

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

# Researching Stonewall Nation

---

Interdisciplinary Considerations for Lesbian,  
Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Research

**Jacob Carter**

**March 9, 2013**

Interdisciplinary Approaches to Historical Inquiry  
University of Massachusetts Boston  
Second Annual History Graduate Student Conference

## Introduction

The Alpine County project was a climactic event of the Gay Liberation Movement during the 1970s. Also known as Stonewall Nation, the project was an effort put forth, mostly by gay radicals, to establish a self-governing gay and lesbian separatist community in rural California. The constructed Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (L.G.B.T.)<sup>1</sup> historical narrative has created an illusion that the project was nothing more than a hoax perpetuated by the leaders of Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front (L.A.-G.L.F.) to force the mainstream media to focus attention on the Gay Liberation Movement. However, evidence indicates that the project began as a legitimate endeavor. Though the project was short lived and never progressed beyond the planning stages, it did capture media attention throughout the United States and has provided a case study for more recent transnational gay separatist movements.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to present a brief historical summary of the Alpine Project which will then be used to provide specific points of reference to exemplify some problematic aspects of the L.G.B.T. historical narrative and its associated historiography. In essence, the summary and conceptual references will serve a framework for discussion of how an interdisciplinary approach can be used to circumvent associated difficulties and thus enhance insight into the L.G.B.T. past.

---

<sup>1</sup> Note with regards to semantics and terminology: The presently understood concept of a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (L.G.B.T.) community had not materialized during the years that the Alpine project was underway (circa 1969-1971.) Both the "L.G.B.T." acronym and the term "transgender" had yet to be coined and therefore are only used in reference to the present in an effort to prevent possible confusion on behalf of the audience.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Viktor Zimmermann, "Gay State: an analytical approach" (Presentation, *Radically Gay: The Life & Visionary Legacy of Harry Hay*, The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, New York, NY, September 27–30, 2009); "Program" *Gay Homeland Foundation*, accessed February 20, 2013: <http://gayhomeland.org/program.html>.

## Part I: Historical Summary

During 1969, *Refugees From Amerika: A Gay Manifesto*, by antiwar activist and former Students for a Democratic Society leader Carl Wittman, was printed in the underground gay press. This *Gay Manifesto* was soon adopted as a guiding standard for Gay Liberation Front cells and inspired activist Don Jackson's vision for Stonewall Nation.<sup>3</sup> In the text, Wittman referred to San Francisco as a "refugee camp for homosexuals" and argued that "a free territory" was essential. Wittman proposed the construction of a "pluralistic, rolefree [sic] social structure [...] defining for ourselves how and with whom we live, instead of measuring our relationships in comparison to straight ones, with straight values."<sup>4</sup>

Don Jackson first formally presented a proposal for the Alpine project at the West Coast Gay Liberation Conference held in Berkeley on December 28, 1969. Carl Wittman coordinated the conference with militant West Coast gay groups for the purposes of organizing and promoting solidarity.<sup>5</sup> Jackson's proposal consisted of an initial plan for a few hundred participating individuals to settle in Alpine County, California; a population numerically sufficient to constitute a new voting majority in this sparsely populated region of the state. A new law had recently shortened voting requirements from one year of residency to ninety days.<sup>6</sup> Once a new voting majority was established, the existing local government would be recalled and replaced with an elected gay and lesbian

---

<sup>3</sup> Donn Teal, *The Gay Militants* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), 111.

<sup>4</sup> Carl Wittman, *Refugees From Amerika: Gay Manifesto*, Red Butterfly, accessed April 3, 2012: <http://paganpressbooks.com/jpl/TRB-GL10.PDF>.

<sup>5</sup> "Homogenous Homosexuals," Leo Laurence, folder 12, Charles Thorpe Papers, 87-2, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society (GLC 10), Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library.

<sup>6</sup> Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay LA: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York, Basic Books, 2006), 178; Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

administration.<sup>7</sup> Once the newly elected government was in place "a national refuge for persecuted homosexuals"<sup>8</sup> would be established and include "a gay civil service, gay housing erected with funds furnished by the state and federal government, a gay university, and the world's first museum of gay arts, sciences, and history."<sup>9</sup> Jackson later reintroduced the plan at a rally in Los Angeles during the summer of 1970.<sup>10</sup> Jackson's proposal was printed in the August 14, 1970 edition of the *Los Angeles Free Press* under the title "Brother Don Has a Dream."<sup>11</sup>

After demonstrating an initial lack of enthusiasm, L.A.-G.L.F., under the leadership of Morris Kight and Don Kilhefner, declared support for the Alpine project. 1970-1971 was a very active time for L.A.-G.L.F.; a period informally known as "A Demonstration a Day." Despite the efforts that were being made, lack of mainstream media coverage was limiting the social impact. Multiple sources, including Morris Kight's biographer, have indicated that Kight and Kilhefner's true motives were to capitalize on Jackson's vision by using it to entice the mainstream media into publicizing gay liberation.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> "Alpine Liberation," folder 19, Charles Thorpe Papers.

<sup>8</sup> "Gay Mecca No. 1." *Time*. November, 2, 1970. Vol. 96 Issue 18, p.20

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Faderman and Timmons, 177; Don Jackson, interview, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Nov. 30, 1986.

<sup>11</sup> Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Value: Second Edition* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2011), 134.

<sup>12</sup> Faderman and Timmons, 176-180; Karla Jay, *Tales of the Lavender Menace: A Memoir of Liberation* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 213; Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out For Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (Simon & Schuster: New York, 1999) 82-83; Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 40; Mary Ann Cherry, "Brother Don had a Dream," *Morris Kight* (Blog), accessed January 26, 2013: <http://morriskight.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2011-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2012-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=1>.

Regardless of whether or not Kight and Kilhefner were deliberately attempting to generate publicity, they succeeded in doing so. As summarized in the L.A.-G.L.F.

newsletter *Front Lines*:

The lid really blew off the establishment's teapot when the GLF-LA told the world about the plans for taking over the tiny county of Alpine, California. Everyone in the state power structure from Ronnie Reagan to the Board of Supervisors of Alpine to "Dr." Carl MacIntire, organizer of the recent "Victory in Vietnam" fiasco in Washington D.C. have been running around like lunatics trying to find some legal (or even not so legal) way to prevent the takeover of the otherwise insignificant area by gays.<sup>13</sup>

As the story gained momentum, panic set in among Alpine officials. Various options to counter what was perceived as a pending invasion were considered. The Alpine County Board of Supervisors consulted Governor Ronald Reagan's Assistant Legal Affairs Secretary regarding options to prevent the feared colonization and learned there was nothing the administration could legally do to intervene.<sup>14</sup> Dismayed but not defeated, some Alpine officials, residents, and outside parties prepared to enact emergency measures to "kill the county" by merging with one of the neighboring counties. Non-residents who owned local property pledged to register to vote in the county to help residents maintain a voting majority. Reverend Carl McIntire, a New Jersey based radio evangelist, also vowed to assist with resistance efforts if needed. McIntire hosted a radio program that aired on numerous U.S. stations. Using anti-gay rhetoric, McIntire announced on air that he would personally lead a group of Christians to Alpine County to prevent the invasion.<sup>15</sup> Afterwards, with the gay community divided on

---

<sup>13</sup> "ALPINE CO. HERE WE COME!," folder 19, Charles Thorpe Papers.

<sup>14</sup> "Gay Mecca No. 1." *Time*. November, 2, 1970. Vol. 96 Issue 18, 20.

<sup>15</sup> Faderman and Timmons, 179; Teal, 294-298.

the issue, L.A.-G.L.F. temporarily called off Alpine related activity<sup>16</sup> and later suspended involvement all together.<sup>17</sup>

Don Jackson, having returned to San Francisco, continued to work on the Alpine project independent of L.A.-G.L.F. Jackson formed an alliance with Jeff Poland of the Psychedelic Venus Church and helped establish the Alpine Liberation Front in Berkeley.<sup>18</sup> However, progress was eroded by a growing combination of concerns for collective safety and doubts regarding the project's authenticity, both of which stemmed from the publicity generated by actions taken in Los Angeles.<sup>19</sup> A "Profit and Loss Statement" indicates a fund raiser held by the Alpine Liberation Front in 1971 yielded a relatively substantial loss of revenue and is the last evidence of organized effort toward the project.<sup>20</sup>

## **Part II: Interdisciplinary Considerations**

A small yet ambitious gay and lesbian separatist movement was taking shape in the United States during 1969. Separatist and quasi-separatist communities were established through the 1970s. Aside from the separatist ideology and rationale articulated by Carl Wittman in *Gay Manifesto*, the following definition of separatism, was printed on leaflets and circulated:

Homosexual separatism is a move first to evacuate people from the loneliness of isolation in a hostile environment; second, to end the violence to our individual and collective psyche done by heterosexual pressures; and third, to reform the

---

<sup>16</sup> Faderman and Timmons, 179

<sup>17</sup> Teal, 294-298

<sup>18</sup> "Alpine for All Swingers," Don Jackson, folder 19, Charles Thorpe Papers.

<sup>19</sup> Don Jackson, interview, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Nov. 30, 1986.

<sup>20</sup> "Profit and Loss Statement," Don Jackson, folder 19, Charles Thorpe Papers.

world we live in so that it is truly a gay world and not merely a distorted remnant and reflection of the straight world.<sup>21</sup>

A more concise explanation of the concept was printed in *I Am: Oracle of Gay Emmaus*, the Emmaus House newsletter: “We must get outside the system of mechanized insanity and we must manifest our own world.”<sup>22</sup>

In addition to archival material, literary sources provide evidence of a separatist movement. During the early 1970s, author William S. Burroughs participated in interviews with various gay and gay friendly publications. Gay separatism, a theme in Burroughs’s then recently completed fictional novel *The Wild Boys: A Book of the Dead*,<sup>23</sup> was discussed in several of these interviews.<sup>24</sup> Gay separatism is a reoccurring theme in Burroughs’s literature yet his works are rarely cited as a form of historical evidence. Lesbian separatism, which dwarfed gay separatism by comparison, is attributable primarily to social and economic inequalities linked to both institutionalized sexism and homophobia. *Lesbian Nation, For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology*, and *Lesbian Land* provide scholarship and first person accounts of these hardships from

---

<sup>21</sup> L. Craig Schoonmaker, ed., *The Best of HI!* (L.C. Schoonmaker, 1979), 6.

<sup>22</sup> J. Todd Ormsbee, *The Meaning of Gay: Interaction Publicity and Community among Homosexual Men in 1960s San Francisco* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010) 281. For information on separatism see: Schoonmaker; Teal; Wittman; Zimmerman; Sarah Lucia Hoagland and Julia Penelope, ed., *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology* (London: Women Only, 1992) entire; Joyce Cheney, ed., *Lesbian Land* (Minneapolis: Word Weavers, 1985) entire; Jill Johnston, “Was Lesbian Separatism Inevitable?,” *Gay & Lesbian Review*, March-April 2006, accessed March 6, 2013: <http://www.glreview.com/issues/13.2/13.2-johnston.php>; Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker, *The Gay Crusaders* (New York: Paperback Library, 1972) 227; Brian Walker, “Social Movements as Nationalisms or, On the Very Idea of a Queer Nation” *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Supplementary Volume 22, June 1998, accessed Feb. 21, 2013: [http://library.gayhomeland.org/0033/EN/EN\\_Brian\\_Walker.pdf](http://library.gayhomeland.org/0033/EN/EN_Brian_Walker.pdf); Dennis Altman, “What Price Gay Nationalism?” *Advocate*, 415, March 1, 1985, p.30, accessed Feb.21, 2013: <http://forum.gayrepublic.org/index.php?topic=126.msg2018#msg2018>.

<sup>23</sup> William S. Burroughs, *The Wild Boys: A Book of the Dead* (New York: Grove Press, 1971) 121-184.

<sup>24</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Burroughs Live: The Collected Interviews of William S. Burroughs, 1960-1997* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001); Winston Leyland, *Gay Sunshine Interviews* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1979) 10-23, 124.

the perspectives of women involved in the lesbian separatist movement.<sup>25</sup> These bodies of work demonstrate how literary examples can be used to support more conventional primary sources material.

Though ample evidence reveals that a separatist movement was simultaneously occurring while the Alpine Project was underway, it is not adequately reflected in current L.G.B.T. historiography. This invites questions as to why Alpine and separatism are underrepresented in the overall lesbian and gay historical narrative. The explanation mostly pertains to past and present economic, social, and political factors that are intertwined and influential of one another.

During a 1979 broadcasted radio interview, activist Arthur Evans criticized a trend toward “commercialization and conformity” that was emerging in the gay ghettos of San Francisco. Evans expressed fear that the movement he and others had worked to create a decade earlier was “in danger of being swallowed up” by “clone capitalism” which he termed to described a movement toward assimilation that was being led by a privileged few motivated by desire for financial gain. These individuals who, according to Evans, had come to dominate gay media, culture, and gathering spaces, constituted a powerful fraction of the gay subculture that threatened to destroy “the beauty and magic of being gay” and settle for a “pale imitation of heterosexual capitalism.”<sup>26</sup> This broadcast demonstrates that a shift in values and priorities was underway in the gay community. Sociologist Martin P. Levine’s work on gay masculinity indicates that this

---

<sup>25</sup> Sarah Lucia Hoagland and Julia Penelope, ed., *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology* (London: Women Only, 1992) entire; Joyce Cheney, ed., *Lesbian Land* (Minneapolis: Word Weavers, 1985) entire; Jill Johnston, “Was Lesbian Separatism Inevitable?,” *Gay & Lesbian Review*, March-April 2006, accessed March 6, 2013: <http://www.glreview.com/issues/13.2/13.2-johnston.php>.

<sup>26</sup> Arthur Evans, interview by Randy Alfred, *The Gay Life*, KSAN-FM, July 29, 1979, accessed May 12, 2012: <http://www.glbthistory.org/gaybackmachine/GaybackMachine.php?pid=363>.

was not a local trend confined only to San Francisco.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, this trend toward commercialization and assimilation was not exclusive to gay men. For example, in *Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics*, University of California Berkeley Urban Development Research Director Moira Rachel Kenney, quoted the following, originally from a live source, in reference to the ideological shift:

I think the whole picture has changed. The women in our group have it all together. They're happy with what they are doing. They all have good jobs. They're career women who choose to be career women. They have nice homes. They have the money to take the kinds of vacations they want to. They don't wish for anything to be different. Our group is happy.<sup>28</sup>

Essentially, as the movement progressed, gay and lesbian communities collectively became more of a consumer oriented sub-culture increasingly defined by commercial and material interests over cooperative grass-roots political action.<sup>29</sup> Radicalism and separatism became less popular as this divergence continued and gained momentum. Consequently, Alpine, as well as the ideology that inspired it, faded from collective memory.<sup>30</sup>

Many prominent gay liberation activists were or had been active in parallel social movements. Consequently, gay liberation initially shared many countercultural ideals with the New Left.<sup>31</sup> As the influence of New Left radicalism faded, gay liberation transitioned to the much more moderate variety of activism known today which is less inspired by “revolution” and more committed to working within “the system.”

Accordingly, separatism, radicalism, and militancy became unpopular both as political

---

<sup>27</sup> Martin P. Levine, *Gay Macho*, ed. Michael S. Kimmel (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 7-123.

<sup>28</sup> Moira Rachel Kenney, *Mapping Gay L.A. The Intersection of Place and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 121, 218.

<sup>29</sup> Kenney, 121

<sup>30</sup> See Altman in addition to sources previously cited in this paragraph.

<sup>31</sup> Terence Kissack, “Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front, 1969–1971,” *Radical History Review*. Spring 1995 (62).

strategy and ideology. Separatist ideology at best no longer meshed with the inclinations toward assimilation favored in the more recent gay rights movement and at worst was seen as an undermining contradiction. Additionally, scholars of L.G.B.T. history are often pressured by publishers to tailor written works for popular as well as academic audiences to maximize marketing potential.<sup>32</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that less popular concepts, if included, tended to be minimized in works that later become part of L.G.B.T. historiography.

Other factors to consider pertain more specifically to the evolution of gay and lesbian historiography. As L.G.B.T. history developed as a subject, consensus emerged that Western gay and lesbian identity is heavily linked to growth of urbanization and capitalism.<sup>33</sup> Evidence strongly supports this theory. However, the paradigm it yielded has produced methodological approaches in which metro-normativity tends to be assumed. This is problematic. Indeed consciousness of gay and lesbian people as a distinct sexual minority may never have developed without the social changes brought on by urban capitalism. However, technological advancements later made it possible to develop lesbian and gay culture in non-urban as well as urban areas. Nonetheless, concentration remains fixed primarily on metropolitan areas that tend to be studied, for the most part in isolation of one another. American Studies scholar Scott Herring contradicts metro-normative assumptions in *Another Country: Queer Anti-Urbanism* by illustrating that there are non-urban L.G.B.T. populations in the United States whose

---

<sup>32</sup> Howard H. Chiang, "On the Historiographical Politics of Queer Sexuality: Thinking across the Post-Colonial and LGBTQ Subjects of History," *Ex Historia*, Vol. 1 (2009), 14-15, accessed February 20, 2013: <http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/media/universityofexeter/collegeofhumanities/history/exhistoria/volume1/HowardHChiangessay.pdf>.

<sup>33</sup> Kenney 74-151; Levine 7-123; John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940-1970* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983) 23-40; Tina Fetner, "How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism," *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention* V. 31. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008) 10-13.

existence has not been incorporated into gay and lesbian historiography.<sup>34</sup> Following the metro-normative approach has yielded a historiography that is region-centric as well as metro-centric. Consequently, events that fall outside of the established metro-normative approach may not occupy a proper place in the historical narrative because they have not been assessed in a broader context and have thus “fallen through the cracks.” For example, the Alpine project is contrary to metro-normativity and a transcendence of the resultant region-centric focus because a non-urban goal was pursued by a collection of dispersed individuals who were not concentrated in one specific urban region.

There are also political over-laps unique to L.G.B.T. historical research that should be considered. As a discipline, L.G.B.T. history largely stemmed from grassroots political efforts, thus pioneering scholars lacked precedent for their work. Also, as historian John D’Emilio mentioned when providing commentary on lesbian and gay history, “since work on gay or lesbian topics is commonly treated as a de facto statement of identity, the task of producing gay history involves more than simple matters of research and writing.”<sup>35</sup> With individual experience and identity politics as heavily influential factors, it can be more difficult for a researcher to separate from or challenge the popular L.G.B.T. historic narrative.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Scott Herring, *Another Country: Queer Anti-Urbanism* (New York: New York University Press, 2010) 1-99.

<sup>35</sup> John D’Emilio, “Not a Simple Matter: Gay History and Gay Historians,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (Sept., 1989), 435-442.

<sup>36</sup> Ormsbee 258-259; John D’Emilio, “Not a Simple Matter,” 435-442; D’Emilio, “Do We Need Another Hero?” (Closing Keynote Address, *Radically Gay: The Life & Visionary Legacy of Harry Hay*, The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, New York, NY, September 27-30, 2012), accessed February 12, 2013: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zgfkTomApk>; George Chauncey, “The Queer History and Politics of Lesbian and Gay Studies” in *Queer Frontiers: Millennial Geographies, Genders, and Generations* ed. al. Joseph A. Boone (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 298-315.

When conducting related research, scholars may wish to take the nature of community L.G.B.T. archives into greater consideration than they may otherwise. L.G.B.T. archives developed, for the most part, as an extension of Twentieth Century gay and lesbian activism. As gay and lesbian individuals and organizations cultivated cooperation amongst one another and gained a greater sense of collective identity as a subculture, an awareness of the need to document and preserve the community's history developed. The ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives, originally ONE, Inc., founded in Los Angeles in 1952 by members of the Mattachine Society, was the first community based archival establishment in the United States to serve a gay constituency by collecting and preserving homosexual themed material. Though additional gay and/or lesbian themed collections were occasionally established in proceeding decades, they were isolated, few, and often the result of the efforts of lone individuals or small groups. Divergent philosophies emerged over whether repositories should be housed in institutional or in the community settings as new collections were developed. Expressing privacy and security concerns, Jim Monahan asserted that repositories should be maintained in established institutional research centers with policies limiting access. In contrast, Joan Nestle argued that archives belonged in community settings and furthermore, that academic institutions should not be trusted to properly manage the material. Collection efforts expanded rapidly during the 1980s with some archives adopting one practice over the other during this time frame.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> GLBT Historical Society. *HIV/AIDS: Grief, Solidarity, Determination*, accessed December 6, 2011: <http://www.glbthistory.org/museum/>; Polly J. Thistlethwaite, "Building 'A Home of Our Own': The Construction of the Lesbian Herstory Archives" in *Daring to Find Our Names: The Search for Lesbian Gay Library History* ed. J. V. Carmichael Jr. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998) 153-157; John Loughery, *The Other Side Of Silence: Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth Century History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998) 234-37; "An Early Conversation about Gay and Lesbian Archives," originally printed in *The Gay Insurgent*, OutHistory, accessed September 1, 2011:

Many of the problems L.G.B.T. archives grapple with are no different than those that affect the archival profession as a whole such as rapid changes in technology, lingering aftermath of “the paper explosion,” and budgetary constraints that result in under resourced programs. However, there are social factors that have had a unique or disproportionate impact on collection and preservation of L.G.B.T. related material. Efforts to collect lesbian and gay material expanded rapidly during the 1980s in large part due to the emergence of the Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome epidemic and recognition of the need to preserve the gay community’s history secondary to growing rates of mortality. Noble preservation efforts during the height of the epidemic in many ways amounted to grassroots collection scrambles.<sup>38</sup> The consequences of these necessary activities may have yet to be fully realized. Consider, for example, that an inadequate description during processing can result in material being rendered affectively invisible and thus permanently lost in an archive.<sup>39</sup> The potential for mistakes of this nature substantially increases when collections are hastily processed or intellectual control of the material is not maintained or attained in the first place. Community archives that, by comparison to institutionally maintained repositories, generally have access to fewer resources and less specially trained staff may be particularly susceptible to disadvantages associated with these long term potential consequences.

---

[http://outhistory.org/wiki/An\\_Early\\_Conversation\\_about\\_Gay\\_and\\_Lesbian\\_Archives:\\_From\\_the\\_Pages\\_of\\_The\\_Gay\\_Insurgent,\\_1978#](http://outhistory.org/wiki/An_Early_Conversation_about_Gay_and_Lesbian_Archives:_From_the_Pages_of_The_Gay_Insurgent,_1978#).

<sup>38</sup> GLBT Historical Society. *HIV/AIDS: Grief, Solidarity, Determination*, accessed December 6, 2011: <http://www.glbthistory.org/museum/>; Thistlethwaite, 153-157; Rona Marech, “Treasure trove of gay and lesbian artifacts / ‘Queer Smithsonian’ in S.F. celebrates its 20th anniversary,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 2005, accessed December 6, 2011: <http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Treasure-trove-of-gay-and-lesbian-artifacts-2702690.php#ixzz2OWwIfsOF>; LAGAR Newsletter, No. 19, December 1999, accessed December 6, 2011: <http://www2.archivists.org/groups/lesbian-and-gay-archives-roundtable-lagar/lagar-newsletter-no-19-december-1999>.

<sup>39</sup> One specific example is the 1986 interview of Don Jackson which proved to be a crucial source was not identified in the Online Archive California and only discovered as a result of an item per item search of audiovisual material.

Lastly, it would be difficult to overstate the affect the A.I.D.S. pandemic had on all aspects of gay culture and community including L.G.B.T. historiography. The premature deaths of potential “live sources” has no doubt resulted in the permanent loss of a significant portion of the community’s oral history. The loss of intellectuals who influenced either the Alpine project or L.G.B.T. historiography, among them Carl Wittman, Martin P. Levine, and philosopher-historian Michel Foucault, is significant as well.

## **Conclusion**

The historical summary provided in Part I of this paper established the Alpine project as a context for exploring problematic aspects of the United States L.G.B.T. historiography and historical narrative. Part II identified specific problems revealed by topical research in order to explore ways that interdisciplinary approaches can be used to help minimize barriers and contribute to a more complete L.G.B.T. historical narrative in general and in regards to this topic. Attempting to understand why the Alpine Project and the separatist movement of which it was a part have been historically marginalized immediately drew attention to problems with the prevailing L.G.B.T. historical narrative. Once a narrative or paradigm fails to withstand interrogation, reassessment is warranted including examination of its development and the informational sources of which it is based.

One partial explanation for Alpine’s marginalization is that a complete consideration for how aspects of a social-political-economic triad have individually or collectively influenced methodology, analysis, interpretation, and/or narrative

construction has not been fully integrated into the sub-discipline. Another partial explanation for Alpine's marginalization pertains to problems that stem from metro-normative assumptions reflected in L.G.B.T. historiography. While researching Stonewall Nation, an interdisciplinary approach helped minimize these problems. Information used to offset historiographical deficiencies was derived from literary sources, textual analyses provided by American Studies scholars, and data gathered for social science research. Given that the information had already been compiled, this was merely a matter of importing and interpreting it from a historical perspective.<sup>40</sup> Lastly, researchers are advised to take a few potential pitfalls into consideration when seeking sources and conducting archival research. Unless Stonewall Nation constitutes an anomalous case, it is reasonable to assume that an interdisciplinary approach would be applicable to other areas of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender historical research as well.

---

<sup>40</sup> Martin B. Duberman, "Reclaiming the Gay Past" in *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Dec. 1988), 515-525, accessed February 20, 2013: <http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/media/universityofexeter/collegeofhumanities/history/exhistoria/volume1/HowardHChiangessay.pdf>.

## Primary Sources:

### Archival Collections

Dansky, Steven F., Papers. 1968-2006. University at Albany SUNY, M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections & Archives, University Library.

Gay Liberation Front Los Angeles Records. ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives.

International Gay Information Center Personal Papers. The New York Public Library, Humanities and Social Sciences Library Manuscripts and Archives Division.

Thorpe, Charles, Papers. 87-2. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Special Collections, San Francisco Public Library.

The Underground Newspaper Collection, University at Albany SUNY, University Library.

### Articles

Altman, Dennis. "What Price Gay Nationalism?" *Advocate*, 415, March 1, 1985, p.30. Accessed February 21, 2013: <http://forum.gayrepublic.org/index.php?topic=126.msg2018#msg2018>.

Jackson, Don. "Alpine News Round-Up." *San Francisco Gay Free Press*. Undated issue with content which indicates December 1970 date of publication.

Johnston, Jill. "Was Lesbian Separatism Inevitable?" *Gay & Lesbian Review*, March-April 2006. Accessed March 6, 2013: <http://www.glreview.com/issues/13.2/13.2-johnston.php>.

Saint John, Martin. "Alpine project: sham, dream, or growing concern?" *The Advocate*. March 3, 1971.

Schoonmaker, L. Craig. "Separatists Forming Alliance." *Gay Sunshine*. January 1971

Shumsky, Ellen. "Alpine project off? Only 'til snow melts." *The Advocate*. January 6, 1971.

Shumsky, Ellen. "Berkeley GLF opts out." *The Advocate*. November 25, 1970.

Shumsky, Ellen. "GLF rejects socialist body." *The Advocate*. November 25, 1970.

“Gay Mecca No. 1.” *TIME*. November, 2, 1970.

### Books

Burroughs, William S. *The Wild Boys: A Book of the Dead*. New York: Grove Press, 1971.

Cheney, Joyce ed. *Lesbian Land*. Minneapolis: Word Weavers, 1985.

Sarah Lucia Hoagland and Julia Penelope, ed. *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology*. London: Women Only, 1992.

Jay, Karla. *Tales of the Lavender Menace: A Memoir of Liberation*. New York: Basic Books, 1999.

Leyland, Winston. *Gay Sunshine Interviews*. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1979.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Burroughs Live: The Collected Interviews of William S. Burroughs, 1960-1997*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001.

Ormsbee, J. Todd. *The Meaning of Gay: Interaction Publicity and Community among Homosexual Men in 1960s San Francisco*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010.

Perry, Troy D. *The Lord is My Shepherd and He Knows I'm Gay: The Autobiography of the Rev. Troy D. Perry*. Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1972.

Schoonmaker, L. Craig, ed. *The Best of HI!* L.C. Schoonmaker, 1979.

Thompson, Mark, ed. *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

Tobin, Kay. Wicker, Randy. *The Gay Crusaders*. New York: Paperback Library, 1972.

Wittman, Carl. *Refugees from Amerika: Gay Manifesto*. New York: Red Butterfly, January 1970. Accessed April 3, 2012: <http://paganpressbooks.com/jpl/TRB-GL10.PDF>.

### Audio-Visual Material

D'Emilio, John. “Do We Need Another Hero?” Closing keynote address presented at Radically Gay: The Life & Visionary Legacy of Harry Hay. The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, New York, September 27-30, 2012. Accessed February 12, 2013: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zgfkTomApk>

Evans, Arthur. *The Gay Life*. Interview by Randy Alfred. KSAN-FM, July 29, 1979. Accessed May 12, 2012: <http://www.glbthistory.org/gaybackmachine/GaybackMachine.php?pid=363>.

Jackson, Don. ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Nov. 30, 1986.

### Web Sources

Schoonmaker, L. Craig. "UNDERSTANDING HOMOSEXUAL SEPARATISM." *Homosexuals Intransigent!* March 1971. Accessed September 27, 2012: <http://mrgaypride.tripod.com/HI-371.html>.

Gay Homeland Foundation, Accessed February 20, 2013: <http://gayhomeland.org/program.html>.

GLBT Historical Society. *HIV/AIDS: Grief, Solidarity, Determination*. Accessed December 6, 2011: <http://www.glbthistory.org/museum/>.

"27 Jan. Progress Report," *Hidden From History: Accessing the GLBT Past*, Accessed February 22, 2012: <http://glbthsarchivesblog.wordpress.com/2012/01/27/progress-report/>.

"An Early Conversation about Gay and Lesbian Archives." Accessed September 9, 2011: [http://outhistory.org/wiki/An\\_Early\\_Conversation\\_about\\_Gay\\_and\\_Lesbian\\_Archives:\\_From\\_the\\_Pages\\_of\\_The\\_Gay\\_Insurgent,\\_1978#](http://outhistory.org/wiki/An_Early_Conversation_about_Gay_and_Lesbian_Archives:_From_the_Pages_of_The_Gay_Insurgent,_1978#).

### **Secondary Sources:**

#### Books

Atkins, Gary L. *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.

Bell, Arthur. *Dancing the Gay Liberation Blues: A Year in the Homosexual Liberation Movement*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971.

Berube, Allan. *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two*. New York: The Free Press, 1990.

Carmichael, J. V., Jr. *Daring To Find Our Names: The Search for Lesbian and Gay Library History*. Westport: Greenwood Press 1998.

- Carter, David. *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004.
- Chauncey, George. "The Queer History and Politics of Lesbian and Gay Studies." In *Queer Frontiers: Millennial Geographies, Genders, and Generations* edited by Joseph A. Boone, 298-315. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000.
- Chauncey, George. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. New York: Basic Books, 1995.
- Clendinen, Dudley. Nagourney, Adam. *Out For Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999.
- D'Emilio, John. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940-1970*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Faderman, Lillian. Timmons, Stuart. *Gay LA: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians*. New York: Basic Books, 2006.
- Fetner, Tina. "How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism." *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention* V. 31. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Fone, Byrne. *Homophobia: A History*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000.
- Herring, Scott. *Another Country: Queer Anti-Urbanism*. New York: New York University Press, 2010.
- Johnson, David K. *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Johnson, Phylis A. and Keith, Michael C. *Queer Airwaves: The Story of Gay and Lesbian Broadcasting*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.
- Kaiser, Charles. *The Gay Metropolis 1940-1996*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997.
- Katz, Jonathan. *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company 1976.
- Kenny, Moira Rachel. *Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.
- Levine, Martin P. *Gay Macho*. Edited by Michael S. Kimmel New York: New York University Press, 1998.

- Leyland, Winston. *Gay Roots: Twenty Years of Gay Sunshine: An Anthology of Gay History, Sex, Politics, and Culture*. San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1991.
- Loughery, John. *The Other Side of Silence: Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth Century History*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998.
- Miller, Timothy. *The Hippies and American Value: Second Edition*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2011.
- Ormsbee, J. Todd. *The Meaning of Gay: Interaction Publicity and Community among Homosexual Men in 1960s San Francisco*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010.
- Russell, Jamie. *Queer Burroughs*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Sargent, Lyman Tower. *Extremism In America*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.
- Shilts, Randy. *And the Band Played On*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Shilts, Randy. *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.
- Spring, Justin. *Secret Historian: The Life and Times of Samuel Steward, Professor, Tattoo Artist, and Sexual Renegade*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010.
- Teal, Donn. *The Gay Militants: How Gay Liberation Began In America, 1969-1971*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- The History Project. *Improper Bostonians*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1998.
- Timmons, Stewart. *The Trouble with Harry Hay*. Boston: Alyson Press, 1990.
- Wright, Les. *The Bear Book: Readings in the History and Evolution of a Gay Male Subculture*. New York: Harington Park Press, 1997.

#### Journal Articles

- Chiang, Howard H. "On the Historiographical Politics of Queer Sexuality: Thinking across the Post-Colonial and LGBTQ Subjects of History," *Ex Historia*, 2009 (1), 14-15. Accessed February 20, 2013:  
<http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/media/universityofexeter/collegeofhumanities/history/existoria/volume1/HowardHChiangessay.pdf>.
- D'Emilio, John. "Not a Simple Matter: Gay History and Gay Historians." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (Sept., 1989), 435-442.

Duberman, Martin B. "Reclaiming the Gay Past." *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 16, No. 4, Dec. 1988, 515-525. Accessed February 20, 2013: <http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/media/universityofexeter/collegeofhumanities/history/exhibition/volume1/HowardHChiangesay.pdf>.

Kissack, Terence. "Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front, 1969–1971." *Radical History Review*. Spring 1995 (62).

Marech, Rona. "Treasure trove of gay and lesbian artifacts / 'Queer Smithsonian' in S.F. celebrates its 20th anniversary," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 2005. Accessed December 6, 2011: <http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Treasure-trove-of-gay-and-lesbian-artifacts-2702690.php#ixzz2OWwIfsOF>.

Walker, Brian. "Social Movements as Nationalisms or, On the Very Idea of a Queer Nation" *Canadian Journal of Philosophy, Supplementary*, Volume 22, June 1998. Accessed February 21, 2013: [http://library.gayhomeland.org/0033/EN/EN\\_Brian\\_Walker.pdf](http://library.gayhomeland.org/0033/EN/EN_Brian_Walker.pdf).

#### Other Secondary Sources

Cherry, Mary Ann. "Brother Don had a Dream." *Morris Kight* (Blog). Accessed January 26, 2013: <http://morriskight.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2011-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2012-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=1>.

Highleyman, Liz. "Past Out." *Seattle Gay News*. Accessed May 14, 2012: [http://www.sgn.org/sgnnews34\\_18/page30.cfm](http://www.sgn.org/sgnnews34_18/page30.cfm)

Vincent, Jon "We Were Here: The AIDS Years in San Francisco" Screened at The Fenway Institute, Boston, MA, November 28, 2011. Film.

Zimmermann, Viktor. "Gay State: an analytical approach." Paper presented at Radically Gay: The Life & Visionary Legacy of Harry Hay, New York, New York, September 27–30, 2012.

"Gay, Lesbian Historical Society of Northern California," LAGAR Newsletter, No. 19, December 1999, accessed December 6, 2011: <http://www2.archivists.org/groups/lesbian-and-gay-archives-roundtable-lagar/lagar-newsletter-no-19-december-1999>.