

Chapter Three

Sites, settlements, and urban sex: archaeology and the study of gay leathermen in San Francisco, 1955–1995¹

Gayle Rubin

We must then accept these ‘moral regions’ and the more or less eccentric and exceptional people who inhabit them, in a sense, at least, as part of the natural, if not the normal, life of a city. It is not necessary to understand by the expression ‘moral region’ a place or a society that is either necessarily criminal or abnormal. It is intended rather to apply to regions in which a divergent moral code prevails, because it is a region in which the people who inhabit it are dominated, as people are ordinarily not dominated, by a taste or by a passion or by some interest . . . Because of the opportunity it offers, particularly to the exceptional and abnormal types of man, a great city tends to spread out and lay bare to the public view in a massive manner all the human characters or traits which are ordinarily obscured and suppressed in smaller communities.

Robert E. Park (Park and Burgess 1925: 45–46)

DU TEMPS PERDU

Archaeologists routinely utilize ethnographic studies to generate models of human social practice, and productive ways to think about archaeological data. It is far less common for cultural anthropologists to apply archaeological ideas or methods to the study of living populations. Moreover, since archaeology has not been generally known for much professional attention to the details of sexual conduct, ethnographic work on sexually defined communities in the contemporary United States might seem a rather improbable topic to have benefited from tactics borrowed from archaeologists. Nonetheless, my research on a subgroup of homosexual men in San Francisco was significantly shaped by my exposure to archaeology when I was a graduate student in cultural anthropology at the University of Michigan in the early 1970s.

That Michigan anthropology department was an intellectually thrilling place. As Timothy Earle recalls in his preface to *How Chiefs Come to Power*,

At the University of Michigan in the early 1970s, my professors Kent Flannery, Richard Ford, Roy Rappaport, Marshall Sahlins, Eric Wolf, and Henry Wright taught me to understand the complex interactions among ecology, economy, society and politics. Archaeology graduate students at that time focused on what was to be labeled ‘social archaeology’ – how to describe the organization of prehistoric human groups and how to explain their social evolution. Prime-mover theories of social adaptation were attacked, as we grappled with the variety, complexity, and specificity of historical sequences from Oaxaca and the Valley of Mexico to Iran, Madagascar, and the Pacific.

(Earle 1997: vii)

From the vantage point of today’s more fragmented discipline, the Michigan department circa 1971 seems a paradise of interactivity among the sub-fields. I took courses from many of the same professors, participated in the same heady intellectual environment, and grappled with many of the same questions described by Earle. Yet even then, there was some segregation between socio-cultural anthropology and archaeology. This emergent division was often expressed in geographic terms as a difference between Angell Hall, where the cultural folk had offices and held classes, and the Museum, which was located at the opposite end of the main quadrangle and housed the archaeology labs and classrooms.

However, we graduate students had the luxury of learning from everyone and absorbing ideas from all the various perspectives and approaches. We were still required to take at least one course in each of the four sub-fields. My fascination with archaeology and the quality of the archaeology faculty led me to exceed these requirements. I learned about Mesoamerican and Near Eastern Prehistory from Kent Flannery, Andean Civilizations from Jeff Parsons, and followed up with Henry Wright’s seminar on State Formation. These courses and the conversations they generated among my fellow graduate students had a profound, if unlikely, impact on my eventual dissertation topic and subsequent research on San Francisco’s gay leathermen.

It would be difficult to understand why this came about without some sense of the state of social science research on gay and lesbian topics at the time. I entered the graduate program in the fall of 1971. This was long before the current deluge of work in queer theory, or in gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender studies. Outside of medicine and psychiatry, scholarship on such topics was scarce and not readily accessible. I was interested in figuring out some way to study homosexuality, and was especially curious about how homosexuals became concentrated in particular locations, such as Greenwich Village, Provincetown, or Fire Island. Such questions were not easily addressable within the anthropology of the early 1970s. Many hours in the library revealed some serious gaps in the organization of ethnographic interest in homosexual populations.

There was a substantial literature on same-sex contact or cross-gender behavior in non-urban and non-Western societies, particularly in New Guinea and other cultures of the Pacific, among indigenous populations of North America, and in some societies, for example in Africa, where property could occasionally trump anatomy in demarcating sexual or gender roles (Williams 1936; Kelly 1976; Herdt 1981; Evans-Pritchard 1970; Herskovitz 1937; Devereaux 1937; McMurtrie 1914). There was also a tiny but extremely significant literature on the ethnography of urban gay communities in contemporary North America, but most of this was in sociology.²

There were two major compendia then available on the anthropology of sexuality, Ford and Beach’s *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* (1951), and Marshall and Suggs’ *Human Sexual*

Behavior (1971). Ford and Beach were far more tolerant of sexual variety, but their data were largely concerned with traditional societies and they did not appear aware of or interested in organized communities of homosexuals in the United States or other Western societies. By contrast, Marshall and Suggs discussed such gay communities. They noted, 'some homosexuals congregate or regularly visit for residence or recreation specific districts that have shown more tolerance for deviant behavior . . .' and that 'some Western homosexuals have developed entire subcultures, with their own patterned behavior' (1971: 234). However, they went on to state,

Just as the homosexual advertisements in the *Berkeley Barb* appear with those of the voyeur, the sadist, the masochist, and the fetishist, so it is difficult to interpret such behavioral manifestations as the 'fairy balls', or the transvestite 'beauty contests' of some urban areas as anything more exalted than sociopathic manifestations of personality disturbances *complicated by membership in a pervasive subculture.*
(235; emphasis in the original)

Furthermore, 'medical and psychiatric data together with interpretations by some analysts and by logic indicate that some contemporary Western sexual deviants must be regarded as socially and personally maladjusted, in some cases so very ill as to endanger society' (231). Such comments reflected the prevailing view of homosexuality as a problem better addressed by psychiatry than by anthropology.

In a 1966 essay 'Homosexuality as a Subject of Anthropological Inquiry', David Sonenschein urged anthropologists to study homosexual communities in industrialized countries. 'Among humans,' he noted, 'at least in the Western Urban tradition, homosexual behavior manifests itself in special kinds of culturally distinct groups and artifacts' (1966: 80). Observing that 'anthropologists have ignored homosexuality in Western societies . . .' Sonenschein called for

the application of an anthropological investigation of homosexuality in contemporary Western society . . . the anthropological approach assumes that homosexual groups and individuals transmit, learn, share, create, and change the content of various forms (such as speech, dress, behavior, artifacts) so as to establish and maintain what can be called a relatively distinct 'culture'. . . . Here, all the interests of cultural and social anthropologists would prevail: social organization, economics, communication, social control and norms, world-views and myths, demography, social and cultural change, material culture, enculturation and socialization . . .
(1966: 77)

It was over thirty years ago that David Sonenschein set out a research program for the anthropological study of homosexuality in contemporary complex, urban societies. With one exception, Esther Newton's *Mother Camp* (1972), hardly anyone was pursuing this research agenda. *Mother Camp* focused on the specialized subgroup of professional female impersonators. In this extraordinary book, Newton's observations of gay community life, social structure, and economics were insightful, original, and provocative. However, for many years, *Mother Camp* stood alone, an exceptional document with no apparent successors or company. Almost a decade passed before more ethnographic work on modern homosexualities began to emerge, and almost two decades before there would be much of an anthropological literature on urban gay communities in the United States (Davis

and Whitten 1987; Kennedy and Davis 1993; Lewin 1993; Lewin and Leap 1996; Newton 1993; Weston 1991, 1993).

The scarcity of work on homosexuality is not solely attributable to anti-gay sentiment, although I would not want to underestimate the power of such prejudices. However, the liabilities of doing specifically homosexual research were compounded by several other impedimenta, including the 'sex' problem, the 'North American' problem, and the 'urban' problem. Any research that focused too closely on sexuality was considered somewhat suspect, and some ethnographers even admitted to having data in their field notes which they never published for fear of professional marginalization.

Moreover, there was very little support for doing any research in urban North America apart from studies of ethnic communities or populations of foreign migrants. There are now so many anthropologists working on contemporary urban groups in Western societies that it is sometimes difficult to remember an older hierarchy of anthropological status: thirty years ago, one was often given the impression that 'real anthropologists' studied non-Western and pre-industrial peoples, preferably in some place entirely lacking in electricity or plumbing. Those who studied peasants in Europe, Latin America, or the Near East, could be accepted, if sometimes grudgingly. On the other hand, urbanists were, if not beneath contempt, perhaps latent sociologists.

There were of course long and respected traditions of urban ethnography in sociology, particularly associated with the Chicago school sociologists and their progeny (Bulmer 1984; Fine 1995; Becker 1964, 1973; see also note 4). There were also some anthropologists, such as David Schneider at Chicago, who actively encouraged students to study urban groups.³ But this was not the case at Michigan. We were blessed with an extraordinary collection of brilliant cultural anthropologists, from whom I was extremely lucky to learn social theory and the passions of ethnographic description. However, they were for the most part disinterested in urban problems, urban theory, or urban research. Virtually all my graduate exposure to thinking about urban societies and how to study them came from two sources: sociologist and historian Charles Tilly, particularly his course on European Urbanization, and the archaeologists.

As it turned out, many of my archaeology professors were vitally interested in urbanism and the role of cities in complex social formations. The archaeologists had to think about cities, albeit ancient and often dead ones. But they knew urban theory and urban geography, and they creatively applied the concepts and methods of those fields to the understanding of ancient cities. They asked what kinds of conditions would facilitate such concentrations of people and resources, and speculated about what impact these places would have had on their surrounding countrysides. Urban theory works as well for Ninevah, Ur, Eridu, Monte Alban, Tenochtitlan, or Cuzco as it does for London, Paris, Berlin, Chicago, or New York. For obvious reasons, archaeological thought was also very spatially focused. Archaeologists were concerned with how space is organized socially, how social relations are reflected spatially, and what spatial arrangements can convey about social ones.

So it was from the archaeologists that I first encountered urban geography, central place theory, settlement patterns, catchment areas, population estimates, migrations and transfers of population, craft wards and occupational or residential specialization. I could not help but think about how these pertained to issues of urbanism and minority sexualities. Clearly, market centers can function for sexuality as well as for grains and vegetables; neighborhood specialization can be as evident for homosexuals or sex workers as for potters or weavers; and regional centers can draw migrants for sexual as well as occupational purposes.

From Charles Tilly I was encouraged to think about the ways urban structure and various forms of political action and mobilization affect one another. It was only years later that I realized that through Tilly and the archaeology faculty, I had been exposed to a refined precipitate of several decades of sophisticated thought about cities, politics, and social structure, which I could then use to think about a different set of problems.⁴ I was eventually able to apply these perspectives to my field work among the gay male leather population in San Francisco.

GAY LEATHERMEN AND SOUTH OF MARKET

Leather

'Leather' is a term for a distinctive subgroup of male homosexuals who began to coalesce into coherent communities in the late 1940s. Leather communities appeared first in the major cities of the United States, and later developed in other urban centers and in most industrialized capitalist countries.⁵ The leather subculture is organized around sexual activities and erotic semiotics that distinguish it from the larger gay male population.

Leather in this context mostly refers to black leather motorcycle gear. One may easily visualize the imagery of early leather by picturing Marlon Brando in the 1954 film *The*



Figure 3.1 The leather look: portrait of Tony Tavorossi, manager of San Francisco's first leather bar, taken in San Francisco, 1960. Photograph by permission of R. Michael Photography.

Wild One, wearing jeans, engineer boots, t-shirt, biker jacket, heavy belt, and a Harley cap. 'Leather' was often merged with another category: 'leather/Levi.' In practice pretty much any masculine, working-class attire was acceptable. These modes of dress and their attendant symbolisms came to serve as a marker for a kind of community, a collection of sexual practices, and a set of values and attitudes. In the period after World War II, homosexuals were presumed to be effeminate – fairies, pansies, and queens. Gay men who were masculine in their personal style, and especially those who wanted other masculine men as partners, began to carve out alternative gay social spaces. Many of these men rode motorcycles or wore motorcycle attire (Figure 3.1). As one man later explained to me, 'The motorcycle was the symbol of homosexual masculinity' (Jim Kane interview 1979).

The late 1940s and early 1950s were a formative period, when such men began to congregate with increasing frequency and in greater numbers through private parties and informal networks. These networks achieved a new level of institutional coherence by the mid-1950s with the emergence of leather bars and gay motorcycle clubs. These 'leather' bars were contrasted to 'sweater' bars, a nickname for the establishments which catered to an ostensibly more swishy set. The leather bars and bike clubs were the major institutions of the early 'classic' leather community (Baldwin 1993; Rubin 1994; M. Thompson 1991; Bean 1994).

The leather communities also became the major symbolic and social location in the gay male world for various kinds of 'kinky sex'. By 'kinky sex' I mean primarily activities such as sadomasochism (SM), bondage and discipline, and fetishism. Among gay men, the social organization of sexual sadomasochism and fetishism is generally structured by the idioms of leather and the institutions of leather communities.

Gay male leather, with its singular concatenation of desires, symbolisms, and institutional structures, has been an effective vehicle for establishing sexual identities and communities. In addition, urban gay men tend to be territorial, and leathermen even more so. In New York, for example, most leather sites were located in lower Manhattan along the West Side dock strip or in the nearby meat-packing district. In San Francisco, they have been heavily concentrated in a district called South of Market.

South of Market

... this district represents the most comprehensive paradigm of San Francisco. More than any other neighborhood in the city, South of Market is the part that contains the whole: the one matrix that subsumes unto itself every successive layer of urban identity in the history of the city.

(Starr 1995–6: 370)

Market Street is one of the primary corridors of San Francisco (Figure 3.2). It cuts a sharp diagonal across the city from the Ferry Building to the base of Twin Peaks. The trolley rails along Market Street have long marked a physical and psychological boundary (the Slot) between the area North of Market, where the local centers of political and commercial power are situated, and the predominantly poor and working class area 'South of the Slot' (Averbach 1973; Clark 1987).

South of Market is also one of the oldest, largest, and most diverse neighborhoods in San Francisco (Bloomfield 1995–6; Averbach 1973; Issel and Cherney 1986; Shumate 1988). First settled during the Gold Rush, South of Market has had a predominantly industrial and working-class character since the late nineteenth century. Most of San Francisco's early industries were located here, including iron foundries, boiler works, machine shops,



Figure 3.2 Selected San Francisco neighborhoods. Map by the author.

manufacturers of bullets and shot, breweries, and warehouses. The wharves South of Market were a focus for shipping and shipbuilding. With a few exceptions, the residential population worked in these industries or in other nearby commercial enterprises.

After it was leveled in the 1906 earthquake and fire, South of Market was rebuilt as

part of San Francisco's commercial downtown. The South of Market, however, did not match North of Market in uses. Here there were no major department stores, fashionable boutiques, banks, or except for the Palace, leading hotels. The owners did not anticipate such high-rent tenants and they built accordingly.

(Bloomfield 1995–1996: 387)

Most of the labor-force that rebuilt San Francisco lived South of Market and much of the housing constructed there after the quake consisted of residential hotels designed to accommodate a population of single, often transient, working men. The proximity to the waterfront and the shipping industry meant that seamen and dockworkers also comprised a good portion of the residential population. World War II brought new populations, especially Chicano, black, and Filipino workers (Averbach 1973: 215). While the ethnic

Copyright © 2005, Routledge. All rights reserved.

composition of the transient poor changed, the general character of the neighborhood remained relatively stable from the aftermath of the earthquake until the 1950s.

Redevelopment

This land is too valuable to permit poor people to park on it.

Justin Herman, Executive Director, San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, 1970
(Hartman 1974: 19)

Dreams of urban renewal promised cleaner, more livable and more prosperous cities to post-war urban planners. In practice, redevelopment throughout San Francisco has often eliminated the areas of low-cost housing occupied by poor and working people, and replaced light industry and wholesale commerce with fancy offices, hotels, restaurants, and convention centers. South of Market was not exempt from this trend, and large sections of the area were approved for redevelopment by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1953.⁶ But redevelopment in South of Market did not proceed smoothly or quickly. While final plans for land acquisition and relocation of existing residents were approved in 1966 (Hoover 1979: ix), in 1969 local residents and owners formed an organization opposed to redevelopment and filed the first of many lawsuits which delayed redevelopment and reshaped its ultimate manifestations. During the period of political and legal wrangling, the old neighborhood was significantly dismantled. Housing was demolished and entire streets disappeared. But the construction of new office towers and public buildings awaited the outcome of litigation, so the new neighborhood remained largely unrealized. The hiatus in redevelopment created a vacant or underused urban niche with plenty of empty buildings, both residential and commercial. Rents and land values were cheap. Street life at night was sparse. South of Market became a kind of urban frontier.

The area began to attract artists looking for affordable studio space, musicians in search of practice venues, squatters who occupied the abandoned factories, and gay men. The relative lack of other night-time activity provided a kind of privacy, and urban nightlife that was stigmatized or considered disreputable could flourish in relative obscurity among the warehouses and deserted streets.

Shifting geographies of gay sex

A critical aspect of my research was examining what might, in archaeological language, be termed the 'settlement pattern' of gay sex, especially leather sex, in San Francisco. Tracing the shifting locations of gay sex over time revealed the complex interconnections between the implementation of urban development and redevelopment policies and the geography of gay subcultures, including leathermen.

There had certainly been men engaging in homosexual activities in the old South of Market since its inception as an urban residential and commercial area. A common pattern in which male homosexuals had relationships with masculine 'trade' (i.e. straight-identified men who performed only insertive sex acts) has been well documented in other waterfront and working-class enclaves in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century US cities (Chauncey 1985, 1994; Corzine and Kirby 1977; Troiden 1974). Research by Allan Berube shows the extent to which gay life in New York and San Francisco overlapped and intermixed with the world of sailors and merchant seamen (1993). San Francisco's Embarcadero was known as a 'tough' gay male cruising area at least as far back as the 1920s (Berube 1993 and personal communication). Berube's research shows that there were also many homosexual seamen who were well integrated into the working-class culture

that once dominated the neighborhood. He writes, '... before the 1960s, [there] were hundreds of cheap hotels, taverns, lunch rooms, cafeterias, union halls, and the YMCA where maritime and waterfront workers and servicemen hung out and interacted with others outside their worlds.' Berube goes on to explain that these homosexual aspects of waterfront culture 'often attracted gay men from other parts of the city' (Berube 1993: 10–11). These waterfront bars declined, however, in the 1950s and early 1960s as a result of police crackdowns and development of the Embarcadero Center, a massive complex of hotels, office towers, and retail shops (D'Emilio 1983: 182–185; Paul Gabriel personal communication 1997).

As gay sites were driven out of the lower Market and Waterfront, gay occupation increased in the Tenderloin and Polk areas (Willie Walker and Paul Gabriel personal communications 1997; Garber and Walker 1997; Walker 1997). Similarly, the gay presence South of Market shifted westward. It was during the course of the 1960s that the Polk and the Folsom became densely and visibly gay.

Before the emergence of the Castro in the 1970s, the Polk and Tenderloin were the major gay areas of San Francisco. Polk Street became a commercial center. Its variegated gay economy included gay bars and baths, shops that provided gay or sex-related items, and many gay-owned shops which dispensed less specialized goods and services ranging from groceries to antiques. The territories of male hustlers, drag queens, and transsexual sex workers spanned the lower Polk and the adjacent Tenderloin. The Folsom and South of Market drew a different population, the leather crowd. The gay men who began to filter into South of Market in the 1960s were predominantly 'leathermen'.

Folsom Street: The Miracle Mile

This is the city's backyard . . . An early morning walk will take a visitor past dozens of small business manufacturing necessities; metal benders, plastic molders, even casket makers can all be seen plying their trades. At five they set down their tools and return to the suburbs . . . A few hours later, men in black leather . . . will step out on these same streets to fill the nearly 30 gay bars, restaurants and sex clubs in the immediate vicinity. Separate realities that seldom touch and, on the surface at least, have few qualms about each other.

(M. Thompson 1982: 28)

In San Francisco, leather has been most closely associated with the South of Market neighborhood since 1962, when the Tool Box opened on the corner of Fourth Street and Harrison (see Figure 3.3). In 1964, when *Life* magazine did a story on homosexuality in America, a photograph of the Tool Box interior was spread across the two opening pages (Welch and Eppridge 1964; Fritscher 1991). Despite its enormous fame, the popularity of the Tool Box was short lived. By 1965, it had competition from the Detour and On the Levee, and by 1966, Febe's opened and became the leading leather bar.

The leather scene moved to what would become its Main Street when Febe's and the Stud opened up at the western end of Folsom Street. This inaugurated the era when Folsom became known as the 'Miracle Mile'. The Ramrod, the In Between, and several other bars soon opened along a three-block strip of Folsom Street, establishing a core area that anchored a burgeoning leather economy which continued to develop and expand in the 1970s. By the late 1970s, South of Market had become one of the most extensive and densely occupied leather neighborhoods in the world (Jay 1976; Rubin 1991, 1994, 1997, 1998; M. Thompson 1982; 'San Francisco Gay Life Where It's At' 1977).

By the late 1970s, the Castro was unquestionably the center of local gay politics, but the Folsom had become the sexual center. The same features that made the area attractive to leather bars made it hospitable to other forms of gay sexual commerce. Many of the non-leather gay bathhouses and sex clubs also nestled among the warehouses. South of Market had become symbolically and institutionally associated in the gay male community with sex.

The years between 1966 and 1982 were a period of triumphant expansion for the gay male leather community South of Market. But by the mid-1980s, both neighborhood and community were devastated. By 1987, the institutional infrastructure of leather had undergone substantial attrition, and the South of Market had become a case study in urban succession. Instead of the hordes of gay men en route to the baths and leathermen on the prowl, the Folsom was suddenly filled with the mostly non-gay, non-leather, and evidently heterosexual patrons of the new eateries and music halls (Bean 1988). As an anonymous contributor to the *New York Times* opined:

Once the rough threatening preserve of welders, wholesalers, butcher supply houses, winos, struggling artists and gay men who dressed in black leather motorcycle outfits and metal studs, Soma [South of Market] has suddenly become fashionable . . . Now the streets are lined with shiny BMWs and Mercedes . . .

(‘Off-Beat Rough Toward Chic Very Fine’ 1988)

The visible changes in the neighborhood occasioned dozens of articles in the local and even national press celebrating the area’s sudden respectability and trendy ‘renaissance’ (Saroyan 1989). Because many people assumed that AIDS mortality was higher among leathermen than in the general gay population, most commentaries cited AIDS as the cause of South of Market’s demographic shifts (Evans 1982; ‘The Death of Leather’ 1985; Knapp 1983; Robinson 1984; Starkey 1983; T. Smith 1983). However, there are no hard data demonstrating such differential AIDS mortality among gay sexual subpopulations. The belief in greater AIDS mortality for leathermen is unsupported and probably unwarranted; the effects of AIDS on the leather community have been mediated through other factors. The displacement of gay leather South of Market resulted from geographic competition for the area that long preceded AIDS, and from public policy decisions about disease control, as much as it did from AIDS itself (Brandt 1985, 1988; Crimp 1988; Farmer 1992; Fee and Fox 1988, 1992; Levine et al. 1997; Nardi 1988; Patton 1985, 1990; Treichler 1988).

An acrimonious campaign in the early 1980s to close San Francisco’s bathhouses and gay sex clubs disproportionately affected the South of Market area, as most of the local sex establishments were closed either by owner initiative or city action between 1983 and 1987. Whether or not bathhouse closures had any appreciable impact on slowing the epidemic is debatable. However, the campaign for closure did result in significant damage to the gay economy South of Market. The combination of abrupt bathhouse closures and pre-existing damage from urban renewal were significant factors in the startling collapse of gay South of Market in the mid-1980s.

In addition to the AIDS-related bathhouse closures, redevelopment of the South of Market area had suddenly escalated in the late 1970s after Diane Feinstein became mayor. Feinstein’s friendly stance toward development was reflected in an unprecedented building boom and in a marked increase in the pace of ‘urban renewal’ South of Market. Leather bars in old Victorian houses were not suited to compete with new high-rise, high-rent

buildings or even the mid-level eateries and other enterprises that would service them. However, despite these factors, gay South of Market has undergone some significant recovery since the mid-1980s. Although the leather territory has shrunk and continues to be imperiled by aggressive redevelopment, the Folsom is still the main focal point for local leather and remains an international magnet for leather tourism.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSPIRATIONS

Time, sites and settlement patterns

As this description of gay settlement South of Market demonstrates, archaeological preoccupations affected my work in several areas: spatial sensibilities, the interest in periodization, the fascination with qualitative shifts in levels of social complexity, and social discontinuities such as the rise and decline of particular social formations. For example, the issue of how chiefdoms or states succeed smaller or less centralized power structures is in some ways similar to the question of how sexual communities with institutional coherence and defined territories emerge from loose networks of individuals with shared inclinations. Archaeologists also think about the opposite process, when certain social formations fail, become smaller and less complex, or become less capable of producing visible evidence of their presence.

I doubt I would have thought of leather periods in terms of formative, classic, and post-classic had I not been exposed to these distinctions in the context of Mesoamerican prehistory; nor would I have approached South of Market and the leather community with a concept such as site distribution. I found the notion of 'site' extremely useful (Figure 3.3). I adapted the 'site' concept to include bars, bathhouses, sex clubs, bookstores, leather shops, cruising territories, and even non-leather businesses heavily patronized by a leather crowd. Some sites have more or less continuous leather occupation for a number of years, despite changes of ownership, business, or name. For instance, site number 14 at 1347 Folsom was the location of the In Between, the Cow Palace Saloon, the bar with no name, the Phoenix, the No Name (official title), the Bolt, the Brig, and the Powerhouse. When such a site ceases to be a location for a leather-oriented use and is permanently occupied by a non-leather or even non-gay business, this may be an indicator of a broader pattern of neighborhood succession. Two sites exemplify such trends: number 8, 1501 Folsom at Eleventh Street, was Febe's for twenty years but in 1986 became a straight rock-and-roll club, The Paradise Lounge. Just across the street, site 26 at 280 Eleventh Street on the corner of Folsom, was The Covered Wagon, the Leatherneck, Dirty Sally's, the Plunge, The Gold Coast, Drummaster/Drummer Key Club, and Dan's Compound. In 1984, this became the Oasis, a straight dance club. This corner, once the heart of the leather territory, now symbolizes the new, non-gay, South of Market entertainment district.

City size and sexual specialization

Archaeological studies are also invariably concerned with the appearance of new social formations, a topic reflected in my research. Why did leather communities first emerge in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco? From the 1950s until quite recently, the metropolitan areas of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco have been the four largest in the United States. (The Washington-Baltimore conurbation has now become the fourth largest, bumping the San Francisco Bay area down to the fifth slot.) As I first learned in my archaeology classes, other factors being constant, larger cities typically allow for higher levels of specialization in occupation, commerce, and

recreation. Central place theory predicts that larger centers will generally provide a wider variety of goods and services than smaller ones, and that the more specialized the good or service, the less likely that it will be available in smaller regional or local centers.⁷

An excellent example of this process can be graphically seen in Brian Berry's maps of commercial activity in south-west rural Iowa in the 1930s. Berry drew upon a detailed survey that had been conducted on the shopping habits of local farmers, and he mapped the patterns of their responses. These depict 'the very local trade or service areas for goods, services, and facilities that can be provided at small scale and for which consumers were unwilling to travel far, either because of frequency of demand or bulk of the commodity' (Berry 1967: 10). The most locally provided goods included, for example, church services and groceries. Services such as physicians and lawyers were located in the intermediate-sized centers. Shopping for women's coats and dresses tended to concentrate in even larger and fewer sites, as did hospitals. Daily newspapers were the most specialized item (Berry 1967: 10–12 maps). It appears from Berry's maps that some newspapers also came in from unspecified but larger centers east of the region he mapped, and those flow lines probably refer to the Chicago press extending its reach into its regional hinterland.

One might predict a similar relationship between the rarity or specialization of a sexual good or service, and size and type of place in which it will be found. The most specialized sexualities would be more likely to be available in the largest centers serving the broadest regions and greatest populations. The work of two sociologists, Joseph Harry and William DeVall, validates such predictions. Harry and DeVall analyzed the relationships between urban size, and the presence and diversity of gay bars, in the historical and cultural context of North America in the 1970s (Harry 1974; Harry and DeVall 1978). Harry (1974: 240) noted a strong correlation between city size and gay bar specialization: 'institutional differentiation is strongly associated with city size among normal heterosexual institutions, i.e. large cities possess a wider range of establishments and institutions. A similar process of differentiation seems to operate among gay bars'.

Using gay guides of the period, Harry concluded that the number and variety of types of gay bars were directly related to the size of urban areas in the United States in the early 1970s. 'Those bars which are the rarest, such as Black or Leather gay bars are almost exclusively limited to cities of over 500,000 population ...' and, '... since leather costumery and the associated practices of sado-masochism do not appeal to many homosexuals, a city must be of substantial size to support such a bar' (242–44). In their 1978 re-examination of the issue, Harry and DeVall revised the population figure, noting that they 'could find no metropolitan area of less than 1 million population with an exclusively leather bar' (Harry and DeVall 1978: 136–40). Based on such considerations, it is not surprising that the earliest specialized leather facilities emerged first in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco.

The correlation between size and sexual specialization is of course not an automatic one. First, there were no 'gay bars' in fifteenth century Europe, or colonial North America. In fact, in the United States there were no bars in the contemporary sense until after the repeal of prohibition, when alcohol production, consumption, and distribution became highly regulated and administered by elaborate bureaucracies and urban police (Chauncey 1994; Cavan 1966).

Even given the existence of modern gay bars, other factors such as a tolerant or punitive legal climate, the procedures for obtaining liquor licenses, the location of port facilities or other transportation terminals, or the price of local real estate could all modify the basic expectation of the significance of city size. Nonetheless, the history of leather bar location

South of Market Site Map, 1960-1993

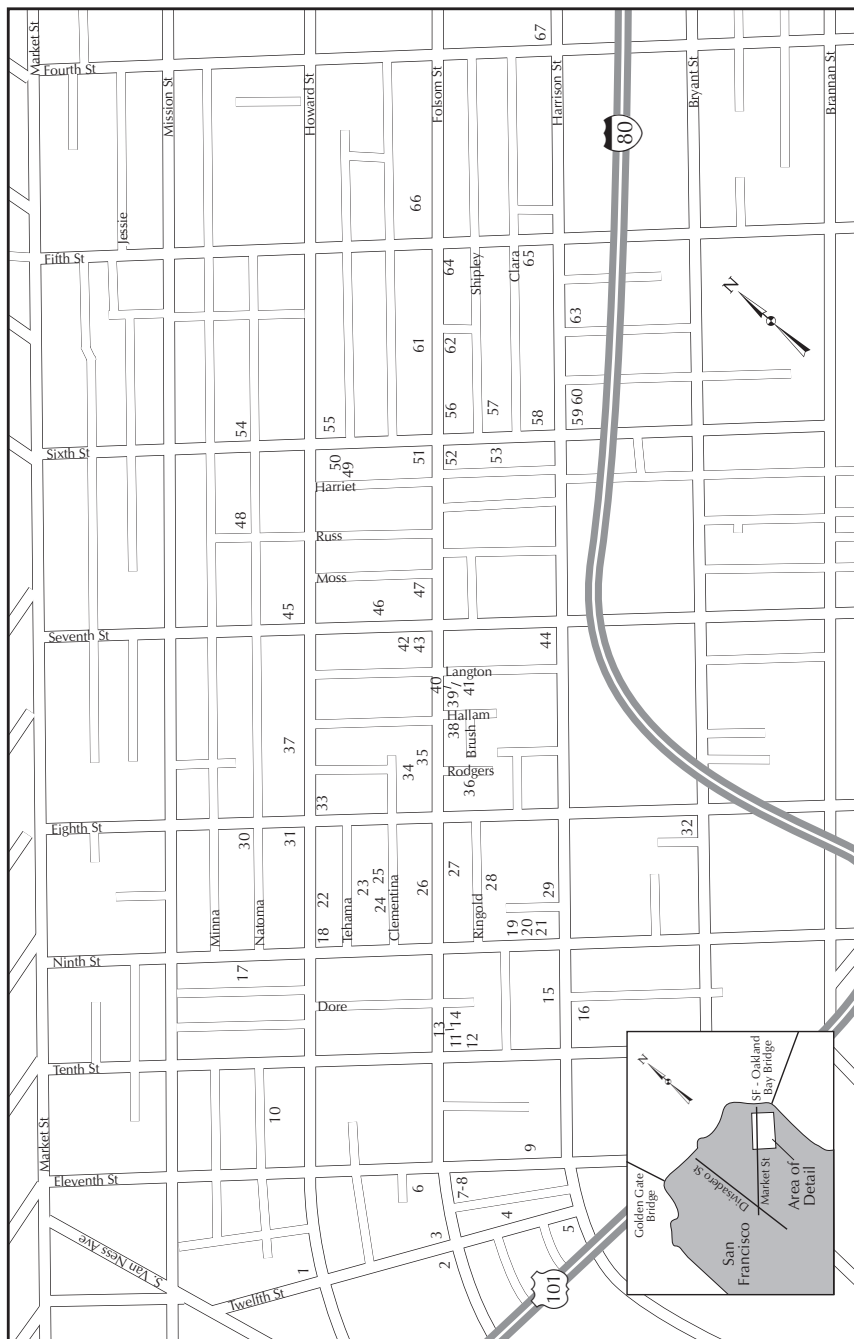


Figure 3.3 South of Market site map, 1960–1993. Map by the author.

KEY FOR FIG 3.3

- 1 1550 Harrison, Warehouse, 1969–72, bar
 2 1600 Folsom, Brasserie Castle Grand
 3 1582–1590 Folsom, Cruiser Cafe,
 1967–68, restaurant; The Dead End,
 1969–72, bar; Cissy's Saloon, 1972–, bar;
 Hamburger Mary's, 1972, restaurant
 (currently mostly straight)
 4 367 Twelfth, Service of Mankind Church,
 1980–81, heterosexual
 5 398 Twelfth, San Francisco Eagle, 1982–,
 bar
 6 280 Eleventh, The Covered Wagon,
 1968–76, bar, afterwards, pool;
 Leatherneck, 1977, bar; Dirty Sally's 1978,
 afterwards; San Francisco Plunge, 1978–80,
 bar, pool, afterwards; The Gold Coast,
 1981–82, bar; Drummaster / Drummer
 Key Club, 1982, bar, private club; Dan's
 Compound, 1983–84, sex club (also known
 as the Compound); The Oasis, 1984–, bar,
 dance club, straight
 7 1535 Folsom, The Stud, 1966–87, bar
 (moved to 399 Ninth at Harrison); became
 Holy Cow
 8 1501 Folsom, Febe's, 1966–86, bar; A
 Taste of Leather, 1966–78, first location of
 leather shop owned by Nick O'Demus
 (above Febe's); became Paradise Lounge
 9 375 Eleventh, Chaps, 1984–85, bar;
 became DNA Lounge
 10 934 Natoma, The Caldwell, 1980–84, sex
 club; became a car radio/cell phone opera-
 tion
 11 1978–83, sex club (aka Cornholes,
 1980–81)
 12 317 Tenth, A Taste of Leather, 1990–,
 leather shop; Mack, sex club
 13 1365 Folsom, Night Gallery, 1991–, sex
 club
 14 1347 Folsom, In Between, 1971–72, bar
 (in between Febe's and the Ramrod); Cow
 Palace Saloon, 1972, bar; The Phoenix,
 1973, bar; No Name, 1973–76, bar; The
 Bolt, 1976–79, bar; The Brig, 1979–85,
 bar; Powerhouse, 1985–91; bar, became
 vacant
- 35 1188–1190 Folsom, The Waiting Arms,
 1974; Earthquake Ethel's, 1974 (located
 below The Waiting Arms); The Hungry
 Hole, 1976–77, bar; Playland, 1976–77,
 hotel, restaurant (connected to The Hungry
 Hole bar, same owners as Slot; Brown's
 Pub 1980–83; The Baybrick Inn, 1982–87,
 bar, lesbian; became Southside Restaurant
 10 Rodgers, 10 Rodgers, 1984–85, play
 space
 36 1158 Howard, Worn Out West, early
 1980s, used clothing store; Stormy Leather
 1990–, leather shop
 37 1972–76, bathhouse (destroyed by fire,
 October 1976); Casey's, 1972–73, bar
 (operated as part of Folsom Street
 Barracks); 1145 Saloom, 1973, bar
 (attached to Folsom Street Barracks); Red
 Star Saloom, 1973–76, bar (connected to
 Folsom Street Barracks); site destroyed
 again by 1981 Folsom fire; Watring Hole,
 1984–; bar; became Globe Hotel, upstairs
 1137 Folsom, Billy's Hotel and Locker
 Club, 1978–80, hotel, bathhouse
 40 1127 Folsom, Templar Hall, 1985–86,
 clubhouse
 41 1123 Folsom, The Stables, 1979–80, bar;
 became Julie's Supper Club
 42 280 Seventh, The Cave, 1981–82, bar; The
 Rawhide II, 1982–, bar
 43 288 Seventh, Bay Times, 1990–, newspaper
 44 398 Seventh, The Line-Up, 1982–, restau-
 rant
 45 1098 Howard, the Lone Star, 1989, bar
 46 227 Seventh, Mister S, 1980–88, leather
 shop
 47 1082 Folsom, Folsom Street Hotel, early
 1980s
 48 544 Natoma, 544 Natoma, 1981–83, art
 gallery and performance space
 49 15 Harriet, Drummer Magazine, 1979–87
 50 224 Sixth, Warehouse, 1982–83, sex club
 (aka Black Hole) Mister B's Ballroom,
 1976–86, bathhouse; afterwards, sex club
 298 Sixth, The Gas Station, 1968–70, bar;
 Round-Up, 1970–78, bar; Watring Hole,
 1979–84, bar; became a playground
- 52 1015 Folsom/115 Harriet, Big Town,
 1973–74 (gay business complex); The
 Tubs, 1976–77, bathhouse; Folsom Street
 Baths, 1978–79, bathhouse; Surro Bath
 House, 1979–83, bathhouse, co-sexual;
 became Colossus, Product, 1993
 53 336 Sixth, A Taste of Leather and Trading
 Post Emporium, 1984–89, leather shop
 (moved with Trading Post, third location)
 161 Sixth, Animals, 1983–85, bathhouse
 54 225 Sixth, South of Market Club,
 1978–85, sex club (also known as
 Gloryholes)
 55 979 Folsom, The Hula Shack, 1962–67,
 lesbian bar; Rama, 1968–69, afterwards;
 The 979, 1970–71, afterwards; The
 Lumberyard, 1973–75, bar, afterwards;
 South of the Slot, 1976–85, sex club
 (also known as The Slot); became Shiva
 Hotel
 57 285 Shipley, Drummer Magazine,
 1987–89; The Sentinel, 1992–, news-
 paper
 58 340 Sixth Street, Church of the Secret
 Gospel, sex club
 401 Sixth/995 Harrison, The end Up,
 1973–; bar; Harrison House, 1976–79,
 boarding house above End Up, large gay
 clientele
 60 973 Harrison, The Hotel, 1976–78, bath-
 house; the Handball Express, 1979–82,
 bathhouse; currently a storage lot
 960 Folsom, Trading Post Emporium,
 1976–83, leather shop; Long Dong Club,
 1977–78, bookstore, sex club; A Taste of
 Leather, 1978–84, leather shop (part of the
 Trading Post Emporium); Studstore,
 leather shop; became City Entertainment
 Video
 62 947 Folsom, Folsom Gutch Books
 63 933 Harrison, Blowbuddies, 1992–
 64 917 Folsom, C. W. Saloom, 1985–,
 bar
 65 374 Fifth, The Hot House, 1979–83, bath-
 house
 890 Folsom, 890 Folsom, 1986–1991;
 became J. C. Graphics
 399 Fourth, Tool Box, 1962–71, bar

clearly demonstrates that city size and the place of a metropolitan area in regional, national, or international networks of distribution have an important impact on the presence of sexually specialized institutions.

Population estimates and catchment areas

When I was completing my dissertation, a member of my committee asked me a perfectly legitimate question which I had no obvious way to answer. She wanted to know a basic fact which would ordinarily be an easy one to provide: what was the size of my research population? How many of these leather guys were there in San Francisco?

The deceptively simple question was exceedingly difficult to answer for many reasons. In the first place, measuring homosexual populations raises definitional problems. It is difficult for sexual demographers to even agree upon who counts as a homosexual, as the category itself is a slippery one (Kenan 1997). Estimates are often made using assumptions based on Kinsey's work, but there are many ways to interpret the Kinsey data (Kinsey et al. 1948, 1953). Gay rights groups tend to assume that about 10% of the population is predominantly homosexual. Right wing groups opposed to civil equality for homosexual citizens want to minimize the numbers, and argue that only 1% of the United States population is gay. Most census surveys do not measure sexual orientation. The lack of data and the inconsistent definitions make reliable figures difficult to obtain.

On the local level, no one even knows how many homosexual men and women reside in San Francisco, much less how many leathermen live here. The actual city of San Francisco has a total population of roughly 800,000 although that of the surrounding metropolitan area is closer to 6 million. Not all of the homosexuals in the greater metropolitan Bay area live in San Francisco. There are gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender households throughout virtually all the residential areas of the greater metropolis. Nonetheless, San Francisco is a magnet, attracting sexually motivated migrants not only from the greater Bay area but also from throughout the western United States, as well as a national and, to a smaller degree, an international population. Thus, homosexuals are disproportionately represented in San Francisco as both permanent residents and temporary visitors, although it is impossible to determine their exact numbers.

It is at least as difficult to count leathermen as it is to count homosexuals. But I was inspired by the creativity with which archaeologists estimate long-vanished populations on the basis of fragmentary data. It seemed to me that one could compare counts of sites in order to make some educated guesses about population proportions, if not absolute numbers. This procedure in turn rested on an assumption that a gay or leather site, such as a bar or cruising area, requires something like a catchment area. Instead of arable land or carrying capacity, a certain population level of potential customers would be necessary to support a 'site' such as a gay bar or street territory.

In the case of a bar, such a population of potential customers would have to be large enough so that the failure of some number of them to regularly patronize the establishment would not imperil its financial stability. Furthermore, these customers would have to have sufficient money to spend, certain proclivities to socialize in public drinking establishments, and expectations that such businesses would satisfy various social wants or needs. Most would have to be local, although some individuals might travel great distances to patronize the bar. The exact size of such a population need not be known; an estimate could be inferred. Assuming that the catchment population for each 'site' remained relatively constant, simply counting the numbers of establishments should give a relative measure of populations.

I took eleven gay guides from the years 1969 to 1994 and counted the total number of gay sites in San Francisco, the number of leather sites in the city, and the number of lesbian sites. I also counted the non-leather gay sites located South of Market. Like all methods for estimating populations, this technique is methodologically hazardous. Not all gay guides are equally accurate, and criteria for what counts as a gay or leather site are inconsistent between guides (even within guides produced by a single company). The guides themselves evolve, and periodically change their format for presenting their data – they are, after all, intended to assist tourists in finding local recreation rather than academics trying to count queers. Moreover, the repertoire of site types changes over time. While bars were the primary institution of gay social life in the 1950s and early 1960s, the expansion of gay economies in later decades is accompanied by a diversification of gay-oriented businesses. Bars, while still very important, are less central, and by the 1990s, the explosion of phone sex, on-line services, Internet bulletin boards, and sexual chat rooms had further provided alternative opportunities for social contact. It is difficult to know even how to integrate Internet chat rooms with physical locations in ‘site’ based analyses of population composition.

Finally, how does one determine site ‘function’ as gay or leather or lesbian? Does a straight-owned laundromat in a gay neighborhood with a large but not exclusively gay clientele qualify as a gay site? Lesbian sites tend to be very different from gay male ones; does one count the local feminist bookstore, where many lesbians can be found although the store itself addresses a larger female population? It is inevitable that counting ‘sites’ based upon either archaeological data or documents such as gay guides requires constant decisions about what to include or leave out. So the charts that have resulted from my site count should not be regarded as anything more than suggestive. However, the suggestions they make are provocative.

Figure 3.4 shows my calculation of the total number of gay sites, leather sites, lesbian sites, and non-leather sites located South of Market, from 1969 through 1994. Throughout these periods, the proportion of leather sites is consistently 8–12% of the total gay sites. The number of lesbian sites tends to be around 2–6%. And the number of non-leather sites South of Market rises fairly steadily over time, except for a drop in the mid-1980s after the closing of the gay baths and sex clubs.

These relative site frequencies provide fertile ground for hypotheses about the social behavior of different homosexual subgroups. For example, Harry and DeVall estimated a minimum gross urban population of 50,000 would be needed to support a gay bar. This was total urban size, however, and not a figure of how many of those city residents had to be homosexual to support such a bar. Harry and DeVall also caution that using bars to estimate population must take into account

the size of the available bar clientele, the bar-going propensities of each type, and the propensities of each type of clientele to segregate themselves into separate settings. For example, *because lesbians have lesser bar-going propensities than do gay males, lesbian bars seem fewer in relation to the numbers of lesbians than gay male bars in relation to their numbers.*

(Harry and DeVall 1978: 139; my emphasis)

My own analyses of the San Francisco data concur. The San Francisco bar statistics and my own observations in the field indicate the differences between male and female gay populations in bar-going behavior and the availability of investment capital. For

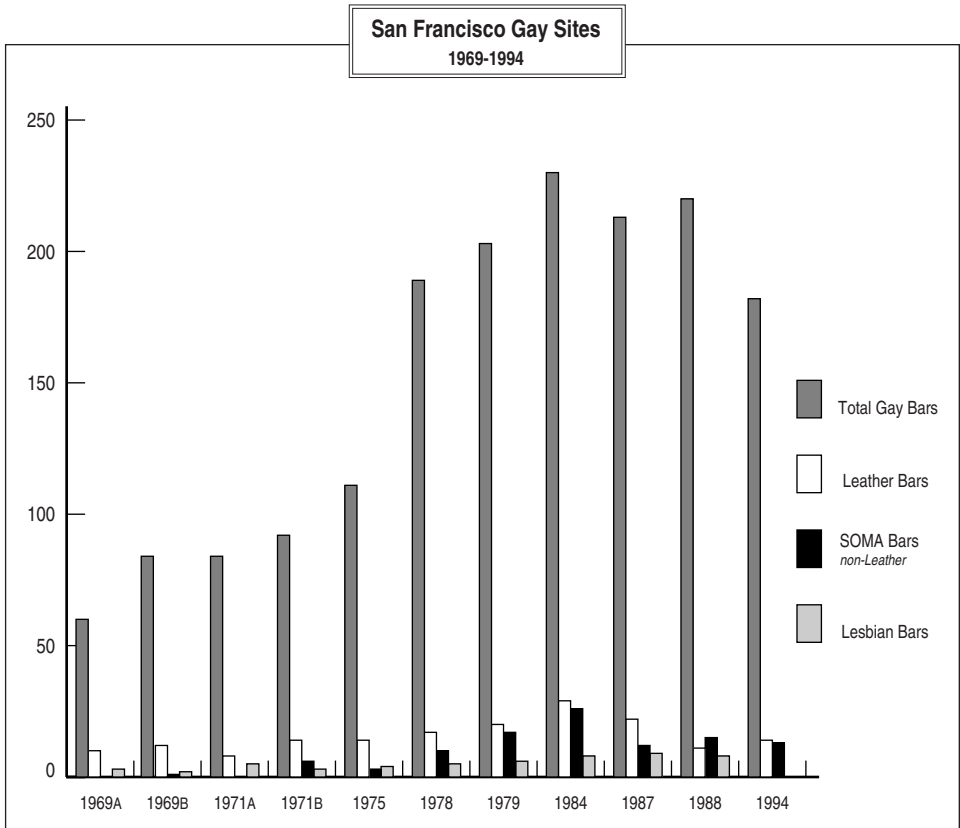


Figure 3.4 San Francisco gay sites, 1969–1994. Graph by the author.

example, lesbians do not patronize bars as intensively as gay men, and they generally have less access to capital to invest in them. Consequently, a lesbian bar most likely requires a larger population of potential patrons than a gay male bar. By contrast, I would argue that gay leathermen use their bars more intensively than the mainstream gay population, in part because there are fewer alternative institutional formats for the pursuit of a leather-based social life. So it probably takes a somewhat smaller population of leathermen to support a bar than one serving the general gay population.

As Harry and DeVall point out, the qualities which make large cities attractive to gay migrants would give the largest cities that much more appeal for those with more specialized sexual tastes. Consequently, the magnet effect of a city such as San Francisco for gay migration is in all likelihood an even stronger force for gay leathermen. Gay leathermen are probably disproportionately attracted to the largest cities such as San Francisco because those cities are the most likely to support specialized leather institutions. From the frequency of leather bars, and their intensity of use, it is probably reasonable, and even conservative to estimate that the population of leather-oriented gay males in San Francisco may be roughly 10% of whatever is the total gay population.

While the number of lesbian institutions for comparable periods was much smaller, averaging around 4%, the actual lesbian population is probably larger than 4%. In recent

Copyright © 2005, Routledge. All rights reserved.

years, almost all lesbian bars have disappeared from San Francisco. For a period of time there appeared to be no full-time lesbian bars; at the present time there seem to be only two. This does not indicate a precipitous drop in population or that the lesbian community has been hit by a sudden wave of mortality, dispersion, or social collapse. It has probably resulted from changing patterns of lesbian socializing and the withdrawal of capital from investment in the lesbian bar economy.

The charts in Figures 3.4 and 3.5 show additional trends worth noting. The growth of non-leather gay sites South of Market from 1 in 1969 to 13 in 1994 shows the gradual establishment of South of Market as a major gay neighborhood. By 1984, South of Market had the third largest concentration of gay sites in the city (19%). Only the Castro and Polk Street areas had more gay sites than South of Market. However, by 1988, the percentage of gay sites in South of Market had dropped to only 13%, demonstrating the impact of bathhouse closures in the area. By 1994, the frequency of gay sites in the South of Market area begins to recover (to 15%). Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, the Castro continues to grow, whereas the Polk area steadily declines as a gay neighborhood.

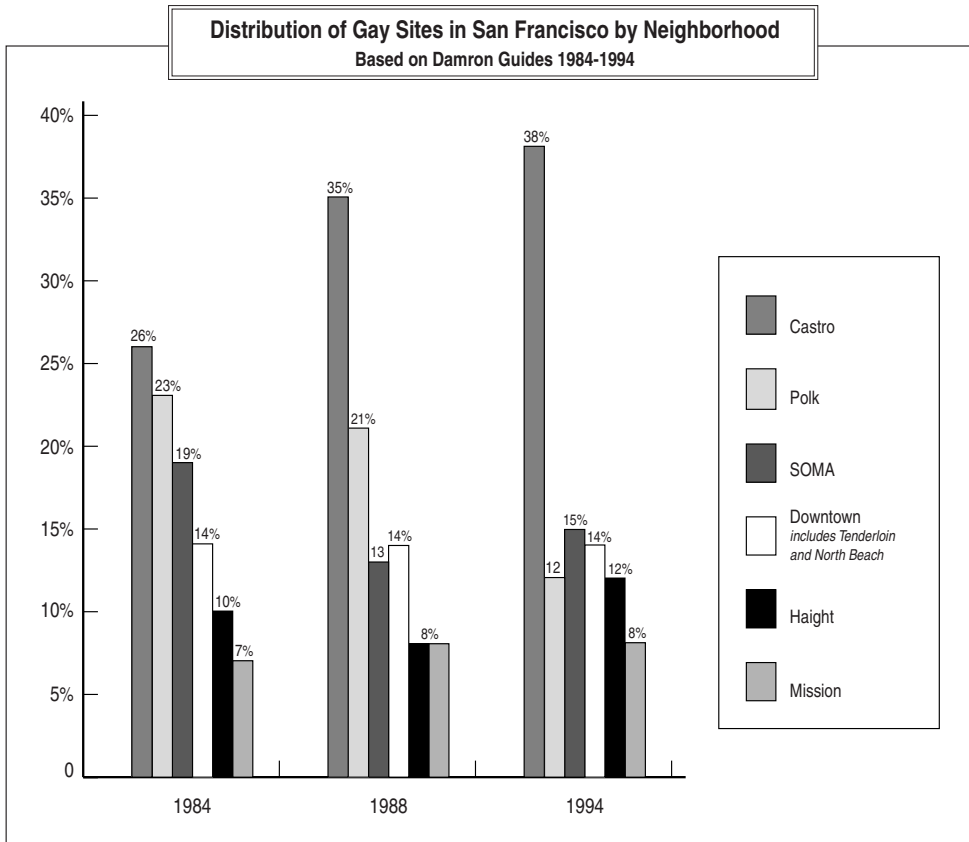


Figure 3.5 Distribution of gay sites in San Francisco, by neighborhood, based on Damron Guides 1984–1994.
Graph by the author.

Copyright © 2005. Routledge. All rights reserved.

CONCLUSION

Settlement patterns, site definitions, population estimates, and catchment areas are but a few of the ways in which my exposure to archaeological concerns and techniques informed this research project on urban gay men. I doubt that my archaeological teachers would have anticipated the uses to which I would put the ideas and techniques I learned in those classes. It may seem a long way from Oaxaca or Teotihuacan to San Francisco's old warehouse and working-class district, from corn cob size to bar patrons, or from craft wards to sexual neighborhoods. Two important lessons may be drawn from my experience. First, the study of sexuality can be done using all the ordinary tools, theories, and methodological armamentaria of the social sciences.⁸ Second, the juxtaposition of unrelated fields or unlikely bedfellows can often help thinking about new problems, or approaching problems in new ways. Such experiences are important elements of education, and I treasure those moments in mine.

NOTES

- 1 This essay is based on a talk delivered for a Presidential Symposium on the Place of Archaeology in Anthropology at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 1996, San Francisco, California. I am deeply indebted to Elizabeth Brumfiel for inviting me to participate in this symposium, as well as for her encouragement and the innumerable conversations in which we have discussed these and other issues over the years. I am immensely grateful to Rob Schmidt and Barb Voss for their patience and determination to have it for this volume, and for their skillful editorial attention. This paper is also intended as an expression of appreciation to my many superb teachers in the department of Anthropology at the University of Michigan in the early 1970s, and to the stellar cohort of fellow graduate students among whom it was my good fortune to land.
- 2 See Achilles 1967; Hooker 1967; Leznoff and Westley 1967; Mileski and Black 1972; McIntosh 1968; Plummer 1975, 1981; Reiss 1967; Gagnon and Simon 1967, 1970, 1973; Simon and Gagnon 1969; see also Gagnon 1992, Humphreys 1979, Lee 1979, Levine 1979, and Murray 1979.
- 3 It should be noted that Schneider was Esther Newton's advisor and sponsor for her dissertation, which was published as *Mother Camp*.
- 4 Several of the key Michigan archaeologists were trained at Chicago. Since urban studies had such a distinguished place in Social Science at Chicago, I have often wondered how much the intellectual environment at Chicago may have contributed to their fluency with urban theory. I was able to get through most of my graduate education before I had ever heard of W. I. Thomas, Robert Park, and Ernest Burgess; it seems unlikely that Chicago students would not have been routinely exposed to their work.
- 5 See Achilles 1967; Harry 1974; Harry and DuVall 1978; Baldwin 1993; Bean 1994; DeBlase 1993, 1996; Mains 1984; Norwood 1986; Rubin 1991, 1994, 1997, 1998; Schiller 1986; M. Thompson 1991; Vollmer 1981; Brent 1997; Steward 1964; Leathers 1980; Bronski 1990; see also Chester 1996; Falkon 1972; Farren 1984; Finlayson 1990; Goodwin 1989; Gregersen 1969, 1983; Fischer 1977; Grover 1991; Grumley and Gallucci 1977; Harris 1985; Gunn 1994; Janssen 1990; Mariah 1978; McCann 1993; Mizer 1987; Nixon 1996; Rex 1986; Rosen 1986, 1990; Savran 1998; Simpson 1994; Tom of Finland 1992; Townsend 1972.
- 6 See Hartman 1974, 1984; DeLeon 1992; Redevelopment Agency of the City and County of San Francisco 1952; R/UDAT 1984; Nowinski 1979; Hoover 1979; Port of San Francisco 1997.
- 7 See Ashworth et al. 1988; Berry 1967; Castells 1979 and 1983; Christaller 1966; Johnson 1967; L. Mumford 1961; Pred 1980 and 1990; C. Smith 1976; Tilly 1974, 1975, and 1990; Winchester and White 1988; see also Groth 1994; Gilfoyle 1992; K. Mumford 1997; Stansell 1986.
- 8 A similar point was made in Mileski and Black, 1972: 199.

REFERENCES

Books and articles

- Achilles, N. (1967) 'The Development of the Homosexual Bar as an Institution', in J. Gagnon and W. Simon (eds) *Sexual Deviance*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Apter, E. and W. Pietz (eds) (1993) *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ashworth, G. J., P. E. White and J. P. M. Winchester (1988) 'The Red-Light District in the West European City: A Neglected Aspect of the Urban Landscape', *Geoforum* 19, 2: 201–212.
- Averbach, A. (1973) 'San Francisco's South of Market District, 1858–1958: The Emergence of a Skid Row', *California Historical Quarterly*, 52, 3: 196–223.
- Baldwin, G. (1993) *Ties That Bind: The SM/Leather/Fetish Erotic Style*, Los Angeles: Daedalus.
- Bean, J. W. (1988) 'Changing Times South of Market', *Advocate* (California supplement), 29 March, 4–7.
- (1994) *Leathersex: A Guide for the Curious Outsider and the Serious Player*, Los Angeles: Daedalus.
- Becker, H. (ed) (1964) *The Other Side: Perspectives on Deviance*, New York: Free Press.
- (1973) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, New York: Free Press.
- Beemyn, B. (ed.) (1997) *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*, New York: Routledge.
- Bell, A. P. and M. S. Weinberg (1978) *Homosexualities: A Study in Diversity Among Men and Women*, New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Berry, B. J. L. (1967) *Geography of Market Centers and Retail Distribution*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Berube, A. (1990) *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women In World War Two*, New York: The Free Press.
- (1993) "'Dignity for All": The Role of Homosexuality in the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union (1930s–1950s)', paper presented at the conference Reworking American Labor History: Race, Gender, and Class, Madison, Wisconsin.
- (1996) 'The History of the Bathhouses', in Dangerous Bedfellows (eds) *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism*, Boston, South End Press.
- Bloomfield, A. B. (1995–1996) 'A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood', *California History*, Winter.
- Brandt, A. M. (1985) *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States Since 1880*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (1988) 'AIDS: From Social History to Social Policy', in E. Fee and D. M. Fox (eds) *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brent, B. (ed.) (1997) 'Special Issue on San Francisco in the Seventies', *Black Sheets*, 12.
- Bronski, M. (1990) 'Art and Evidence: Those '50s and '60s Muscle Mags May Be the Future of Gay Male Porn', *Gay Community News* 21 October, 8–9.
- Brook, J., C. Carlsson and N. Peters (eds) (1998) *Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture*, San Francisco: City Lights Books.
- Brumfiel, E. (1994) *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Bulmer, M. (1984) *The Chicago School of Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Castells, M. (1979) *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- (1983) *The City and the Grassroots*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cavan, S. (1966) *Liquor License*, Chicago: Aldine.
- Chauncey, G. Jr (1985) 'Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War One Era', *Journal of Social History* 19, Winter: 189–211.
- (1994) *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World, 1890–1940*, New York: Basic Books.

- Chester, M. (1996) *Diary of a Thought Criminal*, Liberty, TN: RFD Press.
- Christaller, W. (1966) *Central Places in Southern Germany*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Clark, T. R. (1987) 'Labor and Progressivism "South of the Slot": The Voting Behavior of the San Francisco Working Class, 1912–1916', *California History: The Magazine of the California Historical Society* 66, 3: 196–207, 235–36.
- Corzine, J. and R. Kirby (1977) 'Cruising the Truckers: Sexual Encounters in a Highway Rest Area', *Urban Life* 6, 2: 171–92.
- Crimp, D. (ed.) (1988) *AIDS: Cultural Analysis, Cultural Activism*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Dangerous Bedfellows (1996) *Policing Public Sex*, Boston: South End.
- Davis, D. L. and R. G. Whitten (1987) 'The Cross-Cultural Study of Human Sexuality', *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 16: 69–98.
- Davis, M. (1992) *City of Quartz*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Davis, M., S. Hiatt, M. Kennedy, S. Ruddick and M. Sprinker (1990) *Fire in the Hearth: The Radical Politics of Place in America*, London: Verso.
- 'The Death of Leather' (1985) *San Francisco Focus*, November.
- DeBlase, A. F. (1993) 'Leather Concordance', first draft, unpublished manuscript
- (1996) *Leather History Timeline*, Chicago: Leather Archives and Museum.
- Deleon, R. E. (1992) *Left Coast City: Progressive Politics in San Francisco, 1975–1991*, Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- D'Emilio, J. (1983) *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (1989) 'Gay Politics and Community in San Francisco Since World War II', In M. B. Duberman, M. Vicinus and G. Chauncey Jr (eds) *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, New York: New American Library.
- Devereaux, G. (1937) 'Institutionalized Homosexuality Among Mohave Indians', *Human Biology* 9: 498–529.
- Earle, T. (1997) *How Chiefs Come to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ellis, H. (1942 [1905]) *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* vol 1, New York: Random House.
- (1937 [1906]) *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* vol 2, New York: Random House.
- Escoffier, J. (1998) *American Homo: Community and Perversity*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ethington, P. (1994) *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850–1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, A. (aka The Red Queen) (1982) 'Milk Milked', *Bay Area Reporter*, 24 November: 6.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1970) 'Sexual Inversion Among the Azande', *American Anthropologist* 72: 1,428–34.
- Falkon, F. L. (1972) *A Historic Collection of Gay Art*, San Diego: Greenleaf Classics.
- Farmer, P. (1992) *AIDS and Accusation: Haiti and the Geography of Blame*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Farren, M. (1984) *The Black Leather Jacket*, New York: Abbeville.
- Fee, E. and D. M. Fox (eds) (1988) *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (1992) *AIDS: The Making of a Chronic Disease*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fine, G. A. (ed.) (1995) *A Second Chicago School? The Development of a Postwar American Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Finlayson, I. (1990) *Denim: An American Legend*, New York: Fireside, Simon and Schuster.
- Fischer, H. (1977) *Gay Semiotics: A Photographic Study of Visual Coding among Homosexual Men*, San Francisco: NFS Press.
- Flannery, K. V. (1976) *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, San Diego: Academic Press.
- Ford, C. S. and F. A. Beach (1951) *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*, New York: Harper and Row.

- Fritscher, J. (1991) 'Artist Chuck Arnett: His Life/Our Times', in M. Thompson (ed.) *Leatherfolk*, Boston: Alyson.
- Gagnon, J. (1977) *Human Sexualities*, Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- (1992) 'An Unlikely Story', in B. M. Berger (ed.) *Authors of Their Own Lives: Intellectual Autobiographies of Twenty American Sociologists*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gagnon, J. and W. Simon (1967) *Sexual Deviance*, New York: Harper and Row.
- (1970) *The Sexual Scene*, Chicago: Aldine, Trans-Action Books.
- (1973) *Sexual Conduct: The Social Sources of Human Sexuality*, Chicago: Aldine.
- Garber, E. (c. 1990) 'A Historical Directory of Lesbian and Gay Establishments in the San Francisco Bay Area', manuscript on file, Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California.
- Garber, E. and W. Walker (1997) 'Queer Bars and Other Establishments in San Francisco', unpublished data on file, Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California.
- Gebhard, P. H. (1976 [1969]) 'Fetishism and Sado-masochism', in M. S. Weinberg (ed.) *Sex Research: Studies from the Kinsey Institute*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gero, J. and M. Conkey (1991) *Engendering Archeology: Women and Prehistory*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gibson, I. (1979) *The English Vice: Beating, Sex, and Shame in Victorian England and After*, London: Duckworth.
- Gilfoyle, T. (1992) *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*, New York: Norton.
- Gluckman, A. and B. Reed (1997) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge.
- Godfrey, B. J. (1988) *Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goodwin, J. P. (1989) *More Man Than You'll Ever Be: Gay Folklore and Acculturation in Middle America*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Gregersen, E. (1969) 'The Sado-masochistic Scene', talk delivered at the 68th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, LA.
- (1983) *Sexual Practices: The Story of Human Sexuality*, New York: Franklin Watts.
- Groth, P. (1994) *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grover, J. Z. (1991) 'The Demise of the Zippered Sweatshirt: Hal Fischer's Gay Semiotics', *Outlook* 11: 44–47.
- Grumley, M. and E. Gallucci (1977) *Hard Corps: Studies in Leather and Sado-masochism*, New York: Dutton.
- Gunn, T. (1994) *Collected Poems*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Hall, S. and T. Jefferson (eds) (1991 [1976]) *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, London: Harper Collins Academic.
- Harris, M. (1985) *Bikers: Birth of a Modern Day Outlaw*, Boston: Faber and Faber.
- Harry, J. (1974) 'Urbanization and the Gay Life', *Journal of Sex Research* 10, 3: 238–47.
- Harry, J. and W. B. deVall (1978) *The Social Organization of Gay Males*, New York: Praeger.
- Hartman, C. (1974) *Yerba Buena: Land Grab and Community Resistance in San Francisco*, San Francisco: Glide Publications.
- (1984) *The Transformation of San Francisco*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allanheld.
- Hebdige, D. (1991 [1979]) *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, New York: Routledge.
- Herdt, G. (1981) *Guardians of the Flutes: Idioms of Masculinity*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- (1984) *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Herskovitz, M. (1937) 'A Note on "Woman Marriage" in Dahomey', *Africa* 10, 3: 335–41.
- Hodder, I. (1986) *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hooker, E. (1967) 'The Homosexual Community', in J. Gagnon and W. Simon (eds) *Sexual Deviance*, New York: Harper and Row.

- Hoover, C. (1979) 'Introduction', in I. Nowinski *No Vacancy: Urban Renewal and the Elderly*, San Francisco: Carolyn Bean Associates.
- Humphreys, L. (1979) *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places*, New York: Aldine.
- Immel, M. L. (1983) 'Gay Urban Open Space in San Francisco: The Landscape of Liberation', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of California.
- Issel, W. and R. W. Cherney (1986) *San Francisco 1865–1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Janssen, V. (1990) *The Art of George Quaintance*, Berlin: Janssen-Verlag.
- Jay, A. (1976) 'Folsom Street: San Francisco's Leather Lane', *QQ* September/October: 25–27, 44–47.
- Johnson, J. H. (1967) *Urban Geography: An Introductory Analysis*, New York: Pergamon.
- Katz, J. (1976) *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.*, New York: Thomas Crowell.
- (1983) *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary*, New York: Harper Colophon.
- Kelly, R. (1976) 'Witchcraft and Sexual Relations: An Exploration of the Social and Semantic Implications of the Structure of Belief', in P. Brown and G. Buchbinder (eds) *Man and Woman in the New Guinea Highlands*, Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Kenan, S. (1997) 'Who Counts When You're Counting Homosexuals? Hormones and Homosexuality in Mid-Twentieth Century America', in V. Rosario (ed.) *Science and Homosexualities*, New York: Routledge.
- Kennedy, E. L. and M. D. Davis (1993) *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community*, New York: Routledge.
- Kinsella, J. (1989) *Covering the Plague: AIDS and the American Media*, New Brunswick: Rutgers.
- Kinsey, A., W. B. Pomeroy and C. E. Martin (1948) *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company.
- Kinsey, A., W. B. Pomeroy, C. E. Martin and P. H. Gebhard (1953) *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company.
- Knapp, D. (1983) 'A 20 Year Cycle', *Bay Area Reporter*, 10 March: 13.
- Knopp, L. (1997) 'Gentrification and Gay Neighborhood Formation in New Orleans', in Gluckman and Reed, *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge.
- Krafft-Ebing, R. V. (1899) *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company.
- Kunzle, D. (1982) *Fashion and Fetishism: A Social History of the Corset, Tight-Lacing, and Other Forms of Body Sculpture in the West*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Leathers, R. (1980) 'Two Nations – One Territory: S&M vs. Leather', *DungeonMaster* 5, July: 1–2.
- Lee, J. A. (1979) 'The Social Organization of Sexual Risk', *Alternative Lifestyles* 2, 1: 69–100.
- Levine, M. P. (1979) *Gay Men: The Sociology of Male Homosexuality*, New York: Harper Colophon.
- (1992) 'The Life and Death of Gay Clones', in G. Herdt (ed.) *Gay Culture in America: Essays from the Field*, Boston: Beacon.
- (1998) *Gay Macho: The Life and Death of the Homosexual Clone*, New York: NYU Press.
- Levine, M. P., P. Nardi, and J. Gagnon (eds) (1997) *In Changing Times: Gay Men and Lesbians Encounter HIV/AIDS*, Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Lewin, E. (1993) *Lesbian Mothers*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Lewin, E. and W. Leap (1996) *Out in the Field*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Leznoff, M. and W. A. Westley (1967) 'The Homosexual Community', in J. Gagnon and W. Simon (eds) *Sexual Deviance*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Lockwood, C. (1978) *Suddenly San Francisco: The Early Years of an Instant City*, San Francisco: San Francisco Examiner Publishing.
- Lotchin, R. W. (1974) *San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Mains, G. (1984) *Urban Aborigines: A Celebration of Leathersexuality*, San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press.
- (1989) *Gentle Warriors*, Stamford: Knights Press.

Copyright © 2005, Routledge. All rights reserved.

- Mariah, P. (1978) *This Light Will Spread: Selected Poems 1960–1975*, South San Francisco: ManRoot.
- Marshall, D. S. and R. C. Suggs (eds) (1971) *Human Sexual Behavior: Variations in the Ethnographic Spectrum*, New York: Basic Books.
- McCann, G. (1993) *Rebel Males: Cliff, Brando, and Dean*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- McClintock, A. (1993) 'Maid to Order: Commercial S/M and Gender Power', in P. C. Gibson and R. Gibson (eds), *Dirty Looks: Women, Pornography, Power*, London: British Film Institute.
- McIntosh, M. (1968) 'The Homosexual Role', *Social Problems* 16, 2 Fall.
- McMurtrie, D. (1914) 'A Legend of Lesbian Love Among North American Indians', *Urologic and Cutaneous Review* April: 192–93.
- Mileski, M. and D. Black (1972) 'The Social Organization of Homosexuality', *Urban Life and Culture* July: 187–202.
- Mizer, R. (1987) *Athletic Model Guild: 160 Young Americans Photographed by Robert Mizer*, Amsterdam: Intermale.
- Mollenkopf, J. H. (1983) *The Contested City*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Moser, C. (1979) 'An Exploratory-Descriptive Study of a Self-Defined S/M (Sodomasochistic) Sample', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Institute for the Advanced Study of Human Sexuality.
- (1988) 'Sodomasochism', in D. Dailey (ed.) *The Sexually Unusual: A Guide to Understanding and Helping*, New York: Harrington Park Press.
- Moser, C. and E. E. Levitt (1987) 'An Exploratory-Descriptive Study of a Sodomasochistically Oriented Sample', *The Journal of Sex Research* 23, 3: 322–37.
- Mumford, K. (1997) *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mumford, L. (1961) *The City in History*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Murray, S. O. (1979) 'The Institutional Elaboration of a Quasi-Ethnic Community', *International Review of Modern Sociology*, July–December.
- Nardi, P. M. (ed.) (1988) *Perspectives on the Social Effects of AIDS: California Sociologist* 11, 1–2 (Special Issue).
- Newton, E. (1972) *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- (1993) *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Nixon, S. (1996) *Hard Looks: Masculinities, Spectatorship and Contemporary Consumption*, New York: St. Martins.
- Norwood, J. (1986) 'A Preliminary Examination of Sexual Behavioral Changes in San Francisco's S/M Community Five Years after the Onset of AIDS', unpublished manuscript.
- Nowinski, I. (1979) *No Vacancy: Urban Renewal and the Elderly*, San Francisco: Carolyn Bean Associates.
- Nye, R. A. (1993) 'The Medical Origins of Sexual Fetishism', in E. Apter and W. Pietz (eds) *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 'Off-Beat Rough Toward Chic Very Fine' (1988) *New York Times*, 15 September.
- Ortner, S. B. (1973) 'On Key Symbols', *American Anthropologist* 75: 1,338–46.
- Ortner, S. B. and H. Whitehead (eds) (1981) *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palen, J. J. and B. London (1984) *Gentrification, Displacement, and Neighborhood Revitalization*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Park, R. E. and E. W. Burgess (1925) *The City*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Patton, C. (1985) *Sex and Germs: The Politics of AIDS*, Boston: South End Press.
- (1990) *Inventing AIDS*, New York: Routledge.
- Peiss, K. (1986) *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

- Peiss, K. and C. Simmons, with R. A. Padgug (eds) (1989) *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Plummer, K. (1975) *Sexual Stigma: An Interactionist Account*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (ed.) (1981) *The Making of the Modern Homosexual*, London: Hutchinson.
- Pred, A. (1980) *Urban Growth and City-Systems in the United States, 1840–1960*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- (1990) *Making Histories and Construction Human Geographies*, Boulder: Westview.
- Read, K. E. (1980) *Other Voices: The Style of a Male Homosexual Tavern*, Novato, CA: Chandler and Sharp.
- Reiss, A. (1967) 'The Social Integration of Peers and Queers', in J. Gagnon and W. Simon (eds) *Sexual Deviance*, New York: Harper and Row.
- Rex (1986) *Rexwerk*, Paris: Les Pirates Associes.
- Robinson, F. (1984) 'A Horror Story and a Challenge', *Coming Up!* April, 10.
- Rofes, E. (1996) *Reviving the Tribe: Regenerating Gay Men's Sexuality and Culture in the Ongoing Epidemic*, New York: Harrington Park Press.
- (1998) *Dry Bones Breathe: Gay Men Creating Post-AIDS Identities and Cultures*, New York: Harrington Park Press.
- Rosario, V. (1997) (ed.) *Science and Homosexualities*, New York: Routledge.
- Rosen, M. A. (1986) *Sexual Magic: The S/M Photographs*, San Francisco: Shaynew Press.
- (1990) *Sexual Portraits: Photographs of Radical Sexuality*, San Francisco: Shaynew Press.
- Rubin, G. S. (1984) 'Thinking Sex', in C. Vance (ed.) *Pleasure and Danger*, New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (1991) 'The Catacombs: A Temple of the Butthole', in M. Thomson (ed.) *Leatherfolk*, Boston: Alyson.
- (1994) 'The Valley of the Kings: Leathermen in San Francisco, 1960–1990', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.
- (1997) 'Elegy for the Valley of the Kings: AIDS and the Leather Community in San Francisco, 1981–1996', in M. Levine, P. Nardi and J. Gagnon (eds) *In Changing Times: Gay Men and Lesbians Encounter HIV/AIDS*, Chicago: University of Chicago.
- (1998) 'The Miracle Mile: South of Market and Gay Male Leather in San Francisco 1962–1996', in J. Brook, C. Carlsson and N. Peters (eds) *Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture*, San Francisco, City Lights Books.
- Sabloff, J. and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (1974) *The Rise and Fall of Civilizations: Modern Archaeological Approaches to Ancient Cultures*, Menlo Park, CA: Cummings.
- 'San Francisco Gay Life Where It's At' (1977) *South of Market Special*, Number 4.
- Saroyan, W. A. (1989) 'Glory Days South of Market', *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 January, Review section: 6.
- Savran, D. (1998) *Taking It Like a Man: White Masculinity, Masochism, and Contemporary Culture*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schiller, G. C. (1986) *The Pursuit of Masculinity: A Study in Homosexual Sado-masochism*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
- Scott, M. (1959) *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- (1985) *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective*, second edition, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Shumate, A. (1988) *Rincon Hill and South Park: San Francisco's Early Fashionable Neighborhood*, Sausalito: Wingate Press.
- Simon, W. and J. Gagnon (1969) 'Homosexuality: The Formulation of a Sociological Perspective', in R. Weltge (ed.) *The Same Sex: An Appraisal of Homosexuality*, Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press.
- Simpson, M. (1994) *Male Impersonators: Men Performing Masculinity*, New York: Routledge.
- Smith, C. (1976) *Regional Analysis. Volume I: Economic Systems; Volume II: Social Systems*, New York: Academic Press.

- Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*, New York: Routledge.
- Smith, T. (1983) Letter to the editor, *Bay Area Reporter* 18 August: 8.
- Sonenschein, D. (1966) 'Homosexuality as a Subject of Anthropological Inquiry', *Anthropological Quarterly* 2: 73–82.
- Stansell, C. (1986) *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860*, New York: Knopf.
- Starkey, R. (1983) *Bay Area Reporter* 14 April: 9.
- Starr, K. (1995–1996) 'South of Market and Bunker Hill', *California History* Winter.
- Steward, S. M. (as Donald Bishop) (1964) 'Pussies in Boots: The Truth About the Leather Mania', *Amigo* 25.
- (1991) 'Dr. Kinsey Takes a Peek at S/M: A Reminiscence', in M. Thompson (ed.) *Leatherfolk*, Boston: Alyson.
- Stoller, R. J. (1991) *Pain and Passion: A Psychoanalyst Explores the World of S&M*, New York: Plenum.
- Stone, L. (1992) 'Libertine Sexuality in Post-Restoration England: Group Sex and Flagellation among the Middling Sort in Norwich in 1706–07', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2, 4: 511–26.
- Styles, J. (1979) 'Outsider/Insider: Researching Gay Baths', *Urban Life* 8, 2: 135–52.
- Taylor, W. R. (1991) *Inventing Times Square*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Thomas, J. M. (1997) *Redevelopment and Race: Planning a Finer City in Postwar Detroit*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Thompson, E. P. (1963) *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Thompson, M. (1982) 'Folsom Street', *Advocate* 8 July: 28–31, 57.
- (ed.) (1991) *Leatherfolk*, Boston: Alyson.
- Tilly, C. (1974) *An Urban World*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- (1975) *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- (1990) *Coercion, Capital, and European States: AD 990–1990*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- (1998) *Durable Inequality*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tom of Finland (1992) *Tom of Finland*, Koln: Benedikt Taschen.
- Townsend, L. (1972) *The Leatherman's Handbook*, New York: The Traveler's Companion, Olympia Press.
- Triechler, P. (1988) 'AIDS, Homophobia, and Biomedical Discourse: An Epidemic of Signification', in D. Crimp *AIDS: Cultural Analysis, Cultural Activism*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Troiden, R. (1974) 'Homosexual Encounters in a Highway Rest Stop', in Goode, Erich, and Troiden (eds) *Sexual Deviance and Sexual Deviants*, New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Truscott, C. (1990) 'San Francisco: A Reverent, Non-Linear, Necessarily Incomplete History of the S/M Scene', *Sandmutopia Guardian and Dungeon Journal* 8.
- Vance, C. S. (ed.) (1984) *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (1989) 'Social Construction Theory: Problems in the History of Sexuality', in D. Altman, C. Vance et al. (eds) *Homosexuality, Which Homosexuality?*, London: GMP Publishers.
- (1991) 'Anthropology Rediscovered Sexuality: A Theoretical Comment', *Social Science and Medicine* 33, 8: 875–84.
- Vollmer, T. (1981) 'Male Images: The Politics of Gender', unpublished Senior honors thesis, University of California.
- Walker, R. (1995) 'Landscape and City Life: Four Ecologies of Residence in the San Francisco Bay Area', *Ecumene* 2, 1: 33–64.
- (1998) 'An Appetite for the City', in Brook et al. (eds), *Reclaiming San Francisco, History, Politics, Culture*, San Francisco: City Lights Books.
- (in press) 'Industry Builds the City: Industrial Decentralization in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1850–1940', *Journal of Historical Geography*.

- Walker, R. and the Bay Area Study Group (1990) 'The Playground of U.S. Capitalism? The Political Economy of the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1980s', in M. Davis et al. (eds) *Fire in the Hearth: The Radical Politics of Place in America*, London: Verso.
- Walker, W. (1997) 'Gay Bars, Bathhouses and Restaurants in San Francisco 1930–1969', unpublished data, charts, and graphs, Gay and Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California.
- Walkowitz, J. (1992) *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Waugh, T. (1996) *Hard To Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Weatherford, J. M. (1986) *Porn Row*, New York: Arbor House.
- Weightman, B. (1980) 'Gay Bars as Private Places', *Landscape* 24, 1: 9–16.
- Weinberg, M. and C. Williams (1974) *Male Homosexuals: Their Problems and Adaptations*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- (1975) 'Gay Baths and the Social Organization of Impersonal Sex', *Social Problems* 23, 2: 124–36.
- Weinberg, M., C. Williams and C. Moser (1984) 'The Social Constituents of Sadomasochism', *Social Problems* 31, 4: 379–89.
- Weinberg, T. and G. W. Levi Kamel (1983) *S and M: Studies in Sadomasochism*, Buffalo: Prometheus Books.
- Welch, P. and B. Eppridge (photographer) (1964) 'Homosexuality in America', *Life* 26 June: 66–80.
- Weston, K. (1991) *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- (1993) 'Lesbian/Gay Studies in the House of Anthropology', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22: 339–67.
- White, L. (1990) *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Williams, F. E. (1936) *Papuans of the Trans-Fly*, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Winchester, H. P. M. and P. E. White (1988) 'The Location of Marginalized Groups in the Inner City', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6: 37–54.

Planning reports and studies

- Redevelopment Agency of the City and County of San Francisco (1952) *The Feasibility of Redevelopment South of Market Area*, 1 June.
- R/UDAT (Regional/Urban Design Assistance Team) (1984) *South of Market Analysis*. San Francisco: Urban Planning and Design Committee of the American Institute of Architects, printed by Blueprint Services.
- Port of San Francisco (1997) *Waterfront Design & Access: An Element of the Waterfront Land Use Plan*, Draft, 7 May.

Interview

Conducted by Gayle Rubin with Jim Kane and Ike Barnes 1979.

Gay guides

- (1966) *International Guild Guide*, Washington, DC: Guild Book Service.
- (1969) *Guide to the San Francisco Scene*, San Francisco: Hedonic Enterprises.
- (1969) *Barfly*, Los Angeles: Los Angeles Advocate.
- (1971) *The Timely Gay Bar Guide*, Huntington, Long Island.
- (1975) *Barfly*, Los Angeles: Advocate Publications.
- (1978) *Bob Damron's Address Book*, San Francisco: Bob Damron Enterprises.
- (1978) *The Gay Yellow Pages*, New York: Renaissance House.
- (1987) *Bob Damron's Address Book*, San Francisco: Bob Damron Enterprises.
- (1987) *The Gay Yellow Pages*, New York: Renaissance House.
- (1988) *Bob Damron's Address Book*, San Francisco: Bob Damron Enterprises.
- (1994) *Bob Damron's Address Book*, San Francisco: Bob Damron Enterprises.