

81. Graham and Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road*, 19, 35; Legman, "Language of Homosexuality," 1175.

82. Schwantes, *Railroad Signatures*, 104, 17, 26; Schwantes, *Hard Traveling*, 19, 31; Allsop, *Hard Travelling*, 155-61; Graham and Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road*, 47-48; Smith, WSP Inmate File; Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 221.

83. Schwantes, *Railroad Signatures*, 29, 244; Henry, *Sex Variants*, 1:29.

84. Marsh, "Report on Alaska Cannery Conditions," 14, 8, 7, 16; Casaday, "Labor Unrest and the Labor Movement," 213.

85. Allan East, "The Genesis and Early Development of a Juvenile Court: A Study of Community Responsibility in Multnomah County, Oregon, for the Period 1841-1920" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1939), 14; *Nampa (Idaho) Leader-Herald*, various articles from May 7, 14, 17, 21, 24, and 28, 1912.

## Chapter 2. Sex in the City: Transient and Working-Class Men and Youths in the Urban Northwest

1. PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Graddock et al., April 1, 1911, to June 13, 1914, pp. 79-80, 81-84, 87 (April 8, 9, 12, 14-16, 19, 21, and May 8), SPARC; PPAR, vol.: April 13, 1913, to August 18, 1913, p. 10, SPARC; James C. Gill, Police Officer, to Mayor Harry Lane, "Partial list of houses of ill fame," April 16, 1909, MOC, box 14, folder 15, SPARC; Oregon v. Andrew Dillige, June 15, 1913, MC-CCC 52505; OSP Great Register, 1910-1925, pp. 142-43, OSA; MCJR, Federal and State Prisoners, 1913-1914, vol. 8, entry for Grover King, April 19, 1913, OSA.

2. I do not include in this figure the several dozen men arrested in late 1912 during the YMCA scandal, who were part of a onetime concerted citywide vice crackdown. Records used here for surveying same-sex sex crime in Portland, 1870-1921, are PPAR, SPARC; PPDDDB, SPARC; Portland Municipal Court Register Index, 1895-1907, SPARC; Portland Police Court Docket, State Cases, 1874-1891, SPARC; MCCCC, 1888-1920; OSP Convict Description Book, Physical Description Records, Record/Register, Great Register, OSA; and various newspaper reports. On "indecent exposure" and other vaguely defined crimes as tools for prosecuting men interested in same-sex relationships, see Joseph F. Fishman, *Sex in Prison: Revealing Sex Conditions in American Prisons* (New York: National Library Press, 1934), 60, 64-65; Allan Bérubé, "The History of Gay Bathhouses," in *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism*, ed. Dangerous Bedfellows (Boston: South End Press, 1996), 189, 194-95, 196; and John Donald Gustav-Wrathall, *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same-Sex Relations and the YMCA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 161.

3. Henry Russell Talbot et al., *Report of the Portland Vice Commission to the Mayor and City Council of the City of Portland, Oregon* (Portland: Henry Russell Talbot, 1913), 136.

4. Although it is possible to determine Portland's racial/nativity breakdown according to U.S. census categories—American-born white, foreign-born white, Negro, Chinese, Japanese, and other—for the years 1900, 1910, and 1920, the same cannot be done between 1870 and 1890. Thus the figures here are only indicative of the population's makeup for the earlier dates for which arrest records are available. See U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 2:57, 730; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 3:523; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census for the United States, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1901), 1:901.

5. Roger Daniels, *Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890-1924* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997); Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990); Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration*, 4th ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993); Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989); David M. Reimers, *Unwelcome Strangers: American Identity and the Turn against Immigration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), esp. 12; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness and the Making of the American Working Class*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1999).

6. Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1977), 445-47; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, 2d ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 73-74, 109-10, 113, 158, 165-66, 168, 177, 183.

7. See Thomas C. McClintock, "James Saules, Peter Burnett, and the Oregon Black Exclusion Law," *PNQ* 86, no. 3 (summer 1995): 121-30; Quintard Taylor, "Blacks and Asians in a White City: Japanese Americans and African Americans in Seattle, 1890-1940," *WHQ* 22, no. 4 (November 1991): 401-29; Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era*, with a foreword by Norm Rice (Seattle: University of Washington, 1994); Margaret K. Holden, "Gender and Protest Ideology: Sue Ross Keenan and the Oregon Anti-Chinese Movement," *Western Legal History* 7, no. 2 (summer/fall 1994): 222-43; William Toll, "Permanent Settlement: Japanese Families in Portland in 1920," *WHQ* 28, no. 1 (spring 1997): 19-43; Daniel P. Johnson, "Anti-Japanese Legislation in Oregon, 1917-1923," *OHQ* 97, no. 2 (summer 1996): 176-210; David A. Horowitz, "Social Morality and Personal Revitalization: Oregon's Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s," *OHQ* 90, no. 4 (winter 1989):

365-84; Horowitz, "The Klansman as Outsider: Ethnocultural Solidarity and Antielitism in the Oregon Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s," *PNQ* 80, no. 1 (January 1989): 12-20; Jeff Lalonde, "Beneath the Hooded Robe: Newspapermen, Local Politics, and the Ku Klux Klan in Jackson County, Oregon, 1921-1923," *PNQ* 83, no. 2 (April 1992): 43-52; Eckard V. Toy, "The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon," in *Experiences in a Promised Land: Essays in Pacific Northwest History*, ed. G. Thomas Edwards and Carlos A. Schwantes (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 269-86; Dorothy O. Johansen, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest*, 2d ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 348-49, 479-83, 487, 494-98; and Gordon B. Dodds, *The American Northwest: A History of Oregon and Washington* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Forum Press, 1986), 118-24, 128-32.

8. *Portland Evening Telegram* (hereafter, *Evening Telegram*), September 24, 1890, 3; August 12, 1891, 2. See PPAR, vol.: January 1, 1890, to December 31, 1890, p. 202, SPARC.

9. *Portland, Oregon Journal* (hereafter, *Oregon Journal*), November 29, 1912, 10; Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Message and Municipal Reports, 1912* (Portland: Schwab, n.d.), 621.

10. *Portland Oregonian* (hereafter, *Oregonian*), January 23, 1913, 10.

11. *Evening Telegram*, January 23, 1913, 1; *Oregonian*, January 23, 1913, 10; January 25, 1913, 4; May 26, 1914, 4; *Oregon Journal*, January 23, 1913, 6; January 25, 1913, 2; *Portland News*, January 24, 1913, 1; January 25, 1913, 1; January 27, 1913, 6; August 22, 1918, 1; August 30, 1918, 12.

12. Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 191, 313 n. 48; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 294-95; Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989), 164, 186, 191; Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 71-72.

13. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 294-314; Roy, *White Man's Province*, 164, 186, 191; *Portland News*, July 29, 1913, 2; *Oregonian*, December 9, 1913, 12. On hookworm, see Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 174, 190-91, 195-96, 199-200.

14. Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru: The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979), 2, 3, 4-5, 6-7, 8, 15, 35-88; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 300-301; Roy, *White Man's Province*, 164, 186, 191; Alan Morely, *Vancouver: Milltown to Metropolis* (Vancouver: Mitchell, 1991), 167-70.

15. Johnston, *Voyage of the Komagata Maru*, 2, 3, 4-5, 6-7, 8, 15, 35-88; Roy, *White Man's Province*, 164, 186, 191; Morely, *Vancouver*, 167-70.

16. Indiana Matters, "Unfit for Publication": Notes towards a Lavender History of British Columbia," paper presented at Sex and State Conference, Toronto, July 3-6, 1985, 13-14. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Matters's paper for pointing me to some of these sources at PABC and bringing to my attention the *Komagata Maru* incident. BCAGR, GR [Government Record]

0419, box 134, folder 1909/50; box 143, folder 1910/48, 1910/49, 1910/53; box 187, folder 1914/91, PABC.

17. Rex v. Nar Singh, BCAGR, GR 0419, box 134, folder 1909/50, PABC.

18. BCAGR, box 197, folder 1915/31, PABC.

19. Don Sing, WSP Inmate 6453; Jago Sing, WSP Inmate 6452; and Bram Sing, WSP Inmate 6454, WSAO; P.L. Verma to Secretary, Board of Prison, Walla Walla, Washington, August 4, 1912, in Don Sing, Jago Sing, Bram Sing Inmate Files; Trial Transcripts, Washington v. Sing et al., in Don Sing, Jago Sing, Bram Sing Inmate Files, pp. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 20, 29, 37.

20. *Portland News*, November 23, 1912, 6.

21. Materials in Christ Vlassis, WSP Inmate File 6187, WSAO.

22. John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 85-108; 215-21; Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 11, 52-53, 78-79, 89-97, 116; Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000), 15-38; Kevin J. Mumford, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

23. Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion*, vol. 4 of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1904), 27-28, 27 n. 1; the note refers to Richard F. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night: A Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments* (London: Burton Club, 1885), 207 (quotation), 206. See also James G. Kiernan, "Sexual Perversion and the Whitechapel Murders," *Medical Standard* 4, no. 6 (December 1888): 172. It appears that Ellis's conclusions about Greece were based at least in part on the common knowledge of homoeroticism in classical times. For a discussion of the myth and reality of same-sex sexuality in ancient Greece and its relationship to the modern era, see Scott Bravmann, *Queer Fictions of the Past: History, Culture, and Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 47-67.

24. W. Ray Jones, "Two Questions of Justice Relating to Sexual Offenders," *American Journal of Urology and Sexology* 13, no. 7 (July 1917): 325.

25. On the middle class connecting immigrants and racial minorities to prostitution and the white slave panic, as well as on whites as victims, see D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 208-15; Mumford, *Interzones*, 37-49; Mary de Young, "Help, I'm Being Held Captive! The White Slave Fairy Tale of the Progressive Era," *Journal of American Culture* 6, no. 1 (spring 1983): 96-98; Frederick K. Grittner, *White Slavery: Myth, Ideology, and American Law* (New York: Garland, 1990), 61, 64, 75; Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 15, 112; and Barbara Meil Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 142. On the middle class connecting immigrants and racial minorities to sexual diseases and on the social construction of social diseases, see Shah, *Contagious Divides*; Allan M. Brandt,

*No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States Since 1880*, expanded ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox, eds., *AIDS: The Burdens of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); and Douglas Crimp, *AIDS: Cultural Analysis, Cultural Activism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).

26. Alfred J. Zobel, quoted in "Primary Gonorrhœa of the Rectum in the Male," *American Journal of Urology* 5, no. 1 (November 1909): 451; U.S. Congress, Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Cong., 3d sess., 1911, S. Doc. 753, p. 86.

27. Deepening fears were also related to the era's and region's general desire to police the sexual boundaries of race and sexuality through antimiscegenation laws. See Peggy Pascoe, "Race, Gender, and the Privileges of Property: On the Significance of Miscegenation Law in the U.S. West," in *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West*, ed. Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 215-30; and Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 83, no. 1 (June 1996): 44-69.

28. Jeffrey P. Moran, *Teaching Sex: The Shaping of Adolescence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000); Harvey J. Graff, *Conflicting Paths: Growing Up in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988); Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993); Peter G. Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Sex Roles in Modern America*, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Robert M. Mennel, *Thorns and Thistles: Juvenile Delinquents in the United States, 1825-1940* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1973); Robert H. Bremner, ed., *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970-74).

29. "Report of Committee Appointed by the Mayor," July 12, 1913, p. 13, Council Documents, box 128, folder: Police, 1913, SPARC. See also "YMCA's First 100 Years" (Portland: YMCA of Columbia-Willamette, n.d.); H. W. Stone, "What We Are Doing for the Boy," *Pacific Monthly* 10, no. 3 (September 1903): 139-46; and Allan East, "The Genesis and Early Development of a Juvenile Court: A Study of Community Responsibility in Multnomah County, Oregon, for the Period 1841-1920" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1939), 16, 35.

30. Moran, *Teaching Sex*, I, 15, 14-22.

31. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 19-27; Kett, *Rites of Passage*.

32. Tony Lagallo, Inmate 7715, Parole Board Calendar for October 1918, vol. 5, [n.p.], OSP Parole Board Actions, 1915-1938, OSA; see also D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 90-93, 103-4, 106-7. On the "threat" that Chinese bachelorhood in San Francisco posed to heterosexual marriage, morality, and family life, see Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 12-16, 77-79, 253.

33. *Evening Telegram*, August 28, 1894, 6.

34. BCAGR, GR 0419, box 187, folder 1914/91, PABC.

35. In this section on the social construction of the vice district and the conflation of the vice district and its patrons and residents, I am indebted to Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Shah, *Contagious Divides*; and Mumford, *Interzones*.

36. This and the following paragraph are based on information from W. J. Fishman, *East End 1888: Life in a London Borough among the Laboring Poor* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1988), 209-29; *Oregonian*, December 23, 1885, 1; Heather Lee Miller, "From Moral Suasion to Moral Coercion: Persistence and Transformation in Prostitution Reform, Portland, Oregon, 1888-1917" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1996), 19-23; Chris D. Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town: The Life and Death of the Skid Row District, Portland, Oregon" (Ph.D. diss., Portland State University, 1985), 111-15.

37. Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Annual Message and Municipal Report, 1903* (Portland: Schwab Printing, 1904), 187.

38. Other Northwest cities also called their vice districts "Whitechapel." Although the term *Skid Road* would stick to Seattle's tenderloin, back as early as 1891 at least one Seattle newspaper referred to this area as the Whitechapel. In 1896 a Boise paper used the term for that city's red-light district. See Kathryn S. Brandenfels, "Down on the Sawdust: Prostitution and Vice Control in Seattle, 1870-1920" (M.A. thesis, Hampshire College, 1981), 31; and Jo Anne Russell, "A Necessary Evil: Prostitutes, Patriarchs and Profits in Boise City, 1863-1915" (M.A. thesis, Boise State University, 1991), 117.

39. H. W. Scott, ed., *History of Portland, Oregon* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason, 1890), 436, already used "North End" to designate this area; Portland's police chief still called it "Whitechapel" in 1903 in Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Annual Message, 1903*, 187.

40. *Portland City Directory, 1884* (Portland: J. K. Gill, 1884), 27-28, as quoted in Paul Gilman Merriam, "Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890: A Social and Economic History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1971), 178. See also Stewart Holbrook, "Portland's Greatest Moral Crusade," *Oregonian*, Northwest Magazine section, August 2, 1936, 1; Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 212; E. Kimbark MacColl with Harry Stein, *Merchants, Money, and Power: The Portland Establishment, 1843-1913* (Portland: Georgian Press, 1988), 291; Christopher Joseph Head, "Nights of Heaven: A Social History of Saloon Culture in Portland, 1900-1914" (B.A. thesis, Reed College, 1980), 15; Scott, *History of Portland*, 431; and Laurence Pratt, *I Remember Portland, 1899-1915* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1956), 24.

41. Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Annual Message, 1903*, 187-88.
42. Nelson Chia-Chi Ho, *Portland's Chinatown: The History of an Urban Ethnic District* (Portland: Bureau of Planning, City of Portland, 1978), 10; Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 203; Pratt, *I Remember Portland*, 16-18; Scott, *History of Portland*, 437-38; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, 1901), 1:637; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, 3:523.
43. Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 15. See also Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 100, 120-21; and Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 7.
44. *Oregonian*, June 12, 1888, 6; Scott, *History of Portland*, 453; Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Annual Message, 1903*, 187, 188, 190; Talbot et al., *Report of the Portland Vice Commission*, 33 (also 10, 34); Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Message, 1912*, 621.
45. Scott, *History of Portland*, 453.
46. Portland, Ore., *Annual Reports of the Officers of the City of Portland, 1879* (Portland: Niles and Beebe, 1880), 5; A. G. Rushlight, "Annual Message from His Honor the Mayor for 1912," January 3, 1912, *Annual Reports—Mayor—Municipal Court, 1855-1913*, box 12, folder 7, SPARC; Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 188, 218, 276, 328. See also John C. Schneider, "Tramping Workers, 1890-1920: A Subcultural View," in *Walking to Work: Tramps in America, 1790-1935*, ed. Eric H. Monkkonen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1984), 224-25.
47. U.S. Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, 3:523.
48. Scott, *History of Portland*, 451-55.
49. *Oregonian*, April 28, 1895, 20; see also Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 188-90, 194, 241, 244, 141; Portland, Ore., *Annual Reports, 1879*, 5; and Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Annual Message, 1903*, 189. On the saloon's free lunch, see Madelon Powers, *Faces along the Bar: Love and Order in the Workingman's Saloon, 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 207-26.
50. Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 253, 254, 279-84, 192, 196, 200, 226-30, 243, 333; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, 3:523. See also Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 131-67.
51. BCAGR, GR 0419, box 187, folder 1914/91, PABC; George McElroy, WSP Inmate File 6206, WSAO. See also Talbot et al., *Report of the Portland Vice Commission*, 34-45.
52. "Portland's Cheap Lodging Houses," report by the Sociological Department, Woman's Club, April 14, 1910, MOC, 1910, box 22, folder 3, SPARC. For another investigative report, see *Oregonian*, April 28, 1895, 20.
53. *Oregonian*, November 6, 1907, 7; and November 26, 1907, 12. On the connection between transients and urban vice districts and cheap amusements, see also Nels Anderson, *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), 140-42, and Anderson, "The Juvenile and the

Tramp," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 14, no. 2 (August 1923): 292.

54. On amusements and vices and the working classes in general, see Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981); Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*; and Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Social History of American Movies* (New York: Random House, 1975). On Portland's vices, see Merriam, "Portland, Oregon, 1840-1890," 131-32; Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 143, 144; Stewart H. Holbrook, *Holy Old Mackinaw: A Natural History of the American Lumberjack* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 198; and Gloria E. Myeris, *A Municipal Mother: Portland's Lola Greene Baldwin, America's First Policewomen* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1995), 193-95. On opium dens, see Portland, Ore., *Annual Reports, 1879*, 15; Head, "Nights of Heaven," 33. On gambling, see, for example, *Oregonian*, June 12, 1888, 6; Scott, *History of Portland*, 452; Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Annual Message, 1903*, 188; and Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Message and Municipal Reports, 1906* (Portland: n.d.), 223. On prize-fighting, see *Oregonian*, September 6, 1893, 8. On dance halls, see *Oregonian*, January 17, 1895, 5. On obscene picture shows, see C. Gritzmacher, chief of police, to Hon. Harry Lane, mayor, March 10, 1908, MOC, box 12, folder 3, SPARC.

55. *Oregonian*, June 12, 1888, 6; see also Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 170; and Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 300-301.

56. Portland, Ore., *Mayor's Annual Message, 1903*, 190-91.

57. In New York City, according to George Chauncey, the working-class gay subculture was largely patterned on working-class culture more generally (*Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World* [New York: BasicBooks, 1994], 41). And indeed, such seems to have become the case in the Northwest as the twentieth century advanced. Vilma commented that during the years of Prohibition, a number of Seattle's working-class resorts such as pool halls and speakeasies "let the queens in" (Don Paulson with Roger Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1996], 22). And by 1930 the Casino was designated a place primarily for gays in Seattle. Yet in a slightly earlier era in that city, same-sex sex in the working-class world was an element wholly integrated into transient culture. I do not argue, therefore, for a separate working-class homosexual community that could be found in such social institutions as the saloon and pool hall. Rather, the same-sex affairs that took place there were an integral part of transient culture.

58. Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 57, 53-61; Powers, *Faces along the Bar*; Jon M. Kingsdale, "The 'Poor Man's Club': Social Functions of the Urban Working-Class Saloon," in *The American Man*, ed. Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 257, 260-62, 264-68; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 15-21; Head, "Nights of Heaven."

59. *Portland Sunday Mercury*, June 29, 1889, 3.
60. Oregon v. George Lifte, March 6, 1913, MCCCC 50958 (court documents refer to Stfe as Lifte and Sitf; possibly he was the George Stfe listed in the 1910 manuscript census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, Manuscript Population Census Returns, Multnomah County, Oregon, Enumeration District 169, sheet 8A, line 1); Archibald W. Frater, "Court Methods, Mothers' Pensions, and Community Dangers," in *Why Children Go Wrong*, Annual Report of the Seattle Juvenile Court for 1913 (Seattle: Seattle Juvenile Court, January 1, 1914), 9-11.
61. Talbot et al., *Report of the Portland Vice Commission*, 127, 128; PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Craddock et al., April 1, 1911, to June 13, 1914, p. 79 (April 8, 1913), SPARC.
62. W. C. Curlburt to [Mayor] Harry Lane, July 21, 1905, MOC, 1905, box 2, folder 2, SPARC; A. DuChamp to Mr. T. G. Greene, August 18, 1908, MOC, 1908, box 12, folder 9, SPARC. See also E. Kimbark MacColl, *The Shaping of a City: Business and Politics in Portland, Oregon, 1885-1915* (Portland: Georgian Press, 1976), 270; and Myers, *Municipal Mother*, 41.
63. William Trufant Foster, *Vaudeville and Motion Picture Shows: A Study of Theaters in Portland, Oregon*, Social Service Series no. 2 (Portland: Reed College, 1914), 6, 15, 16, 17, 28; Talbot et al., *Report of the Portland Vice Commission*, 143, 144. On the role played by commercialized amusements in the sexual transformation of America, see D'Emilio and B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 196, 195-96, 197; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 11-33, 127-29; Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 17, 18; Myers, *Municipal Mother*, 42; and Sharon R. Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 24, 26.
64. Cases of Juvenile Vice, Juvenile Court of Portland, OSHS, MS 1541, box 1, folder 2, various lists, OHS; Lilburn Merrill, "A Summary of Findings in a Study of Sexualism among a Group of One Hundred Delinquent Boys," *Journal of Delinquency* 3, no. 6 (November 1918): 259. In his studies in Canada, Steven Maynard discovered that in Ontario working-class "boys were crazy for 'the Show'" and therefore readily traded sex for the price of entry; they also engaged in sex while inside the auditorium ("Horrible Temptations": Sex, Men, and Working-Class Male Youth in Urban Ontario, 1890-1917," *Canadian Historical Review* 78, no. 2 [June 1997]: 207-8).
65. PPDDDB, box 8, vol.: Jones & Tichenor & Howell, October 24, 1907, to January 31, 1911, p. 47 (February 4, 1909), SPARC; Harry Smith, Inmate 7375, Parole Calendar for June 1916, vol. 3 [n.p.], OSP Parole Board Actions, 1915-1938, OSA. See also George Jackson, WSP Inmate File 6090, WSAO; Thomas Hogan, WSP Inmate File 6089, WSAO; and Charles McCormack, WSP Inmate File 6091, WSAO.
66. PPDDDB, box 14, vol.: Abbot & Goltz, February 4, 1915, to February 29, 1916, p. 9 (February 22, 1915), SPARC; G. Thompson [to Portland City Council], October 9, 1905, MOC, box 2, folder 8, SPARC.

67. PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Craddock et al., April 1, 1911, to June 13, 1914, p. 82 (April 16, 1913), SPARC; Lilburn Merrill, "Physical and Mental Conditions," in *Why Children Go Wrong*, 35; see also Maynard, "Horrible Temptations"; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 140; and George Chauncey, "The Policed: Gay Men's Strategies of Everyday Resistance in Times Square," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 16.

68. Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 300 (quotation), 303-4, 307; see also Anderson, *Hobo*, 146.

69. Merrill, "Physical and Mental Conditions," 41, and Merrill, "Summary of Findings," 261-62; PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Craddock et al., April 1, 1911, to June 13, 1914, p. 83 (April 18, 1913), SPARC; PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Coleman & Snow, February 1, 1911, to September 5, 1911, p. 15 (March 2, 1911), SPARC. On juvenile male prostitution in the urban Northwest and its connection to life on the road in a later period, see also Patrick Gandy, "Hamburger Hustlers," paper presented at the American Anthropology Association meeting, November 29, 1971, p. 5 (a copy is in the collection of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Bloomington, Ind.). For more on late-nineteenth-century transient boys and sex work in western cities, see Thomas Jacob Noel, "Gay Bars and the Emergence of the Denver Homosexual Community," *Social Science Journal* 15, no. 2 (April 1978): 60-61.

Somewhat later in the twentieth century, *punk* had become a term that also referred to a boy who willingly had sex with men in the traditionally female role. However, in the first years of the twentieth century, it seems to have been used only within the transient context. See G. Legman, "The Language of Homosexuality: An American Glossary," in *Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns*, by George W. Henry (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1941), 2:1174; and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers," *Social Problems* 9, no. 2 (fall 1961): 115.

70. Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 301, 307; Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 188-89.

71. Anderson, *Hobo*, 146; see also Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 300, 303-4, 307.

72. Tony Lagallo, Inmate 7715, Parole Board Calendar for October 1918, vol. 5 [n.p.], OSP Parole Board Actions, 1915-1938, OSA.

73. *Salem (Ore.) Daily Capital Journal*, November 22, 1912, 5; *Evening Telegram*, November 22, 1912, 8; Frater, "Court Methods," 10.

74. Vlassis, WSP Inmate File.

75. Peter Olsen, WSP Inmate File 6409, WSAO.

76. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 110; see also David K. Johnson, "The Kids of Fairytown: Gay Male Culture on Chicago's Near North Side in the 1930s," in Beemyn, ed., *Creating a Place for Ourselves*, 106.

77. Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 307; Idaho v. Henry Bacon, Justice Court Transcripts, Ada County Criminal Cases, 1864-1923, ISHS; Rex v. Pappas, Hearing Transcripts, BCAGR, GR 0419, box 186, folder 1914/82, PABC.

78. *Washington v. Ernest O'Grady*, Second Information of Crime, WSSCC 12337, WSAE; Thomas Tassus, WSP Inmate File 6775, WSAO. See also Reiss, "Social Integration," 112; William Marlin Butts, "Boy Prostitutes of the Metropolis," *Journal of Clinical Psychopathology* 8, no. 4 (April 1947): 674; and Maynard, "Horrible Temptations," 209–10.

79. PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Craddock et al., April 1, 1911, to June 13, 1914, pp. 157, 164 (November 8 and 19, 1913), SPARC.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 80 (April 12, 1913).

81. PPDDDB, box 10, vol.: Day & Hyde, December 11, 1911, to November 1, 1912, p. 108 (June 22, 1912), SPARC.

82. In none of the Northwest cities that I studied nor in any of the region's states was I able to uncover any statute or ordinance criminalizing male prostitution. Only charges such as vagrancy, sodomy, and others discussed earlier in this chapter were leveled at male sex workers. Just one Portland ordinance refers rather vaguely to what appears to be male prostitution—a local code that penalized not the sex worker but the establishment that might permit one on its premises (see Ordinance No. 10904, Council Documents, box 69, folder 1, Licenses and Liquor, 1898, SPARC). Thus, male sex workers in the Northwest were not doubly criminalized for engaging in paid sex and in homosexual sex.

83. PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Craddock et al., April 1, 1911, to June 13, 1914, pp. 60, 61 (December 12, 1913), SPARC.

84. PPDDDB, box 10, vol.: J. Maloney & Mallet et al., September 7, 1911, to April 5, 1913, p. 26 (October 25, 1911), SPARC.

85. According to Albert J. Reiss, Jr., the youths he interviewed for a 1961 study "regard[ed] hustling as an acceptable substitute for other delinquent earnings or activity" ("Social Integration of Queers and Peers," 103).

86. Arrests by Hellyer and Maloney on July 1, 1909, in Portland Police Detective Department Report, July 31, 1909, MOC, box 17, folder 11, SPARC; PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Craddock et al., April 1, 1911, to June 13, 1914, p. 82 (April 14, 1913), SPARC. On hustlers and hoodlum hustlers, see George W. Henry and Alfred A. Gross, "Social Factors in the Case Histories of One Hundred Underprivileged Homosexuals," *Mental Hygiene* 22 (1938): 606; H. Lawrence Ross, "The 'Hustler' in Chicago," *Journal of Student Research* 1, no. 1 (fall 1959): 15–16; and Gandy, "Hamburger Hustlers," 3.

87. Merrill, "Summary of Findings," 257, 262, 262–63, 259.

88. Jennifer James, "Entrance into Juvenile Male Prostitution, [Seattle]," prepared for the National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Md., November 1982, p. 9; Paulson with Simpson, *Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 22–23. Other scholars have noted differences between homosexual and heterosexual male sex workers. See Butts, "Boy Prostitutes," 674; Ross, "The 'Hustler' in Chicago," 13–19; and Reiss, "Social Integration of Queers and Peers," 102–4.

89. Legman, "Language of Homosexuality," 1169, 1155; Paulson with Simpson, *Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 22–23. See also Chauncey, "The Policed," 16.

90. Paulson with Simpson, *Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 24; Merrill, "Physical and Mental Conditions," 42.

91. Mrs. Lola G. Baldwin, Supervisor, "Text Report for December 1918, Seventh District," p. 8, Lola G. Baldwin Papers, folder: "Lola G. Baldwin's Personal Notes forwarded to WPD in 1951," Portland Police Museum, Portland, Ore. On Lola G. Baldwin, see Myers, *Municipal Mother*.

92. PPDDDB, box 9, vol.: Day et al., March 23, 1911, to August 30, 1911, p. 118 (November 3, 1911), SPARC; MCJR 1914–1916, vol. 9, entries for G. H. Graham and E. B. Carter, November 4, 1915. See also *Portland City Directory*, 1915 (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1915), 291, 519.

93. *Oregonian*, May 21, 1913, 1. For typical coverage of a female-to-male cross-dresser (Nell Pickerell), see *Portland News*, April 10, 1912, 3; *Oregonian*, June 4, 1912, 12; *Oregon Journal*, June 4, 1912, 6; and *Evening Telegram*, June 4, 1912, 8.

94. Dean Stiff [pseud. of Nels Anderson], *The Milk and Honey Route: A Handbook for Hobos* (New York: Vanguard, 1931), 161–62.

95. Reiss, "Social Integration of Queers and Peers," 102–3, 109, 114–15; Butts, "Boy Prostitutes," 674–75; Henry and Gross, "Social Factors," 606–7. On "trade" and "rough trade," see Legman, "Language of Homosexuality," 1175, 1177–78.

96. PPAR, vol.: December 18, 1907, to May 1, 1908, p. 148, SPARC; Oregon v. Tom Conley, May 14, 1908, MCCCC 38769; PPAR, vol.: May 1, 1908, to September 30, 1908, p. 55, SPARC; Oregon v. A. G. Ahmed, September 16, 1908, MCCCC 39282; PPAR, vol.: Coleman & Royale et al., September 1, 1911, to January 2, 1912, p. 57, SPARC.

97. PPAR, vol.: October 1, 1908, to February 23, 1909, p. 36, SPARC; Oregon v. Ed Montgomery, October 31, 1908, MCCCC 39521; PPAR, vol.: March 5, 1920, to September 4, 1920, p. 220, SPARC; Oregon v. Michael Dixon, October 15, 1920, MCCCC 81950; *Washington v. H. Gemas*, Trial Transcripts, pp. 4, 5, WSSCC 15792, WSAE (court records give "Gemmas" as the defendant, but in other documents the defendant's name appears as "Demmas"). See also Merrill, "Summary of Findings," 258.

98. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 41; Paulson with Simpson, *Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 22–23.

99. Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 305.

### Chapter 3. Gay Identity and Community in Early Portland

1. *Portland Evening Telegram* (hereafter, *Evening Telegram*), November 16, 1912, 2. The identity of the unnamed young man whose confession initiated the 1912 scandal is not certain, but arrest records point to Benjamin Trout. Of all those linked to the scandal, only Trout's name appears in arrest ledgers in days prior to the news about same-sex vice becoming public. The arrest ledger gives his age as twenty-two, but at trial Trout said he was nineteen. PPAR, vol.: July 30, 1912, to December 10, 1912, p. 193, SPARC; Benny Trout testimony, Oregon v. Harry A. Start, Trial Transcript (hereafter, Start Transcript), p. 140, OSCR, file 1478, OSA.

2. *Portland Oregonian* (hereafter, *Oregonian*), November 14, 1912, 12; November 16, 1912, 11; *Evening Telegram*, November 16, 1912, 2; Voter Registration Cards, microfilm roll 25, 1912-13, listing for Harry L. Rowe, MCARC.

3. It is impossible to ascertain the class and occupational backgrounds, let alone the exact number, of all those connected with the specific events of 1912. Complicating matters is that some papers reported as members of the "vice clique" other individuals who happened to be arrested for same-sex crimes during these months but otherwise had no connection to Portland's homosexual community. Information regarding occupations of men involved in the 1912 and 1928 scandals comes from various sources, including local newspapers, directories, and legal documents. Others have casually noted a connection between white-collar workers and homosexuality and gay community. See, for example, David K. Johnson, "The Kids of Fairytown: Gay Male Culture on Chicago's Near North Side in the 1930s," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 106-9.

For a thorough discussion of Kinsey's class categories, see Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1948), 78-79. Because this chapter draws extensively on Kinsey and his findings, I must acknowledge the considerable debate and criticism that has surrounded his data. James H. Jones's controversial biography of Kinsey, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), summarizes the critical reception of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* at the time of its publication; Jones also contributed significantly to the more recent debates about the validity of Kinsey's findings. Yet despite some problems with Kinsey's data, his sampling methods, and his interviewing processes (and in spite of Jones's revelations about Kinsey's personal life), historians generally accept the validity of Kinsey's conclusions regarding sexuality. On this issue, see Martin Duberman's review of Jones's book, "Kinsey's Urethra," *Nation*, November 3, 1997, 40, 42-43. On the Kinsey controversy, see also Paul Robinson, *The Modernization of Sex: Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, William Masters, and Virginia Johnson* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976). Another thoughtful explanation of how Kinsey's work is useful to the historical study specifically of homosexuality is offered by George Chauncey in *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 70-71.

4. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior*, 361, 357, 358, 378, 328, 359, 384, 641, 653, 654.

5. John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 10-13, 23-39.

6. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 133 (quotation), 131-35. See also Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 20; David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 346; John

D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988, 226-27; and E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 274-75.

7. *Seattle Star*, November 27, 1912, 6. For period observations about homosexuality and its connection to urban life, see James G. Kiernan, "Sexual Perversion, and the Whitechapel Murders," *Medical Standard* 4, no. 5 (November 1888): 129; William Lee Howard, "Sexual Perversion in America," *American Journal of Dermatology and Genito-Urinary Diseases* 8, no. 1 (January 1904): 9; and Charles H. Hughes, "Homo Sexual Complexion Perverts in St. Louis: Note on a Feature of Sexual Psychopathy," *Alienist and Neurologist* 28, no. 4 (November 1907): 488.

8. D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 227; John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (New York: Routledge, 1993), 470. See also D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 10-13; Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); and Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

9. Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, the Law, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1, 4; White, *First Sexual Revolution*, 8. See also Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

10. On corporate economy in general, see Glenn Porter, *The Rise of Big Business, 1860-1910*, 2d ed. (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1992); and Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1977).

11. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Vintage, 1955), 217-18; C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), 68-69; Jürgen Kocka, *White Collar Workers in America, 1890-1940: A Social-Political History in International Perspective*, trans. Maura Kealey (London: Sage, 1989), 44-46, 50, 52, 67, 95; Peter G. Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Sex Roles in Modern America*, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 73; Olivier Zunz, *Making America Corporate, 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 126; Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 151; William Toll, *The Making of an Ethnic Middle Class: Portland Jewry over Four Generations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982), 145; Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, 267-68.

12. Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 169 (quotation), 168, 178, 179, 249. On masculinity and the workplace, see also Joe L. Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 26-28; Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 70-71; and Michael S. Kimmel, "The Contemporary 'Crisis'

of Masculinity in Historical Perspective," in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, ed. Henry Brod (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 137-49.

13. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 12; Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, 267, 271, 291, 292-93; Kocka, *White Collar Workers in America*, 44, 87, 185, 186; Dubbert, *Man's Place*, 81.

14. On the "masculinity crisis," see Joe L. Dubbert, "Progressivism and the Masculinity Crisis," in *The American Man*, ed. Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 305-20; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 11-13; Jeffrey P. Hantover, "The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity," in Pleck and Pleck, eds., *American Man*, 288-92; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 248-51; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 111-13; and John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890s," in *The Origins of Modern Consciousness*, ed. John Weiss (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1965), 43-44. Mills (*White Collar*; 272-73) offers a bleak view of the mid-twentieth-century white-collar work while Sklar's perspective (*Corporate Reconstruction*, 26) is more hopeful.

15. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 15 (quotation), 245-96. For more on corporate capitalism's effects on women, see Smith-Rosenberg, "Discourse of Sexuality and Subjectivity: The New Woman, 1870-1936," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr. (New York: Meridian, 1989), 264, 266, 273; Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present*, 3d ed. (New York: Franklin Watts, 1983), 200-208, 228-30; D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 201, 189-93, 194-95, 197, 199; Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 110-11; and Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: William Morrow, 1981), 178, 184, 185, 204.

16. On the "epidemic" of neurasthenia, see George M. Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia*, ed. A. D. Rockwell (New York: E. B. Treat, 1884), 70-71; see also Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 185-93; and Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 84-88.

17. Various materials in John Gibson, WSP Inmate File 6708, WSAO.

18. Mintz and Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions*, 113-19; Kocka, *White Collar Workers in America*, 87. After comparing these 1905 findings to attitudes among German white-collar workers, Kocka concludes that they reveal a "widespread" notion of upward mobility among American white-collar workers. But from a purely American perspective, it is more significant that about half of the clerks—far more than their nineteenth-century counterparts—saw no chance of upward mobility.

19. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, Manuscript Population Census Returns, Ada County, Idaho, Enumeration District 4, sheet 3A, line 8; *Boise City Directory, 1905* (Boise: R. L. Polk,

1905); *Boise City Directory, 1906-1907* (Boise: R. L. Polk, 1906); *Boise City Directory, 1908* (Boise: R. L. Polk, 1908); *Boise City Directory, 1909-1910* (Boise: R. L. Polk, 1909); *Portland City Directory, 1911* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1911); *Portland City Directory, 1912* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1912); *Portland City Directory, 1913* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1913); Earl Van Hulen testimony, Start Transcript, 73.

20. *Portland City Directory, 1952* (Seattle: R. L. Polk, 1952); *Portland City Directory, 1953-1954* (Seattle: R. L. Polk, 1954).

21. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, 1900, Manuscript Population Census Returns, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Enumeration District 107, sheet 6A, line 6; Fourteenth Census, 1920, Manuscript Population Census Returns, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Enumeration District 494, sheet 27A, line 17; *Portland City Directory, 1904* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1904); *Portland City Directory, 1905* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1905); *Portland City Directory, 1906* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1906); *Portland City Directory, 1907-1908* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1907); *Portland City Directory, 1909* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1909); *Portland City Directory, 1911, 1912, and 1913*; Edward E. Wedemeyer, death notice, October 25, 1920, necrology file, Cleveland Public Library Main Branch, Cleveland, Ohio; *Evening Telegram*, December 19, 1912, 8.

22. *Portland, Oregon Journal* (hereafter, *Oregon Journal*), November 17, 1912, 1; *Portland City Directory, 1886* (Portland: R. L. Polk, 1886); *Portland City Directory, 1912*.

23. Steven Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 13, 31. See also Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 58-59, 26-30; Dubbert, *Man's Place*, 142; E. Anthony Rotundo, "Romantic Friendship: Male Intimacy and Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800-1900," *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 1 (fall 1989): 1-25; Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 113-14; Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 29, 36, 25; Gail Bederman, "Civilization, the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness, and Ida B. Wells' Anti-Lynching Campaign (1892-94)," in *Gender and American History since 1890*, ed. Barbara Melosh (London: Routledge, 1993), 209-10; Mintz and Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions*, 45, 53; and Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 161.

24. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior*; 328.

25. Sebastian de Grazia, *Of Time, Work, and Leisure* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1962), 441, table 1. Kett (*Rites of Passage*, 144) notes that during the pre-entrepreneurial era, when the economy revolved around home production and consumption, young people long stayed dependent within the family. The development of commercial and industrial opportunities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made it possible for young people to achieve adult economic status earlier in life. By about 1920, however, social changes in family, education, and the economy converged to re-create dependency in childhood. The period from 1880 to 1920 was thus a crucial moment in which young middle-class men with a high school education could achieve financial

independence and move to the city. On corporate wages, see Mills, *White Collar*; 72; Kocka, *White Collar Workers in America*, 97; Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, 271; Zauz, *Making America Corporate*, 129; and Susan Benson Parker, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 219-20.

26. Fred Rodby testimony, Start Transcript, 19-20. See also Mills, *White Collar*; 236; and D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 278.

27. Earl Taylor and W.T. Hume testimony, Start Transcript, 26-27, 308-9. On amusement parks and heterosexuality, see, for example, D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 196.

28. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 2:387; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 1:47, 522, 534; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 2:clxxvii.

29. *Oregon Journal*, November 17, 1912, 1; *Portland City Directory, 1910* (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1910); *Portland City Directory, 1911* and *1912*; Oregon v. Harry White [Wight], November 30, 1912, MCCCC 53578; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, Manuscript Population Census Returns, Multnomah County, Ore., Enumeration District 147, sheet 12B, lines 83 and 85 for Claude Bronner and Nathan Healy. The 1910 census lists Bronner and Healy as residents of the same dwelling, but directories give separate addresses. An excellent study on gay residential patterns in the post-World War II American city is Marc Stein's *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*.

30. Bill of Exceptions, Oregon v. E. E. Wedemeyer, pp. 1-2, OSCR, file 1479, OSA; *Oregon Journal*, November 17, 1912, sec. 1, pp. 1, 6; *Evening Telegram*, November 16, 1912, 2.

31. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 176-77; John Donald Gustav-Wrathall, *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same-Sex Relations and the YMCA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 10-15; David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 35, 76; "YMCA's First 100 Years" (Portland: YMCA of Columbia-Willamette, n.d.); U.S. Department of Commerce, Manuscript Population Census Returns, Multnomah County, Ore., 1910, Enumeration District 145, sheets 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B; *Portland City Directory, 1911* and *1912*; *Evening Telegram*, November 22, 1912, 8.

32. *Portland News*, November 22, 1912, 1; *Portland City Directory, 1912*; anonymous letter, OSHS collection box 1, file 2: Case Histories, MS 1541, OHS. For histories that look at the YMCA and its relationship to homosexuality in the early twentieth century, see Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 155-57; and especially Gustav-Wrathall, *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand*.

33. Gustav-Wrathall, *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand*, 142, 146. One can also see the YMCA and its programs as a microcosm of broader social patterns in

the United States at the time. Scholars who have studied the so-called masculinity crisis of the era note that as middle-class men looked outside of work for new sources to sustain masculinity, they turned to contact sports, outdoor activities, boxing, and bodybuilding. In a sense, they began to concentrate more on physical "masculinity" rather than on the nineteenth-century ideals of "manliness." This emphasis on physical culture was mirrored in the YMCA movement. Also on the broader level, the development of mass consumerism called on all Americans not to exhibit self-control and delay gratification. Moreover, corporate America began selling products to appeal to people's sexual desires; less directly, the male body was sexualized in advertising. Combined, all these developments served to heighten homosexual desire, just as they were also working to heighten heterosexual urges. On topics such as bodybuilding, the sexualization of the male body, advertising, and the consumer society, see White, *First Sexual Revolution*, 24, 27-28, 31-33, 34; and D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 188-89, 278.

34. U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Special Reports: Occupations at the Twelfth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 686. By comparison, in Boston (p. 494), an eastern city (much older than Portland) in which the balance between the sexes was tipped slightly in favor of women in 1900, laborers' rate of bachelorhood, standing at 39.3 percent, was much closer to that of men in the other occupations, while that of the lower white-collar group was still high at 62.6 percent.

35. U.S. Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, 4:592-93.

36. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior*, 653.

37. On terms applied to the homosexual community, see *Portland News*, November 26, 1912, 1; Oregon v. E.S.J. McAllister, Trial Transcript (hereafter, McAllister Transcript), p. 26, OSCR, file 1696, OSA; *Evening Telegram*, November 16, 1912, 2; *Oregon Journal*, November 17, 1912, sec. 1, p. 1.

The application of the term *fraternity* to the men involved in the 1912 scandal is significant, given that one observer in 1897 described the last third of the nineteenth century as the "Golden Age of Fraternity." As Carnes notes in *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (1-2), "on the eve of the twentieth century between 15 and 40 percent of American men, including a majority of those categorized as middle-class," participated in fraternal orders. Carnes explains their attraction: "In an impersonal and bewildering urban environment, the orders provided cohesive social networks. . . . The order became a source of stability amidst the social chaos of modern life." Although no "formal" fraternity existed among the men of Portland's early homosexual community, the widespread use of the term suggests that their informal association had significant communal aspects for both the dominant society and the men who participated in it.

Another example of early-twentieth-century homosexual men using terms to refer to a community among themselves is provided in George Chauncey, Jr., "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the

Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War I Era," in Duberman, Vicinus, and Chauncey, eds., *Hidden from History*, 296, 298-99.

38. On socializing and introductions, see Walter H. Evans, Robert F. Maguire, and Frank T. Collier, "Brief of Plaintiff and Respondent," Oregon v. E. E. Wedemeyer, p. 34, OSCR, file 1479, OSA; Roy Kadel testimony, McAllister Transcript, 14; H.L. Tabb testimony, McAllister Transcript, 42; William Homan testimony, McAllister Transcript, 55; Taylor testimony, Start Transcript, 111, 113; and Frank T. Collier examination, Start Transcript, 301. On photographs and letters, see *Evening Telegram*, November 23, 1912, 3, and November 26, 1912, 2. On connections between men in the 1912 scandal and other cities, see *Seattle Star*, November 25, 1912, 1, and November 27, 1912, 6; *Salem (Ore.) Daily Capital Journal*, November 30, 1912, 10. On the "brotherhood" in Seattle, see *Evening Telegram*, December 6, 1912, 8.

39. That early homosexual communities were principally a middle-class phenomenon is also confirmed by reports regarding the 1914 homosexual scandal that occurred in southern California. C.K. McClatchy, the editor of the *Sacramento Bee*, stated at the time: "One thing is noticeable and that is that there was not a laborer in the entire list" of men implicated in the 1914 affair. See Homosexual Issue File, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center, Sacramento, Calif. See also Jeffrey Weeks, "Movements of Affirmation: Sexual Meanings and Homosexual Identities," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons, with Robert A. Padgug (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 81; Steven Maynard, "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall: Homosexual Subcultures, Police Surveillance, and the Dialectics of Discovery, Toronto, 1890-1930," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5, no. 2 (October 1994): 220; and Chauncey, *Gay New York*.

40. Kocka, *White Collar Workers in America*, 71, 85, 86, 90 (quotation), 96, 97. See also Zunz, *Making America Corporate*, 127, 134-36; and George W. Henry and Alfred A. Gross, "Social Factors in the Case Histories of One Hundred Underprivileged Homosexuals," *Mental Hygiene* 22 (1938): 602. Stein describes racial differences separating gays from each other in post-World War II Philadelphia (*City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 75-76).

41. This scenario differs somewhat from that described by historians of homosexuality studying other large American cities, who have demonstrated that homosexuals readily found a place in ghettos and vice districts. For example, see Kevin J. Mumford, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); and Eric Garber, "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," in Duberman, Vicinus, and Chauncey, eds., *Hidden from History*, 318-31. In *Gay New York*, a highly nuanced study of the country's largest megalopolis, Chauncey considers a variety of middle-class male homosexuals and their varied relations with vice districts and ghettos. Stein found that while within post-World War II Philadelphia gays and lesbians might find refuge in certain African American clubs (*City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 10, 33-35,

41-42, 75-76), considerable spatial division could occur between races within the gay subculture itself.

42. George W. Henry, *Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1941), 1:268, 276, 278.

43. Weeks, "Movements of Affirmation," 81; Oregon v. C.E. Shuck, March 28, 1914, MCCCC 55940; Oregon v. George Stuble, March 28, 1914, MCCCC 55942; *Portland City Directory*, 1913; PPAR, vol.: August 24, 1910, to November 28, 1910, p. 159, SPARC. On middle-class male fantasies about, and interest in, working-class males, also see Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 107-10.

44. Henry, *Sex Variants*, 1:154, 278; 2:26, 27. On sailors, see also Earl Lind [Ralph Werther, also a pseudonym], *Autobiography of an Androgynite*, ed. Alfred W. Herzog (New York: Medico-Legal Journal, 1918), 8-9; Ralph Werther, *The Female-Impersonators*, ed. (New York: Medico-Legal Journal, 1922), 7-22.

45. Portland City Council Documents, box 89, folder 7, "Police, 1906," SPARC. Havelock Ellis found that artistic, literary, acting, and musical occupations are especially attractive to homosexuals (*Sex Inversion*, vol. 4 of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* [Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1904], 46, 173-74, 175).

46. Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 235-39; *Portland City Directory*, 1895 (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1895); *Portland City Directory*, 1896 (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1896); *Portland City Directory*, 1897 (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1897); *Portland City Directory*, 1898 (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1898); *Portland City Directory*, 1899-1900 (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1899); *Portland City Directory*, 1900-1901 (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1900); *Portland City Directory*, 1901-1902 (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1902). I wish to acknowledge Jonathan Ned Katz for sharing additional information with me about Hammerich, and Wilhelm von Rosen of Copenhagen for copies of Hammerich's America-based correspondence.

47. Thomas C. Ryan, Inmate 7178, Parole Board Calendar for 1915, vol. 2, [n.p.], OSP Parole Board Actions, 1915-1938, OSA; Thomas C. Ryan, Inmate 7178, OSP Great Register, pp. 204-5, OSA; PPAR, vol.: February 25, 1919, to September 20, 1919, entries for September 4, 1919, SPARC.

48. Dubbert, *Man's Place*, 191.

49. *Evening Telegram*, November 22, 1912, 8; *Salem (Ore.) Daily Capital Journal*, November 22, 1912, 5.

50. Taylor testimony, Start Transcript, 126; Oregon v. Earl Brown, September 27, 1913, MCCCC 53580; Oregon v. Benny Trout, November 24, 1914, MCCCC 58806. The evidence suggests that the youths caught up in the 1928 affair also willingly engaged in relations with adults. Myron Hoag, nineteen, and Max Hockgraef, sixteen, fled Portland for Seattle reportedly because they did not wish to testify against their "friend," forty-year-old Clarence Brazell. Another youth claimed that he "did not resist nor resent the advances of" thirty-seven-year-old Arthur Dark. "Nor," the report continued, "did he reproach" yet another youth for submitting at the same time "to the alleged unnatural attractions" of forty-year-old William Armstrong (*Oregonian*, April 8, 1928, 9; *Portland Telegram* [hereafter, *Telegram*], February 10, 1928, 2).

51. Steven Maynard, "Horrible Temptations": Sex, Men, and Working-Class Male Youth in Urban Ontario, 1890-1935," *Canadian Historical Review* 78, no. 2 (June 1997): 208, 209, 213-15; Oregon v. Clarence Brazell, Trial Transcript (hereafter, Brazell Transcript), pp. 32, 49-51, 56, 71-72, 78-79, 140, 164, OSCR, file 6199, OSA.

52. PPDDDB, vol.: J. Maloney and Mallet for September 7, 1911, to May 21, 1912, 2, SPARC. See Maynard, "Horrible Temptations," 213-15.

53. Gordon Franks testimony, Brazell Transcript, 78-79; *Telegram*, February 10, 1928, 2; Leslie Anderson testimony, Start Transcript, 382, 383; Oregon v. Leslie Anderson, December 28, 1912, MCCCC 50901.

54. *Telegram*, February 10, 1928, 2.

55. *Telegram*, February 10, 1928, 2, and November 16, 1912, 2; Taylor testimony, Start Transcript, 132-33.

56. *Oregonian*, February 10, 1928, 17; *Telegram*, February 10, 1928, 2.

57. Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 17-48.

58. The statistics are based on an analysis of Ward 4 in U.S. Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, 3:523.

59. *Oregon Journal*, November 17, 1912, sec. 1, pp. 1, 6; December 4, 1912, 6; *Evening Telegram*, November 18, 1912, 8; *Portland City Directory, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913*; U.S. Department of Commerce, Manuscript Population Census Returns, Multnomah County, Ore., 1910, Enumeration District 147, sheet 12B, lines 83 and 85; Oregon v. Fred Clarke, August 20, 1913, MCCCC 52578; YMCA Dormitory Residents' Testimonial, August 10, 1911, Council Documents, box 115, folder 2, Licenses-Misc., 1911, SPARC. The 1910 census lists Bronner and Healy as residents of the same dwelling, but the directories give their addresses as separate.

60. *Portland City Directory, 1906, 1907-1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913, and Portland City Directory, 1914* (Portland: R.L. Polk, 1914); Van Hulén testimony, Start Transcript, 63; Oregon v. W.D. Tierney, November 16, 1912, MCCCC 58834; Oregon v. Del V. Meagher, January 16, 1913, MCCCC 52691; *Oregon Journal*, November 20, 1912, 6; Kenneth Hollister testimony, Start Transcript, 148-71; William Homan testimony, McAllister Transcript, 55-61; *Evening Telegram*, November 19, 1912, 8; *Portland News*, December 19, 1912, 1.

61. Gordon Brent Ingram, "'Open' Space as Strategic Queer Sites," in *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance*, ed. Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter (Seattle: Bay Press, 1997), 96. See also Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 84-85; and Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire* (New York: William Morrow, 1997), 141.

62. Kadel testimony, McAllister Transcript, 3, 4, 5; Louis Burns testimony, McAllister Transcript, 52, 53; Rodby testimony, Start Transcript, 6, 7-8, 54; Van Hulén testimony, Start Transcript, 91. On the role of city streets in twentieth-century gay community, see Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 94-101.

63. Rodby testimony, Start Transcript, 6, 7-8, 54; Van Hulén testimony, Start Transcript, 91; Oregon v. H.L. Tabb, June 12, 1913, and November 29, 1912, MCCCC 52589 and 58801; Horace Tabb testimony, McAllister Transcript,

43-44. On the significance of public restrooms to gay male culture and homosexual encounters, see Laud Humphreys, *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970); Maynard, "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall," 207-42; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 83, 146, 185, 195-201, 264-66; and Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 101-5.

64. Laurence Pratt, *I Remember Portland, 1899-1915* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1965), 25. See also Harry B. Buckley, superintendent of parks, to Harold Helfer, July 9, 1953, Parks Historic File, box 12, folder 291, SPARC; Monty K. Anderson, Charles A. Merrill, and John V.A. Neal, "The Way of Life in the Lownsdale Square Area" (Portland: Portland State University Urban Studies Center, 1971), 1; and "Men need female escort of children to enter two city parks," *Sunday Oregonian*, July 23, 1972, 4F, in Parks Historic File. On simultaneous visibility and invisibility in city parks and other settings, see Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 86; and Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 179-205.

65. Harry Work testimony, McAllister Transcript, 21, 29; Homan testimony, McAllister Transcript, 55, 56; Francis J. Ivancie, commissioner of public affairs, to Harry Buckley, superintendent of parks, July 18, 1968, Parks Historic File, box 12, folder 12, SPARC. On public parks, see also Maynard, "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall," 211-12.

66. Blumin, *Emergence of the Middle Class*, 284-85; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 148, 149, 152-53; Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 196-97.

67. Henry Russell Talbot et al., *Report of the Portland Vice Commission to the Mayor and City Council of the City of Portland, Oregon* (Portland: Henry Russell Talbot, 1913), ii-iii, 136; *Oregon Journal*, November 17, 1912, sec. 1, pp. 1, 6.

68. *Telegram*, February 10, 1928, 2.

69. D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 172 (quotation), 195-97, 231, 241; White, *First Sexual Revolution*, 84. See also Chauncey, *Gay New York*; and Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890-1930* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981).

70. Noel W., quoted in Henry, *Sex Variants*, 2:278.

71. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior*, 369-71, 373.

72. For example, see Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 119. Also see the interesting debate on working-class reluctance to engage in oral eroticism in Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud*, 2d ed. (New York: Vintage, 1966), 16, 32, 35-36, 37, 41, 44-45; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 5-6, 120, 121-22; and Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and Its Discontents: Meanings, Myths, and Modern Sexualities* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 166-70.

73. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior*, 369.

74. Douglas C. McMurtrie, "Notes on the Psychology of Sex," *American Journal of Urology* 10, no. 2 (February 1914): 99; L. Thoinot, *Medicolegal Aspects of Moral Offenses*, trans. Arthur W. Weyssse (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1923), 20,

305; G. Legman, "The Language of Homosexuality: An American Glossary," in Henry, *Sex Variants*, 2:1155; A. C. Cornsweet and M. F. Hayes, "Conditioned Response to Fellatio," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 103, no. 1 (July 1946): 76–77; Humphreys, *Tearoom Trade*, 75, 101; Thomas S. Weinberg, "On 'Doing' and 'Being' Gay: Sexual Behavior and Homosexual Male Self-Identity," *Journal of Homosexuality* 4, no. 2 (winter 1978): 151; Lind, *Autobiography*, 89, 91, 94–95, 96. Ellis (*Sexual Inversion*, 165–66) and Bernard S. Talmey (*Love: A Treatise on the Science of Sex-Attraction*, 4th ed. [New York: Practitioners Publishing, 1919], 288) both claimed that anal intercourse did occur among homosexuals, and was at times more common than fellation. Chauncey (*Gay New York*, 85–86) and Angus McLaren (*The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries, 1870–1930* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997], 153) note that oral sex was becoming more popular because men believed (falsely) that they would not contract venereal diseases from it.

75. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior*, 369.

76. Sharon R. Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 66. See also McClatchy notes in Homosexual Issue File.

77. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 119.

78. On various terms for sexual roles, see McAllister Transcript, 7, 17, 20, 21, 22, 27, 29, 40; Start Transcript, 7, 65, 70, 73, 116, 155. On the use of these terms by men engaged in same-sex affairs in the early twentieth century, see Chauncey, "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?" 297.

79. McAllister Transcript, 27, 61, and specifically Work testimony (32). Chauncey also found in the early twentieth century that "trade" experienced a certain immunity from the law ("Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?" 303–4).

80. Work testimony, McAllister Transcript, 27; R. J. Slater and Joseph Page, "Brief of the Appellant," *Oregon v. E.S.J. McAllister*, May 24, 1913, p. 37, OSCR, file 1696, OSA. See also Chauncey, "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?" 295–96.

81. *Oregon v. Harry Allen Work*, November 16 and 17, 1915, MCCCC 62695, 62987, and 62988.

82. Work testimony, McAllister Transcript, 40; *Oregon Journal*, November 20, 1912, 6. Vilma noted of Seattle in the 1930s that he and the gay men he ran with all had female nicknames for themselves and called themselves queens, but were indeed not drag queens (see Don Paulson with Roger Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1996], 23). Fairies often used female names in public settings, while middle-class homosexual males often did so in more private surroundings. Popular among these names were those of well-known actresses. Because Harry Work's middle name was Allen (which he sometimes went by), he may have chosen Viola in honor of the actress Viola Allen, perhaps also having in mind her critically acclaimed portrayal of Viola in *Twelfth Night*. On Allen, who began her stage career in the 1880s and remained a popular touring star until her retire-

ment in 1918, see Rita M. Plotnicki, "The Evolution of a Star: The Career of Viola Allen, 1882–1918" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1979); Gerald Bordman, *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 20–21; Martin Bunham, *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre*, new ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 18; and Phyllis Hartwell, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), s.v. "Allen, Viola."

83. Start Transcript, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 290, 291, 301; L. L. Rollins admissions in McClatchy notes in Homosexual Issue File.

84. Hollister testimony, Start Transcript, 148, 157, 158, 163; Van Hulen testimony, Start Transcript, 63, 77–78; Bill of Exceptions, *Oregon v. E.E. Wedemeyer*, p. 2.

85. Van Hulen testimony, Start Transcript, 70, 73, 77. See also *Oregon v. Earl Brown*; *Oregon v. C.D. Bronner*, March 11, 1913, MCCCC 51623; *Oregon Journal*, November 29, 1912, 10; *Oregon v. Benny Trout*; Benny Trout testimony, Start Transcript, 140, 141; *Oregon v. John Doe Bradley*, August 18, 1913, MCCCC 54198; U.S. Department of Commerce, Manuscript Population Census Returns, Multnomah County, Ore., 1910, Enumeration District 208, sheet 2B, line 85; *Oregon v. H.L. Tabb*; Multnomah County Voter Registration Records, microfilm 26, 1912–13, card for H. L. Tabb, MCARC.

86. Homan testimony, McAllister Transcript, 55, 59; Burns testimony, McAllister Transcript, 52–55; Rodby testimony, Start Transcript, 4–62, 176–78; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 69–70; Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers," *Social Problems* 9, no. 2 (fall 1961): 102–20.

87. Homan testimony, McAllister Transcript, 55–57; Burns testimony, McAllister Transcript, 53–55; Rodby testimony, Start Transcript, 15–16; Hollister testimony, McAllister Transcript, 48–49; Bill of Exceptions, *Oregon v. E.E. Wedemeyer*, p. 2.

#### Chapter 4. From Oscar Wilde to Portland's 1912 Scandal: Socially Constructing the Homosexual

1. *Portland Evening Telegram* (hereafter, *Evening Telegram*), May 9, 1889, 3.

2. *Evening Telegram*, September 24, 1890, 3; August 12, 1891, 2; August 28, 1894, 6; and *Portland Sunday Mercury*, June 29, 1889. For further discussion of the influence of international, national, and local news print media, and informal news networks on local understandings of same-sex sexuality, see Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashes: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000); John Howard, "The Talk of the County: Revisiting Accusation, Murder, and Mississippi, 1895," in *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 191–218; and Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).