

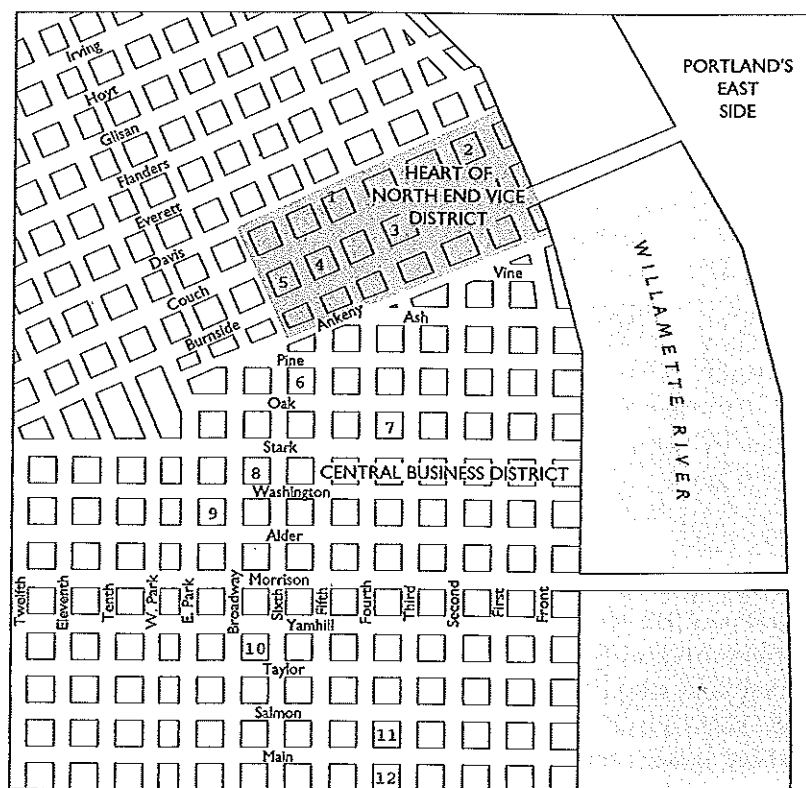
CHAPTER 2

Sex in the City

*Transient and Working-Class Men
and Youths in the Urban Northwest*

In early April 1913, Portland authorities received a tip that the Monte Carlo pool hall, located in the very heart of the city's transient working-class North End (see map 2), was acting as "a clearing house for immoral boys who pander to the passions of vicious Greeks who hang around the place." The police chief promptly assigned the detectives R. H. Craddock and John Goltz to monitor the Monte Carlo. During their ten-day investigation, the two hauled into the district attorney's office five teenage boys and exacted "some sensational statements" from them. The detectives' biggest break came on April 18 when they shadowed Andrew Dillige (figure 3), a thirty-five-year-old transient laborer and immigrant from Greece, and Grover King, a nineteen-year-old white American-born laborer, as together they made their way to the Fairmount Hotel. Located a block or two from the Monte Carlo on North Sixth between Burnside and Couch Streets, the Fairmount long had a reputation as one of a number of "houses of ill fame" in the area. Shortly after Dillige and King disappeared into room 29, the two detectives burst in, apprehending the former as he placed his "private parts . . . against [King's] rectum." Convicted of attempting to commit sodomy, Dillige spent fifteen months behind bars. King faced charges of vagrancy, but after Dillige's trial, the court released him without further penalty.¹

Although limited, the scraps of information we have on what the Portland police referred to as the "Greek *scandal*" [*sic*] are a rich source for understanding both working-class male homosexuality in the North-



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| 1. Paris House, closed in 1907 | 7. Chamber of Commerce Building |
| 2. Globe Hotel | 8. Imperial Hotel |
| 3. Erickson's Saloon | 9. Harry A. Start's medical office in 1912 |
| 4. Monte Carlo Pool Hall | 10. YMCA Building |
| 5. Fairmount Hotel | 11. Lowndale Park |
| 6. E.S.J. McAllister law offices in 1912 | 12. Chapman Park |

MAP 2. Portland's North End/Whitechapel Vice District and Central Business District, ca. 1912

west city and class, racial, and sexual prejudices of the dominant social groups at the turn of the last century. In this chapter, I first investigate the latter phenomenon, arguing that the Dillige-King and other similar relationships did not come to official attention as the result of objective application of the era's laws: instead, urban police forces in the Northwest purposely concentrated their surveillance of male-male sexual activities in the transient working-class neighborhoods. In doing so, the local authorities clearly utilized laws against same-sex sexual activities as only one part of a larger middle-class campaign to persecute working-class

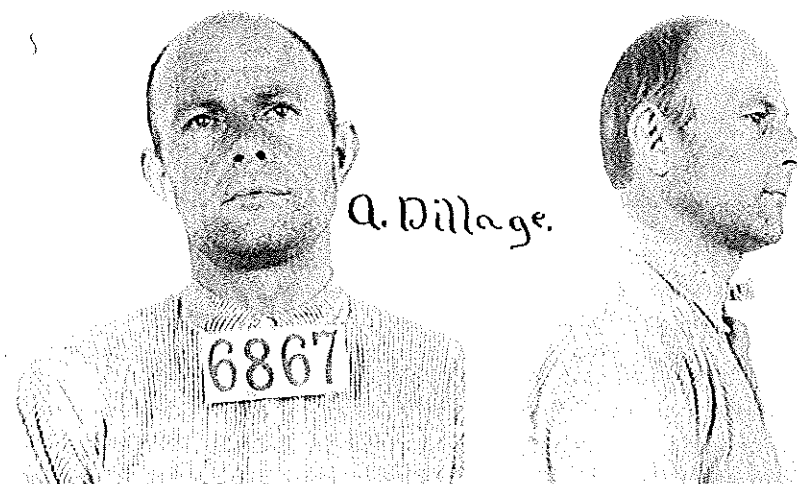


FIGURE 3. Andrew Dillige, 1913. Portland police detectives arrested the Greek migrant laborer Andrew Dillige at the working-class Fairmount Hotel, located in the heart of the city's vice district, for sexual relations with a young American-born male sex worker. Oregon State Archives, Oregon State Penitentiary, Inmate Files, Photograph 6867.

men of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds, particularly the foreign-born. The urban middle class perceived these men as sexual threats to society generally and specifically to the white American boy, and thus to the middle-class American family. At the same time, the dominant social classes conflated the working-class neighborhood—what they referred to as the “vice district”—with the sexual dangers that the men who occupied them presumably posed. Thus not only did authorities and reformers in the Northwest pursue the men of this urban space, but they also attacked the space itself.

I then consider urban working-class male-male sexuality. As the Dillige-King relationship suggests, sexual relations between transient men and youths were as common in the Northwest's large cities as in the region's hinterlands. Such relationships concentrated in the “vice” districts, which doubled as the seasonal residence of migratory laborers. Also, the jocker-punk relationship was transmuted by the large city, where the youth experienced greater independence than he did on the road. He therefore often resorted to soliciting sex around working-class establishments such as poolrooms and saloons, as did Grover King. Furthermore, King typified the youthful working-class same-sex sex partner

in the city; authorities referred to him as a "punk." Indeed, the work camp-like atmosphere of the Northwest's vice districts encouraged the presence of the punk and limited that of the fairy. Finally, the typical sex act engaged in by working-class men and youths, again fashioned especially by on-the-road culture, was anal and interfemoral intercourse with the adult, like Dillige, taking the penetrative role.

Race, Class, and City Space: Middle-Class Responses to Working-Class Same-Sex Affairs

Between 1870 and 1921 Portland police charged thousands of men with "disorderly conduct," "vagrancy," "indecent exposure," "indecent and immoral acts," and being "lewd and dissolute persons." Each of these crimes might entail some sort of same-sex sexual "transgression." For example, Grover King faced charges of "vagrancy" even though his crime involved an act of sodomy. From detective day books, which go into considerable detail, we know more about King's offense than we could have learned from arrest ledgers, which list only the official charge. Regrettably, because of the terseness of arrest records, the most accessible and comprehensive documents for surveying crime in early Portland, the great majority of those apprehended for same-sex sexual acts have slipped through the historical cracks. Of the thousands arrested in the Rose City between 1870 and 1921 for the various vaguely worded crimes listed above, only 123, ages fifteen and older, can verifiably be linked to some type of homosexual act.²

Like Dillige and King, most of those arrested were from the working class. For the eighty-two males whose occupations we know, some 62 percent came from the most transient of backgrounds: laborer, fisherman, sailor, soldier, railroad worker, logger, ship worker, bootblack, and teamster. Taken together, males who held occupations as either skilled or unskilled manual laborers made up a total of 78 percent of those arrested for same-sex sexual offenses; only 7.3 percent came from what we might call "white-collar" occupations. The arrest and other legal records reported the nativity and "race" of 97 of the 123 men and youths considered here. As table 1 indicates, roughly 42 percent of those apprehended were American-born whites, like King. The remaining were, like Dillige, men of foreign birth or of a minority racial group.

As was true of the Northwest's male workforce in general, the men arrested for homosexual acts were relatively young. Of the ninety-six for

TABLE 1. *Nativity or Race of Males, Fifteen Years of Age and Older, Arrested for Same-Sex Sexual Activities, Portland, 1870-1921*

Nativity	Total Number	Percentage of Total (n=97)*
United States: white (41), African American (3), American Indian (1)	45	46.4 (white=42.3)
Southern Europe: Italy (4), Greece (11)	15	15.5
Ireland	15	15.5
Australia, north/west Europe: Holland, England, Germany, Scandinavia	11	11.3
Asia	6	6.2
Latin America	3	3.1
Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Russia	2	2.1

*Because of rounding, this column does not total 100.

whom we have records, the oldest was seventy-three. Dillige, at age thirty-five, was only slightly older than the average, thirty-two. The median age was twenty-nine, and twenty-eight-year-olds showed up in arrest records in larger numbers than men of any other cohort.

Portland's legal records are not always explicit about their partners in crime, particularly when the accomplices were juveniles. (The definition of *juvenile* changed over the years, ranging from below twenty-one to below eighteen.) Nonetheless, many of the cases involving same-sex sex crimes did include a "juvenile," such as King at age nineteen in 1913. That juvenile-male same-sex activities often came to the attention of the authorities is confirmed by an investigation launched in 1912; it expressed considerable anxiety that during a twelve-month period ending October 1 of that year, more than thirty cases of same-sex crimes involving males between nine and fifteen years old had come before the legal system.³ I have been able to verify the same-sex sexual nature of sixty-two cases (other than the few associated with the 1912 YMCA scandal) involving adults and juvenile males that occurred in Portland between 1890 and 1921. In many of these the charge leveled against the adult was "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

Available legal records thus suggest the following: The typical male same-sex sexual offender was working class and likely had a transient background. He might be of foreign birth or come from a racial minority group, but had almost as good a chance of being American-born and white. He was also a young man, and his partner was just as likely to

have been a juvenile as not. In all these various ways, then, Andrew Dillige and Grover King typified those in early Portland who engaged in same-sex sexual activities—or, more precisely, they exemplified those who were brought before the law for such crimes. For although Portland authorities apprehended American-born white males for same-sex sexual offenses in numbers almost as large as for males of all other races and national backgrounds, men from the latter group were in fact vastly overrepresented in arrest records. While foreign-born white males were less than 20 percent of the male population of Portland through the years 1900–1920, they made up more than 44 percent of those arrested for same-sex crimes between 1870 and 1921. Similarly, African Americans and men of Chinese, Japanese, and “other” origins constituted about 4 percent of the Portland male population during this era, but they represented about 13.5 percent of these arrests.⁴

The Rose City police department’s purposeful targeting of males of foreign origin and of racial and ethnic minorities for same-sex sex crimes was part of a larger, regionwide and even national campaign then under way. Between the 1880s and World War I, millions of southern and eastern Europeans, Latin Americans, and Asians migrated to the United States. They were dubbed the “new immigrants,” and their backgrounds were quite different from those of earlier immigrants from northern and western Europe to whom most American-born whites in 1900 could trace their ancestry. In the last years of the nineteenth century these longer-established Americans, who also held the country’s economic, social, and political power, grew uneasy over the increasing number of new arrivals. Clinging to Social Darwinist ideas and the era’s assumptions regarding biological differences between races, some believed that the recent immigrants were inferior, would infect the so-called American race, and would act as a drag on society. Others concluded, especially in light of the growth in labor unrest and, in particular, the emergence of the communist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), that the new arrivals who came largely to work in America’s industrial order brought with them radical ideas designed to overthrow capitalism and democracy. Adding to the prejudice of the day was the fear that many Catholic arrivals had a greater allegiance to Rome than to the United States. Many members of the native-born middle classes also believed that the new immigrants, who tended to concentrate in the burgeoning urban centers, were taking over some municipal governments and operating corrupt regimes, and various spokesmen for “American” labor claimed that immigrants stole their jobs.⁵

For these and other reasons, the late nineteenth century had witnessed a strong nativist reaction that resulted in immigration restrictions and biased laws. For example, the Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited most Chinese from entering the country. Through the era, legislators on both the national and local levels enacted various codes and statutes that prohibited some noncitizens from being employed on public works projects and also from owning land. By the end of the century, America had some of the strictest naturalization regulations in the world. Despite the growing number of immigrants and the strong undercurrent of xenophobia, the country’s thriving economy between 1897 and 1906 kept racist sentiment in relative abeyance. But in the years after 1906, when economic crisis hit, “nativism” grew sharply. On top of this, American involvement in World War I and the accompanying federal propaganda also heightened suspicions of foreigners. Capping off the era, in the early 1920s Congress adopted some of its most restrictive immigration legislation, specifically targeting the new immigrants.⁶

The Northwest witnessed its share of racism and nativist and anti-labor sentiment during this era. Although the provision was never enforced, in 1859 the Oregon constitution forbade African Americans from entering the state. In the 1880s, race riots drove many Chinese from the region. Early in the twentieth century, Northwest states enacted laws discriminating against Japanese in the fishing industry and in the ownership of land. The growth and success of the IWW in the region caused considerable consternation in the 1910s and early 1920s. The Northwest served as one of the nation’s centers for radical labor activity because the IWW was almost the only union that paid attention to the plight of loggers, miners, and farmhands. In the struggle against labor, middle-class society did not lose sight of the fact that many of the workers were foreign-born. The Northwest even became a stronghold for the Ku Klux Klan, which had revived in the 1910s and which by the 1920s counted several million members nationwide.⁷

The experiences of African Americans, Greeks, and Asian Indians in Portland and in Vancouver, British Columbia, exemplify how general race prejudice and nativist sentiment combined with disapproval of same-sex sexual activities to lead to the persecution of immigrant men. During these years, the reporting on same-sex sex crimes by law enforcement officials and news writers made clear their racist and ethnocentric concerns. Portland newspapers in the 1880s and 1890s limited their comments to rather bland pronouncements when such sex stories involved white American men. Thus in 1890 the *Evening Telegram* matter-of-factly

stated that two white men, "Jack Stafford and Robert Wilkinson, charged with a crime against nature, waived examination and were held in default of \$1000 each." Yet when an African American man was arrested for a similar transgression less than a year later, the reports had a strikingly different tenor. The very same paper featured a story about Mark Weeks, whom courts "found guilty of trying to dissect the innermost anatomy of a shipmate named John Goodock." The reporter could not resist the temptation to describe Weeks as "a 'gemman' of color."⁸

Prejudicial treatment of racial minority males went well beyond simply the words chosen in news accounts. In Portland, authorities arrested men of Greek origins, such as Andrew Dillige, for same-sex sexual offenses at rates far above their representation in the overall population. Between 1890 and 1920 men born in Greece never exceeded 1 percent of the total male population in the Rose City, yet they accounted for more than 11 percent of the arrests for same-sex sexual transgressions. During a five-month period stretching from November 17, 1912, to April 18, 1913, more Greek men were arrested for such crimes than at any other time in Portland history. Within this span occurred the "Greek scandal" at the Monte Carlo.

That period coincided with some of the most virulent expressions of racist and nativist sentiment that the city and the region had witnessed since the attacks on the Chinese in the 1880s. On November 29, 1912, for instance, officials from various regional and national social work organizations assembled in Portland. They announced cooperative plans to deal with the flood of immigrants expected to follow the impending completion of the Panama Canal. A newspaper evoked the anxiety articulated in and outside the conference with the headline "PREPARE FOR INFUX OF ALIENS IN 1913." About a month later the police department asserted in its year-end accounting that "many of the law offenders" in the city "have been of the foreign element." Out of 16,311 arrests that year, "foreigners" accounted for 6,557. The report then singled out for specific mention only "Greeks" for giving particular "trouble."⁹ Tensions between the native-born white and the Greek immigrant communities in Portland reached a boiling point in early 1913. In January, County Sheriff Tom Word arrested B. H. Baruh, a bootblack, for supplying Nellie Beulieu's house of prostitution with both customers and, apparently, "girls." Word assumed that because Baruh was "foreign" and a bootblack, he was also Greek. The sheriff then broadly asserted to the press that Greeks in the city aided the white slave trade, "acting as agents for immoral purposes of girls ranging in age from 16 years up."¹⁰ Even after

learning that Baruh was not Greek, Word refused to print a retraction. This decision outraged the local Greek community. Members drafted resolutions denouncing Word and sent copies to local newspapers, the Oregon governor, and the Greek ambassador in Washington, D.C. They also implored the Greek consul in Tacoma to assist them in their struggle against the city of Portland. Over the next few years, Rose City officials continued to wage a racially charged battle against the Greek community, but the greatest expression of prejudice surfaced during the winter of 1912-13, the period corresponding to the increase in arrests of Greek men charged with same-sex sex crimes and the period that saw Andrew Dillige dragged before the justice system.¹¹

In a similar case of same-sex affairs in Vancouver that involved men from India, the records capture even more brazen bias. Native-born society on the West Coast contemptuously referred to Indians as "Hindoos"—more in reference to Hindustan than to the Hindu religion, which in fact few immigrants espoused. Being British subjects, many South Asians first migrated to British Columbia before crossing the border to the south. By 1913 about three times as many Indians lived in the United States as in Canada.¹² In both Canada and the States, the growing numbers of Indians met with stepped-up harassment. In September 1907 white working-class mob violence in Bellingham, Washington, drove several hundred Indians across the international border. In July 1913 the *Portland News* charged in bold letters that Indians "breed like rats, live in squalor and die by the millions of the plague, yet Uncle Sam is allowing them to overrun the Pacific Coast States." Anthony Caminetti, U.S. commissioner-general of immigration, spoke in Portland a few months later and further inflamed resentment: he accused the Indian immigrants of posing a danger even greater than the "yellow peril," a familiar racist reference to both the Chinese and Japanese presence in the region. Caminetti asserted that Indians menaced the Pacific Coast in two ways. First, their supposed low standard of living led them willingly to take jobs for less pay than the "white man" would. And second, Caminetti charged that they suffered from hookworm, a parasite that they would, as agricultural laborers, spread to North Americans.¹³

In Canada officials suspected Indians of agitating for their homeland's independence from the British Empire. Because American and Canadian authorities felt a common cause, they worked together for years to halt or at least partially curtail South Asian migration—a difficult task for Canadian officials, as within the British Empire all subjects could theoretically travel freely.¹⁴ The situation came to a head in 1914.

In that year, 376 Indians hired a Japanese ship, the *Komagata Maru*, to sail from Asia to Vancouver in an attempt to break restrictions placed on South Asian British subjects trying to enter Canada. The *Komagata Maru* arrived at Vancouver on May 23. For two months officials refused to permit its passengers to disembark as their attempt became the focus of a battle in the courts, and some minor scuffling occurred shipside when immigration officers and police tried to board. Finally, on July 23, a Canadian cruiser escorted the Japanese vessel to sea. It returned to Asia with its passenger list intact.¹⁵

The historian Indiana Matters has discovered that within this context of growing animosity between whites and Indians in British Columbia, local authorities (representing the Anglo-Canadian community) brought an unusually large number of charges of same-sex transgression against Indians in Vancouver. An examination of a few of these incidents clearly demonstrates that police, sometimes acting alone and sometimes working with local white residents, purposely entrapped Indian men in sex crimes. In a 1910 case, the principal witness for the prosecution admitted to being a regularly paid informant. In his testimony he also confessed his uncertainty over what the accused Indian man had initially wanted from him during the incident in question. Finally the witness claimed he had leadingly asked the defendant, "What do you mean do you want to fuck me? And [the Indian] nodded his head [yes.]" In another case that year, the prosecution's main witness allegedly received several propositions from an Indian man who declared he would show him what "Hindoo fucking" was. The witness proceeded to the police and worked with them to successfully manufacture yet another incident that resulted in the Indian's arrest.¹⁶

Another example comes from December 12, 1912, when two police officers, N. McDonald and David Scott, became suspicious of Nar Singh, whom they reportedly observed for four or five nights in succession hanging about the corner of Pender Street and Columbia Avenue. At two in the morning, Scott claimed, "we saw the accused walking up and down the street. The first we saw of him there was a man apparently to me under the influence of liquor came out of the Great Northern Hotel and went east on Pender Street. . . . The accused went a few doors up and stopped him and spoke to him." Once Singh and the other man went their separate ways, the policemen chose to pursue the former. McDonald followed him to a back-alley stable. There, he claimed, Singh took down his suspenders and pants and "went on his knees in front of me[.]" After this encounter, Scott followed Singh to his lodgings. And

there, according to Scott, Singh attempted the same maneuver allegedly made at the stable.¹⁷

Perhaps the most infamous of these incidents occurred in 1913. A white Canadian chauffeur having a drink at Vancouver's Panama Hotel bar encountered an Indian man who allegedly expressed interest in having sex with him. According to the chauffeur, the accused agreed to pay him and a friend seventy-five cents "for the two and two dollars every Sunday and pay car-fare both ways to Central Park" to continue the sexual relations. The two men, each of whom would bring a friend, made an appointment for later that day on the railroad tracks. Immediately after working out the tryst's details, the chauffeur headed to the police. One detective eagerly agreed to pose as the prostitute friend, while another assented to hide in trees that lined the tracks where the rendezvous was to take place. Shortly after arriving, the chauffeur and the undercover detective took down their trousers and turned their backsides to the Indian men. Within minutes, but only after a scuffle and attempted escape, the latter were securely under arrest. In this case, one of the defendants and one of the detectives, who had carefully hidden his face in the encounter so as not to be recognized, had previously been involved in a murder trial connected to the *Komagata Maru* incident.¹⁸

These Vancouver incidents demonstrate how local authorities, working with white civilians, purposely ensnared South Asians by manufacturing compromising situations (if not evidence itself). Elsewhere in the region and even outside the urban center, "race" also influenced juries that convicted South Asians for same-sex sex crimes. In February 1912, authorities in the small logging community of Gate, Washington, arrested Don Sing, Bram Sing (figure 4), and Jago Sing, employees of a local lumber company, for anally sodomizing Clarence Murray, a seventeen-year-old white youth. The story told was that on February 11, Murray and a few cousins and friends went into Gate, met the Indians, and enjoyed a few drinks. The other boys left the scene, but Murray accompanied the men to their segregated quarters. There Murray drank more liquor and passed out. From all reports, only Bram and Jago stripped the boy of his trousers, laid him face down on a couch, and then alternately performed anal intercourse on him. Nonetheless, all three Indian men faced charges of sodomy, Don apparently because of guilt by association.

A few months after a local jury found all three guilty and shipped them off to the state penitentiary, the interpreter in the case, P. L. Verma,



FIGURE 4. Bram Singh, 1915. While working for a logging company in Gate, Washington, in 1912, Sing and two other Asian Indian immigrants faced charges of sodomy with a seventeen-year-old American youth. Oregon State Archives, Oregon State Penitentiary, Inmate Files, Photograph 7440.

a member of Portland's Indian community, fought to overturn Don's conviction. In a well-argued letter to the prison secretary, Verma outlined Don's excellent past behavior, his good work record at Gate, his family's dependence on him, his contributions to charities, and his importance to the Indian community in Portland. Verma also produced supporting documents, including testimonials from Don's previous employers in Washington and Oregon; an appeal from Don's wife in India, who was likely to starve because of her husband's incarceration; and a petition signed by many members of Portland's Indian community. Pointing out that during the trial none of the witnesses ever testified to seeing Don sodomize Murray, Verma concluded that in the rush to convict the other two men, Don became the victim of prejudiced prosecutors and jury members. He noted that the latter, mostly farmers, undoubtedly knew of the recent troubles on the coast that pitted Indian against North American labor and were likely to take sides against the former. Moreover, Verma outlined a long history of racism and its sad effects on immigrants:

When there is a question between American and the Hindoos, it is natural that the Americans may be in some cases disposed to American side. Still more this inclination is manifest when a wrong has been done to an American by some

other nationality. Much more is manifest in the case of those who have not been in touch with other nationalities and do not know what their thoughts may be. This case may be seen among the farmers especially, as they generally do not come in connection with other nations and live generally absorbed in their own affairs.

Verma's entreaty ultimately worked. In the face of grave doubts about his guilt, officials released Don in 1913, some months before Jago and Bram. Bram would come before the Oregon legal system a few years later for a similar crime and would meet with a chillingly different fate—a story recounted later in this volume.¹⁹

It is clear from our latter-day perspective that these authorities in the Northwest unfairly singled out men from India and Greece for allegedly breaking laws against same-sex sex. Some early-twentieth-century inhabitants of the region arrived at the very same conclusion. In November 1912, a Portland resident wrote a letter to the editor of a local newspaper decrying the apparent failure of the police to apprehend some middle- and upper-class white men in connection with the city's growing YMCA homosexual scandal. "If these degenerating practices were committed by Greeks or Hindus," he charged, "these lily whites . . . would be in favor of drowning them in the Willamette [River]."²⁰ Though the threatened punishment is rhetorical hyperbole, it suggests that the region's judicial systems utilized immigrants' actual or alleged same-sex sexual activities to get rid of them in other ways. The evidence for such efforts is clear. In Spokane, Washington, in 1911 the county deputy prosecuting attorney, C. C. Dill, wrote to the secretary of the penitentiary outlining for him the case of Christ Vlassis, a Greek immigrant, who had been sent up on a sodomy conviction. Dill concluded his letter, "I have taken up the matter of his deportation with the immigration people."²¹

These cases involving Greek and South Asian immigrants also demonstrate that such laws were more than a tool in a campaign against men of racial and ethnic minorities: they were tied to dominant society's fears of these men's sexuality. That concern, however, seemed to be expressed not over *homosexuality* per se but rather over the general sexual threat that these men presumably posed, which might include homosexual practices. This perceived threat is pointedly demonstrated in one of P. L. Verma's complaints. He explained to authorities that the white jurors' suspicions of deviant sexuality were undoubtedly heightened when they learned that Don Sing was arrested in his bunk while wearing nothing at all—because they did not know that sleeping nude, which seemed

aberrant to them, was the Indian custom. Also contributing to the rising tide of race prejudice and nativist sentiment throughout America was the white middle-class American belief that the working classes and poor generally, and the "lower races" more specifically, were by nature lustful and sexually degenerate. Thus they were apt to engage in a variety of "deviant" activities, including relations with both the same and opposite sexes.²²

We know that white middle-class America at the turn of the twentieth century feared racial minority and immigrant male sexuality generally, not just because of a potential to participate in same-sex acts. But that they specifically feared the latter was certainly true. Popular writers and sexologists bolstered the era's conviction that men from the Mediterranean region as well as from India readily had same-sex sexual intercourse. For example, in 1885 Sir Richard Burton, translator of the *Arabian Nights*, commented at length on the perceived commonness and acceptability of male-male sexual relationships in what he called the "Sotadic Zone." According to Burton, this area encompassed southern France, the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, Greece, and the coastal regions of North Africa from Morocco to Egypt, stretching to India. Burton claimed that here such practices are "popular and endemic, held at the worst to be a mere peccadillo." The British sexologist Henry Havelock Ellis relied on Burton's reportings in arguing that southern Italian men were more likely to engage in such relationships than were their northern compatriots. He rationalized this tendency as the influence of "Greek blood" in southern Italy.²³

Such feelings prejudiced views of men from the Mediterranean in the Northwest. In 1917 the Seattle physician W. Ray Jones expressed concern about a "Turk" who apparently paid a fifteen-year-old Seattle youth twenty-five cents to submit to sodomy. "Because of the pain caused him," Jones surmised, "the boy cried for help and the officers who responded to the call witnessed the act through a crack in the door before arresting the man." The following day the immigrant supposedly "admitted all, but did not consider it an offence, as intercourse with a male was perfectly legitimate in Muhammadan countries." The "Turk" was convicted, but Jones was vexed because the "boy who manifestly had practiced sodomy before[,]... who willingly submitted to passive pederasty for money," and who suffered from gonorrhea (left untreated by the authorities) was set free. At the same time "[t]he man who had always been taught that he could have intercourse with no woman other than a wife or legal concubine, goes to prison for a term of years for a

crime which according to the custom of his native country was not considered a crime."²⁴ While in this case the Seattle physician spoke up on behalf of a man from the Mediterranean region—or at least used his story to draw attention to an inadequate response to a Seattle youth—he did so from the deep-seated belief that same-sex sexual relations commonly occurred in the immigrant man's homeland.

During the years from 1907 to 1916, mainstream society blamed immigrant men for the apparent general decline in American morals, the spread of venereal diseases, and increasing rates of prostitution. White middle-class Americans assumed all these to be endemic to the working class, the poor, and especially minority racial groups, thus socially constructing them as carriers of sexual diseases and perpetrators of general moral ruin while at the same time casting themselves in the role of hapless victim. Attention particularly focused on the immigrant in the "white slave" panic that gripped the country, as the foreign-born were accused of operating an international traffic in white women.²⁵ Not surprisingly, given the view that the "lower races" had a predilection for same-sex sexual activities as well, the dominant society also blamed immigrants for the apparent spread of such practices in the United States. Alfred J. Zobel, a San Francisco physician who in 1909 treated three teenage "American boys" for gonorrhea of the rectum, claimed that the condition "has been rather rare in this country, but since the influx of foreigners from those countries where unnatural practices are common, more cases are now seen." Two years later, the Immigration Commission presented the U.S. Senate with its lengthy findings regarding white slavery, claiming in passing that "it is clear that there is a beginning... of a traffic in boys and men for immoral purposes. The same measures employed for the restriction of the traffic in women should be applied with even greater rigidity... in the case of men."²⁶

Immigrant males' sexual links to white "American" men and especially to white "American" youths, suggested in these and other sources cited above, deepened white middle-class racial and sexual fears.²⁷ The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed increasing concern on the part of the socially dominant classes over youths and boys generally. A variety of factors—including industrialization, the growth of the impersonal city, population expansion, and the increasing independence of women—all combined to transform the middle-class American family and its internal relations. Many reformers saw evidence that the "traditional" family was now breaking down in a perceived reduction of parental supervision and an intensification of juvenile delinquency,

crime, truancy, and even gang activity. Ameliorating the problems of the middle-class youth, and thereby saving the family, became a particular focus of the era's reforms. That concern is demonstrated in the Boy Scout movement, the proliferation of YMCA youth-centered projects, the founding of boys' and girls' aid societies, the development of juvenile departments in the nation's court system, and the movement to separate youths from adults when incarcerated.²⁸

An emphasis on the difficulties facing youths and on the connection between them and the health of society is apparent in Portland during these years. Between the 1890s and 1910s, Rose City newspapers ran innumerable articles with such titles as "Who Is Responsible for the Boy?," "Bad Boys on Parole," "Reform for the Boys," "A Plea for the Boys," "Homeless Boys," "Boy Values," "Habits of American Youth," "A Lesson for Boys and Parents," "Helping the Boys," and "Child Education Is Urged as a Remedy for Social Condition." Furthermore, Portland also served as home to a very active YMCA movement, and the Girls' and Boys' Aid Society of Oregon was founded in the city in 1885. In 1905 the Oregon legislature created in Portland the first juvenile department in the state's court system. A 1913 mayoral committee strongly advocated the establishment of a house of detention and an industrial home for youths, in part as a result of discovering in one of the city's jails a nineteen-year-old "boy" who was "shut up in one room...with fifty other prisoners....Thieves, drug fiends and vagrants, with the occasional sex perverts, were this boy's intimate daily and nightly companions for some months."²⁹

As the committee's report evinces, reformers expressed grave concern over the possibility that youths might participate, willingly or otherwise, in any type of sexual activity. The historian Jeffrey P. Moran has pointed out the centrality of sexuality to changing social views of children at this time. Before 1900, society perceived children and teenagers simply as incompletely developed adults and not, as Moran explained, as "a separate class unto themselves." Only in the waning years of the nineteenth century did broader society begin to recognize the existence of an intermediate phase in life. With the publication of the psychologist G. Stanley Hall's two-volume 1904 work titled *Adolescence*, the idea of the adolescent finally crystallized. As it did, sexuality became "critical to the new, scientific concept of adolescence," according to Moran.³⁰ Social attention increasingly focused on chastity for youth, as adolescence was seen as both a period of sexual maturity and a phase wherein youths had not yet matured socially. Middle-class reformers accepted that the subli-

mation of sexual energies was necessary for the adolescent's successful socialization and development. Exposure to sexual corruption and immorality not only threatened the youngster with ruin; it spelled doom for society as a whole.³¹

The circumstances in which adolescence emerged as an idea and a reality for the middle classes, and the concomitant perception that the family was collapsing, exacerbated fears about the vulnerability of the boy and thus also the family to the sexual dangers posed by the immigrant male. Indeed, we can see those fears in the 1909 lament of the San Francisco physician Zobel, who declared that the "American" teenagers had contracted gonorrhea of the rectum from "foreigners." A few years later the Portland judge J. P. Kavanaugh echoed the same sentiments in his assessment for the state's parole board of Tony Lagallo, whom the magistrate had sent to prison for sodomy on a young white boy. Lagallo "is an Italian laborer," Kavanaugh claimed, and therefore "prison officials should keep in mind that [in] turning him loose upon the community other persons maybe [*sic*] corrupted into the practice of this unnatural crime."³²

A particularly telling example of heightened concern over male-male sexual relations between white youths and racial minorities comes from the pages of Portland's *Evening Telegram*. An article of 1894 indignantly broadcast to readers, "One of the most atrocious crimes ever committed in this city came to light early last evening, and the perpetrator of the crime—a big stalwart negro named Fred Jones, a scowdweller in the north part of the city—was placed under arrest....The victim of this brute is an English lad 17 years of age[.]"³³ It did not matter that the "victim," Thomas Mosey, actually appeared to have been a willing participant in the relationship. Taken together, the age of Mosey and the interracial nature of the affair motivated the newspaper's dramatic vocabulary, including such words as "atrocious," "perpetrator," "stalwart," "victim," and "brute." In the Stafford-Wilkinson case mentioned earlier in this chapter, which the *Evening Telegram* had covered rather more prosaically a few years before, arrest records reveal that the individuals concerned were both white. They also gave Stafford's age as somewhere between forty and forty-five and listed Wilkinson's in the neighborhood of fifteen to eighteen—precisely the age of Mosey. Although the Stafford-Wilkinson affair did garner notice, the *Evening Telegram* cast no particular (let alone racial) aspersions on Stafford.

It should be stressed, however, that regardless of the racial or ethnic background or even the age of a working-class, immigrant, or racial mi-

nority man and his male sex partner, they likely ended up before the legal system. Once again, this suggests that the feelings against such men were related to a variety of white middle-class anxieties and not just to a concern over "foreigners" mixing with white American boys. Even two adult immigrant males who had sex with each other demanded attention. For example, in 1914 Vancouver authorities apprehended an Asian and a Greek immigrant who were having sex in a rooming house on the corner of Main and Powell Streets, a locale within that city's transient working-class neighborhood. Accompanied to the room by the proprietor, the policeman

rapped at the door and got no answer. . . . I stood on the table and looked over the transom and both the accused were at it right there. The Greek was stripped up to his shoulders, with his hands on the bed. . . . And the other man, the Hindoo had his pants open. . . . The Hindoo was running his penis into the rectum of the Greek, and we rapped several times, and they kept us there five minutes. . . . This Greek. . . he turned round, before they stopped at this business, he turned round to the Hindoo and he pointed to the door and never said a word, and they kept on doing this business.³⁴

Continual popular and official concentration on and reference to "foreigners," "aliens," and racial minority men for their supposed sexual threat, along with other forms of stereotyping and prejudice, worked to construct a stark division in the urban Northwest between "insiders"—the respectable and white middle-class families—and "outsiders"—working-class, immigrant, and racial minority males. The urban visibility of the outsiders necessarily demanded that authorities and reformers also focus their attention on the areas and establishments within the city frequented and inhabited by these men. Various factors caused working-class, transient, immigrant, and racial minority males to be drawn to, or segregated in, what the middle classes dubbed the "vice districts" of the Northwest's larger cities. In Portland it was the Whitechapel or North End; in Seattle, Skid Road; in Vancouver, Hastings Street. The middle classes then conflated these districts and their patrons. While certainly various "vices" such as prostitution, gambling, drinking, drug use, crime, and same-sex sexual activities were found and probably (but not always) concentrated in these areas, the official attention only worked to magnify ever more the dangers that they and their inhabitants seemed to pose.³⁵

From the beginning, the dominant classes associated Portland's vice district with the sexual, the dangerous, and the foreign, as its earliest name, the "Whitechapel," indicates. In the late summer and fall of 1888, a killer known as Jack the Ripper savagely murdered at least five female sex workers in London's Whitechapel neighborhood, an area regarded

as a haven for prostitutes, immigrants, and the poor. Even as contemporary news services trumpeted these horrific crimes to the Western world, Portland's then-inchoate vice district was experiencing a wave of violent murders of female sex workers that lasted for several years. It began in 1885 with the exceptionally brutal killing of Emma Merlotin, whose identity as a "French courtesan" intensified thoughts of the exotic. Shortly before eleven o'clock on the wintry night of December 22, a policeman discovered Merlotin's body in her cottage on Third Street, lying face down in a three-foot-wide pool of blood. Clothed only in a chemise, boots, and stockings, Merlotin had suffered gruesome bludgeoning and slashing that the papers reported in graphic detail.³⁶

Within a couple of days authorities arrested the "Finnish" sailor William Sundstrom, whom they found lurking around the murder scene. He had blood stains on his clothing and a hatchet in his possession. Yet the police charged neither Sundstrom nor anyone else with this vicious crime. During the next four years other brutal murders occurred in what was developing into the red-light district. Offenses ranging from slaying to picking pockets beset this area for years, leading the police to characterize it as "the scene of some of the most terrible crimes. Murders and robberies were of frequent occurrence."³⁷ Thus, for a number of reasons—Merlotin's murder was unusually sinister, the victim had an exotic background, an immigrant sailor was implicated, the crime went unsolved, Jack the Ripper undertook a similar killing spree in London's Whitechapel at about the same time, and the area was notorious for its violent activities—Portlanders latched onto "Whitechapel" as an appropriate name for their city's tenderloin.³⁸

By about 1905 the Whitechapel was better known as the "North End," a label that corresponded to its geographic location relative to the central business district.³⁹ The boundaries of the Whitechapel/North End shifted over the years. Roughly speaking, the district moved slowly north several blocks from a somewhat ambiguous downtown axis in the early 1880s at about Stark Street to a more cohesive area during the first years of the twentieth century, bounded by Ankeny on the south, Irving on the north, perhaps Eighth on the west, and the Willamette River on the east. Although this seventy-block area included any number of properties completely unrelated to "vice," at its very heart lay what the authorities felt was the most inglorious area of all: the three east-west running streets of Burnside, Couch, and Davis and the area from the river west to about Fifth (figure 5).

As the Whitechapel migrated northward, it collided with one of the most desirable residential neighborhoods in the city. Beginning in the

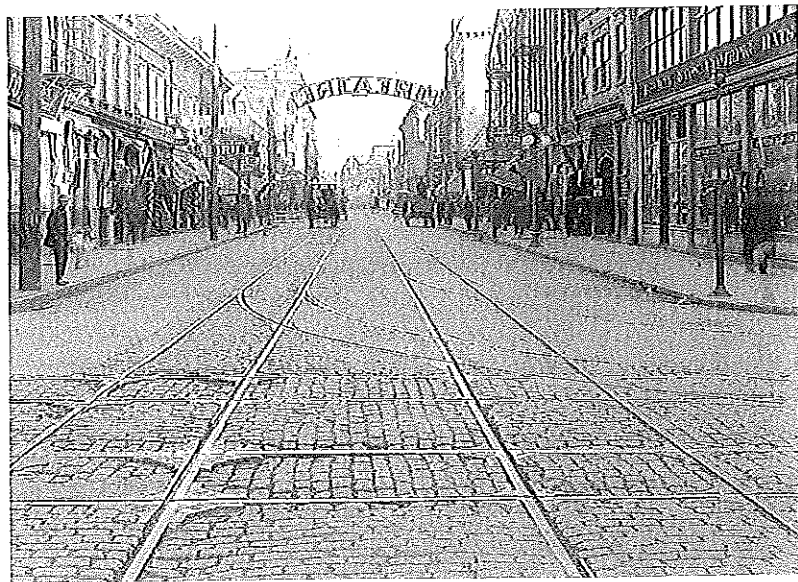


FIGURE 5. Burnside Street in Portland's North End, ca. 1907. Burnside was the axis of the transient working-class district in Portland from the 1890s to well into the twentieth century. On the left of the photograph is a sign for Erickson's saloon, which boasted the longest bar in the world. The arch over the street reads THEATRE on both sides. Oregon Historical Society, #OrHi PGE 130-37.

1860s, Portland's leading families constructed expensive homes on North Third and Fourth Streets. But as the neighborhood began changing in the early 1880s, they fled west to Nineteenth Street and southwest to Portland Heights. By 1884, Third and Fourth had been transformed. That year the *Portland City Directory* reported that the Whitechapel was decidedly not a middle-class space and intimated that the new habitués and the altered atmosphere were of a piece: "our most elegant residences have been abandoned...and the denizens of that portion of the city have as completely changed in character as their surroundings."⁴⁰ Well before the turn of the century, Portlanders mapped the physical boundaries of the North End by what they viewed as the less-than-savory activities that occurred there. Thus in 1903 when the Rose City's chief of police devoted entire sections in his annual report to such subjects as the police manual and salaries, the mounted police, the city jail, fire escapes, dance halls, the rock pile, opium smoking, streetwalking prostitutes, and various other aspects of law and (dis)order in Portland,

probably no one was surprised that one segment of his summary was given over to the "Whitechapel District." He singled it out from all other neighborhoods in the city as an area with its own distinct criminal and moral problems.⁴¹

The Whitechapel was, most notably, racially diverse. Initially bordering it, Chinatown eventually became part of the North End. By 1900, 62 percent of the Rose City's African Americans lived there. In 1910 individuals who were foreign-born, who were black, or who had one or both parents of foreign origin composed almost 60 percent of the population of the three wards that took in parts of the North End. Although Portland is noteworthy during this era for the wide distribution of its residents of foreign birth and parentage, the highest concentrations of them could be found in the wards of the Whitechapel.⁴² The dominant social classes thus necessarily perceived the North End as a racialized space, further helping to construct it as a district of dangerous outsiders. White Americans at this time believed there to be a multiplicity of races, with Africans, Chinese, Indians, and Japanese, as well as Greeks, Italians, Slavs, and other Europeans, each being distinct. The so-called Anglo-Saxon stood at the top of the racial hierarchy. Individuals from this group then projected their fears onto those "beneath" them and, using circular logic, embraced the belief that, according to Michael Omi and Howard Winant, "differences in intelligence, temperament, and sexuality (among other traits) were...racial in character."⁴³

From the 1880s through the early 1900s, Portland's middle classes therefore unremittently blamed the North End's racial minorities for the moral and criminal problems of the area. For example, they focused on the Chinese for encouraging opium smoking and gambling. By the early 1900s they had turned their attention to Greek immigrants, whom one official report from 1913 described as "laboring men of a very low class and degraded character." At the same time the police identified the Greeks with the "rapidly growing ghetto district" and accused them of causing the most "trouble" in the city. Only a few years earlier local officials had singled out "colored" female sex workers of the North End as responsible for an upsurge in the city's cases of larceny. Whereas "a very few reports of robberies have been made in connection with the white women [prostitutes],...[t]his cannot be truthfully said in relation to the colored women....They were bold in their operations and defiant in their attitude."⁴⁴

While immigrants and racial minority groups concentrated in the North End, the district also attracted a broad range of transient working-

class males, a large number of whom seasonally migrated to the city. Harvey Scott, an influential newsman, wrote in 1890 that "with the increase of foreign commerce, in 1868, and onward the foreign sailor class became much larger. With the rise and growth of the salmon fishing business, the fishermen of the Columbia River . . . made periodical trips to Portland, . . . as did also the miners, and to some extent the ranchers, from east of the mountains."⁴⁵ By the late 1870s city officials already noted a seasonal pattern of transient laborers "drift[ing] here from the interior and from California in the Fall." Well into the twentieth century, Mayor A. E. Rushlight would note in his annual messages that "[d]uring the winter months thousands of unemployed men come to Portland from logging camps and lumber mills adjacent to the city." It is difficult to know with precision how many filtered into the Rose City on a seasonal basis; some officials asserted that their number reached twenty thousand. The urban historian Chris Sawyer has conservatively calculated that anywhere between three and twelve thousand transients seasonally came to Portland.⁴⁶

The North End thus became a decidedly male space. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries men outnumbered women in all major Northwest cities, but in neighborhoods such as the North End the imbalance was the greatest. In 1910 Portland's Third Ward, which included most of the North End, was 79 percent male while the rest of the city was only 57 percent male. The Second and Fourth Wards, each of which took in slivers of the North End, also had high concentrations of men (61 and 66 percent of their population respectively) in 1910.⁴⁷ Local authorities, news editors, and middle-class reformers responded just as they had to racial minority groups, attributing to the North End's men an unsavory reputation. "The comparative absence of women [there]," charged Harvey Scott, "stimulated grossness and coarseness of speech and manners, and the temptation toward immorality intensified." Scott described the Whitechapel in his 1890 *History of Portland* with particular indignation. He also used the past tense, hoping to assure readers who did not know any better that middle-class propriety had won the day: "They were a class of hard drinkers, stimulating themselves from successive nights of indulgence in their games. . . . Gambling and other indulgences were carried to the same violent excess[.]" Then, "with the building of the railways a large floating population of men . . . not on their best behavior, came on pleasure excursions . . . , crowding the low hotels, and saloons, the theatres, and places of popular amusements."⁴⁸

Scott's biased rantings hold a certain grain of truth: for various reasons, the North End did draw to it working-class transients. By the

1890s Portland was a bustling seaport with several major railway lines. Also, although the continuing paucity of manufacturing limited the jobs available in the Rose City in the winter months, over the years a number of employment agencies opened in the North End. Portland thereby became a base in the spring months for men searching for work to carry them through until the autumn, when once again they would be laid off. The city also offered the transient trade inexpensive eateries. For many years the police department provided any number of peripatetic men free room and board in the nearby city jail, while in the North End Erickson's saloon offered complimentary lunches (see map 2). The transient Andrew McGraw claimed in 1895 that he paid only five cents for a meal in the Whitechapel. He supplemented his fare with fish caught in the Willamette River.⁴⁹

In addition, the North End abounded in inexpensive lodgings. One historian has determined that if a survey had been conducted in 1898 to determine numbers of lodging houses, Portland would have ranked fourth nationally, behind New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. North End denizens occupied lodging houses and hotels at greater rates than residents of any other part of the city, as can be inferred from the 1910 census. In that year, the city of Portland counted an average of one dwelling for every 5.5 residents. Certain eastside neighborhoods experienced rates as low as 4.3 residents per dwelling. The Third Ward, however, averaged 14.8 inhabitants per dwelling—the most in the city.⁵⁰

Reformers, police, and news writers in all cities of the Northwest pointed to such housing in the vice district to underscore the differences between this area of town with its residents and the respectable middle classes and their neighborhoods. First, they associated the former with the exotic. In case after case in which local authorities investigated sexual transgressions in working-class hotels, they identified the accommodations with the "race" of their proprietor. "Japanese"-owned establishments received particular notice. When a Vancouver policeman went to a lodging on March 21, 1914, to investigate the report that Greek and Indian males were having sex there, he described the place as "a Jap rooming house." In Walla Walla, Washington, in 1918, authorities characterized the hotel where the African American George McElroy attempted to seduce the American-born white Roy Church as "a Japanese lodging house."⁵¹ Moreover, reformers claimed that the atmosphere of the working-class lodging houses threatened the broader urban citizenry. In 1910 the Portland Woman's Club undertook an investigation of North End accommodations. It bitterly complained that more than three hundred men crowded into some of the district's "cheap lodging houses." "These

places," the Woman's Club charged, "are breeding grounds of crime." Showing little interest in the welfare of those who lived in such conditions, club representatives concentrated on the ways in which these places supposedly menaced the better classes. The lodging house "air was foul to an unspeakable degree," the report accused, "the bedding was filthy... infested with vermin if not with the germs of infectious and epidemic diseases, which though started in the poorer quarters of the city may spread to the prosperous portions and endanger the lives of its residents."⁵²

Where middle-class respectability perceived danger, transient men found inexpensive hospitality. But the North End attracted them with more than just its lodgings; the neighborhood's various diversions also acted as a lure—and the middle class looked askance at these, too. In a series of articles relating the unfortunate local effects of the nationwide economic downturn in 1907, the *Oregonian* maintained that transient men "so densely... pack the sidewalks at Second and Burnside streets and in that vicinity, that one could hardly elbow his way through the throng... Poolrooms and saloons are crowded until closing time, 1 A.M., and are quickly filled again at the opening of the morning." Later in the month the same paper remarked, "The amusement halls of Erickson's and Blazier's are packed with the idle humanity, for each performance, and at the end of the entertainment in the one place the throng flocks across the street to attend that in the other."⁵³ From 1885 until the onset of citywide prohibition in 1916, Portland's saloons were concentrated in the North End. Among the best-known was Erickson's, which boasted the "longest bar in the world," running 684 linear feet. Other establishments combined a variety of amusements. Fritz's included a bar, grill, vaudeville show, and movie theater. Other entertainments and vice-related businesses—opium dens, gaming resorts, shooting galleries, prize-fighting rings, massage parlors, pool halls, and obscene picture shows—could also be found in the North End at various times between the 1880s and the 1920s. Through the early twentieth century, moral reformers and local authorities variously investigated and raided such establishments in direct response to their supposed threat to the broader Portland citizenry.⁵⁴

As the Whitechapel/North End formed in Portland during the last decades of the nineteenth century, the city's middle classes defined it along the lines of race and class and all the hazards that its immigrant, racial minority, and transient working-class inhabitants were thought to pose to urban respectability. It should come as little surprise that 89 percent of arrests of men and youths for same-sex sex crimes in Portland oc-

curred within the North End or other areas where single, working-class, immigrant, and primarily male populations resided (in this regard, too, the case of Andrew Dillige and Grover King was typical). Part of the social construction of the North End, then, was the middle-class designation of this place as a space of sexual transgressions. Certainly such activities did occur there. However, the middle class's own fears led its officials to scrutinize ever more closely the men and the establishments of the North End, focusing their vision as they did so on what most seemed to imperil the boy.

Throughout the period, Portlanders expressed general concern over youths who frequented the North End. As early as 1888, one investigator complained of young males traipsing in and out of opium dens, gambling parlors, saloons, and burlesque shows and expressed particular shock at finding them scattered throughout the notorious Tivoli Theater. This sleuth also discovered to his horror an underground gambling den where there operated "four games in full blast... Two of these were conducted by Chinese, one by an ancient negro. The bar was kept by a white man. While the majority were Chinamen, a considerable number of white men and beardless youths were actively engaged in the games."⁵⁵ The presence of such underage males in the Whitechapel continued for years. Although the mayor's report boasted in 1903 that the "energetic action on the part of the police in looking after minors" had led to the absence of both boys and girls from "pool-rooms, saloons, or resorts unsuitable for minors to visit," arrest figures belie his claim. In 1901 and 1902 respectively, the police apprehended 376 and 329 minors in these and other places. In the year in which the police congratulated themselves for a job well done, they apprehended 1,045.⁵⁶ Such an increase in the number of arrests might demonstrate the "energetic action" of authorities, but it also indicates that very large numbers of minors were still frequenting the North End.

Poolrooms, saloons, and other resorts came under surveillance because same-sex sexual liaisons might occur there between "vulnerable" youths and working-class, immigrant, and racial minority men.⁵⁷ The saloon acted as the central institution of male working-class America during the years before Prohibition. The historian Roy Rosenzweig has called it "the axis" of the working-class world, providing at various times check-cashing services, free newspapers, entertainment, free food, public toilets, gaming and gambling opportunities, homes for fraternal organizations, and employment information; more specifically it served as a place where men could meet other men for political debate, sports

talk, storytelling, and treating. Especially for men who inhabited the cramped, dorm-style lodging houses, the saloon provided a pleasant atmosphere, one in which they could while away the months before the work season started up again.⁵⁸ News editors, reformers, and authorities were obsessed by its dangers.

In 1889 a reporter for the sensational *Sunday Mercury* told a disturbing story of an incident at a Portland saloon. This establishment apparently had long been a place of trouble, where "the shrill whistle for the police can be heard on almost every evening." On one Sunday in mid-June, the reporter happened by when "the usual crash and rattle was heard at the corner." He elbowed his way through a large crowd that had assembled to observe what was taking place. On entering the saloon, the curious investigator

found an old man coming out of the back room, which is a very dingy looking place, with a large gash cut over his left eye, and the blood running down the side of his cheek, clogging up his whiskers, while near by stood a young man whose appearance would indicate that he was about 25 years of age. As he came out of the back room also he looked as if he was some worse the wear, for the scuffle which he had just taken part in almost disrobed him. As he proceeded to replace his clothing... he stated that he was jumped upon, and simply protected himself from being completely "done up;" however this caused a great many remarks, wondering how he could have ever gotten into that condition while in a common scuffle. To say the least he was in a very compromising condition when he made his appearance. These low places should not be granted a license to sell liquor.⁵⁹

Officials and reformers in various Northwest cities for years focused on the dangers lurking in the working-class saloon. In late 1912 Rose City police arrested the twenty-five-year-old Greek immigrant railroad worker George Stfe for "persuading" Dorman Rice—seventeen years old, American-born, and white—to enter a saloon. Stfe allegedly supplied Rice with liquor, took him to his room, "undressed and exposed... his naked body, and then and there endeavor[ed] to have the said Dorman Rice to go to bed with him... for an immoral purpose." In Seattle at the same time, Juvenile Court Judge Archibald Frater reported that one of his officers had informed him that he frequently observed at midnight groups of twelve- to fifteen-year-old boys in the Skid Road area "being solicited by drunks." "[H]e has seen ten-year-old boys," Frater continued, "jostle past drunks through the front entrance of bar rooms. He has seen as many as six little fellows under fourteen years swarming about a swaying crowd of drunks at the very doors of the worst resorts on Washington Street." Frater commanded the police to

take every youngster they see "by the ear and lead" them away from Skid Road. "Such method followed with eternal vigilance is the only means by which boys can be kept away from the dangers that will persist there so long as the character of the population is what it is." Frater expressed further hope that sometime in the future the "entire bar-room evil" would be modified and the "army of homeless men down there" will be provided "with better encouragement to live wholesomely."⁶⁰

Among reformers, pool halls had a particularly wicked reputation for luring underage boys into a life of iniquity. A 1911–12 Portland survey found 232 such establishments. Although legally males younger than nineteen were prohibited from entering these businesses, boys regularly could be found there. Vice commission operatives observed that one downtown pool hall was "a rendezvous for young fellows between 16 and 21[.]" Many cases involving sex between men and youths revolved about the pool hall. That authorities and reformers focused their attention on such places is clear from the role played by the Monte Carlo poolroom during Portland's "Greek scandal" of 1913.⁶¹

Various other working-class entertainments, wherever they might be in the city, also were seen by the middle class as presenting a sexual menace. During this era amusements parks, dance halls, and movie theaters took the United States by storm. Already in the 1900s, Portland had its share of such places. Oaks Park south of town and Council Crest Observatory and Scenic Park in the hills above the central business district opened in the first decade of the century, with Council Crest sporting a dance hall as well. Some Portlanders decried their unsavory reputations. In 1905 a city council member described the Oaks as "an immoral place and that he had seen more drunkenness there than he had ever seen at any place in the City." In 1908 the proprietor of Council Crest wrote to city officials begging that a special police officer be appointed for duty at the park "[t]o maintain order... There is... an element who bring up liquor, and to break up this practice before it goes too far[.]"⁶² By 1914 Portland had more than fifty movie theaters with a weekly seating capacity and attendance that exceeded the total population of the city. The 1913 Vice Commission report noted that the "number of attendances" at Portland's moving picture shows "is remarkable—far surpassing any other interest." A year later investigators lamented that 28.4 percent of juvenile males between the ages of six and eighteen attended motion pictures at least twice a week. More frightening was that 63.7 percent of these boys generally attended at night.⁶³

The same-sex sexual dangers that amusement parks and movie theaters posed to local youth confounded local officials in the Northwest. In the early 1910s Portland's Juvenile Court Judge William Gatens despaired

over a ten-year-old "truant" who met a man at a theater, accompanied him to his room for money, and subsequently engaged in sex with him on nine or ten occasions before authorities found out. In another case, a man approached a fifteen-year-old in front of a movie house, "talked to him awhile, took him to a theater, and later to his room." And in still another incident, "men" picked up two boys "at an amusement park... and later accompanied them to moving picture shows, the city park, and other places. The men gave them money. Things [i]nconceivably vile followed." In Seattle, the social worker Lilburn Merrill condemned five youths who regularly had sex with men and "voluntarily frequented low-grade amusement resorts and the water front to solicit men with whom they consorted for financial consideration."⁶⁴

Legal records suggest that local authorities' efforts at saving boys were concentrated on the inexpensive lodging houses in working-class districts—the Fairmount Hotel in the Dillige-King affair, for instance. The examples are many. On February 4, 1909, Rose City detectives arrested in the North End "[C]laus Novig for taking boys to his room for immoral purposes." In 1915 they apprehended Harry Smith, a twenty-eight-year-old American Indian who worked as a longshoreman, for the crime of sodomy. According to authorities, the affair was "[j]ust an ordinary case of Sodomy," Smith taking a "young man to his room[.]" According to Smith, "I was drunk at the time. I was going over to the East-side. I went up into my room one evening and this kid was there. I went to bed and the kid took off his clothes and sat on the edge of the bed. Then two fellows came.... They arrested me and indicted me for this crime[.]"⁶⁵ In the same year authorities also went to the North End's Globe Hotel "to investigate a man who was a sexual pervert & supposed to have a boy in his room[.]" The Globe, located on First between Couch and Davis (see map 2), had a particularly disreputable reputation among some Portlanders. One had complained in a letter to the city council about the "slums" of the North End and their denizens, "the inebriate and the buffoon," who patronized the Globe lodging house, a "Homely Old Place for the Habitues of desert Wilds [and] Hobo wanderings[.]"⁶⁶

This complaint against the "hobo" well represents a certain reality in the urban Northwest during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the socially dominant group's various moral fears focused primarily on working-class and in particular transient men. Thus, in day-to-day arrest records and court proceedings, men from this class appeared far more often for same-sex sex crimes than did men of any other class

background. This imbalance is explained in part by class, but factors of race and immigrant status also played a role: men of racial minority and immigrant background tended to be laborers. A broad range of class animosities, race prejudices, and nativist sentiments pervaded the Northwest at the turn of the twentieth century. In particular, it was widely accepted among the middle class that the "lower classes" and the "lower races" were by nature sexually degenerate and therefore posed a moral threat to the broader public. Such fears intensified in the city, where racial minority and immigrant men and others of the laboring classes concentrated in specific and highly visible urban spaces. In combination with class and race anxieties, urban space sharpened middle-class worries. Through class, race, and space, the dominant social group in the urban Northwest constructed outsiders and the sexual dangers that they seemingly presented. In an important way, then, the middle-class citizenry, local authorities, and reformers perceived same-sex sexual activities as a threat coming from without. One consequence, of course, was that working-class, racial minority, and immigrant men and their urban spaces would suffer retribution. Another was that the middle classes failed to recognize for some years that male-male sexual activities occurred among the members of their own class and in middle-class urban spaces—a subject, with fascinating implications for the emergence of a more modern notion of homosexuality, that will be addressed in the following two chapters.

The socially dominant group's concentration on racial minority and immigrant males, and thus on the working class, has provided us today with various records that make it possible to describe certain attributes of working-class and transient male-male sexuality in the urban center. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to such a description. It must be kept in mind, however, that these records exist as a result of prejudice, which necessarily colors any attempt to draw "objective" conclusions from them. Indeed, to underscore the biased context in which the following cases are situated, I have chosen to include in my analyses many of the ethnic and racial identities of men, youths, and city spaces that appear in the records themselves.

Urban Youths and Transient Working-Class Men

Intent on issues of morality, early-twentieth-century Portland authorities and reformers regularly patrolled the working-class North End. As a re-

sult of this surveillance we know that male-male sexual activities commonly occurred there. Because authorities and reformers concentrated on the "imperiled" youth in the North End, documents pertaining to adult-juvenile male relations are the most abundant. Boys who had sex with men were common in other North American cities at the time. Typically, they maintained their relationships in working-class neighborhoods. Yet it should be stressed that in the cities of the Pacific Northwest, a preponderance of intergenerational same-sex relationships had links to the sexual culture of migratory workers. It is impossible to say just how many boys in Northwest urban centers who had sex with men were also transients themselves. Some seem to have had no direct links to life on the road, born and sometimes living with their families in the city where they were sexually active. For example, sixteen-year-old Dan Davis was one of the youths who hung about the Monte Carlo. Police arrested him at his mother's home, located on Portland's lower-middle-class eastside. In Seattle, Lilburn Merrill found that "Case H," a nine-year-old boy, "was involved with vagrant men," but resided with his mother in the city.⁶⁷

It is likely, however, that many—perhaps even most—young males who came before the law in the Northwest for relations with working-class men had some transience in their backgrounds. Nels Anderson claimed that generally speaking, "Most boys found in the Hobohemian areas have had experience on the road."⁶⁸ Portland documents for the era contain little personal information about young males who had sex with men. But in those cases where they do, sources most often list the occupations of these youths as laborers or sailors, both lines of work strongly associated with transience. In Seattle, Lilburn Merrill reported in 1913 on "Case U," a boy of fifteen who consorted "with vagrant men whose relations he solicited." Case U had a history of running away from home and an arrest record that included apprehensions in Seattle and "another town." A few years later, Merrill found that a group of Seattle youths whose experiences "abounded in homosexuality" had "nomadic" backgrounds. Local police in Northwest cities also occasionally used labels associated with on-the-road culture when referring to some of these boys. In the Greek scandal, for instance, detectives stated that Grover King "is a Punk." A couple of years earlier, Portland police officers "[a]rrested one John McDonald... a yegg... with a punk-kid Andrew Stewart[.]" The police booked both for vagrancy, a charge typically used for same-sex offenses.⁶⁹

Working-class adult-juvenile sexual contacts in "vice" districts of the Northwest had important links to the jocker-punk relationship. They

were especially influenced by the transmutation of this relationship when it entered the city. Once in the urban setting, economic considerations typically led jockers to end their partnerships with boys. "Whereas, out of town the pair can travel as companions aiding each other," Nels Anderson noted, "in the city they can get along better alone. It is difficult for partners to remain together long in the city, especially if one has money and the other none.... Living in a metropolis is a problem the tramp can solve better alone." Indeed, migratory laborers found economic opportunities particularly limited in Northwest urban areas. Unlike the industrial cities of the East and Midwest, Portland had few year-round jobs in manufacturing; its economy relied principally on commerce, which in itself fluctuated with the seasons.⁷⁰ Thus when casual laborers looked to Portland, and even Seattle and Vancouver, as seasonal havens, they hoped that with their last paycheck in hand, these city's inexpensive lodgings, meals, and amusements would sustain them until the work season started up again in the spring. They likely found it difficult in this atmosphere to maintain their on-the-road relationships, and had less desire to do so. In these circumstances, according to Anderson, the punks became "promiscuous in their relations and many of them even commercialize themselves" when in the city.⁷¹ Indeed, the punk, now on his own, had good reason to turn to sex work for survival. Still, not all jocker-punk alliances foundered in the city. Even Nels Anderson reported that in the urban setting transient men and youths sometimes sustained longer relationships. An example from Portland supports this claim. In April 1917, authorities arrested the Italian immigrant and transient worker Tony Lagallo at the St. Helens Hotel on Second Street. They charged him with attempting to commit sodomy on Albert Ambrose, an eleven-year-old boy. Reportedly the two had maintained a relationship in the city for "nearly a year."⁷²

While cases similar to Lagallo and Ambrose's do appear in records, more often when authorities hauled working-class adult-juvenile couples into the police station, they discovered that some financial transaction had taken place. Selling sex was only part of the survival strategy for transient and other working-class boys in the urban setting. As already indicated, juvenile males who were "laborers" were apprehended in Portland for same-sex crimes more than were boys who had any other occupation. But we also know that in the city many found jobs in the various street trades, such as peddling newspapers and shining shoes. Others hired on as collectors, messengers, elevator operators, and even pin setters. For example, in late November 1912, seventeen-year-old

Raymond Enneking was arrested in Salem, Oregon. An interrogation revealed that he had found employment there as a bootblack, but previously had worked as a messenger boy in Portland. In the latter city, Enneking admitted, he "and a large number of others" had sexual affairs with men "for a money consideration." Just a year earlier, the Seattle judge Archibald Frater complained of the newsboys who in the Skid Road area "know there is plenty of easy money to be had" prostituting themselves among the men there. Whatever job the street boy might find, it was among the most meanly paid. This reinforced the necessity, if not desire, of boys to supplement their livelihoods with sex work.⁷³

Occasionally, boys had sex with their working-class employers. In Spokane in 1911, thirty-two-year-old Christ Vlassis—a Greek fruit peddler—faced charges of sodomy. According to documents, Vlassis had taken "young boys" to his room in a downtown hotel on different occasions. The proprietresses of the hotel where Vlassis lodged grew "suspicious of him." On one occasion, "when he took a twelve-year old boy to his room, they arranged a ladder and looked through the transom over his door, and then opened the door and caught him in the act." According to Vlassis, in this particular instance the boy did work for him at his fruit stand.⁷⁴

To be sure, not all boys in cities who willingly had sex with transient men did so for financial gain. Others sought men out for all the emotional and sexual reasons that pertained when they were on the road, as set forth in the previous chapter. But urban legal records tend to concentrate on the more mundane considerations of the adult-juvenile male sex exchange. For example, in Spokane in early 1912, a twelve-year-old newsboy became sexually involved with a forty-six-year-old Norwegian-born laborer in exchange for a trip to the theater and a meal at a restaurant.⁷⁵

That many boys received admission to the show, or a meal at a restaurant, or even clothing in return for sex with their patrons suggests a certain parallel to the "charity girls" or female "chippies" of the early-twentieth-century American city who, in the words of the historian Kathy Peiss, traded "sexual favors of varying degrees for male attention, gifts, and a good time." Because such women did not accept money for their sexual encounters with men, street culture differentiated them from prostitutes. Nonetheless, according to Peiss, only a "thin line divided these women from 'occasional prostitutes,' women who slipped in and out of prostitution when unemployed or in need of extra income."⁷⁶ The "charity boys" of the Northwest also seemed opportunistic, having no qualms about accepting any gift, whether cash or other items. In fact,

Nels Anderson declared that "a great many boys... make it a business to exploit passing attachments" with men on the road; "they get all they can... and move on." In Boise in 1905, eighteen-year-old and white street-boy Ben Murray had sexual relations with African American Henry Bacon in the latter's room at the edge of that town's red-light district. Murray later testified that he was hoping to get clothes, money, and a place to sleep. In Vancouver, sixteen- or seventeen-year-old Louis Massi (the youth was uncertain of his own age) had about three or four encounters with the Greek immigrant Thomas Pappas; over that time, Pappas paid him irregularly. On February 21, 1914, the two met up again in a Cordova Street "Japanese" pool hall attached to Pappas's rooming house. "Papap [sic] happened to come in," Massi testified in court, and "asked me if I would do it for him... so I said 'all right.'" This time, however, Massi insisted on some sort of payment. "I said 'what are you going to give me?' He said 'twenty-five cents.' So I went up the stairs [to his room]."⁷⁷ Apparently, it mattered little to Massi what he received, just as long as he obtained something to "do it."

Money did tend to be the most common medium of exchange in such affairs. Case after case reads like that of Nick George, who in 1913, in Seattle, gave Ernest O'Grady "money for the purpose of inducing [him] to submit to... carnal knowledge." The motivations of each party are unclear—perhaps boys desired money most, or transient men found a cash transaction less expensive than a more formal date, or both. But consider the case of Thomas Tassus, a thirty-year-old Greek laborer who arrived in Seattle from Alaska in October 1912. On the 29th of that month, he became acquainted with two teenagers on Pioneer Square. Rather than lavishing much attention and resources on them, Tassus simply offered them twenty-five cents, instructing them to go to a show and then meet him later that evening at the same location. When the youths kept the appointment, Tassus took one to his room and gave the other an additional twenty-five cents and suggested that he see another "show."⁷⁸ Such transactions as these apparently simplified life for both the men and the boys involved.

While many street youths associated with men to earn extra money, others found that the city's transient districts provided distinct opportunities for stealing from customers. The migratory laborers who regularly passed through or seasonally resided in districts such as the North End provided a good target for young thieves. The men sometimes carried their entire savings on their persons or, more often, stashed it in their rooms in inexpensive lodging houses. Boys regularly haunted such lo-

cales waiting for an opportunity to strike. In November 1913, for example, Portland police twice arrested two "boys," Frank Smith and Isaac Forest, for "loafing around a pool room" and having several "pass keys and a skeleton key in their possession."⁷⁹ We do not know whether Smith and Forest also performed sex work at the pool hall that they had "been hanging around" for weeks, but there seems to have existed a link between robbery and juvenile male sex work. During the Monte Carlo scandal, detectives picked up sixteen-year-old Ira Tucker for his sexual relations with several men only after he had "held up a Greek named Tom Mawvais at the point of a large knife and took \$75.00 from him."⁸⁰ Tucker's case suggests that a man who participated in sexual transactions with street boys might face life-threatening dangers, and another case confirms it. In early June of 1912, the police investigated a robbery at Portland's Third and Burnside Streets "where a Greek named Tom Kallas took a boy to sleep with him and the boy beat him over the head and robbed him of [his money] and two watches. We had his head dressed by the city Dr. and later was sent to St. Vincent Hospital in bad shape."⁸¹

Their ready cash was not all that made men of the transient districts good targets. Boy sex workers realized that an adult whom they robbed would avoid going to the police because of the particulars of the crime. That is, the man had broken the law himself by participating in a same-sex sexual relationship, a transgression that had its own stiff penalties. At various times in the region, the penalty for sodomy ranged from one year to life in prison. Typically, the legal system punished only the adult while boys would go scot-free, or at worst would be sent to reform school. Except in unusual circumstances, or when an older and younger boy were apprehended for relations with each other, the youth would not be held accountable for his sexual transgressions until he was twenty-one.⁸² Youngsters in the Northwest evidently understood this, for they often used their relations with men to shield themselves. Obviously, the records contain little evidence of men choosing not to press charges of robbery against their youthful partner. More typical is the story of George Foot (yet another Greek immigrant). He took the risk and went to authorities, consequently finding himself in significant legal difficulty when the youth turned on him. In 1912 Foot filed a complaint with the Portland police against Ray Gibson for "larceny of some money and a watch." When authorities apprehended Gibson, he admitted to stealing, but then promptly "put a complaint against Foot for a crime against nature. Who we arrested."⁸³

Youths also used their extralegal relationships to shield their other criminal activities. In 1911 Portland police were on the trail of Charles Ferris, a fifteen-year-old whom they suspected of pilfering "several watches and about \$60.00 in cash." As they questioned Ferris, the teenager quickly deflected the investigation, volunteering "some damaging statements" concerning Fred Selkok and a man named Gile who had "been enticing this boy . . . and staying all night with him." These sex stories immediately took precedence, and the police dropped their investigation of Ferris.⁸⁴ Scholars and social workers who have studied young male sex workers active later in the twentieth century have found that like Ferris, many combined sexual activities with robbery, thievery, and blackmail.⁸⁵ Illustrating this pattern was the Portland newsboy Albert Bliss, who, after putting John Anderson to bed on July 1, 1909, then robbed him. Sometimes youths might deliberately lure a client into a vulnerable position by promising sex and then assault him, as did the boys in the Mawvais and Kallas cases recounted above. Males who combined sex work with assault were known later in the twentieth century as "hustlers" or "hoodlum hustlers." Such terms seem apt for the adolescent boys of the Monte Carlo in 1913, each of whom had various previous brushes with the law. The detectives R. H. Craddock and John Goltz, in fact, referred to them collectively as "the reform school boys."⁸⁶

In 1918 Lilburn Merrill completed a two-year investigation of the relationship between "sexual pathology"—in his words, "habitual, pathological functioning of the sexual mechanism"—and various sorts of criminal behaviors among one hundred juvenile males in Seattle. Merrill found that any number of youths there also engaged in various crimes and had experiences that "abounded in homosexuality with older boys and homeless men." Merrill told the story, for example, of a fourteen-year-old who stole "from the hotel room of a man directly after they had mutually induced orgasms." Curiously, Merrill refused to concede that any of his youths was homosexual, even as the term was understood at that time. "It is gratifying to note that [the] subjects," Merrill declared, "in addition to their interest in homosexual acts, [have] normal amative desires and probably were limited in their heterosexual relations only by their environment. Likewise all of the homosexual behavior recorded was found to be directly due to environmental influences."⁸⁷ Interestingly, their criminal records suggest that these boys may indeed have not been "homosexuals." In 1982 Jennifer James concluded from her study of Seattle's juvenile male sex workers that "[h]eterosexual male prostitutes were involved in more serious crimes and arrested more frequently

than homosexual prostitutes." Though one cannot simply project back onto the early twentieth century observations made in the 1980s, some early-twentieth-century evidence indicates that boy sex workers who also engaged in various other crimes were distinguishable from youthful sex workers who saw themselves as "gay." Vilma, who at age eighteen came to Seattle during the height of the Great Depression, identified the "queen" and the "hustler" as two types of boys who had sex with men for money on Seattle's Skid Road. The queens hung out at the Casino on Second and Washington, which sported billiard tables, card tables, and even "a picture of FDR[.]" Across the street stood another pool hall. There, a decidedly different type of boy gathered. According to Vilma, they were "boosters" (i.e., shoplifters) and "hustlers."⁸⁸ Of course, Vilma did not say that the "queens" never engaged in petty or serious crime; but by differentiating them from the "boosters" and "hustlers," whose labels directly associate them with crime and danger, he demonstrates that those in the latter group had an identity that necessarily included malfeasance beyond sexual transgression.

Vilma's use of the terms *hustler* and *queen* might also be taken as another way to distinguish between types of juvenile males who engaged in homosexual activities in the Northwest city by the 1930s. The hustler might have identified himself, as Lilburn Merrill would have agreed, as someone who had desires for women, but because of circumstances turned to men for sex. In his glossary of homosexual terms compiled in 1941, Gershon Legman maintained that the "hustler" was a "male prostitute... especially so called if he is himself heterosexual." Legman also claimed that only homosexuals used the term. According to Vilma, a "queen was anyone who was gay and didn't try to hide it."⁸⁹

At first glance, then, there appeared to be several types of sex workers in the world of youthful male prostitution in Northwest cities: those who had sexual desires for men but who hid the fact, those who identified as "queens," and those who were neither but had sex with men because of the circumstances in which they found themselves. Those in the queen crowd might be identified by their mannerisms, clothing, and demeanor. Vilma related that they had female nicknames for themselves, were somewhat effeminate, and occasionally dressed in drag, but "most of us weren't drag queens." The pervasiveness of these sex workers—individuals we might term *transgendered*—on city streets of the Northwest before the end of the first third of the twentieth century cannot be determined, however. Vilma's account reveals that transgendered sex workers appeared in Seattle by 1930. He also recalled the story of Hanna

Banna, "a darling old queen who lived in and out of drag all her life. . . . She'd been around Seattle since the Alaska Gold Rush days. . . . She said Seattle was always a hot town . . . because of all the single men that traveled through." Other records note the presence of male-to-female transgendered sex workers among the salmon canneries of Alaska by 1923, as described in the previous chapter. And Lilburn Merrill reported from Seattle in 1913 on "Case Y," a seventeen-year-old who burglarized four houses, stealing "an assortment of female wearing apparel. A case of sexual inversion." Merrill did not comment on whether this youth also engaged in sex work.⁹⁰

A number of sources besides Merrill's extensive study suggest that transgendered sex workers may have had a limited presence in the urban Northwest before 1920. During World War I the Portland policewoman Lola Baldwin earned an appointment as supervisor for the Pacific Coast and Arizona division of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, which monitored morals. One of Baldwin's operatives in San Francisco on the night of December 7, 1918, observed at Third and Market Streets a youth whom Baldwin later described as an "American boy" of about seventeen who "was powdered and rouged and perfumed." According to Baldwin's informant, the youth worked the streets seeking to attract Greek immigrants and charged them fifty cents. The observer also learned from a San Francisco police officer that as many as fifteen boys worked that very corner in an evening. Baldwin's unusual interest in this case and her report that this practice "was not unusual" on the Barbary Coast suggests a certain disbelief on her part. Given Baldwin's background—she had worked with the Portland police since 1907 and had specifically monitored female sex work and moral conditions—her incredulity over the customs in San Francisco further suggests that in Portland transgendered sex workers might have been relatively uncommon before the 1920s.⁹¹

Furthermore, in Portland's legal documents during these years none of the boys or men ensnared with the law for sex work are described in ways that would lead one to conclude that they were transgendered. There are two interesting hints: Nick Adon was arrested in 1911 "as a sexual pervert at 3d & Burnside" on the complaint of a man "whom he [took] to his room at the Uncle Sam Hotel 5th & Couch and there assaulted him"; and precisely four years later, Portland police apprehended for vagrancy Ernest B. Carter, a pressman, and George H. Graham, a laborer, referring to both of them as "sexual perverts."⁹² These are the only instances I found in examining some fifty years of legal

records between the 1870s and 1920s in which the term *sexual pervert* appears in the context of same-sex sex crimes. It is possible that authorities used it to refer to transgendered males; but chapter 4 will offer a more likely explanation for its application to working-class men at this time.

The apparent lack of transgendered youths on the streets of pre-1920s Portland is also suggested by the alacrity of police in arresting a number of "females" clad in men's clothing. Nor did the local press fail to report on them, sometimes devoting considerable space to such stories. These arrests seem unlikely to demonstrate that females were receiving more attention because they were seen as posing a greater threat to the established order, as the evidence points to the contrary: the North End was under keen surveillance for its male-male sexual activities. But only one article pertaining to a male who dressed in traditionally women's clothing in Portland has come to light from the early twentieth century—a story that became front-page news. In this case, James Arthur "Alice" Baker, a biological male, was only a temporary visitor to the city. She had arrived in town in the spring of 1913 from California in men's clothes, switched to women's, and then found refuge at the women's Peniel Mission in Portland. Complaining to newfound female friends that she had lived life as a man so long that she had lost her feminine traits, Alice quickly acquired from those who took pity on her feminine attire and a "transformation" wig. So successful was the disguise that Baker even reportedly secured a marriage proposal from a local evangelical minister. After the wife of the Peniel Mission's superintendent became suspicious, Baker absconded from town on a ship sailing to California, only "minutes ahead of an investigating body." She was last seen in women's garb and on the arm of an unknown man.⁹³ That Baker should receive such attention, that more male-to-female cross-dressers did not make it into the news, and that female-to-male transvestites did grace the pages of the local papers—all these factors suggest that few transgendered "males" may actually have existed in the Northwest city at this time.

The limited presence of transgendered youths in the North End to 1920 was likely due to the dominance of transient culture there. As noted in the previous chapter, Nels Anderson asserted that his "lithe, lean youths with rouged lips" of the urban center did occasionally visit hoboemia, but they did not belong there. Additionally, a certain amount of animosity existed in the relationship between the hobo and transgendered males.⁹⁴ Sources considered later in this study do reveal that cross-dressing had a place in the "gay" community that middle-class

men of Portland created by the first decade of the twentieth century. But there appear to have been relatively few effeminately attired boy sex workers in the urban Northwest before the 1920s, probably owing to conditions specific to the region's transient culture. Because of the sketchiness of evidence, such a conclusion can be only tentative at best.

Transient culture may have influenced the lack of transgendered youths among the juvenile male sex workers in Northwest cities, but it definitely conditioned the forms of sex that boys typically engaged in with men. Such sexual practices differentiated these early-twentieth-century youths of the Northwest from other boy sex workers, both those in later periods and even contemporaries in other North American settings. In various studies undertaken later in the century, researchers have commented on the tendency of certain young male sex workers, particularly those who had backgrounds in various sorts of criminal behavior and who also identified as heterosexual (the "hoodlum hustlers" or "rough trade"), to engage in sexual relationships with men solely on the condition that they themselves play the more "masculine" role. In such cases, the boys allowed the adult only to perform fellation on them—a sex act that also served to limit bodily contact, part of the juvenile male's strategy to preserve his self-definition as heterosexual. These studies also demonstrate that if a sex partner made unreasonable demands on the youth, such as insisting on other forms of sexual acts, the boys would turn to violence or simply make themselves unavailable for future encounters.⁹⁵

Conditions specific to transient male culture, however, dictated a different sexual dynamic in the early-twentieth-century Northwest. In the city, the transients' sexual culture undermined whatever wish a "heterosexual" boy might have had to perform in the "masculine" role: the jockey-punk relationship almost always mandated that the adult act as the penetrator and the youth act as the receptor, regardless of the latter's "sexuality." This cultural script seems to have prevented the street boy from clinging to a "masculine" role in a sexual encounter. In other places in North America in the early twentieth century less affected by transient culture, or in later years in the Northwest when transient culture declined and a more cohesive gay community formed (a community in which the men would be more willing to play a different sex role), a boy might be able to make more exacting demands on his sex partner; boys among the transient men in Portland or Seattle before the mid-1920s did not seem to have that option. Consider Grover King, whom police referred to in 1913 as a "reform school" boy. One of his close friends was

Ira Tucker—the youth who held a knife to Tom Mawvais as he robbed him. King's background in crime is similar in many ways to that of the "hustler" of a later era. Yet he acted as the receptor, not the penetrator, in his encounter with Andrew Dillige. In Seattle between 1916 and 1918, Lilburn Merrill's subjects, who combined a wide array of criminal behaviors with acts of sex with men, also performed the receptive role, although Merrill claimed that these boys had "normal amative" or "heterosexual" desires. It is likely that the rules of the road, which dictated the type of sex that men and boys should have, influenced boy sex workers in the city. It deterred those like King, who from all evidence seemed to be the "hustler" type, and Merrill's delinquent and apparently "heterosexual" subjects from making particular sex-role demands on a client. Rather, they all seemed limited to the receptive role.

In most cases, sexual intercourse between the working-class adult and the youth in the city was anal and interfemoral and not oral in nature—mirroring the situation on the road. A few such cases have already been reported: for example, those of Andrew Dillige and Grover King, Nick George and Ernest O'Grady, Henry Bacon and Ben Murray in 1905, and Tony Lagallo and Albert Ambrose in 1917. Others include that of the twenty-one-year-old Australian immigrant laborer Tom Conley, arrested at Park and Burnside in Portland in 1908, who anally sodomized twelve-year-old Ernest Hollenbeck. In the same year, the twenty-eight-year-old South Asian S. G. Ahmed, arrested on Third Street, attempted to anally sodomize seven-year-old George Russell. Three years later the police apprehended the railroad traveler Albert Keller for vagrancy after they caught him underneath the North End's Couch Street dock, attempting to penetrate a youth.⁹⁶

To be sure, records of the period also present evidence of some flexibility in the sexual roles taken by the men and boys of the urban working-class world. For example, Portland police arrested forty-five-year-old Ed Montgomery among the saloons and lodging houses at Second and Burnside on October 22, 1908. Court records claim that he both anally sodomized and performed oral sex on sixteen-year-old Narcisse Belanger. On August 4, 1920, Portland police apprehended the forty-four-year-old American laborer Michael Dixon at a lodging house on North Sixth and charged him with performing oral sex on the eighteen-year-old American laborer Richard Brooks. In Seattle on June 28, 1919, a Greek immigrant fish peddler, H. Demas, who had a wife and two boys in the Balkans, gave fourteen-year-old Milton Draper a ride in his truck up one of the steep hills north of Seattle. Although Demas denied it, the youth testified

that the man first asked him, "You have got a pretty good prick, aint you?" And then, "I put my hands down and he started feeling and he said 'No, take your hands away; I wont hurt you,' and... he forced my hand away." According to Draper, Demas stopped the truck, took the boy across a fence and some shrubs. "Well, he took my trousers down, and then he took my—then he took it in his mouth, and while he did that he did it to himself—took his own trousers open and took it himself." We also know of some cases in which boys performed fellation on the adult, thus stepping outside the more typical anal and interfemoral relations of the jocker-punk relationship.⁹⁷ These cases are relatively few in number compared to those in which the adult and the youth in the city mirrored the typical roles taken by jocker and punk while on the road. Their scarcity suggests that boys in the urban setting, regardless of how they might have perceived their masculinity, yielded to men in ways characteristic of the transient culture of the region's rural roads, a culture that invaded the region's cities on a seasonal basis.

This chapter has demonstrated that working-class establishments as well as other places in the urban Northwest's transient neighborhoods afforded ample opportunity for males interested in same-sex sexual relations to find them. For New York City as early as the 1890s, the historian George Chauncey discovered, "The institutions and social forms of the [working-class] gay subculture were patterned in many respects on those of the working-class culture in which it took shape: the saloons, small social clubs, and large fancy-dress balls around which fairy life revolved were all typical elements of working-class life." By the 1930s in the Northwest's urban working-class neighborhoods, some conventionally modern gay institutions could be found. Vilma, for instance, recalled of Seattle that during the Great Depression a number of resorts such as pool halls and speakeasies in the traditional vice district "let the queens in." And the Casino, located near Pioneer Square, was designated a place exclusively for gays in Seattle by 1930.⁹⁸

But during an earlier era in Northwest cities, a social-sexual dynamic apparently different from that in New York—or even in the Northwest at a later period—was at work. Beginning in the 1880s, districts such as the North End began to take shape. As they did so, they were filled by the men and boys connected to the transient, laboring life that so dominated the region's hinterlands. The work camp-like atmosphere of Portland's North End as well as Seattle's Skid Road and Vancouver's Hastings Street reinforced transients' rural social and sexual culture. This

culture generally prescribed specific male-male sexual activities and age configurations of its participants. It also encouraged the presence of the punk and precluded that of the fairy. Additionally, as Vilma noted of the 1930s (when the era of the casual laborer in the Northwest was in decline), the punks and queens had separate resorts and a certain animosity existed between them. Furthermore, Nels Anderson wrote extensively in 1923 that the homosexual man was "not a popular person even among tramps." The feeling was apparently sometimes mutual, for homosexuals occasionally spoke "disparagingly of the 'wolves' and 'jockers'" as well as the punk.⁹⁹

Evidence shows that some working-class men and youths who may have been homosexuals—perhaps even transgendered—did find their way into the urban Northwest's transient districts. However, the distinctive culture of those places, plus an established animosity between jockers and punks on the one side and homosexual men on the other, thwarted the formation of a gay subculture before the 1920s. As the next chapter argues, this and a variety of other reasons led the early "gay" community to form elsewhere within the Northwest's urban setting.