

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ix
Introduction	1

PART I

MALE (HOMO)SEXUAL PRACTICES AND IDENTITIES IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

<i>Chapter 1</i> The Bowery as Haven and Spectacle	33
<i>Chapter 2</i> The Fairy as an Intermediate Sex	47
<i>Chapter 3</i> Trade, Wolves, and the Boundaries of Normal Manhood	65
<i>Chapter 4</i> The Forging of Queer Identities and the Emergence of Heterosexuality in Middle-Class Culture	99

PART II

THE MAKING OF THE GAY MALE WORLD

<i>Chapter 5</i> Urban Culture and the Policing of the "City of Bachelors"	131
<i>Chapter 6</i> Lots of Friends at the YMCA: Rooming Houses, Cafeterias, and Other Gay Social Centers	151
<i>Chapter 7</i> "Privacy Could Only Be Had in Public": Forging a Gay World in the Streets	179
<i>Chapter 8</i> The Social World of the Baths	207
<i>Chapter 9</i> Building Gay Neighborhood Enclaves: The Village and Harlem	227

PART III

THE POLITICS OF GAY CULTURE

<i>Chapter 10</i> The Double Life, Camp Culture, and the Making of a Collective Identity	271
<i>Chapter 11</i> "Pansies on Parade": Prohibition and the Spectacle of the Pansy	301
<i>Chapter 12</i> The Exclusion of Homosexuality from the Public Sphere in the 1930s	331

Epilogue: The Strange Career of the Closet	355
Note on Sources	365
Notes	373
Index	459

INDEX

- Abyssinian Baptist Church, 254–256
A'Costa, Mercedes de, 287
Addams, Eve (Eva Kotchover),
 240–241, 242–243, 323
Addison, Dick, 16–17, 21–22, 167–168
African-American culture, 10, 11, 105,
 172, 328; and bachelor subculture,
 76; bathhouse, 218; and color of
 clothing, 53; and Great Migration,
 245, 246, 256; and male prostitutes,
 72; middle class, 253–257, 260,
 263–267; newspapers in, 7, 10,
 254–263, 266; sexual classification
 in, 14; and sodomy laws, 140–141;
 wolf-punk relationships in, 91;
 working class, 248–257, 266–267;
 and World War I servicemen, 144.
See also Harlem
Age: in wolf-punk relationships, 88–96.
See also Inter-generational sex
AIDS, 9, 396*n*46
Alcoholic beverage control laws,
 19–20, 57, 66, 336–348, 351, 356,
 358–359. *See also* Prohibition
Alexander, Jeb, 101, 103, 104–105,
 105
Alhambra, 294
Allen, Robert T., 311
Allen Street, 35
American Social Hygiene Association,
 143, 147
Amsterdam News, 256, 258, 259,
 261–263, 332, 333*n*
Anal penetration, 81, 84–85, 252, 286;
 browning, 286, 396*n*50. *See also*
 Inter-generational sex
Anderson, Margaret, 232
Anderson, Nels, 90–91
Androphobia, 122
Anglophilia, 106
Anti-gay policing, 21, 25–26, 249–250,
 331–332, 337–349; and bathhouses,
 146–147, 209, 210–217, 218, 221,
 223, 323; during the Cold War, 8–9,
 358, 360; during the Depression,
 331–354, 355–358; and street
 harassment, 155, 158–159, 183,
 184–187, 195–196; during World
 War II, 125*n*, 350–351. *See also*
 Legal restrictions; Police; Social-
 purity societies
Anti-prostitution campaign, 82, 130,
 131–132, 134, 138–149, 159–163
Anti-Saloon League, 139, 143

- Anti-Semitism, 75, 105, 328
- Apartment hotels and houses, 158–159, 303
- Apartment parties, 207, 278–280, 349
- Ariston Baths, 134, 211–216, 217, 219, 222, 223, 323
- Armory Hall, 37
- Assignment hotels, 35, 42, 151, 159–163
- Astor Hotel, 7, 294, 310
- Astor Hotel bar, 201, 350–351, 361
- Atlantic City, 321
- Aunties, as term, 291
- Automats, as gay meeting places, 164–166, 174, 193, 304, 328–329
- Avenues. *See* Streets and avenues
- Avi-ram, Amitai, 264, 265
- Bachelor Apartments, 158
- Bachelor subculture, 75, 76–86, 139; causes of, 76–78, 135–136; characteristics of, 78–80; ethic of male solidarity in, 79–80; fairies' place in, 79–86; and female prostitutes, 80–86; and male-female relationships, 80–86; manliness in, 79–81, 89, 112; and rise of gay subculture, 135–137 *See also* Housing
- Baltimore Afro-American, 7, 10, 258
- Bankhead, Tallulah, 310
- Bara, Theda, 51
- Barrel House, 193, 340, 357
- Bars: hotel, 201, 350–351, 361; hustler, 192–193. *See also* Gay bars; Saloons; Speakeasies
- Bathhouses, 134, 207–225, 357; Ariston Baths, 134, 211–216, 217, 219, 222, 223, 323; Claridge's, 210; Everard, 146, 216–217, 218, 220, 223, 323; gay, 206, 211–225; Jewish ritual bath (*mikvah*), 208–209; Lafayette Baths, 146, 206, 215, 216, 217, 220–223, 323; mixed, 207, 209–211, 219, 220; Mount Morris Baths, 218; Penn Post Baths, 218; Produce Exchange Baths, 217, 221; public, 208–209; raids on, 146–147, 209, 210–217, 218, 221, 223, 323; Russian and Turkish baths, 208, 209–225; St. Marks, 218, 222; as sexual and social center, 219–223; Stauch's, 210–211
- Battery Park, as cruising area, 89–90, 142, 162, 182, 196
- Beaches, as cruising areas, 183–184
- Beard, George, 135
- Beardsley, Aubrey, 230
- Beaver, Harold, 287
- Belvedere Castle, Central Park, 182
- Benny, Jack, 357
- Benson, Susan Porter, 189
- Bentley, Gladys, 251, 252–253
- Berkman, Alexander, 88
- Berle, Milton, 345
- Berlin: gay subculture in, 12, 107, 144, 318, 377n21, 409n34. *See also* Germany
- Berlin, Irving, 155
- Berube, Allan, 9, 10, 144
- Better Angel* (Meeker), 284–285, 324
- Big Dollar, 345
- Billy's Hotel, 42, 132
- Bisexuality, 13, 65, 96; bisexual, as term, 44, 49
- Bitches' Walk, Central Park, 182, 204
- Black, Phil, 297, 361
- Black Cat, 322
- Blacker the Berry, The* (Thurman), 265
- Black Rabbit, 34, 37, 241, 323
- Blacks. *See* African-American culture
- Bleached hair, 3
- Bleecker Street, 34, 37, 155, 243
- Bloomingdale's, 190
- Blues, 250–251
- Boardinghouses, 36, 76, 164, 202, 303–304
- Bodybuilding, 114, 116, 121, 179
- Bonds, Caska, 264–265, 266
- Boston, 153, 277, 278, 320
- Bourbon, Rae, 321

- Bournet, Edouard, 311
 Bow, Clara, 234
 Bowery, 2, 4, 11, 33–45, 162, 187, 227; as center of commercialized vice, 34–37; dance halls, 33–34; fairy resorts, 33–34, 36–45, 47, 67–68, 138, 149, 162; as gay male enclave, 136; Hobohemia, 78, 91; Paresis Hall (Columbia Hall), 33, 34, 35, 42–44, 50, 55, 67–68, 69, 132, 141, 160, 322–323; as red-light district, 35, 36, 39, 40; saloons, 33–34, 54, 59; slumming and, 36–41, 44
 Boyer, Paul, 137
 Boys. *See* Children
 Brandt, Allan, 143
 Bray, Alan, 12
 Breckinridge, Sophonisba, 75–76
 Brennan, Jay, 310
 Bricktop, 246
 Brill, A. A., 123–124, 135
 Broadway: as cruising area, 146; Tenderloin, 35, 36, 138, 179, 204, 216
Broadway Brevities, 167*n*, 223, 282, 288, 300, 449*n*61, 449*n*64; and pansy craze, 304, 310, 316, 317, 321–323, 328–329
Broadway Tattler, 323
 Bronx Park, 181
 Brooklyn, 137; Childs cafeterias in, 165, 169; dance halls in, 58; Frank's Place, 293, 295; Navy Yard, 143, 145, 161–162; Prospect Park, 68–69, 69, 181–182; St. George Hotel, 151, 162
Broom (magazine), 230
 Brothels, 35, 68, 89, 190, 216; and anti-prostitution campaign, 139, 143; in Harlem, 247, 253. *See also* Prostitutes, female
 Browning, 286, 396*n*50
 Bruce, Kennilworth, 67, 324, 388–389*n*22
 Bruce, Richard, 265
 Bryant Park, 68, 165; as cruising area, 181, 183, 192, 194, 201, 333
 Budd, Arthur ("Rose"), 318
 Buffet flats, 250–251, 253
 Bugs Bunny cartoons, 325
 Bulldaggers (lesbians), 15; Harlem, 251–253, 279–280
 Bungalow, The, 241–242
 Bureau of Social Hygiene, 143
 Burlesque houses, 147, 171, 190–195, 305, 311, 313
 Burton, Frank, 279
 Businessmen's bars, 350–351
 Butler, Judith, 80
 Buttercups, 125, 315–316
Butterfly Man (Levenson), 324
 Cabarets, 352; and anti-prostitution campaign, 139; as gay meeting places, 170–173, 313
 Cadmus, Paul, 54, 64, 78
 Cafeterias, as gay meeting places, 136, 150, 164–170, 174, 193, 304, 305, 317–318, 328–329, 342–345, 349, 357
Call Her Savage (film), 234
 Camp culture, 7–8, 290–291; and cafeteria society, 164–176, 193, 317–318, 328–329, 342–345, 357; and double entendre, 17–19, 286–290, 327, 357; and gay social world, 276–280. *See also* Pansy craze
 Camp names, 40–41, 50–51, 56–57, 105, 251, 252, 266, 314, 315
Captive, The (play), 311–312, 313, 324, 325, 352, 356
 Carby, Hazel, 253
 Carpenter, Edward, 49, 107, 144, 231, 284, 285
 Carpenter, Thelma, 349–350
 Cartoons, 46, 178, 226, 322, 325, 328–329
 Casal, Mary, 36, 47
 Censorship, 8, 9, 311–313, 324–325,

- Censorship (*continued*)
 352–353, 356, 357
- Central Park, as cruising area,
 182–183, 189, 191, 196, 204, 275
- Central Park West, as cruising area,
 146, 189
- Cercle Hermaphroditis, 43
- Chain migration, 271–273
- Champion, Billy, 242
- Chanler, Bob, 297–298
- Chatham Square, 90, 162, 196, 198
- Cheney, Russell, 104, 199
- Chicago, 12, 144
- Chicago Defender*, 260
- Chicanos, wolf-punk relationships
 among, 91
- Children: ragamuffin parades,
 293–294; sex murders, 359–360;
 Society for the Prevention of Cruelty
 to Children, 138–139, 140–141. *See*
also Inter-generational sex
- Childs, William and Samuel, 164
- Childs cafeterias, 164–167, 169, 174,
 176, 182, 183, 321
- Chorzynoff, Samuel, 202
- Circuses, 37
- City Club, 160
- City Hall Park, 196
- City Vigilance League, 33, 141
- Claridge's baths, 210
- Clark, Bonnie, 263
- Class. *See* Middle-class culture;
 Working-class culture
- Classification. *See* Sexual terminology
- Closet, metaphor of, 6–7, 358. *See also*
 Coming out
- Clothing: color of, 52–53; of fairies,
 37, 40, 42, 44, 51–54, 68–69, 92,
 94–95; of queers, 3, 52, 54, 64, 105,
 106, 108, 187–188, 350–351; red
 ties, 3, 52, 54, 64. *See also*
 Transvestites
- Club 181, 320*n*, 352
- Club Abbey, 315, 316, 320, 324,
 327–328, 331, 334
- Club Calais, 332
- Club Richman, 352
- Cocksuckers, as term, 85
- Cock Suckers Hall (Sharon Hotel), 42
- Coffee Cliff, 319–320
- Cold War: anti-gay policing during,
 8–9, 358, 360; and censorship of
 inquiry into gay culture, 9
- Color, of clothing, 52–53
- Columbia Hall. *See* Paresis Hall
- Columbus Circle Childs, 166, 176,
 182, 183, 321
- Coming out, 8*n*, 168; concept of, 7,
 286; and drag balls, 7–8; and World
 War II, 10–12
- Coming out flaming, 102
- Committee for the Study of Sex
 Variants, 339*n*, 360
- Committee of Fifteen, 134, 160; estab-
 lishment of, 131–132, 143
- Committee of Fourteen, 138, 141,
 165*n*, 337; and bathhouses, 210;
 decline of, 346–347; establishment
 of, 132, 160; and Greenwich Village
 vice, 236, 240; in Harlem, 247, 248;
 and homosexual activity, 145–149,
 170–172, 176; and prostitution,
 130, 139, 141, 143, 160–162; and
 Times Square area, 306, 307
- Comstock, Anthony, 37, 138, 146,
 230–231
- Condoms, 85–86, 396*n*46
- Coney Island, 35, 59, 68; bathhouses
 of, 210–211, 220; as cruising area,
 183; and male beauty contests, 184,
 324
- Cory, Donald Webster, 188
- Cott, Nancy, 118
- Cotton Club, 247, 252, 321
- Coward, Noël, 288, 357
- Cowley, Malcolm, 229, 230, 231
- Cruising, 18*n*, 142, 146, 180–184, 202;
 arrests for, 9; as term, 180, 286. *See*
also Parks and specific parks
- Cullen, Countee, 264, 265, 284
- Cult of muscularity, 114, 116, 121,
 179

- Curtin, Kaier, 313, 357
 Cyrano Restaurant, 19
- Daily Mirror*, 94, 315, 316, 317
Daily News, 54, 315, 316
- Dance halls: Bowery, 33–34; Brooklyn, 58; Lower East Side, 40–41, 43; same-sex dancing, 168–169, 173, 173*n*, 234, 248, 279–280, 295–296. *See also* Drag (transvestite) balls and specific dance halls
- Daniels, Jimmie, 252, 266
 Davis, Bette, 288
 Degeneracy, 15, 170–173, 185–186, 213, 216, 337–346
 Dell, Floyd, 231, 236
 D'Emilio, John, 9, 10, 360
 Demuth, Charles, 78, 206, 217, 232
 Depression, 9, 11, 192, 359; anti-gay backlash during, 331–354, 355–358; Automats in, 164–166; and Times Square, 305, 306, 313
Design for Living (Coward), 357
 Dickerman, Don, 233
 Dill, Augustus Granville, 198
 D'Orsay, 320
 Double entendre, 17–19, 286–291, 327, 357
 Double lives, 6–7, 24, 273–280; of fairies, 44, 50–51, 54, 58; and gay social world, 3*n*, 276–280; need for, 133–135; and work, 134–135, 274–276
Drag, The (play), 311, 312–313, 352, 356, 357
 Drag (transvestite) balls, *xii*, 2, 4, 8, 25, 102, 130, 291–299, 301; and anti-gay backlash, 332–334; and coming out, 7–8; Hamilton Lodge Ball, 130, 227–228, 245, 252, 257–264, 266, 294, 295, 296, 332–333; Liberal Club, 235–237, 244–245, 292; Walhalla Hall, 40–41, 293; Webster Hall, 235–237, 293, 295–296
 Drag queens, *xii*, 4, 51, 290, 330, 333. *See also* Drag (transvestite) balls; Fairies; Female impersonators; Pansy craze
- Draper, Muriel, 297
 Du Bois, W. E. B., 139, 198, 264, 265
 Du Bois, Yolanda, 265
 Dunbar-Nelson, Alice, 293–294
 Durante, Jimmy, 35, 59
- Eastman, Max, 303
 Edwards, Bobby, 240–242, 295–296
 Effeminacy, 23, 102–106, 115–116, 125, 277; and gay bars, 339*n*, 344. *See also* Fairies
- Elizabeth Street, 37, 68, 72–73
 Ellis, Havelock, 104, 124, 283, 285
 Employment. *See* Work
 England, 12, 145, 188
 Enrico's, 146
 Erenberg, Lewis, 308, 337
 Everard, James, 216
 Everard baths, 146, 216–217, 218, 220, 223, 323
 Everglades, 247, 310, 318, 320
 Ewing, Max, 188, 258
 Exhibition, and gay male bathhouses. *See also* Gay male subculture, spectacle of
- Exhibitionism, and gay bathhouses, 212–213, 218
 Eye contact, in cruising, 188–189
- Faderman, Lillian, 9
 Faggots Ball. *See* Hamilton Lodge Ball
 Fags/faggots, 66–67, 274; flaming, 15–17, 18, 104, 106, 257; Harlem, 228, 253, 257–264; pride of, 6; in prisons, 6, 92–95; as term, 15–17, 18, 20, 101
- Fairies, 32, 385*n*2; and bachelor subculture, 79–86; in Bowery resorts, 33–34, 36–45, 47, 68, 138, 149, 162; carriage, demeanor, and speech of, 54, 55–56, 187; clothing of, 37,

Fairies (*continued*)

- 40, 42, 44, 51–54, 68–69, 92, 94–95; compared with female prostitutes and tough girls, 50–51, 61, 80–86; as cultural type, 106; double lives of, 44, 50–51, 54, 58; and gender inversion, 13, 15–16, 20–23, 47–63; “husbands” of, 86–96, 291; identification of men as, 47–48, 102–103, 125–126, 282; and jockers, 88–96; and male beauty contests, 184, 324; and male prostitution, 66–76, 191, 192; as members of third (intermediate) sex, 48, 49, 57, 121, 122–123, 125; middle-class attitude toward, 44, 45, 51–59, 99–111, 115–116; as model of female “inner nature” of men, 49–50, 55–57, 99–100, 104; and the new journalism, 37–40, 41, 94–95; as pejorative category, 115–116; personal grooming of, 37, 40, 42, 50, 54–55, 58, 62, 64, 68–69, 92, 94–95; in prisons, 92–95; as pseudo-women, 56–58, 60–61, 103; queers versus, 100, 101–107; relationships with “normal” men, 50, 61–62, 100, 122–123, 147–148; and sailors, 54, 64, 82–83, 143, 145; as term, 13–24, 27, 67, 101; violence toward, 59–60; and wolves, 88–96; and women’s names, 40–41, 50–51, 56–57, 105, 251, 252, 266, 314, 315. *See also* Drag queens; Female impersonators; Gay male subculture, spectacle of; Pansy craze; Sexual terminology; Tactics, of gay men; Transvestites
- Fairy resorts, 115; Bowery, 33–34, 36–45, 47, 68, 138, 149, 162; in Harlem, 250; Hotel Koenig, 170–173, 174, 176, 186, 356; Lower East Side, 68, 138; Paresis Hall (Columbia Hall), 33, 34, 35, 42–44, 50, 55, 68, 69, 132, 141, 160, 323
- Fellation, 52, 71, 85, 95, 119, 390ⁿ48; as perversion, 61, 85
- Female impersonators, 47, 239, 250, 251–252, 256, 290. *See also* Drag queens; Fairies; Pansy craze; Transvestites
- Fifth Avenue, as cruising area, 146, 166, 180ⁿ, 189
- Fifth Avenue Bar, 342–343, 344–345
- Films. *See* Movies
- Finch, Will, 17, 18–19, 84ⁿ, 211, 338
- Fishbein, Leslie, 230
- Flaming faggots, 15–17, 18, 104, 106, 257
- The Fleet’s In* (painting), 54, 64
- Flint, Austin, 98
- Flower Pot, The, 237
- Ford, Charles Henri, 181, 191ⁿ
- Forel, Auguste, 231, 285
- Fort Valley Industrial School, 260, 264
- Forty-second Street, 18ⁿ, 68, 97, 191–195, 306; Bryant Park, 68, 165, 181, 183, 192, 194, 201, 333; as cruising area, 333; movie and burlesque theaters, 194–195; Times Square Building, 66, 70, 97, 120. *See also* Times Square
- Foucault, Michel, 27, 126
- Fourteenth Street. *See* Rialto (Fourteenth Street)
- France, sexual mores of, 12, 144, 145, 148. *See also* Paris
- Frank’s Place, 293, 295
- Free love, in Greenwich Village, 233, 234, 236
- French Ball, 292
- French Madam’s, 216
- Freud, Sigmund, 123–124
- Fruited Plain, Central Park, 182, 204
- Fullhouse Restaurant, 241
- Fulton Bar, 344
- Furnished-room districts, 136, 152–154, 229, 303

- Gang rapes, 60, 84
- Gangs: Italian, 76; sanctions on gay street behavior, 186–187
- Garber, Eric, 247, 250, 252, 264
- Garbo, Greta, 263, 287, 288
- Garland, Judy, 288, 351, 361
- Garvey, Marcus, 246
- Gay, as term, 14–21, 24, 25, 286, 358
- Gay bars, 11, 18, 275, 359; hustler bars, 192–193; legal restrictions on, 19–20, 25, 57, 337–349, 358–359; and lesbians, 344, 346, 347
- Gay folklore, 280–286
- Gay liberation movement, 2, 3, 20, 22, 360
- Gay male subculture, 10, 17; advocacy groups of, 5, 360; bathhouses, 206, 211–225; components of, 2–3, 4–5; gay folklore in, 280–286; historical tradition, 283–286; history of, study of, 9–10, 27–28; and integration into mainstream culture, 3–4; and myth of isolation, 2–3, 47; relationship between dominant culture and, 25; strength of, 5–6; and urbanization process, 132–136; World War II impact on, 10–12, 144. *See also* Drag (transvestite) balls; Fags/faggots; Fairies; Pansy craze; Queers; Tactics, of gay men; Sexual terminology
- Gay male subculture, spectacle of: and bathhouse raids, 212–215; at beaches, 183–184; cafeterias in, 166–170; and male acceptance of fairies, 80–81; and new journalism, 37–40, 41, 94–95; in raid on New York City Jail, 93–95. *See also* Drag (transvestite) balls; Pansy craze; Slumming; Transvestites
- Gender inversion, 15, 27–28, 116; centrality to fairies, 13, 15–16, 20–23, 47–63; and concept of third (intermediate) sex, 48–49, 57, 71; homosexuality versus, 13, 22–23, 26–28, 48–49, 71, 124–126, 345–346; and lesbians, 27–28, 49, 124; medical treatises on, 5–6, 48–49, 98, 121–126, 132, 135, 281–282. *See also* Fairies; Transvestites
- Gerber, Henry, 144–145, 282
- Germany: homosexual emancipation movement in, 107, 144, 145, 231; immigrants from, 53, 137 *See also* Berlin
- Gerry, Eldridge, 138
- Gershwin, Ira, 221, 221ⁿ
- Gide, André, 107, 285
- Gilfoyle, Timothy, 140
- Gloria's, 337–339, 340, 342, 344
- Goffman, Erving, 80
- Going Somewhere* (Ewing), 189
- Gold, Mike, 35
- Golden Rule Pleasure Club, 68
- Goldie* (Bruce), 67, 324, 388–389ⁿ²²
- Goldman, Emma, 231
- Goodkin, Martin, 201, 223
- Gordon, Linda, 138–139
- Gordon, Taylor, 258
- Gorn, Elliot, 114
- Grant, Cary, 18
- Grant's Tomb, 182
- Great Depression. *See* Depression
- Great Migration, 245, 246, 256
- Green Bay Tree, The* (Sharp), 357
- Greenwich Village, 2, 4, 57, 142, 227, 228–244; cafeterias in, 166–170, 174, 183, 277; drag balls in, 235–237, 310, 317–318; and free love, 233, 234, 236; gay and lesbian personality clubs in, 237–244, 314; gay subculture in, 10, 20, 136, 226, 229–244, 302, 310, 325–327; housing in, 228, 229, 232–233; as lesbian enclave, 228, 229–230, 232, 234, 235, 237–242; newspapers, 242–243, 323; pansy craze in, 314–315; police crackdowns in, 238, 239–241; in Prohibition, 233–234, 310; restaurants in, 237–240, 241; slumming in, 233–234, 236, 314; speakeasies, 233, 237–238, 240, 241–242, 315,

- Greenwich Village (*continued*)
 338; tearrooms in, 233, 237–238,
 240; World War I and changes in,
 232–235, 310
- Greenwich Village: A Local Review*,
 242
- Greenwich Village Quill*, 240, 242
- Greenwich Villager*, 242
- Greenwich Village Weekly News*,
 242–243, 323
- Griffes, Charles Tomlinson, 107–110,
 112, 118, 144, 162, 175, 217,
 220–223, 224
- Gross, Alfred, 21
- Guinan, Texas, 308
- Hall, Radclyffe, 324
- Hamilton Lodge Ball, 130, 227–228,
 245, 252, 257–264, 266, 294, 295,
 296, 332–334
- Happy Hour Bar & Grill, 70, 97
- Harlem, *xii*, 2, 4, 15, 187, 227–228,
 244–267; black migration to,
 245–246; brothels, 247, 253, 254;
 class and cultural divisions in, 198,
 253–257, 263–267; clubs, 246–249,
 252–253, 309–310, 318–319, 320,
 321; as cruising area, 189; as gay
 enclave, 15, 136, 244–245,
 247–253, 279–280; Hamilton Lodge
 Ball, 130, 227–228, 245, 252,
 257–264, 266, 294, 295, 332–334;
 and Harlem Renaissance, 227, 232,
 246, 264–266, 284; housing in, 245,
 247–248, 250–251, 253; as lesbian
 enclave, 136, 247–248, 251–253,
 279–280; Manhattan Casino
 (Rockland Palace), 7, 259, 260, 270,
 294; Mount Morris Baths, 218;
 newspapers, 261–263; pansy craze
 in, 309–310; slumming in, 246–247,
 248, 310; speakeasies in, 56–57,
 244, 246, 247, 248, 250; violence
 toward fairies in, 59–60. *See also*
 African-American culture
- Harlem Renaissance, 227, 232, 246,
 264–266, 284
- Harlow, Jean, 263
- Harris, James, 260
- Hartley, Marsden, 232
- Harvey, Terence, 185
- Harwood, Gene, 271–272, 280
- Haymarket, 216
- Heap, Jane, 232
- Hearst, David, 275
- Hearst, William Randolph, 39, 312,
 313
- Hellinger, Mark, 315
- Hell's Kitchen, 159, 191, 202, 203,
 303–304, 333
- He-men, 125
- Henry, George, 278–279, 281, 339*n*,
 360
- Herald Square, 187, 189, 190
- Hermaphrodites, 37, 49, 121, 123
- Hermitage Hotel, 158
- Heterodoxy, 231–232
- Heterosexuality: concept of, absence of,
 12–13, 100, 120, 125; emergence of,
 in middle-class culture, 111–126;
 homo-heterosexual binarism, 12–16,
 20, 22, 26–27, 48, 71, 96–97, 100,
 119–121, 124–126, 358, 359
- Higham, John, 114–115
- Hirschfeld, Magnus, 49, 107, 144, 190,
 231
- Historical imagination, 283–286
- Hitchcock, Alfred, 357
- Hoboes: and bachelor subculture, 75,
 76–86; wolf-punk relationships
 among, 88, 90–91
- Hobohemia, 78, 91
- Holladay, Paula, 238
- Hollywood, 321, 353, 356
- Holt, Nora, 258
- Home to Harlem* (McKay), 265
- Homosexuality, 7, 65; bohemian opin-
 ions of, 230–232; concept of,
 absence of, 12–13, 100, 120, 125;
 gender inversion versus, 13, 22–23,
 26–28, 48–49, 71, 124–126,

- 345–346; homo-heterosexual binarism, 12–16, 20, 22, 26–27, 48, 71, 96–97, 100, 119–121, 124–126, 358, 359; as term, 101. *See also* Gay male subculture; Lesbians; Sexual terminology and specific categories
- Horn & Hardart, 164–165. *See also* Automats, as gay meeting places
- Horowitz, Morris, 340–341
- Horticultural gents or lads, 15, 249, 315. *See also* Pansy craze
- Hotel bars, 201, 350–351, 361
- Hotel Koenig, 170–173, 174, 176, 186, 356
- Hotel Longacre, 162
- Hotels: Bowery, 35; and Prohibition, 335; Raines Law, 160–161, 305; Times Square, 305. *See also* Housing and specific hotels
- Hotel Shelton, 162
- Housing, 136, 151–163; apartment hotels and houses, 158–159, 303; assignation hotels, 35, 42, 151, 159–163; boardinghouses, 36, 76, 164, 202, 303–304; buffet flats, 250–251, 253; furnished-room districts, 136, 152–154, 229, 303; Greenwich Village, 228, 229, 232–233; in Harlem, 245, 247–248, 250–251, 253; railroad flats, 151–152, 159; residential hotels, 138, 151, 154–158, 303–304; rooming houses, 76, 136, 151, 152–154, 164, 202, 303; tenement, 140, 152, 159, 202, 208, 303; in Times Square area, 303–304, 445–446*n*14
- Howard, William Lee, 48–49, 122
- Howdy Club, 352
- Howells, William Dean, 293
- Hubert's Museum, 306
- Hughes, Langston, 264, 310
- Humphreys, Laud, 197
- Hunter, Alberta, 251
- Husbands, of fairies, 86–96, 291
- Hustlers: in bathhouses, 220; as term, 19; Times Square, 191–193
- Immigration: to cities, 135–136, 245, 246, 256, 271–273; exclusionary laws, 328; and homosexuality, 10, 11, 132*n*; patterns of, 75; and Prohibition, 307; and sex ratios, 78; and sexual classification, 13, 14; trends in, 137. *See also* specific immigrant groups
- Infants of the Spring* (Thurman), 265
- Inter-generational sex, 43, 84–85, 88–96, 140–141
- Intermediate sex. *See* Third (intermediate) sex
- Internalization, myth of, 4–6
- Inter-State Tattler*, 256–257, 258, 263
- In the life, as term, 15, 251
- Inversion. *See* Gender inversion
- Invisibility, myth of, 3–4, 47
- Ioläus* (Carpenter), 284
- Irish immigrants, 10, 137, 172; and bachelor subculture, 76–86; and color of clothing, 53; and male prostitutes, 72; relationships with queers, 108–110; and violence toward fairies, 59–60
- Isolation, myth of, 2–3, 47
- Italian immigrants, 10, 137, 228; and all-male social world, 75–76; and bachelor subculture, 75, 76–86; and color of clothing, 53; double lives of, 54, 58, 81; and male prostitutes, 72–76; and violence toward fairies, 59–60
- Jackman, Harold, 266
- Jack's Restaurant, 174–175
- Jazz, 327, 328
- Jewel Restaurant, 175, 304
- Jewish immigrants, 105, 137, 202; anti-Semitism, 75, 105, 328; cruising by, 181; and Jewish ritual bath (*mikvah*), 208–209; and male prostitutes, 72, 73–75
- Judge, Dolly, 237, 238–239
- Julian's, 241

- Julius', 233
- Jumbo, 34, 161
- Jungle, 238, 241
- Karlinsky, Simon, 285
- Katz, Jonathan, 9, 100
- Kinsey, Alfred, 70–72, 74, 110, 118, 119
- Kinship system, gay, 290–291. *See also* Marriage
- Koenig, George, 170–171
- Kotchover, Eva (Eve Addams), 240–241, 242–243, 323
- Krafft-Ebing, Richard von, 283, 311
- Lady lovers. *See* Lesbians
- Lafayette Baths, 146, 206, 215, 216, 217, 220–223, 323
- La Guardia, Fiorello, 92–93, 182, 183, 333
- Lait, Jack, 20
- La Marr, Jean, 263
- Laurel and Hardy, 325
- Law, Jackie, 239
- Lears, Jackson, 111
- Leaves of Grass* (Whitman), 105, 285
- Left Bank, 241–242
- Legal restrictions, 2, 4–5; on alcoholic beverages, 19–20, 57, 66, 336–348, 351, 356, 358–359; and anti-vice societies, 15; censorship, 8, 9, 311–313, 324–325, 352–353, 356; during the Cold War, 8–9; on degenerate disorderly conduct, 72, 170–173, 185–186, 213, 216, 337–346; on gay assembly, 170, 173–176, 347, 351, 354; on gay bars, 19–20, 25, 57, 337–349, 358–359; on male prostitution, 172–173; on public obscenity, 313; on sodomy, 134, 140–141, 185, 195, 302*n*, 407*n*23; on transvestitism, 43, 51, 239–240. *See also* Police
- Legman, Gershon, 8*n*, 14, 52
- Lesbians, 175, 360; advocacy groups of, 5; bulldaggers, 15, 251–253, 279–280; and disorderly conduct, 173*n*; enclaves of, 136, 228; and gay bars, 344, 346, 347; and gender inversion, 27–28, 49, 124; in Greenwich Village, 227–230, 231–232, 234, 235, 237–242; in Harlem, 136, 247–248, 251–253, 279–280; history of, study of, 9–10, 27–28; in literature and film, 324, 325; as members of third sex, 49, 122; and nightclubs, 349–350; pseudo-, 235; and spectacularization, 168–169; and World War II, 10–11. *See also* Women
- Levenson, Lew, 324
- Lewis, David Levering, 264
- Lexow Commission, 292
- Leznoff, Maurice, 135*n*
- Liberace, 350, 357
- Liberal Club ball, 235–237, 244–245, 292
- Lichtenstein, Perry, 123, 125
- Life Cafeteria, 166–168, 174, 183, 277
- Liggett's, 170, 192
- Lightbody, Cyril, 249
- Lillie, Beatrice, 288, 310, 351
- Lincoln, Abraham, 120
- Line-ups, 84–85
- Literature, gay and lesbian, 6, 8, 9–10, 241–243, 283–286, 324–325
- Little Beethoven Assembly Hall, 293
- Little Bucks, 34
- Little Review*, 232
- Live sex shows, 37, 250
- Locke, Alain, 264, 265, 284
- London, 12, 188
- Loop-the-loop, 68–69, 84, 87, 96
- Lorenzo, Vito, 72–73
- Los Angeles, 12
- Louis' Luncheon, 241
- Louis' Restaurant, 175–176, 304, 321
- Love in the Machine Age* (Dell), 231
- Love's Coming of Age* (Carpenter), 231, 285

- Lower East Side, 202; cabarets, 170; dance halls, 40–41, 43; fairy resorts, 67–68, 138; and female prostitution, 35, 68, 72–73; homosexual behavior, 72–76; Italian neighborhoods of, 76; saloons, 41–45; social clubs in, 43. *See also* Bowery
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge, 232
- Lynch, Michael, 140
- Lynde, Paul, 350, 357
- Mabley, Jackie, 252
- McCarthy, Frank, 277–278
- McCarthy, Joseph, 8
- MacCormick, Austin H., 93–94
- MacDougal Street, 142, 240–244, 324, 431–432*n*32
- Macfadden, Bernarr, 116, 179, 204, 323–324
- McGlory, Billy, 37
- McGree, Grant, 156
- McKay, Claude, 264, 265
- Macy's, 275
- Madison Square Garden, 7, 294, 310, 333, 338
- Male beauty contests, 184, 324
- Male-female relationships: and fairies, 80–86; and family values, 75–76, 83–84
- Male prostitutes. *See* Prostitutes, male
- Malin, Gene (Jean), 239, 314–318, 320–321, 322, 324, 327–328, 329, 331, 334, 338
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, 284
- Manchester, Eddie, 264, 266
- Manhattan Casino (Rockland Palace), 270, 294
- Manilla Hall, 34, 35
- Mann, Horace, 237, 297
- Mann, Thomas, 285
- Mariano, John, 76
- Marine Bar & Grill, 193
- Marriage, 136*n*; companionate, 117; and gay bathhouses, 220–221; homosexual, 68–69, 86–96, 232, 251, 291; lesbian, 232, 251; and nonmarital sexual behavior, 119
- Marsden, Charles, 232
- Marshall's Hotel, 139
- Masculinity, 358; and bohemianism, 229, 230; and cult of muscularity, 114, 116, 121, 179; in middle-class culture, 111–126; in working-class bachelor subculture, 79–81, 89, 112
- Mason, Jack (Jackie), 237, 297, 314, 315, 322, 338
- Masquerade balls. *See* Drag (transvestite) balls
- The Masses* (magazine), 230–231
- Masturbation, 84–85
- Matthiessen, F. O., 104, 199
- Maye, Jackie, 318
- Medical discourse, 5–6, 48–49, 98, 121–126, 132, 135, 188, 281–282
- Meeker, Richard, 284–285, 324
- Melville, Herman, 284
- Men's Residence Club, 156–157, 303
- Mentors, gay, 277–278
- Mercer, Mabel, 349–350
- Mero, Bruhs, 271, 280
- Metropolitan Opera, 351
- Meyerowitz, Joanne, 202–203, 303
- Middle-class culture, 10, 99–127; attitude toward fairies, 44, 45, 51–59, 99–111, 115–116; attitude toward queers, 106–111; attitude toward working-class culture, 36–41, 44, 57–59; black, 253–257, 260, 263–267; and bourgeois ideology, 35–36, 106–107; and class hostilities, 36–41, 44, 60; emergence of masculine heterosexuality in, 111–126; and housing, 36, 158–159; and Prohibition, 307–308, 327; sexual classification in, 14; and speakeasies, 307–308; street culture, middle versus working class, 179–204. *See also* Slumming
- Migration: to cities, 135–136, 245, 246, 256, 271–273; Great Migration,

- Migration (*continued*)
 245, 246, 256. *See also* Immigration
and specific immigrant groups
- Milk, Harvey, 183
- Mills, Darius O., 154
- Mills Houses, 154–155
- Minnelli, Vincente, 357
- Modernity* (play), 241
- Modern Thinker, The* (magazine), 145,
 282
- Molly houses, 12
- Moore, Clinton, 264, 266
- Morgan, Helen, Jr., 308, 315, 316, 324
- Mortimer, Lee, 20
- Mother Childs (cafeteria), 166, 176,
 182, 183, 321
- Mount Morris Baths, 218
- Mount Morris Park, as cruising area,
 196
- Movies, 8; censorship of, 325, 353,
 356, 357; Greenwich Village gay
 scene in, 234–235; as meeting
 places, 194–195; and pansy craze,
 325
- Mulrooney, Edward, 332, 334
- Murray's, 306
- Myths of gay life, 2–6; internalization,
 4–6; invisibility, 3–4, 47; isolation,
 2–3, 47
- Nance, 125, 182, 183; as term, 15
- Nathan, George Jean, 311
- National Committee for Mental
 Hygiene, 147
- Nesbitt, Charles, 40–41, 59
- Nestle, Joan, 9
- New Deal, 354
- New Negro era, 310
- Newport, Rhode Island, 145, 155
- Newspapers: African-American, 7,
 10, 254–263, 266; coded classified
 ads in, 288; Greenwich Village,
 242–243, 323; and pansy craze,
 304, 310, 315–324, 329,
 332–334; and spectacularization,
 37–40, 41, 94–95. *See also specific
 newspapers*
- New Star Casino, 294, 332–334
- Newton, Esther, 290
- New York Age*, 254, 258, 259, 261
- New York Association for the
 Improvement of the Condition of
 the Poor, 208
- New York City Jail, 189; study of
 inmates in, 152, 201, 272–273;
 wolf-punk relationships in, 91–96,
 123. *See also* Prisons
- New York Evening-Graphic*, 323–324,
 329
- New York Herald*, 37–40, 41, 288
- New York Herald Tribune*, 292–293;
 and raid on New York City Jail,
 93–95
- New York Public Library, 181, 201,
 275
- New York Sun*, 213
- New York Times*, 10, 135–136, 288
- Nickelodeons, 194
- Nigger Heaven* (Van Vechten), 246
- Nightclubs, 349–350, 352, 357
- Niles, Blair, 285, 321, 324
- Normal (straight) men, 120–121;
 fairies passing as, 7, 103; and homo-
 sexual marriage, 86–96; and Lower
 East Side saloons, 42–45; and male
 prostitution, 66–76; relationships
 with fairies, 50, 61–62, 100,
 122–123, 147–148; relationships
 with queers, 100, 107–108; and tea-
 room trade, 200; as term, 13–16,
 19–22, 24–25, 26; wolves versus,
 95–96
- Norman, Karyl, 319, 321
- Nucleus Club, 280
- Nudity: of body builders, 114, 116. *See
 also* Bathhouses
- Nugent, Bruce, 251–252, 264, 265
- O'Neill, Eugene, 232
- Oral sex, 61. *See also* Fellation

- Orsi, Robert, 76
 Osborne, Thomas Mott, 95
- Padlock Law, 312, 313, 352, 356, 357
 Painter, Thomas, 52, 188, 210–211, 220
 Palace, 288
 Palm Club, 34
 Pansy, 48, 53, 125; as term, 15. *See also* Fairies; Pansy craze
 Pansy Club, 318–319, 321, 332
 Pansy craze, 239, 257–258, 301, 314–321, 352, 356; backlash to, 331–334, 353; in Harlem, 309–310; and the media, 321–329; origins of, 309–313; rise of, 314–315; in Times Square, 301, 315–321, 332–333
 Paresis Hall (Columbia Hall), 33, 34, 35, 42–44, 50, 55, 67–68, 69, 132, 141, 160, 322–323
 Paris, gay subculture in, 12, 144, 318, 377n21, 409n34
 Parisex, 282
 Park, Robert, 134
 Parker, Jay, 91
 Parker, Richard, 126
 Parkhurst, Charles, 33, 68, 138, 160
 Parks: Battery Park, 89–90, 142, 162, 182, 196; Bryant Park, 68, 165, 181, 183, 192, 194, 201, 333; Central Park, 182–183, 189, 191, 196, 204, 275; as gay social centers, 180, 181–183, 196; Mount Morris, 196; and Progressive Era reforms, 203–204; Prospect Park, 68–69, 181–182; Riverside Park, 142, 182, 196; Union Square, 141, 142, 162, 185, 189, 190
 Passing, 7, 103, 273–280
 Paul and Joe's, 239–240, 315
 Peel, Mark, 303
 Peiss, Kathy, 139, 202–203
 Penn Post Baths, 218
 Pennsylvania Railroad, and tearoom trade, 198
 Perry, Edward G., 266
 Perverts, as term, 14–15, 122–123, 147
Physical Culture, 116
 Pink Elephant, 193, 357
 Pirate's Den, 233, 237
 Plato, 285
 Plaza Hotel, 350
 Police: and anti-gay raids, 249–250, 331–332, 337–349; and cruising areas, 183, 184–185, 186; and drag balls, 294–296; in Greenwich Village, 238, 239–241; in Harlem, 253, 254–257; and hustler scene, 193; patrolling of parks by, 195–196; raids on bathhouses, 146–149, 209, 210–217, 218, 221, 223, 323; raids on private parties, 280; relationships with queers, 108–110; and tearoom trade, 197–198, 199, 264–266; and urban reform efforts, 138–149. *See also* Legal restrictions
 Polly's Restaurant, 238–239
 Porter, Cole, 288, 352–353, 357
 Powell, Adam Clayton, 254–256
 Princess Toto, 40–41
 Prisons: homosexual segregation in, 92–95, 123, 125; wolf-punk relationships in, 88, 91–96. *See also* New York City Jail
 Privacy: and apartment houses and hotels, 151–152, 158–159; and roominghouses, 153–154; in streets and parks, 195–196, 201–203; and tearoom trade, 195–201; at YMCAs, 156–158. *See also* Parks; Public spaces; Streets and avenues
 Prizefighters, 113–114
 Produce Exchange Baths, 217, 221
 Production Code Administration, 353
 Prohibition, 9, 117, 143, 148; in Greenwich Village, 233–234, 310; impact of, 8–9, 164, 304–321, 327–328, 335–336; and pansy craze, 301, 309–329; repeal of, 173, 193, 207, 334–337, 347–348, 356;

- Prohibition (*continued*)
 in Times Square, 306–309. *See also* Speakeasies
- Prospect Park, as cruising area, 68–69, 181–182
- Prostitutes, female, 17, 35, 125*n*, 139, 140; anti-prostitution campaign, 82, 130, 131–132, 134, 138–141, 143, 147, 159–163; and bachelor subculture, 80–86; fairies compared with, 50–51, 61, 80–86; in Harlem, 247, 253, 254; and line-ups, 84–85; Lower East Side, 35, 68, 72–73; and Raines Law (1896), 160–162, 305; and sailors, 64, 66–67, 161–162; streetwalkers, 36, 160; in theaters, 194; Times Square, 305, 307; and venereal disease, 85–86, 125*n*, 142, 143
- Prostitutes, male, 18*n*, 66–76; and anti-gay campaign, 147–149; anti-prostitution campaign, 141–149, 159–163; and bathhouses, 220; fairy prostitutes, 66–76, 191, 192; hustlers, 19, 191–193, 220; in Italian neighborhoods, 72–76; in Jewish neighborhoods, 72, 73–75; legal restrictions on, 172–173; and line-ups, 84; Lower East Side, 33, 40, 42, 50; police surveillance of, 185–186; punks as, 89–90
- Proust, Marcel, 49, 285
- Pseudo-lesbians, 235
- Psychology of Sex* (Ellis), 285
- Public spaces, 195–201; and heterosexual couples, 195–196, 201–203; public-private, contested boundaries of, 34–36, 138–149, 201–204; washrooms, 83, 146, 185, 195–201, 264–266. *See also* Parks; Privacy; Slumming; Streets and avenues
- Puerto Ricans, 53, 141
- Pulitzer, Joseph, 39
- Punks: in prison, 88; sexual character of, 88; as term, 88, 396*n*50; in wolf-punk relationships, 88–96
- Pussy-foot, 114
- Queens, as term, 16, 101
- Queers, 101–111; double lives of, 273–280; dress and demeanor of, 3, 52, 54, 64, 105, 106, 108, 187–188, 350–351; fairies versus, 100, 101–107; in Greenwich Village, 243–244; in middle-class culture, 106–111; as term, 13–22, 24–25, 101, 125; in working-class culture, 106–111. *See also* Gay male subculture; Sexual terminology; Tactics, of gay men
- Ragamuffin parades, 293–294
- Railroad flats, 151–152, 159
- Rainbow Room, 349
- Raines Law (1896), 160–162, 305
- Rainey, Ma, 251
- RCA Building, eighth-floor restroom, 197*n*, 201
- Real man, as term, 16
- Reckless, Walter, 132
- Red Mask, 237
- Red ties, 3, 52, 54, 64
- Reimonenq, Alden, 264, 265
- Religious communities, 354–356
- Remembrance of Things Past* (Proust), 49
- Renault, Francis, 318, 321
- Residential hotels, 138, 151, 154–158, 303–304
- Restaurants: as gay meeting places, 11, 19, 146, 150, 163–164, 165, 166, 174–176, 238–240, 349; in Greenwich Village, 237–240, 242; Times Square, 304, 305
- Retail shopping districts, as cruising areas, 189–190
- Rey, Michel, 12
- Rialto (Fourteenth Street), 33–35, 52,

- 68, 79; and emergence of gay subculture, 142, 190–191; and female prostitution, 35. *See also* Union Square
- Richman, Harry, 54, 308
- Riis Beach, as cruising area, 184
- Ritz Review, The*, 311
- Riverside Drive, as cruising area, 52, 68, 146, 178, 181, 187, 189, 322
- Riverside Park, 142, 182, 196
- Rivington Street, 155
- Robinson, William J., 281–282, 285
- Rockefeller Center, 197*n*, 201, 275, 349
- Rockland Palace (Manhattan Casino), 7, 259, 260, 270, 294
- Roditi, Edouard, 244
- Rooming houses, 76, 136, 151, 152–154, 164, 202, 303
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 336
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 113
- Rope* (film), 357
- Rosenberg, Charles, 121
- Rotundo, Anthony, 111, 115, 120
- Rough sports, 113–114, 116
- Round Table, 168–169
- Rubaiyat, 314–315
- Russell, Lillian, 223
- Russell Sage Foundation, 203
- Sadomasochism, 220
- Sailors: and bachelor subculture, 76–86; and fairies, 54, 64, 82–83, 143, 145; as gay icon, 54, 64, 78, 113; and prostitutes, 64, 66–67, 161–162; wolf-punk relationships among, 88, 89–90, 91*n*
- St. George Hotel, 151, 162
- St. Marks bath, 218, 222
- Salle de Champagne, 345, 352
- Saloons, 164, 190; anti-prostitution campaign, 82, 130, 131–132, 139, 140, 160–162; back rooms of, 37, 42, 68; Bowery, 33–34, 54, 59; in Coney Island, 35, 59; Lower East Side, 41–45; mixed, 42–45, 348; and Prohibition, 335; raids on, 146; and Raines Law (1896), 160–162; as social centers for gay men, 42–43, 72–73; and Temperance, 112, 112*n*, 160–162, 335. *See also* Bars; Gay bars; Speakeasies
- Same-sex dancing, 168–169, 173, 173*n*, 234; at apartment parties, 279–280; and drag balls, 295–296; in Harlem, 248
- Samuel Bickard's Artistic Club, 34
- Sandow, Eugene, 114
- San Francisco, 321, 353
- Sardi, George, 271–272
- Savoy, Bert, 312
- Savoy Ballroom, 7, 252, 294, 297
- Scarlet Pansy, A* (Scully), 324
- Schultz, Dutch, 331
- Schwartz, Louis, 315
- Schwarz, Judith, 231–232
- Scott, James, 5
- Scully, Billy, 242, 323
- Scully, Robert, 324
- Seabury, Samuel, 334
- Seamen. *See* Sailors
- Seamen's Church Institute, 89, 90, 154
- Second Avenue, 35
- Secrecy, 4–5, 6–7
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, 116, 375*n*9, 381*n*62, 402*n*42
- Self-hatred, 4, 43–44, 56–58, 121–126, 280–281
- Servicemen. *See* Sailors; World War I; World War II
- Seventh Avenue, 189, 246
- Sex* (play), 313
- Sex crimes, 332*n*, 359–360
- Sex deviant, 19, 332*n*, 359–360
- Sexual aim, 124
- Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Kinsey), 70–72
- Sexual Inversion* (Ellis), 283
- Sexual Question, The* (Forel), 231, 285
- Sexual terminology, 12–23; bull dagger (lesbian), 15; fag/faggot, 15–17, 18,

Sexual terminology (*continued*)

- 20, 101; fairy, 13–24, 27, 67, 101; flaming faggot, 15–17, 18; gay, 14–24, 25, 286, 358; heterosexual, 12–13, 14, 15, 16, 22, 26; homosexual, 12–13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 22, 26–27, 101; hustlers, 19; nance, 15; normal (straight), 13–16, 19–22, 24–25, 26; pansy, 15; queer, 13–22, 24–25, 101, 125; real man, 16; she-man, 15; sissy, 15, 114; sister, 43, 291; swish, 16; trade, 16, 19, 20–22, 69–70, 100, 286. *See also* Bisexuality; Heterosexuality; Homosexuality; Lesbians and *specific categories*
- Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns* (Henry), 339*n*, 360
- Shairp, Mordaunt, 357
- Sharon Hotel, 42
- Sheaffer, Louis, 232
- She-man, 15, 121, 125
- Sherman, Charlie (Chink), 331
- Shufeldt, R. W., 87, 281
- Shuffle Along* (play), 246
- Simmons, Christina, 117
- Sissy, 125, 251, 358; as term, 15, 114
- Sisters, as term, 43, 291
- Situational homosexuality, 91
- Sixth Avenue, 194; as cruising area, 189; Tenderloin, 35, 36, 138, 179, 204, 216
- 69 (club), 286
- Slide, 37–40, 68, 155, 243
- Slumming: in Bowery and Lower East Side, 36–41, 44; in Greenwich Village, 233–234, 236, 314; in Harlem, 246–247, 248, 310. *See also* Gay male subculture, spectacle of
- Small's Paradise, 252
- Smith, Bessie, 250, 251
- Smith, Roger, 275
- Smith, Ruby, 250
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, 121
- Social clubs, 41–45; Bowery, 44–45; Italian, 76; Lower East Side, 43
- Social Evil, The*, 160–161
- Social-purity societies, 15, 37, 79, 138–149, 170–173; and anti-gay attitudes, 281–282; and Bowery clubs and halls, 33, 34, 41, 50; in Harlem, 254–257; and homosexual vice, 146–149; rise of, 138–141; and rooming houses, 153–154; and World War I, 141–149. *See also specific organizations*
- Society for Human Rights, 144
- Society for the Prevention of Crime, 138, 141, 148–149, 215
- Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 138
- Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 138–139, 140–141
- Society for the Suppression of Vice, 138, 139, 146–147, 148, 165*n*, 210, 215–216, 230–231, 280
- Sodomy, laws against, 134, 140–141, 185, 195, 302*n*, 407*n*23
- Soldiers and Sailors Monument, 181, 182
- Spanish-American War (1898), 113
- Speakeasies, 117, 304, 352; as gay meeting places, 19, 57–58, 323, 328–329; in Greenwich Village, 233, 237–238, 240, 241–242, 315, 338; in Harlem, 56–57, 244, 246, 247, 248, 250; in Times Square, 304, 306–309. *See also* Prohibition
- Spectacularization. *See* Gay male subculture, spectacle of
- Spivy's Roof, 349–350, 357
- Sporting houses (tenement brothels), 68, 89
- Stanwood Cafeteria, 342–343, 344–345, 352
- State Liquor Authority (SLA), 19–20, 57, 66, 336–348, 351, 356, 358–359; and Gloria's, 337–339, 340, 342, 344; and Stanwood Cafeteria, 342–343, 344–345, 352; and Times Square Garden & Grill,

- 340–341, 343
- Stauch's, 210–211
- Stead, Joshua, 120
- Stein, Gertrude, 176
- Stevenson, Edward Prime, 211
- Stevenson, Frank, 37
- Steward, Samuel M., 103
- Stewart's, 166–167, 174
- Stonewall rebellion (1969), 2, 3, 6, 11
- Straight men. *See* Normal (straight) men
- Strange Brother* (Niles), 285, 324
- Streets and avenues: and anti-prostitution campaign, 140; Bleecker Street, 34, 37, 155, 243; Broadway, 35, 36, 138, 146, 179, 204, 216; Central Park West, 146, 151, 155, 156, 189; as central to gay life, 179–180, 184–195; Elizabeth Street, 37, 68, 72–73; Fifth Avenue, 146, 166, 180*n*, 189; Forty-second Street, 18*n*, 66, 68, 70, 97, 120, 191–195, 306, 333; Fourteenth Street (Rialto), 33–35, 52, 68, 79, 142, 190–191; MacDougal, 142, 240–244, 324, 431–432*n*32; raids on, 146–147; Riverside Drive, 52, 68, 146, 178, 181, 187, 189, 322; Seventh Avenue, 189, 246; Sixth Avenue, 35, 36, 138, 179, 189, 194, 204, 216; Third Avenue, 42, 68, 151, 159, 185, 189, 190. *See also* Bowery; Cruising
- Streetwalkers, 36, 160
- Studio Club, 239
- Subway Cabaret, 79
- Subway washrooms, 83, 146, 185, 197–201, 265–266
- Sumner, John, 146–147, 230–231
- Sunken Gardens, 197
- Swanson, Gloria, 51, 263
- Swanson, Gloria (Winston), 251–252
- Swish, 104
- Symonds, John Addington, 283
- Symposium* (Plato), 285
- Tactics, of gay men, 187–190; camp culture, 7–8, 164–176, 193, 286–291, 317–318, 327–329, 342–345, 357; camp names, 40–41, 50–51, 56–57, 105, 251, 252, 266, 314, 315; clothing cues, 3, 4, 5, 52–54, 64; coded words, 14–18, 20–21, 24, 286–291, 351; double entendre, 17–19, 286–291, 327, 357; double lives, 6–7, 24, 44, 50–51, 54, 58, 133–135, 273–280; eye contact, 188–189; other codes, 4–5, 55–56, 188–189, 344–346, 350–351, 456*n*2
- Tea and Sympathy* (film), 357
- Tearrooms, in Greenwich Village, 233, 237–238, 240
- Tearoom (washroom) trade, 83, 146, 185, 195–201, 264–266
- Tecumseh Hall & Hotel, 37
- Tellier, Andre, 324
- Temperance, 112, 112*n*, 160–162, 335. *See also* Prohibition
- Tenderloin, 35, 36, 138, 179, 204, 216; slumming and, 36–41
- Tenements, 140, 152, 159, 202, 208, 303
- Terminology. *See* Sexual terminology
- Thanksgiving ball, 293–294
- Theaters, 8, 191–195; burlesque houses, 147, 170, 190–195, 305, 311, 313; and Depression, 305; gay and lesbian, 241, 311–313, 356, 357; and homosexuality, 301–302, 345; raids on, 146–147
- Their First Mistake* (film), 325
- Third Avenue, 42, 151, 159, 185; as cruising area, 68, 189, 190
- Third sex (intermediate sex), 49, 284; fairies as members of, 48, 49, 57, 121, 122–123, 125; lesbians as members of, 49, 122
- Thompson, Battling, 241
- Thompson, Frank, 279, 280
- Thompson's Lunch Room, 193

- Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (Freud), 124
- Thurman, Wallace, 264–266
- Times Square, 2, 11, 19, 67, 142, 162, 191–193; burlesque theaters, 305, 311; cafeterias, 305; as gay male enclave, 136, 142, 301–304, 357; hotels, 305; housing in, 303–304, 445–446*n*14; pansy craze in, 301, 315–321, 332–333; Prohibition impact on, 305–321; restaurants, 304, 305; revues, 309, 311; speakeasies, 304, 306–309; subway washrooms in, 197; theater, 311–313; theater roof gardens, 309, 311; transformation of, as entertainment district, 304–321
- Times Square Building, 66, 70, 97, 192
- Times Square Garden & Grill, 340–341, 343
- Tompkins Square Park, as cruising area, 196
- Tony's, 349, 357
- Tough girls, fairies compared with, 50–51, 61, 80–86
- Trade: bachelor subculture in, 76–86; and male prostitution, 66–76, 191–193; rough trade, 21, 191–193, 220; tearoom (washroom), 83, 146, 185, 195–201, 264–266; as term, 16, 19, 20–22, 69–70, 100, 286
- Train conductors, and queers, 108, 109
- Tramps. *See* Hoboes
- Transient workers. *See* Hoboes
- Transvestites, 124; in the Bowery, 40, 44; laws against, 43, 51, 249–250; in Lower East Side saloons, 42; in prisons, 92, 94–95; and prostitution, 18*n*. *See also* Drag queens; Drag (transvestite) balls; Fairies; Gay male subculture, spectacle of; Pansy craze
- Trick, as term, 286
- Trilby's, 237
- Trimberger, Ellen Kay, 230
- Trumbach, Randolph, 12, 377–378*n*23, 380*n*55, 385–386*n*2–3, 390*n*46
- Turkish Bath* (painting), 206
- Twilight Men* (Tellier), 324
- Tyler, Parker, 57, 62, 87, 88, 165, 166, 168–169, 180*n*, 181, 187, 191*n*, 242–243
- Ubangi Club, 253
- Ulrichs, Karl Heinrich, 49, 231
- Union Hall, 73
- Union Square, 141, 162; as cruising area, 185, 189, 190; and emergence of gay subculture, 142. *See also* Rialto (Fourteenth Street)
- Urbanization: and anonymity, 132–134; and emergence of gay subculture, 132–136; and family values, 131, 132, 134; and migration to cities, 135–136, 245, 246, 256, 271–273
- Van Cortlandt Park, 196
- Van Der Meer, Theo, 12
- VanDerZee, James, *xii*
- Vanity Fair*, 166; and pansy craze, 309, 316, 324, 327–328
- Van Vechten, Carl, 101, 175, 189, 232, 246, 264, 287, 297
- Van Wagner, Walter R., 337
- Variety*, 182, 184, 241, 246, 296, 306; and pansy craze, 311, 313–314, 318, 320, 321, 332, 333
- Vaseline Alley, Central Park, 182, 204
- Vaudeville circuit, 305, 311, 313, 353
- Venereal diseases, 85–86, 125*n*, 142, 143
- Village. *See* Greenwich Village
- Vining, Donald, 156–157, 183, 286–290
- Violence: gang rape, 60, 84; sex crimes, 332*n*, 359–360; toward fairies, 59–60
- Virgin Man* (play), 313
- Volstead Act, 305, 306, 332

- Voyeurism: and gay bathhouses, 212–213, 218; and slumming in New York, 36–41, 44, 60, 68. *See also* Gay male subculture, spectacle of
- Walhalla Hall, 40–41, 293
- Walker, A'Leila, 258, 264
- Walker, Jimmy, 294, 306, 334
- Ware, Caroline, 233, 235, 239, 314
- Washington Baths, 184
- Washington Square Park, as cruising area, 196
- Waterfront, 10, 11, 41; Brooklyn Navy Yard, 143, 145, 161–162; as cruising area, 142, 145, 189
- Waters, Ethel, 251, 258
- Webb, Clifton, 310
- Webster Hall, 235–237, 293, 295–296
- Welfare Island. *See* New York City Jail
- Well of Loneliness, The* (Hall), 324
- Werther, Ralph, 42–44, 51, 52, 54, 55, 59–60, 62, 77, 79, 110, 118, 187, 190, 291–292
- Wescott, Glenway, 108, 181
- West, Mae, 51, 61, 263, 266, 311, 312, 313, 357
- Whitin, Frederick, 147, 165*n*
- Whitman, Walt, 104–105, 285
- Wilde, Oscar, 54, 107, 230, 272
- Will, Abram, 261
- Williams, Christine, 315
- Williams, Emlyn, 217, 220–221
- Wives, as term, 291
- Wolves, 58, 88–96; marked masculinity of, 89; in prison, 88; as term, 88; in wolf-punk relationships, 88–96
- Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 112
- Women: bohemian, 229–232; differentiation of men from, 111–115; employment of, 111–112, 117–118, 121–122, 354; fellation by, 61, 85, 390*n*48; middle-class, 253–254; and venereal disease, 85–86. *See also* Lesbians; Male-female relationships; Marriage; Prostitutes, female
- Wooden, Wayne S., 91
- Work: and double lives, 134–135, 274–276; as male sphere, 111–112; and male unemployment, 354; and tearoom trade, 198, 264; and urbanization process, 133*n*; and women, 111–112, 117–118, 121–122, 354
- Working-class culture, 10, 27, 33–97; acceptance of gay culture in, 3–4, 32, 34, 41–42, 44–45, 57–59, 80–86, 106–111, 118–119, 243–244; and anti-vice and social-purity societies, 138–141; bachelor subculture in, 75, 76–86; black, 248–257, 266–267; and boarding-houses, 36, 76, 164, 303–304; and cafeteria society, 163–176; fairies in, 106–107; and fancy-dress balls, 41; gender identity versus sexual identity in, 48; in Harlem, 248–257, 266–267; housing in, 151–158, 159–163, 202; as immigrant culture, 137; labeling of homosexual behavior in, 13; and male prostitution, 66–76; manliness in, 79–81, 89, 112, 113–114; plasticity of gender assignment in, 50–51, 56–58, 62–63, 65–66, 80–97, 118–119; and Prohibition, 327; queers in, 106–111; research on imprisoned homosexuals, 3, 6; and saloons, 41–45, 160–162; and social clubs, 41–45; and speakeasies, 307–308; street culture, working class versus middle class, 179–204; and tearoom trade, 83, 146, 195–201; viewed as depraved by middle class, 36–41, 44, 57–59. *See also* Immigration and specific immigrant groups; Slumming
- Workingmen's clubs, 41–45
- World's Fair (1939), 182, 340, 357
- World War I: anti-prostitution campaign during, 82, 142–144; cam-

World War I (*continued*)

 paign against venereal disease,
 85–86; and changes in Greenwich
 Village, 232–235, 310; and urban
 moral reform movement, 141–149

World War II, 74, 195, 333, 358;
 effects on gay subculture, 10–12,
 144; restrictions on homosexuality
 during, 125*n*, 350–351

WPA Guide to New York City, 167

Yacavone, Donald, 120, 403*n*50

Yawitz, Paul, 324

Young and Evil, The (Ford and Tyler),
 17, 191*n*, 242–243

Young Men's Christian Association of
 New York (YMCA), 138, 155–158;
 Sloane House, 155–157; West Side
 Y, 151, 155, 156