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"Do Ask, Do Tell: Outing Pacific Northwest History"

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24

Session D:

Historicizing the "Sex" in "Homosexual":

Policing and Community Identity in the Twentieth Century

Mapping the Shifting Queerscape: A Century of Homoerotic Space-Taking & Placemaking in Pacific Canada

When I was a teenaged student at The Evergreen State College, a quarter of a century ago, participating in the founding of Evergreen's first gay and lesbian organization and studying pan-Northwest coast history and political economy, little did I imagine that one day I would give such a talk in a lovely new building in a city that until now I have so successfully avoided. I am one of the token Canadians at this conference but grew up in a well-established transboundary regional culture and came to know the waterfront and maritime union halls of Seattle as well as those of Victoria, where I grew up, and those of Vancouver. In emphasizing Pacific Canada and Vancouver in this discussion, I hope to contribute to a homoregionalism and mode of activist scholarship that, while it does not ignore the implications of the 49th parallel, recognizes that on the Pacific Coast love (and lust) knows few bounds.

It is a delight to be able to contribute to a discussion of putting the "sex" in "homosexual" in the Pacific Northwest. But on this topic I have too much to say for Pacific Canada for such a brief presentation. Rather, this presentation is more about spatializing and mapping the "sex" in "homosexual" as connected to the broader social forces that support particular acts and practices. In this sense, I believe that social change, history, can only be understood in terms of specific contexts: space as in locales, sites, neighbourhoods, landscapes, regions, and territories. And while I like to talk about sex, and male public sex in particular, there really is no point at a conference like this until our methods become far more rigorous -- and spatial. I will throw you a few bones, so to speak, but it is more for your entertainment. For an initial survey of homoerotic public sex in Pacific Canada, you could start with our upcoming University of Toronto Press book, "vancouver(as queer)scape: The construction of public space by sexual minorities in Pacific Canada." In fact, the subtext of this talk on "queerscapes" is that no matter how purely sexual or "outlaw" are the spaces of public sex, they cannot be understood out of context from the broader social landscape and the shifting lines between normalcy and perversion, heterosexuality and homosexuality, between good sex and bad sex, between lust and love, between respectability and disgrace, between exhibitionism and discretion, between "healthy" and "unhealthy" sex, and between niceness and nastiness.

I have come to Tacoma to talk about Vancouver, Canada. These cities have different histories and positions in northwestern North America - and have slightly different relationships to empire and to globalization. But much of what I conclude about means to understand the dynamics of homoerotic social space in "Pacific Canada," those watersheds in Canada that flow

into the Pacific and which comprise about three quarters of British Columbia, can be applied to the Puget Sound region. At times I even argue that the continuity of the public realms of the networks of sexual minorities in Pacific Canada extended to, were influenced by, and altered those in sister cities and towns directly to the south.

My goal is for all of you here to leave with at least an appreciation for the need for clearer analytical frameworks for considering physical "space"ⁱ, and the creation of social and erotic locales, especially in scholarship and activism. And understanding the dynamics of sexuality in public space in landscapes is particularly crucial to making sense of the events, sexual cultures, patterns of territorialization and unfulfilled promises of the northwest coast. My central argument can be summed up, rhetorically, as queer space is partially 'queer' because of efforts to construct and reproduce supposedly stable experiences of homoeroticism and because any attempts to do so almost automatically destabilizes prevailing sexual cultures -- including those around homoeroticism. In the twentieth century, this 'queer' contradiction has manifested in divergent impulses to take space, as in away from heteronormative functions, and to make places as in accommodating "the [local political economic] system" and enriching locations as part of a "deal" with the heteronormative status quo to partially encode such sites as homoerotic. To map a "queerscape," to get the homosexual lay of the land so to speak -- the so-called sexual underground that was actually above-ground, is as much about accounting for these contradictory strategies for survival, as part of finding, making, and existing in homoerotic public space, as charting particular sites such as bars, cafes, and parks. Mapping a queerscape is as much about accounting for incomplete **processes** and possibilities that derive from the continuum of erotic and social desire as it is about is actually there. Such an approach can lead to historical maps of homoerotic spaces in the Pacific Northwest far more complex and rich. And combining the mapping of the queerscape with more period-specific and less essentialist notions of gay men and lesbians, fitting history less into today's experience, produces a far more interesting and enigmatic set of snapshots of what was, what nearly was, and could be in our region and in our respective communities.

Some dialectics of queer space

"Queer space" as constellations of sites of homoeroticism, and of marginalized sexualities, involves a wide range of sometimes conflicting social functions, transactions, power disparities, impacts, codings, and traces. It is impossible to generalize about the constellations of queer spaces of even one area or city. Perhaps the only commonality are some vaguely shared processes of marginalization: of both the "users" along with aspects of surrounding environments. But other than differentials in flows of resources to queer space (and respective users) in comparison to that of heteronormative social space, there are few common forms of marginalization of homoeroticism. In fact, the functions, constraints, and tendencies of queer space vary greatly as related to different genders, nature of gender constructions, classes, languages, cultures, and levels of physical access - within specific political economic and biophysical contexts. In other words, queer space functions variably to resist homophobiaⁱⁱ and associated disparities in relation to the

level of privilege of networks of sexual minorities.

To conceive of queer space, even as simply the vague margins inhabited by sexual outlaws, is to betray particular maps, hierarchies, and frameworks of privileging around desire, social negotiation, and sexual acts. Marginalization of certain sexualities and resistance and accommodation to resulting disparities are always bigger than such one map. And the functions of the **idea** of queer space vary greatly and indicate divergent uses of maps, scholarship, and activism.

A "queerscape"ⁱⁱⁱⁱ is a dynamic and dissonant set of locations supporting a shifting set of desires, identities, acts, and collective agendas. Queerscapes are particularly "queer" because they do not function like some of the more mechanistic and perhaps still Malthusian notions of social systems within landscapes. Queerscapes are comprised of networks of social negotiation based on erotic desire -- only partially rooted in economic and cultural systems. "Desire," here, is defined in expanded terms of eroticism and communality, for example as with sadomasochist communalities, than orgasm-centred gratification. As with human desire, queerscape ecologies are unpredictable, volatile and enigmatic. By being rooted in desire, queerscape ecologies are determined as much by spontaneous impulses for collective play as they are the products of historical conflicts. Queerscape ecologies are as ahistorical as they are historical. Because of the complexity of human culture, sex between people is far less predictable than that between other animals -- whether it be heterosexual or homosexual. Perhaps chaos theory could eventually provide a way to understand the trajectories of the communal spaces of sexual minorities across neighbourhoods and regions. However, human erotic desires, connections, and actual transactions do leave traces across the landscape that in turn shape local sexual cultures -- even in these times of globalization. In fact, local sexual cultures and their more public locations may become more important, in providing the "local colour" necessary for smaller centres to reinvent themselves as alternatives to the older gay and lesbian "ghettos" in larger cities.

The city is an artifact of erotic dissonance with "scenes" that provide particular inspirations, constraints, and opportunities. And the topographies and tectonics of these shifting scenes, that comprise queerscapes, have an increasing bearing on the shape of local public space and activist agendas in general. The uniqueness, the "site-specificity"^{iv} of local social space becomes one means of better tracking transactions, disparities, and agendas. More conscious reconstruction of public space for homoeroticism could be playfully called "queerscape architecture"^v or, alternatively, social engineering. The late Guy Debord, one of the major figure in Situationism, envisioned these more extensive social dialogues as "environmental planning"^{vi}.

Going back to my central argument in today's discussion, the social processes that create homoerotic social space are complex, contradictory, often dialectical, and mappable. In addition, I argue that these dialectics of queer space have direct impacts on homoerotic acts, identities, economics and politics. In my work with Anne-Marie Bouthillette and Cornelia Wyngaarden, on Vancouver as Pacific Canada's major "queerscape," I have seen the "queering"^{vii} of space by concentrations, acts, and, to a lesser extent, by various transitory ideologies. But almost "built-in" to these spaces have been processes that have destabilized the particular sexual cultures and divisions at the time. To belabour my central argument, she and he who understands the maps and

dialectics of queer space in a particular neighbourhood and region has a tremendous methodological advantage in historical, political economic and cultural research on sexual minorities and marginalized sexualities. And as sexual minorities become more visible while diffusing from the late twentieth century ghettos, the mapping of queerscapes holds promise for better tracking disparities between networks of sexual minorities as well as identifying sex in civic politics. Queerscape architecture, as part activist research and part professionalized planning and design, could provide a basis for more effectively intervening around specific communal goals. The maps that I make in my work are intended to influence public policy and decisions about the physical aspects of specific locations but there are many other uses of charting queerscapes.

Frameworks for assessing relationships between minority sexualities, sexual minorities & "space"

"Necessity
is a good tool
she said.
Always it is contemporary."
Helene Rosenthal,
"Peace is an Unknown Continent" Vancouver, 1968^{viii}

In virtually every community, where sexual minorities are present, there is a system of public and private spaces and respective social relationships. Virtually every wave of homosexual, lesbian, gay, and queer activism in the twentieth century effectively has questioned or actually confronted the heterosexist dichotomies of public and private. This strata of marginalized and alienated eroticism in the landscape can be described in terms of aggregated scenes over time. A queerscape is, first of all, a plane, a scape of points of homoerotic desires, some actually dominated by sexual acts with others, especially in repressive times, more constrained and limited to the realm of imagination, talk, and culture. Our concept of the queerscape is directly linked to an expanding framework for understanding and confronting marginality around eroticism, with homophobia being only one part of broader political economic processes that contributes to uneven social access to resources and space in which to make contact.

The roles and nature of communities of sexual minorities have been radically transformed over the last three decades. At various points, public places in or near certain gay enclaves have had crucial roles in making social contact, in general, and in the formation of broader milieux. The notion of "the homosexual community" goes back to the early homophile movements and to liberal, though often somewhat hostile, sociological studies. Since the advent of gay liberation and lesbian feminism, there has been a plethora of visions of lesbian, gay, or queer "community"^{ix}. There has been some discussion of queer communities based on electronic networks without common territory. Recently, there have been some well-founded challenges to the entire notion of

communities. In support of the deconstruction of the mass of association under the label of "community," Michael Warner argued that the notion of a 'gay and lesbian community' has been generated by "Anglo-American identity politics"^x. But such a position avoids the difficult question of what constitutes communities of individuals with only vaguely similar desires, practices, and sensibilities, and with a great disparity in their vulnerability to economic and cultural inequities. Geographer Gill Valentine contested the singular notion of "the lesbian community," for a particular piece of territory, given contests over ideology, resources, and between "cliques"^{xi}. A more precise geographical unit larger than an individual that can be tracked both in terms of "space and time"^{xii} is needed. One solution is the notion of constellations of strategic sites for sexual minorities, with various associated behaviours, forms of contact, and alliances across the landscape: a queer scape.

Before there are ever collective impacts on places, neighbourhoods, and regions, there are individual acts of queer sexualities and individualized relationships. But before there are bases of rights as stakeholders and members of the community, there can still be contact. At the end of the twentieth century, in the West, these early communal processes are often reductively labelled "preStonewall." In fact, most of these relatively isolated acts still go on today and, if examined carefully, can tell us much about how our more sophisticated networks and communities, of today, function and do not function.

The beginning of exploring any queerscape ecology, or any system of public open space for that matter, is establishing a range of subjectivities and then beginning to group experiences in terms of such commonalities as desire, activities, constraints such as policing, and sites. It is in the surveying of the particular nature of "the connective power of subjectivity"^{xiii} in a landscape and the social relations associated with particular sites that there is the basis for determining crucial and vulnerable queer space. The social transactions that take place on particular sites comprise the social matrices of a queerscape. There are various means to track particular types of relationships and exchanges, no matter how unique each transaction is, but it is usually necessary to start with a small number of functions of mutual benefit.

Strategic functions of 'queer' sites in a peripheral & multicultural region

Some of the first queer spaces were formed through communal responses to sites of resistance to homophobic repression. In one sense, queer space is always a response to homophobia. A queer site is a singular point of expression, exchange, sexuality, or resistance, in the "landscape," which counters loss of use and habitation because of social changes and events rooted in homophobia. The binary notion of ghetto / non-ghetto is giving way to subtle maps of pleasure, threat, isolation, opportunity, and communality.

In charting marginalized sexualities in peripheral regions such as Pacific Canada, new ways to recognize temporary, nomadic, shared, and often only partially coded and territorialized queer spaces are needed. Cartographies that diverge from those used for heteronormative social spaces become necessary: ones that reflect the typical minority experience and particular importance of an often small and tenuous number of locations. If gauged in terms of Cartesian

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geographies, there are kinds of queer points, lines, polygons; projections, scales, and tiling. A queerscape is not only a landscape^{xiv} with sexual minorities. A queerscape is also a social dimension of the landscape, a social overlay, where the interplays of the assertion and marginalization of sexualities are in constant flux and the space for sexual minorities is "decentered"^{xv}, in terms of increasingly supporting stigmatized activities and identities. Queerscapes embody processes that counter those that directly harm, discount, isolate, ghettoize, and assimilate. A queerscape is, therefore, a cumulative kind of spatial unit, a set of places, a plane of subjectivities constituting a collectivity, involving multiple alliances of lesbian, gay men, bisexuals, and transsexuals and supporting a variety of activities, transactions, and functions. At least for some time to come, a queerscape nearly always overlaps with and is surrounded by social groups where heterosexuality is supposedly the norm.

Until the last decade, there was little recognition of gay men and lesbians influencing and having stakes in, urban space -- outside of notions of gentrification by privilege males. In beginning to track the spaces of marginalized sexualities in the major metropolitan areas of Pacific Canada, around Vancouver, we can begin to draw some parallels and contrasts with Anderson's 1991 assessment of the city's Chinatown^{xvi}. As in the case of the Vancouver's Chinese-Canadian population, these marginalized communities are marginal only in so far as they are defined as such by the ruling or hegemonic group -- and only as long as that alliance reproduces its domination. Just as the category "Chinese" was constructed as a regionally specific term in Pacific Canada as a particular kind of "other" by Europeans in the late nineteenth century, the category "homosexual" exists only when opposed to the dominant category 'heterosexual'. Both are relative categories, and in more ways than this, since self-identities like "homosexual" or "gay" or "lesbian" can also vary spatially. For instance, gay men in rural communities identify themselves much differently than gay men in the inner city, much the same way that Chinese people in China at the turn of the century presumably defined themselves quite differently than those in Pacific Canada at the same time. As Anderson has so ably demonstrated in her history of Vancouver's Chinatown, the local cultural context is far from a passive agent in the construction and reproduction of such identities: "in an important and neglected sense," she wrote,

"'Chinatown' belongs as much to the society with the power to define and shape it as it does to its residents"^{xvii}.

And as also becomes evident in Anderson's work, this local context is not static. As a result, spaces that were once considered physically or culturally marginal may become accepted — and in some cases sought after -- by more dominant classes. But in the literature, there has been theoretical gaps in understanding sexual minorities and space. There has been a simplistic collapsing of recoding and gentrification of public space. For example, Winchester and White described an initial phase of gentrification by marginal groups -- including sexual minorities, as part of this revaluing of urban public space^{xviii}. These frameworks have neglected the "costs" of access to public space, whether homoerotic or heteronormative and overtly 'queer' and furtive, effectively paid by sexual minorities.

The city as conflicted artifact of the histories of marginalized (homo)sexualities

The city is an artifact of conflicts about sexuality. Western North American cities such as Vancouver and Victoria embody relatively recent narratives that are imperial, neocolonial or early federalist, nationalist, and "globalizing." This coding and more profound constructions of this urban space has constrained homoerotic contact while providing new opportunities for contact. Every homoerotic site, be it overt or more ephemeral or covert, requires certain transaction costs for certain, often marginal - for sexual minorities, benefits.

To illustrate the charting of a series of queer sites only somewhat linked into a route, I take you to the densest portion of the queerscape of southwestern Canada over the last century: central Vancouver. I would like to now take you on one of the historical traversals across Vancouver that our research group has developed -- one that I find particularly disturbing and exhilarating. This traversal illustrates class disparities, very much linked to gender, ethnicity, and language, that became heightened in Vancouver from the years leading up to World War I to well into the Cold War and the initial apparatuses of the Welfare State. In moving from homosexual abjection to relative privilege, from east to west in central Vancouver, I skip across eras with cumulative impacts that remain today. This queer route subverts the cultural paradigm of class upward mobility, that was complicated by sexuality, that has dominated the culture of North American cities such as Vancouver.

By the end of World War I, many of the people who came to work and settle in Vancouver arrived by train. Two grand train stations were constructed: one for trains coming from other parts of Canada and the other for trains coming from the United States. By this time, class, racial, and cultural barriers had intensified and had a tremendous impact on still hidden, homoerotic meeting spaces.

■.■.~+ Exit either of the train stations which are today merged. Come to the park in the front of the train station with its The Women's Monument Against Victims of Male Violence. "Marker for Change," was erected in 1997 in memorial to the 14 women murdered at L'Ecole Polytechnique in Montréal in 1989. At the southern point of the historic isthmus, *Khiwah'esks*, 'separated points', is the austere Monument, with its casket-like benches of cemetery-like pink granite with vulvic indentations. While the old trees are lovely, visitors remain quite vulnerable to the escalating violence in the area. For the time being, "Marker for Change" will be mainly a site for collective grief rather than for new communalities without violence against women.

■■~.~ Go a block north on Main Street to the Georgia Viaduct, the location of the Vanport Hotel Pub at 645 Main Street -- another major lesbian space from the nineteen fifties until 1975. This was a major site of butch / femme social life. Even though the Vanport was less than a block from the centre of Pacific Canada's only centre for public Black culture, there are reports of extensive racism in the bar well into the nineteen sixties.

At this point, Chose between going east and west. People of non-British backgrounds often faced difficulties being served if they went much farther west. But the shacks on the east side of the fast-growing "chess-board Town"^{xix} were often drafty and unsanitary. If you were not of nearly all western European heritages, head north and east.

~■.■ Walk through the primarily black "shack town," Hogan's Alley^{xx}, that ran east of Main Street of Park Lane for about a block, and then east between Prior and Union Streets, ending around Jackson Street. Hogan's Alley was a neighbourhood of over 800 people living in flimsy wooden frame shacks, barely large enough for extended families. Vancouver historian Donna McKinnon noted that, "It was only about 8 feet wide, but brimmed with life emanating from the cafes, gambling joints, and hang-outs spread along either side of it. Not only was it the place where most of Vancouver's Blacks lived until around the Second World War, but was also home to Asian and Italian immigrants who were unwelcome in other neighbourhoods of the city."^{xxi} A black neighbourhood identity, formed largely around United States colored culture, intensified in the nineteen twenties and a strong numeric presence was established by World War II. In the Great Depression, a group of black families were forced off their farms in the Canadian Prairies and resettled near the railway. Most of the males were soon unionized for the first time, in the Brotherhood of Railway Car Porters, while women developed a parallel economy around "joints" with southern cooking and jazz called "chicken houses."

■~:■+ Walking to the south end of Jackson, pass what was sometimes called Crabapple Point and come to the huge vacant lot which was once part of the city dump. Built on the False Creek tidal flats the area was often referred to as "the jungle." Unemployed men lived in makeshift shacks. A hobo culture, somewhat tolerant of homoeroticism, flourished there in the first decades of the twentieth century.

~.■.■ Back to Prior Street, walk north through the streets and alleys of the Strathcona neighbourhood. Today, this area illustrate the highly segregated but temporary nature of the layout of Vancouver's early ethnic neighbourhoods.

||■ Along East Hastings is the former sites of community activist Jamie Lee Hamilton's transgendered and cross-dressing refuge, The Rainbow Room, at 573 East Hastings and Princess Street. In the mid-nineteen nineties, The Rainbow Room was "a space for people to dress up and be safe and to be as decadent as they want to be...to push the norm of gender and how we view gender."^{xxii}

■+■=■+ Going east on East Hastings pass through the overlapping spaces of street walkers and / or heroin addiction. Today this neighbourhood, called Downtown Eastside, has some of the highest murder and drug overdose rates in Canada and one of the highest rates of HIV

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infection, from IV drug use, in North America. Near the corner of Clark, we search out the former bowling alley at 1268 East Hastings. Here was one of the first headquarters of Canada's first gay rights organization, ASK, in December 1967 and January 1968. ASK had several offices before those years when Prime Minister Trudeau had already announced the omnibus bill that in 1969 would begin to decriminalize homosexuality in Canada. This was the major site in Canada where defiant and above-ground advocacy of that decriminalization in those years in the "mid-sixties" was directed by self-identified homosexuals as "homophiles."

Life has been tough along East Hastings in the last century and today the area has some of the highest rates of violent crime in Canada. With globalization it is bound to get rougher. Both today and seventy years ago, you may want to avoid some of the discomfort. In the early twentieth century, if you were white and spoke English pretty well, and could pass for one gender or the other, you could go west. Earlier in the twentieth century, you could have taken a streetcar. Today take a regional transit bus though the ones from the suburbs may not stop for you.

■ ■ ■ || After Main Street, a major line between middle class and working class Vancouver, stop on the north side of Cordova Street to the New Fountain Club 45 West Cordova. From the nineteen fifties to 1969, The New Fountain was perhaps the first visible public space for "gay women" and remained less racist and more culturally mixed than the Vanport which was established after it.

■ = ■ || ^ Stop west of Gastown, you go up the hill to the current site of the Club Vancouver, at 339 West Pender Street established twenty years ago. Part of the original Club Baths chain, with its origins in the sexual revolution, Club Vancouver now caters to clientele with a large percentage of East Asian males.

= ~ ■ = ■ Downstairs from the Club Vancouver was B.J.'s Show Club. Originally with a mixed gay and lesbian clientele, with some of the best drag shows in Vancouver throughout the seventies, B.J.'s became Mr. T's in the nineteen eighties. As older forms of drag went out of fashion, in part because of feminist criticism of misogyny, new forms of queer theatricality blossomed such as that of The Udderly Fabulous Cowbelles, who raised money for PWAs.

| ■ = || South a block is the recently completed BC Hydro office tower between Hamilton and Homer. Near the bland public garden was the site of the Alcazar Hotel Bar at 337 Dunsmuir Street, a major site for modernist decorum and homosexuality from the late nineteen forties into the nineteen sixties. The Alcazar's relatively tolerant owner-management was hounded in the late nineteen forties and early nineteen fifties by the Archdiocese of Vancouver which argued that the surrounding blocks comprised a kind of Catholic space that was threatened by the Alcazar's permissiveness^{xxiii}. Perhaps they

were correct.

- .■ Go west on Dunsmuir and come to the recently completed downtown campus of the British Columbia Institute of Technology, the former site of the gay, mid-nineteen seventies, P. S. Club at 571 Seymour.
- ~■+ Down Seymour to West Hastings and going west come to the former location of a gay male bathhouse from the nineteen sixties and seventies: Dino's Vancouver Turkish Baths at 744 West Hastings.
- *■.■ Moving west along West Hastings and then going south on Hornby, find The Abbotsford Hotel Bar at 921 West Pender Street, between Burrard and Hornby. This hotel, now refurbished as the Day Inn, had a gay pub in the nineteen fifties and nineteen sixties.
- .■.■.■ Moving south on Howe a block and then northwest on Dunsmuir a block, you come to what was, in 1944, the women's military hostel established at 901 Dunsmuir with a service entrance on Hornby.
- |=■|* Moving south two blocks on Howe to Georgia Street, there is what was the node for white, middle-class gay men, "rich fags" as they were called disparagingly. Three of the most luxurious hotels in World War II and the Cold War were located here: all across from the old Court House. The Georgia Hotel Tavern at 801 West Georgia Street at Howe had a gay drinking space downstairs from the nineteen fifties to nineteen seventies.
- .■.~+■ The Hong Kong Bank of Canada now sits atop the site of the Devonshire Hotel Tavern at 849 West Georgia Street at the corner of Hornby. Completed in 1925 as a luxury hotel, the downstairs lounge was a major gay male haunt from the nineteen fifties, and perhaps earlier, to as late as the nineteen seventies.
- .■|= Crossing the street, come to Hotel Vancouver at 900 Georgia. The well-designed basement represented the pinnacle of white gay male privilege in the nineteen fifties and sixties. The current building was not completed until 1939. The basement had a pub, changing rooms, athletic facilities, and a massive washroom that was a major centre for toilet sex^{xxiv}.

There are many other queer routes through twentieth century Vancouver, ones that parallel and sometimes transect this one. These routes linked isolated sites and created narratives that rationalized, at least to certain networks of sexual minorities, social spaces. Another way to conceive of routes such as this one is as initial cracks in the hegemony on heterosexuality in the Cold War. An homoerotic **world** was reiterated and established in Vancouver that began to transform the city.

The dialectics of homoerotic space-taking & placemaking

The queerscape embodies divergent and sometimes competing and even conflicting strategies to make contact, to survive homophobia, and to make room for a diverse set of social and cultural experiences often grouped under the rubric of "community." A map of a queerscape is a spatial charting of processes and tensions as much as fixed places. One example of dynamics in strategies around body space, public space, and state are between space-taking and placemaking. Space-taking has embodied overt resistance to a political economic status quo *vis-à-vis* sexuality. In contrast, placemaking seeks gaps and vacuums, "open niches" to borrow an expression from ecology, where heteronormative controls are less effective. But space-taking can also involve forms of accommodation to "the system" especially when acquisition of property is involved. And placemaking can be subversive. Placemaking and space-taking have direct relationships to each other in neighbourhoods marked as gay, lesbian, and transgendered "friendly." For example, the area around Sheridan Square where the most celebrated queer space-taking erupted, the 1969 Stonewall Riots, already had extensive placemaking in the form of gay-friendly businesses which made payments to the police and the Mafia. The space-taking riots expanded rather compressed gay space as the benefits of the earlier placemaking strategies were exhausted.

As for space-taking, Vancouver has not seen the likes of New York's Stonewall Riots or even the kind of mass public resistance in Toronto in the early nineteen eighties around the bath house raids. But there has been a lot of under-utilized public space to take or at least to heavily code and then increasingly occupy. There were some major gay demonstrations in the nineteen seventies in Vancouver but there were never more than several that exceeded a thousand people. Most of those events did not exceed a hundred people. Rancorous Stonewall-type space-taking, that appropriated and took back, has been, so far, less used than elsewhere.

The formation of homoerotic space in Stanley Park of the city's first ghetto, the West End, provides an early example of more covert space-taking. Chinatown, also referred to as "Celestialland" for its nightlife and brothels, was coded as the space of "the other," of alterity in cultures and sexual morality, after a series of racist riots in the late eighteen eighties and early eighteen nighties. In the years before World War I, the nascent social spaces of homoeroticism in Chinatown were the subjects of intensified police surveillance. While sex between white men was a cause for police entrapment and intervention, a large portion, if not the majority, of the homosexuality that lead to arrests and trials involved intercultural / inter-racial liaisons. And this was at a time when Vancouver was being transformed from Canada's first truly multiracial city to one that would have a tenuous anglo-saxon majority for the next half-century^{xxv}.

Ceperly Wharf, at what is today the southeast corner of Stanley Park, had been a major cruising site for sailors since the eighteen nineties. As police surveillance and arrests intensified, "open space"^{xxvi} as in public and poorly policed sites provided one of the most secure and satisfying means to make contact between males -- especially white males who would have been less conspicuous in the neighbourhood. The park area was only partially depopulated of Squamish people and there was a remaining village, Whoi-Whoi. At the same period, there was a struggle within the city administration and its Parks Board between advocates of development of

recreational facilities for the working classes and real estate interests preferring to maintain the park as natural in the marketing of more middle-class housing. This latter City Beautiful movement position, with its supposed emphasis on nature, won out effectively limiting the number of people using the more remote areas of the park. Thus one of Canada's most extensive and long-occupied locations of male public sex became established.

Much of the formation of male homoerotic space in Stanley Park was more space-taking than placemaking for a number of reasons. The heterosexual population and the police had a pretty good idea of what went on in the remote parts of Stanley Park. A substantial police presence on the muddy trails would have required too many resources. Presence of public sex was a kind of early resistance -- one where there was a good chance of not getting caught. But a lone male being seen going into those remote trails was effectively marked for suspicion. Public sex regulars knew the more discreet entrances to the park, the routes to elude the infrequently present police, and ways to appear to not be homosexual. Thus the core of Stanley Park was surreptitiously taken for male homosexual recreation from the official, heteronormative male leisure spaces. This area of the park may have been a large closet for some but was a zone of active resistance for others. At the same time, there were elements of accommodation and "niche-filling" as few groups other than agile males would have had access to those areas of the park. I argue that the formation of these areas of public sex were space-taking because of the level of agency and the conscious and coordinated resistance to the state.

An early example of placemaking is the emergence of gay and lesbian bars in Vancouver in the nineteen fifties. Until in the nineteen sixties, 'queer' social spaces in Vancouver were marked as much by racial and class divisions as by sexualities. What complicates this situation for women is that lesbian social space, that of butch / femme culture in particular^{xxvii}, became visible in Vancouver in the one period in history, 1954 to 1969, when sex between women was specifically illegal. The lesbian scenes at the New Fountain and later at the Vanport were part of bad girl abjection zones where female prostitutes and heroin addicts were forced together. Both the New Fountain and the Vanport were some of the most squalid bars in Vancouver^{xxviii}; no other client group would have tolerated the filthy conditions. In a 1966 Chatelaine article, supposedly nice lesbians in Vancouver did not use public space and were content with dinner parties^{xxix}.

There was lesbian placemaking but little space-making in the nineteen fifties and early nineteen sixties in Vancouver, in contrast to separatist space-taking in the nineteen seventies, because the economic options for these women, especially if identified as "gay," were so limited. In the nineteen fifties, there were substantial levels of violent intimidation in the lives of these women that constrained their homoerotic expression. The New Fountain and the Vanport became relatively safe spaces -- including for the expression of discrete female homoeroticism. Because of archaic liquor laws in place until the early nineteen seventies, these "Ladies Parlours" were monitored by male bartenders, providing relatively safe spaces to begin to get homoerotic in public. Men were kept out of these spaces because of liquor laws dating back to the nineteen twenties. But this accommodation only took space for lesbians as numbers increased and some heterosexual women and men began to avoid those spaces. An additional factor is that these spaces were some of the first that were relatively public where women could talk about sexuality,

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"to talk dirty," in ways that would make males uncomfortable.

Another example of placemaking, of partial and covert construction of homoerotic space as opposed to overt appropriation, are the male bars in Vancouver in the same period. For example, the pub in the Ambassador Hotel had a strong homosexual male presence by the early nineteen fifties. A 1953 document^{xxx}, for the renewal of their liquor license, gives some indication of the kinds of accommodations, accommodations in terms of not admitting to being the moral / sexual "other," that were necessary. I believe that most individuals involved with the review would have detected this was a homosexual space. However, the charade continued to be necessary to assure that this was merely a narrative of placemaking, that just happened to tolerate the presence of 'queers' and not resistance to heteronormative morality or space-taking.

1. The hotel had been refurbished in 1950 and was fairly "up-to-date" and not a "dive" like the lesbian bars of the same period.
2. "Hotel gives very good accommodation although it lacks private bath rooms." [There would have been a selection against women less comfortable with sharing with men. A group of homoerotic and homosexual-tolerant males were probably more willing to share bathing areas.]
3. owners:
 - a. (older brother) "An energetic, dependable individual. Devotes his full time to the operation of his hotel and has no other interests." [This is suggesting that the older brother would direct and keep the possibly homosexual younger brother in line.]
 2. (younger brother) Jack Kagna (probably homosexual) "Appears to be most dependable and sincere in his attitude. Devotes his full time to the operation of this hotel and has no other interests. No police record." [The younger brother was a bachelor and most likely homosexual but without a police record was probably keeping his proclivities hidden and relegated to private space].
4. "Since taking over in 1950 have cleaned out undesirables and at the present time experience no difficulty in the operation of the licensed premises." [The subtext here probably includes gay and lesbian "perverts" as "undesirable" replacing the space with less obvious homosexual deviants who had more money (generating money for the province) and were more discrete).]

Maps as readings of social architectures of buildings & public space

Designs and post-construction plans of those designs involve a finer scale of mapping the queerscape. In some cases, certain locales and public spaces, in particular, embody and reiterate broader power dynamics involving politics, economics and competing sexual cultures (as

competing moral systems). I now illustrate how queer placemaking and space-taking have often occurred simultaneously and in adjacent areas. Sometimes there even been overlap. I examine, and begin to "read," a complex of designed public spaces over two blocks in one of the cultural centres of Vancouver. Bounded by Georgia, Smythe, Burrard, and Howe, and dissected by Robson Street, this landscape is rich in icons of both placemaking and space-taking. The fulcrum of this complex is the area designed as Robson Square with the new Courts and the hold Courthouse by architect Arthur Erickson, a well-identified gay man, a collaboration with landscape architect, Cornelia Oberlander. This design, as a mediation of placemaking and space-taking, is worth examining for two reasons. Erickson is one of the more "out" gay men of the major twentieth century North American architects. As importantly, the design received, in 1978, the first major international prize for a design for a landscape and public space in Pacific Canada.

In the twentieth century, Robson Street has been the centre of conflicting notions of public, consumer and private space. In the early years of World War II, Robson was the location of riots between anti-fascist and pro-Nazi Germans. A decade later Robson was the epicentre centre, in the western half of Canada, for the bohemian, "alternative modernist enterprise"^{xxxix} that tolerated homosexual subcultures. Hundreds of unmarried service workers, teachers and artists began living in the apartment buildings off of Robson Street. It was here on the north side of the West End, that the first proto-ghetto in western Canada formed for homosexuals -- one that was to prefigure the gay ghetto that emerged in the nineteen seventies on the south side of the West End^{xxxix}. And it was these classes that was so often targeted by police in the Cold War era. In the nineteen fifties, this was also the area where the first "high rise" towers were built in western Canada.

The former central branch of the Vancouver Public Library was at Robson and Burrard from the late nineteen fifties to the mid-nineteen nineties. This site was a major site of relative tolerance of sexual minorities and a strategic site for information and meetings in the nineteen sixties. This building remains a major piece of modernist architecture, designed by Vancouver-based Semmens Simpson from 1953 and 1957^{xxxix}. Today, the space still resonates as the former haven for information on sexuality, early gay rights meetings, and, not to mention, cruising. Now a Virgin Megastore with a Planet Hollywood restaurant, the location has gone from regional to more international functions attracting many off-shore tourists.

Moving east on Robson a block, stop in at the flag store of Duthie's Books, at 919 Robson Street, a major supporter in the fight against homophobic censorship. Continuing east on the north side of Robson, we cross Hornby Street to the Vancouver Art Gallery (VAG), an important regional centre of culture. Today's VAG was the region's courthouse until the nineteen seventies and it was here that many men were sentenced for buggery and gross indecency and where lesbians had their children taken away from them -- to name but a few injustices. Robson Square is filled with tight contradictions.

Today, this side of Robson Square, with its monumental steps, is used for a range of marginal functions from chess playing to leafleting to drug dealing. Unfortunately, the terrace of the VAG's outdoor café is overwhelmed by the monolithic face of the Eaton's department store to the east. But this space still resonates as the heart of "democratic" (and gay tolerant) public

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space^{xxxiv} in Vancouver. This site has been the location of more political demonstrations than any other in Vancouver in the twentieth century. There were the numerous labour demonstrations going back to before the Depression. One of the first gay demonstrations in Vancouver was held on August 28, 1971, simultaneously with one in Ottawa, to mark the second anniversary of the beginning of decriminalization -- the first large gay demonstrations in Canada. The twenty demonstrators on the steps of the Vancouver Courthouse attracted a crowd of 150 to 200 -- not all of whom were supporters. Many of the Act Up demonstrations took place here in the early nineteen nineties. The Day Without Art moment of silent observations every December 1 is located on the north side of this plaza. Across Robson Street from the steps of the VAG are the northern end of the massive new provincial Law Courts. This design represents a kind of mediation on the tensions in central Vancouver's public space and I will revisit it in a moment. A half a block south on Hornby are two offices of the British Columbia Human Rights Commission -- which is increasingly having to deal with questions of sexual minorities in public institutions and other forms of space.

As a queer "nationalist" space, this part of Robson Street was the central location of ACT UP actions in 1990 and 1991. ACT UP Vancouver emerged as much from a century of western Canadian left traditions of activism as the globalizing network of activism to fight AIDS and homophobia. The majority of the ACT UP meetings and actions were held around Robson Street within blocks of the VAG -- a site of deep historical resonance for resistance to the state in Pacific Canada. ACT UP Vancouver began in July of 1990^{xxxv} three years after the celebrated New York chapter was formed and well after there were functioning chapters in larger North American cities. In recent British Columbia history, the July 1990 date is significant because it was a few years after the peak of homophobic hysteria around AIDS in the provincial government. Within the volatile contexts of Vancouver's core neighbourhoods, the reasons for the short-lived nature and relatively minor impacts of the Vancouver chapter of ACT UP become crucial to understanding the dynamics of Vancouver's queerscapes between 1987 and 1992. Geographer Michael Brown incorrectly argued that ACT UP Vancouver "failed" in having an impact in those years due to the group's "fixed and static notions of space" and its "hard and fast separation between state and civil society in the city"^{xxxvi}. In addition, the group was far more active in this central area along Robson Street and at other points across the city than Brown surmised^{xxxvii}. ACT UP appropriated the space of righteous anger, popular struggle, claimed for much of the twentieth century by the left, for desperately needed social resources for people with AIDS.

The complex of public space in which the Erickson / Oberlander plaza design was placed embodies contradictory strategies for constructing social spaces of homoerotic pleasure, consumption, and resistance. The area is a fulcrum for the public life of the city. Here, erotic pleasure is rooted in cruising -- which is often associated with reduced forms of social and sexual contact. This part of Robson Street links and mediates modes of consumption such as between department stores, notably Eatons, and more recent, and no less corporate, designer outlets such as Roots and Armani Xchange. At various points the space of the street, courthouse steps and the plaza have been taken, temporarily, for resistance. The north to south axis of this complex has a special significance to sexual minorities with the extreme north end being the location of trials and

prison sentences for homosexuality. In the contrast at the south end of this axis are offices for the provincial human rights commission which is slowly implementing human rights protections around sexual orientation. The tensions in this complex have been softened by the designs of Erickson and Oberlander though the north-south axis remains didactic.

At the northern end of Robson Square this complex of public space are sites for overt resistance, through demonstrations on the steps of the former courthouse. Inside the building is contemporary art some of which has embodied conflicts over ideas that remain relevant to public policy and the local body politic. Mediating contemporary art and increasingly well-choreographed use of public space and spectacle, on the steps of the old Courthouse, and the current courts is a strip that connects zones of competing modes of consumerism along Robson Street, hanging gardens that break up and emasculate the public space on the south side of the street, and the human rights commission offices that deal in the limited realm of administrative law.

Queerscapes as regional contexts

A research framework locating homoerotic sites, routes, nodes, and more consciously territorialised spaces, as sort of "queerscape-as-paradigm," may hold some advantage for understanding the histories of formerly peripheral regions such as the Pacific Northwest and Pacific Canada. Relating our temporal information to geographies tends to foster the specificity that in turn highlights the diversities that is embodied in the social networks of sexual minorities over the last century in our regions. Queerscapes better track the effective segregation that many groups have experiences along lines of gender, race, language, culture, nationality, class, age, and physical mobility. But maps are only as useful as the research questions which stimulate their use in the first place.

Much of my research has confirmed that it is difficult to generalize about the experiences of sexual minorities beyond those of specific networks associated with particular locations. And as an environmental planner and designer, this site-specificity often leads more easily to specific objectives and interventions in contrast to distilled conclusions for the social sciences. Still, examining the environmental contexts of the experiences of sexual minorities, and identifying commonality and divergence, can be highly beneficial for historical research. More questions emerge around initial framing of research questions and opportunities and constraints on applications of the results.

In the following example, I ask a series of research questions as I compare and contrast the queerscape(s) of the combined Puget Sound and Strait of Georgia regions. For some of us, these questions may underlay much of our work in scholarship, public policy and advocacy for some time.

1. Can we conceive of one queerscape throughout the Puget Sound and Strait of Georgia, what has been called "The Salish Sea"?

2. Whereas there has been a tremendous connectivity between populations of sexual minorities in central Seattle and central Vancouver, at certain points over the last century and half, how do we account for smaller cities such as Victoria and Nanaimo, in the north, and Tacoma and Olympia in the south? Related to this question is that of the value of aggregating maps of queer sites around densities and possibly revisiting various enclaves, suburbs, and one-gay and lesbian bar towns.

3. How has the queerscape of our regions been shaped and occasionally interrupted by the United States-Canadian border? What has been the convergent and the divergent roles of the state and the judiciary *vis-à-vis* a range of laws and government programmes from homophobic laws, race and language, human rights protections, the Cold War witch hunts, often closely allied military institutions; laws around propriety, morality and common space; health care; and media -- to name but a few public sphere.

4. How has relatively free movement for many across the international boundary, but not all, allowed sexual minorities, even to the extent of including transsexuals and transvestites, to better survive isolation, prejudice, and the too often various malevolent government apparatuses?

5. Did and do the relatively rich, and sometimes divergent, discourses on sexuality that overlap in the media of the common borderlands Canada and the United States -- from Seattle to Vancouver to Victoria, contribute to heightened and more critical politics on both sides of the border?

6. Have and do sexual cultures and the structure of homoerotic networks different significantly across the border? If so, for which locales and groups?

7. In terms of privately and publicly initiated queer space, what have been the comparative opportunities and constraints between jurisdictions across our regions?

8. Even with different governmental and judicial systems, even some major divergence in public policy, is queer space in the northwestern USA terribly different to that in southwestern Canada? When there is divergence in opportunities and constraints, is it more related to local and neighbourhood political economies than in national and regional cultures - and what have been the historical patterns and what are the current trends?

Conclusions:

Emerging queerscape architectures in Pacific Canada

Homoerotic space-taking in Pacific Canada did not start with Stonewall. The construction of homoerotic and increasingly 'queer' social space began as recent cities such as Vancouver were conceived and imposed on the landscape. The accommodations of placemaking eventually laid the basis to queer and radicalize social spaces leading to new waves of space-taking. There was

always a symbiosis between accommodation and confrontation even when rhetorical differences within so-called gay and lesbian "communities" suggested otherwise. The significance of today's look at the construction of homoerotic and truly 'queer' (at least as in queer nationalist) space in Vancouver is less in differentiating space-taking from placemaking. More important is my highlighting of the limited set of options available to sexual minorities for constructing social space within hostile political economies -- and the creative ways that these interventions were used.

It is only with inventorying the wider range of "post-ghetto" interventions, that are now available in more tolerant cities such as Vancouver and Seattle -- and less tolerant suburbs and towns, that new alliances and means for queering public (and private) space can be envisioned. The twentieth century tensions between space-taking and placemaking will soon be history. New forms of resistance that invert the old dichotomies, and politics, are inevitable. A range and clustering of interventions that are more carefully coordinated can be used for more precise forms of "queerscape architecture" -- to support kinds of interactions and experiences that were dismissed as trivial decades before. The finer points of these possible interventions might differ between San Juan County and the Gulf Islands but, so far, there has been little comparison along lines of specific networks, locales, and questions of public policy. The more conscious design and establishment of these queer spaces, on both sides of the international border as urbanization further links the north and the south, will in turn provide the basis for new sexual cultures that 'queer,' as in celebrate homoerotic love, as well as positively disorient and decentre heteronormative public life in ways that, as of today, have been barely conceived.



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Notes

- i. M. Merleau-Ponty. 1962. *Phenomenology of Perception*. (Colin Smith trans.). New York: London.
- ii. Gilbert Herdt & Andrew Boxer. 1992. Introduction: Culture, history, and life course of gay men, in: *Gay Culture in America: Essays from the field* (Gilbert Herdt ed.) Boston: Beacon Press. pp. 1 - 28. See page 2 where they relate the emergence of notions of homophobia to the emergence of the gay liberation and civil rights protections movements.
- iii. G. B. Ingram. 1997. Marginality and the landscapes of erotic alien(n)ations. in *Queers in Space:*

Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance. Ingram, G. B., A.-M. Bouthillette and Y. Retter (eds.). Seattle: Bay Press. pp. 27 - 52.

iv. The idea of site-specificity emerged with early articulations of postmodernism and critiques of modernist overgeneralizations. Over the last two decades, the term has also intersected with many of the impulse and practices associated with site-based art and with landscape architecture's often vague notion of "sense of place." See page 55 of Craig Owens In "The allegorical impulse: Toward a theory of postmodernism" in *Beyond Recognition: Representation, power, and culture*. S. Bryson, B. Kruger, L. Tillman and J. Weinstock (editors). 52 - 69, Berkeley: University of California Press & pp. 17, 150 - 186 of Douglas Crimp's 1992 *On the Museum's Ruins*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press.

v. Ingram, G. B., Y. Retter, and A.-M. Bouthillette. 1997. Strategies for (re)constructing queer communities. In *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*. pp. 447 - 457.

vi. Guy Debord. (translated by D. Nicholson-Smith). originally 1967 (1994). *The Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Zone Books.

vii. David Bell, Jo Binnie, Julia Cream. & Gill Valentine. 1994. All hyped up and no place to go, *Gender, Place and Culture* 1(1): 31 - 47. See p. 32.

viii. Helene Rosenthal. 1968. *Peace is an Unknown Continent*. Vancouver: Talonbooks. p. 10.

ix. For two of the more influential discussions of lesbian and / or gay communities, see John D'Emilio. 1983. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; M. Lauria & L. Knopp. 1985. Towards an analysis of the role of gay communities in the urban renaissance. *Urban Geography* 6(2): 152 - 169.

x. Michael Warner. 1993. Introduction. In *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer politics and social theory*. Michael Warner (ed.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. pp. vii - xxxi., p. xxv.

xi. Gill Valentine. (1995) Out and about: Geographies of lesbian landscapes, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 19: 98 - 111. See p. 105.

xii. "I am not in space and time, nor do I conceive space and time; I belong to them, my body combines with them and includes them. The scope of this inclusion is the measure of my existence." (M. Merlau-Ponty. 1962. *Phenomenology of Perception*. p. 140).

xiii. Ryuta Imafuku. 1995. Glass made of water. in *Transculture La Biennale di Venezia 1995*, F. Nanjo & D. Friis-Hansen (curators). Tokyo: The Japan Foundation. pp. 54 - 58. See p. 56.

xiv. "Scape" is used as in "the whole uneasy scape" (Samual R. Delany. (1974) 1996. *Dhalgren*.

Hanover, New Hampshire: Wesleyan University Press / University Press of New England. p. 382.). "Landscape" is derived from the German, *landschaft*, (Denis Cosgrove. 1985. Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 10: 45 - 62, see 56 - 57) and the Flemish, *landschap*, words that were coined as there was greater commercial and travel across and between the regions. In terms of modern usage of "queerscape," there was a related precedent in an early Dutch gay journal, from the 1950s, called *Vriendschap*, as in friendscape. See the magazine's announcement in *One* (Los Angeles) 1(2) (February 1958): 8.

xv. Our use of "decentred" based on the recent use of "decentered" in the United States, is in the sense of diverse and always marginal in terms of attempts at a totalizing ideology. For example, Arlene Stein (1992. Sisters and queers: The decentering of lesbian feminism. *Socialist Review* 22(1): 33 - 35) outlined the diversification of 'local' identities (p. 53), in contrast to more centrist ideologies such as early, more unitary lesbian feminism.

xvi. K. J. Anderson. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.

xvii. *ibid.*, p. 10.

xviii. Winchester, H. and P. White. 1988. The location of marginalised groups in the inner city. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6(1): 37 - 54. See p. 44.

xix. Thomas H. Mawson. 1913. Vancouver - City of optimists. *Town Planning Review* 4(1): 7 - 12. See upper area of Plate 10.

xx. Andrea Fatona and Cornelia Wyngaarden, 1994, *Hogan's Alley*, colour, English language, 32:30 minutes, distributed by Video In, 1965 Main Street, Vancouver, Canada fax: 1(604)876-1185. Both Fatona and Wyngaarden provided additional information from their research on the project in conversations in 1994 and 1995.

xxi. Donna McKinnon, pers. comm., 1997.

xxii. Jamie Lee Hamilton, pers. comm., 1997.

xxiii. on file, BC Archives (Victoria) GR 0048 Liquor Control Board Beer License files 1941-1954: Alcazar Hotel, Box 69 File 5.

xxiv. Plan for Beer Licence No. 9322, 18 December, 1950 on file, British Columbia Archives GR 0048 Liquor Control Board Beer License files 1941-1954: Vancouver Hotel, Box 64 File 2 .

xxv. G. B. Ingram. 1997. Vancouver as porn *noir*: Constructing the racialized & homophobic city. *Border / Lines* (Toronto) 45: 30 - 34.

xxvi. G. B. Ingram. 1997. 'Open' space as strategic queer sites. in *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*. G. B. Ingram, A-M. Bouthillette and Y. Retter (eds.). pp. 95 - 125.

xxvii. *Forbidden Love: Unashamed stories of lesbian lives*. Aerlyn Weissman & Lynne Fernie (Directors). cf. 1991-1993. Vancouver: National Film Board of Canada. film & video. 84 minutes.

xxviii. The New Fountain Hotel had its liquor license temporarily revoked, in 1951, for "general mismanagement." Beer Licence File No. 199/250, in file on "New Fountain" on file, British Columbia Archives (Victoria), GR 0048 Liquor Control Board Beer License files 1941-1954, box 36, file 2.

xxix. Renate Wilson. 1966. What turns women to lesbianism? *Chatelaine* (October 1966) 39(10): 33, 130, 131, 132. See p. 132.

xxx. Ambassador Hotel (773 Seymour Street) file, on file, British Columbia Archives, GR 0048 Liquor Control Board Beer License files 1941-1954, box 12, file 2. See The attachment to the November 9, 1953 BC Liquor Control Board Report.

xxxi. Joseph Boone. 1996. Queer sites in modernism: Harlem / The Left Bank / Greenwich Village. In *Geography of Identity*. Patricia Yaeger (ed.). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. pp. 243 - 272. See p. 244.

xxxii. Terence John Fairclough. 1985. The gay community of Vancouver's West End: The geography of a modern urban phenomenon. M.A. thesis. Department of Geography, University of British Columbia. on file, Special Collections Division LE3.B7 1985 A98 F348.

xxxiii. Rhodri Windsor Liscombe. 1997. *The New Spirit: Modern architecture in Vancouver, 1938 - 1963*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

xxxiv. John Grube. 1997. "No more shit": The struggle for democratic gay space in Toronto. in *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*. pp. 127 - 145. See p. 128.

xxxv. Michael Brown gave the date of the first ACT UP Vancouver meeting as July 21, 1990 (Michael Brown. 1997. Radical politics out of place?: The curious case of ACT UP Vancouver. In *Geographies of Resistance*. Steve Pile and Michael Keith (eds.). London: Routledge. pp. 152 - 167) Also see S. Shariff. 1990. Anger alone isn't enough. *Sun* (July 11, 1990): A11 & D. Wilson. 1992. Militant tactics by AIDS groups dramatize frustrations with the crisis: Massive die-ins stage to mark loss of life to the disease. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) (August 24, 1992): A1, A8.

xxxvi. Michael Brown. 1997. Radical politics out of place?

xxxvii. The following are other examples of the ACT UP Vancouver demonstrations that involved this area of Robson Street: Greg Rasmussen. 1990. AIDS militancy vowed. *Vancouver Province* (July

22, 1990): C11; Angles. 1990. Open meeting announcing the formation of ACT UP Vancouver, Saturday, July 21. *Angles* (Vancouver) (July 1990): 15. The first, the August 1, 1990, demonstration was advertized in an article by Tom Patterson (1990. ACT UP starts up. *Angles* (August 1990): 7); Jeff Buttle. 1990. AIDS protestors won't stop confrontations, protests. *Vancouver Sun* (13 September 1990): A17; Douglas Todd. 1995. Moments of truth at the temple: When being nice is not just enough. *Sun* (October 7, 1995): D15.