

“STREET POWER” AND THE CLAIMING OF PUBLIC SPACE:

San Francisco’s “Vanguard” and Pre- Stonewall Queer Radicalism

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Between 1965 and 1970, in San Francisco’s Tenderloin district, a group of gay male and transgender female youth¹—most of them sex workers living and working on the streets of this inner-city red-light district—formed a social and political organization called Vanguard. This group has been virtually forgotten by history,² but the records that remain reveal an extremely active and organized group whose position as street-based sex workers produced a profound and deeply radical movement in resistance not only to the unequal treatment of sexual minorities before the law, but also to economic forces and state-sponsored violence that served to marginalize and oppress gay and transgender youth. Vanguard’s foregrounding of the issues facing gay and transgender youth in the 1960s produced radical insights into the connections between economic class, police violence, incarceration, and homophobia.

Vanguard was first organized in 1965 under the auspices of Glide Memorial Church, a radical congregation of the United Methodist Church. Glide was experimenting with methods of ministering to and addressing the needs of an urban congregation, and it had identified homosexuals as a group that was suffering enormous oppression, particularly in the Tenderloin, the city's primary gay/trans neighborhood, where Glide was located.³ As a result, by the mid-1960s, the church was working closely with local homophile organizations such as Daughters of Billitis and the Mattachine Society, and had helped establish a ministers' group called the Council for Religion and the Homosexual.

At the same time, the Church was working to convince the federal Office of Economic Opportunity to designate the Tenderloin as a recognized poverty area so that the neighborhood and the programs that Glide was creating would qualify for federal funds from the Johnson administration's War On Poverty programs.⁴ This strategic decision to tap into federal anti-poverty programs, paired with the Church's simultaneous work with the homophile movement had a profound result: It led Glide to create a space in the homophile movement for the voices of an extremely marginalized population—young, gay, and transsexual sex workers living and working on the streets. One of these voices was that of Joel Roberts, an early organizer of Vanguard, who, in an oral history given in 1989, explains the connections he saw between sex work, youth, queerness, and radicalism:

Many years ago, when I first came to San Francisco, part of my life was hustling and being a prostitute. It was a quick way to make money, and I didn't have a lot of credentials and ways of making money. And I was organizing before there was anything called "gay lib" in the streets of San Francisco, in the Tenderloin on Market Street. We'd hang out and I was organizing something that later became called Vanguard. So somehow, having some education and yet being a hustler, the mix was pretty volatile for me.... I remember storming into Glide Methodist Church one day.... I was yelling and screaming. I was really angry. I was being confronted more than ever before with the oppression of being an American. Not just being gay, but being poor. Being on the street and being a kid. All those things, all three things.... Glide Methodist Church...had hired a Texas black pastor named Cecil Williams...and I stormed in and said there's kids on the fucking street selling their ass. There's kids sleeping eight in a hotel

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room at night and you people talk about social change.... I was really angry that gay kids were being left out of social change.... And Cecil Williams came out saying, "Young man, anybody that can swear like you I want to talk to."⁵

Shortly after this incident, in 1965, the church recruited a young divinity student named Ed Hansen from Claremont School of Theology for a yearlong internship doing street outreach for the church. During his intern year, Hansen worked in the red-light district of the Tenderloin, which was home to many gay and transsexual hustlers. The youth he encountered struggled with drug addiction, poverty, mental illness, street violence, and malnutrition, and Hansen came to believe that the best way to help these youth was simply to interact caringly with them to give them an alternate model of adulthood since their other encounters with adults were limited to parental rejection, sex work, arrest, or police harassment. In 1965, Hansen began inviting the young hustlers and drag queens that he met on the streets to open houses at Glide.⁶ The youths gradually formed a steady group and began holding regular meetings at the church. Over the course of about five years, the group held dances, drag balls, and coffeehouses; they published a newsletter, produced or attempted to produce one or more films, and organized direct-action protests. In the early 1970s, Vanguard and a group of young lesbians called the Street Orphans merged to form the San Francisco Gay Liberation Front, which was active throughout the '70s.⁷

While Vanguard, with its ties to Glide and the interfaith Council for Religion and the Homosexual, was the first organized (and eventually incorporated) gay and transgender youth group in the city, the ministers who began organizing queer youth in this period were not starting from scratch; they were building upon the efforts of adult gay men, particularly owners of gay bars and restaurants, who had already begun to address the needs of gay and transgender youth less formally. Chuck Lewis, the street outreach assistant to Rev. Don Stuart of the San Francisco Night Ministry during this time, recalls his boss encountering one such institution created to support gay and transgender youth:

[I]n 1964...Don Stuart...went to a [gay] bar called the Gilded Cage, just to drop in and see what was happening. He went, sat down at the bar, and the bartender said, "Who are you?" and Don said, "Oh, I'm Don Stuart. I'm the night minister here in SF. We're a crisis counseling

agency just getting started.” And so he said, “All right, what do you want to drink?” So the next night Don went back in again and the same bartender who happened to be the owner came up to him and said, “I called the council of churches today, and they said you’re OK, so tonight the drink’s on me. What’ll you have?” He said, “By the way, I want you to know, Father, we have a room in the back we call Pearl’s and that’s the place where we have after hours starting around midnight that any young kids off the street can go. There’s no alcohol served. It’s just a gathering place where they can have soft drinks or whatever they want and get together.” Don said, “Well, sounds like a good place for me to drop into.” So later on that night, after midnight, he dropped in and surprisingly at least six kids immediately lined up to talk to him.⁸

So even before the organized efforts of ministers, the gay men’s bar community was recognizing the needs of young hustlers and providing a safe space between the wholly public world of the street and the wholly private world of the heterosexual home—a kind of inverted mirror of the bourgeois heterosexual home from which they had fled or been expelled, a queer home that provided safety without closeting.⁹

Such informal practices for taking care of homeless queer youth illustrate that spaces for queer and trans youth in the Tenderloin pre-existed Vanguard; however, Vanguard was unique in that its mission included not just support and services but also political action through community organizing. Indeed, Ed Hansen recalls that Mark Forrester, an adult homophile activist with whom he worked closely to form Vanguard, explicitly intended to use the principles of community organizing established in Saul Alinsky’s *Reveille for Radicals* as a model for Vanguard’s practices.¹⁰ Alinsky’s influence is visible in the group’s writings and radical activism against police harassment brutality as well other forms of institutionalized forms of homophobia and transphobia.

One of the key problems that Vanguard members faced was police periodically harassing, arresting, and brutalizing drag queens, gays, and sex workers simply for being on the public street. Police harassment of gays and trans people was so persistent in the Tenderloin that the sign for one gay bar read, “The Chuckers, Famous for Its Unusual Entertainment, Now Presents POLICE HARASSMENT! Every Fri. & Sat. from 8PM to 6AM”¹¹ Ed Hansen, Vanguard’s liaison to Glide Memorial, recalls that this harassment extended even to the supposedly private spaces known to be

frequented by queer youth, recalling his own first encounter with what he discovered to be the routine police harassment of gay and trans youth:

[In] October of 1965, when I went for the first time wearing my clerical collar to this hotel—I think it may have been the Bachelor Hotel... on the south side, [on] about Fifth or Sixth...and I had been asked to come to a dance and engage in conversation with some of the young guys who were living there who had never encountered a minister like me—so gay-friendly. And while I was there the police showed up, just kind of looking into the situation, and then left. Then they came back a few hours later and I was still there. This time they got together about five or six guys, lined them up and interrogated them and checked their IDs, and I asked the police what was wrong, what was going on. And they couldn't give any good answer...it seemed to me to be police harassment. They wound up taking in one of the guys because he had some outstanding traffic tickets or something. But why did the police come to a hotel in the middle of the night with such scrutiny? That was just not as it should be.¹²

The threat of incarceration and police harassment was exacerbated by the economic marginalization that left gay and transgender street youth with few options for survival but street prostitution. References to the necessity of prostitution appear even on the poetry page of Vanguard's eponymous magazine, punctuating the lyric poems about unrequited love and other themes typical of teenage poetry. On its "Night Songs" page, the magazine's first issue contains a poem called "The Hustler," in which a young gay hustler touchingly explores the tension between his desire for love from other men, and the economic necessity that he commodify that desire in acts of prostitution:

I'll go to bed for twenty,
All night for just ten more.
Now don't get the idea
That I am just a whore.
For if I didn't sell my love,
Where else would it go?
I have no one to give it to;
No one who'd care to know.¹³

“The Hustler” marks with melancholy a particular intersection of homophobia and economic marginalization often articulated by Vanguard youth in their more overtly political writing on sex work, which often denounced the businessmen who refused to hire drag queens and effeminate boys in their offices and stores during the day but who benefited from the presence of cheap, easily available hustlers on the streets at night, and who would then turn around once again in the morning to complain about the “filth” on the streets where they were trying to operate legitimate businesses. We see this argument made quite forcefully in a Vanguard flyer:

We protest being called “queer,” “pillhead,” and being placed in the position of being outlaws and parasites when we are offered no alternative to this existence.... We demand justice and immediate corrections of the fact that most of the money made in the area is made by the exploitation of youth by so-called normal adults who make a fast buck off situations everyone calls degenerate, perverted and sick.¹⁴

Here we see that Vanguard, unlike the homophile movement from which it sprung, framed their position as sexual outsiders in terms of class struggle and economic justice. The group’s centralization of the sex worker as the typical Vanguard youth produced a strong sense of identity among group members not only as homosexual and transsexual, but also as economically marginalized by their sexuality. This outlook helped to produce a radical class analysis of public space, of sex work, and of queerness itself that is reflected in Vanguard’s demonstrations and publications.

Transgender street sex-workers were particularly vulnerable to encounters with the police while they worked because drag itself was treated as a criminal offense. This is made clear in another poem from Vanguard’s “Night Songs” section, “The Fairytale Ballad of Katy the Queen” by Miss Shari Kenyon:

She’s a Queen, oh Mary
and you know it.
She’s a Queen, my luv
and she shows it.
She thinks she looks and acts so fair
But she’s only a fake
and we know it!

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She can swing her hips
like a lady
and her violet eyes are
the right shady.
Her blouse and her pants
are so tight,
And she breaks her wrist
just right
BUT, her real name's
Calvin, not Katy.

So here's what happened
to Katy the Queen
She came on too loud on
the Market St. scene;
She blew her mind, and
the Vice's too
'Cause Katy in drag is not
too cool
Now she keeps the Fuzz happy
And the Gay Tank clean.

This brief poem begins as a tribute to and catty critique of a neighborhood queen, concluding on a warning note in which the threat of incarceration functions as a cautionary tale of sorts for other transgender street youth: as punishment for her excessive presentation (for “[coming] on too loud”), Katy is jailed in the “gay tank,” slang for the separate area of the San Francisco County Jail used to house gay men and transsexuals (now called the “vulnerable male” section). Even more disturbing is the passage “she keeps the Fuzz happy, and the gay tank clean,” implying that incarcerated transgender women were subject to slavery, including sexual slavery, at police hands. The poem’s flip tone and its nursery-rhyme meter reveal a mater-of-factness on the part of the author, presumably herself transgendered, about the violence to which young transwomen were subjected, including sexual servitude to police while incarcerated.

This frankness about police brutality against transsexual women is echoed in the testimony of Joel Roberts, who worked as a street hustler in the 1960s. Roberts reports, “My very first recollection coming to San Francisco was seeing a young drag queen get his ribs broken by a cop and

the cop leaves him there, and I said how come he didn't arrest you and he said, don't worry about me honey, this happens all the time."¹⁵

The first organized political action by Vanguard was not, initially, a response to police brutality, but instead a response to discrimination by businesses against transsexuals and sex workers—but the results revealed to Vanguard members the symbiotic relationship between discrimination and police violence. In the mid-1960s, Compton's Cafeteria was an all-night diner popular with the Tenderloin's young transsexual and male prostitutes because the night manager was an older gay man who sympathized with queer street youth and allowed them to hang out at the café.¹⁶ When this night manager died, though, the diner hired a replacement who promptly began using private security guards to harass and remove the young drag queens and hustlers if they stayed too long or spent too little money. The youths were upset by this sudden hostile treatment in one of the few public spaces where they had been welcome, and began to discuss the issue at Vanguard meetings. The group decided to take action and organized a two-hour picket of Compton's on July 18, 1966. In a letter home, Vanguard advisor Ed Hansen describes this initial protest:

Last Monday night and also Wed. night the Tenderloin (TL) kids of the organization called Vanguard picketed Compton's restraurant [sic] on the corner of Taylor and Turk in the middle of the TL. We had between 30 and 50 pickets there each night from 10PM to midnight. We also got radio and TV coverage of our picket. Anytime you get young people—some of whom are pill-heads, prostitutes, or homosexuals picketing somewhere you are bound to get news coverage. The kids where [sic] protesting the unkind treatment they received from the management of Compton's and also the harassment given them by the Pinkerton guard that Compton's has working there.¹⁷

There was no immediate result, but the picket seems to have consolidated the youths' sense of collective injury. As illustrated in detail by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker in their documentary film about the event, a month after this initial protest, when the management called the police to remove some transsexual youth, one cop made the mistake of manhandling an already angry queen. She threw her coffee in his face and a riot broke out. The other queens came to their friend's defense, hitting cops in the face with heavy handbags (which were often deliberately weighted so they could be used as emergency weapons if a trick

became violent during a date). The drag queens trashed the restaurant, smashed its plate glass windows and the windows of a police car outside, and set the corner newsstand on fire.¹⁸ Many Vanguard members were involved in the riot, and they organized a second protest the following night when Compton's banned drag queens entirely. The second picket was attended by a wider range of community members and it, too, ended in the restaurant's windows being smashed.¹⁹ The Compton's riot marked the first violent, collective protest against harassment in the transgender/queer community.²⁰

In addition to violence by the police in the service of businesses that discriminated against transgender women, Vanguard member Joel Roberts recalls the routine San Francisco Police Department practice of "sweeping" the streets of gay neighborhoods for homosexuals: "Every year or two or so, San Francisco would go around and crack down on homosexuals. And they sent out the paddy wagon, and anybody that looked [like] homosexuals or hang [sic] out in front of places where homosexuals hang out were just arrested. I mean, you talk about police state, it was one of them."²¹ In the early autumn of 1966, Vanguard responded to these practices by holding a "street sweep" of their own. Borrowing push brooms from the city and carrying hand-lettered signs, about fifty Vanguard members swept the sidewalks of the Tenderloin. Photographs show boys with short hair and peg-leg jeans and a handful of presumably transgender girls in bouffants, skirts, and cigarette pants pushing brooms and posing with signs reading "Fall Clean Up: This Is a Vanguard Community Project" (see Figures 1 and 2). While it seems like a simple enough protest, this "street sweep" was actually a surprisingly sophisticated semiotic act. First, rather than simply picketing, as they had done initially at Compton's, or rioting, as they had done later, Vanguard used performance to literalize the metaphor of the "street sweep," a term normally used for a police action directed at the very subjects performing the protest: queers and sex workers. Doing so, Vanguard took up the symbolic terms of urban renewal projects in which queer and transgender sex workers figured as nothing more than "trash" to be "swept away," manipulating these symbolic terms in order to perform their resistance to this vision. In photographs of the event, the teens pose with brooms in front of them, carrying signs reading "All trash is before the broom," a slogan explained by Vanguard leader J. P. Marat's statement to the press: "We're considered trash by much of society, and we wanted to show the rest of society that we want to work and can work."²² By performing the act of sweeping the streets, the youths resisted their

designation as “trash” subject to “clean-up” by police sweeps, and undermined the utopian vision of urban renewal projects that used the verb “clean” as a euphemism for the harassment, brutalization, and arrests of sex workers, transgenders, and queers. By performing this strangely domestic activity in the public space of the street, Vanguard reconfigured the street itself as a domestic space. This domestication of the street created a visual representation of Vanguard’s social status as figurative outsiders (that is, those who are denied full citizenship) and literal outsiders (those who live outdoors and make streets their home). At the same time, with the act of sweeping, the group performed its stewardship of that home, implicating the rest of the culture as those who “trash” it. This point is highlighted again by the group’s press release for the event, which inverts the usual terms of social outrage at urban squalor, angrily declaring, “The drug addicts, pillheads, teenage hustlers, lesbians and homosexuals who make San Francisco’s ‘MEAT RACK’ their home are tired of living in the midst of the filth thrown out on to the sidewalks and into the streets by nearby businessmen.”²³ Vanguard’s performance, then, contested middle class efforts to “clean up the city” by representing themselves as *agents* of change rather than as targets of the middle-class’s programs of change.

This protest illustrates how Vanguard’s foregrounding of the queer youth or adolescent challenged some of the terms on which the previous homophile movement had been built. Take, for example, the very cliché often used to appeal to American “live and let live” ideals: that the law should not interfere with what “two consenting adults do in the privacy of their own home.” Vanguard’s street-sweep illustrates the woeful inadequacy of this cliché as an appeal for the rights of queer and trans youth who might be consenting but are not adults, who in many cases had been expelled from the protections of “the home” and its aegis of privacy, and who, as street-based sex workers, depended for their very survival upon queer modes of accessing public—not private—spaces for specifically sexual purposes.

The street sweepers were photographed and interviewed all the while by print and broadcast journalists. Stories went out on the Associated Press and UPI wire services and on local radio. Vanguard youth were savvy about the role that media could play in promoting their causes, as Roberts recalls:

The police would see you organizing.... Of course we had Channel 7 down there and instead of being the quiet oppressed minority of

mentally ill criminals. I mean the liberals thought we were mentally ill and the conservatives thought we were criminals. So we got busted either way. We started getting on television—I very much understood very early in the game the power of media. So we called up the radio and TV stations and say, “Hey, gay kids on Market Street are having a demonstration; you’d better get down there.” That was unheard of... And before you know it...we started getting people from all over the country coming in to photograph us and stuff.²⁴

In addition to public protests, *Vanguard* also addressed the issue of police brutality via a campaign of information in its magazine. Nearly every issue contains an informational advertisement about what to do if questioned, arrested, harassed, or beaten by the police: “Never resist or talk back[.] Get that badge number!!! Give your name and address only[.] If arrested demand a phone call until granted[;] phone for assistance as soon as permitted[.] 776-9669.” Many issues contain editorials criticizing the vice squad who patrolled the Tenderloin streets for young gay and transgender hustlers.²⁵

In addition to disseminating basic legal information to assist gay and transgender street youth and drawing public attention to the mistreatment of queer youth, *Vanguard*’s unprecedented activities allowed a group that previously had little or no sense of cohesion and collective identity to begin thinking of themselves as a group with a collective identity. While adults had the gay bar, gay and transgender youth had little access to institutions or physical spaces where they could gather, and thus did not think of themselves as a distinct community. *Vanguard* provided a physical “home” by hosting meetings, coffeehouses, dances, and dinners. Similarly, the group’s “more or less” monthly magazine functioned as a sort of literary “home” that circulated, like its readers and writers, on the streets of the Tenderloin. Published between August 1966 and January 1970, *Vanguard* was produced by and for queer street youth and featured hand-drawn covers, poetry, art, articles on politics, an advice column by “Horace Horny,” queer-themed cartoons, community news, letters to the editor with bitchy replies, announcements about where to get services like medical care or food, short stories (some of them pornographic), articles reprinted (or literally cut and pasted) from other publications, a “president’s page” with a message from the group’s leader, and interviews with local activists and others from the street community. Advertisers included gay bars, nonprofit groups such as the Mattachine Society and the Society

for Individual Rights, grocery stores, pornographers seeking models and photos, print shops and other local left-leaning newspapers. The magazine claimed a subscription list of 1,000,²⁶ the publication's staff increased from two in the first issues to eight about a year later, and the magazine's length grew with each issue, indicating an increasing budget and circulation and a growing involvement with the community.

Vanguard magazine began publication about a month before the August 1966 Compton's Cafeteria riot.²⁷ This is no coincidence, for the magazine seems to have served as an important instrument in creating and shaping the new political consciousness that both gave rise to and coalesced around the riot. For example, *Vanguard* magazine used its pages to denounce discrimination against and harassment of sex workers and transsexuals, publishing announcements such as the one that appeared in a 1967 issue: "Anyone who has been directly victimized or discriminated against by Compton's, the Plush Doggie or any other business please report the incident immediately to one of the editors. We remind you to save all evidence."²⁸ Such announcements went beyond simply stating that X businesses discriminate, and instead gave readers a framework into which they could place their own experiences. By asking them to reflect upon and rethink seemingly disparate personal and individual experiences as acts of institutional discrimination against a group, calls like this interpellated readers as part of *Vanguard's* activist project.²⁹ Indeed, the very placement of the call in a magazine read by hundreds highlighted for each reader the collectivity of his or her own personal experiences, simultaneously identifying these experiences as discrimination and addressing readers as citizens entitled to protest such treatment.

Vanguard's focus on issues pertinent to street youth also led them to take a position against mandates within the homophile movement for normativity, particularly around gender presentation. In the second issue of the group's magazine, for example, the president, J. P. Marat, issued a statement denouncing the common practice in homophile groups of banning drag at political meetings:

Day after day I hear complaints about the prejudices that the straight society has against the gay society. Let's look at our own prejudices.... We ostracize people because they do this that or the other in bed. We make snide remarks about a drag queen who isn't quite convincing enough.... Then there is the hair fairy. *If we want the majority of society to accept us as we are, we are going to have to start accepting ourselves and*

others like us. There are many organizations for homosexuals all over the country. Most of them have rules like no drag, no hair fairies, etc. etc. This is fine in a legal situation, but why shouldn't we take the chance of getting busted? These people are homosexual just like us.³⁰

Marat's statement, particularly his championing of hair fairies as "homosexuals just like us," suggests a new view of cross-dressing as an expression of identity rather than simply a practice.

Marat's mention of hair fairies is particularly important here, for this term was used to describe transwomen who wore their own hair long rather than using wigs, which might be put on or taken off, depending on the safety of the situation. Wearing one's hair long in the pre-hippie era was an act of defiance of gender norms that went beyond drag in that it could not be hidden in daily life. In this sense, the hair fairy belied the view of cross-dressing as mere sexual practice or masquerade, instead pointing toward a view more aligned with today's sense of transsexuality as identity. This new view of transsexuality allowed Vanguard to begin holding the homophile movement responsible to its own rhetoric by pointing out the ways that it enacted the very forms of marginalization that it critiqued in the larger community.

Looking at the history of this little-known group provides a model of what queer activism might look like if it were firmly grounded in the interests, experience, and agency of the most marginalized groups within our community, and it reminds us that these groups have in fact been deeply involved in key struggles, often at the very vanguard, of these movements. Moreover, the federal anti-poverty funding of the group meant that Vanguard, unlike the homophile movement from which it had sprung, had institutional reasons to frame their position as sexual outsiders in terms of class struggle and economic justice, since they needed to make the case to their funding source that the neighborhood was marginalized by poverty and thus a good candidate for federal anti-poverty funds. Finally, the fact that many members of the group were sex workers seems to have produced a strong sense of identity among group members not only as homosexual and transsexual, but also as economically marginalized by their sexuality. This outlook helped to produce a radical class analysis of public space, of sex work, and of queerness itself that is reflected in Vanguard's demonstrations and publications.

NOTES

1. In mid-1960s San Francisco, both male-presenting gay men and male-bodied people presenting as female referred to themselves as “gay.” While male-bodied people who presented as female might also refer to themselves and be referred to by others in their community as drag queens, hair fairies, transsexuals, cross-dressers, or transvestites, the term “gay” served as a catch-all for people who might now identify as gay men, drag-queens, transsexual women, or transgendered women. Because transwomen self-identified with the term gay as frequently as did masculine homosexual men, many of the sources I quote or paraphrase from this period, as well as oral histories recorded later but reflecting upon this period, use the terms “gay” or “drag queen” to refer to male-bodied or transitioning people who lived full time as women (even though these people might today identify as transgender or transsexual). While this may be confusing or seem to elide or erase transgender experiences, it marks the identity categories that were available at the time. Nevertheless, when discussing female-presenting members of Vanguard from my own vantage point, I use the words transgender and transsexual for clarity’s sake, and as a way of acknowledging the contributions of transgender women to this group and claiming their accomplishments as part of transgender history.
2. For much of the information that follows, I am deeply indebted to Susan Stryker, who generously provided me with the transcript of an oral history she recorded with a Vanguard founder.
3. Ed Hansen, Unpublished interview with Susan Stryker. 15 October 1998, 2.
4. Ed Hansen, Letter to Parents, February 26, 1966; June 19, 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.
5. Joel Roberts, Personal interview with Daniel Bao, December 18, 1989.
6. Ed Hansen, Letter to Parents, July 25, 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.
7. Stephan Cohen, *The Gay Liberation Youth Movement in New York* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
8. Chuck Lewis, Personal interview with Jallen Rix, July 22, 2006.
9. A similar situation existed until 1966 at the nearby Compton’s Cafeteria, where a gay male night manager allowed young drag queens and hustlers to hang out without spending money. Such arrangements provide an interesting counter-model to the symbolic function of the figure of the child in the heteronormative imaginary, as articulated and critiqued by Lee Edelman in his monograph *No Future*. In contrast to the heteronormative discourse that uses arguments about “protecting the children” and “child as future” to dismantle the rights of queer adults in the present, the gay community in this example recognized and valued these youth not as a metaphor for the gay community’s own future, nor as a

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nostalgic fantasy of adult men's remembered youth, but as integral members of the gay community's own present, who required nurturance, protection from the police, and space to gather with other youth. Even if part of the youth's value to the community was as sexual commodities (most were hustlers), this seems to have translated into greater safety than did their value as children in the heterosexual home. See, Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke U.P., 2004).

10. Hansen, Interview, 7–8.
11. Jallen Rix, *The Last Dance Raid*. [Video] (2010).
12. Hansen, Interview, 11.
13. Anonymous, "The Hustler," *Vanguard*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.
14. David Carter, *Stonewall* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004).
15. Joel Roberts, Personal interview with Daniel Bao, December 18, 1989.
16. The previous account of the creation of an informal safe haven for underage gay youth by the owner of the Gilded Cage suggests that adult gay men operating businesses in the pre-Stonewall era may have routinely, and at their own expense, created spaces where queer youth could gather and socialize safely.
17. Ed Hansen, Letter to Parents, July 25, 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.
18. Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker, dir. *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*. [Video] (Frameline, 2005).
19. David Carter, *Stonewall*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004): p. 109.
20. *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*.
21. Joel Roberts, Personal interview with Daniel Bao, December 18, 1989.
22. Anonymous, "Sweep In," *Vanguard*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.
23. *Vanguard*, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.
24. Joel Roberts, Personal interview with Daniel Bao, December 18, 1989.
25. Straight Guy, "If You Are Involved in or See Police Brutality," *Vanguard*, Vol. 1, No. 3, November 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.
26. *Vanguard*, Vol. 1, No. 4, December 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.
27. *Vanguard's* first issue announces a national planning conference of homophile organizations to occur between August 19 and 28, indicating that the issues probably came out in July or early August at the latest (*Vanguard*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1966: p. 2).
28. *Vanguard*, Vol. 1, No. 4, December 1966, GLBT Historical Society of Northern

- California: p. 9.
29. Thanks to Bill Basquin for this insight.
 30. J. P. Marat, "Prejudice," *Vanguard*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 1967, GLBT Historical Society of Northern California.