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Uncommon Knowledge: A History of Queer New Mexico, 1920s-1980s

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UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE:

A HISTORY OF QUEER NEW MEXICO, 1920S-1980S

BY

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DISSERTATION

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DEDICATION

For my husband, David. May we always share the quest for knowledge together.

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UNCOMMON KNOWLEDGE: A HISTORY OF QUEER NEW MEXICO, 1920S-1980S

by

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ABSTRACT

New Mexico, the heart of the American Southwest, has been home to countless gay men and lesbians throughout the twentieth century. This dissertation explores the state's LGBTQ past and investigates the connections and exchanges between urban and rural gay and lesbian identities, cultures, and political organizations in the 1920s through the 1980s. Using New Mexico as case study, I provide an alternative narrative to previous scholarship that focuses either exclusively on gay urban or gay rural lives and instead present an example of a migratory queer network where lesbians and gay men crisscrossed cities and country spaces. Gay and lesbian cultures and politics flowed in- and-out of New Mexico especially during the creation of art colonies in the twenties, the construction of the security state in the forties and fifties, and the development of intentional lesbian land and gay male radical faeries communities in the seventies. These pivotal moments show how lesbians and gay men opposed institutions and practices of heteronormativity, resisted the use of sexuality as a tool of discrimination, and challenged constructed binaries: hetero/homo, public/private, and rural/urban.

Lastly, New Mexican gay and lesbian experiences expose the deep and diverse trajectories of the larger struggle for gay civil rights that informs contemporary definitions of equal rights in America.

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INTRODUCTION

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It is a history of the West. New Mexico is a place where everyone could come and be themselves and you left each other alone. There are a lot of stories of gays and lesbians who came here a long time ago, a hundred and one hundred and fifty years ago, who settled into communities and they lived the life they wanted to live and they were tolerated.[1]

Gay New Mexican Rich Williams' quote illustrates the long legacy of tolerance toward homosexuals in the state of New Mexico, and yet this history has remained uncommon knowledge. The U.S. Southwest is an understudied region in LGBTQ history.[2] This dissertation provides the first in-depth study of lesbian and gay identity formation, cultural construction, and political mobilization in New Mexico, and in so doing seeks to advance a more comprehensive and representative view of how lesbians and gay men experienced society, culture, and politics in twentieth-century America. Starting in the 1920s, lesbian and gay New Mexicans created a plethora of organizations that catered to urbanites and non-urbanites and celebrated Southwestern heritage and its queer manifestation.[3] Using New Mexico as a case study, I argue

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[1] Richard Williams, interview by Jordan Biro, audio recording, Albuquerque, New Mexico, November 7, 2013, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project.

[2] Examples on New Mexico's LGBTQ past include Flannery Burke, "Spud Johnson and a Gay Man's Place in the Taos Creative Arts Community," *Pacific Historical Review* 79 (February 2010): 86–113; Daniel L. Evans, "All is Not Dead Here in the Desert: The Development of Albuquerque's Organized Gay Community, 1971-1991," (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1992); Trisha Franzen, "Differences and Identities: Feminism and the Albuquerque Lesbian Community," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 18 (Summer 1993): 891-906; Ramón A Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), and Lois Rudnick ed. with essays by Lois P. Rudnick, Robin Farwell Gavin, and Shayn R. Udall, *Cady Wells and Southwestern Modernism* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2009).

[3] Throughout my study, when referring to historical figures, whenever possible I will employ the historical terminology used by the individual. When theorizing about the LGBTQ past, I will be using the term 'queer' instead of 'LGBTQ' in my dissertation for academic purposes. In an academic setting 'queer' is accepted as an appropriate term in reference to identities, genders, desires, sexualities, and transgressive erotic life. By embracing queer, I hope to speak to an interdisciplinary academic audience and to address the criticisms of 'LGBTQ.' 'LGBTQ' is problematic for my study for three reasons. One, 'LGBTQ' fails to

that gay men and lesbians did not rely solely on cities to foster queer identities as evidenced by their use of bohemian art circles, leftist political groups, the desert landscape, and personal mobility to construct cultures and activism. The results of my research cautions historians against seeing urban and rural lives as wholly distinct, but rather as connected to the larger narrative of gay and lesbian identities, cultural formation, and activism in every corner of the nation.

Most LGBTQ studies have focused on the congregation of gay men and lesbians in large U.S. cities while a few scholars have embarked on the 'rural turn' and collectively acknowledge those who did not settle in gay enclaves.[4] Scholarship that concentrates exclusively on the city

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capture aspects of erotic life as understood by nonwhite communities like the Native American third gender or 'Two Spirit.' Second, I also believe that 'LGBTQ' leaves out gender transgressive behavior, for example 'butch' and 'femme' roles in the lesbian community. I feel queer is the more appropriate term to encapsulate a spectrum of sexualities and its intersection with issues of race, class, and gender.

[4] For examples of works on East coast cities, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Madeline D. Davis and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993), and Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). For West coast cities, see Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), and Daniel Hurwitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles: and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). Interdisciplinary LGBTQ scholarship that embraces the rural turn includes David Bell, "Farm Boys and Wild Men: Rurality, Masculinity, and Homosexuality," *Rural Sociology* 65, no. 4 (2000): 547–61; Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Will Fellows, *Farm Boys: Lives of Gay Men from the Rural Midwest* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001); Mary L. Gray, *Out in the Country: Youth, Media, and Queer Visibility in Rural America*, (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Scott Herring, *Another Country: Queer Anti-Urbanism* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), and Colin R. Johnson, *Just Queer Folks Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013). Most of the studies listed in the rural turn deal with gay men. For works that include lesbians, see David Bell and Gill Valentine, "Queer Country: Rural Lesbian and Gay Lives," *Journal of Rural Studies* 11 (April 1995): 113–22.

or the country fails to address the linkages between the two.[5] New Mexico contains a mix of extremely rural spaces and culturally vibrant cities. As late as the 1970s, New Mexico contained some seventy towns, and villages, not including indigenous Pueblos, with a population of under six thousand that according to the U.S. census were considered rural.[6] Since the 1920s, it also has had a substantial LGBTQ population and therefore provides an excellent case study for understanding the interconnectedness between nonmetropolitan and metropolitan queer lives.[7] Oral histories, personal papers, national and local LGBTQ publications, government and legal records, help to unveil how gay men and lesbians themselves as well as their cultures and politics flowed in-and-out of New Mexico especially during the construction of art colonies in the 1920s and 1930s, during and after World War Two, and again in the 1970s with the development of intentional lesbian land communities and gay male rural sanctuaries in the state's hinterlands.

This dissertation examines how gay men and lesbians created formative identities, cultures, and politics in New Mexico in the 1920s through the 1980s. The New Mexican gay and lesbian experience is centered on the negotiation of openness and secrecy. The trajectory of this negotiation fluctuated: sometimes allowing tolerance in prescribed places like bohemian art

[5] For conceptualizing the city and country as entwined, I have been influenced by William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991) and Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

[6] Calculations from: *1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population: New Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1972). My study starts in 1920 when the federal census announced that, for the first time, most Americans nationwide lived in urban areas. The state of New Mexico remained 82 percent rural with a population scattered over 122,000 square miles. Information pulled from the *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920,* vol. III, Population (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923).

[7] The U.S. census began recording data on same-sex couples as partnerships in 1990. The 2010 federal census ranked Santa Fe County as the seventh-highest concentration of same-sex households in the country – 18.44 per 1,000 households.

circles, but demanding discretion in public; other times transitioning to tight bonds of heteronormativity forcing gay and lesbian life completely underground; and, finally the establishment of growing and visible queer cultures and politics. I show how despite structural and cultural barriers, lesbians and gay men resisted homophobia by building sexual networks that linked rural and urban lives. For instance, the network of gay artists and writers who participated in the establishment of northern New Mexico's art colony in the 1920s, used art as a connective thread. They created an identity that fused homosexuality with art and fostered this identity both inside and outside of urban areas. Salons in Greenwich Village, New York were replicated in Taos, New Mexico. San Francisco and Los Angele's vaudeville and cross-dressing performances were adapted into Santa Fe's fiesta celebrations. The artistic, literary, and queer worlds of these large cities connected to the small-scale city of Santa Fe and the rural outpost of Taos.

Traversing both cityscapes and country sides, gay men and lesbians accessed a broad sexual landscape. The ways in which they moved across urban and rural regions reveals how they disseminated and dispersed queer cultures and built interconnecting sexual networks. Because of my interest in migration and mobility my work builds upon historian John Howard's conception of circulation in his study of queer culture in Mississippi in the postwar period.[8] Howard argues that the congregation of gay men in an enclave in which gay men interacted

[8] I have also been influenced by Virginia Scharff's scholarship that extensively explores the relations between gender and mobility. See *Home Lands: How Women Made the West,* co-authored with Carolyn Brucken (Los Angeles: Autry National Center of the American West, 2010); "Lighting Out for the Territory: Women, Mobility, and Western Place," in *Power and Place in the North American West*, eds. John Findlay and Richard White (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 287-303; "Mobility, Women and the West," in *Over the Edge: Revisioning Western History*, eds. Valerie Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (New York: Free Press, 1991), and *Twenty Thousand Roads: Women, Movement, and the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

through patronizing establishments and participation in community rituals did not exist in Mississippi. Instead, queer movement consisted of circulation and stretched across broader expanses of terrain.[9] Evidence culled from my oral histories supports the conception of circulation of individuals and ideas across the state and nation. As an illustration, the founding of the security state pushed some gay and lesbian New Mexicans toward large urban cities that possessed more vibrant queer cultures. Nonetheless, in time, over half who left would engage in a reverse migration, returning to the southwest after conditions for gay men and lesbians improved. Through movement they formed a queer network that was not as bound by cities as historians have previously conceived, but rather an interconnected nexus across the country. As an historian of U.S. West, I have also been influenced by borderlands history as a conceptual framework for this study.[10] Blurring boundaries unveils transcultural interactions that drove the creation and re-creation of sexual ideologies and behaviors. This project will emphasize the ways that sexualities have radiated outward from centers to peripheries. At times, I will invert this paradigm and problematize the center to periphery distinction. I take seriously borderlands studies rejection of the nation-state as a unit of analysis and instead focus on the movement of people and ideas across boundaries, but at times the nation-state's presence is imperative to understanding the LGBTQ past.

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[9] Howard, *Men Like That,* 14.

[10] For conceptually thinking about borderlands, I have been influenced by Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review* 104 (June 1999): 814–41; Michael Baud and Willem Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," *Journal of World History* 8 (October 1997): 211–42; Andrew R. Graybill and Benjamin H. Johnson, *Bridging National Borders in North America: Transnational and Comparative Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Emma Pérez, "Queering the Borderlands: The Challenges of Excavating the Invisible and Unheard," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 24, nos. 2–3 (2003): 122–131; Paul Sabin, "Home and Abroad: The Two 'Wests' of Twentieth-Century United States History," *Pacific Historical Review* 66 (August 1997): 305–35, and Samuel Truett and Elliott Young, eds., *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

This dissertation emerges from the intersection of two fields: the histories of the U.S. West, with particular attention to the Southwest region, and LGBTQ histories. While U.S. West scholars have provided case studies of the shifting meanings of gender, race, citizenship, and power, interest in sexuality in the West, even more specifically LGBTQ history, is very recent.[11] Likewise, scholars of LGBTQ history have started to explore gay and lesbian sexuality in the U.S. Southwest, but this scholarship is hardly complete. This is surprising since the U.S. West as a site of migration, settlement, and displacement, has spawned contests over who can and cannot have full citizenship rights and sex has often been a deciding factor. Take for example, how in the post-war era the U.S. federal government helped to shape the formation of the category of homosexual by defining the citizen and citizenship rights as heterosexual. As Margot Canaday argues the hardening of the hetero/homo binary occurred in tandem with the growth of the bureaucratic state.[12] Canaday applies this idea nationally, but it has yet to be tested at a regional level, in the West, a place that experienced massive growth and expansion through the federal government's intervention in the form of contracts for manufactures of war material

[11] For some excellent examples of U.S. West scholarship that weaves issues of race, gender, and power see Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), and Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). For U.S. West scholarship that considers sexuality, see Barbara Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846-1906* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007); Peter G. Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000); Pablo Mitchell, *West of Sex: Making Mexican America, 1900-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), and Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

[12] Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 2.

and the expansion of military installations.[13] New Mexico embraced the military-industrial complex, but with it came consequences of accepting a heteronoromative definition of citizenship.[14] The advent of the security state in New Mexico disrupted local practices of fluid and flexible sexualities. New Mexicans responded by either migrating out of the state, passing as heterosexual citizens, or embracing the hinterlands as a space for exploring alternative sexual identities.

In the field of LGBTQ history, most scholarship argues that the social, economic, and political drivers of urbanism socially constructed our contemporary notion of a "gay identity." Cities became epicenters where gay men and lesbians gave definition to queer identities. Scholars have largely followed Historian John D'Emilio's structure in order to understand gay and lesbian experiences in cities.[15] D'Emilio's groundbreaking work *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, one of the first scholarly monographs in the field, established its framework. D'Emilio theoretically grounded his study in social constructionism and argued that urbanization, capitalism, and wartime mobilization were factors that allowed lesbian and gay

[13] Bruce Hevly and John Findlay, eds., *Atomic West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Kevin J. Fernlund, ed., *The Cold War American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985), and Gerald D. Nash, *The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth-Century West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999).

[14] For histories of New Mexico and the security state, see Lawrence Badash, Joseph O. Hirshfelder and Herbert P. Broida, eds., *Reminiscences of Los Alamos 1943-1945* (Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1980); Jennet Conant, *109 East Palace: Robert Oppenheimer and the Secret City of Los Alamos* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005); David Hawkins, *Project Y: The Los Alamos Story* (Los Angels: Tomash Publishers, 1983); Jon Hunner, *Inventing Los Alamos: The Growth of an Atomic Community* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The Day the Sun Rose Twice: The Story of the Trinity Site Nuclear Explosion, July 16, 1945* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), and Edith C. Truslow, *Manhattan District History: Nonscientific Aspects of Los Alamos Project Y, 1942 through 1946* (Los Alamos, NM: Los Alamos Historical Society, 1997).

[15] For a discussion on this topic see, Marc Stein, "Theoretical Politics, Local Communities: The Making of U.S. LGBT Historiography," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 11, no. 4 (2005): 605–625.

identities and cultures to emerge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[16] Scholars have validated these claims by documenting the importance of metropolitan space to queer identity and cultural formation, however nonmetropolitan space also mattered as lesbians and gay men certainly lived elsewhere and found ways to embrace non-normative lives.

In the last two decades, a few interdisciplinary scholars have posed a challenge to the urban-centeredness of queer studies arguing that it has placed an analytic limitation on the field. Scholars such as Peter Boag, Colin Johnson, and John Howard point to sexologist Alfred Kinsey's assertion that the highest frequencies of male-sex behavior occurred in rural communities. Kinsey, a pioneer in the scientific study of sex, documented the frequent occurrence of homosexuality in the country when he published his volume *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* in 1948. Kinsey found: "the highest frequencies of the homosexual which we have ever secured anywhere has been in particular rural communities in some of the more remote sections of the country . . . This type of rural homosexuality contradicts the theory that homosexuality itself is an urban product."[17] Kinsey exposed a history of male same-sex behavior in rural communities and contradicted society's imagined homosexual male as an urban product. In more recent scholarship, historians have substantiated that queer behavior in the hinterlands was a common practice in nineteenth and twentieth century America.[18] Ang Lee's 2005 academy-award winning film *Brokeback Mountain* brought these narratives alive when he directed the story of two young men, a ranch hand and rodeo cowboy, who meet in the summer of 1963 in Wyoming and form an enduring, life-long love. American audiences witnessed the

[16] John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
[17] Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell Baxter Pomeroy, and Clyde E Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Co., 1948), 459.
[18] Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*; Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* and Howard, *Men Like That.*

struggles and joys of forging same-sex intimacies in rural Wyoming.[19] The film and these studies illustrate how gay men in rural areas created homosocial worlds that allowed for non-normative gender practices, same-sex desires, and male sexual partners. Still, such scholarship does not disentangle gay and lesbian identity formation from an urban context.

By including rural queer voices, some LGBTQ scholars have also begun to dislodge the well-embedded narrative of the rural-to-urban migration of gay men and lesbians. Many gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people in America fully embraced their queer identity and participated in the development of queer cultures through a sexual migration to a large U.S. city. Sexual migration is a movement largely motivated by sexual identities, sexual practices, or for greater sexual liberation.[20] Sociocultural anthropologist Kath Weston's article "Get Thee to a Big City: Sexual Imaginary and the Great Gay Migration" introduces the concept of gay migration and defines it as "an influx of tens of thousands of lesbians and gay men (as well as individuals bent upon 'exploring' their sexuality) into major urban areas across the United States. San Francisco was the premier destination for those who desired and could afford to live in a 'gay space.' "[21] She argues that migration to cities first began in the imagination of lesbians and gay men who conceived of cities as spaces of anonymity and promised a refuge from the discipline of small-town surveillance. Cities provided space for sexual experimentation. Weston periodizes the great gay migration as coinciding with the modern gay liberation movement of the 1970s- an

[19] Ang Lee et al. directors, *Brokeback Mountain*, Focus Features, 2005.
[20] Gayle S. Rubin coined the term "sexual migration." She defines it as the movement of a homosexual "to live in a gay neighborhood, work in a gay business, and participate in an elaborate experience that includes a self-conscious identity, group solidarity, a literature, a press, and a high level of political activity." Gayle S. Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, ed. Carol S. Vance (Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1984), 286.
[21] Kath Weston, "Get Thee to a Big City: Sexual Imaginary and the Great Gay Migration," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 2, no. 3 *(*1995): 255.

era when gay men and lesbians rallied around a common cause – the advancement of gay and lesbians civil rights.[22]

To further challenge the urban biases in LGBTQ studies and problematize the country-to-city migration, which supposedly ended a life of secrecy and propelled one toward a life of openness, theorist Judith Halberstam coined the term *metronormativity*. She argues that narratives structured upon metronormativity conflate "urban" and "visible" and imagine the metropolis as the only suitable place for out lesbians and gay men. Furthermore, Halberstam and literary critic Scott Herring discuss how the compulsory narrative of rural-to-urban sexual migration perpetuates racial and socioeconomic norms.[23] These interlocking aspects reproduce a geographic ideal of urbanism for men and women and uphold narratives, customs, and politics that privilege a white, male middle-class urban experience. Throughout the field of LGBTQ history, scholars struggle with gender inequities and tend to focus on men. [24] This dissertation seeks to rectify the gender bias by discussing the male and female experience in tandem. Lesbian and gay male experiences have overlapped and intersected as much as they have diverged and splintered. In either scenario, they have profoundly influenced one another and by isolating lesbians within women's history or gay men in LGBTQ studies, scholars miss how they have defined their identities, cultures, and politics in relation to each other. Furthermore, by placing my study in the multiracial state of New Mexico, I analyze Nuevomexicano, Native

[22] Weston's work paved the way for queer internal migration studies in the United States. For examples, see Nader Ahmadi, "Migration challenges views on sexuality," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26, no. 4 (2003): 684–706; Gloria González-López, *Erotic Journeys: Mexican Immigrants and Their Sex Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Eithne Luibhéid, "Queer/Migration: An Unruly Body of Scholarship," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 14, no. 2-3 (2008): 169–90; Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
[23] Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place* and Herring, *Another Country.*
[24] Margot Canaday eloquently articulated the gender bias in the field. See Margot Canaday, "LGBT History," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 35, no. 1 (2014): 11–19.

American, and Anglo conceptions of sexualities, which racially diversifies identity construction and destabilizes the notion that all gay and lesbian sexualities should be understood using Western thought.[25] My work advances the understanding of alternative structures of identity.

The rural turn has opened up the field of LGBTQ studies in its collective inclusion of giving voices to those who did not reside in gay areas in cities, yet both urban exceptionalism and the rural turn fail to address how urban and rural inform one another. At the heart of my study are the connections and exchanges between urban and rural gay communities in New Mexico between 1920 and 1980. This dissertation reveals how features of the New Mexican landscape structured gay and lesbian interaction, how the lives of lesbians and gay men in rural spaces and urban areas intersected, and how the growth of political activism contributed to geographic visibility of gay men and lesbians in the state. By the 1970s, the growth of gay and lesbian activism in places like New Mexico, signaled the influence of gay and lesbian political mobilization outside of large cities on the east and west coasts. City's occupied the center of the movement, but the transmission of gay politics and sexual cultures outside of the metropolis helped mobilize a national campaign that expanded the definition of social movement politics.

Uncovering the lives of sexual and gender non-normative New Mexicans has been a challenging task because of the paucity of written sources on LGBTQ history in the state.

[25] Following the lead of scholars such as Enrique R. Lamadrid, I use the terms Nuevomexicano/a and Hispano/a to describe the descendants of Spaniards, Pueblos, and/or Mexicans, as they would have used these terms themselves. See Rosalie C. Otero, A. Gabriel Meléndez, and Enrique R. Lamadrid, *Santa Fe Native: A Collection of Nuevomexicano Writing* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009); A. Gabriel Meléndez, *So All Is Not Lost: The Poetics of Print in Nuevomexicano Communities, 1834-1958* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), and Richard L. Nostrand, *The Hispano Homeland* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

Therefore, a major component of my project became the creation of new sources.[26] I have conducted over thirty interviews finding participants by using what ethnographers call the snowball method, in which interviewees were asked to identify others who, like themselves, had been living in New Mexico, and participated in some aspect of the state's gay and lesbian cultures between 1950 and 1980. I balanced the number of interviews by gender and class.[27] I also attempted to provide diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, and region. However, my outsider status as a white, woman from San Francisco, California precluded me from deeply connecting with queer communities of color. As Boyd and Ramírez explain in their edited collection *Bodies of Evidence* "there is comparatively little oral history research on U.S. queer communities of color and that white researchers have been consistently unsuccessful in reaching those community members."[28] Nonetheless, I have interviewed Nuevomexicanos, African Americans, and Navajos.[29]

By far the most difficult community to connect with has been Native American. This is in large part due to the demise of flexible gender identities beyond the male and female binary for Native American communities as a direct result of assimilation policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Navajo possess a traditional interpretation of *nádleehí*, a

[26] To understand the practice of queer oral history, I consulted Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio N. Roque Ramírez, eds., *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[27] More than half of my participants are women. Half of my interviewees identify as middle class while the other half identify as working class.

[28] Boyd and Ramírez, eds., *Bodies of Evidence,* 13.

[29] For thinking about issues of race, I have been influenced by Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Nancy A. Hewitt, "Introduction" in *Beyond Black and White: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in the U.S. South and Southwest,* eds. Stephian Cole and Alison M. Parker (Arlington, TX: A&M University Press, 2004), xi-xxx; Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), and Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

third category of gender.[30] Among the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, two-spirits exist in the Pueblos of Acoma, Hopi, Isleta, Laguna, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, San Juan, Tesuque, and Zuni.[31] Traditionally, many Native American cultures understood gender dissimilarly from the western binary. Tribes embraced third and fourth genders based on the spirit within. Shifting categories of sexuality and gender in Native cultures unfolded differently from tribe to tribe, but generally, as governmental efforts at assimilating Natives grew more intense (especially the imposition of Christianity), the third and fourth gender classifications receded as part of the public culture of Native society and caused issues with homophobia on reservations and within rural Native communities.[32] In the postwar years, many two-spirit Native Americans either lived private lives on or near reservations or migrated to urban centers.

To rectify gaps in my oral histories, I combine documentary research with oral histories. I also draw on interviews done by others. Lester Strong and Peter Adair, both grew up in New Mexico and returned in the 1970s to interview New Mexican gay men and lesbians. Peter Adair

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[30] Carolyn Epple, "Coming to Terms with Navajo 'Nádleehí': A Critique of 'Berdache,' 'Gay,' 'Alternate Gender,' and 'Two-Spirit,'" *American Ethnologist* 25 (May 1998): 267–90; Midnight Sun (Anishnawbe), "Sex/Gender Systems in Native North America," in *Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology,* ed. Will Roscoe (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 40, and Jennifer Nez Denetdale, *Reclaiming Dine History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007), 134–135.

[31] Two-Spirit means "bridging or combining the social roles of men and women," which itself gained widespread popularity in 1990 during the third annual intertribal Native American/First Nations gay and lesbian conference. On Two-Spirit literature in Pueblo cultures, see Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992) and Sue-Ellen Jacobs and Wesley Thomas, "Is the 'North American Berdache' Merely a Phantom in the Imagination of Western Social Scientists?" in *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality,* ed. Sabine Lang (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 24.

[32] Brian Joseph Gilley, *Becoming Two-Spirit: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Sue Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Sabine Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (Dallas: University of Texas Press, 1998); Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), and Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2000).

conducted oral histories for the Mariposa Film Company's widely circulated and highly acclaimed *Word is Out*.[33] Lester Strong grew up in Albuquerque, New Mexico in the 1950s. After college graduation in 1968, Strong fled to New York City and a few years later, came out as a gay man.[34] Strong visited his hometown with his partner for the first time in the summer of 1979 and discovered that Albuquerque possessed gay and lesbian institutions. Strong worked as a part-time freelancer and decided to write an article, in which he entitled "Hometown Revisited," on the city's transformation. He completed five interviews to write the article and subsequently went back to Albuquerque several times to conduct further interviews with Hispano gay men. Both Adair and Strong possessed an insider status as gay men and as native New Mexicans.

In New Mexico, incipient gay and lesbian cultures first formed in conjunction with Santa Fe and Taos' growth as art colonies during the 1920s and 1930s and thus begins chapter one of this project. Artists and writers sought creativity in the isolation of wide-open spaces and they constructed artist colonies across the United States including, Taos and Santa Fe, and shaped northern New Mexico's reputation as a haven for creative production.[35] Part of their quest included experiencing authenticity – connecting to the natural world and tapping into their artistic identities. Within this creative network, which emphasized identity construction, gay men and lesbians carved a space for themselves and explored their sexual identity.[36] The

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[33] *Word is Out,* DVD, directed by Andrew Brown, Peter Adair, Nancy Adair and Rob Epstein (San Francisco, CA: Mariposa Film Group, 1977).

[34] Lester Strong, Coming out letter to his mother, June 21, 1978, Box 2, Folder 11, Lester Q. Strong Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. (Hereafter Strong Papers, NYPL).

[35] Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900-1942* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983).

[36] For scholarship on the artist colonies of Taos and Santa Fe that discuss homosexuality, see Burke, "Spud Johnson and a Gay Man's Place in the Taos Creative Arts Community;" James Kraft, *Who Is Witter Bynner?: A Biography*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); John Pen La Farge, *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog: Scripting the Santa Fe Legend, 1920-1955* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); Rudnick, *Cady Wells and Southwestern Modernism*.

migration of gay male and lesbian artists and writers to small-scale cities and rural regions of northern New Mexico first, illustrates the significance of movement for homosexuals, and second, shows that migrations were not always into large urban centers.[37] Some found solace in the desert.

Furthermore, Anglo writers and artists found avenues to tie sexuality and identity and began to construct a sexual landscape including private homes, hotels, bookstores, public fiestas, and plazas in New Mexico and used migration out of the state to increase access to partners and places for public sexual expression. As they formed gay and lesbian identities and pushed those identities into public spaces that served as the foundation for the development of modern lesbian and gay culture in New Mexico. These sexual migrants also entered into a multiracial culture a hybrid of Native American, Anglo, and Hispano that negotiated conflicting local and cultural understandings of homosexuality. New Mexicans adhered to what I call the "cultural of privacy" an arranged system of privacy toward sexual identity and behavior as long as individuals used discretion in public places.[38] When sexual migrants moved to the state, they

[37] For those historians who have begun to assess the importance of internal sexual migrations in prewar America, see Nan Alamilla-Boyd, "'Homos Invade S.F.!': San Francisco's History as a Wide-Open Town," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves,* ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 73–95; Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs.* For sexual migrations in the postwar period, see Allan Bérubé and with an introduction and edited by John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, eds., "Behind the Spector of San Francisco" in *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay, Community and Labor History* (Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 54–61; Peter Boag, "Gay Male Rural-Urban Migration in the American West," in *City Dreams, Country Schemes: Community and Identity in the American West*, eds. Kathleen A. Brosnan and Amy L. Scott (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2010); John Howard, "Place and Movement in Gay American History: A Case from the Post-World War II South," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 211–25, and Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[38] LGBTQ Historian John Howard uses the term "quiet accommodation" to describe homo/hetero relations in the South. I found his term not quite right in describing New Mexico. I instead invented the term culture of privacy because it demonstrates the vacillation between openness and privacy and gives more agency to homosexuals who helped shape this culture in negotiating homosexual/heterosexual boundaries.

opened up new contact zones for defining and exploring sexual subjectivities. To be sure, privacy in all communities remained a key survival strategy. The culture of privacy, artistic identity, and the role of migration, key players in early queer culture, continued to have resonance in the development of New Mexican lesbian and gay identity, cultures, and much later, activism.

Chapter two chronicles New Mexico's transition from a sparsely populated nonindustrial state toward an urbanized nuclear complex during the 1940s and 1950s. Characteristic rural population and life-styles (including cultural privacy) shifted with the advent of war experiences and the introduction of the security state. With it, came legal mechanism that enforced the closet and invaded privacy rights. By 1945, New Mexico was home to military training and weapons research at Kirtland Air Force Base and Sandia National Laboratory in Albuquerque and Los Alamos National Laboratory (near Santa Fe), which during the war served as one of the Manhattan Project's key scientific laboratories.[39] The U.S. nuclear complex produced and maintained official practices of secrecy to keep the nation safe. Keeping nuclear secrets meant safeguarding scientific information, but also functioned as a mechanism for defining citizenship and implementing social control. I argue that the security state in New Mexico dismantled the cultural of privacy and ushered in a climate of secrecy – the necessity of keeping sexual orientation a secret in order to protect oneself from legal and economic consequences. I conceptualize sexual privacy as a right - the right to keep certain information personal. [40] In contrast to sexual privacy, the national security state fostered the "safety net" of the closet and

[39] Wilfred McCormick, "To Keep Them Flying," *New Mexico Magazine,* January 1942, 13.
[40] I agree with Sissela Bok's differentiation between secrecy and privacy even though they overlap. She provides two distinct definitions. See Sissela Bok, *Secret: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 10. Jeremiah McCarthy, "The Closet and the Ethics of Outing," *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, no. 3-4 (1994): 29.

imposed secrecy as an essential mechanism of the closet an institution that kept gays an invisible class. [41] In New Mexico, this transition is evidenced by a debate on the state's sodomy law, the closing of queer cultural openness, and the absence of any sort of public political activity to advance gay aims. New Mexican gay men and lesbians responded by employing strategies including passing, migration, and the construction of an underground bar culture.

Chapter three charts how gay liberationists, lesbian feminists, and radical church members broke through the climate of secrecy the security state engendered. Gay male liberationists formed the first gay organization in the state in the fall of 1970 on the campus of the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque during the same time that lesbian feminists began organizing a women's study program. Activism spread outside of the university when a group of gay men and lesbians separated from the Protestant church in order to form a chapter of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Church for the gay community. As elsewhere in the nation in the 1970s, gay men and lesbians organized as never before and part of that narrative is the growth of local groundswells of grassroots activism that occurred in new places, such as New Mexico.[42] Local level politics aided in the national fight for gay and lesbian civil rights, a three-pronged method aimed at passing protective legislation for lesbians and gays, countering efforts to pass antigay acts, and repealing sodomy laws. New Mexicans engaged in all three tactics. As gay civil rights activists ramped up their activities, they mobilized a statewide

[41] Martin Gunderson, "Privacy and the Ethics of Outing," *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, no. 3-4 (1994), 50.
[42] On the modern gay liberation, see Tommi Mecca Avicolli, ed., *Smash the Church, Smash the State!: The Early Years of Gay Liberation* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2009); David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004); Martin B. Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993); David Eisenbach, *Gay Power: An American Revolution* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006); Karla Jay and Allen Young, eds. *Out of the Closets; Voices of Gay Liberation* (New York, Douglas/Links, distributed by Quick Fox, 1972), and Toby Marotta, *The Politics of Homosexuality: How Lesbians and Gay Men Have Made Themselves a Political and Social Force in Modern America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981).

and even regional movement that considered the needs and desires of non-urban lesbians and gay men in the Southwest. Activists in the gay liberation movement began to reflect cultural, regional, and racial diversity.

Most importantly, New Mexico launched a statewide political campaign to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity in the areas of employment, housing, public accommodation, and consumer credit that benefited the working class, lesbians and ethnoracial queers. Gay and lesbian organizations produced periodicals that helped to connect gay individuals and groups across the state and devise collective political goals. A political movement situated in Albuquerque, but with links to other areas knitted together a statewide social movement. These efforts have largely been studied in either a national context or within large cities, but small-scale acts of organizing resulted in an expanded definition of movement politics.

The final chapter investigates how exurbanites migrated to northern New Mexico in order to create alternative visions to urban gay organizations. By examining migrants who did not settle in gay ghettos and who made a return migration to a rural setting, this chapter will explore a lesser-understood aspect of sexual migrations. Some middle-class, working-class, and lower class white lesbians introduced geographic separatism as a solution to the gay male ghetto.[43] As did, the gay male spirituality organization the Radical Faeries who envisioned

[43] For scholarship on lesbian land, see Catherine Kleiner, "Nature's Lovers: The Erotics of Lesbian Land Communities in Oregon, 1974-1984," in *Seeing Nature Through Gender,* ed. Virginia J. Scharff (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 242–262; Catriona Sandilands, "Lesbian Separatist Communities and the Experience of Nature: Toward a Queer Ecology," *Organization and Environment* 15 (June 2002): 131–163, and Nancy C. Unger, "From Jook Joints to Sisterspace: The Role of Nature in Lesbian Alternative Environment in the United States," in *Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire,* eds. Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands and Bruce Erickson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 173–198.

acquiring rural land through a community trust.[44] In turn, they disseminated and dispersed urban gay and lesbian identities, cultural ideas, and political formations to non-urban areas. Publications further connected urban and rural lives. I analyze content from several do-it-yourself gay and lesbian rural periodicals that assisted lesbians and gay men with moving and living in rural spaces, and created a land-based lesbian and gay culture rather than a city-based one.[45] Similar to how gay men and lesbians reconfigured urban space in order to create sexual subcultures, lesbians and gay men who desired to live in rural spaces learned the intricacies of country living and became country gays. I contrast their experiences with those who were born and raised in the country.

Each of these chapters poses a challenge to the previously conceived spatiality of where gay men and lesbian can create homes. Cities offered anonymity for gay men and lesbians to explore same-sex desires; New Mexico offered privacy in its wide-open spaces. The vital role of artistic and literary production in the state and the work of bohemian artists and writers in their willingness to challenge sexual conventions, first created safe spaces for lesbians and gay men. The security state disrupted these beginnings. Nonetheless, migration in-and-out of New Mexico, an under acknowledged factor in contributing to the development of twentieth-century American sexual subcultures, aided homosexuals in spreading gay culture and politics and

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[44] Literature on the radical faeries includes, Don Kilhefner, "The Radical Faeries at Thirty (+ One)," *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide* 17 (October 2010): 17–21; Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight,* 233–5; Douglas Sadownick, "The 'Secret' Story of the Radical Faeries," *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide* 18 (February 2011): 29–31, and Mark Thompson, ed., *The Fire in Moonlight: Stories from the Radical Faeries 1975-2010* (Maple Shade, NJ: White Crane Books, 2011).

[45] For the history of lesbian print culture in the 1970s, see Meeker, *Contacts Desired,* and Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), and Margo Hobbs Thompson, "'Dear Sisters': The Visible Lesbian in Community Arts Journals," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12, no. 3 (2006): 405–23.

connecting urban hubs to small-towns. In the early 1970s, gay men and lesbians again looked to New Mexico as a site of freedom and as a space to continue to practice and advocate alternative lifestyles and politics.

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CHAPTER ONE

GOING SANTA FE: SELF, CULTURE, AND SEXUAL EXPRESSION AMONG THE ARTISTS, NUEVOMEXICANOS, AND PUEBLOS

"Santa Fe is the dyke capital of the country and that is the best kept secret in America," announced best-selling author Truman Capote in his unfinished novel *Answered Prayers* In the novel, Anita Hohnsbeen, who suffered from multiple failed relationships with men and several mental breakdowns is sent by her doctor to Santa Fe where she comes out as a lesbian, meets a lover, and settles into a country life.[1] Over the course of the twentieth century, Santa Fe and Taos gained reputations as safe alternatives to cities spaces for gay men and lesbians beginning in the 1920s when northern New Mexico emerged as a site for art colonies. Artists and writers disenchanted with modernity and the strictures attached to the practice of art in large cities sought creativity in the isolation of wide-open spaces. At the turn of the century, European and native-born bohemians selected northern New Mexico as a site for creative production and moved to the area; bohemian homosexuals followed in the succeeding decades. It is this second incarnation, the period of flowering and diversification of Taos and Santa Fe's aesthetic communities that is the focus of this chapter. In the 1920s and 1930s, a second wave of sculptors, musicians, playwrights, poets, and writers entered into these vibrant creative circles. They came for similar reasons: relative isolation, a low cost of living, a climate that tolerated

[1] Capote began writing *Answered Prayers* after the success of *In Cold Blood* (1965). He died from liver cancer in August of 1984 before he could finish the novel. It was published posthumously in 1987. Truman Capote, *Answered Prayers: The Unfinished Novel* (New York: Random House, 1987).

nonconformity, and a place for social experimentation.[2] Bohemian characteristics of rebellion against the status quo, gender transgression, and sexual and artistic freedom, created a niche for gay men and women to enter.[3] Open homosexuals easily fit into art societies and these spaces could also provide a cover for their non-normative sexual proclivities if they so desired.[4] Incipient gay and lesbian communities in New Mexico formed in conjunction with Santa Fe and Taos' growth as art colonies.

Numerous homosexuals participated in the bohemian milieu and many actively constructed bohemian culture. The affiliation of art and homosexuality meant that artists contributed substantially to conceptions of non-normative sexuality often in ways that subverted mainstream society's ideas. During a time when medical doctors cast homosexuality as a pathological condition that was a byproduct of modernity and upheld heterosexual marriage as the norm for understanding sexuality, bohemians defied these proscriptions and engaged in bisexuality, homosexuality, and queer marriages in nonurban places.[5] Cities played a

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[2] Charles C. Eldredge and National Museum of American Art, *Art in New Mexico, 1900-1945: Paths to Taos and Santa Fe/ Charles C. Eldredge, Julie Schimmel, William H. Truettner* (New York: Abbeville Press: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1986); Gibson, *The Santa Fe and Taos* Colonies; Sylvia Rodríguez, "Art, Tourism, and Race Relations in Taos: Toward a Sociology of the Art Colony," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 45 (April 1989): 77–99, and Marta Weigle, *Santa Fe and Taos: The Writer's Era, 1916-1941* (Santa Fe, NM: Ancient City Press, 1982).

[3] For a study that analyzes the early history of American bohemia, see Joanna Levin, *Bohemia in America, 1858-1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

[4] George Chauncey, Daniel Hurwitz, and Karen Christel Krahulik have all discussed the co-mingling of bohemian and homosexual circles in New York City, Edendale, California, and Provincetown, Massachusetts respectively. See Chauncey, *Gay New York;* Hurwitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles,* and Karen Christel Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York University Press, 2007).

[5] For several centuries, disapproval of homosexuals acts stemmed from religion and law. This shifted in the nineteenth century when a medical approach was applied to understanding homosexuality, which resulted in homosexuals being recast as a distinct type of person. Medical professionals correlated the rise of homosexuality amongst the white, middle-class as a troubling effect of modernity. For example see, Richard von Kraft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis* [1886] reprinted in *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science,* eds. Lucy Brand and Laura Doan (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1998). See also Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1999). For studies that show how cities played a role in loosening Victorian

role in loosening sexual morals and helped to connect urbanization and homosexuality yet the association of art and homosexuality was equally strong and is far less explored in the literature of LGBTQ history.[6] The spread of queer culture outside of large cities in places like Carmel, California, Provincetown, Massachusetts, and Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico complicated the conception of the urban homosexual. Furthermore, the migration of gay male and lesbian artists and writers to small-scale cities challenges the definition of the "Great Gay Migration" in LGBTQ history, which argues that lesbians and gay men (and others that desired greater sexual freedom) moved into major urban areas throughout America in the late twentieth century. [7] The early migration of a small number of professional homosexual artists and writers to small towns should modify scholar's conception of migration in the field. First, it demonstrates longer and deeper roots of the importance of movement to gay men and lesbians, and second, it shows how their migrations tied large urban centers to small-scale cities and towns. Through their physical movement and their creative efforts they helped to bind northern New Mexico to New York City, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Rather than viewing the art colonies as isolated or queer meccas of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York as stand-alone, I explore their queer pasts as interconnected. I encourage scholars to think about queer cultures as fluid and flexible networks that could be reproduced and adapted in nonurban centers. This is not to say that all queer communities were the same. Broadening the scope of identity construction, scholars have paid greater attention to the specificity of queer experience, in particular the importance of

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sexual morals, see Kathy Lee Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), and Kathy Lee Peiss, Christina Simmons, and Robert A. Padgug, eds., *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

[6] For general studies that analyze how art and homosexuality have been significantly entwined, see Catherine Lord and Richard Meyer, *Art & Queer Culture* (London: Phaidon Press, 2013) and Christopher Reed, *Art and Homosexuality: A History of Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[7] Rubin, "Thinking Sex," 286 and Weston, "Get Thee to a Big City," 253–277.

space, and they are beginning to articulate regional differences.[8] I assert that the Southwest produced its own queer manifestations even as it replicated elements similar to queer culture in large-scale cities. I will explore the significance of the sexual topography for the social organization of a formative queer community in Taos and Santa Fe.

Throughout this chapter, I will often merge the discussion of Santa Fe and Taos art colonies as members interacted and moved through both spaces, but it is important to note that there are differences. Taos as an artist's mecca developed first; Santa Fe followed.[9] Taos beckoned as a rugged outpost "a small adobe village, barely accessible by road, with no electric or indoor plumbing. Electrification and a paved highway from Santa Fe arrived in the twenties, while indoor plumbing and stucco did not become pervasive until well after World War II."[10] In relation to mainstream urban society, Taos was underdeveloped. Its ruggedness, multicultural atmosphere, and unique southwestern landscape attracted Anglo American artists who began

[8] Some work has been done on the Pacific Northwest, the Midwest and the South. See Gary Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2011); Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*; John Howard, ed., *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Howard, *Men Like That;* E. Patrick Johnson, *Sweet Tea: Black Gay Men of the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Kevin P. Murphy, Jennifer L. Pierce, and Larry Knopp, eds, *Queer Twin Cities* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota, 2010); Karen Lee Osborne and William J. Spurlin, eds., *Reclaiming the Heartland: Lesbian and Gay Voices from the Midwest* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), and Brock Thompson, *The Un-Natural State: Arkansas and the Queer South* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2010).

[9] Artist Joseph H. Sharp is often credited with triggering the art colonies in New Mexico. Sharp visited Taos on a sketching trip in 1883 and when he returned to Paris to study art, he shared his enthusiasm for Taos with two artist friends, Bert G. Phillips and Ernest L. Blumenschein. Phillips and Blumenschein decided to explore Taos on their way to Mexico for a painting trip. A broken wagon wheel on September 3, 1898, prompted them to stay in the Taos area instead of completing their scheduled trip to Mexico. Other artists soon followed including E.I. Couse, Oscar E. Berninghaus, and Herbert Dunton. These six men formed the Taos Society of Artists and held their first meeting on July 1, 1915. For this history, see Robert R. White and Historical Society of New Mexico, *The Taos Society of Artists* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

[10] Rodríguez, "Art, Tourism, and Race Relations in Taos," 80.

to settle in the area and founded the Taos Society of Artists in 1915.[11] In contrast, Santa Fe as the capital of New Mexico and the seat of civic life possessed a more urban character at least in comparison. Santa Fe had modern conveniences and it's population in 1920 hovered just under 8,000. In contrast, Taos' population remained around 1,500 until the Depression years when it declined slightly. But as the colonies reached their "golden age," in the decade of the twenties, they were more closely connected and as one scholar has argued, "Taos-colony members were dependent in many ways upon Santa Fe. The New Mexico Museum there was vital for displaying their work and distributing it to galleries and museums across the nation. In truth, Taos colony eventually became a sort of satellite of the colony to the south."[12] The two colonies cultivated distinct but interconnected identities as art havens.

The most recent scholarship on the bohemians of Taos and Santa Fe as art colonies includes discussions of homosexuals' place within these communities. James Kraft's biography of Witter Bynner weaves Bynner's homosexual and creative identities together; Lois Rudnick acknowledges Wells' place as a gay man within the Santa Fe art community in her edited book, and lastly, Flannery Burke addresses Willard "Spud" Johnson's homosexuality and its impact on his position as a middle member of the Taos art society.[13] Bringing these and other biographical pieces in conversation, I knit together a community of homosexuals and their interactions with each other. Another aim of this chapter is to make a unique contribution by bridging together existing literatures that have yet to be in dialogue with each other: the histories of the U.S. Southwest, with particular attention to constructions of ethnic, gender, and sexual identities

[11] Dean A. Porter et al., *Taos Artists and Their Patrons, 1898-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).
[12] Gibson, *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies,* 65.
[13] Burke, "Spud Johnson and a Gay Man's Place in the Taos Creative Arts Community," Kraft, *Who Is Witter Bynner?,* and Rudnick, *Cady Wells and Southwestern Modernism*.

and LGBTQ histories. I will further enhance these narratives by incorporating Native American and Nuevomexicano sexual identity constructions and treatment of "non-normative" sexualities. Northern New Mexico, the heart of the American Southwest, is inhabited by Nuevomexicanos (the descendants of Spaniards, Pueblos, and/or Mexicans), Navajos, Utes, Apaches, eight northern Pueblos (Nambe, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Santa Clara, Okowinga San Juan, Picuris, and Taos), and Anglos, which has created an extremely complex ethnoracial structure.[14] Thus, it is important to destabilize the notion that all gay and lesbian sexualities should be seen from a Western lens and my work advances the understanding of alternative structures of identity. In *West of Sex* historian Pablo Mitchell shows how transcultural interactions between Nuevomexicanos and Anglos drove the re-creation of Hispano sexual ideologies.[15] I will use one court case that Mitchell uncovers in his book, a 1916 New Mexico Supreme Court case *New Mexico v. Juan Lujan,* in which Josefita Martinez accused Juan Luhan of the crime of seduction, for discerning how Nuevomexicanos conceived of issues of sexuality and how they used silence as a cover for exploring sexual indiscretions outside the bounds of normative sex. For Pueblos, social scientist Sophie D. Aberle's difficulty in documenting sexuality at San Juan Pueblo demonstrates how Pueblos began to keep third gender categories –neither male nor female– private during the era of assimilation. Uncovering these silences has been a difficult task. This

[14] On the origins of New Mexico's racial system, see James Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 2002); Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*; Ross Frank, *From Settler to Citizen: New Mexican Economic Development and the Creation of Vecino Society, 1750-1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), and John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004). Joe S. Sando (Jemez Pueblo) has written the most comprehensive histories of the Pueblos. Joe S. Sando, *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1998). Even the category of Anglo is oversimplified. Most Anglos were northern Europeans, but also included Irish, Italian, Jewish, and other immigrant groups. See Charles H. Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 8.

[15] Mitchell, *West of Sex.*

chapter only begins to reveal Nuevomexicano and Native American non-normative sexualities in the 1920s and 1930s and invites further research.

After achieving statehood in 1912, New Mexico was a state with many different groups who claimed multiple racial and ethnic identities and connections to the land. Spanish-speaking citizens largely congregated in the northern third of the state along the upper Rio Grande and pursued a farming and grazing economy. Their identity was shaped by Spanish culture, the environment, Pueblo relations, and intimate ties to family, land, the Catholic Church, and neighbors.[16] In the 1910s and 1920s, they made up a majority of the population and despite an influx of Anglos, Nuevomexicano cultural heritage and identity persisted.[17] Pueblo Indians, a diverse group of Native Americans, lived in permanent villages called *pueblos* where they worked in agriculture and stock raising.[18] The federal government's assimilation policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to weaken traditional Pueblo cultural ethnic identities and practices.[19] The late 1920s ushered in a period of increased government control over the land, water, and lives of the Pueblo people of New Mexico.[20] Despite these changes and over four centuries of European exploration and colonization, Pueblos lived in their homeland, retained their ancient ways, and adapted traits from other cultures. Anthropologist

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[16] Richard Lowitt, *Bronson M. Cutting: Progressive Politician* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 21.

[17] Pablo Mitchell, *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2005), 4.

[18] In the state of New Mexico there are nineteen pueblos including Taos, Picuris, Nambe, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, Tesuque, Jemez, Cochiti, Sandia, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santa Domingo, Zia, Isleta, Acoma, and Laguna. Sometimes they are collectively referred to as *Rio Grande Pueblos.* Joe S. Sando and All Indian Pueblo Council, *The Pueblo Indians* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1976), 2–3.

[19] White activists, who challenged assimilation policies, worked to protect the Pueblos' "traditional" way of life. See Margaret D. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879-1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

[20] The *United States v. Sandoval* (1913) decision granted the federal government jurisdiction over the Pueblos land.

Alfonso Ortiz points out that a shared Pueblo identity is one of adaptability and cultural tenacity.[21] In popular imagination, outsiders viewed New Mexico as a place where three races lived together in harmony.[22] Instead, conflict between Pueblo Indians and Nuevomexicanos had existed for centuries and generated a complex system of racial identification in New Mexico.[23] White settlers further ruptured these complicated relations.

In terms of sexual relations, Nuevomexicanos and Anglos operated under a "culture of privacy," an arrangement predicated on a custom of etiquette that allowed certain private matters to remain unknown or go unobserved, but the federal government's invasive colonial policies held Native Americans to strict interpretations of normative sexual and gender relationships in an attempt to assimilate them into mainstream American culture. Prior to colonization, multiple definitions of sex and gender existed in both Native and Nuevomexicano communities.[24] The 1917 court case of *New Mexico v. Juan Lujan* documents a shift from Nuevomexicano's flexible sexual and gender understandings to rigid hierarchies connected to heterosexual marriage that privileged men over women. In the small northern New Mexico town of Sabinoso, Josefita Martinez accused Juan Lujan of the crime of seduction after she

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[21] For example, Pueblos blended Roman Catholicism with their native faith. See Carol Jensen, "Roman Catholicism in Modern New Mexico: A Commitment to Survive," in *Religion in Modern New Mexico,* eds. Ferenc M. Szasz and Richard W. Etulain (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), and Alfonso Ortiz, "The Dynamics of Cultural Pueblo Survival" in *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture,* eds. Raymond J. DeMallie and Alfonso Ortiz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

[22] Anthropologist John Bodine calls this the "Tri-Ethnic Trap." See John Bodine,"A Tri-Ethnic Trap: The Spanish-Americans in Taos," in *Spanish-Speaking People in the United States,* ed. June Helm (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1968), 145–153.

[23] Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*; Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*, and Nostrand, *The Hispano Homeland*.

[24] Multiple definitions of sexuality also existed for Anglos. The founders of modern sexology produced numerous classifications for sexualities, but by the 1920s the strict boundaries of *heterosexual* and *homosexual* became entrenched in American society. See Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Dutton Books, 1995), 83–112.

became pregnant through sexual intercourse (allegedly with Lujan) and delivered a stillborn baby on April 13, 1915, in her family's home.[25] According to Martinez, she consented to having sex with Lujan because he promised to marry her. She justified her sexual act by connecting it to marriage. At the same time, she had kept her sexual liaison and pregnancy a secret fearing family disapproval. Martinez told no one until she began giving birth and delivered a stillborn infant. She then called out for her sister, Aurora. Aurora confirmed the child was dead, buried the corpse behind the family home, and kept the family secret until several months later when Martinez decided to officially accuse Lujan of seduction.[26] Mitchell argues that Martinez "acted with a considerable degree of sexual independence and agency." At the same time, Martinez's "secrecy regarding her pregnancy suggests that she could not avoid the pressing weight of heteropatriarchy" – a commitment to heterosexual, marital reproduction.[27] Cognizant of the consequences of sex outside of marriage, Martinez felt compelled to hide her pregnancy. A child out of wedlock would have brought shame to her family. At least contesting the seduction in court restored respectability to the Martinez family, as the jurors agreed that the promise of marriage fooled Martinez into engaging in sexual intercourse and resulted in the horrible consequence of a dead child.

In an earlier period of village communal living in New Mexico (1821-1846) scholar Janet Lecompte argues that bearing children out of wedlock was a common occurrence. Using the birth records for Nuevomexicanos, Lecompte found that the frequent reproduction of children out of a marital framework demonstrates an acceptance of premarital sex for both men and women, a notion that would change as white, middle-class American standards infiltrated

[25] Juan Luhan alleged that the child was not his but Faustin Gutierrez.
[26] Mitchell, *West of Sex,* 102–3.
[27] Ibid., 104, 117–18.

Nuevomexicano ideals. [28] Lecompte asserts the independence of Nuevamexicanas: "a New Mexican woman retained her property, legal rights, wages, and maiden name after marriage like her Spanish ancestors. As we shall see, she was measured by no such ideals of character or double standard of sexual behavior, nor was she assumed to be subordinate to men, except by Americans who carried to New Mexico their image of true American womanhood and judged New Mexican women by it."[29] New Mexico, as a dynamic and adaptable borderland culture, fostered flexible economic, gender, and sexual structures. Historian Darlis A. Miller also documents a folk custom within Hispano culture "that sanctioned greater sexual freedom for women" up until the early twentieth century when Nuevomexicanos increasingly experienced Americanization.[30] The process started when New Mexico transitioned to a U.S. territory causing a shift in Nuevomexicanas/os' power. Mitchell locates a decline in New Mexican women's sexual independence in the 1910s as Nuevomexicanos turned towards embracing Anglo sexual norms as a way to restore and expand their cultural and political power.

In combination with stricter interpretations of normative sexuality Nuevomexicanos kept sexual matters private. Amaila Sena Sanchez, born in 1892 in Santa Fe recalled "If a girl got pregnant before she was married, they were so very, very, very secretive."[31] Similarly, Nancy

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[28] For additional important studies on Nuevomexicanas' independence, see Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Genaro M. Padilla, "Imprisoned Narrative? Or Lies, Secrets, and Silence in New Mexico Women's Autobiography," in *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture, and Ideology,* eds. Héctor Calderón and José David Saldívar (Duke University Press, 1991); Scharff, *Twenty Thousand Roads,* 116–135, and Charlotte Whaley, *Nina Otero-Warren of Santa Fe* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

[29] Janet Lecompte, "The Independent Women of Hispanic New Mexico, 1821-1846," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1981): 19, 21, 23, and 32.

[30] Darlis A. Miller, "Cross-Cultural Marriages in the Southwest: The New Mexico Experience, 1846-1900," in *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives,* eds. Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986).

[31] La Farge, *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog*, 23.

Campbell, who grew up in rural areas of northern New Mexico, recollected of the 1930s that sex "was hardly talked about."[32] Andreita Padilla from Los Padillas remembers strict monitoring of her sexual behavior: "They [her family members and community] wouldn't let us go anywhere, and they wouldn't tell us anything, either. They only said that girls weren't supposed to go with boys until they got married . . . they didn't explain anything."[33] These oral histories indicate an absence of sexual knowledge. On the other hand, silence on issues of sexuality may have provided a space for lesbianism. Some evidence suggests that lesbian-headed ranch and farm households existed in New Mexico.[34] Carol Lee Sanchez, born in 1934 and raised in the village of Pagute (west of Albuquerque) recalled that in Hispano communities of northern New Mexico unmarried women sometimes lived together and were referred to as either "Las Tias" or "comadres" (which she defined as co-mothers). Sanchez cautions, however, that open lesbianism or same-sex expression would have been heavily censured by their communities.[35] Ken Robey, who founded Albuquerque's Gay Co-op in 1976, also grew up hearing stories of lesbian homesteads and was told that: "it was a not uncommon practice to have a big spread run by two strong women who wouldn't have any men in the household."[36] Although speculative, it seems as if unmarried Nuevamexicana women found a place in very family-centered, tight-knit communities.

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[32] Ibid., 342.
[33] Andreita Padilla quoted in Nan Elsasser, Kyle MacKenzie, and Yvonne Tixier y Vigil, *Las Mujeres: Conversations from a Hispanic Community* (Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press; McGraw-Hill, 1980), 26.
[34] Judy Grahn, *Another Mother Tongue: Gay Words, Gay Worlds* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), 111; Ronald Donaghe, e-mail correspondence with author, November 3, 2013; Williams, interview and Lester Strong also heard similar stories about lesbian farmers and ranchers when he conducted interviews for his article "Hometown Revisited: Gay Liberation Reaches the Provinces," *Gay Community News*, September 12, 1981.
[35] Carol Lee Sanchez quoted in Grahn, *Another Mother Tongue*, 111.
[36] Ken Robey quoted in Strong, "Hometown Revisited."

Such silence on sexual activity makes it difficult to construe Hispano conceptions of sexual identities, and further, sexual behavior defined only in a reproductive framework left little space for queer desire and behavior. One place where a discussion of homosexuality does surface is in Hispano folk songs and stories. Between 1944-1974, Dr. Ruben Cobos, professor, folklorist, and musician, began capturing the stories and songs of the oldest norteños Nuevomexicanos in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.[37] Three of the songs and stories recorded in New Mexico, and originally created in the early 1900s, discuss male homosexuals. In the anecdote, "*El hombre que fue pa Juarez"* a man tells his friend that there are virgin girls in Juarez, Mexico. The friend decides to go to a Juarez brothel and asks the madam for a virgin. By mistake, she sends him an effeminate homosexual man.[38] In "*El pirujo"* a homosexual goes to a bar and asks for a beer. The bartender tells him to ask for it with balls; the homosexual responds by asking the bartender for a beer with balls.[39] The first story describes a funny misunderstanding in which a heterosexual man desires a virgin woman and due to a miscommunication is presented with an effeminate homosexual man. Mainly, the anecdote reveals a gendered double standard - repression of female sexuality (chastity) with the permission of sexual freedom for men. In the second story the bartender displays hostility toward a homosexual man by refusing to serve him a beer and emasculates the homosexual by undermining his manhood. Both portrayals of homosexuals are gendered as each is seen as effeminate. These two stories, written and performed by men, cast male homosexuals in a

[37] The collection contains over 500 recordings of folk songs, folklore, and local histories collected by Ruben Cobos.
[38] Sembronio Gonzalez, "*El hombre que fue pa Juarez,"* Box 1, CD 103, Ruben Cobos Collection of Southwestern Folklore and Folk Music, MSS 892 BC, University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research. (Hereafter Cobos Collection, CSWR)
[39] Joe Davis, "*El pirujo,"* Box 1, CD 105, Cobos Collection, CSWR.

hierarchal structure that privileges heterosexual men, which would have made it difficult for a Hispano homosexual to express his sexual identity.[40]

The Pueblos had similarly close-knit agricultural communities in northern New Mexico, but their history of sexuality was quite different. Traditionally, homosexuals had a place in some Pueblo societies, but the attacks on their cultures first by the Catholic Church and then by federal government assimilation policy resulted in some shifts in identities and self-expression especially in relation to their sex/gender system. In New Mexico, both Navajo and Pueblo cultures had within their gender frameworks a third category, neither male nor female, but two-spirit. Among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, the nations of Acoma, Isleta, Laguna, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, San Juan, Tesuque, and Zuni understood such alternative gender structures and in their own language identity them as *lhunide* (Tiwa), *kwidó* (Tewa), and *lhamana* (Zuni).[41] The Navajo use the term *nádleehí*, (literally translated to hermaphrodite) to discuss such people and their sacred role in Navajo culture.[42] Two-spirits, simultaneously manifested both a masculine and a feminine spirit and performed male and female tasks. Navajos and Pueblos also believed that those who experienced blended gender traits conferred special sensibilities for the production of art and both cultures highly valued creative and artistic people.

The erosion of flexible gender identities beyond the male and female binary for Native American communities was directly linked to assimilation policies of the late nineteenth and

[40] Mitchell, *West of Sex*, 116.
[41] Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 4 and Jacobs and Wesley, "Is the 'North American Berdache' Merely a Phantom in the Imagination of Western Social Scientists?" 24.
[42] Epple, "Coming to Terms with Navajo 'Nádleehí'," 267–90; Sun, "Sex/Gender Systems in Native North America," 40, and Denetdale, *Reclaiming Dine History*, 134–135.

early twentieth centuries. When the federal government ushered in an era of assimilation, one of its primary vehicles was the education of Native American children through their enrollment in government schools as a way to indoctrinate them into the general population.[43] Through education, reformers taught the next generation of Native Americans Western Christian values, mores, and habits that upheld a nuclear family ideal understood within a two-sex model. They used boarding schools to teach Native youth the importance of a male/female distinction. In New Mexico, these schools for Native Americans began with the founding of a Presbyterian mission school in 1873 in Taos, followed by the establishment of a boarding school in Albuquerque (1887), one in Santa Fe (1890), and thirteen government day schools in various communities by 1922.[44] Additionally, Catholic mission schools existed at the Pueblos of Laguna, Acoma, Isleta, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, and Jemez. In a traditional tribal setting, two-spirit individuals would have been encouraged and their third gender identity fostered. In a boarding school environment, however, two-spirit behaviors were suppressed and if they persisted the students were expelled. For example, cultural anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons recorded in 1931 that a young Laguna two-spirit who attended Santa Fe's boarding school cross-dressed as a female. Authorities discovered that the two-spirit's biological sex was male. They then forced her to wear male clothing and socialize with other boys.[45] These punishments

[43] By 1871, the federal government stopped signing treaties with Native Americans and this resulted in the loss of tribal sovereignty. The other two major aspects of a new phrase of Indian policy included the reservation system and extending the nation's legal system to Natives now deemed wards of the federal government. For scholarship on Indian boarding schools, see Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers* and David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997).

[44] Mark T. Banker, *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest, 1850-1950* (University of Illinois Press, 1993), 67 and Susan Mitchell Yohn, *A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), 72.

[45] Elsie C. Parsons, "Isleta, New Mexico," in *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 193–466.

enforced negative attitudes toward two-spirits reversing earlier positive interpretations of two-spirits that youths would have learned during traditional times.

As the example of the young Laguna person demonstrates, even during the boarding school era there exists evidence that two-spirit education on reservations continued. R.C. Gorman, born on the Navajo reservation July 26, 1931, is another case in point. Gorman lived with his father, Carl Nelson Gorman, mother Adelle Katherine Brown, and his brothers and sisters in an old stone house near the Catholic mission church in Chinle, Arizona.[46] Navajos occupied areas of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico, placing their point of origin in present-day northeastern New Mexico.[47] Growing up on the reservation, Gorman's maternal grandmother and Aunt Mary taught him traditional Navajo knowledge such as their Creation stories, which explain how Navajo forbearers journeyed from a series of worlds into the present one.[48] The first Navajos evolved from First Man and First Woman, who were created equally and at the same time and moved through multiple worlds together. They first lived in two unpleasant worlds and decided to escape to a third world where they encountered the twins Turquoise Boy and White Shell Girl. Turquoise Boy and White Shell Girl were *nádleehís* who possessed special artistic abilities. They created the first pottery bowl using clay and wove the first basket using water reeds.[49] Turquoise Boy also played a significant role in the Creation story by saving the ancient Navajos from Water Buffalo who attempted to prevent them from

[46] Draft of "R.C. Gorman: Navajo Artist a Biography" by Spring Herman, January 1994, Box 5, Folder 1, Virginia S. Dooley Papers from her Personal Life and Business Relationship with R.C. Gorman, 1916-2008, MSS 844 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico (Hereafter Dooley Papers, CSWR).
[47] Sun, "Sex/Gender Systems in Native North America," 40 and Denetdale, *Reclaiming Dine History,* 134–135.
[48] Denetdale, *Reclaiming Dine History,* 134–135.
[49] Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 19–20.

evolving into the final world. *Nádleehí*s presence in the natural order of the universe and their special artistic contributions accorded high status to gender variation in Navajo culture. Further, the Navajos possessed relatively egalitarian male-female- *nádleehí* relations.[50] In matrilineal Navajo culture, women conveyed *Diné* beliefs and values and Gorman's maternal grandmother and Aunt Mary repeated these traditions to him.[51] They also encouraged Gorman's artistic development. In his free time, Gorman loved to draw pictures of the world he lived in: hogans, sheep, his brother Don, and baby sister Donna. He often drew with a stick in the rich red mud on the reservation, as art supplies were scarce. He claimed his art career began at age three: "I have some drawings that I did when I was three and four years old, so I guess it was quite early that I made a decision to paint for a living."[52] This example shows that Native Americans who grew up on reservations may still have been taught traditional ideas. When Gorman entered boarding school at age twelve, educators introduced him to a conflicting understanding of his own gender and sexual identity. Gorman became a famous artist and lived a public life as a straight Navajo man, but close family and friends knew that Gorman identified as gay. Additionally, he seems to have also understood his identity as two-spirit as he wore gender-bending attire and depictions of Navajo women dominated his work, which he partially explained as comfort with expressing his feminine side.[53] In order to become comfortable, however, he moved off the reservation and explored his sexual identity in San Francisco, California in the 1950s and 1960s.

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[50] Sun, "Sex/Gender Systems in Native North America," 21–22 and 40–41.
[51] Denetdale, *Reclaiming Dine History*, 128–129.
[52] Daniel Gibson, "R.C. Gorman, Artist," *The Santa Fean Magazine,* January–February, 1991, 29.
[53] Letter to John Manchester from R.C. Gorman, February 18, 1965, Box 10, Folder 12, Dorothy Brett Papers, MSS 494 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.; Carol Guanzon, "The Man Who Celebrates Women," *The Mediterranean,* Fall-Winter 1986, 22–26 ; Josephine Trujillo, "Portraits of women are models of inspiration," *Rocky Mountain News,* Spotlight, October 29, 1997, section 8D; and "R.C. Gorman: The Picasso," *Collectors Mart,* September–October 1984, 46–53.

Very little public expressions of two-spirits in Pueblo and Navajo cultures existed in the 1920s and 1930s, but that did not deter social scientist Sophie D. Aberle from venturing to New Mexico in order to study sexuality and reproductive health amongst New Mexico's indigenous inhabitants.[54] A white, college-educated widow, Aberle received a grant from the Committee for Research in Problems of Sex and arrived in New Mexico in 1927 hoping to produce objective studies of sexual practices and reproduction at San Juan Pueblo. She moved into the village of San Juan and immediately began inquiring about the intimate lives of the Pueblo Indians asking questions about "sexual techniques," "perverse behavior," and "guilt feelings associated with masturbation." Members of San Juan Pueblo responded with utter silence, avoidance, and resistance causing Aberle to conclude that they did not wish to talk about sex. [55] Without the Pueblo's cooperation, Aberle failed to collect the type of information on sexuality that she had promised in her grant application. A few decades earlier, anthropologists and doctors succeeded in recording non-normative sexual practices of Pueblos. Take for example, in 1882, a military physician named William A. Hammond recorded the Pueblo *mujerado* a term he applied to every Pueblo tribe meaning a man who takes on a feminized role during religious ceremonies.[56] He further defined *mujerados* as "certain New Mexican inhabitants" who "changed from male to female . . . assumed the garb of a woman, lived with women and followed their occupations."[57] Hammond also claimed to have successfully documented masturbation practices of *mujerados*

[54] Sophie D. Aberle, *Twenty-Five Years of Sex Research: History of the National Research Council Committee for Research Problems of Sex, 1922-1947* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, 1953).
[55] Draft of unpublished manuscript, "End of an Illusion," 1983, pages 18-19, Box 14, Folder 22, Sophie D. Aberle Papers, MSS 509 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.
[56] Henry G. Spooner, ed., "The Mujerados," *American Journal of Urology and Sexology* vol. 14 (Grafton Press, 1918): 42.
[57] William Hammond quoted in Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past,* 181.

writing that the "act of masturbation is performed upon him many times everyday."[58] Over forty years later, Native communities questioned the motives of some social scientists, anthropologists, and doctors, like Aberle, in an era of assimilation when divulging 'perverse' behaviors could have generated negative consequences for a Native community.[59]

Without these cultural understandings of multiple gender roles in some Pueblo societies and in Navajo culture, there was little room for individuals who understood their gender or sexuality dissimilarly from the Western binary system. Americans effectively racialized, exoticized, and marginalized transgressive sexual and gender practices within certain Native American cultures. By the 1930s, Tony Garcia (Tewa) said that *kwidó* wasn't active when he was growing up on San Juan Pueblo.[60] According to anthropologist Will Roscoe, the practice of these roles disappeared by the end of World War Two, but individuals with two-spirit inclinations did not. However, instead of a secure place in their tribes, these individuals found their social positions problematic.[61] Their place within larger society proved equally problematic.

While Native Americans faced the eradication of their cultural freedom, white fiction writers and journalists extolled New Mexico as a place for self-determination for Anglos. Author Charles F. Lummis described New Mexico at the turn of the century as a state where "The opiate sun soothes to rest, the adobe is made to lean against, the hush of day-long noon would not be

[58] Hammond quoted in Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past,* 181.
[59] Rayna Green, "Review Essay: Native American Women," *Signs* 6 (Winter 1980): 261. Green discusses the numerous amount of researchers who visited Native communities in the 1900s.
[60] Tony Garcia quoted in Stuart Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay: Founder of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson, 1990), 261.
[61] Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, 194–200.

broken. Let us not hasten – manaña will do."[62] 1920s Santa Fe and Taos seemed a world apart from other small-scale cities in the United States. In relation to mainstream urban society, Taos and Santa Fe appeared untouched by the evils of modernity.[63] A multicultural heritage composed of indigenous homelands, Spanish-Mexican outposts, and Anglo frontier visions lured Americans who formed creative communities. Bolstered by an active tourism campaign and a growing intellectual community, artists and writers established Santa Fe and Taos as artist havens. They sought spaces on the margins of society and adopted them as places to contest power by introducing and testing new identities. While center of the world to Pueblos and Nuevomexicanos, to Anglos they were spaces of marginality and possibility. Northern New Mexico offered creative individuals a chance to discover and live their inner emotional lives and portray their visions through their work and public community involvement. They built a community –a cohort of like-minded individuals who desired to have their shared creative values impact local and national communities. Artistic endeavors, gender expressions, and sexual activities were central elements of their personal identities and the basis for forging community ties. Here, gay men and lesbians created a niche and built a subculture within a subculture. As historian Daniel Hurwitz has argued the 1920s and 1930s marked a historical moment when individuals began asserting that identity itself should be the focus of experiences and work.[64]

[62] Charles Fletcher Lummis, *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), 3. Lummis wrote *The Land of Poco Tiempo* when he moved to the territory in 1888 in order to recover his health.

[63] For an excellent cultural history of the city of Santa Fe's image making, see Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

[64] Hurwitz argues that the roots of identity politics occurred much earlier than the 1960s and 1970s and should be understood as connected to the first half of the century. Hurwitz, *Bohemian Los Angels,* 7.

Gay men and lesbians, from a variety of places across the U.S., populated Taos and Santa Fe. Agnes Sims, who grew up in Devon, Pennsylvania, visited New Mexico in 1938. Enchanted with the Southwest, she determined to make Santa Fe her permanent home. She initially opened a classical record store in an old farmhouse on Canyon Road, but was forced to close her business down during the war years. Later, she worked as a building contractor, but she is best remembered for her sketches and photographs of petroglyphs. Shortly after her arrival in New Mexico, a friend introduced Sims to the Galisteo Basin (south of Santa Fe) dotted with the ruins of prehistoric Indian Pueblos, and home to tens of thousands of ancient petroglyphs. Fascinated by the rock art, Sims spent much of her time recording these petroglyphs.[65] She also was known for her love of good food and scotch and living strictly on her own terms including her life-long partnership with Mary Louise Aswell. The two had met through East coast lesbian circles. After two failed marriages (one to the homosexual novelist Fritz Peters), Aswell met Sims and began her first lesbian relationship. Aswell retired from her post as fiction editor of *Harper's Bazaar* to move with Sims to New Mexico where they spent the remainder of their lives there together.[66]

Moving to New Mexico permitted artists and writers to engage in queer marriages and explore homoerotic feelings. In particular, New Mexican writers have left a trail of their perceptions of homoerotic desire through their fictionalized (and often autobiographical)

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[65] Agnes C. Sims and Frederick R. Pleasants, "American Indian Rock Drawing Exhibition," *MUSE Museum International* 6, no. 2 (1953): 128–30, and Agnes C. Sims, *San Cristobal Petroglyphs* (Santa Fe, NM: Southwest Editions, 1950).

[66] For Sims lesbianism, see Michael Ettema, "New Beginnings on Canyon Road," *Canyon Road Arts: The Complete Visitors Guide to Arts, Dining & Santa Fe Lifestyle* vol. 2, (2005-2006): 68–73, accessed January 26, 2015, http://www.canyonroadarts.com/links/New%20Beginnings%20on%20Canyon%20Road.html; Rudnick, *Cady Wells and Southwestern Modernism,* 38; Joan Schenkar, *The Talented Miss Highsmith: The Secret Life and Serious Art of Patricia Highsmith* (New York: Macmillan, 2010), 143, and "Agnes Sims," in Sims file, New Mexico Museum of Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

descriptions of early twentieth century homosexuals. Gay Jewish American writer Myron Brinig visited New Mexico in 1922 and permanently settled in Taos in 1939.[67] He published his first novel with Doubleday, Doran & Company called *Madonna Without Child* (1929), a character study of a woman obsessed with someone else's child. For the majority of his twenty-one novels published between 1929 and 1958, he used his experiences growing up in the mining town of Butte, Montana as fodder for his fictional works about miners, labor organizers, farmers, and businessman. Additionally, Brinig penned two novels that included homosexual characters.[68] Farrar & Rinehart published *Singermann* (1929), the story of Moses Singermann, his wife Rebecca, and their six children, including two gay brothers Harry and Michael, and the erosion of the family's traditional Jewish values in America. Some literary critics have speculated that Harry was an autobiographical depiction. Brinig remained publicly closeted, but in his memoirs and donated personal papers, he reveals the private side of his life, including his love affair with modernist painter Cady Wells and the time they spent together in Taos.[69]

Poet Harold Witter Bynner (Hal to his friends) also worked out some of his feelings about his sexual identity through a poem he wrote while living in Santa Fe. In 1922, Bynner and Spud Johnson arrived in Santa Fe as partners. Bynner a professor of poetry and Johnson a student of poetry, had met at the University of California at Berkeley a few years earlier. Bynner

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[67] In 1914, Myron Brinig had moved to New York to study creative writing and lived in the city throughout the 1920s. He briefly returned to Butte when he was drafted in 1917, then came back to New York after he was discharged.

[68] The second novel is *This Man is My Brother.* For biographical information on Myron Brining, see Daniel Walden, *On Being Jewish: American Jewish Writers from Cahan to Bellow* (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Publications, 1974); Peter B. Flint, "Myron Brinig, 94, Novelist Noted For Works on Montana's Infancy," *New York Times*, 1991 and Alan M. Wald, *American Night: The Literary Left in the Era of the Cold War* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 128. For historical fiction on Brinig, see Earl Ganz, *The Taos Truth Game* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006). Ganz also published an encyclopedia entry on Brinig, see Earl Ganz, "Myron Brining," LGBT encyclopedia, http://www.glbtq.com/literature/brinig_m,2.html (accessed January 16, 2015)

[69] Myron Brinig Memoirs, MSS 864 BC, University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research.

took an interest in the aspiring young writer and introduced Johnson to the larger world of bohemianism beyond the campus walls. The two men eventually became "lovers, friends, father and son, teacher and student."[70] In January of 1922, Bynner, who travelled and lectured around the country and abroad, began a lecture tour, which took him through the southwest. When he arrived in Santa Fe on February 22, he canceled the rest of his speaking engagements due to a respiratory infection and exhaustion. At the invitation of his friend Alice Corbin, he stayed in Santa Fe to recuperate, and after a few weeks, made a decision to move from San Francisco, California to Santa Fe. Johnson followed him. [71] The couple had separated by 1926, but Bynner and Johnson both stayed in New Mexico for the rest of their lives. In 1931, Bynner published *Eden Tree* a poetic musing about same-sex love inspired by his old love, Clifford McCarthy, and dedicated to a budding new romance with Robert Nicholas Montague Hunt. Bynner declared his homosexuality publicly, a rare and brave act, when he published *Eden Tree.* Despite the promise of new love in Bynner's life, the poem is bittersweet:

> I find you, Jonathan, unshaved, but dear
> Beside me in my bed. I love you here.
> Women are women. Women have need
> Of Adam and his seed;
> But men, when men love Adam, are the touch
> Of God's hand on Adam. There is much
> To be told about this that Eve would rather not hear.

[70] James Kraft, "Biographical Introduction," in *The Works of Witter Bynner: Selected Poems* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1977), LVI.
[71] *El Palacio* 12, March 15, 1922, 83. For scholarship on Witter Bynner, see Kraft, *Who is Witter Bynner?*. For scholarship on Spud Johnson, see Burke, "Spud Johnson and a Gay Man's Place in Taos Creative Arts Community," and Sharyn Rohlfsen Udall, *Spud Johnson & Laughing Horse* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

It is not mere

Denial of life, it is something else than a loss

Of life on an immolating cross;

It is something real,

With no generation or brood:

It is the seal

Of double solitude[72]

Several elements in this poem invite comment. To begin with, it should be noted that Bynner drafted this first and only work on homosexuality while living in Santa Fe in the company of other gay men and lesbians. Perhaps, this gave him the courage to explore the theme of homosexuality in his writing. Yet, even within the bohemian art circle, where Bynner was accepted as a gay man, he felt alienated and his poem expresses his isolation. According to Bynner's biographer James Kraft, "Bynner's deep sense of being separate from others and unable to relate to people is at the center of the poem's vision, and being homosexual reinforces this isolation."[73] To be sure, most gay literature of the early twentieth century was almost always negative in depicting homosexuality and Bynner's work is reflective of this larger trend.[74] But I believe that the isolation he felt was also connected to his separation from the national literary community. Prior to the publication of *Eden Tree* Bynner's work was widely

[72] Witter Bynner, *Eden Tree* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1931).
[73] Kraft, *Who is Witter Bynner?,* 92.
[74] According to Roger Austen, the main reason for the dearth of explicitly gay novels in America from the nineteenth century up to 1920 is that sexual perversion was regarded as an unfit subject for fiction. See Roger Austen, *Playing the Game: The Homosexual Novel in America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977). Pop culture historian Anthony Slide discusses fifty American novels with gay themes in *Lost Gay Novels: A Reference Guide to Fifty Works from the First Half of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

reviewed and well received.[75] Tellingly, his reception within the national literary community declined after its publication probably because he had marked himself as a homosexual poet. Take for example, Louis Untermeyer's review of the poem. Untermeyer compares Bynner's *Eden Tree* to Bynner's older autobiographical poetry entitled *The New World.* In the latter, Untermeyer argues that Bynner's "approach was direct; the tone ingratiating if reminiscent; the method simple and straightforward" but that in "'Eden Tree' all is changed. The approach is by way of fantasy running, at times to phantasmagoria; the tone troubled with self-contradictions; the method is confused and confusing." Untermeyer concludes with "The semi-realistic narrative is personal rather than universal. It is not, in the words of the jacket, 'a philosophy of life at fifty,' but a confession."[76] Reviews like this one, and a decided lack of reviews, suggest that many were uncomfortable with Bynner's homosexual admission. After which, some critics chose to ignore Bynner's work. Bynner was ostracized from mainstream literati, but in New Mexico, he lived as an openly gay man with his partner, Robert Hunt, his entire life.

Bynner's open homosexuality, Brinig and Wells' clandestine affair, and Sims and Aswell's unabashed lesbian relationship, reveal the myriad of ways homosexuals who migrated to New Mexico understood and expressed their same-sex desires. Taos and Santa Fe artists and writers primarily organized communal life around their passion of artistic expression. They structured their artistic world upon discussion groups, social events, and community and political organizations. They also created avenues to explore their erotic identities such as "The Rabbles," a group of poets including Alice Corbin, Witter Bynner, Haniel Long, Spud Johnson, and Lynn

[75] See for example Babette Deutsch, "Bitterness and Beauty," *New Republic* (February 10, 1926), 338–9; Haniel Long, "Mr. Bynner's Philosophy of Love," *Poetry* (February 1920), 281–3 and Louis Untermeyer, "A Christmas Inventory," *The Bookman,* (December 1925), 495–6.
[76] Louis Untermeyer, "*Eden Tree* by Witter Bynner," *The Saturday Review* (October 10, 1931), 186.

Riggs, which formed in the 1920s. The group, restricted to writers, met weekly at Corbin's home. Johnson described the workshop group as a place where "we were all using it to try out new things, to get an advance reaction before sending things out into the bleak world of terse rejection slips; and as a stimulus to make us write when we might otherwise have fallen into the good old *manaña* spirit."[77] Group members stimulated, inspired, and critiqued each other's poetry. They socialized together at dinner, read poetry aloud, and even played a sonnet writing game. Member Haniel Long recalled that the group "shared more than the artistic life" when they gathered together. The Rabble offered an arena "where people are valued for what they are" and fostered individuality.[78] Riggs remembered later in life that "The Rabble" provided a forum for him to discover who he was.[79] Riggs, Bynner, and Johnson all identified as homosexual and while it is difficult to ascertain if they wrestled with questions of desire during Rabble workshops, the cohort offered a gathering space to be oneself. This included wife and mother Alice Corbin who shunned feminine propriety in order to make "naughty cracks" that resulted in "infectious gurgles of laughter." "The Rabble made us jolly-made us write," concluded Johnson in a retrospective on the group's heyday.[80]

Another literary gathering spot for homosexuals was the bookshop Villagra. In 1921 Roberta Robey opened Santa Fe's first bookstore within an existing stationery store located on a corner of the plaza across from La Fonda Hotel. By 1927, Robey moved the successful bookstore to a larger space in Sena Plaza and named it Villagra Bookshop after the conquistador poet.

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[77] Spud Johnson, "The Rabble," *New Mexico Quarterly Review* 19 (Spring 1949): 72–5.
[78] Haniel Long, "The Poets' Round-Up," *New Mexico Quarterly Review* 19 (Spring 1949): 72.
[79] For work on Riggs, see Phyllis Braunlich, *Haunted by Home: The Life and Letters of Lynn Riggs* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988) and Thomas A. Erhard, *Lynn Riggs, Southwest Playwright* (Austin, TX: The Steck Vaughn Company, 1970).
[80] Johnson, "The Rabble," 75.

Robey sold Villagra to Clifford McCarthy in 1936 and for a time it was then owned and operated by gay men.[81] Villagra served as a gathering spot where same-sex desires were accepted. While not a gay and lesbian bookstore per se (as it did not stock only gay and lesbian materials), it functioned as a center for the flowering of queer community.[82] At 4pm, the bookstore hosted a daily gossip and martini gathering (called "tea" time as a euphuism during Prohibition) serving mainly the literary community. Legend has it that writer Willa Cather and her longtime partner, Edith Lewis, visited while vacationing in the southwest in the summer of 1925, and that during the visit Cather settled into an armchair near a fireplace in the Villagra Bookshop to begin writing *Death Comes for the Archbishop.*[83]

In the culture of privacy, lesbians and gay men both found spaces where they explored publicly expressing sexuality and faced restrictions on their open same-sex desires. Across the 1920s, '30s and '40s, men regularly met one another for sex in the public locales of bathhouses, streets, parks, movie theatres, bars, and restaurants. Sexual liaisons often occurred within a network of known public meeting spots. According to historian Daniel Hurwitz, "The city was rife with opportunities for knowing eye contact, gropes, and even full sexual interactions."[84] San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles possessed vibrant networks for casual encounters. [85] Much

[81] Weigle, *Santa Fe and Taos*, 24–5.
[82] The first gay and lesbian bookstore is often attributed to Craig Rodwell who opened the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop in 1969. He stocked only LGBTQ materials and intended the space to be a center of community. See David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 52. For a general discussion on gay, lesbian, and feminist bookstores, see Bob Summer, "Bookselling as Cultural Politics: Twenty-Five Years after Stonewall, Gay and Lesbian Bookstores Are a Mainstay of the Movement," *Publishers Weekly*, June 27, 1994, Literature Resource Center.
[83] Barbara Harrelson, *Walks in Literary Santa Fe: A Guide to Landmarks, Legends, and Lore* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2007), 30.
[84] Hurwitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles,* 49.
[85] Male same-sex sexual networks are featured in many urban histories. See Boyd, *Wide-Open Town;* Chauncey, *Gay New York;* Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves;* Howard, *Men Like That;* David Johnson, "The Kids of Fairytown: Gay Male Culture on Chicago's Near North Side in the 1930s," in *Creating*

of these activities have been documented in city spaces, but these public arenas became a locus of homosexual contacts throughout the country.[86] Historians John Howard and Hurwitz define these spaces as circuits that existed along expanses of terrain in which gay men moved in, across, and out of rather than an enclave in which gay men congregated and socialized. Cruising sites allowed heterosexual and homosexual, working-class and middle-class men meeting grounds for interaction. Searching for potential sexual partners in public arenas also occurred in New Mexico and Spud Johnson left a meticulous private record of his sexual encounters while living in Taos.[87] "This book & its bothers seem to be for the sole purpose of talking about who I do & do not sleep with. Well, why not – it's the one subject I can't discuss openly, so it give[s] this journal its purpose," wrote Johnson on June 30, 1936.[88]

Johnson found a surprising number of sexual partners when he visited the plazas, hotel lobbies, restrooms, and movie theaters of both Santa Fe and Taos. He frequently used his car to pick-up men and escort them to more private locations often his home or remote areas in the state.[89] Although Johnson desired to have more sexual encounters, and he continually lamented in his journal about his lack of success on the nights he went home alone, he nonetheless engaged with multiple sexual partners. In August of 1934, Johnson cruised the restroom at La

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a Place for Ourselves, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), and Gayle Rubin, "The Miracle Mile: South of Market and Gay Male Leather, 1962-1997," in *Reclaiming San Francisco: History, Politics, Culture,* eds. James Brook, Chris Carlsson, and Nancy Peters (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1997).

[86] For a study on cruising outside of cities, see Richard Tewksbury, "Cruising for Sex in Public Places: The Structure and Language of Men's Hidden, Erotic Worlds," *Deviant Behavior* 17 (January 1996): 1–19.

[87] March 21, 1934, Unnumbered Diary in Box 17, Folder 6, Spud Johnson Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin (Hereafter Johnson Collection, HRC). Thanks to Flannery Burke for uncovering Johnson's Dairy and sharing source materials. Conversation with author at the Western History Association Conference, October 2014. See also Burke, "Spud Johnson and a Gay Man's Place in Taos Creative Community."

[88] Spud Johnson Diary #3, Box 12, Folder 3, Johnson Collection, HRC.

[89] For the importance of cars to gay male culture, see Tim Retzloff, "Cars and Bars: Assembling Gay Men in Postwar Flint, Michigan," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves,* ed. Brett Beemyn *,* ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 227–252 and Howard, *Men Like That,* 99–106.

Fonda Hotel located on Santa Fe's historic plaza, and struck up a conversation with another man who was using the urinal. Receptive to his advances, the two men engaged in sex somewhere in the hotel lobby.[90] Another bathroom pick up led to Johnson and his sexual companion leaving the restroom and going to a more private location via Johnson's car.[91] On the night of May 21, 1934, Johnson wanted to go "'hunting' but knew it would be useless." A few nights later he wrote in his journal "still no one to sleep with."[92] Johnson recorded as many failed encounters as he did successful connections, such as this attempt: "Got in the car & cruised around. Saw a boy in a slicker, but bareheaded walking down the street who looked at me as though interested. I went round the block & saw him again. Again he looked. Then I parked the car & waited for him . . . He sat on a bench at the far corner so I stopped & asked him if he wanted to take a ride – sure he was looking for a pick-up." Here, Johnson displays some codes gay men used to assess another man's interest. Historian George Chauncey elucidates "A 'normal' man almost automatically averted his eyes if they happened to lock with those of a stranger, whereas a gay man interested in the man gazing at him returned his look."[93] The man Johnson tried to pick was a Texan temporarily employed at a Reforestation camp. He accepted a ride, but when Johnson made a further advance, nudging the man's leg, "nothing happened." The two men chatted until the Texan's friend arrived and they parted ways.[94] Johnson fared no better when he cruised New York's Time Square district and the bathrooms at Grand Central Station.[95] He believed his ineffective cruising tactics caused his lack of success rather than his location. He addressed this issue in his journal: "I realized that my approach is all wrong. My method ought to be to try to

[90] Unnumbered Diary, Box 17, Folder 6, Johnson Collection, HRC.
[91] Ibid.
[92] May 21 and May 24, 1934, Unnumbered Diary, Box 17, Folder 6, Johnson Collection, HRC.
[93] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 188.
[94] July 8, 1934, Unnumbered Diary, Box 17, Folder 4, Johnson Collection, HRC.
[95] October 20, 1934, Unnumbered Diary, Box 17, Folder 4, Johnson Collection, HRC.

be as attractive myself as possible – as healthy & upstanding & normal as I can be -- & let them be attracted to me, instead of trying to vamp them with longing looks. . . . to be active & strong & healthy & attractive as I can manage all the time, as though I were going to meet the most beautiful and desirable man in the world everyday! This sounds alarmingly like a schoolgirl's diary." Shy and self-effacing, Johnson confesses his inability to attract sexual companions.

Gay men in Santa Fe and Taos, who were part of the artistic circle, also met one another through private events, travel, and acquaintances in circuits that extended outside of New Mexico. Myron Brinig met a potential lover named Noel Sullivan, a wealthy patron of the arts, through a letter of introduction written by a mutual female friend named Emily. Sullivan maintained a residence in San Francisco, California, and another in the art community of Carmel, California. Sullivan liked to surround himself with talented people and attracted them by throwing extravagant soirees.[96] Brinig maintained a residence in Taos, but often spent years living on both coasts. In the mid-1930s, he took a trip to San Francisco and contacted Sullivan who invited Brinig to accompany him to Carmel for a weekend excursion. They spent an intimate weekend together. Brinig, who shied away from cultivating long-term same-sex relationships ultimately decided to not pursue a relationship with Sullivan, but his short affair with Sullivan demonstrates his broad and mobile sexual landscape. [97]

Back in Santa Fe, Witter Bynner hosted many private parties that provided a space for gay socialization. Mary Austin recalled that some of Bynner's events "were more respectable"

[96] Faith Berry, *Langston Hughes: Before and Beyond Harlem; [a Biography]* (New York: Citadel Press, 1992).
[97] Unpublished Memoir, "Someone At the Door: Memoirs of an Outsider," pages 40-99, Box, 1 Folder 2, Brinig Papers, CSWR.

while others contained an "assortment" of individuals and "drinking."[98] Historian Lois Rudnick interprets this distinction as Bynner throwing some parties just for queers while others contained a mix of straights and gays. According to Bronson Cutting's biographer, the closeted gay politician, New Mexico Senator Cutting, attended Bynner's respectable parties, but still managed to meet other gay men. At one such party, Cutting stole Bynner's boyfriend, Clifford McCarthy (Don).[99] While at times, gay men and lesbians socialized separately from heterosexuals, they also socially integrated. In fact, lesbians and gay men seem to have become part of the cultural fabric of New Mexico. Katharine Mayer who was born and raised in Santa Fe stated, "It never occurred to me to be critical of him (Witter Bynner) because he was a homosexual. We used to play bridge together. I used to go there quite often."[100] Mayer's matter-of-fact statement illustrates that gay men and lesbians were woven into everyday life. Lesbians in Santa Fe became so ubiquitous that the local expression "going Santa Fe" was a coded way of identifying a woman as a lesbian.[101]

A further example includes how both gays and straights used La Fonda Hotel located on the plaza. In the 1920s, Santa Fe Plaza, served as a primary social node of a community. It's history dates back to 1610 when Governor of New Mexico Don Pedro de Peralta constructed the city of Santa Fe.[102] He built a town in the Spanish fashion, with the plaza at its center, a space bordered by the casa real (royal palace, the building known today as the Palace of the

[98] Lowitt, *Bronson M. Cutting,* 187.
[99] Lowitt, *Bronson M. Cutting,* 187 and La Farge, *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog,* 121.
[100] Katherine "Peach" Mayer quoted in La Farge, *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog,* 50.
[101] Ford Ruthling quoted in Rudnick, *Cady Wells and Southwestern Modernism,* 39.
[102] Corinne P. Sze and Beverley Spears, *Santa Fe Historic Neighborhood Study* (Santa Fe: City of Santa Fe, 1988); Linda Tigges and Tigges Planning Consultants, *Santa Fe Plaza Historic Documents Collection* (Santa Fe: Tigges Planning Consultants, 2009); Marc Treib, *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), and Ralph E. Twitchell, *Old Santa F*e (Santa Fe: New Mexican, 1925).

Governors) and a parish church.[103] Santa Fe Plaza became a commercial, social, and political center of the city much like plazas common throughout traditional Spanish American towns.[104] Physical signature pieces such as plazas, the uniqueness of small-town life, and habits in celebration, represent a cultural quality of New Mexico that has been revived, preserved, and reshaped. Chris Wilson explains in his book *The Myth of Santa Fe* that the city's civic leaders embarked on a conscious effort to remake the city into a tourist attraction after achieving statehood. In line with this vision, Santa Fe's economic redevelopment plan included the construction of a tourist hotel with an architectural style adapted from Pueblo and Spanish forms.[105] Isaac Rapp and Arthur C. Hendrickson designed La Fonda.[106] Built on the southeast corner of Santa Fe's Plaza in 1919, the hotel looks down San Francisco Street toward St. Francis Cathedral.[107]

La Fonda, owned by the Santa Fe Railway and developed as a Fred Harvey tourist hotel, became a popular gathering place and exhibition space for artists in the 1920s and 1930s, but it equally acted as a social spot for non-artists and in these decades served tourists and locals alike. "The New Mexican Room at La Fonda was where everybody lunched," Santa Fe resident Calla Hay recalled. Amalia Sena Sanchez concurred, "We went there all the time, because that was the center of activities, where everybody would meet. There was no other place to meet

[103] Pueblos burned down the parish church during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.
[104] Daniel D. Arreola, *Tejano South Texas: A Mexican American Cultural Province* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 74–6.
[105] The "new" La Fonda hotel was constructed on a site where previous hotels existed that date back to 1822. See Peter Hertzog, *La Fonda: The Inn of Santa Fe* (Santa Fe, NM: Press of the Territorian, 1964), 3. For the definitive history of American hotels, see A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
[106] Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*, 138–9.
[107] Ibid.

but La Fonda."[108] Chuck Barrows remembered the La Fonda lobby as "the center of town."[109] Gay men and lesbians frequented La Fonda just as often. Hay recollected, "Through the years, the men who were homosexual in no way flaunted it or made a public show. But there was a large group of lesbians who seemed to want everybody to look at them. They just went around together. Some of them were very nice. They lunched at La Fonda, the same table every day. In mannish clothes and big hats."[110] Marian Winnek rode horseback each day to lunch at La Fonda with her circle of lesbian friends. She then spent the rest of her afternoons planning and writing her trilogy *Juniper Hill.*[111] Paul Hogan remembers spotting lesbian couple Willa Cather and Edith Lewis working on Cather's manuscript *Death Comes for the Archbishop* at the La Fonda hotel in the summer of 1925.[112] These examples indicate that straights and gays interacted often crossing paths in their daily lives.

Santa Fe Fiesta, which took place in the plaza, provided another gathering space for gays and straights to mingle. Fiesta began in 1919 when Dr. Edgar L. Hewett director of the School of American Research and his staff crafted a celebration to honor the history and culture of Native Americans, Nuevomexicanos, and Anglos.[113] As the fiesta evolved, the artists and writers who had recently arrived added their own flair and evolution to fiesta celebrations. For instance,

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[108] Amailia Sena Sanchez quoted in La Farge, *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog,* 55.
[109] Chuck Barrows quoted in La Farge, *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog,* 63. See also interviews that highlight La Fonda with Alice Henderson Rossin, Paul Frank, Samuel Adelo, J.I. Staley, Miranda M. Levy, and Margaret Larson in *Turn Left at the Sleeping Dog,* 244–252.
[110] Calla Hay quoted in La Farge, *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog,* 207.
[111] Weigle and Fiore, *Santa Fe and Taos,* 136 and Marian Winnek, *Juniper Hill* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1932), 132.
[112] Weigle and Fiore, *Santa Fe and Taos,* 26.
[113] For an in-depth discussion see, Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*. Although the city has claimed that the Santa Fe Fiesta began in 1712 as a way to commemorate Don Diego de Vargas' 1692-93 Reconquista of Santa Fe after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Chris Wilson argues that it began in September 1919 because there is a lack of evidence that indicates an ongoing and continuous Reconquista Fiesta. Wilson uncovers two previous celebrations similar to Santa Fe Fiesta occurred in 1911 and 1912 called the Fourth of July De Vargas pageants.

Witter Bynner and Dolly Sloan, wife of Santa Fe artist John Sloan, organized a program of free Fiesta events called "*Pasatiempo*" in 1924. Bynner and Sloan's *Pasatiempo* is remembered as "a revolutionary protest fiesta" including concerts, singing, dancing, and a children's animal show – all free events. *Pasatiempo* responded to the Museum of New Mexico's decision to charge attendees a fee for certain aspects of Fiesta. Sloan and Bynner challenged the commercialization of the "traditional" Fiesta because it excluded the participation of many Santa Fe residents. By far the most popular of the free events was a parody of the Santa Fe Fiesta called the Hysterical Pageant. This carnivalesque parade allowed for cross-dressing and encouraged people from all class levels to don costumes and mock cultural conventions by poking fun at historic figures, tourists, and New Mexican stereotypes. Santa Feans wore costumes and transformed their cars, horses, and burros into parade floats. Here, we see the merging of a New Mexican event with queer sensibilities. Artistic types took a dominant cultural event and adapted it for a gay subculture. Fiesta time allowed a reprieve from social judgment and cultivated an anything goes attitude in a public arena. Artistic types who valued a cultural ethos that flouted convention created an event that openly mocked racial and gender constructs.[114]

Unlike gay drag balls that existed in the 1920s and 1930s in places such as New York City and Harlem where gay men appropriated masquerade balls and created their own separate event, Santa Feans' *Pasatiempo* illustrates how gay people used an opening to advance a queer public presence by incorporating themselves into an existing celebration.[115] Again, we see how gays and straights blended together rather than congregated separately. In New Mexico, artistic

[114] For scholarship on Pasatiempo, see Rudnick, *Cady Wells and Southwestern Modernism,* 39 and Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe,* 211–222.
[115] By the 1920s, gays staged around six drag events in New York City. Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 237 and 294.

residents enhanced fiesta by adding a bohemian twist: irreverent humor and style. Other events tied to fiesta encouraged cross-dressing. In 1927, Mrs. Terresa Dorman hosted a costume party where guests dressed up as an "Egyptian dancing girl, Hawaiian beauty, Riding Master, Tiger, Spanish señorita, a French fisherman, a Chinese savant and New Yorkers."[116] Witter Bynner dressed as the Chinese savant and took advantage of fiesta as an opportunity to wear feminine Chinese robes, but it should be remembered that lesbians and gay men also embraced their own fashion ideas outside of fiesta gatherings like the ladies who lunched at La Fonda with their big hats and mannish clothes. Bynner often dressed in Chinese robes or Navajo shirts and *concha* belts.[117] Lynn Riggs also wore Navajo shirts and *concha* belts. Gay and straight women defied conventional styles by cutting their hair short and wearing masculine attire.

Similar to their counterparts in Santa Fe, a group of artists and writers in Taos invented the fiesta "historical-hysterical" parade. Despite its provocative name, the "historical-hysterical" procession embraced traditional gender roles. For example, its opening procession featured the "the Conquistadors, the Mountain men, American Cavalry, and finally the artists."[118] An elite group of Anglo boosters invented the Taos Fiesta for the purpose of attracting tourists around 1938.[119] From its inception and for several decades after, Anglos orchestrated and attended Taos fiesta until the 1960s when it transitioned toward Nuevomexicano control. Unlike Santa Fe Fiesta, Taos Fiesta upheld and promoted heterosexual gender norms. The central feature of Taos Fiesta was the coronation of a Hispana fiesta queen. Anthropologist Sylvia Rodríguez

[116] "Mrs. Terresa Dorman Hostess at Gay Costume Party for Edward Hall," *Santa Fe New Mexican,* September 3, 1927, reprinted in Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe,* 216.
[117] Corinne P. Sze, "The Witter Bynner House," Bulletin of the Historic Santa Fe Foundation vol. 20, no. 2 (September 1992), 5.
[118] Rodríguez, "Art, Tourism, and Race Relations in Taos," 90.
[119] Sylvia Rodríguez, "The Taos Fiesta: Invented Tradition and the Infrapolitics of Symbolic Reclamation," *Journal of the Southwest* 39 (April 1997): 36.

explains, "She is the premier ceremonial presence of the fiesta, its human and spiritual embodiment, She is guarded, watched and treated like an honored guest wherever she goes. Indeed, the queen, who is and has always been Hispana, stands at the heart of the fiesta's meaning as a symbolic expression of personal, gendered, ethnic identity." Rodríguez interprets the role of the festival queen as reinforcing a heterosexual gender norm.[120] Taos Fiesta, much more closely affiliated with religion and with a queen at the center, did not cultivate cross-dressing theatrics as did Santa Fe's Fiesta events.

The main space for gay and lesbian life in Taos stemmed from private events held at Mabel Dodge Luhan's home. An educated socialite, Dodge started a weekly salon in her Fifth Avenue home in Greenwich Village, New York between 1913-1916, attended by artists, writers, radicals, socialites, lesbians, and dignitaries. By the 1910s, Greenwich Village had established itself as an offbeat community of artists and intellectuals. Within this milieu, some challenged sexual conformity and experimented with erotic same-sex relationships including Dodge.[121] In her bisexual behavior and personal memoirs, she expressed confusion and ambivalence about both her gender and sexual identity.[122] In 1918, she replicated bohemianism in Taos, New Mexico as she cultivated a rich creative community of famous artists and writers upon her arrival. Important artists and intellectuals made pilgrimages to visit her in Taos tying it to New

[120] Forthcoming article on the fiesta queen discussed in Sylvia Rodríguez, "Fiesta Time and Plaza Space: Resistance and Accommodation in a Tourist Town," *The Journal of American Folklore* 111 (January 1998): 39–56.

[121] Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin Books (Non-Classics), 1992), 83. Dodge discusses her bisexuality in Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Intimate Memories* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.,1933). The following biographies also address her bisexuality: Winifred L. Frazer, *Mabel Dodge Luhan* (Boston: Twayne, 1984) and Emily Hahn, *Mabel: A Biography of Mabel Dodge Luhan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977).

[122] In *European Experiences* the second volume of *Intimate Memories,* Dodge describes her marriage to her first husband as an abduction and she rebelled against heterosexual and heteronormative constraints by engaging in sexual flirtation with men and women. She ultimately embraced a heterosexual identity as evidenced by her four marriages, but throughout her life she remained conflicted about heterosexuality.

York. For instance, a renowned, gay New York painter, Marsden Hartley arrived in New Mexico in June of 1918 in search of a way to express a unique American aesthetic, which he achieved when he created a series of Taos abstract landscapes.[123] Hartley also sought space to grieve over the wartime death of a man whom he loved, German cavalry officer Karl von Freyburg.[124] Hartley understood northern New Mexico as a place where he could have privacy as a gay man and perfect his artistic style.

When he returned to New York in 1919, Hartley socialized with a circle of artists formed around American photographer Alfred Stieglitz that included other homosexuals. Yet within this urban avant-garde group, Hartley experienced homophobia. Eugene O'Neill's 1926 play *Strange Interlude* pejoratively portrayed Hartley and painter Charles Demuth. Feeling ostracized, in 1937 Hartley retreated to live near his hometown of Lewiston, Maine, a rural outpost.[125] After that, he preferred to be in remote locales. Hartley's life shows that gay men did not always seek out cities to explore sexual identity; Hartley lived in Paris and New York, but also sought privacy in rural spaces when urban places proved to be a poor fit for him. In this way, scholars should view urban-rural as interconnected. It is equally important to conceive of the sexual landscape of New Mexico beyond the confines of state lines as ideas and peoples crossed physical boundaries.[126] Sexual nonconformists and radicals of the Greenwich Village, New York bohemia intermingled with those in Taos.

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[123] Traugott, *The Art of New Mexico,* 66.
[124] "Marsden Hartley and the West: Memory, Loss, and the New Mexico Desert," Out West, The Autry, accessed February 1, 2015, http://theautry.org/press/marsden-hartley-and-the-west-memory-loss-and-the-new-mexico-desert and Heather Hole, *Marsden Hartley and the West: The Search for an American Modernism* (Yale University Press, 2007).
[125] Reed, *Art and Homosexuality,* 132–134.
[126] These broad sexual landscapes of the 1920s and 1930s applied mainly to Anglos. Native Americans and Nuevomexicanos participated after World War Two.

In New Mexico, a gay man or lesbian could live a private life or push the boundaries of sexuality. Dodge continued to extend her sexual experimentation. Take for example, her marriage to Taos Pueblo Indian Tony Luhan.[127] Their nuptials of April 1923 sparked intense curiosity from the bohemian community. D.H. Lawrence wrote to a friend, "Mabel married Tony, I hear – why?"[128] Frieda Lawrence voiced a similar opinion, "Mable had married Tony – In my *head* I say: why not, but somewhere else it's *so* impossible." [129]A few women, such as Lucy Collier wife of social reformer John Collier, expressed envy of Dodge's marriage. "Well! He (Luhan) is the only element in another's life I have every really envied." Lucy Collier wrote of her magnetic attraction to Luhan: "With Tony as with no other human being – all that is violent – combative in me fades out – In that sense I feel a warm flow and support rapport with him."[130] White women, like Lucy Collier, flirted with the idea of sexual liaisons with a Native American man. For Dodge, her interracial marriage challenged the boundaries of early twentieth century sexual conventions. Intellectuals, bohemians, and radicals through their sexual behaviors sought to dislodge earlier conceptions of passionlessness female sexuality.[131] In Dodge's mind, her marriage to Luhan emancipated her sexual vitality: "Sex for Mabel *was* a means of politics, which she enacted and promoted throughout much of her life in the belief that it would affirm

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[127] For scholarship on the interracial marriage of white women and Native men, see Cathleen D. Cahill, "'You Think It Strange That I Can Love an Indian': Native Men, White Women, and Marriage in the Indian Service," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 29, no. 2–3 (2008): 106–45; Margaret D. Jacobs, "The Eastmans and the Luhans: Interracial Marriage between White Women and Native American Men, 1875-1935," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 3 (2002): 29–54; Raymond Wilson, *Ohiyesa: Charles Eastman, Santee Sioux* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), and Theodore D. Sargent, *The Life of Elaine Goodale Eastman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

[128] D.H. Lawrence to Lee and Nina Witt, May 3, 1923, in D. H Lawrence et al., *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1979), vol. 4, 440.

[129] Frieda Lawrence to Bessie Freeman, May 30, 1923, *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence,* vol. 4, 441–2.

[130] Lucy Collier to Dodge quoted in Flannery Burke, *From Greenwich Village to Taos,* 119.

[131] Nancy F. Cott, "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850," *Signs* 4, no. 2 (1978): 219–36 and Jill Fields, "Erotic Modesty: (Ad)dressing Female Sexuality and Propriety in Open and Closed Drawers, USA, 1800-1930," *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (2002): 492–515.

her existence and meaning."[132] She asserted and legitimized her female sexual desire, but it came with a price. Dodge contracted syphilis from Luhan and wrote in her unpublished memoir that after her infection "she and Tony ceased to have sexual relations with each other for the rest of their lives." Dodge and Luhan's marriage was a torturous love affair. In addition to giving her syphilis, he strained their marriage by engaging in multiple affairs. While Dodge and Luhan's interracial marriage raised eyebrows amongst bohemians, their relative acceptance of the union shows their rejection of Victorian middle-class sexual mores. Scholars mark the decade of the 1920s as the first sexual revolution because Victorian sexual mores loosened and women experienced greater sexual freedom.[133] Sexuality as connected to reproduction still dominated sexual discourse, however the reproductive model of sex was layered with a competing discourse of sexual pleasure outside of marriage and presented new ways of thinking about sex.

Queer unions, cruising sites, bookstores, public fiestas, and private parties all made up the sexual landscape of New Mexico. Historian Arrell Morgan Gibson affirms "As the author population of Santa Fe and Taos increased there occurred a concomitant increase of nonconformists – daring in dress, flaunting in lifestyle, several rated 'kinky.' Gay status became a common and accepted form of sexual choice in both colonies."[134] In the communities of Taos and Santa Fe at large, locals welcomed artists and writers and incorporated them into community life as this journalist explains, "Many Taos town folks called the newcomers, with their shaggy hair, unconventional dress, shocking language, and free love advocacy, 'a bunch of

[132] Mabel Dodge Luhan and Lois Palken Rudnick, *The Suppressed Memoirs of Mabel Dodge Luhan Sex, Syphilis, and Psychoanalysis in the Making of Modern American Culture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 18.
[133] John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, eds., *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Jeffrey Escoffier, ed., *Sexual Revolution* (New York: Running Press, 2003), and Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution the Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).
[134] Gibson, *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies,* 198.

nuts;' but begrudgingly tolerated them because they found them good for business in that the colony's enlarging Bohemianism titillated tourists."[135] Locals generally supported the art colonists up to a point, but drew the line at open homosexual expression. One editorial in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* stated: "Santa Fe has many eccentricities. She has some notoriously or famously eccentric persons in her population. We fight over fairies . . . There are a few . . . But they are the exception, and furnish some innocent amusements."[136] Homophobia in the press mainly surfaced as a subject of ridicule directed at "fairies" of the art colonies.[137]

To be sure, homophobia existed both within the larger communities of Taos and Santa Fe and within artistic circles. At private parties, events in which one might think gay men and lesbians had the most latitude to express same-sex desire attendees monitored their public displays of homoerotism. Literati and artists frequently gathered in each other homes for bohemian parties. Even so, Spud Johnson recorded in his journal that at these galas, he could not dance with other men. In the spring of 1936, Count Michel de Buisseret visited Taos, New Mexico and developed an instant crush on Johnson. The two men had first met over drinks with mutual friends at a bar. Later, they became reacquainted at Florence McCormick's dinner party. After dinner when the dancing began, the two men slipped into the hallway to dance with each other while the other guests remained "in the living room." They left the party early to visit Michel's hotel room where they engaged in sexual activity. The incident recounted by Johnson demonstrates that tolerance of homosexuality had its limits – public displays of same-sex

[135] "Artist Corner," *Taos Valley News,* June 12, 1930.
[136] Quoted in Gibson, *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies,* 64.
[137] Cross-dressing, theatrical behavior, and effeminate behavior led some residents to label homosexuals as "fairies." It is important to note that some gay men of the artist community never applied the term fairy to themselves. Johnson called himself a homosexual in his journal although he sometimes used the words "queer," "effeminate," and "fairy" to label other gay men. For a general discussion on the "fairy" identity see, Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 47–65.

affection were censured. Historian Flannery Burke argues that the Taos Anglo art colony operated under an inequitable hierarchy and that homosexual men made up the middle rungs while powerful women such as Mabel Dodge Luhan secured a place above them.[138] A slur made by Mabel Dodge Luhan adds further support for this argument. To remind Witter Bynner of who held the power, Dodge accused Bynner of tainting New Mexico by bringing homosexuality to the state. Bynner's biographer discounts the slur as "so marvelous in its imaginative vindictiveness as to be almost forgivable."[139] I disagree. Attitudes such as this, whether vocalized or not, kept gay men and lesbians as second-class citizens. Dodge's own experiments with homosexuality, did not translate into acceptance.

Whereas homosexuals in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles carved out gay neighborhoods for socialization within certain districts of the city, Santa Fe and Taos lesbians and gay men were sewn into the landscape's fabric. Historian Nan Alamilla Boyd explores how San Francisco's reputation for vice created a niche for homosexuals to establish their own bars and participate in the city's nightclub culture through female impersonation, vaudeville, and other cross-dressing performances, making it a queer city.[140] Los Angeles' queer culture was also anchored in theatrical arts and later the movie industry.[141] Chauncey uncovers a gay male world in New York City between 1890 and the start of the Second World War that included the gay neighborhoods of the Bowery, Greenwich Village, Harlem, and Times Square, commercial establishments ranging from speakeasies and bars to high-end restaurants and cheap cafeterias. Gay men further constructed drag balls and beauty pageants and cultivated ties with other men

[138] Burke, "Spud Johnson and a Gay Man's Place in the Taos Creative Arts Community."
[139] Kraft, *Who is Witter Bynner?,* 55.
[140] Boyd, *Wide-Open Town,* 2 and 5. Later the nightclub and bar based queer culture overlapped with the beginning of homophile politics in the 1950s and 1960s.
[141] Hurwitz, *Bohemian Los Angels* and Timmons and Faderman, *Gay L.A.*

that involved queer marriages and casual sex encounters in bathhouses and parks. Many of these gay spaces developed out of the city's vice culture, as Chauncey explains, "The making of the gay world can only be understood in the context of the evolution of city life and the broader contest over the urban moral order."[142] Thus a homosexuals became linked with urbanism; society's imagined homosexual was male and an urban product. Scholars like Chauncey and Boyd show the significance of metropolitan space to the story of modern lesbian and gay identity formation, however nonmetropolitan space also provided arenas for exploration of same-sex identity formation. Northern New Mexico's reputation for art made it attractive as a queer space and I have argued that the identity category of homosexual fused with artist and fostered queer culture outside of an urban context.[143] Instead of activities associated with urban vice - bars, nightclubs, and bathhouses - Santa Fe and Taos homosexuals and bohemians crafted small-town activities: creating a home with a partner, playing bridge games with neighbors, participating in community events, and meeting at discussion groups and private parties. To some extent, homosexuals also reproduced urban inventions: cruising sites, salon parties, and gay tourism.

Homosexual writers and artists sought refuge in the state and their presence further contributed to a congenial environment for lesbians and gay men to form incipient communities. Collectively, Anglos and Nuevomexicanos during this era operated under a culture of privacy. There was an open acknowledgement of homosexuals in New Mexico and they were accepted as part of the fabric of the state. In certain spaces, Anglo and Nuevomexicano

[142] Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 132.
[143] Christopher Reed argues that the public trail of playwright Oscar Wilde fused artists to homosexuality. He further shows how the category of homosexuality emerged in tandem with the avant-garde artists during the nineteenth century. See Reed, *Art and* Homosexuality, 76–96.

individuals lived the life they wanted to and were tolerated. Nuevomexicano lesbian partners and gay male couples lived together on farms and ranches. Bohemian artists and writers formed a gay enclave. Rather than forming a cohesive whole, each group developed their own perceptions and reception of gay individuals. As colonized peoples, Native Americans endured the harshest restrictions on their homosexual expression. While their confinement on reservations isolated them from white society and may have helped foster community and cultural traditions to a degree, that continuity was offset by the persistent federal polices aimed at destroying traditional gender roles and sexuality, especially among children removed to the federal schools. Within tribal communities many members began to internalize and embrace two-sex model ideologies, which cultivated issues of misogyny and homophobia on reservations. Largely, invisibility enveloped those who possessed two-spirit traits. At the same time, white women sexualized and masculinized Native men. In the early twentieth century those that could best express sexual identities were white gay men and women of privilege, but in all communities, monitoring public expression of same-sex eroticism remained a key survival strategy.

The local custom of the culture of privacy ended with the advent of World War Two. Sexual privacy considerations gave way to imposed measures of secrecy that the federal and state governments supported through the passage of legislation that restricted homosexual civil rights. In the post-war era the U.S. federal government helped to shape the construction of the category of homosexual by defining the citizen and citizenship rights as heterosexual. New Mexico participated when it embraced the military-industrial complex and stimulated its economy and growth through an influx of military and technical personnel. In his survey of the history of New Mexico art, Joseph Traugott argues that the arrival of the Atomic Age signaled

the end of the Southwest's cultural isolation. Subsequently, artistic innovation shifted away from Taos and Santa Fe.[144] The indoctrination of the security state during and after World War Two created a culture that thwarted the development of open gay and lesbian identities and communities. These consequences will be the focus of the next chapter.

[144] Traugott, *New Mexico Art through Time*, 66.

CHAPTER TWO

"WHAT TO DO ABOUT HOMOSEXUALS?": THE FORMATION AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE SECURITY STATE IN NEW MEXICO, 1945-1960S

The Nuclear Age, conceived in Los Alamos and born in Alamogordo when the first atomic bomb detonated at the Trinity site, signaled northern New Mexico's shift away from artistic sensibilities toward scientific innovations. Geographically, New Mexico offered the military ample land to experiment with new weapons technology and the training of crews, both deemed crucial to the World War Two effort.[1] The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, selected Los Alamos for one of the Manhattan Project's key scientific laboratories and built a secret city for its workers, known during the war as Project Y.[2] New Mexico became part of the federal government's apparatus for the management of national security during and after World War II.[3] Historian Jon Hunner explains the close link between New Mexico and Washington D.C.: "Since Los Alamos was a federal reserve, controlled and funded by the federal government, events and policies emanating from the nation's capital often affected it more than the laws passed by the New Mexico state legislature in nearby Santa Fe. Although Los Alamos lay in northern New Mexico it was more connected to Washington D.C.."[4] Some of the policies designed by the federal government, in order to prepare for the long-term safety of America,

[1] Carl Abbott, "Building the Atomic Cities," 90–115.
[2] For histories of Los Alamos, see Badash, Hirshfelder, and Broida, eds., *Reminiscences of Los Alamos 1943-1945*; Conant, *109 East Palace*; Hawkins, *Project Y*; Hunner, *Inventing Los Alamos*, and Truslow, *Manhattan District History*.
[3] For scholarship on state building in twentieth-century America, see Bruce D. Porter, *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics* (New York: Free Press,1994); Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *From the Outside in: World War II and the American State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), and Jacqueline Stevens, *Reproducing the State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).
[4] Hunner, *Inventing Los Alamos*, 6.

sought to eradicate threats to the nation including homosexuals.[5] Purging homosexuals from government employment began in 1946, and is known as the Lavender Scare. Events such as the Lavender Scare demonstrates how the federal government used the hetero/homo binary as a central organizing principle of society and privileged heterosexuality.[6] Coupled with the Santa Fe art community's stagnation during the war, which narrowed a safe space for homosexuals to carve out an open existence, these transitions eroded local practices and acceptance of homosexuality.[7] During and after World War Two, the presence of the security state stimulated a culture that hindered open gay and lesbian identities and communities. The largest consequence of this development was secrecy, which prevented gay men and lesbians from access to full citizenship, employment advancement, and creating a vibrant queer culture.

Margot Canaday, David Johnson, John D'Emilio, and others have examined the state's role in tightening the bonds of heteronormativity.[8] During World War II, the army alone issued close to five thousand undesirable discharges for homosexuality, and in the postwar period, all military branches hardened exclusionary polices toward homosexuals. Historian Margot Canaday argues that the state's ambiguous regulatory response to "sexual perverts" shifted as "federal interest in homosexuality expanded in tandem with the growth of the bureaucratic

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[5] For theoretical interpretations of state building that consider issues of sexuality, see Canaday, *The Straight State* and George Steinmetz, *State/Culture: State-Formation After the Cultural Turn* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999).

[6] For further examples of the state's involvement, see Canaday, *The Straight State.* She argues that "three of the arenas where the meaning of American citizenship was most sharply articulated over the course of the twentieth century – in immigration, the military, and welfare – reveals the emergence of that binary as one of the organizing categories of federal policy in the postwar United States."

[7] Santa Fe is still known as an artistic center. Art production continued in Santa Fe but was built more heavily around tourism. For discussions on Santa Fe's art culture post World War Two, see Traugott, *New Mexico Art through Time* and Henry Jack Tobias and Charles E Woodhouse, *Santa Fe: A Modern History, 1880-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001).

[8] Canaday, *The Straight State*; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities,* and David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

state."[9] The federal government began to institutionalize the hetero/homo binary through policies that explicitly privileged heterosexuals and rationalized such policies by claiming homosexuals threatened the security of the nation.[10] In addition to the federal government's anti-homosexual protocols, individual states strengthened sex crime laws, took a more active role in policing sexual behavior, and grappled with "What To Do About Homosexuals?" This chapter explores the effects of the national security state at a local level, in a place with a history of laissez faire attitudes that had allowed for the blossoming of a semi-open gay and lesbian culture in the twenties and thirties. In the forties and fifties, New Mexico stimulated its economy and growth through its embrace of the military-industrial complex. I argue that the concept of secrecy, the rationale for the security state itself, dominated the period after 1945 and served as a means of social control toward non-normative sexuality. National security planners formulated guidelines, such as security clearance programs, that increased tendencies toward secrecy and isolation and deployed them at the state level. Cold war politics, which emanated from the political mainstream, influenced the ways in which men and women dealt with their sexuality in the public realm. This chapter first explores the development of the security state and how it regulated New Mexican gay culture through security clearance procedures, influenced the media's anti-homosexual representation, and reinforced state laws that upheld a heteronormative order.

[9] Canaday, *The Straight State,* 2.

[10] For a general study on the hetero/homo binary, see Margot Canaday, "Heterosexuality as a Legal Regime," in *The Cambridge History of Law in America, Vol. III,* eds. Michael Grossberg and Christopher Tomlins (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 442–71; Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Plume, 1995), and Regina Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

However, this process was not unidirectional as evidenced by the ways in which lesbians and gay men experienced and negotiated the security state in New Mexico. Historians have also shown that the 1940s and 1950s cannot be characterized solely by sexual repression. In the midst of Cold War ideologies of normalcy, gay men and lesbians organized the Homophile Movement – collective organized resistance to gay oppression and the founding of organizations to fight homosexuals' second-class status in society including the birth of the gay male-oriented Mattachine Foundation in Los Angeles, California in 1951, followed by ONE, Incorporated in 1952, and the first lesbian organization, the Daughters of Bilitis, in San Francisco, California in 1955.[11] Nevertheless, New Mexican gay men and lesbians remained virtually untouched by homophile politics; however, they devised responses to the security state including passing as straight, migrating to large urban cities, and constructing an underground bar culture in Albuquerque. Homosexuals, elsewhere in the nation, used similar actions as a way to combat homophobia in 1950s America. The national security state, in turn, fostered these very aspects of gay cultural formation. The government accepted the "safety net" of the closet, which reinforced the practice of passing, aided in the establishment of gay bar culture, and inspired increased mobility of lesbians and gay men.[12] While the largest consequence of the security

[11] For scholarship on the rise of the homophile movement, see D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities,* Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2006); Harry Hay and edited by Will Roscoe, *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of Its Founder* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996); Hurwitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles*; Craig M. Loftin *Masked Voices Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012); Eric Marcus, *Making Gay History: The Half Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002), and Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay*.

[12] For a discussion of the closet, see William N. Eskridge, *Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), and Steven Seidman, Chet Meeks, and Francie Traschen, "Beyond the Closet? The Changing Social Meaning of Homosexuality in the United States," *Sexualities* 2 (February 1999): 9–34.

state was secrecy, the practice of passing, should not be seen as repressive, but also as a strategy of accommodation *and* resistance, which both reproduced and contested the privilege of heterosexuality. Passing limited exposure and created a protected space that permitted individuals to fashion a gay self and social world. Military personnel who moved to New Mexico contributed to the formation of gay culture when they expanded a vice culture in the state that included gay bars. Movement also operated in the reverse direction. Some gay residents found the state too restrictive and made sexual migrations – a movement largely motivated by sexual identities, sexual practices, or for greater sexual liberation – to places like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles where they believed non-normative identity might be more accepted.

The Second World War marked a watershed for gay and lesbian life in America. For the homosexual population the war produced greater access to partners and through migration entry into a growing lesbian and gay world linked to large urban centers (or in some cases the creation of a queer community).[13] At the same time, a backlash rose up against these very elements that resulted in various legal and extra-legal mechanisms used to oppress lesbians and gay men. Depending on the region of the nation, the make-up of the queer community, police efforts, state laws, and local practices, some homosexuals benefited more from the positive attributes of post-war visibility and strength. In New Mexico, the state's embrace of the military-industrial complex produced consequences for lesbians and gay men including a shift from sexual privacy rights toward imposed concealment of sexual identity and rising levels of homophobia. Such consequences directly stemmed from the long-term effects of the

[13] Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

Manhattan Project. Since 1942, more than 100,000 people worked on various aspects of the Manhattan Project. At first, scientists worked at thirty-seven installations and thirteen universities laboratories across the U.S.. Later, the project centralized and moved to the undercover laboratory headed by physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer in Los Alamos. Scientists controlled the initial stages of design and experimentation, but as the undertaking progressed power shifted to the Army.[14] In 1943, Dr. Claude Rene Schwob enlisted in the U.S. Army and volunteered for training in the chemical warfare service.[15] His expertise in chemistry, a B.S., M.S., and doctorate in the subject from Fordham University, led to his work on the Manhattan Project where he developed methods of isolating and measuring activity of radio-isotopes and researched counting techniques, corrosion studies, and physical properties of special materials in an effort to prepare for the development and deployment of a nuclear bomb. Master Sergeant Schwob conducted his research first at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and then the Metallurgical Laboratory in Chicago, Illinois, before moving to Los Alamos, New Mexico. Hired as a radio chemist, Schwob worked under Dr. Enrico Fermi's Division, the Experimental Nuclear Physics Group.[16] Schwob described his work "in large part original and of a type never attempted before."[17] On a flat stretch of high New Mexico desert, in the early morning hours of July 16, 1945, Schwob witnessed, along with 424 others, the one

[14] Fern Lyon and Jacob Evans, eds., *Los Alamos: The First Forty Years* (Los Alamos, NM: Los Alamos Historical Society, 1984) and Douglas T. Stuart, *Creating the National Security State: A History of the Law That Transformed America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 58–9.
[15] Army of the United States, Certificate of Service, Claude R. Schwob, Private First Class, Company C, October 21, 1943, Box 2, Folder 6, Claude R. Schwob Papers, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California. (Hereafter Schwob Papers, GLBTHS). Letter to Claude Schwob from W.A. Noyes, Chairman, National Defense Research Committee, February 13, 1942, Box 1, Folder 16, Schwob Papers, GLBTHS.
[16] Job Application for the Naval Radiological Defense Lab, Box 2, Folder 9, Schwob Papers, GLBTHS.
[17] Supplemental section to Job Application for the Naval Radiological Defense Lab, Box 2, Folder 9, Schwob Papers, GLBTHS.

hundred ton Trinity bomb, the first atomic explosion in history.[18] The federal government announced the purpose of the Manhattan Project and the nation's use of an atomic weapon on August 6, 1945.[19]

Schwob, a gay man, made a significant contribution to the United States' defense of democracy during a historical moment when the federal government viewed homosexuals as a threat to the nation. Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Director of Project Y, commended Schwob for his "work in the preparation and development of a novel method of testing the atomic bomb, and subsequently helping carry through this test with eminently satisfactory results."[20] Schwob carried out his role as a scientist working on the top secret Manhattan Project after the military banned homosexuals from all branches of the military (1943), but before purges of homosexuals from federal government employment (1947).[21] Like other gay men from this era, Schwob perfected the ability to move between different lives. He passed as straight, which allowed him to pursue his scientific career while he participated in an underground gay life. On the one hand,

[18] Szasz, *The Day the Sun Rose Twice* and United States, *Trinity Site, 1945-1995* (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of the Army, 1995).

[19] President Harry S. Truman, "Statement by the President of the United States," Harry S. Truman Library, "Army press notes," Box 4, Papers of Eben A. Ayers reprinted in "Primary Resource: "Announcing the Bombing of Hiroshima," accessed August 27, 2014, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/primary-resources/truman-hiroshima/ and "Los Alamos Secret Disclosed by Truman: Deadliest Weapons in World's History Made in Santa Fe Vicinity," *Santa Fe New Mexican* August 6, 1945.

[20] J. Robert Oppenheimer to Dr. Claude Schwob, October 1, 1945, Box 2, Folder 9, Schwob Papers, GLBTHS.

[21] During World War One, the act of sodomy, whether consensual or involving assault, was codified in American military law during a revision of the Article of War. Under this provision, the military treated homosexuality as a criminal act. Also during the war, the military adopted psychiatric screenings that contributed to their awareness of sexual orientation. From here, conceptions of homosexuality versus heterosexuality developed over time hardening directly after World War Two. See Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays and Lesbians in the U.S. Military*, (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1994), 15. Bérubé, *Coming Out Under* Fire, 232.

Schwob defied the hetero/homo binary by working in a top-secret government agency. Yet in order to do so, he concealed his homosexual identity from public view. Secrecy encoded his life.

The concept of secrecy, used to justify the security state, functioned both as mechanisms of concealing technological information and as social definition and control. When Bob Porton arrived in Los Alamos in November of 1944 to work in the recreation division, he remembers within several days of arriving:

> Two things happened. One was that we were given an orientation lecture and then a security lecture. The officer, I do not recall who it was, but I was very impressed by the security lecture. I made a vow to myself right then and there that as long as I was going to be assigned here, there were two things: one was I was never going to ask any questions and two, I was never going to shoot off my mouth on anything at all because he kept talking about the great need for secrecy.[22]

Porton felt proud to be a part of the experimental scientific community and he unquestioningly accepted covertness as part of his new life. His only knowledge of Project Y was that work being conducted at Los Alamos would help shorten the war and "that was good enough" for him.[23] The intelligence officer, charged with giving the security lecture, informed all military and civilian employees about the classified nature of the project without revealing specifics of the mission.[24] By 1945, Los Alamos employed twenty-eight military members and seven civilian employees to perform security work including the pass system, control of visitors, and operation of the guard system, all under the supervision of the security officer. Additionally, security personnel and intelligence officers sporadically surveyed residents. Peggy Bowditch moved with her family to

[22] Interview with Bob Porton by Theresa Strottman**,** January 11, 1992, transcript, Oral History: Manhattan Project Voices, Los Alamos, New Mexico.
[23] Porton, interview.
[24] Department of Energy, *Manhattan District History*, Book VIII Los Alamos Project (Y) vol. I, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 6.49.

Los Alamos in 1943 when her father Admiral William Sterling "Deak" Parsons accepted a position as Head of Ordinance for the Manhattan Project. The Parsons lived on Bathtub Row, next door to the Oppenheimers and Bowditch remembers:

> . . . there were times of great security. We would have somebody patrolling our house or the Oppenheimer's house, or two walking around together. But that was kind of hit or miss, I am sure dependent on something that was going on. But my mother forgot her pass once, and the guard would not let her in her house.[25]

The pass system, designed to prevent unauthorized entry into Los Alamos, meant that every resident, employee, and visitor received a pass, which verified his/her clearance. Classified passes labeled "Project" or "Technical" had to be worn at all times in their respective areas.[26] Rigid restrictions such as the pass system and guard surveillance prompted a rumor amongst employees and their families that all their mail was subject to random censorship checks. The rumor grew to such proportions that Head of Los Alamos Colonel Leslie Groves ordered an investigation only to discover that "no action at this time had been taken." However, since the issue had arisen, General Groves sought to institute censorship in order to safeguard classified information. In December of 1943, Dr. Oppenheimer approved a measure to monitor all letters and long distance phone conversations. Trained censorship officers, using army regulations, monitored the mail while the security officer surveyed telephone conversations, thus making the rumored censorship actuality. [27]

Even with all of these stringent restrictions, Schwob found ways to negotiate his identity as a top-secret scientist and a hidden gay man. While working at Los Alamos, Schwob

[25] Interview with Dorothy McKibbin by Stepjade Groueff, March 10, 1965, transcript, Oral History: Manhattan Project Voices.
[26] Department of Energy, *Manhattan District History,* 6.50.
[27] Ibid., 6.53.

corresponded with a lover, "Carlos" Carl Greene, who served overseas.[28] Greene often wrote letters like this one to Schwob: "Spent a wonderful day walking over the cliffs and browsing in this old village. Found many things of interest, which you would like. – Why can't you be with me? It has been a glorious weekend – only one thing missing."[29] In another letter, Greene again expressed his yearning to be with Schwob: "It is a cold rainy day; but so very comfortable by the fire. Don't you love to hear wood cracking? I do, but an open fire on a cold autumn day, music, and tea makes me dream and long for other days, other places, and someone . . ." Greene does not identify his 'someone,' but his next sentence clarifies that his longing was for Schwob, "This is a sorry, disconnected letter, am trying to be with you." He ends the letter with "all my love, Your C."[30] Such sentiments could easily be misconstrued as friendship, but Historian Allan Bérubé explains that gay male and lesbian GIs, aware of the military's censorship of all overseas letters, developed their own secret codes in their letter writing to express same-sex love. Bérubé uses the example of Ben Small whose boyfriend's name was Don, so he addressed all his letters to 'D' just as Carlos signed his letters 'C.'[31] Using an initial obscured the gender of the intended recipient or sender allowing each to share intimate thoughts without raising suspicion. Searching for same-sex eroticism during wartime requires reading between the lines for subtle hints of desire between men. Greene and Schwob's correspondence reflects genuine affection and an aching to be together.[32] Schwob had many satisfying relationships with other men even

[28] Letters from "Carlos" Carl Greene, Box 1, Folder 7, Schwob Papers, GLBTHS.
[29] Although most of the letters are undated, the address on the postcard determines that Greene wrote this to Schwob while he worked at Los Alamos. Postcard to Claude Schwob from Carl Greene, undated, Box 1, Folder 7, Schwob Papers, GLBTHS.
[30] Letter to Claude Schwob from Carl Greene, undated, Box 1, Folder 7, Schwob Papers, GLBTHS.
[31] Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 121.
[32] Hunner, *Inventing Los Alamos,*19 and 41.

working *within* a highly secretive government agency, he found ways to embrace his gay identity.[33]

During the war, the impact of security measures and the need for secrecy extended beyond the walls of Los Alamos. Thirty miles from Project Y, secrecy altered the sexual landscape of Santa Fe that gay men and lesbians had created in the 1920s. For instance, when Los Alamos employees began using La Fonda Hotel in connection to Project Y, homosexuals lost one of their social hubs. Project Y set up shop one block from La Fonda at 109 Palace Avenue establishing the Santa Fe office of the Manhattan Project. In the early days of the project, Oppenheimer and other key scientists stayed at the hotel and worked out of the office. Dorothy Scarritt McKibbin, who began working as a secretary for the project in March of 1943, welcomed new recruits, issued passes, and arranged transport to the "Hill" through the Santa Fe office. (Los Alamos was referred to as the Hill) On average, McKibbin dispatched sixty-five people a day to the Hill. Many, weary from travel, replenished at La Fonda.[34] When Eleanor Roensch, who served in the Women's Army Corps, arrived from Georgia in May of 1944 to work as a telephone operator at Los Alamos, McKibbin instructed Roensch to go to La Fonda to rest until someone collected her around five o'clock in the hotel lobby.[35] Newcomers shopped in the plaza and lunched at La Fonda waiting for their escort to the Hill, "Yet, the visitors had to maintain silence

[33] Historians are just beginning to uncover queer life in mainstream Cold War spaces. Margot Canaday called for scholarship on mainstream institutions in LGBTQ studies. See Canaday, "LGBT History,"11–19. For an example of doing such scholarship, see Nicholas Syrett, "A Busman's Holiday in the Not-So-Lonely-Crowd: Business Culture, Epistolary Networks, and Itinerant Homosexuality in Mid-Twentieth Century America," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 21 (January 2012): 121–40.

[34] Nancy Cook Steeper, *Gatekeeper to Los Alamos: Dorothy Scarritt McKibbin* (Los Alamos, NM: Los Alamos Historical Society, 2003), 75.

[35] Interview with Eleanor Roensch by Theresa Strottman, March 21, 1992, transcript, Oral History: Manhattan Project Voices, Los Alamos, New Mexico.

about what they were doing there – security was a prime consideration."[36] Mysterious newcomers and army guards who patrolled day and night around the office and hotel displaced the sexual landscape queers had created two decades earlier. Once settled into life at Los Alamos, scientists and their families often ventured down from the Hill to their favorite watering hole, La Fonda. Covert government agents monitored Los Alamos residents at La Fonda fearing that they might loosen up too much and reveal the project's top-secret goal.[37] Surveillance and constant influxes of strangers made it difficult for lesbians and gay men to gather at the hotel.

Even after the war, the security state unsettled the formative queer culture made up of artists and writers. Upon returning to his home twelve miles from Los Alamos after serving in World War Two, modernist painter Cady Wells realized that the nuclear age had forever disrupted his private life. Wells addressed his fear of the security state and a growing sense of homophobia in a letter to his friend E. Boyd. He discussed the firings of homosexuals from federal employment and the scapegoating of homosexuals as perverts and security risks. [38] He put his adobe home for sale "to get away from atomic energy."[39] Unsuccessful at selling his house, he spent less and less time in his hometown. Similarly, in 1955, writer Myron Brinig sold his house in Taos and moved back to Manhattan.[40] According to scholars Henry Tobias and Charles Woodhouse "newcomers diluted the close personal character and relatively narrow breadth of the prewar art community."[41] Displaced by a population of military personnel and

[36] Tobias and Woodhouse, *Santa Fe,* 143.
[37] Atomic Heritage Foundation, "Los Alamos, NM," accessed March 8, 2015, http://www.atomicheritage.org/location/los-alamos-nm.
[38] Rudnick, *Cady Wells and Southwest Modernism,* 55–6, 69 and 75.
[39] Quoted in Daniel Lang, *From Hiroshima to the Moon: Chronicles of Life in the Atomic Age* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959), 141.
[40] Earl Ganz, "Myron Brining," LGBT encyclopedia, accessed January 16, 2015, http://glbtq.com/literature/brinig.
[41] Tobias and Woodhouse, *Santa Fe,* 187.

scientists, socialization for gay men and lesbians shifted to bars.[42] Tobias and Woodhouse mark the 1950s as the time when Claude's bar "became a focal point for bohemian behavior."[43] Claude James and her brother, raised in Paris and New York, had migrated to Santa Fe in the 1920s. They decided to open a bohemian bar on Canyon Road and in the 1950s it began to attract gay men and women. Jerry West remembers that few places were "as opening and accepting as Claude's, as a general melting pot. This was true of male homosexuals, female homosexuals, Indians, drunk Indians, crazy, working-class people, hippies, artists, writers, bums, bankers – an incredible melting pot."[44] Claude herself crossed gender boundaries appearing one night in a glamorous evening gown and another in a tuxedo.[45] In the postwar period, queer openness narrowed and transitioned to an underground bar based culture especially in the Albuquerque area, a topic I will return to later in this chapter.

Not only were queer spaces in New Mexico disordered by the security state, but nationally homosexuals themselves became suspect. For the homosexual population, the era of the security state ushered in new structural barriers including the eradication of gay men and women from government service a historical event that scholars now call the Lavender Scare. Removing homosexuals from government employment began in 1946 and heightened on February 28, 1950, during an appropriations hearing, one week after Senator McCarthy charged that the State Department harbored 205 "card carrying communists." With McCarthy's allegations fresh in the minds of politicians, Senator Styles Bridges asked the State Department during the hearing to define "security risks" as anyone whose behavior or association might

[42] Ibid., 186.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Jerry West quoted in La Farge *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog,* 345.
[45] Trisha Franzen, "Difference and Identities: Feminism and the Albuquerque Lesbian Community," *Signs* 18 (Summer 1993): 895.

make them vulnerable to pressure to divulge secrets. Senator Bridges specifically sought clarification on homosexuals' inclusion in this definition. In response, deputy undersecretary for administration John Peurifoy replied "In this shady category that you referred to earlier, there are ninety-one cases."[46] The hearing strengthened the link between communists and homosexuals. As historian David Johnson explains, "both communism and homosexuality were widely seen as the result of psychological maladjustment and early childhood development problems" as well as hostile to the traditional family.[47] The "ninety-one," homosexuals removed from the State Department, received heavy publicity.

Washington D.C. papers carried the most extensive coverage of the Lavender Scare, but small-town newspapers covered the topic as well.[48] Statewide, the New Mexico press began discussing the issue of homosexuality in relation to the federal government's purges of homosexuals from government employment. Prior to this event, homosexuality occasionally surfaced as a subject of ridicule directed at "fairies" of the art colonies.[49] In the postwar period, New Mexican newspapers reported on the subject with some frequency. Local media chronicled the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee investigation into the lavender menace, which concluded that "perverts are bad security risks because they are easy prey for blackmail."[50] The press perpetuated an antigay public perception and enumerated federal firings,– "54 in 1950, 110 in 1951 and 132 in 1952."[51] Local media coverage of homosexuality also treated it as a

[46] John Peurifoy quoted in Johnson, *The Lavender Scare,* 17.
[47] Johnson, *The Lavender Scare,* 35–6.
[48] For a discussion of the Lavender Scare in the press, see Edward Alwood, *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians, and the News Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 23–6.
[49] See my discussion of this in chapter one.
[50] "Senate Speeds Inquiry of Perverts in Federal Government, 'Victims of Red,'" *Farmington Daily Times* May 20, 1950, front page.
[51] "Disloyalty Firings Reach 29," *The New Mexican,* 18 February 1954, and "State Dismals Total 119," *Clovis News Journal,* 2 July 1953. The latter article includes the number of dismissals for homosexuality

problem that existed *elsewhere*. New Mexican journalists acknowledged that homosexuals posed a security threat to the federal government in Washington D.C., even as they seemed to take for granted that none of the thousands of federal employees working in New Mexico might be similarly dangerous.

With few exceptions, local media displayed open hostility toward homosexuals treating them as security risks and sexual perverts, and sometimes as criminal and mentally ill. A now open and public discussion of homosexuality emboldened journalists to expand on the subject and inject their own religious and moral arguments.[52] In small towns like Clovis, New Mexico, an agricultural community in the eastern part of the state, the local paper invoked the Bible: "Sodom was destroyed . . . and if we do not have a spiritual and moral awakening in the United States with accompanying rugged individual independence, we will go the same way, make no mistake about it." Clovis columnist David Baxter believed that homosexuals symbolized the nation's moral decline and indicated the need for better national security protections.[53] Between 1947 and 1955, a national media frenzy over sex offenders portrayed homosexuals as psychically and morally aberrant from mainstream society. Historian Estelle Freedman documents a postwar sex crime panic that originated when major newspapers reported on a series of brutal child murders and the local media began publishing numerous articles related to

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specifically from 1950-1953. For additional articles see "Loyalties, and that only," *Santa Fe New Mexican* 28 April 1950, B-7 and "Press for Senate Probe of Perverts on Payroll," *Clovis News Journal* 21 May 1950, 8.

[52] In New Mexico, Roman Catholicism has long been the dominant religion. See Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*. From the mid–1800s there has also been a steady increase in the number of Protestants. The first Baptist missionaries arrived in 1849, the Methodists in 1850, and the Mormons in 1877. Currently, New Mexico has the highest percentage of Roman Catholics of any Western U.S state.

[53] David Baxter, "Sodom and the State Dept.," *Clovis News Journal* August 6, 1950, 28.

sex crimes.[54] Because homosexuals were already branded as sexual perverts and security threats, the sex crime panic further strengthened the link between homosexuality and criminality. Before World War II, less than ten articles on sex crimes appeared in the New Mexico press. After the war, in the year 1947 alone over one hundred newspaper articles on sex offenses were published.[55]

The portrayal of homosexuals in the press, in combination with existing religious beliefs, eroded New Mexicans laissez faire attitudes toward homosexuals. The local media repeated the dominant discourse – homosexuals were sexual perverts who threatened the safety of the nation- and, thus reshaped ideas of lesbians and gay men. Prior to the media's discussion of homosexuality, New Mexicans had formed their own opinions on homosexuals and given their integration into New Mexican culture in 1920s and 1930s in certain regions of the state, earlier opinions were far more favorable than those after the advent of the security state, which produced anti-homosexual press coverage. Although there are no conclusive studies that demonstrate the extent to which the mass media influences public opinion, the onslaught of press on homosexuals at the very least offered a new source of negative information about same-sex orientation.

The lavender scare and the press' negative representation of homosexuals reflected the growth of the security state and its durability as a normal part of American society that influenced citizens' everyday lives long after the war. Historian Jon Hunner argues that the transition from military control to a civilian agency made places like Los Alamos a permanent

[54] Estelle B. Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires:" The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History,* eds. Kathy Lee Peiss, Christina Simmons, and Robert A. Padgug (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 205–9.
[55] Online search conducted in Access Newspaper Archive.com, accessed June 2014–August 2014.

institution within American society.[56] In order to solidify the continuation of atomic energy research, in December of 1945, Senator Brian McMahon introduced Senate Bill 1717, which created the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 and gave control of nuclear energy to the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC).[57] By 1945, New Mexico housed several facilities for military training and weapons research. Kirtland Air Force Base in Albuquerque offered a cadet school, bombardier training, the Air Corps Ferrying Command School, reconnaissance flights, and chemical warfare training.[58] Adjacent to Kirtland, the U.S. Army established Sandia Base in 1942. After the war, the Manhattan Engineer District took over operations at Sandia and it became a federally designated national laboratory for scientific and military research. On January 1, 1947, the AEC assumed control of Los Alamos and Sandia.[59] Under the AEC, Los Alamos and Sandia complied with the newly drafted Atomic Energy Act of 1947, which required security mechanisms over access to restricted data and nuclear materials and the implementation of a personnel security clearance program directed by the FBI and designed to assure that only those who could be trusted were placed in top-secret positions.[60] After the formation of the AEC, Col. Charles H. Banks, an intelligence officer under General Leslie Groves, proposed a formal security questionnaire. The Personnel Security Questionnaire inquired into issues of "character, associations, and loyalty." In addition, Los Alamos security officer, Thomas O. Jones, drafted a regulation that established three types of security clearances: "P", "S", and "Q".[61] The AEC

[56] Hunner, *Inventing Los Alamos,* 126.
[57] Robert J. Duffy, *Nuclear Politics in America: A History and Theory of Government Regulation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 3–10.
[58] McCormick, "To Keep Them Flying," 13.
[59] Hunner, *Inventing Los Alamos,* 125.
[60] Atomic Energy Act of 1946, Public Law 585, 79th Congress and William Henderson, "A Brief History of the U.S. Personnel Security Program," *Defense News*, accessed November 5, 2014, http://news.clearancejobs.com/2009/06/29/a-brief-history-of-the-u-s-personnel-security-program/
[61] Sandia National Laboratories, "The Origin of "Q" and "L" Clearances, accessed November 5, 2014, http://www.sandia.gov/fso/fso_conferences/2011_FSO_Conference/2011_FSO_OriginQandL.pdf. A "P"

required investigations of all employees, but persons who worked with special nuclear material – design, manufacture, or data – needed a Q-clearance.[62] The AEC published its "Security Clearance Procedures" on September 12, 1950, and "Personnel Security Clearance Criteria for Determining Eligibility," November 17, 1950.[63] These two documents established uniform standards that were applied in determining and processing eligibility for clearances.

Prospective applicants who needed a Q clearance filled out a questionnaire, which AEC security staff evaluated using their standards, and faced a full FBI investigation. The AEC staff used their criteria, a list of derogatory information, to uncover potential reasons for dismals such as mental illness, drug addiction, or alcoholism. If any red flags went up based on answers given on the questionnaire compared against the criteria standards, investigators dug deeper through an "informal" interview process. During the interview, investigators handed applicants a "statement of charges" giving applicants a chance to refute, explain, or minimize the significance of the charges. Alternatively, interviewees could request a formal hearing with representation (counsel) and they would go before a three-man personnel security board that submitted their recommendation to the AEC's Personnel Security Review Board. The Board proposed its decision to the General Manager of Commission who made the final determination. Without an interview or hearing, the process took up to three months. With a deeper investigation, it could take many months or even years. Starting in 1957, the AEC

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clearance was for employees who had no contact with nuclear information while an "S" clearance was for those who would visit AEC facilities, but did not have access to restricted data.

[62] "End of the Universal "Q" -- "L" Clearances Coming Soon for Many Sandians," *Lab News*, April 30, 1993, 1 and 5. In 1946 U.S. Army Counter Intelligence Corps Major Bud Uanna established the criteria for the Q Clearance with thirteen levels of access or "sigmas." See Joseph P. Masco, *Nuclear Borderlands: The Legacy of the Manhattan Project in Post-Cold War New Mexico* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 1999), 268.

[63] "In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer: Transcript of Hearing Before Personnel Security Board, Washington, D.C., April 12, 1954, Through May 6, 1954," accessed November 5, 2014, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/opp01.asp.

granted clearances to over half of applicants without needing to advance to the hearing process. On average in the 1950s and 60s, the AEC investigated 20,000 Q-clearances a year. Between 1956 and 1963, the AEC only denied Q-clearances to twenty-eight people.[64]

The height of stringent security measures peaked in 1953 when President Eisenhower issued Executive Order 10450, new security requirements for all government employees.[65] The order listed "sexual perversion" as a condition for firing a federal employee and for denying employment to potential applicants. According to policies at the time, if security investigators found evidence of homosexual conduct usually through a dishonorable military discharge, a criminal conviction or hospitalization/treatment for mental illness this was sufficient reason for an expanded clearance.[66] Gay applicants were then subjected to intrusive questioning about their sex lives. Questions included the "nature and full extent of deviant acts engaged in," whom they had sex with, and the types of places where they had sex. Homosexuals were asked to divulge whether they maintained "lasting relationships or effected numerous transient and temporary liaisons with a variety of individuals through chance meetings," and whether applicants and their partners had "disclosed their deviant proclivities to friends, family, associates, and the like."[67] A lawyer who provided counsel at one such hearing for his client who was accused of lesbianism, characterized the questions as "obscene."[68] The potential threat of

[64] Harold P. Green, "Q-Clearance: The Development of Personnel Security Program," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* vol. 20, no. 5 (May 1964), 9–14 .
[65] Executive Order 10450, "Security Requirements for Government Employment," *Federal Register,* April 27, 1953, 2489.
[66] E. Carrington Boggan, Marilyn G. Haft, Charles Lister, and John P. Rupp, *The Rights of Gay People: The Basic American Civil Liberties Union Guide to a Gay Person's Rights* (New York: Avon Books, 1975), 64.
[67] *High Tech Gays v. Defense Industrial Security Clearance Office* N.D. Cal 668 F. Supp. 1361 (1987).
[68] Ralph S. Brown, *Loyalty and Security: Employment Tests in the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 258.

an intrusive investigation kept the vast majority of homosexual men and women within the boundaries that society drew for them: hidden, isolated, and in an uneasy state of fear.

The denial of a Q-clearance prevented disloyals from entering into employment where they might betray the security of the nation. However, the security procedures did not end with the granting of a clearance. The AEC's security program, the federal government's loyalty program, and the Department of Defense's military security program overall shared three major aspects: 1) the identification of secret information and the determination of how to keep it classified; 2) the implementation of a personnel security clearance program; and 3) its enforcement, which involved ongoing investigations to assure compliance and the application of sanctions if a violation of security rules occurred.[69] Part of this process involved workers in the nuclear complex reporting on problems or suspicions of colleagues and even neighbors, friends, and family. In this way, the system of secrecy acted as a mechanism of social control.[70] Take the example of Jon Hull, a gay man who worked as an engineer at Kirtland Air Force Base. Hull passed initial security screenings in 1976, but had his clearance revoked after an instructor of a security class reported to the Air Force Office of Security Investigations that Hull was gay. As a result, the Air Force suspended Hull's access to classified information on May of 1982. Hull requested a hearing and asked attorney Brian Lanter to provide counsel. Hull disclosed his sexual identity but refused to give the names of those in the Air Force who he had sexual relations with. Although the Air Force reinstated his clearance on May 1, 1986, the long and stressful ordeal taxed Hull's relationship with his partner (who at first refused to testify or

[69] Green, "Q-Clearance," 10–11.
[70] For theorizing issues of social control, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977) and Dany Lacombe, "Reforming Foucault: A Critique of the Social Control Thesis," *The British Journal of Sociology* 47 (June 1996): 332–52.

provide information in an effort to protect his own privacy) and created a hostile work environment as Hull faced harassment on the job from other employees after his sexuality became public knowledge.[71] As Hull's experience demonstrates the structure of security clearances, put in place during the postwar, continued well into the 1980s and placed gay men and lesbians in a constant state of anxiety over whether their sexual identity would be uncovered at any point in their careers.[72]

Before the Eisenhower Administration issued Executive Order 10450, about one hundred federal employees per year either resigned or were fired due to sexual perversion. After the executive order, the number increased to around four hundred per year.[73] Historian David Johnson argues that "the effects of the Lavender Scare were most acute in the gay and lesbian community of Washington D.C."[74] Besides gay men and lesbians' employment within the nation's capital, the visibility of a gay enclave in the D.C. area contributed to the Lavender Scare's local manifestation. Gay men used, Lafayette Park, the epicenter of Washington D.C.'s gay world, as a cruising site in the early twentieth-century. Over time a YMCA, restaurants, and gay bars sprang up in the area and created an urban sexual subculture of gay sociability. The visibility of gay men and lesbians who frequented this area contributed to the government's crackdown of homosexuals. In contrast, New Mexico had few demarcated areas for gay men and lesbians to gather. Instead, homosexuals were more integrated into society and less visible as targets of institutional discrimination. In this way, urban enclaves worked against gay men

[71] Alan Stringer, "Gay Community Leader Regains Security Clearance," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 5, no. 10 (June 1986).
[72] Most federal agencies denied security clearances for homosexuals until the 1980s. In August of 1995, President Clinton issued Executive Order 12968 which stated that the federal government does not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation in access to classified information.
[73] These figures are from David Johnson who cautions that "the total number of men and women affected by the anti-homosexual purge is incalculable." Johnson, *Lavender Scare,* 166.
[74] Johnson, *Lavender Scare,* 149.

and lesbians and the lack of such in New Mexico worked in their favor. Additionally, most workers in New Mexico's military-industrial complex underwent security clearances through the AEC. The small number of clearance denials (under thirty within an eight year time span) in comparison to the four hundred per year for federal workers helps explain why a Lavender Scare never occurred in New Mexico. In fact, the AEC had the lowest number of clearance denials in comparison to all other government agencies.[75]

New Mexican gay men and lesbians still felt the effects of national attention to homosexuals as security risks throughout the Cold War era. For example, a lesbian named Terri could not get promoted at Sandia because the mandatory security check would have exposed her sexuality.[76] Like Terri, many lesbians and gay men worked in security state industries. Lesbian Vangie Chavez worked in an unclassified position at Western Electric Company (Bell Telephone subsidiary) and underwent a "P" clearance, for employees with no access to restricted data or high security areas.[77] Chavez hid her sexual orientation, explaining that "It was not safe to be out. There was nothing good about being out in a workplace environment or anywhere for that matter. We had to lead double lives. We had the life in the workplace and then we had our lives around our lesbian culture and friends. They were distinct." At work events, Chavez impersonated a straight woman and pretended to have boyfriends, asking gay

[75] Brown, *Loyalty and Security*, Appendix A.
[76] Terri quoted in Jack Kutz *Grassroots New Mexico: A History of Citizen Activism* (Albuquerque, NM: Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, 1989), 110.
[77] In 1949, the Atomic Energy Commission negotiated a contract with Western Electric Company to operate Sandia lab as a private corporation. See Roger Walker, "War-Oriented Facilities," in *Victory in World War II: The New Mexico Story,* eds. Monroe L. Billington, Gerald W. Thomas, and Roger D. Walker (Las Cruces, NM: New Mexico State University, 1994), 138–41; Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 369–70, and "Sandia National Laboratories: A History of Exceptional Service in National Interest," accessed August 2, 2014, http://www.sandia.gov/news/publications/fact_sheets/index.html.

male friends to pose as her significant others.[78] Likewise, Dr. Schwob dealt with inquires about his non-marital status throughout his career such as this article in the Naval Radiological Defense Lab Newsletter shows: "Dr. Schwob is that *rara avis* - - a bachelor. Perhaps, his vital interest in work and many diversified hobbies has kept him so busy he hasn't gotten around to thoughts of matrimony."[79] The author's veiled references to suspicion about Schwob's sexuality compelled him to give a reason for Schwob's single status. Little did he know that the hobby that consumed much of Schwob's time was male erotic photography. Schwob began his hobby of taking nude photographs of men – a number of them soldiers – in the late 1930s. He continued throughout his life and retained an extensive series of homoerotic pictures.[80]

Secrecy provided a structural means of controlling knowledge and imposing heteronormativity. After World War II, the "closet" emerged as both a metaphor for keeping one's sexual identity secret and as a product of laws that promulgated compulsory heterosexuality.[81] Homosexuals had to circumvent scrutiny of their sexual behavior and identity and experienced life as second-class citizens. Further, the repercussions of silence had lasting psychological, political, and economic consequences for lesbians and gay men. Vangie Chavez suffered a mental breakdown. "I believe that the suppression of all the emotions that I did not know what to do with and had no one to talk with caused my emotions to burst and the majority of that was related to my sexuality," Chavez remembers.[82] Russell Gray, a gay activist, recalls a certain amount of paranoia among gay men and lesbians in New Mexico that lasted

[78] Interview with Vangie Chavez by author, September 4, 2013, audio recording, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
[79] "Noteworthy NRDLERS," Naval Radiological Defense Lab Newsletter, circa 1950s, Box 2, Folder 11, Schwob Papers, GLBTHS.
[80] The Schwob papers contain many of these photographs.
[81] Eskridge, *Gaylaw* and Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*.
[82] Chavez, interview.

well into the 1980s. Gray believes that secrecy inhibited the development of gay and lesbian civil rights organizations in the state.[83] New Mexico's military industrial complex institutionalized a hostile climate toward homosexuals and stimulated the practice of passing.

The anti-homosexual campaign in New Mexico deepened the practice of passing, but the essence of an earlier tolerance toward homosexuals lingered in the state and is illustrated through the effort to decriminalize sodomy. In 1961, New Mexico's House of Representatives passed the *first* piece of legislation to remove criminal punishments for consensual same-sex sodomy. Ultimately, the battle to legalize sodomy between consenting New Mexicans resulted in the Senate opposing the removal of criminal repercussions for private same-sex sexual acts. The state affirmed the heteronormative order by increasing punishments for sodomy and consequently instilled an atmosphere that insisted on the concealment of sexual identity.

By the 1950s, the legal profession reconsidered whether sodomy should be criminally punished, in light of new scientific and medical research on sexuality. Alfred Kinsey, a pioneer in the scientific study of sex, published groundbreaking works commonly referred to as the Kinsey Reports. Kinsey revealed that Americans of both sexes engaged in a variety of homosexual acts. He proposed a spectrum of sexualities using a seven-point scale ranging from exclusive heterosexuality to exclusive homosexuality and he argued that most Americans' sexual behavior resided in-between the two extremes. Documented and verified through quantitative data, Kinsey showed that traditional ideals about sexual morality conflicted with people's actual

[83] Russell Gray quoted in Kutz, *Grassroots New Mexico,* 112.

behavior.[84] He suggested that his findings extend beyond scientific circles into the realm of law enforcement:

> Our present information seems to make it clear that current sex laws are unenforced and are unenforceable because they are too completely out of accord with the realities of human behavior, and because they attempt too much in the way of social control. Such a high proportion of the females and males in our populations is involved in sexual activities, which are prohibited by the law of most of the states of the union.[85]

Based on new theories of homosexuality, including its nature, cause, and treatment, legal professionals began to re-evaluate criminal punishment of private, consensual homosexual and heterosexual sex acts, and argued in favor of decriminalization on the grounds that the government should not regulate private morality.[86] The American Law Institute (ALI), an association made up elected judges, professors, and lawyers from all areas of the United States worked to codify and modernize the law. In 1951, the ALI embarked on a ten-year project to re-conceptualize all U.S. criminal laws. Law professors, Herbert Wechsler of Columbia University and Louis B. Schwartz of the University of Pennsylvania prepared the principal work on the code. Committees debated this work, brought a draft to the full membership during the annual meeting in Washington, and published the finalized product in 1962.[87] In relation to laws pertaining to homosexuals, the ALI reasoned: "Those who have studied the problem [of

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[84] For a critique of Kinsey's methodology, mainly his use of white and middle-class interviewees, see Janice M. Irvine "Toward a 'Value-Free' Science of Sex," in *Sexualities in History,* eds. Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay (New York: Routledge, 2001), 327–358 .

[85]Alfred C. Kinsey, ed., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953), 20.

[86] For the development of the medical model of homosexuality, see George Chauncey Jr., "From Sexual Inversion To Homosexuality: Medicine And The Changing Conceptualization Of Female Deviance," *Salmagundi*, no. 58/59 (Fall 1982–Winter 1983): 114–46; Siobhan Somerville, "Scientific Racism and the Emergence of the Homosexual Body," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5 (October 1994): 243–66, and Terry, *An American Obsession.*

[87] "American Law Institute Completes Ten-Year Study of Criminal Law in U.S.," *Mattachine Review* vol. VIII, no. 6 (June 1962), 9–10 and American Law Institute, *Model Penal Code: Proposed Official Draft. Submitted by the Council to the Members for Discussion at the Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting on May 23, 24, 25 and 26, 1962* (Philadelphia, 1962).

homosexuality] most are in such disagreement as to cause and the possibility of cure that a lawmaker must proceed cautiously in decreeing drastic measures . . ."[88]

At first, the New Mexican judiciary tightened the definition of sodomy crimes. In 1953, New Mexico Supreme Court Justice James Compton wrote the court's opinion on the state's first reported sodomy case, *Bennett v. Abram*, recommending that the legislature redefine the crime of sodomy to include oral sex, and adopt the following language from the 1949 Manual for Courts-Martial of the U.S. Army: "Sodomy consists of a person taking into his or her mouth or anus the sexual organ of any other person or animal or placing his or her sexual organ in the mouth or anus of any other person or animal. Any penetration, however slight, is sufficient to complete the crime of sodomy. Both parties may be principals." [89]At the next session of the legislature in 1955, lawmakers added the new language to the existing sodomy statute and increased the penalty for conviction from a maximum of two years in jail to ten.[90]

A few years later, the legislature worked to reverse criminal punishments for sodomy. In 1957, the legislature created the Criminal Law Study Committee to examine the state's criminal law code, including sexual offenses.[91] The committee, in cooperation with the attorney general, examined the code, recommended changes, and drafted legislation related to criminal law. The

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[88] The American Law Institute quoted in Isadore Rubin, "Homosexuality: Conflicting Theories," *Mattachine Review,* vol. VII, no. 2, (February 1961), 10.

[89] *Bennett et al. v. Abram* 57 N.M. 28; 253 P.2d 316 (1953). Case law on sodomy in New Mexico is scare. The first reported sodomy case was in 1953. Two prisoners, Fred Bennett and Earnest Briton who were confined in the common jail of Quay County under a charge of burglary, were apprehended for unnatural sex acts (fellatio) on May 17, 1951. Before the repeal of sodomy in New Mexico (1975), the supreme court ruled on eight cases. LexisNexis Legal Database, (accessed August 2013). For historical background on the state's sodomy laws see George Painter, "New Mexico," Sodomy Laws, accessed June 2014–August 2014, http://www.glapn.org/sodomylaws/sensibilities/new_mexico.htm#fn8

[90] At this point in time, the punishment was either a fine of $1,000 or up to ten years in prison. *New Mexico Laws of 1955,* page 132, ch. 78, enacted March 4, 1955.

[91] Henry Weihofen, "The Proposed New Mexico Criminal Code," *Natural Resources Journal* 1 (March 1961): 139.

committee was to retain the provisions of existing criminal laws wherever possible and to amend only when existing law was "unclear, unnecessary, a duplication or outmoded."[92] It conducted four years of research in an attempt to revise and rework the antiquated, contradictory and often confusing New Mexican criminal code, which dated back to 1846.[93] The Criminal Law Study Committee eradicated legal sanctions related to same-sex acts between consenting adults under Article13, Section 13-7, encompassed in the omnibus criminal law revisions House Bill 17 (HB 17). Chairman Mayo T. Boucher, an attorney and Valencia County Democrat, defended this inclusion on the grounds that "district attorneys are never able to prosecute in cases involving mutual consent among adults."[94] House majority leader and committee member, Albert O. Lebeck, during objections over the house vote, defended HB 17 as a "middle-of-the-road measure."[95]

At least in part, the New Mexico legislature loosened sanctions on consensual same-sex relations because of the ALI's proposed Model Penal Code. New Mexico's Criminal Law Study Committee relied on the recommendations laid out in tentative drafts of the Model Penal Code (1953) and used Wisconsin's recent comprehensive criminal code revision (1955) and Illinois' proposed criminal code to amend their own state's criminal laws.[96] The Wisconsin legislature rejected the advice of the Model Penal Code and retained sodomy as a felony, while Illinois incorporated the guidelines and decriminalized sodomy. The New Mexico Criminal Study

[92] New Mexico Criminal Law Study Committee, "Report of the Criminal Law Study Interim Committee 1961-2 to the 26th Legislature," (Santa Fe: The Committee, 1962).
[93] Maurice Trimmer, "Unusual Bill Due in 1961 Session," *Clovis News Journal*, September 18, 1960, 6 and "Drastic Revision of New Mexico Criminal Law Prepared," *Santa Fe New Mexican,* January 1, 1961, 31.
[94] "Sodomy Bill Doomed," *The New Mexican,* February 28, 1961, front page.
[95] "New Criminal Code Approved Over Stiff Protests," *Albuquerque Journal,* January 31, 1961, front page.
[96] Criminal Law Study Research materials, New Mexico Legislative Council Service Records #1971-005, Box 724, Folder 7, State Records Center and Archives, New Mexico Commission of Public Records. (Hereafter NM LC Records, NMCPR)

Committee followed the recommendation of the draft Model Penal Code and removed consensual sodomy from its list of crimes deeming punishment of oral and anal sex between consenting adults outmoded since the statute was rarely enforced and difficult to enforce.[97] However, this only partially explains why some states heeded the recommendations while others rejected or ignored them. Nor does it explain why New Mexico became the first state legislature to adopt decriminalization of sodomy.[98] Fifteen years after the publication of the Model Penal Code, only Illinois and Connecticut eliminated consensual sodomy as a crime.[99] In the 1960s, Minnesota, Georgia, and Kansas also adopted new criminal codes. None considered the Model Penal's code recommendation related to consensual sodomy although all of these states followed the non-sexual provisions of the code. Why the New Mexico House of Representatives passed such a measure relates to the state's earlier establishment and support of queer culture.

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[97] New Mexico Legislative Council Service, *Criminal Law Study: Research Materials*, ed. Annette R. Shermack (Santa Fe: The Service, 1957).

[98] The following states decriminalized sodomy during what legal scholars have termed the Model Penal Code period (1961-1979). Illinois (1961), Connecticut (1969), Colorado (1971), Oregon (1971), Delaware (1972), Ohio (1972), Hawaii (1972), New Hampshire (1973), North Dakota (1973), California (1975), Maine (1975), New Mexico (1975), Washington (1975), Indiana (1976), Iowa (1976), South Dakota (1976), West Virginia (1976), Nebraska (1977), Vermont (1977), Wyoming (1977), Alaska (1978), and New Jersey (1978). Figures from Melinda D. Kane, "Timing Matters: Shifts in the Causal Determinants of Sodomy Law Decriminalization, 1961–1998," *Social Problems* 54 (May 2007): 214.

[99] I had difficulty finding an explanation as to why Illinois was the first state to decriminalize same-sex sodomy laws. Mohr argues that is was a fluke: "When Illinois legislators voted in 1961 to repeal the state's sodomy law, making it the first state to legalize gay sex, they did not even know what they were voting on." See Mohr, *Gay/Justice,* 53. John D'Emilio discusses how Illinois' repeal of same-sex sodomy had almost no effect on reducing the number of arrests of gay men as most were arrested for vagrancy, disorderly conduct, public lewdness, and solicitation. D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual* Communities, 146. Gary Mucciarnoi argues that Illinois had progressive ideas on privacy rights and St. Sukie de la Croix makes a similar argument. See St. Sukie de la Croix, *Chicago Whispers: A History of LGBT Chicago before Stonewall* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012) and Gary Mucciaroni, *Same Sex, Different Politics: Success and Failure in the Struggles over Gay Rights* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 212. Connecticut was part of a larger trend of states that repealed their sodomy laws in the 1970s.

As chapter one explored, homosexual writers and artists sought refuge in the state and their presence contributed to a congenial environment for lesbians and gay men to form incipient communities. Moreover, during the same era, non-urban gay men and lesbians operated under a culture of privacy an arranged system of privacy toward sexual identity and behavior as long as individuals maintained discretion in public places. In these spaces, individuals lived the life they wanted to and were tolerated. Bohemian artists and writers and rural queers still endured restrictions on their sexual expression, but a relative acceptance of homosexuals existed. This changed when New Mexico transitioned from a sparsely populated nonindustrial state toward an urbanized nuclear complex. With it, came legal mechanisms that enforced the closet and invaded privacy rights as evidenced by the sodomy battle.

The House of Representatives passed HB 17, which included the decriminalization of sodomy, with a 37-28 vote.[100] The legislature's legalization of sodomy produced a heated debate in the state.[101] The first wave of controversy occurred in the Catholic community. Archbishop of Santa Fe Rev. Edwin V. Byrne expressed shock and dismay that such a perverse code had made it through the House, stating that "It proposes a drastic departure from ordinary and common decency, to say nothing about the moral law and public order."[102] The Archbishop focused solely on the provision that decriminalized sodomy even though HB 17 revised and systemized all aspects of New Mexican criminal law, streamlining every conceivable crime under four degrees of felonies and two degrees of misdemeanors. The executive committee of the Archdiocesan

[100] *House Journal,* 25th sess., Jan 30, 1961, 5.
[101] " Revision of New Mexico Criminal Law Prepared," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, January 1, 1961, 31.
[102] "Prelate Hits Proposed Code," *Albuquerque Tribune,* February 3, 1961, A-18.

Council of Catholic Men followed up on the Archbishop's denunciation asking the legislature to oppose the legalization of sodomy.[103]

Many New Mexicans began to insist that the state regulate and control homosexuality through the threat of criminal punishment. Letters to the editor poured in protesting the sodomy provision, like this one from Mrs. Vera Padilla, "On the revision of the criminal code, for New Mexico, it shocks me greatly, as I'm sure it will the majority of New Mexicans. The legalizing of sodomy, one of the greatest sins of perversion and degeneracy, by our House of Rep, is sure to bring nothing but sorrow and shame." She goes on to explain that the existing regulation of homosexuals works: "Those people who practice sodomy, until now have had to hide their ideas and practices to a certain extent. Now they will be able to flaunt their relationships and ideas without fear of punishment."[104] Padilla's comment speaks to both the culture of privacy that had monitored public and private sexuality and to the growing climate of secrecy being imposed upon gay men and lesbians. According to Padilla, forcing homosexuals to conceal their sexual identity kept the social and moral order intact. HB 17 threatened to permanently alter the constructed division of public and private sexuality in the state.

Chairman Boucher commented that "my mail has been about equally split between those for and against the proposal" indicating that other New Mexicans supported the change, but that the press favored publishing articles and letters to the editor that overwhelming represented the opposition. Only one published letter to the editor supported the measure. Nancy Mainville wrote, "Many people here feel that our city [Santa Fe] is already a 'very warped place in which to live.' Most of us, fortunately, are glad of the general tolerance. . . . I admire the

[103] "Pornography Curb Sought," *Santa Fe New Mexican,* February 13, 1961, front page.
[104]Mrs. Vera Padilla, "Sodomy Proposal," *Albuquerque Journal,* February 4, 1961.

moral courage of whoever proposed that bill. I shall be proud of our state if it passes." Mainville's comment acknowledges Santa Fe as "the city different." The city in particular, but the state in general, cultivated a reputation as a place for misfits. Native Santa Fean, John Pen La Farge elaborates, "Those who did not or could not fit in elsewhere found a good fit in New Mexico, where the people's natural tolerance and the territory's vast spaces allowed them to live as they pleased."[105]

The Mattachine Society, the country's first nation-wide homosexual organization, came out in support of the measure and congratulated the New Mexico legislature for being the first state, "to revise sex laws along lines advocated by the American Law Institute."[106] The homophile organization desired that New Mexico set a legal precedent, establishing the right for homosexuals to behave as they wished in private, without fear of criminal consequences. In 1961, every state possessed a sodomy law that penalized homosexual conduct and getting rid of such laws would break down a legal barrier and provide greater freedom in intimate private lives. Because New Mexico rarely enforced its same-sex sodomy law and had begun to cultivate a reputation as a state where a homosexual could live peacefully and privately, the Mattachine Society believed the state would pave the way in legalizing sodomy.

By the end of February of 1961, New Mexico newspapers reassured readers that the bill was doomed to fail. Boucher rapidly yielded to pressure to remove the sodomy clause. In an article entitled "What To Do About Homosexuals?" the *Mattachine Review* reported the defeat

[105] La Farge, *Turn left at the Sleeping Dog,* 3.
[106] Homophile groups published their own journals and newsletters including *One Magazine (*1953–1967), *Mattachine Review* (1955–1966), and *The Ladder* (1956–1972). Gay journalism in the 1960s grew out of these early homophile organizations' publications. See Meeker, *Contacts Desired,* 34.

of HB 17.[107] *Mattachine* explained that state legislatures, bar associations, and psychiatrists groups, overwhelmingly concurred that punitive laws against consensual sex acts needed to change. In an effort to answer why sodomy laws had not yet been eliminated, the author linked New Mexico's failed attempt to overturn the law to religious opposition. The Mattachine Society even went as far as to write a letter to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New Mexico, Edwin V. Byrne, seeking clarification on the church's opposition and explaining why Mattachine Society supported such legislation. Rev. Francis A. Tournier of Santa Fe, on behalf of Byrne, replied, but did not provide a clear answer. Tournier only confirmed that the prelate's protest caused the Senate to "shelve the entire criminal code revision." HB 17 had cleared the House of Representatives on January 30, 1961, but was killed by a senate committee on March 11. Lawmakers ordered the continuation of the Criminal Law Study Committee for an additional two years. In 1963, the Committee re-proposed a revised criminal code without the decriminalization of sodomy and in fact increased the fines related to sodomy charges from $1,000 to $5,000.[108]

The larger paradoxical culture of both leniency toward private same-sex relationships and heightened fears against gay personhood, influenced the impetus and outcome of HB 17. While some legal experts in the state had recommended the separation of sexual morality from criminal punishment, religious authorities and some residents of the state demanded its integration and lawmakers concurred. A public outcry from the Catholic Church and constituents forced legislators to consider their demand and concede to anti-gay attitudes.[109] The debate

[107] "What To Do About Homosexuals?," *Mattachine Review,* vol. VII, no. 5, (May 1961), 4.
[108] "Sodomy Bill Debated at Law School," *Albuquerque Journal* July 15, 1961, A-7.
[109] The New York Legislature engaged in a similar battle with its Roman Catholics. In 1965, the Commission of Revision of the Penal Law and Criminal Code presented the New York State Legislature with a revised

over sodomy in the state demonstrates that New Mexicans correlated homosexuality with sodomy even as sodomy laws criminalized a diverse set of non-reproductive sexual acts for same-sex, opposite-sex, and human-animal pairs. During the Cold War, the local press drew attention to homosexuals as both "security risks" and "criminals" helping to negatively influence New Mexicans' perceptions of homosexuality. It is important to note that sodomy laws regulated sexual *behavior* not sexual identity, but in New Mexico, the sodomy law was hardly ever administered, and its existence actually spoke more to the status of homosexuals in society than to the regulation of their sexual activity. The continuation of the sodomy statute ensured second-class status for homosexuals. New Mexicans feared that removing criminal punishment for homosexual acts would erode the social order and lead to a dangerous moral reorientation an issue that seemed to be of little to no concern a few decades earlier. The threat of criminal prosecution forced homosexuals to keep their sexual behavior covert. Here, the system of secrecy, the foundation for the security state, aided in the manufacture of a policy that mandated homosexuals hide.[110] Nevertheless, the *first* U.S. legislative body to pass a bill that repealed consensual sodomy law was the New Mexico House of Representatives. Although unsuccessful in the Senate, some New Mexico legislators, mainly those who also practiced law and residents like Mainville, demonstrated progressive thinking in regards to homosexuality.

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penal code, which "omitted consensual sodomy as an offense." As historian John D'Emilio explains, "the sodomy law met with disastrous defeat when an aroused Roman Catholic hierarchy mounted an effective lobbying campaign against the proposal. D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities,* 146.

[110] Another example in the state of New Mexico is a set of clandestine policies orchestrated by the Roman Catholic Church in order to conceal sexual abuse scandals. The church sought an isolated location to establish a rehabilitation center for alcoholics and pedophiles and found it in Jemez Canyon, New Mexico. Father Gerald M. C. Fitzgerald established the "Servants of the Paraclete" in 1947. For this history, see Jay Nelson, *Sons of Perdition: New Mexico in the Secret History of the Catholic Sex Scandals* (self-published, 2009).

The security state in New Mexico both policed private life and provided an avenue for homosexuals to seek new means of self-expression through an underground gay bar culture. The rise of the security state brought an influx of migrants after the establishment of Los Alamos National Laboratory and Sandia Laboratories, which together with Kirtland Air Force Base, Holloman Air Force Base, and the White Sands Missile Range, generated employment opportunities. In 1942, the Federal Housing Administration reported that: "by far the greatest factor behind economic expansion of Albuquerque has been the growth of the military installations there."[111] As a result, the state's population increased by 592,683 between 1940 and 1970, a 140 percent increase.[112] The two counties with the largest percentage increase, Bernalillo and Otero, were home, respectively, to Kirtland, Sandia, and Holloman Air Force Bases, which continued to grow in the 1950s.[113]

Growth also stemmed from economic expansion and business ventures that arose in connection with a new booming population to serve. For example, fourteen-year-old Virginia (Ginger) Chapman moved with her family to Albuquerque in 1949. [114] Her father, a regional sales

[111] Federal Housing Administration quote in Howard Rabinowitz, Chapter 1: "The Economic Impact of World War and Cold War," Box 1, Folder 3, Howard N. Rabinowitz Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico (Hereafter Rabinowitz Papers, CSWR).
[112] Sigurd Johansen, "Changes in the Distribution of New Mexico's Population Between 1930 and 1970,"Agriucltural Experiment Station Research Report 222 (Las Cruces, New Mexico: New Mexico State University, 1972); United States, *United States Census of Population, 1950. Detailed Data for Large Areas on Age, Race, Marital Status, Education, Employment, Income, Occupation, Industry* (Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O, 1952); United States, *Census of Population, 1960* (Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1963), and United States, *1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population: New Mexico* (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1973).
[113] Table 1 in Johansen, "Changes in the Distribution of New Mexico's Population Between 1930 and 1970," 3.
[114] Interview with Virginia (Ginger) Chapman by author November 14, 2013, audio recording, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

manager in Denver, Colorado, moved to open a branch of the National Biscuit Company.[115] Additionally, New Mexico benefited from extraction of natural resources and tourism.[116] In the city of Albuquerque, development pulled east directed toward the area known as the East Heights, which drew suburban housing developers and commercial proprietors. As historian Marc Simmons explains, "From the 1950s on, the fashionable Heights drained people, businesses, and capital away from the city's older core." [117] Even as areas such as downtown and Central Avenue (once the old Route 66) experienced an economic slump, in these neglected parts of the city and on the outskirts of town, a new entrepreneurial space opened: gay bars.[118] The burgeoning demand for vice culture, in the persons of several thousand young military men, helped account for the increase in gambling dens, brothels, and prostitution, not to mention a furtive but thriving gay bar culture.[119] During the war, Knight Dunne, a gay man who moved to the city in 1943, remembers Albuquerque as "a narrow-minded place that looked askance at us queers . . . The only place to satisfy our desires was in the men's room at the Franciscan, Alvarado & best of all, in the old Hilton."[120] By the 1950s, M.D. remembers that life "became a bit easier" for homosexuals because "by that time, enlightened souls from the East and

[115] The company became known as "Nabisco" in 1971. "Nabisco" was first used as the name for a cracker introduced in 1901.
[116] Doug Brugge and Rob Goble, "The History of Uranium Mining and the Navajo People," *American Journal of Public Health* 92 (September 2002): 1410–19 and Paige W. Christiansen, *The Story of Oil in New Mexico* (Socorro: New Mexico Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, 1989). For environmental consequences of mining, see Peter Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us: Uranium and Native Americans* (Santa Fe, NM: Red Crane Books. 1994). For tourism in New Mexico, see Rodríguez, "Fiesta Time and Plaza Space, 39–56; Michael Welsh, "A Land of Extremes: The Economy of Modern New Mexico, 1940-1990," in *Contemporary New Mexico, 1940-1990,* ed. Richard W. Etulain (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), and Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*.
[117] Simmons, *Albuquerque,* 366–73.
[118] Albuquerque followed the national trend of the decline of downtown. See Robert M. Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) and Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).
[119] Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Chapter 4: Municipal Services and Rapid Growth," Box 1, Folder 7, Rabinowitz Papers, CSWR.
[120] Knight Dunne quoted in *Common Bond Ink* vol. 1, no. 2, (October 1981), 6.

California had come to the city. Dick Bills had opened a night club in a Tijeras Canyon spot. . ."[121] While not exclusively a gay nightspot, Bills' large country bar called The Limelight, located in the mountains east of town, attracted a gay crowd, as did Pelican Cocktail Lounge on Fourth Street in downtown. In the early 1950s, the Duke's Cave and Heights Cocktail Lounge (owned by a gay male couple) opened as gay bars in downtown Albuquerque.[122] When the Heights Lounge debuted, according to New Mexican Tom Barry, it "became for many years the central gathering point for many Albuquerque (and New Mexico) gays."[123]

As in other urban areas in the post-world war two era, by the 1960s the city of Albuquerque possessed a gay bar scene. Historians John D'Emilio and Allan Bérubé identify the 1940s as the turning point when gay and lesbian social life became firmly established in bars in most American cities.[124] For the city of Albuquerque, it took a bit longer as the first gay bar opened outside of the city in 1950 followed by the development of bars in the city in a scattered pattern rather than being concentrated in a gay neighborhood.[125] Bar culture brought together diverse patrons: multiracial, bilingual, men and women, working and middle class, and multigenerational. For example, Arthur Johnson was a sixty- five -year-old closeted gay man (widowed), who began to embrace his gay identity when he discovered the gay bar scene. After

[121] M.D. "Olden Days in Albuquerque," *Common Bond Ink,* in Neil Isbin Papers, Box 3, Folder 18, The Fray Angélico *Chávez* History *Library, Santa Fe New Mexico*. (Hereafter Isbin Papers, FACHL)
[122] See Bureau of Revenue, Official List of Licensed Liquor Dealers and Registered Common Carriers December 1950, Box 7031, Folder 63, New Mexico Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control Records, Collection 1959-247, New Mexico State Archives and Historical Services Division.
[123] Tom Barry, "Gay Bars, Gay People," *Seer's Catalogue* August 8–22, 1975, 15. According to the Alcoholic Beverage Control Records, George Konougres and Vasilios N. Kartsotis opened the Heights Cocktail Lounge in the fall of 1950 on 4217 East Central Avenue. See Bureau of Revenue, Official List of Licensed Liquor Dealers and Registered Common Carriers December 1950, Box 7031, Folder 63, NM ABC Records, NMCPR.
[124] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities,* 22–39 and Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire,* 98–127.
[125] Daniel L. Evans, "All is Note Dead Here in the Desert: The Development of Albuquerque's Organized Gay Community, 1971-1991," (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1992), 14.

his wife passed away on December 8, 1963, Johnson moved to Albuquerque to assist his brother, Raymond Jonson, modernist painter and art professor at the University of New Mexico, with operations of the Jonson Gallery.[126] When Johnson first relocated, he wrote to friends about his loneliness. In response, one friend introduced Johnson to a married couple, Ned and Gert. Johnson developed both a physical and emotional attraction to Ned and they had an affair. With this affair, a new world opened up for him. Throughout his life, Johnson identified as both gay and bisexual, given a thirty-two year marriage to a woman whom he truly loved.[127] Later in life, in his letters to friends, Johnson documented his coming out process and described his transformation into a new culture.[128]

Johnson visited his first gay bar in Albuquerque with his lover Ned. Looking for somewhere to go one Saturday night in the summer of 1967, they decided to have an "adventure" and went to a local gay bar called the Newsroom. He described the experience as follows: " How strangely peaceful it is to be able to sit talking without pretenses, the mask off, exchanging with a barkeep the anecdotes of the gaylife." They went back each Saturday afternoon since their initial visit and going to gay bars became part of their courtship.[129] Johnson had been to a gay bar two other times in his life, once in Redwood City, California, with his friend Warren, and the other toward the end of his time while living in Portland, Oregon. In the

[126] Brothers Arthur and Raymond have different last names because Arthur retained the Americanized version of his family's name (Johnson) while Raymond legally changed it back to the original Swedish family surname (Jonson).
[127] Arthur Johnson identifies himself as bisexual in the following letter, Arthur Johnson to unknown friend, February 25, 1978, Box 1, Folder 6, Arthur Johnson Papers, MSS 854 BC, University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research (Hereafter Johnson Papers, CSWR). In an earlier letter, Johnson refers to his sexual orientation as 'gay' Arthur Johnson to unknown friend, August 5, 1969, Box 2, Folder 12, Johnson Papers, CSWR.
[128] Johnson had his first gay sexual experience around age ten. He acknowledged his sexual orientation in high school. Arthur Johnson to "Obedient Servant," July 1, 1966, Box 2, Folder 3, Johnson Papers, CSWR, and Arthur Johnson to unknown friend, February 25, 1978, Box 1, Folder 9, Johnson Papers, CSWR.
[129] Arthur Johnson to Warren, September 7, 1967, Box 1, Folder 16, Johnson Papers, CSWR.

New Mexico gay bar scene, Johnson "felt accepted . . . I feel quite happy over my incursion into a world I never knew. . . . I feel as a bug must feel that has finally burst from his cocoon." Interestingly, Johnson credited younger Latino and Native men, who welcomed him and guided him in to the "gaylife" probably because bar patrons tended to be working-class and multiracial.[130] The Newsroom attracted a younger crowd of men in their late teens and twenties (although Johnson went there). Johnson describes its customers as bilingual and mixed gender: "The place is obviously popular with lesbians. . . There is dancing and [the] juke box is loud. Now and then a male would dance with a female but preponderantly it was intrasex dancing. When it was [a] song they knew many of them sang along with the box."[131] Oral histories conducted by historian Trisha Franzen confirm that many lesbians frequented the Newsroom.[132] Lesbians remembered the Newsroom, located on seventh and Central and sometimes referred to as the Pit, as a dive bar. "It was pretty awful looking," recalled Paula, "It wasn't scary, but a horrible dump. But I had a lot of fun there."[133] *The Lavender Baedecker* the earliest gay bar guidebook, directed gay men and lesbians to the Newsroom as well as another bar called Okie Joe's, located on the same block and one block east from the Franciscan Hotel, an early cruising spot for gay men.[134] While some may have found their way to these places via the guidebook, most seem to have discovered gay bars by word-of-mouth.

Like Johnson, Vangie Chavez also came out through the gay bars. Chavez moved from Santa Fe to Albuquerque in 1971, shortly after she graduated from high school, in order to

[130] Arthur Johnson to "Dear Friend," June 11, 1967, Box 2, Folder 3, Johnson Papers, CSWR.
[131] Arthur Johnson to Nelson, April 17, 1967, Box 1, Folder 16, Johnson Papers, CSWR.
[132] Franzen, "Difference and Identities," 895.
[133] Paula quoted in Franzen, "Difference and Identities," 895.
[134] Guy Straight, *The Lavender Baedecker* vol. 1, no. 1 (San Francisco, CA, 1963). Guy Straight, who wrote the Lavender Baedecker, differentiated gay bars from mixed bars by the ability of patron's to express same-sex desire and as a result, language, dress, and mannerisms that developed as part of a unique bar culture. See Guy Straight, "What is a 'Gay Bar'?" *Citizens News* vol. 4, no. 5, (December 1964): 6–7.

explore her lesbian identity. She found a gay community in Albuquerque that mainly consisted of a few underground bars. Overtime, Chavez developed a circle of twenty-five lesbian friends who went to the Limelight as well as other bars - the Upstairs, located along the old route 66, an after hours club that featured drag queen performers; and Cricket's, a private club for women, owned and operated by a Native American woman in the suburban area of North East Heights.[135] Some bars fragmented along gender and racial lines. Narrators largely identified Cricket's as a working class Latina bar.[136] Rosanne Baca, who grew up in Gallup, New Mexico and identified as Chicana, spent many nights at Cricket's although she went without her partner, Gloria Gonzagowski. For Gonzagowski, who worked in the security industry, frequenting gay bars was far too dangerous. Gonzagowski worked as a finger print technician for the Albuquerque Police Department where she collected, examined, and compared fingerprint evidence in order to identify suspects in criminal cases, yet she had to defy state laws to have a relationship with her lesbian partner Rosanne Baca. Gonzagowski epitomizes the contradictions of the security state as she worked for an agency that deemed her a criminal and out of necessity had to keep her personal life separate from her professional life. A few other gay women worked at the police department and Gonzagowski socialized with them at clubs and bars, but never at gay bars.[137]

Secrecy even infiltrated the gay and lesbian bar scene. Some gay men and lesbians used code names when they visited bars in order to protect their identity. Manuel, went by the name

[135] Chavez, interview.
[136] Interview with Ann Nihlen by author, May 21, 2014 , audio recording, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project, Albuquerque, New Mexico and Interview with Havens Levitt, by author July 14, 2014 , audio recording, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
[137] Videocassette (VHS) recording of interview with Gloria Gonzagowski and Rosanne Baca by Veronica Selver, 1991.1.34.28, viewcopy, Box 58, Peter Adair Papers, GLC70, The James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library (Hereafter Adair Papers, SFPL).

"Neal" because he worked for a government agency and was afraid to give his real name. While he engaged in casual sexual relationships with other men he met at the bars, he refrained from having a serious relationship for fear that he would lose his job.[138] Many did not divulge their last names or disclose their occupations. In this way, gay men and lesbian complied with the closet. In a climate where homosexuals had good reason to pass as heterosexual, bars provided safe spaces to reject the pressure to pass, but many continued to adhere to the climate of secrecy even within gay spaces. Lastly, gay bars were so low profile, that new arrivals to the city had a difficult time finding such establishments. Lesbian high school student Ginger Chapman moved to Albuquerque with her family in 1949. Chapman's older brother, "was also gay when we moved down here and he could never find a way to participate." Chapman continued, "As I understood it, [the gay and lesbian community] was not particularly open." Chapman went to a straight bar with other lesbians, but she too found gay and lesbian culture scarce and the day after her high school graduation she returned to Denver where she was familiar with the local gay scene.[139]

Luckily for patrons, the police generally turned a blind eye to the gay bar scene.[140] Unlike other gay men and lesbians who suffered from police raids, arrests, and entrapment, the Albuquerque police department largely left gay bar patrons alone.[141] Elsewhere in the American West, city councils and police attacked the most visible gay establishments and in cities such as San Francisco, Denver, and Seattle, lesbians and gay men rallied together and organized a

[138] Arthur Johnson to "Dear Friend," June 11, 1967, Box 2, Folder 3, Johnson Papers, CSWR.
[139] Chapman, interview.
[140] For scholarship that argues that bar culture cultivated a gay civil rights movement, see Boyd, *Wide-Open Town* and Davis and Kennedy, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold.*
[141] In this sense Albuquerque is similar to Portland, Oregon, a city that also developed a gay civil rights movement in a later time period. See Peter Boag, "Does Portland Need a Homophile Society? Gay Culture and Activism in the Rose City Between World War II and Stonewall," *Oregon Historical Society* 105 (Spring 2004): 6–39.

counter-attack.[142]An understaffed police department and a growing problem of loitering, theft, and gangs among juveniles might be reasons why there was not a police attack on gay bars in Albuquerque. In October 1945, the city commission announced plans for the inauguration of the department's first detective bureau to help build up the police department.[143] The commission cited two reasons for the expansion stating that "comparable to other cities" of Albuquerque's size the department was seriously "undermanned" and because "the crime wave in this city is of serious proportions."[144] In comparison to most cities in the post war era, Albuquerque had a low crime rate. Criminal suits filed in the District Court for Bernalillo County totaled only 465. On the other hand, the city was understaffed as it only employed thirty-two active officers. In the 1951 annual police report, Chief of Police Paul A. Shaver reported an increase of ninety-four active police personnel, but still called for "additional personnel, equipment and rank for organizational changes" asserting that "These changes are necessary due to increased population and area and to give citizens necessary protection."[145] The overstretched department was preoccupied with the issue of youth petty theft and gang violence.[146]

Comparing bar-based gay culture to the earlier artistic-based one illustrates how the security state fundamentally altered gay and lesbian life. Northern New Mexico's reputation as an art colony had made it attractive as a queer space in the 1920s and 1930s and fostered queer

[142] For Denver, see Thomas Jacob Noel, "Gay Bars and the Emergence of the Denver Homosexual Community," *Social Science Journal* vol. 15, issue 2 (1978): 59–74. For Seattle, see Atkins, *Gay Seattle*.
[143] City Commission Minutes, October 5, 1954, IV 1413 in "Planning and Subdivisions - City Planning Commission minutes, Planning Department report 1964-1968," Box 4, Folder 12, Rabinowitz Papers, CSWR.
[144] Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Chapter 4: Municipal Services and Rapid Growth," Box 1, Folder 7, Rabinowitz Papers, CSWR.
[145] Paul A Shaver, "Annual Report Police Department ABQ, NM" Compiled by Division of Records and Stats, 1951.
[146] The problem of juvenile delinquency became so acute the state established the New Mexico Commission on Youth (1953) and tasked it with investigating the subject of delinquency and dependent youths.

culture outside of an urban context. Instead of activities associated with urban vice - bars, nightclubs, and bathhouses - Santa Fe and Taos homosexuals and bohemians engaged in small-town activities such as homemaking with a life-long partner and participation in community events. The small-town queer atmosphere eroded with the introduction of war and subsequent Cold War ideologies. Gay cultural formation shifted to the city of Albuquerque and underground bars. At the same time, a shift toward bar culture enabled a larger number of gay men and women to participate in the gay life especially working-class queers, Nuevomexicanos, and Native Americans. Migration out of the state offered another avenue.

Migration provided a way for lesbian and gay New Mexicans to respond to the rise of the security state as some used mobility to help ensure that they lived in a place with greater sexual liberation. World War II spurred the greatest internal migration in American history, and for lesbians and gay men, migration during and after the war fundamentally altered conceptions of sexual identities and cultural formation, and jumpstarted a gay and lesbian civil rights movement.[147] The majority of historical scholarship that addresses internal migration in post-World War II America focuses on economic, social, and cultural factors that motivated black and white southerners and women to move.[148] In addition to these groups, World War II sparked a

[147] For sexual migrations and World War II, see Boag, "Gay Male Rural-Urban Migration in the American West," in *City Dreams, Country Schemes*, 291–4. Also, Bérubé discusses how immediately following WWII gay veterans formed in New York City the first major gay membership organization in America called the Veterans' Benevolent Association (1945-1954). See Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire,* 249. D'Emilio has referred to the Second World War as a "nationwide coming out experience." See D'Emilio, *Sexual Communities, Sexual Politics,* 24.

[148] See for example, Roger Guy, *From Diversity to Unity: Southern and Appalachian Migrants in Uptown Chicago, 1950-1970* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007);Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, *Abiding Courage: African American Migrant Women and the East Bay Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, *To Place our Deeds: the African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910-1963* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), and Virginia Scharff, *Twenty Thousand Roads: Women, Movement, and the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

movement for increased mobility of Native Americans that continued after the war as they migrated to urban centers.[149] R.C. Gorman (Navajo) provides an example. Gorman moved off the Navajo reservation in 1951 when he enlisted in the Navy to both take advantage of employment opportunities that stemmed from the security state and explore his same-sex identity. The Navy honorably discharged Gorman in 1955, at Moffet Field (near Sacramento, California), at the rank of seaman, but instead of returning home Gorman decided to explore San Francisco.[150] The Navy used San Francisco as disembarkation point for men in the Spanish-American War, World War II and the Korean War.[151] Large populations of men who had been living in same-sex environments in the military and who then moved to San Francisco transformed the port city into a space where men and women tested the boundaries of sexuality. As a result, many gay men and lesbians settled in port cities, such as San Francisco, where they found spaces that stretched the limits of acceptable homoeroticism.[152] Due to sexual migrations, gay neighborhoods grew in number and power in postwar America.[153] Historian Martin Meeker explains that in 1964 San Francisco became "a symbolic homeland of an identity and a city that was a haven for institutional support unknown in most American cities."[154] San Francisco's designated gay neighborhoods, numerous LGBTQ political organizations, and national reputation as a gay mecca made the city stand out as the first representational example of a strong queer community.

Between 1959 and 1962 Gorman moved back and forth between San Francisco and the reservation. Many gay men and lesbian veterans "after brief visits home, . . . left their parents,

[149]Arthur Margon, "Indians and Immigrants: A Comparison of Groups New to the City," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 4, no. 4 (1977): 18.
[150] Navy Discharge Papers, April 15, 1955, Box 3, Folder 9, Dooley Papers, CSWR.
[151] Strange de Jim, *San Francisco's Castro* (San Francisco, California: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 8.
[152] D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities,* 31.
[153] For a distinction between gay 'haven' and gay 'mecca,' see Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Homos Invade S.F.!" in *Creating a Place for Ourselves*, 75.
[154] Meeker, *Contacts Desired,* 189.

abandoned small towns, and joined the majority of other veterans who headed toward the more expansive and tolerant conditions in American cities."[155] Gorman's visits with his family, particularly with his father, became strained once he disclosed his sexual identity.[156] By 1962, Gorman committed to living in San Francisco full time. Living in San Francisco, far from family, permitted Gorman the freedom to engage in a same-sex relationship. A year later, he met Clifton Koltz and the two developed a romantic and business partnership. Gorman and Koltz lived together at 4135 Army Street #10 in the Castro, a developing gay district of the city.[157] In this way, San Francisco offered Gorman an avenue for queer expression.

Lester Q. Strong, born in Albuquerque, New Mexico on August 3, 1946, felt an "overwhelming presence of the military intruding on my activities," which forced him to keep his sexual identity a secret. Strong remembers feelings of isolation growing up gay in a city "where the profile of gayness was so low that it was virtually nonexistent." He only had two encounters with gay knowledge; he heard of a downtown bar where gay men could dance together and read a newspaper article on the arrest of a man for same-sex relations. "Other than this slim evidence that homosexuals actually lived in Albuquerque, I remember only a fairly pervasive homophobia among the rancher and military elements of Albuquerque society into which I had been born," Strong recalled. After college graduation in 1968, Strong fled to New York City.[158] Similarly, Morris Kight left Albuquerque for Los Angeles in 1958, desiring a city that possessed a

[155] Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire,* 244.
[156] Zonnie Gorman (Half-Sister of R.C. Gorman), in discussion with author, March 2010.
[157] Originally Castro was a district where large Irish Catholic families settled, but after World War II families relocated to suburban areas. A gay bar called the Missouri Mule opened in 1963 followed by the subsequent opening of additional gay bars. The gay population living in the Haight moved to Castro transforming the area into the gay mecca that it is today. For a history of the Castro, see de Jim, *San Francisco's Castro*, 8 and "San Francisco: The Castro," accessed November 11, 2014, http://www.sfgate.com/neighborhoods/sf/castro/. Some articles locate Gorman's apartment in the Mission District or Upper Market district, but Gorman in his journal referred to living in the Castro.
[158] Strong, "Hometown Revisited."

more vibrant gay scene. Kight, born in Proctor, Texas, acknowledged his sexual orientation early in life and explored his sexual identity in high school although he was careful to use discretion. After graduation, he moved to Albuquerque in 1941 where he discovered several underground gay bars, which he described as "furtive." His migration to Los Angeles allowed for his further exploration of social activism and queer culture, which inspired his foundation of the Gay Liberation Front in 1969.[159] Kight's movement to Los Angeles and establishment of a gay political organization in the city demonstrates that he felt building such a group in New Mexico would not have been possible.

Despite the bar scenes in both Albuquerque and Santa Fe, all of these individuals made sexual migrations because of the relative absence of gay and lesbian culture and institutions in New Mexico. Gay men and lesbians who vacated New Mexico sought reinvention of self and identity in a setting with better access to gay outlets -bathhouses, cruising sites, bars, and homophile organizations. Secrecy in the state pushed sexual migrants toward new destination sites that possessed more vibrant gay and lesbian cultures. Nonetheless, in time, over half who left would engage in a reverse migration, returning to the southwest after conditions for gay men and lesbians improved. Men like, Schwob and Strong, college educated, white and middle class were in the best positions to pick up and leave. Gorman and Kight, aided by the military, found greater mobility to explore sexual identities in large urban areas. Those who were most likely to relocate to a city were white, middle class gay men. For these migrants, the conceptualization of gay identity formed in connection to urbanization and incorporated conceptions of maleness and whiteness.

[159] "Biographical Information" Box 1, Folder 2, Morris Kight Papers and Photographs, Coll2010.008, ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles, California. (Hereafter Kight Papers, ONE)

In contrast, those who stayed in hometowns underwent a different identity formation process. Not all lesbian and gay New Mexicans desired to move or possessed the economic means to relocate. New Mexican native Nadine Armijo, who grew up in a Catholic, Spanish/English speaking household in Corrales, just outside of Albuquerque, moved only as far as the house across the street from her family where she lived with her lover, Rosa Montoya. Armijo talked with Montoya about moving to a more welcoming place, but financially the two could not afford a move.[160] Armijo, who was unemployed, and Montoya who attended school, lived cheaply in Corrales. In addition, Armijo loved her hometown and felt torn about leaving it. Armijo and Montoya decided to make a life together in Corrales. Largely homebound, and living near familial households, Armijo negotiated her sexual identity within family structures rather than within a large urban city.

Vangie Chavez, after her first same-sex kiss, which she described as the "greatest thing ever," wanted to further explore her lesbian identity, but felt hindered by the small-town environment of Santa Fe. Chavez explains, "Santa Fe is very different today than it was then, but at that time we were a very tight knit sort of community much of my family lived within that community. It was small enough where most people knew other people's families in some respect or another so it was difficult to keep quiet any of our personal things." Despite Santa Fe's earlier reputation as a haven for bohemian homosexuals, for Chavez, born and raised in Santa Fe in the 1950s, the type of privacy afforded in the twenties and thirties no longer existed. Chavez felt constrained by familial control and her inability to keep certain aspects of her life private. After high school graduation in 1971, she thought it best to move away from her family

[160] Video Nadine Armijo 1991.1.34.23, viewcopy, Adair Papers, SFPL.

so she could explore her sexuality. She moved to Albuquerque. Likewise, Rosanne Baca moved from her hometown of Gallup, New Mexico, to settle in Albuquerque with her lesbian partner and daughter.[161] All three of these women moved out of New Mexico for brief periods of time, but ultimately decided to stay in New Mexico, a place where they felt most comfortable, lived in close (but not too close) proximity to family, and could afford the cost of living. As historian Yolanda Chavez Leyva argues Latina lesbian histories challenges the urban-based paradigm in the field as many Latina lesbians lived at home or close to family members rather than isolated from these networks in large cities.[162] As opposed to sexual migrants who used cities to cultivate identity and cultural formation, Latina lesbians navigated their sexual identity within heteronormative spaces: family, church, and work.

In the era of the security state, movement provided an avenue for securing greater sexual liberation. Sexuality, race, gender, and class each contributed to an individual's ability to move. Mobilization allowed American men and women to expand their knowledge of gay and lesbian culture and survive the postwar antigay crackdown by moving to large urban cities where a nascent homosexual rights campaign was underway. To some extent, lesbians participated in sexual migrations, but as this chapter shows some were constrained by economic and familial obligations and had fewer geographic choices.

In the 1920s and 1930s, gay men and lesbians had moved to New Mexico in order to experience greater sexual liberation, but in the 1940s and 50s homosexuals that could, fled the

[161] Videocassette (VHS) recording of interview with Gloria Gonzagowski and Rosanne Baca by Veronica Selver, 1991.1.34.28, viewcopy, Box 58, Adair Papers, SFPL.
[162] Yolanda Chavez Leyva, "Breaking the Silence: Putting Latina Lesbian History at the Center," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in US Women's History,* eds. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki Ruiz (New York: Routledge Press, 1990).

state. The imposition of the security state generated and actively promoted a climate of secrecy especially when compared against an earlier climate of openness. In conceptualizing the security state, policymakers used sexual identity as a major organizing principle instituting policies, laws, and structures that privileged heterosexuality and institutionalized a climate hostile toward homosexuals. Taking the security state—as a political force and as a set of practices that structured everyday life and choices—helps to document how the federal government systematically excluded gay men and lesbians from full citizenship and how its reverberations decimated local queer communities. At the local level, the security state transformed fairly amenable heterosexual and homosexuals relationships in New Mexico into a homophobic environment. Further, the insidious nature of secrecy made it very difficult for gay men and lesbians to challenge this transition. In combatting the security state, gay men and lesbians used mobility, passing, and an underground bar culture as major organizing principles for gay and lesbian identity and cultural formation in New Mexico. Many passed in order to gain some of the benefits of heterosexual privilege. Some delved even deeper into isolation as a means of protection. Others migrated out of the state for more welcoming urban harbors. At the same time, migration into the state created a space for a new form of gay and lesbian culture –bars– to flourish. The inflow of mainly white, educated Americans also positively contributed to the birth of a political movement in New Mexico, which will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

BREAKING THE CLIMATE OF SECRECY: A GAY AND LESBIAN MOVEMENT COMES TOGETHER, 1970-1980

I want to fuck you
I want to fuck all parts of you
I want you all of me

All of me

My mouth is a wet pink cave
your tongue slides serpent in
stirring the inhabited depths. . .[1]

In March of 1969, Lionel Williams, a teaching assistant in the English Department at the University of New Mexico (UNM), assigned his freshman English class with reading and discussing "Love-Lust" a poem by San Francisco poetess Lenore Kandel. In her erotic poem, Kandel deploys expletive language to convey heterosexual oral sex. Kandel's unabashed eroticism reflected both her affiliation with the Beat generation and the hippie counterculture and a trend in modern poetry called "confessional."[2] Confessional poetry uses vivid self-revelatory verse to explore deeply personal matters allowing one to divulge what might have once been kept secret.[3] A new generation of sexual radicals pushed the boundaries of sexual expression into public arenas including the publication and distribution of sexually explicit

[1] Lenore Kandel, *Word Alchemy* (New York: Grove Press, 1967). Grove Press, founded in 1949 as a small independent publisher in New York City's Greenwich Village, rejected mainstream notions of obscenity, morality, and decency. It gained a reputation as a controversial publisher committed to publishing books that challenged prevailing attitudes about sex.
[2] Ann Charters, *The Beats, Literary Bohemians in Postwar America* (Detroit, MI: Gale Research Co., 1983).
[3] Confessional poetry emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s and expressed personal feelings associated with death, trauma, and relationships. The movement is largely associated with poets such as Robert Lowell, Sylvia Plath, and Anne Sexton. For a brief history, see Steven K. Hoffman, "Impersonal Personalism: The Making of a Confessional Poetic," *ELH* 45 (December 1978): 687–709.

literature that began to normalize a diverse range of sexual desires. By assigning such materials in a university setting, Williams advanced the move toward sexual liberalism. He centered all of his literary selections for the class on the theme of intimacy. Students read a range of texts from classics such as *The Tragedy of King Lear* to modern works like James Baldwin's *Another Country*.[4] The English Department had recommended an anthology of literature for teaching assistants to use, but most preferred to select their own materials, as did Williams. In addition to course readings, he invited faculty to present guest lectures in order to offer his students diverse perspectives and extended an invitation to visiting lecturer Kenneth Pollack. During his seminar on "Destroying the American Dream," Pollack read aloud from the essay, "The Twelve-Inch Prick," in which gay author Max Fox narrates the story of a troubled homosexual man. Pollack believed the essay illustrated the disparity between American conceptions of love and the reality of such intimate relationships. The distribution of the "Love-Lust" poem and Pollack's session on homosexuality unleashed a statewide controversy that culminated in Governor of New Mexico David Cargo receiving as many as fifteen thousand letters and telegrams denouncing the use of sexually overt materials at the university, the resignation of Joseph Frank, Chair of the English Department, the firings of Williams and Pollack, and the legislature cutting fifty thousand dollars in funding to UNM.[5]

It began when a female student from Williams' class brought a copy of "Love-Lust" home. Her outraged father, Charles W. Soltis a member of the Chamber of Commerce, sent the

[4] Leo Kanowitz, "Love Lust in New Mexico and the Emerging Law of Obscenity," *Natural Resources Journal* 10 (April 1970): 339–40. William Shakespeare, Tucker Brooke, and William Lyon Phelps, *... The Tragedy of King Lear* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), and James Baldwin, *Another Country* (New York: Dial Press, 1962).
[5] David Francis Cargo, *Lonesome Dave, The Story of New Mexico Governor David Francis Cargo* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 2010), 281–282.

"inappropriate" course material to Republican Senator William A. Sego of Bernalillo County on the grounds that his daughter should be shielded from such explicit descriptions.[6] On March 22, 1969, the New Mexico House of Representatives by a vote of 47 to 12 adopted a memorial demanding the Regents of the University fire the teaching assistant Lionel Williams stating that he "has offended the very foundations of decency in New Mexico by the distribution of pornographic materials to students in classrooms in his capacity as instructor. The activities of this instructor have placed him outside the accepted standards of decent citizens of New Mexico."[7] Now alerted to the Love-Lust controversy, as the *Albuquerque Journal* reported on the legislative action, New Mexicans responded. Business leaders, church members, truck drivers, office clerks, UNM faculty, and more – a wide array of residents throughout the state – conveyed support for the memorial in the form of letters to the Governor.[8] President of the University Ferrel Heady suspended Williams and Pollack (once the homosexuality seminar came to light) and convened a Special Advisory Committee consisting of Faculty Policy Committee Chair Dr. Hubert Alexander, Vice President George Springer, and John Green, Chair of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, to conduct an "informal" hearing on the matter. Law professor Leo Kanowitz provided academic counsel for the two TAs. The Special Advisory Committee spent five days examining evidence from eighty witnesses including testimony from Williams, Pollack, and Frank, students who took courses taught by Pollack and Williams, Senator

[6] Leo Kanowitz, *Poem Is a Four-Letter Word* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1970), 12.
[7] "House Asks Firing of U. Instructor," *Albuquerque Journal,* March 23, 1969.
[8] Kanowitz, *Poem Is a Four-Letter Word,* 46.

Harold Runnels the most vociferous legislative critic of the controversy, Psychologist Karl Koening, and others.[9]

During the Love-Lust ordeal, Senator Runnels from Lea County, the force behind the legislative furor, successfully aroused voters and legislators through scare tactics tapping into their fears of communism. The security state had spread its effects far and wide. Runnels compared the infiltration of sexual material at UNM to communist dangers within the U.S. arguing that a liberalized sexual ethic threatened the safety of the nation. Deploying Cold War tactics, Runnels and other legislators supported a full investigation of the university. In 1969, the Legislature re-appropriated 50,000 dollars of university funding to form and finance the Legislative University Study Committee (LUSC) tasked with inspecting irregularities at UNM and serving as a governmental censorship board including review of classroom materials and questioning several instructors about their political activities.[10] The LUSC remained an Ad Hoc Legislative Committee for many years despite repeated calls for its abolition.[11] Those on the other side of the argument also compared the ordeal to the Red Scare, but in reverse. John Walker, Executive Director of the New Mexico Civil Liberties Union stated: "The dangers inherent in misdirected, uncontrolled legislative 'investigations' of this type are well known. In years past, the House Un-American Activities Committee has made a mockery of citizens' rights to a fair hearing and has been a forum for vicious, unsubstantiated, personal attacks on fine

[9] Frankie McCarty, "Pornographic Ode Distributed Anew to UNM Classes," newspaper clipping, Box 3, Calvin Horn Collection, University Archives, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico (Hereafter Horn Collection, CSWR).
[10] Jon Bowman, "Longing for Lenore, Love Lust," *Daily Lobo* vol. 78, no. 34 (October 10, 1974), 4.
[11] Gerald M. Goldhaber, "Communication and Student Unrest: A Report to the President of the University of New Mexico," (Department of Speech Communication, University of New Mexico, 1972), 8–9.

citizens."[12] Walker called for the withdrawal of state intervention in the "Love-Lust controversy;" Runnels defended government supervision of sexuality, and New Mexicans wrestled with the question: What role should government play in the regulation of sexual knowledge?

Those who opposed the use of the poem – parents, concerned citizens, and legislators as well as the UNM Alumni Association and many members of the faculty – classified it as pornography. Evidence presented at the Special Advisory Committee hearing included a letter drafted by five UNM Law professors, who pointed out "that the poem in question appears to relish acts which the criminal law of our state classifies as sodomy, which is a felony (N.M. Stats. Sec. 40A-9-6)."[13] Sodomy laws in the state criminalized oral and anal sexual acts for same-sex, opposite-sex, and human-animal pairs. As discussed in the previous chapter, New Mexicans rarely faced charges for these acts. President Heady connected sodomy to homosexuality when he called Pollack's seminar a "lurid discussion of the mechanics of homosexual behavior."[14] Pollack spoke for eight minutes on the topic of homosexuality quoting the "Twelve-Inch Prick" article, which described various homosexual acts.[15]

The major thrust of the hearing was whether sexuality was an appropriate theme for an English class. During the committee hearing, Williams disagreed with the categorization of "Love Lust's" as obscene material: "when you read a poem by Lenore Kandel, you are not advocating eroticism. You are talking about the poet's intimate expression of love and desire."[16] Williams

[12] Frankie McCarty, "Cargo Enters Poem Controversy," March 27, 1969, newspaper clipping, Box 3, Horn Collection, CSWR.
[13] Letter reprinted in Kanowitz, *Poem Is a Four-Letter Word,* 167.
[14] Bob Brown, "UNM English Faculty Sees Big Changes" *Albuquerque Journal,* July 22, 1969, A-4.
[15] Kanowitz, *Poem Is a Four-Letter Word,* 177.
[16] Lionel Williams quoted in Kanowitz, *Poem Is a Four-Letter Word,* 126.

analyzed Kandel's work as a rare glimpse into the female perspective on sexual desire and denied that its use in the classroom incited eroticism. In addition to pedagogical questions, the committee dug into Williams' earlier teaching in San Francisco. Williams' earned a B.A. and M.A. in English from San Francisco State University and was working on a doctoral degree at UNM. San Francisco's prominent and growing gay neighborhoods as well as its burgeoning sexual revolution tied the city's reputation to liberal sexual ideals and prompted committee member John Green to ask: "How sophisticated is San Francisco these days?" Williams responded, "I'm new here, from San Francisco – I felt, from what I could tell, that the University [of New Mexico] was free. With all the different cultures represented here, I also felt that New Mexico was a sophisticated state."[17] Williams asserted that Albuquerque and San Francisco shared relatively libertine attitudes. California and New Mexico both attracted participants of the hippie movement of the 1960s and certain regions within both states cultivated reputations for residents' live-and-let-live ideals. But to some New Mexicans, Williams' association with San Francisco made him suspect. Additionally, he was a black man. The committee never addressed Williams's racial background, but several newspaper articles featured a picture of Williams teaching in a classroom of mainly white women.[18] The 1960s and 1970s gave rise to the image of the hyper masculine black man. Combined with the longer stereotypical conception of black men as hyper sexual, the distribution of "obscene" material by a black TA likely added fueled to the Love-Lust ordeal.[19] Although administrators omitted the issue of race from committee proceedings, many students discerned an element of racial bias in the public outcry against

[17] Kanowitz, *Poem Is a Four-Letter Word,* 127.
[18] McCarty, "Cargo Enters Poem Controversy," and "Lionel Williams Stresses Academic Freedom: ACLU Supports Williams," *Daily Lobo* vol. 72, no. 85 (March 26, 1969) in Box 3, Horn Collection, CSWR.
[19] Brittany C. Slatton and Kamesha Spates, *Hyper Sexual, Hyper Masculine?: Gender, Race and Sexuality in the Identities of Contemporary Black Men* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), 167.

Williams. Students raised the issue of race in their protests against Williams and Pollack's suspensions.[20] Yet sex rather than race animated the most passionate debate over academic freedom. As evidenced by their petitioning and protest of government intervention in academic freedom, students contended that they should have the right to study sexuality. The boundary between public expression and private sexuality was the contested issue.

The committee hearing concluded with the release of a thirty-seven page report that summarized the controversy as a generational divide between "parents, concerned citizens, and legislators" as well as the "general adult population including many members of the faculty" who "cannot see any possible reason or justification for using materials of the type of 'Love Lust Poem'" pitted against the "undergraduate population, graduate students, and young faculty" who "regard this type of material as not only useful and legitimate for the intended purposes, but also as protected by the academic freedom of teachers."[21] The committee sided with the younger generation and recommended the immediate reinstatement of the teaching assistants with the caveat that the English Department closely supervise them. Within a few days, President Heady complied with the recommendations. After the dust settled, Williams quietly finished his graduate education over the summer and accepted a teaching position at Sonoma State University while Pollack's visiting lecture position ended that spring and he moved to New York City. Dr. Frank resigned and became Chair of the English Department at the University of Massachusetts.

The Love-Lust controversy on the campus of UNM reveals the convergence of those who sought to reinforce conventional sexual morality with those who pushed Americans in the

[20] Arthur Johnson letter to unidentified friend April 8, 1969, Box 2, Folder 12, Johnson Papers, CSWR.
[21] Special Advisory Committee Report, April 5, 1969, Box 3, Horn Collection, CSWR.

direction of sexual liberalism. These conflicting viewpoints culminated in a clash over sexual content in a university classroom. Most students at UNM supported academic freedom, fought against the state's intervention in academic affairs, and pushed the boundaries of public sexuality. "Love-Lust" set the stage for the bursting forth of radical feminist and gay liberation politics on the campus of UNM. According to *Daily Lobo* journalist Jon Bowman, 1969 marked the year UNM transitioned from a conservative public university to a radical campus with anti-war protestors, gay liberationists, and lesbian feminists.[22] Nationally, both the antiwar and student movements grew in numbers and actions during the late sixties and early seventies.[23] College campuses proved to be fertile ground for the re-awakening of feminism and the modern gay liberation movement.

This chapter charts the breakdown of the climate of secrecy as gay liberationists, lesbian feminists, and radical church members launched an attack against gendered and heteronormative conventions and regulations. Albuquerque aided the national gay liberation movement when it established a chapter of the Gay Liberation Front on the campus of the University of New Mexico in 1970.[24] Lesbians melded feminist politics and lesbian culture when they united with straight women to establish a women's studies program and women's resource center on the campus of UNM. Feminist institutions provide a window into LGBTQ history often

[22] Bowman, "Longing for Lenore, Love Lust," 4. During the 1969-1970 academic year, UNM antiwar students went on strike to oppose both the Ohio National Guard killing of Kent State University students and the surprise invasion of Cambodia.

[23] An expansion of the university system, as evidenced by a large increase in enrollment from 3 million in 1960 to 10 million in 1973, helped to produce student activism. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 143 and Douglas C. Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 9.

[24] Peter Katel, "Local GLF plans first activity," *Daily Lobo,* vol. 74, no. 114 (April 1, 1971), 2.

absent from the male-centered narratives of gay liberation.[25] Gay-identified spaces were not neatly contained; feminist spaces intersected with them and LGBTQ scholars should seek common intellectual ground with feminist historians in order to fully comprehend heterosexuality as a historical system. In 2012, the UNM women's studies program celebrated its fortieth anniversary commemorating its history as one of the first such programs in the United States. Unlike most lesbian and gay organizations and institutions in New Mexico that formed and collapsed within the time span of a few years, the UNM women's studies program has provided the lesbian community with a longstanding institutional base. Founders of gay and lesbian politics in Albuquerque wanted to end isolation for queer New Mexicans, but those born and raised in the state had been steeped in a climate of secrecy for so long, they resisted publicly coming out. Lesbian feminists and gay liberationists clashed with an older generation of gay men and lesbians who accommodated the culture of privacy. Nonetheless, the flood of activism spread beyond the university, with the foundation of the gay co-op and the Metropolitan Community Church –a denomination of Christian churches noted for its outreach to gay men and lesbians. As gay men and lesbians in New Mexico embraced visibility, protested against their second-class treatment, and galvanized New Mexicans' opinions toward supporting same-sex rights, they constituted a political force in a state that had lacked any form of homophile activism, moving New Mexico towards a position that began to ensure civil rights for gay men and lesbians, in the timespan of twenty-three years.

[25] Canaday, "LGBT History," 11–19. Canaday argues that the field has a "serious gender problem" because it is about the male experience. A few studies that do take gender seriously include Meeker, *Contacts Desired*; Daniel Winunwe Rivers, *Radical Relations: Lesbian Mothers, Gay Fathers, and Their Children in the United States since World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), and Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Clout: Civil Rights, Inequality, and the Rise of Urban Gay Politics in Chicago* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming).

Nationwide, in the 1970s, gay men and lesbian organizations multiplied as evidenced by the rise of local gay rights groups across the country. As historian Josh Sides states in the first sentence of his study of the sexual revolution in San Francisco "Beginning in the mid-1960s, the spectacle of sexuality appeared on the streets and in the public places of larges cities throughout the United States."[26] While the public nature of sexuality might have been most visible in large cities, as this chapter will demonstrate sexual revolutionaries also promoted their cause at university campuses, in small city centers, and even in small-towns and rural areas.[27] Cities served as centers for the movement, but the transmission of gay politics and sexual cultures outside of the metropolis helped mobilize a national campaign. Furthermore, progress of gay rights predominately stemmed from subnational levels of governance. At the local level activists succeeded in passing protective gay rights legislation, countering efforts to pass antigay acts, and overturning state sodomy laws.[28] Gay and lesbian New Mexicans engaged in all three tactics at the state level, and participated in the development of a regional approach. At the first Desert and Mountain States Lesbian and Gay Conference in 1985, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah representatives articulated challenges faced by gay men and lesbians who lived outside of urban meccas– rural isolation, getting elected officials in rural areas to acknowledge that they had gay constituents, and the juxtaposition of multiple ethnoracial

[26] Josh Sides, *Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1.

[27] For an exception to the city framing, see Beth L. Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[28] Not all gay activists agreed on the tactic of working though the legal and political systems, but increasingly during the mid 1970s and 1980s advocates used a professional approach to ensure equal treatment under the law. Seattle, Washington, D.C., St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Alfred, New York led the way in passing antidiscrimination ordinances in 1973 and 1974. Thirty additional cities followed by the end of 1977. James Button, Barbara A. Rienzo, and Kenneth D. Wald, "The Politics of Gay Rights at the Local and State Level," in *Politics of Gays Rights,* eds. Craig A. Rimmerman, Kenneth D. Wald, and Clyde Wilcox (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 269–289. In my next chapter, I explore the most radical edges of gay liberation through an analysis of lesbian land and the radical faerie movement.

cultures. The gay liberation movement began to reflect cultural, regional, and racial diversity. Most importantly, this gathering signaled the influence of gay and lesbian political mobilization outside of large cities on the east and west coasts.

In the fall of 1970, the student paper *Daily Lobo* and KUNM (radio) featured interviews with five gay-identified students and offered the first positive reporting on homosexuality.[29] As discussed in the previous chapter, the mainstream New Mexico press followed the national media pattern of depicting gay men and lesbians as deviants, sexual predators, or mentally disturbed individuals.[30] By 1970, the student newspaper and radio station included favorable representations of gay men and lesbians inspired by the sexual revolution, the gay liberation movement, and growing radicalism on the campus of UNM.[31] Heartened by this shift, a handful of gay and lesbian students, founded Gay Liberation (GL-NM), the first gay organization in New Mexico, at UNM. After receiving a charter from the university on February 16, 1971, the organization put a call out in the student newspaper welcoming gay, bisexual, and heterosexual students to join. President Dan Butler posted flyers on campus and passed out handbills at local gay bars to garner interest in GL-NM. Butler lamented that "some of the older gays do nothing but go to the bars, and don't attend meetings. They're just not willing to stick out their necks."[32] Older New Mexican lesbians and gay men operated under a climate of secrecy and feared involvement in a gay identified organization would unmask their sexuality to family and

[29] Sarah Laidlaw, "Gay Lib: Fighting the Stereotype," *Daily Lobo* vol. 74, no. 19 (October 7, 1970), 4.
[30] For a discussion on gays and lesbians in the media, see Alwood, *Straight News*; Eisenbach, *Gay Power*, and Meeker, *Contacts Desired.*
[31] For a history of the American sexual revolution and gay liberation, see Mecca, *Smash the Church, Smash the State!*; Eisenbach, *Gay Power*; Jay and Young, eds. *Out of the Closets*; Marotta, *The Politics of Homosexuality*; Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy since the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), and Sides, *Erotic City.* For the student movement, see Robbie Lieberman, *Prairie Power Voices of 1960s Midwestern Student Protest* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004).
[32] Sandra McCraw, "Political Awareness Awakens in Gays," *Daily Lobo* vol. 75, no. 148 (July 6, 1972).

employers. [33] Their anxiety over exposure highlights how Cold War politics influenced the everyday lives of gay men and lesbians. College students, less constrained by employment and family were better able to participate in activism.[34] Butler's comment is reflective of a new generation who rejected the social mainstream and desired to secure their identities, build communities, and legitimize themselves in public opinion.[35] To create change, they pushed the limits of public acceptability. GL-NM did not keep membership records, but the organization reported that over forty people attended a dance held off-campus only a few months after the group formed. [36]

As activists began to question whether New Mexicans really supported tolerance, GL-NM embraced a more aggressive and radical gay civil rights politics that emerged in response to the Stonewall Riots of June 27-29, 1969, in Greenwich Village, New York, a protest against police harassment of gay bars.[37] The earlier homophile movement posed a modest challenge to discrimination against homosexuals working to advance homophile rights through education and thus achieved few political gains. After Stonewall, gay men and lesbians actively resisted their marginal status and defined themselves in a political sense, as a minority group deserving of rights and citizenship.[38] The New York Gay Liberation Front, founded in July 1969, led the way

[33] Brett Beemyn, "The Silence Is Broken: A History of the First Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual College Student Groups," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 2 (2003): 205–23 and Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 85.
[34] Jeff Escoffier, "Styles of Gay Liberation in Philadelphia, 1960-72," *Gay Alternative,* (December 1972), 2.
[35] Gay liberationists converged with other excluded members of society first spurred by the civil rights revolution followed by the rise of the New Left, feminism, Chicano rights, and Native American rights.
[36] "Rock n' Roll Music" *Gay Liberation Newsletter,* no. 1 (February 1971), Vertical File, "New Mexico," ONE Archives Foundation, Los Angeles, California.
[37] Carter, *Stonewall* and Duberman, *Stonewall*.
[38] Identity politics for LGBTQ communities have longer and deeper roots, but scholars do mark Stonewall as a turning point toward radical politics. For a debate on the importance of Stonewall, see "Debate: How Important Was the Stonewall Riot?" in Vicki Eaklor, *Queer America: A GLBT History of the 20th Century* (Westport, CT: Greenword Press, 2008), 126–7.

in establishing a militant coalition dedicated to a revolutionary struggle against the oppression of homosexuals. The Front inspired a wave of gay liberation organizations across the U.S. – many in places where gay political structures had never existed, such as Albuquerque.[39] Gay liberationists emphasized "coming out" and demanded public recognition and political equality: "We are a revolutionary group of men and women formed with the realization that complete sexual liberation for all people cannot come about unless existing social institutions are abolished. We reject society's attempt to impose sexual roles and definitions of our nature."[40] Radicalization of gay liberation had begun.[41] Nationally, post-Stonewall gay liberation fronts debated whether they should unite with other oppressed minorities and groups in order to form an omnibus social movement or only embrace gay issues.[42]

GL-NM modeled itself on radicalism and organized as an unstructured coalition. GL-NM decided to align with left wing and antiwar student groups most visibly demonstrated through their distribution of campus and community wide leaflets. On February 13, 1971, GL-NM members protested the Vietnam War and handed out a flyer that read: "fight sexual repression – celebrate sexual freedom," that indicated their pro-sexual liberation stance.[43] The information GL-NM distributed and alliances with other leftist organizations helped expose non-gay activists

[39] Terence Kissack, "Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front, 1969–1971," *Radical History Review,* no. 62 (March 1995): 105. By the early 1970s there were close to four hundred gay and lesbian organizations. 175 of these were located on college campuses. See Eric Marcus, *Making Gay History: The Half-Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002), 121.
[40] Quoted in Geoffrey W. Bateman, "Gay Liberation Front" lgbtq encyclopedia, accessed June 2, 2014, http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/gay_liberation_front.html
[41] Social movements undergo changes and cycles that pull the movement in either a mainstream institutional direction or opposition to the political mainstream. For a good discussion of this, see David Morton Rayside, *On the Fringe: Gays and Lesbians in Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 3–10.
[42] This exact debate led to the demise of GLF-NY. See Carter, *Stonewall,* 231–2.
[43] *Gay Liberation Newsletter* no. 1 (February 1971) in Vertical File, "New Mexico," ONE.

and activist organizations to a new social movement, gay rights, in the state.[44] GL-NM hoped that sexual politics could be folded into existing New Left radical politics. Nationally, individuals involved in the New Left who also wished to advance gay or feminists' issues sometimes discovered that they had to abandon New Left politics in order to produce their own public voices.[45] Blending movements together could, and did, cause friction and splintering. For instance, many women discovered during the sexual revolution that fighting for sexual freedom failed to dismantle the deeply rooted sexual double standard and thus decided to devote their energies toward feminism.[46] Despite such potential conflicts, in their newsletter, GL-NM supported multiple causes: "It seems very clear at this time the liberation of women has to be a matter of concern to Gay Liberation members. Women are the victims of sexism, just as are all gay people, male and female."[47] Members wisely articulated the link between sexism and homophobia and were urged to end "sexism" and "male chauvinism" among themselves. GL-NM recognized overlapping oppressions and believed in eradicating sexism as related to their own quest of providing "a forum for the discussion of sensitive issues pertaining to human sexuality."[48]

Beyond affiliating with leftist organizations, engaging in mass leafleting, and providing social alternatives to the bars, GL-NM declared education as its main focus. At the invitation of instructors, members made presentations on sexual liberation in college and high school courses. In addition, GL-NM held its own weekly classes. By discussing their lives in front of

[44] Some of the alliances included the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, War Resisters League, and Women's Liberation.
[45] Grant Farred, "Endgame Identity? Mapping the New Left Roots of Identity Politics," *New Literary History* 31, no. 4 (2000): 628.
[46] Alice Echols, *Scars of Sweet Paradise: The Life and Times of Janis Joplin* (New York: Holt, 1999), 159.
[47] *Gay Liberation Newsletter* vol. 1, no. 1 (February 1971) in Vertical File, "New Mexico," ONE.
[48] "Democrats and Gay Rights," *Gay Liberation Newsletter* vol. 2, no. 2 (August 1972) in Vertical File, "New Mexico," ONE.

various audiences, gay liberationists countered stereotypes of homosexuals and made it possible for more gay people to accept themselves and embrace a gay identity. Campus organizations gave students a place to seek out information on their sexuality when they moved away from family structures, meet others that identified as gay, and helped gay students cope with the process of coming out. For instance, Phil Auth grew up in a deeply religious family in the Midwest. After high school, he accepted a Navy ROTC scholarship to attend UNM. He first sought to join a gay organization on campus. Through GL-NM, he connected with a mentor, Jon Hull, a gay man who worked for the Air Force Weapons Lab and assisted Auth with leaving the military. Auth credits Hull with helping him achieve an honorable discharge.[49] Through the supportive network of GL-NM, Auth came out to his parents, church, co-workers, and friends.

The cornerstone of the new gay liberation movement was coming out. New Mexican lesbian feminist Kit Brewer came out in 1977 and describes her coming out process:

> Not only was I required to reassert my lesbianism over and over again. Coming out was always an action that related the full scope of my personal values and the way I applied them to public life. . . I demonstrated that lesbianism itself did not live in a closet, but was a fully operative component of all spheres of life, with an influence in the formation of every art, ideology, and political and economic system.[50]

Brewer viewed her sexual identity as integral to all areas of her public life. By declaring her lesbianism, she claimed her authentic self. Gay liberationists additionally insisted that such an identity should not suffer persecution, but be celebrated. GL-NM faced the task of getting the

[49] Phil Auth, "My Turn," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 5, no. 9 (May 1986), 2.
[50] Kit Brewer, "Notes Towards a Community," *Common Sense* (January 1988).

heterosexual student body to embrace the new concept of "Gay is Good."[51] To raise the visibility of the gay student population, GL-NM practiced street theatre.[52] On September 24, 1971, GL-NM coordinated guerrilla theater and short speeches at the mall on the campus of UNM. [53] The lyrics of a song they sang displayed same-sex desire in a public space: "I was embarrassed and ashamed to tell anyone/About the gay feelings I had/So I'd masturbate in bed each night,/And think about the bodies of the boys in my gym class."[54] Sex became a form of confession that compelled individuals to disclose any and every sexual peculiarity.[55] What was once secret was increasingly becoming public. Personal sexual revelations attempted to challenge sexual taboos. The demonstration pushed heterosexual students in the direction of addressing homosexuality in public although it would take much more than street theatre in order to gain acceptance.[56]

During the 1971–2 academic year, GL-NM President Mark Youtzy expanded the group's aims to self-acceptance, social acceptance by heterosexuals, *and* fighting legal problems.[57] The organization moved beyond campus politics and attempted to break down structural barriers for New Mexican gays. They mailed questionnaires to legislators asking for their support on the repeal of state sodomy law and the implementation of fair housing and employment practices

[51] The North American Homophile Organizations adopted the slogan "Gay is Good" as its official platform in 1968. See also Frank Kameny and Michael G. Long, *Gay Is Good: The Life and Letters of Gay Rights Pioneer Franklin Kameny* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014).
[52] GL-NM borrowed this tactic from another post-Stonewall organization, the Gay Activist Alliance, who successfully used street performance to garner media attention in San Francisco and bring gay issues to the forefront of public discussion. See Chuck Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues: A Reference Handbook* (ABC-CLIO, 2003), 14.
[53] "Gay Liberation," *Daily Lobo* vol. 75, no. 20, (September 24, 1971), 8.
[54] "Minstrels Enact Guerrilla Theatre at Mall," *Daily Lobo* vol. 75, no. 22 (September 28, 1971), 3.
[55] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 1st American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 61.
[56] Visibility contributed to the development of a large-scale political movement in the years that followed and coming out remains an important component of the movement for gay and lesbian civil rights. For literature on the topic, see Donn Teal, *The Gay Militants* (New York: Stein and Day, 1971) and Eisenbach, *Gay Power*.
[57] Carolyn Babb, "The Source," *Daily Lobo* vol. 75, no. 26 (October 4, 1971), 2.

for sexual minorities. In the summer of 1972, GL-NM discussed whether it would support the national Democratic Party or form a "new mass party," which would unite "other forces fighting for justice." They decided to participate in party politics and gay liberation members spoke with a couple of New Mexico McGovern delegates before the Democratic National Convention convened on July 10 in Miami Beach, Florida and received a promise of support on the minority report concerning homosexuals' rights.[58] GL-NM put pressure on politicians to recognize state and national level civil rights for gay men and lesbians.[59] Members created a tentative platform for later organizations in the state to use and moved Albuquerque from a city with no institutional gay and lesbian political structure, to the establishment of a radical, political presence. They even went as far as advocating the abolition of "all laws and institutional practices of the U.S. governments – federal, state, and local – that in any way discriminate against persons because of actions expressive of their sexual natures."[60]

GL-NM had limited success and relatively low visibility. With the exception of a "controversial" presentation two gay liberation members made in a sociology class at Sandia High, GL-NM never received media attention in the mainstream press. A few parents complained about the content of the presentation and the *Albuquerque Tribune* ran a series of articles and letters on the incident.[61] This was the only mention of a local gay liberation organization even though the *Tribune* reported on Gay Liberation Front political activities

[58] *Gay Liberation Newsletter* vol. 2, no. 2 (August 1972), Vertical File, "New Mexico: 1999 and Before," ONE. The Democratic National Convention was held on July 10-13, 1972, in Miami Beach, Florida. The 1972 Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern issued a civil rights plank that included gay men and lesbians. In 1972, Madeline Davis and Jim Foster argued for the Democratic party to embrace gay rights, the first time it was brought up in a major party platform debate.
[59] "Gay Lib Asks Repeal of Sodomy Laws," *Daily Lobo* vol. 76, no. 10 (September 8, 1972).
[60] Gay Liberation, "Sexism and War," handout, n.d., Vertical File, "New Mexico: 1999 and Before," ONE.
[61] "Students teachers react to article on Gay Lib," *Albuquerque Tribune,* April 16, 1973, B-5 and Eileen Doherty Dwyer, "Schools scare pupils," *Albuquerque Tribune*, April 17, 1973, B-5.

elsewhere, even as close as Texas and Colorado. The abrupt shift from no gay and lesbian activism to espousing radical ideas, like the creation of a new political party and public demonstrations of overt sexual expression, led to the dissolution of the organization. Nationwide, GLF groups collapsed by 1973. Those that formed on college campuses often renamed themselves.[62] Albuquerque's GL-NM followed suit and the organization changed its name to the Gay People's Union. This second reincarnation withered away, but was followed by Juniper in 1974 and the Gay Co-op in 1976.

Students formed the nucleus of Albuquerque's formal gay and lesbian organizing, but men and women most often worked separately from one other. Lesbians Margaret L. Reed and Diane Stickle published the following letter to the editor that encapsulates gender divisions within the Albuquerque gay community at large: "Lesbians are tired of male leadership both within and without the Gay Liberation Movement. Gay women are joining with straight women in the Women's Liberation Movement because we realize that we are oppressed both as women and as lesbians. Most lesbians are tired of being a minority within a minority. Our lifestyles are different from gay men."[63] On campus, lesbian student Bobbie Siegel recalled, "Women have often found in dealing with gay men that they are confronted with the exact same set of oppression that they faced from straight men."[64] Siegel continued "As for a gay community involving both men and women, I don't know if that will ever be." Instead, Siegel

[62] Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 81–91.
[63] Margaret L. Reed and Diane Stickle, Letter to the Editor, *Seer's* vol. 4, no. 20 (September 20–October 4, 1975).
[64] Bobbie Siegel quoted in Gail Gottlieb, "Gay Solidarity: Ironing Out the Kinks," *Daily Lobo* vol. 77, no. 149 (July 3, 1974).

found solidarity among women on campus.[65] Lesbians rallied under the banner of feminism and helped to establish a women's studies program and women's resource center at UNM. Feminists built durable institutions that served to mobilize women in various ways.[66] Feminists created an academic space that was intensely political and "a strategy for changing the traditional, male-centered academic curriculum."[67] Women studies contested course content that ignored women and critiqued a classroom setting that privileged male learners. Florence Howe, a leader in the feminist movement, undertook a project to document the growth of women studies programs in 1972 and counted forty-six nationally including one at UNM.[68] Less than a decade later over three hundred existed.[69] Today, the most recent data indicates that the number of departments now approaches six hundred and fifty.[70]

The women's studies program (WMST) at UNM grew out of a consciousness raising group formed in the summer of 1969 and a free university class taught in the winter of 1970 entitled "The Second Sex – Explorations in the Revolution of Women from Economic, Historical, and Political Points of View" taught by Diane Brown, Marilee Dolan, Gail Baker, Lucia Valeska, and Mary Maxine. The course, open to anyone, attracted forty women and jumpstarted the idea

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[65] Siegel did attempt to bring gay male and female students together. With gay male student Matthew Rush, she co-founded Juniper, an organization for lesbians and gay men that formed in 1974. Juniper morphed into the Gay Co-op in 1976. The Gay Co-op folded in 1982.

[66] Adrienne Rich, "Women's Studies As a Pledge of Resistance," 1974 reprinted in *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement,* eds. Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 251 –2.

[67] Florence Howe, National Institute of Education (U.S.), and State University of New York/College at Old Westbury, *The Impact of Women's Studies on the Campus and the Disciplines*, Women's Studies Monograph Series (Washington D.C.: Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, [Education Division], National Institute of Education, 1980), 1.

[68] Florence Howe, "On the Campus," *Feminist Press* vol.1, no. 1 (Fall 1972), 2.

[69] Howe, *The Impact of Women's Studies on the Campus and the Disciplines*, vii.

[70] Michael Reynolds, Shobha Shagle, and Lekha Venkataraman, "A National Census of Women's and Gender Studies Programs in U.S. Institutions of Higher Education," (Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center, 2007), 3.

for a university program.[71] In December of 1971, the sub-committee on women's studies sought consent from the faculty senate committee to organize a program. Next, the general faculty committee approved the proposal for women's studies as did the curricula committee. The final approval left out the appointment of a coordinator. In the absence of this position, women's studies operated through a collective of faculty, staff, and students under the guidance of a self-appointed coordinator, Gail Baker. For the 1972–3 academic year, the university provided the newly emerging women's studies program with a $10,000 budget. In comparison to other national women's studies departments, which ranged from $4,650 to $73,000 per year, UNM's WMST budget was low.[72] Baker's annual report to UNM called WMST "the unequal partner."[73] Despite initial shortcomings and ongoing battles with the university for better financial support, the program thrived and formed a welcoming space for feminists and lesbians.

In the city of Albuquerque, lesbians could find community in the women's resource center (WRC) and WMST.[74] Nationally circulating lesbian publications, such as *Amazon Quarterly,* listed the WRC and WMST as the only facilities for lesbians in New Mexico. As Gail Dorine Vinson, a working class woman, recalled of the 1970s, when you wanted to find lesbians you looked for a women's resource center: "I was in the process of coming out and I wanted to meet some women. I did not know any [lesbians], but I had read a couple of books and I was pretty sure who I was. I thought, 'The women's center. I bet I'll meet people at the women's

[71] Interview with Gail Baker 052199 Tape 1, University Archives, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico Libraries.
[72] Florence Howe, United States, and National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, *Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976: A Report of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs* (Washington: The Council, 1977), 8 and 23.
[73] Gail Baker, "The Report of the Women Studies Program, July 1, 1973 – June 30, 1974," *Annual Report* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1973-4), 1537–1544.
[74] "Resources," *Amazon Quarterly* Special Double Issue vol. 1, no. 4 and vol. 2, no. 1 (1973), 60–71.

center,' and so I called up and asked if there was any volunteer work."[75] Vinson ended up spending three and a half years as a co-director for the rape crisis center.[76] The WRC, founded in 1972, initially housed the rape crisis center and coordinated projects around women's issues both on campus and in the larger community including rape, reproductive health, and legal and personal counseling, and provided material resources from clothing to overnight accommodations for women.[77] Vinson dedicated her time to feminist activism, but her initial involvement was not purely altruistic. After her first training session she remembers: "The fun part was *after* the meeting, a couple people said, 'hey do you want to go to the bar? And 'I did. I really did.'" Her social world transformed from not knowing a single lesbian to interacting almost exclusively with lesbians. She attended lesbian parties at a place nicknamed "the compound," a collection of houses rented by lesbians in the South Valley, which served as a gathering place for lesbians from WRC and WMST, including the home of women's studies instructor Lucia Valeska. Vinson also stayed connected to her working class roots by continuing to socialize in working class circles at softball parties and the lesbian bar Cricket's apart from the primarily white, middle-class gatherings at the compound.[78]

Faculty, staff, and students forged intimate ties and blurred lines between academic life, activism, and identity. Ann Nihlen, who participated in WMST first as a student, then as a director and professor, remembers women's studies as a place where lesbians embraced their sexual orientation, herself included. In discussing the types of students drawn to the program

[75] Gail Dorine Vinson, audio recording 102798 , October 27, 1998, CSWR.
[76] Two female law students founded the Rape Crisis Center, a 24-hour service for Albuquerque women funded by Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, UNM Associated Students, and the Women's Center. Veronica J. Frakes, "The Report of the Women's Center," July 1, 1972–June 30, 1973, Division of Student Affairs, *Annual Report III 1972-1973* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1972–3).
[77] "History of the UNM Women's Center," personal collection of Ann Nihlen.
[78] Vinson interview and Gail Baker, interview, 052199 Tape 1, audio recording, CSWR.

she stated: "Many of them took women's studies courses because they were working on issues in their lives with men and personal issues. Many women came out during a women's studies class."[79] Women's studies assisted lesbian students by offering a support network. The program continued to be a space for both students and faculty to come to terms with their sexual identity. In 1984, poet, Albuquerque native and political activist, Margaret Randall moved back home after years of living in Latin America. She worked as an adjunct faculty member teaching courses in women's studies, American studies and English, and came into a "strong women's community (and within that a strong lesbian community). I think this community not only helped with my coming out process but made it possible," Randall divulged. [80]

WRC and WMST gained a reputation as a haven for lesbians, although for a time, the university tried to clamp down on this association by prohibiting the public use of the word lesbian in course offerings. As scholar Anne Enke points out "Often the most lesbian-affirming spaces had to publicly use the label 'women' rather than 'lesbian.'"[81] In 1974, the introduction of the fall course "Lesbian Feminism in America" sparked a public outcry. Women's studies hired two lesbians from Sirens, a women's production organization,[82] to teach the class and a record seventy-five students and community members attended.[83] Nihlen remembers that the course "got a great deal of publicity, most of it adverse. *The Lobo* attacked it. The legislature finally found out about it and said if there was ever such a course again on campus they would totally

[79] Ann Nihlen, interview by Jordan Biro, audio recording, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 21, 2014, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project.
[80] Margaret Randall, interview by Jordan Biro, audio recording, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 14, 2014, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project.
[81] Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 261.
[82] I have found very little research on Sirens. It seems to have been a short-lived women's production organization headquartered at the Alternative Community Center on 106 Girard SE, Albuquerque.
[83] According to Ann Nihlen, prior to "Lesbian Feminism" twenty-thirty students were the high-end of course attendance.

abolish women's studies. . . People really went berserk over that course."[84] Dean Nathaniel Wolfman launched an investigation of course offerings listed under women's studies claiming that some classes had not received formal approval.[85] He further criticized the course for its low "academic quality" and threatened to withdraw credit. [86] At the same time, an opinion piece in the *Daily Lobo* written by Stephen Beckerman a professor in the Department of Anthropology accused women's studies of systematically discriminating against heterosexual men and women by denying their enrollment in "Lesbian Feminism in America."[87] Beckerman charged the program with being too white and middle class, having inept instructors, and an inflated operating budget. Using the word "lesbianism" elicited strong reactions from some male administrators and faculty. Especially in a male-dominated environment, both lesbians and feminists jeopardized male power within the university setting. Additionally, in light of the love lust ordeal, some still remained uncomfortable with sexual content being used in the classroom. Collective members renamed the class the following semester to "Heterosexism in Society" and the controversy died down. "Heterosexism," used as a euphemism for lesbianism, remained the coded course title well into the 1980s.[88]

The informal reputation of WMST as a lesbian haven continued and, in some ways, acted as an impediment to ethnoracial women's participation in the program. "I think that within those communities there was a sense (and white communities and the faculty) that we

[84] Nihlen, interview.
[85] Gail Gottlieb, "Dean Wolfman: American Studies 201 was never approved," *Daily Lobo,* vol. 78, no. 19 (September 19, 1974), 2 and 4.
[86] John Rucker, "Wolfman Versus Women Studies: Fight of the Century?," *Daily Lobo*, vol. 78, no. 27 (October 1, 1974), 1.
[87] Stephen Beckerman, "Baker is Evasive," *Daily Lobo*, vol. 78, no. 17 (September 17, 1974), 4.
[88] The 1982–83 Annual Report still listed the class as "Heterosexism in America."

were too radical. That we had too many lesbians," conceded Nihlen.[89] Paula Gunn Allen (Laguna Pueblo) who lived in Albuquerque, attended UNM, and completed her PhD in American Studies in 1975, never associated with WMST. [90] Allen who "all my life I've never had a sexual fantasy that wasn't with another woman," waited to come out until she lived in the Castro, a gay district in San Francisco, California where "it was no longer a big deal" to be gay.[91] Allen's acknowledgement of her sexual identity took place in a well-known gay mecca because she was not aware of any open lesbians who functioned within or near a tribal setting. Instead, "Native lesbians are connecting in urban areas gradually, through a network of friends with women," Allen explained.[92] In 1981, Allen authored a coming out essay "Beloved Women: Lesbians in American Cultures" in which she articulated her ideas about the roles of Native American lesbians in traditional cultures. She championed the restoration of gay and lesbian Native Americans in tribal communities.[93] In contrast, Hulleah (Navajo) feared living in the city of Albuquerque due to encounters with gay and racial bashings.[94] She explained that out in the country and the desert "is where I feel the safest." Hulleah recalled her friend's stabbing because of his sexual orientation and a beating she suffered: "Bill got stabbed by Chicano dudes coming out of the Center [Gay Co-op] and was stabbed because he was gay. That same night I got beat up." The risk of violence associated with gay vulnerability significantly increased near

[89] Nihlen, interview.
[90] Elizabeth I. Hanson, *Paula Gunn Allen* (Boise, ID: Boise State University, 1990), 6.
[91] Interview with Paula Gunn Allen, Box 1, Folder 1, Will Roscoe Papers, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Historical Society, San Francisco, California. (Hereafter Roscoe Papers, GLBTHS)
[91] Allen, interview.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Paula Gunn Allen, "Beloved Woman: The Lesbians in American Indian Cultures," *Conditions* 7 (1981): 65–67.
[94] Martin Duberman explores the long legacy of physical attacks against homosexuals in *Left Out: The Politics of Exclusion: Essays, 1964-1999* (New York: Basic Books, 1999). For a more recent study on how gay and lesbians activists created "safe space" in response to urban street violence, see Christina B. Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2013).

known institutions of gay visibility. The growth of gay ghettos in San Francisco and New York and gay establishments in smaller cities nationwide both provided outlets and made these spaces targets of backlash. Violence disproportionately affected low-income people, people of color, and gender non-normative people. Hulleah preferred to live outside of the city, but when she came out to her parents, they moved the family from Ship Rock to Albuquerque, and "they gave our family new names" due to homophobia on the Navajo Reservation.[95]

Native women were not only hesitant to apply the label *lesbian*, but also *feminist* to their lives.[96] A few Native women, who attended UNM, organized apart from what they viewed as the white women's movement. Director of the Native American Studies Department (founded in 1970), Junella Haines organized a meeting of Navajo and other local Native American women students to debate the application of feminism to Native women's lives.[97] The group reflected on why Native women held negative attitudes toward feminism. "It used to be that at the mention of the words 'women's lib' Indian women would laugh and say that we are already leaders, that we were liberated long ago, but at last week's meeting-faced with grim statistics on battered Indian women, the lack of Indian women in tribal leadership positions, and

[95] Hulleah interview, videotape, 1991.1.36.18 Box 60, Adair Papers, SFPL.

[96] According to American Indian feminist Kate Shanley, feminists' quest to redefine the nuclear family, had little relevance to Native women because of a different familial structures in tribal communities. Scholars Annette Jaimes and Teresa Halsey argue that Native women activists (expect those that have assimilated) do not consider themselves feminists because it would associate them with U.S. imperialism. Native American studies professor Andrea Smith cautions against dividing Native women into binary categories of feminist versus non-feminist. Her work uncovers sexism as a central concern to Native women. See Kate Shanely, "Thoughts on Indian feminism," in *A Gathering of Spirit: Writing and Art By North American Indian Women,* ed. Beth Brant (Rockland, ME: Sinister Wisdom Books, 1982), 214; Annette M. Jaimes and Theresa Halsey, "American Indian Women: At the Center for Indigenous Resistance in North America," in *State of Native American,* ed. Annette Jaimes (Boston: South End Press, 1999), and Andrea Smith, "Native American Feminism, Sovereignty and Social Change," in *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism,* ed. Joyce A. Green (Black Point, NS: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 93–106.

[97] Junella Haines did go on to teach "American Indian Women" for women's studies when the course was introduced in the mid 1980s.

the reality of women still stuck in the home – many of the women were not so sure – of either the laugher or the liberation," Millie Arviso, a Navajo student, commented after the meeting.[98] Arviso's recognition of sexism led her to found the Native American Women's Coalition with Alva Benson (Navajo) in 1977. The group of urban Native women confronted severe domestic abuse, among other problems, and saw a need for women's liberation.[99] Like, Arviso and Benson, some Native women accepted feminism, but lesbianism in Native communities remained a risky subject.[100]

Within the broader context of feminism in the state of New Mexico, feminists addressed interlocking oppressions and supported coalition politics. Benson who co-founded the Native Women's Coalition was also a politically active member of the Kiva club. The Kiva club organized in 1952 as the first Native American student organization on campus. Initially a social club, it evolved into a group that addressed social and political concerns for Native Americans.[101] During her time in the Kiva club, Benson protested the destruction of Black Mesa for coal and the mining of uranium.[102] Multiracial feminists formed their own autonomous organizations and

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[98] Dede Feldman, "Battered women, women's lib discussed at Indian women's forum," *Navajo Times,* March 2, 1978, 18 in Box 3, Folder 27, Shirley Hill Witt Papers, MSS 591 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. (Hereafter Witt Papers, CSWR)

[99] Native women suffer death rates twice as high as any other women because of domestic violence. See Callie Rennison, "Violent Victimization and Race 1993-1998," (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics).

[100] See Kutz, *Grassroots New Mexico*, 95; Santa Fe Living Treasures – Elder Stories: Agnes Dill, accessed April 7, 2014, http://sflivingtreasures.org/index.php/treasures/120-agnes-dill.html?showall=1&limitstart=, U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary, Women's Bureau, "Guide to Conducting a Conference with American Indian Women in Reservation Areas," 1978, Box 3, Folder 29, Witt Papers, CSWR, and U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Secretary, Women's Bureau, "Guide to Conducting a Conference with American Indian Women in Reservation Areas," 1978, Box 3, Folder 29, Witt Papers, CSWR.

[101] "The Native American Studies Center at the University of New Mexico," *University of New Mexico's Ethnic & Women's Coalition: Student Guide to Programs & Services* in *Annual Report* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1982–3), 236.

[102] Joy Harjo, *How We Became Human: New and Selected Poems 1975-2002* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004), 209.

some also worked within white-dominated feminist organizations. Agnes Dill (Isleta Pueblo) did both. In 1973, she served as President of the North American Indian Women's Association, created in 1970 to foster relations between Native American women, and worked with the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor to address inequality in education and employment for Native women. Dill was the only Native delegate to represent New Mexico at the 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston.[103] Diane Reyna (Taos Pueblo) attended as part of an all female video crew, and complained that at least one other Native woman should have been a delegate especially someone younger and less conservative than Dill. Reyna disagreed with Dill's vote against the sexual preference resolution.[104] As a whole, New Mexican delegates did not view sexual preference as important to the state. They prioritized women, welfare, and minority resolutions. Nationally, the conference brought attention to the issue of sexual orientation within the women's movement and the delegates passed the plank on sexual preference, "But in *this* state we are way back when. One reason is that many lesbians who are minority women identify with their race before their sex."[105]

Hispana women more readily identified as lesbian, but also shied away from engaging in lesbian feminist activism with white women. Some Hispana women, equally skeptical of the white women's liberation movement, called for a distancing of Chicanas from it: "YOU MUST BE A CHICANA FIRST, for when you are a Chicana Primero, you can wander all over, you can relate

[103] For a list of all the New Mexico delegates, see United States and National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, eds., *The Spirit of Houston: The First National Women's Conference : An Official Report to the President, the Congress and the People of the United States* (Washington: U.S. Government. Printing Office, 1978).
[104] Beth Wood, "Local Perspectives: The National Women's Conference," *Seer's Catalogue* vol. 7, no. 4 (December 2–9, 1977), 1 and 14.
[105] Ibid.

to many struggles, for they must all someday come together, BUT you will be home, in Aztlan,[106] working with your own familia," said Enriqueta Vasquez, a Chicano movement activist.[107] The first Chicana feminist organizations formed in 1969 and 1970 and stemmed from sexist experiences in the Chicano movement, but like Native women, many Chicana feminists chose to organize separately from white women. [108] Common throughout all U.S. social movements, groups fragment and divide. Chicana feminists demanded recognition and a greater political presence in the Chicano movement causing them to generate their own wave of social activism.[109] A few like, native New Mexican of Hispana and Native American ancestry Juanita Sanchez, participated in the WMST course on Chicana feminism entitled "La Mujer Chicana." As part of the class, Sanchez partook in a 1984 panel with two other Nuevamexicana lesbians who did not want to be identified.[110] The panelists used their own personal experiences to explore Chicana lesbianism.[111] One of the panelists opened with "There a lot of Chicana lesbians in this town!" Sanchez praised the panel discussion but expressed the difficulty in highlighting the topic

[106] Chicano activists called the Southwest 'homeland' or Aztlan due to the fact that the territory that comprises the American southwest, the U.S. during the Mexico U.S.–Mexico War.
[107] Enriqueta Vasquez, "Soy Chicana Primero" reprinted in *Hispanic Civil Rights Series : Enriqueta Vasquez and the Chicano Movement : Writings from El Grito Del Norte,* eds. Lorena Oropeza and Dionne Espinoza (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 2006), 129–133.
[108] Chicana student activists formed Las Hijas de Cuauhtemoc at Long Beach State University in 1969. For this history, see Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 139–145. For general histories on the development and evolution of Women's Studies, see Marilyn J. Boxer, "For and about Women: The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies in the United States," *Signs* 7 (April 1982): 661–95 and Alice E. Ginsberg, *The Evolution of American Women's Studies: Reflections on Triumphs, Controversies, and Change* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
[109] Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism,* 130.
[110] Norma Alarcon, "The Theoretical Subject(s) of This Bridge Called My Back and Anglo-American Feminism" in *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Feminists of Color,* ed. Gloria Anzaldúa (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1995); Cherríe Moraga, "From a Long Line of Vendidas: Chicanas and Feminism" in *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Feminists of Color*, ed. Gloria Anzaldúa (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1995), and Chandra Mohanty "Introduction: Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Feminism and the Politics of Feminism" in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism,* eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
[111] Juanita Sanchez, "Thoughts on a Chicana Lesbian Forum," *Sisterlode* vol. 5, no. 4 (June/July 1984), 2.

since "virtually nothing is written that addresses Chicana lesbianism." After the panel, Sanchez attempted to bring together Native and Nuevamexicana lesbians to form a group stating, "As the years have gone by since my coming out, I have noticed that there has been an expressed need for Hispanic and Native American Women to gather and trade ideas, personal stories, philosophical ideologies or just to 'platicar.'"[112] There is no evidence that such a group was ever organized. Sanchez privileged her gender and sexual identities over her ethnoracial ascription. She participated in the feminist movement in New Mexico and felt comfortable within that space to articulate her same-sex desires. When asked if she participated in any form of lesbian activism, Vangie Chavez remembered of her circle of working class Nuevamexicana lesbian friends in the Albuquerque area that "we were just trying to survive."[113]

To a small degree, women of color participated in women's studies, but it was constructed on the basis of an existing institution that catered to and was shaped around white, middle class cultural imperatives. In her famed 1984 essay "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," feminist author Audre Lorde cautioned against the limited possibility of working within existing structures of power for making larger social change.[114] From its inception WMST at UNM, committed to a multiracial and "multi-cultural feminist education through its course offerings and program structure, all within the context of furthering its analysis of and struggle against women's oppression."[115] Alesia Kunz, one of the core founders of WMST recalled that "Every ism there was we talked about it."[116] WMST founders did more than talk about racial inequality. The four initial courses developed and

[112] "Resources for Women," *Sisterlode* vol. 5, no. 5 (August/September 1984), 7.
[113] Chavez, interview.
[114] Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1984), 110–113.
[115] Trisha Franzen, "Women Studies Evolves," *Sisterlode* (August/September 1984), 5.
[116] Interview with Alesia Kunz by Ann Nihlen 070913 Tape 1, CSWR.

funded by WMST included "Introduction to Women's Studies," "Women and the Law," "Women and Self Education," and "La Mujer: Chicana." "Introduction to Women's Studies" and "La Mujer" have been taught regularly since 1972. Beva Sanchez Padilla first taught La Mujer and identified as a Chicana feminist. She remembers, "There was a dichotomy. 'That's a white women's issue.' I'd hear it all the time," but she disagreed, "I knew it wasn't. I knew it was my issue too."[117] Coordinator Gail Baker pushed for additional courses on minority women in her 1974 annual report and proposed the following courses for the 1975–1976 academic year: "Black women and White women," "Third World Women," and a history and literature course on Spanish, Latin American, and Chicano cultures.[118] Shortly after, the program established a black women's course, but "Third World Women" and "American Indian Women" were not added until the mid-1980s.[119] In her assessment of fifteen well-established women's studies programs, including the University of New Mexico, Florence Howe cited inadequate minority representation as a critical problem: " . . . women's studies has tended to be predominantly white and middle class, in terms of both faculty and curriculum . . . The major strategy developed thus far is the inclusion of separate courses on Black Women, Chicanas, Third World, ect. Such courses, taught by minority women appeared on most campuses with the cooperation of various ethnic studies programs. . . But the addition of a single course called 'La Mujer Chicana' or 'The Black Woman' can hardly compensate for a white, middle class bias."[120] In their

[117] Interview with Beva Sanchez Padilla by Ann Nihlen 82213 Tape 1,CSWR.
[118] Gail Baker, The Report of the Women's Studies Program, July 1, 1973–June 30, 1974, *Annual Report* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1973-4), 4.
[119] Helen M. Bannan, "The Report of the Women Studies Program, July 1, 1983 – June 30, 1984," *Annual Report* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1983-4), 00176.
[120] Howe, 31. The fifteen programs were Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina; Brooklyn College and City University of New York; University of Hawaii; University of Kansas; University of Massachusetts; University of Minnesota; University of New Mexico; Northeastern Illinois University; University of Pennsylvania; Portland State University of Oregon; San Francisco State University; Sarah Lawrence

own self-assessment, UNM's WMST program acknowledged "minority women had always been involved in the program, but in such small numbers that they often felt peripheral and had little impact upon the program as a whole."[121]

Nevertheless, the women studies program at UNM served as an important political and social institution for white Albuquerque feminists, including lesbian feminists.[122] It gave them a community resource, a base camp for mobilization. Many continued activist work for feminist and gay causes long after their involvement with WMST. In the 1979 competitive search for co-executive director, the National Gay Task Force (NGTF) hired Lucia Valeska who had been active in Women's Studies and the Gay People's Union on the campus of UNM.[123] NGTF, founded in 1973, brought together 850 local gay organizations as a cohesive force.[124] The *Lesbian Tide* endorsed the appointment of Valeska because she "brings to this well known and generally conservative organization a strong background in both the feminist and lesbian feminist movement."[125] Valeska's appointment signaled a revival of radicalism, but the organization carefully paired her with a conservative counterpart. [126] Her co-director Charles Brydon was a well-known West coast gay activist who worked within existing political arenas to advocate for

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College; Bronxville in New York; University of South Florida; University of Tennessee, and University of Washington.

[121] Ann Nihlen, "The Report of the Women Studies Program, July 1, 1979 – June 30, 1980," *Annual Report* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1979-80), 301.

[122] Franzen, "Differences and Identities," 891.

[123] "Lucia Valeska," *Common Bond Ink,* vol. 1, no. 9 (May 1982).

[124] Rimmerman, *The Politics of Gay Rights,* 62–5 and Self, *All in the Family*, 239–40.

[125] In October of 1973, a small handful of gay activists met to create an American civil liberties union for gays to combat legal and social barriers, which resulted in the National Gay Task Force. *Lesbian Tide* labeled NGTF conservative because of its monolithic portrayal of gay men and lesbians as well-dressed members of the middle class as a strategy for better media representation. "NGTF Names Feminist - Lucia Valeska," *Lesbian Tide*, vol. 9, no. 1 (July-August, 1979): 14.

[126] Lucia Valeska quoted in "NGTF Names Feminist - Lucia Valeska," *Lesbian Tide*, vol. 9, no. 1 (July–August 1979): 14. For Lucia Valeska's stance on separatism, see "The Future of Female Separatism," *Quest* vol. 2, no. 2 (Fall 1975), 2–16.

change. Those who worked with Valeska in New Mexico described her as "in your face" while those close to Brydon understood him as someone who always seemed "to be wearing a conservative sports jacket even when he was not."[127]

NGTF hired Valeska, whom they dubbed the "Desert Dyke," to promote greater lesbian visibility and to help form a national gay liberation movement by engaging gay men and lesbians who lived outside of urban meccas. Valeska spent twelve years in New Mexico, and spoke from experience when she noted that "Gays who live outside of a large urban center with a lot of resources face very different situations than those in large cities. They need ways of staying in touch with each other, they need a different approach to dealing with harassment, and with political growth."[128] During her time with NGTF, Valeska fought to include the demands of the working class, racial and ethnic minorities, and lesbians although personality and political conflicts hindered her effectiveness.[129] Valeska also struggled with transitioning from local level grassroots activism to national politics. Brydon quit the Task Force in August 1981 and Valeska resigned November 1, 1982, amid charges against incompetency, mismanagement, and failure to cooperate with other national gay organizations.[130] NGTF felt Valeska had steered the organization far off course, especially in relation to her refusal to work in conjunction with the Gay Rights National Lobby on California legislation that might have ended the military's ban on homosexuals.[131] Virginia Apuzzo took over to help reestablish NGTF's place in the

[127] Ann Nihlen referred to Lucia Valeska as "in your face," Nihlen, interview. Gary Atkins, *Gay Seattle* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 207.
[128] Lucia Valeska quoted in "NGTF Names Feminist - Lucia Valeska," 14.
[129] Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 455–76.
[130] "Apuzzo new director, NGTF still facing flak," *The Body Politics,* no. 89 (1982): 15–16.
[131] To be fair, sometimes Valeska's focus on local groups, minorities, and women prevented a national gay agenda from moving forward. For example, Valeska refused to work in conjunction with the Gay Rights National Lobby on moderate California Republican representative Peter McCloskey's legislation that might

"mainstream."[132] NGTF's evolution embodied the shift toward limited rights achieved through institutional channels: court systems, corporations, and Congress. The variegated interests of New Mexican gay men and lesbians fell by the wayside. But Valeska's appointment and priorities demonstrate that the potential for an ideologically inclusive and geographically broad gay movement had existed, though the people she invoked remained on the margins.

GL-NM and WMST/WRC shared a common dedication to radical, progressive politics and activists pursued expansive conceptions of equality. As gay and lesbian civil rights moved beyond the confines of the university, the legacy of student radicalism continued to influence and shape gay and feminist organizations. The church served as another base for social change in New Mexico. In New Mexico, Roman Catholicism has long been the dominant religion.[133] According to the Santa Fe Archdiocese, nearly forty percent of the population was Catholic in the late 1960s.[134] But the Catholic church's public stance against homosexuality prevented gay men and lesbians' open involvement in the church and certainly precluded gay civil rights activism. Additionally, New Mexico Catholics in comparison to U.S. Catholics tended to be more conservative.[135] However, a few Catholic priests established one of the earliest statewide outreach programs for homosexuals.

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have ended the military's ban on homosexuals. She feared that it would inflame the right, and I think her radical politics made her leery of working within mainstream institutions. Her stance jeopardized the reputation of NGTF within the national gay and lesbian population. However, I feel Valeska has received too much criticism in LGBT history. The reasons why she was recruited to join the NGTF have been erased from the critiques of her performance as co-director.

[132] Larry Bush, "Big Changes at NGTF: In with Apuzzo, Out with Valeska," *New York Native* no. 50 (1982), 17.

[133] For a history of religion in modern New Mexico, see Ferenc M. Szasz and Richard W. Etulain, eds., *Religion in Modern New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

[134] "SF Archdiocese Statistics Worked Out" *New Mexico Catholic Renewal* vol. 1, no. 13 (May 14, 1967).

[135] Carol Jensen, "Roman Catholicism in Modern New Mexico: A Commitment to Survive," in *Religion in Modern New Mexico*, 20.

In 1968, four anonymous Catholic priests started a confidential phone service for anyone in need of support called Dial-a-Friend. The spokesperson for the project described the organization's aims as a service to assist "people who get into a crisis and don't know where to turn" and who may be reluctant to visit clergy in person or lack finances to seek mental health care. In addition to the help line, the organization provided doctor referrals or face-to-face confidential counseling with a priest.[136] Dial-a-Friend received phone calls on issues ranging from alcoholism to homosexuality. In particular, the spokesperson for Dial-a-Friend described helping homosexuals stating, "For a homosexual, depression can lead to discouragement, or just giving up. We try to encourage him and reassure him that his life is not all over."[137] Dial-a-Friend counseled homosexuals on how to cope with homoerotic feelings. Perhaps, these Catholic priests were influenced by liberal ideologies connected to the Second Vatican Council (1962– 5) even though official Catholic doctrine condemned all same-sex sexual acts. Some Catholic priests negotiated emerging liberal ideals with traditional judgments against homosexual behavior and found gray areas. For instance, if a gay man remained celibate he did not violate strictures of immorality in the same way as if he acted upon such desires. [138] Advising gay men in this manner did them a disservice as it indicated that gay men could only be "normal" if they suppressed their sexual needs. In addition to the four Catholic priests, a number of Protestant ministers, professional doctors, nurses, and psychiatrists volunteered with Dial-a-Friend and may have provided more helpful counsel on sexuality. It is impossible to determine what advice

[136] "Santa Fe Priest Starts Dial-a-Friend," *New Mexico Catholic Renewal* vol. 2, no. 5 (March 17, 1968).
[137] Mary Oertel, "An Anonymous Friend Awaits Your Phone Call," *The New Mexican* (March 11, 1968), 4.
[138] Vincent J. Genovesi, *In Pursuit of Love: Catholic Morality and Human Sexuality* (Liturgical Press, 1996), 286 – 313 and John F. Harvey, "Homosexuality," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* vol. 7 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), 117–119. Harvey founded an organization called Courage that provided spiritual and psychological support for homosexuals who abstained from sexual acts.

Catholic priests gave to gay men or even why they offered support. It is possible that some priests may have used such a service to locate potential sexual partners. In the last decades of the twentieth century, the New Mexico Catholic community was rocked by sex scandals, including protecting and releasing priests accused of criminal sexual behavior at a center in Jemez Springs.

Crisis line phone services for gay men and lesbians continued to be a significant resource for the large portion of the gay and lesbian population that demanded anonymity. In Albuquerque, when the Gay Co-op (formally known as Gay and Lesbian Community Association of Albuquerque) formed in December 1976, as a community center for lesbians and gay men, its most important service was the telephone help line.[139] Around forty individuals belonged to the Gay Co-op, including gay activists Harry Hay and John Burnside, many former GL-NM members, an eclectic mixture of militant lesbian feminists, hippies, and sympathizers, but most who utilized the co-op remained closeted. [140] According to Co-op Membership Chair Jon Hull one "thing that characterized members of the Co-op was a certain amount of paranoia. Many Co-op participants believed that they were on the FBI list and it should be discovered that they were gay they would lose their jobs and be persecuted."[141] Secrecy was so extreme that it was difficult to get word out that the organization even existed. The Gay Co-op operated as a call center, a counseling service, and a place for social activities giving the community a cornerstone gathering spot. Located on 106 Girard SE, the Co-op was part of the Alternative Community

[139] Lester Strong, "Hometown Revisited," *Gay Community News* vol. 9, no. 1 (September 12, 1981), 8 and Tevina Benedict and Dave Pierce, "The Alternative Community Center: Many Groups Under One Roof," *Seer's* vol. 6, no. 18 (March–April, 1977), 1 and 4.
[140] Dan Butler, "Gay Co-Op Gets it Together," *Seer's* vol. 6, no. 7 (December 21–January 14, 1976).
[141] Jon Hull quoted in Roy Reini, "March '89 named Common Bond Awareness Month," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 8, no. 7 (March 1989): 1.

Center, which housed the La Montanita Food Co-op, a costume shop called Skid Rose, Siren Productions, a women's production organization, and a massage therapist.[142] La Montanita served as the anchor and helped draw people into the center to visit other available services and businesses. When the Gay Co-op folded in 1982, President Beck Bosh estimated that the organization helped over 3500 people and made a "significant contribution to the cause of gay dignity and community in ABQ."[143]

Besides help-lines, liberal ideas amongst some church leaders and members provided fertile ground for the expansion of the gay liberation movement into churches, even while other religious leaders ramped up their condemnation of sexual freedom and geared up for an attack on sexual liberalism in response to gains made by feminists, gays, and lesbians.[144] In May 1975, the New Mexico Conference of the United Methodist Church, a Protestant denomination, petitioned the 1976 general conference to draft specific legislation prohibiting the ordination of practicing homosexuals. The resolution to petition passed and included the following language: "we do not condone the practice of homosexuality and consider this practice incompatible with Christian teaching."[145] In response, Reverend Kris Dodds, with help from others, founded a chapter of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Church, a denomination of Christian churches that welcomed the gay and lesbian community, in Albuquerque in 1975. [146] A

[142] Benedict and Pierce, "The Alternative Community Center," 1 and 4.
[143] "GLCCA Closes Doors," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 1, no. 9 (February 1982).
[144] Self, *All in the Family,* 309–398.
[145] "Methodist ordination: Homosexual ban sought," *Santa Fe New Mexican,* May 30, 1975.
[146] Troy Perry and Charles L. Lucas, *The Lord is my Shepard and He Knows I'm Gay* (New York: Nash Publications, 1973), 56. After he had begun his ministry Reverend Troy Perry, a California pastor, realized he identified as gay. Within the church, he raised questions to church elders that confronted the contradictions of his sexuality with Christian theology. Unsympathetic to his plight, the local bishop asked Perry to resign. He left and founded MCC in 1968. Chapters spread to San Francisco, San Diego, Chicago, and Honolulu. By 1972, *In Unity,* the denominational newsletter, listed thirty-five congregations in nineteen states. Christian gays discovered a place where they could worship and be accepted by MCC's

handful of members joined.[147] Under the direction of Dodds, a small study group began meeting in the living rooms of Albuquerque homes and at two gay bars, the ABQ Social Club and Foxes. Meeting at various places continued until 1980 when the small congregation moved into their first church building. Two years later they had enough members to officially become a chartered church of MCC.[148]

Those who attended the MCC church remember it as a place of activism. Richard Williams grew up in Highland Park, New Jersey. He came out in 1980 through his involvement with MCC. It was "one of the cutting edge organizations at the time for doing politics. It's hard to believe but the churches were the ones that organized a lot of stuff," Williams recalled.[149] In particular, he honed his activist skills, lobbying legislators and mobilizing gay voters, during his time with MCC. When he moved to New Mexico in 1992 he utilized these same skills in the New Mexico Gay/Lesbian Political Alliance. Vangie Chavez had attended a service of MCC in Denver, Colorado while visiting her brother in 1983. Chavez and her lesbian partner had just had a child through artificial insemination. With the birth of her first child, Chavez wanted to incorporate spirituality into her life. She looked for a chapter of MCC in New Mexico and "began my work in ministry spending twenty years with the church."[150]

MCC-ABQ thrived under the leadership of mostly women, a legacy started by its founder, Kris Dodds and continued by Rev. Judy Davenport, and associate pastors Gloria Root

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congregation and clergy. Also, see Melissa M. Wilcox, "Of Markets and Missions: The Early History of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 11 (January 2001): 83–108.

[147] "MCC-ABQ," in the Supplement to the *Gay and Lesbian Guide to New Mexico* vol. 6, no. 7 (1987), 6.

[148] "MCC Church of ABQ Thirty Years: This is Our Story" sent to author via email courtesy of Reverend Judith Maynard.

[149] Williams, interview.

[150] Chavez, interview.

and Donna Lockridge. These women challenged the ideology of the church as a patriarchal and homophobic institution. Using the church as a space for lesbian and gay community, as opposed to a gay/lesbian bar, eclipsed the spatial boundary from "deviant" to "respectable." The church offered a way for lesbians and gay men to claim respectability through their worship of God and social activism. Lockridge explained that "Many gays and lesbians have felt alienated from the mainstream of Christendom. MCC can put gays and lesbians back in touch with God."[151] Pastor Judy Davenport described MCC-ABQ as a Christian church whose primary function was the worship of God; however, it was also "a church plus- a place of fellowship, a place to talk to someone about problems, a place to gather for a meal and to play board/card games, and a place to get involved in Christian social action."[152] MCC-ABQ offered a Gay A.A., rap sessions, Sing n' Praise, and Sunday Services.[153]

Arguably, MCC-ABQ's most important contribution to the gay and lesbian community was its cooperation in organizing Albuquerque's first gay pride parade in 1976. Juniper, a new gay and lesbian organization that formed in the wake of the Gay People's Union's demise, worked with MCC-ABQ to coordinate the march. Twenty-five pioneers marched in the parade that launched New Mexico's entrance into national pride celebrations.[154] The next year, one hundred New Mexicans participated. Rev. Dodds of MCC-ABQ led the parade stating its purpose "was to make gay people visible in the community. You can't obtain your rights without visibility. We would like to have job security. We would like to go into open housing. We would

[151] Russell Gray, "Lockridge assumes new role at MCC," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 4, no. 12 (August 1985), 38.
[152] Judy Davenport "My Turn," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 8, no. 4 (December 1988).
[153] "Juniper and other gay organizations," *Seer's* vol. 4, no. 19 (September 1975).
[154] For a discussion on the history of pride events, see Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Crage, "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth," *American Sociological Review* 71 (October 2006): 724–51.

like our gay-parents to be able to retain their children."[155] During the post-parade rally, Rev. Dodds (MCC-ABQ), Dan Butler (Gay Co-Op), Katherine Davenport (Santa Fe Lambdas) and Harry Hay (Circle of Loving Companions) addressed the crowd.[156] The parade brought together activists from all over the state and provided and an arena for diverse gay men and lesbians to come together proudly. For example, Bobb Maestra, born June 6, 1957, in Santa Fe, New Mexico grew up in a large Hispano family.[157] Maestra attended Albuquerque's second pride parade. His upbringing influenced how he viewed his sexual identity as "a very private thing, even though I am open about it." He started coming out in the mid-1970s when he discovered the organization Juniper and determined that "I'm going to go and meet gay people because I don't know any. I was really curious to meet them." Through the Gay Co-op and pride events, Maestra met an array of gay men and women and claimed "That's when my whole life turned around, and I became gay and comfortable with it and started being a gay man."[158]

GL-NM, WMST, WRC, MCC, and the Gay Co-op all engendered spaces where lesbians and gay men fostered culture, but some still felt a more structured and institutionalized group was needed to combat homophobia. A new organization coalesced in 1981 that served this purpose and acted as an umbrella group that helped to create statewide services for gay men and lesbians. As the Gay Co-op suffered from financial issues, secrecy, and ideological divisions, Co-op members Troy Channell, Russell Gray, Jon Hull, Richard Koteras, Tyler Mason, Ron Olivas, Roy Reini, Buck Rhodes, Steve Slusher, and Alan Stringer formed an ad hoc committee to try to

[155] "Albuquerque Gays March," *Clovis News Journal* (June 26, 1977), 2.
[156] J. K. Finer "Out of the Closets and Into the Streets," *Seer's Rio Grande Weekly* vol. 6, no. 30 (July 1–8, 1997) clipping found in the Strong Papers, NYPL.
[157] Bobb spells his name with two "bbs."
[158] Transcript of Interview with Bobb Maestra by Lester Q. Strong, Box 5, Folder 2, Strong Papers, NYPL.

rescue the dying co-op.[159] After the meeting, the ad hoc committee determined it was best to start fresh with a new organization that they named Common Bond.[160] Over the summer, various members of the board of directors drafted a statement of purpose, filed bylaws with the state corporation commission on August 24, 1981, and held their first meeting September 27, 1981, at the First Unitarian Church, with almost one hundred attendees.[161] Common Bond announced an educational platform "with the authority to send our questionnaires to the mayoral and city councilperson candidates in the upcoming city elections for the purpose of determining their stand on gay related issues."[162] The group asserted its political power and differentiated itself from the feminist and gay liberationists' analyses that linked the homosexual cause with struggles against sexism, classism, and racism. They reached out to the middle-class and focused on a single cause shifting the conversation from multiple liberations to a solely gay centered agenda.[163]

From its inception Common Bond faced critiques from New Mexicans about its lack of racial and gender diversity in both its makeup of members and political goals.[164] In April of 1982, President Steve Slusher wrote in the organization's newsletter, "The gay and lesbian community

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[159] Minutes from the Ad Hoc Committee Meeting July 2, 1981, Box 3, Folder 18, Neil Isbin Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library. (Hereafter Isbin Papers, FACHL)

[160] Russell Gray, "Five Years Ago in Common Bond," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 5, no. 12 (1986), 1. The name came from the Gay Pride Week Classical Music Concert (1981) and acknowledged the role of artistic endeavors vital to the development of the gay and lesbian community.

[161] Statement of Purpose, Box 3, Folder 18, Isbin Papers, FACHL.

[162] Meeting Minutes August 12, 1981, Box 3, Folder 18, Isbin Papers, FACHL.

[163] For a national discussion on gay assimilationist versus liberationist politics, see Steve Endean and Vicki Lynn Eaklor, *Bringing Lesbian and Gay Rights into the Mainstream: Twenty Years of Progress* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006); Craig A. Rimmerman, *From Identity to Politics: The Lesbian and Gay Movements in the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001), and Urvashi Vaid, *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation* (New York: Anchor Books, 1995).

[164] For a discussion of the intersection of race and sexuality in gay liberation, see Kevin J. Mumford, "The Trouble with Gay Rights: Race and the Politics of Sexual Orientation in Philadelphia, 1969-1982," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 1 (2011): 49–72.

is incredibly diverse. Unfortunately, Common Bond does not fully mirror the diversity found in our community. Some have accused us of being a predominantly affluent male mainstream organization." Slusher continued, "Common Bond ought to do more to encourage all elements of the lesbian and gay community to participate. . . and become active." [165] But Common Bond took a defensive stance against accusations of being a white male group: "Because the perception of Common Bond, Inc. by many seems to be that it only meets the needs of a homogeneous group, let's look at the diversity of the Board. We have two Hispanics and one Black."[166] To this day, the overwhelming majority of board members have been white, male, and middle class. Without multiple voices within the organization, Common Bond mainly represented the interests of its membership. As a result, the tone of gay liberation politics leaned toward accommodationist. Furthermore, whenever local newspapers, radio, and television stations wanted to cover stories on gay issues, reporters talked to Russell Gray, a native New Mexican, born and raised in Las Cruces, and a practicing lawyer. Gray's status as a white, middle-class man represented the public image of the gay community, a depiction that inaccurately obscured its diversity.

Despite issues of racial and gender disparity, Common Bond provided support for fledging gay groups all over the state of New Mexico, including Farmington, Socorro, Santa Fe, and Las Cruces. For instance, it served as the parent organization for *Brash Ensemble in 1981. Shortly after renamed the New Mexico Gay Men's Chorus, it* started as a sixteen-member group and varied in size from eight to forty. As one of the country's first gay men's choruses the

[165] Steve Slusher, "President's Letter," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 1, no. 8 (April 1982), 4.
[166] Bobbi Bordeaux, "My Turn," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 9, no. 3 (November 1989).

ensemble functioned as a performing group within Common Bond.[167] The chorus performed in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, El Paso, Phoenix, Tucson, Taos, Las Cruces, Grants, Socorro, Farmington, and Los Alamos.[168] Outreach concerts to neighboring communities in New Mexico aimed to promote tolerance and a sense of community statewide. Audience members witnessed gay men proudly embracing their identities in a public forum.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, gay and lesbian businesses and groups in New Mexico greatly expanded and reflected uniquely New Mexican interests. Hijos del Sol, a gay male social group that explored the state's natural landscape through planned outdoor excursions, organized in 1978.[169] The group spawned a spinoff called New Mexico Outdoors in the mid '80s open to both gay men and women. In 1983, the Wilde Bunch, a square dancing group of gay men and lesbians formed.[170] The New Mexico Gay Rodeo Association formed in 1986. These organizations catered to urban and non-urban gay men and lesbians, and celebrated a queer spin on Southwest heritage. In addition to the statewide groups, lesbians and gay men in Farmington began working towards forming their own local support systems. Roy Reini acknowledged the benefits of joining together as Common Bond's reach "spread to new areas of our state giving the rural gay or lesbian person strength in the knowledge that they need not live a life cut off from others of the same sexual orientation."[171] Common Bond brought activists

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[167] For a history of the first gay chorus, see Russell E. Hilliard, "A Social and Historical Perspective of the San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus," *Journal of Homosexuality* 54 (June 2008): 345–61.
[168] History & Mission of the New Mexico Gay Men's Chorus, accessed December 22, 2014, http://www.nmgmc.org/history--mission.html
[169] George Meade, "Hijos del Sol Elects Officers," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 4, no. 9 Supplement (May 1985), 9.
[170] Bill Eyler, "Square Dancing? Isn't that something you only do in P.E. class," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 5, no. 12 (August 1986), 6.
[171] Roy Reini, "Statewide Growth Marks Common Bond's Fourth Year," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 5, no. 1 (September 1985), 2.

throughout the state together at events like the Regional Gay and Lesbian Camp-out, which drew participants from southern and central New Mexico.[172]

In addition to sponsoring a growing roster of social groups, Common Bond promoted the state's gay and lesbian civil rights campaign. Founding member Russell Gray recalled that "Common Bond marked a profound change in the lesbian and gay community of New Mexico. Prior to its founding, gay life in the state was a secret world, its formal institutions few, and the attitude of its members was that of 'the oppressed struggling to survive in a hostile world'."[173] Common Bond marked a turning point in the New Mexican gay and lesbian community, but not exactly in the way Gray expressed. Students and church leaders had done the earlier work of creating safe places for gays to come out. Common Bond added to this foundation by successfully establishing a permanent political presence, building upon the work of gay and lesbian organizations. For instance, "The earliest mailing lists of Common Bond were made up of names gleaned from the Co-Op mailing list, and lists from Earl Bourne and Russell Gray, plus a lot of brainstorming to think of everyone that was gay or lesbian and who might be interested in the newly forming group."[174] Without the efforts of earlier organizations and organizers, Common Bond would have had a difficult time finding participants.

Common Bond continued to advocate for the protection of gay men and lesbians in the workplace, housing, and public accommodations under the Albuquerque human rights ordinance. In October of 1977, three members of the Co-op, including Russell Gray, met with Mayor David Rusk to discuss the inclusion of homosexuals in the ordinance. Unsure how to

[172] Sue Ann Ryan and Walter Davis, "Gays converge on Elephant Butte," *Common Bond Ink* clipping in Vertical File, "New Mexico," ONE.
[173] Gray, "Five Years Ago in Common Bond," 1.
[174] "CB Awareness Month," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 8, no. 7 (March 1989).

respond to such a request, Mayor Rusk directed the members to meet with the Chair of the Human Rights Commission Vicente T. Ximenes. Ximenes argued that gay rights would not be protected in the city code. He urged the Gay Co-op to provide concrete evidence of discrimination based on sexual orientation. Following the meeting, Common Bond created a political action group called the Gay Rights Lobby (GRL) to garner support for their inclusion in the city's human rights ordinance amendments. First, GRL setout to identify "gay" districts. The city had no gay neighborhoods, but state house districts 18 and 25 in Nob Hill and the lower Heights were home to numerous gay men and lesbians. Next, GRL scheduled meetings with legislators sympathetic to their cause, such as Tom Rutherford and Judy Pratt, to begin the campaign for a gay civil rights bill. Democratic Senator Tom Rutherford spearheaded the effort and drafted a complete revision of New Mexico's rape laws, which culminated in the legislature's repeal of the sodomy statute in 1975. New Mexico joined twelve states in revising sodomy laws lifting criminal punishments for consenting adults to engage in oral and anal intercourse. As the project expanded, Neil Isbin, active in the Houston, Texas gay liberation movement, moved to New Mexico in 1980 and helped to create a separate organization, New Mexico Gay/Lesbian Political Alliance (NMG/LPA), in September of 1983. Isbin held a board position for CB, served as President of the NMG/LPA, and led the fight for the first gay and lesbian rights legislation, Senate Bill 91.[175]

To get the ball rolling for a future gay civil rights bill (SB 91), NMG/LPA put a call out asking gay men and lesbians to share their stories of discrimination either by letter, interview, or through a mail-in survey. Legislators and coalition groups insisted that the gay and lesbian

[175] Neil Isbin Papers, 1967-1998, collection number AC 377, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A.

community needed to provide examples of discrimination. Paul Cruz, Director of the Albuquerque Human Rights Board, told gay activists "In the seven years we have been in existence," Cruz stated, "we have gotten perhaps three phone calls [from homosexuals]."[176] The meeting confirmed that NMG/LPA had to document discrimination. The organization sent a survey to 1500 LGBT residents of New Mexico. It is unclear from the published results how many responded to the survey, but over half reported experience with discrimination, just under thirty percent stated they were fired from their jobs due to their sexual orientation, and thirteen percent had dealt with housing discrimination. NMG/LPA used the surveys to persuade city council candidates to champion their cause. NMG/LPA coordinated the first public forum on lesbian and gay rights in New Mexico held that September and attended by ten of the nineteen city council candidates and one hundred members of the community.[177] Nine candidates offered backing for the amendment to the Human Rights Ordinance and encouraged the formulation of a future gay civil rights bill.[178]

From surveyed information sent to these candidates and from the September forum, NMG/LPA and Common Bond concluded that they could pass the city ordinance amendment. NMG/LPA testified before the Human Services Delivery Task Force of the Goals for Albuquerque Committee in October 1983 marking the first time a representative body of the gay community went before a governmental board in the state of New Mexico. Representatives presented a copy of the proposed city ordinance to ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and succeeded in persuading the Task Force to recommend to the Mayor and the City Council that

[176] "NML/GPA Meets with Rights Board," *P.O.L.* vol. 1, no. 4 (March 1984), 1.
[177] To City Council Candidate from Adrienne Edwards August 26, 1983, Box 4, Folder 11, Isbin Papers, FACHL.
[178] "Resolution to Amend Albuquerque's Human Rights Ordinance," Box 5, Folder 3, Isbin Papers, FACHL.

the city of Albuquerque pass the ordinance with the following wording: "(To) amend the City Human Rights Ordinance to include a prohibition against discrimination on the basis of affectional or sexual orientation."[179] Catherine Brooks, chairperson of the Task Force, admitted that the "family structure is changing," and the city must be "responsive to real needs."[180] Brooks recognized that few Americans lived the ideal of the nuclear family and thus benefited little from constructing political and social rights based on a heteronormative foundation. The blurring of public and private lines unveiled sex and sexuality as concepts to base social equality rights on. Mayor Kinney concurred, writing "the efforts of the Lesbian and Gay Political Alliance to promote legislation protecting individuals is praiseworthy. I fully support your work."[181]

Despite a show of support, the amendment failed. Even though they lost the battle to amend the ordinance, gay and lesbian New Mexicans had achieved enough public visibility and claimed enough of a public presence to make city council members and state legislators consider the concerns of their gay constituents. Gay activists had leveraged their increasing visibility in the form of a liberal rights-oriented movement that achieved partial progress. The push for the human rights ordinance posited a new citizen, protected from discrimination based on sexuality.

A year later, on April 1, 1985, Governor Toney Anaya signed an executive order banning discrimination on the basis of sexual preference in state employment, making New Mexico the sixth state in the U.S. to prohibit discrimination against gay people in state contracts, joining

[179] "Resolution to Amend Albuquerque's Human Rights Ordinance," Box 5, Folder 3, Isbin Papers, FACHL.
[180] "City Goals Committee recommends rights for gays," *P.O.L.* vol. 1, no. 3, (February 1984).
[181] Letter to NMG/LPA from Mayor Harry E. Kinney April 16, 1984, Box 5, Folder 6, Isbin Papers, FACHL.

Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, California, and Wisconsin.[182] The city ordinance campaign had laid the groundwork for this achievement. Common Bond created a statewide organization that served all New Mexicans and greatly expanded gay cultural formations and a state civil rights agenda.[183]

Political visibility helped connect local grassroots movements to each other and to a national gay rights agenda.[184] Bill Conrad, a gay activist from Phoenix, Arizona and Russell Gray with Common Bond both conducted human rights workshops in their respective states. The two men had corresponded about their efforts. Shortly after, Conrad learned through a Las Vegas, Nevada Gay Pride celebration program that the President of the Las Vegas Gay Academic Union (LGUA), Michael Loewy, sponsored human rights seminars during Pride. Conrad's discovery sparked an idea for collaboration and he suggested the three men get together to discuss starting a broad Southwest conference on gay activism and leadership.[185] Loewy, Conrad, and Gray organized *Empowering Each Other*, the first Desert and Mountain States Lesbian and Gay Conference held in Las Vegas, Nevada in March 1985. LGUA's advertising of its pride events and Common Bond's reporting of the human rights ordinance served as mobilizing forces for sharing activist strategies amongst southwesterners.

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[182] Michael Lassell, "New Mexico Governor Issues Order Banning Job Discrimination," *Advocate,* no. 420 (May 14, 1985), 19.

[183] By the mid 1980s, nationwide the gay community confronted AIDS as both a medical and political issue. In 1985, four New Mexicans had died from the disease and New Mexicans responded by creating New Mexico AIDS Services. I have chosen to not discuss AIDS in this chapter because its focus is on the early establishment of gay politics in 1970s and early 80s New Mexico and much of AIDS activism in the state occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s. For a discussion of AIDS in New Mexico, see Evans, "All is Not Lost Here in the Desert," 30–1 and 70–3.

[184] Mark Thompson, "18 Years Ago," *Advocate*, no. 745 (October 28, 1997), 10.

[185] The Desert and Mountain States Lesbian and Gay Conference which developed leadership in the gay community predated the Creating Change conferences sponsored since 1993 by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

At the first conference in Las Vegas, lesbians and gays learned that they could forge a powerful regional gay and lesbian civil rights movement. Before the conference Loewy complained, "We felt so isolated in our communities," and other activist communities like "California didn't even know that we existed."[186] The conference drew national attention and recruited national leaders including Nancy Roth, Executive Director of Gay Rights National Lobby, Tom Chorlton and Jack Trujillo of the National Association of Gay and Lesbian Democratic Clubs, gay city councilman Steve Schulte of the newly formed city of West Hollywood, and Jeff Levy, Executive Director of National Gay Task Force. During the conference, Chorlton noted that "the conference was a sign that the gay movement is no longer a big city phenomenon."[187] The desert and mountain states of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and Colorado (plus Wyoming in 1987) cooperated in order to build a regional identity for the lesbian and gay movement. In 1987, Albuquerque hosted over two hundred southwestern gay men and lesbians. This conference focused on the diversity of the movement and how to foster a pluralist culture that coordinated multiple groups toward a common goal. The committee worked "to 'get the word out' about the conference as much as possible, with the goals of reaching the rural area, women's communities, minority communities, and gay youth." Ray Jones, a black gay man from Albuquerque, expressed concerns about "minority participation and visibility in the gay and lesbian community" and created an ongoing and continuing dialogue during and after the event. After the conference, Jones founded a Caucus for black gay and lesbians persons.[188]

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[186] Michael Loewy quoted in Denise McBride, "Gay Academic Union," outhistory.org, accessed June 26, 2014, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/las-vegas/articles/gau.

[187] Tom Chorlton quoted in Roy Reini, "Desert States Build Unity at Conference," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 5, no. 2 (October 1985), 6.

[188] Ray Jones, "Black Caucus Forms within Common Bond," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 6, no. 9 (May 1987), 6 and Ray Jones, "What does is mean to be both black and gay?" *Common Bond Ink* vol. 7, no. 6 (February 1988), 1.

In addition to striving to better include racial minorities in activism, the conference allowed states to compare and contrast the living conditions, laws, and organizations across the southwest. Denver and Albuquerque activists, representing the only two cities with gay and lesbian community centers, showed other delegates how to establish a common gathering site.

It took a decade of starts and stops to develop an enduring gay and lesbian political presence. Radical gay liberation students, lesbian feminists, and MCC church leaders in the city of Albuquerque served as the shock troops of gay and lesbian political activism in New Mexico. Inspired by a national movement for feminism and gay liberation and a local desire to achieve gains at home, students and church members rocked the boat and shattered the long-standing practice of partial tolerance and acceptance by engaging in public political agitation. Prior to 1970, there were few resources for people struggling with their gay and lesbian identities. The security state cultivated a climate in which gay men and lesbians were afraid to disclose their sexual identity and were even reluctant to give out their names and addresses to gay and lesbian organizations. Within a shifting political terrain, an older generation clung to the practice of passing, which began to overlap with a new generation that insisted on public visibility.

The story of early gay and lesbian organizations illustrates how social movement activists alter cultural norms through the creation of new and different opportunities. In the ensuing years, GL-NM, WMST, WRC, MCC-ABQ, and CB stimulated the formation of many community organizations. They created contact zones where gay men and lesbians defined sexual subjectivities. Additionally, these organizations produced periodicals that helped to connect gay individuals and groups across the state and to define collective political goals. In New Mexico, a long term lobbying campaign to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual

orientation and gender identity in the areas of employment, housing, public accommodation, and consumer credit reached its zenith in 2003, when activists, especially Neil Isbin, succeeded in adding this language to the amendment of the Human Rights Act.[189] As of this writing, New Mexico is the only state in the southwest to pass such legislation and one of eighteen states nationwide.[190] This expansion of human rights, which stemmed from earlier attempts made by GL-NM and the Gay Co-op, benefited the working class, lesbians and ethnoracial queers who gained protections from job and housing discrimination. Albuquerqueans did the heavy lifting of creating, carrying and sustaining a political movement, but outreach to other areas knitted together a statewide social movement. The next chapter will focus on how gay men and lesbians looked to the country as a site of freedom and as a space to continue to practice and advocate alternative lifestyles and politics.

[189] Neil Isbin, a Minnesota-born LGBT activist, moved to New Mexico in 1980. He served as president of the New Mexico Lesbian and Gay Political Alliance and was instrumental in creating the groundwork for the passage of N.M Stat. Ann. 28-1-7. He died of AIDS in 1996 unable to witness the culmination of his efforts.

[190] Employment Non-Discrimination Act, Human Rights Campaign, accessed June 11, 2014, http://www.hrc.org/laws-and-legislation/federal-legislation/employment-non-discrimination-act

CHAPTER FOUR

GET THEE TO THE COUNTRY: BECOMING COUNTRY GAYS IN NORTHERN NEW MEXICO, 1960S-1980S

Flat-topped mesas and hills, steep mountains, and vast desert are the unique landscape of New Mexico, the terrain that defines this state, and provided a rugged yet compelling milieu for gay men and lesbians in the sixties and seventies to create safe and private same-sex communities. Taking advantage of a ripe historical moment, when the progressive counterculture coincided with the radical phase of gay liberation from 1969–1972, gay men and lesbians embraced the popular "back to the land" movement to form enclaves that allowed them to live a subversive lifestyle in the state's hinterlands.[1] Beginning in the 1960s, three million Americans, especially white, middle-class youth, identified with the counterculture, a movement that challenged the Cold War consensus through the conceptualization and practice of alternative lifestyles and politics.[2] Migrating to New Mexico's barren land was an essential element of constructing gay identities, cultures, and activism, not unlike hippies and communards. Those who did not fit into the mainstream embarked on their own endeavors.

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[1] For an in depth analysis of the back-to-the-land-movement, see Jeffery Jacobs, *New Pioneers: The Back-to-the-Land Movement and the Search for a Sustainable Future* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997). For the radical phase of gay liberation, see Kissack, "Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front, 1969–1971,"105–34; Dudley Clendinen, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), and Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*.

[2] A few examples of counterculture history include Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Craig Cox, *Storefront Revolution: Food Co-Ops and the Counterculture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994); William Kephart, *Extraordinary Groups: An Examination of Unconventional Life-Styles* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), and Timothy Miller, *The Quest for Utopia in Twentieth-Century America* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998).

Lesbians spearheaded the movement of queer identified people to rural regions when a small group of mainly white lesbian feminists created intentional land communities first in northern California in the late 1960s followed by the development of multiple communities in southern Oregon and northern New Mexico.[3] Separatist communities spread regionally, nationally, and internationally.[4] Connected to the back-to-the-land movement, lesbians grounded their communities in feminism and sought autonomy through the creation of a separate female existence and culture in a rural setting. Lesbian feminists selected northern New Mexico as one of their sites for separatist communities because starting in the 1920s the area had cultivated a reputation as a haven for bohemians. Participants of the counterculture movement who ventured to northern New Mexico reinvigorated the regions' live-and-let-live attitudes. In particular, the counterculture movement resonated in Taos. Surrounded by dozens of communities in the vicinity of Taos, activist Harry Hay found inspiration for new gay liberation models in the communes, pueblos, and lesbian lands of New Mexico.[5] Gay males dissatisfied with urban "ghettos" followed lesbians' example and created their own movement called the Radical Faeries in 1979. Hay helped to create the Radical Faeries as a way to provide gay men with a method (the establishment of rural sanctuaries) for finding a sense of authentic belonging to a gay subjectivity.[6] Hay is best remembered for his formation of the Mattachine Foundation (1950) in Los Angeles, an early gay rights organization that helped birth identity politics for homosexuals. Hay's experience organizing in the labor movement and the Communist Party

[3] For scholarship on lesbian land, see Kleiner, "Nature's Lovers;" Sandilands, "Lesbian Separatist Communities and the Experience of Nature: Toward a Queer Ecology," and Unger, "From Jook Joints to Sisterspace: The Role of Nature in Lesbian Alternative Environment in the United States."
[4] Kleiner, "Nature's Lovers," 243.
[5] *The Modern Utopian* listed nine communes in the vicinity of Taos. Dick Fairfield, *The Modern Utopian: Communes* vol. 5, nos. 1-3 (1971). Anderson counts two-dozen in *The Movement and the Sixties*, 271.
[6] A note on terminology, when referencing the movement Radical Faeries I will capitalize the term, but when discussing those who identify as radical faeries, I will use lower case letters.

prepared him well for the radical task of forming an organization for gay cultural and political liberation during the fifties. By the mid- sixties, Hay again sought alternative viewpoints apart from assimilationist politics that pushed to include gay men and lesbians as part of dominant cultural practices and institutions.[7] Hay moved to New Mexico in 1970 and looked to both the lesbian land model and Native two-spirit traditions in order to fuel his new theories on gay male sexuality and spirituality.

Movement to rural places, gay and lesbian cultural production, and the construction of alternative lifestyles and politics reflected an increasing number of gay men and lesbians who traversed city and country spaces asserting their right to be free, equal, and safe outside of designated urban gayborhoods in 1970s America.[8] In particular, urban-to-rural migrations allowed gay men and lesbians to utilize urban and rural mobility as a mechanism of identity, cultural, and political transmission. For example, the creation of do-it-yourself publications generated a nexus of sexual knowledge that reached places previously untouched by urban gay organizations. Within the quest for gender and sexual equality, lesbians and gay men through the construction of lesbian land and gay male rural sanctuaries, lesbian feminist and gay male periodicals, and living openly in small towns and rural spaces challenged the boundaries of public and private sexuality, utilized movement as a means to achieve greater freedom, and created alternative visions of gay liberation politics. However, not all of these efforts mixed well with the structures of rural life and among those born and raised in the country. Land communities and faerie sanctuaries were largely populated by former urban dwellers and failed to attract rural queers. Although lesbian landers and radical faeries attempted to rework the

[7] Hay and Roscoe, *Radically Gay* and Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay.*
[8] Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

boundaries of gay political strategies for rural settings, few local homosexuals joined them. In time, the presence of gay politics in these new places eventually took hold and will be explored in the conclusion.

To a lesser extent, this chapter also seeks to uncover the historic lives of gay men and lesbians born and raised in the country. I argue that small-town and rural lesbians and gay men crafted a private home-centered life and built lives within rural community, work, family, and/or church rather than separating from these mainstream institutions. Herein lies the biggest difference between self-made country gays and those born and raised out in the country. Additionally, rural gay men and lesbians had less access to lesbian and gay culture and knowledge, although this shifted with the birth of do-it-yourself publications, and had to carefully monitor their public displays of same-sex affection. Rural Hispana lesbians experienced the articulation of the self, expression of lesbian desire, and resistance to homophobia in very different ways than white lesbians who ensconced themselves in protective land communities. As historian Yolanda Chavez Leyva argues in her study, many Latina lesbians lived at home or close to family members and navigated their sexual identity within heteronormative spaces: family, church and work.[9] Lesbian separatists worked to extricate themselves from such places and build their own institutions while locals negotiated their lives within mainstream institutions.

[9] Yolanda Chavez Leyva, "Breaking the Silence: Putting Latina Lesbian History at the Center," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in US Women's History,* eds. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki Ruiz (New York: Routledge Press, 1990).

White lesbians used feminism as the backbone for the formation of a new lesbian culture. Feminism provided a means to legitimate lesbianism.[10] The mid-sixties added to feminist politics by reigniting activism and expanding the concept of gender equality by rejecting the constructed social roles of men and women.[11] Part of lesbian feminist activism as well as feminist activism generally, involved challenging the nuclear family ideal and fashioning alternative models for others to follow. Author Jill Johnston published a series of essays entitled *Lesbian Nation* in which she proposed that lesbians create women-only cultural institutions, rural and urban communes, businesses, and periodicals as a way to denounce patriarchy and take the feminist movement to task for being heterosexist.[12] In constructing her concept of the *Lesbian Nation*, Johnston invoked lesbian separatists' ideas. "The best thing to do was retreat and get your own shit together and to build lesbian nation from the grass roots out of your own community of women. I couldn't agree more with that," Johnston wrote.[13] For Johnston, the feminist solution was, "getting it together with women. Or separatism."[14] Her work became a manifesto for lesbians' construction of women-only networks as they sought to dismantle

[10] Female institution building stemmed from nineteenth century American middle-class women's culture and provided an avenue for feminist politics. See Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5 (Autumn 1979): 512–529.
[11] For general overviews of the resurgence of American feminism in 1960s, see Flora Davis, *Moving the Mountain: The Women's Movement in America since 1960* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991); Sara M. Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Knopf, 1979); *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-Wave Feminism in the United States* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), and Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000). For diversity within feminism, see Gloria *Anzaldúa* and *Cherríe* Moraga, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women Of Color*, Expanded and rev. 3rd ed. (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press, 2002); Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall and Linda Gordon, eds., *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), and Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[12] Jill Johnston, *Lesbian Nation: The Feminist Solution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).
[13] Ibid., 22.
[14] Ibid., 181.

heteronormative conceptions of the family, love, and sex in their own personal lives. Heteronormative forms of intimacy are embodied in discourse, marriage and family, law, employment, and politics. Lesbian culture, by contrast, had no institutional matrix for its non-normative intimacies. One separatist, Julia Stanley, understood lesbians' plight as having "no identity, no tradition, no history. And lesbians have to begin creating their own traditions."[15] Some lesbians set out to establish such a matrix through the concept of separatism. Lesbian separatism also stemmed from lesbians facing sexist attitudes and practices in the gay liberation movement and homophobia in the women's liberation movement.[16] Separatists broke away from the two mainstream groups and established lesbianism as a political position. Rarely agreeing on a singular interpretation, lesbians debated definitions, meanings, and politics of separatism.[17]

Lesbian separatists and lesbian feminists sought to create their own cultural spaces independent of gay urban meccas and heteronormative suburbs. They defied notions of settlement and envisioned networks of connection. Many of these women visualized a lesbian feminist nation that existed without spatial demarcation. They established small-scale lesbians communities across the U.S. in large cities such as New York, San Francisco, Baltimore, and Chicago, smaller-scale cities like Jackson, Mississippi, Portland, Oregon, and Tampa, Florida, and rural communes in New Mexico, Arkansas, Arizona, Oregon, Tennessee, New York, Florida,

[15] Julia P. Stanley, "Why Lesbian Separatism," Subject File: Separatism, 12680, Lesbian Herstory Archives, Brooklyn, New York. (Hereafter LHA)
[16] Dana R. Shugar, *Separatism and Women's Community* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).
[17] The debates included issues such as working with men and straight women, separatism as a lifestyle choice versus revolutionary politics, and the inclusion of male children in female-only spaces. See for example, "A Lesbian Nation Would Have To Deal With Tourists," *Sister* (February–March 1977). There were also many factions on the East and West coasts that espoused different separatist ideas such as the Gutter Dykes in Berkeley, Radicalesbians in New York, Separatists Enraged Proud and Strong in San Francisco, and the Furies in Washington D.C.

Wisconsin, California, Mississippi, Minnesota, Vermont, and Missouri. By conceptualizing lesbian culture as a mobile landscape that crisscrossed urban and rural, they predicated their quest for lesbian cultural formation on migration. Publications and interconnected zones of contact – rural and urban communes, music festivals, women's collectives, and penpals – made up the *Lesbian Nation*.

By the end of the decade lesbians created do-it-yourself publications to address their concerns of alienation and establish lesbian communication networks.[18] Historian Martin Meeker argues that the production of do-it-yourself periodicals "provided a powerful conduit through which information about lesbianism could travel into places and on a scale unheard of in previous decades."[19] The lesbian press in the seventies emerged from two flagship publications *The Furies* and *Lesbian Tide,* which jumpstarted a plethora of newsletters, newspapers, journals, and magazines that tackled a wide variety of lesbian topics. [20] Lesbians unraveled their ideas on feminism, radicalism, and separatism in these publications and crafted an alterative culture through the lesbian press. I have analyzed content from *Amazon Quarterly* (1972–1975)*, Country Women* (1973–1979)*, Lesbian Connection* (1974–present)*,* and *Maize: A Lesbian Country Magazine* (1983–present) in order to understand ideologies of feminism,

[18] The earlier venue in which lesbians strove to find community occurred during the homophile movement (1950-1969). The first lesbian organization, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), formed in San Francisco, California in 1955. One of the major aims of the DOB was to enable "the Lesbian to find and communicate with others like herself." As the organization grew it focused on building a national lesbian community through chapters around the country that hosted discussion groups, conventions, and connected through the publication *The Ladder.* Early DOB chapters existed in San Francisco, New York, Boston, and Chicago. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman* (San Francisco, Glide Publications, 1972), 11. Also see Gallo, *Different Daughters*.

[19] Meeker, *Contacts Desired,* 200.

[20] Edythe Eyde, under the pseudonym Lisa Ben, published the first known lesbian publication called *Vice Versa* circa 1947. For the history of lesbian print culture in the 1970s, see Meeker, *Contacts Desired,* and Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995). *Our Own Voices: A Directory of Lesbian and Gay Periodicals* estimates that 150 gay and lesbian publications circulated in 1972.

radicalism, and separatism that critiqued urban lesbian society, assisted lesbians with moving and living in rural spaces, and created a land-based lesbian culture. The four publications share a feminist philosophy and content that explores country living.[21] New Mexican lesbians read, published, and used these publications as a way to explore and participate in lesbian culture.[22]

Gloria from New Mexico discovered the lesbian feminist literary journal *Amazon Quarterly* (*AQ*) through an advertisement in the mainstream feminist magazine *Ms.*[23] Her subscription to both illustrates the overlapping constituencies of feminism and lesbianism.[24] Editors Laurel Galana and Gina Covina started *AQ* in 1972 in Oakland, California and circulated it nationally.[25] In its first issue *AQ* called for women (lesbians in particular) to share knowledge and experiment together in the creation of female identities, communities, and expressions without the shadow of patriarchy. The editors titled this call "Frontiers" and referred to themselves as pioneers "in learning to see and to act apart from the patriarchal patterning we've all been subject to."[26] The founders "knew that out there in the world there must be other women who, like us, were trying to create new ways of living based on their woman-identified perceptions."[27] *AQ's* content encouraged women to denounce both gendered notions of living and heterosexual

[21] Scholars Martin Meeker and Scott Herring both classify *Country Women* (1973–1979) as a lesbian-feminist periodical, but it should be understood as feminist based on the creators own classification and on lesbian/feminist clashes identified in the content of the magazine. I use the publication to show how feminists sought self-sufficiency through honing rural skills.
[22] Thompson, "'Dear Sisters," 405–23.
[23] Founding editor Letty Cottin Pogrebin and founders Gloria Steinem, Patricia Carbine, and Elizabeth Forsling Harris launched *Ms.* in December 1971 as a sample insert in *New York Magazine.* The first full issue came out in July 1972 and sold out. For scholarship on *Ms.,* see Amy Farrell, "Attentive to Difference: *Ms.* Magazine, Coalition Building, and Sisterhood," in *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-Wave Feminism in the United States,* ed. Stephanie Gilmore (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2008), 48–62.
[24] Gloria, "Love Letters," *Amazon Quarterly,* vol. 1, issue 3 (1972): 1.
[25] Galana and Covina first introduced the publication *AQ* by placing an advertisement in *Ms.*
[26] "Frontiers," *Amazon Quarterly,* vol. 1, issue 1 (Fall 1972).
[27] Gina Covina, "AQ the First Year: Changes," *Amazon Quarterly Special Double Issue* (October 1973–January 1974), 50–1.

relations by expressing how women might think beyond conceptions of male/female and public/private and questioned their binary thinking.[28] To encourage their readers to engage, *AQ* launched a public forum for lesbians to formulate their perceptions of the political identity lesbian feminist.

Shortly after the publication of *AQ,* a collective called the Ambitious Amazons in Lansing, Michigan responded to lesbian feminism by starting a publication that they hoped would connect lesbians worldwide. One of the editors, Margy Lesher, explains the thought process behind *Lesbian Connection* (*LC*): "It occurred to us that no matter how many artists created lesbian albums, books, or posters, or how many activists organized lesbian groups, centers, or conference, it all would be basically pointless if other lesbians had no way of knowing these things existed."[29] Reading publications like *LC,* New Mexican lesbian feminists imagined themselves as part of a national lesbian community. They wrote letters to the editor, contributed articles, advertised themselves as 'contact dykes,' and promoted local outlets for southwestern lesbians.[30] This letter to the editor is one of the first to appear from a New Mexico lesbian:

> Dear Amazons: I have been reading and enjoying your newsletter for a year. I especially like the nationwide feeling and connection with other lesbians. As a woman writer I enjoyed hearing what other lesbians have to say especially gut level feelings and down home news. . . We're sort of isolated in northern N.M. with amazon friends 70

[28] For example, see *Amazon Quarterly,* vol. 2, issue 4 (July 1974), devoted to "realities other than the linear, logically predicable ones to which we ordinarily confine ourselves," 4.
[29] Margy Lesher quoted in Jan Whitt, *Women in American Journalism: A New History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 164.
[30] New Mexican lesbians did have access to alternative press publications that sometimes included a discussion of homosexuality such as *Seer's Catalogue* (1971–1975) later renamed *Seer's* (1976–1978). They also had access to feminist publications such as *Santa Fe Women's Community Magazine* (1973) and *Sisterlode* (1978–1987).

> and 100 miles away who would also like to be on the mailing list. I would like to hear more from third world dykes and where we're at. In struggle, Rowe, NM[31]

Malflora Valverde, writing from Rowe, an unincorporated community in San Miguel County, demonstrates her own and other lesbians marginalization in northern New Mexico. New Mexico, geographically the fifth largest state in the union, at that time represented only one percent of the country's population.[32] The dearth of population and the even smaller percentage of lesbians in rural areas of the state made feelings of remoteness more intense. Valverde further reveals the diversity of New Mexican lesbians when she inquires about struggles for "third world dykes" and includes herself in this category. In a later issue, Valverde wrote to the magazine again asking for lesbians of color to participate in a survey about their personal experiences negotiating racial and sexual identity. She wanted to know about other lesbians like herself, not just in terms of sexual identity, but also related to her cultural and racial identity.[33] In the central part of the state, Nadine Armijo and her partner Rosa Montoya lived in Corrales (just outside of Albuquerque) and did not know of another gay man nor lesbian. With the aid of lesbian publications, many New Mexican lesbians who had been scattered and disconnected could now find ways to locate each other. Letters like Valverde's inspired the Ambitious Amazons, the creators of *LC,* to launch 'contact dykes,' "a lesbian who is willing to have her name and or address and or phone number published so other lesbians can contact her for information, and lesbians traveling through can talk to a friendly dyke."[34] The magazine

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[31] "Letters to the Editor," *Lesbian Connection,* vol. 2, issue 1 (March 1976), 24.
[32] Calculations from *1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population: New Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1972).
[33] Malflora Valverde, "Letters to the Editor," *Lesbian Connection* vol. 5, issue 6 (September 1982), 13.
[34] *Lesbian Connection,* vol. 1, issue 6 (July 1975).

listed contact dykes in the cities of Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Farmington, Las Cruces, and Roswell, and the rural areas of Ojo Caliente and Mesilla.[35]

Once New Mexico gay men and lesbians established organizations they began to develop local publications.[36] Lesbians also utilized these outlets to connect with each other, but had a far greater presence in lesbian-only periodicals. Sherry Woodside posted a notice in the New Mexican *Common Bond Ink's* classified section, "RURAL N.M. LESBIAN interested in corresponding or meeting other lesbians."[37] Woodside lived in the remote town of Wingate, outside of Gallup, in the western part of the state. In the next issue, she wrote another letter to the editor stating that she "received many letters of friendship and have made new friends in N.M. I don't feel so alone, even though I am still isolated."[38] Not all New Mexican lesbians wanted to publicize their lesbian identity even within the confines of alternative presses. An anonymous letter from an education administrator in Albuquerque, published in a radical feminist news journal, reveals the continued culture of secrecy in the state: "My words would be dismissed, my credibility destroyed if it were known that I was a lesbian. I *choose* the closet. That is surely my right."[39] For those who desired communication networks, do-it-yourself publications brought lesbians together nationwide and reached those in even the most far-flung rural spaces, like Rowe and Wingate, New Mexico.

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[35] "Contact Dykes," *Lesbian Connection* vol. 5, issue 6 (September 1982).
[36] The first gay and lesbian organization in the state was the Gay Liberation Front established in the Fall of 1970 on the campus of the University of New Mexico. It sporadically published *Gay Liberation Newsletter. Common Bond Ink* debuted in 1981.
[37] "Classified Ads," *Common Bond Ink* vol. 8, no. 3 (November 1988), 13.
[38] Sherry Woodside, "Letter to the Editor," *Common Bond Ink,* vol. 8, no. 4 (December 1988), 7.
[39] Anonymous letter, "Right to Closets," *Off Our Backs* vol. 8, issue 11 (December 1978), 16.

Likewise, gay men conveyed relief at finding publications aimed at a non-urban audience.[40] Influenced by the feminist publication *Country Women,* Stuart Scofield and seven members of the Wolf Creek, Oregon collective started a publication for gay men in 1974 called *RFD*, a play on the importance of rural free delivery. [41] This communication system, which began delivering mail to rural inhabitants in 1896, linked a widely dispersed U.S. population. Similarly, rural gay men experienced a communication revolution when they read *RFD,* "a country journal for gay men everywhere." The group intended *RFD* to break down the marginalization of country gay men and provided a platform for them to share their country experiences as stated in their third issue: "So far *RFD* is the only connection that gay men who are into alternatives to city slicking have with each other. We need to become responsive to ourselves. We need a safe communication between others like ourselves in this continual process of coming and growth."[42] Additionally, *RFD* marked a new trend for gay men: urban-to-rural migrations as Raymond Luczak expresses: "Once, in the magazine racks in the back of Lambda Rising Bookstore in Washington D.C., I came across a copy of *RFD.* I was completely taken with it because as someone who grew up in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, a land of small towns, I found the idea of gay people *choosing* to live out in the country, as opposed to feeling the need to congregate with their own kind in large numbers in the cities, to be quite thrilling."[43] Nationwide, starting in

[40] Some examples include *Raddish, Salt & Sage*, and the *Fifth Element.*
[41] Wayne Edison Fuller, *RFD, the Changing Face of Rural America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964).
[42] "RFD is . . ." *RFD* issue 3 (Spring 1975): 1.
[43] Raymond Luczak, "Chants of Silence: Notes of a Deaf Radical Faerie-in-Spirit," in *The Fire in Moonlight: Stories from the Radical Faeries 1975-2010,* ed. Mark Thompson (Maple Shade, NJ: White Crane Books, 2011), 209.

the late 1970s, some gay men wished to return to their rural roots and left urban meccas for small towns and the countryside.[44]

In Albuquerque gay men picked up *RFD* at the Living Batch Bookstore on 2406 Central Avenue. Even though founders intended to reach country gays, they depended upon urban bookstores to distribute their material. Gay men also subscribed to the magazine from more remote locations, like Taos. Tom Lauria moved from Buffalo, New York to Taos, New Mexico in the 1970s in order to remove himself from East coast bars and cruising. He wrote to *RFD* praising the publication for helping him find other gay men in this "strange adobe town crowded with artists; cocaine longhairs melting silver and Texas gentlemen in Winnebagos."[45] When Ronald Donaghe moved back to his hometown of Deming, New Mexico he used *RFD* in an attempt to find a rural gay man who wanted to settle in the country. He received many letters of interest and even had a few visitors who drove all the way to Deming. *RFD* provided him a way to get back into circulation with other gay men.

Propelled by a yearning to break free from the problems of urbanity, ex-urban gay men and lesbians abandoned city living and became country gays. They self-selected a new 'country' identity, utilized publications to find one another, and procured rural skills. Both rural lesbian and gay male publications discussed practical advice on country living. Founders, Sherry Thomas and Jean Tetrault in introducing the publication *Country Women* (*CW*) called it a "feminist country survival manual and a creative journal. It is for women living with women, with men and

[44] For a discussion of reverse migration, see Peter Boag, "Gay Male Rural-Urban Migration in the American West," in *City Dreams, Country Schemes: Community and Identity in the American West,* eds. Kathleen A. Brosnan and Amy L. Scott (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2010), and Kenneth Kirkey and Ann Forsyth, "Men in the Valley: Gay Male Life on the Suburban-Rural Fringe," *Journal of Rural Studies* 17 (October 2001): 421–41.
[45] Tom Lauria, "Letters to the Editor," *RFD* (Winter 1974): 46.

alone for women who live in the country already and for women who want to move out of the cities."[46] Adding to the periodical, in 1976, *CW* creator Sherry Thomas produced a handbook for "new farmers" who possess "the enthusiasm, the resources to build our dwellings, raise our food, take care of our most basic and real needs."[47] *CW* and its complimentary handbook instructed women on how to use chainsaws, split wood, raise farm animals, garden, build structures, drive tractors, install indoor plumbing and so forth - all skills that promoted self-sufficiency among women living in rural settings and skills traditionally viewed as masculine. Day-to-day living on the farm required rigorous physical labor and mastery of farming techniques. As an illustration, an article in *CW* entitled "Tools," gave two pages of instructions that guided the reader through purchasing and maintaining a chainsaw, how to cut wood, and even the exact posture in which to stand when using the saw: "Stand sturdily, feet apart, with both hands firmly gripping the handle on top and one holding the throttle trigger." Such specific coaching indicates that most who set out to make a life in the country lacked rural know-how and needed to gain expertise.[48] The author also discusses the pros and cons of using low-technology versus high-technology farming equipment. Many lesbians, guided by ecofeminism, desired to create communities that relied on labor-intensive, low-technology methods, but the reality of agricultural labor clashed with ecofeminist ideals.[49] The female author concludes her article with "I feel really good about knowing how to run a chainsaw. It's a powerful,

[46] *Country Women,* vol. 1, no. 1 (October 1973).
[47] Sherry Thomas, *Country Women: A Handbook for the New Farmer* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1976), Xv.
[48] Even women who grew up on farms would likely have learned farming skills stereotypically associated with men. See Sherry Thomas, *We Didn't Have Much, but We Sure Had Plenty: Stories of Rural Women* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1981).
[49] For scholarship on ecofeminism, see Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands, *The Good-Natured Feminist Ecofeminism and the Quest for Democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) and Noel Sturgeon, *Ecofeminism Natures* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

intimidating machine that I am able to control and use to get the wood that I need to survive."[50] Her masculine interpretation of conquering nature, anathema to perceived separatist ideologies of women living "lightly on Mother Earth and in sympathy with nature," demonstrate how a former urban woman refined her conceptions of country living once she experienced it.[51] The practicality of preparing enough wood for the winter season compelled her to switch from a hand saw to a chainsaw.

For lesbian landers with rural roots, such as Beverly Brown, who was raised in a logging and ranching community in the West, the return to country living proved easier as she already possessed a background in agriculture.[52] Gay men with farming roots also rediscovered their country skills. "I purged a show business career from my system over the last three years by spending more and more time here on my folks' farm and I'm a reborn farmer for sure," wrote John David.[53] For those who grew up rural or gained experience by doing, there was a sense of solidarity and a willingness to create community through sharing information. Beale, having raised goats in Taos for six years with his male partner, offered his advice on purchasing, caring, feeding, and raising goats. He welcomed visitors to his farm and desired to help those new to animal husbandry, "Will be glad to answer questions if I can or be of any help to beginning goat people. Would welcome folks to stop by and look goats over. Might just have a bowl of homemade ice cream for you."[54] As gay men and lesbians honed new skills or reestablished

[50] "Tools," *Country Women,* vol. 1, no. 1 (October 1973): 14–16.
[51] Unger, "From Jook Joints to Sisterspace," 181.
[52] Beverly Brown, "The Lesbian Geography of Rural Change" *Maize: A Lesbian Country Magazine,* vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 9983): 28. 9983 is not a typo, but stands for 1983.
[53] John David, "Letter to the Editor," *RFD* issue 3 (Spring 1975): 2.
[54] Beale, "Goats," *RFD* (Summer 1975): 38–41.

their farming techniques, they contributed articles to publications like *RFD* and *CW* sharing information with other urban-to-rural migrants.[55]

Overtime, country gays admitted to a blending of rural and urban rather than viewing these spaces as dichotomous. *Maize*, published later than *CW* in 1983, encouraged country lesbians to focus on "lesbian experiences and strategies in urban/country relations and community building." Urban lesbian feminists communities that sprang up nationwide and created a network of activists serviced by women-run bookstores, coffeehouses, food cooperatives, rape crisis centers, and so on, also linked to a nexus of lesbian land communes. Lesbian feminist periodicals documented the growth of these rural and urban women-only spaces. *CW and Maize* publicized lesbian land while publications such as *AQ* and *LC* offered a directory section and indicated where lesbian friendly urban and nonurban places existed across the United States.[56] In the summer of 1973, editors Laurel Galana and Gina Covina of the feminist literary journal *AQ* borrowed a van and travelled twelve thousand miles to test the hypothesis of a growing lesbian nation and to meet and interview readers about lesbian culture.[57] Upon return from their road trip, Galana reflected that there was a " . . . prevalence of strong feminist consciousness. Even in very isolated rural areas women are finding the literature and each other . . . from there they are going to act on their beliefs."[58] Other publications also reported on growing feminist communities in smaller cities. *Big Mama Rag***,** a feminist publication out of Colorado, sent one of its journalists to check out the feminist scene in New

[55] For example, see Elaine Mikels, "Adobe House," *Country Women* (January 1974).
[56] *Amazon Quarterly* published a "Resources" section and *Lesbian Connection* included a "Directory."
[57] Galana and Covina visited three hundred women and published a book *The New Lesbians* that featured twenty-one of the interviews. Laurel Galana and Gina Covina, eds., *The New Lesbians: Interviews with Women Across the U.S. and Canada* (Berkeley, CA: Moon Books, 1977).
[58] Laurel Galana, "Lesbians Around the Continent: Impressions," *Amazon Quarterly Special Double Issue* vol. 1 no. 4 and vol. 2 no. 1 (March 1975): 19.

Mexico. The photo accompanying the article pictured a woman and her daughter hitchhiking to Santa Fe holding the sign: "Sisters Pick Up Sisters" encouraging women by any means necessary to connect with each other.[59]

Galana and Covina's road trip and hitchhiking feminists illustrate the importance of personal mobility, which aided lesbians in the construction of a separate lesbian culture. Lesbians mapped the sexual geography of America utilizing car culture.[60] Most historians have often understood the topography of gay meeting places as confined within certain city districts, but how lesbians envisioned and utilized space demonstrates that cultural formation stretched beyond city limits. Lesbians engaged in multidirectional migratory patterns using the open road to connect with one another across cities, towns, and rural spaces. They pooled resources to purchase cars, carpooled, hitchhiked, and borrowed vehicles from each other. For instance, Thyme Siegel described her coming out process within a lesbian feminist community in Oregon she called "Lesbian Village," which included Full Moon Rising (a female forestry cooperative in Eugene), Gertrude's Café, Mother Kali's Books, and lesbian land communities such as OWL Farm and Cabbage Lane. Siegel entered into a community of migratory country and urban lesbians and in her writings, she emphasized the importance of movement: "The phenomenon of migratory lesbians in the country was not limited to northern California and Oregon. A network

[59] Pat Aspen, "Feminist Guide to Santa Fe," *Big Mama Rag* (August 1974), 9.

[60] Historians John Howard and Tim Retzloff have explored the importance of automotive mobility in the construction of gay male communities in Flint, Michigan, Birmingham, Alabama, and Mississippi. See John Howard, "Place and Movement in Gay American History," 211–226; Howard, *Men Like That,* 99-106 and Retzloff, "Cars and Bars," 227–252. For historians who have examined car culture from a female perspective, see Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel* and *Twenty Thousand Roads.* For gendered examinations of American road narratives, see Alexandra Ganser, *Roads of Her Own: Gendered Space and Mobility in American Women's Road Narratives, 1970-2000* (Rodopi, 2009) and Craig Leavitt, "On the Road: Cassady, Kerouac, and Images of Late Western Masculinity," in *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West,* eds. Matthew Basson, Laura McCall and Dee Garceau (New York: Routledge, 2001), 211–230.

developed which encompassed Arizona, New Mexico, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Missouri, Vermont, New York, Arkansas, Kentucky, Carolinas, Tennessee, West Virginia and Florida."[61] Hooked into the growing lesbian nation connected through word of mouth, periodicals, and women-run establishments, Siegel easily located and moved through a web of lesbian land. In 1980, Siegel traveled to New Mexico "looking for places where I feel good, where I can learn, where I can meet new women, where I am needed."[62] Pelican Lee, who knew Siegel from Oregon's land community, had written to Siegel on many occasions encouraging her to come to New Mexico. [63] Intentional land-based communities provided one way for lesbians to found a lesbian nation and New Mexico had several, including Arf, where Siegel visited.[64] In her journal entry, Siegel described a multiracial, environmentally friendly, politically minded, transient population of women at Arf and in the surrounding area. She met Zaceté who wore "punk dyke attire – a chain tight around her neck like a leash and a leather jacket with 'Arf Scorpions,'" Deja and her son both of Haitian descent, and Raven, a disabled Jewish lesbian who resided down the road from Arf in Chimayo. Siegel depicted lesbian land in New Mexico as multiracial challenging scholars' portrayal of the movement as exclusively white.[65]

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[61] Thyme Siegel, "Country Lesbians and Sisters on the Road," *Maize* (September 1996), 27–30. Thyme Siegel is not her given name. It was a common practice especially amongst lesbian landers to dispose of birth names and select a new identity.

[62] Thyme Siegel's Journal, February 1980–May 1980, Oakland, San Francisco, Santa Fe, and Chimayo, Siegel Collection, LHA.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Arf in the sources is spelled both "Arf" and "A.R.F." The meaning behind the name is unclear. Pelican Lee speculated that it was due to the large amount of roaming dogs on the property.

[65] White feminists active in the women's liberation movement have been remembered as inattentive to the needs of ethnoracial minorities. Scholars have begun to revise this conception particularly at the local level of politics as scholars have uncovered cross-class and race alliances. See Tamar Carroll, "Unlikely Allies: Forging a Multiracial, Class-Based Women's Movement in 1970s Brooklyn," in *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-Wave Feminism in the United States,* ed. Stephanie Gilmore (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2008), 196–224; Natalie Thomlinson, "The Colour of Feminism: White Feminists and

The women who started Arf have opted to keep their identities private, but they discussed the establishment of the property in the book *Lesbian Land* and explained the origins of their community as follows. In 1977, a group of lesbians hiked on a trail with a spectacular view of the Sangre de Cristo mountains, steep rising peaks covered with pine, *piñon*, oak, and cedar trees. Later, they purchased twenty-five acres nearby as women's land. The protection of the mountains gave them privacy and isolation, important elements to the founders. Conceptually, they envisioned a village structure where each person had her own space and communally the group shared a garden, ritual space, and a bathhouse. A woman identified as Sarah explained, "We're all pretty private people here. None of us wanted to live as a group, as a collective." [66] Arf offered a secluded place available to residents and contained a main house, tipis, a yurt, and adobe buildings, housing structures that thwarted heteronormative nuclear family ideals. The property lacked electricity and phone service. (Overtime Arf grew to include over ten houses and the use of solar power).[67] Lesbians living at Arf subverted conventional housing layouts by selecting landscapes and building structures suited to their needs and sexual identification.

Four of the founders organized as a legal collective and purchased the property for 75,000 dollars, as well as handled the deed and taxes, while the other two made up the living

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Race in the Women's Liberation Movement," *The Journal of the Historical Association* vol. 97, issue 327 (June 2012): 453–475, and Thompson, "Multi-Racial Feminism."

[66] Sarah (a pseudonym) quoted in Joyce Cheney, ed., *Lesbian Land* (Minneapolis: Word Weavers, 1985), 13.

[67] Pelican Lee and Rebecca Henderson, "Lesbian Land Patterns," *Maize* (Winter 1993), 11–13. Thyme Siegel wrote about the building of a solar adobe structure in February 1980–May 1980 Oakland, San Francisco, Santa Fe, Chimayo Journal, Thyme Siegel Collection, LHA. Henderson authored an article on teaching Arf women how to build their own homes. See "Rebecca Henderson," *Lesbian Connection* (September/October 2014), 48.

collective and had a say in day-to-day decisions.[68] Ellie, an elementary school teacher with a regular salary, contributed the most towards buying the land, and in turn, was given an existing house on the plot. In contrast, Rose, part of the living collective, did not want any permanent ties to Arf and lived in a tipi. Collective ownership, practiced extensively throughout the phenomenon of lesbian land, allowed women to own land who probably would not have been able to afford real estate as sole buyers. In this way, lesbian landers rejected the system of capitalism by transforming relations of ownership. Yet, in order to make the just under 500 dollar monthly payment, Arf women, who identified as working-class, hired out their labor as taxi drivers, tutors, construction workers, dish washers, and took in clothes for alterations. They hitched rides with neighbors and lesbians living nearby into Santa Fe for work. Close proximity to employment opportunities in Santa Fe permitted inhabitants to sustain themselves financially. Arf lesbians wished to develop an autonomous existence, but remained dependent upon nearby urban markets. The women of Arf practiced a flexible definition of separatism through their organization of community living rather than communal, allowance for private housing structures, and inclusion of male children and guests. Arf is a successful example of an intentional land community and one of the few remaining communities today.

An unsuccessful example is Oquitadas Feminist Farm established by Elaine Mikels in 1972. Mikels first moved to New Mexico in 1969 when her niece, Lisa Law, a photographer of and a participant in the counterculture movement, invited her to take care of an adobe home

[68] For additional examples on how lesbians subvert convention housing, see J. Egerton, "Out But Not Down: Lesbians' Experiences of Housing," *Feminist Review,* 35 (1990): 75-88 and Sophie Watson with Helen Austerberry, *Housing and Homelessness: A Feminist Perspective* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986).

and farm on ten acres in Truchas.[69] Mikels accepted the invitation and left city life for the country. She moved in with her dog Muffin and began a daily routine of building a fire, fetching water from a stream, feeding animals, chopping wood, and maintaining the property. As Mikels honed new abilities, she contributed articles to *Country Women* sharing her new skill set with other urban-to-rural migrants.[70] Invigorated by working the land at Truchas, and inspired by two lesbians friends, Bea and Ellen, who had moved from San Francisco, California to Taos and built their own adobe house, Mikels sought out her own property in New Mexico. She found a house and a small piece of land ten miles north of Taos.[71] She cultivated and sold organic produce and purchased goats and chickens to supplement her income.[72] Mikels enjoyed her farm and country life, but felt isolated from other lesbians. When she met a lesbian named Gayle from Albuquerque the two decided to turn Mikels property into lesbian land. They recruited other women to join by posting announcements in lesbian publications. Eleven lesbians from Oregon heeded the call.

Despite the promise of the endeavor, tensions immediately arose at Oquitadas Feminist Farm. Some of the new collective members wanted freedom to be themselves in safe, private places and to experiment with erotic lesbian expression including public nudity, polyamorous relationships, and various degrees of public sexual acts. Having lived in New Mexico, Mikels was sensitive to the conservative Hispano Catholic population who were their neighbors and she feared open displays of same-sex affection might instigate "acts of vandalism by young Hispanic

[69] Law's family had just purchased the property, but could not immediately move and needed a caretaker.
[70] Elaine Mikels, "Adobe House," *Country Women* (January 1974).
[71] Elaine Mikels, *Just Lucky I Guess: From Closet Lesbian to Radical Dyke* (Santa Fe, NM: Desert Crone Press, 1994), 189.
[72] Mikels also received rent from property she owned in San Francisco.

men who resented the influx of hippie-type Anglos and lesbians."[73] The north-central part of the state contained a sizeable number of Hispano Catholics and lesbianism within these communities was censured.[74] For example, Hispana lesbian couple Rosa Montoya and Nadine Armijo established a lesbian household across the street from Armijo's Catholic family in Corrales, ten miles northwest of Albuquerque.[75] They monitored their public sexual expression never engaging in physical or emotional affection with each other in front of other people even in their own home.[76] Silence allowed Armijo and Montoya room for sexual exploration, as long as they sublimated their erotic desires in public. "Everybody knows that we are gay, but we don't want to advertise it," justified Montoya.[77] Mikels cognizant of these arrangements, wished to respect the local culture. Mikels built herself a separate house on the property to help alleviate some of the conflict, but the situation failed to improve and Mikels eventually asked the women to leave. Oquitadas folded.

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[73] Mikels, *Just Lucky I Guess,* 203. Also see Sherry L. Smith who discusses acts of violence against hippies in her book *Hippies, Indians and the Fight for Red Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 133–5. A backlash against hippies occurred in the late 1960s, see Keith Green, "Hippie Problem Stirs More Local Groups to Investigate," *Taos News* (March 20, 1969) reprinted in Iris Keltz, *Scrapbook of a Taos Hippie: Tribal Tales from the Heart of a Cultural Revolution* (El Paso, TX: Cinco Puntos Press, 2000); "Toaseno Dislikes Hippies," *Taos News* (May 23, 1969), and "Telling it Like it Isn't," *Fountain of Light* (October 1969), 5.

[74] Carol Jensen, "Roman Catholicism in Modern New Mexico: A Commitment to Survive," in *Religion in Modern New Mexico,* eds. Ferenc M. Szasz and Richard W. Etulain (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 1.

[75] In 1710, the village of Corrales was established as an early Spanish agricultural settlement. Spanish settlers farmed small-irrigated plots and pastured livestock. During World War One, Corrales' population loomed just over five hundred and inhabitants still practiced subsistence agriculture. Relatives lived close together and families divided land plots into smaller block patterns. By 1970, many Nuevomexicanos left Corrales and Anglos began to settle in the area. The population rose to fifteen hundred. For a history of Corrales, see Alvar W. Carlson, "The Community of Corrales," in *Four Centuries of New Mexico's Rio Arriba* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 189–202.

[76] Transcript Nadine Armijo and Rosa Montoya, Box 43, Folder 6, Adair Papers, SFPL.

[77] Armijo's story is revealed through the Mariposa Film Company's widely circulated and highly acclaimed *Word is Out.* "Nadine Armijo," *Word is Out,* DVD.

As Oquitadas demonstrates, women's communities remained small and often failed, yet in these spaces lesbians dictated their economic, social, and political circumstances.[78] Lesbian feminists who moved to lesbian land challenged social structures, fostered a culture of resistance, and sustained a radical edge to feminist politics. Many viewed how they lived their personal lives as a political statement. Pelican Lee, who moved to women's communities in New Mexico, embraced her lesbian identity during her participation in the New Left in the 1960s. She participated in hippie communes in northern California and believed that living self-sufficiently on land embodied a political act. Her political identity expanded beyond her lifestyle as evidenced by her coordination of grassroots level workshops to help combat racism in the state and engagement in direct political action through the organization, Women for Survival (WFS), an anti-nuclear group of feminists and lesbians centered in Santa Fe.[79] WFS recognized:

> that the nuclear industry is threatening the survival of cultures that are still close to the land and much less dependent on exploitative industrial technology than Anglo culture in America. . . Therfore (sic) we are directing our energy toward supporting these cultures and people in their fight for sovereignty, self-determination, and survival, and opposing all forms of racism, colonialism, and genocide.[80]

Southern New Mexicans dealt with issues of radioactive military waste disposal while northern New Mexicans, especially in the Four Corners Area, protested uranium mining and strip mining of coal and all of these areas were largely inhabited by Nuevomexicanos and Native

[78] Echols, *Daring to be Bad,* 281 and Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 239.
[79] For a general overview of feminism and anti-nuclear politics, see Dorothy Nelkin, "Nuclear Power as a Feminist Issue," *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* vol. 23, issue 1 (1981): 14–39. Rutgers Gay Alliance, "Nuclear Power is a Gay Issue, Too," clipping in Subject File: Separatism 12860, LHA.
[80] "Women for Survival," n.d., Geographic File: New Mexico, LHA.

Americans.[81] WFS, part of the umbrella organization the Mt. Taylor Alliance, a coalition of Indian, Chicano, environmental, and anti-nuclear groups, provoked statewide action, in the form of demonstrations and the dissemination of information.[82] Lesbian feminists cooperated, coordinated, and protested alongside with ethnoracial minorities in an effort to protect natural lands from exploitative destruction and to preserve different cultural ways of living. In New Mexico, lesbian feminists continued radical politics through the intertwining of class, race, gender, sexual orientation, and the environment. WFS dedicated itself to fighting isms: "We recognize that not one of us is free until all of us is free; that we will not be free as women and lesbians until all races, cultures, and communities are free."[83] These women developed critiques of political movements founded on strategies that isolated race, sex, class, and homophobia as singularly important.

The social movement of lesbian land– made up of loosely connected individuals, networks, and associations– advocated for sexual freedom in private, rural spaces. The desire of lesbians, who largely congregated in the northern part of the state, to select and build a life closely attached to sexual identity broadened the scope of open same-sex couples beyond an urban context and paved the way for closeted rural gay men and lesbians to come out. Even when women no longer lived on lesbian land, they continued to identify with the country. Raven, a disabled Jewish lesbian who lived on land for fifteen years mainly in New Mexico, had to move off-land when her health declined. She moved in with another lesbian in Santa Fe, but continued to refer to herself as a 'country dyke' when writing for *Maize*. In this way, Raven

[81] Clipping, Box 3, Folder 12, Hill Papers, CSWR.
[82] American Indian Environmental Council and Mt. Taylor Alliance Newsletter, Box 3, Folder 12, Hill Papers, CSWR.
[83] "Women for Survival," Geographic File: New Mexico, LHA.

stayed connected to lesbian land. While lesbian land cultivated a transient population, drawing migrants to New Mexico and contributing to the state's long history of sexual migration, some settled in the state and helped knit a collective gay consciousness. Kybele lived on women's land north of Tesuque for six years. In 1987, she moved to Tesuque and started a business called Life Force Energies with her partner Shirley Gabriel.[84] Kathleen "Harpy" Brandenburg, from Ohio, came to New Mexico to live on women's land in 1976. She later purchased a house with her lover in Canyoncito, and operated Mountain Mama Packing and Riding Company in Santa Fe that offered trail riding, horseback instruction, and pack trips mainly for tourists, lesbians, families, and gay men.[85] These migrants and others had a prominent presence in the development of Santa Fe's open gay and lesbian community especially as business owners.

Some gay men similarly used urban-to-rural migration to explore new ways of conceptualizing gay male identity, cultural formation, and political activism.[86] In their downtown Los Angeles home, partners Harry Hay and John Burnside began to consider a life outside of the city especially after they founded the small organization the Circle of Loving Companions (Circle) in 1965. The Circle, one of many groups comprising the growing gay liberation movement, functioned as a non-hierarchal service organization that, mainly through research, attempted to add insights into what it meant to live as a homosexual. Hay and Burnside researched history, paleontology, ethology, genetics, and neurobiology in order to understand the origin and nature of gay desire. They co-authored and circulated a pamphlet entitled *The Circle of Loving*

[84] Dorothy Whitcomb, "Sponsor Spotlight," *Common Sense* (March 1988), 3.
[85] Whitcomb, "Sponsor Spotlight," 13.
[86] For a discussion of reverse migration, see Boag, "Gay Male Rural-Urban Migration in the American West," and Kirkey and Forsyth, "Men in the Valley," 421–41.

Companions on the historical origins of homosexuality.[87] Hay continued to conduct research on the questions: "Who are we? Where did we come from? What are we for?" which had preoccupied him since the founding of the Mattachine Foundation in 1950 and currently absorbed his newly founded Circle.[88] As his quest for knowledge continued, Hay looked to Native two-spirit traditions to answer his questions.[89] He believed that indigenous cultures in which gender differences were integral to the tribe's structure could be used as models of how to recognize and appreciate gayness. Traditionally, many Native American cultures understood gender dissimilarly from the western binary. Tribes embraced third and fourth genders based on the spirit within.

Hay's fascination with American Indians began in his youth when he joined a boys' group called the Western Rangers where he spent long stretches of time in nature and studied American Indian life.[90] Fascination transitioned into activism in the spring of 1967, when he and Burnside joined the Committee for Traditional Indian Land and Life. The committee, comprised of non-Indian artists and activists, provided support for Indian traditionalists and worked under the guidance of Native people.[91] Hay and Burnside allied with Native Americans during the Red

[87] Circle of Loving Companions pamphlet, October 1966, Box 1, Folder 60, Harry Hay Papers, 1867-2002, Coll2011.003, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles, California (Hereafter Hay Papers, ONE).

[88] Brochure to "Gay People for Social and Political Equality" for the Silver Jubilee of Mattachine by the Circle of Loving Companions on July 10, 1975 (NM), Box 1, Folder 60, Hay Papers, ONE.

[89] Rediscovery and reinvention of gay American Indians began in 1975 in San Francisco with the birth of Gay American Indians, a space where gay and lesbian Native Americans expressed concern over their status in predominately white gay and lesbian communities and with the publications of Native Americans' coming out narratives. See for example Allen, "Beloved Woman," 65–67. On Gay American Indians see Will Roscoe, "Gay American Indians: Creating an Identity From Past Traditions," *The Advocate* (October 29, 1985), 46.

[90] Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay,* 28.

[91] A letter Hay wrote to his friend explains the group and his involvement. See Harry Hay letter to Chuck Rowland, circa 1970s, Box 1, Folder 77, Hay Papers, ONE. Non-Natives creating alliances with Native Americans existed since the nineteenth century and continued in the twentieth. In the nineteenth

Power movement to help them achieve treaty rights, sovereignty, and self-determination.[92] They participated in the Committee for Traditional Indian Land and Life and offered their kaleidoscope factory as its headquarters.[93] Hay's interest in and activism with Indian rights influenced his decision to move to New Mexico. Additionally, Hay had vacationed in New Mexico, had several friends that lived there, and wished to ease the financial burden of living in Los Angeles. Hay claimed that his strongest drive to move to New Mexico stemmed from his desire to bring gay liberation to the state.[94] Hay wrote in a letter published in *Fag Rag/Gay Sunshine* that "the circle came out here (NM) to go to work on the problem of how to slip the albatross of *El Macho* from the necks of Gay Indian and Chicano brothers, and help them enter the New World of Gay Lib since no one else seemed to dig the enormous 1950s-style culture-gap that separates their expectations from ours."[95] Here, Hay illustrates an Anglo-centric interpretation of gay liberation even though he deeply investigated cultural conceptions of sexuality outside of his own race. He lacked direct knowledge of Hispano and Native cultures,

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century, Anglo Americans assumed leadership roles in Native issues. By the 1960s, this power dynamic shifted and Native Americans insisted on control and speaking for themselves assisted by non-Native allies. See Joanne Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press 1996) and Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power*.

[92] For information on the Committee For Traditional Indian Land and Life see, Brian D. Haley, "Unexpected Histories: Hippies, Hopis, and Ammon Hennacy," The 19th Annual Susan Sutton Smith Award for Academic Excellence Lecture, SUNY College at Oneonta, April 18, 2013, accessed October 10, 2014, http://www.academia.edu/3158314/Unexpected_Histories_Hippies_Hopis_and_Ammon_Hennacy. For scholarship on Red Power, see Troy R. Johnson, *The Occupation of Alcatraz Island: Indian Self-Determination and the Rise of Indian Activism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture*; Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton, 1996), and Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power.*

[93] John Burnside operated an independent business called California Kaleidoscopes in which he manufactured his own kaleidoscope invention, a kaleidoscope that lacked glass chips and instead turned the image viewed from the device into a symmetrical mandala. Burnside brought his business to New Mexico, but an accidental fire destroyed it in 1973 and he never rebuilt.

[94] Hay did not bring gay liberation to New Mexico. It already existed as several students on the campus of the University of New Mexico formed the Gay Liberation Front in the Fall of 1970.

[95] Newspaper clipping in Box 1, Folder 60, Hay Papers, ONE.

having not grown up in these communities, and thus never successfully found a way to bring them into his vision of gay politics although he tried.[96] On the other hand, Hay certainly worked toward an intercultural and interracial movement while living in New Mexico through his involvement in multiple grassroots politics. Hay volunteered for a radical newspaper, *El Grito* (*The Cry*) aimed at a Native and Hispano readership, took a leading role in a water rights campaign to prevent the federal government from damming the Rio Grande, and networked with gay men and lesbians in an attempt to form a cohesive movement for gay and lesbian civil rights in the state.[97]

In May of 1970, Hay and Burnside relocated to an adobe compound near San Juan Pueblo in New Mexico (now called Ohkay Owingeh).[98] Hay listed the Circle as a public organization making it the first gay group in the northern part of the state. While the Circle remained small, friends of Hay and Burnside were often the only members, Hay's insights into the origins of same-sex desire became the springboard for a larger and more influential gay men's spirituality movement.[99] Only a few New Mexicans joined the Circle. Alejandro Lopez saw the listing, joined, and befriended Hay and Burnside.[100] The other two local New Mexicans who affiliated with the Circle met Hay through a grassroots political campaign over water rights. In 1962, the federal Bureau of Reclamation initiated a project proposal for the Llano Unit, popularly known as the El Llano Canal Project. The project called for the construction of a dam

[96] Hay's claim is not entirely correct. The gay liberation movement was mainly white but more multiracial than the earlier homophile movements. Third World Gay Revolution formed in 1970, an offshoot of a caucus for people of color in Gay Liberation Front, New York. In its wake, Third World Revolutions formed in Chicago. The organizations were short lived, but followed by additional organizing efforts of queers of color.
[97] Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay,* 233–312.
[98] Ohkay Owingeh, accessed November 1, 2014, http://www.indianpueblo.org/19pueblos/ohkayowingeh.html.
[99] Hay and Roscoe, *Radically Gay,* 138–148 and Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay,* 239–40.
[100] Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay,* 263.

just north of Velarde that would divert Rio Grande waters for delivery to the Santa Cruz River. Local community members gathered to launch opposition to building the dam as they feared the possibility of inequitable water distribution and the inability to irrigate their fruit orchards and fields during low flow summer months. During an *acequia* council meeting, Hay connected with another local gay man involved in the campaign whose family operated a farm in Velarde.[101] Through this introduction, John Ciddio and his partner Pat Gutierrez joined the Circle. Historian Stuart Timmons argues that Hay's political experience proved invaluable to the campaign as locals adopted Hay's suggestion to start a bilingual newspaper *La Voz Del Rio/The Voice of the River* and an umbrella group, the Association of Communities United to Protect the Rio Grande both devoted to the cause. Despite Hay's assistance with the campaign, his open homosexuality clashed with traditional values in the area. Hay recalled that he and Burnside were asked to not attend a fundraiser because locals worried that the two men would dance together at the event. The grassroots campaign succeeded in convincing the state government to convene a House-Senate Joint Committee Conference in order to negotiate a compromise and resulted in the Bureau of Reclamation Commissioner terminating the project.[102] Like the lesbian landers who joined WFS, Hay worked on behalf of hundreds of local New Mexicans and demonstrated his commitment to progressive politics. Moreover, Hay's open homosexuality exposed a conservative Hispano population to new ways of expressing sexual orientation, even though there was resistance to Hay's openness.

[101] *Acequias* are communal irrigation canals.
[102] Tom Sharpe, "El Llano Alternative Suggested," *The New Mexican* (November 7, 1975). José A Rivera, *Acequia Culture Water, Land, and Community in the Southwest* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 153–5.

Additionally, Hay participated in the nascent gay liberation movement in Albuquerque, which began in the fall of 1970 with the establishment of a chapter of the Gay Liberation Front on the campus of the University of New Mexico. In conjunction with Katherine Davenport, Hay founded an organization called the Lambdas de Santa Fe in 1977 in order to address gay bar harassment, and was a featured speaker at the first pride parade in Albuquerque.[103] Hay, one of twenty-five participants at the parade, conducted a speech and presented his radical new theories on "gay consciousness" to New Mexican gay men and lesbians. While living in New Mexico, Hay spent much of his time writing theories on "gay consciousness" in which he argued that gays and lesbians as "a separate people" had "unique contributions to make to the straight world."[104] Mimicking lesbian separatism, Hay believed gay men needed to discover homosexuality (especially creative growth and spirit) without the imposition of heterosexual norms. Hay's speech addressed the rise of the new right and the need for coalition politics to combat them: "A coalition of America's Scapegoat Minorities, working on consensus, can become a real force not only for holding the line against regression but for the grassroots impetus towards constructive social change." Hay's development of an analysis that linked sexism, racism, and homophobia resonated with the lingering radical contingent of gay liberation politics in New Mexico. Hay went on to explore how "all Gays, women and men alike, had to learn to look at their world through the Hetero window using hetero-evolved language and hetero-male-evolved patterns of thought."[105] As a result, gay men and lesbians viewed their world through the gay window – a shared perspective that linked all gay men and women

[103] "Gay People in Santa Fe Begin to Organize" *Seer's* vol. 6 no 18 (March 25–April 1, 1977) and Peter Katel, "Local GLF plans first activity," *Daily Lobo,* vol. 74, no. 114 (April 1, 1971), 2.
[104] Harry Hay, "Gay Liberation Chapter Two," Box 1, Folder 16, Hay Papers, ONE.
[105] Harry Hay, "Remarks on the Albuquerque Gay Pride Rally," 1977 Box 1, Folder 17, Hay Papers, ONE.

together. Not everyone bought into Hay's radical theories. "The gay window idea sounds just a little mystical," commented Bill after the rally, "but I hear in it an idea of homosexuality as being something more than a description of who you're having sex with– that homosexuality may be an attitude."[106] In the feminist lesbian community the phrase 'woman-identified-woman' implied an ideology rather than a simple sexual preference. Hay articulated a counterpart that embraced both genders. As the gay liberation movement sought to crystallize specific problems related to sexual identity and ways in which to combat them, radical ideas continued to ferment in gay and lesbian liberation politics. In particular, Hay attempted to bridge divisions between lesbian feminists and male gay liberationists by giving them a unified conception of oppression.

Other then these intersections with gay liberation and a few connections with local New Mexicans in rural areas, Hay's presence failed to transform New Mexico into a gay liberation stronghold and his theories on gay consciousness never rallied much local support, but did influence a larger cohort of gay men outside of the state. Several men, including Arthur Evans, Mitch Walker, and Harry Hay, informed the gay consciousness movement which rejected gay assimilation and instead celebrated the differences that separate gay people from heterosexuals and according to Hay, included a spiritual sensibility and multifaceted gender conceptions.[107] Hay hoped that he would find further information on spirituality and gender at some of the nearby Pueblos, but he failed to encounter any new knowledge on two-spirits while living in New Mexico. He did, however, borrow from both the lesbian land model in New Mexico in order to conceptualize the Radical Faeries.

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[106] J.K. Finer and Beth Wood, "The Closets Aren't Empty- the Street Aren't Easy," news clipping in Strong Papers, NYPL.

[107] Arthur Evans, *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture: A Radical View of Western Civilization and Some of the People It Has Tried to Destroy* (Boston: Fag Rag Books, 1978).

The idea behind the Radical Faeries was to provide gay men with a method (rural retreats and natural sanctuaries) for finding spiritual fulfillment, outside of the Christian religion, and a sense of belonging to a gay community.[108] Here, Hay borrowed from feminism and lesbian separatist communities. Hay had made friends with two lesbian landers, Lily and Hawk, and they started a discussion group where Hay learned about the structure of New Mexico lesbian land and retreats held in the mountains. Northern New Mexico offered a secluded place available to lesbian land residents and the larger local lesbian population to gather. For instance, inhabitants opened up Arf for feminist events such as the Summer Solstice and advertised in local feminist publications.[109] While the discussion group of Hay, Burnside, Lily, and Hawk, only lasted six weeks, the idea of convening a conference in nature, which lesbians did frequently in New Mexico, inspired Hay.

The concept for the Radical Faeries grew when Hay's idea intrigued two gay liberationists Don Kilhefner and Mitch Walker. In the fall of 1969, Hay and Kilhefner first met at a Gay Liberation Front meeting in Los Angeles while Walker learned about Hay through a mutual friend, gay activist Matthew Rush, who had lived in New Mexico. Kilhefner travelled to New Mexico to visit Hay, and while "sitting on the banks of the Rio Grande for long hours at a time, we engaged in vigorous and far-reaching discussions about what was working and what was not working with the ten-year-old gay liberation movement. We both saw the slow encroachment of bourgeois gay assimilation- with its lack of vision, imagination, and audacity- as having a

[108] Those who identify with the movement author much of the literature written on the Radical Faeries. For example, Thompson, ed., *The Fire in Moonlight;* Kilhefner, "The Radical Faeries at Thirty (+ One)," 17–21; Douglas Sadownick, "The 'Secret' Story of the Radical Faeries," *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide* 18 (February 2011): 29–31; Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us.* The exception is Rifkin's short critique in *When Did Indians Become Straight,* 233–5.
[109] "Summer Solstice at A.R.F.," *Sisterlode* vol. v, no. 4 (June/July 1984) 19.

suffocating effect."[110] From its very beginnings, the modern gay liberation movement contained divergent views on strategy, organization, and the scope of its political agenda especially the tension between those who sought a radical undercurrent of social constructions of sexuality and gender against those who desired entry into the existing political and economic order. Surrounded by dozens of communities in the vicinity of Taos, Hay and Kilhefner found inspiration for new gay liberation models in the communes of New Mexico. In addition to spending time with lesbian landers, Hay and Burnside visited Lama Foundation, a spiritual community, "dedicated to the awakening of consciousness, spiritual practice with respect for all traditions, service, and stewardship of the land."[111] Radical conceptualizations of alternative lifestyles and politics abounded in New Mexico and provided fodder for Hay's Radical Faerie vision. Kilhefner and Walker joined the Circle, which flowered into the Radical Faeries in 1979. The group decided to embark on a new direction of gay liberation by calling a conference of like-minded gay men to confer in nature.[112] The men organized a rural gathering in Benson, Arizona, at the Sri Ram Ashram Desert Sanctuary. Two hundred urban men heeded the call and explored their sexuality and spirituality as gay men. The event marked a trend among some urban gay men who wished to utilize a broad sexual landscape that existed across urban and rural regions.

Hay proclaimed at the Arizona conference that gay men were "shedding the ugly green frog-skin of hetero imitation" and faeries adopted the phrase as the groups' mantra.[113] During

[110] Kilhefner, "The Radical Faeries at Thirty (+ One)."
[111] Oral history interview with Jonathan Altaman (one of the founders of Lama) November 12, 2005, transcript, Box 1, Folder 2, The Lama Foundation Oral History Project, CSWR.
[112] Hay came up with the name Radical Faerie. Hay used "radical" to mean "root" and "politically/culturally extreme," and the word "faerie," to allude to both the pejorative connotation of effeminate masculinity but also to magical spirits. Hay hoped the term would further the view of gay people possessing unique and separate contributions.
[113] Harry Hay, Circle of Loving Companions, Open Letter, March 26, 1979, Box 1, Folder 60, Hay Papers, ONE.

faerie gatherings, men discovered whom they might be, how they might perform through talk, walk, and dress if removed from the shadow of heterosexuality and safe from the threat of homophobia. Gay men explored their consciousness first through a personal evolution during faerie circles. After the conference, radical faeries continued to create sacred spaces in nature for gay men to nurture their spirituality and promote anti-assimilationist ideologies of gay liberation. A smaller group within the larger movement of faeries, committed to forming a permanent land community for gay men and established Nomenus.[114] Members also developed Radical Faeries sanctuaries throughout the U.S. including one in the Zuni Mountains of New Mexico that still operates today.[115]

While some faeries borrowed from the separatist feminist sensibility, advocating distance from mainstream culture in order to nurture gayness, other faeries embraced transforming the larger world and making it safe for greater expression of gender and sexual variance. The movement appropriated heavily from the countercultural imperative of finding ones essence to provide a grounding for everyday actions and the focus of political work. The noble objectives of the radical faeries helped to inspire a rethinking of gay consciousness for some dedicated to gay liberation, but this evolution of thought largely took place within a small circle of white urban men. Henry Holmes, a radical faerie of color, believes that the organization has failed to reach more non-white men because "images, symbols, words and concepts embodied in calls to Gatherings . . . are predominantly white ethnocentric."[116] Still, it is important to acknowledge marginalized, non-urban, radical gay liberation identities, cultures,

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[114] Information on the formation of Nomenus are contained in the Will Roscoe papers and Gay American Indians records, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, San Francisco, California.
[115] Zuni Mountain Sanctuary, accessed on September 24, 2013, http://www.zms.org/.
[116] Henry Holmes, "Into the Woods," in *The Fire in Moonlight: Stories from the Radical Faeries 1975-2010*, ed. Mark Thompson (Brooklyn, NY: White Crane Books, 2011), 206.

and activism because it connects gay liberation to intersecting movements of feminism, the counterculture movement, and other organized efforts to achieve social and economic justice. As the gay liberation movement exited its radical phase, some, like the radical faeries and lesbian landers, still committed to progressive politics and offered alternative viewpoints to dominant cultural mores instead of assimilationist politics that pushed to include gay men and lesbians as part of dominant cultural practices and institutions. On the other hand, lesbian landers and radical faeries used an anti-urban rhetoric to create communities that in practice possessed only an imagined connection to rural, lower class, and gay men and lesbians of color. The largest failure of these rural intentional communities, sanctuaries, and organizations are that they failed to administer to and include lesbians and gay men already living in rural spaces.

In contrast to land lesbians and radical faeries whom engaged in sexually open and politically radical lives, rural and small-town lesbians and gay men lived partially open or completely closeted lives. Yet, Nadine Armijo's quiet defiance in establishing a lesbian household across the street from her Catholic family in the small town of Corrales is equally brave.[117] Armijo's story is revealed through the Mariposa Film Company's widely circulated and highly acclaimed *Word is Out.*[118] In the 1970s, filmmakers Peter and Nancy Adair and Veronica Selver conducted interviews with New Mexican gay men and lesbians who agreed to participate in the first feature length documentary about lesbian and gay identity made by gay filmmakers.

[117] Transcript Nadine Armijo and Rosa Montoya, Box 43, Folder 6, Adair Papers SFPL.

[118] It is not entirely clear why Adair selected Armijo. Adair did have a personal connection to New Mexico. His father was an anthropologist who studied the Zuni and Navajo and Adair grew up in the state. On growing up in New Mexico Adair stated, "Being in the minority, and sometimes the only white kid around, started me looking at everything from the eyes of an outsider, so in a sense, all my films, even if they are about my peers, are cultural studies." As a filmmaker, Adair strove to include diversity in his interviewee selections for *Word it Out*. See David W. Dunlap, "Peter Adair, 53, Director, Dies; Made Films With Gay Themes, *New York Times,* June 20, 1996, accessed August 24, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/06/30/us/peter-adair-53-director-dies-made-films-with-gay-themes.html

Harry Hay and his partner John Burnside and Nadine Armijo and her partner Rosa Montoya appeared in the film.[119] Armijo and Montoya's interview provides a rare glimpse into a Hispana lesbian couples experience living in Corrales. Armijo's family possessed deep roots in the village of Corrales.[120] Her relatives lived close together on a family plot of land divided into smaller blocks. By 1970, many farming Nuevomexicano families left Corrales and Anglos began to settle in the area causing the population to increase to fifteen hundred. Only seven Nuevomexicano farming families still lived in the area including Armijo's family who harvested orchards. Longtime residents characterized Corrales as quasi-rural, "Compared to 50 years ago, the rural character of Corrales is indeed changed, but compared to most suburban areas, it is still rural."[121] Despite Corrales' close proximity to Albuquerque, Armijo and Montoya spent most of their time in the small village.

Armijo used the film as a safe arena to discuss her sexuality, a topic off limits within her community.[122]Armijo first expresses her inability to communicate her lesbian desires to her family, "It's been kind of hard here in Corrales for me. . . The folks you know. I never told them." She describes her family as "typical Chicanos . . that it is really bad to be gay."[123] In her longer interview, which never made it into the final film, Armijo narrates her coming out process and her self-imposed exile from Corrales when she temporarily moved to Albuquerque in order to

[119] "Nadine Armijo," *Word is Out,* DVD.
[120] In the village of Corrales, relatives lived close together and families divided land plots into smaller block patterns. For a history of Corrales, see Alvar W. Carlson, "The Community of Corrales," in *Four Centuries of New Mexico's Rio Arriba* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 189–202.
[121] Corrales resident quoted in Carlson, "The Community of Corrales," in *Four Centuries of New Mexico's Rio Arriba,* 202.
[122] It is difficult to ascertain if Armijo's family ever knew about her participation in the film. I would venture that they did not as the documentary never aired in Albuquerque and despite its New Mexico connections was seldom referenced in the local gay and lesbian press. Armijo passed away in 1987 and I have been unsuccessful in locating her lesbian partner.
[123] Nadine Armijo Pre-Interviews VHS, Box 58, Adair Papers, SFPL.

meet other lesbians. Armijo's mother confronted her daughter about the reason she left. This was the only time her mother used the word lesbian and condemned Armijo for breaching her commitment to the family. Armijo returned to Corrales after a few years, and even though she moved into a house across the street from her parents and siblings with her lover, she revived her religious and familial obligations by attending mass and family dinners on a weekly basis. Her relatives ignored the sexual aspect of her relationship and accepted her partner, Montoya. Silence allowed Armijo room for sexual exploration, as long as she sublimated her erotic desires in public. According to sociologist Mary Gray, in rural towns, residents partially tolerated homosexuality if it quietly existed and did not interfere with one's commitment to family and community.[124] Due to such constraints, the couple created a home-centered life: "We don't go out much like to the bars. We stay here. Rosa studies. I read. We go for walks. We play ball. Go fishing sometimes. Play with the dogs. Take her to the park. Sometimes I go horseback riding or I go pick apples with my cousin. I help him pick apples. They have a big orchard."[125] Despite restrictions, Armijo and Montoya identified as out lesbians because everyone in town knew they lived together.

Other than this interview, it is difficult to uncover the historic lives of Hispana lesbians, let alone those who lived in rural regions or small towns. Because Hispana lesbians could face a painful coming out process and often encountered total rejection from their families and close-knit communities, they have largely written about their lesbianism in fictional terms.[126]

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[124] Gray, *Out in the Country*.
[125] "Nadine Armijo," *Word is Out,* DVD.
[126] Early examples include, Jo Carrillo, "Maria Littlebear," in *Lesbian Fiction: An Anthology*, ed. Elly Bulkin (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981), 17-23; Rocky Gamez, "From The Gloria Stories," *Conditions* 7 (1981): 50-56; Estela Portillo Trambley, "The Day of the Swallows" *El Grito,* vol. 4, no. 3 (Spring 1971), 4–47; Naomi Littlebear Morena, *Survivors: A Lesbian Rock Opera* reprinted as "Coming Out Queer and Brown" in *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology* (London: Only Women Press, 1988), 345–347.

Academic Catriona Rueda Esquibel analyzes Jo Carrillo's short fiction story "Maria Littlebear," about a lesbian partnership in northern New Mexico in the 1940s and 50s, in order to understand Hispana lesbians. Esquibel states, "I like to imagine this story as an oral history in which an interviewer asks Maria, 'What was it like for lesbians during this time?'"[127] In a fictional imagining of coming out, author Jo Carrillo through the character Maria Littlebear narrates the lesbian love story of Littlebear and her partner Elisa Alvarado. Alverado's *abuelita* discovers their lesbian relationship and reacts in the following manner: ". . . she cried and cried. . . . After at least a week of crying and a month of penance she clamed down. Like nothing ever happened. Ay! She just came into our kitchen – we were living together then – plopped down a bag of flour and started to make tortillas."[128] The grandmother making tortillas signifies her acceptance of the relationship but is also a play on words *las tortilleras* (lesbians). As Carrillo's story illustrates, Hispanic lesbians negotiate lesbian identity within family structures, as did Armijo and Montoya.

There are more accounts of white gay men's experiences growing up in rural New Mexico. During the fifties and sixties, in the southwestern region of New Mexico, Ronald Donaghe grew up on a farm in Deming, a small town populated by ranchers, farmers, and agricultural businessmen. " . . . I grew up in a large family, did chores on the farm, went to a country school of about 110 children from first grade to eighth grade," Donaghe recollects. "I was bullied as a grade school and junior high student. I was teased for being a sissy. There were a few incidences when I was physically assaulted, and I had to endure constant teasing and

[127] Catriona Rueda Esquibel, "My History, Not Yours: The Fictional Autobiography of Maria Littlebear," in Lourdes Torres and Inmaculada Perpetusa-Seva, *Tortilleras: Hispanic and U.S. Latina Lesbian Expression* (Temple University Press, 2003).
[128] Carrillo, "Maria Littlebear," 43.

ridicule from most of my classmates."[129] Delmas Howe, who grew up in Hot Springs, New Mexico (now called Truth or Consequences), experienced a similar upbringing. Howe "felt inferior because I was gay. . . I mean I grew up - - as all my peers did - - my generation - - in a time when homosexual wasn't a word that was even uttered. And being queer was a terrible thing."[130] Like Dongahe, Howe was marked as the "local sissy" and chased "around the school yard by football bullies."[131] These two men shared the experience of harassment and bullying in their hometowns.[132]

Both men moved away for college, joined the military, and settled in cities, but neither felt content in large urban areas and each moved back to their hometowns in the 1980s. Neither knew if their gay identities would be accepted. After a painful break-up with a partner, Donaghe needed to heal and for him that meant returning to southwestern New Mexico near the Florida Mountains and vast stretches of desert, which he describes as " soul-cleansing."[133] After living for two decades in New York, Howe yearned for a country life and realized he needed "to go back to my roots" and to 'those cowboy memories." Howe had channeled his southwest ranching background into his career as an artist and produces 'gay cowboy art,' which celebrates cowboy masculinity.[134] In 1984, when Howe relocated to his hometown, of about 8,000

[129] Email correspondence with Ronald Donaghe by author December 5, 2013 and follow-up emails with Ronald Donaghe by author, August 2014. See also Ronald Donaghe, *My Year of Living Heterosexually and Other Adventures in Hell: 1972* (San Jose, California: Writers Club Press, 2000).
[130] Delmas Howe quoted in Matt Sneddon, *The Truth or Consequences of Delmas Howe*, Documentary, (2004).
[131] Lester Strong interview with Delmas Howe November 29, 1997 transcript, Box 3, Folder 21, Strong Papers, NYPL.
[132] Studies by the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), an organization that has conducted eight biennial reports on the school experiences of LGBT youth in schools, have indicated that rural gay and lesbian students are even more likely than their urban and suburban peers to be harassed and bullied in school. See http://www.glsen.org/nscs#sthash.a2ReTQzI.dpuf
[133] Donaghe, interview.
[134] Lester Strong, "Article Proposal," Box 3, Folder 21, Strong Papers, NYPL.

cowboys, retirees, and ex-hippies, residents welcomed him because of his past connection as a local boy, but his sexual orientation and erotic artwork were not warmly received. Local fundamentalists disrupted Howe's showings of his paintings in local galleries and publicly disparaged him. Nevertheless, Howe's presence in T or C has attracted other artists, writers, and intellectuals, and has assisted the town in acquiring an artists' colony reputation. In addition, three other gay men have come out and the gay "community" gathers together at potlucks. Without bookstores, baths or bars, gay men and lesbians in rural areas create their own institutions often home-centered social activities, like potlucks. Home events also provide a level of privacy and potlucks offer an inexpensive way for gay men to gather.[135] Despite some conflict, Howe feels deeply rooted in T or C and continues to create images celebrating cowboys.

Donaghe outed himself to Deming residents when he agreed to an interview in the Deming *Headlight*, which focused on the publication of his recent book, *Common Sons* (2000). Set in Common, New Mexico (really Deming) the book chronicles two teenage boys, as they discover their gay identity and affection for each other.[136] After his interview, Donaghe feared the worst, but "Nothing bad happened. Instead, I was invited to do a book reading at the local Arts Council and I ended up selling quite a few copies of my book to old classmates. I was stunned because, prior to this, I had assumed that of all places, Deming would be overwhelmingly homophobic, as we assume all small towns are. It was the opposite." After this acceptance, Donaghe "met my current life partner, who was working for his parents in Deming. He bought a copy of *Common Sons* and later we just started dating. We will celebrate our

[135] For a discussion of potlucks, see Kirkey and Forsyth, "Men in the Valley," 421–41.
[136] Ronald Donaghe, *Common Sons: Common Threads in the Life* (San Jose, CA: iUniverse, 2000).

twenty-second year together in January 2014."[137] These narratives first uphold small-towns as homophobic; lesbians and gay men born in the country wrestle with the notion that rural life will always be oppressive for them. When Howe and Dongahe made an urban-to-rural migration, they helped to re-envision the country as a space that was not oppressive, but rather a place where gay men could claim a new public presence.

Each of these identity narratives challenges the spatiality of where gay men and lesbian can create homes. Gay men and lesbians did not need to make a permanent move to a gay-friendly city in order to foster queer identities and create queer cultures and lifestyles. Instead, they sought to reconfigure non-urban spaces to suit their sexual and emotional needs of belonging and shaped the country through movement to-and-from rural areas. Lesbian landers and radical faeries turned a public space, the natural environment, into a private space for sexual expression and defied the notion that the city is sexual while the country is repressive. They blended urbanism and rurality in their visions of feminist and gay liberation politics as seen through their publications and land communities. They played an indispensable part in sustaining the more radical elements of the women's and gay liberation movements in their quest for alternative rural spaces and in their involvement with progressive political causes. Collectively, born and raised country queers and those who became country gays demonstrate how members of an oppressed minority create safe havens and spaces to be themselves.

[137] Donaghe, interview.

CONCLUSION

We got lost coming back to Albuquerque from Santa Fe with some friends. We had been on a day trip. We ended up having lunch over at the Laughing Lizard and we were just sitting there thinking how amazing Jemez Springs was and how beautiful it was and everything. On our way out we picked up a real estate brochure. We had no money and had not been in New Mexico very long. We were living in Albuquerque, renting a place. I went out one day to look at what was available in Jemez Springs. I asked the real estate agent to point me in the direction of the least expensive places. There was one A-frame house up the road and nobody was living there at the time. I sat on the steps of the porch and decided I wanted to move here. The next day I went and traded in the van for a bright red rodeo with four-wheel drive. I figured if we are going to live in the mountains we were going to need four-wheel drive. Two weeks later, we were living in the mountains.[1]

Lesbian couple Therese Councilor and Tanya Struble moved to Jemez Springs in 1992. They met and fell in love two years earlier in Texas and decided to build a life together in New Mexico. Like the bohemian artists and writers of the twenties and thirties and lesbian separatists in the seventies, Councilor and Struble felt drawn to the southwestern landscape and wide-open spaces of New Mexico. The mountain community of Jemez Springs, a tiny village located in a canyon and nestled in the Jemez mountains, offered even more of a visual feast –an endless sky, mountainous peaks, waterfalls, and hot springs. Populated by those who never left and visionaries who trickled in, Jemez contains an eclectic mix of healers, artists, musicians, Catholics, cowboys, priests, and nuns. The town of less than four hundred might seem an unlikely choice for a lesbian couple, but Councilor and Struble not only made Jemez their home, they worked to better the community. They renovated a dilapidated hotel turning it into a thriving business, a mineral bathhouse called Giggling Springs. Councilor served on the Jemez

[1] Therese Councilor quoted in Therese Councilor and Tanya Struble, interview by Jordan Biro, audio recording, Jemez Springs, New Mexico, January 17, 2014, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project. The author has edited this interview.

Springs City Council and Struble on the Village Zoning Committee. Most importantly, they were one of six same-sex couple plaintiffs who filed a lawsuit seeking the freedom to marry in March 2013.[2]

When Councilor and Struble first moved to Jemez in the early '90s they made sacrifices related to their public relationship. As Struble explains: "We were not 'out' out. We lived quietly and people kind of knew," but really, "our intimate life only happened in our house . . . when we first moved here, we told ourselves, and I think we believed it, that we did not want to offend anyone . . . It was out of fear that we did not hold hands in public." In 2012, after Councilor won an Olivia cruise, a travel experience for lesbians, everything changed:

> We went on that and for the first time, it was so different. You did not have to look over your shoulder. You did not have to worry about what someone was thinking. You did not have to be guarded in any way. It took this weight off your shoulders that you did not even know was there. It should be like that everywhere. We should be able to live our lives the way everyone else does on this planet (the straight people) and we did not even know the difference.[3]

Struble added that the cruise "knocked the closet door down."[4] Councilor and Struble decided to make waves. They contacted Amanda Johnson from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to inquire about involvement in the movement for sexual equality and subsequently filed a lawsuit seeking the freedom to marry in New Mexico.[5] The ACLU came to town and hosted a

[2] Micah McCoy, "Meet Our Plaintiffs," American Civil Liberties Union of New Mexico, accessed on December 5, 2013, http://www.aclu-nm.org/meet-our-plaintiffs/2013/10/.
[3] Councilor and Struble, interview.
[4] Ibid.
[5] McCoy, "Meet Our Plaintiffs."

"Why Marriage Matters" event at the local cowboy bar. To their surprise, most of Jemez residents attended and rallied in support of Councilor and Struble.

Councilor and Struble joined with two lesbian couples, Albuquerqueans Miriam Rand and Ona Lara Porter, and Santa Feans Rose Griego and Kim Kiel, who had filed the initial lawsuit in Albuquerque's district court after they applied for and were denied marriage licenses. Native New Mexicans Monica Learning and Cecelia Taulbee, Greg Gomez and A.D. Joplin from Farmington, and Los Alamos engineer Angelique Neuman and her partner Jen Roper made-up the other three couples represented by the ACLU, the ACLU of New Mexico, the National Center for Lesbian Rights, the Albuquerque law firm Sutin, Thayer & Browne, and local attorneys Maureen Sanders, Lynn Perls, and Kate Girard.[6] Since Massachusetts became the first state to legalize gay marriage in 2004, every state except New Mexico determined where it stood on granting spousal rights to same-sex couples.[7] Thirty-eight states prohibited gay marriage while nine allowed it. New Mexico was the only state that laid somewhere in-between banning same-sex marriage and supporting it. The state had no statute or amendment that barred same-sex couples from marrying nor did it possess a law in place that approved it.[8] The ACLU thus claimed that since New Mexico marriage statutes and the New Mexico Constitution did not outlaw same-sex couples from marrying, the state should issue civil marriage licenses to any same-sex couple who applied for one. The first attempt to marry same-sex couples occurred on February 20, 2004, when Sandoval County Clerk Victoria Dunlap issued marriage licenses to sixty-four same-sex couples making gay marriage legal in the state for eight hours. Dunlap also argued that

[6] McCoy, "Meet Our Plaintiffs."
[7] Deborah L. Forman, "Interstate Recognition of Same-Sex Parents in the Wake of Gay Marriage, Civil Unions, and Domestic Partnerships," *Boston College Law Review* 46 (December 1, 2004): 1.
[8] Paul Benjamin Linton, "Same-Sex Marriage and the New Mexico Equal Rights Amendment," *George Mason University Civil Rights Law Journal* 20 (Spring 2010): 209–35.

nothing in state law defined marriage as being between a man and a woman. By 4:10 p.m. on February 20, Attorney General Patricia Madrid ordered the county to stop issuing same-sex marriage licenses.[9] The legality of the "Sandoval 64" remained murky, but the issue brought national attention to New Mexico's strong queer community.

In August 2013, gay and lesbian couples flocked to Las Cruces in southern New Mexico to again take advantage of a decision to issue same-sex marriage licenses. Prominent New Mexican lesbian couple, Santa Fe County Commissioner Liz Stefanics and Linda Siegle, a lobbyist for Equality New Mexico, received the first marriage license.[10] Reverend Vangie Chavez both married her life -partner Traci Garcia and officiated over other weddings at the Doña Ana County Government Center in Las Cruces. "I am ecstatic about marriage equality. I did not know it would come this quickly to New Mexico," Chavez enthusiastically relayed. Bernalillo county followed and Rev. Chavez "was privileged enough to marry the first couple."[11] After learning that the county they lived in would offer them a same-sex marriage license, life-partners Ginger Chapman and Jean Effron planned their wedding for December 13, 2013. The two had met while square dancing with the Wilde Bunch in 1994. Effron remembers that she was not looking for a relationship "then Ginger walked in and it all changed. From her demeanor from how she carried herself. This beautiful woman . . . and that is how it started."[12]

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[9] Susan Montoya Bryan, "Gay, Lesbian Couples Line up to Tie the Knot in New Mexico," *Weekly News: South Florida's Gay Community Newspaper* 27, no. 25 (February 26, 2004): 10 and Christopher Lisotta, "Bringing Marriage to New Mexico," *Advocate*, no. 918 (July 6, 2004): 20.
[10] T.S. Last, "In Santa Fe, Being Gay and out No Problem for Candidates," *Albuquerque Journal* accessed March 13, 2015, http://www.abqjournal.com/372017/news/everyone-is-valued.html.
[11] Chavez, interview.
[12] Interview with Jean Effron by author November 14, 2013, audio recording, The Hammer Educational LGBT Archives Project, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

On December 19, 2013, the New Mexico Supreme Court unanimously affirmed the right of same-sex partners to marry, reasoning that the "protections and responsibilities that result from the marital relationship shall apply equally" and made New Mexico the seventeenth state to legalize same-sex marriage.[13] Councilor and Struble fought for marriage equality and they accomplished it while living in the small village of Jemez Springs. Vangie Chavez, who grew up in Santa Fe and concealed her lesbian identity, publicly performed marriage ceremonies, her photograph shown repeatedly in the local press.[14] Ginger Chapman, born in 1935, " never thought I would see it –the acceptance . . .. To come this far in my lifetime, we owe all of those men and women who came out. They gave up families, careers, they gave up so much."[15] All of the New Mexican lesbian and gay men discussed in this project deserve recognition for their contributions in bringing marriage equality to the state.

As this dissertation has shown, the journey toward same-sex equality in New Mexico began when Nuevomexicanos accepted lesbian-headed ranches and farms, the Pueblos of San Juan (Ohkay Owingeh), Acoma, Isleta, Laguna, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Tesuque, and Zuni, and the Navajos valued two-spirits within their sex-gender systems, and bohemian homosexuals migrated to the state. In the 1920s, the vital role of artistic and literary production in the Taos and Santa Fe art colonies produced a congenial environment for white gay men and lesbians. Although homosexual artists and writers created an opening for the acceptance of same-sex desires, the introduction of the security state in the 1940s stunted their progress. The

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[13] Fernanda Santos, "New Mexico Becomes 17th State to Allow Gay Marriage," *The New York Times,* December 19, 2013, accessed on April 12, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/20/us/new-mexico-becomes-17th-state-to-legalize-gay-marriage.html?_r=0.

[14] Juan Carlos Llorca and Barry Massey, "More Gay N.M. Couples Obtain Marriage Licenses," *The Durango Herald*, accessed March 13, 2015, http://www.durangoherald.com/article/20130822/NEWS02/130829775.

[15] Chapman, interview.

era of the military-industrial complex ushered in a climate of secrecy and legal barriers that banned gay men and lesbians from access to full citizenship rights. In the 1970s, efforts to break through restrictions on sexual equality shifted to New Mexico's largest city, Albuquerque, where student radicals, lesbian feminists, and progressive church leaders worked to eradicate legal and social barriers to homosexual equality. By the 1980s, middle-class activists joined the fight and spread their efforts statewide. Not until the late 1980s and early '90s did small towns and rural area queers born and raised in the country begin to organize as a community in New Mexico. Ellen Levy edited the first lesbian and gay newspaper for Taos and its surrounding northern areas. Six volunteers worked with Levy on the project and hoped the newspaper, *Common Language,* would foster a better sense of community and openness amongst Taos gay men and lesbians. *Common Language* inspired the formation of the rural-oriented lesbian and gay male organization called the New Mexico Gay and Lesbian Homesteaders Association (NM L/G HA). NM L/G HA published *The Bulletin* in order to "communicate with each other and share information on land owning, collective ownership, gardening, ranching, animal raising, food preservation, [and] hand crafts."[16] The earlier organizational efforts of lesbian landers and radical faeries and the willingness of urban-to-rural queer migrants to embrace the country as a site of sexual liberation induced born and raised rural gay men and lesbians to openly come together.

To conclude, it is important to understand gay and lesbian history in New Mexico for several reasons. First, New Mexican gay men and lesbians demonstrate the ability of homosexuals to mold spatial surroundings and build community in unique ways and uncommon

[16] Charles Donovan, "Gay and Lesbian Homesteaders," *A Common Language* (February/March 1990), 4.

places. Their story challenges the conception of a unidirectional outflow from rural to urban hubs. By examining the back-and-forth movements of sexual migrants, I have illuminated how those who made ongoing migratory journeys blended urban and rural landscapes that helped to inform sexual identities, cultural construction, and political ideologies. Second, taking a statewide approach breaks down urban exceptionalism in the field and gives a more comprehensive and complicated picture of the establishment of American sexual subcultures. In perceiving the evolution of gay enclaves, many scholars have looked to urbanism as a foundation for these formations. New Mexico's incipient queer culture developed differently as it centered on art and literature. In art communities, homosexuals coexisted with heterosexuals by integrating socially and economically into art colonies. However, urbanization still proved significant to New Mexico's queer past especially during the rise of the security state in the 1940s and 1950s. Many lesbian and gay New Mexicans left the state and used urban cities to construct their lives. Further, the onset of the security state in New Mexico demonstrates at a local level how the federal government codified a heteronoromative definition of citizenship. Consequences included the federal government systematically excluding gay men and lesbians from full citizenship rights and the decimation of a nascent local queer culture in New Mexico.

Finally, this project strengthens the position that LGBTQ history should be far more central to the narrative of U.S. history as it helps illuminate the relationship of identity construction to the defense of individual liberty and the quest of marginalized groups to defend and promote civil rights. From individual acts of resistance to collective action, how does resistance become a social movement and what have been the possibilities and limits of solidarity? The rise of gay liberation in New Mexico helps historians understand shifts in American liberalism. In the 1960s, a new generation of American social movements converged

on the expansion of equal rights. An evolving definition of social movement activism remained central to gay men and lesbians as they engaged in local, regional, and national politics. These efforts have largely been studied in either a national context or within large cities, but small-scale acts of organizing resulted in an expanded definition of movement politics. Sexual radicals called into question the national mythology of the nuclear family, which resulted in upending sexual norms, redefining the public/private divide, and demanding the broadest possible citizenship. Within a wider framework of pluralist democracy, the social movement for gay and lesbian civil rights inspired greater participatory democracy. New Mexican lesbians and gay men contributed to this change and their voices and actions, which helped to revolutionize gay liberation, should no longer remain uncommon knowledge. They belong in the narrative of civil rights history.

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