an event that led to the construction of many of the buildings in Balboa Park and welcomed hundreds of thousands of visitors. Balboa Park eventually became the home of the San Diego Zoo in the 1920s, further enhancing the park's appeal. Many of these visitors would ultimately become permanent residents, establishing homes and businesses in the city's growing neighborhoods.

Along with new 20th century residents came new 20th century laws. In 1917, San Diego passed an ordinance prohibiting sexual intercourse within city limits, unless the participants were husband and wife. This new law targeted prostitution, a common cause of Progressives at the time, but also served as a strike against the gay community. The local ordinance, combined with existing state laws prohibiting sodomy and oral sex, served to reinforce the widespread intolerance of the LGBTQ community

at the time. Enacted in 1915, California State Penal Code 288a made oral sex a felony, while sodomy had been a felony in California since 1850.¹⁶

Of course, gays and lesbians pursued sexual relationships despite their illegality; they just did so in secret. Two rumored meeting places for San Diego's gay men in the early 20th century were Balboa Park and Old Plaza Park. Parks were popular in many urban settings, because they offered both covert meeting spots in tree-covered areas and the anonymity of darkness. Men could meet and have sex with a reduced fear of being seen by their peers or caught by police.



Postcard for Los Banos Bathhouse, located at Broadway and Kettner Blvd, undated. Source: <http://www.ebay.com/itm/PC-Los-Banos-Bath-House-in-San-Diego-California-/360874029185>.

Bathhouses provided another likely venue for clandestine meetings in the early 20th century. San Diegans began building bathhouses as far back as 1869 when the first documented example opened near Horton's Wharf.¹⁷ It was followed by many others that opened and closed in succession in accordance with the city's booms and busts. Intended to serve as swimming pools for anyone seeking to cool off and relax, as well as bathing spots for those without indoor plumbing, bathhouses evolved into gay destinations. This was due, at least in part, to their separate men's

and women's facilities—that is, when women's facilities existed at all. Many bathhouses were strictly men only. The city's earliest bathhouses were located on piers and wharfs over the bay. These were seasonal, family-friendly spots attracting residents and tourists alike. Eventually, they spread into the city, became year-round venues, and expanded their services to include massages, saunas, and other spa amenities. The gay activities within the bathhouses were secretive and unsanctioned with the businesses maintaining heterosexual public identities and clientele, alongside their gay patrons.

Unlike their male contemporaries, lesbians rarely engaged in sexual activity in public places. One of the main reasons men resorted to having sex in public and semi-public places in the first place was out of fear that their landlords or neighbors would discover their true identities. Such exposure could ruin lives and careers. Cohabiting women, however, were not viewed with the same suspicion as cohabiting men, so they had more opportunities to have sex and to develop relationships in private. Although reliable information on lesbian couples from the early 20th century is rare, there is sufficient documentation of one particular lesbian couple in San Diego: Alice Lee and Katherine Teats.

¹⁶ The law was enacted as a direct result of the arrest of 31 men in the City of Long Beach in 1914.

¹⁷ "First Bathhouse Built in 1869," article on file in the San Diego History Center, Bathhouses clippings folder, no publication information provided.

Lee and Teats arrived in San Diego circa 1902. Lee was a member of a prominent East Coast family with ties to the White House. She was good friends with President Grover Cleveland's wife Frances, as well as the second cousin of Teddy Roosevelt's first wife Alice Hathaway Lee. In 1904-1905, she and Teats commissioned renowned architects Irving Gill and Hazel Waterman to design a complex of three homes around a central garden at 3574 7th Avenue.¹⁸ Kate Sessions, incidentally, designed the garden.



Lee and Teats Cottages, undated. Source: San Diego History Center, "Self-guided Walking Tour of Seventh Avenue," <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/90summer/walk.htm>.

The couple lived on the property together for 40 years, until Lee's death in 1943, even listing themselves as "head of household" and "partner" in the 1930 census. Clearly women of stature and education, they were cultural and social leaders, as well as devoted suffragists. Lee's friendship with Teddy Roosevelt continued long after her cousin's death; she and Teats hosted the president in their home on two occasions, in 1915 and again in 1935. Although there are no firsthand accounts of the women's sexual orientation, family members have confirmed that they were, indeed, a lesbian couple, making them important, not just as activists and members of the city's early elite, but also as two of the earliest documented representatives of San Diego's LGBTQ history.¹⁹

One of the earliest known transgender individuals in San Diego arrived in the city in approximately 1916, though there were likely many others who have not been identified.²⁰ Dr. Eugene C. Perkins relocated that year from the East Coast to La Jolla.²¹ Although not much is known about Perkins's personal life, he was married to Margaret A. Perkins for nearly 30 years before his passing in 1936. After his death the coroner discovered that Perkins was assigned female at birth, leading scholars to recognize him as an early example of a transgender man living in secret in San Diego.²²

By the 1930s, mainstream U.S. society associated homosexuality with the hedonism of the Roaring Twenties which many believed to have caused the Great Depression. Resentment and opposition to gays, lesbians, and transgender individuals heightened and manifested in the form of increased police activity and anti-gay activism. Church groups and other so-called "moral reformers" crusaded against all manner of "lewd" behavior, which included, in their minds, any aspect of a non-heterosexual lifestyle.

¹⁸ The homes are already designated landmarks in the city as the Katherine Teats Cottage (#98) and the Alice Lee Cottage (#99).

¹⁹ "Alice Lee & Katherine Teats: A Forty Year Romance of Two Leading San Diego Women started in 1902," *Lambda Archives Newsletter*, Winter 2010-2011, Issue 49, accessed March 1, 2016, <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/newsletters/lasd-newsletter-49.pdf>.

²⁰ Email correspondence between Meredith Vezina and GPA. Vezina provided the following citation: *Timekeeper: The La Jolla Historical Society Magazine*, Spring 2015, Volume 34, No. page 8.

²¹ Please note that while some sources indicate that Perkins was a doctor, entries for him in City Directories from the 1930s lists him as a salesman.

²² *Timekeeper*: and Meredith Vezina, "San Diego Trans History Timeline: 1936," *Trans Narratives*, accessed August 31, 2016, <http://www.transnarratives.org/timeline.html>.

Later in the 1930s and early 1940s, with the buildup to World War II, San Diego's existing military and defense presence continued to grow. The greater San Diego area became home to the 11th Naval District Headquarters, the Naval Training Center, Miramar Naval Air Station, the Marine Corps Recruit Depot, and Camp Pendleton. Defense-related civilian industries, especially those related to aerospace and technology, grew alongside the government entities, creating a distinctly military backbone for the local economy. The city's population increased in number and changed in demographics accordingly, not just during the war, but well into the postwar period. Veterans returning from abroad settled in San Diego and fueled the growing economy. They bought homes, took jobs in the defense and tourism industries, and started businesses of their own. Between 1940 and 1960, the city's population nearly tripled, jumping from 203,341 to 573,224.

World War II facilitated the abandonment of traditional gender and sex roles and inadvertently brought LGBTQ people together. Men and women were thrown into same-sex settings for extended periods of time. The war also created unprecedented economic opportunities for women on the home front and in military service, as women were able to volunteer in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) or Navy Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services (WAVES). With the absence of male companions at home, women formed close, and sometimes sexual, relationships. Servicemen, likewise, had new opportunities for gay experiences away from their families.

As a military port city, San Diego played host to thousands of military personnel both during training and while they were on leave. This massive influx of servicemen led to significant shortages in living accommodations, so it was both common and



Armed Forces YMCA, 2007. Source: National Register
Nomination Form,
<http://focus.nps.gov/nrhp/AssetDetail?assetID=6e998f1c-82a1-4429-ab61-4e609550c76c>.

respectable for men to share rooms in hotels and boarding houses, increasing prospects for sexual encounters between enlisted gays and bisexuals. Many of the hotels and boarding houses inhabited by servicemen were located on or in the vicinity of Broadway in San Diego's downtown. The Armed Forces YMCA, for example, was located at 500 W. Broadway and had a reputation among gay servicemen.²³ The Broadway area was also the location of other reported meeting spots during World War II, including the Seven Seas Locker Club, Bradley's, and the Blue Jacket.²⁴ The Brass Rail, the city's oldest known gay-friendly bar, was located just two blocks north of Broadway, in the Orpheum Theater at 6th

²³ The Armed Forces YMCA is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

²⁴ Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two*, (New York, NY: Penguin Group, 1991), 116.

Avenue and B Street.²⁵ The evolution of the Brass Rail into a gay establishment has been attributed to the military clientele during the war.²⁶ The Seven Seas Locker Club, which provided a variety of amenities for the enlisted ranging from a laundry to a travel agency, was so popular that by one sailor's account, gay civilians "borrowed servicemen's uniforms just to gain admission and make the scene."²⁷

Historically, the various branches of the U.S. Armed Forces consistently held that LGBTQ persons were unfit for military service. Personnel caught engaging in homosexual activity were court martialed and dishonorably discharged. However, the mass mobilization for World War II and the unprecedented sexual activity among servicemen made it impractical to convene military courts. Moreover, the Armed Forces needed able-bodied men and women to win the war. The demand for capable people outweighed the military's own restrictions and biases, and gays and lesbians were generally tolerated as long as they were not caught in the act. When they were caught, they were hospitalized and discharged under Regulation 615-360, Section 8, which applied to the mentally ill. Discharges for homosexuality were often printed on blue paper and were sometimes called "blue discharges." Blue discharges were disqualified from the benefits of the G.I. Bill and could prevent soldiers from gaining civilian employment. Many of those who were discharged could not return home because they would be rejected by their families, so they settled in vicinity of the ports, bases, and stations to which they were returned. San Diego, with its numerous military facilities, was a point of return for many, and the end of World War II very likely led to a more permanent and eventually more visible LGBTQ presence in the city.

Despite the collective tendency to look the other way during wartime, the country reaffirmed and protected traditional gender roles and severely stigmatized deviance from heterosexuality in the late 1940s and 1950s. Churches, schools, the government, and the press all rallied in support of the "traditional" family and the values that accompanied it. Women who filled labor shortages in defense industries during the war were told to return to household work because the jobs they had been performing belonged to returning veterans. Many attracted to the same sex retreated to what would soon become known as "the closet."

With the end of World War II, the Cold War began almost immediately. Conservative politicians like Senator Joseph McCarthy fueled American's anxieties about communism. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was the most prominent and active government committee involved in anti-communist investigations. While HUAC was most famous for its high-profile investigation of the motion picture industry in 1947, the committee also targeted LGBTQ people nationwide. HUAC members believed that LGBTQ persons would be susceptible to blackmail by Soviet agents because homosexuality and cross-dressing were allegedly signs of mental instability. Consequently, the committee's quest to expose communists became comingled with forcing people out of the closet, where they were treated like sexual perverts and criminals. As evidence, in 1953, President Dwight Eisenhower signed

²⁵ The Brass Rail opened circa 1934.

²⁶ Matthew Lickona, "Hillcrest, Homosexuality, and History," *San Diego Reader*, June 10, 1999, accessed March 1, 2016, <http://www.sandiegoreader.com/news/1999/jun/10/cover-pay-rent/#>

²⁷ Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 109.

Executive Order 10450, banning homosexuals from working for the federal government or any of its private contractors. The order listed “sexual perversion” among several perceived national security risks, along with alcoholics and neurotics. One example of the order in action occurred in San Diego in 1957, when Robert Conroy, a Navy contractor, was fired from his job based on a prior arrest for cross-dressing while in college. Years later, after his wife’s death, Robert transitioned to Cynthia.²⁸

The most famous transgender person in America at the time was Christine Jorgensen.²⁹ In 1952, she became the first person to receive widespread media attention for sex reassignment surgery.³⁰ The attention led to international fame, but not mainstream acceptance. In 1959, she was denied a marriage license when she attempted to marry her male fiancé.³¹

Despite the widespread backlash, LGBTQ people were increasingly able to find like-minded people in the urban environments of postwar America. As many city dwellers had left their original hometowns behind, they sought new forms of community and family. In San Diego, like in many other cities, bars, clubs, and coffeehouses became important gathering places. Between the 1950s and 1970s, the city refused to issue licenses to operate bars and clubs to gays and lesbians. Thus, when the Brass Rail was sold in 1958, it was not to a gay man, but to Lou Arko, a straight man. Arko was one of the San Diego LGBTQ community’s earliest heterosexual allies. He continued to openly serve gays at the Brass Rail and eventually owned a number of other gay bars in the city.³²



Original location of the Brass Rail in the Orpheum Theatre building, undated. Source: Cinema Treasures, <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/2281>.

²⁸ “Cynthia Conroy (1916 - 2009) scientist, doctor,” *A Gender Variance Who's Who*, April 14, 2012, accessed August 31, 2016, <https://zagria.blogspot.com/2012/04/cynthia-conroy-1916-2009-scientist.html#.V8hxqJgrKUK>. Excerpted from Janice Gould. “My Father, Cynthia Conroy”. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 2010, 16:19-103.

²⁹ “History of transgender people in the United States,” *Revolv*y, accessed September 1, 2016, http://www.revolv.com/main/index.php?s=History+of+transgender+people+in+the+United+States&item_type=topic&overlay=1.

³⁰ Susan Stryker, “Transgender Activism,” *GLBTQ Archive*, 2004, accessed September 1, 2016, http://www.glbtqarchive.com/ssh/transgender_activism_S.pdf, 1. The term “sex reassignment surgery” is utilized in this document based on definitions published by the National Center for Transgender Equality and GLAAD. Other common terms include gender confirmation surgery and gender affirmation surgery.

³¹ “History of transgender people.”

³² The Brass Rail remains in operation today. In 1963, Arko relocated the bar to the Hillcrest neighborhood. Its first Hillcrest location was the northwest corner of 5th and Robinson. In 1973, it was relocated again, across the street to its current location, 3796 5th Avenue.

By the 1960s, population growth in the City of San Diego slowed, while growth in the county continued at a higher rate. As occurred in numerous U.S. cities at the time, urban residents relocated to the expanding suburbs. Concurrently, San Diego's aerospace industry experienced a decline. Vacancy rates in the city's downtown and peripheral neighborhoods increased. Areas like the Gaslamp Quarter established seedy reputations for rundown buildings and crime. The Gaslamp also hosted a concentration of adult businesses, including peep shows, massage parlors, and adult bookstores. On the one hand, these businesses attracted gay clientele; on the other hand, visiting them was risky due to the threats of both violent crime and police. Police raids were not uncommon at the Brass Rail and other gathering places in the Gaslamp and elsewhere. The cops would reportedly storm in and order Brass Rail patrons to "put all hands on top of the bar," but the raids, harassment, and intimidation did not deter the community from growing and increasing its visibility as the century progressed.³³ In 1966, the city criminalized cross-dressing by enacting San Diego Municipal Code 56.19. The new ordinance prohibited people from appearing in public in clothing worn by the opposite sex. It was supposedly enacted to "protect" military personnel from male prostitutes dressed as women, but its primary use was the harassment of transgender women.³⁴ The law remained in the municipal code until 1998, when Delores Dickerson, Elena Albee, and the members of Trans Action successfully fought for its repeal.³⁵

Meanwhile, an important demographic shift was taking place north of downtown that would lead to the development of the city's first gay neighborhood: Hillcrest. The population in Hillcrest, originally composed of young families, evolved into a large concentration of elderly people living alone. As younger residents left for the suburbs and older residents passed away, they were not immediately replaced. The high vacancy rates yielded lower housing costs, and the quiet neighborhood became appealing to gays and lesbians looking for safety and opportunity. This trend was not unlike similar aging population trends in other cities. Whereas the new urban demographics replacing the elderly were often immigrant families, drawn by affordable housing and proximity to employment, in Hillcrest the new demographic was notably single and largely un-straight.

Overall, the 1960s and 1970s were not critical periods of population growth in the city, but they were critical periods for institutional development as San Diego benefited from the emergence of significant academic and research facilities. Over time, academia and scientific research would become major economic factors, bringing with them investment and prestige. The University California, San Diego (UCSD) was established in 1960 in La Jolla. The same year, San Diego State College, which had existed in one form or another since 1897, became part of the California State University system, and Jonas Salk received a gift of 27 acres to create the Salk Institute. Salk, then famous for developing the Polio vaccine, opened his institute in 1963. In 1972, the University of San Diego (USD) formed from a merger of smaller Catholic colleges, and by 1974, San

³³ "Lou and Carol Arko," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2007, accessed March 1, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2007/lou_carol_arko.htm.

³⁴ Email correspondence between Meredith Vezina and GPA. Vezina provided the following citation: Caroline Joy Clark, "San Diego Crossdressing Law is Dead," *Reflections: San Diego's Newsletter published by the Neutral Corner*, Issue 157, August 1998, 1.

³⁵ Ibid.

Diego State College assumed its current moniker San Diego State University (SDSU). The development of these major academic and research institutions in the 1960s and 1970s solidified the city's future as a hub for innovation, creativity, and youth. They also led to the development of numerous LGBTQ student groups. These groups provided crucial support to gay students at a time when American society was still very anti-gay. They also engaged in civil rights activism as part of the larger gay liberation movement. A prime example of LGBTQ organizing on local college campuses, San Diego State College students started their own chapter of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) in 1970. The same year, the school started a women's studies department, widely considered the first of its kind in the U.S.³⁶

The GLF was a critical component of the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. The movement had its roots in the nationwide police crackdowns associated with HUAC and McCarthyism in the 1950s and 1960s. While the anti-gay hysteria forced many men and women deeper into the closet, a few began to fight back. As prominent historian Allan Bérubé put it:

The taste of freedom during the war, the magnitude of the postwar crackdown, and the example of the growing black civil rights movement caused more and more lesbians and gay men to think of themselves as an unjustly persecuted minority. They increasingly realized that when they defended their new bars from attacks by queer bashers, when lesbians and gay defendants began to plead 'not guilty' in court, and when bar owners challenged the cops and liquor control boards, they were actually fighting to establish a public turf of their own, defending their right to gather in public places.³⁷

At first, the movement focused on educating mainstream society about sexual and gender identity, but it quickly shifted its focus to cultivating a politicized LGBTQ consciousness and institution building. The level of group resistance to police harassment and other forceful displays of intolerance began to rise nationwide. In 1966, "the transgender community's debut on the stage of American political history" took place when a riot erupted in San Francisco's Tenderloin district.³⁸ Fed up with constant harassment and arrests, dozens of drag queens, trans women, and male prostitutes clashed with police at Compton's Cafeteria.³⁹

A year later in 1967, a police raid at the Black Cat, a gay bar in the Silver Lake section of Los Angeles, sparked significant protests. Two years later, the 1969 Stonewall riots, in which gays, lesbians, drag queens, trans men and women, and male prostitutes fought back against the police for several nights, became a lasting symbol for the struggle for

³⁶ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline." *Lambda Archives of San Diego*, accessed March 9, 2016, <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm>.

³⁷ Alan Bérubé, "Marching to a Different Drummer: Lesbian and Gay GIs in World War II," in *Hidden History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, edited by Martin B. Duberman, Martha Vicinius, and George Chauncy Jr. (New York, NY: New American Library, 1989), 393.

³⁸ Quote from Susan Stryker in Nicole Pasulka, "Ladies In The Streets: Before Stonewall, Transgender Uprising Changed Lives," *NPR*, May 5, 2015, accessed September 1, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/05/05/404459634/ladies-in-the-streets-before-stonewall-transgender-uprising-changed-lives>.

³⁹ Pasulka.

LGBTQ rights.⁴⁰ They were joined in significant numbers by homeless youth, ethnic minorities, and other poor, working class, and marginalized individuals who were also common targets for police. One of San Diego's most notable connections to Stonewall was prominent transgender leader Miss Major Griffin-Gracy. Griffin-Gracy moved to San Diego in 1978, nearly ten years later, and embarked on a decade of "ground-level community building work."⁴¹

Diann Pierce DiNova, a lesbian enlisted in the Navy in San Diego,, demonstrated a different sort of resistance to the establishment from the protesting and rioting of Compton's, the Black Cat, and Stonewall. In 1968, she declared her sexuality to naval officers. Initially, she was dishonorably discharged, but she fought back in court. Ultimately, her discharge was upgraded to honorable, but she was discharged nonetheless.⁴² In 1970, the local GLF chapter hosted its first "gay-in" at Presidio Park. More than 100 people were in attendance.⁴³ Also in 1970, Reverend John Paul Stevens, first pastor of Metropolitan Community Church of San Diego, began a fast on the steps of the San Diego County Courthouse to draw the government's attention to gay rights. A year later, the GLF picketed the San Diego Police Department for their ongoing harassment of gays. This is recognized as one of the first organized, LGBTQ, public demonstrations in the city's history.⁴⁴

As the gay liberation movement continued to grow, so did the LGBTQ media. Perhaps the most famous publications were *The Advocate* and *The Lesbian Tide* due to their early development and nationwide distribution. *Transvestia*, founded by transgender activist Virginia Prince, began publishing consistently in 1960, making it one of the earliest, continuously operating transgender publications in the U.S.⁴⁵ The bi-monthly magazine continued until 1980. Its first issue actually debuted in 1952. Though it only lasted two issues at the time, it has been recognized as the beginning of the transgender rights movement in the U.S.⁴⁶

Widely circulated LGBTQ newspapers provided an unprecedented level of information about what was happening across the country. At the local level San Diegans started a number of LGBTQ



Transvestia cover from 1962. Source: Email from Charles Kaminski dated August 23, 2016.

⁴⁰ Faderman and Timmons, 155-57.

⁴¹ Elliot Owen, "Life of activism shaped transwoman's compassion," *The Bay Area Reporter*, July 26, 2014, accessed September 14, 2016, <http://ebar.com/pride/article.php?sec=pride&article=171>.

⁴² "San Diego LGBT History Timeline." <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline%20pre%201970.htm>.

⁴³ John Bilow, "The Stonewall 40 Project: Looking Back on 40 years of San Diego's Pride Movement," *Gay & Lesbian Times*, July 16, 2009, accessed March 9, 2016, <http://www.gaylesbiantimes.com/?id=15143>.

⁴⁴ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline." <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm>.

⁴⁵ Prince was a very prominent, yet controversial figure in the LGBTQ community due to her personal opinions on a variety of topics; however, she is recognized as an early trans advocate in general.

⁴⁶ Stryker, 2.

publications in the early 1970s, including *Pacific Coast Times* and *San Diego Son*.⁴⁷ The development of publications like these was indicative of a major turning point in the city's LGBTQ history overall, as San Diego's gay community emerged from the shadows of the postwar period and pursued visibility, acceptance, and equality like never before.



Original location of the Center for Social Services, 2250 B Street, circa 1973. Source: San Diego LGBTQ Historic Sites Project, <https://www.facebook.com/LGBTHistoricSites/>.

Along with new media outlets, social, religious, and political organizations emerged as important facets of the city's LGBTQ community in the early 1970s. The GLF created the city's first gay hotline to provide support to those struggling with their sexual orientation and harassment from others. The Center for Social Services, offering programs geared specifically for gays and lesbians, opened in 1973,⁴⁸ and The Neutral Corner, offering support for transgender people, began meeting in 1978.⁴⁹ DignityUSA, a nationwide organization for gay and lesbian Catholics, was founded in San Diego in 1969, before moving to Los Angeles. A local San Diego chapter of Dignity

emerged again in 1972. In the interim, the Metropolitan Community Church of San Diego (MCCSD) was founded in 1970 as a chapter of the progressive church for LGBTQ Christians which was established in Los Angeles two years earlier. Many of San Diego's early LGBTQ publications were affiliated with social and religious groups. For example, *Tres Femmes*, a lesbian social organization, published a paper by the same name. *The Prodigal*, San Diego's first local gay publication with regular distribution, was published by MCCSD, and the San Diego Chapter of DignityUSA created its own monthly newsletter, *The Hummingbird*, a few years later.

On the national scene transgender activists in San Francisco established C.O.G (Conversion Our Goal) in 1967 in the wake of the Compton's Cafeteria Riot. Shortly after, the group became known as the National Transsexual Counseling Unit (NTCU), and later the Transsexual Counseling Service (TCS). Back East in New York, Mario Martino created the Labyrinth Foundation Counseling Service in the late 1960s. It has

⁴⁷ *Pacific Coast Times*, which started in San Diego in 1973, expanded regionally very quickly, distributing to Los Angeles, several Orange County cities, Palm Springs, San Francisco, and Las Vegas by 1974. The bi-monthly magazine relocated to West Hollywood and changed its name to *Coast to Coast Times*, reflecting both a change in ownership and a change from regional to national distribution.

⁴⁸ The Center for Social Services changed names a few times over the years, but it remains very active in the city to this day under the name San Diego LGBT Community Center, commonly known as "The Center."

⁴⁹ Email correspondence between Meredith Vezina and GPA. Vezina's email included the IRS letter confirming The Neutral Corner's tax-exempt, non-profit status from 1988, but the group met informally for a decade prior.

been recognized as the first transgender community-based organization that specifically addressed the needs of trans men.⁵⁰

Social and religious support organizations did not just facilitate gathering like-minded members of the LGBTQ community; they also served as important political voices championing gay rights and equality. One of the primary goals of many organizations was the repeal of California laws that criminalized homosexuality. Many states in the U.S. repealed their sodomy laws in the early 1970s when they modernized their penal codes; however, California was an exception to the rule. California's sodomy repeal effort began in 1969. The repeal bill was introduced to the California legislature starting in 1969 by Assemblyman Willie Brown, and every year afterward until its passage in 1975. In 1975, the liberal Democratic Senate Majority Leader, George Moscone — concurrently running for Mayor of San Francisco — twisted many arms for its passage. When the Senate deadlocked on a 20-20 vote, Moscone locked the chamber doors, until Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally could fly back from Denver and cast the tie-breaking vote.⁵¹ More locally, social and religious groups became heavily involved in San Diego politics, meeting with candidates and endorsing those who supported the gay community, and new political clubs emerged, such as the Teddy Roosevelt Republican Club of San Diego, and the San Diego Democratic Club, with a devotion to facilitating change through political action.⁵²

San Diegans stepped up their protest activities as the 1970s progressed. In 1974, 200 people participated in the city's first organized LGBTQ march. They marched through the streets of downtown San Diego publicly proclaiming their sexual orientation, though some wore bags on their heads in fear of repercussions.⁵³ The same year, eight men were arrested at the Mission Valley May Company store and charged with felony counts of sexual perversion, lewd conduct, and solicitation. A *San Diego Union* article on the incident named 23 additional men and printed the addresses and occupations of all. The community responded by organizing a protest against both the May Company and the local police in the parking lot of the store. Between 80 and 100 protestors participated, including both gay and straight people.⁵⁴

Notably, activism for the LGBTQ community did not always take the form of protest. Public celebration played an important role, as well. Fundraisers were critical to supporting LGBTQ causes financially, while festive events fostered senses of pride and community. Imperial Court de San Diego hosted its first coronation in 1973 at the Royal Inn Convention Center.⁵⁵ The Court's coronation balls were created as celebrations, but also served as significant fundraisers for charitable causes. Two years later, the city's

⁵⁰ Stryker, 2.

⁵¹ "History of Sodomy Laws," *Sodomy Laws*, accessed March 9, 2016, <http://www.glapn.org/sodomylaws/history/history.htm>.

⁵² The Teddy Roosevelt Club is now known as the Log Cabin Republicans.

⁵³ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1974>.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ The Court is a chapter of what is currently known as the International Court System, a social organization throughout the U.S., Mexico, and Canada that raises substantial funds for LGBTQ causes. The Royal Inn is now the Wyndham San Diego Bayside Hotel.

first Pride Parade was held. By 1977, the annual event hosted an estimated 1,200 to 2,000 people.⁵⁶

The activism of the LGBTQ community in the 1970s had ripple effects within the contemporaneous women's movement. Lesbians played an important role in the women's movement, which sought to eliminate sexism from the workplace, among other goals. San Diego's lesbians started, or were instrumentally involved in, numerous women's organizations, providing services, community, and healthcare to others. Tres Femmes, Womenscare Clinic, and the San Diego Lesbian Organization were all formed between 1970 and 1975. Womenscare Clinic opened in 1973, the same year of the Supreme Court decision in *Roe vs. Wade* legalizing abortion. The landmark decision strengthened the women's movement nationwide, empowered many to seek greater control over their own bodies, and led to the establishment of many more women's health centers nationwide.



Dr. Renee Richards, no date. Source: Associated Press. Logan Jenkins, "Transgender law evokes local memories of Renee Richards," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2014/jan/02/transgender-law-memories-renee-richards/>.

In 1976, transgender rights catapulted to the national stage when Dr. Renée Richards (then under the name Renée Clark) was outed as a transgender woman by the media. Richards, originally named Richard Raskind, underwent sex reassignment surgery at age 41.⁵⁷ An ophthalmologist by profession, Richards was also a highly ranked amateur tennis player prior to her transition. Intending to let her tennis career fade into the background, Richards moved to the Newport Beach area of Orange County and

started playing tennis for leisure.⁵⁸ Drawn back to the competitive nature of the sport, she entered and won a women's tournament at the La Jolla Tennis Club in San Diego in 1976. Local reporter Dick Carlson immediately investigated Richards's background and one day after her victory announced to the public that she was transgender.⁵⁹ Controversy erupted in the tennis world, and the world of sport in general, over the fairness of allowing transgender people to compete. Although Richards was allowed to compete in the Tennis Week Open following the La Jolla scandal, 25 other players withdrew from the tournament in protest.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1977>.

⁵⁷ Michael Weinreb, "Renée Richards Wants to be Left Alone," *Grantland*, July 7, 2011, accessed September 6, 2016, <http://grantland.com/features/reneacuttee-richards-wants-left-alone/>

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Logan Jenkins, "Transgender law evokes local memories of Renee Richards," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, January 2, 2014, accessed September 6, 2016, <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2014/jan/02/transgender-law-memories-renee-richards/>.

⁶⁰ Robin Herman, "'No Exceptions,' and No Renee Richards," *New York Times*, August 27, 1976, accessed September 6, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/sports/year_in_sports/08.27.html.

A month after the La Jolla tournament, Richards was barred from entering the U.S. Open over her refusal to submit to a chromosome test. While the International Olympic Committee started requiring chromosome testing nearly a decade earlier in 1968, the U.S. Tennis Association only instituted the test after the La Jolla tournament, making it a clear reaction to Richards's success. Richards challenged the mandatory testing, and in 1977, the New York Supreme Court ruled in her favor and ordered her admittance into the U.S. Open.⁶¹ She entered the tournament and lost in the first round, but victory in the Open was never the point. In her own words, "I'm not a full-time major league tennis player. I'm here to make a point. It's a human rights issue. I want to show that someone who has a different lifestyle or medical condition, has a right to stand up for what they are."⁶²

The heightened visibility of the LGBTQ community prompted significant homophobic backlash in the political arena by the end of the decade. Proposition 6, the so-called Briggs Initiative of 1978, attempted to ban LGBTQ persons from teaching in public schools. The California LGBTQ community and its allies rallied against the proposition, defeating it at the polls and demonstrating that the community had attained significant political power. Tragically, only 20 days later, Harvey Milk, San Francisco's first openly gay supervisor, and gay rights proponent Mayor George Moscone were assassinated.⁶³ San Diegans mourned the loss of these important leaders with a service at the Organ Pavilion in Balboa Park.⁶⁴

Through the end of the 1970s, San Diego's LGBTQ community continued advancing, despite continued police harassment, discrimination, and threats. New organizations, churches, and publications developed; Al Best, the city's first openly gay candidate ran for city council; and a slew of gay businesses opened their doors. The 1980s, however, were right around the corner, and thus, the dawn of the AIDS pandemic.

The discovery of AIDS signaled the end of the era of sexual freedom synonymous with the 1970s. A vibrant generation of gay and bisexual men in the prime of their lives were about to be lost to the disease. Many people outside the LGBTQ community developed unfounded fears; others used the crisis as fuel for their existing homophobic agendas. The constructive response in San Diego, however, was largely characterized by outpourings of generosity and activism. In 1983, the San Diego AIDS Project was founded to support those diagnosed with the disease.⁶⁵ The same year, the San Diego Democratic Club



Members of the Blood Sisters, 1983. Source: "Heroines of the AIDS Crisis," *Gay San Diego*, <http://gay-sd.com/heroines-of-the-aids-crisis/>.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Incidentally, Harvey Milk was stationed at the Naval Station, San Diego around the time of the Korean War.

⁶⁴ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1978>.

⁶⁵ Originally called the Shanti Project, after the San Francisco organization.

founded the Blood Sisters to organize blood drives. In response to news that gay men were no longer allowed to donate blood due to the risk of AIDS infection, 200 lesbians showed up and donated at the first drive.⁶⁶ Many more organizations and charities soon followed.

The negative response in San Diego in the wake of the AIDS crisis was one of both violence and traditional protest. Crime against gays escalated in the forms of arson and vandalism, and the first anti-gay demonstration occurred in Hillcrest in 1984.⁶⁷ The demonstration was organized by conservative Baptists from the Bible Missionary Fellowship. Instead of retreating in reaction to these events, the community persevered, continually increasing its openness and visibility.

In the midst of such ignorance and negativity, two prominent San Diego doctors published a ground-breaking psychological study on gay men that garnered widespread acclaim. *The Male Couple*, released in 1984, presented five years of research conducted by Drs. David P. McWhirter and Andrew M. Mattison, openly gay partners and professors at UCSD. To conduct their research, the men interviewed 156 gay couples, all residing in the San Diego area. The book became a bestseller and turned McWhirter and Mattison into international ambassadors for the gay community.

McWhirter and Mattison were also among the founders of the Gender Identity Program at UCSD in 1979, along with medical director Dr. Joseph Kennedy and other member surgeons and administrators. The program was established after the 6th International Gender Dysphoria Program was held in San Diego that same year. Its purpose was to provide medical care and counseling, as well as to facilitate sex reassignment surgeries.⁶⁸

Throughout the 1980s, the LGBTQ community fought a number of legal and political battles and achieved significant victories. Three such victories occurred in 1986: San Diego Superior Court issued an order prohibiting the sheriff from discriminating against employees on the basis of sexual orientation; Craig Corbett won custody of his deceased partner's son, despite the mother's own custody petition; and California Proposition 64, which would have returned AIDS to the state's list of communicable diseases, was defeated. Later in the decade, in 1989, Councilman Bob Filner formed the Gay/Lesbian Advisory Committee. The committee's first task was drafting the Human Dignity Ordinance, a landmark piece of legislation which made it illegal in San Diego to discriminate against any person in housing or employment on the basis of sexual orientation. City Council approved the ordinance in an eight to one vote on April 3, 1990.

In addition to political activism, the 1980s was also a period of achievement in the professional and cultural arenas. The number and diversity of LGBTQ-owned businesses increased, and several new arts and cultural organizations formed. Sparking the community's economic growth, a group of 21 businesses formed the Greater San Diego

⁶⁶ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1983>.

⁶⁷ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#19834>.

⁶⁸ Email correspondence between Meredith Vezina and GPA. Vezina provided an introductory section from an informational publication on the Gender Identity Program.

Business Association (GSDBA) in 1979. The Lambda Archives' historical timeline of the city's LGBTQ history notes the opening of eight gay businesses in the following year.⁶⁹ Many more would follow. The GSDBA provided support and networking opportunities to entrepreneurs and rapidly increased its membership, eventually becoming the second largest LGBTQ chamber of commerce in the nation.⁷⁰ Arts and cultural developments included the creation of musical groups, such as the San Diego Gay Men's Chorus and the San Diego Women's Chorus, as well as the founding of the Diversionary Theater, which was created shed light on critical LGBTQ issues.

In the 1990s and into the 2000s, the LGBTQ community continued to grow and flourish, even though prejudice persisted in many circles of conventional society. Activists continued to fight for social acceptance and equality in the workplace, but also shifted their focus to more personal matters, like marriage equality and representations of LGBTQ persons in the mainstream media. While this important period in LGBTQ history will not be covered at this time, it is a worthy topic for future studies, once sufficient time has passed to evaluate the significance of related themes, personages, and property types.

⁶⁹ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm>.

⁷⁰ "About Us," Greater San Diego Business Association, accessed March 11, 2016, <http://www.gsdba.org/pages/AboutUs>.

Theme 1 – Social Life

The Writer and critic John Loughery observed in *The Other Side of Silence*, “the gay bar was an important focus of homosexual life in America, for the practical purposes of seeing new faces and old friends and as an emblem of cultural survival.”⁷¹ While Loughery was writing specifically about gay men and bars, the statement is equally true for lesbians, bisexuals, and transgenders. Other businesses that catered to LGBTQ persons, such as nightclubs, restaurants, and coffee shops, served the same function. With their relationships condemned by society - and for many periods prohibited by law - many men were forced to pursue social and physical encounters in the privacy of bathhouses, adult theaters, and public parks. Despite the fact that any of these places could be raided by the police at any time, they were often the only locations where LGBTQ persons could be themselves.

Perhaps due to the secretive nature of LGBTQ relationships, not much information can be found regarding the first decades of the 20th century in San Diego. Due to the city’s role as a military port town, much of the population was transitory, which may be another reason for the dearth of information about this period. Credible history of San Diego’s gay bar scene begins in 1934, with the opening of the Brass Rail in the Orpheum

Theatre building at the corner of 6th Avenue and B Street. Widely acknowledged as city’s oldest known gay-friendly bar, the Brass Rail quickly became “the smartest restaurant in town” in the mid-1930s.⁷² Although not exclusively gay at its inception, with the military escalation leading up to and during World War II, the Brass Rail became popular with servicemen and gradually transitioned into a primary gay hangout.⁷³



Postcard image of the El Cortez Skyroom, undated.
Source: Etsy.com,
<https://www.etsy.com/listing/212309012/el-cortez-sky-room-hotel-postcard>.

The Brass Rail was located just outside of the city’s downtown district, which was centered on West Broadway, roughly between Kettner Boulevard to the west and 4th Avenue to the east, and including many of the north-south side streets. By the 1940s, the downtown area was home to a variety of businesses that tolerated, if not welcomed, the LGBTQ community. At the time, the line between gay and “straight” bars was not as clearly delineated as it is today. For example, according to a 1973 article in the *Pacific Coast Times*, during the 1940s, Bradley’s, located at 303 Plaza, was “a restaurant by day and a gay orientated lounge at night... The El Cortez Skyroom was moderately gay, but not recognized as

⁷¹ John Loughery, *The Other Side of Silence: Men’s Lives & Gay Identities – A Twentieth Century History* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Co., 1998), no page number.

⁷² Interview: Ed from the Brass Rail, *Pacific Coast Times*, August 31, 1973, Publisher R. Appel, San Diego, California, 11.

⁷³ “Hillcrest, Homosexuality, History,” *San Diego Reader*, June 10, 1999, accessed May 10, 2016, <http://www.sandiegoreader.com/news/1999/jun/10/cover-pay-rent/>

such," and, "The Cinnabar was about 99% gay during the years 1948 to 1949."⁷⁴

Bars would also go back and forth between acceptance and non-acceptance of LGBTQ clientele, such as the bar in the San Diego Hotel, which accepted gay patrons in 1957 but discouraged them from coming in by 1960.⁷⁵ Another bar called the Blue Jackets was a sometime gay bar with a military clientele.

One explanation for the number of West Broadway social venues serving the LGBTQ community was its proximity to San Diego's naval personnel. The ferry from the Naval Base at Coronado disembarked at the Broadway Pier, just two blocks from the district's western end, and many restaurants and bars catered to the sailors. These included the Gold Rail, located at 1028 Third Avenue, whose slogan was, "Where Mate Meets Mate,"⁷⁶ and the Skylark Lounge and Café at 620 West Broadway, "The Serviceman's Meeting Place."⁷⁷



Print advertisement for Gold Rail. Source: *The Keyhole*, April 1955.

But it wasn't just bars and restaurants that gay military personnel were using as meeting venues. As Bérubé states:

The needs of lonely and transient GIs for intimacy transformed servicemen's hotels, residence clubs, and dormitories into covert sexual resorts. These were often the first places where a new soldier in town spent the night. Hotel rooms were so scarce in most cities that GIs were lucky to double up in the same room or even the same bed with another man, which they could do without raising eyebrows at the front desk.⁷⁸

While these venues were utilized by gay navy personnel to meet one another, they were also used to facilitate encounters between sailors and the local gay population. Bérubé discusses the Seven Seas Locker Club, located in the heart of the district, where gay civilians, "borrow[ed] servicemen's uniforms just to gain admission and make the scene."⁷⁹ The military did attempt to keep their men and women away from known gay and lesbian establishments by posting signs that proclaimed "OUT OF BOUNDS TO MILITARY PERSONNEL," but were largely unsuccessful.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Interview: Ed from Brass Rail, *Pacific Coast Times*, 6.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ *The Keyhole*, February 1955. On file at One Archive, Los Angeles, no publication information provided.

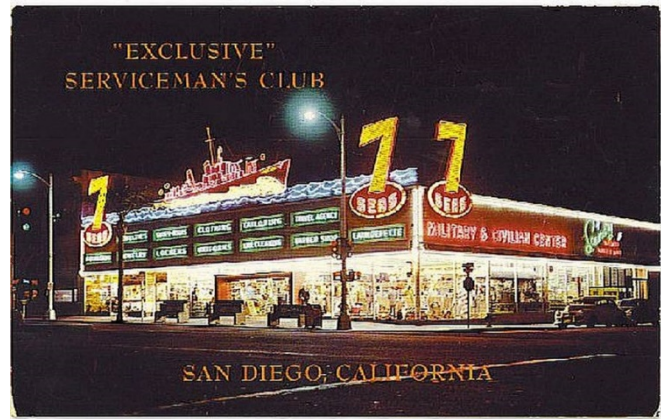
⁷⁷ *The Keyhole*, April 1956. On file at One Archive, Los Angeles, no publication information provided.

⁷⁸ Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 109.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 109.

⁸⁰ Faderman and Timmons, 73.

Anchoring the district was the San Diego YMCA located at 500 West Broadway. As in other cities, the YMCA was where, according to Bérubé, "gay and GI life merged, with men cruising each other in the showers and climbing into and out of each other's beds." It is very telling that even in 1977, years after the gay community had largely moved to other parts of the city, *Damron's Address Book* still lists the stretch of West Broadway between the YMCA and the Old Plaza Park as an area for cruising.⁸¹



Postcard image of the Seven Seas Locker Club, undated.

Source: Lyman K. Swenson Photos,

http://www.dd729.com/1950_1959_19.html.

In fact, like many parks in many cities across the country, the Old Plaza Park, now site of Horton Plaza Park on West Broadway between Third and Fourth Avenues, was also the site of many encounters between men. Bérubé continues:

GIs, particularly enlisted men who were without money, too young to drink in bars, or excluded from white establishments, filled public parks... Soldiers with no place to stay cruised the parks and went home with other men to have sex for pleasure, money, companionship, or a bed for the night.⁸²

In 1955, the state attempted to reign in the number of gay and lesbian bars. The California legislature made it illegal for a bar to serve as a "resort for illegal possessors or users of narcotics, prostitution, pimps, panderers, or sexual perverts." Though this legislation was unconstitutional, it emboldened the Department of Alcohol and Beverage Control to suspend or revoke the licenses of gay bars simply as a result of seeing persons they deemed homosexual on the premises, because homosexuality was considered a sexual perversion.

Whether or not it was a result of this policy, the late 50s was a very slow period for gay bars in San Diego. According to the *Pacific Coast Times*, "About the closest thing to an all gay bar during those years was the Copa Cabana which opened in 1957 under John and Mary Blacket at 12th and Broadway."⁸³ In 1959, in a suit filed against the Department of Alcohol Beverage Control, the California Supreme Court ruled that "a license may not be suspended or revoked simply because homosexuals or sexual perverts patronize the bar in question."⁸⁴ This ruling, affirmed the legal right of LGBTQ persons to congregate; however, it can hardly be viewed as a victory for gay rights, as the language in the ruling linked homosexuality with sexual perversion. Furthermore, the City of San Diego continued to refuse licenses to aspiring gay and lesbian bar owners into the 1970s, so while the community could gather in a bar owned by a straight

⁸¹ *Bob Damron's Address Book* 1977, Bob Damron Enterprises, San Francisco 1977, 46.

⁸² Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 111.

⁸³ Interview: Ed from Brass Rail, *Pacific Coast Times*, 11.

⁸⁴ William Eskridge, *Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 94. The case was *Vallerga v. Department of Alcohol and Beverage Control*.

person, they could not create their own establishments. As a prime example of this discrimination, when the Brass Rail was sold in 1958, it was not to a gay man, but to Lou Arko, a straight man and one of the San Diego LGBTQ community's earliest heterosexual supporters.

During the 1960s, the San Diego LGBTQ community's most notable demographic shift occurred, as increasing numbers moved to Hillcrest, a neighborhood approximately two miles to the north of downtown. Some existing Hillcrest bars initially made the new arrivals feel welcome. Others did not. But eventually, as the neighborhood changed, so did the patrons of the bars, until eventually Hillcrest became the main center of LGBTQ social life.

Epitomizing the change, the Brass Rail, under Lou Arko's ownership, moved from the Orpheum building to the northwest corner of 5th Avenue and Robinson, in the heart of Hillcrest, in 1963. With the 1973 demolition of that building to make way for a bank, the Brass Rail moved again, this time across the street to its current home at 3796 5th Avenue, remaining in Hillcrest and making it the only gay bar still open dating from the heyday of downtown. Another bar that did not survive to the present day that also made the transition to Hillcrest was the previously mentioned Blue Jackets. Now called Bee Jay's, the bar moved from downtown to 1614 5th Avenue in 1980, before closing in 1990.⁸⁵

Another notable Hillcrest bar was located at 1421 University Avenue. Now a venue called Baja Betty's, it spent the years 1972 to 1984 as a famous drag club called Show Biz Supper Club⁸⁶. This is also where Clint Johnson introduced San Diego's first female impersonation show. Tourists from Mission Valley were bused to the club three nights a week. The stage went dark in 1982.⁸⁷ One of the most iconic sights in Hillcrest is the bright neon sign for the Flame. The original restaurant on the site, the Garden of Allah, burned in 1954. In 1955, it was remodeled as the Flame Supper Club, with the addition of the now-famous sign. After Hillcrest's transition, it spent the years 1984 to 2004 as a lesbian bar. Though the interior is slated to become condos, the façade and the neon will stay intact.



Neon sign for the Flame, undated.

Source: *San Diego Eater*,

<http://sandiego.eater.com/2015/10/12/9512027/the-flame-nightclub-in-hillcrest-sells-new-bar-lounge-space-available>.

The transition to Hillcrest was a lengthy one, with many establishments remaining downtown; so lengthy that in the 70s there were still more gay bars and bathhouses on downtown's India Street than in Hillcrest.⁸⁸ Other parts of the city

⁸⁵ "Hillcrest History Walking Tour Script," Lambda Archives of San Diego, San Diego CA, 7.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline,"

<http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline%20pre%201970.htm>.

⁸⁸ Walking Tour Script, 7.

hosting gay bars and LGBTQ-friendly establishments included many of the beach communities, as well as Bankers Hill and North Park.⁸⁹

In Ocean Beach, one could find gay bars Boots and Saddle at 4906 Voltaire Street and Calypso at 5049 Newport Avenue, along with Dave's Coast Security Club Baths at 4969 Santa Monica Avenue. Heading north to Mission Beach was gay bar Barbaree at 826 Ventura Place, while Pacific Beach hosted Chez T at 4626 Cass Street and the Matador at 4633 Mission Boulevard. Skippers Twin Palms at 6737 La Jolla Boulevard opened in La Jolla in 1947 and was still there as late as 1973.

A 1979 Article in the *Update San Diego* newspaper entitled "Lytton Street a New Castro?" points to a small enclave just west of San Diego International Airport that was home to gay bars, the Hole, the Hammerhead, and the Farmhouse, with other potential nightspots getting ready to open.⁹⁰ Likely not by coincidence, Lytton Street was in very close proximity to the Naval Training Center.⁹¹ Today, only the Hole, now called The Hole in the Wall, still operates as a gay bar, located at 2820 Lytton Street.

Popular spots could also be found out on their own in many corners of the city, including the Dugout gay bar at 2969 Beech Street, Las Hermanas Coffeehouse at 4003 Wabash Avenue, and lesbian bars Diablo's at 2533 El Cajon Boulevard and the Lucky Break at 3351 Addams Avenue. Other outliers included the strip club Barbary Coast, nestled at the east end of the airport at 2431 Pacific Highway and the Oriental Bath Parlor at 6130 El Cajon Boulevard, all the way out towards La Mesa.



Las Hermanas T-shirt, undated.
Source: *Gay San Diego*, <http://gay-sd.com/moments-in-time-las-hermanas-the-sisters/>.

According to the Lambda Archives Hillcrest History Walking Tour, San Diego has always hosted many more gay bars for men than for women. In fact, they state that there have never been more than three lesbian bars open at any one time. The already mentioned Diablo's, Flame, and Lucky Break were three exceptions over the years, as well as KC's, Bella's, and the Club.⁹² Today, Hillcrest's Gossip Grill at 1220 University Avenue is the only lesbian bar in the city.

San Diego's gay women tended to gravitate towards another important LGBTQ social institution: the coffeehouse. Like bars, coffeehouses provided locations for LGBTQ persons not just to meet and socialize, but also to organize, share resources and create a sense of community. The Lambda Walking Tour mentions the coffeehouse Euphoria at 104 University Avenue as being "frequented by young LGBT people who weren't old enough to get into

⁸⁹ Ibid, 2.

⁹⁰ *Update San Diego*, Volume 1, Issue 3, April 20, 1979, no page number.

⁹¹ Now known as Liberty Station NTC Park.

⁹² *Walking Tour Script*, 7.

bars. And before there was any kind of gay youth center.”⁹³

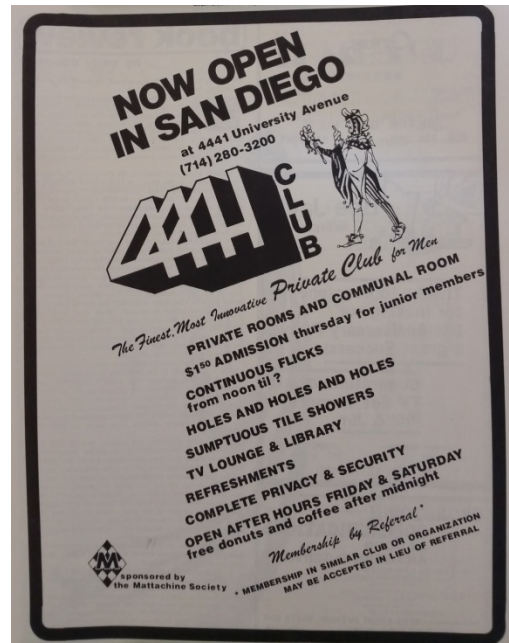
The Las Hermanas Women’s Cultural Center and Coffeehouse opened around Christmas 1974, offering “a safe and welcoming space where women – particularly lesbians – could unwind, enjoy homemade food, hear live music and poetry and engage in spirited discussion.”⁹⁴ On a similar note, the Wing Café Coffeehouse & Gallery, located in Hillcrest on B Street, was opened in 1979 by W.I.N.G., a “Womyn’s Investment Group.”⁹⁵ They also featured workshops, food, support groups, and entertainers, including a young Kathy Najimy, before closing their doors in 1992.

Meeting a more physical need were San Diego’s bathhouses and private clubs, where men could go for sexual encounters outside the public eye. One factor that led to the proliferation of bathhouses in San Diego and around the rest of the state was the 1975 passage of California’s Consenting Adult Sex Bill, which repealed the law against sodomy, thereby legalizing sex between men.

Though intended for a similar purpose, there was a bit of variety in these institutions. In a 1977 advertisement in the *San Diego Son*, Club 4441 at 4441 University Avenue advertised, “Private rooms and communal room, continuous flicks, sumptuous tile showers, TV lounge & library, holes and holes and holes, free donuts and coffee after midnight,” and most importantly, “Complete safety and security.” Meanwhile, the Lombard Club at 957 State Street, somewhat less privately, hosted the “Mr. and Miss Gay Teenage San Diego Contest,” along with guests of honor, “Mr. Gay California and the lovable KGB Chicken.”⁹⁶

Adult movie theaters fulfilled a role similar to the bathhouses and private clubs, becoming places where men could enjoy discreet sexual encounters. The Guild Theater at 3825 5th Avenue started as a 1920s movie house and “later evolved into having the “Lavender Theater” at midnight on weekends showing soft core adult films and eventually became a fulltime adult theater.”⁹⁷

As previously mentioned, another major venue for secretive sexual encounters was the public park, and while the Old Plaza Park Downtown served as a meeting place for gay



Advertisement in June 10, 1977 *San Diego Son*.

⁹³ Ibid, 6.

⁹⁴ “Moments in Time: Las Hermanas (The Sisters),” *Gay San Diego*, December 9, 2010, accessed May 18, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/moments-in-time-las-hermanas-the-sisters/>.

⁹⁵ “Wing Café, Coffeehouse & Gallery,” *Thursday’s Child*, Volume 4, Number 4, September 1981, 3.

⁹⁶ *San Diego Son*, June 10, 1977. On file at One Archive, Los Angeles, no publication information provided.

⁹⁷ *Walking Tour Script*, 4.

men, it did not provide the degree of privacy that could be found in larger San Diego parks. As a result, Presidio Park, located near Old Town San Diego became a popular spot, mentioned in *Damron's Address Book* in the 1970s as a "cruisy area."⁹⁸ Of course, the largest park in the city, full of hills, valleys, trees, and bushes optimal for privacy, is Balboa Park. Marston Point in particular, located in the southwestern corner of the park – the section closest to West Broadway and also not far from Hillcrest – has been a popular gay cruising destination for decades. In fact, Marston Point has been used for discreet male sexual encounters for so long, that the circular road providing access to it has been dubbed the "Fruit Loop."⁹⁹ Beaches also provided the necessary cover, and in the 1970s, two other "cruisy areas" were Black's Beach in Torrey Pines State Park, and Mission Beach, behind Belmont Amusement Park.¹⁰⁰

Being forced to cultivate romantic and physical relationships outside the view of an unsympathetic society brought with it many risks for members of the LGBTQ community. Gay military personnel risked dishonorable discharge upon discovery. Degrading police raids and their resulting consequences, both legal and financial were rampant in bars, bathhouses, theaters, and parks. Preeminent gay magazine *The Advocate* reported on police raids in 1968 in Balboa Park, New Town Park, and the beaches that "netted" 75 men,¹⁰¹ raids in Balboa Park in 1970 that "bagged" 135 men,¹⁰² and police raids in 1972 in or near public restrooms in Balboa and Presidio Parks that "nabbed" 59 men.¹⁰³ The threat of violence was present as well, culminating in the still-unsolved murders of David Siino, Edward Hope, and Brian Russell Poole, three gay men killed in Balboa Park, one in a restroom at Marston Point, over a several week period in 1988.¹⁰⁴

Another risk that eventually emerged was disease. With the 1980s proliferation of HIV/AIDS among gay men, bathhouses began shutting down. In 1984, the San Francisco Superior Court issued an injunction forcing several bathhouse owners to remove doors from private rooms and have staff monitor patrons, leading to the closing of San Francisco's gay bathhouses.¹⁰⁵ Though San Diego did not follow San Francisco's lead, most bathhouses closed over the years, leaving only Club San Diego at 3955 4th Avenue.

The position of the LGBTQ community has surely evolved over the decades, and social venues such as those discussed herein have simultaneously followed this evolution and directed it. The Lambda Archives Hillcrest Walking Tour points out that in San Diego, "gay bars served an important role as gathering places in the LGBT community before there were LGBT Centers or anyplace else to meet."¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ *Damron's 1977*, 46.

⁹⁹ This nickname is widely known and accepted.

¹⁰⁰ *Damron's 1977*, 46.

¹⁰¹ "S.D. Drive Nets 75 At Parks, Beaches," *The Los Angeles Advocate*, December, 1968, 3.

¹⁰² "San Diego park drive bags 135," *The Advocate*, October 28-November 10, 1970, 6.

¹⁰³ "San Diego police nab 59 at johns; enticed, say Gays," *The Advocate*, September 27, 1972, 2.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Granberry, "Warning Issued to San Diego Gays After Three Balboa Park Murders," *Los Angeles Times*, December 5, 1988, accessed May 18, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/1988-12-05/news/mn-670_1_balboa-park.

¹⁰⁵ Seth Hemelgarn, "City ponders bathhouse rules," *The Bay Area Reporter*, August 8, 2013, accessed May 29, 2016, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=68989>.

¹⁰⁶ *Walking Tour Script*, 1.

During the late 60s and early 70s, LGBTQ persons began to realize that they would continue to be treated like second-class citizens at best unless they took action. As gay bars and coffeehouses were places where people became engaged politically, it is no coincidence that they played prominent roles in the gay liberation movement. Already discussed was the community organizing taking place in San Diego coffeehouses like Las Hermanas and Wing Café. Then in Los Angeles in 1967, the Los Angeles Police Department swarmed the Black Cat, a gay bar in Silver Lake, sparking the largest public gay rights demonstration to date. A similar incident in 1968 occurred at the Patch in Wilmington, and of course in 1969, it was a raid on the Stonewall Bar in New York's Greenwich Village that led to the riots that put the movement in the public eye.¹⁰⁷

One of the major differences between the eras before and after the transition in the social scene was the ability of the LGBTQ community to advocate for itself. In the days before LGBTQ persons were allowed to even own bars, they were left to the mercy of the bars' straight owners. Stepping forward during that time were people like Lou Arko and his wife Carol who owned not only the Brass Rail, but also the Barbary Coast, the Swing, and the Club, and who looked on this ownership as a mission. Lou claimed, "I see bars as a place for people to congregate...as a common meeting place, instead of the park or plaza."¹⁰⁸

Virginia, a waitress at the Cinnabar in the 1950s, looked after her beleaguered clientele, "listened to their troubles, gave parties at her home for them, and even bailed them out of jail."¹⁰⁹ In a 1973 interview, a bartender at the Brass Rail told the story of a police raid decades before:

Doris McCleary owned the Blue Jackets, and I don't hesitate to say that she was one of the biggest champions of the gay community during that era...In 1951, a friend and I were in the Blue Jackets having a soft drink...the police drove up. Doris alerted me and told me to come with her to the storeroom where the beer boxes were stacked. I hid behind the boxes and Doris put the curtain back up with thumb tacks over the entrance."¹¹⁰

By the 1970s, the LGBTQ community was in a stronger position to advocate for themselves. Not only did Fred Acheson, who was gay, help start the San Diego AIDS Project in 1984, and not only was he involved in the Greater San Diego Business Association and the San Diego Zoological Society, but he was also the owner of the gay and lesbian bars, the Loading Zone, Diablo's and the Club – the last of which had at one time been owned by Lou and Carol Arko. He was also proud of his prominent role in the leather community.¹¹¹ This combination could not have been possible or even imaginable 20 years earlier.

¹⁰⁷ The Compton's Cafeteria Riot is not mentioned here, because the establishment was by no means an LGBTQ bar. In fact, it regularly called the police on patrons in drag.

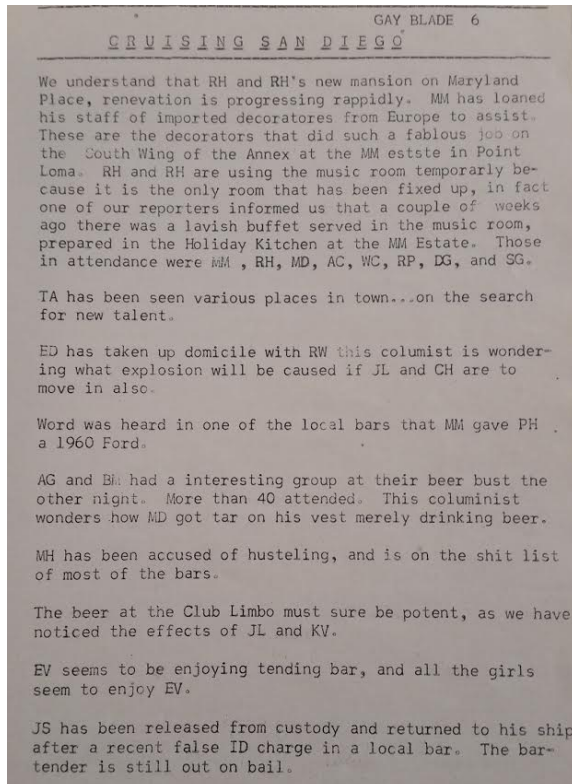
¹⁰⁸ Interview: Mr. Lou Arko, *Pacific Coast Times*, August 31, 1973, Publisher R. Appel, San Diego, California, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Interview: Ed from Brass Rail, *Pacific Coast Times*, 6.

¹¹⁰ Interview: Ed from Brass Rail, *Pacific Coast Times*, 6.

¹¹¹ "Fred Acheson," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2007, accessed March 1, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2008/acheson.htm.

In fact, it is the diminishing of the shame forced upon the previous generations that defines the difference between the two eras. When Mr. Dillon's Bar opened in Hillcrest in 1980, with its huge windows and well-lit sign, it was a far cry from the clandestine meeting places of the 50s and 60s, some of which did not even post signs. The difference can clearly be seen in the contrast between the following images:



On the left is a page from the 1961 periodical *Gay Blade*.¹¹² There are no photos, and names have been replaced by initials, guaranteeing nobody can be identified. Only one bar is even mentioned by name. By contrast, the page on the right from the 1980 periodical *Accord Magazine*¹¹³ shows smiling faces, happy to be in front of the camera as they celebrate the opening of a new bar. One of those smiling faces belongs to Fred Acheson himself.

The difference can also be seen in the numbers. The first *Damron's Address Book*, published in 1965 lists five gay bars in San Diego. The 1986 Ferrari guide *Places for Men* lists 40 gay bars in San Diego.¹¹⁴

After the late 1980s, the numbers of gay bars and other LGBTQ social establishments declined. The Lambda Archives suggest that, "Perhaps as AIDS started taking its toll, it reduced the number of patrons."¹¹⁵ While AIDS may have been a factor at first, ironically, it was the liberation of LGBTQ persons that ultimately resulted in the decline of

¹¹² *Gay Blade*, 1961, 6. On file at One Archive, Los Angeles, no other publication information available.

¹¹³ *Accord Magazine*, September, 1980, Duane Pierce Publisher, page unknown.

¹¹⁴ *Walking Tour Script*, 1.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*.

gay bars by the end of the 20th century. LGBTQ persons increasingly had new opportunities to meet one another and feel safe socializing in public, even in straight bars and restaurants, not to mention the increased freedom brought to bear by the internet.

The following tables list designated and identified resources associated with the LGBTQ community's social life. The designated resources are not necessarily designated because of an association with the LGBTQ community. Please note that the tables represent a sampling of identified properties associated with this theme. They do not represent comprehensive, definitive lists. Furthermore, just because a property is included in this list does not mean that it is historically significant or eligible for listing in the National, California, or local registers.

Designated Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Cinnabar (Designated under the name Onyx Building)	Bar	825 5 th Avenue	HRB # 127. Original home of the Cinnabar, a gay bar dating from 1948-1949. Became the Famous Door, now Onyx.
El Cortez Skyroom (Designated under the name El Cortez Hotel)	Bar	702 Ash Street	HRB # 269. Mentioned as being "moderately gay" and "popular with the military brass" in 1948 and 1949. Built in 1926.
YMCA	Cruising Spot and Lodging	500 West Broadway	HRB # 455. Listed in 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> as "Cruisy Area," mentioning "Y.M.C.A. (Armed Services)"

Identified Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
#1 on 5th	Bar	3845 5th Avenue	Opened about 1983. It had no signage. Listed in the <i>Damron's Address Book</i> as "no sign."
Atlas Baths	Bathhouse	743 Columbia Avenue	Bathhouse operating in the 1970s.
Barbaree	Bar	826 Ventura Place	1960s gay bar, advertised in the <i>Gay Blade</i> in 1961.
Barbary Coast	Bar	2431 Pacific Highway	Strip Club. Home to the first Mr. Leather Contest in 1979.
Basin Street	Bar	3919 5 th Avenue (Demolished)	Underage night club/disco; exact address unknown.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Bee Jay's, aka The Bee-Jay, formerly Blue Jackets (1 st location)	Bar	750 India Street (Demolished)	Started out as Blue Jackets, "a sometime gay bar with a military clientele." Advertised in the <i>Gay Blade</i> in 1961. Listed in 1968 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> as "Bee-Jay's." 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> refers to "Western, Some Leather, Older Crowd," and 1977 <i>San Diego Son</i> advertises, "Western/Levi."
Bee Jay's, aka The Bee-Jay, formerly Blue Jackets (2 nd location)	Bar	1614 5 th Avenue	Moved here in 1980, according to Lambda Archives Hillcrest Walking Tour.
Bee Jay's, aka The Bee-Jay, formerly Blue Jackets (3 rd location)	Bar	1421 University Avenue	Listed at this address in 1988 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> .
Black's Beach	Cruising Spot	Torrey Pines State Park	Nude beach. 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> states, "Cruisy Area...Blacks' "B.A." Beach - a half four walk from parking lot to base of golf course."
Bon Voyage	Bar	(Need Address)	A 1952 gay bar, opened by Roland (Pinky) Faux, according to the August 31, 1973 <i>Pacific Coast Times</i> ; no address found.
Boots and Saddle	Bar	4906 Voltaire Street	A 1960s gay bar, advertised in the <i>Gay Blade</i> in 1961. Built in 1945.
Bradley's	Bar	303 Plaza (Demolished)	Started out in late 1930s as posh Club Deauville. In the '40s it was restaurant by day and a gay-oriented lounge at night. Mentioned in a story and advertisement in <i>Keyhole</i> in 1955. The <i>Pride Newsletter</i> in 1967 states, "There is to be found a mixture of people, trade, straights, seafood, angel wings, queens, a potpourri of everything." Listed in 1968 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> .
Brass Rail (1 st location)	Bar	501 B Street (Demolished)	Opened in 1934. Demolished in 1964. Regarded as San Diego's oldest known gay-friendly establishment. Relocated to Hillcrest in 1963.
Brass Rail (2 nd location)	Bar	3802 5th Avenue (Demolished)	Helped initiate Hillcrest as a gay neighborhood. Demolished in 1973.
Brass Rail (current location)	Bar	3796 5th Avenue	Built in 1946. Became the Brass Rail's new home in 1973, across the street from its second location.
Buccaneer	Bar	818 4th Avenue	Advertised in <i>Keyhole</i> in 1955.
BULC/The Club	Bar	2501 Kettner Boulevard	Built in 1948. Mentioned in the <i>Pride Newsletter</i> in 1967 in "The Other Scene" Listed in 1968 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> . Later bought by Fred Acheson, co-founder of San Diego AIDS Project. Currently a music venue called the Casbah.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Calypso	Bar	5049 Newport Avenue	Mentioned in the <i>Pride Newsletter</i> in 1967. Built in 1945. Currently a restaurant called Sapporo Sushi.
Chee Chee Club/Chee Chee's	Bar	959 Broadway	Mentioned in <i>Pacific Coast Times</i> gossip column in 1975. Listed in 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> .
Chez T	Bar	4626 Cass Street (Demolished)	Featured shows with impersonators and pantomime.
Chicken Pie Shop	Restaurant	3801 5 th Avenue	Popular institution in Hillcrest.
Cinema F	Theater	1053 University Avenue (Demolished)	Location of a former theater that catered to gay clientele. Appears to have been demolished.
Club San Diego Bathhouse	Bathhouse	3955 4th Avenue	The last remaining bath house in the city. Formerly called 4 th Avenue Club. Site of a police raid in 1979 in which 25 officers arrested 23 patrons.
Copa Cabana	Bar	12th and Broadway (need address)	A gay bar opened in 1957 by John and Mary Blacket. Exact address unknown, may have been demolished.
Dave's Coast Security Club Baths	Bathhouse	4969 Santa Monica Avenue	Bathhouse operating in the 1970s.
Dave's Fox and Hounds Motel	Motel	4520 Mission Bay Drive (Demolished)	Listed in 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> .
David's Place	Coffeehouse	3766 5th Avenue	Place of remembrance for those with HIV/AIDS.
Diablo's	Bar	2533 El Cajon Boulevard (Demolished)	Lesbian bar mentioned in the <i>Pacific Coast Times</i> gossip column in 1975 and listed in 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> .
Dugout	Bar	2969 Beech Street	Listed in 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> and an advertisement in the <i>San Diego Son</i> in 1977.
Euphoria/Flicks	Coffeehouse	1017 University Avenue	Flicks is one of San Diego's first video bars. Euphoria was a coffee shop in the 90's. John Wear was killed outside in a notable hate crime. A plaque outside commemorates this.
Gent's Turkish Bath	Bathhouse	540 F Street	Bathhouse operating in the 1970s.
Glen's Turkish Baths	Bathhouse	867 4th Avenue (Demolished)	Listed in 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> . (1977 <i>San Diego Son</i> , ad. Also a private club, other locations: Wilmington, Los Angeles, North Hollywood, Fresno)
Gold Rail	Bar	1028 3rd Avenue (Demolished)	Advertised in <i>Keyhole</i> in 1955, stating, "Where Mate meets Mate."
Guild Theater	Theater	3825 5th Avenue	Started as a silent movie house in the 1920s, later evolved into having the "Lavender Theater" at midnight on weekends showing soft core gay porn and eventually became a fulltime adult theater.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Hole/The Hole in the Wall	Bar	2820 Lytton Street	Last gay bar left in a once gay district featured in a story in <i>The Update</i> in 1979 ("Lytton Street a New Castro?"). 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> states, "Also The Crypt. Western, a shop for leather and "toys." Built 1946.
Hut	Bar	2581 University Avenue	Western-themed gay bar. Listed in 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> and featured in an advertisement in the <i>San Diego Son</i> in 1977. Built in 1924. Identified in a reconnaissance survey of North Park, but not evaluated.
Jack's Steam and Locker Club	Club	(need address)	Military locker club according to an email from Walter Meyer of the Lambda Archives. No additional information known at this time.
Jodo's Club	Bar	3788 Mission Boulevard	1960s gay bar, advertised in the <i>Gay Blade</i> in 1961, mentioned in the Pride Newsletter in 1967, as "cruisy at times, and listed in the 1968 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> .
Koffee Kup	Restaurant	3764 Mission Boulevard	1960s gay bar, advertised in the <i>Gay Blade</i> in 1961. Building now occupied by Samba's Steaks.
Las Hermanas	Coffeehouse	4003 Wabash Avenue	Women's coffee shop and home to the Las Hermanas women's organization. Built 1934. Meg Christian was one of the early lesbian artists to play here.
Loading Zone	Bar	1702 India Street	Owned by Fred Acheson, co-founder of San Diego AIDS Project. Also home of B&D Custom Leather Shop in 1982.
Lombard	Private Club	957 State Street (Demolished)	1977 <i>San Diego Son</i> , ad "The Discotheque designed for the Youthful beauty, 17 and over, Dowager Empress Nicole has selected the Club Lombard for the annual Mr. & Miss Gay Teenage San Diego Contest."
Marston Point	Cruising Spot	Balboa Park	"Marston Point, once a popular spot for gay sex — so much that it was tagged "The Fruit Loop."
Mission Beach	Cruising Spot	Behind Belmont Amusement Park	1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> states, "Cruisy Area."
Mothers	Bar	Kettner Boulevard & Laurel	Disco. "Young, Collegiate Types."
Mr. Dillon's	Bar	1051 University Avenue	Started as Mickey Finn's bar in the 1920s. Became Mr. Dillon's, a gay disco noted for its conspicuous signage in the 1970s. Now a gay bar called Rich's.
Mustang Bathhouse	Bathhouse	2444 University Avenue	Former bathhouse.
Old Plaza Park	Cruising Spot	Present day Horton Plaza Park	Mentioned in various sources as a cruising ground.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Park Place	Restaurant	3811 Park Boulevard	Was the first gay restaurant put together by the men of the West Coast Production Company (WCPC). It was reportedly one of the first examples of gay men putting their money together and starting a restaurant. No information on dates of operation found.
Peacock Alley	Bar	1271 University Avenue	Gay bar (now Ruby Room); Assessor address of 1263 University Avenue.
Presidio Park	Cruising Spot	Presidio Park	Listed in 1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> as "Cruisy Area." Mentioned in September 27, 1972 <i>Advocate</i> .
Riff Raff	Bar	1005 Kettner Boulevard	1977 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> states, "Some Motorcycle and Leather."
Seven Seas Locker Club	Club	107 and 407 W. Broadway (Demolished)	Military club recognized as a meeting place for servicemen and civilians in the WWII years.
Show Biz Supper Club	Bar	1421 University Avenue	The first female impersonation show in San Diego. First drag place that paid people to perform and home of the first African American drag performer. Tourists from Mission Valley are bused to the club for three shows a night. The stage goes dark in 1982. Later Margarita Mary's, now Baja Betty's.
Skippers Twin Palms	Bar	6737 La Jolla Boulevard (Demolished)	1950-60s gay bar, advertised in the <i>Gay Blade</i> in 1961, mentioned in the <i>Pride Newsletter</i> in 1967 and listed in 1968 <i>Damron</i> . Started around 1957, according 1973 <i>Pacific Coast Times</i> interview.
Skylark	Restaurant	620 West Broadway (Demolished)	Advertised in <i>Keyhole</i> in 1956, stating, "The Servicemen's meeting place. Make it a date and get Acquainted with JOHNNY RADOVICH, Jovial Owner, and Serviceman's Friend."
Swing/ A Different Drum/Club Bombay/Six Degrees	Bar	3175 India Street	Swing mentioned in the <i>Pride Newsletter</i> in 1967 and listed in 1968 <i>Damron's Address Book</i> as "Swing Club." 1977 <i>Damron's</i> : A Different Drum. Disco. "go-go boys -- Indian motif." Built in 1963. Currently a bar called the Starlite.
The Ball Express	Disco	(need address)	Location of first Nicky Awards. Appears to have been located on Pacific Coast Highway, but the exact address number has not yet been found.
The Big Kitchen	Restaurant	3003 Grape Street	Restaurant that welcomed all, included LGBTQ patrons.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
The Flame	Bar	3780 Park Boulevard	The Flame, an old supper club on Park Boulevard (named after a fire destroyed the first restaurant, The Garden of Allah). Operated as a lesbian bar from 1984 to 2004.
The Gizmo	Bar	3968 5th Avenue	1960s lesbian bar, advertised in the <i>Gay Blade</i> in 1961. Mentioned in the <i>Pride Newsletter</i> in 1967. Built 1924. Possibly the location of the first gay bar in Hillcrest.
The Grand	Bar	(Need address)	Gay bar in Pacific Beach that operated in the 1980s. No address found.
The Lucky Break	Bar	3351 Addams Avenue	Lesbian bar, advertised in the <i>Gay Blade</i> in 1961 ("Where the girls meet") Built in 1930.
The Matador	Bar	4633 Mission Boulevard	Gay bar in Pacific Beach that operated from the 1970s through the 1980s.
Tin Pan Alley	Bar	308 University Avenue	Now Urban Mo's.
Top Hat	Bar	5th Avenue and E Street	Gay bar operated by Sally Johnson in 1946..
Topsys Diner	Restaurant	1451 Washington Street	Popular gathering spot after the bars closed. Sometimes known as the "gay Denny's."
Unicorn Theater	Theater	(need address)	Theater in La Jolla that reportedly showed LGBTQ films.
Vulcan Steam Room and Sauna	Bathhouse	805 W. Cedar Street	Opened in 1974. Closed in 2015. Building constructed in 1962.
WCPC (West Coast Production Company)	Disco/Dance Club	1845 Hancock Street	Gay dance club owned by Chris Shaw, Howard Roure and others from 1979-1992. Some reports say it opened as early as 1977.
White Hat Café	Restaurant	616 Market Street (Demolished)	Advertised in <i>Keyhole</i> in 1956, stating, "The Serviceman's Favorite Rendezvous in Town!"
Wildcat Arcade	Private Club	4th Avenue and F Street	Advertisement in 1977 <i>San Diego Son</i> .
Wing Café	Coffeehouse	2753 B Street	Lesbian café and feminist restaurant-gallery-performance space from 1979 to 1992.

Eligibility Standards

The following eligibility standards provide guidelines for evaluating property types associated with the LGBTQ community's social life. It is important to note that eligible properties will not merely be associated with this theme; rather, they will have a direct and significant association with it.

Theme: Social Life

Associated Property Type: Commercial

Property Type Description: Associated property types may include commercial buildings such as restaurants, bars, nightclubs, coffee shops, bathhouses, locker clubs, hotels/motels, and theaters that were important gathering places for LGBTQ persons. They may also include residences if they served as important social gathering spaces.

Property Type Significance: Significant properties are directly and importantly associated with the development of the LGBTQ social scene or with individuals who were instrumental in the community's social life, such as prominent owners of social venues and leaders of important social events. These will likely be the earliest known resources in a geographic area or catering to a specific group. They will also likely be widely recognized as central hubs of social activity for a noteworthy period of time. They may also be significant under other themes, such as a political activism or community organizations.

Geographic Locations: Throughout San Diego, particularly in Hillcrest, downtown in the vicinity of Broadway, and Pacific Beach

Area(s) of Significance: Social History

Criteria: NRHP A or B / CRHR 1 or 2 / HRB A or B

Period of Significance: 1940-1990

Period of Significance Justification: There are no known extant buildings related to this theme from before 1940.¹¹⁶ The original Brass Rail has been demolished. The year 1990 is the end of the period of study for this historic context statement.

Eligibility Standards:

- Associated with a business that played a significant role in the social life of the LGBTQ community
- Associated with an individual who has been proven to have played an important role in the social life of the LGBTQ community

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register eligibility, properties associated with this theme within the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- May be the first or long-time location of an important venue
- May be located in a building used for multiple purposes or other purposes originally
- Business must have occupied the property during the period of time in which it gained significance

¹¹⁶ This context statement is a living document that may change and be updated in the future as more information is uncovered through further research and analysis. While the original authors of this document did not find any known extant resources associated with this theme from before 1940 in their work, this does not mean definitively that none exist. If such resources are discovered in the future, this document should be amended accordingly.

- For social properties associated with important individuals, the property must be directly associated with the individual's productive life during the period in which they achieved significance and must be representative of their important contributions to this theme
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period in which the business occupied the property or in which the individual was directly associated with the property

Integrity Considerations:

- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant LGBTQ social venue occupied the property or during which the significant individual was directly associated with the property
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Some original materials may have been altered, removed, or replaced, which may have a resulting impact on integrity of both Materials and Workmanship
- Setting may have been altered by changes in surrounding development patterns and infill

Theme 2 – Community Organizations

With the anonymity and isolation that was part of LGBTQ life, it makes sense that the vast array of social services available to today's San Diego community started with the telephone. Between 1970 and 1971, three hotlines were created. The first was 1970's Gay Information Center, started by Stephen Bell of the Gay Liberation Front.¹¹⁷ The second, that same year, was started by GULF (Gays United for Liberty and Freedom) and was operated by Bill Gautier, better known as the drag personality Glenda, right out of his home in the 1500 block of 30th Street.¹¹⁸ Then in 1971, Jess Jessop set up an answering machine in a closet in his home that would eventually lead to the creation of one of San Diego's most important and longest-lived LGBTQ resources: The Center for Social Services.¹¹⁹



Jess Jessop minding the phones, 1972.
Source: Lambda Archives.

It was on October 3rd, 1972 that the seeds were sown for what would come to be known simply as "The Center." That day, Bernie Michels, Thomas Carey, and several others met in Weichel Hall, a shed behind the Chollas View United Methodist Church at 906 47th Street, to start planning an LGBTQ social services center. Further meetings took



Notes outlining the October 3rd, 1972 Center for Social Services meeting. Source: Lambda Archives.

place in Michels's home at 2004 El Cajon Boulevard.¹²⁰ An African-American from the south, Carey was already a veteran of lunch counter sit-ins in his home state of North Carolina, and also of the Navy.¹²¹ Michels was the first openly LGBTQ student in San Diego State University's School of Social Work.¹²²

The Center opened in October 1973, with Jessop serving as the first Executive Director,¹²³ in a ten-room house at 2250 B Street in the Golden Hill neighborhood, east of Downtown and south of Balboa Park. According to Michels, "We wanted to locate in Hillcrest, but

¹¹⁷ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1971>. For more on the GLF, see the political activism theme.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," 1970." <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm>.

¹²⁰ Notes outlining the October 3rd, 1972 Center for Social Services meeting. *Lambda Archives of San Diego*, accessed June 10, 2016, <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/images>.

¹²¹ "Thomas Cary," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2004, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2004/thomas_carey.htm.

¹²² "Bernard Michels," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2007, accessed June 1, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2007/bernard_michels.htm.

¹²³ "History," *The San Diego Community Center*, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.thecentersd.org/about/history.html?referrer=https://www.google.com/>.

the rent in that neighborhood was much too high... We knew we wanted to help people who were just beginning to come out of the closet, along with others who were struggling with their sexual orientation." He also points out the group's lack of experience, Michels continues, "Essentially we began to train ourselves as 'Rap-group' leaders and peer counselors by meeting together regularly and participating in our own self-development group,"¹²⁴

Despite several incidents occurring over the first few years, including a burglary, a brick thrown through the front window and lighted flares being thrown onto the lawn, The Center has continued to provide an ever-expanding variety of programs and services.¹²⁵ In 1980, The Center moved to 1447 North 30th Street, also in Golden Hill¹²⁶, then to 3766 5th Avenue¹²⁷, and then closer to Hillcrest, to 3910 Normal Street in 1992, then finally to its present location at 3909 Centre Street in 1998.



The Center for Social Services, 2250 B Street, 1973. Source: KPBS, <http://www.kpbs.org/news/2015/jul/30/city-san-diego-embarking-yearlong-effort-record-lg/>.



The Center, 3909 Centre Street, 2016
Source: Hillquest, <http://www.hillquest.com/recreation/urban-walk-2-university-avenue-east/>.

Many of the founders of The Center would go on to participate in the creation of many other resources for the San Diego LGBTQ community over the next decade. For example, Jessop was the founder of the Lesbian and Gay Archives of San Diego, which eventually became the Lambda Archives, he helped organize San Diego's first unofficial Pride parade in 1974, and he was a charter member of the Gay Alliance for Equal Rights in 1979.¹²⁸ Thomas Carey would go on to help create The Center's Men's Self Development Program.¹²⁹ The Center founder Frederick Scholl helped create the

¹²⁴ "Beginnings of the San Diego LGBT Community Center," Bernard Michel, *Lambda Archives of San Diego*, 3.

¹²⁵ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1974>.

¹²⁶ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm>.

¹²⁷ Based on written correspondence to the City from Richard Burhenne, The Center was located behind the main building at this address before moving to Centre Street. The exact period of time when The Center was located here is unknown.

¹²⁸ Michael Granberry, "Jess Jessop, Leader in the Gay Community, Dies at 50," *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 1990, accessed May 31, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/1990-02-22/local/me-1434_1_san-diego; "The 2004 San Diego LGBT Community Wall of Honor," accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.thecentersd.org/pdf/woh/woh-programbook-2004.pdf>, 18.

¹²⁹ Wall of Honor, Thomas Carey.

San Diego Coalition for Human Rights, which became the Greater San Diego Business Association, and he also co-founded the Gay and Lesbian Latino Organization, Stepping Stone, and the Gay and Lesbian Police Liaison Committee.¹³⁰ The Center founder John Eberly started the Metropolitan Community Church's Video Ministry in 1980 and was active in local politics through the San Diego Democratic Club, while Jeri Dilno, The Center's first female Executive Director, was also editor of the *Gay and Lesbian Times*, co-founder of San Diego's first Pride march to be sanctioned by the city in 1975, and a three-time delegate to the Democratic National Convention.¹³¹

On the heels of The Center, the mid to late 1970s and 1980s were marked by the growth of community groups in many different directions. In 1974, the city's oldest documented transgender support group was founded. Known as the Christine Jorgensen Society of San Diego, Nicole Murray-Ramirez led the ground-breaking organization. The group's inaugural meeting took place at 1357 8th Avenue on July 31st. In December of the same year, the Jorgensen Society organized a protest on the steps of the San Diego County Courthouse in opposition to Municipal Code 56.19, which criminalized cross-dressing.¹³²

In January 1982, The Bisexual Forum was founded by Dr. Fritz Klein, a renowned bisexual researcher, activist, and author who relocated to San Diego from the East Coast. Before moving to San Diego, Klein was best known for creating the Klein Sexual Orientation Grid, published in the *Journal of Homosexuality* in 1985 and authoring *The Bisexual Option* in 1978.¹³³ He also co-founded the original chapter of The Bisexual Forum in New York City in 1974, one of the country's earliest bisexual groups.¹³⁴

Other specialized community groups created in the 1980s included Couples/San Diego, part of the wider Couples National Network, which started providing social and educational outreach to lesbian and gay couples in 1985.¹³⁵ Needs of LGBTQ homeless began to be addressed in 1988 through a shelter opened at the corner of 26th and G Streets by Reverend Pat Rocco of the U.S. Mission. Dating from 1962, and with locations throughout California, the U.S. Mission is the second oldest gay organization in the country and refuses, "No one of any sexuality, sex, race, creed or religion."¹³⁶

Also in 1988, The Neutral Corner achieved 501c non-profit status from the federal government.¹³⁷ The group began meeting informally a decade prior. In 1978, one year after Renée Richards competed in the U.S. Open, it was started by San Diego therapist

¹³⁰ "Fred Scholl," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2007, accessed June 3, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2007/fred_scholl.htm.

¹³¹ "John Eberly," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2004, accessed June 3, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2004/john_eberly.htm; "Jeri Dilno," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2005, accessed June 3, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2005/jeri_dilno.htm.

¹³² *Trans Narratives* bulletin requesting additional information from the public on the Jorgensen Society, provided by Charles Kaminski via email, bulletin undated.

¹³³ Liz Highleyman, "Bisexual Pioneer Dr. Fritz Klein Dies," *The Bay Area Reporter*, June 6, 2006, accessed August 30, 2016, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=900>.

¹³⁴ Ibid. After the end of the period of study, Klein started the American Institute of Bisexuality (also known as the Bisexual Foundation), published more books, and published *Bi*, a web-based magazine.

¹³⁵ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1985>.

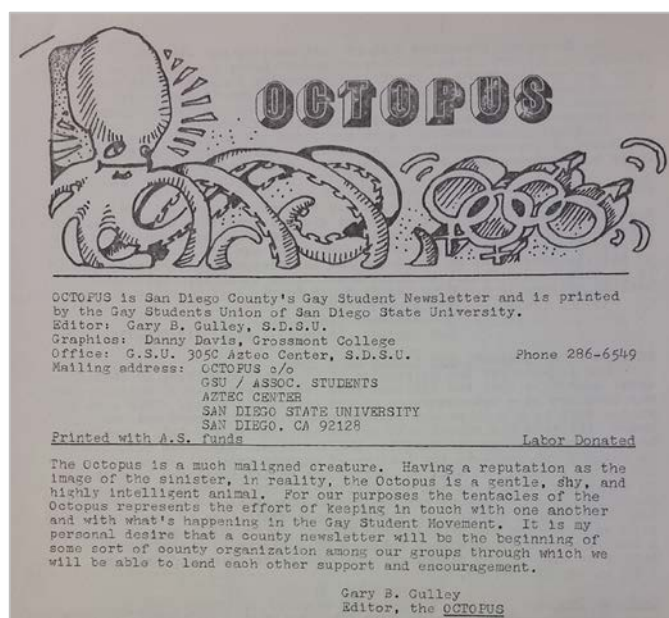
¹³⁶ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1988>.

¹³⁷ Letter from the IRS confirming 501c status provided by Meredith Vezina via email. Although The Neutral Corner's website cites 1985, the letter is dated February 16, 1988.

Vince Huntington as a community support group for transgender San Diegans. The group initially met in Huntington's office.¹³⁸

Starting in 1980, the older demographic was served by Seniors Active in a Gay Environment (SAGE), which was named after a similar group in New York. According to New York co-founder Doug Kimmel, "Being gay is fine as long as you're young and healthy, but when you're old and alone, that would be a very dreary time." Co-founder Chris Almvig adds, "The gay scene in the 1970s and early 80s was youth-oriented, it was disco, drugs, and we had to break through all that."¹³⁹

On December 12, 1982, support became available for the loved ones of San Diego LGBTQ persons with the first meeting of PFLAG (Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays). A nationwide organization formed in 1981 to help others unlearn the homophobia learned in society, PFLAG went from 25 parents to a community of over 75,000 households, in over 400 communities around the world.¹⁴⁰ A variety of ethnic groups formed their own organizations as well, starting in 1984 with Gay and Lesbian Latino Organization (GLLO) and continuing with the 1988 formation of the Gay/Lesbian Asian-Pacific Islanders Social Support by Jim Cua, who would go on to co-found St. Martin de Porres, a residential shelter for people with AIDS.¹⁴¹



The *Octopus* Newsletter, San Diego State University Gay Students Union, 1975. Source: ONE Archives.

These were followed in 1989 by Lesbians and Gays of African Descent United (LAGADU), the first African-American group to march in San Diego Gay Pride Parade.¹⁴² It was founded by Corrine "Martie" Mackey and the prolific Cynthia Lawrence-Wallace, who also organized the first women's program at The Center, founded the San Diego Women's Chorus in 1987, and fought to eliminate discrimination against minorities from the school system, ultimately developing curricula materials for the State of California.¹⁴³

With three major universities, San Diego also boasts a robust support system in the academic world. San Diego State University alone is home to

¹³⁸ The office location was not uncovered in the research for this context statement, but residential addresses are included the table of known resources following this theme.

¹³⁹ "History," *SAGE USA*, accessed June 2, 2016, <http://www.sageusa.org/about/history.cfm>.

¹⁴⁰ "Our Vision and Mission," *PFLAG San Diego*, accessed June 1, 2016, <http://www.pflag.com/about>.

¹⁴¹ "Jim Cua," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2005, accessed June 2, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2005/jim_cua.htm.

¹⁴² "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1989>.

¹⁴³ "Interview with Cynthia Lawrence-Wallace," *Archive.org*, accessed June 1, 2016, https://archive.org/details/casdl_a_000092.

the LGBT Student Union, Gamma Rho Lambda sorority, Delta Lambda Phi fraternity, the Pride Center, OUTreach in the School of Social Work and even a major in LGBT Studies.¹⁴⁴ But this was not the case in 1975, so Gary Gulley formed the Gay Students Union.¹⁴⁵ Gulley addressed the prevailing gay stereotype of the day by naming the group's newsletter *Octopus*, explaining, "Having a reputation as the image of the sinister, in reality, the octopus is a gentle, shy, and highly intelligent animal."¹⁴⁶

Then in July 1979, Betty Berzon, national president of the Gay Academic Union, helped launch a San Diego chapter.¹⁴⁷ The GAU was a group of LGBT academics who aimed at making the academia more amenable to the LGBTQ community. Change came a bit later to the University of San Diego. In 1984, students formed a support group to cope with the special problems of being gay and lesbian at a Catholic university.¹⁴⁸ University recognition of its LGBTQ students came in 1990 with the creation of the Bisexual, Gay, and Lesbian Law Student Association (now PRIDELAW), and the next year, undergraduates organized the Student Alliance Embracing Sexual Orientation (SAESO, now PRIDE). Currently more than a dozen groups offer support for and education about the LGBTQ community.¹⁴⁹

As San Diego is the principal homeport of the Pacific Fleet, the military is an important part of the community. In the 1980s, several groups formed to address the needs of military veterans. In February 1984, the first meeting of the Gay and Lesbian Veterans of San Diego was held.¹⁵⁰ In addition, Robert Shepard, another past Executive Director of The Center for Social Services, co-founded the Gay Veterans Association.¹⁵¹ A third organization, the San Diego Veterans Association, was founded in 1985 and had by 1988, according to founder and veteran John Keasler, helped establish counseling at Balboa Hospital for HIV positive sailors and Marines, provided homeless services, and informed governmental representatives about the concerns of lesbian and gay military personnel, both veterans and active duty members, and much more.¹⁵²

Though gay men and women faced similar obstacles, many of their needs were different, resulting in community organizations developed specifically for lesbians. Previously mentioned coffeehouses like Las Hermanas and the Wing Café provided support groups along with their food and music.¹⁵³ Formed in 1970, Tres Femme was one of the earliest early lesbian social organizations. It was joined in 1975 by the San Diego Lesbian Organization. Then in 1985, Southern California Women for

¹⁴⁴ "LGBTQ Groups," *San Diego State University*, accessed May 31, 2016, http://go.sdsu.edu/lead/lgbtq/lgbtq_groups.aspx.

¹⁴⁵ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1975>.

¹⁴⁶ *Octopus* Newsletter, 1975.

¹⁴⁷ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1979>.

¹⁴⁸ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1984>.

¹⁴⁹ "LGBTQ at USD," *University of San Diego*, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.sandiego.edu/lgbtq/about.php#accordion>.

¹⁵⁰ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1984>.

¹⁵¹ "Robert Shepard," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2004, accessed June 2, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2004/robert_shepard.htm.

¹⁵² *San Diego Veterans Association*, accessed June 3, 2016, <http://sandiegovets.weebly.com/november-1988.html>.

¹⁵³ For more information on coffeehouses and cafes, reference the social life theme.

Understanding (SCWU), the largest lesbian organization in the Southwest, which focused primarily on education, formed a chapter covering the City of San Diego and North San Diego County.¹⁵⁴ Two more lesbian-oriented groups arrived in 1988. The first, the International Latina Lesbian Organization (ILLO) started in January, with cultural, social, and philosophical themes...as well as Salsa Sundays, where guests could enjoy some dancing. Then in June, For Lesbians Only (FLO) was created, providing a weekly, women-only space as an alternative to the bar scene.¹⁵⁵

The onslaught of the AIDS epidemic exponentially increased the needs for social services, and throughout the 1980s many in the community answered the call, coming up with creative solutions to combat an overwhelming problem. For example, in 1985, Barbara Peabody founded Mothers of AIDS Patients (MAPS), "to combat prejudice and ignorance and to provide a sounding board for mothers to share their experiences." She also established the first art program in the country for people with HIV/AIDS, allowing them to create, exhibit and sell their work.¹⁵⁶

Activist Albert Bell, who had founded the first Gay Liberation group in San Francisco in 1970, organized the first local chapter of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACTUP) in 1987 to bring help to AIDS victims. He also established "Our House," the first residential living facility for people with AIDS and helped created the AIDS Assistance Fund and produced the city's first AIDS Walk for Life.¹⁵⁷

The next year, in 1988, Gary Cheatham, a computer analyst for General Dynamics, noticed piles of dirty laundry when visiting a friend with AIDS. Wanting to do something to help, he started washing his friend's clothes on a regular basis. One person became three, then thousands, as Cheatham turned the helpful gesture into the non-profit Auntie Helen's Fluff 'n' Fold. Starting in the garage of his house, Cheatham moved the free laundry service to a storefront at 4028 30th Street¹⁵⁸, adding a thrift shop a year before the opening of the first Out of the Closet thrift store in Los Angeles.¹⁵⁹



Auntie Helen's Thrift Shop, 2011. Source: KPBS, <http://www.kpbs.org/news/2011/aug/30/thrift-v-shoppers-boost-business-san-diego>

¹⁵⁴ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1985>.

¹⁵⁵ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1988>.

¹⁵⁶ "Barbara Peabody," *Lambda Archives San Diego*, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.lambdaarchives.us/biographies/barbara_peabody.htm. The exact year in which she started the art program is unknown, but may have been around 1986. The exact name is also unclear. It has been referred to as both Art for Life and the AIDS Art Project.

¹⁵⁷ "AIDS @ 30: San Diego leaders lost to AIDS," *LGBT Weekly*, June 2, 2011, accessed June 23, 2016, <http://lgbtweekly.com/2011/06/02/san-diego-leaders-lost-to-aids-3/>; "Albert Bell," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor, 2005*, accessed June 17, 2016, http://www.lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2005/albert_bell.htm. For more information on Bell, reference the political activism theme.

¹⁵⁸ Jack Williams, "Inspirational AIDS service founder Gary Cheatham dies" *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 28, 1995. Accessed September 12, 2016. <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy1.usc.edu/resources/doc/nb/news/116C47A50AC02124?p=AWNB>

¹⁵⁹ Rachel Cromidas, "Auntie Helen's offers compassionate service," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, August 30,

With financial help from philanthropist Joan Kroc, a designation as a “National Point of Light” by President George H.W. Bush, and an Apostolic Blessing from Pope John Paul II, Auntie Helen’s, named after Cheatham’s great aunt, became a staple of the community. Though Cheatham himself died of AIDS in 1995, by 2008, Auntie Helen’s was washing over 1,500 free loads of laundry for county AIDS patients too sick to do their own, distributing free emergency clothing and medical equipment, and providing food donations and loans for medical equipment.¹⁶⁰

In 1990, the two primary support organizations for persons with AIDS, the San Diego AIDS Project and AIDS Assistance Fund, merged to become the San Diego AIDS Foundation. Attributing the merger to “cumbersome and repetitive application procedures for assistance as well as financial constraints,” the new organization worked out of the home of George Murphy at 1660 Cable Street, eventually becoming San Diego’s largest organization.¹⁶¹

San Diego’s LGBTQ community also responded to the AIDS epidemic with a variety of healthcare resources. 1983 saw the creation of Blood Sisters, which was founded by the San Diego Democratic Club, and whose first blood drive was organized by SDDC member Barbara Vick.¹⁶² Thought to be the first such blood drive anywhere, nearly 200 lesbians provided blood to be given to people with AIDS and ARC (AIDS-Related Complex). The group was formed in reaction to the news that gay men were no longer allowed to donate blood due of the possibility of AIDS virus contamination.¹⁶³

Built in 1984, Priority Pharmacy, which started at 3935 1st Avenue and moved to 3940 4th Avenue, is said to have filled the city’s first prescription for AIDS-fighting drug AZT in 1987. The pharmacy was a pillar of the city’s gay community, thanks to the business and charitable efforts of founder and pharmacist David C. Zeiger.¹⁶⁴ In December 2005, Priority Pharmacy was sold and became a Mom’s Pharmacy. In 2014, it joined the AHF (AIDS Healthcare Foundation) chain as a “full-service pharmacy where 96 cents of every dollar earned through filling any prescription supports AHF’s specialized HIV/AIDS medical services,” continuing the legacy of Priority Pharmacy.¹⁶⁵

In 1989, the first AIDS hospice opened at 2513-2515 Union Street. The Truax House, named for longtime gay activist and community leader Dr. A Brad Truax, who had recently succumbed to AIDS, was donated by the City of San Diego Housing Commission “to provide a secure, homelike setting for victims of AIDS and ARC. Here,

2008, accessed June 1, 2016,

http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/uniontrib/20080830/news_1cz30laundry.html.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid; “About Auntie Helen’s,” *Auntie Helen’s*, accessed June 3, 2016,

<http://www.auntiehelens.org/about-2/>.

¹⁶¹ “San Diego LGBT History Timeline,” <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1990.htm>.

¹⁶² For additional information on the SDDC, see the political activism theme. The San Diego AIDS Foundation later moved to the corner of Centre Street and Polk Avenue in Hillcrest, and then bought a building near UCSD Medical Center.

¹⁶³ “San Diego LGBT History Timeline,” <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1983>.

¹⁶⁴ “Hillcrest Walking Tour.”

¹⁶⁵ “AHF Opens New Specialized HIV Healthcare Center in San Diego,” *Business Wire*, September 9, 2014, accessed June 16, 2016, <http://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20140909005305/en/AHF-Opens-Specialized-HIV-Healthcare-Center-San>.



Truax House, 2016. Source: KPBS,
<http://www.kpbs.org/news/2016/mar/22/aids-hospice-truax-house-san-diego-uncertain-hiv/>.

they don't have to worry about being kicked out. They won't be evicted because of their sickness, or because they're gay."¹⁶⁶

Healthcare facilities catering to the LGBTQ community also existed in the decade leading up to the epidemic, like the Womancare Clinic, which first opened its doors in the fall of 1973 at 1050 Garnet Avenue, welcoming lesbians as patients and in the process, providing them with a safe space. They also provided a donor insemination program for those wanting to start families.¹⁶⁷ Then in 1978, the first clinic

exclusively for lesbians, the Lesbian Health Clinic of San Diego, opened at the Beach Area Community Clinic.¹⁶⁸ The Beach Area Community Clinic is still operating at 3705 Mission Boulevard.

The needs of gays and lesbians battling alcoholism were addressed with the 1976 opening of Stepping Stone, one of the few LGBTQ-oriented recovery organizations in the country. Stepping Stone continues to provide a place where those in recovery can feel comfortable being completely open about their lives; one of the most important parts of the recovery process. Dr. Albert Best, San Diego's first openly gay City Council candidate in 1979, was one of Stepping Stone's co-founders.¹⁶⁹

As community organizations need capital to function, fundraising played a crucial role and also came in a wide variety, ranging from San Diego's first gay thrift store, opened by the U.S. Mission in 1988 on 30th and Beech, to Wilde's, a new beer named for Oscar Wilde that pledged 35% of its profits to the gay community in 1984.¹⁷⁰

More traditional fundraising was done by the AIDS Assistance Fund of San Diego County, which also started in 1984, with all of the money raised going directly to AIDS patients, as opposed to education or political lobbying.¹⁷¹ In 1987, the organization moved into a home of its own when Greg Vasic, owner of the LGBTQ-focused F Street Bookstores, paid for a year's lease on the building located next door to MCC at 2333

¹⁶⁶ Michael Granberry, "AIDS Patient Finds a Haven at Truax House," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1989, accessed June 2, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/1989-04-05/local/me-823_1_center-for-aids-patients. The Truax House was designated as HRB #1225 by the Historical Resources Board on July 21, 2016 under HRB Criterion A with a period of significance on 1989 for its important association with the treatment of AIDS patients. The designation excluded the building at 540 W. Laurel Street, which shares a parcel with the Truax House, as it was determined through detailed research that the Laurel Street building was rented separately and was not associated with AIDS treatment and care.

¹⁶⁷ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1973>.

¹⁶⁸ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1978>.

¹⁶⁹ For more information on Best's political career, see the political activism theme.

¹⁷⁰ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1984>.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

30th Street.¹⁷² In May 1988, Community Actively Supporting People with AIDS (CASA) was launched, founded by Neil Good and Norma Assam, gathering contributions from large corporations to assist in housing and caring for those diagnosed with from the disease.¹⁷³

In addition to organizations, funds were also raised via events. In 1987, Artists for AIDS Assistance, a performance featuring 20 arts organizations, became the first major AIDS fundraiser in the San Diego art community. The performance, which raised over \$6,000, was presented at the Lyceum Theatre at 79 Horton Plaza and organized by Larry Baza.¹⁷⁴

Perhaps the best-known fundraising entity in San Diego is both an organization and an event; the Imperial Court de San Diego. Though the International Imperial Court System started in San Francisco in 1965, the San Diego chapter's inaugural Imperial Court Ball in 1973 makes it one of the oldest chapters. This event also has the distinction of being the first LGBTQ event held at a public hotel in the history of San Diego,¹⁷⁵ specifically the Royal Hotel (now the Wyndham San Diego Bayside Hotel) at 1355 North Harbor Drive.

Demonstrating San Diego's importance to the wider organization, chapter co-founder Nicole Murray-Ramirez has served as international president. Known as Empress Nicole the Great, The Queen Mother of the Americas, within the Imperial Court System, Murray-Ramirez went from riding in San Diego's first Pride Parade in 1974 to currently serving a second term as the first elected chairman of the mayor's advisory board and the chief of police's advisory board, as well as the current chair of the 51st congressional advisory board and past state chair of Equality California.¹⁷⁶ Thanks to Murray-Ramirez and many others, the Imperial Court has also become a fundraising powerhouse:

The Imperial Court of San Diego has established itself as one of the most successful fundraising organizations in the country, raising hundreds of thousands of dollars over these past three decades. The Imperial Court played a major part in helping establish the LGBT Center, San Diego Pride, Stepping Stone, AIDS Walk, Mama's Kitchen and many other organizations with their critically needed fundraisers.¹⁷⁷

The Nicky Awards, another important local fundraising event, were established in 1974, one year after the first Imperial Court Ball.¹⁷⁸ The Nicky Awards honored outstanding

¹⁷² "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1987>.

¹⁷³ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1988>.

¹⁷⁴ "Larry Baza," *San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor*, 2008, accessed May 1, 2016, http://lambdaarchives.us/wall_of_honor/2008/baza.htm. For more on Baza, see the political activism and arts themes.

¹⁷⁵ Mike Preston, "Imperial Court de San Diego, Inc.," *LGBT Weekly*, February 3, 2011, accessed June 23, 2016, <http://lgbtweekly.com/2011/02/03/imperial-court-de-san-diego-inc/>.

¹⁷⁶ "Nicole Murray-Ramirez, Activist, San Diego, Calif.," *Lambda Archives Biography*, accessed June 16, 2016, <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/biographies/murray-ramirez.htm>.

¹⁷⁷ Preston, *LGBT Weekly*.

¹⁷⁸ "About Us," *The 40th Annual Nicky Awards*, accessed September 12, 2016, <http://nicky.cms2.itperiod.net/AboutUs.aspx>.

achievement in the LGBTQ community and, like the local Imperial Court chapter, had Nicole Murray-Ramirez as their founder.¹⁷⁹ The first Nicky Awards, benefiting The Center and the Metropolitan Community Church, were held at the Ball Express nightclub, a disco on Pacific Coast Highway, in 1975.¹⁸⁰ The annual event continues to the present day.

As early as the 1970s, LGBTQ persons fought for integration into San Diego's business community. Here too, community organizations played a role. Women were active in this endeavor with Judith Knight starting Project Repair to teach women trades and building skills in 1974.¹⁸¹ Fourteen years later, San Diego Career Women was started to offer opportunities for professional development and networking in non-bar settings. Starting with just 10 members, it grew to 120 in the first month and eventually to over 250 members.¹⁸²

In 1979, several gay businessmen, including Ron Umbaugh, owner of the Crypt, Frank Stiriti, owner of the Vulcan Steam & Sauna, and Fred Acheson, owner of several bars, founded the Greater San Diego Business Association. This was a major step towards integrating newly emerging LGBTQ businesses into the general San Diego business community. In 2016, the GSDBA is still going strong, as the second largest gay and lesbian chamber in the country, and in 2000 it was the first LGBT chamber in the nation to sign a Memorandum of Understanding with the US Small Business Administration, recognizing the GSDBA's status as a minority business association.¹⁸³

Further integration came in 1984, when community activist and organizer Joyce Beers brought together the heterosexual and LGBTQ communities in her role as the first executive director of the Hillcrest Business Association. As her daughter Robin explains, "She was able to bring together gay and non-gay business owners, getting them to see that they had common goals and interests. There were some "old school" business owners at that time who thought that the increasing number of gay and lesbian business owners meant that the neighborhood was going straight to hell in a handbag. Mom got them all to sit down together and realize that arguing about who sleeps with whom was irrelevant." ¹⁸⁴

Beers was also behind the relighting of the famous Hillcrest neon sign, with the sign lighting celebration basically run out of the family garage, located at 631 N. Crescent Court. The Joyce Beers Community Center on Vermont Street is named after her.

Of course, it wasn't just commerce and social work that bound the community together. Social activities were also a big part of life. With the new freedoms beginning to be enjoyed by the previously closeted community, recreational organizations

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Letter from Charles Kaminski to the City of San Diego, dated August 26, 2016.

¹⁸¹ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1984>.

¹⁸² "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1988>.

¹⁸³ "GSDBA History," *Greater San Diego Business Association*, accessed June 7, 2016, <http://www.gsdba.org/pages/AboutUs>.

¹⁸⁴ "Joyce Beers," *Hillcrest History*, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.hillcresthistory.org/people/joyce-beers/>.

flourished, running the gamut from the music to athletics. In 1981, San Diego's first gay marching band, the West Coast Cavalier Band, emerged with Michael St. John as Chairman of the Board. This was followed in 1984 by a second gay and lesbian marching band, America's Finest City Freedom Band. If one preferred to participate in the arts as a spectator rather than a performer, then one could join the Protective Order of Opera Fans (POOF), a special interest group of the Gay Academic Union which held its first organizational meeting in January 1984.¹⁸⁵

The San Diego Gay Men's Chorus was founded in 1985, and its "Premiere Performance" concert was held the following year at the First Unitarian Universalist Church in Hillcrest. The 50-voice choir performed to a full house.¹⁸⁶ The Chorus has come a long way but has not forgotten its roots, as the current website states, "SDGMC is celebrating its 30th anniversary of changing lives one voice at a time. With more than 200 members, it is one of the largest gay choruses in the world. The group's official mission is to create a positive musical experience through exciting performances that engage audiences, build community support and provide a dynamic force for social change."¹⁸⁷

In 1986, the previously mentioned Dr. Cynthia Lawrence-Wallace became the first director of the new lesbian singing group, the San Diego Women's Chorus, who are also still going strong. According to their current website, "the first group was made up of 14 members who rehearsed in Cynthia's living room at 6951 Princess View Drive. We are proud that there are founding members still active singing members today! Over the years women who love music and love giving to our community have volunteered to produce quality choral concerts that focus on the music of women and lesbian and gay composers and arrangers."¹⁸⁸



Front Runners, 2016.

Source: Front Runners, <http://www.fwrsd.org/wp/>.

Athletic groups have been just as vital, starting with Front Runners San Diego, a social group for lesbian and gay walkers and runners, starting in 1981. Also starting in 1981 was the San Diego Gay Softball League. Playing today under the name America's Finest City Softball League, the organization boasts 43 teams in both men and women's divisions with over 600 players.¹⁸⁹

What Jim Winters and Derek Juazo started in 1982 as a gay tennis club has also expanded into the San Diego Tennis Federation. Jim and Derek had their first meeting in

¹⁸⁵ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.htm#1984>.

¹⁸⁶ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1980.htm#1986>.

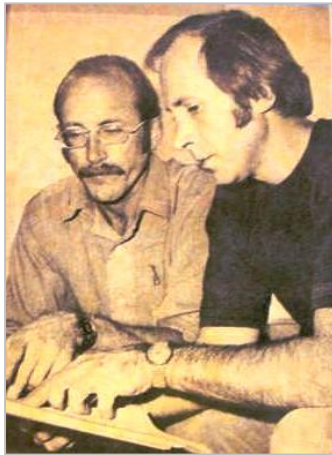
¹⁸⁷ "Lambda Archives Named Outreach Partner for San Diego Gay Men's Chorus Holiday Show," San Diego Gay Men's Chorus, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.sdgmc.org/press/>.

¹⁸⁸ "History," San Diego Women's Chorus, accessed June 1, 2016, <http://sdwc.org/about-sdwc/history/>.

¹⁸⁹ "Why Join America's Finest City Softball League?" America's Finest City Softball League, accessed June 3, 2016, <http://www.afcsl.org/>.

a restaurant in old town San Diego, and the group they formed met monthly at the Grande in Pacific Beach. By 1984, they had weekly matches every Sunday morning at the City College Tennis Courts at 1571 Park Blvd.¹⁹⁰ Their group now has many more members and participates and hosts year-round events, including the San Diego Open, the National Gay Tennis Tournament, and the GLTA World Championship from its home at the Balboa Tennis Club.

Presenting a broader menu of activities, Athletes in Motion (AIM) was founded in 1985 by Herb King to promote organized athletic groups in preparation for the 1986 Gay Games II in San Francisco. A local umbrella organization for gay sports teams, AIM is home to over 1,000 San Diego LGBTQ athletes participating in sports ranging from



Jess Jessop and Doug Moore, date unknown.
Source: Lambda Archives.

basketball, bicycling, and billiards, to skiing, soccer, and squash.¹⁹¹

Sensing the importance of preserving the history of the San Diego's LGBTQ community, Jess Jessop, who had been so instrumental in creating the Center for Social Service, was also instrumental in creating the Gay and Lesbian Archives. With the help of George Murphy, another founding member of the Center, and others, he incorporated Lesbian and Gay Archives of San Diego in 1987. In 1992, the repository set up shop at 4545 Park Boulevard, where it remains to the present day and shares an address with the Diversionary Theatre.¹⁹² The collection would eventually become known as the Lambda Archives of San Diego. It is now recognized as one of the best-maintained collections of LGBTQ history in the country.¹⁹³

The following tables list designated and identified resources associated with the community organization theme. The designated resources are not necessarily designated because of an association with the LGBTQ community. Please note that the identified resources table represents a sampling of known properties associated with this theme. They do not represent comprehensive, definitive lists. Furthermore, just because a property is included in this list does not mean that it is historically significant or eligible for listing in the National, California, or local registers.

¹⁹⁰ "History," *San Diego Tennis Federation*, accessed June 3, 2016, <https://www.sdtf.org/history/>.

¹⁹¹ *Team San Diego*, accessed June 3, 2016, <http://teamsd.org/sdteam.htm>.

¹⁹² For more info on Diversionary, see the arts and culture theme.

¹⁹³ "About the Archives," *Lambda Archives*, accessed June 8, 2016, <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/about.htm>.

Designated Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
The Center (1 st location)	Institutional	2250 B Street	HRB # 182. The original location for the Center for Social Services (now called The Center) opens in 1973 in Golden Hill, it moves to Hillcrest in 1980.
Truax House	Institutional	2513-2515 Union Street	HRB # 1225. The first AIDS hospice, established by the Imperial Court Empress with help from the community, named after Dr. A. Brad Truax.
U.S. Mission	Institutional	643 26 th Street/2611 G Street	HRB # 218. The second oldest gay organization in the country opened a facility for homeless people in the two houses at the corner of 26 th and G Streets in 1988.
Veterans' War Memorial Building	Institutional	3325 Zoo Drive, Balboa Park	HRB #412. Regular meeting location for the San Diego Veterans Association.

Identified Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Albert Bell Residence (1 st known residence)	Residential	2230 Albatross, Apt. 9	Years at this residence are unknown, but prior to 1993 (see below). Activist, especially during the AIDS crisis in the mid-1980s; founded the first Gay Liberation group in San Francisco; early director of the Gay and Lesbian Community Center in San Diego; early work on Gay Pride; established "Our House," the first residential living facility for people with AIDS and helped created the AIDS Assistance Fund; helped organize the first local chapter of "ACT UP" to bring help to AIDS victims. Hillcrest activist Albert Bell (with Jess Jessop) is among 862 arrested in the largest act of civil disobedience on record during the March on Washington.
Albert Bell Residence (2 nd known residence)	Residential	3815 Vermont Street, Apt. 10	Bell's residence when he passed away in 1993.
Auntie Helen's Fluff 'n' Fold (2 nd Location)	Commercial	4028 30 th Street	Charitable organization that has been important to the community and the AIDS fight in particular; also started one of the earliest thrift stores to benefit AIDS patients. The organization moved to this location in 1990 from its previous home in founder Gary Cheatham's garage on Adams Avenue.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Barbara Vick and Tracy Stone Residence	Residential	2850 Reynard Way	Vick and Stone's residence in 1983 when Vick came up with the concept for the first Blood Sisters blood drive.
Christine Jorgensen Society of San Diego	Meeting place	1357 8 th Avenue	Location of the society's inaugural meeting in 1974.
Cynthia Lawrence-Wallace Residence	Residential	6951 Princess View Drive	Dr. Lawrence-Wallace's residence from at least 1983 on, when she was highly active in several community organizations.
First Unitarian Universalist Church	Institutional	4190 Front Street	Site of the Gay Men's Chorus's Premiere Performance in 1985; also home to Dignity since 1994. This church adopted gay-friendly policies early on and is located in Hillcrest. It likely hosted other LGBTQ events over the years.
Fred Acheson Residence	Residential	2803 Columbia Street.	Involved in the Greater San Diego Business Association (GSDBA), helped start the San Diego AIDS project in 1984, member of The Center's early Board of Directors, active in the SD LGBTQ community in its early days, Lived here 1978-1980 per city directory. No other associated addresses found to date.
Frederick Scholl Residence	Residential	3428 42nd Street	One of the founders of The Center and served on the early board of directors; helped create the San Diego Coalition for Human Rights, which later became the Greater San Diego Business Association (GSDGA); co-founder of the Gay and Lesbian Latino Organization (later Orgullo); co-founder of Stepping Stone, San Diego's alcohol and drug recovery agency for the LGBTQ community; helped create Clinica ACOSIDA, the first Mexican AIDS clinic in San Diego; co-founder of the Gay and Lesbian Police Liaison Committee, which sought to build a better relationship between the police and LGBTQ community. Lived here 1959, per city directory. No other associated addresses found to date.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Fritz Klein Residence	Residential	(need address)	Fritz Klein was an important bisexual scholar, author, and activist. Several of his early publications and accomplishments were completed before he moved to San Diego, which he did in 1982. He became an important part of the San Diego community by establishing the local chapter of The Bisexual Forum. Unable to find an address for Klein before the 1990s.
Gay and Lesbian Archives (now Lambda Archives)	Institutional	4545 Park Boulevard	First location of the Gay and Lesbian Archives; opens in 1992, built in 1980. Post-dates the period of study for this document. Now the Lambda Archives of San Diego.
Jim (James) Cua Residence	Residential	3702 30 th Street	Cua's residence in 1984. Only known residence from the period of study. Cua formed the Gay/Lesbian Asian-Pacific Islanders Social Support in 1988, as well as co-founded St. Martin de Porres, a residential shelter for people with AIDS.
John Ciaccio Residence	Residential	3940 Dove Street, Unit 207	One of the first people to speak publicly about AIDS epidemic (diagnosed in 1985); co-founded <i>The San Diego Gayzette</i> in 1982, the first area publication to cover the AIDS epidemic; active in fighting for government support to fight AIDS. Lived here 1959, per City Directory. No other associated addresses found to date.
John Keasler Residence	Residential	4236 3 rd Avenue	Long-time residence of Keasler, one of the founders of the San Diego Veterans Association.
Joyce Beers Residence	Residential	631 N. Crescent Court	Community activist, organizer, first executive director of the Hillcrest Business Association in the mid-1980s, brought together the heterosexual and LGBTQ communities, worked for neighborhood revitalization in Hillcrest.
Kate Johnson AIDS assistance house	(unknown)	(need address)	The first AIDS assistance house as set up at 5 th and Robinson by Kate Johnson according to a table in the June 15th, 2015 public draft of the San Diego Uptown Community Plan Update (https://www.sandiego.gov/sites/default/files/his.pdf), but no substantiating information was found through the course of this study. The Uptown report does not include a citation for the information.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Live and Let Live Alano Club	Commercial	3867 4th Avenue	Meeting place for this organization, one of the first social support groups for the LGBTQ community. Their focus today is on addiction recovery.
Michels-Carey House	Residential	2004 El Cajon Blvd (demolished)	Known as the birthplace of The Center; home of Bernie Michels; demolished in 2015.
Nicole Murray- Ramirez Residence	Residential	3958 5th Avenue	Imperial Court de San Diego; active in cross-dressing/transgender rights, as well as Latina LGBTQ rights. An apartment in this building is the only known address for Murray-Ramirez. There are likely others from the period.
Priority Pharmacy (1st location)	Commercial	3935 1st Avenue	Now known as AHF Pharmacy, this has been a pillar of this city's gay community, known for its business and charitable efforts on behalf of people with AIDS. The company's founder, pharmacist David C. Zeiger, is said to have filled San Diego's first private prescription for the AIDS-fighting drug AZT in 1987.
Priority Pharmacy (2nd location)	Commercial	3940 4th Avenue	Second location of Priority Pharmacy. Date of relocation not identified yet.
Radical Fairies meeting site	Commercial	3780 5th Avenue	Location of "Radical Fairies" meetings, hosted by Albert Bell for radical ideas, spirituality and sexuality.
Robert "Jess" Jessop Residence	Residential	1415 Grand Avenue, Apartment 1	One of the founders of the San Diego LGBT Center (The Center) and the Lesbian and Gay Historical Society of San Diego, helped fight for permits from the City of San Diego for the first Pride parade in 1974; charter member of the Gay Alliance for Equal Rights in 1979; founded the Gay and Lesbian Archives of San Diego in 1987 (later the Lesbian and Gay Historical Society, then the Lambda Archives). Lived here 1974 per City Directory. No other associated addresses found to date.
Royal Inn Convention Center	Commercial	1355 North Harbor Drive	Site of the first Imperial Court de San Diego coronation ball in the early 1970s; now Wyndham San Diego Bayside Hotel.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Stepping Stone	Institutional	3757-3767 Central Avenue	Founded as residential recovery program for LGBTQ alcoholics; one of only a handful of recovery organizations for the LGBTQ community in the U.S. Current location is 3767 Central Ave. They appear to have rented a space at this address in 1979 and to later have demolished and rebuilt on the same spot.
The Ball Express	Disco	(need address)	Location of first Nicky Awards. Appears to have been located on Pacific Coast Highway, but the exact address number has not yet been found.
The Center (2 nd location)	Institutional	1447 North 30 th Street	Home to The Center 1980-1992.
The Center (3 rd location)	Institutional	3910-3916 Normal Street	Home to The Center 1992-unknown; constructed in 1946.
The Center (4 th location)	Institutional	3766 5 th Avenue	Home to The Center from unknown-1998. Based on correspondence received by the City from Richard Burhenne.
The Center (5 th location)	Institutional	3909 Centre Street	Home to The Center since 1998.
Thomas "Thom" Carey Residence	Residential	4559 Piute Place	Civil rights activist; helped found the Gay Center for Social Services (later The Center), served as the treasurer for the Planning Committee, which would develop into the Gay Center for Social Services, helped created the Men's Self Development Program there, a place where gay men could discuss issues; lived in San Diego in the 1960s until 1976. Lived here 1965, per City Directory. No other associated addresses identified to date.
Vince Huntington Residence (1 st potential residence)	Residential	8767 Navajo Road, Apt. 12	A V. Huntington is listed at this address in 1976 in the City Directory. It is not certain that this is the same Vince Huntington that hosted the original Neutral Corner meetings in 1978, but it may be. In addition, the meetings were reportedly held at his office, but the office location has not yet been identified.

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Vince Huntington Residence (2 nd potential residence)	Residential	7806 Tommy Drive, Apt. 68	A V. Huntington is listed at this address in 1980 in the City Directory. It is not certain that this is the same Vince Huntington that hosted the original Neutral Corner meetings in 1978, but it may be. In addition, the meetings were reportedly held at his office, but the office location has not yet been identified.
Vince Huntington Residence (3 rd potential residence)	Residential	5634 Carnegie Street	A Vince Huntington is listed at this address in 1989 in the City Directory. It is not certain that this is the same Vince Huntington that hosted the original Neutral Corner meetings in 1978, but it may be. In addition, the meetings were reportedly held at his office, but the office location has not yet been identified.
Womancare Clinic	Institutional	1050 Garnet Avenue	Home to Womancare Clinic, according to undated counselor guide. Source, Chuck Kaminski at Lambda Archives.

Eligibility Standards

The following eligibility standards provide guidelines for evaluating property types associated with the LGBTQ community organizations. It is important to note that eligible properties will not merely be associated with this theme; rather, they will have a direct and significant association with it.

Theme: Community Organizations

Associated Property Types: Institutional, Commercial, and Residential

Property Type Description: Associated property types may include community centers, healthcare centers, commercial buildings, and other buildings used for institutional purposes. These will likely be the earliest known resources utilized by an important group. They will also likely be widely recognized as pillars of the community for a noteworthy period of time. Properties associated with LGBTQ organizations may or may not have been built for the organizations' purposes originally. They may also include residences that were the homes of prominent community leaders.

Property Type Significance: Properties significant under this theme are directly and importantly associated with important LGBTQ community organizations. They may also be directly associated with persons who played an important role in developing important community organizations. In most cases, the property that best represents the productive life of the person is the building in which they worked. However, if that building no longer remains or if the institution that they led moved frequently, their residence may be eligible. Significant properties under this theme may also be significant under other themes, such as political activism, religion, or social life.

Geographic Locations: Throughout San Diego

Area(s) of Significance: Institutional Development, Social History

Criteria: NRHP A or B / CRHR 1 or 2 / HRB A or B

Period of Significance: 1970-1990

Period of Significance Justification: There are no known intuitions, and therefore no buildings related to this theme from before 1970.¹⁹⁴ The year 1990 is the end of the period of study for this historic context statement.

Eligibility Standards:

- Associated with an institution which has been proven to have played a significant role in the institutional development of the LGBTQ community
- Associated with an individual who has been proven to have played an important role in the development of important LGBTQ institutions

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with institutions and persons that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- May be located in a building designed for another use originally
- Institution must have occupied the property during the period of time in which it gained significance
- Individual must have lived or worked in the property during the period in which they achieved significance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period the institution or individual occupied the property

Integrity Considerations:

- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant institution or individual occupied the property
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Some original materials may have been altered, removed or replaced, which may have a resulting impact on integrity of both Materials and Workmanship
- Setting may have been altered by changes in surrounding development patterns and infill

¹⁹⁴ This context statement is a living document that may change and be updated in the future as more information is uncovered through further research and analysis. While the original authors of this document did not fi

nd any known extant resources associated with this theme from before 1970 in their work, this does not mean definitively that none exist. If such resources are discovered in the future, this document should be amended accordingly.

Theme 3 – Political Activism

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, early attempts to organize among gay men occurred in Europe and in the United States, but they collapsed under the weight of homophobia. Magnus Hirschfeld founded the Scientific Humanitarian Committee in 1897 in Berlin. Hirschfeld was a physician who lived openly as a gay man and lobbied for the decriminalization of homosexual acts. Inspired by Hirschfeld, Henry Gerber founded the Society for Human Rights in Chicago in 1924. It is considered to be the first organized gay rights organization in the United States. After a few months, however, several members were arrested and the organization dissolved. The aim of both of Hirschfeld and Gerber's organizations was to educate medical professionals, law enforcement officials, politicians, and society at large about homosexuality.¹⁹⁵ Although short-lived, these organizations are considered to be the precursors to the gay liberation movement that emerged decades later in San Diego and elsewhere.

Across the United States in general, most LGBTQ persons were isolated from one another prior to World War II, and they did not view themselves as being gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. This began to change after the war when LGBTQ persons from all over the country met each other through their service in the Armed Forces or their employment in the wartime industries. During the mid-1960s, a period of political and social unrest, the gay liberation movement was swept into the larger youth movement, feminist movement, and sexual revolution that objected to the Vietnam War, challenged the prevailing sexual and gender norms, and confronted the policies that discriminated against women and minority groups. By this time, LGBTQ persons became more visible, defined themselves as a minority group, and resisted police harassment. By the late 1970s, the movement became more institutionalized and used the legal system and electoral process to expand their civil rights.

San Diego's significant growth during and after World War II solidified its development into a metropolitan area and facilitated the emergence of LGBTQ communities. Initially, these communities were relatively small and isolated from one another, and their purpose was more social than political. The isolation was necessitated by society's stigmatization of living openly as a gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender person, which remained a dangerous proposition. The notion of a united LGBTQ community with a political agenda was still almost unimaginable.

World War II would prove to be a transformative event in LGBTQ history. During the war years, San Diego was a major hub for the armed forces on the West Coast. In fact, it became the headquarters of the Pacific Fleet, and almost overnight, "the war appeared to have turned San Diego into a real metropolis."¹⁹⁶ LGBTQ individuals came into contact with people just like themselves from all over the country. The woman who

¹⁹⁵ "Lesbian & Gay History," *Chicago Metro History Education Center*, accessed June 6, 2016.

<http://www.chicagohistoryfair.org/history-fair/history-fair-a-nhd-theme/subject-essays/chicago-lesbian-a-gay-history.html>.

¹⁹⁶ "California and the Second World War: San Diego Metropolitan Area during World War II," *California Military Museum*, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.militarymuseum.org/SDWW2.html>; Abraham Shragge, "'A New Federal City': San Diego during World War II," *Pacific Historical Review* vol. 63, no. 3, Fortress California at War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego, 1941-1945, August 1994, 333.

would later become director of the Gay and Lesbian Center for Social Services, Jeri Dilno, would later state in 1977, in reference to the Kinsey Report claiming that 10.5 % of men were gay and The Hite Report claiming that 7.5% of women were lesbians, that “in large metropolitan areas, such as San Diego, those figures usually increase since gays often flock to the city seeking anonymity.”¹⁹⁷ Increasingly they realized that they were not alone. However, during the 1950s and 1960s, times were tough as communication and organization was lacking.¹⁹⁸

The modern period of the gay liberation movement began to unfold in the late 1960s and reflected the consolidation of the LGBTQ group consciousness. The key manifestations of this new group awareness were an increasing level of group resistance to homophobia, a major expansion in the number and variety of permissive social spaces, and a substantial increase in the number of sexual identity based political and social organizations. The movement during this period was facilitated by the emergence of a vibrant local LGBTQ newspaper media including *The San Diego Son* and *The Pacific Coast Times*.¹⁹⁹

The protests at Compton’s Cafeteria in 1966, the Black Cat in Los Angeles in 1967, and the Stonewall Riots in New York in 1969 sparked uprisings and political organizing across the country. By 1970, the local chapter of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) was founded at San Diego State College by Bob Brunsting. At that time, he was a student residing at 4532 Culbertson Avenue in the City of La Mesa in San Diego County.²⁰⁰ In an issue of the *San Diego State Daily Aztec* announcing the GLF’s official on-campus status, Brunsting stated, “We’d like to help develop a more positive attitude toward homosexuals.”²⁰¹ In 1971, in one of the first organized public gay demonstrations in San Diego, the GLF picketed the now former San Diego Police Department headquarters, located at 801 West Market Street (at the intersection of Market Street and Harbor Drive), in protest of police harassment against gays.²⁰² They also endorsed Jack Walsh for Mayor. In 1974, Jack Walsh urged change in priorities of the criminal justice system, to not waste “scarce police manpower on the monitoring of homosexual activities, arresting alcoholics, watching massage parlors, monitoring prostitutes and raiding bookstores while San Diegans daily become the victims of serious crime.”²⁰³

¹⁹⁷ Carla A. De Dominicis, “Sexual Politics,” *CLGR Newsline* magazine (Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights), November 16, 1977.

¹⁹⁸ Robert Lynn as referenced by Harold Keen, “The Gay Issue,” *San Diego Magazine*, February 1978, 94.

¹⁹⁹ Timeline, “San Diego LGBT History” pamphlet, Lambda Archives of San Diego, 2010. For more on these publications, reference the media theme.

²⁰⁰ San Diego City Directories, 1969 & 1971.

²⁰¹ Frances Hayes, “AS denies \$4,161 request for Exploring School,” *San Diego State Daily Aztec* vol. 49, no. 82, March 19, 1970.

²⁰² Pat Sherman, “Moments in Time: Gay Liberation Front pickets SDPD,” *Gay San Diego*, June 18, 2010, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/moments-in-time-gay-liberation-front-pickets-sdpd/>; “City of San Diego Police Headquarters, Jails & Courts,” National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, listed July 9, 1998.

²⁰³ “Walsh Speaks Out On Crime,” *The San Diego Union*, November 11, 1974. See also John Wild, Jr., “Maverick politico woos vote of San Diego’s shunned Gays,” *The Advocate*, September 1, 1971.



In 1971, the GLF picketed the San Diego Police Department in protest of police harassment against gays. Source: Lambda Archives

The GLF was “the most visible representation of Pride in San Diego through the mid-1970s,” until around the time the less radical, but more focused organizations were being established such as the Center for Social Services.²⁰⁴ The Center immediately became the social and political focus in the LGBTQ community; it was a place to gather other than a bar, as well as a place to get involved with the movement for equality.²⁰⁵ The Gay Caucus was formed in 1974, as well, within the California Democratic Council, joining other minority groups such as Blacks, Latinos, and women. The principal goal of the Gay Caucus was to ensure the passage of Assemblyman Willie Brown’s AB489 bill, permitting consenting adults to engage in sexual conduct. It became effective in 1976.²⁰⁶ Another main objective was the passage of Arthur Agnos’ bill, which would ban discrimination in hiring and promotions against persons based on sexual orientation.²⁰⁷

In 1974, nude bathing on Black’s Beach in La Jolla was legalized, though it was rescinded by the City Council in 1977.²⁰⁸ As the LGBTQ community gained political success, it experienced backlash from evangelical church movements. Due to a political smear in a publication of *The Church News* that became widely circulated, candidate Evonne Schulze lost by less than 600 votes in 1977’s city election, in addition to Gil Johnson and Floyd Morrow, Councilmen seeking reelection who had supported optional swimsuit bathing at the La Jolla beach in 1974.²⁰⁹ In the article Mrs. Chris Loeffler, the editor, stated:

... Militant homosexuals have forced the issue. They are trying to force themselves into positions where they will be accepted by everyone. Homosexuality is considered by the Bible as immoral and irresponsible behavior. Persons who don’t act responsibly must be held in check...²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ *The Gay & Lesbian Times*, July 16, 2009, 51.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. For more information on The Center, see the community organizations theme.

²⁰⁶ Harold Keen, “The Gay Issue,” *San Diego Magazine*, February 1978, 94; Timeline, “San Diego LGBT History,” 2010; Gina Lubrano, “Gays aren’t afraid and may be a force,” *The San Diego Union*, March 4, 1984.

²⁰⁷ Keen, “The Gay Issue,” 94.

²⁰⁸ Keen, “The Gay Issue,” 91.

²⁰⁹ Keen, “The Gay Issue,” 91; “Justitium Diary: Pro-Gays Defeated,” *Pacific Coast Times*, November 18, 1977; Nancy Skelton, “San Diego Gays Moving Into the Mainstream,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 26, 1981; Mark Gabrish Conlan, “Power Politics: The Rise of the San Diego Democratic Club,” *Gay and Lesbian Times*, March 24, 1993, 30.

²¹⁰ Keen, “The Gay Issue,” 92.

By removing sexual orientation from regard for the advocacy for human rights, in addition to race, religion, and sex, candidates would lose support from the conservative community.²¹¹ Candidates would lose support by not repudiating the backing of homosexual groups. Fundamentalist Christians would return for another significant anti-gay protest in 1984; around 200 protesters marched through the neighborhood of Hillcrest.²¹²

The year 1974 was also when San Diego's first un-permitted Pride March took place.²¹³ On June 29th, The Center, located at the time at 2250 B Street, hosted an event celebrating the anniversary of Stonewall which included a yard sale, a potluck dinner, and "an informal parade to Balboa Park and back."²¹⁴ Activists Nicole Murray-Ramirez, Jess Jessop, and Tom Homann had gone to the San Diego Police Department to request a permit to march; Murray-Ramirez recounts the reply from the sergeant:

We're not issuing you a permit. There will never be a homosexual Pride march or whatever in this city and you guys are deviants and you're queers, and if you don't get out of here we're going to arrest you.²¹⁵

According to Murray-Ramirez, the next day "about 200 gay and lesbian San Diegans marched down Broadway."²¹⁶ According to activists Fred Scholl, a member of the board for The Center at that time, and Jeri Dilno, approximately 25 people marched on the sidewalk, as there was no city parade permit.²¹⁷ Despite contradictions in accounts, it is clear that marchers protested on this summer's day through downtown publicly proclaiming their sexual orientation, some covering their heads for fear of reprisal.²¹⁸

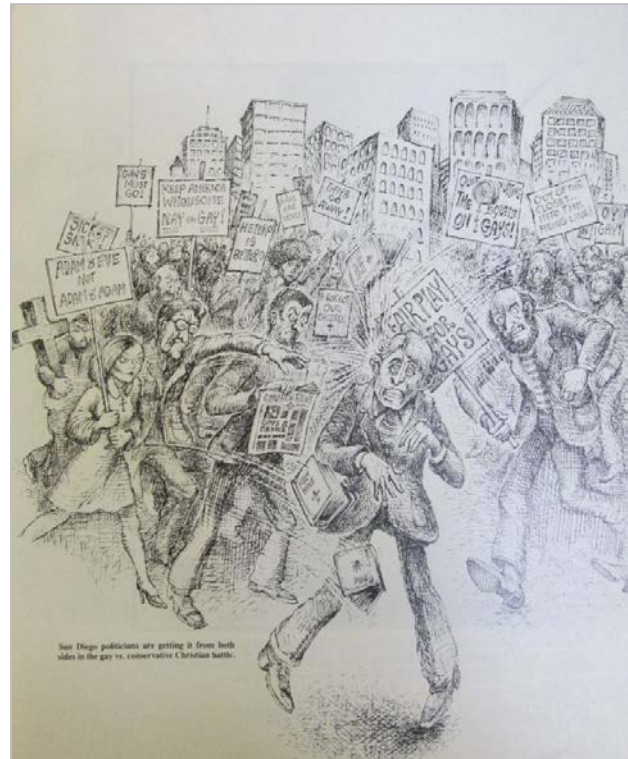


Illustration by Mike Dormer. Source: *San Diego Magazine*, February 1978, 90.

²¹¹ Keen, "The Gay Issue," 91.

²¹² Kathleen H. Cooley, "Church Group Protests Gays in Hillcrest," *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 1984.

²¹³ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

²¹⁴ "Our History," *San Diego LGBT Pride*, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://sdpride.org/about/>; "1974," *San Diego LGBT Pride*, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://sdpride.org/announcement/1974-2/>; *The Gay & Lesbian Times*, 51.

²¹⁵ Candice Nguyen, "Last Surviving LGBT Pride Pioneer Recounts Struggle," *NBC San Diego*, July 19, 2014, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.nbcsandiego.com/news/local/Nicole-Murray-Ramirez-San-Diego-LGBT-Pride-Pioneers-267789461.html#ixzz4Bhg9N7py>.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ "1974," *San Diego LGBT Pride*, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://sdpride.org/announcement/1974-2/>.

²¹⁸ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010; "1974," *San Diego LGBT Pride*, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://sdpride.org/announcement/1974-2/>.



San Diego's first (un-permitted) Pride March, 1974. Source: Lambda Archives.

San Diego's first official Pride Parade took place in 1975 with a permit attained from the San Diego Police Department, with help from local attorneys working on behalf of the Center.²¹⁹ About 400 gay and lesbian people participated in this march on June 28th, beginning at the intersection of India and F streets from Newtown Park to Balboa Park.²²⁰

Human rights was the only issue that united the whole gay community. Beyond that, the community was divided along conservative and liberal lines.²²¹ One event that galvanized activists was the repeal of

an anti-discrimination ordinance in Miami, Florida, in June 1977, led by now-infamous Anita Bryant. Bryant was a singer and spokeswoman for Florida citrus products as well as a mother who worried that the local gay community was "trying to recruit our children to homosexuality."²²² In response to the initial passage of the anti-discrimination ordinance, she established a group called Save Our Children, Inc., and her crusade resulted in the repeal of the local ordinance "by a margin of more than 2 to 1" by Miami voters.²²³

Gay activists often described Anita Bryant's anti-gay furor as the best thing to happen to their cause. There was motivation "to keep San Diego from becoming another Dade County," according to an article published in *Newsline* in 1977.²²⁴ Up to an estimated 2,000 people marched in the third annual "Gay Pride" parade that began at the intersection of India and F streets in San Diego in 1977, compared to only a few hundred the two previous years.²²⁵ A new gay rights ordinance similar to the one repealed by Dade County voters would be proposed in San Diego.²²⁶



Up to an estimated 2,000 people marched in the third annual "Gay Pride" parade in San Diego in 1977. Source: Lambda Archives.

²¹⁹ *The Gay & Lesbian Times*, 51.

²²⁰ *The Gay & Lesbian Times*, 51; Letter from R.L. Hoobler, Chief of Police, to Richard T. Bourgault in reference to permission for the Center for Social Services Parade on City streets, June 3, 1975, Lambda Archives.

²²¹ Robert Lynn as referenced by Harold Keen, "The Gay Issue," *San Diego Magazine*, February 1978, 94.

²²² "Anita Bryant Takes On 'Gay' Activists," *Los Angeles Times*, February 15, 1977.

²²³ "Anita Bryant," 1977; Jeff Prugh, "Miami Repeals Gay Rights by Overwhelming Margin," *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1977.

²²⁴ De Dominicis, "Sexual Politics," 1977.

²²⁵ Keen, "The Gay Issue," 93; Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

²²⁶ "Gay Rights in San Diego," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 14, 1977.

In 1979, the Lesbian and Gay Men's Pride Alliance (LGMPA) was established to organize Pride events each year but dissolved by 1981 when Lambda Pride was founded by Doug Moore, among other members of the LGBTQ community.²²⁷ Lambda Pride continued to organize Pride events through most of the 1980s, which successfully became self-sufficient.²²⁸ These events also faced the challenge of the fundamentalist Christians ("fundies") who would line the parade route by the hundreds in protest and harassment.²²⁹ Fortunately, these protests faded in the late 1980s, when their leader Reverend Dorman Owens was convicted in connection to an attempted abortion clinic bombing.²³⁰ In 1986, Mayor Maureen O'Connor became the first elected official to march in the local Lesbian and Gay Pride Parade and she proclaimed the first "Gay Pride Days" in San Diego as June 13th and 14th.



Nicole Murray (Nicole Murray-Ramirez).
Source: Harold Keen, "The Gay Issue," San
Diego Magazine, February 1978, 94.

Nicole Murray-Ramirez, founder of the Teddy Roosevelt Republican Club in 1974, had moved to San Diego in 1973 in surprise to find the lack of gay leadership and organization that could only be identified as bar-oriented, social groups.²³¹ But, he quickly became a Republican leader in the gay community as well as the Executive Chairman of the Southern California Imperial Council of Courts, an annual event in which an Emperor and Empress (both men) are crowned in a gala coronation ball. The local chapter, the Imperial Court de San Diego, is a social organization, but also serves as a fundraiser for other causes, which have included the Metropolitan Community Church, The Center, Toys for Tots, Dignity San Diego, Muscular Dystrophy Telethon, and Zero to Success, among others.²³²

Momentum for political groups in the mid- and late 1970s was evident with several organizations being founded during the period. These included the

Teddy Roosevelt Republican Club by Nicole Murray-Ramirez in 1974, the San Diego Democratic Club (SDDC) by Robert (Bob) Lynn in 1975, the Gay Students Union at San Diego State College by Gary Gulley in 1975, and the Gay Activists of San Diego (GASD) in 1976.²³³ The Gay Rights National Lobby, now Human Rights Campaign, was founded in 1976.

²²⁷ *Gay & Lesbian Times*, 51.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Gay & Lesbian Times*, 52.

²³¹ Keen, "The Gay Issue," 95.

²³² *Ibid.* For additional info on the Imperial Court de San Diego and Nicole Murray-Ramirez, see the community organizations theme.

²³³ Skelton, "San Diego Gays," 1981; Conlan, "Power Politics," 30.

Bob Lynn was a local attorney and served as the first president of the SDDC, a “predominantly homosexual organization of men and women.”²³⁴ In 1977, it was noted as the “most powerful gay political organization” in San Diego and the second largest Democratic organization in San Diego County.²³⁵ In 1979, the San Diego Democratic Club’s headquarters were located at 3719 Sixth Avenue, Suite A. Meeting places included but were not limited to 2436 F Street, 4120 Sunset Drive in Mission Hills, and 246 West Washington Street.²³⁶

Gloria Johnson became the second president of SDDC in 1980, and was often the only woman at meetings until Jeri Dilno joined in 1977.²³⁷ In addition to being active in women’s political issues, Johnson was one of the first social workers to work with people inflicted by AIDS in the AIDS Case Management Program. She began her 30-year career as a social worker in 1970, primarily for elderly patients, for the County Welfare Department of San Diego.²³⁸ In 1976, Johnson was the first openly gay person elected to the San Diego Democratic Central Committee, and she was co-chair of the California Democratic Party LGBT Caucus.²³⁹ Jeri Dilno was an engineering technician, longtime spokeswoman for the lesbian community, and director of The Center.²⁴⁰ Dilno would take over the presidency of the SDDC in the late 1980s, following Doug Scott.²⁴¹



Robert Lynn. Source: Harold Keen, “The Gay Issue,” *San Diego Magazine*, February 1978, 95.

Between World War II and the 2011 repeal of the military’s “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy, as many as 100,000 military personnel were dishonorably discharged for being gay.²⁴² In 1968, Diann Pierce DiNova was dishonorably discharged when she declared her homosexuality to Navy officials in San Diego. However, following court appeals later that year, her discharge was improved to honorable due to her outstanding naval record.²⁴³ Another well-known LGBTQ figure in the movement who persuaded the Navy to allow gay and lesbian service members to serve openly was Jim Woodward. After coming out to his Commanding Officer and being thereafter assigned to inactive duty,

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ De Dominicis, “Sexual Politics,” 1977.

²³⁶ “San Diego Democratic Club” pamphlet; San Diego Democratic Club meeting announcement postcards, 1979.

²³⁷ Conlan, “Power Politics,” 30-31.

²³⁸ Caroline Dipping, “LGBT activist Gloria Johnson dies at 76,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 24, 2013; San Diego City Directory, 1979.

²³⁹ Dipping, “LGBT activist,” 2013.

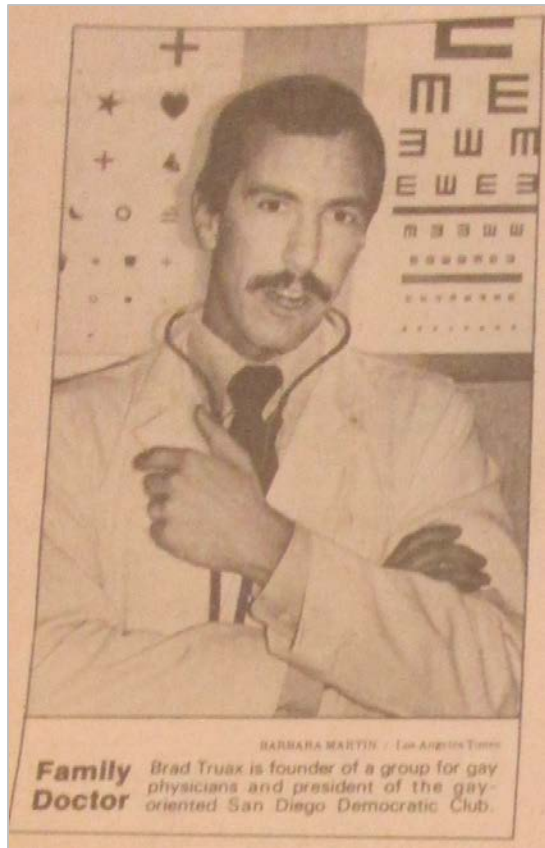
²⁴⁰ Skelton, “San Diego Gays,” 1981.

²⁴¹ Conlan, “Power Politics,” 31.

²⁴² Dave Philipps, “Ousted as Gay, Aging Veterans Are Battling Again for Honorable Discharges,” *The New York Times*, September 6, 2015.

²⁴³ Timeline, “San Diego LGBT History,” 2010.

he fought for 15 years to be allowed to serve. Woodward coordinated The Center's military counseling program in the 1970s and 1980s. He also founded the San Diego Veterans Association for LGBT Veterans in 1985 and co-founded the Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Veterans of America, a national organization, in 1987.



Dr. A. Brad Truax. Source: Nancy Skelton, "San Diego Gays Moving Into the Mainstream," *Los Angeles Times*, April 26, 1981.

Dr. A. Brad Truax was another gay service member turned political activist. Truax joined the Navy in 1975, serving as a flight surgeon and a diving medical officer, but was honorably discharged two years into his tour because of suspicions about his sexual orientation.²⁴⁴ He joined the SDDC in 1977, when its membership totaled 15 and served as its third president six years later; he stepped down in 1984 to concentrate on AIDS work.²⁴⁵ Dr. Truax also founded the United San Diego Elections Council, a non-partisan organization dedicated to political action for the LGBTQ community, in 1980. He supported the campaign for Mayor Roger Hedgecock, who would form a task force on AIDS in 1983, and helped form the Human Relations Commission in 1985.²⁴⁶ He died in 1988 at age 42 due to complications associated with AIDS.²⁴⁷ The Truax House, located at 2513-2515 Union Street, was named in honor of the doctor in 1989 when its purpose was put toward a residential hospice center for AIDS patients by the City of San Diego.²⁴⁸ Though Dr. Truax never resided here, Dennis Wilson, the housing director of the AIDS Assistance Fund in 1989, spoke of its importance in reflecting the spirit of Truax, "a

leader in the gay community and the Democratic Party, a 'man who cared about decency and human rights.' "²⁴⁹

Proposition 6 was placed on the ballot by Orange County State Senator John Briggs in 1978. Known as the Briggs Initiative, it would have effectively banned gays and lesbians from working in public school in California and represented the conservative backlash against the gay liberation movement. San Diegans were instrumental in the fight

²⁴⁴ Mark Sullivan, "Gay activist Brad Truax dies at 42," *The Washington Blade*, December 9, 1988.

²⁴⁵ Sullivan, "Gay activist Brad," 1988; Lubrano, "Gays aren't afraid," 1984; Conlan, "Power Politics," 30-31. For additional information on Truax's AIDS work, reference the community organizations theme.

²⁴⁶ Sullivan, "Gay activist Brad," 1988; Lubrano, "Gays aren't afraid," 1984.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Andrew Bowen, "Once An AIDS Hospice, Dilapidated Truax House Faces Uncertain Future," *KPBS Public Broadcasting*, March 22, 2016, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.kpbs.org/news/2016/mar/22/aids-hospice-truax-house-san-diego-uncertain-hiv/>; Michael Granberry, "AIDS Patient Finds a Haven at Truax House," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1989. The Truax House is designated HRB #1225.

²⁴⁹ Granberry, "AIDS Patient," 1989.

against Briggs. Recognizing its potential for widespread damage, activist Larry Baza started a local grassroots campaign to stop the initiative. He summed up its importance thusly:

The fight against the Briggs attack on gay school workers was widespread and involved other professional groups, parents, teachers, civil servants, unions and grassroots groups. I was part of a group of men that went to bars and registered people to vote. I also went to community groups, including Latino groups, to talk about the issue. This fight was significant for all LGBT folks because if it passed, the door would be open for more discrimination against us. What other professions would we be banned from? Where would it stop?²⁵⁰

Baza's activism continues to the present day. Before he became active in LGBTQ causes, he was already a champion of Latino and Pacific Islander rights.²⁵¹ He became one of the first people of color to serve as co-chairs of San Diego Pride, alongside Vertez Burks in the early 1990s, and he was also the first gay man to serve on the Chicano Federation Board.²⁵²

During the late 1970s, ordinances protecting gays and lesbians from discrimination were being repealed across the country, but California voters defeated the Briggs Initiative, representing the culmination of the growing political power of the LGBTQ community.²⁵³ Although, the struggle for LGBTQ rights was far from over. On November 27th of that same year, Harvey Milk, San Francisco's first openly gay supervisor, was assassinated along with Mayor George Moscone by former supervisor Dan White.²⁵⁴ Over two hundred lesbians, gay men, and supporters gathered for a memorial service at the Organ Pavilion in San Diego's Balboa Park.

Partly in response to the Milk assassination and partly because it was the tenth anniversary of the Stonewall Riots, 1979 was a significant year in the history of gay rights, both nationwide and in San Diego. The first National March for Lesbian and Gay Rights on Washington, D.C. took place on October 14th of that year.²⁵⁵ The planning of "300 Lesbians and Gay men, representing over 200 lesbian, gay, feminist, and political organizations" in Philadelphia in March 1979 resulted in thousands coming together in D.C. that October, demanding "an end to all social, economic, judicial, and legal oppression of Lesbians and Gay people."²⁵⁶

In San Diego, the city had its first openly gay candidate for elected office in 1979, when

²⁵⁰ Ian Stokell, "Pride awards: Honoring local activists in the LGBT community," *San Diego LGBT Weekly*, July 14, 2011, accessed August 31, 2016, <http://lgbtweekly.com/2011/07/14/pride-awards-honoring-local-activists-in-the-lgbt-communityron-and-linda-sanders/>.

²⁵¹ [Vanessa Briceno](#), "Gallery owner's activism a lifelong pursuit," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, August 16, 2012, accessed August 31, 2016, <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2012/aug/16/gallery-owners-activism-a-lifelong-pursuit/>.

²⁵² Ibid. For more information on Baza's career and activism in the arts, see the arts theme.

²⁵³ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ "Collection #14: Records of the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights," *The Center*, <https://gaycenter.org/community/archive/collection/014>.

Albert Best ran for City Council.²⁵⁷ Best moved to San Diego in 1975. He was active in civic affairs and on boards of numerous organizations. Best served as Executive Vice President of Protocol Development for Community Research Group, a community-based HIV/AIDS clinical trial network created to get HIV protocols online more quickly, and he was co-founder of Stepping Stone, an organization for gay alcoholics..

Also in 1979, the Gay Alliance for Equal Rights formed in response to increased harassment of the LGBTQ community by the San Diego Police Department, specifically right after the police raided the Fourth Avenue Club, a gay bathhouse in Hillcrest. Thirty-two men were arrested, mostly on sex charges.²⁵⁸ Seven years after the alliance's founding, in 1986, a course was initiated for San Diego law enforcement officers on gay prejudice with mandatory visits to gay and lesbian social centers.²⁵⁹ By 1988, Police Chief Bill Kollender made a three-hour course on the LGBTQ community a permanent part of the Regional Law Enforcement Training Center Program, indicating the strides made by local activists.



San Diego Log Cabin Club logo. Source: "San Diego Log Cabin Club" pamphlet.

The early 1980s were marred by the dawn of the AIDS crisis. The focus of activists largely shifted from traditional political causes and equal rights to healthcare and emotional support; however, political groups continued to emerge. In 1981, a new Republican club, the San Diego Log Cabin Club was formed. That same year on November 5th, Jonathan Dunn-Rankin hosted a SDDC meeting at his home at 3404 Hawk Street.²⁶⁰ Dunn-Rankin was a journalism instructor at San Diego

State University who also led the Gay Academic Union (GAU), which began in 1979 with 17 members; it reached 130 active members by 1981 with a mailing list of around 500.²⁶¹ He was not a stranger to politics. Prior to coming out, Dunn-Rankin was "one of six finalists" being considered for a vacant City Council seat in 1978.²⁶²

On June 13, 1983 Dunn-Rankin hosted the first meeting of the San Diego Gay Labor Organizing Committee, "an attempt to bring gay rights issues into the labor movement and labor issues into the gay community."²⁶³ Assembly Bill 1, also known as AB 1 or Agnos' bill, which would prohibit job discrimination against homosexuals, was passed by the California State Assembly in 1984, but was vetoed by Governor George Deukmejian.²⁶⁴ The subsequent AB 101, another attempt to ban discrimination against gay and lesbian individuals, was passed in 1991, but given another veto by Governor

²⁵⁷ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010; Skelton, "San Diego Gays," 1981.

²⁵⁸ Letter from Craig to Jim, dated February 14, 1979.

²⁵⁹ Mark Platte, "Gay 101," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, April 20, 1992.

²⁶⁰ San Diego Democratic Club meeting announcement postcard, 1981.

²⁶¹ Skelton, "San Diego Gays," 1981.

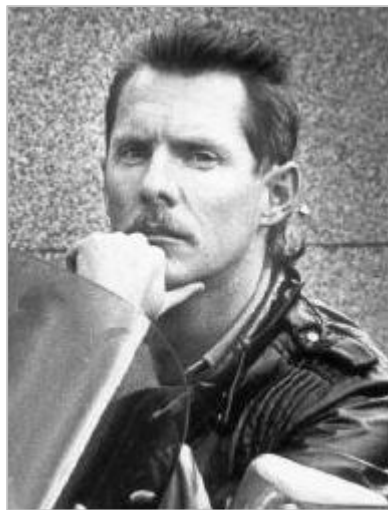
²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

²⁶⁴ Jerry Gillam, "Assembly Oks Bill to Ban Gay Bias in Housing, Jobs," *Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1991; William Endicott, "Bill Outlawing Gay Job Bias Sent to Deukmejian," *Los Angeles Times*, March 2, 1984.

Pete Wilson.²⁶⁵ However, following the riots that ensued in response to the Governor's action, he signed a bill that included gays and lesbians in the Fair Employment and Housing Act in 1992.²⁶⁶

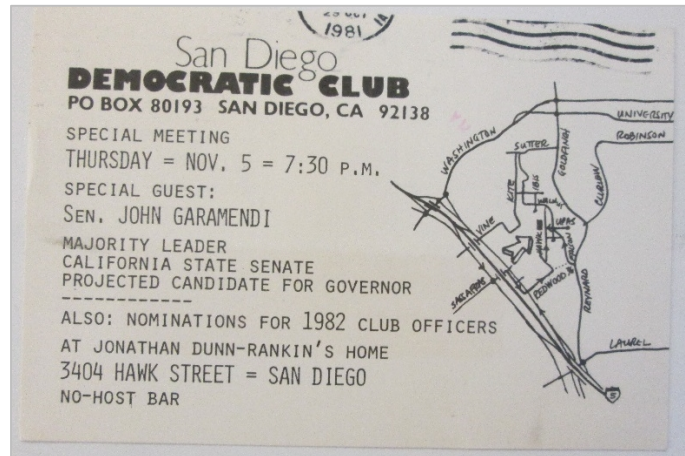
In 1986, Proposition 64 was sponsored by Lyndon LaRouche, an initiative that would "require the state health authorities to take 'all appropriate measures' to protect the public from AIDS."²⁶⁷ Prop 64 appealed to those who were ignorant and fearful of AIDS, and would have resulted in people who tested positive being reported to state public health authorities and excluded from employment.²⁶⁸ Fortunately, several political as well as religious leaders spoke out against it. Although Governor Deukmejian had vetoed AB 1, he did come out against Prop 64. Roman Catholic bishops expressed disapproval as well.²⁶⁹ The Initiative was resoundingly



Albert Bell. Source: Lambda Archives.

rejected by voters; however, it was regrettable that the fundraising efforts spent fighting it could have been put toward AIDS research.²⁷⁰ LaRouche put forward a similar Proposition 69 in 1988, which was quickly defeated, as well.²⁷¹

Albert Bell was a major figure in the AIDS crisis during the 1980s. He was a student activist in San Francisco before moving to San Diego and becoming one of the early directors of The Center.²⁷² In the mid-1980s, Bell "established 'Our House,' the first residential living facility for people with AIDS and helped create the AIDS Assistance Fund."²⁷³ In order to direct political action in the AIDS crisis, he founded the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACTUP) in 1987.²⁷⁴ He died due to AIDS in 1993 at age 43.²⁷⁵



San Diego Democratic Club meeting at Jonathan Dunn-Rankin's home. Source: San Diego Democratic Club meeting announcement postcard, 1981.

²⁶⁵ Dean E. Murphy and Victor Merina, "March by 1,000 Gay Activists Halts Business," *Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 1991.

²⁶⁶ Murphy and Merina, "March by 1,000," 1991; George Skelton, "Wilson Signs Bill on Gay Job Rights," *Los Angeles Times*, September 26, 1992.

²⁶⁷ Peter R. Wolfe, "LaRouche Initiative: Prop 64 Framed for Fear," *Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1986.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ "After the AIDS Vote," *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 1986.

²⁷¹ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

²⁷² San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor, 2005.

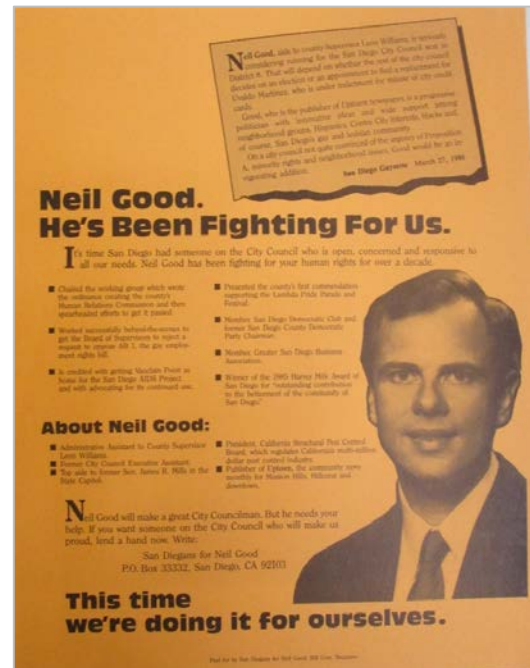
²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

²⁷⁵ San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor, 2005.

The 1980s was also a time for political strides for the LGBTQ community in San Diego. In 1984, *The Advocate* listed 14 San Diegans among 400 U.S. gay leaders: "Philip Baldwin, DDS; Terry Cunningham; Judith A. Carton; Steven Desdier; Jonathan Dunn-Rankin; Rev. David S. Farrell; Allan Glesen; Gloria Johnson; Stanley Lewis; Andrew Mattison; David P. McWhirter; Nicole Murray; and A. Brad Truax, MD."²⁷⁶

In 1987, Neil Good ran for City Council as an openly gay candidate and finished third in a tight election.²⁷⁷ Good had been involved with politics since college. He earned a degree in Psychology but pursued a career in journalism, working for several San Diego newspapers before founding *Uptown*, a local LGBTQ newspaper.²⁷⁸ Good also owned a travel agency, Pacifica Travel & Tours, between 1978 and 1984, at which time he was residing in Chula Vista.²⁷⁹ He had experience working in politics in Sacramento, as well as in San Diego, where he worked as an aide to County Supervisor Leon Williams and became chairman of the Democratic County Committee between 1976 and 1978.²⁸⁰ In 1988, Good was declared "Gay Person of the Year" and founded Community Actively Supporting People with AIDS (CASA) with Norma Assam, which was an organization that gathered financial contributions from large corporations to assist, house, and care for people with AIDS.²⁸¹



Flier campaigning for Neil Good, 1985.
Source: ONE Archives.

The year 1988 was a momentous one for the San Diego LGBTQ community. City Council approved an AIDS anti-bias ordinance in an 8-1 vote.²⁸² The San Diego Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, which had been the region's civil rights advocate since 1933, established the Lesbian and Gay Rights Committee.²⁸³ In addition, several members of the San Diego LGBTQ community went to the March on Sacramento for Lesbian and Gay Rights, where San Diegan activist Jess Jessop spoke to a crowd of 20,000.²⁸⁴ It has been noted as one of Sacramento's largest civil rights demonstrations to date.

It has been a tough but steady climb toward recognition and equality for lesbian, gay,

²⁷⁶ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor, 2004.

²⁷⁹ San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor, 2004; San Diego City Directory, 1979.

²⁸⁰ San Diego LGBT Center Wall of Honor, 2004.

²⁸¹ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010; "About Us," *San Diego Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union*, accessed June 6, 2016, <https://www.aclusandiego.org/about-us/>.

²⁸⁴ Timeline, "San Diego LGBT History," 2010.

bisexual, transgender, and queer San Diegans. The hard work appears to be paying off though. The City's identity as a military hub has also activated it as a hub for LGBTQ service members.²⁸⁵ Among many openly gay San Diegans who have been elected to public office, most notable is the recent acting governorship in 2014 of California Assembly Speaker Toni Atkins, a San Diego lesbian.²⁸⁶ Christine Kehoe is another example of an important recent political figure, having served as a member of City Council, the State Assembly, and the State Senate from the early 1990s well into the 2000s. As pointed out by Murray-Ramirez, "the first street in America to be named for a gay civil rights leader (Harvey Milk Street, at the east end of Hillcrest)" is in San Diego.²⁸⁷ It is apparent that San Diego has been and continues to be a driving force in LGBTQ activism.

The following tables list designated and identified resources associated with political activism in the LGBTQ community. The designated resources are not necessarily designated because of an association with the LGBTQ community. Please note that the identified resources table represents a sampling of known properties associated with this theme. They do not represent comprehensive, definitive lists. Furthermore, just because a property is included in this list does not mean that it is historically significant or eligible for listing in the National, California, or local registers.

Designated Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
San Diego Police Headquarters, Jails & Courts	Site/ Institutional	801 W. Market Street (Harbor Drive)	Listed in the National Register. Site of First Organized GLF Protest.

Identified Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
1st (permitted) "Gay Pride" parade starting point	Site	India and F streets	About 400 people marched in the first (permitted) "Gay Pride" parade in San Diego in 1975.
3rd annual "Gay Pride" parade starting point	Site	India and F streets	Up to an estimated 2,000 people marched in the third annual "Gay Pride" parade in San Diego in 1977.

²⁸⁵ Thom Senzee, "Is San Diego the New Home of LGBT Activism?" *The Advocate*, September 24, 2014, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.advocate.com/politics/2014/09/24/san-diego-new-home-lgbt-activism>.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
A. Brad Truax Residence	Residential	4120 Sunset Road	Dr. A. Brad Truax, a gay activist who founded the United San Diego Elections Council and served as the third president of the SDDC before stepping down in 1984 to concentrate on AIDS work. He died in 1988 at age 42 due to complications associated with AIDS. The Truax House (HRB #1225) was named for him, but was not his residence. Truax resided at 4120 Sunset Road, but the exact length of his residence at this address is unknown.
Albert Best Residence	Residential	3884 Basilone Street, Apartment 3	Albert Best was the first openly gay candidate elected to City Council in 1979. He served as Executive VP of Protocol Development for Community Research Group (HIV/AIDS clinical trial network to get HIV protocols online quicker) and was co-founder of Stepping Stone. This is the only known address associated with Best during the period of study.
Gloria Johnson Residence	Residential	5035 Del Monte Avenue, Apartment 2	Gloria Johnson was active in women's political issues, began serving as the second president of the SDDC in 1980, and was one of the first social workers to work with people inflicted by AIDS in the AIDS Case Management Program. In 1976, she was the first openly gay/lesbian person elected to the San Diego Democratic Central Committee. She was also a co-chair of the California Democratic Party LGBT Caucus. This is the only known address associated with her during the period of study.
Jim Woodward Residence	Residential	6674 Caminito Hermitage	Jim Woodward was a well-known LGBTQ figure who fought to allow gay and lesbian service members in the Navy. He founded the San Diego Veterans Association for LGBT veterans in 1985 and co-founded the national organization Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Veterans of America in 1987. This is the only known address associated with him during the period of study.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Jonathan Dunn-Rankin Residence	Residential	3404 Hawk Street	A journalism instructor at San Diego State University who led the Gay Academic Union (GAU). He hosted the first meeting for the San Diego Gay Labor Organizing Committee as well as a SDDC meeting in 1981. This address was a known and repeated meeting place for the SDDS and the labor organizing committee.
Larry Baza Residence	Residence	1719 28 th Street	Political activist. Later, outside the period of study, he became one of the first two people of color to co-chair San Diego Pride, along with Vertez Burks. Baza's residence in 1987. No other residences associated with him identified in this study from the pre-1990 period.
Robert (Bob) Brunsting Residence	Residential	4532 Culbertson Avenue	Founder of San Diego Gay Liberation Front (GLF) in 1970. At the time, he was a student at San Diego State College. This is the only known address associated with him during the period of study.
San Diego Democratic Club (SDDC) Headquarters	Commercial	3719 Sixth Avenue, Suite A	The SDDC, a "predominantly homosexual organization of men and women" was founded by local attorney Robert (Bob) Lynn in 1975.
(SDDC meeting place - no name)	Residential	2436 F Street	Known meeting place of the SDDC.
(SDDC meeting place - no name)	(unknown)	4120 Sunset Drive	Identified as a meeting place of the SDDC, but the address could not be found. May no longer be extant.
(SDDC meeting place - no name)	Commercial	246 West Washington Street	Known meeting place of the SDDC. Current building at this address was either remodeled after the end of the period of study, or the original building has been demolished and replaced.

Eligibility Standards

The following eligibility standards provide guidelines for evaluating property types associated with political activism in the LGBTQ community. It is important to note that eligible properties will not merely be associated with this theme; rather, they will have a direct and significant association with it.

Theme: Political Activism

Associated Property Types: Commercial, Residential, and Sites

Property Type Description: Associated property types may include commercial buildings used as offices for important political groups and persons. These will likely be the earliest known resources associated with a specific group. They will also likely be widely recognized as pillars of the gay rights movement for a noteworthy period of time. Associated properties also include residences used as early meeting places and associated with important political figures, as well as sites of important political rallies, marches, and demonstrations.

Property Type Significance: Properties significant under this theme are directly and importantly associated with LGBTQ political activism. They may also be directly associated with persons who played an important role in local, state, or national politics and the liberation movement. In most cases, the property that best represents the productive life of the person is the building in which they worked. However, if that building no longer remains, if the organization that they led moved frequently, or if they worked for numerous groups at the same time, their residence may be eligible. Sites may not include any buildings or structures; they may consist of plazas, parade routes, parks, and other outdoor spaces. Properties associated with this theme may also be significant under another theme, such as social life, community organizations, or religion.

Geographic Locations: Throughout San Diego

Area(s) of Significance: Politics, Social History

Criteria: NRHP A or B / CRHR 1 or 2 / HRB A or B

Period of Significance: 1970-1990

Period of Significance Justification: Political activism within the San Diego LGBTQ community began in the early 1970s with the creation of several new organizations. The year 1990 is the end of the period of study for this historic context statement.

Eligibility Standards:

- Associated with an organization which has been proven to have played a significant role in the political scene and/or the gay liberation movement
- Associated with an individual who has been proven to have played an important role in the LGBTQ politics
- Associated with a significant political event

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with organizations and persons that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- Organization must have occupied the property during the period in which is achieved significance
- Individual must have lived or worked in the property during the period in which they achieved significance, i.e. the period in which they did their significant work
- Event must have occurred at the specific location

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period the organization or individual occupied the property

Integrity Considerations:

- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant organization or individual occupied the property
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Some original materials may have been altered, removed or replaced, which may have a resulting impact on integrity of both Materials and Workmanship
- Setting may have been altered by changes in surrounding development patterns and infill

Theme 4 – Religion in the LGBTQ Community

Religious objections to same-sex attraction between men have existed since at least the Middle Ages, but were first enforced by English law in the Buggery Act of 1533. The law classified sodomy as an illegal act between man and woman, man and man, or man and beast. This law, which was re-enacted in 1563, was the basis for all male homosexual convictions in England until 1885, when the Criminal Assessment Act extended the legal sanction to any sexual contact between males. These laws were rooted in passages from the Old Testament that were interpreted as a prohibition on homosexual acts. Leviticus 20:13 is the passage most often referenced, “If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them.” Some religious scholars, both gay and straight, have maintained that historical context must be considered when interpreting the Bible. In *The Good Book*, Reverend Peter J. Gomes wrote that the authors of the Bible “never contemplated a form of homosexuality in which loving, monogamous, and faithful persons sought to live out implications of the gospel with as much fidelity to it as any heterosexual believer.”²⁸⁸

Within the state of California, sodomy was included in the State Penal Code beginning in 1872, and was punishable by a prison sentence. Oral sex was added to the code as a criminal offense in 1915.²⁸⁹ These laws controlling sexual activity were similar to those in other states and were based upon the English legal code as well as the Puritan doctrine that procreation was the only moral justification for sexual activity.²⁹⁰ The dichotomy in Puritan culture between “purity” and “danger” conflated homosexuality as a danger to society throughout much of American history.

On a national level, churches everywhere began to publicly address the issues of homosexuality and religion during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1969, the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ (UCC) adopted the “Resolution on Homosexuals and the Law,” a resolution denouncing laws against homosexuality on a religious basis and encouraging compassion for “homosexual persons as well as for other socially-rejected minorities.”²⁹¹ In the next year, the Unitarian Universalist Association was the first mainline religion to accept and recognize LGBT clergy members and worshippers.²⁹² In 1972, the Quaker Committee of Friends on Bisexuality published the “Ithaca Statement on Bisexuality” in *The Advocate*, which is thought to be the first instance of a religious body specifically addressing bisexuality.²⁹³ The first openly gay minister, Reverend William R. Johnson, was ordained in the UCC in 1972,

²⁸⁸ Quoted in *The Gay Metropolis*, (New York: Grove Press, 1997), xi.

²⁸⁹ Faderman and Timmons, 28-30.

²⁹⁰ City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning, “SurveyLA: LGBT Historic Context Statement,” September 2014.

²⁹¹ “Resolution on Homosexuals and the Law (Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ, April 12, 1969),” *United Church of Christ*, accessed May 9, 2014, <http://www.ucc.org/assets/pdfs/1969-RESOLUTION-ON-HOMOSEXUALS-AND-THE-LAW.pdf>.

²⁹² “LGBT History Timeline,” *United Church of Christ*, accessed May 9, 2014, <http://www.ucc.org/lgbt/lgbt-history-timeline.html>.

²⁹³ “June 1972: The Ithaca Statement,” *Bimedia.org: Bisexual News & Opinion*, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://bimedia.org/1984/june-1972-the-ithaca-statement>.

and the first openly lesbian minister, Reverend Anne Holmes, was ordained to the same church in 1977.²⁹⁴ Of course, not all mainstream religions echoed the shift in traditional doctrine. In 1975, the historically anti-gay Vatican issued a statement reaffirming their stance and condemning same-sex attraction, relations and LGBTQ-allies as an "opposition to the... moral sense of the Christian people."²⁹⁵

Thus, until fairly recently, and for many through the present day, organized religious groups typically condemned LGBTQ persons on the basis of their sexuality and identity, at times excommunicating them and barring them from worship. Through the efforts of many this has slowly changed over time and several religions and churches have become more inclusive of congregants regardless of their orientation. San Diego has been at the forefront of this trend and is home to Metropolitan Community Church San Diego and Dignity San Diego, two of the earliest LGBTQ-friendly religious groups in the country.

Although homosexuals undoubtedly attended church and struggled with church life in the San Diego area in decades previous, the idea of the local LGBTQ community existing in concert with organized religion cannot be traced to any documented event before 1969. In that year, Augustinian priest Patrick X. Nidorf organized a support group for gay Catholics.²⁹⁶ After only a few months the support group rapidly gained popularity, and the amount of interest Nidorf received from Los Angeles residents caused him to leave San Diego and move his meetings north to Hollywood. Soon after, the San Diego LGBTQ religious movement started in earnest, in March 1970.

Reverend Troy Perry started the Metropolitan Community Church in his Huntington Park, CA home in October 1968 with a congregation of twelve. The Metropolitan Community Church was "the world's first church group with a primary, positive ministry to gays, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender persons."²⁹⁷ In March 1970, Perry conducted an evangelical weekend revival meeting in San Diego as part of a tour to spread the word of the church. This meeting inspired Howard Williams and a group of twelve to form the MCC San Diego chapter (MCCSD).²⁹⁸ The first worship service of MCCSD took place at the Chapel of the Chimes.²⁹⁹ In June 1970, the congregation elected Rev. John Paul Stevens as their first pastor and began to meet at Chollas View Methodist Church at 906 47th Street.

The congregation steadily grew, numbering just under a hundred in 1971 and then over two hundred by the end of 1972.³⁰⁰ MCCSD was not only an important outlet for

²⁹⁴ "LGBT History Timeline."

²⁹⁵ "Persona Humana: Declaration on Certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics," *Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith*, accessed June 6, 2016, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19751229_persona-humana_en.html.

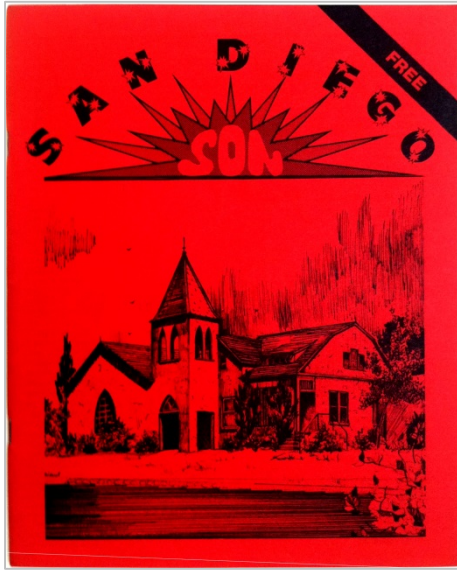
²⁹⁶ "Our History," *Dignity San Diego*, accessed June 3, 2016, http://www.dignitysd.org/our_history.

²⁹⁷ "History of MCC," *Metropolitan Community Church*, accessed June 3, 2016, <http://mccchurch.org/overview/history-of-mcc/>.

²⁹⁸ Melissa M. Wilcox, "Of Markets and Missions: The Early History of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 11, No. 1 (2001): 83-108.

²⁹⁹ This appears to have been the Chapel of the Chimes located in Greenwood Memorial Park, as it is the only one found with this name. The address of the park is 4300 Imperial Ave.

³⁰⁰ "Who We Are," *The Metropolitan Community Church of San Diego*, accessed June 2, 2016, <http://themetchurch.org/#/home/who-we-are>



MCCSD Fern Street location on the cover of *San Diego Son* magazine. Source: *San Diego Son*, April, 29, 1977 issue.

religious San Diegans, but was important as an early LGBTQ meeting place of any kind and fought for LGBTQ rights broadly. In 1970, Rev. John Paul Stevens fasted on the steps of the San Diego County Courthouse to bring attention to the LGBTQ issues.³⁰¹ In 1971, the church began printing its community newsletter, *The Prodigal*, which was the first local gay publication with regular distribution.³⁰² The MCCSD church continued to grow, which prompted the congregation, in 1975, to purchase its own church building. Church of Christ at 1355 Fern Street was the first property owned by a gay or lesbian organization in San Diego.³⁰³ In 1982, with a congregation well over 400, MCCSD moved once again to a larger property at 4333 30th Street.³⁰⁴ They would remain at this location for the next twenty years.

The history of the other early, significant force in San Diego's LGBTQ religious life, Dignity San Diego, is intertwined with the history of MCCSD. Patrick X. Nidorf's Catholic support group, which began in San Diego before moving to Los Angeles, eventually became known as Dignity. Nidorf explained that the name "Dignity just came to me as appropriate since one of our basic goals was to bring dignity into the spiritual and social lives of some very special people."³⁰⁵

Pat McArron, a San Diego native, grew up heavily involved in the Catholic Church. He attended Catholic schools and later served as a volunteer secretary to the San Diego State College (now San Diego State University) Catholic Chaplain. He was also a seminary student. McArron was an early member of MCCSD, but his devout Catholic upbringing led to an increased interest in Dignity, which was meeting in Los Angeles at the time, over the more generally Christian MCCSD. The organizers of Dignity Los Angeles suggested that McArron begin a San Diego chapter. McArron knew of no other gay Catholics in San Diego, but Dignity Los Angeles president Joe Gilgamesh put him in touch with Patrick McSweeney who was able to set McArron up with a small congregation in San Diego. The Dignity San Diego chapter held its first meeting in May 1972 at McArron's apartment in Santee, a small suburb of San Diego, with twelve people attending.³⁰⁶ By November, the monthly chapter meetings were taking place in the home of members Sam Bazille and Al Smith at 2535 C Street.³⁰⁷ This home would play an

³⁰¹ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.html>.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ "Highlights of Dignity USA's History: 1969," *Dignity USA*, accessed June 1, 2016, <https://www.dignityusa.org/history/1969>.

³⁰⁶ "Our History," *Dignity San Diego*.

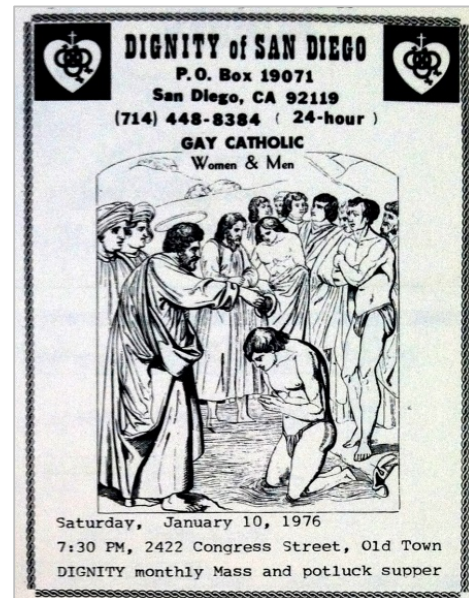
³⁰⁷ The history of Dignity San Diego was written by Patrick McArron. GPA staff found the write-up on this unusual website: <http://personalcashadvanceloan.weebly.com/blog/chollas-view-sd-cash-advance>. We corresponded with Mr. McArron and he confirmed that he did write it and it is correct, though no one

integral part in the church in the early days, serving as a venue for annual events and a fall back meeting place when other locations closed down or barred them from use. Early meetings also took place in the recently created Center for Social Services (now known as The Center) at 2250 B Street. Dignity established its own newsletter *The Hummingbird*, joining MCCSD's *The Prodigal* as an early local LGBTQ publication.

Dignity continued to grow and eventually needed to find a permanent home. In November 1974, they found that home in the Cardijn Center at 2422 Congress Street in the Old Town neighborhood. The Cardijn Center was a local Catholic meeting place and community center. The group met in the basement of the building, which they affectionately called the catacombs.³⁰⁸ Dignity had stability at this location for nearly seven years until the Cardijn Center building was sold. At this point Dignity moved for a short time to a real estate office at 4569 30th Street.

The histories of MCCSD and Dignity San Diego crossed once again in 1982 when MCCSD purchased their own church at 4333 30th Street. Dignity began meeting in the MCC church for their weekly mass. In 1987, the group opened the Dignity Center at 4561 Park Boulevard. It housed a chapel, library, and a drop-in area. By 1994, they relocated once again to the Universalist Unitarian Church at 4190 Front Street in Hillcrest, where they continue to operate to this day. Dignity's mission has two parts. They create a safe space for Catholics to worship without recrimination for their sexuality and also open a dialogue with the Catholic community at large about LGBTQ issues. In a 2005 interview, Patrick McArron, who has been involved with Dignity on a local, regional, or national level for over forty years, explained that "Our message to the Roman Catholic Church is pretty simple. Stop calling us objectively disordered. Stop looking at us as any more sinful than any other Catholic. Our sexuality is not an abomination."³⁰⁹

Both churches faced a crossroads in the early eighties when the AIDS virus began to wreak havoc on LGBTQ communities worldwide. Between 1983 and 1989, AIDS took the lives of one third of MCCSD members.³¹⁰ In 1985, MCCSD's third pastor Rev. David Farrell responded to the public's absence of response to the AIDS crisis by organizing a 50-hour prayer vigil and series of workshops at their 4333 30th Street church. Despite vicious protests, it was a major success, and the Metropolitan Community Church asked Farrell



Dignity San Diego advertisement in *San Diego Son* magazine. Source: *San Diego Son*, January, 1976.

knows how it ended up on this unrelated blog. Because McArron confirmed the authorship, the facts appear to be reliable.

³⁰⁸ "Oral History Interview: Patrick McArron," Interview by Heather White, *LGBT Religious Archives Network*, accessed June 2, 2016, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/OralHistory/McArron/PMcArron.pdf>.

³⁰⁹ Drew Goodmanson, "Dignity San Diego," *San Diego Reader*, August 25, 2005, accessed June 1, 2016, <http://www.sandiegoreader.com/news/2005/aug/25/dignity-san-diego-san-diego/>.

³¹⁰ "Who We Are."

to lead an international campaign following this same model. In 1986, more than 5,000 churches around the world held the 50-hour vigil. In 1988, the United Nations and the World Health Organization proclaimed December 1st of each year to be World AIDS Day.³¹¹ Farrell served in the role of pastor for MCCSD for 20 years from 1975 to 1995.



Stills from video footage of the 1985 50-hour prayer vigil. Source: Lambda Archives, https://archive.org/details/casdl_a_000010 - permission needed.

While Metropolitan Community Church San Diego and Dignity San Diego forged the way for new gay spaces outside of approval by organized religion, other groups arrived on the scene soon after and used the momentum toward general acceptance of homosexuality to attempt to create a place for LGBTQ worshippers in other mainstream denominations. Integrity, an affiliate of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America, was founded in 1975 by Louie Crew in San Francisco. Lutherans Concerned, an organization within the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) was formed in 1978.³¹² These two groups sought to include LGBTQ worshippers in mainstream congregations without any distinctions from their heterosexual peers. Little is remembered of Integrity's early days in San Diego but there is documentation of San Diego's bishop granting the group permission to convene meetings in 1976.³¹³ Lutherans Concerned established a San Diego chapter in 1978.³¹⁴ In 1979, all four major LGBTQ religious groups came together as San Diego's first LGBTQ religious coalition the Ministries United for Gay Understanding (MUGU).³¹⁵ They held their first meeting at MCCSD's church at 1335 Fern Street. MUGU pooled the resources of the four groups to promote public understanding of LGBTQ issues as well as create an ecumenical council to make decisions on how the San Diego LGBTQ religious community should function.

As with many facets of LGBTQ life, with wider mainstream acceptance the ways in which the community can openly practice their spirituality has diversified. By 1989, Yachad emerged as Jewish organization for LGBTQ San Diegans. It was followed by many other welcoming Jewish congregations and organizations. Today, there are local LGBTQ religious groups catering to a wide variety of faiths, including Buddhist, Mormon, and non-denominational. Additionally, wider mainstream acceptance has made it

³¹¹ "The 2005 San Diego LGBT Community Wall of Honor," *The Center*, accessed June 1, 2016, <http://www.thecentersd.org/pdf/woh/woh-programbook-2005.pdf>.

³¹² Joshua Grace, et al, "Coming Out Gay, Coming Out Christian: The Beginnings of GLBT Christianity in San Diego, 1970-1979," *Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. 63, No., published on the Lambda Archives of San Diego website, accessed June 5, 2016, <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/collections/ComingOut.pdf>.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

possible for LGBTQ individuals to express their faith at congregations where decades earlier they would have been shunned. Despite making great strides, there are still barriers to overcome and safe and supportive religious communities continue to play an important role in LGBTQ life in present day.

The following table lists identified resources associated with religion in the LGBTQ community. There are no designated resources associated with this theme at present. Please note that the identified resources table represents a sampling of known properties associated with this theme. They do not represent comprehensive, definitive lists. Furthermore, just because a property is included in this list does not mean that it is historically significant or eligible for listing in the National, California, or local registers.

Identified Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Catholic Cardijn Center in Old Town	Meeting place	2422 Congress Street	Dignity San Diego celebrated Mass in basement its early years, known as "the catacombs."
The Center (1st location)	Institutional	2250 B Street	Meeting place of Community of the Resurrection, a Catholic congregation that was LGBT affirming and rented space at the Center.
Chapel of the Chimes	Meeting place	4300 Imperial Avenue	Early meeting place of MCCSD. Greenwood Memorial Park has the only chapel found in San Diego with this name, so it is presumed to be the same one.
Chile's Realty	Meeting Place	4569 30 th Street	Dignity San Diego rented weekly in 1981-82 from Joseph Chile.
Chollas View Methodist Church	Church	906 47th Street	First home of MCCSD from 1970-75.
Church of Christ	Church	1355 Fern Street	Location of MCCSD from 1975-1982. It was reportedly the first LGBTQ organization to own property in San Diego. Also site of first meeting of Ministries United for Gay Understanding coalition.
Dignity Center	Community center	4561 Park Boulevard	Chapel and library opened by Dignity in 1987.
MCCSD Church	Church	4333 30 th Street	August 18, 1982, MCCSD closes escrow on 30th Street church property; at this location from 1983-2003. Also site of 50-hour prayer vigil in 1985.
Sam Bazille and Al Smith Home	Meeting place	2535 C Street	Home of one of the charter members of Dignity San Diego. Often used for meetings in the early days and when necessary later on.
Sam Bazille and Al Smith Home	Meeting place	2436 F Street	From Richard Burhenne comments

Eligibility Standards

The following eligibility standards provide guidelines for evaluating property types associated with religion in the LGBTQ community. It is important to note that eligible properties will not merely be associated with this theme; rather, they will have a direct and significant association with it.

Theme: Religion in the LGBTQ Community

Associated Property Types: Religious Buildings, Meeting Places, and Residences

Property Type Description: Associated property types may include churches, community centers, private residences, and other important meeting places. These will likely be the earliest known resources associated with a specific religious group. They will also likely be widely recognized as important gathering places for a noteworthy period of time. Properties associated with LGBTQ religious groups may or may not have been built for religious purposes originally. They may also include residential buildings that were the homes of prominent religious leaders.

Property Type Significance: Properties significant under this theme played a significant role in the religious and spiritual life of LGBTQ people in San Diego. They may also include properties directly and importantly associated with persons who played an important role in the religious and spiritual of LGBTQ people in San Diego. In most cases, the property that best represents the productive life of the person is the religious building in which they worked. However, if that building no longer remains or if the institution that they led moved frequently, their residence may be eligible. Properties significant under this theme may also be significant under other themes, such as media or community organizations.

Geographic Locations: Throughout San Diego

Area(s) of Significance: Religion, Social History

Criteria: NRHP A or B / CRHR 1 or 2 / HRB A or B

Period of Significance: 1969-1990

Period of Significance Justification: There are no known intuitions, and therefore no buildings related to this theme from before 1969.³¹⁶ The year 1990 is the end of the period of study for this historic context statement.

³¹⁶ This context statement is a living document that may change and be updated in the future as more information is uncovered through further research and analysis. While the original authors of this document did not find any known extant resources associated with this theme from before 1969 in their work, this does not mean definitively that none exist. If such resources are discovered in the future, this document should be amended accordingly.

Eligibility Standards:

- Associated with an institution which has been proved to have played a significant role in the religious and spiritual life of LGBTQ people in San Diego
- Associated with an individual who has been proven to have played an important role in the religious and spiritual life of LGBTQ people

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties must meet Criteria Consideration A which includes special provisions for religious properties
- For National Register, properties associated with institutions or individuals that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- May be located in a building designed for another use or religious institution
- Institution must have occupied the property during the period in which is achieved significance
- Individual must have lived or worked in the property during the period in which they achieved significance, i.e. the period in which they did their significant work
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period the institution or individual occupied the property

Integrity Considerations:

- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant institution or individual occupied the property
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Some original materials may have been altered, removed or replaced, which may have a resulting impact on integrity of both Materials and Workmanship
- Setting may have been altered by changes in surrounding development patterns and infill

Theme 5 – The LGBTQ Media

In the mid-20th century, periodicals such as magazines, newspapers, and newsletters became an important medium for LGBTQ communities. More than just reading material, they became a source of valuable information, ranging from social networking and personal ads to business advertisements and legal advice. Major San Diego publications included *Hummingbird*, *San Diego Son*, *Pacific Coast Times*, *San Diego Gayzette*, and *Update*. However, there were a wide range of other publications that catered to niche groups within the LGBTQ community.

Some of the earliest LGBTQ publications were those that could pass as catering to a heterosexual audience. The Frontier Athletic Club was a health club with facilities in Tijuana, Mexico that published physique photographs in the early 1960s. The club distributed a newsletter known as the *Frontier Athletic Club Bulletin* out of the home of George Greig at 730 Emerald Street from 1959 until at least 1970. By the late 1960s, Greig appears to have written the newsletter from hotel rooms in the Gaslamp District.

A second publication that appealed to LGBTQ interests without alerting the attention of the general public was *Naked Action* and its related magazine *Naked Male*. These were both bimonthly magazines published by Phenix Publishers from 1968 to 1969. Phenix Publishers put out a wide array of pulp fiction and magazines with other titles including *Naked Now Magazine* and *Intima Adult Magazine*, both featuring heterosexual couples on the cover, from their offices in Suite 302 of Chaparral Plaza at 3511 Camino Del Rio South. Phenix Publishers was an imprint of Greenleaf Classics, one of the earliest and most prolific publishers of pulp fiction erotica in the 1950s and 1960s and was especially influential in popularizing LGBTQ pulp fiction.

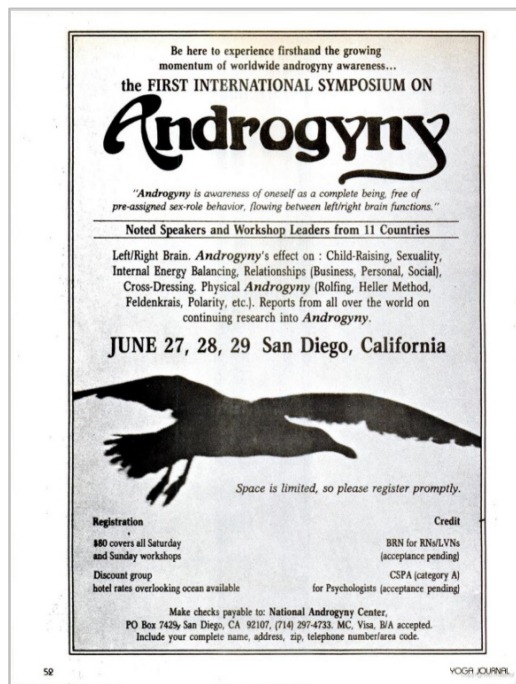
Some of the earliest LGBTQ organizations in San Diego were religious groups. Most notably, Metropolitan Community Church San Diego (MCCSD) and Dignity San Diego were places where the LGBTQ community felt safe to express their spirituality. Both of these groups published newsletters that alerted their congregations to church news, but also served as general community news, because in those days there were no other published sources of LGBTQ news that focused on the San Diego area. The MCCSD newsletter known as *Prodigal* began publication in San Diego in 1970. It was the first local gay publication with regular distribution.³¹⁷ The *Prodigal* newsletter is not associated with an address. There is a post office box address on the newsletter for inquiries. The P.O. Box is in the 92102 postal code area, the same area as Chollas View Methodist Church, where they were worshipping at the time. Dignity San Diego's newsletter came two years later in 1972 with the beginning of their local chapter and in May 1973 took on the name *Hummingbird*.³¹⁸ The name of the newsletter came from a song of the same title by the folk rock group Seals and Crofts by which the editor of one of the early issues was inspired while trying to think of a title for the publication.³¹⁹

By the mid-1970s the LGBTQ liberation movement was well underway and in the public

³¹⁷ "San Diego LGBT History Timeline," <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.html>.

³¹⁸ <http://personalcashadvanceloan.weebly.com/blog/chollas-view-sd-cash-advance>.

³¹⁹ Ibid.



Advertisement for the First International Symposium on Androgyny, 1980. Source: *Yoga Journal* via Google Books.

to 4003 Wabash Avenue, which was also the location of Las Hermanas Café, a women-only cultural center that hosted live music and events.

The National Center for Androgyny was located in Ocean Beach at this time, and published a newsletter known as the *Androgyny Review* and *Androgyny Update* during its run from 1976 to 1980. The androgyny movement was questioning the roles of males and females in society and was part of the larger LGBTQ struggle to liberalize society's ideas of gender roles and sexuality. The Androgyny Center held the First International Symposium on Androgyny in San Diego from June 27th to the 29th in 1980.

With an increase in the number of diverse niche publications, there was also a need for publications that could speak to the entire LGBTQ community. *San Diego Son* was a free magazine "published semi-monthly for the San Diego Homophile Community" started by Paul King in 1973.³²¹ King was also the owner of Atlas Steam and Sauna Baths at 743 Columbia Street. The P.O. Box for the magazine was located downtown near the bathhouse. Atlas had prominent advertisements on the first page of *San Diego Son* opposite the masthead. King's iteration of the *Son* published consistently from 1973 to 1974 and then had a special commemorative issue in 1975 to provide exposure for the annual Royal Court de San Diego pageant. After King, Duane Pierce took up publication of *San Diego Son* from 1976 to 1980. Pierce moved the offices to 3844 Arizona Street at the corner of University Avenue in North Park. Under Pierce, the magazine continued to be free and focus on local LGBTQ community news. *San Diego*

consciousness. Groups that previously would have felt vulnerable in the public eye began making themselves and their mission for equality known. With this sentiment came a wide array of publications catering to all facets of LGBTQ life. Periodicals related specifically to lesbian life began appearing locally at this time. The lesbian social organization Tres Femme, founded in 1970, had a short-run periodical in 1972 and then became *This Way Out* from 1976 to 1980 and was printed at the Center for Social Services at 2250 B Street.³²⁰ *This Way Out* was a newsletter that informed readers about events that were happening at the center.

Another female-centric publication, *Feminist Communications*, was created in a space above the Left Bank bookstore at 4994 Newport Avenue in 1974. The Left Bank bookstore in the Ocean Beach neighborhood was also home to the radical leftist newspaper *O.B. People's Rag*. After these early days *Feminist Communications* moved

³²⁰ "Periodicals (LGBT)," Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, March 10, 2014, accessed June 13, 2016, <http://www.clga.ca/periodicals>.

³²¹ "Masthead," *San Diego Son*, June 14, 1974.

Son was known at this time for its mix of serious journalism and lighter community news, as well as the striking simplicity of its covers.

A broader regional focus was covered at this time by *Pacific Coast Times*, which called itself “an independent full service newsmagazine for gay people” on the cover of its debut issue August 17, 1973. *Pacific Coast Times* was originally made for the LGBTQ community of San Diego. In 1974, the magazine expanded its distribution to include Los Angeles, San Clemente, Laguna Beach, Palm Springs, Costa Mesa, San Francisco, and Las Vegas.³²² The new regional magazine included feature articles, a calendar of events, travel articles, restaurant listings, and other information you might find in a general interest magazine but with an LGBTQ perspective. In 1978, the popularity of the magazine prompted a West Hollywood publisher to buy it from the San Diego entity known as Coast Press Ltd. The paper then folded within a year. San Diego resident Don Hauck had started Dawn Media at 4835 Voltaire Street in Ocean Beach to locally distribute the growing number of regional LGBTQ publications including *The Advocate* (Los Angeles), *Drummer* (San Francisco), *Newswest* (Los Angeles), and *Pacific Coast Times*.³²³ Hauck lived in the adjoining unit of the Dawn Media offices at 4827 Voltaire Street. Once *Pacific Coast Times* shut down, Hauck and his friend Howard Rouse recognized the need for a San Diego-focused LGBTQ news resource. In early 1979, Hauck and Rose created *San Diego Update*, which became simply *Update* a year later. *Update* ran for thirteen years, many of them with Pat Burke as editor, under Hauck's direction until he passed away in 1992. For the newspaper's tenth anniversary in 1989, then-mayor of San Diego Maureen O'Connor named March 29th *Update* Day for the paper's contributions to civil rights in the city.³²⁴



Cover of *San Diego Son*, April 1980. Source: ONE Archives.

One of *Update*'s revered columnists was Queen Eddie Conlon. Queen Eddie's advice column addressed a wide variety of topics, including love, death, relationships, family, and money matters.³²⁵ He responded to hundreds of letters seeking advice and has been fondly called the “LGBT Dear Abby.”³²⁶ In addition to his weekly column, Conlon was a well-known entertainer whose performances benefited “nearly every charity

³²² “San Diego LGBT History Timeline,” <http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline1970.html>.

³²³ <http://www.thecentersd.org/pdf/woh/woh-programbook-2004.pdf>.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

³²⁵ “The Queen Eddie Conlon Fund,” *The Center*, accessed August 30, 2016, <http://www.thecentersd.org/pdf/programs/queen-eddie-application.pdf>

³²⁶ Margie Palmer, “Remembering Queen Eddie,” *Gay San Diego*, November 30, 2013, accessed August 30, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/remembering-queen-eddie/>.

organization in the LGBT and HIV communities."³²⁷

A locally produced publication with far-reaching appeal outside of San Diego was the *International Male* catalogue. *International Male* was a catalogue clothing brand started by Eugene Burkard in 1971. The brand began in a small bungalow in Ocean Beach. Burkard hired local women through a newspaper advertisement to help sew his clothing from his home. The bungalow, at 4534 West Point Loma Boulevard was demolished in 1981 to make way for a condominium complex. The significance of the brand goes beyond the clothing. Burkard released his inaugural *International Male*



The first *International Male* catalogue. Fall/Winter 1976-77. Source: Gay San Diego.

catalogue in 1976 and not only created a great advertising tool that sky-rocketed his business, but created a safe space for closeted gay men in the middle of the country that did not have access to the robust LGBTQ communities in New York and California. Burkard explained in an interview that "We never said we were a gay catalogue, but gays 'got it.' I mean, gays looked at it and said, 'My God, that's me, and I can get this in the mail because it's not saying gay anywhere. It's just got these hot guys.'"³²⁸ Through the success of the catalogue business, *International Male* was able to open brick and mortar stores in San Diego and West Hollywood. Burkard produced the catalogue for ten years. By the time he sold the business in 1986, the *International Male* catalogue had a circulation of 2 million copies and the business was bringing in \$26 million annually, 70% of which was mail-order business.³²⁹ Burkard remained president of *International Male* after the sale.

By the 1980s, San Diego's LGBTQ community was established in the Hillcrest neighborhood. Whereas most LGBTQ publications of the 1970s sprang from the counterculture of the Ocean Beach neighborhood, the 1980s saw the rise of an LGBTQ community that flourished in Hillcrest, independent of other activist groups. The *San Diego Gayzette* was started by publisher Carla Coshow, executive editor Lair Davis, John Ciaccio overseeing advertising, Nicole Murray-Ramirez writing a social column, Nick Marzan as arts editor & business manager, photographer Paula Valentine, Jim Cain & Rob Andreasen, graphics artists & Liz Victor, office manager.³³⁰ Many of these founders of the *Gayzette* were recent transplants from the *San Diego Update* staff. The first issue of the *Gayzette* dated September 2, 1982 shows the staff standing in front of their offices at 3780 Fifth Avenue that still stands today. The *Gayzette* became the paper of record for the LGBTQ community soon after it began publishing. The paper

³²⁷ "The Queen Eddie Conlon Fund."

³²⁸ Pat Sherman, "Moments in Time: 'Never Get Respectable,'" *Gay San Diego*, January 3, 2011, accessed June 16, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/moments-in-time-never-get-respectable/>.

³²⁹ Bill Ritter, "International Male Catalogue Retailer Sold," *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1986, accessed June 16, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/1986-08-05/business/fi-1550_1_international-male.

³³⁰ "Gayzette Issues Published In 1982 and 1983," *HillQuest*, accessed June 16, 2016, <https://www.hillquest.com/hillquest/entertainment-old/gayzette/1982/index.htm>.

distributed 10,000 copies of its first issue. The *Gayzette* closed in 1986, ten months after advertising director and community activist John Ciaccio passed away from AIDS complications.

Less than two years after the *Gayzette* closed in October 1986, another community paper opened up to take its place in January 1988. The *San Diego Gay Times* (later *Gay and Lesbian Times*) was published by former executive editor of the *Gayzette* Larry "Lair" Davis.³³¹ The San Diego *GLT* served the San Diego area for twenty two years before folding in 2010.

The advent of the internet has revolutionized the way that information is distributed around the world. The anonymity that was formerly achieved through pen names and P.O. boxes when publishing paper copies is now the general mode of operation online. LGBTQ communities online connect people from across the world without having to leave their homes. However, the importance of local journalism and community news is still relevant, with a number of in-print and online periodicals persisting that speak to the LGBTQ community of San Diego today.

The following table lists identified resources associated with arts and culture in the LGBTQ community. There are no designated resources associated with this theme at present. Please note that the identified resources table represents a sampling of known properties associated with this theme. They do not represent comprehensive, definitive lists. Furthermore, just because a property is included in this list does not mean that it is historically significant or eligible for listing in the National, California, or local registers.



Image from the cover of *San Diego Gayzette* Issue 1. Sept. 2, 1982. Source: ONE Archives.

Identified Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Dawn Media Headquarters	Commercial	4835 Voltaire Street	Home of Dawn Media. First distributor of LGBTQ magazines in the San Diego area and later publisher of <i>Update</i> magazine.
<i>Feminist Communications</i> Headquarters (1 st location)	Commercial	4994 Newport Avenue	<i>Feminist Communications</i> was published upstairs starting in 1974. Also home of the Left Bank bookstore in the mid-1970s.

³³¹ Pat Sherman, "'Gay & Lesbian Times' Closes Doors after 23 Years," *Gay San Diego*. October 25, 2010, accessed June 16, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/gay-lesbian-times-closes-doors-after-23-years/>.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
<i>Feminist Communications</i> Headquarters (2 nd location)	Commercial	4003 Wabash Avenue	<i>Feminist Communications</i> moved here early in its history, but the exact year is unknown. Also home of Las Hermanas Café.
Greenleaf Classics Headquarters	Commercial	3511 Camino Del Rio South, Suite 303	Publisher of LGBTQ pulp fiction, including Richard Amory's <i>Song of the Loon</i> . This building also housed Phenix Publishers.
<i>International Male</i> Headquarters	Commercial and Residential	4534 W. Point Loma Boulevard (demolished)	Original home of the catalogue and creator Eugene Burkard.
Phenix Publishers Headquarters	Commercial	3511 Camino Del Rio South, Suite 302	Published the <i>Naked Action</i> and <i>Naked Male</i> magazines. This building also housed Greenleaf Classics, an important publisher of LGBTQ pulp novels.
<i>San Diego Gayzette</i> Headquarters	Commercial	3780 Fifth Avenue	Home of the popular local newspaper the <i>San Diego Gayzette</i> in Hillcrest.
<i>San Diego Son</i> Headquarters	Commercial	3844 Arizona Street	Early address of the periodical under editor Duane Pierce.

Eligibility Standards

The following eligibility standards provide guidelines for evaluating property types associated with the LGBTQ media. It is important to note that eligible properties will not merely be associated with this theme; rather, they will have a direct and significant association with it.

Theme: LGBTQ Media

Associated Property Type: Commercial

Property Type Description: Associated property types include offices in commercial buildings and offices occupied by important LGBTQ publications. These will likely be the earliest known resources associated with a specific publication. They may or may not have been built for the publications' purposes originally.

Property Type Significance: Significant properties are directly associated with businesses that made significant contributions to the LGBTQ print media such as newspapers, journals, and magazines. They may also be significant under other themes, such as political activism, religion, or social life.

Geographic Locations: Throughout San Diego, particularly in Ocean Beach and Hillcrest

Area(s) of Significance: Communications

Criteria: NRHP A / CRHR 1/ HRB A

Period of Significance: 1968-1990

Period of Significance Justification: The majority of San Diego's LGBTQ publications were created after 1968. The year 1990 is the end of the period of study for this historic context statement.

Eligibility Standards:

- Associated with a publication that has been proved to have played an important role in LGBTQ media

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with businesses whose significant accomplishments date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- May be located in a building designed for another use originally
- Business must have occupied the property during the period in which it achieved significance
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance

Integrity Considerations:

- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant business occupied the property
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Some original materials may have been altered, removed or replaced, which may have a resulting impact on integrity of both Materials and Workmanship
- Setting may have been altered by changes in surrounding development patterns and infill

Theme 6 – Arts and Culture



Jesse Shepard, c. 1890. Source:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francis_Grierson.jpg, public domain.

LGBTQ persons have been part of the recorded San Diego arts and culture scene since the late 19th century. However, they were not always able to express their sexuality or identity in their work. Following World War II, driven in part by nostalgia and in part by paranoia, the general need for America to return to “normal” resulted in a very conservative political and social climate. Popular media promoted the ideal nuclear family, seen in television shows such as *Leave it to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best*. Officials were on the lookout for communists and “sex perverts.” In this era that so valued “sameness,” it was difficult, even risky, to express same-sex attraction, and the traditionally liberal art world was no exception. Expressions of nonconforming sexual and gender behavior in art prior to the 1960s were mostly restricted to the underground or the extremely subtle.³³²

The theme of arts and culture refers to performing arts, visual arts and design, and literature. LGBTQ persons contributed to this theme’s enrichment in San Diego, though the places their works were encountered are just as important. Venues in which works were shared, displayed, discussed, bought, sold, and performed are key to understanding the significance of arts and culture in the San Diego LGBTQ community. The creation and exchange of art was a means of expressing tolerance for sexual diversity. Theaters gave people places to tell their personal stories. Bookstores served as meeting places and access points for literature, poetry, and information that other bookstores banned. These places helped shape a communal network and facilitated political organization.³³³

With regard to recorded LGBTQ history in San Diego, the earliest well-known reference to the community’s role in the arts is to Jesse Shepard. As a skilled pianist and vocalist, Shepard had performed for elite audiences internationally before residing in San Diego for a brief period, yet one in which the artist and the city left a lasting impression on each other. It is apparent that local real estate developers John and William High, also known as the High brothers, were the principal financiers of the land and construction for Villa Montezuma.³³⁴ This bestowal upon Shepard incited him, as well as his secretary and companion Lawrence (Lauritz) Waldemar Tonner, to move to San Diego in 1887.

³³² James M. Saslow, *Pictures and Passions: A History of Homosexuality in the Visual Arts* (New York, NY: Viking, 1999), 243-244.

³³³ No art galleries were identified through the course of this study, though some may exist. If galleries known for exhibiting LGBTQ art and affecting the exchange of artistic ideas are identified, this theme should be updated to address them accordingly.

³³⁴ “Moments in Time: ‘Bachelor’ pad,” *Gay San Diego*, September 24th, 2010, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/%E2%80%98bachelor%E2%80%99-pad-2/>; Clare Crane, “Jesse Shepard and the Villa Montezuma,” *The Journal of San Diego History*, Summer 1970, 6-7, 9-10.

According to Tonner in a biographical sketch of Shepard published in 1927, the famed historic house and the land it sits on were financed by “certain rich townspeople” with “the idea being to attract attention to the town.”³³⁵

The famed musician was known as a “professional house guest, performing at the salons of many a comtesse, marquise, duchesse and princesse,” so it is fair to say he was commissioned to live in, to entertain in, and to bring arts and culture to the city of San Diego.³³⁶ Aside from musical entertainments, Shepard embarked on a literary career that would become “the main outlet for his creativity for the remainder of his life.”³³⁷ Shepard was also known as a spiritual man and had been known as a Spiritualist, but he renounced it by joining the Roman Catholic Church during his stay in San Diego.³³⁸

Under the pen name Francis Grierson, Shepard published several essays in English and French. One collection of essays in particular entitled *Pensees et Essais* and published in 1889 gained praise from European readers; thus, Shepard decided to return to the continent, so he could pursue his encouraged career as an author. As the boom was going bust in San Diego at that time, he and Tonner made arrangements to sell the Villa Montezuma property, giving “half the proceeds to those who had supplied the money.”³³⁹ The pair left behind what is widely regarded as the most unique Victorian house still standing in San Diego. It was designed by architects Comstock and Trotsche, according to the decorative ideas of Jesse Shepard, and was called a “Palace of Art” by the local press upon its completion.³⁴⁰



Villa Montezuma, c. 1910. Source: San Diego State University Digital Collections, John and Jane Adams Postcard Collection, <http://ibase.sdsu.edu/view-item?i=140304&WINID=1465933920681>.

The grandeur and enduring physical presence of the Villa Montezuma has both inspired in-depth research and made its story regarding Jesse Shepard more complete in terms of its role in arts and culture in the San Diego LGBTQ community, but the same cannot be said for the majority of information regarding this theme. Little is known on the

³³⁵ Harold Simonson, “Zona Gale and Francis Grierson,” *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* XLI, March 1959, 11-16 as referenced by Crane, “Jesse Shepard,” 6.

³³⁶ Bruce Kamerling, “Looking Back: Jesse Shepard and the Villa Montezuma,” *Lesbian and Gay Archives of San Diego Newsletter* Issue No. 15, Fall 1992, 4.

³³⁷ Crane, “Jesse Shepard,” 8.

³³⁸ *San Diego Union*, June 12, 1887 as referenced by Clare Crane, “Jesse Shepard and the Villa Montezuma,” *The Journal of San Diego History*, Summer 1970, 13.

³³⁹ Simonson, “Zona Gale,” 11-16.

³⁴⁰ Crane, “Jesse Shepard,” 14; Kamerling, “Looking Back,” 4.

subject for substantial periods of time.

According to local artist, curator, and author Bruce Kamerling, "San Diego was quite an art community in the 1920s and '30s as a result of the Panama-California International Exhibition," and artists present during this time did much "to put San Diego on the map of the art world."³⁴¹ However, little is known about the LGBTQ community as a whole in the city during this period, and correspondingly little is known about which of the artists may have been gay. Several decades later, in the 1960s and early 1970s, LGBTQ artists joined the broader fight for visibility and equal rights. At the same time laws were overturned that had previously outlawed same-sex relationships, meaning that visual, theatrical, literary, and musical expressions of sexuality could no longer be used to incriminate people.

Theater and the performing arts have been used for educational and political purposes since their origins. More than just entertainment, it is a highly effective tool for reaching audiences on a personal level. As a result, it has been an important method for LGBTQ persons to share their histories and experiences. In 1986, producing director Thomas Vegh founded Diversionary Theatre, an organization that produces plays and musicals as well as develops new works "that explore the issues, characters and stories of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community."³⁴² Diversionary was created to address important social and political themes and is recognized as the third oldest, continually producing LGBT theater in the United States.³⁴³ Vegh was inspired to establish this theater following his successful independent production of "Lunch and Dessert" at the West Coast Production Company (WCPC) as a fundraiser to defeat the LaRouche Initiative.³⁴⁴ Shortly thereafter, he restaged the same show at the same venue, WCPC, as the first Diversionary Theatre production.³⁴⁵ Vegh started with his own money, operating the box office and organization's answering machine from his studio at 4539 North Avenue in the neighborhood of University Heights.³⁴⁶ Diversionary's early shows were performed at a variety of local venues including the bar Dillon's, The Center, the Sushi Performance and Visual Art gallery, the Puppet Theatre in Balboa Park, and Roosevelt Junior High School.³⁴⁷ In 1988, the theater began performing regularly at the Golden Hill Recreation Center at 2600 Golf Course Drive.³⁴⁸ It relocated to its current home at 4545 Park Boulevard in 1994, where it continues to produce plays and musicals with LGBTQ themes.

The LGBTQ theater scene was enriched a year later in 1987 with the arrival of the Beautiful Lesbian Thespians (BLT)/Labrys Productions performance troupe. The troupe

³⁴¹ Diane Ingalls, "New Home For Its Art: Historical Society Looking to the Future," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1980.

³⁴² "History," *Diversionary Theatre*, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://diversionary.org/history/>.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ Email correspondence between Charles Kaminski, Thom Vegh, and the City of San Diego. For more information on the WCPC, see the social life theme. For more information on the LaRouche Initiative, see the political activism theme.

³⁴⁵ Email correspondence between Charles Kaminski, Thom Vegh, and the City of San Diego.

³⁴⁶ Email correspondence between Charles Kaminski, Thom Vegh, and the City of San Diego.

³⁴⁷ Jon Mitchell, "The Early History of the Diversionary Theatre, 1986-1998," December 27, 2015, 1; Email correspondence between Charles Kaminski, Thom Vegh, and the City of San Diego.

³⁴⁸ Mitchell, 10.

described itself as “a community lesbian repertory theater company.”³⁴⁹ It presented its shows at various theaters in the city, including the Theatre in Old Town, among others.

In addition to providing outlets for artistic expression, theater and the performing arts have historically been attractive sources of employment for LGBTQ persons. Thus, it is not surprising that several traditional theaters in San Diego have documented associations with the LGBTQ community, in addition to the LGBTQ-focused Diversionary and BLT/Labrys. These include the Old Globe Theater, La Jolla Playhouse, and Sledgehammer Theater. The Old Globe was constructed in 1935 and modeled after its namesake in England. The La Jolla Playhouse has Hollywood origins as it was founded by Gregory Peck, Dorothy McGuire, and Mel Ferrer in 1947. Sledgehammer formed in 1985 as a progressive, experimental organization.

Notable figures in the performing arts in San Diego include Gary Holt, J. Marcus Newman (Nonnie Vishner), Tom Corcoran, and Carla Kirkwood. Holt was the musical director, the Director of the San Diego Gay Men’s Chorus, and a staff member at the La Jolla Playhouse.³⁵⁰ J. Marcus Newman, also known as Nonnie Vishner, was one of the actors in the “first gay theatre production of what is now Diversionary Theatre” and has directed plays in several San Diego area theaters.³⁵¹ Corcoran was the first paid director of San Diego Area Dance Alliance, which was founded in 1981.³⁵² Kirkwood is known for her solo performances about incest and sexual violence while addressing the inherent political issues of the abuse of power.³⁵³ Her autobiographically-inspired work comes from a childhood “marked by sexual abuse and domestic violence” while growing up in a military family in San Diego and entering an institutionalized home for runaway and abused children during the 1960s.³⁵⁴ In addition to her role as a San Diego-based writer/performer and public art collaborator, Kirkwood is also an academic who graduated from San Diego State University in 1969, worked in the Women’s Studies Program there until 1974, and has taught at San Diego’s Southwestern College for several years.³⁵⁵

Much like the performing arts, visual art has been a critical form of expression for LGBTQ persons throughout history. Bruce Kamerling is perhaps the best-known visual artist in the San Diego LGBTQ community. He was a painter and sculptor as well as an art historian and curator. His works have been exhibited in several California galleries. Kamerling

³⁴⁹ Nancy Churnin, “Gays Find Voice on Stage: Arts: The theater is providing a positive forum and a sense of community for many gays and lesbians who feel they are facing increased hostility from the straight world,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 1991, accessed June 10, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/1991-11-08/entertainment/ca-861_1_gay-community.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ “MOMS IN AMERICA: J Marcus Newman,” *Cuauhtemoc’s Celebrity Interviews Blog*, September 23, 2006, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://cuauhtemoccelebrityinterviews.blogspot.com/2006/09/moms-in-america-j-marcus-newman-moms.html>.

³⁵² Janice Steinberg, “Fragile San Diego Dance Alliance wobbles,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, March 11, 2007, accessed May 31, 2016, http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/uniontrib/20070311/news_1a11dance.html.

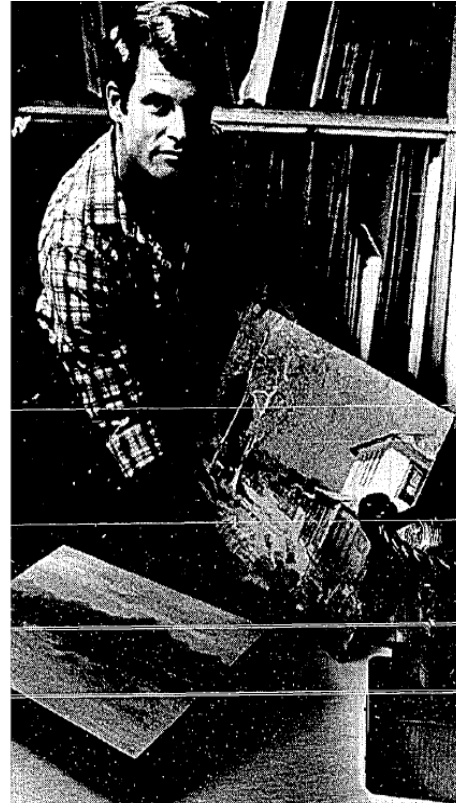
³⁵³ Jan Breslauer, “‘Bodies of Evidence’ Voices Personal Pain and Healing,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 1994, accessed May 31, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/1994-05-20/entertainment/ca-60162_1_san-diego.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Amy Scholder, *Critical Condition: Women on the Edge of Violence*, (City Lights Publishers, 2001), 184; Breslauer, “Bodies of Evidence.”

mastered oil painting, sculpture in bronze, wood, and stone, and drawing techniques in colored pencil and silverpoint while attending San Diego State University and studying independently in Taos, New Mexico, Washington, D.C., Greece, and Egypt. In addition to his artistic endeavors, he was a published author. As the Curator of Collections for the San Diego Historical Society, he documented numerous associations of art and architecture with San Diego but is best known for his biography of the early 1900s architect Irving J. Gill. He also furthered the study of women in relationship to San Diegan art and architecture through written publications.³⁵⁶

During the 1980s, Kamerling voiced a concern for the general under-appreciation of San Diegan artists and in response conceived of the Queer Artists Project. As president of the Lesbian and Gay Historical Society of San Diego (now Lambda Archives of San Diego), he helped launch the project shortly before his death in 1995.³⁵⁷ Susan Richards began volunteering in the archives before Kamerling left and officially founded and continued to develop the artists' collection until she relocated to the east coast.³⁵⁸ The Lambda Archives defines the Queer Artists Project as an "ongoing collection of records documenting the lives and work of San Diego's LGBT artists, as well as local LGBT art exhibitions."³⁵⁹ Motivated by a new exhibition space at the Lambda Archives in 2012, Cesar Chavez, an art history major at the University of San Diego, volunteered and took the lead in reviving the project and curating its first exhibition. It opened on March 15, 2013, showcasing art from the Lambda Archive's permanent collection and contemporary artists.³⁶⁰ The Queer Artists Project is still underway today. Currently, its collection overwhelmingly dates post-1990, which is outside the scope of study for this Historic Context



Bruce Kamerling displays works by local artists. Source: Diane Ingalls, "New Home for its Art: Historical Society Looking to the Future," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1990

³⁵⁶ Email correspondence from Charles Kaminski to the City of San Diego. Kaminski provided the following citations: Bruce Kamerling, "Painting Ladies," San Diego History Center website. Accessed September 13, 2016. <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/1986/july/ladies/> and Bruce Kamerling, "The Arts and Crafts Movement in San Diego," *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life*, ed. Kenneth R. Trapp (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993).

³⁵⁷ Ingalls, "New Home"; Susan Richards, "Art, Therapy, and Religion – Significant Archives Collections," *Lambda Archives of San Diego Newsletter* Issue 50, Summer 2012, 9.

³⁵⁸ Richards, "Art, Therapy, and Religions," 9; Anthony King, "Queer Art Project comes to life at Lambda Archives," *Gay San Diego*, October 19, 2012, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/queer-art-project-comes-to-life-at-lambda-archives/>.

³⁵⁹ "Queer Artists Project," Lambda Archives of San Diego, accessed May 31, 2016, http://www.lambdaarchives.us/collections/special/queer_artists.htm.

³⁶⁰ Andrew Printer, "Lambda Archives' 'Queer Artists Project' exhibition opens March 15," *San Diego LGBT Weekly* Section 4A, The Arts, March 14, 2013, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://lgbtweekly.com/2013/03/14/lambda-archives-queer-artists-project-exhibition-opens-march-15/>.

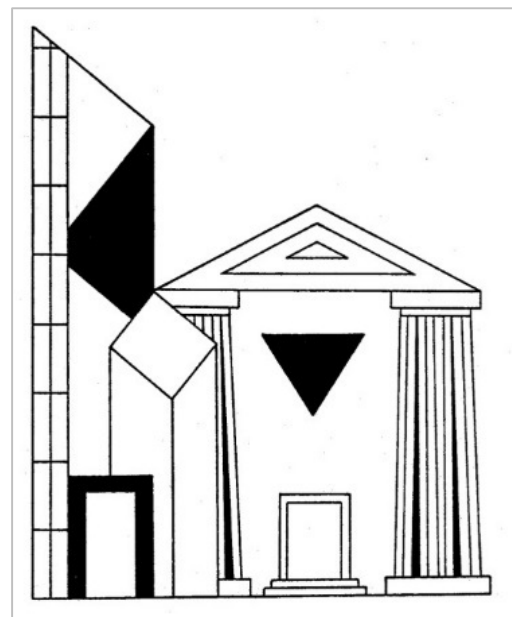
Statement.

San Diegan Larry Baza is another notable member of the artistic community who was also a dedicated activist.³⁶¹ In 1979, Baza created Artists for Aids Assistance, "the first major AIDS fundraiser in the arts community," involving more than twenty arts organizations. It "raised \$8,000, engaged the community, and helped to dispel the 'gay disease stigma.' "³⁶² As a steady activist, by the early 1990s, Baza was serving as co-chair of San Diego Pride. Throughout his artistic career, he has worn many hats as an arts administrator, gallery owner, and an artist himself.³⁶³

Local artist Timothy (Tim) Grummon's involvement in the arts began after he was



© Lambda Archives of San Diego
Tim Grummon, "Panels of Love", 1987.
Source: Lambda Archives (permission required),
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/lambdaarchives/9566293734>.



Early logo designed by Tim Grummon for Lesbian and Gay Archives of San Diego (Lambda Archives of San Diego). Source: Sharon Parker, "Yours in the Struggle... the Archives 25 years later," *Lambda Archives of San Diego Newsletter* (Summer 2012), 3.

³⁶¹ For more information on Baza's activism, see the political activism theme.

³⁶² Esther Rubio-Sheffrey, "Lambda Archives honoree Larry Baza calls on LGBT youth to carry on with the never-ending struggle for civil rights," San Diego Gay & Lesbian News website, January 31, 2011. Accessed September 13, 2016. <http://sdgln.com/social/2011/01/31/lambda-archive-honoree-larry-baza-calls-lgbt-youth-carry-never-ending-struggle-civ>.

³⁶³ Vanessa Briceno, "Gallery owner's activism a lifelong pursuit," San Diego Union Tribune, August 16, 2012, website accessed September 13, 2016. <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2012/aug/16/gallery-owners-activism-a-lifelong-pursuit/>. Baza continues to be an active player in the arts scene as a gallery owner and city commissioner.

diagnosed with an AIDS-related complex (ARC) which made him more receptive to the disease in 1985. He discovered his artistic talent “while attending a therapeutic art class for people with life-threatening diseases.”³⁶⁴ He used bold colors in his distinctive paintings that reflect his years spent with the Peace Corps in the Middle East and Asia, and they sold for as much as \$450 a piece.³⁶⁵ In 1987, he completed a series of 11 paintings entitled “Panels of Love” and a subsequent book entitled “Panels of Love: Paintings and Reflections” which became available at the Blue Door Bookstore in Hillcrest and at the Harcourt, Brace, & Jovanovich Bookstore downtown.³⁶⁶ Grummon also designed the early logo for the Lambda Archives.

In order to help AIDS patients like Grummon, Barbara Peabody established the first art program in the country for people with HIV/AIDS, allowing them to create, exhibit and sell their work.³⁶⁷ Peabody, an accomplished artist, had a child diagnosed with AIDS, so her connection to the cause was highly personal. She also founded Mothers of AIDS Patients (MAPS), “to combat prejudice and ignorance and to provide a sounding board for mothers to share their experiences.”³⁶⁸

Many Hands Craft Gallery was San Diego’s first artist cooperative, established in 1972 on University Avenue in the neighborhood of Hillcrest, and it served the community through “the darkest hours of the 1980s.”³⁶⁹ The studio and gallery’s strength was in its diversity, embracing people with different backgrounds as well as artistic media. After a fire destroyed their shop on El Cajon Boulevard in 1988, the group relocated to the basement of 655 G Street.³⁷⁰ In 1993, the Many Hands Craft Gallery made 302 Island Avenue its home and remained at this location until its closing in 2006, by which time the rental expenses had doubled.³⁷¹ Although the co-op had its issues, especially with as many as thirty people managing, it provided a welcoming and open forum among artists and between artists and the public. For many, it was an opportunity or second chance at creativity.

³⁶⁴ Hilliard Harper, “Despair: Artist’s Mid-Life Discovery of Talent Seems Almost Like a Story for a Film,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 1989, accessed May 31, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/1989-02-07/entertainment/ca-1711_1_artistic-talent.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Harper, “Despair”; “Panels of Love,” *Archives Newsletter* Issue no. 8, October 1990, 1.

³⁶⁷ “Barbara Peabody,” *Lambda Archives San Diego*, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.lambdaarchives.us/biographies/barbara_peabody.htm. The exact year in which she started the art program is unknown, but may have been around 1986. The exact name is also unclear. It has been referred to as both Art for Life and the AIDS Art Project.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Email correspondence from Charles Kaminski to the City of San Diego. Kaminski provided the following citation: Sarah Pattee, “Co-op Keeps Doors Open, Spirit Alive,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1991, website accessed September 13, 2016. http://articles.latimes.com/1991-12-23/entertainment/ca-831_1_hands-gallery. Additional source: Diane Bell, “Close of artists’ co-op is portrait of change,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 19, 2006, website accessed September 13, 2016. http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/uniontrib/20061219/news_1m19bell.html

³⁷⁰ Email correspondence from Charles Kaminski to the City of San Diego. Kaminski provided the following citation: Sarah Pattee, “Co-op Keeps Doors Open, Spirit Alive,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1991, website accessed September 13, 2016. http://articles.latimes.com/1991-12-23/entertainment/ca-831_1_hands-gallery.

³⁷¹ Diane Bell, “Close of artists’ co-op is portrait of change,” *San Diego Union Tribune*, December 19, 2006, website accessed September 13, 2016. http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/uniontrib/20061219/news_1m19bell.html

The most noteworthy literary figure in the San Diego LGBTQ community appears to have been Richard Love. Despite the fact that some of the greatest writers in history have been gay (Walt Whitman, Henry James, Radclyffe Hall, James Baldwin, and Tennessee Williams, to name just a few), books with LGBTQ characters and themes were banned from most classrooms in the U.S. throughout most of history. The portrayal of the world in solely heterosexual terms has contributed to the marginalization of the LGBTQ community. California has just begun to redress this imbalance. In 2011, Governor Jerry Brown signed SB48 requiring public schools to teach gay and lesbian history, the first state to do so in the country.



Richard Amory, no date. Source:
Arsenal Pulp,
<http://www.arsenalpulp.com/contributorinfo.php?index=199>.

Richard Love lived and published in San Diego using the pen name Richard Amory. He is best known for his first book *Song of the Loon*, published in 1966, the first book in what is known as the *Loon* trilogy. It is regarded as the first “gay best-seller.”³⁷² In Michael Bronski’s Introduction to its re-release in 2005, he describes *Song of the Loon* as:

The bucolic tale of men discovering their sexuality and their ability to love other men (as well as themselves), set in a mythical world of trappers and Native Americans in the frontier forests of Oregon in the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁷³

It was first published by Greenleaf Classics, a San Diego-based publisher “not known for its literary impulses,” but rather its specialization in “paperback original, soft-core heterosexual and homosexual porn.”³⁷⁴ Amory was a writer who envisioned “a new community and a new literature,” one in which an independent gay culture

“was not held hostage by, or indebted to, the larger heterosexual culture.”³⁷⁵ Although Greenleaf Classics did not embody this ideal, it appears to have been “the closest option to a ‘gay publisher’ that was available.”³⁷⁶ Bronski refers to an interview with Amory published by *Vector* magazine in which he complains about the two categories of gay literature thus far, the “Closet Queen Novel” and the “Gay Grotesque;” Amory wanted a “more distinctly out and proud gay culture.”³⁷⁷ He was anticipating the freedom that would come from the Gay Liberation Movement.

Naturally, the physical venues most closely associated with literature are bookstores. They not only sell written works; they also host readings by authors and poets. Historically, they have become recognized as a critical component of the feminist

³⁷² Drewey Wayne Gunn, “Dirk Vanden: Pioneer of Gay Literature,” *Lambda Literary*, August 10, 2011, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.lambdaliterary.org/features/08/10/dirk-vanden-pioneer-of-gay-literature/>.

³⁷³ Michael Bronski, Introduction to *Song of the Loon* by Richard Amory (Arsenal Pulp Press, 2005), 9.

³⁷⁴ Bronski, Introduction to *Song of the Loon*, 10.

³⁷⁵ Bronski, Introduction to *Song of the Loon*, 20.

³⁷⁶ Bronski, Introduction to *Song of the Loon*, 19.

³⁷⁷ Bronski, Introduction to *Song of the Loon*, 18.

movement. In San Diego LGBTQ-friendly and LGBTQ-owned bookstores have had an important place in the community's artistic and cultural life since at least the early 1960s when William Peccolo opened the Blue Door Bookstore in the Hillcrest neighborhood.³⁷⁸ A seller of used books, it opened in 1961 and specialized in theater, poetry, gay and lesbian literature, as well as talented but lesser known authors of the 20th century.³⁷⁹ It was part of what became known as Book Row on 5th Avenue and was one of the only bookstores in San Diego to stay open at night, and a little later for the theater crowds from the Guild Theatre.³⁸⁰ Incidentally, during the 1980s, Carla Kirkwood and her longtime partner Bartlett Sher spent their formative theater years living in a small apartment above the Blue Door Bookstore.³⁸¹ The establishment closed its doors in 2001.³⁸² Other known bookstores to have played a role in the San Diego LGBTQ community include The Bookmark, F Street Bookstore, Bluestocking Books, the Obelisk Bookstore, and Paradigm Women's Books.

The following tables list designated and identified resources associated with arts and culture in the LGBTQ community. The designated resources are not necessarily designated because of an association with the LGBTQ community. Please note that the identified resources table represents a sampling of known properties associated with this theme. They do not represent comprehensive, definitive lists. Furthermore, just because a property is included in this list does not mean that it is historically significant or eligible for listing in the National, California, or local registers.

Designated Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Old Town Theatre	Theater	4040 Twiggs Street	Part of the Old Town State Historic Park. Known location of early Labrys shows.
Villa Montezuma	Residence	1925 K Street	HRB # 11. Associated with early gay resident Jesse Shepard.

Identified Resources:

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Blue Door Bookstore	Bookstore	3823 5 th Avenue	One of the oldest known LGBTQ-friendly bookstores. Part of "Book Row" in Hillcrest.
Bluestocking Books	Bookstore	3817 5 th Avenue	Bookstore associated with the LGBTQ community. Part of "Book Row" in Hillcrest.

³⁷⁸ "Peccolo, 59, Bookstore Owner, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 1987.

³⁷⁹ Granberry, "5 Little Bookstores"; "Peccolo."

³⁸⁰ Granberry, "5 Little Bookstores."

³⁸¹ James Herbert, "Everything's coming up roses...", *San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 13, 2008, accessed May 31, 2016, http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/uniontrib/20080713/news_1a13sher.html.

³⁸² Tony Perry, "Door Closes on a Literary Tradition in San Diego," *Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 2001, <http://articles.latimes.com/2001/feb/13/news/mn-24747>.

San Diego Citywide
LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
Bruce Kamerling Residence	Residence	3541 Ben Street	A 1972 San Diego City Directory indicates that Kamerling resided here in 1972. Other known addresses or residences and studios from the period of significance should be added to this table if found.
Diversionsary Theater (1 st location)	Theater	2600 Golf Course Drive (Golden Hill Recreation Center)	Performed here regularly from 1988 through 1994.
Diversionsary Theater (2 nd location)	Theater	4545 Park Boulevard	Relocated here in 1994, after the end of the period of study for this project.
F Street Bookstore (1 st location)	Bookstore	4 th and F Street	Original location in downtown in 1974.
F Street Bookstore (2 nd location)	Bookstore	2004 University Avenue	Second location opened here in 1978, just east of Hillcrest according to the San Diego Business Directory.
Fritz Theatre	Theater	3387 7 th Avenue	Known location of some Diversionsary productions.
Larry Baza Residence	Residence	1719 28 th Street	Baza's residence in 1987. No other residences associated with him identified in this study from the pre-1990 period.
Left Bank Bookstore	Bookstore	4994 Newport Avenue	Bookstore associated with the LGBTQ community. Also home of <i>Feminist Communications</i> in its early days.
Many Hands Craft Gallery	Commercial	(need addresses)	Many Hands Craft Gallery, San Diego's oldest artist cooperative, was established on University Avenue in 1972, but its exact location is unknown. A fire destroyed its shop location on El Cajon Blvd in 1988, but this exact location is unknown, as well. In 1991, its location was identified by a <i>Los Angeles Times</i> article as the basement of 655 G Street. Between 1993 and its closing in 2006, Many Hands Craft Gallery was located at 302 Island Avenue.
Obelisk Bookstore	Bookstore	1037 University Avenue	Bookstore associated with the LGBTQ community.
Paradigm Women's Books	Bookstore	3343 Adams Avenue	Bookstore associated with the lesbian community.
Richard (Love) Amory Residence	Residence	4554 Narragansett Avenue	A 1959 San Diego City Directory indicates that Amory resided here in 1959. Other known addresses should be added to this table if found.
The Bookmark	Bookstore	4077 Adams Avenue in Kensington	Reportedly one of the first LGBTQ bookstores in the city. Date of opening has yet to be confirmed.
Thom Vegh Residence	Residence	4539 North Avenue, Unit B	Thom Vegh started Diversionsary Theater in 1986 with his own money, operating the box office and organization's answering machine from his studio at this location.

Resource Name	Type	Location	Comments
WCPC (West Coast Production Company)	Disco/Dance Club	1845 Hancock Street	Location of first Diversionary Theater productions.
Wing Café	Performance venue/coffee house	2753 B Street	Lesbian café and feminist restaurant-gallery-performance space from 1979 to 1992.

Eligibility Standards

The following eligibility standards provide guidelines for evaluating property types associated with the LGBTQ arts and culture. It is important to note that eligible properties will not merely be associated with this theme; rather, they will have a direct and significant association with it.

Theme: Arts and Culture

Associated Property Types: Commercial and Residential

Property Type Description: Associated property types may include commercial buildings used as artists' studios, galleries, theaters, and performance venues. These will likely be the earliest known resources associated with a specific group. They will also likely be widely recognized as centers for artistic expression for a noteworthy period of time. Associated properties may also include residential buildings used as artists' studios or writers' primary workplaces.

Property Type Significance: Significant properties are directly associated with LGBTQ organizations or businesses who made significant contributions to the history of visual arts, literature, and performing arts. Significant properties may also be directly associated with persons who played an important role in the artistic and cultural development of LGBTQ people in San Diego. In most cases, the property that best represents the productive life of the person is the place in which they worked. However, if that building no longer remains, if the organization moved frequently, or if the person worked from their residence, their residence may be eligible. Properties significant under this theme may also be significant under other themes, such as political activism, religion, or social life.

Geographic Locations: Throughout San Diego

Area(s) of Significance: Art, Literature, Performing Arts

Criteria: NRHP A or B / CRHR 1 or 2 / HRB A or B

Period of Significance: 1887-1990

Period of Significance Justification: Villa Montezuma, the oldest building associated with this theme, dates from 1887. The year 1990 is the end of the period of study for this historic context statement.

Eligibility Standards:

- Associated with an organization or business which has been proven to have made an important contribution to the history of the visual arts, performing arts, or literature as it relates to LGBTQ culture
- Associated with an Individual who has been proven to have made an important contribution to the history of the visual arts, performing arts, or literature as it relates to LGBTQ culture

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- For National Register, properties associated with organizations, businesses, or individuals whose significant accomplishments date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- May be the first or long-time location of an important business or organization
- May be located in a building used for multiple purposes or other purposes originally
- Businesses and organizations must have occupied the property during the period of time in which they gained significance
- Individual must have lived or worked in the property during the period in which they achieved significance, i.e. the period in which they did their significant work
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period in which the organization, business, or individual occupied the property

Integrity Considerations:

- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant organization, business, or individual occupied the property
- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Some original materials may have been altered, removed, or replaced, which may have a resulting impact on integrity of both Materials and Workmanship
- Setting may have been altered by changes in surrounding development patterns and infill

Recommendations for Future Studies

So many of the very important works and achievements of the LGBTQ community have occurred in what is considered in the field of historic preservation to be the very recent past – within the last 25 years. These events, many of which are certainly historic, are not covered in this document due to the limited scope of this project, as well as the basic principles of professional historic preservation planning. Technical historic context statements such as this typically establish an end to their periods of study of around 40 years prior to the study date. This is based on the National Register principle that an eligible property should be at least 50 years of age, unless exceptionally important, in order to be sure that there is enough scholarly information about the property and its related themes to evaluate it, as well as to be sure that society has adequate historical perspective. An event that occurred recently or person who is still active in the community may not seem significant right now, but over time, such significance may be realized through adequate study and unanticipated ripple effects, and vice versa; a recent event that seems really important at present might prove to be less so or to have been misunderstood or misinterpreted in the first place. Thus, the “50-year rule,” as it is sometimes called by practitioners, is designed to protect against these potential pitfalls. Historic context statements often use a 40-year cut-off, rather than 50, to ensure that they are useful to city governments for a ten-year period without over-reaching too far forward into the recent past.

For this study, the project team agreed to attempt to cover up to 1990, just over 25 years ago, or half of the 50-year rule. The intent was to include the important events of the AIDS crisis, as well as the emergence of many new local clubs and organizations during the 1980s. It was also designed to be consistent with other similar documents in the state. The City of Los Angeles’s SurveyLA LGBT Historic Context Statement, for example, only extends to 1980, while San Francisco’s extends through the 1980s. Based on the basic standards of professional historic preservation practice and the precedents set by these other studies, carrying the study even further into the future was determined to be infeasible at this time.

As a result, there are a number of topics that are only touched upon in this document and some that are not discussed at all, but will require thorough study in the future, when sufficient time has passed to do so. Like this document, to be a technical historic context statement for historic preservation purposes, and not a general historical narrative, future studies must be centered on themes for which extant associated properties exist. Some of the areas for future study include, but are certainly not limited to:

- **LGBTQ rights activism in the post-1990 period.** Examples include the fights for gay marriage and for overturning cross-dressing laws, and the election of LGBTQ people to public office.
- **Significant transgender events, groups, and individuals related to the themes herein or to new themes that emerge.** This document contains limited information about transgender history in San Diego, but more scholarly sources and texts are expected to emerge over time. In addition, the transgender community has become increasingly vocal, organized, and politically active since 1990.

- **Significant bisexual events, groups, and individuals related to the themes herein or to new themes that emerge.** This document contains limited information about bisexual history in San Diego, but more scholarly sources and texts are expected to emerge over time.
- **Significant queer events, groups, and individuals related to the themes herein or to new themes that emerge.** The history of the queer community in San Diego as a group entirely separate from the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender communities has not been specifically addressed in this document. The term “queer” was not reappropriated until the late 1980s and early 1990s. New scholarly sources and texts are expected to emerge over time.
- **Significant individuals of color and events and groups associated with LGBTQ people of color related to the themes herein or to new themes that emerge.** This document contains some information about LGBTQ people of color in San Diego, but more scholarly sources and texts are expected to emerge over time. Many of the groups discussed in this document were formed late in the 1980s, so while their founding dates might be mentioned, detailed information on their activities and growth in the following decades was outside the period of study. LGBTQ organizations specifically for people of color increased and diversified after 1990.

At this time, a sampling of known resources on the topics listed above includes:

- *Trans Narratives* website, edited by Meredith Vezina:
<http://www.transnarratives.org/>
- *A Gender Variance Who's Who* website: <https://zagria.blogspot.com/>
- Fritz Klein Bisexual Archives, housed at the Lambda Archives
- Newsletters and other documents published by local groups and individuals, many on file at the Lambda Archives
- “San Diego LGBT History Timeline,” especially for the post-1990 period, published by the Lambda Archives:
<http://www.lambdaarchives.us/timelines/lgbt/timeline%20pre%201970.htm>
- San Diego files at the ONE Archives in Los Angeles and West Hollywood, especially for the post-1990 period
- *San Diego LGBTQ Weekly* website: <http://lgbtweekly.com/>
- *San Diego Union-Tribune* website: <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/>

There are also many scholarly books and articles on LGBTQ history nationwide currently available and more published all the time. One study that is not yet finished but is expected to be an excellent source for historical information once completed is the National Park Service’s *LGBTQ Heritage Theme Study*. It will eventually be available for

free online. Information about the project is located here:

- <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>

As a concluding thought, it should be noted that technical planning documents such as this context statement are not the only, or often even the best ways of documenting and recognizing a community's history. Project types with broader scopes and less rigid structures may be more valuable for documenting the recent past. Examples might include oral history projects, museum exhibits, formal publications, creations of dedicated websites, developing mobile aps, and the like. Tools like these tend to reach a bigger audience and have fewer content restrictions, if any. The exploration of alternative public history projects is strongly encouraged.

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