City of Sacramento
Preservation Commission Report
915 I Street Sacramento, CA 95814
www.cityofsacramento.org

File ID: 2026-01184 6/17/2026

LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Potentially Eligible Landmarks and Historic District (M23-005)

File ID: 2026-01184

Location: Council Districts 2, 4, 5, and 6

Recommendation: Review, comment, and provide direction.

Contact: Sean de Courcy, Preservation Director, (916) 808-2796, sdecourcy@cityofsacramento.org, Community Development Department

Presenter: Henry Feuss, Preservation Planner, (916) 808-5880, hfeuss@cityofsacramento.org, Community Development Department

Attachments:
1-Description/Analysis
2-Background
3-601 15th Street Historic Resource Evaluation
4-729-731 J Street Historic Resource Evaluation
5-1401 Alhambra Boulevard Historic Resource Evaluation
6-1454 Del Paso Boulevard Historic Resource Evaluation
7-1725 L Street Historic Resource Evaluation
8-2215 P Street Historic Resource Evaluation
9-2565 Franklin Boulevard Historic Resource Evaluation
10-7042 Folsom Boulevard Historic Resource Evaluation
11-Lavender Heights Historic District Survey and Evaluation
12-Draft Lavender Heights Historic District Plan
13-Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement

Description/Analysis
Issue/Detail: In 2024, the Sacramento City Council accepted the findings of the LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project, including the Historic Context Statement and associated historic resource survey findings. The project documented Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history and identified a number of properties and places associated with significant themes, events, organizations, and individuals that contributed to the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. The project also evaluated the

Lavender Heights neighborhood, the historic center of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, for potential designation as a historic district.

Following City Council acceptance of the project findings, staff continued research and evaluation efforts to refine the project recommendations and prepare draft historic resource evaluations for potential designation. In addition to the resources identified during the original grant-funded project, staff completed several additional historic resource evaluations for properties associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history that were identified through subsequent research and public input.

The draft evaluations included with this report identify eight individual properties and the Lavender Heights Historic District that appear eligible for listing on the Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources pursuant to Sacramento City Code Section 17.604.210. The resources represent a broad range of themes identified in the LGBTQ+ Historic Context Statement, including community gathering places, social organizations, places of political activism, health service locations, and the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento during the second half of the twentieth century.

At this time, staff is not requesting a recommendation regarding designation of any individual resource or historic district. Instead, staff is requesting that the Preservation Commission review and comment on the draft historic resource evaluations, the draft Lavender Heights Historic District Plan, and the proposed nomination strategy. Staff is also seeking feedback regarding the proposed outreach process to affected property owners and interested parties prior to initiating the formal nomination process.

Commission comments received through this review process will be used to refine the draft evaluations, district boundaries, district plan, and outreach materials before any formal nominations are brought forward for consideration at a future public hearing.

Staff has conducted outreach with the affected property owners in addition to the initial public outreach campaign directly related to the LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project. Letters were sent to affected property owners in August 2025, January 2026, and again prior to this review item. Staff received responses from four property owners, and after providing responses to questions or holding site visits, no owners have objected to listing.

Policy Considerations: The City Council has found “that significant aspects of the City’s rich and diverse historic resources deserve recognition and preservation to foster an understanding of our heritage, and to promote the public health and safety and the economic and general welfare of the people of the city. The preservation and continued use of historic resources are effective tools to sustain and revitalize neighborhoods and business districts within the city, enhance the city’s economic, cultural and aesthetic standing, its identity, its livability, marketability and urban character” (Sacramento City Code section 17.604.100.A.). The LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project

documented Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history and identified properties, districts, and cultural landscapes associated with significant themes, events, organizations, and individuals that contributed to the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. The draft individual historic resource evaluations and proposed Lavender Heights Historic District included with this report represent the next phase of that effort and provide the basis for consideration of future nominations to the Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources.

The identification and evaluation of potential historic resources associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history is consistent with Sacramento 2040 General Plan Goal HCR-2 and Policy HCR-2.3.

> **HCR-2 Identification and Evaluation of Historic and Cultural Resources**
> **HCR-2.3 Historic Resource Inventories.** The City shall maintain and update the Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources on a regular basis, including proactively identifying and listing additional unidentified landmarks and historic districts, and evaluating and updating the status of identified resources as new information becomes available.

Economic Impacts: None.

Environmental Considerations: The listing of landmarks and historic districts on the Sacramento register is exempt from review under the California Environmental Quality Act pursuant to CEQA Guidelines section 15308. Section 15308 exempts from CEQA review acts that are undertaken to assure the maintenance, restoration, enhancement, or protection of the environment where the regulatory process involves procedures for protection of the environment. Listing the properties as a historic landmarks and a historic district would ensure that future development would undergo preservation review, as part of the city's site plan and design review process, prior to the granting of any entitlements, thereby protecting the historic resource, which would be considered part of the environment.

Sustainability: Not Applicable.

Commission/Committee Action: None.

Rationale for Recommendation: The Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project represents the City's most comprehensive effort to document, evaluate, and recognize the contributions of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community to the city's history and development. Through extensive archival research, oral histories, community outreach, and historic resource surveys, the project identified a number of properties and places associated with significant themes, events, organizations, and individuals that contributed to the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, including the Lavender Heights neighborhood, Sacramento's historic LGBTQ+ cultural center.

The draft historic resource evaluations, proposed Lavender Heights Historic District, and Draft

Lavender Heights Historic District Plan included with this report are the result of that work and provide the foundation for potential future nominations to the Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources. In addition to the resources identified during the original grant-funded project, staff has continued research and evaluation efforts, resulting in additional historic resource evaluations beyond the original scope of the grant project.

Review and comment by the Preservation Commission at this stage of the process will help ensure that the draft evaluations, district boundaries, district plan, and outreach strategy accurately reflect the historical significance of the identified resources and the experiences of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Early Commission feedback will also provide staff with guidance prior to initiating formal property owner outreach and preparing future nomination materials for consideration.

Accordingly, staff recommends that the Preservation Commission review and comment on the draft historic resource evaluations, proposed Lavender Heights Historic District, Draft Lavender Heights Historic District Plan, and proposed outreach process before staff proceeds with the formal nomination process.

Financial Considerations: Not applicable.

Local Business Enterprise (LBE): Not applicable.

Background:

Project Origins and Goals

The LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project was initiated by the City of Sacramento as part of a broader effort to recognize, document, and preserve the cultural and historical contributions of underrepresented communities. The project was funded through a Certified Local Government grant from the California Office of Historic Preservation and focused on the preparation of a historic context statement and historic resource survey related to Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history.

The project was intended to document significant historical themes associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, identify buildings and sites associated with that history, support future preservation planning, and provide a basis for potential nominations to the Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources.

The City retained Page & Turnbull to prepare the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement and conduct intensive-level survey work for selected properties and the Lavender Heights neighborhood. City staff coordinated project management, public outreach, community engagement, and stakeholder participation throughout the project.

City Council Acceptance of Project Findings

In 2024, the Sacramento City Council accepted the findings of the LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project, including the Historic Context Statement and associated historic resource survey findings. The accepted project identified several individual properties and the Lavender Heights neighborhood as potentially eligible for listing on the Sacramento Register.

The current review and comment item is the next step in the implementation of the project findings. Staff is not requesting formal designation at this time. Instead, staff is requesting Preservation Commission review and comment on the draft historic resource evaluations, proposed Lavender Heights Historic District, draft Lavender Heights Historic District Plan, and property owner outreach process before formal nominations are initiated.

Historic Context Statement

The Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement documents LGBTQ+ history in Sacramento from the nineteenth century through approximately 2000. The document provides a framework for understanding the people, places, events, organizations, and cultural patterns that shaped Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community.

The Historic Context Statement includes discussion of early gender transgressive expression, postwar LGBTQ+ life, the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community, Lavender Heights, LGBTQ+ media, community services, religious and spiritual

expression, gay pride events, the AIDS epidemic, and political activism in California's capital city.

The Historic Context Statement also provides guidance for evaluating properties associated with LGBTQ+ history, including properties that may not appear architecturally distinctive but are significant for their association with social, cultural, political, or community history.

Community Outreach

Community participation was central to the LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project. Staff and consultants conducted public meetings, small group sessions, project partner meetings, oral history interviews, and outreach at LGBTQ+ events and community spaces. This outreach helped identify important places, organizations, events, and individuals associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history and helped guide the preparation of the Historic Context Statement and survey findings.

Following City Council acceptance of the project findings, staff continued outreach related to the potential nomination process. Staff mailed two separate early notices to affected property owners regarding the potential historic resource evaluations and future nomination process. These notices were intended to provide property owners with advance information before formal nomination hearings and to invite questions, comments, and discussion with staff.

Staff received a number of call backs and had direct discussions with property owners. Some property owners expressed concerns about historic listing and the potential implications for future use or alteration of their properties. One person called to ask if a non-contributing property could be included as a contributor. However, most property owners who contacted staff expressed an understanding of the importance of preserving and recognizing LGBTQ+ history in Sacramento. Staff will continue to work with property owners and interested parties before any formal nominations are brought forward for consideration.

Survey Findings and Potential Nominations

The draft historic resource evaluations included with this report identify eight individual properties and the Lavender Heights Historic District for Preservation Commission review and comment. These resources are associated with significant themes identified in the LGBTQ+ Historic Context Statement, including LGBTQ+ social spaces, community gathering places, media and communications, political and cultural life, and the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento.

Table 1 summarizes the individual properties included with this report.

Table 1: Draft Individual Historic Resource Evaluations

Attachment	Address	Historic Association
3	601 15th Street	The Mirage
4	729-731 J Street	The Windsor Bar
5	1401 Alhambra Boulevard	Incredible Edible Place
6	1454 Del Paso Boulevard	North Sacramento Land Company/Joseph's Town and Country
7	1725 L Street	Offices of Mom…Guess What…!
8	2215 P Street	Gay Alternative Coffeehouse
9	2565 Franklin Boulevard	The Blue Moon
10	7042 Folsom Boulevard	Bo Jangles

Lavender Heights Historic District

The proposed Lavender Heights Historic District is centered around the intersection of 20th and K Streets in Midtown Sacramento. By the 1970s and 1980s, Lavender Heights had emerged as the cultural, social, political, and commercial center of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. The area included LGBTQ+-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly businesses, bars, restaurants, community spaces, religious institutions, advocacy organizations, and other gathering places.

The district documentation identifies a concentration of extant properties associated with the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento. The proposed district includes contributing and non-contributing resources and is intended to recognize the area's historic association with LGBTQ+ community formation, visibility, support networks, and cultural life.

Table 2 summarizes the district-related attachments included with this report.

Table 2: Draft Historic District Materials

Attachment	Document
11	Lavender Heights Historic District Survey and Evaluation
12	Draft Lavender Heights Historic District Plan
13	Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement

Additional Research Beyond the Original Scope

The original grant-funded scope focused on preparation of the Historic Context Statement, evaluation of the Lavender Heights neighborhood, and intensive-level evaluation of five selected individual properties. Following completion of the grant-funded project, staff continued to evaluate additional properties identified through the Historic Context Statement, public input, and subsequent research.

This additional work demonstrates that the Historic Context Statement is functioning as intended as a preservation planning tool. It provides a framework for continued identification and evaluation of LGBTQ+ historic resources beyond the original grant scope and allows the City to continue refining its understanding of resources associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history.

Purpose of Commission Review

The purpose of this item is to provide the Preservation Commission with an opportunity to review and comment before staff initiates the formal nomination process. Commission comments will help staff refine the draft evaluations, district documentation, historic district plan, and outreach approach.

Staff is specifically seeking Commission feedback on the following:

Table 3: Requested Preservation Commission Feedback

Topic	Requested Feedback
Draft historic resource evaluations	Whether the evaluations clearly document the historic associations and significance of the individual properties
Lavender Heights Historic District	Whether the proposed district documentation clearly explains the district's significance, boundaries, and contributing resources
Draft Lavender Heights Historic District Plan	Whether the plan provides an appropriate framework for guiding future preservation review within the district
Property owner outreach	Whether the proposed outreach process provides sufficient early notice and opportunity for property owner and project partner participation
Nomination strategy	Whether the materials provide an appropriate basis for staff to proceed with future formal nominations

Next Steps

Following Preservation Commission review and comment, staff will revise the draft materials as needed and continue outreach to affected property owners, community members, and other interested parties. Any future nominations will be processed in accordance with Sacramento City Code Chapter 17.604 and will return to the Preservation Commission and City Council through the formal public hearing process.

No final designation action is being requested as part of this review and comment item.

Irage State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

Page 1 **of** 6 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 601 15th Street
P1. Other Identifier: The Mirage

***P2. Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**

***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)

***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 4E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**

c. Address 601 15th Street City Sacramento Zip 95814

d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN

e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
601 15th Street (APN 002-0171-002-0000) is a two-story, 6,416 square-foot brick masonry mixed use residential and commercial building located in the Mansion Flats neighborhood of Sacramento on the south corner of 15th Street and F Street. The building was constructed in 1925 and has a rectangular footprint and a flat roof surrounded by a tiered parapet. The building is clad primarily with painted clay bricks laid in a running bond pattern. At the east (rear) of the building, the first story extends approximately five feet further than the second floor. A second-floor porch above it is enclosed by a metal railing and covered by a shed roof supported by square wooden pillars (Continued on Page 3).

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View southeast of 601 15th St, taken March 19, 2026.

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
1925, Source: Sacramento Building Permit.

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Vare LLC, Care Of Vikram Wasu,
10369 Via Cinta Ct, Elk Grove, CA 95757

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) City of Sacramento, 300 Richards Blvd, Sacramento, CA 95811

***P9. Date Recorded:** June 1, 2026

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
None

***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record ☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record ☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

Primary #_____
HRI#_____

BUILDING, STRUCTURE, AND OBJECT RECORD

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***NRHP Status Code**_____

***Resource Name or #** 601 15th Street

B1. Historic name: The Mirage

B2. Common name: _____

B3. Original Use: Commercial

B4. Present use: Commercial

***B5. Architectural Style:** 20th-Century Commercial

***B6. Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

601 15th Street was constructed in 1925 for J.B. Tucker by contractor T. H. Brown. It was originally designed to house three stores and four three-bedroom apartments. In 1927, the city issued a permit for a garage on the property, which had been removed by 1950, according to Sanborn fire insurance maps.

In 1963, owner Joe Cantorini had the building remodeled to a bar, with the remodel designed by notable Modernist architect Sooky Lee, an architect known for his Mid Century designs. According to building permits and plans **(figs. 1-3)**, this remodel demolished the original north and south doors and first-story windows, with the exception of the central and southern horizontal fixed windows, on the west façade. It added the present storefronts, the fixed first-story window and wood paneling on the west façade, and the plaster cement sign. On the north façade, the renovation demolished or covered five small, fixed windows to make way for the sign, and one large, fixed storefront window. Although not shown in plans, aerial images indicate that the single-story addition on the south elevation was likely added as part of this project, as it existed only by 1968.

In 1968, Cantorini replaced the wood front wall with concrete after it was struck by a car. Although Cantorini and subsequent owners remodeled the interior several times, the only exterior change made to the building after 1968 were a reroofing in 2000 and the replacement of two small second-story double-hung windows at the center of the 15th Street façade with a single large window matching the profiles of the four preexisting windows surrounding it from 2020-2022.

***B7. Moved?** ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown **Date:** _____ **Original Location:**_____

***B8. Related Features:** None

B9a. Architect: T. H. Brown b. Builder: T. H. Brown

***B10. Significance: Theme** Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community **Area** Sacramento, California
Period of Significance _____ **Property Type** Commercial **Applicable Criteria** 1/I

Historic Context:

The development of Sacramento's central city neighborhoods, including the Old Washington School (commonly known as Mansion Flats) neighborhood, is associated with the city's rapid transformation from a frontier settlement to a permanent urban center during the mid-nineteenth century. Following the establishment of Sutter's Fort in 1839 and the discovery of gold in 1848, Sacramento quickly emerged as a primary commercial and transportation hub serving the Sierra Nevada goldfields. Its location at the confluence of the Sacramento and American Rivers made it a strategic point for the movement of goods and people, and by 1850 the city had grown from a small settlement into a dense and rapidly expanding urban center. Within this system, circulation routes played a critical role in shaping patterns of development. Just a block away from 601 15th Street was one example, 16th Street (also known as the Marysville Highway) which functioned as a principal north–south corridor connecting Sacramento to the northern gold fields. As one of the primary routes from the city during the Gold Rush era, 16th Street carried freight, travelers, and supplies moving between the urban core and mining regions to the north.

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

***B12. References:** City of Sacramento, "Sacramento's Historic Context," 2019. Refer to bibliography.

B13. Remarks: N/A

***B14. Evaluator:** City of Sacramento.

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2026. Subject Parcel shown outlined in yellow.

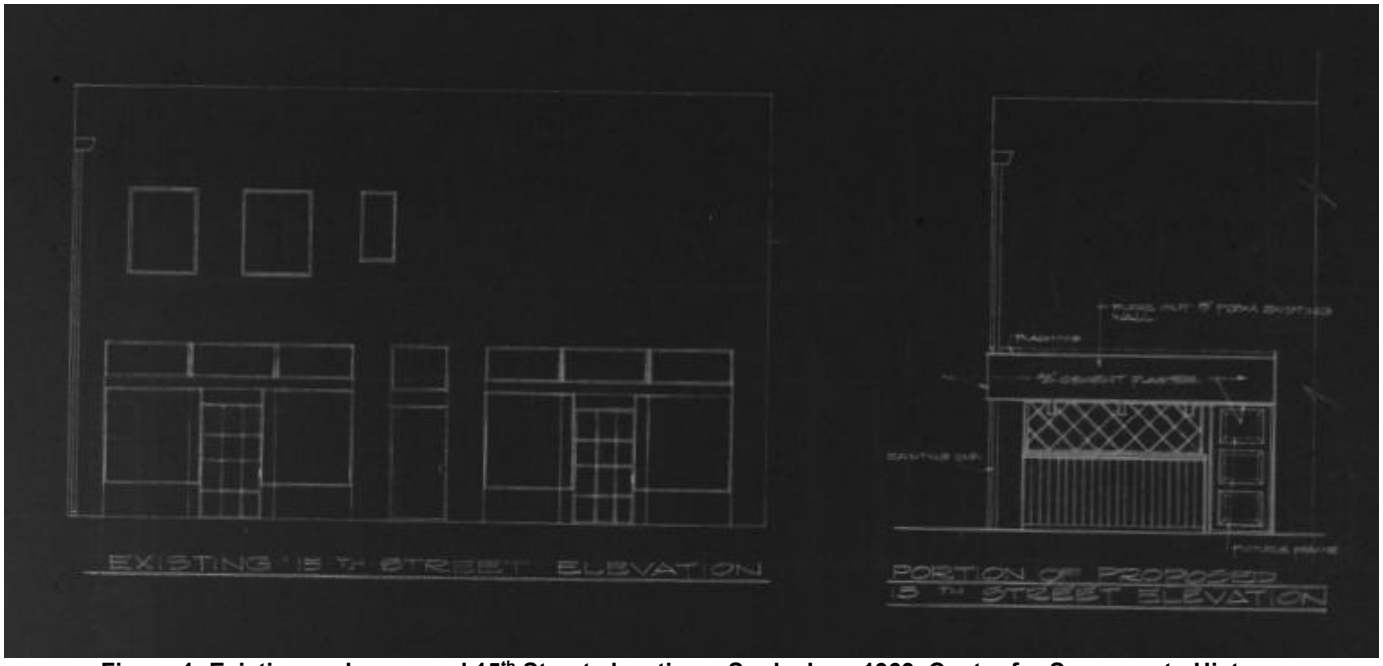

Figure 1: Existing and proposed 15th Street elevations. Sooky Lee, 1963. Center for Sacramento History.

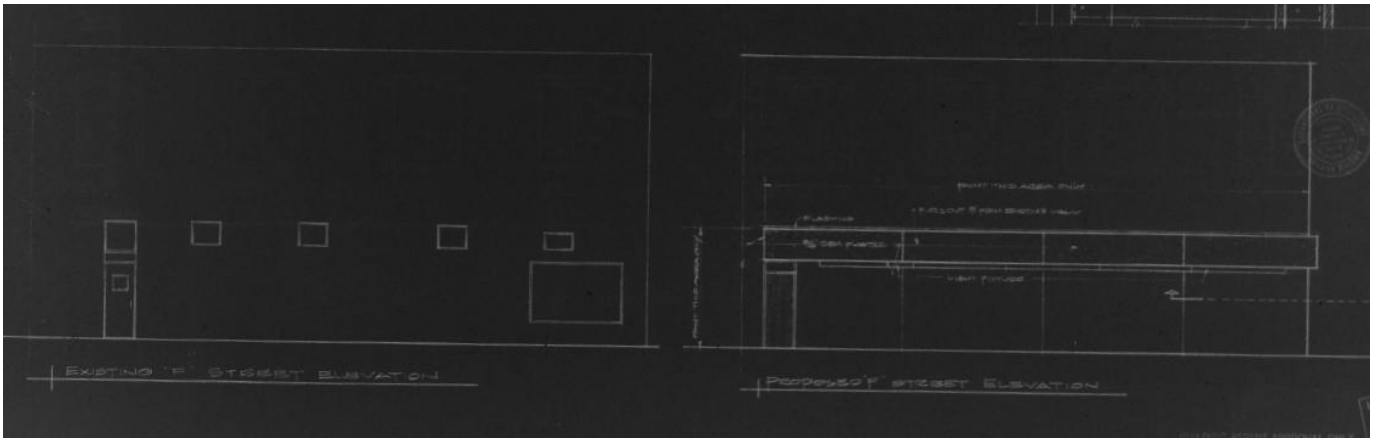

Figure 2: Existing and proposed F Street elevations. Sooky Lee, 1963. Center for Sacramento History.

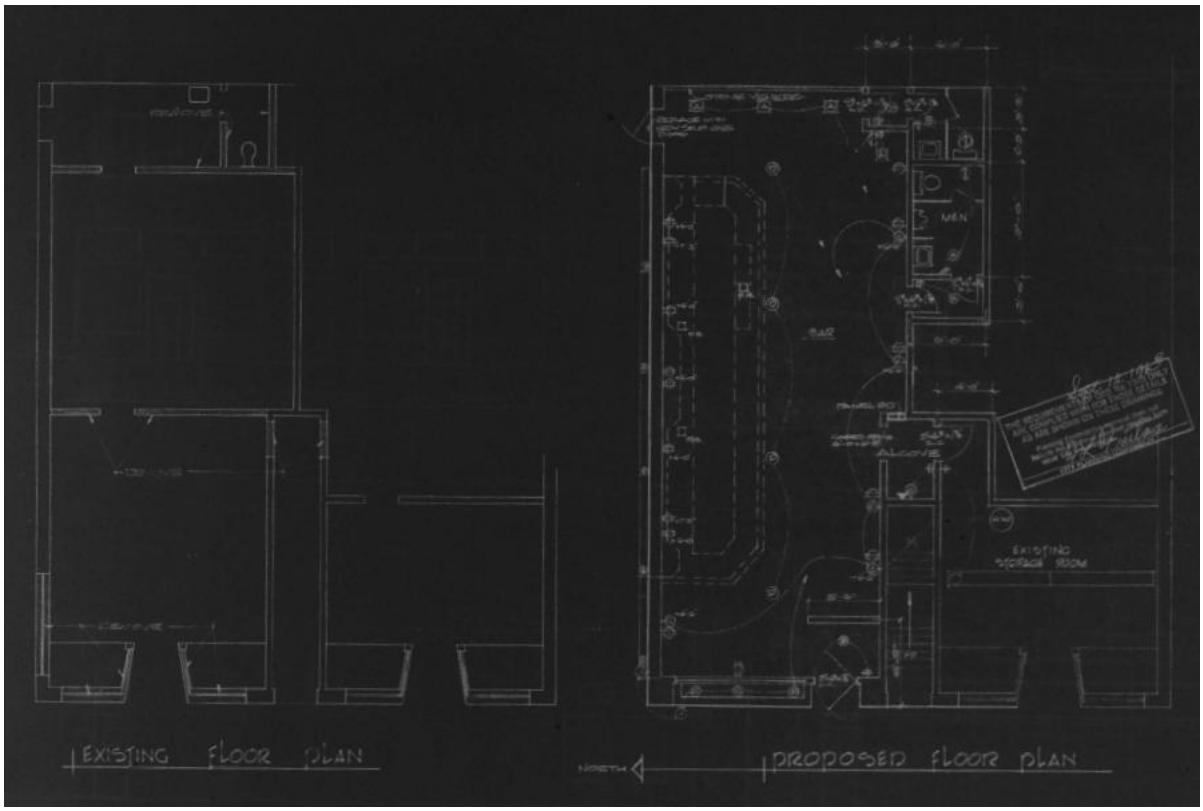

Figure 3: Existing and proposed floor plans. Sooky Lee, 1963. Center for Sacramento History.

***P3a. Description (continued):**
The second story has an irregular plan, covering all of the northern half of the building, with two rectangular indentations on the southern side, measuring approximately 7 feet in length, 5 feet in depth, 9 feet in height. These indented sections are clad in board and batten horizontal wood siding and have double-hung wood windows on all three sides. A single-story, concrete masonry addition protrudes into a parking lot to the building's south. HVAC, electrical wiring, and other utilities are located on the flat roof of the addition and adhered to the building's south façade.

The west (front) façade faces 15th Street. It is nearly symmetrical, with five evenly spaced second-story windows of matching dimensions, all double-hung wood windows with double hung eight-over-one sashes. Three doors grouped at the center of the façade on the first floor are also evenly spaced and of identical dimensions. The southernmost door is a paneled wood door, at center is an unornamented wooden door behind an iron security gate, and the northern door is wood with an inset window of patterned frosted glass. Above the southern door is a thin, horizontal fixed window with decorative divided lites that stretches to approximately 16 inches from the building's southwest corner. The central door is centered below a horizontal fixed window with decorative divided lites on the first floor, the center window of the five on the second story, and a louver vent just below the parapet. The northern of the three doors functions as the main entrance to the bar. To its north (left) is a horizontal fixed metal window with a deep sill, below which the wall is clad in vertical wood paneling. Above it, a plaster cement sign stretches from the left side of the center door around the northwestern corner of the building.

The sign continues across approximately two thirds of the building's northern façade. On the northern side, a brick chimney extends from the roofline at the center of the façade. The building has irregularly spaced double-hung wood windows on the second floor. These windows are single and double-mulled vertical windows with six-lite upper sashes, smaller, horizontal windows with three-lite upper sashes, and one very small vertical window with a four-lite upper sash. On the first story, below the end of the wrapped sign, is an unornamented wood door. To its left, at the eastern end of the building, an approximately sixteen by ten-foot section of the first floor is clad in stucco, and within it, a slightly recessed paneled wood door is centered between two sets of sliding, vertically oriented vinyl windows. To the left of the stucco section is an additional wood paneled door. The eastern edge of this door aligns with the end of the second story. The first floor extends an additional five feet. The wall in this section is brick with two approximately three-foot wide stucco "panels" framed by wood. A mailbox is located in the easternmost of these panels.
The east (rear) façade is not visible from the public right-of-way. 601 15th Street is zoned C-2 (General Commercial).

Figure 4: South façade, view north

Figure 5: West façade, view east

Figure 6: North façade, view south

Figure 7: Rear porch detail

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)

The neighborhoods northeast of the original commercial core, including what would become the Old Washington School and Mansion Flats areas, developed during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Initially, these areas accommodated a mix of working- and middle-class residents, with development patterns shaped by proximity to downtown employment, transportation corridors (such as 16th Street), and industrial uses such as the Central Pacific Railroad Shops. Housing ranged from modest single-family dwellings to small multi-family structures, often interspersed with neighborhood-serving commercial uses.[1]

Repeated flooding and fires in the mid-nineteenth century significantly influenced the physical development of these neighborhoods. Efforts to control flooding, including raising street grades and improving levee systems, reshaped the city's topography and reinforced the permanence of the grid system. Reconstruction following fires also contributed to a transition toward more durable construction materials, particularly brick masonry on commercial and mixed-use buildings such as 601 15th Street.[2]

By the 1920s, the residential mixed-use neighborhoods surrounding the Central Business District were fully integrated into Sacramento's urban core, buttressed by the growth of streetcar suburbs in areas like East Sacramento, Oak Park, Curtis Park, and Land Park, reflecting nearly a century of layered development. In the Central City, the neighborhood's character was defined not by a single period or architectural style, but by the cumulative result of incremental growth, adaptation, and changing urban needs.[3]

[1] City of Sacramento, "Sacramento's Historic Context," 2019; City of Sacramento, "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.
[2] "Sacramento's Historic Context," 2019; "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.
[3] "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.

Following the Great Depression and World War II, however, these established patterns were increasingly disrupted by broader social and economic forces. Suburbanization drew many middle-class residents away from central neighborhoods, contributing to population decline, changing demographics, and disinvestment. At the same time, mid-century planning priorities emphasizing automobile circulation and large-scale redevelopment introduced significant physical and spatial changes to Sacramento. The construction of Interstate 5 along the Sacramento River, the demolition of the West End, and other infrastructure projects altered long-standing circulation patterns and reinforced the shift away from neighborhood-scaled development.[4]

Urban renewal efforts from the early 1950s through the 1970s further reshaped the central city. Clearance and redevelopment, particularly in areas west of downtown, removed significant portions of Sacramento's historic fabric and disrupted established communities. While neighborhoods such as Mansion Flats were not subject to the same level of wholesale demolition, they experienced the secondary effects of these policies, including deferred maintenance, declining property values, and uncertainty regarding future development. Despite Sooky Lee's 1963 renovation of the building, the business at 601 15th Street suffered a poor reputation due to these factors. [5]

Beginning in the 1970s and continuing into the 1980s, these conditions created opportunities for reinvestment by a new generation of residents. Young people, artists, members of the LGBTQ+ community, and other historically underrepresented groups began purchasing and rehabilitating older properties in Midtown and the neighborhoods north and south of downtown, including Mansion Flats. Drawn by relatively affordable housing stock and proximity to the central city, these residents reinvested in existing buildings, often undertaking incremental rehabilitation consistent with the scale and character of the existing buildings.[6]

The opening of The Mirage in the early 1990s was a later expression of this trend. During this period, the establishment functioned as a social venue within Sacramento's growing Midtown cultural scene, including as a space that served Black lesbians, reflecting the broader pattern in which historically underrepresented communities established places of gathering and expression within the central city's increasingly visible LGBTQ+ social scene.[7]

This period of grassroots reinvestment played a critical role in stabilizing these neighborhoods and reshaping their identity. Rather than large-scale redevelopment, change occurred through adaptive reuse, small-scale rehabilitation, and the introduction of locally oriented businesses and cultural spaces. Over time, this contributed to the emergence of the Central City residential neighborhoods as a vibrant cultural center, characterized by a diverse mix of residents, independent businesses, nightlife, and arts-related activity.[8]

Concurrent with this reinvestment was the growing influence of the historic preservation movement in Sacramento. Increasing recognition of the architectural and cultural significance of these neighborhoods led to efforts to formally designate and protect them. The establishment of the New and Old Washington School Historic Districts in 1985 reflected this shift, acknowledging the importance of the area's historic development patterns and providing a framework for guiding future change through preservation-based planning approaches.[9]

Lesbian Bars in Sacramento (ca. 1969-2000)

Gay white men were historically, and continue to be, the most visible and recognized LGBTQ+ subgroup both in Sacramento and the broader LGBTQ+ population nationwide. As in other cities, lesbians in Sacramento often felt angered, embittered, and alienated by the treatment they received from gay men and the lack of recognition or representation they often received. Some gay businesses and organizations explicitly did not welcome lesbians. Many gay bars, which catered to a majority white male clientele, did not welcome and often rejected lesbian patrons. The practice of "carding" lesbians and LGBTQ+ persons of color to discourage their presence was not uncommon. If carded, those seeking admission would have to produce multiple forms of personal ID to secure entrance, making it difficult if not impossible for them to be admitted. As a result, lesbians in Sacramento were forced to establish their own safe spaces, social gathering places, clubs, and organizations where they could openly and comfortably express themselves (Continued on Page 3).[10]

Known lesbian bars that operated in the City of Sacramento during the formative period of the LGBTQ+ community's development from the late 1960s to approximately the year 2000 included the Blue Moon at 2565 Franklin Boulevard (extant), the Crescent Moon at 1704 Broadway (extant but extensively altered), the Mirage (the subject property), the Buffalo Club at 1831 S Street

[4] "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.
[5] "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.
[6] "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.
[7] "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.
[8] "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.
[9] "Old Washington School Historic District Plan," 2019.
[10] Page & Turnbull, "The Blue Moon," Sacramento Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2025.

(demolished), and Jammin' Jo's Sports and Dance Bar at 2721 Broadway (extant). The Mirage is the only known bar in Sacramento that catered specifically to Black lesbians.[11]

The Mirage (1993-2001)

Because of the racism, discrimination, fetishization, and exclusion they often experienced, LGBTQ+ people of color in Sacramento created safe spaces of their own. Although early advertisements indicate that it was a bar for gay men as well as lesbians, The Mirage was known locally for hosting mostly Black women, making it an outlier in the Sacramento area.[12]

Figure 8: Event advertisement. *Mom…Guess What?* 1993.

The Mirage hosted many activities typical of gay and lesbian bars in Sacramento, including a billiards organization, darts and baseball teams, queer film screenings, drag shows, and a DJ on Saturday nights. For much of its tenure, The Mirage also held a Sunday tea dance, a tradition in the gay community with roots in pre-Stonewall Fire Island, New York. The Sunday afternoon tea dance was originally intended to skirt 1960s laws that prohibited bars from "knowingly selling alcohol to homosexuals" and to allow weekend visitors to Fire Island to return to New York City. It later caught on outside of this context but had mostly died out by the mid-1970s, and by the 1990s provided an uncommon connection to the LGBTQ+ community's earlier history. [13]

Most notably, however, The Mirage also diverged from other Sacramento bars by celebrating the unique experience of Black lesbians. Although Sacramento's lesbian bars were not segregated, mixed-race couples were rare, and Black lesbians often felt unwelcome in these spaces. The Mirage was designed to be an exception, with music, food, staff, and décor chosen to "validate the Black gay experience." The Mirage also worked with the social group Gay and Lesbian African Americans (GALA), in 1996 hosting the kickoff event for a GALA event titled "AfroCentric Weekend," which involved poetry readings, screenings of gay and lesbian African American films, dancing, a barbeque, and a dominoes competition. The Mirage hosted performance by a live jazz band featuring transgender African American woman Diva Diana and Jazz Explosion, as well as a talent show later in the weekend. The bar was the only one of its kind, and provided a location for GALA and other events specifically celebrating the Black gay and lesbian community that did not have to be shared or borrowed for a weekend.[14]

Despite its importance to the community, The Mirage struggled to take off, and the bar's relationship with Alkali Flats and Mansion Flat neighbors was initially a tense one. When owner Valerie Marlow purchased the building in 1993, she also purchased the liquor license of the existing bar, Joe's Corner. Joe's Corner had had a bad reputation, known as "a center for prostitution and drug dealing and…the site of frequent brawls."[15] Neighbors were unsupportive even after the bar changed hands, preventing Marlow from acquiring a dance permit for nearly a year. A Mansion Flats neighborhood group supportive of The Mirage speculated in Sacramento's LGBTQ newspaper *Mom…Guess What?* that the real reason for the opposition was that the bar would serve gays and lesbians. Marlow took steps to protect patrons of The Mirage, hiring security guards, installing video cameras and a large mirror behind the bar, and holding "neighborhood nights," when locals would be invited for complementary wine and cheese in order to form positive relationships in the area and decrease hostility towards The Mirage and its guests.[16]

Although these efforts were successful to some degree, with the *Sacramento Bee* publicly recognizing the bar's improved security under Marlow's ownership, there were further obstacles to The Mirage's success. During the building's tenure as Joe's Corner, the neighborhood had been devalued by its association in the news with serial killer Dorothea Puente, who had lived down the street and was rumored to have picked up victims in the bar. Puente's trial for the murders of several people in Sacramento was an ongoing news story in 1993, when The Mirage first opened. The poor reputation of the neighborhood and bar were a barrier to success for The Mirage. Another difficulty was the bar's continued patronage by men who had been regulars at Joe's Corner.

[11] Page & Turnbull, "The Blue Moon."
[12] "Lambda Freedom Fair," *Mom…Guess What?,* May 15, 1993.
[13] *Mom…Guess What?,* May 15, 1993; *Mom…Guess What?,* October 15, 1993; Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Hazel Bess, April 14, 2026, Sacramento, CA; "Dance Ticket," *Sacramento Bee*, 1993-2001; Will Kohler, "The Very Gay and Interesting History of the Almost Lost Tradition of the Sunday Tea Dance," Back2Stonewall, May 26, 2019, https://web.archive.org/web/20200412161716/http:/www.back2stonewall.com/2019/05/gay-history-lost-tradition-sunday-tea-dance.html.
[14] Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Hazel Bess; Page & Turnbull, "Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project: Historic Context Statement," 2024, 76, 115.
[15] MJ McKean-Reich, "A mirage in the urban desert," *Mom…Guess What?,* January 15, 1994.
[16] McKean-Reich, "A mirage in the urban desert;" "Neighborhood supports bar," *Mom…Guess What?,* March 15, 1993.

Despite Marlow's increased security measures, the bar did not always feel safe for the women who wished to visit. The Mirage was also far from the central Lavender Heights area, which served as the social and cultural center of LGBTQ+ life in Sacramento. As a result of these combined factors, regardless of their race, Sacramento's lesbian and bisexual women tended to prefer The Blue Moon or The Buffalo Club, and the Mirage was rarely full. Although The Mirage's popularity as a gay bar declined soon after it opened, it continued to operate until 2001. Despite the brevity of its period of relevance to Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, the creation of The Mirage and the events it hosted during its early years illustrate the community's diversity and the energy behind efforts to create spaces celebrating a range of experiences.[17]

Figure 9: The Mirage. *Mom…Guess What*? January 15, 1994.

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance. Refer to the *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)* and *Survey Methodology & Framework* for evaluative criteria of each theme.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation
The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.
In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic

[17] *Mom…Guess What?,* August 15, 1993; Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Hazel Bess.

district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

The property at 601 15th Street appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the location of The Mirage, a Black lesbian bar that opened in 1993 when Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community had only recently become a visible and recognizable part of the city's population for the first time. During this formative period, gay bars served as the center of social life for many in the LGBTQ+ community and were the place where people went to form social and sexual connections, exchange news, share life experiences, discuss important topics to the community, and openly express themselves at a time when being gay was still not generally accepted by mainstream society. Rejected from most of the gay bars and spaces in Sacramento, which catered primarily to gay white men, Black lesbians in Sacramento were forced to establish their own spaces, including their own bars, where they could socialize safely and openly. According to numerous community members, Sacramento typically only had one lesbian bar at a time. During the 1990s, The Mirage was a departure from this trend, creating a one-of-a-kind space for Black women, however briefly.

The bar was the place where Black lesbians gathered and community celebrations including the Gay and Lesbian African Americans' Afrocentric Weekend. As such, it became an important connective force for Sacramento's Black lesbian community at a critical time. The property, thus, is significantly associated with establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

The property at 601 15th Street does not appear to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii for association with an individual of historic significance to local LGBTQ+ history. The owner of The Mirage, Valerie Marlow, was not well-known within the lesbian community and research did not indicate that she was personally recognized as a leading figure in the establishment and development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. As such, the property is not eligible under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 601 15th Street does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 3/iii. The subject property was remodeled in 1963 by Sooky Lee, an important local architect, but the building's exterior was a minor component of this work, primarily consisting of the addition of a sign and minor reconfigurations of first floor entrances and windows. As such, 601 15th Street is not a significant example of his craft nor the development of his style. The building is a modest commercial building built in the early 20th century. The building is not an exemplary representation of an architectural style. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

Criterion 4/vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.
The property at 601 15th Street does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed in 1925 and is over 50 years old. However, its historic association with the LGBTQ+ community began in 1993, less than 50 years ago at the time of this evaluation. The property is exceptionally significant for its cultural importance to the Black LGBTQ+ community. Based on a reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project in 2024, relatively few properties remain that have a strong individual association with the development of the City of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, and that retain sufficient historic integrity. Fewer still of these are lesbian bars that existed in the City of Sacramento during the formative period of the community's development from the late 1960s to approximately 2000, and The Mirage is the only to have served specifically as a social space for Black lesbians. Therefore, the property meets consideration Factor e.

Integrity
601 15th Street retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of commercial, residential, and mixed-use development, most of which was present during its period of significance (1993-2001). The building appears to have undergone minimal exterior alterations since the closure of The Mirage, primarily consisting of re-roofing and the reconfiguration of a second-floor window opening. The building would still be recognizable from the street to someone who visited the bar while it was in operation as The Mirage.

Character-defining Features of 601 15th Street

Character-defining features of 601 15th Street that reflect the period of significance (1993-2001) include but are not limited to the following features:

- Two-story height
- Brick masonry cladding
- Flat roof
- Second-story double-hung wood windows
- Front entrance with wood paneling and fixed window with deep sill

Conclusion
The property at 601 15th Street appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) for its association with the Black lesbian bar The Mirage. The bar was the only social gathering place catering specifically to Black lesbians in Sacramento during the 1990s, when the LGBTQ+ community was becoming an increasingly visible and recognizable part of Sacramento's population. It was the location of casual weekly social gatherings and cultural events including queer film screenings and jazz shows hosted by the Gay and Lesbian African Americans social group, all of which fostered connections within the Black LGBTQ+ community and played an integral role in the community's development. 601 15th Street appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance.

References

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Liz. Conversation with Hazel Bess. April 14, 2026. Sacramento, CA.

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State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

Page 1 **of** 11 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 729-731 J Street
P1. Other Identifier: The Windsor Bar

***P2. Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 4E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** __;__ **B.M.**
c. Address 729-731 J Street City Sacramento Zip 95814
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)
Assessor Parcel Number: 006-0034-008-0000

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
The Porter Building at 729–731 J Street is a two-story, 19,200-square-foot commercial building located on the northwest corner of J and 8th Streets in downtown Sacramento. Constructed circa 1860 and subsequently altered, the building occupies a rectangular footprint and is capped by a flat roof that appears to be concealed behind a parapet wall. The property is bounded by J Street to the south, 8th Street to the east, and Improv Alley to the north. The north, east, and south façades are visible from the public right-of-way, while the west façade is a shared party wall adjoining 727 J Street. The visible façades are clad in painted stucco and display an irregular combination of rough and smooth finishes, reflecting multiple alterations and repairs over time. The surfaces overall exhibit visible weathering, minor discoloration, and cracks (**Figure 1**). The south and east façades feature a varied paint scheme, including a muted pink line extending horizontally across the second story of the entire east façade and part of the south façade. The north façade features multiple two- and three-dimensional murals (**Figure 2**). *(See Continuation Sheet 3)*

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6; 1-3 story commercial building

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) South and east façades of 729-731 J Street, camera facing northwest, May 7, 2026

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
ca. 1860; Sacramento City Directories

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Porter Family Trust
729 J St.,
Sacramento, CA 95814

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Zachary Vaccarezza
City of Sacramento, Historic Preservation
300 Richards Blvd #3,
Sacramento, CA 95811

***P9. Date Recorded:** May 7, 2026

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)

***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

 ***NRHP Status Code** 3CS, 5S3

***Resource Name or #** 729-731 J Street
B1. Historic name: The Windsor Bar
B2. Common name: The Porter Building
B3. Original Use: Commercial
B4. Present use: Commercial
***B5. Architectural Style:** Vernacular with modest elements of Streamline Moderne on 8th Street Façade
***B6. Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)
A two-story building at 729-731 J Street was constructed ca. 1860 by Nathanial "Nat" Bocce as the Union Hotel, (also called the Union House). Research could not precisely identify when the building was constructed. (See continuation sheet, Page 6)

***B7. Moved?** ☒**No** ☐**Yes** ☐**Unknown** **Date:** _____ **Original Location:** _____
***B8. Related Features:** None
B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown
***B10. Significance: Theme** Finding One Another: World War II & Postwar-era Sacramento **Area** Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1953-1957 (1/i) **Property Type** Commercial **Applicable Criteria** 1/I

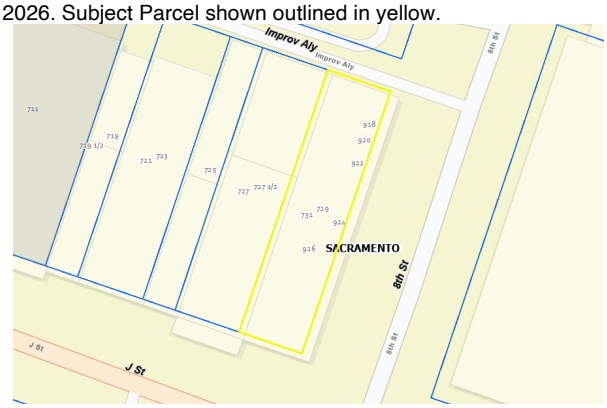
Historic Context:
Early Gay Bars and Cruising in the City of Sacramento
Prior to the 1970s, much of the gay community remained closeted, as being publicly "out" could lead to arrest, job loss, and ostracism from family, friends, and coworkers. As a result, gay and lesbian individuals often gathered in secret. Although a small number of gay bars operated within Sacramento's Central City grid before the late 1960s, California's anti-sodomy laws—used for more than a century to harass and imprison LGBTQ+ individuals—combined with the City of Sacramento's strict enforcement of those laws, prevented the emergence of any clearly recognizable concentration of gay-owned or gay-friendly establishments within city limits. It was not until those state laws were repealed in the 1970s that such visible community spaces could begin to take shape.[1] *(See Continuation Sheet 5)*

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

***B12. References:** Refer to footnotes
B13. Remarks: N/A
***B14. Evaluator:** Zachary Vaccarezza
***Date of Evaluation:** May 21, 2026
***P3a. Description (continued):**

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2026. Subject Parcel shown outlined in yellow.



[1] Page & Turnbill, "Sacramento LBGTQ+ Historic Experience Project: Historic Context Statement," *LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project* (City of Sacramento, December 2024).

P3a. Description (continued):

The ground floor features six modern commercial storefronts with a mix of wood and metal doors, metal-framed fixed windows, and recessed entrances. Two storefronts on 8th Street have awnings above their windows and doors, one of which includes wrought-iron security bars over the doors and windows (**Figure 3**). Contemporary tenant signage is present along the south and east façades. A seventh entrance along 8th Street that appears to provide access to second-story spaces. This entrance is defined by a recessed entry flanked by prominent rounded wall projections. These curved elements extend vertically through the second story, introducing modest Streamline Moderne styling. The entrance consists of a single, solid door set within a simple rectangular opening, surmounted by a multi-pane transom window. Above the entry is a projecting, semi-circular canopy with a smooth stucco finish and horizontal banding in muted pink tones. A second matching canopy is located directly above at the second-story level, aligned with a recessed opening. Together, these stacked canopy elements emphasize the vertical axis of the entrance while maintaining the building's overall horizontal design vocabulary (**Figure 4)**.

The second story of the south and east façades features evenly spaced rectangular window openings with a mix of vinyl and wood-frames set within shallow recessed surrounds. Most of these windows are casement, with one being single hung. These window frames exhibit visible weathering and deterioration, with some windowpanes cracked or broken (**Figure 5**). One window on the east façade near the northeast corner has a cylindrical decorative element, similar in form to the semi-circular canopy above the side entrance leading to the second floor. A series of projecting horizontal concrete bands extend from this feature and wrap around the northeast corner (**Figure 6)**. Fenestration along these façades is generally symmetrical, contributing to the building's horizontal rhythm. Windows on the first and second floors of the north façade are a mix of wood and vinyl frames, including casement, single-hung, and sliding types. Wooden windows on this façade exhibit major weather and deterioration. Fenestration is irregular in placement and configuration. One window is missing entirely (**Figure 7**). The building retains its overall massing and form; however, alterations to the ground-floor storefront systems, signage, ornamentation, and exterior finishes have occurred over time. The building is zoned HP-6 (1-3 story commercial building).

Figure 1. Minor weathering on the stucco
Camera facing north, May 7, 2026

Figure 2. Northeast corner with mural or north façade
Camera facing southwest, May 7, 2026

Figure 3. East façade
Camera facing west, May 7, 2026

Figure 4. Decorative entrance to second story
Camera facing west, May 7, 2026

Figure 5. Cracked and weather window on second story
Camera facing west, May 7, 2026

Figure 6. Decorative window near northeast corner
Camera facing west, May 7, 2026

Figure 7. A portion of the north façade showcasing windows
Camera facing south, May 7, 2026

***B6. Construction History (continued):**

The original Union House burned down in 1860 and Nat Bocce reconstructed it soon after.[2] Research could not identity evidence of another building being constructed at the site between 1860 and 1884, so it was likely built in 1860.[3] Between the 1860s and 1930s, the building was used as a hotel, with small retail spaces, such as a bar or the Ye Olde Music Store, on the first floor at the southeast corner. In 1884, the building was renamed the Windsor Hotel by John Q. Brown, and enlarged with a new exterior and a third story (**Figure 8**).[4] In 1913, the Windsor Hotel was again remodeled, likely removing ornamentation on the roof (**Figure 9**).[5] It continued to operate as a hotel until 1935, when it was remodeled for a third time, "modernizing" the building by removing ornamentation from the façades and deconstructing the third story.[6] The first floor was converted into retail space, and the second

[2] The Sacramento Bee, "Disastrous Fire," *The Sacramento Bee*, August 14, 1860.; The Sacramento Bee, "Luck for a Lady," *The Sacramento Bee*, August 15, 1860.
[3] The Sacramento Bee, "Union House," *The Sacramento Bee*, June 4, 1878.; The Sacramento Bee, "Union House: Northwest Corner Eighth and J Streets, Sacramento," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 10, 1880.; The Sacramento Union, "The Windsor Hotel, Formerly the Union House...," *The Sacramento Union*, September 1, 1884.
[4] The Sacramento Union, "The Windsor Hotel, Formerly the Union House...," *The Sacramento Union*, September 1, 1884.; The Sacramento Union, "Windsor Hotel (Formerly Union House)," *The Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1885.
[5] City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #4675," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, June 6, 1913).
[6] The Sacramento Bee, "Two More Jobs Prove Value of Modernizing," *The Sacramento Bee*, October 19, 1935.

floor became office space.[7] In 1960, a new entrance was constructed along J Street, separating 729 J Street from 731 J Street.[8] However, both units remained within the same building. Additional modifications in the 1980s and 2000s brought the building to its current state.[9]

Figure 8. Windsor Hotel, date unknown.
Source: The California History Room, California State Library

Figure 9. Windsor Hotel, 1923.
Source: The California History Room, California State Library

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued):

Early Gay Bars and Cruising in the City of Sacramento (Continued)
Despite these risks, certain bars—such as The Windsor Bar—emerged as some of the few secret or underground spaces where LGBTQ+ individuals could gather. Although they were not openly advertised as "gay bars," informal networks identified them as welcoming to gay men, women, and transgender people. Within these spaces, patrons formed social and romantic connections, exchanged news, shared experiences, and found rare opportunities for open self-expression. For those seeking an alternative to gay bars, public spaces offered a vital, yet risky, option for gay men and women hoping to meet anonymously and discreetly. Parks, beaches, public restrooms, and certain streets became known as places to "cruise," particularly for individuals who did not feel comfortable in bar or bathhouse settings, were underage, lacked the financial means to participate in those scenes, or had families at home and no private place to meet. These locations were rarely permanent; police raids and periodic crackdowns frequently forced participants to relocate. People hoping to meet others at these location were usually arrested for vagrancy or loitering.[10]

729-731 J Street
The building at 729–731 J Street was originally constructed circa 1861–1878 as the Union Hotel by Nat Brown.[11] In 1884, the property was remodeled and renamed the Windsor Hotel by John Q. Brown. By 1935, it had been converted to commercial office and retail use by the California Western States Life Insurance Company, which retained ownership until 1944 when Joe Marty

[7] The Sacramento Bee, "Two More Jobs Prove Value of Modernizing," *The Sacramento Bee*, October 19, 1935.; City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #4675," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, June 6, 1913).
[8] City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #D-7017," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, October 11, 1960).
[9] City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #I-11325C," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, March 15, 1982).; City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #0100504," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, January 11, 2001).; City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #0500260," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, October 1, 2005).
[10] Page & Turnbill, "Sacramento LBGTQ+ Historic Experience Project: Historic Context Statement," 48–53.
[11] The Sacramento Bee, "Disastrous Fire," *The Sacramento Bee*, August 14, 1860.; The Sacramento Bee, "Luck for a Lady," *The Sacramento Bee*, August 15, 1860.; The Sacramento Bee, "Union House," *The Sacramento Bee*, June 4, 1878.; The Sacramento Bee, "Union House: Northwest Corner Eighth and J Streets, Sacramento," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 10, 1880.; The Sacramento Union, "The Windsor Hotel, Formerly the Union House...," *The Sacramento Union*, September 1, 1884.; The Sacramento Union, "The Windsor Hotel, Formerly the Union House...," *The Sacramento Union*, September 1, 1884.; The Sacramento Union, "Windsor Hotel (Formerly Union House)," *The Sacramento Union*, January 1, 1885.

became the owner.[12] By 1960, ownership had transferred to North American Title Company.[13] In 1963, permit records list Title Insurance & Trust Company as the property owner.[14] Sometime between 1963 and 2001, William and Sonja Porter acquired the building.[15] The property is currently owned by the Porter Family Trust.

Between 1935 and 1953, the lower unit at the corner of 8th and J Streets changed hands several times, with each proprietor retaining the "Windsor" name in some form—appearing as the Windsor Café, Windsor Buffet, Windsor Club, Marty's Windsor Buffet, Windsor Tavern, and Windsor Bar. In 1953, the Windsor Bar unit was leased to Louise and George E. "Eddie" Medaris, who purchased the business from Frank and Mary Giordano.[16] In 1957, the Windsor Bar closed. Frank and Alex Korunich purchased the business and opened The Corner bar. As of today, the building is home to a diverse mix of businesses, including Cariño Mexican Cuisine, Subway, Break Time Mini Mart, 8th Street Pizza, and Sacramento Bail Bonds Incorporated. [17]

The Windsor Bar (1953-1957)
The Windsor Bar, owned by Louise and George E. "Eddie" Medaris, operated covertly as a gay bar at 731 J Street in downtown Sacramento from approximately 1953 to 1957.[18] It was roughly one block west of Plaza Park (now César Chavez Plaza), a popular local cruising spot for gay men.[19] During the time the Medaris couple owned The Windsor Bar, multiple men were arrested in and around the establishment. Many of these arrests occurred at Plaza Park, where individuals were frequently charged with vagrancy, loitering, or soliciting immoral acts.

In April 1956, a large-scale "crackdown" led to a dozen arrests at Plaza Park, where gay men were accused of soliciting "immoral acts."[20] In January 1957, a man named Charles H. Reynolds was arrested for allegedly soliciting an undercover officer at the Windsor Bar.[21] This incident prompted an investigation into the Windsor. The State Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control indefinitely suspended the liquor license of The Windsor in April 1957 and labeled it a "hangout for homosexuals."[22] The arrest at The Windsor appears to have prompted "a police raid of the park in June 1957, in which 26 men were arrested and charged for soliciting 'immoral acts' after police officers disguised in plainclothes caught the men in the act."[23] The bar was then renamed The Corner under new owners.[24]

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance. Refer to the *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)* and *Survey Methodology & Framework* for evaluative criteria of each theme.

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[12] The Sacramento Bee, "Two More Jobs Prove Value of Modernizing," *The Sacramento Bee*, October 19, 1935.; City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #4675," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, June 6, 1913).; City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #B-M481," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, February 2, 1948).
[13] City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #D-7017," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, October 11, 1960).
[14] City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #E-4836," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, September 1963).
[15] City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #0100504," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, January 11, 2001).; City of Sacramento, "Building Permit #0500260," *City of Sacramento Records* (City of Sacramento, October 1, 2005).
[16] Sacramento Legal Press, "Notice of Intended Sales," *Sacramento Legal Press*, October 16, 1953.
[17] The Sacramento Bee, "Leo and George Micheli Extend Season's Greetings," *The Sacramento Bee*, December 23, 1936, 2.; The Sacramento Bee, "Café Burglarized," *The Sacramento Bee*, August 28, 1939, 4.; The Sacramento Bee, "Windsor Buffet," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 1, 1940, 12.; The Sacramento Bee, "James Radich…," *The Sacramento Bee*, November 5, 1946, 7.; The Sacramento Bee, "Firemen Extinguish Six Small Blazes," *The Sacramento Bee*, February 16, 1948, 22.; The Sacramento Bee, "More Than $3,000 Is Taken In Burglaries," *The Sacramento Bee*, October 17, 1949, 21.; The Sacramento Bee, "Here's To A Winning Year," *The Sacramento Bee*, March 26, 1951, 37.; The Sacramento Union, "Two Given Jail Terms for Immoral Conduct," *The Sacramento Union*, April 5, 1956.
[18] Sacramento Legal Press, "Notice of Intended Sales," *Sacramento Legal Press*, October 16, 1953.; Sacramento Directory Co., *Sacramento City Directory: 1955* (Sacramento Directory Co., 1955).; The Sacramento Bee, "State Suspends License of J Street Tavern," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 15, 1957.; The Sacramento Union, "Presenting...Sacramento's Newest, Smartest Cocktail Lounge...'the Corner'," *The Sacramento Union*, June 6, 1957.
[19] Page & Turnbill, "Sacramento LBGTQ+ Historic Experience Project: Historic Context Statement," 48.
[20] The Sacramento Union, "Two Given Jail Terms for Immoral Conduct," *The Sacramento Union*, April 5, 1956.; The Sacramento Bee, "Yoloan Pleads Guilty of Soliciting," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 19, 1956.; The Sacramento Bee, "Police Pursue Drive Against Degenerates Mingling With Public," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 5, 1956.; The Sacramento Bee, "Man Is Jailed," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 10, 1956.; The Sacramento Bee, "Man Gets Sentenced in Morals Case," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 24, 1956.; The Sacramento Bee, "Immoral Solicitation Results in $100 Fine," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 17, 1956.; The Sacramento Bee, "Four Are Jailed as Restroom Loiterers," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 7, 1956.; The Sacramento Bee, "Four Are Jailed as Park Loiterers," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 16, 1956.
[21] The Sacramento Bee, "Morals Charge Faces Man Nabbed In Bar," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 24, 1957.
[22] The Sacramento Bee, "State Suspends License of J Street Tavern," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 15, 1957.
[23] Page & Turnbill, "Sacramento LBGTQ+ Historic Experience Project: Historic Context Statement," 48.
[24] The Sacramento Union, "Presenting...Sacramento's Newest, Smartest Cocktail Lounge...'the Corner'," *The Sacramento Union*, June 6, 1957.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.

In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.
2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources

The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

   2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
      a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
      b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
      c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
      d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
      e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

The property at 729–731 J Street appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the location of The Windsor Bar, a site associated with the early and covert operation of LGBTQ+ social life in downtown Sacramento. Owned by Louise and George E. "Eddie" Medaris from

approximately 1953 to 1957, The Windsor functioned during a period when same-sex socialization was heavily policed and often framed as criminal activity. Situated roughly one block west of Plaza Park (now César Chavez Plaza), the bar existed within a concentrated geographic area where gay men both gathered and were actively surveilled.[25]

Contemporary records indicate that The Windsor and the adjacent Plaza Park were not isolated sites of activity but part of an interconnected social and enforcement landscape. Plaza Park, in particular, was a known cruising area where men were frequently arrested on charges such as vagrancy, loitering, or soliciting "immoral acts."

By early 1957, enforcement activity explicitly linked The Windsor to this broader pattern of surveillance. In January of that year, Charles H. Reynolds was arrested at the bar for allegedly soliciting an undercover officer.[26] Following this arrest, the California Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control indefinitely suspended The Windsor's liquor license and publicly characterized it as a "hangout for homosexuals."[27] This action, in turn, appears to have contributed to a subsequent large-scale police operation in June 1957 at Plaza Park, during which 26 men were arrested in another targeted enforcement action.[28]

Taken together, these events appear to demonstrate a clear relationship between The Windsor Bar and Plaza Park as part of a closely linked social and enforcement area. Their physical proximity—approximately one city block apart—further reinforces the interpretation that they operated within the same localized network of queer social life and police surveillance. Within this context, The Windsor Bar holds significance not only as an early covert gay bar in Sacramento, but also as a focal point within a broader system of mid-century LGBTQ+ gathering spaces shaped by ongoing criminalization and coordinated enforcement activity.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
The property at 729-731 J Street does not appear to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 729-731 J Street does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 3/iii-v.

California Register Criterion 4/Sacramento Register Criterion vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.
The property at 729-731 J Street does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento Register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed ca. 1861-1878 and was therefore built over 50 years ago.

Integrity
The property at 729–731 J Street retains a high level of integrity from its period of significance (1953–1957), allowing it to clearly convey its association with The Windsor Bar and its role in Sacramento's mid-century social environment. The building has remained in continuous commercial use since the period of significance, and its overall form continues to reflect its historic commercial design dating to the early 20th century, with only minor exterior modifications completed in the 1960s.

Key exterior features from the period of significance remain intact. The building continues to exhibit its historic massing, street-facing orientation, and multi-story storefront configuration typical of downtown commercial architecture. The primary façade organization and window pattern are still legible, preserving the building's traditional commercial rhythm along J Street. Ground-floor storefront transparency and upper-story window openings also remain present, helping to convey its historic function as a place of public activity and social interaction.

[25] Page & Turnbill, "Sacramento LBGTQ+ Historic Experience Project: Historic Context Statement," 48-53.
[26] The Sacramento Bee, "Morals Charge Faces Man Nabbed In Bar," *The Sacramento Bee*, January 24, 1957.
[27] The Sacramento Bee, "State Suspends License of J Street Tavern," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 15, 1957.
[28] Page & Turnbill, "Sacramento LBGTQ+ Historic Experience Project: Historic Context Statement," 48.

Although the exterior received limited alterations in the 1960s, these changes have not substantially altered the building's overall form or its ability to communicate its historic appearance. The structure's relationship to the sidewalk and adjacent buildings also remains unchanged, preserving its historic urban context within a dense downtown block.

Overall, the property retains integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association, as well as key aspects of design, materials, and workmanship, sufficient to convey its significance during the 1953–1957 period of significance.

Character-defining Features of 729–731 J Street
Character-defining features of 729–731 J Street that reflect its period of significance (1953-1957) include but are not limited to the following features:

- Two story height
- Flat roof
- Uniform fenestration along south and east façades

Conclusion
The property at 729-731 J Street appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) for its association with The Windsor Bar, an early gay bar within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."

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State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 1401 Alhambra Boulevard
P1. Other Identifier: Incredible Edible Place restaurant

*P2. **Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
- ***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
- ***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
- c. Address 1401 Alhambra Boulevard City Sacramento Zip 95816
- d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
- e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
1401 Alhambra Boulevard (APN 007-0215-001 and 007-215-002) is a one-story, 1,610-square-foot commercial building located on the southeast corner of the intersection of Alhambra Boulevard and N Street in the East Sacramento neighborhood of Sacramento. The building was constructed in 1975 and has a roughly square footprint with a hipped parapet roof with broadly overhanging boxed wood eaves and clay tile roofing. The northwest, northeast, and roughly two-thirds of the southwest facades are clad with painted concrete blocks, while the west third of the southwest façade and all of the southeast facades are clad with vertical wood siding. The northwest facade, facing Alhambra Boulevard, and northeast façade, facing N Street, are the primary facades of the building and contain public entrances to the building (**Figure 1** and **Figure 2**). These entries are located in arched openings with glazed metal storefront doors. (Continued on Page 3)

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View southeast of 1401 Alhambra Blvd., taken August 13, 2024.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
1975, Source: Sacramento County Assessor.

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Alhambra 1401 LLC, 6040 Bayville Ct. Granite Bay, CA 95746

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience
History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)

***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

*Resource Name or # 1401 Alhambra Boulevard
B1. Historic name: Incredible Edible Place
B2. Common name:
B3. Original Use: Commercial
B4. Present use: Commercial
*B5. Architectural Style: Spanish Eclectic
*B6. Construction History: (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)
Jerry Staveris submitted a permit to construct a restaurant at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard in 1974.[1] According to the Sacramento County Assessor, the building was completed in 1975.[2] (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

*B7. Moved? ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown Date: Original Location:
*B8. Related Features: None
B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown
*B10. Significance: Theme Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community Area Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1977-1992 Property Type Commercial Applicable Criteria 1/I, 2/ii

Historic Context:

Incredible Edible Place (1977-1992)

Gay businessman Paul Fitzgerald opened the Incredible Edible Place restaurant at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard in 1977. According to a 1979 article in *Mom Guess What…!* highlighting gay businesses in Sacramento, Fitzgerald's goal for the Incredible Edible Place was to give Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community "good and affordable service."[3] Though he desired for Sacramento to have a restaurant solely for the LGBTQ+ community, he recognized that when his restaurant opened in the late 1970s, the local LGBTQ+ community was not yet large enough to support an openly gay restaurant in the numbers required to sustain a healthy business. The restaurant's staff were evenly split between gay and straight employees, and patrons also included a mix of both gay and straight people. Fitzgerald was a prominent advocate for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. He was particularly committed to the development of a gay business community. In his interview with *Mom Guess What…!,* he stated: "I feel that gay people should support gay businesses and that the gay business community should educate the rest of the community as to the advantages of gay businesses such as: political clout, getting more gay people into other fields such as doctors, mechanics, etc."[4] With this goal in mind, he extended the hours of the Incredible Edible Place into the evening on weekends to provide a space for LGBTQ+ patrons to gather for a late-night snack or cup of coffee.

As a result of the welcoming and safe environment fostered by Fitzgerald, the Incredible Edible Place became a popular meeting place for local LGBTQ+ clubs and organizations. It was the site of the first meeting of the Advocates for Gay State Employees (AGSE) in 1979. AGSE was formed by a group of State employees earlier that year to provide input to the State Personnel Board about implementation of Governor Jerry Brown's executive order, prohibiting discrimination against State employees on the basis of sexual preference.[5] (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. References: Refer to footnotes
B13. Remarks: N/A
*B14. Evaluator: Page & Turnbull, Inc.
*Date of Evaluation: October 8, 2024

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

[1] "City Building Permits," *Sacramento Bee*, 23 June 1974: E13.
[2] Sacramento County Assessor, Assessor Parcel Viewer, accessed September 4, 2024, https://assessorparcelviewer.saccounty.gov/jsviewer/assessor.html#.
[3] James K. Graham, "Gay Business…Right Here in River City," *Mom Guess What…!,* April 1979.
[4] Graham, "Gay Business…Right Here in River City."
[5] "Gay State Employees Have a Voice," *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 September 1979.

***P3a. Description (continued):**
Large arched storefront openings flank the entrances. The door and window openings are surrounded by projecting concrete block borders. A large coffee cup sculpture and signage for Starbucks Coffee sits on a flat semicircular platform on the roof at the northwest corner of the building. The southwest façade faces a small surface parking lot and has one arched storefront window (**Figure 3**). The southeast façade faces a small concrete paved patio that is surrounded by a low concrete block wall with metal pickets (**Figure 4**). The subject block is bounded by Alhambra Boulevard to the northwest, N Street to the northeast, 32nd Street to the southeast, and Carly Way to the southwest. 1401 Alhambra Boulevard is zoned C-2-SPD (General Commercial/Special Planning District).

Figure 1. Northwest facade, view southeast.

Figure 2. Northeast facade, view southeast.

Figure 3. Southwest facade, view north.

Figure 4. Southeast façade, view west.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**
Several restaurants operated out of the building in its first few years including a Mexican restaurant called Alimena's Mexican Restaurant in 1975 and a pizza restaurant called Tower Pizza in 1976.[6] Gay bar owner and entrepreneur Paul Fitzgerald purchased the property and applied for a license to sell alcoholic beverages at the building in 1977.[7] Fitzgerald's restaurant, the Incredible Edible Place, opened soon after and remained in operation through approximately 1992.[8] In 1994, the property was sold and reopened as a Starbucks Coffee shop. The property continued in this use until 2024.[9] The interior of the building has been remodeled numerous times over its history, starting during Fitzgerald's ownership in 1983. Building permit records document limited exterior alterations to the building after the Incredible Edible Place closed in 1992, including the installation of exterior signage in 1996 and the replacement of existing built-up and tile roofing with new TPO and concrete tile roofing in 2010.[10]

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)

Another political advocacy group, the River City Democratic Club, had its first meeting at the Incredible Edible Place in 1983.[11] The club spearheaded several political efforts on behalf of the LGBTQ+ community in the 1980s and 1990s, including passage of Sacramento's Domestic Partnership Ordinance in 1992 and a project to plant 200 memorial trees along Highway 50 as a memorial to victims of AIDS.[12]

Fitzgerald is also credited with coining the name of one of Sacramento's most prominent and longest running gay bars, Faces, which was opened by Terry Sidie at 2000 K Street in 1985. The name was reportedly intended to reflect the bar's goal to be a place that was inclusive and open to all communities and "faces."[13]

City directories record the Incredible Edible Place at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard until 1992. In 1994, the building was remodeled and reopened as a Starbucks Coffee shop.[14] The building remains in use as a Starbucks Coffee location through 2024.

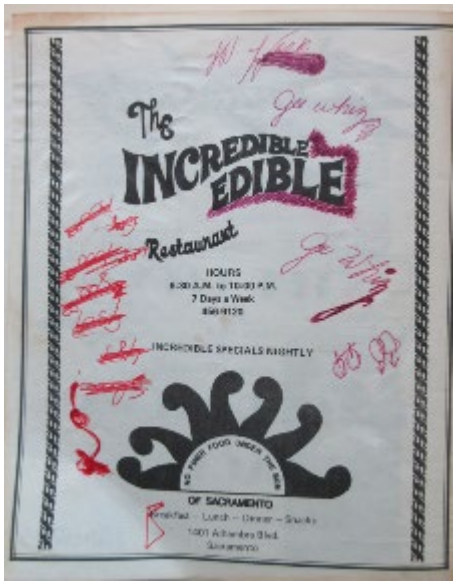

Figure 5. Advertisement for the Incredible Edible Place (1981). Source: *The River City Rambler*, Vol. 1, Issue No. 12, December 1981. Lavender Library.

Paul Fitzgerald (1939-2012)
Paul Fitzgerald was born in 1939 in Poteau, Ohio. He served in the 82nd Airborne Division of the U.S. Army from 1960 to 1963. In 1964, Fitzgerald married Bonnie Elyce Raposa in Redding, and the couple had a son and two daughters. Fitzgerald came out as gay by the late 1970s, and he and Bonnie divorced in 1976.[15] Fitzgerald worked for a time as a manager at JCPenney in Redding and for eight years at a large food firm outside the Sacramento area. Worn down by the long hours and extensive travel, Fitzgerald moved to Sacramento and began opening a series of gay-friendly businesses in Sacramento. From 1977 to 1992, Fitzgerald owned and managed the Incredible Edible Place restaurant at the subject property. By 1979, he had also opened a gay bar called Upstairs Downstairs at 1225 K Street in Downtown Sacramento.[16] Sometime after 1982, Fitzgerald lived next door to the Incredible Edible Place in a house at 3114 N Street.[17] He died of ALS in 2012.[18]

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance. Refer to the *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)* and *Survey Methodology & Framework* for evaluative criteria of each theme.

[6] Classified ads, *Sacramento Bee*, 11 October 1975: C5; Advertisement, *Sacramento Bee*, 16 September 1976: D6.
[7] "Public Notice No. 632," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 November 1977: E6.
[8] Sacramento City Directories, 1978-1992, Sacramento Public Library.
[9] Certificate of Occupancy, 94-7563-C, City of Sacramento Planning and Development Department, 1994.
[10] Building permit records, City of Sacramento.
[11] "New Club," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 1, 1983, C7.
[12] Steve Wiegand, "Tree-Planting with a Twist," *The Sacramento Bee*, March 16, 1992.
[13] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 September 2015: B1, B6.
[14] Sacramento city directories, 1978-1994, Sacramento Public Library.
[15] "Marriage Licenses," *Record Searchlight* (Redding, CA), 12 September 1964; California, U.S., Divorce Index, 1966-1984, Ancestry.com.
[16] Graham, "Gay Business…Right Here in River City."
[17] U.S. Public Records Index, 1950-1993, Volume 2, Ancestry.com.
[18] "Fitzgerald, Paul Neeson," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 January 2012: B5.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.
In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources

The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the longtime location of the Incredible Edible Place, a gay-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly restaurant that opened in 1977 during an important transitional period in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, when the community still remained largely underground but was becoming increasingly visible and open. The Incredible Edible Place was one of the earliest openly gay restaurants in the City of Sacramento. The restaurant was owned and operated by a gay man, Paul Fitzgerald, and had a mix of gay and straight patrons and staff. Fitzgerald envisioned the restaurant as a gathering place for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, and it became the meeting place for local LGBTQ+ individuals, groups, clubs, and organizations, including the site of the first meetings of political advocacy groups the Advocates for Gay State Employees (AGSE) in 1979 and River City Democratic Club in 1983. The property, thus, is significantly associated with the establishing, support, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard appears to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii for its association with gay business owner Paul Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald opened both the Incredible Edible Place and Upstairs Downstairs gay bar, both of which were important gathering places for the LGBTQ+ community when it was developing into a visible part of the broader Sacramento community in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Fitzgerald's leadership and vision for his businesses to serve as incubators for the LGBTQ+ business community, professionals, organizations, and other groups transformed them into important community gathering spaces that contributed to the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community during its formative years. As such, the property is eligible under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 4/vi. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. The building is a late example of a modest commercial building designed in the Spanish Eclectic style with concrete block cladding, a hipped concrete tile roof, and large arched openings. The building is not a distinctive or exemplary representation of the style. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

California Register Criterion 4/Sacramento Register Criterion vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento Register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed in 1975, 49 years ago. It will be 50 years old in 2025. The property opened as the Incredible Edible Place in 1977, 47 years ago as of the date of this evaluation. The property is exceptionally significant for its cultural importance to the LGBTQ+ community. Based on a reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project in 2024, relatively few properties remain that have a strong individual association with the development of the City of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, particularly outside the Midtown area, and that retain sufficient historic integrity. Additionally, properties that were significant as community social gathering spaces that were not gay bars are also rare. Therefore the property meets consideration Factor e.

Integrity

1401 Alhambra Boulevard retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of commercial, residential, and mixed-use development that was present during its period of significance (1977-1992). The building appears to have undergone minimal exterior alterations since the closure of the Incredible Edible Place in 1992, primarily consisting of re-roofing and the installation of exterior signage. The building would still be recognizable to someone who visited the restaurant while it was in operation, and continues to convey its identity as a commercial building built in the 1970s.

Character-defining Features of 1401 Alhambra Boulevard

Character-defining features of 1401 Alhambra Boulevard that reflect its period of significance (1977-1992) include but are not limited to the following features:

- One-story height
- Concrete block cladding
- Hipped parapet roof with broad overhanging boxed wood eaves and concrete tile roofing
- Arched window and door openings

Conclusion

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) and 2/ii (Persons) for its association with the gay-owned and gay-friendly restaurant The Incredible Edible Place, and its owner Paul Fitzgerald. The restaurant was an important gathering place for members of the LGBTQ+ community during the early years of its development in Sacramento in the 1970s and was the site of some of the first meetings of significant LGBTQ+ clubs and organizations. 1401 Alhambra Boulevard appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[19]

References

Advertisement. *Sacramento Bee*. 16 September 1976: D6.

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"City Building Permits." *Sacramento Bee*. 23 June 1974: E13.

Classified ads. *Sacramento Bee*. 11 October 1975: C5.

"Fitzgerald, Paul Neeson." *Sacramento Bee*. 22 January 2012: B5.

"Gay State Employees Have a Voice." *Mom…Guess What…!.* 1 September 1979.

Graham, James K. "Gay Business…Right Here in River City." *Mom Guess What…!.* April 1979.

Macias, Chris. "Celebrating Inclusion." *Sacramento Bee*. 5 September 2015: B1, B6.

"Marriage Licenses." *Record Searchlight* (Redding, CA). 12 September 1964.

"New Club." *Sacramento Bee*. 1 April 1 1983: C7.

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Sacramento County Assessor. Assessor Parcel Viewer. Accessed September 4, 2024, https://assessorparcelviewer.saccounty.gov/jsviewer/assessor.html#.

Wiegand, Steve. "Tree-Planting with a Twist." *The Sacramento Bee*. March 16, 1992.

U.S. Public Records Index, 1950-1993, Volume 2, Ancestry.com.

[19] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

State of California The Resources Agency Primary #_____ DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION HRI #_____ **PRIMARY RECORD** Trinomial_____ NRHP Status Code Other Listings_____ Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 1454 Del Paso Boulevard
P1. Other Identifier: North Sacramento Land Company/Joseph's Town and Country

*__P2. Location: Not for Publication ☒ Unrestricted__
a. County Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
b. USGS 7.5' Quad Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 9N ; **R** 5E; □ **of** Mt. Diablo □ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 1454 Del Paso Boulevard City Sacramento ZIP
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone , mE/ mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
This rectangular 0.65-acre parcel is located at the corner of Del Paso Boulevard and Arden Way within a commercial corridor in the North Sacramento neighborhood in the City of Sacramento, California. The site is surrounded by Del Paso Boulevard (northwest), Canterbury Road (northeast), Del Paso Boulevard/Lochbrae Road Alley (southeast), and a commercial building at 1442 Del Paso Boulevard (southwest). The site includes a two-story commercial building designed in a variant of the Beaux Arts architectural style fronting on Del Paso Boulevard in the center of the parcel, with paved parking and associated parking lot improvements on the east, west, and south of the building and enclosed on three sides by a steel fence. The building has an irregular footprint with a two-story primary building and a single story, half width addition extending from the southeastern corner towards Lochbrae Road Alley. (See continuation sheet)

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building □ Structure □ Object Site District Element of District Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View facing northwest on Del Paso Boulevard. Image captured January 2026.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic □ Prehistoric □ Both
1924

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Fred D./Terri L. Cullincini Family Trust, 973 Arden Way, Sacramento, CA 95815

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address)
Hazel Bess, Preservation Intern, 300 Richards Blvd, Sacramento, CA.

***P9. Date Recorded:** January 29, 2026

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive.

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none." LGBTQ + Historic Context Statement

***Attachments:** NONE Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record Archaeological Record District Record Linear Feature Record Milling Station Record Rock Art Record Artifact Record Photograph Record Other (List): _____

State of California The Resources Agency Primary #_____ DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION HRI#_____ **BUILDING, STRUCTURE, AND OBJECT RECORD**

 ***NRHP Status Code**_____

***Resource Name or #** 1454 Del Paso Boulevard

B1. Historic name: North Sacramento Land Company/North Sacramento Tribune-Progress, Joseph's Town and Country

B2. Common name: _____

B3. Original Use: Commercial

B4. Present use: Commercial/Vacant

***B5. Architectural Style:** Beaux Arts

***B6. Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

According to the North Sacramento Land Company, the building at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard was constructed as an office building in 1924 and opened in 1925. (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 3.)

***B7. Moved?** ☒**No** □**Yes** □**Unknown** **Date:** ____ **Original Location:** _____

***B8. Related Features:** None

B9a. Architect: William A. Theilbahr b. Builder: William A. Theilbahr

***B10. Significance: Theme** North Sacramento Development/LGBTQ History **Area** Sacramento, California

Period of Significance 1925-1968, 1997-1998 **Property Type** Commercial **Applicable Criteria** 1/i, 3/iii

Historic Context:

1454 Del Paso Boulevard was designed and built in 1924 by William A. Theilbahr, a local contractor and member of the Master Builders Association in Sacramento who served on the board of the North Sacramento Improvement Club. His most notable work in the area was the Hale Brothers Department store, which he constructed at the former site of the Clunie Theater at 825-831 K Street in 1923. The building has had numerous commercial uses over the course of its existence, first as the headquarters of the North Sacramento Land Company (1925-1968) and the *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress* (1928-1943). In 1968, a local realtor bought the building to use as his office. In 1985, the building was purchased by Pat Truesdell, a Sacramento developer who bought, sold, and renovated numerous historic buildings in downtown Sacramento. In 1987, he sold the property to Fred Cullinici Sr., whose family remain the owners. Cullinici merged the parcels at 1450 and 1454 Del Paso Boulevard into a single parcel in 1987 and remodeled the vacant office building for use as a restaurant in 1988. Since 1989, the building has remained a restaurant, bar, and nightclub location, notably serving for a year as the location of Joseph's Town and Country, a gay bar with longstanding significance to Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. From 1989-2007, 1454 Del Paso Boulevard has been the home of various restaurants and nightclubs. (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4) [1]

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

***B12. References:** References

***B13. Remarks:** N/A

***B14. Evaluator:** City of Sacramento staff

***Date of Evaluation:**

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2026. Subject Parcel shown outlined in yellow.

[1] "By his work you will know him," *Sacramento Bee*, March 21, 1923; "Insurgents Take Control of Club," *Sacramento Bee*, November 22, 1915; "Clunie Theater Goes for Hale Bros. Expansion," *Sacramento Bee*, July 17, 1923; *Sacramento Bee*, October 27, 1985, 123; "So That's What He's Up To: Renovating History," *Sacramento Bee*, January 7, 1977; Individual Grant Deed, June 11, 1987; Resolution No. 904 adopted by the Sacramento City Planning Commission September 24, 1987; *Sacramento Bee*, November 27, 1988, 128.; *Sacramento Bee*, October 8, 1989, 77; *Sacramento Bee*, December 24, 2004, 124.

***P3a. Description (continued):** The building is constructed of clay brick that remains exposed on all secondary elevations (southwest, northeast, and southeast). The primary façade (northwest) is finished in exterior plaster with a subtle but distinctive scored design **(see figure 8)**. The primary facade has the most notable architectural features, including four sets of wooden storefront window systems on ground level, divided by ionic plaster pilasters with three-paned wooden transom windows above each set of storefront systems. Front entrance doors are located in each of the two eastern bays flush with the sidewalk that include a panel door and glass storefront door with single glass pane above. There is a third, recessed entrance (panel door) in the western bay. On the second story, sets of two small pilasters separate four sets of three windows, which align vertically with the transom windows on the first floor. The windows in the two sets to the eastern half of the façade are eight-lite mullioned wood casement windows, while the two sets to the western half of the façade are double-hung wood windows. A protruding sign with a rounded top is bolted to the northwestern corner of the building on the second story. The southwest façade contains a secondary entrance, consisting of a large, paneled door. The northwest and southeast facades contain a number of double-hung wood windows. The roof has two sets of small gables contained by a perimeter parapet to conceal the gables as well as the rooftop mechanical equipment.

Figure 1. Southeast facade, view northwest.

Figure 2. Northeast façade, view southwest

Figure 3. Southwest façade, view northeast

Figure 4. Northwest façade, view southwest

***B6. Construction History (continued):**

Sanborn fire insurance maps indicate that the rear addition was added between 1926 and 1949. A historic photo **(figure 9)** indicates that secondary facades were not originally clad in stucco, but the present condition of the brick on these facades suggests that stucco may have been applied and later removed from these surfaces. The photo also suggests that, although not mentioned in building permits, finials and decorative trim above the transom windows on the primary façade were removed during the North Sacramento Land Company's tenure in the building (1925-1965). In 1975, building permits for a detached two-car garage were issued to Lester Miller, the owner of the building 1965-1985; aerial photographs indicate that the garage was removed by 2003. The building's interior was remodeled for use as a restaurant in 1988. Building permits do not indicate at what point the side door on the southwest façade was added, nor the roof tile removed, although permits were issued for reroofing in 1973 and 1979.[2]

***B10. Significance:**

Historic Context (continued)

Rancho Del Paso and the City of North Sacramento

1454 Del Paso Boulevard is located in what was once Rancho Del Paso, a land grant made by Mexican governor Manuel Micheltorena to Eliab Grimes in 1844. Grimes' nephew inherited and sold the land, a transaction which resulted in a legal dispute that went to the United States Supreme Court. Samuel Norris, the purchaser who won possession of the land in the 1860 decision, sold the land to his lawyers, James Ben Ali Haggin & Lloyd Tevis, to pay his legal debt. Haggin, a member of the San Francisco elite, used the land for what became a famous racehorse breeding operation, Haggin Ranch, from the 1880s through 1905. He then rented the land to farmers until selling the 44,374 acres to the Sacramento Valley Colonization Company in 1910.[3]

Beaux Arts Architecture

The style that came to be called Beaux Arts Classicism in America grew out of the tradition of French Classical design as taught at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, drawing both from French architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a synthesis of ancient Greek and Roman structural systems and design details. Defining elements of Beaux Arts Classicism include flat roofs, paired pilasters, masonry walls, decorative patterns, balustrades, and symmetricality, all in evidence on 1454 Del Paso Boulevard. [4]

Beaux Arts was used as the design aesthetic for the classical ensemble of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Following the exposition, the Beaux Arts style became a popular style for public and commercial buildings in the United States. Throughout California, Beaux Arts design principles were employed in civic architecture, with examples including civic centers in San Francisco (Bakewell and Brown, 1912), Atascadero (Bliss and Faville, 1913), Palos Verdes Estates (Myron Hunt, 1921, unbuilt), and Pasadena (Bennett, Parsons and Frost, 1925-27). Two prominent Sacramento buildings, the Masonic Hall (Rudolph Herold, 1916) and Hall of Justice (Rudolph Herold, 1914) are designed in the Beaux Arts style, which remained at or near the forefront of civic center planning in California through the first quarter of the twentieth century.[5]

With examples of Beaux Arts buildings most frequently concentrated in wealthy urban centers such as San Francisco, New York, and Chicago, the choice to employ the style in the North Sacramento Land Company's headquarters at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard indicates the high hopes North Sacramento's founders had for its success. Although 1454 Del Paso Boulevard is a simplified example of the Beaux Arts style, lacking projecting pedimented pavilions, huge arches, balustraded sills, sculptural embellishments, or a free-standing statuary, the building's symmetrical massing and classical Mediterranean motifs reflect the style favored by turn-of-the-century industrialists to display prosperity.[6]

[2] Building permit C-9430, issued 17 November 1975; County Aerial Photo, 2ft Color, June 1, 2003; "Remodel," *Sacramento Bee*, November 27, 1988; Building permit H-9468, issued 10 November 1972; Building permit G-5075, issued 5 June 1979.
[3] Sacramento Survey, 1984-85, 11; *Edwin Adams v. Samuel Norris*, US Supreme Court, 64 U.S. 353, 23 Howard 353; "The Passing of Rancho Del Paso," *New York Times*, October 8, 1905; "Sacramento Survey, 1984-85, 12.
[4] "Sacramento Hall of Justice," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, August 23, 1999; Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses: The Definitive Guide to Identifying and Understanding America's Domestic Architecture* (Alfred A. Knopf, 2023), 477-478.
[5] "Sacramento Hall of Justice," 1999; McAlester, *Field Guide*, 477-478.
[6] "Sacramento Hall of Justice," 1999; McAlester, *Field Guide*, 477-478.

North Sacramento Land Company

During the early settlement of the eastern United States in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in the western states during the first 20 years of the twentieth century, private investors created land companies, also known as colonization companies, for the purpose of selling land to settlers. The earliest of these companies on the east coast acquired land through grants from the British or early United States governments and functioned also as the managers of trade relationships with Native Americans. California's land companies, however, were primarily responsible for the subdivision, advertisement, sale of, and provision of public utilities to land acquired from the United States government and Mexican land grants.[7]

Land companies were common throughout California, often taking advantage of federal laws meant to encourage settlement. For instance, in the Imperial Valley, the Imperial Land Company assisted settlers in filing claims for land that had been made available under the Desert Land Act of 1877. Settlers would then have no choice but to purchase shares in a water company owned by Imperial Land if they wished to irrigate their properties. In Northern California, land companies more frequently operated by purchasing property, subdividing and developing it, and selling it off to settlers and other land speculators. These settlements, sometimes referred to as agricultural colonies, agricultural suburbs, or "agriburbs," comprised a "unique suburban type" common to the turn of the twentieth century. Promoted as simultaneously suburban and agricultural paradises, the planning and advertising of these communities was designed to appeal to conservative, middle class families seeking to leave urban centers. In the Sacramento area, the Orangevale Company, formed by Sacramento businessmen in 1887 to settle Orangevale, the Howard & Wilson Publishing Company, a Chicago company that subdivided and sold land in Fair Oaks in 1895, and the Carmichael Company, which did the same in Carmichael in 1909, set a precedent for the creation of these early rural suburbs.[8]

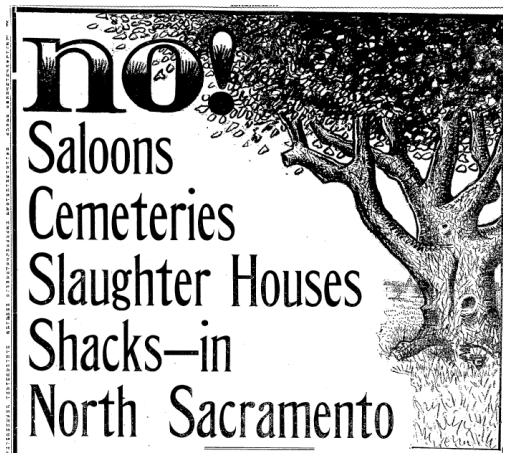


Figure 5: Advertisement for North Sacramento Real Estate. Source: *Sacramento Bee*, December 17, 1910.

In 1910, soon after the Sacramento Valley Colonization Company purchased the Haggin Ranch, other land companies began buying smaller sections of it. The Carmichael Company purchased 1,000 acres to subdivide and sell, but a much larger section of the land, 4,400 acres, went to the North Sacramento Land Company. The Land Company, begun by hardware magnate Marshall Diggs and realtor Daniel W. Johnston along with several other Sacramento and Placerville investors, was incorporated for $200,000 in 1910 with "the intention to build up a suburban district greater than Oak Park, Curtis Oaks, Elmhurst, and East Sacramento put together."[9]

The development of the North Sacramento suburb, overseen primarily by Daniel Johnston's son, Carl Johnston, involved the subdivision of land for sale, laying out the street grid, and the provision of services to the area. In reference to the Haggin Ranch that had once occupied North Sacramento, the company named a number of the new streets, including Dixieanne, Bassettlaw, and Calvados, after famous racehorses raised there. By 1926, the town had a population sufficient to require four schools and four churches. In addition to supplying the schools and land for the churches, the Land Company by that year had equipped the town with fourteen miles of water mains, twenty-two miles of paved streets, bus and streetcar service, PG&E gas mains, and a fire department. To supply these services, The Land Company created the North Sacramento Light and Water Company as a subsidiary in 1911, though it later sold its controlling interest in power by 1912, and in water distribution by 1928. The company's principal stockholders

[7] "U.S. History Primary Source Timeline: Colonial Settlement, 1600s-1763," Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/colonial-settlement-1600-1763/#.
[8] Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 26.; Paul J. P. Sandul, "Both 'Country Town' and 'Bustling Metropolis:' How Boosterism, Suburbs, and Narrative Helped Shape Sacramento's Identity and Environmental Sensibilities," in *River City and Valley Life: An Environmental History of the Sacramento Valley*, ed. Christopher J. Castaneda and Lee M. A. Simpson (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013), 165-167; "Our History," Orangevale Water Company, accessed February 20, 2026, https://www.orangevalewater.com/our-history; "Fair Oaks: A Factor in a New Empire," *The Tattler*, October 1902; "Carmichael History," Carmichael Chamber of Commerce, accessed February 20, 2026, https://www.carmichaelchamber.com/carmichael-history.
[9] "Carmichael History"; Sandul, "Country Town and Bustling Metropolis," 167; "To Build Suburb on the Famous Rancho Del Paso," *Sacramento Bee*, September 17, 1910, 14.

also controlled the Sacramento Interurban Railway Company and ensured that electric railway lines connected North Sacramento and Roseville to Sacramento.[10]

Soon after North Sacramento's incorporation as a city in 1924, the North Sacramento Land Company moved from its original headquarters at 825 J Street to its North Sacramento address at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard. Its position on Del Paso spoke to the Land Company's continued centrality to the new city as its development continued. One of northern California's widest thoroughfares at the time at 100 feet across, Del Paso Boulevard was a main artery of travel. Constituting a section of the transcontinental Lincoln Highway in addition to connecting North Sacramento to the City of Sacramento, the boulevard was also lined with businesses and functioned as a cultural center of the growing city.[11]

Figure 6: New location advertisement for the North Sacramento Land Company. Source: *Sacramento Bee*, July 25, 1925.

In order to fund the establishment of North Sacramento, Diggs, owner of the Thompson-Diggs Hardware Company, and former mayor of Woodbridge, California, and member of the California Senate, created the California State Life Insurance Company (later the California-Western States Life Insurance Company). The company, formed in Sacramento in 1911, was a means of building financial reserves to support Diggs' multiple development projects, which included several in the Sacramento Valley. Upon its founding, the insurance company became Diggs' primary concern, and Daniel Johnston served as president of the Land Company, succeeded in 1937 by Carl Johnston. Carl Johnston created an additional revenue stream for the North Sacramento Land Company in the Fort Sutter Building and Loan Company, which he opened in 1929 and operated out of 1454 Del Paso Boulevard alongside the Land Company.[12]

The North Sacramento Land Company has had a lasting legacy in Sacramento. Historian Paul J.P. Sandul has argued that land companies' practices of design and promotion in Sacramento's suburbs have been instrumental in forming the city's identity, creating "a branding that has helped shape how many in Sacramento view the environment and, likewise, themselves." This significance has been recognized with a park at 231 Eleanor Avenue in North Sacramento named for Carl Johnston in 1966.[13]

1454 Del Paso remained the headquarters for the North Sacramento Land Company until 1968, continuing to operate as the main advertiser and seller of land in North Sacramento as the town continued to expand, and eventually merged with the City of Sacramento in 1964. In 1968, North Sacramento Land Company moved its headquarters to 400 Slobe Avenue. The office at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard was then occupied by a series of real estate companies.[14]

[10] "Development of North District Shown by Many Improvements," *Sacramento Bee*, September 30, 1926, 20; "Subdivider of North Suburbs Dies After Stroke, *Sacramento Bee*, December 19, 1953, 1; "History of North Sacramento: A Series of Non-Commercial Advertisements," *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*, September 27, 1929, 3; Sacramento Survey, 1984-85, 12; "Another Electric Car Line to North Sacramento," *Sacramento Bee*, April 11, 1912.
[11] "Moving to North Sacramento," *Sacramento Bee*, July 25, 1925; "Thriving City is Nestled on Northern Fringe of Capital," *Sacramento Bee*, April 4, 1931, 19.
[12] William Carr, "Cal-West Marks 50th Year in Area of Booming Growth," *Sacramento Bee*, January 17, 1960, 21; "Marshall Diggs, Ex-State Solon, Dies in South," *Sacramento Bee*, April 20, 1925, 1; "Subdivider of North Suburbs Dies"; "A New Financial Institution," *Sacramento Bee*, January 4, 1930, 14.
[13] Sandul, "Country Town and Bustling Metropolis," 159; "North City Pool May Be Open Before July 1," *Sacramento Bee*, January 6, 1966, 34.
[14] North Sacramento Land Co., "Our third office," Facebook, May 22, 2011.; Sacramento City Directories 1945-1959.

Newspapers in Sacramento and the North Sacramento Tribune-Progress

Until a 1987 lot line adjustment, 1454 and 1450 Del Paso shared the brick building that is now 1454 Del Paso. The North Sacramento Land Company's neighbor from 1925 through 1943 was the printing office of the *North Sacramento Tribune*, later the *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*.[15]

The *Tribune-Progress* was a weekly newspaper published by Gilbert D. Beardslee from 1928 to 1943. Originally called the *Tribune*, the newspaper's name changed to the *Tribune-Progress* in 1931 when it merged with Clarence A. Champlin's newspaper, *the Fair Oaks Progress*. Beardslee and Champlin were partners in the *Tribune-Progress* until 1937, when Champlin sold his share upon becoming a Sacramento County supervisor.[16]

During the period of North Sacramento's development, most people received news through newspapers. As people increasingly purchased land and moved to North Sacramento, the *Tribune-Progress* was vital to the formation of a local identity. In 1933 the paper became the official newspaper of the city of North Sacramento for publication of legal notices, as well as the official newspaper of the County of Sacramento, highlighting local goings-on and advertising local businesses. In addition to weekly reports on land sales made by the North Sacramento Land Company, the "Local Business Directory" comprised advertisements for businesses located primarily along Del Paso Boulevard, the new suburb's commercial center. Regular columns that appeared in the paper included "District Activities," "Grant Union High School News Notes," "In the County…Here and There" and "As Your Neighbor Sees It," an open forum that printed the opinions of North Sacramento residents, fostering a sense of community in the growing suburb.[17]

The *Tribune-Progress'* political coverage was reflective of the values of the North Sacramento community. In the runup to the 1932 elections, the paper endorsed Franklin Delano Roosevelt and John Nance Garner for President and Vice President, Tallant Tubbs for Senator, and Ollie Mapes for County Supervisor, a ticket that notably included both Democrats and Republicans. The mixed ticked appealed both to the varied political opinions of the wider county, which flipped Democratic for the first time in that year, and to North Sacramentans in particular; land company advertising was designed to appeal to a conservative values and attracted a demographic that, in North Sacramento, polled heavily in favor of the Republican Tubbs following his nomination.[18]

Widely affordable at a subscription price of two dollars per year, the *Tribune-Progress* served as a point of connection between North Sacramento residents, as well as a forum to express and further foster civic pride for the region. A 1928 issue of the paper included a greeting from Beardslee that expressed this hope for the paper: "it is a recognized fact that a community is judged by its newspapers, and it will be the aim of The Tribune to reflect the spirit of civic pride and purpose with which our people have in a few years builded on what was but a grain field, one of the fastest growing cities in California."[19]

The *Tribune-Progress* closed in 1943. In the 1940s through 1960s, 1450 Del Paso served intermittently as a physician's office.[20]

Joseph's Town and Country

Many of the most popular and successful early gay bars in the Sacramento region opened in outlying neighborhoods outside Sacramento's city limits to avoid harassment from law enforcement. The Montana Saloon (7604 Fair Oaks Boulevard), opened in the early 1970s, was one example. Joseph Migliaccio, who had worked in the Montana Saloon as a bartender, by 1978 had purchased the bar and renamed it Joseph's Montana Saloon.[21]

[15] Center for Sacramento History, "The building at 1454 Del Paso," Facebook, January 7, 2025.
[16] "Periodicals of the Sacramento Region, 1852-2020: North Sacramento Tribune Progress, 1928-1943," Online Archive of California, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8ft8v3j.
[17] "Official Newspaper of the County of Sacramento," *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*, October 3, 1940, 4; "Largest Paid Circulation," *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*, March 9, 1933, 1.
[18] "The Tribune-Progress' Ticket," *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*, November 3, 1932, 2; Sandul, "Country Town and Bustling Metropolis," 165; Frank C. Jordan, ed., *Statement of Vote at Primary Election held on August 31, 1926 in the State of California* (California State Printing Office, 1926), 4-5; "Ollie Mapes Leads in Supervisor Race," *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*, September 1, 1932, 1.
[19] Gilbert D. Beardslee, "Greeting," *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*, May 4, 1928, 4.
[20] Center for Sacramento History, "The building at 1454 Del Paso," Facebook, January 7, 2025; Sacramento City Directories 1924-1944, accessed via https://archive.org/details/cshcitydirectories.
[21] Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project: Historic Context Statement, November 14, 2024, 66.

The impact of the 1975 repeal of California's sodomy laws is visible in the pattern of development of gay bars and gay-friendly establishments in the Sacramento area. As policing of sexual activities decreased, the number of gay bars and queer-friendly establishments steadily increased and spread throughout the City of Sacramento. Migliaccio soon opened several additional gay bars in the Sacramento region including, The Forum (2840 Auburn Boulevard), The Broadway Ltd. (1946 Broadway), The Bolt (2560 Boxwood Street), and Joseph's Town and Country at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard.[22]

When Joseph's Town and Country opened in the summer of 1997, the building became the bar's fifth consecutive location. The four previous locations had been: 1988-1989 at 3032 Auburn Boulevard; 1989-1991 at 2600 Auburn Boulevard; 1991-1997 at 2062 Auburn Boulevard, and in 1997 briefly at 3500 Marconi Avenue. [23]

In a 2023 historic context statement produced as a component of Sacramento's LGBTQ Historic Experience Project, Page and Turnbull identified Joseph's Town and Country at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard as a "potential historic resource" for its significance to the local LGBTQ community.[24] Across its various locations, of which 1454 Del Paso is the only one still extant and retaining integrity, Joseph's Town and Country was a staple of the Sacramento LGBTQ+ community. At a time when many of Sacramento's gay bars frequently rejected anyone other than white gay men—including lesbians, drag queens, African Americans, and straight people—Migliaccio's bars were significant within Sacramento's broader LGBTQ+ community for welcoming all members of the community. In the 2009 obituary for Migliaccio, *Outword* Magazine described the clientele of Migliaccio's bars as a mix of gay men, lesbians, "leather men and women, cowboys and cowgirls, drag queens, crossdressers, transgenders, bikers, bears, pool players, jeans and Elvis guys, the occasional punker, preppies and the boy and girls next door all had a home at Joseph's and he even occasionally hosted a nudist club."[25] During its ten year operation, Joseph's Town & Country hosted events including Sunday brunch, performances by the gay theater troupe the Lambda Players, and meetings of the Business Alliance of Networking Gays and the Greater Sacramento Gay Rodeo Association.[26]

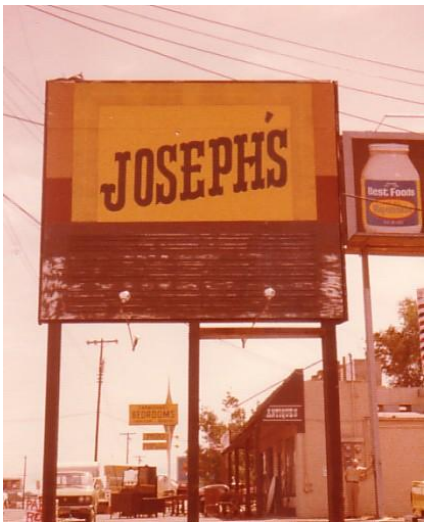


Figure 7: Sign circa 1978 from the Montana Saloon, later renamed Joseph's Montana Saloon, the earliest predecessor of Joseph's Town and Country. Source: Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation
The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places. In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

[22] Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project, 2024, 67.
[23] "New Business Licenses," *Sacramento Bee*, August 18, 1997.
[24] Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project, 339.
[25] Charles Peer, "Remembering Joseph Migliaccio," Outword Magazine 22, No. 378, February 2009.
[26] "Calendar of Events," *Mom…Guess What?,* December 15, 1997; "Fundraiser," *Sacramento Bee*, July 10, 1998; "Calendar of Events," *Mom…Guess What?,* January 1, 1992; The Official Member Newsletter of the GSGRA, February 1998, 18.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources

The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:

1. Requirements.
   a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
      i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
      iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
      iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
      v. It possesses high artistic values; or
      vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
   b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section; c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.

   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association. d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources cont.

   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

The property at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard appears to be eligible under Criterion 1/i. As the longtime headquarters of the North Sacramento Land Company, the entity responsible for the subdividing and building the infrastructure of North Sacramento, and the primary location for the *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*, an early local news source, the property is associated with the creation and expansion of the North Sacramento community. As Joseph's Town and Country, the property was an important social gathering place and outlet for personal expression for the LGBTQ+ community, where people met, made meaningful connections, and freely expressed themselves. The property is thus significantly associated with establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. For its association with these socially transformative moments in Sacramento's history,1454 Del Paso Boulevard is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
The property at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard does not appear to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii. The property is not associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history, and is therefore ineligible under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard appears to be eligible under Criterion 3/iii-v. The design of the building is Beaux Arts, a style that developed in the United States during a time of urban industrial prosperity at the turn of the twentieth century. Civic buildings during this period employed the style to highlight cities' wealth and old-world sophistication. Use of masonry and classical design elements were characteristic of this style. 1454 Del Paso Boulevard is characteristic of this architectural style for its symmetrical façade, paired pilasters, parapet, and brick cladding. For these reasons, 1454 Del Paso embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction and is therefore eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

California Register Criterion 4/Sacramento Register Criterion vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.
The property at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento Register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed in 1924 and is over 50 years old. However, its historic association with the LGBTQ+ community began in 1997, less than 50 years ago at the time of this evaluation. The property is exceptionally significant for its cultural importance to the LGBTQ+ community. Based on a reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project in 2024, relatively few properties remain that have a strong individual association with the development of the City of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, particularly outside the Midtown area, and that retain sufficient historic integrity. Operating as Joseph's Town and Country, 1454 Del Paso Boulevard possesses a high level of intangible cultural and social significance as a place where many people had their first or formative public experiences, both individually and collectively, as members of the LGBTQ+ community. The building holds a meaningful place in the memories of many and had a lasting role in fostering the establishment of the community. Therefore, the property meets consideration Factor e.

Integrity
1454 Del Paso Boulevard retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location, and its setting continues to be characterized by its proximity to the Del Paso Boulevard commercial district. The building appears to have undergone limited exterior alterations since its earliest (1924-1968) period of significance, primarily consisting of the construction of a side door and a differentiated rear addition, and the removal of a few decorative features, including tile roof from the front façade and some of the original windows and trim. The storefronts have been modified over time from their original consistent appearance in the 1925 historic sketch featured in the Sacramento Bee to their current appearance. Although the alterations to the front façade have modified its appearance somewhat, the building retains the same overall form, massing, materials, and roofline from both of its periods of significance (1924-1968; 1997-1998) to convey its significance under criteria 1/i and 3/iii. As such, the building retains integrity of all seven aspects.

Character-defining Features of 1454 Del Paso Boulevard
Character-defining features of 1454 Del Paso Boulevard that reflect its periods of significance (1925-1968, 1997-1998) and the Beaux Arts style include but are not limited to the following features:

- Two-story height
- Scored stucco cladding on Del Paso façade, exposed brick on secondary facades
- Parapet surrounding the roof
- Storefront windows with multi lite transoms divided by pilasters
- Storefront systems with centered door divided by large doric pilasters
- Sets of two small pilasters dividing upper story windows
- Multi lite casement windows facing Del Paso Boulevard on the western half of the primary elevation

Conclusion

The property located at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) for its association with North Sacramento Land Company, The *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress*, and Joseph's Town & Country. The North Sacramento Land Company operated from the building during the company's most productive years, subdividing and developing North Sacramento as an outlying suburb of the City of Sacramento. The *North Sacramento Tribune-Progress* was a widely circulated local newspaper that was instrumental to the formation of a local cultural identity in the new city. Joseph's Town & Country was a locally iconic gathering place for members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community as it became increasingly open and visible. 1454 Del Paso Boulevard is additionally eligible under Criterion 3/iii for being a relatively rare and good example of Beaux Arts commercial architecture. 1454 Del Paso Boulevard appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance.

Figure 8: 1454 Del Paso Boulevard. Source: Center for Sacramento History, Facebook post January 7, 2025.

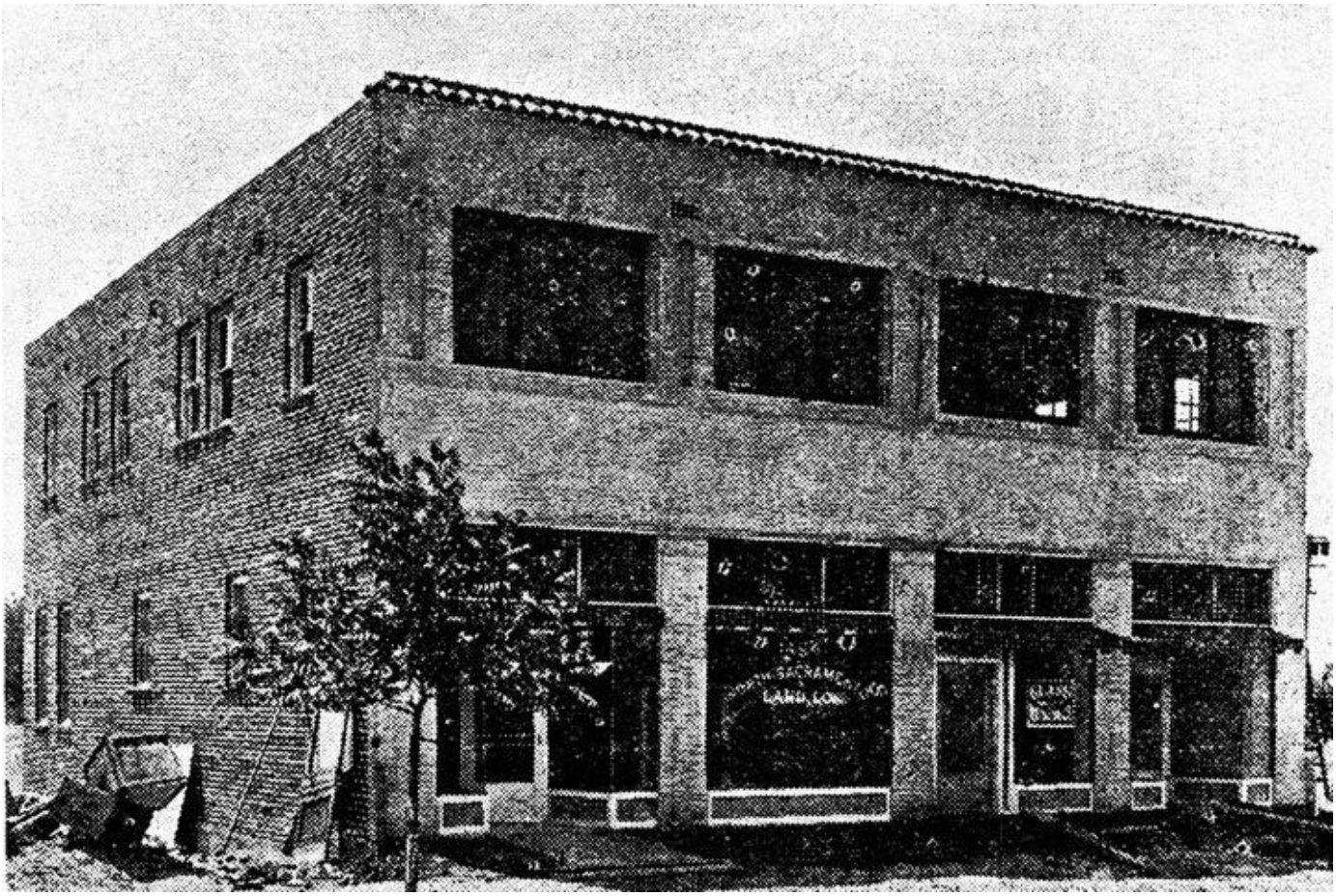
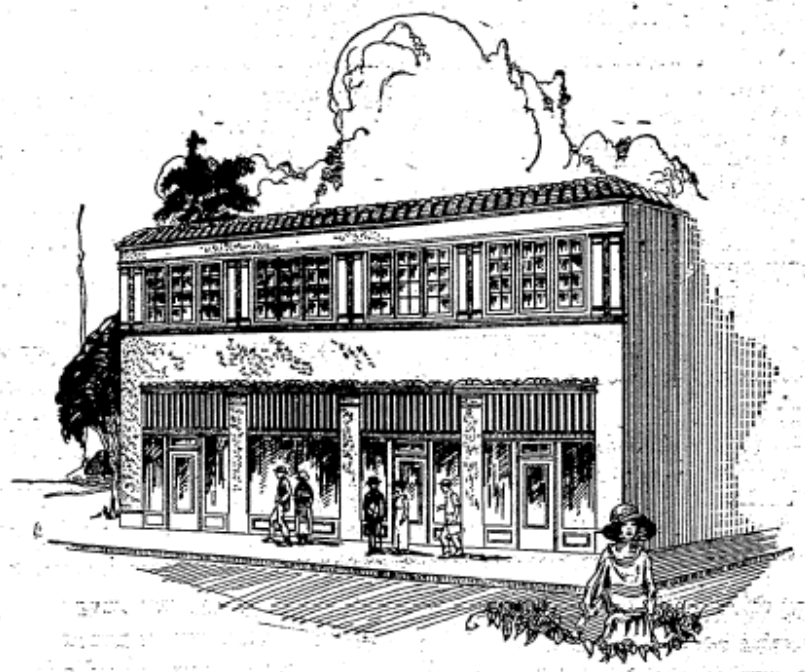


Figure 9: 1454 Del Paso Boulevard. Source: North Sacramento Land Co., Facebook post May 22, 2011.

THE SACRAMENTO BEE, SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1925

Moving to North Sacramento

The North Sacramento Land Company and North Sacramento Water Company Will Begin Business Monday in the New $15,000 Home Office Building at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard



Near the very spot where surveyors began driving stakes through open fields only fifteen years ago, the North Sacramento Land Company will open on Monday its new $15,000 office building at 1454 Del Paso Blvd. The growth of North Sacramento into a full-fledged, flourishing city and the increasing business of this company in North Sacramento properties have made this move necessary.

Our friends in Sacramento and North Sacramento are cordially invited to inspect our new offices next Monday. They will find the company installed in quarters setting a new standard in convenience and attractiveness.

The old office at 825 J Street will close permanently to-day.

North Sacramento Land Co.

"Fifteen Years of Community Building"

1454 Del Paso Blvd. **Main 4326**

Figure 10: North Sacramento Land Co. Advertisement. Source: *The Sacramento Bee*, July 25, 1925, page 38.

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State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

Page 1 **of** 6 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 1725 L Street
P1. Other Identifier: Offices of *Mom…Guess What…!*

***P2. Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 1725 L Street City Sacramento Zip 95811
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)

1725 L Street (APN 006-0126-010) is a one-story, 2,716-square-foot commercial building located on the north side of L Street in Midtown, Sacramento. 1725 L Street consists of a one-story brick masonry commercial storefront built in 1923 attached to a two-story, wood-frame, former residential building constructed around 1880. The primary south façade fronts L Street and features brick cladding with an asymmetrical fenestration, including divided- and single-lite fixed wood storefront windows and a glazed door beneath a fabric awning. The east façade faces a narrow alleyway, and the west façade is attached to the neighboring building at 1729-1731 L Street. The rear façade is obscured from the public right-of-way. The subject block is bounded by 18th Street to the east, Kayak Alley to the north, 17th Street to the west, and L Street to the south. 1725 L Street is zoned C-2-SPD (General Commercial/Special Planning District).

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View north of the south facade, taken July 15, 2024.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
Ca.1880, Source: Sanborn maps

***P7. Owner and Address:**
St John's Lutheran Church
Sacramento, 1701 L St., Sacramento, CA 95811

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Page & Turnbull, *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement* (2024)
***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

*Resource Name or # 1725 L Street

B1. Historic name: Offices of *Mom…Guess What…!*

B2. Common name:

B3. Original Use: Residential

B4. Present use: Commercial/Residential

*B5. **Architectural Style:** Commercial storefront

*B6. **Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

The property first appeared on Sanborn insurance maps in 1895, although the address was referenced in local newspaper records as early as 1887 **(Figure 1)**. From 1895 to 1952, several additions were added to the rear façade, along with infill of an addition to the primary façade of the house portion. The commercial storefront was added in 1923 **(Figures 2 and 3).**

(Refer to continuation sheet, page 3).

*B7. **Moved?** ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown **Date:** **Original Location:**

*B8. **Related Features:** None

B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown

*B10. **Significance: Theme** Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community **Area** Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1988-2003 **Property Type** Commercial/Residential **Applicable Criteria** 1/i; 2ii

Historic Context:

Mom…Guess What…! Newspaper

The longest-running and most influential of all of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ media was the *Mom...Guess What…!* (MGW) newspaper. MGW operated from its longtime location at 1725 L Street (the subject property) from circa 1988-2003. The newspaper was founded by local resident Linda Birner and ran its first issue in November 1978, roughly around the same time that similar newspapers launched in major North American cities, including New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., Toronto, Philadelphia, Montreal, San Francisco, Denver, Los Angeles, and others.[1] Early staff members, all of whom initially worked as volunteers, included publisher and design director Linda Birner, executive editor David S. Weinerth, editor James K. Graham, associated editors Bill Spiller and J. Anne Wessel, and photographers Jan-Michelle Sawyer and Adam Ciesielski. Contributing writers included Allen Chamberlain, Sue Diehl, Ron Drum, Colleen Moreland, Greg Low, Doug Biggert, Arthur Corbin, and Zana S. Blazer.[2] Former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers later contributed to sections on politics, art, and culture.[3] The group initially worked out of Birner's house at 3441 Fair Oaks Boulevard, where they brainstormed the name of the paper and assigned and wrote stories, before eventually moving to an office of its own at 1919 21st Street (extant) from 1980-1982.

(Refer to continuation sheet, page 3).

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. **References:** Refer to footnotes

B13. Remarks: N/A

*B14. **Evaluator:** Page & Turnbull, Inc.

***Date of Evaluation:** October 8, 2024

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

[1] David. C. Weinerth, "From the Inside Out," *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 December 1978.
[2] *Mom…Guess What…!* , 1 November 1978.
[3] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**
From visual analysis during a July 2024 site visit, it appears that aluminum windows were installed at an unknown time on the primary façade of the wood-frame house portion. Apart from cosmetic changes to retail signage and awning at the front storefront addition, no other major exterior alterations appear to have taken place to the house or storefront portions of the property during or after the period of significance.

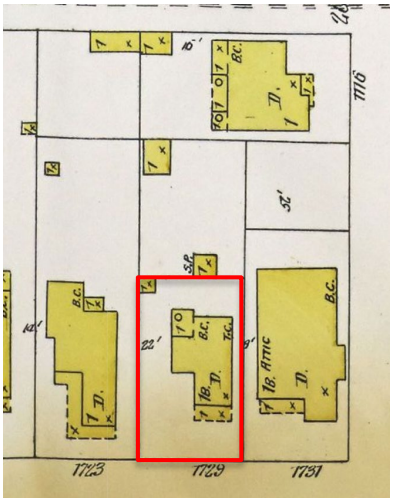

Figure 1: Sanborn-Perris Map Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1895. Page 17L. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

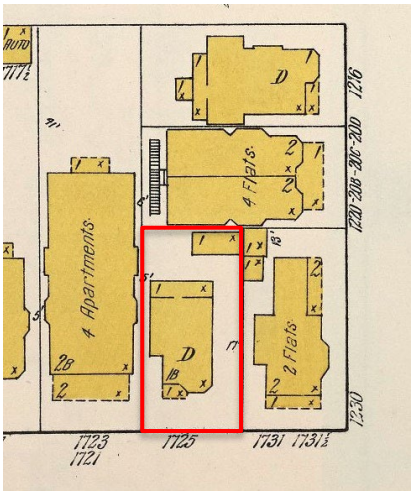

Figure 2: Sanborn Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1915. Volume One, Page 41. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

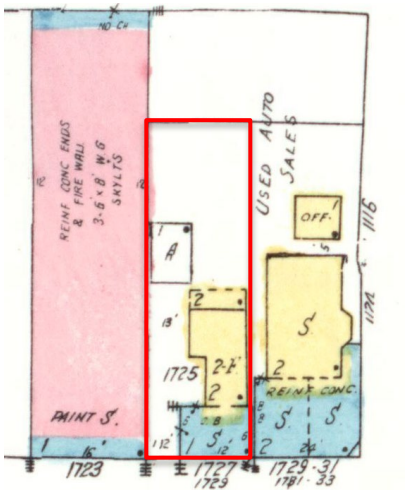

Figure 3: Sanborn Map Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1952. Volume One, Page 41. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library.. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)
In contrast to many of the sexually oriented publications directed toward the gay community at the time, Birner insisted that MGW be a "clean" newspaper without sexually explicit content so that it could appeal to a broader audience, could be openly displayed on coffee tables in public places, and could improve the self-esteem of the gay community.[4] The newspaper was published monthly and distributed at gay bars and restaurants, the Sacramento Women's Center, and other local gay businesses, establishments, and social gathering places.[5]

At a time when the gay and lesbian communities were often distinctly separate from each other, *MGW* was designed as a newspaper for both gay men and lesbians across the Sacramento area and wider region. Reflecting one of its goals of increasing awareness, understanding, and acceptance toward the gay community among the broader population, it also notably targeted straight allies, or "Friends," as part of its main readership base. This mission was explicitly stated on the first page of its first issue:

> "*MOM…GUESS WHAT…!"* is a tabloid newspaper that happens to be Gay. It's for women and men in the Sacramento Valley area and the Mother Lode countries who happen to be gay and for their friends who happen to like sharing the enjoyment of their friends who happen to be gay.
>
> "MOM…GUESS WHAT…!" is designed to appeal to the interests of a lot of nice people who may not know each other yet but probably should. After all, Sacramento's a big place. In and around River City there are thousands of Lesbians, Gay Men, and Friends of all ages and all walks of life who are not only interesting and unique in themselves, but who are also eager to find out more about each other and about their many opportunities for social activity, recreation, and personal growth through involvement with each other.[6]

As demonstrated by its original mission statement, *MGW* went beyond political activism and was explicitly intended to foster the creation of a gay community in Sacramento. In the newspaper's one-year anniversary issue, associate editor James Graham

[4] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," Center for Sacramento History.
[5] *Mom…Guess What…!* , 1 November 1978.
[6] *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 November 1978.

stated, "You can't decide, 'we are going to organize a community.' It has to happen, develop and come together. You can work to create the conditions, and I feel MOM…GUESS WHAT! is doing that."[7] With that goal in mind, MGW published articles not just about local news, important legislation, and policies that were of special interest to the gay community, it also included a calendar of social events, a guide to local entertainment locations, a list of social organizations along with their contact info, and classified advertisements.

According to local mental health worker Elizabeth Harrison, Sacramento's gay community had been primarily bar-oriented until *MGW* began publishing issues. "When *Mom...Guess What…!* started, it opened a whole new world," she said.[8] The newspaper allowed lesbians and gay men to find not just bars and clubs but also doctors, therapists, sports leagues, professional organizations, and other social clubs, events, and services, specifically by and for members of the gay community. Demonstrating its goal of uniting and uplifting the community, *MGW* was unique in that, as Harrison described it, "the newspaper was kind – it didn't go after people or do exposés. It elevated people and brought people together."[9]

Often the newspaper literally did just that. Classified ads published in *MGW* were frequently the way gay and lesbian individuals met each other and found romantic relationships. People would place an ad in the newspaper and typically list a P.O. box address as their contact in order to keep their personal addresses private. According to Sacramento resident and former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers, it was common for individuals to meet for coffee at New Helvetia café located in the former fire station at 1215 19th Street (extant) or for some other activity after work.[10]

On the newspaper's tenth anniversary, the newspaper received proclamations from the City of Sacramento, County of Sacramento, and the California State Assembly. It was also recognized by the Human Rights Commission and received numerous journalistic and photography awards from the Gay and Lesbian Press Association (GLPA).[11] *MGW* ceased publication in 2009, having published approximately 585 issues over the course of its over 30-year existence.[12]

Linda Birner

Born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1949, Linda Birner arrived in Sacramento in 1962, where she worked her way through a master's degree in Psychology at Sacramento State College (now California State University, Sacramento) doing graphic work for state legislators Mervyn Dymally and Leona Egeland. After working for a consulting firm for a period, she started her own graphics design business. Demonstrating the close ties between growing activism among the gay community and other activist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, she became active in the Women's Movement through the National Organization of Women (NOW), believing that the first step to achieving gay rights was obtaining equal rights for women. "All of it's related," she said. "I call it the Gay/Feminist Movement."[13] Spurred into action by the campaign to pass Proposition 6, known as the Briggs Initiative, which aimed to ban gay and lesbian individuals from working in California's public schools, she founded *MGW* to share important information about the initiative and encourage readers to vote against it. The first meeting to share information about plans for the newspaper and solicit interest from potential writers, photographers, artists, and other contributors was held at Earhart's Café in November 1978.[14] Linda Birner owned and operated *MGW* through 2009, after which the newspaper folded and the business became Guess What Media, LLC. Birner passed away on July 3rd, 2024.[15]

[7] "One Year Later…" *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979.
[8] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison," May 31, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nWsdfGrixw.
[9] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison," Center for Sacramento History.
[10] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.
[11] Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, "News from Those Who Print the News: Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, What It's Been Like and Where They're Going," undated, Lavender Library.
[12] Graham Womack, "Community Gathers Issues of Sacramento LGBT Newspaper," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 July 2023: D1.
[13] "One Year Later…" *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979.
[14] *Mom…Guess What…!* , November 1, 1978.
[15] Legacy Remembers. "Linda Birner Obituary." *Legacy* (blog), July 19, 2024.

Figure 4. *Mom…Guess What…!* founder Linda Birner (1998). Source: Hector Amezcua for the *Sacramento Bee*.

Figure 5. *Mom…Guess What…!* staff (from left to right): Bill Spiller, J. Anne Wessel, Linda Birner, James K. Graham, and Gary Kimball. Source: *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979. Photo by Rebecca Gregg.

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance. Refer to the *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)* and *Survey Methodology & Framework* for evaluative criteria of each theme.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation
The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places. In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.

e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.
The property at 1725 L Street appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the longtime operating headquarters of *Mom...Guess What…!,* one of Sacramento's earliest and longest running LGBTQ+ newspapers. *MGW* was an invaluable asset to the LGBTQ+ community that provided a myriad of news, stories, and advertisements relating to the cultural fabric and daily life of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community from the late 1970s through early 2000s. The newspaper was an influential resource that had a profound impact on the social, professional, and political scene for the LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
The property at 1725 L Street appears eligible under Criterion 2/ii for its association with Linda Birner, the founder of seminal LGBTQ+ newspaper *Mom...Guess What…!* and an avid educator, community leader, and advocate for social justice. Under Birner's direction, *MGW* thrived as an acclaimed publication and produced queer-centered journalism, stories, and advertising. Birner advocated for a publication that united and uplifted intersectional voices and that allowed for new avenues of social connection, professional development, and connection to LGBTQ+ owned/operated services.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 1725 L Street does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 4/vi. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. 1725 L Street is a modest commercial storefront added onto the front of a Victorian-era house that is not a distinctive example of any architectural style.

Criterion 4/vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.
The property at 1725 L Street does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register under Criterion 4 as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property used as the offices of *Mom...Guess What…!* less than 50 years ago. LGBTQ+ communities did not become visible across the United States until the late 1960s and early 1970s, and many of the most significant developments in the community's history occurred after this period, as it fought to establish itself and achieve equal rights with mainstream society. As such, at the time of this evaluation, the "50 year rule" would eliminate nearly all properties with historic associations with the LGBTQ+ community from eligibility for local designation. 1725 L Street does not appear to be of exceptional significance, but it is clearly historically significant, as demonstrated by its eligibility under Criteria 1/I and 2/ii. Therefore, although Factor e was considered in this evaluation, it should not apply when considering the eligibility of the subject property for listing on the Sacramento Register.

Integrity
1725 L Street retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of commercial, residential, and mixed-use development that was present during its period of significance (1988-2003). The building appears to have undergone minimal exterior alterations since the relocation of *Mom...Guess What…!* in 2003. The building would still be recognizable to someone who visited the restaurant while it was in operation and continues to convey its identity as a commercial building built in the 1970s.

Character-defining Features of 1401 Alhambra Boulevard

Character-defining features of 1725 L Street include but are not limited to the following features:

- One-story brick masonry commercial storefront
  - Brick masonry construction
  - Storefront window openings
  - Glazed wood entry door
- Two-story residential building
  - Front-facing gabled roof
  - Gabled vent
  - Horizontal channel rustic wood cladding

Conclusion

The property at 1725 L Street does appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) and 2/ii (Persons) for its association with the publication of the important local LGBTQ+ publication *Mom…Guess What…!* and for its association with the newspaper's founder Linda Birner, a leader and activist in Sacramento's LGBTQ community. The property appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. The California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[16]

References

Building permit records. City of Sacramento.

California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation. *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*. Sacramento, November 2004.

Legacy Remembers. "Linda Birner Obituary." *Legacy* (blog). July 19, 2024.

Mom…Guess What…!. 1 November 1978.

"One Year Later…" *Mom…Guess What…!*. November 1979

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Sacramento County Assessor. Assessor Parcel Viewer. Accessed September 4, 2024, https://assessorparcelviewer.saccounty.gov/jsviewer/assessor.html#.

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"Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers." May 30, 2023. Center for Sacramento History. YouTube. Accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.

"Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison." May 31, 2023. Center for Sacramento History. YouTube. Accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nWsdfGrixw.

Weinerth, David C. "From the Inside Out." *Mom…Guess What…!*. 1 December 1978.

Womack, Graham. "Community Gathers Issues of Sacramento LGBT Newspaper." *Sacramento Bee*. 2 July 2023: D1.

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[16] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION
PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code 3CS, 5S3
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

*Resource Name or #: (Assigned by recorder) 2215 P Street
P1. Other Identifier: Gay Alternative Coffeehouse

*P2. Location: ☐ Not for Publication ☒ Unrestricted
*a. County Sacramento and (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
*b. USGS 7.5' Quad Sacramento East, CA. Date 2021 T 8N ; R 5E ; ☐ of Mt. Diablo ☐ of Sec 00 ; B.M.
c. Address 2215 P Street City Sacramento Zip 95816
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

*P3a. Description: (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
2215 P Street (APN 702-540-190-000) is a two-story, 1,440-square-foot multi-family residential building located on the north side of P Street in the Winn Park neighborhood of Sacramento. The building was constructed in 1900 and has a rectangular footprint with a hipped roof, overhanging boxed wood eaves, and composite roofing. It is clad with horizontal clapboard siding throughout. The north facade, facing P Street, is the primary facade of the building (**Figure 1** and **Figure 2**). A detached ADU is located behind the main residential building. The subject block is bounded by 23rd Street to the east, Opera Alley to the north, and 22nd Street to the west. 2215 P Street is zoned R-3A-SPD (Multi-family Alternative Residential 36 units/acre/Special Planning District).

(Continued on Page 3)

*P3b. Resource Attributes: (List attributes and codes) HP3. Multiple family property

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

*P4. Resources Present:
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) Primary façade, view north, taken August 13, 2024.

*P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source: ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
1900, Source: Sacramento County Assessor.

*P7. Owner and Address:
Keith R/Alice M. Kelly Family Revocable Trust, P.O. Box 162612
Sacramento, CA 95816

*P8. Recorded by: (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

*P9. Date Recorded: October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

*P11. Report Citation: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)

*Attachments: ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

*Resource Name or # 2215 P Street

B1. Historic name: Gay Alternative Coffeehouse
B2. Common name:
B3. Original Use: Residential
B4. Present use: Residential

*B5. **Architectural Style:** Queen Anne Free Classic

*B6. **Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

2215 P Street was built in 1900. In 2009, a permit was issued for reroofing the rear porch with composite shingles.[1] In 2022, two permits were issued: the first to convert the second story of the main residential building to an ADU, and the second to construct a detached ADU at the rear of the property.[2] Windows appear to have been replaced with vinyl sash and a new concrete staircase was constructed at an unknown date. (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

*B7. **Moved?** ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown **Date:** _____ **Original Location:** _____

*B8. **Related Features:** None

B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown

*B10. **Significance: Theme** Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community **Area** Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1971-1972 **Property Type** Residential **Applicable Criteria** 1/i

Historic Context:

Gay Alternative Coffeehouse

The intersection of P and 22nd streets was a hub for local LGBTQ+ activity in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1971, the first known LGBTQ+ coffeehouse opened at a building around the corner from the Pink Fairy Palace at 2215 P Street. The coffee shop was located in Apartment #2, which was the apartment of a man named Edgar, who was a writer for Gay Voice Sacramento, one of the first LGBTQ+ newsletters in Sacramento. Edgar was likely Edgar Carpenter, a student at Sacramento State College (now California State University, Sacramento and also known as Sacramento State University or CSUS) at the time and a leader in the gay liberation group, the Society for Homosexual Freedom (SHF), that was founded at the college. SHF held its early meetings at the coffeeshop in 1971.149 It also hosted a series of gay community potluck dinners.

The coffeeshop, appropriately known as the Gay Alternative Coffeehouse, was created as space for young gay people to socialize outside the gay bar scene. It operated from approximately 1971-1972. According to a piece written by Edgar in *Gay Voice Sacramento* around the time the coffee shop opened:

> The reason the coffeehouse has been started is that there is no gay scene in Sacramento outside of the bars (no gay scene for those of us under twenty-one) where we are charged exorbitant prices for drinks in a noisy, impersonal, meat-rack atmosphere which is the opposite of the atmosphere of community and brotherhood/sisterhood.[3]

To furnish the coffeehouse, *Gay Voice Sacramento* solicited donations of pillows, rugs, artwork, other décor items and a refrigerator.[4] In 1972, the Gay Alternative Coffeeshop moved to another apartment building at 1516 29th Street (extant).[5]

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. **References:** Refer to footnotes
B13. Remarks: N/A
*B14. **Evaluator:** Page & Turnbull, Inc.
***Date of Evaluation:** October 8, 2024

(This space reserved for official comments.)

[1] City of Sacramento, Community Development Department. Permit #9800095. Sacramento, California: June 16, 2009.
[2] City of Sacramento, Community Development Department. Permit #RES-2204147. Sacramento, California: February 24, 2022; City of Sacramento, Community Development Department. Permit #ADR-2200078. Sacramento, California: March 8, 2022.
[3] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 1, 1971.
[4] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 1, 1971.
[5] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 2, undated.

***P3a. Description: (Continued)**

The subject property is two stories in height with a hipped roof and hipped dormers on the south, east, and west facades. The primary north façade features a two-story wood frame porch with simple Tuscan columns and wood baluster. The second story of the porch is accessed from a set of concrete stairs with metal railings. The east façade is partially visible and features a bay window at the second floor and double-hung windows. The west and rear north facades are mostly obscured from view (**Figure 3**). At the rear of the property, there is a two-story ADU with hipped roof (under construction as of August 2024). (**Figure 4**).

Figure 1. Primary south facade, view northeast.

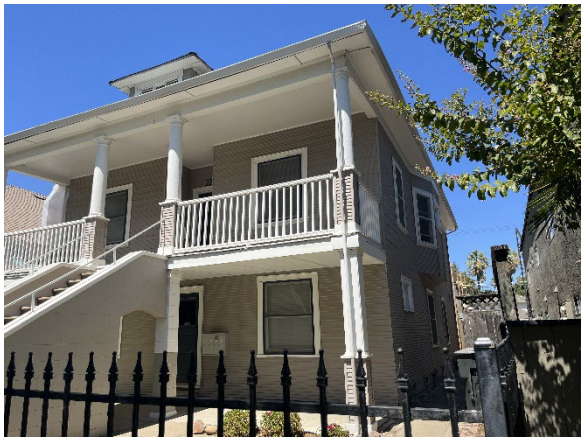

Figure 2. Oblique view of south and east facades, view north.

Figure 3. Partial view of the rear façade and detached ADU, view southwest.

Figure 4. Context view of detached ADU, view southwest.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**
Sanborn Insurance maps from 1915 and 1950 show that the subject property consisted of two residential flats with a two-story full-width front porch **(Figure 5).** By 1950, the overall building footprint of the main residential building had remained mostly unchanged, apart from an extension to the rear porch and removal of a detached garage facing Opera Alley **(Figure 6).**

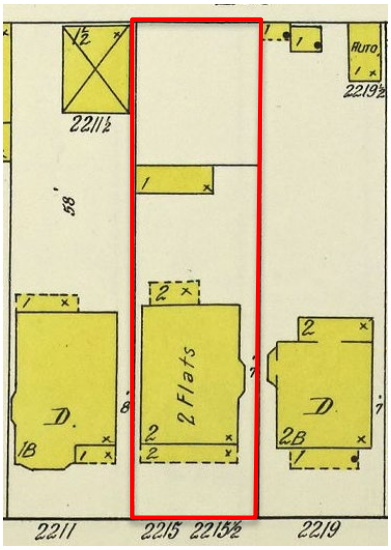

Figure 5: Sanborn Map Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1915. Volume Two, Page 123. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

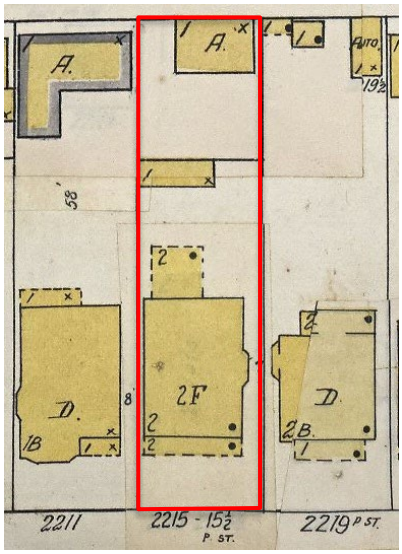

Figure 6: Sanborn Map Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1950. Volume Two, Page 123. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance. Refer to the *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)* and *Survey Methodology & Framework* for evaluative criteria of each theme.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation
The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.
In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.
The property at 2215 P Street appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the location of the Gay Alternative Coffeehouse, a gay-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly coffee shop that opened in 1971 during an important transitional period in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. The coffee shop served as an alternative gathering space for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community outside of the bar scene, particularly for young people under the age of 21. Despite operating at 2215 P Street for only one year before moving to another location, the establishment of the Gay Alternative Coffeehouse played an early role within the broader community effort to create new and alternate LGBTQ+ owned and friendly spaces for social connection outside of the gay bar scene. Thus, the property is significantly associated with establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
The property at 2215 P Street does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 2/ii. While the property is potentially associated with Edgar Carpenter, a writer for *Gay Voice Sacramento* and a leader in the gay liberation group the Society for Homosexual Freedom, research did not definitively confirm that the "Edgar" associated with the coffee shop is the same as Edgar Carpenter. Therefore, it is not possible at this time to confirm an association with Carpenter. No other important individuals with significant association to the subject property were identified. For these reasons, the property is not eligible for listing under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 2215 P Street does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 3/iii-v. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. The building is a modest residential building designed in the Queen Anne "Free Classic" style with horizontal wood siding, Tuscan columns, hipped roof, and

replacement vinyl windows. The building is not a distinctive or exemplary representation of the style. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

California Register Criterion 4/Sacramento Register Criterion vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.
The property at 2215 P Street does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Integrity
2215 P Street retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of residential properties that were present during its period of significance (1971-1972). While the property has undergone alterations to the exterior including window replacements and the construction of a rear ADU, the building would still be recognizable to someone who visited the coffee shop while it was in operation.

Character-defining Features of 2215 P Street
Character-defining features of 2215 P Street that reflect its period of significance (1971-1972) include but are not limited to the following features:

- Two-story height
- Horizontal wood siding
- Hipped roof with boxed wood eaves and asphalt roofing
- Wood frame full-width front porch with Tuscan columns
- Double-hung windows and dormer window.

Conclusion
The property at 2215 P Street appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) for its association with the gay-owned and gay-friendly coffee shop Alternative Gay Coffeehouse. The coffee shop was an important gathering place for members of the LGBTQ+ community during the early years of its development in Sacramento in the 1970s and provided an alternative third space outside of the gay bar scene. 2215 P Street appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[6]

References
Advertisement. *Sacramento Bee*. 16 September 1976: D6.

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California, U.S., Divorce Index, 1966-1984. Ancestry.com.

"City Building Permits." *Sacramento Bee*. 23 June 1974: E13.

Classified ads. *Sacramento Bee*. 11 October 1975: C5.

"Fitzgerald, Paul Neeson." *Sacramento Bee*. 22 January 2012: B5.

"Gay State Employees Have a Voice." *Mom…Guess What…!.* 1 September 1979.

Graham, James K. "Gay Business…Right Here in River City." *Mom Guess What…!.* April 1979.

Macias, Chris. "Celebrating Inclusion." *Sacramento Bee*. 5 September 2015: B1, B6.

"Marriage Licenses." *Record Searchlight* (Redding, CA). 12 September 1964.

[6] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

"New Club." *Sacramento Bee*. 1 April 1 1983: C7.

"Public Notice No. 632." *Sacramento Bee*. 2 November 1977: E6.

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Sacramento County Assessor. Assessor Parcel Viewer. Accessed September 4, 2024, https://assessorparcelviewer.saccounty.gov/jsviewer/assessor.html#.

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U.S. Public Records Index, 1950-1993, Volume 2, Ancestry.com.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION
PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 2565 Franklin Boulevard
P1. Other Identifier: The Blue Moon

*P2. **Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 2565 Franklin Boulevard City Sacramento Zip 95818
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
2565 Franklin Boulevard (APN 010-0247-040) is a one-story, 2,554-square-foot brick masonry commercial building located in the Curtis Park neighborhood of Sacramento on the east side of Franklin Boulevard between Broadway to the north, 2nd Avenue to the south, and State Highway 99 to the east. The building was constructed in 1925 and has a rectangular footprint with a low-pitched hipped roof with built-up roofing that is surrounded on the north, south, and east sides by a flat parapet wall and on the west (front) side by a projecting false hipped roof with red clay tile roofing and boxed wood eaves. The west and south façades are clad with vertically scored red facing bricks laid in a running bond, while the north façade is clad with smooth bricks laid in a common bond. The west (front) façade faces Franklin Boulevard and has two bays. The main entrance is centered in a recessed opening in the right (south) bay and consists of a flat metal door with a diamond-shaped peephole window (**Figure 1**). The facade appears to have originally had large storefront window openings, which were infilled at an unknown date with vertically grooved plywood cladding. A vinyl picture window with flat wood trim is located in the plywood infilled opening to the left (north) of the entrance
(Continued on Page 3).

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object
☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View northeast of 2565 Franklin Blvd., taken August 25, 2024.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
1925, Source: LoopNet.

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Campus Plaza Assoc, Care Of
Brocchini Partners,
3801 W. Pacific Ave. Ste. A
Sacramento, CA 95820

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)
***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

BUILDING, STRUCTURE, AND OBJECT RECORD

*NRHP Status Code 3CS, 5S3

*Resource Name or # 2565 Franklin Boulevard

B1. Historic name: The Blue Moon
B2. Common name:
B3. Original Use: Commercial
B4. Present use: Commercial

*B5. **Architectural Style:** 20th-Century Commercial

*B6. **Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

2565 Franklin Boulevard was constructed in 1925 for property developers Anderson-Govan Company by an unknown architect and builder. Research did not uncover any historic photographs of the building. A fire insurance map published by the Sanborn Map Company in 1950 shows the building as a masonry building with a roughly rectangular footprint with an angled front façade aligned with Franklin Boulevard. At the time, the building contained two commercial units and its south façade faced 1st Avenue (now a surface parking lot). The building's earliest known tenant was a lighting and ornamental iron work designer and manufacturer in 1931. By 1935, the building was in use as Leejo's Tavern, a Prohibition-era bar that was raised for possessing an illegal cache of untaxed alcohol in a secret cabinet behind sliding doors.[1] Various bars, including the lesbian bar The Blue Moon from 1985 to 1990, occupied the building through 2021, when the interior of the building was remodeled to convert it into a drive-in style restaurant.

*B7. **Moved?** ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown **Date:** **Original Location:**

*B8. **Related Features:** None

B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown

*B10. **Significance:** **Theme** Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community **Area** Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1985-1990 **Property Type** Commercial **Applicable Criteria** 1/I

Historic Context:

Lesbian Bars in Sacramento (ca. 1969-2000)

Gay white men were historically, and continue to be, the most visible and recognized LGBTQ+ subgroup both in Sacramento and the broader LGBTQ+ population nationwide. As in other cities, lesbians in Sacramento often felt angered, embittered, and alienated by the treatment they received from gay men and the lack of recognition or representation they often received. Some gay businesses and organizations explicitly did not welcome lesbians. Many gay bars, which catered to a majority white male clientele, did not welcome and often rejected lesbian patrons. The practice of "carding" lesbians and LGBTQ+ persons of color to discourage their presence was not uncommon. If carded, those seeking admission would have to produce multiple forms of personal ID to secure entrance, making it difficult if not impossible for them to be admitted.[2] As a result, lesbians in Sacramento were forced to establish their own safe spaces, social gathering places, clubs, and organizations where they could openly and comfortably express themselves. Known lesbian bars that operated in the City of Sacramento during the formative period of the LGBTQ+ community's development from the late 1960s to approximately the year 2000 included the Crescent Moon at 1704 Broadway (extant but extensively altered), the Blue Moon (the subject property), the Buffalo Club at 1831 S Street (demolished), The Mirage at 601 15th Street (extant, primarily a bar for Black lesbians), and Jammin' Jo's Sports and Dance Bar at 2721 Broadway (extant).
(Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. **References:** Refer to footnotes

B13. Remarks: N/A

*B14. **Evaluator:** Page & Turnbull, Inc.

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

[1] "Caches Uncovered in Liquor Raids," *Sacramento Bee,* 8 March 1935: 5.
[2] Carson Anderson, "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS," July 9, 2024.

***P3a. Description (continued):**

The south façade faces a large surface parking lot and has another large window opening that is infilled with plywood cladding and a vinyl picture window (**Figure 2 and Figure 3**). An exit door with a metal security door is at the east end of the façade. The north façade is clad with brick laid in a common bond and has iron ties across the upper courses (**Figure 4**). The rear (east) façade is not visible from the street. 2565 Franklin Boulevard is zoned C-2 (General Commercial).

Figure 1. South facade, view northeast.

Figure 2. Parking lot south of the building, view north.

Figure 3. North facade, view southeast.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**
Building permit records document few exterior alterations to the building over time aside from the installation of various exterior signs, reroofing in 1991, and the installation of new concrete paving in 1999.[3] Based on visual observations made during an August 2024 site visit, additional exterior alterations include infilling large storefront window openings at the front (west) and south facades with vertically grooved plywood siding and vinyl picture windows and installing hanging metal pendant lights from the projecting hipped roof at the front façade.

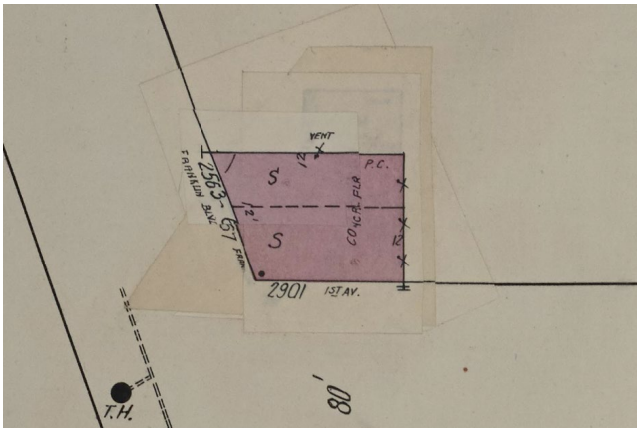

Figure 4. 1950 fire insurance map by the Sanborn Map Company, showing the subject building. Source: Library of Congress.

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)

The Blue Moon (1985-1990)
A lesbian bar called The Once Upon a Blue Moon, more commonly known as the Blue Moon, opened around 1985 at 2565 Franklin Boulevard. The bar was owned and operated by Shannon Morgan, an out lesbian and local blown-glass artist who played in the local women's sports leagues. Lesbian residents of Sacramento have described that Sacramento historically could only support one lesbian bar at a time. If a new bar opened, it would pull patrons away, and the previous lesbian bar would close soon after. The Blue Moon was the only lesbian bar in Sacramento for much of the 1980s and became one of the most prominent and popular social gathering places for Sacramento's lesbian community during that decade.

Members of the local women's slow and fast pitch softball leagues and other sports teams often gathered at the bar after weekly Sunday games to socialize.[4] Morgan was a member of the local women's rugby team the River City Ruggers, which also gathered at the Blue Moon after games and practices for food, entertainment, and socializing. The first Ms. Leather Sacramento competition, a leather title competition that was a feeder to the International Leather Competition in Chicago, was held at the Blue Moon in 1987 and annually until the bar closed in 1990.[5]

[3] Building permit records, 2656 Franklin Boulevard, City of Sacramento Planning Department.
[4] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 7, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[5] Haines Criss-Cross Directory, Sacramento, 1990, Sacramento Public Library.

Figure 5. Artwork from an advertisement for The Blue Moon (1986).
Source: *The Patlar Gazette*, January 1986.

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      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:

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ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
v. It possesses high artistic values; or
vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;

b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.
The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the location of The Blue Moon, a lesbian bar that opened in 1985 when Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community became a visible and recognizable part of the city's population for the first time. During this formative period, gay bars served as the center of social life for many in the LGBTQ+ community and were the place where people went to form social and sexual connections, exchange news, share life experiences, discuss important topics to the community, and openly express themselves at a time when being gay was still not generally accepted by mainstream society. Rejected from most of the gay bars and spaces in Sacramento, which catered primarily to gay white men, lesbians in Sacramento were forced to establish their own spaces, including their own lesbian bars, where they could socialize safely and openly. According to numerous community members, Sacramento typically only had one lesbian bar at a time. During the 1980s—a highly potent era in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community when many LGBTQ+ businesses, clubs, and organizations were founded—The Blue Moon was the most prominent, and perhaps the only, lesbian bar in the city. The bar was the place where lesbian social groups and organizations, including local women's sports teams, gathered and the annual Ms. Leather competition was held. As such, it became an important incubator and connective force for Sacramento's lesbian community. The property, thus, is significantly associated with establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard does not appear to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii for association with an individual of historic significance to local LGBTQ+ history. The owner of the Blue Moon, Shannon Morgan, was well-known within the lesbian community for her connection to the bar and was active socially in local women's sports leagues and as an artist. However, research did not indicate that she was personally recognized as a leading figure in the establishment and development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. As such, the property is eligible under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 4/vi. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. The building is a modest and undistinctive commercial building built in the early 20th century. The building is not exemplary representation of an architectural style. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

Criterion 4/vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed in 1925 and is over 50 years old. However, its historic association with the LGBTQ+ community began in 1985, less than 50 years ago at the time of this evaluation. The property is exceptionally significant for its cultural importance to the LGBTQ+ community. Based on a reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project in 2024, relatively few properties remain that have a strong individual association with the development of the City of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, particularly outside the Midtown area, and that retain sufficient historic integrity. Additionally, only a handful of lesbian bars existed in the City of Sacramento during the formative period of the community's development from the late 1960s to approximately 2000, several of which have been extensively altered. Properties that were significant as community social gathering spaces that were not gay bars are also rare. Therefore the property meets consideration Factor e.

Integrity

2565 Franklin Boulevard retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of commercial, residential, and mixed-use development, most of which was present during its period of significance (1985-1990). The building appears to have undergone minimal exterior alterations since the closure of The Blue Moon in 1990, primarily consisting of re-roofing and the installation of new concrete paving. The building would still be recognizable from the street to someone who visited the bar while it was in operation in the 1980s.

Character-defining Features of 2565 Franklin Boulevard

Character-defining features of 2565 Franklin Boulevard that reflect the period of significance (1985-1990) include but are not limited to the following features:

- One-story height
- Fluted and smooth brick masonry cladding
- Hipped false parapet roof with overhanging boxed wood eaves and red clay tile roofing
- Recessed front entrance

Conclusion

The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) for its association with the lesbian bar The Blue Moon. The bar was one of the most popular and well-known social gathering places for lesbians in Sacramento during the 1980s, when the LGBTQ+ community became a visible and recognizable part of Sacramento's population for the first time. It was the location of many social gatherings for local lesbian groups that fostered connections within the community and played an integral role in the community's development. 2565 Franklin Boulevard appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[6]

References

Anderson, Carson. "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS." July 9, 2024.

Building permit records. City of Sacramento.

"Caches Uncovered in Liquor Raids." *Sacramento Bee.* 8 March 1935: 5.

[6] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation. *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*. Sacramento, November 2004.

Sacramento City Directories. 1978-1994. Sacramento Public Library.

Sacramento County Assessor. Assessor Parcel Viewer. Accessed September 4, 2024, https://assessorparcelviewer.saccounty.gov/jsviewer/assessor.html#.

Tierney, Jolanne. Conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss. August 7, 2024. Sacramento, CA.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

Page 1 **of** 6 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 7042 Folsom Boulevard
P1. Other Identifier: Bo Jangles

***P2. Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 7042 Folsom Boulevard City Sacramento Zip 95826
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
7042 Folsom Boulevard (APN 079-0222-034) is a one-story, 4,266-square-foot commercial building located on the south side of Folsom Boulevard between Brighton Avenue to the west, State University Drive to the west, and U.S. Highway 50 to the southeast in the East Sacramento neighborhood of Sacramento. The building was constructed in 1940 and has an irregular footprint. Approximately two-thirds of the front of the building has a hipped parapet roof with overhanging boxed eaves and standing seam metal roofing. The rear third of the building has a flat roof. The building is clad with stucco. The front (north) façade faces Folsom Boulevard and contains the main entrance to the building, which is covered with plywood (**Figure 1**). The east façade contains a secondary entrance, consisting of two metal doors (**Figure 2**). The west façade features two fixed window openings and another door opening. One of the windows and the door opening are covered with plywood. The rear (southeast) facade is not visible from the public right-of-way but appears to face a rear patio that is enclosed by a stucco-clad wall. The building is located on a 0.75-acre triangular parcel that is enclosed by a metal chain link fence. A small patio surrounded by a wood board fence with concrete and wood posts is located in front of the main entrance. Paved surface parking lots flank the building on its east and west sides. 7042 Folsom Boulevard is zoned C-2 (General Commercial).

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View southeast of 7042 Folsom Blvd., taken August 25, 2024.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both 1940, Source: Sacramento County Assessor.

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Malkah J LLC
6236 Mahala Dr.
Carmichael, CA 95608

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)

***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

*Resource Name or # 7042 Folsom Boulevard
B1. Historic name: Bo Jangles
B2. Common name:
B3. Original Use: Commercial
B4. Present use: Commercial
*B5. Architectural Style: Vernacular
*B6. Construction History: (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

The building at 7042 Folsom Boulevard was constructed in 1940.[1] Research did not reveal its original owner or builder. The earliest known photographs of the building consist of aerial photographs from the 1950s and 1960s, which show the building with a rectangular footprint and low-pitched gabled roof (**Figure 3** and **Figure 4**). The building has had numerous uses over the course of its existence, but has most frequently been used as a bar, nightclub, or music venue. From the late 1960s to early 1970s, the building was occupied by the Pink Tiger Tavern, a go-go dance club. In 1966, three large windows were broken and the interior was damaged after burglars set off an explosion inside the building.[2] One week later, someone threw a stone through glass in the front door and poured flammable liquid along 10 feet of the rear wall and set it on fire, causing smoke damage.[3] In 1976, an addition for a card room was constructed. The addition is visible in an aerial photograph taken in 1981 (**Figure 5**) (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

*B7. Moved? ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown Date: _____ Original Location: _____
*B8. Related Features: None
B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown
*B10. Significance: Theme Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community Area Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1976-1986 Property Type Commercial Applicable Criteria 1/I, 2/ii

Historic Context:

Early Gay Bars in the City of Sacramento

Through the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, as much of the gay community remained closeted and being publicly "out" could still put one at risk of arrest, losing one's job, and being ostracized from family, friends, and coworkers, gay and lesbian individuals continued to meet in secret. Gay bars—which had covertly served a vital role as some of the only places LGBTQ+ individuals could openly express their sexual identities since the first decades of the 20th century—blossomed into the public center of LGBTQ+ life in the decades after the late 1960s. Gay bars became not just places to meet sexual partners; they developed into the de facto center of gay life, where LGBTQ+ individuals received and exchanged news, formed lasting friendships and romantic relationships, and organized social, professional, and political groups, clubs, and events.

While some gay bars existed in Sacramento's Central City grid prior to the late 1960s, California's anti-sodomy laws, which had been used to harass and imprison LGBTQ+ individuals for over 100 years, and the City of Sacramento's strict enforcement of those laws, prevented the formation of any recognizable concentration of gay-owned or gay-friendly establishments within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento until the state laws were repealed in the 1970s. In 1975, Assembly Bill 437, which ended California's sodomy laws, passed both houses of the California state legislature and was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown, Jr.[4] (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. References: Refer to footnotes
B13. Remarks: N/A
*B14. Evaluator: Page & Turnbull, Inc.
*Date of Evaluation: October 8, 2024

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

[1] Sacramento County Assessor, Assessor Parcel Viewer, accessed September 4, 2024. https://assessorparcelviewer.saccounty.gov/jsviewer/assessor.html#.
[2] "After-Hours 'Visitors' To Bar Take Coins and Then Really Have a Blast," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 September 1966: D1.
[3] "Pink Tiger Is Target Again – Flames, Stone," *Sacramento Bee*, 29 September 1966: A11.
[4] Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 2016 227-228.

*P3a. Description (continued):

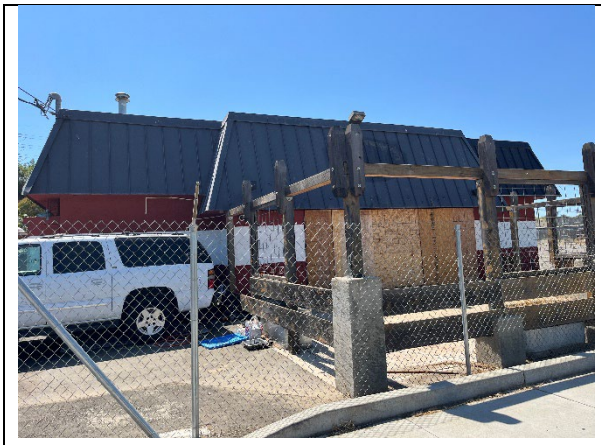

Figure 1. North facade, view southwest.

Figure 2. East facade, view southwest.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**

LGBTQ+ entrepreneur, community leader, and philanthropist Myron "Terry" Sidie purchased the property in 1976 and remodeled it into a popular gay dance club called Bo Jangles. The rear patio appears to have been added around this time. Permit records describe the installation of a new door to the patio and outdoor fireplace in 1977. In 1980, the building had another fire that damaged approximately 20 percent of the building.[5] The damage was repaired. City directory listings indicate that Bo Jangles closed around 1986, but building permit records show that the property continued to be owned by Sidie through at least 1990. From the mid-1980s through 2007, the property was used as a live music venue, known for primarily hosting alternative rock bands and musicians. The venue went by several different names during this time period, including Club Me!, The Cattle Club, and The Library. Additional fires resulted in unspecified damage to the building in 1998 and again in 2002. A fire protection system was installed in 2005.[6] Three windows in the north (front) façade were repaired in 2007. The Library closed in 2007, after a gang fight resulted in the accidental death of a 20-year-old student who was sitting in her car outside the bar. Bisla's Sports Bar subsequently occupied the building from 2009 to 2013. Google Street View shows that the front façade was modified around 2014 as part of remodeling the building into a barbeque restaurant, Fahrenheit 451. A new outdoor patio seating area with wood and concrete posts was constructed at the front of the building at this time, and three fixed windows at the front façade were replaced with glazed doors that opened to the patio. Chain link fencing was added around the property around 2022.[7] The only other exterior alterations that are documented in building permit records consist of the installation of signs for the various tenants that have occupied the building.[8]

Figure 3. 1966 aerial photograph. The subject building is indicated by a white arrow. Source: HistoricAerials.com. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

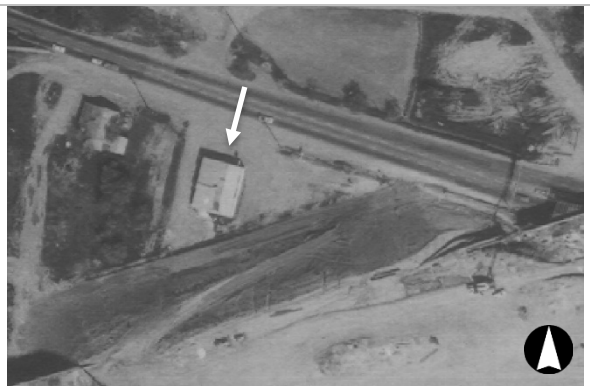

Figure 4. 1971 aerial photograph. The subject building is indicated by a white arrow. Source: Cartwright Aerial Surveys, Flight CAS-3069, 1971, UC Santa Barbara FrameFinder. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

Figure 5. 1981 aerial photograph. The subject building is indicated by a white arrow. Source: Cartwright Aerial Surveys, Flight CAS-81081, 1981, UC Santa Barbara FrameFinder. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

Figure 6. 2024 aerial photograph. The subject building is indicated by a white arrow. Source: Google Maps. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

[5] "Bojangles Bar Burns," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 October 1980: B3.
[6] Building permit records, City of Sacramento.
[7] Google Street View, accessed September 18, 2024.
[8] Building permit records, City of Sacramento.

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)

The impact of the repeal of the state's sodomy laws is visible in the pattern of development of gay bars and gay-friendly establishments in the Sacramento area. Locations where queer people could openly gather and interact were initially scattered throughout the city, though the largest concentrations remained across the Sacramento River in the City of West Sacramento through the mid-1970s. The Damron Guides recorded only two queer-friendly establishments in Sacramento from the publication of the first issue in 1965 through 1970: the Topper Club and Mark Twain Hotel bar located along the cruising area on the K Street Mall in downtown Sacramento.

Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, however, the number of gay bars and queer-friendly establishments steadily increased and spread throughout the City of Sacramento as policing of sexual activities decreased. A small number of new establishments emerged within the city in the early 1970s. The first, though short-lived, gay bar on 21st Street that was listed in the Damron Guides was Raye's Inn at 1617 21st Street in 1971. A few years later, the Cruz'in/Y-Not bar was located a few blocks to the north at 2026 I Street near the intersection of 21st and I streets. By 1973, the Corker Club (later Bob and Frank's Underpass and Corral/Broadway Limited) at 1946 Broadway.[9] The Topper Club and Mark Twain Hotel were demolished at an unknown date. The building at 2026 I Street has been replaced with contemporary infill housing, while the exterior of 1946 Broadway has been extensively altered beyond recognition.

Figure 7. Advertisement Bo Jangles (ca. 1980). Source: *Mom…Guess What…!* Lavender Library.

Bo Jangles (1976-1986)

Many of the most popular and successful early gay bars within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento opened in outlying neighborhoods outside the Central City in the 1970s. In 1976, Wisconsin-native Myron "Terry" Sidie opened his first of several gay bars and businesses in Sacramento, a dance club called Bo Jangles at 7042 Folsom Boulevard (extant) just outside the campus of California State University, Sacramento in East Sacramento. However, despite the growing visibility of gay men and lesbians in Sacramento, anti-gay discrimination and violence remained a constant reality. In 1979, four patrons at Bo Jangles were wounded when someone fired a gun into the crowded patio outside the bar from nearby Highway 50. No arrests were recorded in the *Sacramento Bee's* reporting.[10] Despite the continuing threat of violence and harassment, Bo Jangles was an important social outlet for the community. The bar was a popular spot for young people due to its proximity to the campus of Sacramento State University and the fact that most of the bar was open to people under the age of 21.[11] Bo Jangles became a place where many members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community first publicly came out, had their first openly LGBTQ+ experiences, or first met others in the LGBTQ+ community. Jolanne Tierney, known by her DJ-ing name Jammin' Jo, remembered the bar as the first place where she publicly came out. When she walked into Bo Jangles for the first time as a high school student in 1979, she said it "was the first time [she] knew she wasn't alone," adding, "It felt like home."[12] City directories list Bo Jangles until 1986, after which the property was primarily used as a live music venue.

Myron "Terry" Sidie

Born and raised on a farm in Wisconsin, Terry Sidie left home at the age of 19 to live with an aunt in Detroit, where he came out as gay. He later moved to Los Angeles, where he worked as a private-duty nurse before enlisting in the military in 1971. Though hoping "to see the world," he was stationed at the hospital at Mather Air Force Base in the Sacramento area. During the evenings, he moonlighted as a bartender at bars in Sacramento and West Sacramento, gaining experience with the local gay bar scene. After opening Bo Jangles in 1976, Sidie became one of the most successful and influential figures in Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, opening several other bars, restaurants, and establishments, and supporting community clubs and organizations through donations and fundraisers. In 1985, he purchased the building that contained another early gay bar, K Street Station, located at 2000 K Street (extant), and reopened it as a new gay dance club called Faces, which continues in operation. Sidie envisioned Faces as a destination for dancing and a luxurious alternative to the typical dive bar. Sidie wished to combat the exclusionary attitude of the gay community and the bar scene in the 1970s by creating a place that welcomed everyone. Under Sidie's leadership, Faces became akin to a community center. The success of the bar has often been credited by community

[9] Mapping the Gay Guides, accessed August 14, 2024, https://mappingthegayguides.org/viz/map/.
[10] "Shots Fired at Bar Crowd," *Sacramento Bee*, 29 July 1979: A26.
[11] Alan LoFaso, conversation with Clare Flynn, September 13, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[12] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 2, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

members, business and political leaders as a catalyzing force in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ neighborhood, Lavender Heights.[13]

In addition to Bo Jangles and Faces, at one point, Sidie also owned Club 21, a restaurant called Head Hunters, the Verona Village Resort in Sutter County, and a farm in his home state of Wisconsin. Sidie used the success of his business endeavors to benefit and empower Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Faces became a hub for the community and arguably the most well-known and recognizable landmark for the LGBTQ-life in Sacramento. In addition to its regular business, the bar hosted events such as voter drives for the Sacramento chapter of the gay political advocacy group the Stonewall Democratic Club, fundraisers for LGBTQ+-friendly politicians, and the first meeting of the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Softball League.[14] In 1987, Sidie helped start the Rainbow Festival with Hamburger Mary's owner Richard Boriolo. The festival, which is held annually as a fundraiser for local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations, was Boriolo's idea and continues to use Faces as its main hub.[15] In reflecting on Sidie's impact on the community, Reverend Jerry Sloan, founder of the Lambda Community Center (now the Sacramento LGBT Community Center), stated, ""A lot of people and groups, including myself, have certainly gone to him and said, 'Terry, we need,' and he never hesitates. And we're talking thousands of dollars, not 20 bucks."[16] By 1997, Sidie, himself, estimated he had given $120,000 to local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations.[17]

Sidie has also been a leader in other important LGBTQ+ organizations in Sacramento. He helped found the Lambda Community Center (now the LGBT Community Center) in 1986 and was crowned Emperor XIII and XXXVII of the Imperial Court of Sacramento (also known as the Court of the Great Northwest Imperial Empire, or CGNIE), a local chapter of the drag social club and charitable organization the International Court System. He was named Emperor I of the Americas, one of the two highest ranked people in the International Court System in 2020.[18] Sidie's prominence in the Imperial Court System has given Sacramento power and distinction within the drag community worldwide.[19]

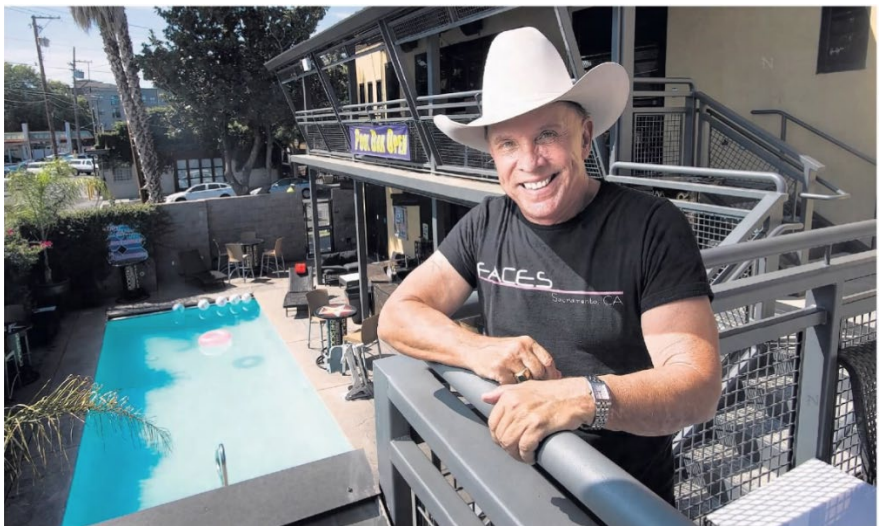

Figure 8. Terry Sidie at Faces (2015). Source: Paul Kitagaki for *The Sacramento Bee*.

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance. Refer to the *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)* and *Survey Methodology & Framework* for evaluative criteria of each theme.

[13] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 September 2015: B1, B6.
[14] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[15] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[16] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[17] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[18] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history; "Imperial Court Emperors and Empresses," The United Courts of CGNIE, accessed August 24, 2024.
[19] "Official Message from Queen Mother 1 of the America's, Nicole the Great," International Court System, August 26, 2019, accessed August 24, 2024, https://internationalcourtsystem.org/official-message-from-queen-mother-1-of-the-americas-nicole-the-great/.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation
The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.
In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the location of Bo Jangles, one of the earliest openly gay bars and nightclubs within the limits of the City of Sacramento. Opened in 1976 at a time when the LGBTQ+ community still remained primarily hidden and underground, Bo Jangles was an important social gathering place and outlet for personal expression for the LGBTQ+ community, where people came out publicly for the first time, met and made meaningful connections with other LGBTQ+ people, and freely expressed themselves. The property, thus, is significantly associated with establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard appears to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii for its association with prominent gay entrepreneur, business owner, and philanthropist Myron "Terry" Sidie. Bo Jangles was the first of several gay bars and other businesses Sidie opened. Starting with Bo Jangles, he realized his vision of creating spaces where the LGBTQ+ community felt safe and welcome to be themselves. Sidie's businesses, many of which have been located near the intersection of 20th and K street, played a critical role in the development of Lavender Heights into Sacramento's recognized LGBTQ+ neighborhood. Sidie used the success from his businesses to support the LGBTQ+ community through donations to LGBTQ+ groups, causes, and organizations and fostering the development of the annual Rainbow Festival. He has also been a leader in several local LGBTQ+ organizations. Through his businesses, beginning with Bo Jangles, and his philanthropic work, Sidie has contributed in numerous ways to the establishment of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community from its formation in the 1970s to the present. As such, the property is eligible under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 3/iii-v. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. The building is a vernacular commercial building that does not display the characteristics of any particular architectural style or important building type. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

California Register Criterion 4/Sacramento Register Criterion vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento Register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed in 1940 and is over 50 years old. However, its historic association with the LGBTQ+ community began in 1976, less than 50 years ago at the time of this evaluation. The property is exceptionally significant for its cultural importance to the LGBTQ+ community. Based on a reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project in 2024, relatively few properties remain that have a strong individual association with the development of the City of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, particularly outside the Midtown area, and that retain sufficient historic integrity. Operating as Bo Jangles, 7042 Folsom Boulevard possesses a high level of intangible cultural and social significance as a place where many people had their first or formative public experiences, both individually and collectively, as members of the LGBTQ+ community. The building holds a meaningful place in the memories of many and had a lasting role in fostering the establishment of the community. Therefore, the property meets consideration Factor e.

Integrity

7042 Folsom Boulevard retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and its setting continues to be characterized by surface parking lots and its proximity to Folsom Boulevard, U.S. Highway 50, and the campus of Sacramento State University, all of which were present during Bo Jangles' years of operation. The building appears to have undergone limited exterior alterations since the closure of Bo Jangles in 1986, primarily consisting of the conversion of three windows at the front façade into a door opening and the construction of an exterior seating area in 2014. Although the alterations to the front façade have modified its appearance somewhat, the building retains the same overall form, footprint, massing, and roofline from the early period of Terry Sidie's ownership and, therefore, retains enough of its design, materials, and workmanship from its period of significance (1976-1986) to remain recognizable to someone who visited the bar while it was in operation. As such, the building retains integrity of feeling and association with the development of early gay bars within the City of Sacramento.

Character-defining Features of 7042 Folsom Boulevard

Character-defining features of 7042 Folsom Boulevard that reflect its period of significance (1976-1986) include but are not limited to the following features:

- One-story height
- Stucco cladding
- Hipped parapet roof with overhanging boxed wood eaves
- Rear patio surrounded by stucco wall

Conclusion

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) and 2/ii (Persons) for its association with Bo Jangles, a prominent early gay bar and nightclub within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento, and its owner, Terry Sidie. Bo Jangles was an important gathering place for members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community as it became increasingly open and visible in the 1970s through the 1980s and was the first business opened by Sidie, an important figure in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community through his work as a businessman, entrepreneur, and philanthropist. 7042 Folsom Boulevard appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[20]

References

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[20] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION
PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____3CD, 5D2_____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

Page 1 **of** 26 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) Lavender Heights Historic District
P1. Other Identifier: _____
*__P2. Location:__ ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 20th and K Streets City Sacramento Zip 95811
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone ___, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)
See boundary description, District Record, Page 2.

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
Lavender Heights is an enclave of cultural landmarks associated with the history of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. The district consists of commercial and institutional properties historically centered around the intersection of 20th and K Streets in Sacramento's Midtown neighborhood. District contributors include 12 commercial, institutional, and converted residential buildings that are associated with the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento, starting in 1967 through the year 2000, when increasing integration of the LGBTQ+ community into mainstream society resulted in distinct changes to the tight-knit character of the community. The district also contains 29 non-contributing properties. (Continued on page 2).

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building, HP16. Religious building, HP13. Community center/social hall

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object
☐ Site ☒ District ☐ Element of District
☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) Lavender Heights sign marker at 20th and K streets, view east.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
ca.1895-1972 (Sacramento County Assessor Year Built data)

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Multiple private owners

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** September 25, 2024

***P10. Survey Type:** (Describe)
Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Page & Turnbull, "Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement," 2024

***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☐Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☒District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

***D3 Detailed Description:** (Discuss overall coherence of the district, its setting, visual characteristics, and minor features. List all elements of district.)

The district is located in the urban core of Midtown Sacramento, which is zoned C-2-SPD (General Commercial/Special Planning District). Midtown is platted on a gridded streetscape with low- to medium-density land use including one- to three- story commercial buildings; areas of historic and infill single- and multi-family housing, some of which have been converted to commercial use; larger formerly industrial buildings; religious buildings; several larger office buildings and parking garages; and paved surface parking lots. East-to-west arterial streets are bisected by alleyways, which have street names. Examples of historic housing date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries and include single- and multi-family houses and apartment buildings designed in the vernacular, Queen Anne, Italianate, Stick-Eastlake, Craftsman, Prairie, Art Moderne, and Classical Revival styles. Commercial, institutional, and residential buildings throughout the district do not conform to a cohesive style or period of construction and include examples of adaptive reuse of late 19th-century residential properties for commercial use, along with contemporary storefronts and infill dating to the 1980s and 1990s. Contributors to the district include the locations of community centers; gay bars; businesses that were owned by and catered to members of the community; offices of organizations and individuals that provided essential health and welfare services to the community, including during the AIDS epidemic; and a church that hosted events and provided spiritual sustenance.

The contributing elements of Lavender Heights Historic District are listed in **Table 1** below and described in detail beginning on page 3 of the attached Continuation Sheets.

Table 1. Contributing Properties, Lavender Heights Historic District

Contributing Elements	APN	Description	Years of Association	Status Code	Still in Historic Use?
1215 19th Street	007-0143-001-0000	New Helvetia Roaster	1991-2002	3DC, 5D3	No
919 20th Street	007-0016-017-0000	Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and AIDS Response Programs (ca. 1997-1999)	ca. 1997-1999	3DC, 5D3	No
912 21st Street	007-0016-010-0000	Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz offices / The Open Book	1978-1987, 1996-2005	3DC, 5D3	No
2100 J Street	007-0091-001-0000	First United Methodist Church	ca. 1967-present	3DC, 5D3	Yes
2115 J Street	007-0022-015-0000	Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices	1985	3DC, 5D3	No
2220 J Street	007-0093-007-0000	Sacramento Women's Center, Gifted Gardener	1975-1976, 1989	3DC, 5D3	No
2224 J Street	007-0093-008-0000	Lioness Books, Sacramento Women's Center, Rape Crisis Center, WEST	ca. 1982-1999	3DC, 5D3	No

Contributing Elements	APN	Description	Years of Association	Status Code	Still in Historic Use?
1900 K Street	007-0084-023-0000	Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices	1986-1994	3DC, 5D3	No
2000 K Street	007-0086-020-0000	K Street Station/Faces gay bar	1985-present	3DC, 5D3	Yes
2001 K Street	007-0085-012-0000	The Western/The Depot gay bar	ca. 1997-present	3DC, 5D3	Yes
1928 L Street	007-0143-007-0000	Mercantile Saloon gay bar	1976-present	3DC, 5D3	Yes
1931 L Street	007-0084-030-0000	Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, Stop AIDS Project	1987-ca. 1998	3DC, 5D3	No

Table 2. Non-Contributing Properties, Lavender Heights Historic District

Non-Contributing Elements	APN	Status Code
1209 19th Street	007-0143-002-0000	6Z
923 20th Street	007-0016-016-0000	6Z
1015 20th Street	007-0085-001-0000	6Z
1116 20th Street	007-0084-011-0000	6Z
1120 20th Street	007-0084-012-0000	6Z
924 21st Street	007-0016-011-0000	6Z
1011 22nd Street	007-0093-001-0000	6Z
2001 J Street	007-0016-015-0000	6Z
2011 J Street	007-0016-014-0000	6Z
2015 J Street	007-0016-019-0000	6Z
2020 J Street	007-0085-017-0000	6Z
2031 J Street	007-0016-018-0000	6Z
2101 J Street	007-0022-028-0000	6Z
2109 J Street	007-0022-016-0000	6Z
2124 J Street	007-0091-002-0000	6Z
2130 J Street	007-0091-011-0000	6Z
2200 J Street	007-0093-025-0000	6Z
1930 K Street	007-0084-031-0000	6Z
2007 K Street	007-0085-011-0000	6Z
2015 K Street	007-0085-015-0000	6Z

Non-Contributing Elements	APN	Status Code
2025 K Street	007-0085-008-0000	6Z
K Street	007-0084-024-0000	6Z
K Street	007-0084-025-0000	6Z
K Street	007-0084-029-0000	6Z
1906 L Street	007-0143-019-0000	6Z
1914 L Street	007-0143-004-0000	6Z
L Street	007-0143-025-0000	6Z
L Street	007-0143-020-0000	6Z
L Street	007-0143-021-0000	6Z

***D4 Boundary Description:** (Describe limits of district and attach map showing boundary and district elements.):
The district is roughly bounded by I Street to the north between 20th and 21st Streets, 23rd Street to the east between Improv Alley and Jazz Alley, Liestal Alley to the south between 19th and 20th streets, and 19th Street to the west between Liestal Alley and K Street. (See Error! Reference source not found. on Continuation Sheet, page 5).

***D5. Boundary Justification:**
By the 1970s, the foundations of a clearly identifiable, vibrant, openly gay neighborhood began to emerge in Sacramento. Known as Lavender Heights, the neighborhood was centered around the intersection of 20th and K streets and the surrounding blocks, though its boundaries were not clearly defined and evolved over time with the growth of LGBTQ+-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly business establishments in the Midtown area. The boundaries of the Lavender Heights Historic District encapsulate the epicenter of the larger landscape of Midtown Sacramento within which many of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ residents lived, socialized, cared for one another, and coalesced into an identifiable, diverse, vibrant, and tight-knit community between the late 1960s to around the year 2000. As several landmarks within the broader Lavender Heights neighborhood are no longer extant, the historic district boundaries encompass the blocks where the highest concentration of extant LGBTQ+ properties are located; shown in the maps below **(**Error! Reference source not found.**).**

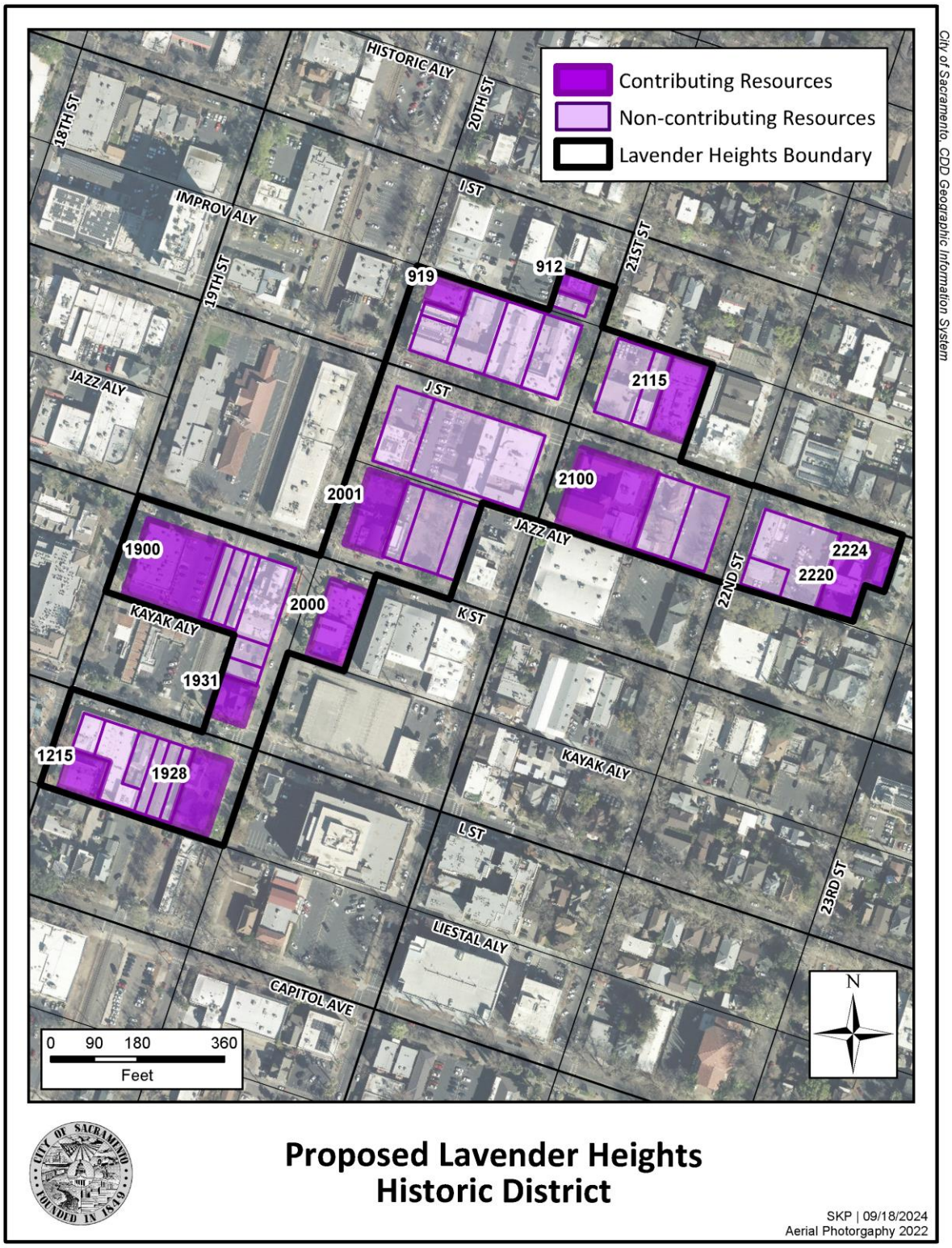
D6. Significance: Theme Social History **Area** City of Sacramento
Period of Significance 1967-2000 **Applicable Criteria** 1/i and 2/ii
(Discuss district's importance in terms of its historical context as defined by theme, period of significance, and geographic scope. Also address the integrity of the district as a whole.)

See Continuation Sheets, pages 8-24.

***D7. References** (Give full citations including the names and addresses of any informants, where possible.):
See Continuation Sheet, page 25.

***D8. Evaluator:** Samantha Purnell and Clare Flynn **Date:** September 25, 2024
Affiliation and Address: Page & Turnbull, 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

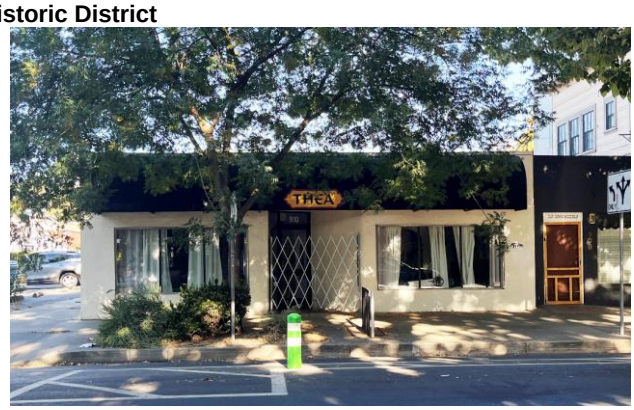
***D3 Detailed Description:** (cont'd)



***D3 Detailed Description:** (cont'd)

Table 2. Contributing buildings, Lavender Heights Historic District

1215 19th Street (APN 007-0143-001-0000) New Helvetia Roaster. The property was occupied by New Helvetia Roaster from 1991-2002.



910-912 21st Street (APN 007-0016-010-0000) Offices of Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz and the Open Book bookstore. The building housed the medical offices of Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz from 1978-1987 and the Open Book from 1996 to 2005.

2115 J Street (APN 007-0022-015-0000) Sacramento AIDS Foundation. 2115 J Street was occupied by the Sacramento AIDS Foundation in 1985.

2220 J Street (APN 007-0093-007-0000) Sacramento Women's Center and the Gifted Gardener. 2220 J Street was occupied by the Sacramento Women's Center from 1975-1976 and was the first location of the Gifted Gardener in 1989.

2224 J Street (APN 007-0093-008-0000) Lioness Books. 2224 J Street was occupied by Lioness Books, Sacramento Women's Center Rape Crisis Center, and WEST from ca.1982-2000.

1900 K Street (APN 007-0084-023-0000) Sacramento AIDS Foundation. 1900 K Street was occupied by the Sacramento Aids Foundation from 1986-1994.

2000 K Street (APN 007-0086-020-0000)
K Street Station/Faces. 2000 K Street has been occupied by K Street Station/Faces since 1985.

2001 K Street (APN 007-0085-012-0000)
2001 K Street has been occupied by a bar since 1938 and first became known as a gay bar at an unknown date. It has been a gay bar called The Depot since 1997.

1928 L Street (APN 007-0143-007-0000)
Mercantile Saloon. 1928 L Street has been occupied by the Mercantile Saloon since 1976.

1931 L Street (APN 007-0084-030-0000)
Lambda Community Center. 1931 L Street was occupied by the Gay and Lesbian Community Center, Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and AIDS Response Program from 1987-1998.

919 20th Street (APN 007-0016-017-0000)
Lambda Community Center. 919 20th Street was occupied by the Gay and Lesbian Community Center, Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and Stop

2100 J Street (APN 007-0091-001-0000)
First United Methodist Church. The church hosted meetings for early homophile groups in the late 1960s and has continuously welcomed members of the

AIDS Project from 1997-1999.

LGBTQ+ community.

D6. Significance: (continued)

Lavender Heights Historic Context

Neighborhood Development

Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community remained largely underground until the 1970s due to widespread discrimination and harassment. The increasing visibility of LGBTQ+ individuals following the Stonewall Inn riots in New York City in 1969 and repeal of California's anti-sodomy laws in 1975 led more people to come out the closet and begin to form visible communities across the country in the 1970s. In Sacramento, several factors contributed to the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento's Midtown neighborhood during this period. During the postwar period, the flight of wealthy residents and resources out of the older neighborhoods within and near Sacramento's original street grid, known as the Central City, to newer suburbs in outlying areas resulted in a decline of property values and rents in the Central City.[1] Young, single people, some of whom were gay, moved into the area, attracted by the abundance of low-rent apartment houses, excitement of urban life, and greater tolerance for alternative lifestyles than suburban areas. The Midtown neighborhood, which had an eclectic mix of aging, affordable residences in close proximity to commercial streets, became a particularly popular destination for young gay and lesbian residents.[2]

Likely drawn to Midtown by the growing number of gay and lesbian residents in the area, gay-friendly businesses began to open in the 1970s. As with many gay neighborhoods throughout the United States, the first seeds of the Lavender Heights neighborhood were planted by the establishment of several gay bars—traditionally the center of gay life – around the intersection of 20th and K streets. As will be described in more detail later in this evaluation, some of the earliest and most prominent gay bars in the neighborhood were the Mercantile Saloon, The Western (later The Depot), Club 21, K Street Station (later Faces), and the Wreck Room, all of which were located at or within a few blocks of 20th and K streets. The name "Lavender Heights" was coined by members of Sacramento's gay community in the 1970s, but it did not become more publicly used until the early 1980s, when the *Sacramento Bee* published a series of articles highlighting the neighborhood and several of its businesses. Although the origin of the neighborhood's name is unknown, the color lavender was a reference to the popular association of the gay community with the color purple. Another name, "Fruit Flats," was reportedly considered for the neighborhood and showed the community's sense of humor but did not catch on.

As more LGBTQ+ individuals moved into Midtown, and the number of gay businesses, institutions, and services grew, Lavender Heights became a community of congregation, a self-created and self-defined place where the LGBTQ+ community chose to establish itself and felt a collective sense of safety, acceptance, and awareness.[3] A true community emerged in Lavender Heights that provided services for all aspects of daily life, including health and welfare services for women and people with AIDS.[4] By the 1990s, Lavender Heights contained not just a concentration of gay bars but also a wide variety of restaurants, health clinics, community centers and service organizations, spiritual institutions, clothing stores, laundromats, shops, bookstores, beauty salons and barber shops, doctors, therapists, lawyers, dentists, and realtors that catered specifically to LGBTQ+ clientele.[5] With such a variety of businesses and services specifically by and for LGBTQ+ residents, Lavender Heights became a relatively self-contained and self-sufficient neighborhood.[6] As the primary location throughout much of the surrounding area in which one could find businesses and services specifically intended to meet the needs and desires of LGBTQ+ individuals, it also served as the center for the Sacramento region's broader LGBTQ+ community.[7]

Gay Bars in Lavender Heights

Gay bars – which had covertly served a vital role as some of the only LGBTQ+ individuals could openly express their sexual identities since the first decades of the 20th century – blossomed into the public center of LGBTQ+ life in the decades after the late 1960s. Gay bars became not just places to meet sexual partners; they developed into the de

[1] Michael Andrew Claussen, "Lavender Heights: The Emerging Gay Community in Downtown Sacramento, California," (M.A. thesis, California State University, Chico, 1998,), 140.
[2] Robin Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 September 1982: A1-A17.
[3] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 84, 164.
[4] Conversation between Tina Reynolds, Clare Flynn, and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[5] Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento."
[6] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 120.
[7] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 122.

facto center of gay life, where LGBTQ+ individuals received and exchanged news, formed lasting friendships and romantic relationships, and organized social, professional, and political groups, clubs, and events.

The development of the first openly gay-friendly social gathering places and business establishments in Sacramento did not occur overnight. Through the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, as much of the gay community remained closeted and being publicly "out" could still put one at risk of arrest, losing one's job, and being ostracized from family, friends, and coworkers, gay and lesbian individuals continued to meet in secret. While some gay bars existed in Sacramento's Central City grid prior to the late 1960s, California's anti-sodomy laws, which had been used to harass and imprison LGBTQ+ individuals for over 100 years, and the City of Sacramento's strict enforcement of those laws, prevented the formation of any recognizable concentration of gay-owned or gay-friendly establishments within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento until the state laws were repealed in the 1970s. As a result, nearly all gay bars and other business establishments that welcomed LGBTQ+ patrons existed across the Sacramento River in the unincorporated town of West Sacramento, which was located in a separate county, through the early 1970s. In 1975, Assembly Bill 437, which ended California's sodomy laws, passed both houses of the California state legislature and was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown, Jr.[8] The impact of the repeal of the state's sodomy laws was visible in the pattern of development of gay bars and gay-friendly establishments in the Sacramento area. Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, the number of gay bars and queer-friendly establishments steadily increased and spread throughout the City of Sacramento as policing of sexual activities decreased.

One of the first gay bars in Lavender Heights was the Mercantile Saloon, which opened at a converted Victorian house at 1928 L Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1976. Lovingly nicknamed "The Merc," it was credited with making gay nightlife more visible in Sacramento. The Merc was owned by local restauranteur Bill Christie. Christie was also the owner of a prime rib restaurant called Christie's Elbo Room nearby at 2001 K Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District), which later became a series of gay bars. The bar became known for welcoming gay Black men at a time when many other gay bars did not. Ernie Brown—a gay Black man who was also an Emperor of the Imperial Court of Sacramento (also known as CGNIE), board member of the George Sand Community Benefit Fund, and former owner of Ernie's Place bar at 725 Tower Court in West Sacramento—managed the bar in the 1980s. Robert "Bobbette" Hoyos was another popular manager of the bar for 15 years from 1981 until his death in 1996.[9] The Merc was less hostile toward gay Black men than most of Sacramento's other gay bars. Together with a jazz bar called the Rose Cocktail Lounge across the street at 2001 L Street (demolished), The Merc, under Ernie Brown's management, became the main bar and social gathering place for gay Black men in Sacramento.[10] On Friday nights, tables five rows deep would be filled with gay Black men until the AIDS epidemic killed many of the bar's gay Black patrons in the 1980s.[11]

The Western at 2001 K Street (extant, contributor to the Lavender Heights Historic District) was continuously operated by members of the Dallosta family from 1938 through the 1990s and took the name The Western around 1953.[12] By at least the 1990s, it had a reputation as bar for older gay men.[13] In 1997, TJ Bruce and his mother Marjorie purchased the building and reopened it as a gay bar called The Western Pacific Depot.[14]

[8] Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 227-228.
[9] "Hoyos, 'Bobbette' Robert," *Sacramento Bee*, 15 November 1996: B7.
[10] John Bennett, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Clarmundo Sullivan, conversation with Carson Anderson, August 9, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[11] Asa Salley, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, September 5, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[12] Sacramento city directories, 1938-1982, Ancestry.com; "Genevieve Mary 'Gen' (Domich) Dallosta," *Sacramento Bee*, 27 November 2018.
[13] Taylor Facha, text conversation with Clare Flynn, August 30, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[14] Cameron Jahn, "Club Plan Ignites Dispute," *Sacramento Bee*, 20 June 2002: D1.

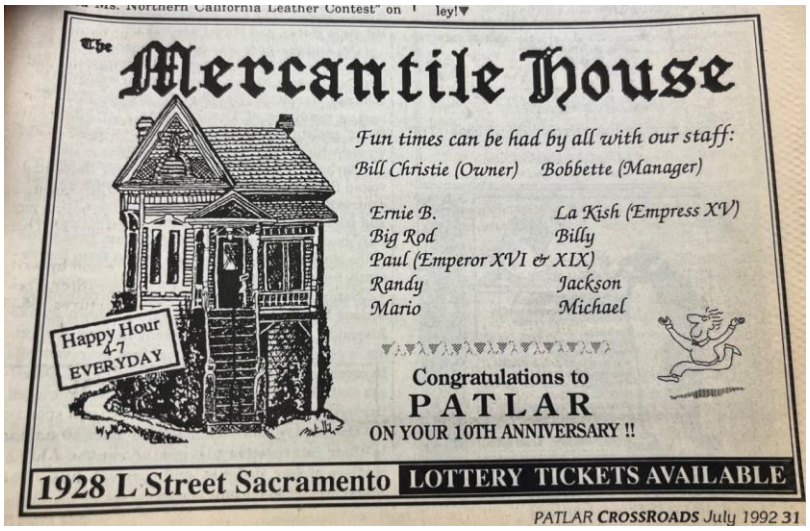


Figure 1. Advertisement for the Mercantile Saloon (1992). Source: *Patlar Gazette*.

In 1981, Bernie Ferris opened Club 21 at 1122 21st Street (demolished and outside the historic district boundaries) with investors and brothers Clay and Bill Biscoe. Ferris received his teaching credential from Sacramento State University and initially worked as a grade school teacher for 17 years before coming out as gay in the late 1970s. After being publicly harassed at school by former students who had seen him at a local gay bar, he left the teaching career and went to work as a real estate agent for Century 21. In 1979, he met brothers Bill and Clay Biscoe, and the men decided to take over a straight bar called the Aero Tavern, which they named Club 21. The bar was immediately successful, attracting 350 people on an average Saturday night and receiving an award as the River City Business Association's Business of the Year in 1982.[15] Two years later, they closed Club 21 in order to open a larger bar in the building formerly occupied by Christie's Elbo Room at 2001 K Street. The new bar was named K Street Station and had an upscale atmosphere with several bar areas and a full restaurant in a side room that was later converted into a video bar. The bar hosted art shows for local artists and had dancing every night. In spite of the bar's popularity, its owners became overstretched and declared bankruptcy in 1985. Terry Sidie, who owned another popular gay bar called Bo Jangles near the Sacramento State University campus in East Sacramento, purchased the property and transformed it into a new bar called Faces in 1985. Ferris continued to work as the manager of Faces until 1994.[16] The name Faces was coined by Incredible Edible Place restaurant owner Paul Fitzgerald and was intended to reflect that the bar was open to all communities and all "faces." Sidie envisioned Faces as a destination for dancing and a luxurious alternative to the typical dive bar. By 2015, the bar featured three dance floors, each of which played different genres of music, 16 bar stations, and an outdoor swimming pool. A rainbow-colored triangular sign at the front door was installed that read "You are entering a gay bar! Respect us, and we'll respect you!"[17]

[15] Bill Lindelof, "Gay Bars Flourish in Downtown Area As Places to Relax, Find Partners," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 September 1982: A16.
[16] Bernie Ferris, "Bernie Ferris History," undated, courtesy of Christine Ferris.
[17] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 September 2015: B1, B6.

Figure 2. Faces owner, Terry Sidie (kneeling in front with a cowboy hat) with staff of Faces (1987). Source: Collection of Terry Sidie.

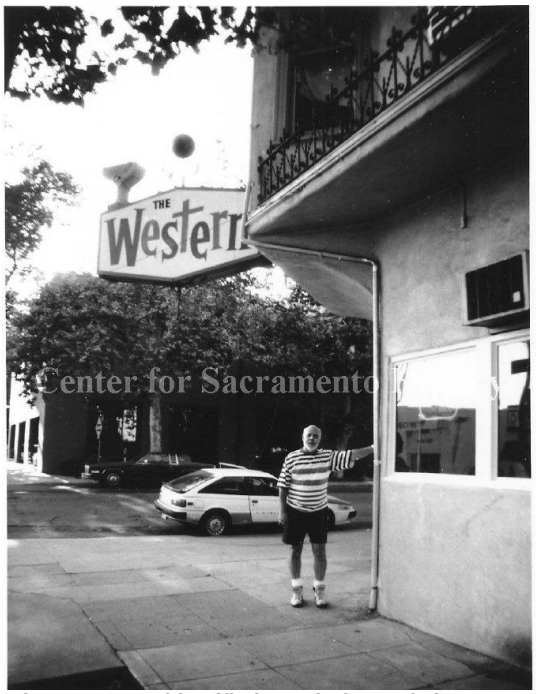


Figure 3. An unidentified man in front of The Western, ca. 1992. Source: Center for Sacramento History.

The success of Faces, in particular, brought a groundswell of energy to the intersection of 20th and K Streets, which would become the heart of Lavender Heights. Steve Hansen, the first openly gay City Councilman in Sacramento's history, described Faces as "that initial piece of life that built this reef of activity [in Lavender Heights]." In 2015, Sidie reflected back that prior to the opening of K Street Station and its reopening as Faces, the neighborhood around 20th and K streets "was nothing. It was broken-down garages, an empty funeral parlor. There was a down bar called The Western. Lewis Florist was falling into the ground. It wasn't called 'Lavender Heights.' They didn't even call it 'mid-town.'"[18] Under Sidie's leadership, Faces became akin to a community center.

Born and raised on a farm in Wisconsin, Sidie left home at the age of 19 to live with an aunt in Detroit, where he came out as gay. He later moved to Los Angeles, where he worked as a private-duty nurse before enlisting in the military in 1971. Though hoping "to see the world," he was stationed at the hospital at Mather Air Force Base in the Sacramento area. In the evenings, he moonlighted as a bartender at bars in Sacramento and West Sacramento, gaining experience with the local gay bar scene. After opening Bo Jangles in 1976, Sidie became one of the most successful and influential figures in Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, opening several other bars, restaurants, and establishments, and supporting community clubs and organizations through donations and fundraisers. At one point, Sidie owned Bojangles and Faces, as well as the reopened Club 21 (which operated through the early 2000s), a restaurant called Head Hunters, the Verona Village Resort in Sutter County, and a farm in his home state of Wisconsin. Sidie used the success of his business endeavors to benefit and empower Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Faces became a hub for the community and arguably the most well-known and recognizable landmark for the LGBTQ-life in Sacramento. In addition to its regular business, the bar hosted events such as voter drives for the Sacramento chapter of the gay political advocacy group the Stonewall Democratic Club, fundraisers for LGBTQ+-friendly politicians, and the first meeting of the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Softball League.[19] In 1987, Sidie assisted Hamburger Mary's owner Richard Boriolo in starting the Rainbow Festival. The festival, which is held annually as a fundraiser for local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations, has continuously used Faces as its main hub.[20] In reflecting on Sidie's impact on the community, Reverend Jerry Sloan, founder of Sacramento's LGBT

[18] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[19] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[20] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 2, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

Community Center, stated, ""A lot of people and groups, including myself, have certainly gone to him and said, 'Terry, we need,' and he never hesitates. And we're talking thousands of dollars, not 20 bucks."[21] By 1997, Sidie, himself, estimated he had given $120,000 to local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations.[22]

The character of Sacramento's gay bars varied widely, reflecting the diversity of Sacramento's gay community. The Merc looked like a typical straight bar except that there were usually no women present. Club 21 had a similar "casual and friendly" atmosphere to The Merc, but differed from other local gay bars in hosting a clientele that consisted of gay doctors, lawyers, and other professionals.[23] The Wreck Room a few blocks away at 925 20th Street (inside the historic district but a non-contributor due to alterations), was a leather bar that featured male underwear hanging on chains above the bar.[24] Despite the differing characters of the city's gay bars, community members reflected that Sacramento's gay bar scene "had a closeness and unity that larger cities, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, could only wish to have."[25] By 1982, an article in the *Sacramento Bee* estimated that roughly 3,500 to 5,000 of the city's estimated gay residents frequented the city's gay bars. By 1987, the Damron Guides – a directory and guidebook that listed gay-friendly businesses and cruising locations in cities across the United States – no longer showed any gay bars located in West Sacramento, indicating that the center of gay life had completed its shift east to Downtown and Midtown Sacramento.[26]

Community Centers & Services

The growing self-awareness among Sacramento's LGBTQ+ residents that they were part of a larger underserved community came with the recognition that they needed to come together to help their own. Individuals stepped up and pooled their resources and social networks to found community centers, charities, and other service organizations to meet the community's needs.

Lambda Community Center / Sacramento LGBT Community Center

The most prominent and long-standing of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community centers, the Lambda Community Center (later renamed the Sacramento LGBT Community Center) was established in the 1980s, using funds procured by Reverend Jerry Sloan, founder of the Sacramento Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), the first religious congregation that was dedicated primarily to serving Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. As a young man, Sloan attended Baptist Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, where his classmate was Reverend Jerry Fallwell. Fallwell later became the leader of the Religious Right, founder of the Moral Majority political action committee, and an outspoken opponent of homosexuality. Sloan, meanwhile, came out as a gay man and founded chapters of the MCC in Kansas City, Missouri; Des Moines, Iowa; and Sacramento. On March 11, 1984, Falwell expressed his view that homosexuality was the embodiment of evil, stating, "Thank God this vile and satanic system will one day be utterly annihilated, and there will be a celebration in heaven."[27] When Falwell and Sloan were guests on a television program in Sacramento a few months later, Falwell denied his statements and promised to pay Sloan $5,000 if he could provide taped evidence. Sloan produced the tapes, but Falwell refused to pay him, claiming that he had been misquoted. Sloan hired local attorney and lesbian legal pioneer Rosemary Metrailer and filed a lawsuit against Falwell and won nearly $9,000 in the settlement.[28] After paying his legal fees, Sloan—along with Timothy Warford, Terry Sidie, Marghe Covino, CGNIE Emperor Randy Hartman, and other community members—used the rest of the winnings from the lawsuit to open the Lambda Community Center in the heart of the Lavender Heights district at 1931 L Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1986.[29] Sloan named a closet at the center of the building after Falwell.

[21] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[22] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[23] Christine Ferris, "1980's History of Sacramento LGBTQ Community," email to Henry Feuss, July 10, 2024.
[24] Lindelof, "Gay Bars Flourish in Downtown Area As Places to Relax, Find Partners."
[25] "Story - Bar History I, 1955-1995," undated, George Raya collection.
[26] Mike Walker, "Damron Guide Reveals Sacramento Past," 2005, George Raya collection.
[27] William Burg, *Midtown Sacramento: Creative Soul of the City* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014), 41-42.
[28] Burg, *Midtown Sacramento*, 41-42.
[29] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history. CGNIE is a continuously operating drag queen and drag king club and charitable organization with a hierarchy of officers, including an Emperor, Empress, Duchess, Lord, and Princess Royal.

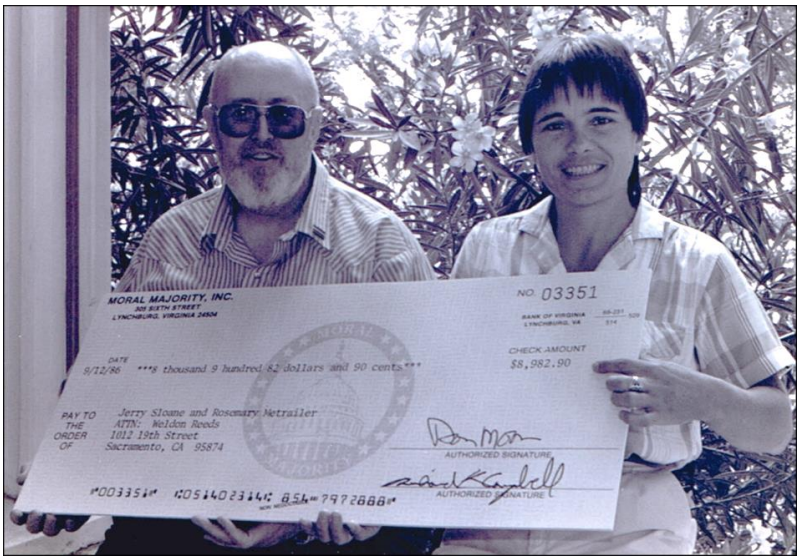


Figure 4. Reverend Jerry Sloan and Rosemary Metrailer with the check from the lawsuit against Reverend Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. Source: Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community Center.

The Lambda Community Center was similar in some ways to earlier drop-in centers for gay residents, but it offered a larger and more comprehensive scope of services and over the years served the full cross-section of Sacramento's gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community.[30] The center provided services such as AIDS education, a youth program, political lobbying and letter-writing campaigns, health education, and a monthly newsletter.[31] A theatre troupe that performed plays with gay and lesbian themes, the Lambda Players, started at the Lambda Center on L Street in 1989 as an social and entertainment alternative to the gay bar scene. Between roughly 1997 and 1999, the center was located at 919 20th Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District). The center changed its name to the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Center in 2006 and again in 2013 to the Sacramento LGBT Community Center. The center moved to 1015 20th Street in 2019 (extant, non-contributing property outside the period of significance of the Lavender Heights Historic District).[32]

[30] Burg, *Midtown Sacramento*, 41-42.
[31] Claussen, 142.
[32] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history.

Figure 5. The first home of the Lambda Community Center at 1931 L Street.
Source: Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community Center.

HIV/AIDS Community Services

The AIDS outbreak in the 1980s and the subsequent global pandemic was a watershed moment in history that led to profound loss, stigmatization, alienation for those within the LGBTQ+ community. It had a profound impact on strengthening and unifying the community around a common cause. Members of the LGBTQ+ community quickly and harshly discovered how little support they had from within mainstream society and political institutions to help their sick and dying loved ones. Ostracized from mainstream society and lacking support or funding from government bodies and institutions, Sacramento's gay and lesbian populations took on the responsibility of managing the spread of HIV and resulting AIDS cases and caring for the sick and dying largely by itself through the mid-1980s.[33] At the forefront of local efforts were Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz, two Sacramento-based internal medicine physicians. Both members of the gay community themselves, Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz had mostly gay male patients and focused their work on the treatment of AIDS. Dr. Thompson opened a medical clinic, which mostly served gay men, at 910-912 21st Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1978. Dr. Pomerantz was a recent transplant from San Francisco and teamed up with Dr. Thompson to serve Sacramento's gay community.[34] Dr. Pomerantz authored a regular column that focused on health issues facing the gay community in the local gay newspaper *Mom…Guess What…?!.* His August 1981 column "Gay Medical Symposium: Two New Gay Illnesses" was the first mention in Sacramento of the disease that became known as AIDS.[35] *The Sacramento Bee* did not step up its coverage until 1983.

In the fall of 1982, shortly after diagnosis of the first reported case of AIDS in Sacramento, Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz met with other members of the gay and lesbian communities to brainstorm methods to manage the further spread of AIDS within their community. The meeting held by Pomerantz and Thompson in 1982 was attended by Stanley "Stan" Hadden, a senior administrative aide to State Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti, and Dr. Elizabeth Harrison, a psychiatrist and contributor to *Mom…Guess What…!.* The meeting produced the early framework of what would become the AIDS/Kaposi's Sarcoma Foundation, later changed to the Sacramento AIDS Foundation (SAF). Inspired by (and originally affiliated with) the San Francisco Aids Foundation, SAF officially began operation at 2115 J Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District) in the spring of 1983

[33] Amber Elena Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic: Aids in Sacramento, 1981-1989" (California State University, Sacramento, 2010), 28-29, Sacramento State University Library, 2–3.
[34] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29.
[35] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 24.

and provided educational advocacy along with emotional and hands-on support to patients through a service called "Hand to Hand."[36] Between 1984 and 1994, SAF was located 1900 K Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District). SAF was a volunteer-run, community-funded organization. Much of the initial funding came from gay bars, including $4,000 from the leather community's main hub, the Wreck Room, which was used to get the organization started. Funding for much of the first year of operations came from the Sacramento County Public Health Department and various fundraisers and donations.[37] SAF worked in affiliation with the University of California, Davis (UC Davis) Medical Center, where Dr. Thompson served as an assistant clinical professor of medicine and family practice. Other key leaders of SAF were Dr. Jerome Lackner and Dr. Neil Flynn, head of the UC Davis AIDS Clinic. Throughout this time, SAF played an integral and often intersectional role in Sacramento's gay community, serving as a fundraiser for important medical and educational services and advocating for policy changes, among other capacities.

By 1983, studies had begun to indicate that AIDS was sexually transmitted, and Dr. Pomerantz was determined to relay this essential information to the gay community in the hope of slowing the spread of the disease.[38] Dr. Pomerantz's column in *Mom…Guess What…!*, along with others in the *Sacramento Bee,* highlighted the outreach that was done amongst Sacramento's medical professionals to educate the gay community regarding sexual health and information on HIV, a vital service at a time when little information was known about HIV and AIDS.[39] Dr. Thompson's column in *Mom…Guess What…!* was eventually syndicated and distributed nationwide to the gay and lesbian press. Dr. Thompson died of AIDS in 1986 at the age of 45. Dr. Pomerantz died of AIDS in 1993 at the age of 44.[40]

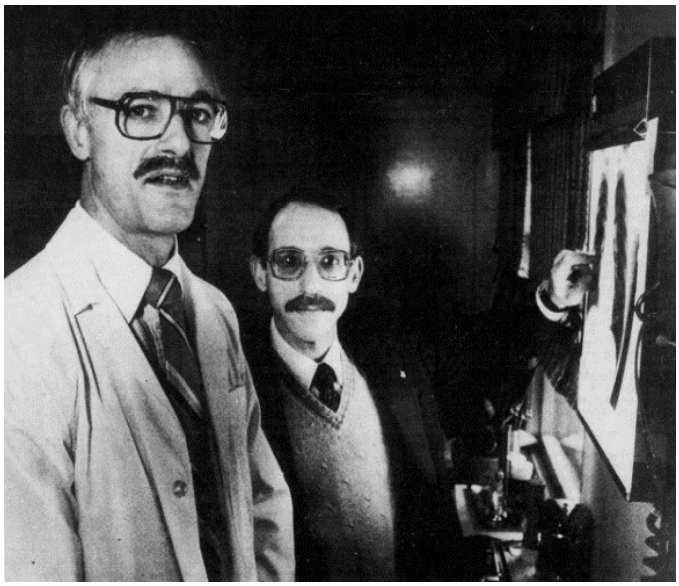


Figure 6. Dr. Harvey Thompson (left) and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz (right) in 1983. Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

Women's Services

In the 1970s, many women in Sacramento came together to create an expansive network of social services specifically for local women, including lesbians. Nationwide, many women, including Sacramento residents, were first introduced to community organizing and advocacy through the women's liberation movement. The women's movement attracted many lesbians, who faced the same issues as straight women and similarly sought recognition and equal rights. Seeking to uplift women and reject all forms of patriarchy that had historically been the source of their oppression, some of the more radical feminists came to believe that lesbianism, or love between women, and the rejection of all things male were the highest forms of feminism. These lesbian-feminists dreamed of creating self-

[36] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29.
[37] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29-30.
[38] Don Stanley, "AIDS Nightmare: Puzzling, Deadly – And Spreading," *Sacramento Bee*, 4 January 1983: A18-A19.
[39] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 3.
[40] Robert D. Davila, "Noted AIDS Physician Dead at 44," *Sacramento Bee*, 6 October 1993: B1.

sufficient, women-centered institutions and communities where women supported each other and were the primary drivers of culture and society.[41]

Inspired by the women's movement, almost all of Sacramento's first women's services and aid organizations were started by lesbian-feminists, who took it upon themselves to support women in the community who were otherwise largely overlooked and underserved by institutional systems and authorities. Many of these women's service organizations spawned from one organization, the Sacramento Women's Center. The center began as the idea of a group of approximately 30 local feminist women, many of whom were students at local colleges – including Sacramento State, UC Davis, and American River College – as well as other local women's groups, such as the YWCA and Sacramento Community Commission for Women. According to the *Sacramento Bee*, the group was led in its earliest phase by Judy Poxon, then a sophomore at Sacramento State, and Karen Burke Redman, a graduate student at UC Davis. From the start, the women envisioned the Sacramento Women's Center as having the "feminist perspective" at the core of its mission. The center would be operated collectively to provide a broad base of support for the needs of Sacramento's women. Modeled after women's centers in Davis, Oakland, Berkeley, Santa Barbara, Seattle, and Vancouver, the vision for the Sacramento Women's Center included providing temporary housing for women in need, a medical clinic, a children's day care, job placement programs, classes, workshops, a library and bookstore, and referrals to relevant community aid agencies.[42]

Figure 7. Members of the Sacramento Women's Center, likely at the 1981 March for Gay and Lesbian Rights. Source: Lavender Library.

The Sacramento Women's Center moved to several buildings across the Midtown and Downtown neighborhoods throughout the course of its existence. The earliest iteration of the center opened on Susan B. Anthony Day, February 15th, 1973, at the YWCA building at 1122 17th Street (extant but outside Lavender Heights Historic District). The center began by providing an identifiable and visible place for local women to come together to discuss women's roles in society. The center relocated to its first standalone location, a house at 1221 20th Street (demolished and outside the Lavender Heights Historic District), in 1974. The *Sacramento Bee* published a feature on the center, which by this time had expanded into the Sacramento Women's Center and Bookstore and had begun to offer some of the services its founders originally envisioned. One of those services was a rape crisis center (RCC). Although there was broad agreement among City officials and the police department about the need for such a program, the police department opposed it being run by the Sacramento Women's Center, after they reported finding lesbian books, pamphlets, and posters at the center. With no evidence, they claimed that vulnerable women who had been

[41] Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 201-206.
[42] Jan May Bassett, "Women's Center Will Have 'Feminist Perspective,' *Sacramento Bee*, 29 November 1972: 67.

physically and emotionally abused, would be coerced into becoming lesbians.[43] Despite this opposition, the City awarded the Sacramento Women's Center a $10,000 grant.[44]

In 1974, the center received a $178,000 grant from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to set up a program for women who were the victims of rape and other forms of sexual abuse.[45] The grant was one of the largest federal grants for any project in the country at the time and made RCC one of the first rape crisis center to receive federal funding in the United States. However, it required $10,000 in matching funds from local sources. To match the federal funds, RCC borrowed the money from ten local woman, and RCC held self-defense classes, taught by Midge Marino, a black belt martial artist who taught self-defense at Sacramento State University's Women's Studies Program. RCC charged money for some of these classes to reimburse the women. Some of them in turn donated their money to RCC and others were paid back.[46] RCC turned down a second year of funding from LEAA, after LEAA required that RCC disavow that any lesbians worked there and that the program establish a governing board, 50% of which consisted of law enforcement personnel, as conditions for continued funding. Both conditions were untenable to the Women's Center.[47]

Initially led by Women's Center members Inga Mountain and Kathy "Kit" Mahoney, by 1975, Kate Guzman, the newly formed Rape Crisis Center (RCC) provided 24-hours services for rape victims, including individual and group counseling, assistance dealing with the legal and hospital systems, self-defense classes and speaker series on women's issues, and a 24-hour telephone hotline, which was staffed by volunteers who provided immediate emotional support to rape victims. The hotline received 145 calls in its first three months alone. It also gave educational sessions about sexual assault and abuse on local public television and at other women's centers across California.[48]

Figure 8. A group of women and children at the Sacramento Women's Center at 1221 20th Street (1974). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

With calls for help pouring in, the staff of the Women's Center discovered there were other serious unmet needs facing the women of Sacramento. Women who called in that were experiencing abuse needed a safe place for themselves, and sometimes their children, to stay to escape their abusers. The idea for a shelter evolved into a broad-reaching range of services for Sacramento's low-income mothers. Claudia Deuel (also known as Claudia Desmangles) was a key figure in the development of such an agency within the Sacramento Women's Center. Deuel was, herself, a single mother, who knew the struggles of low-income single mothers well. While completing her bachelor's degree in psychology, she used welfare to care for her son and eventually became so physically

[43] Jeff Raimundo, "Women 'Appalled,'" *Sacramento Bee*, 12 July 1974: 21.
[44] Bathen, "Women's Center Raps Council Unit On Rape Crisis Funding."
[45] Sigrid Bathen, "Women's Center Raps Council Unit On Rape Crisis Funding," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 July 1975: B3.
[46] Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[47] Theresa Corrigan, "Edits," email to Clare Flynn, September 25, 2024.
[48] Sigrid Bathen, "Capital Rape Victim Helped Inspire New Legislation," *Sacramento Bee*, 15 September 1974.

debilitated that she had to be hospitalized with rheumatic fever and permanent heart damage.[49] Initially, the Sacramento Women's Center assisted single mothers by serving as a home for women to share childcare and household expenses, as well as an emotional outlet to discuss and process their feelings. In Spring 1974, the Sacramento Women's Center submitted a grant proposal to Sacramento County to expand their services for low-income mothers into a more comprehensive program, which would include a 24-hour hotline, a drop-in center, counseling services, a children's playroom, a lending library, emergency clothing closet, and a referral service for legal aid, child care, pregnancy and birth control information, and housing assistance.[50] The county awarded the center a $71,000 grant. The resulting organization was named Mothers Emergency Stress Service (MESS).[51]

In 1975, a group of abused Hispanic women formed a second separate organization to aid victims of domestic violence called Women Escaping A Violent Environment (WEAVE).[52] In 1978, WEAVE was formally established as a nonprofit organization, and funding sources that had previously been allotted to MESS were shifted to WEAVE. MESS dissolved shortly after. By the mid-1980s, services offered by RCC were also absorbed into WEAVE.[53]

Despite this internal turmoil, the Sacramento Women's Center persevered and continued to grow. Under Guzman's coordination, by the late 1970s, the organization had matured into a sophisticated and professional government-funded service center.[54] In 1979, a new program, Women's Employment Services Training (WEST), was established under the Women's Center's umbrella of services. The program was funded by a $200,000 federal grant for funds from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).[55] Led by Robin Purdy, editor of the early feminist newsletter *Gibbous Rising*, WEST provided training for women who were struggling to find long-term employment and had been on welfare. The program offered trainings and workshops on topics such as resume writing and interview techniques, on-site career counseling, and travel vouchers and a clothing closet for women to attend job interviews.[56]

In 1980, Theresa Corrigan, who had been involved with the Women's Center in many capacities – including as a staff member at RCC, author of the grant proposals that funded WEST and Women's Stress Alternatives, and president of the center for a period – purchased the stock of the Women's Center's bookstore along with her partner Kathy Haberman and Karie Wyble with plans to continue the bookstore at a new location under a new name, Lioness Books. Seeking a property that the Sacramento Women's Center and bookstore could call their own, without the risk of being forced to move, Corrigan and Haberman purchased a converted Colonial Revival house at 2224 J Street (extant, contributor to the Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1982. More than 35 volunteers, most of whom were women, volunteered their time mostly on weekends to renovate the old building for reuse. Haberman, who was a builder and handyperson, typically working 14-hour days, seven days a week, to bring the building up to commercial code.[57] While the building at 2224 J Street was being renovated, Corrigan reopened the bookstore at a temporary location at 1311 21st Street (extant, non-contributor outside the Lavender Heights Historic District). Corrigan had renamed the bookstore Lioness Books, drawing inspiration from the role of female lions in a pride, because "in a pride of lions, the [male] lion gets all the credit, but the lionesses do all the work."[58] The Sacramento Women's Store's bookstore and Lioness Books were the first and only women's and gay/lesbian bookstores in Sacramento for a number of years. Lioness Books fostered a welcoming and inclusive environment and worked together with other local bookstores to service the Sacramento community. Tower Books stopped carrying feminist and gay/lesbian literature and directed customers to Lioness Books, while staff at Lioness Books directed clientele who came looking for other types of literature to Tower and other local stores.[59] Lioness Books was more than a bookstore; it was an important alternative for social gatherings, entertainment, and personal connection to the lesbian bar scene. For many lesbians who moved to Sacramento, it was the first place they came after they arrived and helped them make

[49] Sigrid Bathen, "Women's Center Is for a Woman Alone Who Need Not Be," *Sacramento Bee*, 23 June 1974: 19.
[50] Bathen, "Women's Center Is for a Woman Alone Who Need Not Be."
[51] Sigrid Bathen, "Control of Women's Center May Have Been Spark for Fatal Fray," *Sacramento Bee*, 3 April 1975: 17-19.
[52] "WEAVE's Journey," WEAVE, accessed August 14, 2024, https://www.weaveinc.org/sites/main/files/file-attachments/40-yr-timeline-8.5x11_2.pdf?1518826703.
[53] Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[54] Cheryl Clark, "Women's Centers," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 April 1977: B4.
[55] Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[56] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[57] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024; Alison apRoberts, "First Women's Building True Labor of Love," *Sacramento Bee*, 18 August 1983: 29.
[58] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[59] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.

some of their first connections. The bookstore hosted events and social gatherings, had bulletin boards with information about women's and lesbian social groups and organizations, sponsored a softball team for Black lesbians called Sisters and Friends, and provided referrals to women's, lesbian, and gay service providers.[60]

Around the same time the Women's Center was relocating from Capitol Avenue to J Street, Kate Guzman left the Women's center to become the executive director of the Sacramento AIDS Foundation. In 1983, Mayor Anne Rudin participated in the official opening ceremony of the building at 2224 J Street, which she designated the First Sacramento Women's Building. Lioness Books occupied the first floor, and the offices of the Sacramento Women's Center's programs – including RCC and WEST – were located on the second floor. As previously described, RCC's services were eventually absorbed into WEAVE. Lioness Books closed in 2000, making it the longest continuously operating location of the Sacramento Women's Center and its associated agencies.[61]

Figure 9. Theresa Corrigan on the porch of the First Women's Building at 2224 J Street (1983). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

Other Social & Community Connectors

In addition to Lioness Books and events at the Lambda Community Center, Lavender Heights offered several opportunities for members of the LGBTQ+ community to meet and make connections outside the gay bar scene. The First Methodist Church at 2100 J Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District) hosted the earliest recorded LGBTQ+ event in Lavender Heights in 1967. That year, Sacramento's earliest LGBTQ+ advocacy group, Americans For Responsible Citizenship (ARC), hosted a forum titled "The Homosexual 1967 Sacramento" at the church.[62] The First Methodist Church has had a continuous reputation for welcoming and offering a spiritual outlet for the LGBTQ+ community since that time.

In 1989, David Kwong, a former banker and founding member of the Sacramento Gay Men's Chorus, opened a gardening supply and design store called the Gifted Gardener in 2220 J Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District), one of the locations previously used by the Sacramento Women's Center. The store operated there for a little more than a year, before moving to a new location at 1730 H Street (extant, non-contributor outside the Lavender Heights Historic District), where it remained for nearly 30 years.[63]

[60] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[61] Haines Criss-Cross directories, Sacramento, 1982-1999; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2024.
[62] William Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance: Art, Music & Activism in California's Capital City* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 113.
[63] Cathie Anderson, "Midtown Sacramento's Gifted Gardener Will Close," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 March 2017: A2.

In 1996, Larry Bailey and Ron Grantz opened a second gay and lesbian bookstore, The Open Book, in the neighborhood at the building formerly occupied by Dr. Harvey Thomson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz's offices at 910-912 21st Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District). The Open Book stayed open until midnight and also contained a café that hosted small live music performances, offering an important alternative for late-night socializing.[64]

Classified ads published in issues of the *Mom Guess What…! newspaper* frequently provided a means for gay and lesbian individuals met each other and found romantic relationships. People would place an ad in the newspaper and typically list a P.O. box address as their contact in order to keep their personal addresses private. According to Sacramento resident and former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers, it was common for gay individuals to meet for coffee at New Helvetia café located in the former fire station at 1215 19th Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District) or for some other activity after work.[65]

Lavender Heights Post-2000s

The tight-knit character of Lavender Heights as an enclave primarily by and for members of the LGBTQ+ community shifted by the early 2000s as social acceptance of LGBTQ+ people, identities, and expressions became more common and a growing number of straight people began to patronize the area's gay bars and businesses. As the LGBTQ+ community became more mainstream and the number of LGBTQ+-friendly businesses grew, competition increased and the drive to support LGBTQ+ businesses as an act of resistance, survival, and pride from within the LGBTQ+ community declined. Terry Sidie reflected that Lavender Heights lost much of its previous "oomph" by 2005. "There's not the same energy as before," he said.[66] That year, the Open Book, a gay and lesbian bookstore closed, citing competition from other stores and waning support from LGBTQ+ patrons. Looking back on the evolution of Lavender Heights since the 1970s, Fred Palmer, publisher of the LGBTQ+ publication *Outword Magazine*, reflected in 2005, "[Lavender Heights] used to be a true 'gay ghetto' business district, but it's lost a lot of its gay focus. What that tells you is that the local gay community has grown up, that Sacramento in general is a safer place to be publicly gay."[67] Several community members confirmed in oral history interviews conducted in 2024 for the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project that the close community-oriented character of Lavender Heights dissolved around the year 2000.

D6. Significance: (continued)

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places. In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Criterion 1 (Events): The Lavender Heights Historic District is significant under Criterion 1 as a distinct geographic area that contains a concentration of properties with significant associations to the history of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Properties within the district represent the founding locations, headquarters, primary meeting places, or

[64] Walt Yost, "Booksellers Provide Rare, Eclectic Works," *Sacramento Bee*, 13 June 1996: 2A.
[65] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.
[66] Jon Ortiz, "No Longer a Sure Sell," *Sacramento Bee*, 14 April 2005: A1.
[67] Ortiz, "No Longer a Sure Sell."

places of activity for LGBTQ+ businesses, clubs, organizations, advocacy groups, community or service centers, or other social, cultural, or community groups that made a significant contribution to the LGBTQ+ community during its formative years. The district is also significant for its association with historic patterns of the LGBTQ+ community's participation in commercial, social, artistic, cultural, spiritual, or recreational pursuits and other aspects of daily life. Lavender Heights is significant as the home of several longtime LGBTQ+ cultural landmarks and for its role in fostering safe and accepting spaces for LGBTQ+ business owners and patrons since the late 1960s. Following the early establishment of several gay bars and pioneering social clinics in the 1970s and early 1980s including the Mercantile Saloon, Faces, the Lambda Community Center/LGBT Community Center, and Sacramento Women's Center and Bookstore (later Lioness Books), the neighborhood flourished into a hub for the LGBTQ+ community and has continued to attract new residents and businesses. Lavender Heights has played an important role in providing avenues for kinship, safe social networks, and mutual aid services to the LGBTQ+ community. The district became a self-defined space in which LGBTQ+ individuals could express themselves freely, pursue business opportunities, and seek a range of intersectional services during the HIV/AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s, when harsh discrimination was prevalent in most realms of society. Lavender Heights continues to be an important landmark of LGBTQ+ cultural heritage in Sacramento. For these reasons, the Lavender Heights Historic District appears eligible under Criterion 1.

Criterion 2 (Persons): The Lavender Heights Historic District is significant under Criterion 2 for its association with several LGBTQ+ persons who played an important role in the formation of a vibrant, tight-knit LGBTQ+ community in the City of Sacramento from the late 1960s to the early 2000s. The district is closely associated with the important historic contributions of LGBTQ+ persons and community leaders, including *Mom Guess What…!* newspaper founder Linda Birner; Lambda Community Center/LGBT Community Center founder Reverend Jerry Sloan; AIDS treatment, research, and education pioneers Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz; local business and community leader and philanthropist Terry Sidie; and women's services leaders Theresa Corrigan and Kate Guzman, among many others, each of whom played an important role in establishing a sense of community visibility, identity, connectedness, safety, support and standards of care for the LGBTQ+ community within Lavender Heights and across the broader Sacramento region. For these reasons, the Lavender Heights Historic District appears to be significant under Criterion 2.

Criterion 3 (Architecture): The Lavender Heights Historic District does not appear to be significant under Criterion 3. As a grouping of buildings with construction dates ranging from around 1895 to 1972, the district contributors include several architectural styles, none of which are distinct examples. District contributors vary in scale, massing, and style, and do not conform to any cohesive style or period of construction. The district contributors also do not represent the work of a recognized LGBTQ+ architect, builder, designer, or creative individual, nor do they possess high artistic or historic value. Therefore, the district is not eligible under Criterion 3.

Criterion 4 (Information Potential): The Lavender Heights Historic District does not appear to be significant under Criterion 4. The "potential to yield information important to the prehistory or history of California" typically relates to archeological resources, rather than built resources. When Criterion 4 (Information Potential) does relate to built resources, it is relevant for cases when a building itself is the principal source of important construction-related information. The historic district as a grouping does not appear to include construction methods or materials which, with further research, would yield important historical information.

Integrity
In order to qualify for listing in any local, state, or national historic register, a property or landscape must possess significance under at least one evaluative criterion as described above and retain integrity. Integrity is defined by the California Office of Historic Preservation as "the authenticity of an historical resource's physical identity evidenced by the survival of characteristics that existed during the resource's period of significance," or more simply defined by the National Park Service as "the ability of a property to convey its significance."[68]

The Lavender Heights Historic District retains overall integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. The historic district and its contributing buildings remain in their original locations, and no buildings have been moved or

[68] California Office of Historic Preservation, *Technical Assistance Series No. 7: How to Nominate a Resource to the California Register of Historical Resources* (Sacramento: California Office of State Publishing, 4 September 2001), 11; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1995), 44.

rotated. While the surrounding neighborhood in Midtown Sacramento has evolved and experienced some development and changes in demographics since 2000, Lavender Heights retains its characteristic eclectic mixture of moderately scaled residential, commercial, and institutional buildings, which were built from the late 19th century to the present day and house a variety of businesses and community services. The district continues to have a thriving nightlife scene and retains its feeling of inclusivity and safety for the LGBTQ+ community thanks to the presence of new and legacy LGBTQ+ owned and occupied businesses, institutions, and service organizations, several of which have remained in continuous operation in their original locations since the district's period of significance. Although some contributors to the historic district have been physically altered since 2000, integrity of materials, design, and workmanship are less essential for a district that is significant under Criteria 1/i and 2/ii. The contributors would still be recognizable today to LGBTQ+ individuals who visited them during the district's period of significance. Lavender Heights continues to be strongly identified by the general population as the cultural, social, and historic center of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and, therefore, retains its historic association with the community. As such, the Lavender Heights Historic District retains overall historic integrity.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

B. Listing on the Sacramento Register—Historic districts. A geographic area nominated as a historic district shall be listed on the Sacramento register as a historic district if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:

1. Requirements.
    a. The area is a geographically definable area; or
    b. The area possesses either:
        i. A significant concentration or continuity of buildings unified by: (A) past events or (B) aesthetically by plan or physical development; or
        ii. The area is associated with an event, person, or period significant or important to city history; or
    c. The designation of the geographic area as a historic district is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to protect, promote and further the goals and purposes of this chapter and is not inconsistent with other goals and policies of the city.
2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a geographic area on the Sacramento register as a historic district, the following factors shall be considered:
    a. A historic district should have integrity of design, setting, materials, workmanship and association;
    b. The collective historic value of the buildings and structures in a historic district taken together may be greater than the historic value of each individual building or structure.

C. Listing on the Sacramento register-Contributing resources. A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento register as a contributing resource if the council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the following requirements are satisfied:

1. The nominated resource is within a historic district;
2. The nominated resource either embodies the significant features and characteristics of the historic district or adds to the historical associations, historical architectural qualities or archaeological values identified for the historic district;
3. The nominated resource was present during the period of historical significance of the historic district and relates to the documented historical significance of the historic district;
4. nominated resource either possesses historic integrity or is capable of yielding important information about the period of historical significance of the historic district; and
5. The nominated resource has important historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a contributing resource is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to protect, promote and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

(B) Listing on the Sacramento Register – Historic Districts	
(1) Requirements	
(a)	As described in the previous discussion on California Register Criterion 1, the Lavender Heights Historic District meets requirement (a) for listing on the Sacramento Register, because it is a geographically definable area, consisting of a collection of extant properties with known historic associations to the city's LGBTQ+ community that are concentrated around the enclave's epicenter at the intersection of 20th and K streets.
(b) (i)	As described in the previous discussion on California Register Criterion 1, the Lavender Heights Historic District meets requirement (b)(i) as an area that possesses a significant concentration of buildings unified by their association with the development of an identifiable LGBTQ+ enclave within the City of Sacramento during the LGBTQ+ community's its formative years from the late 1960s to approximately the year 2000.
(b) (ii)	The Lavender Heights Historic District meets requirement (b)(ii). As described in the previous discussion for California Register Criterion 2, the historic district is strongly associated with the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community within the City of Sacramento, as well as several significant individuals who were instrumental in the establishment, development, and growth of the LGBTQ+ community, including but not limited to Linda Birner, Reverend Jerry Sloan, Dr. Harvey Thompson, Dr. Sandy Pomerantz, Terry Sidie, Theresa Corrigan, Kate Guzman, and others.
(c)	The Lavender Heights Historic District meets requirement (c) as it aligns with the goals and purposes of historic preservation in Sacramento, as well as the city's other goals and policies. Lavender Heights is a vibrant, beloved centerpiece of Sacramento. Per the Sacramento City Code, the preservation of districts such as Lavender Heights enhances the "city's economic, cultural and aesthetic standing, its identity and its livability, marketability, and urban character."
(2) Factors to be considered	
(a)	As discussed in the integrity evaluation, the Lavender Heights Historic District retains integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. As such, it retains sufficient overall integrity to meet this factor for consideration as a historic district.
(b)	The Lavender Heights Historic District meets factor (2)(b), because its contributing properties represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose collective historic value is greater when taken as a whole.

(C) Listing on the Sacramento Register – Contributing Resources		
Address	**Historic Name**	**Property meets all contributing resource criteria specified in Sacramento City Code section 17.604.210.C.1-5**
1215 19th Street	New Helvetia Roaster	The New Helvetia Roaster, located within the Lavender Heights Historic District, was an integral part of the district's community fabric from 1991 to 2002. As a site representing LGBTQ+ community life during the 1990s, it contributed to the district's social and cultural narrative. Although no longer in use, it remains a key reflection of the district's social and architectural characteristics from its active years. Its role in representing the district's evolution justifies its status as a contributing resource.
919 20th Street	Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and AIDS Response Programs (ca. 1997-1999)	The Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and AIDS Response Programs, active from approximately 1997 to 1999, were significant in addressing AIDS and supporting LGBTQ+ communities. Situated within the Lavender Heights Historic District, this site played a crucial role in the district's history of health advocacy and LGBTQ+ support. Despite no longer being in use, it maintains historical importance and reflects the district's past efforts in these areas. Its historical impact supports its designation as a contributing resource.
912 21st Street	Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz offices / The Open Book	The offices of Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz, which later became The Open Book, were significant from 1978 to 1987 and again from 1996-2005. Located within the Lavender Heights Historic District, these offices were pivotal in the LGBTQ+ cultural and social landscape. They were present during crucial periods of the district's history, including early in the AIDS crisis, adding to its narrative.

(C) Listing on the Sacramento Register – Contributing Resources		
Address	**Historic Name**	**Property meets all contributing resource criteria specified in Sacramento City Code section 17.604.210.C.1-5**
		Although the site is no longer in use, it retains historical significance and contributes to the district's understanding of LGBTQ+ culture.
2100 J Street	First United Methodist Church	The First United Methodist Church, an ongoing institution from around 1967 to the present, is a key site within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It has been a continuous venue for LGBTQ+ events and activities, reflecting its importance in the district's religious and social history. Its ongoing operation underscores its historical integrity and significance, making it a vital contributing resource for the district.
2115 J Street	Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices	The First United Methodist Church, an ongoing institution from around 1967 to the present, is a key site within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It has been a continuous venue for LGBTQ+ events and activities, reflecting its importance in the district's religious and social history. Its ongoing operation underscores its historical integrity and significance, making it a vital contributing resource for the district.
2220 J Street	Sacramento Women's Center/ The Gifted Gardener	The Sacramento Women's Center, active from 1975 to 1976, was an important site within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It contributed to women's and LGBTQ+ advocacy during its operational years, enhancing the district's historical narrative of support for marginalized groups. Despite its closure, the site's historical significance in early advocacy efforts supports its designation as a contributing resource. The Gifted Gardener, a popular gay-owned business that operated in Sacramento for nearly 30 years, first opened at 2220 J Street in 1989.
2224 J Street	Lioness Books, Sacramento Women's Center, Rape Crisis Center, WEST	Lioness Books, the Sacramento Women's Center, Rape Crisis Center, and WEST, operating from approximately 1982 to 1999, were integral to the Lavender Heights Historic District's advocacy network. These organizations contributed significantly to LGBTQ+ and women's services, reflecting the district's role in social activism. The site's historical importance and its multifaceted role in community services justify its contributing status, despite its current non-use.
1900 K Street	Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices	The Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices at 1900 K Street, active from 1986 to 1994, were an important part of the Lavender Heights Historic District's efforts to address the AIDS crisis. While the offices are no longer operational, their historical role in health support and advocacy during a critical period of the district's history underscores their significance. This historical impact supports its designation as a contributing resource.
2000 K Street	K Street Station/Faces gay bar	K Street Station, known as Faces gay bar since 1985, remains an active and significant venue within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It has played a crucial role in LGBTQ+ nightlife and culture, contributing to the district's social and cultural history. Its ongoing operation and importance in the district's LGBTQ+ community validate its status as a contributing resource.
2001 K Street	The Western/The Depot gay bar	The Western, later known as The Depot gay bar, has been a prominent LGBTQ+ venue since around 1997. Located within the Lavender Heights Historic District, it has significantly contributed to the district's nightlife and cultural scene. Its continued operation and role in the district's LGBTQ+ history affirm its historical integrity and importance as a contributing resource.
1928 L Street	Mercantile Saloon gay bar	The Mercantile Saloon, a gay bar active since 1976, is a significant site within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It has been a key venue for LGBTQ+ social activities, reflecting the district's historical narrative. Its ongoing operation and long-term contribution to the district's community life support its designation as a contributing resource.

(C) Listing on the Sacramento Register – Contributing Resources		
Address	**Historic Name**	**Property meets all contributing resource criteria specified in Sacramento City Code section 17.604.210.C.1-5**
1931 L Street	Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, Stop AIDS Project	The Lambda Community Center and Stop AIDS Project, active from 1987 to approximately 1998, were pivotal in providing services and support to the LGBTQ+ community and addressing the AIDS epidemic within the Lavender Heights Historic District. This site significantly contributed to the district's advocacy and support network during a critical period, underscoring its importance in the district's history. Although the site is no longer operational, its historical impact on public health and LGBTQ+ support justifies its status as a contributing resource.

Conclusion

The Lavender Heights Historic District appears to be eligible for listing on the California Register and Sacramento Register under Criterion 1/i for its association with important developments in establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and as the home to many important LGBTQ+ businesses and organizations during the community's formative years from the late 1960s to around the year 2000.The Lavender Heights Historic District also appears to be eligible for listing under Criterion 2/ii for its association with several important LGBTQ+ community leaders and businesspersons who made important contributions to the development and visibility of the community as a whole.

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LAVENDER HEIGHTS

HISTORIC DISTRICT PLAN

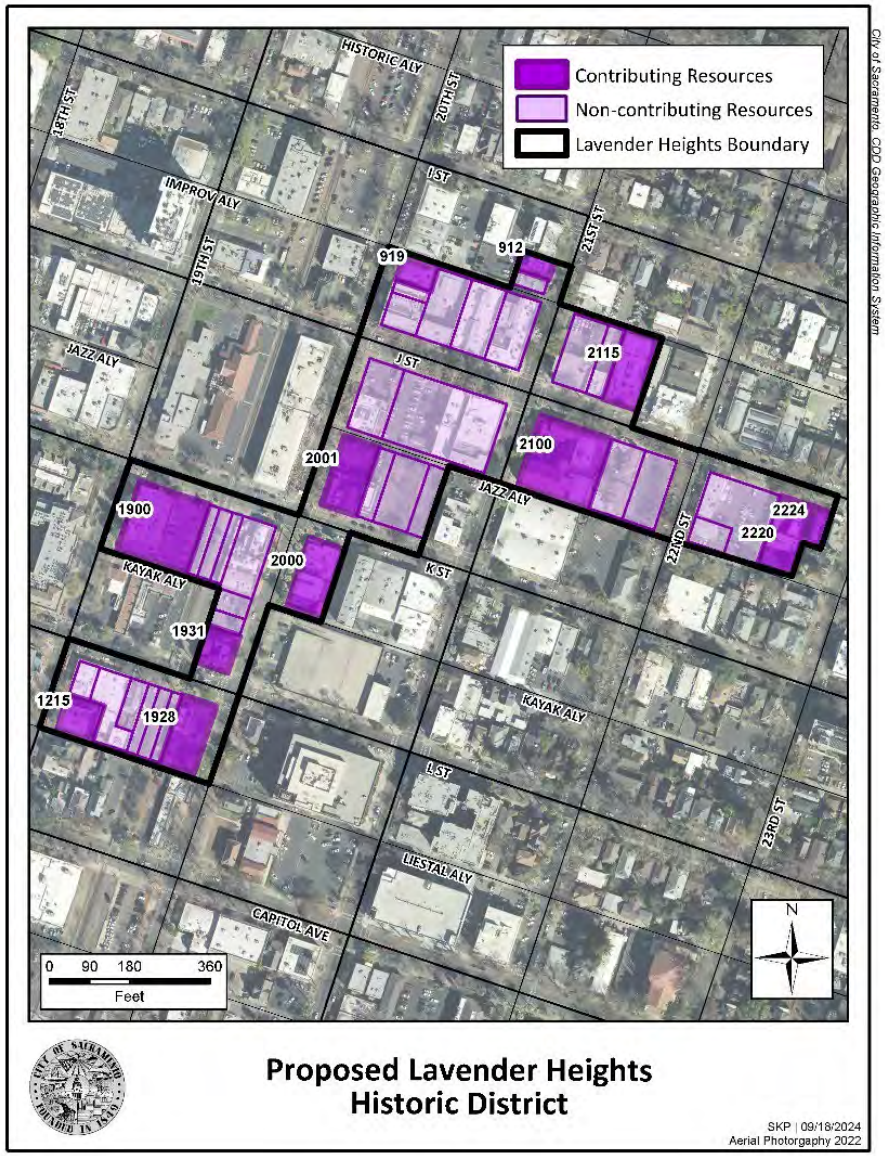
Draft

Physical Description

By the 1970s, the foundations of a clearly identifiable, vibrant, openly gay neighborhood began to emerge in Sacramento. Known as Lavender Heights, the neighborhood was centered around the intersection of 20th and K streets and the surrounding blocks, though its boundaries were not clearly defined and evolved over time with the growth of LGBTQ+-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly business establishments in the Midtown area. The boundaries of the Lavender Heights Historic District encapsulate the epicenter of the larger landscape of Midtown Sacramento within which many of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ residents lived, socialized, cared for one another, and coalesced into a visible, diverse, and tight-knit community between the late 1960s to around the year 2000. As several of the significant buildings that composed the broader Lavender Heights neighborhood are no longer extant, the historic district boundaries encompass the blocks where the highest concentration of extant LGBTQ+ properties is located.

Boundaries

The Lavender Heights Historic District is roughly bounded by I Street to the north between 20th and 21st Streets, 23rd Street to the east between Improv Alley and Jazz Alley, Liestal Alley to the south between 19th and 20th streets, and 19th Street to the west between Liestal Alley and K Street.



Brief Historic Context

Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community remained largely underground until the 1970s, due to widespread discrimination and legal barriers. The 1969 Stonewall uprising in New York and the 1975 repeal of California's anti-sodomy laws marked a turning point, catalyzing increased visibility and community formation nationwide.[i] In Sacramento, Midtown—particularly the area around 20th and K streets—emerged as the heart of a growing LGBTQ+ enclave in the 1970s, as LGBTQ-friendly businesses began to open.

The name "Lavender Heights," referencing the symbolic association of lavender with the gay community, originated in the 1970s and gained public recognition in the early 1980s. Over time, the neighborhood evolved into a self-defined and self-sustaining LGBTQ+ community. [ii] By the 1990s, Lavender Heights supported not only nightlife but also a wide range of businesses and services, including health clinics, spiritual centers, bookstores, salons, legal and medical offices that served LGBTQ+ residents' everyday needs.[iii] It became both a local refuge and

FIGURE 2: REV. JERRY SLOAN & LAWYER ROSEMARY METRAILER WITH CHECK FROM LAWSUIT V. REV. JERRY FALWELL AND THE MORAL MAJORITY. SOURCE: SACRAMENTO LGBTQ+ COMMUNITY CENTER.

a regional hub, offering visibility, support, and a sense of belonging for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ population.[iv]

Community Centers & Services

Lambda Community Center / Sacramento LGBT Community Center

The most prominent and longstanding of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community centers, the Lambda Community Center (later renamed the Sacramento LGBT Community Center) was established by Reverend Jerry Sloan, founder of the Sacramento Metropolitan Community Church (MCC). In 1986, he used the winnings from a lawsuit against his former Baptist Bible College classmate Rev. Jerry Falwell to open the Lambda Community Center at 1931 L Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District).[v]

The Lambda Community Center provided AIDS education, a youth program, health education, and a monthly newsletter, and conducted political lobbying and letter-writing campaigns.[vi] From 1997 to 1999, the center was located at 919 20th Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District). The center changed its name to the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Center in 2006 and to the Sacramento LGBT Community Center in 2013. The center moved to 1015 20th Street in 2019 (extant, non-contributing property outside the period of significance of the Lavender Heights Historic District).[vii]

HIV/AIDS Community Services

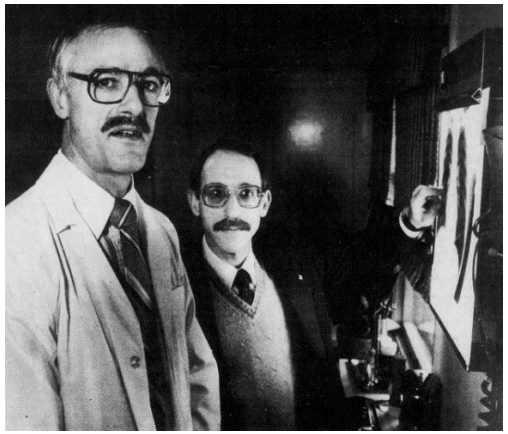


FIGURE 3: DR. HARVEY THOMPSON (LEFT) AND DR. SANDY POMERANTZ (RIGHT) IN 1983. SOURCE: SACRAMENTO BEE.

The AIDS outbreak in the 1980s and the subsequent global pandemic led to profound loss, stigmatization, and alienation for members of the LGBTQ+ community. Ostracized and lacking support from government institutions, Sacramento's LGBTQ+ population took on the responsibility of managing the spread of HIV and AIDS cases largely by itself through the mid-1980s.[viii]

At the forefront of local efforts were Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz, two Sacramento-based physicians who focused on the treatment of AIDS. Dr. Thompson opened a clinic at 910-912 21st Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1978. Dr. Pomerantz authored a column on health issues facing the gay community. Eventually syndicated and distributed nationwide, it was originally printed in the local gay newspaper *Mom…Guess What…?!.* His August 1981 column "Gay Medical Symposium: Two New Gay Illnesses" was the first mention in Sacramento of the disease that became known as AIDS.[ix] *The Sacramento Bee* did not step up its coverage until 1983.

Drs. Thompson and Pomerantz produced the early framework of what would become the AIDS/Kaposi's Sarcoma Foundation, later the Sacramento AIDS Foundation (SAF). SAF officially began operation at 2115 J Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District) in the spring of 1983.[x] Between 1984 and 1994, SAF was located 1900 K Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District). Much of the initial funding for SAF came from gay bars, including the leather community's main hub, the Wreck Room, as well as the Sacramento County Public Health Department and various fundraisers and donations.[xi]

Women's Organizations

Following the women's liberation movement, many lesbians took the lead in creating create a network of social services for local women in the 1970s. Among these was the Sacramento Women's Center, which provided temporary housing for women in need, a medical clinic, a children's day care, classes, workshops, a library and bookstore, and referrals to relevant community aid agencies.[xii]

FIGURE 4: THERESA CORRIGAN ON THE PORCH OF THE FIRST WOMEN'S BUILDING AT 2224 J STREET (1983). SOURCE: SACRAMENTO BEE.

The SWC first opened in 1973 at the YWCA building at 1122 17th Street (extant but outside Lavender Heights Historic District), and relocated to its first standalone

location, a house at 1221 20th Street (demolished and outside the Lavender Heights Historic District), in 1974. From 1974 to 1979, the SWC expanded its services to include a Rape Crisis Center (RCC), Mothers Emergency Stress Service (MESS) to assist single mothers, Women Escaping A Violent Environment (WEAVE) to aid victims of domestic violence, and Women's Employment Services Training (WEST) to provide training for women who were struggling to find long-term employment.[xiii]

In 1980, Theresa Corrigan, who had been involved with the Women's Center, purchased the stock of the Women's Center's bookstore. She and her partner reopened the business in 1982 in a converted Colonial Revival house at 2224 J Street (extant, contributor to the Lavender Heights Historic District) under the name Lioness Books. Lioness Books occupied the first floor, and the offices of the SWC's programs – including RCC and WEST – were located on the second floor. In 1983, Mayor Anne Rudin participated in the official opening ceremony of the building at 2224 J Street, which she designated the First Sacramento Women's Building. Closed in 2000, Lioness Books was the longest continuously operating location of the Sacramento Women's Center.[xiv]

Gay Bars in Lavender Heights

Gay Bars – which served a vital role as some of the only spaces in which LGBTQ+ individuals could openly express their sexual identities—blossomed into the public center of LGBTQ+ life after the late 1960s. Gay bars were the de facto center of gay life, where people exchanged news, formed lasting friendships and romantic relationships, and organized social, professional, and political groups, clubs, and events.

While some gay bars existed in Sacramento's Central City grid prior to the late 1960s, the impact of the repeal of state sodomy laws was visible in the growing number of these establishments in the 1970s and 1980s.

One of the first gay bars in Lavender Heights was the Mercantile Saloon, which opened in a converted Victorian house at 1928 L Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1976.

The bar was owned by Bill Christie, also the owner of Christie's Elbo Room at 2000 K Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District). Along with the Rose Cocktail Lounge, a jazz bar at 2001 L Street (demolished), "The Merc" became the main social gathering place for gay Black men in Sacramento.[xv]

Known today as The Depot, 2001 K Street (extant, contributor to the Lavender Heights Historic District) took the name The Western around 1953.[xvi] By at least the 1990s, it had a reputation as a bar for older gay men. [xvii] In 1997, TJ Bruce and his mother reopened it as a gay bar called The Western Pacific Depot. [xviii]

In 1981, Club 21 opened at 1122 21st Street (demolished). Two years later, the owners closed Club 21 to open a larger bar, K Street Station, in the building formerly occupied by Christie's Elbo Room at 2000 K Street. In 1985, K Street Station's owners declared bankruptcy, and Terry Sidie, who owned a gay bar called Bo Jangles in East Sacramento, purchased the property and transformed it into a new bar called Faces.

Faces' success brought a groundswell of energy to the intersection of 20th and K Streets, which would become the heart of Lavender Heights. Faces became a hub for

the community and arguably the most recognizable landmark for LGBTQ+ life in Sacramento, hosting Stonewall Democratic Club voter drives, fundraisers for LGBTQ+-friendly politicians, and the first meeting of the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Softball League.[xix] In 1987, Sidie assisted Richard Boriolo in starting the Rainbow Festival, a fundraiser for local LGBTQ+ causes.[xx] By 1997, Sidie estimated he had given $120,000 to local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations.[xxi]

Social Infrastructure & Community Gathering Places

While gay bars were the earliest and most visible LGBTQ+ gathering spaces in Lavender Heights, the district also supported a broader network of social, spiritual, and cultural venues that provided meaningful alternatives for connection and community-building.

The earliest recorded LGBTQ+ event in the district occurred in 1967 at First United Methodist Church (2100 J Street, extant, contributing property), when Americans for Responsible Citizenship (ARC), Sacramento's first known LGBTQ+ advocacy group, hosted a public forum titled *"The Homosexual 1967 Sacramento."* [xxii] The church has maintained a reputation for welcoming LGBTQ+ individuals.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, Lavender Heights saw the emergence of LGBTQ+-owned bookstores, cafés, and specialty retail that contributed to the district's cultural vibrancy. These included *The Gifted Gardener* in 1989 at 2220 J Street (extant, contributing property), and a second gay and lesbian bookstore, The Open Book, at 910–912 21st Street (extant, contributing property). [xxiii] The Open Book featured a café, hosted live music, and stayed open until midnight providing a late-night social space outside of the bar scene.[xxiv] Locals also met at the New Helvetia café, located in the repurposed firehouse at 1215 19th Street (extant, contributing property).

These sites and social networks reflect the diverse and evolving nature of LGBTQ+ life in Lavender Heights, where community was formed not only through nightlife but also through bookstores, cafés, places of worship, and print media.

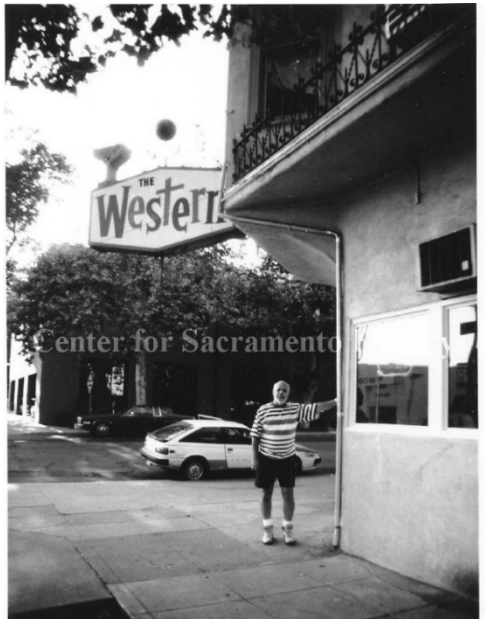


FIGURE 5: UNIDENTIFIED MAN IN FRONT OF THE WESTERN, CA. 1992. SOURCE: CENTER FOR SACRAMENTO HISTORY.

Period of Significance: 1967-2000

This period includes the emergence of Lavender Heights as a center of LGBTQ community life in Sacramento, beginning with the founding of early advocacy organizations and social spaces in the late 1960s. It encompasses the district's transformation into a visible and politically active hub during the 1970s and 1980s, shaped by both local and national LGBTQ rights movements. The period also reflects the impact of the HIV/AIDS crisis on the community and the district's role in response efforts, as well as the growing cultural, social, and economic presence of LGBTQ individuals and institutions through the 1990s. The end of the period marks a point where acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community began to allow for greater visibility in broader society.

Property Types from the Period of Significance

• Commercial • Institutional/Civic • Religious • Residential (Adaptively Reused)

Recreational Architectural Styles from the Period of Significance

• Queen Anne • River Delta • Neoclassical • Shingle Style • Colonial Revival • Vernacular

Character-Defining Features

The character-defining features are the essential physical elements from the period of significance that enable a historic district and its contributing resources to convey their collective historic identity and the historic district's significance. They must be evident for a historic district and its contributing resources to retain their status on the Sacramento Register.

Unlike many historic districts, this area does not derive its significance from a unified architectural style, period, or physical design vocabulary. Instead, its historic value is rooted primarily in its cultural associations and the long-standing role of this neighborhood in the history of the LGBTQ community. In culturally significant historic districts, character-defining features may consist not of architectural uniformity but of the collection of places that embody the community's lived experience. Here, the buildings and streetscapes derive their significance from their associations with LGBTQ history, social life, activism, and identity.

The National Park Service recognizes that districts may be eligible for their cultural and social significance even when architectural cohesion is limited. Consistent with this framework, the district's character-defining features are the contributing buildings themselves, whose collective presence reflects the historical patterns and cultural practices of the LGBTQ community.

Although individual buildings vary in age, design, and architectural integrity, their intact presence conveys the spatial and social context within which LGBTQ residents, businesses, and organizations formed a vibrant community. As such, the contributing buildings (listed below) *collectively* function as the district's primary character-defining features.

District-Specific Standards & Criteria

Design Principle: *Projects in the Lavender Heights Historic District must preserve the cultural identity and legacy of Lavender Heights as Sacramento's historically significant LGBTQ district by respecting the character-defining features of its contributing resources. Adaptive reuse, sensitive infill, and new development that reflects the community's inclusive and expressive character will be supported.*

Rationale: *Lavender Heights is significant for its role as a cultural and social center of LGBTQ life from 1967 to 2000. The area's identity is defined less by uniform design and more by its concentration of LGBTQ-owned businesses, gathering places, and advocacy organizations. This district played a central role in advancing LGBTQ visibility, rights, and community resilience in Sacramento. Design standards shall prioritize preservation of historically significant sites and support a vibrant, diverse streetscape that reflects the district's ongoing cultural relevance.*

In addition to the Standards & Criteria Common to Sacramento's Historic Districts in Section 1, the following district-specific standards and criteria apply when planning a project in the Lavender Heights Historic District.

Design Standards for Contributing Resources

In Lavender Heights, contributing resources are valued primarily for their cultural and historical associations rather than their architectural consistency. Accordingly, the primary goal of these standards is to preserve the integrity of each resource's form, appearance, and function as it relates to its period of cultural significance.

While architectural features are important, equal—if not greater—consideration is given to a property's use, community role, and symbolic importance within LGBTQ+ history. Design interventions should maintain the qualities that supported these cultural functions: visible public entrances, recognizable facades, gathering-friendly spatial layouts, and visual continuity with the building's historically significant appearance.

To account for the diversity of buildings within the district, tailored guidance is provided for each contributing property. These resource-specific design standards identify key characteristics and recommend appropriate treatments to ensure that preservation efforts support both the physical fabric and cultural legacy of Lavender Heights.

Fig. X: Example of visual throughline throughout building's alterations.

Guidelines for the Treatment of Contributing Resources

The following design guidelines allow for ongoing maintenance and operation in ways that accommodate reasonable changes while also preserving key design features that account for the properties' significance. Projects proposed for a contributing resource in Sacramento's historic districts may involve the construction of additions and accessory buildings. Additions shall be designed with the goal of minimizing their impact on the historic district's character-defining features.

***Design Objective**: The preservation of architectural integrity of historically significant LGBTQ+ community spaces.*

1. Additions

1.1. Additions shall not obscure the character-defining features of buildings named in this plan.

1.2. The footprint of an addition shall not exceed 50 percent of the footprint of the existing building.

1.3. No addition shall obscure or remove existing architectural features on primary elevations, including but not limited to windows, doors, cornices, or decorative detailing.

1.4. Materials used for additions shall differ in type, texture, pattern, material, or finish from the original structure while remaining compatible in color and scale.

1.5. Window openings on additions shall align vertically and horizontally with existing window openings and shall maintain window height-to-width ratios within 10 percent of the original proportions.

2. **Windows & Doors**

2.1. Where possible, existing openings shall be maintained and the creation of new openings avoided. New openings shall align with existing horizontal and vertical lines and follow the pattern of existing openings in design, scale, placement, and materials.

3. Fencing & Screening

3.1. Fences and screens shall not exceed 4 feet on sidewalk-facing facades or 6 feet on rear elevations. A minimum of 50% visual transparency shall be maintained in fencing located along public frontages. The use of chain link, barbed wire, plastic, bamboo, and composite fencing is prohibited.

4. Landscaping

4.1. Existing street trees and sidewalk configurations shall be maintained. Landscaping withing 5 feet of the primary elevation shall not obstruct architectural openings or signage.

5. Lighting

5.1. Exterior lighting fixtures shall not exceed the size of those dating from the period of significance. No new exposed wiring or conduits are permitted on building exteriors.

6. Utilities

6.1. New utility connections, meters, and accessibility improvements shall be installed only on rear or side elevations. No utility equipment shall be visible from the primary public right-of-way.

1215 19th Street

APN: 007-0143-001-0000
Historic Use: New Helvetia Roaster
Years of Association: 1991-2002
Architectural Style: Classical revival with Romanesque Revival detailing

Element	Character Defining Features
Mass & Form	Nearly square in plan, the building stands over two stories tall. Its façade features two slightly projecting pedimented bays joined by a false parapet. Gabled piers and blind arches add vertical emphasis.
Cladding	Brick masonry.
Roofs	Flat
Entries & Doors	The ground floor contains two large fire truck doors. Pedestrian entry doors flank the fire truck doors on the left and in the center.
Windows	Rectangular windows have been inserted into the ground floor. Other elevations contain arched windows in vertically and horizontally divided surfaces.
Ornament/Design Features	A series of small recessed ornamented panels extend across the façade beneath a figured frieze and cornice molding. Small gables decorate the tops of the piers and the parapet is banded with square panels. Rusticated stone is used in the arches, some sills, a horizontal banding beneath the frieze area, and as a parapet capping. Carved stone accents the second-floor corners of the façade bays and figurative sculptures featuring firefighting themes are mounted in the pediments.
Landscape Characteristics	Building is flush with the sidewalk along 19th Street. Two mature city trees are located in front.
Streetscape	Located within a mixed-use block with both commercial and residential uses. Sited close to the street edge, adjacent to an east-west alley along the south side of the property.

Design Standards for 1215 19th Street

1. **Additions**
   - 1.1 Rooftop additions shall be set back from the primary façade by at least 10 feet for every 10 feet of height.
   - 1.2 Side additions shall be no taller than the existing cornice and constructed of transparent materials so that the original brick and window openings can be viewed from the street.
   - 1.3 Rear additions shall be no taller than the existing cornice.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   - 2.1 Do not obscure character defining features listed above.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   - 3.1 Preserve window form, material, and features.
     - Do not alter original window opening sizes or configurations.
     - Any new windows shall be replica wood windows.
   - 3.2 Fire doors on primary elevation shall be preserved or repaired in-kind.

4. **Landscaping**
   - 4.1 Flagpole on north of lot shall be preserved.

910-912 21st Street

APN: 007-0016-010-0000
Historic Use: Offices of Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz/The Open Book bookstore
Years of Association: 1978-1987 (Office), 1996-2005 (Open Book)
Architectural Style: Commercial

Element	Character Defining Features
Mass & Form	Rectangular, single-story building with diagonally recessed entryway.
Cladding	Stucco.
Roofs	Flat.
Entries & Doors	Recessed entryway.
Windows	Two fixed horizontal rectangular metal windows on 21st Street façade, double-hung windows on parking lot (south) façade.
Ornament/Design Features	None.
Landscape Characteristics	Building is flush with the sidewalk along 21st Street.
Streetscape	Located within a mixed-use block with both commercial and residential uses. Neighboring buildings are close in height. There is a small, enclosed backyard and a parking lot immediately to the building's south.

Design Standards for 910-912 21st Street

1. **Additions**
   - 1.1 Rooftop additions shall be set back from the primary façade by at least 20 feet for the first story and at least 10 feet for every story after that.
   - 1.2 Side additions are prohibited.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   - 2.1 Building cladding shall remain stucco finish to match existing.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   - 3.1 Recessed primary opening configuration shall not be altered.
   - 3.2 Window openings on primary façade shall remain in size and configuration.
   - 3.3 Window form on secondary elevations (ride and rear) shall be preserved.

2115 J Street

APN: 007-0022-015-0000
Historic Use: Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices
Years of Association: 1985
Architectural Style: Contemporary

FIGURE 6: 2115 J STREET IS BUILT TO THE SIDEWALK AND INCORPORATES EXTENSIVE GLAZING AND VISUALLY TRANSPARENT FENCING, SUPPORTING VISIBILITY AND REINFORCING THE PEDESTRIAN-ORIENTED CHARACTER OF LAVENDER HEIGHTS.

Element	Character Defining Features
Mass & Form	Two story commercial building with two primary massings flanking a one-story corridor topped by an inset massing atop rounded columns. The building contains several commercial properties with corridor-facing entrances.
Cladding	Smooth brick.
Roofs	Flat.
Entries & Doors	The primary entry point is the entrance to the corridor which enters underneath a large glass pyramid that sits atop four two-story columns. The first-floor corridor contains several glass doors on either side.
Windows	The front (south) façade is predominantly comprised of a band of tall glass windows on both the first and second floors. The windows are bordered by a black steel sash.
Ornament/Design Features	The primary ornament is the large, two-story angular glass pergola. The front face features two shallow balconies that wrap the two massings and end at the central massing that floats over the central corridor. The balconies feature a thin convex iron balustrade.
Landscape Characteristics	Located on J Street in a commercial district, the building fronts onto the sidewalk with a shallow inset that serves as patio seating bordered with a thin iron railing.
Streetscape	The building is flanked directly on either side by other commercial buildings.

Design Standards for 2115 J Street

1. **Additions**
   - 1.1 Roof top additions shall be set back from the primary façade by at least 10 feet for every 10 feet of height.
   - 1.2 Additions shall preserve the central breezeway, including skylight openings.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   - 2.1 Do not obscure or demolish character defining features listed above.
   - 2.2 Original brick shall not be painted.
   - 2.3 Original aluminum shall remain unpainted.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   - 3.1 Recessed breezeway opening configuration shall not be altered.
   - 3.2 Window openings on primary façade shall remain in size and configuration.
   - 3.3 Glazing on primary elevation shall remain clear and not opaque or tinted.

2220 J Street

APN: 007-0093-007-0000
Historic Use: Sacramento Women's Center, Gifted Gardener
Years of Association: 1975-1976, 1989-2000
Architectural Style: Mid-Century Modern

FIGURE 8: CURVED LINES AND BANDED WINDOWS ARE CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES OF 2220 J STREET.

FIGURE 7: 2220 J STREET INCLUDES A WALKING PATH THAT CONNECTS DIRECTLY TO THE SIDEWALK, SUPPORTING PEDESTRIAN ACCESS AND REINFORCING THE DISTRICT'S STREET-ORIENTED CHARACTER.

Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	2220 J Street is arranged in a U shape that opens toward J Street. The eastern front massing is a single story, with a 45-degree angled front interior corner that creates an open walkway from the sidewalk into the courtyard. Directly behind it, a slightly taller massing projects forward with a façade that angles subtly inward. At the rear, a two-story rectangular mass features a centered public hallway that opens onto the rear parking lot. The western front massing is also single-story, characterized by a curved interior corner that extends into the courtyard before wrapping back to form a half circle. Behind this is a squared-off rectangular mass that connects the curved front portion to the two-story rear section.
Cladding	The building is primarily clad in stucco, accented with stone masonry along the base and in select full-height accent areas. Brick masonry walls mark the front exterior corners, angled inward to face oncoming foot traffic. The second story's interior (north) side features vertical wood paneling, while the rear remains stucco-clad.
Roofs	All roofs are flat.
Entries & Doors	Each distinct massing has its own entry door, serving individual businesses. Doors are primarily glass with painted wood frames.
Windows	The front businesses showcase bands of large glass windows that extend nearly the full width of their massings. Middle massings have banks of smaller, wood-framed windows. The rear two-story massing includes two bands of windows on the first floor flanking the central hallway, while the upper floor features two double-hung windows at the front and seven smaller windows along the rear.
Ornament/Design Features	A defining characteristic of 2220 J Street is the combination of its distinct massings and their spatial relationships to the interior courtyard. Each mass has a unique connection to the courtyard and neighboring buildings, highlighted by varied window arrangements. Additionally, the wide eaves of the front masses stand out as a notable design feature.

Landscape Characteristics	The courtyard features a large kidney shaped berm filled with low-laying shrubbery. The rest of the courtyard is paved.
Streetscape	The building straddles the sidewalk, fostering a seamless connection between the public walkway and the paved courtyard. A curved path meanders around the kidney-shaped berm, creating an inviting and dynamic pedestrian experience.

Design Standards for 2220 J Street

1. Additions

1.1. Rooftop additions are prohibited.
1.2. Rear additions shall be no taller than 200% of the tallest plate height of the existing building.
1.3. Additions within or into the courtyard are prohibited.

2. Architectural Elements

2.1. Character defining features listed above shall not be not obscured, altered, nor removed.
2.2. Original masonry shall not be painted.
2.3. Eaves shall remain unaltered.
2.4. Fascia gutters shall be preserved or replaced in-kind.
2.5. Window-sill ledge on western building shall be preserved.
2.6. Floating concrete stairs shall be preserved or replaced in-kind.

3. **Windows & Doors**

3.1 Storefront window pattern of the primary fade shall remain in size and configuration.
3.2 Glazing on storefronts and windows shall remain clear and not opaque or tinted.

4. Fencing & Screening

4.1 Fencing is not permitted along J Street property line or within the courtyard.
4.2 Maintain an open edge between the building frontage and the sidewalk.

5. **Landscaping**

5.1 Maintain the existing open sidewalk frontage and courtyard layout.
5.2 Planter brick perimeter curb and overall shape shall not be altered and shall be repaired in-kind if damaged.

6. **Utilities**

6.1 When installing new rooftop equipment, screen all roof-top mechanical equipment from views from J Street. Screening material shall not be lattice, vinyl, PVC, plastic, corrugated metal, pressure treated lumber, plywood, or lumber with a raised grain.

2224 J Street

APN: 007-0043-008
Historic Use: Lioness Books/Sacramento Women's Center
Years of Association: 1991-2002
Architectural Style: Colonial Revival

FIGURE 9: THE FLUTED GLASS FRONT DOOR AND SIDELIGHTS ARE CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES OF 2224 J ST.

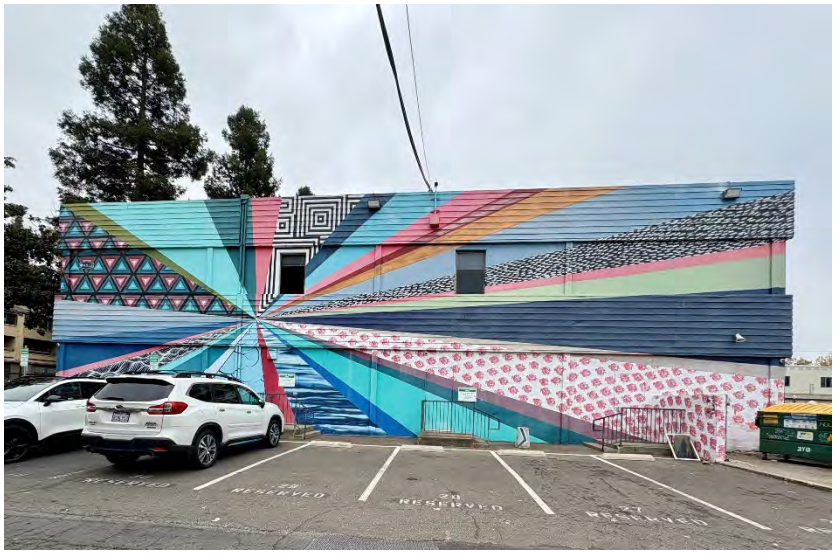
Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	The building stands two stories tall with a rectangular plan. A flat-roofed porch extends across the first story of the symmetrical front elevation. Side stairways rise to second-story doorways. Second floor porch on rear (north) façade.
Cladding	Beveled drop wood siding.
Roofs	Hipped roof with overhanging eaves, exposed purlins, and a large gabled dormer with full pediment.
Entries & Doors	Centered wood front door with large window, additional second-floor entrances on each side. The front door has wide fluted-glass sidelights and an internal window, also with fluted glass.
Windows	On J Street façade, symmetrical double-hung rectangular windows on first and second floor. Two mulled double-hung rectangular windows in the top floor dormer. On portion of rear (north) façade visible from public pathway, a single double-hung second floor window and two mulled double-hung windows on top floor.
Ornament/Design Features	Tapering fluted square pillars with plain capitals and bases support the porch roof. Fluted Ionic pilasters appear on the corners of the facade. Plain, rectangular eve brackets.
Landscape Characteristics	Building is nearly flush with the sidewalk along J Street and extends nearly to edges of parcel on both sides.
Streetscape	Located within a mixed-use block and flanked on either side by commercial buildings. Sited close to the street edge. Neighboring buildings rise to similar or lower elevation.

Design Standards for 2224 J Street

1. **Additions**
   - 1.1 Additions are only permitted on the rear elevation.
   - 1.2 Additions shall not exceed the plate height of the historic building.
   - 1.3 Additions shall be clad in wood lap (three tier) siding to match to match existing.
   - 1.4 Windows on addition shall be wood or wood-clad in aluminum or fiberglass. Vinyl or metal windows are prohibited on additions.
2. **Architectural Elements**
   - 2.1 Character defining features listed above shall not be removed nor altered.
   - 2.2 Wood siding shall be repaired rather than replaced, and if deteriorated beyond repair shall be replaced in-kind, and only when rehabilitation is determined by a specialist to be impossible.
3. **Windows & Doors**
   - 3.1 Window form, material, and features shall be preserved.
     - Do not alter original window opening sizes or configurations.
     - Any new windows shall be replica wood windows and match existing sill and trim profile in-kind.
   - 3.2 Fluted glass internal window and sidelights on the front door shall be preserved or repaired in-kind.

1900 K Street

APN: 007-0084-023-0000
Historic Use: Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices
Years of Association: 1986-1994
Architectural Style: Commercial



Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	Two-story building, rectangular with a square protrusion on the K Street façade. Two cement steps lead to low cement platform around entryway.
Cladding	Wood lap siding, cement with stone masonry details.
Roofs	Flat.
Entries & Doors	The main pedestrian entry doors on each side of the corner at K & 19th are glass and metal with wide sidelights. A secondary entrance from the parking lot is a glass and metal double door recessed approximately six feet.
Windows	First and second floor windows are rectangular, fixed, metal, and vertically oriented.
Ornament/Design Features	The building's ornamentation was added after its period of significance and is not character-defining.
Landscape Characteristics	Several mature city trees are located along both street-facing facades.
Streetscape	Located on a block with primarily commercial uses. Parking lot is situated to the east of the building, along K Street. Sited close to the street edge on the corner of K & 19th.

Design Standards for 1900 K Street

1. **Additions**
   1.1 Roof top additions shall be set back from the primary (K or 19th Street) façades by at least 10 feet for every 10 feet of height.
   1.2 Side and rear additions shall be no taller than 200% of the tallest plate height of the existing building.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   2.1 The protruding massing on the K Street façade shall not be altered.
   2.2 Original unpainted masonry shall not be painted.
   2.3 Character defining features listed above shall not be removed nor altered.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   3.1 Original window opening sizes and configurations shall not be altered.
   3.2 New openings shall follow the pattern of existing openings.

2000 K Street

APN: 007-0086-020-0000
Historic Use: K Street Station/Faces gay bar
Years of Association: 1983-2000
Architectural Style: Late modern

FIGURE 10: 2000 K STREET'S CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES SUCH AS THE PITCHED ROOF LINES AND IRREGULAR WINDOW SHOULD BE MAINTAINED.

Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	A two-story commercial building with low horizontal massing. The asymmetrical composition of the massing with various pitched roofing and diagonal windows instill a sense of energy. The tall glass vestibule centered on the stucco front façade, as well as the thick metal trim of the glass and metal elements provide strong visual contrast.
Cladding	Stucco.
Roofs	Dramatic angular pitches visible from both street views are part of the aesthetic expression of the building.
Entries & Doors	The primary entrance is centered within a tall glass vestibule on the north façade. An additional pedestrian entrance is located at the south end of the west façade, beneath a shallow, projecting metal balcony on the second floor.
Windows	The building features asymmetrical window placement with a higher concentration of placement on the western (street-facing) facade. The west façade features a large, irregular window spanning both first and second floors. Windows are framed in dark metal (likely steel) with narrow mullions that emphasize horizontality and are glazed with a darkened, reflective tint, adding a contemporary finish that contrasts with the matte stucco walls.
Ornament/Design Features	The building features a decorative orange squiggle that projects from the horizontal center of the building on the left side of the front façade as well as the left side of the western façade. The east side of the building is attached to a cement block wall facing the public parking lot that features a colorful Spanish tile mural. An iron lamp/signpost from the period of significance stands at the northwest corner, supporting a hanging business sign.
Landscape Characteristics	The rear façade is enclosed by a concrete wall with a visible metal balcony above. The enclosed rear yard contains a small rectangular pool. At the front of the building, a small, narrow seating area is located on the

	right (east) side, nestled between a low concrete wall and the building's exterior wall. This area contributes to the building's street-level activity and offers a semi-private space along the otherwise urban frontage.
Streetscape	Located at the corner of 20th and K Streets, in a commercial district, the building fronts directly onto the sidewalk. The east side borders a public parking lot, and the south abuts an alley. The north (front) façade includes two street trees, while the west sidewalk features several tall palm trees.

Design Standards for 2000 K Street

1. **Additions**
   - 1.1 Roof top additions shall be set back from the primary façade by at least 10 feet for every 10 feet of height.
   - 1.2 Additions shall follow the existing angular roof form.

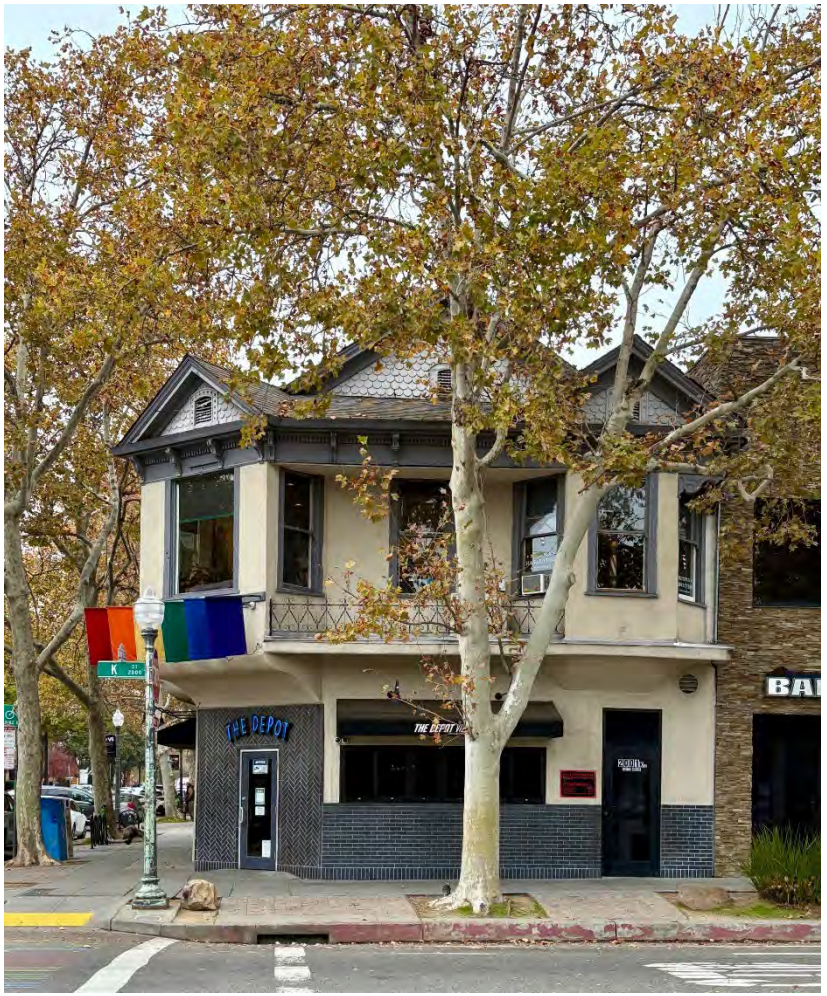
2. **Architectural Elements**
   - 2.1 The glass vestibule shall not be altered.
   - 2.2 Character defining features listed above shall not be removed nor altered.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   - 3.3 Original window opening sizes and configurations shall not be altered.
   - 3.4 New openings shall follow the pattern of existing openings.

4. **Landscape**
   - 4.1 The corner signpost shall not be removed.

2001 K Street

APN: 007-0085-012-0000
Historic Use: The Western/The Depot bar
Years of Association: 1997-Present
Architectural Style: Queen Anne/Eastlake



Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	Two story rectangular massing with two square bays on the K Street (south) facade and two on the 20th Street facade.
Cladding	Stucco.
Roofs	Low pitched roof with a wide gable facing K Street and additional small gables over each bay. Gables are clad in scalloped shingles; roof is asphalt shingle.
Entries & Doors	The main pedestrian entrance is at the corner of K Street & 20th Street, situated below a square bay, angled diagonally across the corner of the sidewalk. An additional door on K Street is also centered below a second-story window.
Windows	The 20th Street (west) façade has a standalone double-hung window at the north end, while the two bays each have three double-hung windows. The projecting corner bay above the main entrance has a large, fixed window at the center and smaller double-hung windows on each side. The K Street elevation has an additional bay with three double-hung windows and an additional standalone window centered between the K Street and corner bays.
Ornament/Design Features	An upper story balcony facing K Street has a decorative wrought iron railing. Each shingled gable has an eve vent with scalloped edges on each slat. Fascia, weatherboard, and brackets are ornamented, with the brackets bearing a botanical design.
Landscape Characteristics	Building is located prominently at a corner, flush with the sidewalk along K & 20th Streets.
Streetscape	Located on a block with primarily commercial use; many of its neighbors are other bars and nightclubs.

Design Standards for 2001 K Street

1. **Additions**
   1.1 Rooftop and side additions are prohibited.
   1.2 Rear additions shall be no taller than existing evesbuilding's plate height and shall not obscure decorative brackets.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   2.1 Character defining features listed above shall not be obscured, altered, nor removed.
   2.2 Bay window forms shall not be altered.
   2.3 Building cladding shall remain stucco.
   2.4 Unpainted brick wainscotting on primary façade shall not be painted or removed.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   3.1 Window form, material, and features shall be preserved. or replaced in-kind if damaged beyond repair.
   - Original window opening sizes and configurations shall not be altered.
   - Any new windows shall be replica wood windows.

1928 L Street

APN: 007-0143-007-0000
Historic Use: Mercantile Saloon gay bar
Years of Association: 1976-2000
Architectural Style: Eastlake/River Delta

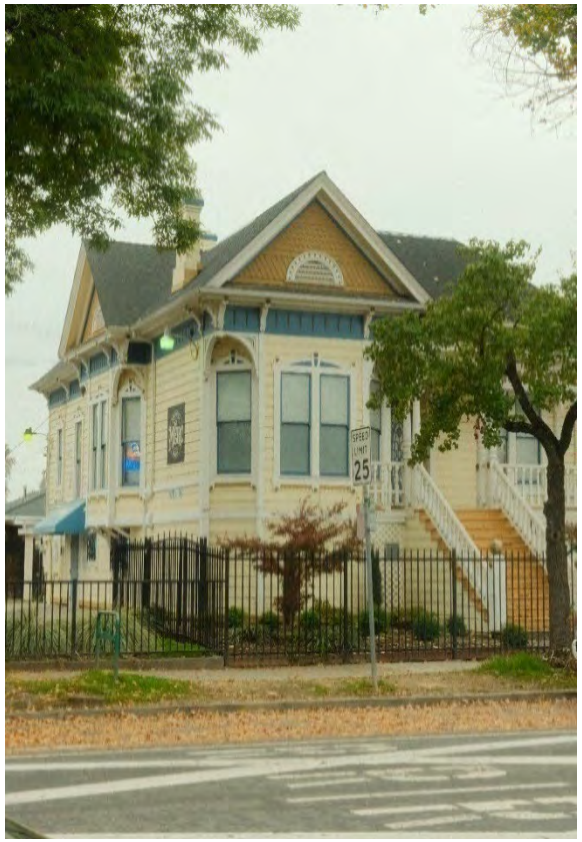


FIGURE 11: 1928 L STREET'S CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES INCLUDE THE TEXTURED GABLES, DECORATIVE BRACKETS, AND DETAILED WINDOW FRAMES.

Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	One-story wood-frame house with a raised basement. Compact, horizontal form typical of River Delta style.
Cladding	Wood clapboard siding.
Roofs	Hipped and gabled roof clad in shingles.
Entries & Doors	The original residential entrance is on the north façade, accessed via front porch steps; it is currently gated and used privately. The main pedestrian entrance for the bar is on the east façade, facing the parking lot.
Windows	Vertically proportioned wood-frame windows. The front façade includes a projecting angled bay window to the left of the entrance.
Ornament/Design Features	Decorative woodwork includes: patterned shingles in the gable, ornate porch brackets, scrollwork around windows, original newel posts, and an elaborate pedimented entrance canopy.
Landscape Characteristics	Minimal landscaping. Structure sits close to the sidewalk with adjacent surface parking to the east.
Streetscape	Located within a mixed-use area, the building is set near the street and the railroad tracks, with an active pedestrian environment and nearby LGBTQ+-oriented businesses.

Design Standards for 1928 L Street

1. **Additions**
   - 1.1 Additions are only permitted. on the rear elevation.
   - 1.2 Additions shall not exceed the plate height of the historic building.
   - 1.3 Additions shall be clad in wood lap siding to match existing.
   - 1.4 Windows on addition shall be wood or wood-clad in aluminum or fiberglass. Vinyl or metal windows are prohibited on additions.
   - 1.5 Sleeping porch may be demolished to accommodate an addition, but primary footprint may not be altered.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   - 2.1 Character defining features listed above shall not be obscured, altered, nor removed.
   - 2.2 Bay window forms shall not be altered.
   - 2.3 Decorative woodwork, posts, and entrance canopy shall not be removed nor altered.
   - 2.4 Wood siding shall be repaired rather than replaced and if damaged beyond repair shall be replaced in- kind.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   - 3.1 Window form, material, and features shall be preserved, or replaced in-kind if damaged beyond repair.
     - Original window opening sizes and configurations shall not be altered.
     - Any new windows shall be replica wood windows.

1931 L Street

APN: 007-0084-013
Historic Use: Lambda Community Center
Years of Association: 1987-1998
Architectural Style: Shingle Style/Colonial Revival/Queen Anne

Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	Two story wood frame building with steep gabled roofs, corner turret, and a round porch with a square-spindled balustrade. The gabled portion of the roof protrudes on the primary (south) façade. The gable on the 20th Street (east) façade has a square excision on the south end.
Cladding	Narrow drop siding, shingles.
Roofs	Prominent, steeply pitched, shingled gables that resemble Shingle Style work of the same period in San Francisco. Corner turret with conical roof capped with a small finial.
Entries & Doors	Front entrance is a paneled wood double door with a large integrated glass pane on each side and a transom window above. It is centered at the top of the porch stairs. The back door is accessible by a short stairway with horizontal railings. There is a transom window above the door. The basement door, a narrow, paneled wood door, is located directly to left of the steps to front porch.
Windows	Oval attic vents. Rectangular wooden-framed double-hung windows on first and second floors, as well as small, horizontal fixed basement windows and a mullioned horizontal window on the second floor. Windows wrap around turret on first and second floors.
Ornament/Design Features	Small spire with finial on turret. Porch supported by Tuscan columns and enclosed by balustrade. Cross-shaped ornaments surround attic vents.
Landscape Characteristics	Building is located prominently at a corner, flush with the sidewalk along L & 20th Streets. It is fronted by three mature palms.
Streetscape	Located within a mixed-use block with both commercial and residential uses. Sited close to the street edge.

Design Standards for 1931 L Street

1. **Additions**
   - 1.1 Additions are only permitted on the rear elevation.
   - 1.2 Additions shall not exceed the plate height of the historic building.
   - 1.3 Additions shall be clad in wood lap (three tier) siding to match to match existing.
   - 1.4 Windows on addition shall be wood or wood-clad in aluminum or fiberglass. Vinyl or metal windows are prohibited on additions.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   - 2.1 Character defining features listed above shall not be obscured, altered, nor removed.
   - 2.2 Rooflines, including turret, shall be preserved.
   - 2.3 Wood siding shall be repaired rather than replaced and, if damaged beyond repair, shall be replaced in- kind.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   - 3.1 Window form, material, and features shall be preserved.
     - Original window opening sizes and configurations shall not be altered.
     - Any new windows shall be replica wood windows.

919 20th Street

APN: 007-0016-017-0000
Historic Use: Lambda Center/ Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Center/ Sacramento LGBT Community Center
Years of Association: 1997-1999
Architectural Style: Industrial

Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	Rectangular, single-story building with shallowly recessed entryways.
Cladding	Brick masonry.
Roofs	Flat.
Entries & Doors	Pedestrian entry is glass and metal double door with wide sidelights and transom window. The doorway is recessed approximately eight inches, recess is wood-clad. Side entrance is glass and metal door in vertical wood-paneled wall constructed in the frame of a former garage/warehouse door.
Windows	Fixed metal windows on 20th Street-facing façade. Four and six-light original fixed wood windows on north façade.
Ornament/Design Features	Colored brick pattern on 20th Street-facing façade.
Landscape Characteristics	Building is flush with the sidewalk along 20th Street with mature street tree in front.
Streetscape	Located within a block with primarily commercial uses. Sited close to the street edge, adjacent to an east-west alley along the north side of the property.

Design Standards for 919 20th Street

1. **Additions**
   1.1 Rooftop additions shall be set back from the primary façade by at least 20 feet for the first story and 10 feet for every story after that.
   1.2 Rear and side additions are prohibited.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   2.1 Character defining features listed above shall not be obscured, altered, nor removed.
   2.2 Building cladding shall remain unpainted brick to match existing.
   2.3 Masonry shall not be painted.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   3.1 Window form, material, and features on secondary elevation shall be preserved.
   - Recessed opening configurations shall not be altered.
   - Window openings on primary façade shall remain in size and configuration.

2100 J Street

APN: 007-0091-001-0000
Historic Use: First United Methodist Church
Years of Association: 1967-2000
Architectural Style: Romanesque revival

FIGURE 13: 2100 J STREET FEATURES INCLUSIVE SIGNAGE THAT CONTRIBUTES TO LAVENDER HEIGHT'S CULTURAL CHARACTER.

FIGURE 12: 2100 J STREET'S CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES INCLUDE LARGE CARVED WOOD DOORS AND STAINED-GLASS WINDOWS.

Feature	Character of Historic District
Mass & Form	The church complex is a composition of several rectangular gabled forms of brick whose focal point is the taller central campanile tower. The two-story buildings and a one-story corner addition built during the period of significance are arranged around a courtyard. The structure dominates the corner and side streets in mass and design.
Cladding	Primarily clad in brick, with the rear eastern façade clad in stucco.
Roofs	Barrel style terra cotta clay tile.
Entries & Doors	The front façade features three large, wooden double doors elevated up five steps. Each door contains 14 square panels. The north façade contains another of these doors, set back from the brick façade. Between the primary church façade and the later one-story addition building on the left, there is a flat overhang connecting the buildings that serves as an entry point to the courtyard.
Windows	The buildings feature dramatic stained-glass windows. The west façade features a trio of arched windows.
Ornament/Design Features	A principal and repetitive decorative motif is the arch, used in windows, arcades, tower fenestration, the corbelled frieze that encircles all buildings, and the "blind" arches on several façade surfaces. The corner building addition has employed the blind arch motif, contrasting brick and concrete materials and a version of the corbelled frieze in an attempt to relate to the existing complex.
Landscape Characteristics	The building features a courtyard. The buildings extend from the northern sidewalk to the southern alley, leaving little room for landscaping. The façades that run parallel to the streets feature city trees, with older growth on the north side, and newer growth on the west.
Streetscape	The church sits upon the corner of 21st and J in a commercial district.

Design Standards for 2100 J Street

1. **Additions**
   1.1 Additions are not permitted, including infill of the courtyard.

2. **Architectural Elements**
   2.1 Character defining features listed above shall not be obscured, altered, nor removed.
   2.2 Roof tile shall be repaired or replaced in-kind.
   2.3 Masonry shall not be painted.

3. **Windows & Doors**
   3.1 Window form, material, and features shall be preserved.
   - Original window opening sizes and configurations shall not be altered.
   - Any new windows shall be replica wood windows.

   3.2 Doors and stained-glass windows on primary elevation shall be preserved or repaired in-kind.

3. New (Infill) Construction & Alterations to Non-Contributing Resources

Non-contributing resources are those buildings that were constructed after the period of significance, have been significantly altered, or do not have documented cultural significance in context of the Lavender Heights Historic District. According to City Code, only historic landmarks, contributing resources, and historic districts are listed in the Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources. Therefore, since non-contributing resources are not listed historic buildings, they will be treated differently than contributing resources. Typically, historic preservation review for non-contributing resources will be less restrictive than the design regulations although some level of review will be necessary because Sacramento has a City-wide design review process.

In addition to the Standards & Criteria Common to Sacramento's Historic Districts in Section 1, the following district-specific standards and criteria apply when planning a project in the Lavender Heights Historic District.

3.1 Provide a building setback that aligns with and is reflective of the existing pattern of setbacks in front of contributing commercial and residential buildings in the district.

3.2 Design new commercial construction to be as compatible with the scale, height, massing, orientation, materials, architectural character, and pedestrian-oriented landscaping of the historic district as possible.

- For buildings proposed at heights greater than adjacent contributing buildings, include stepbacks so the street-facing façade aligns with the established adjacent façade height.
- Increased height and massing are permissible for buildings located at street corners.
- When adjacent to lower-scale contributing structures, incorporate transition elements (e.g., façade modulation, setbacks) to reduce the perceptual change in scale.

3.3 Base the design of new commercial and mixed-use properties on established characteristics of contributing commercial and mixed-use properties within the district.

3.4 Provide ground-floor transparency, active storefronts, and pedestrian-scale detailing to support the district’s established pattern of street-level engagement. Entrances should be clearly identifiable and oriented toward the sidewalk. Avoid large blank walls and extensive areas of opaque material at the ground floor.

4. District Streetscape

4.1 Preserve and maintain culturally significant nonhistorical features of the streetscape that contribute to the identity of Lavender Heights, including the rainbow-painted crosswalks and other LGBTQ-themed public art. While not historic, these elements help interpret the district's significance to the LGBTQ+ community.

4.2 Encourage the installation and upkeep of inclusive, pedestrian-friendly elements such as decorative lighting, sidewalk seating, and street trees that support the district's active nightlife and social character.

4.3 Support the continued use of murals and banners that celebrate LGBTQ history, culture, and figures, especially on commercial façades and highly visible public-facing walls.

FIGURE 14: LGBTQ-RELATED SIGNAGE AND COLOR PALETTES CONTRIBUTE TO THE DISTRICT'S VISUAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY.

4.4 Where new signage or public elements are introduced, encourage designs that reflect the expressive, diverse, and community-oriented identity of the district.

4.5 Maintain accessibility and visibility of gathering spaces that foster community interaction and cultural expression.

4.6 Allow for temporary or seasonal installations (e.g., Pride Month decorations, flags, or lighting) that reinforce the district's role as Sacramento's LGBTQ cultural hub.

[i] Michael Andrew Claussen, "Lavender Heights: The Emerging Gay Community in Downtown Sacramento, California," (M.A. thesis, California State University, Chico, 1998,), 140.
[ii] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 84, 164.
[iii] Conversation between Tina Reynolds, Clare Flynn, and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

[iv] Conversation between Tina Reynolds, Clare Flynn, and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[v] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history. CGNIE is a continuously operating drag queen and drag king club and charitable organization with a hierarchy of officers, including an Emperor, Empress, Duchess, Lord, and Princess Royal.
[vi] Claussen, 142.
[vii] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history.
[viii] Amber Elena Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic: Aids in Sacramento, 1981-1989" (California State University, Sacramento, 2010), 28-29, Sacramento State University Library, 2–3.
[ix] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 24.
[x] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29.
[xi] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29-30.
[xii] Jan May Bassett, "Women's Center Will Have 'Feminist Perspective,' *Sacramento Bee*, 29 November 1972: 67.
[xiii] Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[xiv] Haines Criss-Cross directories, Sacramento, 1982-1999; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2024.
[xv] John Bennett, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Clarmundo Sullivan, conversation with Carson Anderson, August 9, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[xvi] Sacramento city directories, 1938-1982, Ancestry.com; "Genevieve Mary 'Gen' (Domich) Dallosta," *Sacramento Bee*, 27 November 2018.
[xvii] Taylor Facha, text conversation with Clare Flynn, August 30, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[xviii] Cameron Jahn, "Club Plan Ignites Dispute," *Sacramento Bee*, 20 June 2002: D1.
[xix] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[xx] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 2, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[xxi] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion**."**
[xxii] William Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance: Art, Music & Activism in California's Capital City* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 113.
[xxiii] Cathie Anderson, "Midtown Sacramento's Gifted Gardener Will Close," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 March 2017: A2.
[xxiv] Walt Yost, "Booksellers Provide Rare, Eclectic Works," *Sacramento Bee*, 13 June 1996: 2A.

Sacramento LGBTQ+

Historic Experience Project

HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT • DECEMBER 2024

PROJECT WEBSITE

PAGE&TURNBULL

City of SACRAMENTO

Disclaimer: Available historic sources favor a gay white male and lesbian perspective. The Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project team has made every effort to broaden the historical narrative to include information about the BIPOC, AAPI, Latinx, trans, bisexual, and other communities wherever possible based on available information and public input, particularly by collecting oral histories.

The cover page graphics and all chapter divider graphics were designed by Sacramento-based LGBTQ+ owned and operated graphic design and video production firm:

Uptown Studios

Cover images (from left to right):

1. Marchers walk to the Sacramento during the 1971 March for Sexual Freedom. Source: Skip Shulman for *The Sacramento Bee*.
2. CGNIE Empress IV Pat Montclaire at the Parking Lot (1979). Source: Fifty Gay Years In The Greater Sacramento Area.
3. Tom Bach (right) and Patrick Elkins-Zeglarski (left) in a Lambda Players' production (ca. 1990). Source: Center for Sacramento History.
4. GALA co-president Lavinia Cooper. Courtesy of Asa Salley.
5. Billie Jean Jones (1998). Source: ETVC Archives.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The story of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community is one of countless individuals who put themselves at risk to express their true identities and build a vibrant, rich, and supportive community. Members of the LGBTQ+ community have always been an integral part of the fabric of Sacramento, though for much of the city's history their existence was hidden and misunderstood. To date, the contributions of this community to Sacramento's history have been significantly underrecognized. In 2023, the City of Sacramento received a Certified Local Government grant from the California Office of Historic Preservation (OHP), part of California's Historic Preservation Fund allocation by the federal government, to develop a historic context statement (HCS) and survey focused on LGBTQ+ history and associated historical resources in Sacramento.

This HCS highlights Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history and begins to rectify historical disparities through the identification of sites, persons, and events that are of historic importance to this community. It is not intended as a comprehensive history of the community, which has been and continues to be documented by community members and scholars. Instead, this context statement draws upon new and existing research, including oral histories with members of the community, and provides a general discussion of the overarching forces that shaped LGBTQ+ life in Sacramento over time to understand the community's contributions to history and the places that are most important to this history.

This context begins with two chapters that provide a broad chronological overview of early gender transgressive expression in the Sacramento area, first from its initial settlement by Native Americans to 1940, and then from World War II to 1968. Due to widespread discrimination and the real risk of arrest, imprisonment, or institutionalization that gender and/or sexually nonconforming people faced throughout these periods, most were forced to hide their true selves from their family, friends, and general society, as well as themselves. As such, very little verified research or information exists about their existence in Sacramento prior to the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s. As such, these first two overview chapters include brief summaries of how gender non-conformity was generally understood and treated in the United States and California prior to 1968 to provide useful background information that helps explain what life was likely like for LGBTQ+ people in Sacramento during these early periods. This general national and statewide context is interspersed with relevant known examples of gender nonconformity in Sacramento.

These first two chronological overview chapters provide a broad foundation for three thematic chapters about LGBTQ+ history in Sacramento that follow, which include Out and Proud: Development of A Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community (1969-2000); AIDS and the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community's Response (1981-1996); and Political Activism and the Fight for LGBTQ+ Rights

in California's State Capital (1969-2000). A list of potentially eligible properties related to each chapter, as well as guidelines for assessing the eligibility of properties for historic designation, are included in the Appendices. Due to limited available research, particularly about the period prior to the 1960s, and time constraints tied to the project's grant funding, not all possible themes associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history were examined. Suggestions for future research to expand this HCS are included in the "Preservation Goals and Policies" section of the Appendices.

People with non-normative gender identities and sexual orientations have always existed in Sacramento. Many Native American tribes—including the Nisenan, Miwok, and Patwin who called the Sacramento region home—embraced an expansive and fluid understanding of gender and sexuality. Spanish missionaries and European and American settlers who colonized California in the 18th and early 19th centuries brought with them more restrictive views that demonized gender transgressive personal expression. Although the flood of men into California during the Gold Rush in the mid-19th century created a stark gender imbalance that upended many of these gendered and racialized structures, gender nonconformity was still not generally accepted by American society and was often met by arrest or imprisonment. In Sacramento, accounts of the arrest of individuals who engaged in gender non-conforming relationships or actions contrast with stories of male and female impersonators who were celebrated for their portrayals of members of the opposite gender on theatrical stages across Downtown Sacramento from the late 19th the early 20th centuries.

Pioneering medical studies in the late 1940s and 1950s increased societal awareness and understanding of non-normative gender and sexuality and contributed to the formation of the first gender nonconforming communities in the United States. However, this greater visibility was met with a period of increased paranoia toward and criminalization of any personal expression that differed from society norms during the Cold War. Amidst this period of intense scrutiny, the first homophile groups organizations – including the Association for Responsible Citizenship (ARC) in Sacramento in the 1960s – formed to provide support for gay men and women. Discrimination and criminalization of non-normative sexuality and gender expression within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento led to the coalescence of the first LGBTQ+ bars, businesses, and community gathering places across the Sacramento River in the separate and, at the time, unincorporated city of West Sacramento. The epicenter of the local LGBTQ+ community began to shift from West Sacramento to the City of Sacramento following the Stonewall Inn riots in New York City in 1969 and the repeal of California's anti-sodomy laws in 1975. Although gay-owned and gay-friendly businesses and services opened throughout the city, the largest and most visible concentration developed in a neighborhood of Midtown near the intersection of 20th and K streets that became known as Lavender Heights. A rich social and cultural scene emerged that reflected the diversity of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, including bars, restaurants, bookstores, medical and legal offices, sports leagues, theater troupes, social clubs, media publications, professional business associations,

and religious and spiritual institutions that catered specifically to the LGBTQ+ community. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community was recognized as a visible and vibrant part of the city's general population.

The AIDS outbreak in the 1980s was a watershed moment in history and exacted an unfathomable toll on Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, as many of its leaders and brightest members were lost. However, more than any other event prior to the 1980s and 1990s, the AIDS epidemic united Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, who rallied to form organizations, clinics, charities, and other services to support its sick and dying members. AIDS also mobilized the LGBTQ+ community to fight for equal rights to protect itself from discrimination and provide essential support, care, and services to its loved ones. Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community was well placed to have an outsized impact on policy and legislation because of its proximity to the seat of state government at the California State Capitol. The Capitol became the marquee destination for numerous statewide gay rights marches, protests, and rallies. Local LGBTQ+ residents lobbied for anti-discrimination legislation both from within the political establishment and through grassroots efforts as private citizens through advocacy groups, letter writing campaigns, and personal lawsuits. The experiences and policy wins garnered through the efforts of the statewide LGBTQ+ community laid the foundation for monumental legislative, social, and cultural changes in the 2000s, which culminated in the legalization of same-sex marriage in California in 2013 and across the United States in 2015. With greater acceptance and a decreasing need to cling tightly together for survival, the tight-knit quality of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community dissipated around 2000 as the LGBTQ+ community became an integrated part of Sacramento's broad and diverse population.

Throughout this document, properties associated with local LGBTQ+ history that are known to survive are labeled as "extant." Properties that do not include this label have either been demolished or require more research to determine their status. Members of the public, the academic community, and City staff will continue to research the history of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, leading to future discoveries, new observations, and more detailed analyses of this history. Historic context statements can be living documents, and with time and as more information is revealed, this document may be amended and expanded to add more themes, time periods, and details to recognize the continued contributions of the LGBTQ+ community to Sacramento's development.

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Introduction

Project Background + Goals

Images on previous page (from left to right):

1. Jolanne Tierney (1989). Source: Courtesy of Jolanne Tierney.
2. Stan Hadden (1991). Source: *Sacramento Bee.*
3. Reverend Freda Smith of the Sacramento MCC (1987). Source: *Sacramento Bee.*

INTRODUCTION

PROJECT BACKGROUND & GOALS

What is a Historic Context Statement?

As part of the effort to accomplish these goals and outcomes, the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project provides a historic context statement (HCS) as a foundation for the identification of significant individuals, key events, buildings, and sites associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. An HCS is a specialized historic study. As defined by the National Park Service, it is an organizational structure for the interpretation of history that groups information about historic properties sharing a common theme, a common geographical area, and a common time period. That is, it is the history of the physical development of a place during a certain time and organized by themes and patterns. In this case, the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project HCS focuses on the history of the LGBTQ+ community (theme) in Sacramento (geographic area) from the 19th century through 2000 (time period). While the LGBTQ+ community extended across the greater Sacramento area, the primary focus of this context is within the current boundaries of the City of Sacramento, though important locations and events in West Sacramento and the surrounding area are discussed as they played an important role in local LGBTQ+ history. The end date, approximately 2000, was selected to capture the LGBTQ+ community's response to the AIDS epidemic and important events in efforts to gain equal rights in the 1990s, as well as to allow for sufficient time and distance between the present and the events described to adequately understand their impact in the context of the past. It is important to note that the HCS is not a comprehensive history of Sacramento or the LGBTQ+ community's contributions to the city. It does not include all themes, potentially significant built resources, or individuals related to the city's LGBTQ+ history. Instead, it provides a general overview of the community's presence in Sacramento and the forces that shaped its lived experiences, development, and activities over a specific period of time.

Project Team

This HCS was prepared by Page & Turnbull, a California-based architecture and planning firm that has been dedicated to historic preservation since 1973. With its headquarters in San Francisco, the firm has had an office in Sacramento since 2006. Page & Turnbull staff responsible for this project includes Principal-in-Charge Christina Dikas, Project Manager/Senior Associate Cultural Resources Planner Clare Flynn, and Cultural Resources Planner Samantha Purnell, all of whom meet the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards in Historic Architecture, Architectural History, and/or History.

Coordination of the project and public outreach was undertaken by City of Sacramento Preservation Director Sean deCourcy and Preservation Planner Henry Feuss. Considerable day-to-day assistance on the project was provided by City of Sacramento interns.

METHODOLOGY & OUTREACH

The HCS is organized thematically, beginning with two chapters that provide a broad chronological overview of LGBTQ+ history through 1968 and connects important international, national, and statewide events to local LGBTQ+ history in Sacramento. The overview is intended to provide the necessary background information for the more focused thematic chapters that follow. The organization and content of this HCS are consistent with federal, state, and local guidelines for developing historic contexts and registering historic properties. These include the guidelines found in the following publications:

- National Park Service: National Register Bulletin No. 15 *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*
- National Register Bulletin No. 16A *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*
- National Register Bulletin No. 16B *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*
- National Register Bulletin No. 24 *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*
- State of California, Office of Historic Preservation "Instructions for Recording Historical Resources"
- California Statewide Historic Preservation Plan, 2006-2010
- Marie Nelson, State of California, Office of Historic Preservation, "Writing Historic Contexts"
- State of California, Office of Historic Preservation, "OHP Preferred Format for Historic Context Statements"

Numerous and varied sources of information were reviewed to create this report. Primary source documents that originated within the historical period include personal narratives and oral histories, newspaper articles published in *Mom…Guess What…!, the Sacramento Bee*, and other media publications; business listings in the Damron Guides; photographs; maps; official reports and records; and records of building construction. Of particular importance are oral histories gathered by community members and scholars that are archived at the Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE); Center for Sacramento History; California State University, Sacramento; and Sierra College, or which were conducted purposely for this project. These oral histories and biographies provide a first-hand account of the lives and experiences of individual members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and are an invaluable resource for continued research.

Literature Review

A broad review of existing written academic research and popular histories related to the history of the LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento, as well as the state of California and United States, formed the basis of the HCS. Principal literary sources that informed this study include William Burg's books, *Sacramento Renaissance: Art, Music & Activism in California's Capital City* (2013) and *Midtown Sacramento: Creative Soul of the City* (2014). Research term papers completed by students at local and regional universities were also referenced, including Michael Andrew Claussen's master's thesis, "Lavender Heights: The Emerging Gay Community in Downtown Sacramento, California," (California State University, Chico, 1998); Stan F. Carlsen's master's thesis, "Out on the Inside: A Case Study of the Political Transformation of the LGBTQ Community in California" (California State University, Sacramento, 2006); and Amber Elena Pion's master's thesis, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic: AIDS in Sacramento, 1981-1989" (California State University, Sacramento, 2010).

Recent historic context statements for LGBTQ+ communities in other California cities were also referenced to provide general background information. These include the City of Los Angeles' *SurveyLA LGBT Historic Context Statement* (2014), prepared by GPA Consulting, as well as the City and County of San Francisco's *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco*, written by Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson (2016).

Archival Research

The following is a summary of the archival research that informed the HCS:

- Personal documents, photographs, and other materials provided by community members, including George Raya, Denny Mangers, Nurk Franklin, and others.
- Archival materials held by the Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE); GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco; ONE Archives at the University of Southern California; and other state LGBTQ+ repositories.
- Oral histories recorded in the Center for Sacramento History's *Legends of Courage* LGBTQ+ history video documentary and interview series, directed by Dawn Deason.
- Newspaper articles published in *Mom…Guess What…!, ARC News, PATLAR Gazette, TV Guise/Genderflex, The Latest Issue, Outword Magazine,* and other local LGBTQ+ newspapers and publications that are held by LLACE, Center for Sacramento History, California State University, Sacramento Library, and Digital Transgender Archive
- Online historic newspaper articles in the *Sacramento Bee*, *Sacramento Union*, and others at Newspapers.com
- Online maps, aerial photographs, and historic photographs from the Sacramento Public Library, Calisphere.org, and UC Santa Barbara's FrameFinder website

- City directories, United States federal census records, and other records held by the Sacramento Public Library and Ancestry.com

City of Sacramento interns collected and mapped the addresses of LGBTQ+ businesses listed in Damron's Men's Travel Guide (the Damron Guides) in Sacramento from 1965 to 1989 and scoured Jail Register records and Mug Books at the Center for Sacramento History to document arrests of gender non-conforming individuals in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Community Outreach & Stipend Program

The history of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community has been underrecognized and under-researched until the present and the vast majority of information about this history remains in the memories of the people who witnessed it. Community involvement was, thus, essential to the completion of the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience project. City of Sacramento Historic Preservation staff and their consultant, Page & Turnbull, engaged members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community through numerous avenues over the course of the year-long project.

To spread word about the project and share opportunities to participate, City of Sacramento Historic Preservation staff presented and handed out flyers at various LGBTQ+ events and spaces throughout Sacramento. Some of the events they attended included, but are not limited to, the Rainbow Chamber of Commerce Gala in 2023 and 2024, Drag Queen Bingo events at Mango's, the LGBT Community Center Career Fair, the CGNIE Coronation Gala, Sacramento Pride and the annual Pride flag raising ceremony, Jammin' Jo's annual 21st Birthday Party, meetings of the LGBTQ+ Employee Resource Group and Center for Spiritual Awareness, a walking tour of Lavender Heights presented by Preservation Sacramento, and a CityConnect Mixer event at Roscoe's.

An initial public meeting was held at the First United Methodist Church in the Lavender Heights neighborhood on April 18, 2024. A second public meeting was held at the Hart Senior Center in Midtown approximately one month later on May 23, 2024. During these meetings, City of Sacramento Historic Preservation staff and Page and Turnbull introduced the purpose, scope, and approach of the LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project and gathered initial input from community members. Following the release of the First Public Draft of the historic context statement, two additional public meetings took place in October 2024 at Eskaton Land Park and the Hagginwood Community Center, respectively, during which the project team summarized progress on the project progress, provided an update on the project schedule, and gathered additional feedback on the draft historic context statement.

City of Sacramento Historic Preservation staff supplemented these larger public meetings with seven additional small group sessions in August and September 2024. The meetings took place at the LGBT Community Center, LLACE, and Marsha P. Johnson Center South. Community members—especially members of the BIPOC, trans, and lesbian communities—were invited to share their stories in small listening sessions.

To gather detailed information about prominent individuals and specific topics, Henry Feuss, Historic Preservation Planner for the City of Sacramento, and Clare Flynn, historic consultant from Page & Turnbull, met with individual community members for one-on-one conversations about their experiences and memories about the LGBTQ+ community. The following individuals participated in these individual meetings and provided invaluable information about the history of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community (listed in alphabetical order by last name):

- Liz Almendarez
- John Bennett
- Matt Bunch
- Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U
- Theresa Corrigan
- Pat Drouet
- Nurk Franklin
- Maureen Gaynor
- Cherie Gordon
- Jude Grden
- Jeanette Hess
- Charlene Jones
- Denny Mangers
- Rita Maningo
- Kimberly Miller
- George Raya
- Tina Reynolds
- Asa Salley
- Clarmundo Sullivan
- Jolanne Tierney (Jammin' Jo)
- Bob Vizzard
- Judy Walls

Preservation Sacramento provided matching funds to set up a stipend program to compensate individual community members who volunteered their time to actively contribute to the project. The stipend program was facilitated and promoted by LLACE and administered by City of Sacramento staff.

Stipend recipients directly contributed to the project in several specific categories, including collecting oral histories, conducting in-depth scholarly research, documenting individual properties with historic connections to LGBTQ+ history, producing multimedia graphic content for the historic context statement, and assisting with public meetings.

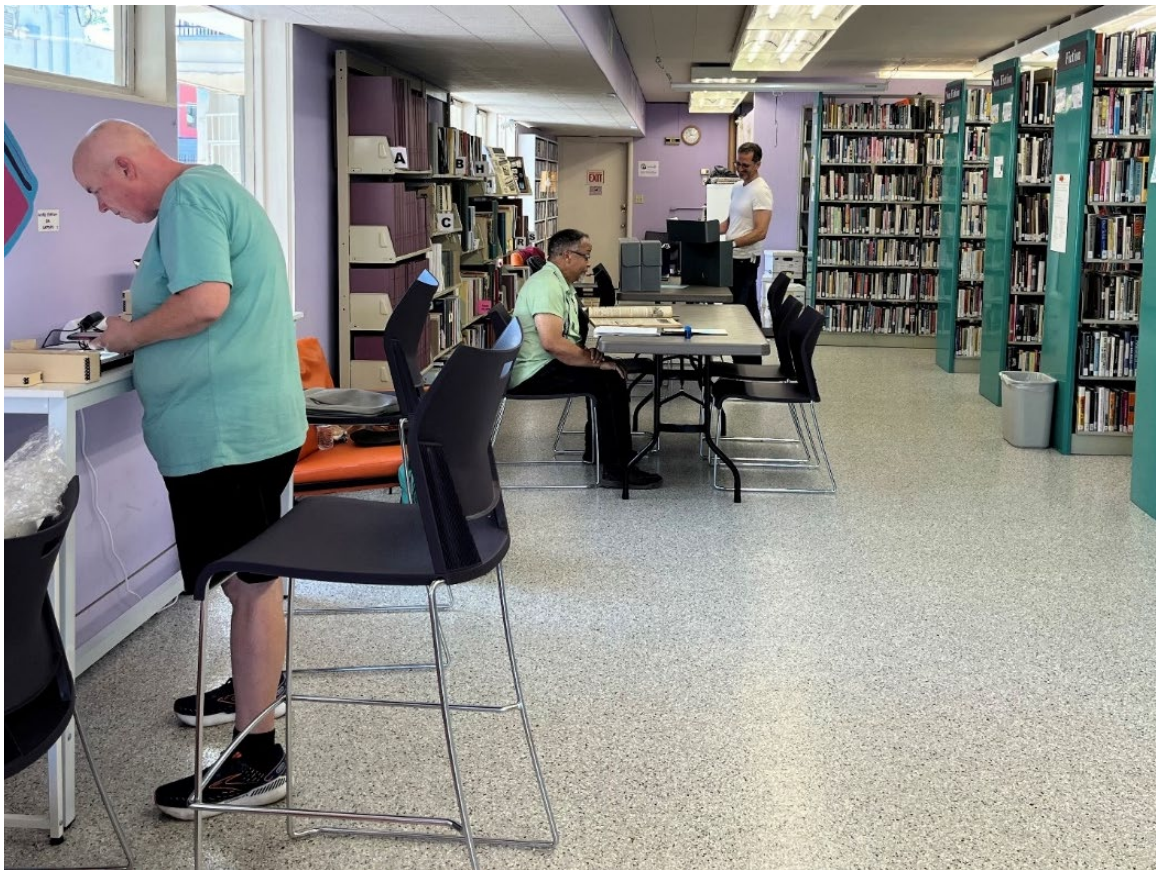

Figure 1. Stipend recipients (from left to right) Kerry Parsons, Carson Anderson, and PJ Carlino reviewed archival collections at the Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE).

Stipend recipients who contributed to the project included retired City of Sacramento Preservation Director Carson Anderson, Sacramento State University assistant professor PJ Carlino, and LLACE volunteer Kerry Parsons, who served as community researchers for the project, combing through archival collections materials at LLACE, California State Library, GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, and ONE Archives in Los Angeles.

Sacramento State University student Samuel Williams assisted with the intensive survey of the Lavender Heights neighborhood to evaluate it as a potential historic district, photographing contributing properties and researching their association with the LGBTQ+ community by searching city directories available online at Ancestry.com and the Sacramento Public Library.

Figure 2. Stipend recipient Samuel Williams photographed and helped research many of the contributing properties in Lavender Heights.

Local LGBTQ+ multimedia graphic design and marketing company Uptown Studios, founded by community member Tina Reynolds, created the graphics for the historic context statement cover and chapter dividers. The graphics were designed by creative director and senior graphic designer Noel Michienzi and design project assistant and graphic designer Jill Bruschera.

Community member Alan LoFaso received a stipend to complete an in-depth review of the public drafts. Nick Kobel researched and created a map of historic cruising locations, using the Damron Guide listings for Sacramento.

Oral Interviews

Oral histories that record the stories of local LGBTQ+ community members in their own voice were essential to compiling this history. Dawn Deason's documentary and interview series *Legends of Courage*, which featured filmed interviews with several prominent members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and included a feature-length documentary about the life of pioneering lesbian attorney and activist Rosemary Metrailer, served as a key source. The series, released in 2017, was funded in part by a California Humanities grant and private donations. In 2023, the Center for Sacramento History released a series of oral history interviews with *Mom…Guess What …!* publisher Linda Birner and other community members—including Denny Mangers, Elizabeth Harrison, Frank Lawler, and Del Richards. These oral histories were a vital resource for the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project.

In addition to these previously filmed oral histories, the City of Sacramento awarded stipends to community members to record additional oral histories as part of the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project. These oral histories will be archived at the Center for Sacramento History for the public to view.

Lavender Heights Survey

In July and August 2024, Page & Turnbull and community stipend recipient Samuel Williams completed an intensive survey of the Lavender Heights neighborhood to evaluate it for potential listing as a City of Sacramento historic district. All addresses identified while conducting research for the historic context statement were mapped to visualize concentrations of properties with a historic association to the LGBTQ+ community. This mapping exercise confirmed the existence of such a concentration of properties in the Lavender Heights neighborhood. Survey area boundaries were refined by identifying buildings that remain in existence. The extant buildings were photographed from the public right-of-way, and the length of their historic association with the LGBTQ+ community was confirmed by reviewing city directories available at the Sacramento Public Library's Sacramento Room and online at Ancestry.com.

All photographs in this document were taken by Page & Turnbull unless otherwise noted.

TERMINOLOGY

The LGBTQ+ community is broad and diverse. Words and terminology used to refer to the community as a whole, as well as subgroups within it, have evolved over time and have complex meanings, many of which vary in usage and acceptance between generations. The term LGBTQ+ is a relatively recent one that came into use in the 1990s and is still contested.[1] Additionally, no term exists that accurately reflects the LGBTQ+ community in all of its complexities before the 2000s. [2] To address these language challenges, an attempt has been made throughout the HCS to first use terminology that would have been known and understood during the time period being described (such as "gender non-conforming" or "gender transgressive" prior to the introduction of the term "homosexual" in the late 19th century, "homosexual" from the late 19th century to the 1950s, and "homophile" to describe precursors to the gay rights groups of the 1960s and 1970s). The word "gay," though it does not accurately reflect the diversity of the community, was often used as an umbrella term for the community through at least the 1990s, and has, therefore, been used in some instances to describe the community as a whole in the period between the 1950s and 1990s, prior to the introduction of the acronyms LGBT or LGBTQ+. Where the gender identification and/or sexual orientation of groups or individuals is known, more specific terms, such as "gay man," "lesbian," "bisexual," or "transgender" are used. In general, however, when the authors intended to encompass all people within the community or when the exact composition of people who were part of a

[1] Erin Blakemore, "From LGBT to LGBTQIA+: The Evolving Recognition of Identify," National Geographic, October 19, 2021, accessed May 21, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/from-lgbt-to-lgbtqia-the-evolving-recognition-of-identity.
[2] Elizabeth A. Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950 to 1994* (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 2002), xix.

specific group, organization, club, business, activity, event, or other entity is unknown, the term LGBTQ+ has been broadly used, even during time periods when the term did not exist, to avoid potentially and unintentionally excluding any one group.

The following list of terms is adapted from GLAAD's Glossary of Terms and UC Davis' LGBTQIA Resource Center Glossary, which were drafted in collaboration with other U.S.-based LGBTQ+ community organizations and leaders.[3] Additional historical information has been added to provide context for the emergence of specific terms used in this report, some of which are no longer accepted or used by the LGBTQ+ community.

Bisexual: An adjective used to describe a person who has the potential to be physically, romantically, and/or emotionally attracted to people of more than one gender, not necessarily at the same time, in the same way, or to the same degree.

Cisgender: An adjective used to describe a person whose gender identity is aligned with the sex they were assigned at birth.

Drag/Drag King/Drag Queen: The theatrical performance of one or multiple genders via dressing in the clothing of a different gender, or in a manner different from how one would usually dress. Drag queens perform in distinctly feminine attire. Drag kings perform in distinctly masculine attire. Drag is a form of gender expression and is not an indication of gender identity. Individuals who dress in drag may or may not consider themselves to be transgender. They may identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, straight or some other sexual orientation.

Gay: An adjective used to describe a person whose enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attractions are to people of the same sex (e.g., gay man, gay people). Some lesbians prefer to use the term "gay woman."

Gender expression: External manifestations of gender, expressed through a person's name, pronouns, clothing, haircut, voice, and/or behavior.

Gender identity: A person's internal, deeply held knowledge of their own gender.

[3] "Glossary of Terms," GLAAD, accessed April 28, 2024, https://glaad.org/reference/terms; ","LGBTQIA Resource Center Glossary," UC Davis, accessed May 11, 2024, https://lgbtqia.ucdavis.edu/educated/glossary#d. This document uses the term "LGBTQ+" rather than "LGBTQIA" with the intention of including all possible gender and sexual identities within the community.

Gender non-conforming/gender transgressive: Terms used to describe people whose gender expression differs from conventional expectations of masculinity and femininity.

Heterosexual: An adjective used to describe a person whose enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attraction is to people of a sex different than their own. Also: straight.

Homosexual: An outdated term to describe a sexual orientation in which a person feels physically and emotionally attracted to people of the same gender. Historically, it was a term used to pathologize gay and lesbian people.

Intersex: An adjective used to describe a person with one or more innate sex characteristics, including genitals, internal reproductive organs, and chromosomes, that fall outside of traditional conceptions of male or female bodies. Not equivalent to transgender.

Lesbian: A woman whose enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attraction is to other women.

LGBTQ+: An acronym that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and all other, non-straight, non-cisgender identities.

Nonbinary: Nonbinary is an adjective used by people who experience their gender identity and/or gender expression as falling outside the binary gender categories of man and woman.

Queer: An adjective used by some people, particularly younger generations, whose sexual orientation is not exclusively heterosexual (e.g. queer person, queer woman). Once considered a pejorative term, queer has been reclaimed by some LGBTQ+ people to describe themselves. However, it is not a universally accepted term within the LGBTQ+ community.

Sexual orientation: The scientifically accurate term for a person's enduring physical, romantic and/or emotional attraction to another person. Sexual orientations can include heterosexual (straight), lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, asexual, and other orientations.

Transgender: An adjective to describe people whose gender identity differs from the sex they were assigned at birth.

Transexual/Transvestite: Older terms that originated in the medical and psychological communities, which are now considered derogatory. As the gay and lesbian community rejected

homosexual and replaced it with gay and lesbian, the transgender community rejected transexual and replaced it with transgender.

Questioning: An adjective used by some people who are in the process of exploring their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

01

Early Gender Transgressive Expression in the Sacramento Area

Pre-1940

Images on chapter cover (from left to right):

1. A Zuni two-spirit (ca. 1879-1907). Source: National Archives.
2. Frances Orlando (1933). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.
3. Mug shot of Joe Franklin (1888). Source: Mug Books, Center for Sacramento History.

THEME 1: EARLY GENDER TRANSGRESSIVE EXPRESSION IN THE SACRAMENTO AREA, PRE-1940

Two-Spirits in Native American Societies

Native Americans have lived in the land that later became known as California for at least 13,000 years, and perhaps for much longer. It is conservatively estimated that approximately 300,000 indigenous people, who spoke roughly 78 entirely different languages, lived in California just prior to the arrival of the first European explorers in the 16th century, though these numbers may have been significantly higher. The indigenous peoples of California, thus, represented some of the highest linguistic diversity in the world.[4]

Figure 3. A Zuni two-spirit (ca. 1879-1907). Source: National Archives.

Native American tribes throughout the United States had a sophisticated understanding of sexuality, gender, and identity that was more nuanced than that of traditional European-American societies. Individuals who crossed traditional gender roles and dressed in the clothing and performed the traditional tasks of the opposite gender were held in high regard by many tribes. European explorers and settlers called these people *berdache*, which roughly translates to "boy slave" or "kept boys." In the 1990s, Native American tribes began to decolonize the term and adopted the term "two-spirit" for individuals who crossed or combined traditional gender roles.[5] Anthropologists tend to think of two-spirit individuals as a third, or sometimes fourth, gender; however, Native American societies saw such identities as less about a person's sexuality or physical characteristics and more closely related to how their special qualities integrated into the social and religious life of the community. Because they fulfilled roles not addressed by traditional male or female roles, two-spirit individuals were often believed to have spiritual powers and frequently served the role as medicine people for their communities and played an important part in religious ceremonies, such as the sun dance, puberty

[4] Naomi Scher, "Native Americans and the California Mission System, 1769-1848," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2023, E-5.
[5] Brian Joseph Gilley, *Becoming Two-Spirit: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 8.

ceremonies, and name-giving ceremonies. They could also serve as mediators, match makers, or peace makers in their communities.[6]

The land now called Sacramento is the traditional homeland of the Nisenan, Southern Maidu, Valley and Plains Miwok, and Patwin Wintun peoples, and the Wilton Rancheria tribe.[7] Historical information about the specific role of two-spirit individuals in these tribes is limited; however, the languages of each group have words for male-bodied two-spirit people, indicating that two-spirits existed in their societies. The Nisenan call male-bodied two-spirits *Osa'pu*. The Miwok call them *Nde'isdzan*, which roughly translates to "man-woman," while the Patwin call them *Panaro bobum pi*, which translates to "he has two [sexes]."[8]

Spanish, Mexican & Early American Periods

The reverence many Native American tribes held for two-spirit individuals contrasted sharply with the treatment individuals received if they crossed traditional male-female roles or identities in the European societies that colonized California. Spanish explorers first visited Alta California (present-day California) in the 1540s and established the first mission in San Diego in 1769.[9] Spanish attitudes toward sex and gender roles and identities were dictated by their Catholic faith. Spain was a devoutly Catholic society that viewed all forms of sexual activity that did not lead to reproduction as sinful and unnatural. For a man to take a submissive position during sexual activity was considered a violation of gender roles, and sodomy was referred to as "el pecado negado," or "the abominable sin."[10] Similar to the views and teachings of Puritan New England colonies, religious Catholic rhetoric under the Spanish government's colonial rule limited sexual expression to the confines of marriage between a man and woman. Sexual expression outside of marriage, including sodomy, was considered a sin and punishment and could include banishment, whipping, branding with a hot iron, or burning as a witch.[11] Sodomy laws, in particular, applied mainly to sexual activity between two men. Female sexuality was often denied, and in instances of female-female sexual activity, it was commonly assumed that this type of relationship was a result of one of the women possessing intersex/male genitalia, which would give her male urges.[12]

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[6] Trista Wilson, "Changed Embraces, Changes Embraced? Renouncing the Heterosexist Majority in Favor of a Return to Traditional Two-Spirit Culture," *American Indian Law Review* 36, no. 1 (2011-2012, pp. 161-188; Harlan Pruden and Beverly Gorman, "LGBTQ2 Well-Being Education: Two-Spirit People: Then and Now," February 14, 2014, accessed March 1, 2024, https://www.ihs.gov/sites/lgbt/themes/responsive2017/display_objects/documents/lgbttwospirithistory.pdf.
[7] Sacramento Native American Health Center, "Land Acknowledgement," accessed March 1, 2024, https://snahc.org/land-acknowledgement/.
[8] Pruden and Gorman, "LGBTQ2 Well-Being Education: Two-Spirit People: Then and Now."
[9] Scher, "Native Americans and the California Mission System, 1769-1848," E-4.
[10] Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, PA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), 23, 30.
[11] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 31.
[12] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 31.

After Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821 and the United States obtained California as part of the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, California's society and government was secularized. Sexual behavior no longer came under the control of the Catholic Church, but rather, civil authorities. Californians generally reflected the European Enlightenment's and U.S. Constitution's rejection of blind religious faith in favor of reason, science, and the separation of church and state. However, sodomy remained outlawed, not because it was believed to be a sin against God, but because it was considered dangerous to the natural order of the universe.[13]

GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN THE UNITED STATES, LATE 1700S-1900

The integration of cultural norms and traditions from white European and American settlers, explorers, and tradespeople who traveled to California in the 18th and 19th centuries significantly influenced the understanding of gender and sexuality in Californian society. In the late 1700s to early 1800s, a societal attitude emerged in the United States and Europe in which men and women were seen as binary opposites in terms of gender, though with complementary masculine and feminine characteristics. This attitude created a more pronounced division between men and women, particularly among the middle class.[14]

Departing from the Colonial-era farmstead in which all family members contributed to the physical and economic upkeep of the household, the Industrial Revolution and subsequent introduction of the market economy to the United States deepened gendered divisions of labor.[15] As men and a smaller percentage of working-class and young immigrant women joined factory work for the first time, the genders were often divided into so-called "separate spheres." Women from middle-class and wealthy families typically stayed home to care for the home and children, while their husbands were at work and were responsible for everything outside the home. Following this shift in economic practices, members of the same gender began to spend more time with each other, and "romantic friendships" became more commonplace between members of the same gender. Such friendships, often between two people in separate heterosexual marriages, were common among middle- and upper-middle class white people in the late 19th century.[16]

Through much of the 19th century, any non-normative form of gender or sexuality was viewed by mainstream American society as voluntary and circumstantial and was treated as an illegal vice that should be punished by the police, lawyers, and judges or treated by doctors and medical

[13] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 32.
[14] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 35.
[15] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 36.
[16] Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 11-13.

professionals.[17] For people with non-normative sexuality or gender expressions, urbanization allowed for an increase in anonymity as individuals could indulge in their "vices" away from the eyes and ears of family and community members.[18] Separation of the workplace from the home also allowed for the newfound freedom to explore the privacy of hidden spaces with others of like-minded interests. For example, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), first founded in London in 1844 as an upstanding Christian organization for young men to gather in the urban environment, opened its first U.S. location in Boston in 1851. YMCAs across the United States became a popular place for same-sex relationships to flourish as dormitories, showers, and locker rooms became common meeting grounds that allowed for sexual encounters, while maintaining anonymity. Along with new opportunities to gather away from the surveillance of small community networks, urbanization also allowed for men and women to engage in socially non-conforming behaviors such as cross-dressing.[19]

THE AMERICAN WEST

The Gold Rush from 1848 to 1855 brought approximately 300,000 people from all over the world to California. For many, the American West symbolized a frontier that was new and uncharted, providing many families and individuals an opportunity for self-determination and a fresh start away from the strict class and gender confines of established society.[20] While some women and families made the journey westward, a disproportionate number of men pursued these early economic opportunities on the frontier compared with women, creating a notable gender imbalance. In 1850, there were approximately 12.2 men for every woman in California. Although the imbalance decreased over time, there were still 2.4 men for every woman in the state in 1860.[21] The severely imbalanced demographics upended many of the gendered and racialized structures of Anglo-American society. Men were forced to take on roles and tasks that had traditionally been assigned to women, including cooking, cleaning, laundering, sewing, and nursing the sick and dying.[22] Most spaces catered to and for men, and brothels were one of the only female-dominated spaces, though in some cases, even brothels were controlled by a male owner or local law enforcement. The portion of men was so high that it was common for many men to go weeks or months without seeing a woman.

[20] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 39.
[20] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 39.
[20] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 39.
[20] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 39.
[21] Albert Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 76.
[22] Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold* (New York City: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), 176, 121-122.

Figure 4. Drawing showing the wide diversity of men mining on the banks of the Sacramento River (ca. 1849-1852). Source: UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library.

From these circumstances, a unique kinship and camaraderie between men developed; including a cowboy culture celebrating the comfort of male friendship and the impersonation of women.[23] During this time, there was reportedly a custom of using different colored handkerchiefs to identify men playing male roles and men playing female roles at all-male dances.[24] Cross-dressing was relatively commonplace, and there are several known instances of women and men choosing to live as the opposite gender, suggesting that the West invited individuals seeking less rigid societal gender norms.[25] While some men cross-dressed to express their true gender identities, there are also instances in which they did so to commit crimes or escape arrest. For women, cross-dressing was likely motivated by several factors: to travel more safely, gain employment, and/or as an

[23] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 39.
[24] William Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance: Art, Music & Activism in California's Capital City* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 159.
[25] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History, 4*1.

expression of their transgender/nonbinary identities.[26] One known example from the Sacramento area is Charley Parkhurst, a highly regarded stagecoach driver with one eye who was known for his skill with a whip and ability to transport passengers and gold safely over important routes between gold-mining outposts and major towns, including San Francisco and Sacramento. After Parkhurst's death, it was discovered that he had been born with female anatomy.[27]

Figure 5. Charley Parkhurst. Source: Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History.

Though records of same-sex relationships in California during the 19th century are extremely limited, they certainly occurred. The term "boom cover trade," referencing sailors having sex under the coverings that protected a ship's mast, emerged to describe a man having sex with another man. Sharing a bed with someone of the same gender was not an uncommon occurrence in 19th century, particularly in frontier areas, and was, therefore, not necessarily a sign of homosexuality.[28] Some documented examples of same-sex relationships, though rare, do exist. In 1849, lifelong partners Jason Chamberlain and John Chafee sailed from Boston to California to seek their fortune in the Gold Rush. They lived together in Groveland, California, until Chamberlain's death in 1903.[29] Despite the small number of known examples, in the charged atmosphere of the frontier West—which was often characterized by groups of young single men and lonely husbands, who danced, drank, and slept together far from the customary social constraints and gender norms of home—it is not farfetched to assume that same-sex relationships occurred.[30]

The mid-19th century saw the American West evolve towards a mythological realm in which the white, masculine, and heterosexual male was celebrated for settling and civilizing what was seen as

[26] Peter Boag, "The Trouble with Cross Dressers: Researching and Writing the History of Sexual and Gender Transgressiveness in the Nineteenth-Century American West," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 112, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 322–39.
[27] Tim Arango, "Overlooked No More: Charley Parkhurst, Gold Rush Legend With a Hidden Identity," 5 December 2018, *New York Times.*
[28] Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* 173-174.
[29] "Teaching LGBTQ History: LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History," LGBTQHistory.org, accessed April 4, 2024, https://lgbtqhistory.org/lgbt-rights-timeline-in-american-history/.
[30] Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* 173-174.

a vast uncivilized wilderness. These traits were promoted in national rhetoric and celebrated as heroic and patriotic. In order to promote this mythologized vision of the West and justify the exploitative treatment of racial minorities, people of Asian, Mexican, African American, and Native American descent were stereotyped as being effeminate and sexually deviant.[31] By 1873, passage of the Comstock Law forbade sending sexually explicit material through the mail, therefore limiting the spread of information between gender nonconforming people and potential opportunities for self-education and the growth of true communities. Overall, societal fears about sexual deviance served as a catalyst for laws prohibiting dressing in clothing of the opposite sex. Such laws passed in 1863 in San Francisco; 1879 in Oakland; 1882 in San Jose; and the 1890s in Santa Barbara.[32] Possibly as a direct response to perceptions of Seattle as a hotspot for sexually transgressive behavior, Washington State enacted its first sodomy law in 1893, and in 1916 passed a licensing law requiring the strict regulation of clothing and prohibiting other sexually transgressive behavior in bars and cabarets.[33] Research has not revealed whether Sacramento passed a similar ordinance in the 1800s. Despite this wave of ordinances restricting expression of sexual orientation, the 14th Amendment was ratified in 1868 and served as a landmark for future civil rights case law.[34]

INTRODUCTION OF THE TERM "HOMOSEXUAL"

While the concept of same-sex attraction and other gender-nonconforming behavior had been integrated into many cultures and ethnic groups for thousands of years, the term "homosexuality" was not formally used until the latter half of the 19th century. At this time, discussions in European and American society and among medical professionals began to emerge around the newly established field of psychology, and early practitioners began to explore gender and sexuality.[35] The concept of same-sex attraction as an innate part of a person's being was first introduced in 1864 by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, a German jurist who identified himself as a member of the third sex (a male with a "woman's soul" who desires men). Ulrichs wrote a series of essays that described homosexuality as a congenital and natural sexual variation, as opposed to an unnatural defect.[36] Austro-Hungarian journalist Karoly Maria Kertbeny adopted Ulrich's theories and coined the terms "homosexual" and "heterosexual" in 1868 in response to the Prussian government's proposal to prohibit male same-sex relations in its constitution. German sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing's 1886 pioneering study *Psychopathia Sexualis* introduced the concepts of homosexuality and non-

[31] Peter Boag, "The Trouble with Cross Dressers: Researching and Writing the History of Sexual and Gender Transgressiveness in the Nineteenth-Century American West," 337.
[32] Stryker, *Transgender History*, 46–47.
[33] Gary Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and* Belonging (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 15, 55.
[34] "Teaching LGBTQ History: LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History."
[35] Erin Blakemore, "From LGBT to LGBTQIA+: The Evolving Recognition of Identity," National Geographic, October 19, 2021, accessed May 15, 2024, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/from-lgbt-to-lgbtqia-the-evolving-recognition-of-identity.
[36] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History,* 55–56.

normative sexuality as inborn traits to the general public in Europe and the United States. Krafft-Ebing defined "heterosexuality" as "erotic feeling for a different sex," while "homosexuality" was defined as "erotic feeling for a same sex." [37] He also introduced a third category, which he called "psycho-sexual hermaphroditism," to characterize "impulses toward both sexes." [38] The first recorded use of the words "homosexual" and "heterosexual" in the United States occurred in a journal article written by Chicago doctor James G. Kiernan in 1892.[39] In contrast to Krafft-Ebing, Kiernan, like other researchers in the United States at the time, viewed homosexuality as a pathology that required treatment, rather than compassion.[40]

Early 20th Century & Birth of the First Homosexual Communities

During the early 20th century, urbanization grew at a rapid pace, while at the same time, there developed a growing perception among the medical community and mainstream society that same-sex desires and gender non-conformity were outside the societal "norms." Between 1880 and 1920, the percentage of the United States population living in urban centers doubled from 26 to 50 percent. Wage labor jobs became centralized within the urban core, attracting young working people and immigrants in search of economic opportunity. In addition, Black Americans took part in the Great Migration from Reconstruction-Era Southern states to cities in the Northeast, Midwest, and West in the 1910s and 1920s.[41] Cities became melting pots where people from all backgrounds and walks of life met, intermingled, and increased the likelihood that gender and sexually non-normative people would meet and find each other. The dissemination of new theories from the medical community to the general public increased self-awareness among gender non-conforming individuals that there were others like them. This broader understanding of shared gender and sexual identities and their place in the larger sociopolitical context eventually laid the groundwork for the creation of early non-normative gender and sexuality communities and cultures in the United States.[42]

While the workplace at the turn of 19th century largely consisted of male workers, women were slowly introduced to the labor force by the early 20th century. Single women began to migrate to urban areas in search of work, and women increasingly enrolled in all-female colleges, the earliest of which were founded in the mid-late 19th century. To quell fears about the safety of single young women in urban areas, organizations were established to provide reputable and safe all-female

[37] Amin Ghaziani, "The Reinvention of Heterosexuality," *Gay and Lesbian Review,* May-June 2010, accessed May 7, 2024, https://glreview.org/article/the-reinvention-of-heterosexuality/.
[38] Ghaziani, "The Reinvention of Heterosexuality."
[39] Ghaziani, "The Reinvention of Heterosexuality."
[40] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 56.
[41] Graves and Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 15.
[42] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 70.

lodgings.[43] In a similar fashion to the clandestine rooms and spaces in early YMCAs utilized by single men in the mid-19th century, the all-female establishments provided safe and secluded places for women to explore their sexual identities and commune with like-minded individuals.

As the economy continued to evolve into the 20th century, more opportunities were afforded to women to find occupations from which they could support themselves, such as secretarial or clerical work. Two working women could live together and support themselves, and this became known as a "Boston marriage." Boston marriages between two women were commonly accepted as an extension of friendship until the 1920s, after which suspicions of lesbianism emerged. Around this time, large numbers of unmarried educated women were participating in the suffrage movement, and criticism of the movement took advantage of this social suspicion surrounding female relationships, accusing suffragists of lesbianism.[44]

The 1920s brought a time of greater sexual exploration, experimentation, and culture throughout the United States. New freedoms in fashion, music, and sexual expression emerged in other countries, as well.[45] Germany was a hotbed for thought around gender and sexuality. Magnus Hirschfeld, a German researcher and advocate for homosexuals, founded the Institute of Sexual Science in Berlin in 1919 and organized the first conferences of sex researchers.[46] In 1924, German immigrant Henry Gerber founded the Society for Human Rights in Chicago, the first gay rights organization in the United States.[47] The organization was an outlier, however, and efforts to create advocacy groups in support of gay and lesbian relationships did not begin in earnest until after World War II.

Gender transgressive communities flourished in urban centers such as New York's Greenwich Village and Harlem during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. Several female African-American Blues singers—such as Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Gladys Bentley, and Bessie Jackson—had lesbian or bisexual relationships and created music that explored themes of lesbian or bisexual desire, struggle, and humor.[48] Performances of this music, along with those by male and female drag stars,

[43] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 38-39; Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 51–52.
[44] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 59.
[45] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 62.*
[46] Brandy Schillace, "The Forgotten History of the World's First Trans Clinic," May 10, 2021, Scientific American, accessed September 6, 2024, https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/the-forgotten-history-of-the-worlds-first-trans-clinic/.
[47] "Teaching LGBTQ History: LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History."
[48] Carla Giaimo, "The Queer Black Woman Who Reinvented The Blues," Atlas Obscura, April 27, 2016, accessed September 6, 2024, https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/the-queer-black-woman-who-reinvented-the-blues; Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 71-79..

introduced an underground gay community to patrons when society was otherwise restricted by Prohibition.[49]

However, the increased visibility of non-normative gender and sexual identities and expressions between World War I and the Great Depression led to greater suspicion among mainstream society of practices that had, until that point, been considered common and socially acceptable, such as Boston marriages, romantic friendships, and bachelorhood. This scrutiny made individuals feel the need to create more elaborate public personas to obscure their true identities.[50] By the 1930s, tolerance for homosexuality further decreased in response to shifting perceptions of the medical community, sociopolitical developments overseas, and a worldwide economic recession. In the 1910s, psychiatrist Sigmund Freud introduced a new medical theory that explained homosexuality as a sexual perversion that was the result of arrested childhood development. Freud's theories were broadly disseminated and influenced public perception of homosexual relationships.[51]

In the years leading to World War II, public support for eugenics and Social Darwinism intensified under the regime of Nazi Germany and other fascist dictatorships in Europe and gained popularity among members of the general public. These theories classified the human race into high and low orders, spreading the idea that desirable traits of the "higher orders," included fair skin and Northern European descent, while those who were poor, disabled, or of any other racial or ethnic background were considered part of the undesirable lower orders.[52] In 1933, the Nazi regime burned down the Institute of Sexual Science in Berlin, destroying its collection of crucial early gender and sexuality research. During World War II, the Nazis rounded up men and women identified as being homosexual and imprisoned them in concentration camps, where they were forced to wear a pink triangle marking their sexual orientation, and systematically murdered, along with millions of disabled, Romani, leftist, Jewish, and otherwise "socially undesirable" groups of people.[53] In the United States, the relative tolerance of homosexuality from the previous decades declined during the Great Depression as people feared they might lose their jobs if they engaged in any behaviors or activities outside the societal norms.[54]

[49] Morris, "A Brief History of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Social Movements."
[50] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 61.
[51] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 56.
[52] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History,* 55.
[53] Schillace, "The Forgotten History of the World's First Trans Clinic."
[54] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 61.

Non-Normative Gender and Sexuality in Sacramento, Mid-19th to Early 20th Centuries

Very little is known about the existence or lives of LGBTQ+ individuals in Sacramento before the 1960s due to discrimination, lack of acceptance, risk of arrest, imprisonment, or institutionalization of individuals found to engage in homosexual or gender non-conforming activities. In the late 1800s, at a time when an increasing number of cities in California were passing legislation to ban cross-dressing, attitudes in Sacramento appear to have been more relaxed. An editorial article published by the *Sacramento Bee* in 1866 articulated a general consensus that formal legislation to prevent cross-dressing was not necessary in Sacramento because instances of such behavior were limited, and lack of acceptance among the general public would act as a deterrent:

> The Legislature has no business to legislate generally upon dress. [...] Grant that it is within the power and province of the Legislature to prevent by law the indiscriminate wearing of each other's dresses by the sexes, is any law on the subject necessary? "The world is governed too much," is the favorite maxim of many. And we incline to the belief that no law is necessary. [...] So far no great evil has accrued in our land, in this matter, because public sentiment has demanded that the distinction [between male and female dress] be kept up. Mrs. Bloomer and Mrs. DeWolf, and all other ladies who have tried the new style, have been kept in check by the reception they have invariably met when appearing on the streets of our cities and villages – for, appearing thus. [...] We may safely leave it to free discussion and good taste to settle this momentous question.[55]

Despite the attitude expressed by the *Sacramento Bee*, newspaper records indicate a growing institutional criminalization of gender non-conforming behaviors in Sacramento in the 1800s. The *Sacramento Bee* and *Sacramento Union*, as well as city and county jail registers, document several instances of men and women arrested for wearing clothing of the opposite gender, which was often described as "masquerading." Between 1868 and 1876, the local jail registers recorded the arrest of six people in Sacramento for wearing clothing of the opposite gender.[56] In October 1876, a group of four people—William Fawcett, Tom Burns, Clara Hall, and Nellie Boone—were arrested together for wearing clothing of the opposite gender, suggesting that a small underground community existed. At the time, Fawcett was employed as a clerk for William H. Sherburn, an auctioneer, furniture, and bedding dealer.[57] Hall and Boone worked as "beer jerkers," a slang term for bartenders or servers. Burns may have also been a bartender at a local saloon.[58] A police officer spotted the group as they

[55] "There She Goes Again," *Sacramento Bee*, 9 August 1866.
[56] Sacramento Jail Registers, 1866-1940, Center for Sacramento, accessed online May 9, 2024, Internet Archive, https://archive.org/search?query=subject%3A%22Prisoners+--+Sacramento+%28Calif.%29+--+Registers%22.
[57] Sacramento city directory, 1876.
[58] 1900 United States Federal Census, Ancestry.com.

walked along L Street between 2nd and 3rd streets and followed them until they went into a restaurant on 2nd Street called The Mint Restaurant. The group reportedly started their evening in a basement apartment on L Street between 2nd and 3rd streets, where Hall and Boone dressed in men's clothing and one of the men put on female clothing before going out on the street for "a little lark."[59]

Figure 6. Mug shot of Ah Joe and Ah Lee (1876). Source: Mug Books, Center for Sacramento History.

Figure 7. Mug shot of Thomas Abbott (1885). Source: Mug Books, Center for Sacramento History.

Figure 8. Mug shot of Joe Franklin (1888). Source: Mug Books, Center for Sacramento History.

Between 1876 and 1916, 10 people were arrested for sodomy. People were often arrested in pairs or groups, suggesting they might have been lovers or arrested at establishments known to be tolerant of same-sex relationships. One of the earliest recorded arrests for sodomy, sometimes recorded as a "crime against nature," in Sacramento was of two young Chinese men, Ah Joe and Ah Lee, in 1876. Due to the common use of the surname "Ah" for Chinese immigrants, research has been unable to confirm further information about these men. Punishments for sodomy were serious, including the potential for short or long-term imprisonment.[60] In 1885, a 17-year-old named

[59] "Masqueraders," *Sacramento Bee*, 21 October 1876.
[60] "Coast Notes." San Francisco Chronicle, May 11, 1883, 4.

Thomas Abbott was arrested for sodomy and sentenced to one year in jail at Folsom Prison. Abbott was the son of Irish immigrants who was born and raised in Sacramento. His father was a railroad worker, and Abbott later followed in his footsteps into the same career.[61] A 25-year-old Black man named Joe Franklin was arrested for the same crime and sentenced to eight years at Folsom Prison in 1888.[62] Franklin was born in Missouri and had one leg. Likely due to challenges finding steady employment as a result of his race and physical disability, he made a living "occasionally [singing] a song to the rattle of the tambourine," begging, and stealing, activities for which he was arrested several times. Racism and his history of arrests likely contributed to the length of his imprisonment for sodomy compared to Abbot.[63]

The increasing intolerance toward gender and sexual non-normativity that was present throughout the country in the early 20th century was also apparent in Sacramento. In response to reports of large numbers of individuals identified as homosexual in other cities around the world, including Berlin, Los Angeles, Long Beach, Venice Beach, and San Francisco in 1914, the editorial staff of the *Sacramento Bee* published an article requesting that the State Legislature pass laws increasing the punishment for homosexuality, which at the time was treated as a misdemeanor. The article warned that homosexuality was "A canker sore [that is] eating into the humanity of this State, as of other States – a leprous evil that is far, far more dangerous than all the prostitution that ever existed."[64] Given Sacramento's proximity to San Francisco and Los Angeles, there was a fear that homosexuality could spread to Sacramento, where it was considered to be present "although in a limited degree" only. *The Sacramento Bee* followed its initial article with another piece that listed the names of dozens of men who had been arrested as "social degenerates" in Long Beach, including their ages, occupations, nationalities, and punishment. The decision to publish the names of these men was an outspoken attempt to force the State Legislature's hand: "The Bee gives these names, not so much to pillory a few degenerates," the article stated, "as to bring to the attention of The People of California the burning shame for which the Legislature has not provided a merited punishment."[65]

Crack downs on homosexuality and gender transgressive expression increased following the United States' entrance into World War I in 1917. Efforts to enlist healthy men for military service led to

[61] 1870 United States Federal Census, Ancestry.com; 1910 United States Federal Census, Ancestry.com.
[62] Sacramento Jail Registers, 1866-1940, Center for Sacramento; Sacramento Police Department Mug Books, 1860-1949, Center for Sacramento, accessed online May 9, 2024, Internet Archive, https://archive.org/search?query=creator%3A%22Sacramento+Police+Department%22&sort=-date&and%5B%5D=subject%3A%22mug+books%22&and%5B%5D=collection%3A%22centerforsacramentohistory%22&and%5B%5D=collection%3A%22cshsacmugbooks%22.
[63] "In the Police Court," *Sacramento Bee*, 9 June 1888; Judy Walls and Asa Salley, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, September 6, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[64] "Need of State Legislation Against a Horrible Vice," *Sacramento Bee*, 21 December 1914: 6.
[65] Clayton Campbell, "Wide Spread of Debasing Practices Make Punitive Legislation a Necessity," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 December 1914: 1.

campaigns to clean up what was perceived as rampant vice and immorality, particularly in urban centers. Prostitution, venereal disease, gambling, and homosexuality were targeted.[66] Police surveillance of local boarding houses, brothels, pubs, and gambling houses increased sharply in Sacramento in 1918 under federal and public pressure to clean up the town in preparation for the construction of a military base. The number of police officers patrolling the downtown area grew to cut down on crime. Racism toward immigrants—particularly single men of color, many of whom came to Sacramento as migrant workers—fed suspicions that they were prone toward vice and illegal behavior and made them targets for increased police surveillance.[67]

In this charged atmosphere, the 1918 sodomy cases People vs. Jamil Singh (Sacramento Superior Court case #6029) and People vs. Tara Singh (Sacramento Superior Court case #6039) captured the public's attention. Both Jamil Singh and Tara Singh were Sikh men who were followed by police to their lodgings, after the police received dubious tips that they were luring young men for sex, and arrested for sodomy. Jamil Singh, who was working as a ranch hand, was arrested in February 1918 for supposedly having sex with a younger white man in Sacramento. In court, Singh denied having committed any crime, explaining that he was a good man, who was working to send money back to his wife, widowed mother, and son in India, and avoided gambling and drugs. Despite his pleas, the judge sentenced him to seven years imprisonment at San Quentin State Prison. The same week as Jamil Singh's arrest, another Sikh man, Tara Singh, was arrested after being accused, without a warrant or evidence, of having had sex with a young Native American man who was staying in an adjoining hotel room. The judge in the case ultimately found the accuser's testimony to be unreliable and dismissed the case. Nevertheless, the cases of Jamil Singh and Tara Singh illustrated racist policing practices that often targeted cross-racial and native-born/foreign-born sexual encounters.[68]

These articles exemplify the risks that gender non-conforming individuals faced, such as the possibility of public exposure to their friends, family, and employers, or in more extreme cases, physical imprisonment or other criminal punishments. The State Legislature ultimately took action to strengthen punishments against homosexual and gender non-conforming behaviors, and in 1921 the Assembly approved a bill to punish "social vagrancy" with a maximum of 15 years for anyone who "commit[ed] any lewd or lascivious act" with other persons," which included sodomy.[69] One year later in 1922, the City of Sacramento passed a city ordinance, ostensibly to stop the use of

[66] Chet DeFonso, "The Great War and Modern Homosexuality: Transatlantic Crossings," *Proceedings Of Armistice & Aftermath: A Michigan Tech Symposium On WWI*, September 28-29, 2018, Northern Michigan University.
[67] Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North America West* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 74,-76.
[68] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 74-78.
[69] "Assembly Passes Bill Aimed at Long Beach Cases," *Sacramento Bee*, 16 April 1921: 11.

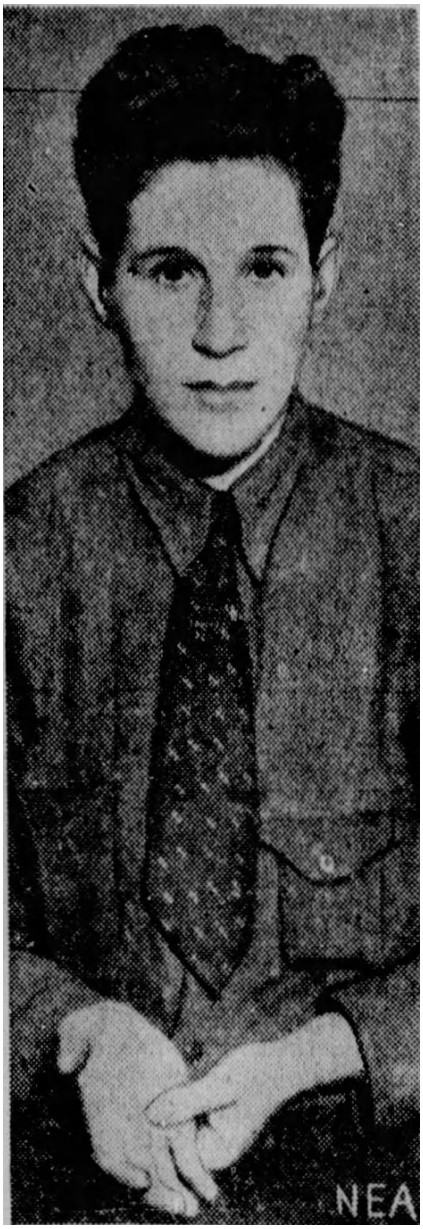


Figure 9. Frances Orlando (1933). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

disguises by members of the Ku Klux Klan that made it unlawful "for any person in the City of Sacramento to appear in public in a disguise."[70] However, the ordinance could also be applied to people dressing in the clothing of members of another gender.

In 1923, a person named Harold Saunders was arrested at 3rd and K streets on suspicions of being a "female impersonator." At the time, Saunders had "plucked eyebrows, rouged lips and [a] powdered nose" and was found to be in possession of "one dollar, a lip stick, a powder puff, rouge, perfume…silk ladies' underwear, stockings, and other bits of dainty clothing."[71] Saunders was on the way to Hollywood at the time of the arrest and was released by police on the condition of leaving Sacramento.

In 1936, a 26-year-old woman named Frances Orlando was arrested in Sacramento for running away with a 16-year-old girl from Florin in Sacramento County named Helen Sydston.[72] Orlando—who also went by the names Dick Bruno, Freddie, Ted Perry, and Dick Perry in public—spent at least ten years traveling throughout California, dressed in men's clothing and starting relationships with other women, some of whom she became engaged to and attempted to elope with before being caught by local police.[73] Raised on a ranch in Los Gatos, she ran away as a young woman after tiring of farm life and traveled the country working in construction camps in Utah, as a sheep herder in South Dakota, digging potatoes in Idaho, and as a bus boy in a Los Angeles restaurant.[74] When questioned by police in 1934 about her actions, Orlando stated simply, "I left my home in San Jose three years ago and put on boy's clothing because I feel better that way."[75] The cases of Saunders and Orlando show the hypocritical treatment of gender expression in the

[70] "Ordinance Would Stop Klan Disguises," *Sacramento Bee*, 14 April 1922: 16.
[71] "It's Harold, But The Copes Say 'Gladys,'" *Sacramento Star*, 6 July 1923: 1.
[72] "Male Impersonator, Girl Runaway Are Hunted," *Sacramento Union*, 25 July 1936: 12.
[73] "Masquerading Girl Is Ordered from Oakland," *Sacramento Bee*, 29 December 1933: 5; "Girl Who Poses as Man is Sentenced In Stockton," *Sacramento Bee*, 4 November 1939: 23.
[74] "Women Propose Marriage to Girl Posing as Man," *Sacramento Bee*, 27 December 1933: 1.
[75] "Girl Masquerading as Man for Three Years," *Sacramento Bee*, 24 April 1934: 13.

early 20th century, in which the "impersonation" of another gender was acceptable and even celebrated on theatrical stages, as discussed later in this chapter, while at the same time being the cause for arrest if done as part of one's private, personal expression.

Local institutions and civic leaders continued to express vehement opposition toward gender non-conforming behavior in the 1930s. In one notable example, Sacramento chief of police William M. Hallanan stated publicly in an article in the *Sacramento Bee* in 1934 that he supported the sterilization of so-called "sexual perverts" and "habitual criminals" in an effort to prevent them from passing on their homosexual "tendencies" to their offspring. Reflecting the spread of eugenics into the general population, Hallanan expressed support for the actions taken by the Nazi regime against homosexual people and argued that the sterilization taking place in concentration camps did not go far enough.[76] Hallanan's willingness to publicly make such extreme statements shows the degree to which anti-homosexual views infiltrated local institutions in Sacramento and were broadcast from positions of power to the general public, creating an atmosphere that was openly intolerant and sometimes outright violent toward anyone who did not fall within the strict lines of socially accepted sexuality and gender norms.

MALE & FEMALE IMPERSONATORS IN MINSTREL & VAUDEVILLE SHOWS

While dressing in gender non-normative clothing in one's personal life could be grounds for arrest, theatrical portrayals that crossed gender lines were common in minstrel and vaudeville shows in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Male and female "impersonators," who portrayed members of the opposite gender, became stars of stages across the United States, including in Sacramento. Minstrel shows and vaudeville shows, featuring male and female impersonators, took place regularly at theaters that lined K Street in Downtown Sacramento—such as the Metropolitan Theater at 5th and K streets, Star Concert Hall at 304 K Street, Tivoli Theater on K Street between 9th and 10th streets, and Clunie Theater at 811 K Street—in the 1870s to the 1890s. Performers during this period included Eddie Fonteneau, who was billed in newspaper advertisements as "the best Female Impersonator on the Coast."[77] Born in France to a French father and Swiss mother,

FREE AND EASY.

STAR CONCERT HALL, 304 K street, between Third and Fourth. Open every evening with the best professional and amateur talent, both vocal and instrumental. Specially engaged.

Mr. Hughey Robinson and Tony Benton,

The Irish Comedians and Vocalists;

MR. EDDIE FONTENEAU,

The best Female Impersonator on the Coast

PROF. LOUIS MELCHIOR, PIANO SOLOIST.

n2-1m LOUIS STRAUSS, Proprietor.

Figure 10. Advertisement for a performance featuring Eddie Fonteneau (1880). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

[76] "Chief Hallanan Would Go Further in Sterilization," *Sacramento Bee*, 6 January 1934: 5.
[77] "Free and Easy," *Sacramento Bee*, 13 November 1880: 3.

Fonteneau lived on 5th Street between K and L streets in Sacramento. He performed regularly on stages in Sacramento in the 1880s. Burlesque shows also featured gender-crossing actors, such as Gus Mills, who the *Sacramento Bee* hailed in its review of an 1884 production at the Tivoli Theatre as "unquestionably the best of [his theater] group in disguises. His burlesque of a concert hall singer has not been surpassed, and his falsetto is as near an approach to the female voice as is heard in any company."[78] An actor known professionally as "Stuart" or "the Male Patti" performed operatic and other songs at the Clunie Theatre and was known for both his voice and costumes. *The Sacramento Bee* raved that Stuart "has a remarkable voice and sings like a prima donna soprano. Stuart's dresses are remarkable for their richness and beauty."[79] Stuart enjoyed a long career and continued to perform on Sacramento stages through the 1920s. Other actors who portrayed female characters in theatrical productions in Sacramento during the 19th century included Billy Arlington, Paul La Drew, and brothers John and James Russell, among others.[80]

Figure 11. View of theaters and businesses along K Street at 8th Street, including the Clunie Theater (left). Source: California State Library.

[78] "Amusements, Etc." *Sacramento Union*, 21 April 1884: 2.
[79] Amusements," *Sacramento Bee,* 12 January 1897: 5.
[80] "Amusements," *Sacramento Bee*, 29 March 1876: 3; "Metropolitan Theater," *Sacramento Union*, 21 December 1886: 3; "Clunie Opera House," *Sacramento Union*, 29 April 1887.

In the first decades of the 20th century, theatrical productions featuring male and female impersonators continued. Local venues included the Grand Theater on 7th and K streets, the Novelty Theater at 6th and K streets, Pantages Theater nearby at 615 K Street, and Orpheum/State Theater at 12th and J streets. In 1911, the Grand Theater organized a press stunt to drum up excitement for a performance of the Berren duo that featured a female impersonator, who faked being arrested by the police and started a mock fight in the street before revealing the act to the watching public.[81] In 1921, a female impersonator who went by the stage name La Varde performed at Joyland amusement park in Oak Park at a performance called "Change in Vaudeville."[82] Julian Eltinge, known as the foremost female impersonator of his day, came to Sacramento and performed several times in the 1920s at the peak of his fame. Born Willilam Julian Dalton in Massachusetts, Eltinge gained fame on Broadway stages in New York City before transitioning to acting in Hollywood feature films and becoming one of the highest paid stage actors in the 1910s.

Figure 12. Press still of Julian Eltinge published in the *Sacramento Union* (1923). Source: *Sacramento Union,*

Figure 13. Kitty Doner (1923). Source: Library of Congress.

[81] "Local Brevities," *Sacramento Star*, 24 August 1911: 8.
[82] *Sacramento Star*, 20 July 1921: 5.

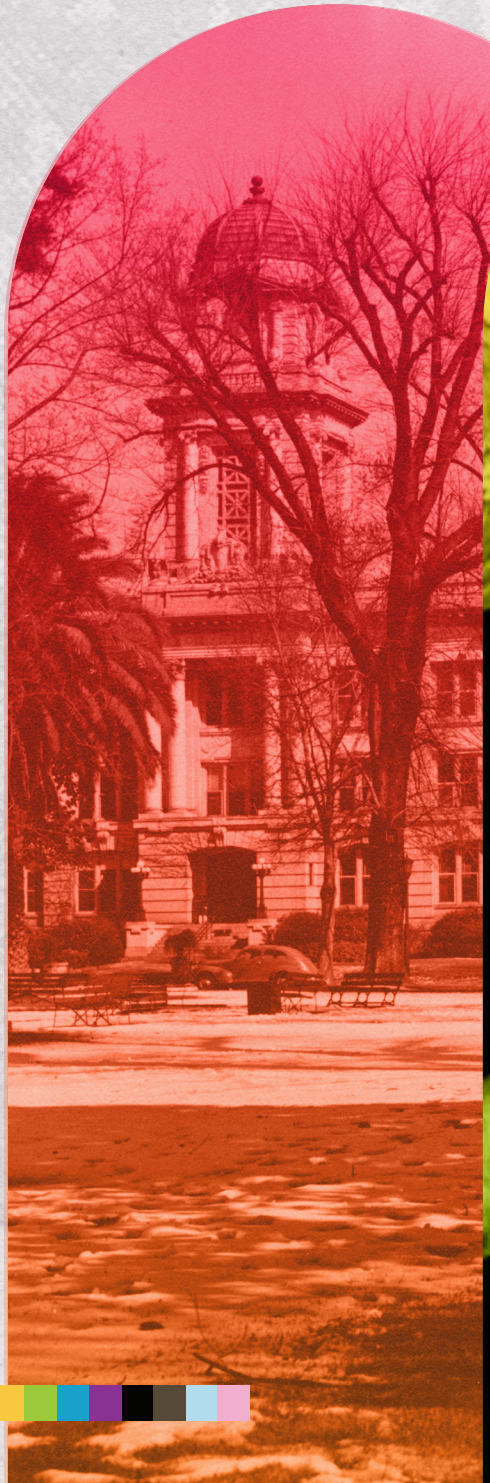
Male impersonators appear to have been less common, though they did perform in Sacramento as well. One of the most popular male impersonators in the country, Kitty Doner, came to Sacramento in 1924 for an appearance at the Star Theater.[83] Born Catherine Donohoe in Chicago, Illinois to British parents, she gained experience and popularity acting on stages across the country and earned a reputation as the best male impersonator in the United States.[84] In 1925, Miss Jeanette, billed as "Vaudeville's only colored male impersonator on the stage," performed as part of the Midnite Strutters with an actor named Seymour at the State Theater.[85]

[83] *Sacramento Star*, 20 September 1924: 5.
[84] Anthony Slide, *The Encyclopedia of Vaudeville* (Jackson, MS; University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 133-134.
[85] "Alma Neilson Will Headline Show at the Orpheum To-night," *Sacramento Bee*, 29 October 1925: 2.

02

Finding One Another: World War II and Postwar Era Sacramento

1941-1968



Images on chapter cover (from left to right):

1. City Hall across from Plaza Park (now Cesar Chavez Plaza), a popular cruising location in the 1940s and 1950s. Source: California State Library.
2. Earl Barnett with some of his masks (1986). Source: Mitch Toll for *The Sacramento Bee.*
3. ARC founder Rick Stokes (1972). Source: *San Francisco Examiner*.

THEME 2: FINDING ONE ANOTHER: WORLD WAR II & POSTWAR-ERA SACRAMENTO, 1941-1968

World War II and Shifting Gender Norms

The onset of World War II in the early 1940s brought great economic and social change to the United States. Wartime efforts required enormous shifts in the workforce to accommodate the production of weapons and other goods for troops abroad, resulting in the creation of millions of new jobs in factories and shipyards throughout large cities. Millions of men were drafted into the military, and many who lived in small or rural towns were called to work in large city environments during a time of uncertainty and tumultuous societal change. While disrupting many lives, wartime also brought individuals to new places and subsequently brought increased open-mindedness as people expanded their worldviews beyond the confines of their sheltered hometowns. Accompanying these shifts in environment and workforce was a marked increase in opportunities for same-sex connections, as young men joined the military or factory lines and women remained to take care of the homefront and, in some cases, also joined the factory workforce to support the war effort.[86] Women experienced a unique period of independence from restrictive heterosexual marriages, and many took over jobs normally reserved for men to keep the economy going.[87] In the years following the war, a cultural shift remained as women maintained their place in the workforce and increasing numbers of women enrolled in college.

Despite these liberties and the benefit that wartime brought many individuals to meet other people of similar beliefs and sexual orientations, there were also risks rooted in increasingly discriminatory rhetoric towards LGBTQ+ individuals as societal fears were compounded by larger global conflicts. Homosexuality could result in dishonorable discharge from the military and, therefore, created barriers to employment and denial of veteran's benefits, along with other negative impacts such as ostracization from society.

At the same time, medical studies and publications in the late 1940s increased overall awareness of non-normative gender and sexuality, including homosexuality. Alfred Kinsey—a sexologist, biologist, and professor at the University of Indiana—released his groundbreaking studies, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female,* collectively known as the "Kinsey Report," in 1948 and 1953, respectively. These publications increased public dialogue around gender and sexuality and received widespread attention for its assertion that same-sex relationships were fairly common. Kinsey surveyed sexual experiences in the American population and found that sexual

[86] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 62.
[87] Erin Owens, "The Lavender Scare: How Fear and Prejudice Impacted a Nation in Crisis," *Armstrong Undergraduate Journal of History* 10, no. 2 (November 1, 2020): 120, https://doi.org/10.20429/aujh.2020.100208.

preference and activity had notably more variation than was commonly known and accepted. Kinsey's survey found that roughly 10 percent of the United States' white male population had same-sex preferences and two to six percent of the United States' white female population identified as lesbian.[88] This publication played an important role in elevating awareness of same-sex relationships at a broad level and providing a sociological perspective to a subject that had formerly been considered taboo in most medical fields.

Cold War and the Lavender Scare

Despite the Kinsey Report's normalization of homosexuality, the years following World War II brought renewed fear and paranoia surrounding otherhood and the prevalence of identities that subverted normative behaviors. The Cold War was a period of geopolitical struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, lasting between 1947 to 1991. As the predominant political ideology of the Soviet party, Communism was treated as a corrupting threat to American morals and treasonous against the American government. Beginning in the late 1940s, a climate of fear and anxiety around the Cold War led to a "culture of containment" that criminalized anything different as dangerous to society and national security. In 1950, Joseph McCarthy gave a famous speech in which he condemned the insidious presence of Communism within American institutions and communities.

This paranoia was reflected acutely in actions taken by the Federal government, which began to fire employees suspected of being homosexual in large numbers from the late 1940s through the 1950s. In 1950, the United States Congress issued a report entitled "Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government," which was distributed to members of Congress following secret investigations of the sexual orientations of federal employees. The report's findings were rooted in the false rhetoric that homosexual employees constituted a security threat to the nation due to homosexuality's stigma as a mental illness, the long-standing legal proscription against homosexuality, and risk that homosexual employees trying to hide their true sexual expressions might be blackmailed. .[89] Following these events, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed Executive Order 10450 in 1953, which prohibited homosexuals from federal employment due to their perceived security risk. The prohibition also extended to government contracts, extending its reach. Persecution of homosexual individuals extended from state and local governments to colleges, where students were sometimes required to take tests designed to expose their sexualities.[90]

[88] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History,* 65.
[89] **"**Teaching LGBTQ History: LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History."
[90] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 145.

Between 1947 to 1953, twice as many people accused of homosexuality were dismissed from their jobs as those accused of Communist sympathies.[91]

During this time it became mandated to investigate new government employees and applicants for their sexual orientations, and there was no judicial oversight of cases to ensure legality. Individuals could be fired simply based on accusations.[92] This order continued to prevent LGBTQ+ individuals from federal government employment until 1993, when President Bill Clinton and Congress passed the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" law.[93] In general, the era of McCarthyism during the Cold War reinstituted a climate of fear for LGBTQ+ individuals who were forced to create a false identity to maintain their livelihoods and a level of safety. Queer subcultures were pushed deeper underground, and many gay men and women often had surface-level relationships in which they married members of the opposite sex to hide their true sexual orientations.[94] Others remained hesitant to come out for fear of personal harm to their social, familial, and professional lives.[95]

Figure 14. Earl Barnett with some of his masks (1986). Source: Mitch Toll for the *Sacramento Bee*.

One well-publicized case in Sacramento that showed the severity of accusations of homosexuality revolved around prominent local architect and sportsman Earl Barnett. Employed by the highly regarded architecture firm Dean and Dean, Barnett was responsible for designing several beloved buildings in Sacramento, including the Memorial Auditorium, Sutter Club, and others. In 1944, Barnett was accused of being the center of a "sexual perversion" ring after police raided his house at 3032 44th Street and found items indicating that a network of men and teenage boys had engaged in regular "homosexual orgies" at the house for at least six years. During the raid, the police seized hundreds of pictures of nude young men in sexual poses, photos of young men and boys wearing "weird and exotic clothing," several trunks of costumes, a dozen books with pornographic illustrations, and a file of photo negatives showing

[91] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History,* 63.
[92] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History,* 63.
[93] "Teaching LGBTQ History: LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History."
[94] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 155-156.
[95] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 156-157.

naked young men.[96] Several of the young men in the photos were in military service and came from prominent Sacramento families. Sixteen people, many of whom were teenagers, were ultimately arrested and charged with the crimes of sodomy and sex perversion, though approximately 50 young men were ultimately investigated in connection to the ring.[97] Barnett's case was tried without a jury, and he was sentenced to five to 75 years in jail and sent to San Quentin Prison.[98] Barnett was eventually released, and the story of his arrest and imprisonment faded into the past. In 1989, the *Sacramento Bee* highlighted Barnett's career as an architect and later an artist known for designing masks, stating in its headlines that he "deserv[ed] recognition for his art."[99]

A similar case occurred in the 1950s when local resident, pharmacist, and junior college educator Fred Beauchamp of 2515 Capitol Avenue (extant) was arrested along with 13 other men as part of what was described by police and local media as a "sex perversion ring." The activities of the so-called "ring" featured dressing in drag and attending parties that included sexual acts with other men and teenaged boys. During the investigation, Beauchamp pled guilty to charges of committing "lewd and lascivious" acts with a minor and admitted to "homosexual activity" going back as far as 1949. He was forced to resign from his position as an anatomy and physiology instructor at Sacramento Junior College, lost his pharmacy license, and was sentenced to four-years of probation that included one year of imprisonment in county jail. During sentencing, 65 former students, teaching associates, and friends of Beachamp sent letters to the court on his behalf, praising his character and requesting leniency. After the completion of his jail term, Beachamp was required to reside with his parents and undergo psychiatric treatment. It was later revealed that the young man who had testified against Beachamp during his trial had given false information and was an adult at the time of the arrest. This, along with letters of support from the county jail's attending physician, led to Beachamp successfully reinstating his pharmacy license after his release. He subsequently was hired by Kellogg Drug at 28th Street and Capitol Avenue in 1959 and served as the primary caregiver for his father and mother before their deaths. Later in life, he split time between Sacramento and San Francisco, where he worked as a relief pharmacist at the San Francisco School of Pharmacy and adopted a son.[100]

The Homophile Movement

The first precursors to the gay rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s emerged in the 1950s in California. Amidst this period of immense scrutiny by the federal government and the spread of

[96] "Architect Held in Probe of Boy Orgies," *Sacramento Union*, 4 November 1944.
[97] "Architect Held in Probe of Boy Orgies," *Sacramento Union*, 4 November 1944.
[98] "Parole Is Denied to Earl Barnett," *Sacramento Bee*, 15 December 1945.
[99] Gary Delsohn, "For Love of Pretty Buildings," *Sacramento Bee*, 1 January 1989.
[100] Cliff Fisher, "A (Not So Brief) History of the Schroth Mansion (2515 Capitol Avenue)," undated.

discriminatory rhetoric, organizations formed that sought to provide support for homosexual men and women. These groups adopted the term "homophile," coming from the Greek words "homos," meaning "same," and "phile" meaning "love." The first homophile organization was the Mattachine Society, founded by gay activist Harry Hay in Los Angeles in 1950. The group's name was inspired by Renaissance French and Italian court jester groups, derived from the Arabic word "mutawajjihin" meaning mask-wearers.[101] The group focused on self-education, building social acceptance, and providing support for the homosexual community.[102] Active in Communist politics, Hay incorporated some of its ideology into his work with the Mattachine Society. Hay saw the gay community as an oppressed minority that needed to unite in its efforts to fight injustices against them. The group published its own newsletter and organized conventions to educate the community and broader public about homosexual life and provided financial, legal, employment, and spiritual support for gay men in need. Eventually, other branches of the organization formed in other cities in the United States and inspired the creation of other homophile groups. Despite its early influence on the formation of a homophile movement, the Mattachine Society disbanded in 1953 due to differences in ideologies among members. One of the homophile groups inspired by the Mattachine Society was the Society for Individual Rights (SIR). Founded in San Francisco in 1964, it adopted a more militant attitude and had a strong focus on community formation. SIR became the largest homophile organization in the country and also sparked the creation of offshoots in other cities.[103]

Lesbians were not fully represented or welcomed in these early male-oriented homophile organizations. Seeking similar support and connection, women-focused homophile groups formed. In 1955, four lesbian couples—Rose Bamberger (a Filipina woman) and her partner, Rosemary Sliepan; Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon; Noni Frey and her Latina partner, Mary (last name unknown); and Marcia Foster and her partner, June (last name unknown)—founded the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) in San Francisco.[104] The group was the first known women-led homophile organization in the country. Initially started as an alternative to the lesbian bar scene for middle-class lesbians seeking connection and a social outlet, the organization gradually shifted from a social club to taking on an advocacy role for lesbian rights.[105] The organization hosted private social functions and educational programming with the understanding that developing self-confidence among the lesbian community was the first step toward advocating for greater rights. Similar to the Mattachine Society, the DOB published its own newsletter and held biennial conventions. The group also encouraged participation in research projects to refute negative medical theories about homosexuality.[106]

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[101] Johansson, Warren, and William A. Percy. Outing: Shattering the Conspiracy of Silence. Haworth Gay & Lesbian Studies. New York: Haworth Press, 1994. 92.
[102] "Teaching LGBTQ History: LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History."
[103] Graves and Watson, "LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 151-152.
[104] Graves and Watson, "LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 140.
[105] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 149.
[106] Graves and Watson, "LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 140-149.

Transgender people began organizing and forming communities in the 1940s and 1950s, as well.[107] The most publicized story was that of Christine Jorgensen, a U.S. military veteran who received sex reassignment surgery in Denmark in 1952 to make her body conform to her identity as a woman. Jorgensen became a national celebrity and helped raise awareness of transgender people in the United States.[108] In the early 1960s, transgender woman Virginia Prince founded one of the first modern transgender organizations, the Foundation for Personality Expression (later the Society for the Second Self/Tri-Ess) in Los Angeles. Modeled after the collegiate sorority system, the organization promoted cross-dressing among heterosexual men to express their "full personalities." The first known transgender support group, Conversion Our Goal, formed in San Francisco in 1967, followed by the National Transexual Counseling Unit in 1968.[109]

HOMOPHILE GROUPS IN SACRAMENTO

The homophile movement took shape in Sacramento in the early 1960s, about a decade after the earliest groups formed nationwide. Around 1965, Rick Stokes founded a local chapter of SIR in Sacramento called the Association for Responsible Citizenship (ARC). Stokes was an Oklahoma native who moved to Sacramento in 1961 after meeting his partner, attorney David Clayton.[110] Stokes was closely connected to the gay community and organizations in San Francisco and had been active in SIR and Glide Memorial Methodist Church, a pioneering church that openly welcomed gay parishioners. Because of these relationships, ARC became deeply connected with and often collaborated with its counterparts in San Francisco.[111] ARC facilitated connections to other gay organizations and planned special events, such as a visit in 1966 by political activist Jose Sarria, a founder of SIR and the first openly gay political candidate in the United States, who ran for the San Francisco County Board of Supervisors in 1961. Sarria was first empress of the drag community's Imperial Court System, a network of nonprofit charitable organizations, and was better known by his stage name,

Figure 15. ARC founder Rick Stokes (1972). Source: *San Francisco Examiner*.

[107] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 68.
[108] Stryker, *Transgender History,* 66-68.
[109] Stryker, *Transgender History,* 74, 99-100.
[110] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance,* 160
[111] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance*, 160

Empress Jose Norton I, as well as The Grand Mere, Absolute Empress I de San Francisco, and the Widow Norton. Sarria's visit to Sacramento on Memorial Day in 1966 included a production of “My Fair Laddie,” an adaptation of the Pygmalion story that premiered in San Francisco the month before.[112] By 1966, ARC had grown large enough to publish an article in the 1966 edition of its newsletter, the *ARC Journal,* titled "We're Provincial?," which indicated that Sacramento had enough gay nightlife to challenge San Francisco's perception of Sacramento.[113]

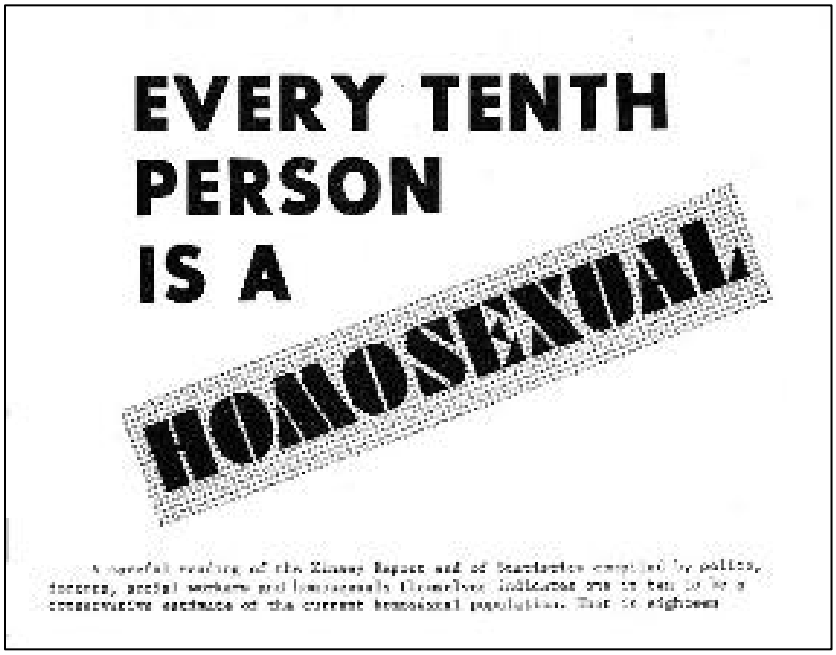


Figure 16. Cover of the pamphlet handed out by ARC at the California State Fair in 1966. Source: “Flyer Passed Out by CRH Members at the California State Fair in 1965”, The Council on Religion and the Homosexual, LGBTQ Religious Archives Network, accessed July 14, 2024, https://exhibits.lgbtran.org/exhibits/show/crh/item/1803.

Reflecting its focus on community advocacy and education, ARC applied for a booth at the California State Fair in 1966. The group’s application was initially accepted but was given away to another group as the date of the fair grew closer. ARC and other gay organizations brought a lawsuit against the fair’s president, former Sacramento mayor Clarence Azevedo, which was rejected and later denied on appeal by California Governor Pat Brown. In protest, ARC—joined by members of SIR, the Daughters of Bilitis, and other volunteers—gathered at the front entrance to the fair and handed out fliers with the headline “Every Tenth Person is a Homosexual,” at the education booth. This action gave the group a much larger exposure at the fair itself, and through media coverage of the lawsuit, than it would have experienced if its original application to host a booth in the exhibition hall had

[112] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance,* 161-162
[113] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance,* 162.

been honored. The following year, ARC hosted a forum titled "The Homosexual 1967 Sacramento" at the First Methodist Church on 21st and J streets. The event was envisioned as a part of the organization's educational program to "educate the public as to the nature of homosexuality and to promote mutual understanding and acceptance between the homosexual and heterosexual communities."[114] A panel of ministers, attorneys, educators, members of the Sacramento City Council, and other civic leaders spoke at the forum.[115]

Cruising & Gay Bar Culture

Because homosexuality during the mid-20th century was socially unacceptable and sex with anyone of the same gender was illegal, gay men and women were forced to find cracks in society where they could meet and have sexual experiences. Although public bathhouses existed in cities across the country in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the first bathhouses that catered specifically to gay men were established during the postwar period. Bathhouses provided the safest and most private places for gay men to hook up while maintaining their anonymity.

Bars, however, emerged as the de facto center of homosexual life for both men and women. Though not openly advertised as “gay bars,” small networks of bars that were known to be welcoming to gay men and women developed. Knowledge of these bars initially passed through word of mouth. Gay bars became the primary places where gay men, and some gay women, met to form social and sexual connections, exchange news, share experiences, and openly express themselves.

For those looking for an alternative to gay bars, public places provided a vital option for gay men and transgender women looking to meet for sex anonymously and discreetly. Public places—such as public parks, beaches, public restrooms, and streets—were attractive places to “cruise” for someone to have sex with for those who did not like the bar and bathhouse scenes, were too young, didn’t have enough money, or who had families at home and did not have a private place to go for sex. Public spaces also allowed gay men and transgender women to form important connections and share experiences at a time when community networks remained small and deeply underground. Although cruising took place in the early 20th century, the practice became more prevalent during World War II as military servicemen, visiting cities for short periods of time while on leave, looked for a quick hook up before returning to duty. Cruising locations frequently changed as police raids and crackdowns forced participants to look for alternatives.[116]

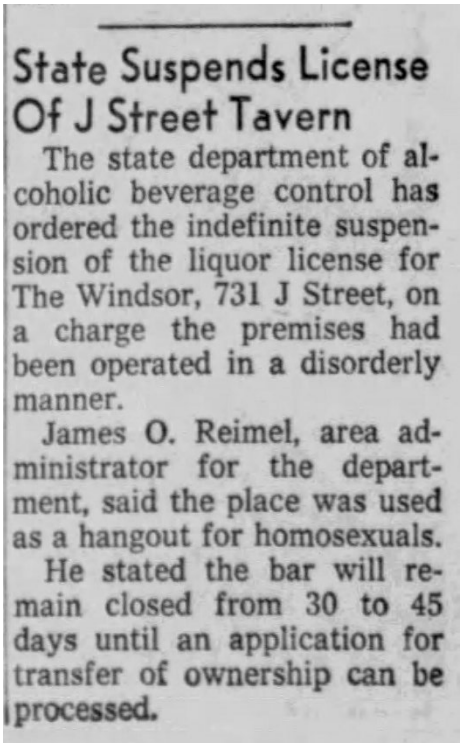
[114] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance,* 162.
[115] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance,* 162.
[116] Graves and Watson, “LGBTQ History in San Francisco,“ 90-92.

In 1965, San Francisco businessman Bob Damron published the first issue of the Damron Guides, a city directory and guidebook that listed known cruising locations, businesses, and accommodations that were inclusive and friendly towards gay individuals. The Damron Guides gradually expanded to an increasing number of cities across the United States and have continued to be updated annually since 1968. The publication's name was changed to *Damron's Men's Travel Guide* in 1999.[117] Damron also produced a guide for women called the *Women's Traveller*. The Damron Guides provided a vital service to the gay community, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, when homosexual activity remained illegal and individuals risked arrest and imprisonment if they were discovered.
During the postwar period, the most common way for municipalities to control homosexual activity was by repealing liquor licenses of establishments suspected of catering to homosexual clientele. In 1949, the State Board of Equalization accused the Black Cat bar in San Francisco of being a gay bar and suspended its liquor license. The bar's owner filed a lawsuit that was appealed to the California Supreme Court. The court's landmark decision in *Stouman v. Reill*y in 1951 found that a bar could not lose its liquor license because it catered to homosexual people, making California the first state in which gay bars could legally operate. After the decision, the number of gay and lesbian bars increased for a period. However, the decision was undermined by state legislation that passed in 1955, which made it illegal for a bar to serve as a "resort for illegal possessors or users of narcotics, prostitution, pimps, panderers, or sexual perverts."[118] The State Department of Alcohol and Beverage Control subsequently used the law to suspend or revoke the licenses of establishments where people they believed were homosexual were seen. This practice continued until the 1959 California Supreme Court case *Vallegra v. Department of Alcohol Beverage Control* reaffirmed that "a license may not be suspended or revoked simply because homosexuals or sexual perverts patronize the bar in question."[119]

CRUISING & GAY BARS IN SACRAMENTO, CA. 1940-1968

The crackdown on gay bars and cruising locations that occurred in California in the 1950s extended to Sacramento. In April 1957, the State Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control indefinitely suspended the liquor license of The Windsor, a bar at 731 J Street, because it was a known "hangout for homosexuals."[120] The bar was within a block of Plaza Park (now Cesar Chavez Plaza), which had been a popular local cruising spot for gay men for at least the previous 20 years. [121] Gay men would park their cars around the perimeter of the park late at night with their lights off and wait for other gay men to walk up to them and initiate contact.[122] The crackdown on the Windsor instigated a

[117] SurveyLA, "LGBT Historic Context Statement," 61.
[118] SurveyLA, "LGBT Historic Context Statement," 60.
[119] SurveyLA, "LGBT Historic Context Statement," 60.
[120] "State Suspends License of J Street Tavern," *Sacramento Bee,* 15 April 1957: D-1.
[121] "No Inference," *Sacramento Union*, 10 July 1957: 10.
[122] Bill Blaylock, "Slow Emergence; Sacramento's Gays Still in Shadows,", 5 September 1976: B1.



State Suspends License Of J Street Tavern

The state department of alcoholic beverage control has ordered the indefinite suspension of the liquor license for The Windsor, 731 J Street, on a charge the premises had been operated in a disorderly manner.

James O. Reimel, area administrator for the department, said the place was used as a hangout for homosexuals.

He stated the bar will remain closed from 30 to 45 days until an application for transfer of ownership can be processed.

Figure 17. Newspaper article about the suspension of the liquor license of The Windsor in 1957. Source: Sacramento Bee, 15 April 1957.

police raid of the park in June 1957, in which 26 men were arrested and charged for soliciting "immoral acts" after police officers disguised in plainclothes caught the men in the act. To cut down on cruising in the park, the police began to close the public restrooms at midnight.[123] Within a few weeks, the crackdown on cruising locations was expanded to four unnamed major city parks, which the Sacramento Police Department kept under nightly surveillance.[124]

Such instances of strict policing in Sacramento deterred the development of gay bars, cruising locations, bathhouses, and a true gay social scene within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento until the 1960s and 1970s. West Sacramento, located just across the Sacramento River in an entirely different county (Yolo County) and connected via a busy thoroughfare to Sacramento, became the logical location for gay men and women to seek social and sexual connections. West Sacramento was an unincorporated part of Yolo County, outside of the immediate control of the Yolo County Sheriff's Office, which was headquartered at the county seat in Woodland, approximately 20 miles away.[125] In the early 1970s, the district attorney's office in East Yolo County prioritized cracking down on violent crimes that caused physical injury to others, the illegal sale of narcotics, and crimes against property, such as burglary and theft, over policing what it viewed as "moral issues."[126] As such, the local police in West Sacramento adopted a laissez-faire attitude toward enforcing vice ordinances in the area, and West Sacramento developed a reputation as "Sin City" where gambling, prostitution, and homosexual activity took place, though the actual rate of major crimes—such as murder, assault, robbery, and rape—was nearly nonexistent.[127] It was also common practice during the postwar period for Sacramento police officers to pick up vice ordinance offenders, such as prostitutes operating in downtown Sacramento, and drop them off in West Sacramento.[128] This relationship between Sacramento and West Sacramento was similar to that of

[123] "Where Fault Lies," *Sacramento Union,* 4 July 1957: 12.
[124] "Unpleasant Task," *Sacramento Union*, 18 July 1957: 12.
[125] "Fred Reminisces About the Bars," undated, private collection of George Raya.
[126] Paul Merz, "Sacramento's Tower Bridge: Gateway to Sin and Sex," *The Advocate,* 14-27 October 1970: 16.
[127] "Fred Reminisces About the Bars," undated, private collection of George Raya; Merz, "Sacramento's Tower Bridge: Gateway to Sin and Sex."
[128] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance,* 161.

the Sunset Strip in West Hollywood in Los Angeles, which was located in an unincorporated part of Los Angeles County between Beverly Hills and Hollywood.[129]

Figure 18. Advertisement for the No Hu Hu Hut (1966). Source: ARC News, March 1966.

Figure 19.Advertisement for the Log Cabin (1966). Source: ARC News, June 1966.

Because of this relationship, the first gay-friendly establishments listed in the Sacramento area in the 1965 edition of the Damron Guides were located in West Sacramento. Many of these businesses were clustered along West Capitol Avenue and Sacramento Avenue, two major thoroughfares that led in and out of Sacramento. The most well-known of these early gay establishments were the Yolo Baths (also known as the Yolo Sauna), a gay bathhouse at 1531 Sacramento Avenue, and the Log Cabin, a gay bar at 1532 Sacramento Avenue. Other gay bars located in West Sacramento in the 1960s included the Kolo Club (address unknown), No Hu Hu Hut (later the Hawaiian Hut) tiki bar at 2400 West Capitol Avenue, Robert's No. 3 (address unknown), and the Hide & Seek at 825 Sunset Avenue (extant). The Hide & Seek, colloquially dubbed "Hide & Suck," was the oldest hard liquor bar with dancing in the Sacramento area and became a popular place to stop on the road between San Francisco and Tahoe or Reno because of its proximity to the Yolo Baths where those needing to recover could rest and recover after a night of drinking.[130] The Hide & Seek operated under the ownership of Pat Avala and Marghe Covino from approximately the mid-1960s to the 1980s.[131]One unidentified man interviewed by Sacramento native and gay rights activist George Raya shared his

[129] SurveyLA, "LGBT Historic Context Statement," 58.
[130] "Fred Reminisces About the Bars," undated, private collection of George Raya.
[131] *Mom...Guess What...!,* October 1981: 11.

memories of arriving in Sacramento and experiencing the gay bar scene in West Sacramento for the first time:

> It certainly was not with a thought of community in my mind as I timidly crossed the threshold of my first gay bar (the Log Cabin) in 1960. I was a junior at Sacramento State College, but had spent most of my life in a tightly closeted redneck corner of the Midwest known as Missouri. I had only a sketchy ill-defined idea of what gay was, much less what mysterious weird or perhaps dangerous things might be happening behind that bar door [...] I opened the door to that bar and ventured inside. There were 8 or 10 men in the bar laughing and telling jokes. They made no move to throw me out just because I was homosexual. In fact they made me very welcome. I did not always understand the jokes between the others, but I laughed anyway and before long I had learned several names. One guy was even willing to drive me home from the Broderick Bar to my apartment in West Sacramento. In looking back at that first night in the gay bar I must admit that I was not looking for community. I was looking for sex. What I didn't know was that I had found both.[132]

The first lesbian bars were also located in West Sacramento due to efforts by the Sacramento Police Department to prevent women's bars from being established inside city limits. The first known lesbian bar was Jean's Place (address unknown), although some claimed that the Log Cabin operated as a lesbian bar before becoming a gay men's bar in the 1950s. Jean's Place was eventually replaced by Hide & Seek, which operated as a men's bar. In 1967, another popular lesbian bar known as Off Key opened in a converted warehouse next to railroad tracks at 1040 Soule Street (extant).

[132] Unnamed author, "Bar Story History II 1955-1995," private collection of George Raya.

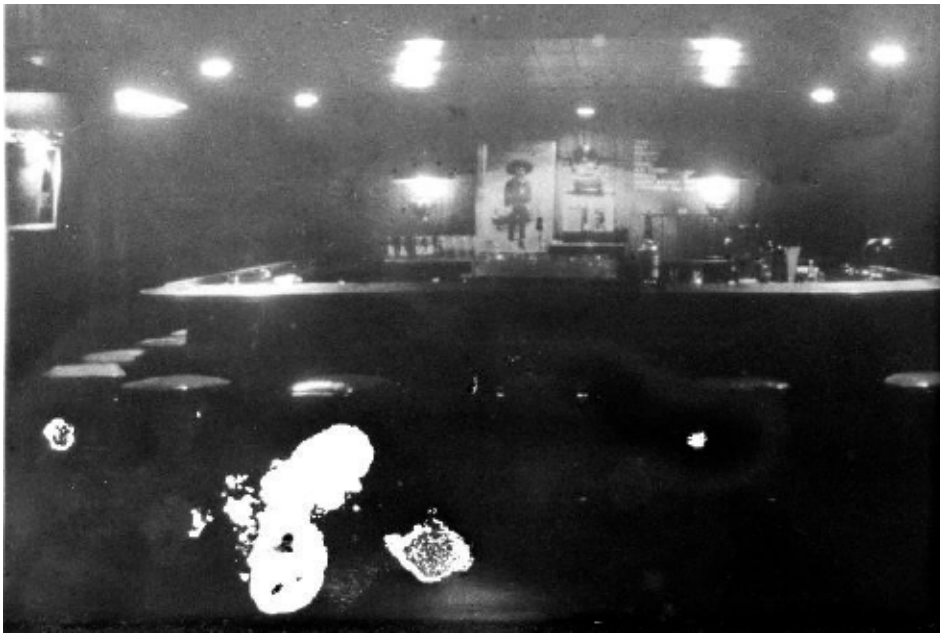


Figure 20. Inside the Off Key bar in West Sacramento (undated). Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Cherie Gordon Collection.

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Figure 21. Drawing of the interior of the Topper Club (1950). Source: Sacramento Public Library.

The earliest known gay bar in Sacramento was the Topper Club at 1218 K Street. The Topper opened in 1940 at the same time as Esquire Theater, which was located next door, and operated at least

through the late 1970s.[133] Located on K Street, one of Sacramento's busiest commercial streets where the sales staff from Weinstocks, J.C. Penney, and other departments stores worked and socialized, Topper became a known hangout for gay men by the late 1960s. Men would wait at the east side of the building until the traffic light at 12th and K streets stopped traffic, allowing a few minutes in which gay men could enter the bar from the alley without being seen by their coworkers.[134] The Topper Club was an interracial primarily gay male space where black and white men could find one another.[135] The bar's popularity declined in 1970s as residents and businesses moved to the suburbs and commercial activity on K Street and the broader downtown Sacramento area decreased. Downtown also became increasingly unsafe as ex-prison inmates were released into the area.[136] In addition to the Topper, other early gay bars in Sacramento in the 1950s and 1960s included the Diamond Club near the Greyhound bus station on 8th and L streets, which had a gay crowd on weeknights, the Mark Twain Hotel Bar at 1316 I Street, and Hickory House at 13th and J streets.[137]

Figure 22. Advertisement for the Hickory House (1966). Source: ARC News.

[133] "Lease is Signed for Cocktail Bar," *Sacramento Bee,* 24 February 1940: 9; Thom Akeman, "Nightlight," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 December 1977: 55.
[134] "The Topper Bar," undated, private collection of George Raya.
[135] Michael J. Smith, *Colorful People and Places* (San Francisco: The Quarterly, 1983), 24.
[136] "The Topper Bar," undated, private collection of George Raya.
[137] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance,* 161; "Gay Sac History Bars 1953," undated, private collection of George Raya.

03

Out and Proud: Development of a Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community

1969-2000

Images on chapter cover (from left to right):

1. Rosemary Metrailer (ca. 1979). Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Jonna Ramey Collection.
2. Jerry Sloan (undated). Source: San Jose State University Special Collections & Archives.
3. *Mom…Guess What…!* founder Linda Birner (1998). Source: Hector Amezcua for the *Sacramento Bee*.

THEME 3: OUT & PROUD: DEVELOPMENT OF A VISIBLE SACRAMENTO LGBTQ+ COMMUNITY, 1969-CA. 2000

While the anti-gay hysteria and police crackdowns of the postwar period forced many members of the LGBTQ+ community deeper into the closet, the repression of entire groups of people, their desires, and their personal expressions created an increasingly pressurized environment in which generations of pent-up emotions were about to reach a boiling point. Late one night in August 1966, police officers entered Gene Compton's cafeteria—a popular hangout for drag queens and transgender and gender nonconforming people in San Francisco's Tenderloin neighborhood—with the intent to raid it. Raids, police harassment, and arrests for "female impersonation" were common in the area, known in those days. This time, however, when a police officer grabbed one of the drag queens at the cafeteria, she threw her cup of coffee in his face, unleashing a mass revolt. Drag queens, trans women, and gender nonconforming patrons overturned tables and threw anything they could find at the police. The fighting spilled out into the streets, and in the aftermath, the windows and doors of Compton's cafeteria were smashed, and a police car was destroyed. The Compton's Cafeteria Riot became what transgender historian Susan Stryker called "the first known instance of collective militant queer resistance to police harassment in United States history."[138]

More was soon to follow. On New Years Eve in 1967, a police raid of the Black Cat, a gay bar in Los Angeles's Silver Lake neighborhood, kicked off several days of protests.[139] Then, in June 1969, tensions came to a head in New York City in an event that captured the nation's attention and sparked a gay liberation movement that transformed the experiences of LGBTQ+ people across the United States. On the night of June 28, New York City police raided the Stonewall Inn, a popular gay bar in the city's Greenwich Village neighborhood. Instead of trying to escape or surrendering to arrest, the bar's patrons—most of whom were gay men, drag queens, and transgender women—resisted. Five days of protests followed, inspiring the establishment of gay rights organizations and a new era of political organizing, as well as a seismic shift in the way members of the LGBTQ+ community saw themselves and their place in the world.

Prior to the late 1960s, it was virtually unheard of for LGBTQ+ individuals to be publicly open about their sexual orientations. Inspired by the feminist movement's strategy that "the personal is political," the Gay Liberation Front, one of the gay rights organizations founded in the wake of the Stonewall riots, adopted the slogan "Out of the Closet and Into the Streets" to encourage gay and lesbian people to be open and proud about their sexual orientations in order to increase acceptance

[138] *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, directed by Susan Stryker and Victor Silverman (San Francisco: The Independent Television Service and KQED Public Television, 2016), KQED Arts, YouTube, accessed November 4, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G-WASW9dRBU.
[139] SurveyLA, "LGBT Historic Context Statement," 12.

among the general public, progress the fight for gay rights, and engender a sense of individual and community pride.[140] The phrase "to come out of the closet," or simply "come out," came to signify revealing one's sexual orientation and/or gender identity to oneself or others.

This was accompanied by a major shift in how the medical community viewed homosexuality. In 1974, after considerable advocacy from members of the Mattachine Society, the American Psychiatric Association updated the classification for homosexuality in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), the definitive source used to diagnose mental illnesses in the United States. Homosexuality, itself, was no longer classified as a mental disorder, though distress over one's homosexuality remained in the manual until 2013. Though imperfect, the 1974 update removed the threat that individuals might be incarcerated in mental hospitals for having same-sex relationships.[141] Large numbers of people came out as gay over the following decades as a result of these developments. As they found each other and formed connections, the first visible LGBTQ+ communities developed in cities across the United States.

Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community remained largely underground until the late 1970s. In 1978, one gay resident who was interviewed for an article in *The Advocate*, a national gay and lesbian newspaper, described Sacramento's gay scene as "very much below the surface, in fact, 10 feet under," with most people who identified as gay or lesbian remaining closeted for fear of retribution.[142] Sacramento resident Gary Miller, who moved to Sacramento from San Francisco, stated that, "Moving to Sacramento was like going back 10 years. People still [did] not want to be known by their last names—even some of those participating in the organized gay community. They [were] paranoid about who [knew they were] gay."[143] Another resident, who was not named in the article, described the gay scene in Sacramento in the 1970s as if, "the closets [were] jammed with fun people, but the doorknobs [were] deadbolts."[144] Despite its clandestine character, a few brave individuals began to publicly work toward building a safe, welcoming community in Sacramento, prompting *The Advocate* to report that "the seeds of a thriving gay community [had] definitely taken root in California's capital. And healthy shoots of social, religious, and political activity [were] beginning to show 'very much' above ground."[145] Those seeds were planted by countless individuals from all facets of the LGBTQ+ community whose passion, diligence, and care for their community laid the groundwork for the vibrant, tight-knit community that emerged in the early 1980s. Many individuals interviewed for this document described this feeling of closeness, supportiveness, and

[140] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 79.
[141] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 81.
[142] Robert I. McQueen, "Deadbolts for Doorknobs," *The Advocate*, 4 October 1978: 17.
[143] McQueen, "Deadbolts for Doorknobs."
[144] McQueen, "Deadbolts for Doorknobs."
[145] McQueen, "Deadbolts for Doorknobs."

sense of camaraderie as a defining characteristic of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community through around the year 2000, by which time the community became increasingly integrated into mainstream Sacramento society. Because the start of the new millennium marks an important period of evolution and transition for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, a period of significance of 1969 to the year 2000 has been selected for this theme of the community's historic development. Some events that occurred after 2000 are included in instances where groups, organizations, clubs, or other groups have had long or continuous periods of activity that extend beyond the year 2000.

Several factors contributed to the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento in the 1970s and 1980s. During the postwar period, the flight of wealthy residents and resources out of the older neighborhoods within and near Sacramento's original Central City street grid to newer suburbs in outlying areas resulted in a decline of property values and rents in the Central City.[146] Young, single people, some of whom were gay, moved into the area, attracted by the abundance of low-rent apartment houses, excitement of urban life, and greater tolerance for alternative lifestyles than suburban areas. One such example was an apartment house at 1516 22nd Street (extant), known as the Pink Fairy Palace, which gained a reputation as a residence where groups of gay men lived in the late 1960s. The Pink Fairy Palace reportedly housed one of the first known concentrated groups of gay men in Sacramento.[147] A similar group house for lesbians, known as the S Street Collective, was located in a Victorian house approximately three blocks south at 1903 21st Street (extant) in the 1970s. The S Street Collective was known among the lesbian community as a place where lesbians, who had recently moved to Sacramento and had yet to find permanent housing, could stay.[148]

The intersection of P and 22nd streets was a hub for local LGBTQ+ activity in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1971, the first known LGBTQ+ coffeehouse opened at a building around the corner from the Pink Fairy Palace at 2215 P Street (extant). The coffee shop was located in Apartment #2, which was the apartment of local gay rights activist Edgar Carpenter. Carpenter was a student at Sacramento State College (now California State University, Sacramento and also known as Sacramento State University) at the time; a writer for *Gay Voice Sacramento*, one of the first LGBTQ+ newsletters in Sacramento; and a leader in the gay liberation group, the Society for Homosexual Freedom (SHF), which was founded at Sacramento State University. SHF held its early meetings at the coffeeshop in 1971.[149] It also hosted a series of gay community potluck dinners.

[146] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 140.
[147] Robin Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 September 1982: A1-A17.
[148] Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[149] "Judge Orders College to Recognize Gay Club," *The Advocate*, No. 55 (March 17-30, 1971), 1, 9.

The coffeeshop, appropriately known as the Gay Alternative Coffeehouse, was created as space for young gay people to socialize outside the gay bar scene. According to a piece written by Carpenter in *Gay Voice Sacramento* around the time the coffee shop opened:

> The reason the coffeehouse has been started is that there is no gay scene in Sacramento outside of the bars (no gay scene for those of us under twenty-one) where we are charged exorbitant prices for drinks in a noisy, impersonal, meat-rack atmosphere which is the opposite of the atmosphere of community and brotherhood/sisterhood.[150]

Visitors entered the coffeehouse from the alley behind the house. A blue light and sign marked the entrance. To furnish the coffeehouse, *Gay Voice Sacramento* solicited donations of pillows, rugs, artwork, other décor items and a refrigerator. The coffeehouse offered a place for young gay people to meet, talk, order a hot beverage, and listen to the local KZAP or KERS radio stations.[151] In 1972, the Gay Alternative Coffeeshop moved to another apartment building at 1516 29th Street (extant).[152]

By, 1982, the number of residents in Sacramento who identified as gay grew to an estimated 70,000 to 80,000. That year, the *Sacramento Bee* published a series of articles that highlighted the growing visibility of an identifiable gay community in the city: "Unobtrusive gay and lesbian couples go almost unnoticed in districts as diverse as Curtis Park and Carmichael, Land Park and Rancho Cordova," the newspaper reported. "They are, in a word, everywhere."[153] A majority of gay residents lived in the suburban areas of Sacramento; however, an increasing number lived in the city's original street grid, known as the Central City or simply as "The Grid." Gay people chose to settle in Sacramento for the same reasons as straight people: they were drawn to job opportunities; the city's proximity to rivers, mountains, lakes, and the Pacific Ocean; and the chance to live in a city without the pressures of being in a large metropolis like San Francisco or Los Angeles. Some moved to Sacramento from other parts of the country where they had experienced harassment and discrimination, hoping to experience a greater degree of tolerance and acceptance.[154] As more people came out, a greater number of openly gay-owned or gay-welcoming businesses and institutions were established to serve them, laying the foundation for the emergence of a diverse and rich LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento.

[150] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 1, 1971.
[151] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 1, 1971.
[152] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 2, undated.
[153] Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento."
[154] Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento."

Formation of LGBTQ+ Subcultures

As the visibility of LGBTQ+ people increased and awareness of the complex and multifaceted nature of the community grew, individual members found themselves drawn to others who were like them, resulting in the formation of unique subcultures within the broader community that shared the same sexual orientations, gender identities, life experiences, backgrounds, and/or interests. These subcultures offered a sense of safety and belonging that individual members did not always experience when crossing into other subcultures.

LGBTQ+ residents who lived in Sacramento as the community crystalized in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s described Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community as factionalized and often divided between the various subcultures. In an era in which institutional support was scarce and legal protections were minimal or nonexistent, members of one subculture sometimes excluded members of others as they fought for recognition and an equal piece of the pie.[155] As one unnamed resident described it to *The Advocate* newspaper in 1978, "Sacramento relies a lot on friendship, but because social activities are limited, it tends to be cliquish. […] If you belong to one group, you can't belong to another. Cliques reign supreme."[156]

Gay white men were historically, and continue to be, the most visible and recognized subgroup—receiving the most coverage by the media and popular culture—both in Sacramento and the broader LGBTQ+ population nationwide. As in other cities, lesbians in Sacramento felt angered, embittered, and alienated by the treatment they received from gay men and the lack of recognition or representation they often received. Some gay businesses and organizations explicitly did not welcome lesbians, and as a result, lesbians were forced to establish their own safe spaces, social gathering places, clubs, and organizations. Gay men and lesbian women, thus, often chose to socialize and organize separately in Sacramento, as in other cities across the United States. Given this factionalism, instances in which members of different subcultures came together to organize, support each other, socialize, and recreate were particularly notable for their efforts to unite the community.[157]

[155] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk; Tina Reynolds, "The Spectrum Archives: Narratives of Courage," Sierra College Applied Art and Design, December 14, 2016, accessed May 33, 2024, Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Clare Flynn, April 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[156] McQueen, "Deadbolts for Doorknobs."
[157] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk; Tina Reynolds, "The Spectrum Archives: Narratives of Courage," Sierra College Applied Art and Design, December 14, 2016, accessed May 33, 2024, Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Clare Flynn, April 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

More nuanced terms to describe additional equally important identities within the broader LGBTQ+ community emerged in the 1960s, as well. The term "transgender" was introduced by John Oliven's 1965 book *Sexual Hygiene and Pathology* to identify a person who identifies with a gender other than the one they were assigned at birth. The term replaced earlier derogatory terms coined by the medical and psychological communities, such as "transexual" and "transvestite."[158]

Though the term "bisexual" was first used in the 1897 pamphlet by German psychologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing *Psycopathia Sexualis* to describe people who were attracted to both men and women, the term became a distinct sexual orientation in the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1967, one of the earliest organizations for bisexual people, the Sexual Freedom League, was founded in San Francisco. The National Bisexual Liberation Group formed in New York City in 1972.[159] By 1979, Sacramento State University had its own "Bi-Support Group," which sponsored a panel on bisexuality at the university as part of Gay Awareness Week.[160]

The removal of homosexuality from the DSM in 1973, while a positive development for the gay and lesbian communities, did not apply to transgender people, creating a rift between the transgender and gay and lesbian communities as the transgender community continued to fight for equal recognition, often with little support. Gender identity disorder (GID), later known as gender dysphoria, remained listed as a mental disorder in the DSM until 2012.[161]

As minorities within a minority, members of the LGBTQ+ community who were also people of color experienced additional challenges to feel welcome and accepted by the broader community. Torn between their allegiance to their racial identities and their sexual or gender identities, they often struggled to find a place where they felt they truly belonged. Many gay bars, which catered to a majority white male clientele, employed the practice of "carding" lesbians and queer persons of color to discourage their presence. If carded, those seeking admission would have to produce multiple forms of personal ID to secure entrance.[162] Liz, a Black woman and lesbian who moved to Sacramento in the early 1980s, described challenges finding girlfriends because of racism within the broader Sacramento lesbian and gay communities. White lesbians often refused to date her. As a result, many lesbians of color like her dated other lesbians from communities of color. Even then, cultural differences sometimes got in the way. Though not unlike the experience of gay and lesbian individuals from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, many gay Black and Latinx people came from deeply religious Christian families who disapproved or rejected them entirely if they came out as gay

[158] "Glossary of Terms," GLAAD, accessed April 28, 2024, https://glaad.org/reference/terms.
[159] Teaching LGBTQ History: LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History."
[160] "Bisexuality Panel at CSUS," *Mom Guess What…!,* 1979.
[161] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 81.
[162] Carson Anderson, "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS," July 9, 2024.

or transgender. Both the Black and Latinx communities often placed high value on traditional views of masculinity and hierarchical family structures and viewed homosexuality as a threat to their families. Often, gay Black and Latinx men and women decided to stay closeted to avoid rejection from their families and the communities into which they were born. They might secretly visit gay bars and establishments where they could freely express themselves and form clandestine romantic relationships outside their public heterosexual relationships. Because of the risk of being exposed if they were caught and lesbians' aversion to being hit on by straight men, members of the LGBTQ+ community sometimes resented the presence of straight people in gay spaces, such as gay bars and clubs.[163]

Because of the racism, discrimination, fetishization, and exclusion they often experienced, LGBTQ+ people of color in Sacramento created safe spaces of their own. LGBTQ+ spaces and organization that provided important outlets for social gathering, uplift, empowerment, and connection for Sacramento's Black LGBTQ+ community included an annual Afrocentric Weekend hosted by the local drag club and charitable organization, the Court of the Great Northwest Imperial Empire (CGNIE), at the Mercantile Saloon in the 1980s and later by the social group Gay and Lesbian African Americans (GALA) at Faces and the only Black lesbian bar in Sacramento, The Mirage, at 601 15th Street (extant) in the 1990s. Tired of the unwelcoming attitudes and mistreatment they received from many of Sacramento's gay bars, many Black LGBTQ+ individuals hosted exclusive private parties at their houses. One local Black lesbian, Shirley Mims, became well known for the parties she hosted at her house in the early 2000s. All of these groups and topics are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The leather and drag communities have been historically outcast from the broader LGBTQ+ community because it consists of members who visibly express themselves through their dress and physical appearance in ways that have been traditionally stigmatized by mainstream society. As a result, they created their own safe spaces for personal expression in Sacramento and across the country while also adopting a strong sense of obligation to help others in need. Leather communities across the United States evolved from gay motorcycle clubs in the 1940s and adopted clothing associated with motorcycle culture, military uniforms, denim, cowboys, and other hyper-masculine forms of expression, most commonly through leather dress. Over time, the leather community evolved into a subculture that broadly celebrates freedom of personal and sexual expression, or kink, and developed a deeply held sense of responsibility for protecting each other and the vulnerable. As such, the leather community developed a reputation as the protective force for the LGBTQ+ community. The leather community always had a particularly close kinship with the drag community, escorting drag queens at their events, and seeking each other out for protection in

[163] Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Clare Flynn, April 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

public places and dangerous situations.[164] Sacramento's drag community has been notably diverse and inclusive. Several of CGNIE's Empresses and Emperors have been people of color, transgender, or straight.[165] With their collective sense of responsibility to aid those in need, both the leather and drag communities integrated fundraising as a fundamental part of their cultures, becoming major forces for support within Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community particularly during the AIDS crisis.

Gay Bars & Cruising Locations

The development of the first openly gay-friendly social gathering places and business establishments in Sacramento did not occur overnight. Through the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, as much of the gay community remained closeted and being publicly "out" could still put one at risk of arrest, losing one's job, and being ostracized from family, friends, and coworkers, gay and lesbian individuals continued to meet in secret.

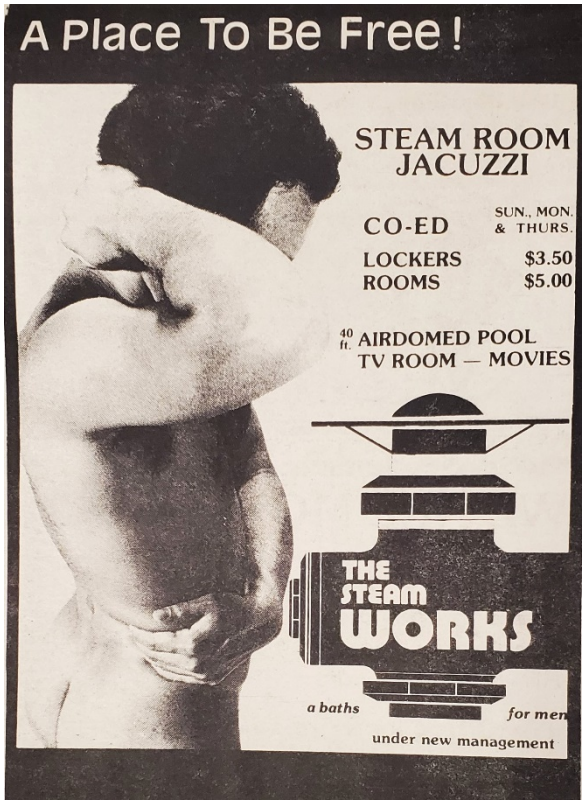

Figure 23. Advertisement for The Steam Works (1979). Source: *Mom Guess What...!*

Cruising continued to be a common way for gay men to find sexual partners and increased during the sexual revolution of the 1960s. The K Street mall – the stretch of K Street in downtown Sacramento between roughly 7th and 13th streets – was a popular cruising destination for gay men in the Sacramento area. Other known local cruising spots included city parks, such as Fremont Park in Midtown and Del Paso Park in Del Paso Heights, and beaches along the Sacramento River and American River, including Discovery Park near the confluence of the two rivers, Paradise Beach in the River Park neighborhood, and a beach near the end of N. 10th Street and Richards Boulevard.[166] The beach off North 10th Street was not just a cruising destination, but was also a popular hangout

[164] Matt Bunch, phone conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[165] Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 20, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Margaret Hale, "Queer Leather Culture," Subcultures and Sociology, Grinnell College, 2024, accessed August 24, 2024, https://haenfler.sites.grinnell.edu/queer-leather-culture/.
[166] Mapping the Gay Guides, accessed April 4, 2024, https://mappingthegayguides.org/.

spot during the summer months, where people would park their boats, and others would party and sunbathe on the secluded beach for much of the day.[167]

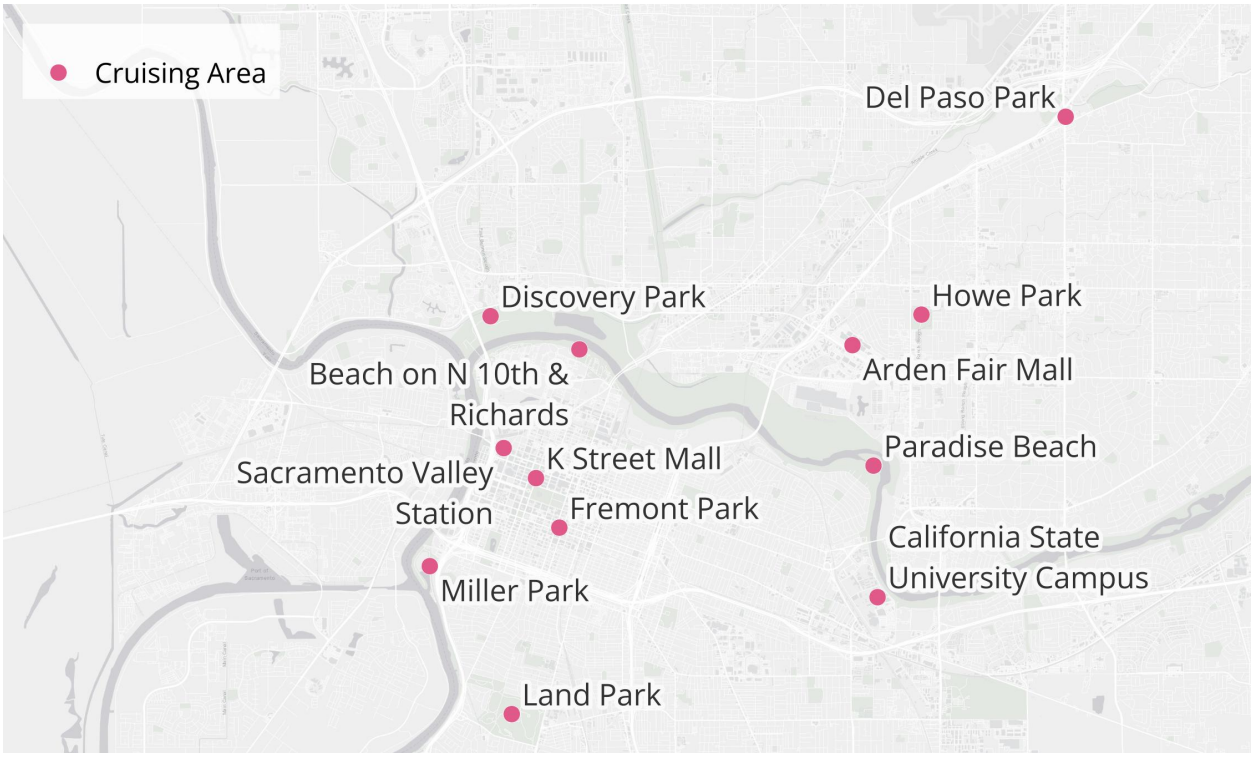

Figure 24. Cruising locations in the Sacramento area, ca. 1960s-1990s. Map created by Nick Kobel.

Compared to parks and public restrooms, however, gay bars and bathhouses were safer places to find sexual partners.[168] The first bathhouse within the City of Sacramento was Steve's Health and Social Club (later Steam Works Bath), located at the former Sunshine Chicken Hatchery warehouse at 2551 5th Street. Ward Percifield first opened the bathhouse around 1974. Arsonists firebombed the building in 1976, reportedly after the establishment had received several threats of extortion.[169] By 1979, the business was described publicly in the *Sacramento Bee* as a 24-hour bathhouse primarily for gay patrons. The bathhouse had a policy of welcoming co-ed couples and straight people three nights a week, in order to allow closeted individuals to enjoy the baths and meet people.[170] Steam Works hosted events, such as "An Evening at the Baths," a 1979 benefit for the Sacramento Film Festival that included drinks served by "satin-shorted skaters, hors d'oeuvres in the

[167] Comments from small group sessions, September 2024.
[168] Bill Lindelof, "Gay Bars Flourish in Downtown Area As Places to Relax, Find Partners," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 September 1983: A16.
[169] "Firebombing Suspected as Massage Parlor Burns," *Sacramento Bee*, 18 October 1976: 19.
[170] "Getting Steamed Up at 3:45am," *Sacramento Bee*, 27 December 1979: 65.

'orgy room,' poolside dancing, funky films, a song and dance revue and the 'best of Sacramento in drag.'"[171]

Gay bars—which had covertly served a vital role as some of the only places LGBTQ+ individuals could openly express their sexual identities since the first decades of the 20th century—blossomed into the public center of LGBTQ+ life in the decades after the late 1960s. Gay bars became not just places to meet sexual partners; they developed into the de facto center of gay life, where LGBTQ+ individuals received and exchanged news, formed lasting friendships and romantic relationships, and organized social, professional, and political groups, clubs, and events.

While some gay bars existed in Sacramento's Central City grid prior to the late 1960s, California's anti-sodomy laws, which had been used to harass and imprison LGBTQ+ individuals for over 100 years, and the City of Sacramento's strict enforcement of those laws, prevented the formation of any recognizable concentration of gay-owned or gay-friendly establishments within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento until the state laws were repealed in the 1970s. In 1975, Assembly Bill 437, which ended California's sodomy laws, passed both houses of the California state legislature and was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown, Jr.[172] The impact of the repeal of the state's sodomy laws is visible in the pattern of development of gay bars and gay-friendly establishments in the Sacramento area. Locations where queer people could openly gather and interact were initially scattered throughout the city, though the largest concentrations remained across the Sacramento River in the City of West Sacramento through the mid-1970s. The Damron Guides recorded only two queer-friendly establishments in Sacramento from the publication of the first issue in 1965 through 1970: the Topper Club and Mark Twain Hotel bar located along the cruising area on the K Street Mall in downtown Sacramento.

Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, however, the number of gay bars and queer-friendly establishments steadily increased and spread throughout the City of Sacramento as policing of sexual activities decreased. A small number of new establishments emerged within the city in the early 1970s, including three Goldie's Book Store locations at 1305 J Street, 5644 Stockton Boulevard, and 2026 Broadway (extant). Both 21st Street and Broadway would gradually include small concentrations of LGBTQ+-friendly businesses. The first, though short-lived, gay bar on 21st Street that was listed in the Damron Guides was Raye's Inn at 1617 21st Street in 1971. A few years later, the Cruz'in/Y-Not bar was located a few blocks to the north at 2026 I Street near the intersection of

[171] Stanley Gilliam, "Stan's Sacramento," *Sacramento Bee*, 8 May 1979: 38.
[172] Graves and Watson, "LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 227-228.

21st and I streets. By 1973, the Goldie's Book Store location on Broadway was joined by the Corker Club (later Bob and Frank's Underpass and Corral/Broadway Limited) at 1946 Broadway.[173]

Many of the most popular and successful early gay bars within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento opened in outlying neighborhoods outside the Central City in the 1970s. In 1976, Wisconsin-native Terry Sidie opened his first gay bar in Sacramento, a dance club called Bo Jangles at 7042 Folsom Boulevard (extant) just outside the campus of California State University, Sacramento in East Sacramento. However, despite the growing visibility of gay men and lesbians in Sacramento, anti-gay discrimination and violence remained a constant reality. In 1979, four patrons at Bo Jangles were wounded when someone fired a gun into the crowded patio outside the bar from nearby Highway 50. No arrests were recorded in the *Sacramento Bee's* reporting.[174] Despite the continuing threat of violence and harassment, Bo Jangles was an important social outlet for the community. The bar was a popular spot for young people due to its proximity to the campus of Sacramento State University and the fact that most of the bar was open to people under the age of 21.[175] Jolanne Tierney, known fondly by her DJ-ing name Jammin' Jo, remembered the bar as the first place where she publicly came out. When she walked into Bo Jangles for the first time as a high school student in 1979, she said it "was the first time [she] knew she wasn't alone," adding, "It felt like home."[176]

During the same period, four gay bars existed in Carmichael: Atticus (later Male Box) and Play Pen near the intersection of El Camino Boulevard and Walnut Avenue and Fay's and Joseph's Montana Saloon near the intersection of Fair Oaks Boulevard and Manzanita Avenue. The T-Room at the Carousel Restaurant was located at the Arden Fair Shopping Center, north of the Central City, while the Stardust Room restaurant was located at 5609 Freeport Boulevard near the Sacramento Executive Airport (extant) south of the Central City.[177] Around 1980, a co-ed gay bar called the Parking Lot opened at 2804 Auburn Boulevard with an Olympic-sized swimming pool and billiard room and became a popular destination for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community.

[173] Mapping the Gay Guides, accessed August 14, 2024, https://mappingthegayguides.org/viz/map/.
[174] "Shots Fired at Bar Crowd," *Sacramento Bee*, 29 July 1979: A26.
[175] Alan LoFaso, conversation with Clare Flynn, September 13, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[176] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 2, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[177] Mapping the Gay Guides, accessed April 4, 2024, https://mappingthegayguides.org/.

Figure 25. Sign in front of Joseph's Montana Saloon (1978). Source: Gay in Sacramento.

Figure 26. Josep Migliaccio (undated). Source: *Outword Magazine*.

Several of the bars outside the Central City were owned by Joseph Migliaccio. In addition to Joseph's Montana Saloon, Migliaccio was also the proprietor of Joseph's Town and Country at 1454 Del Paso Boulevard (extant), The Forum at 2840 Auburn Boulevard (extant), The Broadway Limited at 1946 Broadway (extant), The Bolt at 2560 Boxwood Street (extant), and various other incarnations of "Joseph's" over the course of his lifetime. At a time when many of Sacramento's gay bars frequently rejected anyone other than white gay men—including lesbians, drag queens, African Americans, and straight people—Migliaccio's bars were significant within Sacramento's broader LGBTQ+ community for welcoming all members of the community. In its 2009 obituary for Migliaccio, *Outword Magazine* described the clientele of Migliaccio's bars as a mix of gay men, lesbians, "leather men and women, cowboys and cowgirls, drag queens, crossdressers, transgenders, bikers, bears, pool players, jeans and Elvis guys, the occasional punker, preppies and the boy and girls next door all had a home at Joseph's and he even occasionally hosted a nudist club."[178]

MIDTOWN'S GAY BAR SCENE

By the early 1980s, a new concentration of gay bars began to emerge in Midtown, centered around the intersection of 20th and K streets. One of first gay bars in the area was the Mercantile Saloon (extant), which opened at a converted Victorian house at 1928 L Street in 1976. Lovingly nicknamed "The Merc," it was credited with making gay nightlife more visible in Sacramento. The Merc was

[178] Charles Peer, "Remembering Joseph Migliaccio," *Outword Magazine* 22, No. 378 (February 2009).

owned by local restauranteur Bill Christie. Christie was also the owner of a prime rib restaurant called Christie's Elbo Room nearby at 2001 K Street (extant), which later became a series of gay bars. The bar became known for welcoming gay Black men at a time when many other gay bars did not. Ernie Brown—a gay Black man who was also an Emperor of CGNIE, board member of the George Sand Community Benefit Fund, and former owner of Ernie's Place bar at 725 Tower Court in West Sacramento—managed the bar in the 1980s. Robert "Bobbette" Hoyos was another popular manager of the bar for 15 years from 1981 until his death in 1996.[179] The Merc was less hostile toward gay Black men than most of Sacramento's other gay bars. Together with a jazz bar called the Rose Cocktail Lounge across the street at 2001 L Street, The Merc, under Ernie Brown's management, became the main bar and social gathering place for gay Black men in Sacramento.[180] On Friday nights, tables five rows deep would be filled with gay Black men until the AIDS epidemic killed many of the bar's gay Black patrons in the 1980s.[181]

Figure 27. Advertisement for the Mercantile Saloon (1992). Source: *Patlar Gazette*.

[179] "Hoyos, 'Bobbette' Robert," *Sacramento Bee*, 15 November 1996: B7.
[180] John Bennett, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Clarmundo Sullivan, conversation with Carson Anderson, August 9, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[181] Asa Salley, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, September 5, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

The Western at 2001 K Street was continuously operated as a bar by members of the Dallosta family from 1938 through the 1990s and took the name The Western around 1953.[182] By at least the 1990s, it had a reputation as a bar for older gay men.[183] In 1997, TJ Bruce and his mother Marjorie purchased the building and opened it as a gay bar called The Western Pacific Depot.

Figure 28. Club 21 with owners Clay and Bill Biscoe (standing) and Bernie Ferris (seated). (1982). Source: Morgan Ong for *The Sacramento Bee*.

Figure 29. Business cards for Club 21 and K Street. Courtesy of Bernie Ferris.

In 1981, Bernie Ferris opened Club 21 at 1122 21st Street with investors and brothers Clay and Bill Biscoe. Ferris received his teaching credential from Sacramento State University and initially worked as a grade schoolteacher for 17 years before coming out as gay in the late 1970s. After being publicly harassed at school by former students who had seen him at a local gay bar, he left his teaching career and went to work as a real estate agent for Century 21. In 1979, he met brothers Bill and Clay Biscoe, and the men decided to take over a straight bar called the Aero Tavern, which they named Club 21. The bar was immediately successful, attracting 350 people on an average Saturday night and receiving an award as the River City Business Association's Business of the Year in 1982.[184] Two years later, they closed Club 21 in order to open a larger bar in the building formerly occupied by Christie's Elbo Room. The new bar was named K Street and had an upscale atmosphere with

[182] Sacramento city directories, 1938-1982, Ancestry.com; "Genevieve Mary 'Gen' (Domich) Dallosta," *Sacramento Bee*, 27 November 2018.
[183] Taylor Facha, text message conversation with Clare Flynn, August 30, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

[184] Bill Lindelof, "Gay Bars Flourish in Downtown Area As Places to Relax, Find Partners," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 September 1982: A16.

bar hosted art shows for local artists and had dancing every night. In spite of the bar's popularity, its owners became overstretched and declared bankruptcy in 1985. Bo Jangles owner Terry Sidie purchased the property and transformed it into Faces in 1985. Ferris continued to work as the manager of Faces until 1994.[185] Similar to Migliaccio's vision for his bars, Sidie wished to combat the exclusionary attitude of the gay community and the bar scene in the 1970s by creating a place that welcomed everyone. The name Faces was coined by Incredible Edible Place restaurant owner Paul Fitzgerald and was intended to reflect the bar's inclusive nature as a place that was open to all communities and all "faces." Sidie envisioned Faces as a destination for dancing and a luxurious alternative to the typical dive bar. By 2015, the bar featured three dance floors, each of which played different genres of music, 16 bar stations, and an outdoor swimming pool. A rainbow-colored triangular sign at the front door was installed that read "You are entering a gay bar! Respect us, and we'll respect you!"[186]

Figure 30. Faces owner, Terry Sidie (kneeling in front with a cowboy hat) with staff of Faces (1987). Source: Collection of Terry Sidie.

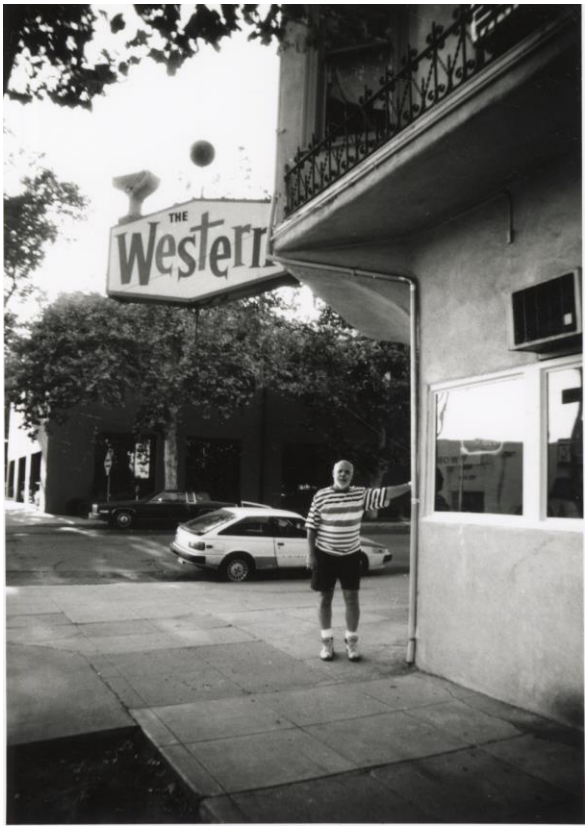

Figure 31. An unidentified man in front of The Western, ca. 1992. Source: Center for Sacramento History.

[185] Bernie Ferris, "Bernie Ferris History," undated, courtesy of Christine Ferris.
[186] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 September 2015: B1, B6.

By 1983, there were least five gay bars within two blocks of the intersection of 20th and K streets, including K Street Station, The Western across the street at 2001 K Street (extant), and the Wreck Room at 925 20th Street (altered but extant).[187] Clyde Frampton opened the Wreck Room around 1980. The bar became a popular destination for the local leather and motorcycle communities. It relocated to 2513 Broadway (extant) around 1984 after the building's owners decided to remodel the building into apartments.[188] A Latin gay bar opened at the American Legion Hall, Fort Sutter Post No. 392, at 1119 21st Street (extant) at an unknown date.[189]

Figure 32. A group outside the Wreck Room (background left) at 925 20th Street. Source: Personal Collection of George Raya.

The character of Sacramento's gay bars varied widely, reflecting the diversity of Sacramento's gay community. The Merc looked like a typical straight bar except that there were usually no women present. Club 21 had a similar "casual and friendly" atmosphere to The Merc, but differed from other local gay bars in hosting a clientele that consisted of gay doctors, lawyers, and other professionals.[190] The Wreck Room, a few blocks away, was a leather bar that featured male underwear hanging on chains above the bar.[191] In a written recollection, Sacramento resident Tim

[187] William Burg, *Midtown Sacramento: Creative Soul of the City* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014), 41.
[188] Sue Boylan, "Gay Bar Owners Change Minds on Midtown Move," *Sacramento Bee*, 27 December 1984: 11.
[189] Public comments, Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project, small group sessions, September 2024.
[190] Christine Ferris, "1980's History of Sacramento LGBTQ Community," email to Henry Feuss, July 10, 2024.
[191] Lindelof, "Gay Bars Flourish in Downtown Area As Places to Relax, Find Partners."

Holt offered a glimpse of the vibrancy and variety of Sacramento's gay bar scene in the late 1970s and early 1980s:

> The atmosphere in the gay bars was more relaxed than you generally find in most singles bars. People were definitely checking each other out, so there was a certain feeling of nervous expectation, but I noticed that there was a lot more touching going on – much of it obviously just friendly contact – than you'd expect to see in straight bars.
>
> The Mercantile Saloon [was] a quiet, relatively sedate, sit-and-talk-while-you-check-out-the-action bar. It [was] located in Midtown, at the corner of 19th and L streets.
>
> Bo Jangles, at 70th and Folsom, [was] a flashy disco spot that cater[ed] to a fairly young crowd, a lot of them from nearby CSUS.
>
> At Joseph's Montana Saloon on a Wednesday night, we encountered what was obviously the regular crowd of women playing pool. One, who wore glasses and played lousy pool, looked matronly enough to be my old fourth grade teacher – except that my fourth-grade teacher never wore tight blue jeans.[192]

Despite the differing characters of the city's gay bars, community members reflected that Sacramento's gay bar scene "had a closeness and unity that larger cities, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, could only wish to have."[193] By 1982, an article in the *Sacramento Bee* estimated that roughly 3,500 to 5,000 of the city's estimated gay residents frequented the city's gay bars. By 1987, the Damron Guides no longer showed any gay bars located in West Sacramento, indicating that the center of gay life had completed its shift east to Downtown and Midtown Sacramento.[194]

The transgender community was not accepted by the gay and lesbian communities through the 1990s. While some transgender people went to gay bars, they were often beat up or bullied, and instead typically socialized in small groups at potlucks, dinners, or other gatherings at their private residences. It was not until the early 2000s that the transgender community began to be welcomed into Sacramento's broader LGBTQ+ community.[195]

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[192] Tim Holt, "Sacto's Gays," personal collection or George Raya. According to community member Alan LoFaso, Bo Jangles was also popular with young people, because most of the bar was open to people under the age of 21.
[193] "Story - Bar History I, 1955-1995," undated, George Raya collection.
[194] Mike Walker, "Damron Guide Reveals Sacramento Past," 2005, George Raya collection.
[195] Conversation between Tina Reynolds, Clare Flynn, and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

Figure 33. Collection of advertisements for gay and lesbian bars in Sacramento, circa 1970s-1990s. Source: Personal collection of George Raya and *Mom Guess What...!*

LESBIAN BARS

Many of Sacramento's "men's bars" did not welcome lesbians or transgender people. While lesbians and transgender people went to gay bars, they were often harassed and formed their own separate safe spaces for socializing. Lesbian residents formed their own tight-knit bar scene. As in other cities across the country, the local lesbian bar scene grew as more women, including gay women, attended college and found jobs outside the home and formed bonds with other women like them. According to Cherie Gordon, a lesbian resident who started the Le Theatre Lesbien theater troupe and frequented many of Sacramento's lesbian bars between the 1960s and 1980s, drinking and cruising were not as central to lesbian culture and social life as it was for gay men, and Sacramento struggled to support more than one lesbian bar at a time. Older lesbian bars closed shortly after new ones opened.

Figure 34. Advertisement for the Crescent Moon (undated). Source: Collection of George Raya.

Like the gay men's bar scene, the local lesbian bar scene had its roots in West Sacramento. Perhaps the most well-known lesbian bar in West Sacramento in the late 1960s and early 1970s was Off Key, which opened at 1040 Soule Street around 1967 and was run by a straight man named Jack Gaylord. He gained a reputation for protecting the lesbians who frequented his bar. In the early 1970s, Cherie Gordon and Patricia (now Matty) One Person—both Sacramento State University students and founders of the lesbian theater troupe, Le Theatre Lesbien—previewed films they created about the lesbian experience at the bar. The Off Key closed after a new gay bar, the Hawaiian Hut, opened around 1974 and attracted most of the Off Key's lesbian clientele. To their shock and dismay, lesbian patrons soon discovered that they were not welcome at the new bar and had to find a new place to socialize.[196] They found open doors and open arms The Casino Club, a bar recently opened by another straight man at 1923 16th Street (extant). As lesbian and gay bars were typically not allowed to operate on the east side of the Sacramento River at the time, the Casino Club was a rare destination for lesbians in Sacramento, who appreciated not having to drive to West Sacramento to socialize. In 1974, members of Le Theatre Lesbien approached the owner of the Casino Club about performing their play "From Lesbos to Homophobia" in order to attract a crowd to the bar on a

[196] Cherie Gordon, "A History of Lesbian Bars in Sacramento," personal collection of George Raya; Cherie Gordon, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

typically quiet Sunday night. The play was a success, and other staged events were held at The Casino Club in the 1970s.[197]

In 1978, Angie Saldivia purchased a straight bar nearby at 1704 Broadway (extant) and opened a new lesbian bar there called the Crescent Moon. Saldivia remodeled the building, commissioning a local artist to create a stained-glass crescent moon for the front door, and decorating the building's storage room doors with etched glass inserts of birds and flowers. The 200-person club had a large dance floor, making it a popular destination during the height of disco in the late 1970s. The Crescent Moon also had a pool room in the backyard, which was built by patrons and decorated with unicorns, and hosted variety shows and barbeques. According to local resident and patron Connie Allen, the Crescent Moon "had a very homey, relaxing, comfortable environment," and was a place where many relationships began. A song written by patrons and sung nightly at closing time captured the atmosphere of the Crescent Moon:

> It's another lonely night in Sacramento
> Sitting with the girls and drinking wine.
> Louise and I were talking of the old days
> Trying to remember better times.
>
> And where, where are you tonight?
> How come you thought it was all right
> For you to walk away
> Show yourself the world?
>
> I'm lonely but I'm trying to make it all right.
> Now I'm asking this one here
> If she would like another beer
> And if she'd like to go with me tonight.
> Come on, honey. Come go with me tonight.[198]

According to Allen, the opening of the Parking Lot around 1980 pulled much of the clientele away from the Crescent Moon, which closed around the same time.[199] The similarly named Once Upon a Blue Moon, more commonly known as the Blue Moon, opened around 1985 at 2565 Franklin Boulevard (extant). Owned by local blown glass artist Shannon Morgan, it was one of the only

[197] Cherie Gordon, "Corrections to Your 2nd Draft of Chapter 3," emailed to Clare Flynn, September 23, 2024.
[198] Connie Allen, email to George Raya, 13 December 1999, personal collection of George Raya.
[199] Allen, email to George Raya, 13 December 1999.

lesbian bars in Sacramento for much of the 1980s. Members of the local women's slow and fast pitch softball leagues and other sports teams often gathered at the bar after weekly Sunday games to socialize.[200] The Blue Moon closed around 1990.[201] Other popular lesbian bars that operated between the 1970s and 1990s included the Buffalo Club at 1831 S Street, The Mirage at 601 15th Street (extant), and Jammin' Jo's Sports and Dance Bar at 2721 Broadway (extant).[202] The Mirage was owned and operated by a Black lesbian in the 1990s. All aspects of the bar—from its music to its food, staff, and décor—welcomed and validated the Black gay experience, making it a rare and important gathering place for Black lesbians in Sacramento.[203]

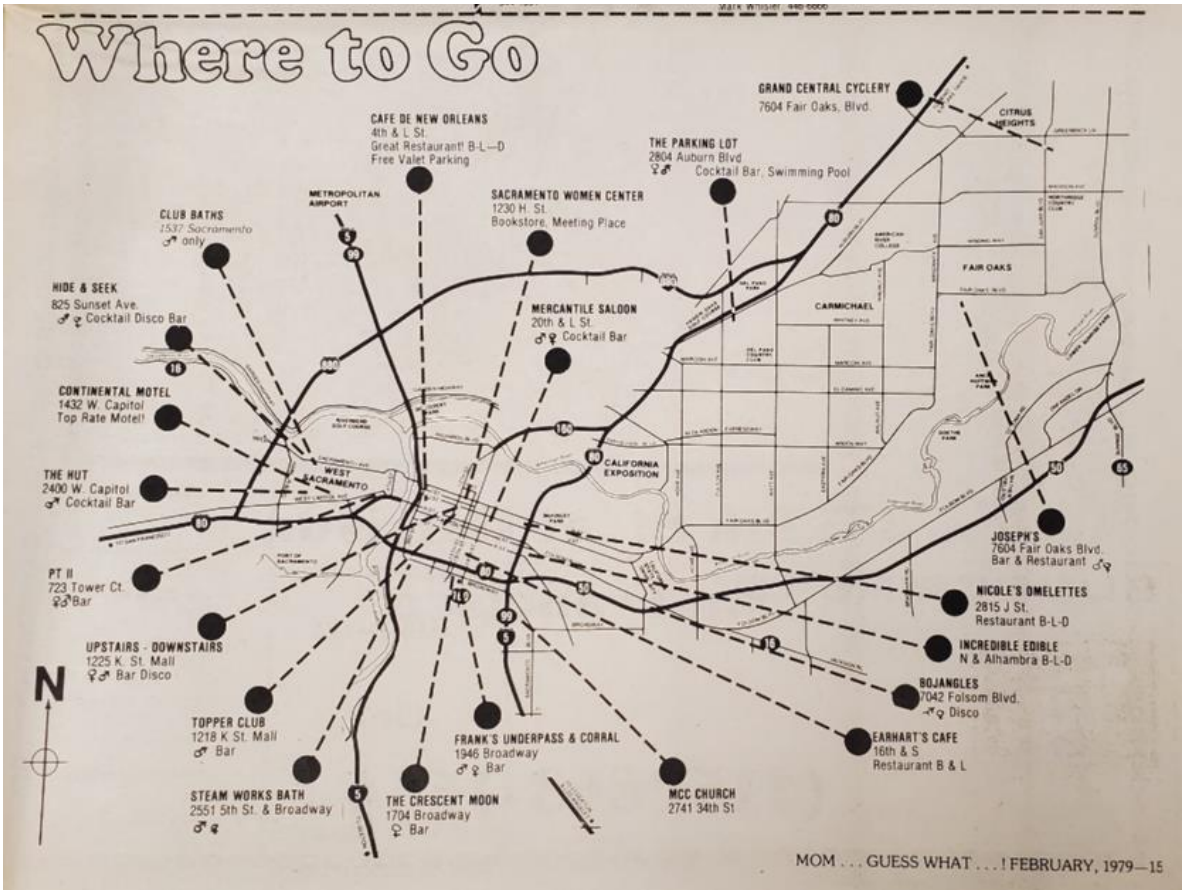

Figure 35. Map showing the LGBTQ+ community "where to go," published in *Mom...Guess What...!* in February 1979. Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE).

[200] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 7, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[201] Haines Criss-Cross Directory, Sacramento, 1990, Sacramento Public Library.
[202] Melba, Fifty Gay Years In The Greater Sacramento Area: 1950 – 2000," 2007-2020, accessed April 27, 2024, https://gayinsacramento.com/index.html; Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Clare Flynn, April 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[203] Clarmundo Sullivan, conversations with Carson Anderson, August 2024, Sacramento, CA; Asa Salley and Judy Walls, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, September 5, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

Lavender Heights

LOCATION

Figure 36. Earhart's Cafe owners Pam Musante and Jo Harding outside the café (ca. 1992). Source: Center for Sacramento History.

By the 1970s, the foundations of a clearly identifiable, vibrant, openly gay neighborhood began to emerge in Sacramento. Known as Lavender Heights, the neighborhood was centered around the intersection of 20th and K streets and the surrounding blocks, though its boundaries were not clearly defined and evolved over time with the growth of LGBTQ+-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly business establishments in the Midtown area. In the early 1980s, an article in the *Sacramento Bee* described Lavender Heights as "a cluster of gay-owned or gay-frequented businesses along 21st Street between Broadway and C Street."[204] However, by the 1990s, the neighborhood had expanded north and to the east and west, primarily along K and J streets. In a survey of 111 residents and patrons of Lavender Heights conducted in 1998 by graduate student Michael Claussen, participants broadly identified G, H, or I streets as the neighborhood's northern boundary; L Street, Capitol Avenue, or N Street as its southern boundary; 16th or 20th streets as its western boundary; and 23rd Street or Alhambra Boulevard as its eastern boundary. While the north and south boundaries were geographically relatively close, the variance between the east and west boundaries reflected the locations of establishments that were commonly frequented by the neighborhood's residential community more broadly. Popular gay restaurants the Bread Store at 1716 J Street (extant) and Hamburger Mary's at 1630 J Street (extant) and local lesbian/feminist café Earhart's Café at 1905 16th Street (extant), which also served as meeting places for LGBTQ+ groups and organizations, were located on or near 16th Street, while 20th Street was the location of several of the most popular gay bars in the city, Faces and The Western. Alhambra Boulevard does not appear to have been selected by survey respondents because of the presence of important gay businesses but rather because it was home to several establishments that were frequented by residents of Midtown more broadly, including a Safeway grocery store at 1025 Alhambra Boulevard

[204] Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento."

(extant), humorously nicknamed "Gayway," and another popular gay-owned restaurant and meeting place, Incredible Edible Place, at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard (extant).[205]

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT

The name "Lavender Heights" was coined by members of Sacramento's gay community in the 1970s, but it did not become more publicly used until the early 1980s, when the *Sacramento Bee* published a series of articles highlighting the neighborhood and several of its businesses. Although the origin of the neighborhood's name is unknown, the color lavender was a reference to the popular association of the gay community with the color purple. Another name, "Fruit Flats," was reportedly considered for the neighborhood and showed the community's sense of humor but did not catch on.[206]

Likely drawn to Midtown by the growing number of gay and lesbian residents in the area, gay-friendly businesses began to open. As with many gay neighborhoods throughout the United States, the first seeds of the Lavender Heights neighborhood were planted by the establishment of several gay bars—traditionally the center of gay life.[207]

As previously described, some of the earliest and most prominent gay bars in the neighborhood were the Mercantile Saloon, The Western (later The Depot), Club 21, K Street Station (later Faces), , and the Wreck Room, all of which were located at or within a few blocks of the intersection of 20th and K Steets. The success of Faces, in particular, brought a groundswell of energy to the intersection. Steve Hansen, the first openly gay City Councilman in Sacramento's history, described Faces as "that initial piece of life that built this reef of activity [in Lavender Heights]." In 2015, Sidie reflected back that prior to the opening of K Street Station and its reopening as Faces, the neighborhood around 20th and K streets "was nothing. It was broken-down garages, an empty funeral parlor. There was a down bar called The Western. Lewis Florist was falling into the ground. It wasn't called 'Lavender Heights.' They didn't even call it 'mid-town.'"[208]

Under Sidie's leadership, Faces became akin to a community center. Born and raised on a farm in Wisconsin, Sidie left home at the age of 19 to live with an aunt in Detroit, where he came out as gay. He later moved to Los Angeles, where he worked as a private-duty nurse before enlisting in the military in 1971. Though hoping "to see the world," he was stationed at the hospital at Mather Air Force Base in the Sacramento area. During the evenings, he moonlighted as a bartender at bars in Sacramento and West Sacramento, gaining experience with the local gay bar scene. After opening

[205] Michael Andrew Claussen, "Lavender Heights: The Emerging Gay Community in Downtown Sacramento, California," (M.A. thesis, California State University, Chico, 1998,) 100-102.
[206] Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento."
[207] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 90.
[208] Quote from Terry Sidie in Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 September 2015: B1, B6.

Bo Jangles in 1976, Sidie became one of the most successful and influential figures in Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, opening several other bars, restaurants, and establishments, and supporting community clubs and organizations through donations and fundraisers. At one point, Sidie owned Bo Jangles and Faces, as well as the reopened Club 21 (which operated through the early 2000s), a restaurant called Head Hunters, the Verona Village Resort in Sutter County, and a farm in his home state of Wisconsin. Sidie used the success of his business endeavors to benefit and empower Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Faces became a hub for the community and arguably the most well-known and recognizable landmark for the LGBTQ-life in Sacramento. In addition to its regular business, the bar hosted events such as voter drives for local gay political advocacy groups, including the River City Democratic Club and later the Stonewall Democratic Club; fundraisers for LGBTQ+-friendly politicians; and the first meeting of the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Softball League.[209] In 1987, Sidie helped start the Rainbow Festival with Hamburger Mary's owner Richard Boriolo. The festival, which is held annually as a fundraiser for local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations, was Boriolo's idea and continues to use Faces as its main hub.[210] In reflecting on Sidie's impact on the community, Reverend Jerry Sloan, founder of the Lambda Community Center (now the Sacramento LGBT Community Center), stated, "A lot of people and groups, including myself, have certainly gone to him and said, 'Terry, we need,' and he never hesitates. And we're talking thousands of dollars, not 20 bucks."[211] By 1997, Sidie, himself, estimated he had given $120,000 to local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations.[212]

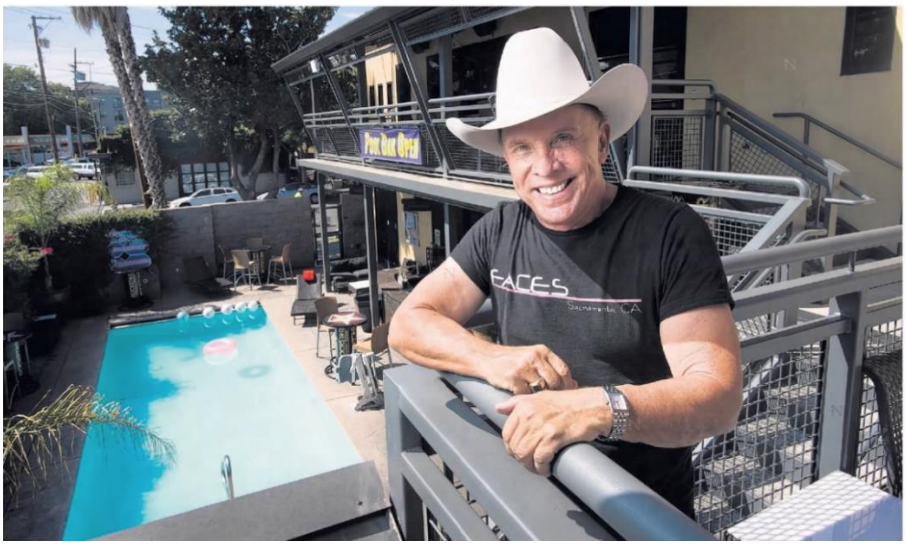

Figure 37. Terry Sidie at Faces (2015). Source: Paul Kitagaki for *The Sacramento Bee*.

[209] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[210] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[211] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[212] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."

The growing concentration of LGBTQ+ residents and bars created a sense of safety, acceptance, and awareness that contributed to the establishment of other businesses and institutions that transformed Lavender Heights into a full-fledged community. In contrast to many of Sacramento's ethnic and racial minorities, who could be visually identified—and, therefore, discriminated against, due to their physical appearance—gay individuals could not typically be identified as such by their outward appearance alone and were able to seek out locations to set down roots where they felt safe, accepted, able to freely express themselves, and had access to important community services. Thus, Lavender Heights became what Claussen called a "community of congregation," a self-created and self-defined place where the LGBTQ+ community chose to establish itself, rather than a community of segregation that was forced into a specific area due to discrimination.[213]

As more gay and lesbian individuals moved into Midtown and the number of gay businesses, institutions, and services grew, a true community emerged that provided services for all aspects of daily life. Transgender people also patronized gay establishments but were less visible due to a general lack of acceptance from the gay and lesbian communities through the early 2000s.[214] By the 1990s, Lavender Heights contained not just a concentration of gay bars but also a wide variety of restaurants, clothing stores, laundromats, shops, bookstores, beauty salons and barber shops, doctors, therapists, lawyers, dentists, and realtors that catered specifically to LGBTQ+ clientele.

While Lavender Heights had its epicenter at the intersection of 20th and K streets, 21st Street and J Street were also important corridors in the neighborhood.[215] In addition to Club 21, 21st Street was the home of the offices of out gay doctors Harvey Thompson and Sandy Pomerantz and later The Open Book, a gay and lesbian bookstore, at 910-912 21st Street (extant); an early headquarters of *Mom…Guess What…!*, a newspaper founded in 1978 by Linda Birner to serve Sacramento's gay community and allies, at 1919 21st Street (extant); and a temporary location of the lesbian feminist bookstore, Lioness Books, at 1311 21st Street.[216] *Mom Guess What…!*, Lioness Books, and The Open Book are discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Other gay-owned businesses on 21st Street included the popular gift shop Postcards Etc. at 2101 L Street (extant) and garden supply and design store the Gifted Gardener. The Gifted Gardener was opened in 1989 by former banker and Gay Men's Chorus founding member David Kwong. The store initially operated at 2220 J Street (extant) for a little more than a year before moving to 1730 J Street (extant), where it remained for nearly 30 years.[217] Postcards Etc. was started by jazz pianist and Sacramento native Jeffrey Heald and Mexican

[213] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 84, 164.
[214] Conversation between Tina Reynolds, Clare Flynn, and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[215] Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento."
[216] Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento."
[217] Cathie Anderson, "Midtown Sacramento's Gifted Gardener Will Close," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 March 2017: A2.

native Abdon Legrand at a flea market on Northgate Boulevard near Pell Drive in 1991 and moved to 21st Street in 1994.[218] It closed in the early 2000s.

Figure 38. Jeffrey Heald (left) and Abdon Legrand (right) at Postcards Etc (1996). Source: Owen Brewer for *The Sacramento Bee*.

Figure 39. David Kwong inside The Gifted Gardener (2017). Source: Cathie Anderson for *The Sacramento Bee.*

J Street later became the site of the First Sacramento Women's Building at 2224 J Street (extant), the longest-running location of the Sacramento Women's Center, which included Lioness Books, the Rape Crisis Center, and Women's Employment Services Training; the LGBTQ+-friendly First United Methodist Church at 2100 J Street (extant); and, by the 1990s, several LGBTQ+ owned businesses and shops, including Styleyes at 2231 J Street (extant), Fleet Feet at 2408 J Street (extant) and later at 2311 J Street (extant), and others; and the offices of the Sacramento AIDS Foundation at 2115 J Street (extant). A community center for the LGBTQ+ community that was the birthplace of the Lambda Players theater troupe was located in a Victorian house at 1931 L Street (extant) and for a short time, next to the Wreck Room at 919 20th Street. Gay men used the New Helvetia Roaster coffee shop at the old fire station building at 1215 19th Street (extant) as a location to meet men they found in classified ads away from the gay bars.[219] With such a variety of businesses and services specifically by and for LGBTQ+ residents, Lavender Heights became a relatively self-contained and self-sufficient neighborhood.[220] As the primary location throughout much of the surrounding area in which one could find businesses and services specifically intended to meet the needs and desires of LGBTQ+ individuals, it also served as the center for the Sacramento region's broader LGBTQ+ community.[221]

[218] Norman D. Williams, "Off-the-Wall Postcards Etc Thrives in Growing Niche," *Sacramento Bee*, 25 March 1996: E1.
[219] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.
[220] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 120.
[221] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 122.

The tight-knit character of Lavender Heights as an enclave primarily by and for members of the LGBTQ+ community shifted by the early 2000s as social acceptance of LGBTQ+ people, identities, and expressions became more common and a growing number of straight people began to patronize the area's gay bars and businesses. As the LGBTQ+ community became more mainstream and the number of businesses grew, competition increased and the drive to support LGBTQ+ businesses as an act of resistance, survival, and pride from within the LGBTQ+ community declined. Terry Sidie reflected that Lavender Heights lost much of its previous "oomph" by 2005. "There's not the same energy as before," he said.[222] That year, the Open Book closed, citing competition from other stores and waning support from LGBTQ+ patrons. Looking back on the evolution of Lavender Heights since the 1970s, Fred Palmer, publisher of the LGBTQ+ publication *Outword Magazine*, reflected in 2005, "[Lavender Heights] used to be a true 'gay ghetto' business district, but it's lost a lot of its gay focus. What that tells you is that the local gay community has grown up, that Sacramento in general is a safer place to be publicly gay."[223]

Community Centers & Services

The growing self-awareness among Sacramento's LGBTQ+ residents that they were part of a larger underserved community came with the recognition that they needed to come together to help their own. Individuals pooled their resources and social networks to found community centers, charities, and other service organizations to meet the community's needs. Though no officially designated LGBTQ+ community center existed in Sacramento in the early 1970s, some shared spaces emerged during this period that served as important meeting and incubator spaces for local LGBTQ+ residents, groups, and organizations. Around early 1971, the local chapter of the gay-friendly Metropolitan Community Church (described in detail later in this chapter) began leasing space on the second floor of the Ruhstaller Building at 902 J Street (extant). Several local LGBTQ+ groups and leaders used the space for meetings and events, including the Society for Homosexual Freedom, Gay Liberation Coffeeshop (also known as the Alternative Coffeehouse), Gay Activists Alliance, and Gay Rap group in the early 1970s. When the Metropolitan Community Church moved to a new location at 17th and R streets, the church's new location continued to serve as an important early community space. Among the events and meetings that took place there were discussion groups that focused on raising public consciousness around homosexuality and a Western States Conference organized by Sacramento State University's Gay Liberation Front in 1972.[224]

[222] Jon Ortiz, "No Longer a Sure Sell," *Sacramento Bee*, 14 April 2005: A1.
[223] Ortiz, "No Longer a Sure Sell."
[224] Peter Tucker, "Notes on CSUS's Gay Liberation Front Alterative Coffeehouse Becoming Damien House/Gay Men's Collective," email to Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience team, October 24, 2024.

Two blocks north of the original location of the Alternative Coffeehouse and Pink Fairy Palace at 22nd and P streets, the residence of a group of gay men in a Victorian house at 1320 22nd Street (extant) developed into another early community center. Known as Damien House (later the Sacramento Gay Men's Collective), its early residents and founders included gay student activist Edgar Carpenter, fellow Sacramento State University student Crittenden Going, and out gay radio DJ Jok Church, who hosted programs on the local radio stations KZAP and KERS. Damien House was envisioned as a permanent community resource center that provided a range of services for gay men, including a coffee house for casual hangouts, educational and counseling services, a crisis center, and suicide prevention services.[225]

In 1977, a local charity called the George Sand Community Benefit Fund was created to provide financial assistance to members of the local gay community who found themselves in a position of need. The charity was evocatively named after the famous 19th-century female novelist Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin de Francueil, best known by her pen name George Sand, who was famous for writing novels that addressed women's rights and who sometimes wore men's clothing.[226] The following year, Clay Shipway, a member of the gay religious order the Brotherhood of Simple Life, founded The Way Station at 1403 I Street (extant), a drop-in center where gay individuals could meet and seek help. Shipway funded The Way Station using his personal disability checks and donations from the Valley Knights Motorcycle Club, a social club for local gay motorcyclists and leather enthusiasts, and other local gay clubs.[227] The drop-in center closed in 1981 due to lack of funding but maintained an active phone number as a "Gay Switchboard" for referrals for a period after.[228] In the 1970s and 1980s, gay and lesbian professionals opened practices to provide medical, legal, and other professional services to the LGBTQ+ community. Notable examples include the dental office of Dr. Art Katz at 1820 Professional Drive (extant), medical offices of Dr. Harvey Thompson, which opened at 912A 21st Street (extant) in 1978, and all-women law office of Metrailer, Langenkamp, and Buscho, led by attorneys Rosemary Metrailer, Carolyn Langenkamp, Tami Buscho, at 1725 Capitol Avenue (extant) and later 1329 H Street (extant) in the 1980s.

[225] Tucker, "Notes on CSUS's Gay Liberation Front."
[226] "George Sand Inc. Alive and Well," *Mom, Guess What...?!,* 1 January 1979, personal collection of George Raya.
[227] "Flashback 1977," personal collection of George Raya.
[228] Burg, *Midtown Sacramento*, 41-42.

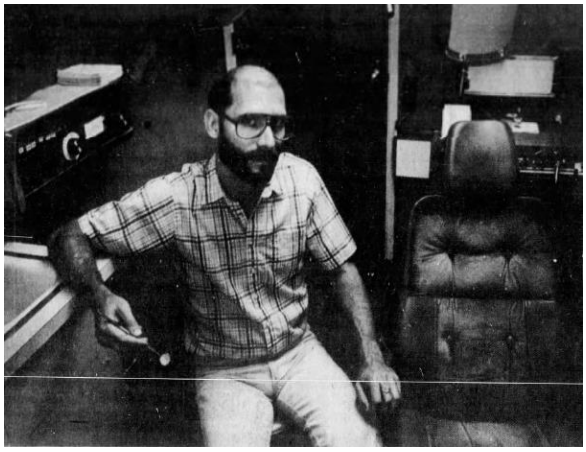

Figure 40. Dr. Art Katz (1983). Source: Morgan Ong for *The Sacramento Bee*.

Figure 41. Rosemary Metrailer (ca. 1979). Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Jonna Ramey Collection.

WOMEN'S SERVICES

In the 1970s, many women in Sacramento came together to create an expansive network of social services specifically for local women, including lesbians, who had been historically overlooked and underserved by institutional systems and leadership. Nationwide, many women, including Sacramento residents, were first introduced to community organizing and advocacy through the women's liberation movement. The women's movement attracted many lesbians, who faced the same issues as straight women and similarly sought recognition and equal rights. Seeking to uplift women and reject all forms of patriarchy that had historically been the source of their oppression, some of the more radical feminists came to believe that lesbianism, or love between women, and the rejection of all things male were the highest forms of feminism. Most lesbian-feminists dreamed of creating self-sufficient, women-centered institutions and communities where women supported each other and were the primary drivers of culture and society.[229]

Inspired by the women's movement, almost all of Sacramento's first women's services and aid organizations were started by lesbian-feminists, who took it upon themselves to support women in the community who were otherwise largely overlooked and underserved by institutional systems and authorities. Starting in the late 1960s, Midge Marino, a local lesbian and martial artist with a black belt in judo, began providing a powerful and important service to help local women protect and uplift themselves through through judo, self-defense, and gun-safety classes and trainings. Marino dedicated her life to teaching individuals, especially women, to protect themselves in dangerous situations.

[229] Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 201-206.

Born on a farm in Vacaville in 1938, Marino was first introduced to judo when her school bus driver offered to take students to judo classes at Travis Air Force Base. Marino was the only girl who accepted the invitation. As she progressed in her training, it became apparent that most of the advanced martial artists in the area would not train he because of her gender. Undeterred, she traveled to Japan, where she completed her formal training alongside third-degree black belt judoka Kuniko Takeuchi, then the sixth highest ranking female judoka in the world.

Figure 42. Midge Marino (left) conducting a self-defense class for the Women Take Back the Night march in 1999. Source: Chris de Asis for *The California Aggie.*

Marino and Takeuchi became romantic partners and moved back to California together in the late 1960s. In 1968, Marino began teaching judo classes for female students at El Camino High School as part of the the San Juan Unified School District's physical education and recreation department.[230] By 1974, she was a part-time self-defense instructor at Sacramento State University and conducted trainings for the Sacramento Women's Center's Rape Crisis Center.[231] Marino's trainings aided local women during the crime spree of serial killer and rapist Joseph James DeAngelo, Jr., then known locally as the "East Area Rapist" and now as the "Golden State Killer," which took place across the Sacramento area in the late 1970s.

From the 1970s to the 2010s, Marino was hired by numerous public and private organizations, nonprofits, businesses, and other groups throughout Sacramento and across the state of California to provide classes in self-defense, gun safety, and other skills to their members. By the early 1980s, Marino opened her own business, Trade Your Fear For Anger (TYFFA), whose name was based on a phrase she used in her trainings. According to an article in UC Davis's *California Aggie* newspaper, Marino taught that "anger is an instinct used to protect oneself, and women's anger is suppressed through socialization. [Marino] encouraged women to trade their fear for anger… to protect themselves."[232] She opened a training school that offered a six-week self-defense course. In the

[230] "Judo Offered for Women," *Press-Tribune* (Roseville), 5 November 1968.
[231] "Women's Defense," *The Express*, 17 January 1974; "
[232] "Women Take Back the Night Rally Focuses on Making the Streets Safe," *California Aggie* 118, No. 264, 7 June 1999.

1980s, the California Department of Education, Department of Social Services, State Board of Equalization hired her to conduct workshop across the state for their employees. It was at one of these workshops that Marino met her life partner, Pat Drouet. In the 1990s, Marino also conducted trainings for the City of Sacramento, City of Berkeley, Office of Food Distribution, California Dental Association, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of California, American Indian Training Institute, and others. In 1991, she was appointed to serve on the Police Community Relations Advisory Committee, a committee made up of local citizens to advise the Sacramento Police Department. She served on the committee under three different police chiefs. Marino was also instrumental to organizing local Take Back the Night marches in Sacramento to raise awareness about violence against women and stand up against sexual violence. Over the course of her life, she received numerous certificates of appreciation from organizations and groups across California in recognition of her service.[233]

Many of Sacramento's women's service organizations spawned from one organization, the Sacramento Women's Center. The center began as the idea of a group of approximately 30 local feminist women, many of whom were students at local colleges—including Sacramento State University, UC Davis, and American River College—as well as other local women's groups, such as the YWCA and Sacramento Community Commission for Women. According to the *Sacramento Bee*, the group was led in its earliest phase by Judy Poxon, then a sophomore at Sacramento State University, and Karen Burke Redman, a graduate student at UC Davis. From the start, the women envisioned the Sacramento Women's Center as having the "feminist perspective" at the core of its mission. The center would be operated collectively to provide a broad base of support for the needs of Sacramento's women. Modeled after women's centers in Davis, Oakland, Berkeley, Santa Barbara, Seattle, and Vancouver, the vision for the Sacramento Women's Center included providing temporary housing for women in need, a medical clinic, a children's day care, job placement programs, classes, workshops, a library and bookstore, and referrals to relevant community aid agencies.[234]

The Sacramento Women's Center moved to several buildings across the Midtown and Downtown neighborhoods throughout the course of its existence. The earliest iteration of the center opened on Susan B. Anthony Day, February 15, 1973, at the YWCA building at 1122 17th (extant). The center began by providing an identifiable and visible place for local women to come together to discuss women's roles in society. The center relocated to its first standalone location, a house at 1221 20th Street, in 1974. The *Sacramento Bee* published a feature on the center, which by this time had expanded into the Sacramento Women's Center and Bookstore and had begun to offer some of the

[233] Pat Drouet and Rita Maningo, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, October 8, 2024.
[234] Jan May Bassett, "Women's Center Will Have 'Feminist Perspective,'" *Sacramento Bee*, 29 November 1972: 67.

services its founders originally envisioned. One of those services was a rape crisis center (RCC). Although there was broad agreement among City officials and the police department about the need for such a program, the police department opposed it being run by the Sacramento Women's Center, after they reported finding lesbian books, pamphlets, and posters at the center. With no evidence, they claimed that vulnerable women who had been physically and emotionally abused, would be coerced into becoming lesbians.[235] Despite this opposition, the City awarded the Sacramento Women's Center a $10,000 grant.[236]

Figure 43. Members of the Sacramento Women's Center, likely at the 1980 March on Sacramento for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1980). Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Jonna Ramey Collection.

In 1974, the center received a $178,000 grant from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to set up a program for women who were the victims of rape or other forms of sexual abuse.[237] The grant was one of the largest federal grants for any project in the country at the time and made RCC one of the first rape crisis center to receive federal funding in the United

[235] Jeff Raimundo, "Women 'Appalled,'" *Sacramento Bee*, 12 July 1974: 21.
[236] Bathen, "Women's Center Raps Council Unit On Rape Crisis Funding."
[237] Sigrid Bathen, "Women's Center Raps Council Unit On Rape Crisis Funding," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 July 1975: B3.

States. However, it required $10,000 in matching funds from local sources. To match the federal funds, RCC borrowed the money from ten local women, and RCC held self-defense classes, taught by Midge Marino, a black belt martial artist who taught self-defense at Sacramento State University's Women's Studies Program. RCC charged money for some of these classes to reimburse the women. Some of them in turn donated their money to RCC and others were paid back.[238] RCC turned down a second year of funding from LEAA, after LEAA required that RCC disavow that any lesbians worked there and that the program establish a governing board, 50% of which consisted of law enforcement personnel, as conditions for continued funding. Both conditions were untenable to the Women's Center.[239]

Initially led by Women's Center members Inga Mountain and Kathy "Kit" Mahoney, by 1975, RCC was led by coordinator Kate Guzman. RCC provided 24-hour services for rape victims, including individual and group counseling, assistance dealing with the legal and hospital systems, self-defense classes and speaker series on women's issues, and a 24-hour telephone hotline, which was staffed by volunteers who provided immediate emotional support to rape victims. The hotline received 145 calls in its first three months alone. It also gave educational sessions about sexual assault and abuse on local public television and at other women's centers across California.[240]

Figure 44. A group of women and children at the Sacramento Women's Center at 1221 20th Street (1974). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

[238] Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[239] Theresa Corrigan, "Edits," email to Clare Flynn, September 25, 2024.
[240] Sigrid Bathen, "Capital Rape Victim Helped Inspire New Legislation," *Sacramento Bee*, 15 September 1974.

With calls for help pouring in, the staff of the Women's Center discovered there were other serious unmet needs facing the women of Sacramento. Women who called in that were experiencing abuse needed a safe place for themselves, and sometimes their children, to stay to escape their abusers. The idea for a shelter evolved into a broad-reaching range of services for Sacramento's low-income mothers. Claudia Deuel (also known as Claudia Desmangles) was a key figure in the development of such an agency within the Sacramento Women's Center. Deuel was, herself, a single mother, who knew the struggles of low-income single mothers well. While completing her bachelor's degree in psychology, she used welfare to care for her son and eventually became so physically debilitated that she had to be hospitalized with rheumatic fever and permanent heart damage.[241] Initially, the Sacramento Women's Center assisted single mothers by serving as a home for women to share childcare and household expenses, as well as an emotional outlet to discuss and process their feelings. In Spring 1974, the Sacramento Women's Center submitted a grant proposal to Sacramento County to expand their services for low-income mothers into a more comprehensive program, which would include a 24-hour hotline, a drop-in center, counseling services, a children's playroom, a lending library, emergency clothing closet, and a referral service for legal aid, child care, pregnancy and birth control information, and housing assistance.[242] The County awarded the center a $71,000 grant. The resulting organization was named Mothers Emergency Stress Service (MESS).[243]

Figure 45. Kate Guzman (1977). Source: *Sacramento Bee.*

Just as Sacramento Women's Center with its two subsidiary agencies, RCC and MESS, seemed poised for further growth in the second half of the 1970s, internal disputes over funding and leadership led to a period of upheaval and transition.[244] In February 1975, the center relocated to a new location at 2220 J Street (extant). Just before the move, the center's existing leadership group, which called itself the "G Street Collective" and was headed by Linda Garcia, resigned and was replaced by RCC coordinator Kate Guzman and Claudia Deuel and her partner, Virginia "Nicky" Lytton, from MESS. The conflict came to a boil in March 1975 when Lytton died of heart failure after she and Deuel were attacked by Garcia and a group of more than six women in the parking lot at Ms. Fay's bar at 7436 Fair Oaks Boulevard.[245]

[241] Sigrid Bathen, "Women's Center Is for a Woman Alone Who Need Not Be," *Sacramento Bee*, 23 June 1974: 19.
[242] Bathen, "Women's Center Is for a Woman Alone Who Need Not Be."
[243] Sigrid Bathen, "Control of Women's Center May Have Been Spark for Fatal Fray," *Sacramento Bee*, 3 April 1975: 17-19.
[244] Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[245] Sigrid Bathen, "Struggle in Women's Center Pits Moderate and Radical Forces," *Sacramento Bee*, 4 April 1975: 27.

Despite this internal turmoil, the Sacramento Women's Center persevered and continued to grow. Under Guzman's coordination, by the late 1970s, the organization had matured into a sophisticated and professional government-funded service center.[246] The Women's Center and all of its programs—including the bookstore, RCC, and MESS—moved to a new location at 1230 H Street in 1977.[247] The center relocated to a Victorian house at 2104 Capitol Avenue (extant) in 1979, where it remained until around 1981. The building contained the Women's Center, bookstore, and RCC. By this time, MESS had been overtaken and replaced by a second separate organization to aid victims of domestic violence called Women Escaping A Violent Environment (WEAVE). WEAVE was started in 1975 by a group of Hispanic women who had been abused.[248] WEAVE was formally established as a nonprofit organization in 1978, and funding sources that had previously been allotted to MESS were shifted to WEAVE. MESS dissolved shortly after. By the mid-1980s, services offered by RCC were also absorbed into WEAVE.[249]

In 1979, another program, Women's Employment Services Training (WEST), was established under the Sacramento Women's Center's umbrella of services. The program was funded by a $200,000 federal grant for funds from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).[250] Led by local lesbian activist Robin Purdy, editor of the early feminist newsletter *Gibbous Rising*, WEST provided training for women who were struggling to find long-term employment and had been on welfare. The program offered trainings and workshops on topics such as resume writing and interview techniques, on-site career counseling, and travel vouchers and a clothing closet for women to attend job interviews.[251] The program's offices were originally located on the second story of the office building directly next door to the Women's Center building at 2100 Capitol Avenue (extant) before moving one half-block west to the converted house at 2022 Capitol Avenue (extant). As described later in this chapter, ultimately, the Women's Center, including all of its programs and services, moved to 2224 J Street with Lioness Books.

Another women's service program, Women's Stress Alternatives, was also founded in 1979. Led by project director Yvonne Frazier, the program sought to provide women dealing with substance abuse with alternatives to prescription drugs and alcohol for dealing with stress and depression. The program was briefly located at 1216 18th Street (extant) before moving to 1322 27th Street, and offered drug counseling and detoxification services, emergency crisis intervention, vocational and

[246] Cheryl Clark, "Women's Centers," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 April 1977: B4.
[247] Sacramento City Directories, 1977-1981.
[248] "WEAVE's Journey," WEAVE, accessed August 14, 2024, https://www.weaveinc.org/sites/main/files/file-attachments/40-yr-timeline-8.5x11_2.pdf?1518826703.
[249] Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[250] Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[251] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

educational counseling, health and nutrition information, and workshops, all of which were voluntary and confidential. Fees were based on each individual's income level.[252] To aid its work, Women's Stress Alternatives created a fundraising arm called Women's Strength Unlimited.[253] Among the fundraising events it organized was an annual fun run called Blisters for Sisters, which coincided with the annual Camellia Festival. Funds from the run supported Women's Stress Alternatives, RCC, the Sacramento Women's Center, WEAVE, the YWCA, and other local women's organizations.[254]

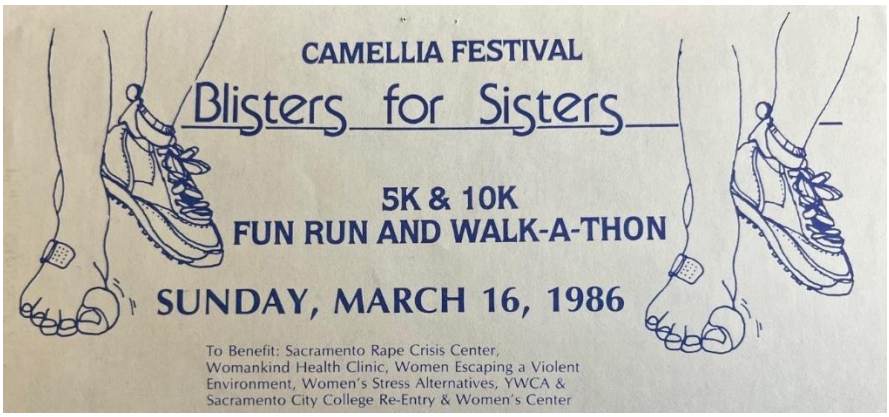

Figure 46. Flyer for the 1986 Blisters for Sisters fun run. Source: Personal collection of Nurk Franklin.

In 1980, Theresa Corrigan, who had been involved with the Women's Center in many capacities—including as a staff member at RCC, co-author of the grant proposals that funded WEST and Women's Stress Alternatives, and president of the center for a period—purchased the stock of the Women's Center's bookstore along with her partner Kathy Haberman and Karie Wyble with plans to continue the bookstore under a new name, Lioness Books. Seeking a property that the Sacramento Women's Center and bookstore could call their own, without the risk of being forced to move, Corrigan and Haberman purchased a converted Colonial Revival house at 2224 J Street in 1982. More than 35 volunteers, most of whom were women, volunteered their time mostly on weekends to renovate the old building for reuse. Haberman, who was a builder and handyperson, typically worked 14-hour days, seven days a week, to bring the building up to code.[255]

While the building at 2224 J Street was being renovated, Corrigan reopened the bookstore at a temporary location at 1311 21st Street (extant), around the corner from the Women's Center's

[252] Dale Vargas, "Timely Hand...A New Program Assists Women Battered By Stress," *Sacramento Bee*, 31 December 1979: B2.
[253] Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[254] "Run for the Camellias," *Sacramento Bee*, 19 March 1984: A1.
[255] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024; Alison apRoberts, "First Women's Building True Labor of Love," *Sacramento Bee*, 18 August 1983: 29.

Capitol Avenue headquarters. RCC occupied space at the rear of the same temporary location as the bookstore until renovations at the permanent location on J Street were complete. Corrigan had renamed the bookstore Lioness Books, drawing inspiration from the role of female lions in a pride, because "in a pride of lions, the [male] lion gets all the credit, but the lionesses do all the work."[256] The Sacramento Women's Store's bookstore and Lioness Books were the first and only women's and gay/lesbian bookstores in Sacramento for a number of years. Lioness Books fostered a welcoming and inclusive environment and worked together with other local bookstores to service the Sacramento community. Tower Books stopped carrying feminist and gay/lesbian literature and directed customers to Lioness Books, while staff at Lioness Books directed clientele who came looking for other types of literature to Tower Books and other local stores.[257]

Lioness Books was more than a bookstore; it was an important alternative for social gatherings, entertainment, and personal connection to the lesbian bar scene. For many lesbians who moved to Sacramento, it was the first place they came after they arrived and helped them make some of their first connections. The bookstore hosted events and social gatherings, had bulletin boards with information about women's and lesbian social groups and organizations, sponsored a softball team of Black lesbians called Sisters and Friends, and provided referrals to women's, lesbian, and gay service providers. Lioness Books also carried the largest selection of gay men's books in Sacramento at the time.[258]

Figure 47. Lynn Ohlson and Colleen Moreland at the Sacramento Women's Bookstore (1978). Source: *The Advocate.*

Around the same time the Women's Center was relocating from Capitol Avenue to J Street, Kate Guzman left the Women's Center to become the executive director of the Sacramento AIDS Foundation. In 1983, Mayor Anne Rudin participated in the official opening ceremony of the building at 2224 J Street, which she designated the First Sacramento Women's Building. While Lioness Books occupied the first floor, and the offices of the Sacramento Women's Center's programs, including

[256] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[257] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[258] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.

RCC and WEST, were located on the second floor. WEST later split off from the Women's Center and moved across the street to 2300 J Street (extant). As previously described, RCC's services were eventually absorbed into WEAVE. Lioness Books closed in 2000, making it the longest continuously operating location of the Sacramento Women's Center and its associated agencies. When Lioness Books closed, Corrigan donated all of the relevant remaining inventory to the UC Davis Women's Center, Sacramento State University's Women's Resource Center, and LLACE.[259]

Figure 48. Photographs from the opening of the First Sacramento Women's Building (1983). Courtesy of Theresa Corrigan. Clockwise from top left: Theresa Corrigan (left) and Kathy Haberman (right), the First Sacramento Women's Building, and groups of individuals who helped renovate the building at a celebration for its opening.

[259] Haines Criss-Cross directories, Sacramento, 1982-1999; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2024.

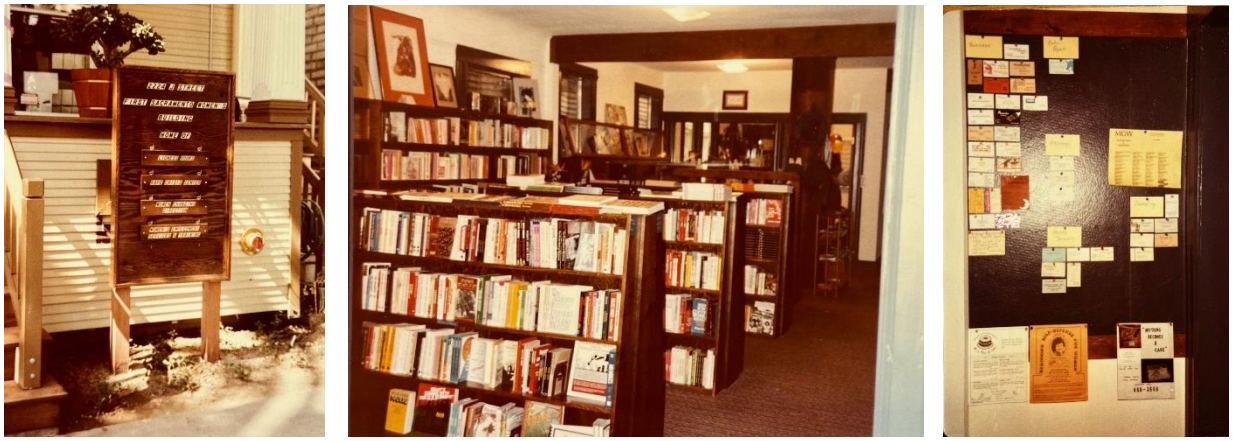

Figure 49. The First Sacramento Women's Building (1983). Courtesy of Theresa Corrigan. From left to right: custom sign outside the building, showing Lioness Books and the various programs of the Sacramento Women's Center; the interior of Lioness Books; and a bulletin board inside Lioness Books.

Lambda Community Center/Sacramento LGBT Community Center

The most prominent and long-standing of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community centers, the Lambda Community Center (later renamed the Sacramento LGBT Community Center) was established in the 1980s, using funds procured by Reverend Jerry Sloan, a pastor of the Sacramento Metropolitan Community Church (MCC). As a young man, Sloan attended Baptist Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, where his classmate was Reverend Jerry Fallwell. Fallwell later became the leader of the Religious Right, founder of the Moral Majority political action committee, and an outspoken opponent of homosexuality. Sloan, meanwhile, came out as a gay man and founded chapters of the MCC in Kansas City, Missouri; and Des Moines, Iowa. On March 11, 1984, Falwell expressed his view that homosexuality was the embodiment of evil, stating, "Thank God this vile and satanic system will one day be utterly annihilated, and there will be a celebration in heaven."[260] When Falwell and Sloan were guests on a television program in Sacramento a few months later, Falwell denied his statements and promised to pay Sloan $5,000 if he could provide taped evidence. Sloan produced the tapes, but Falwell refused to pay him, claiming that he had been misquoted. Sloan hired local attorney and lesbian legal pioneer Rosemary Metrailer and filed a lawsuit against Falwell and won nearly $9,000 in the settlement.[261] After paying his legal fees, Sloan—along with Timothy Warford, Terry Sidie, Marghe Covino, CGNIE Emperor Randy Hartman, and other community members—used the rest of the winnings from the lawsuit to open the Lambda Community Center in the heart of the

[260] Burg, *Midtown Sacramento*, 41-42.
[261] Burg, *Midtown Sacramento*, 41-42.

Lavender Heights district at 1931 L Street (extant) in 1986.[262] Sloan named a bathroom at the center of the building after Falwell.

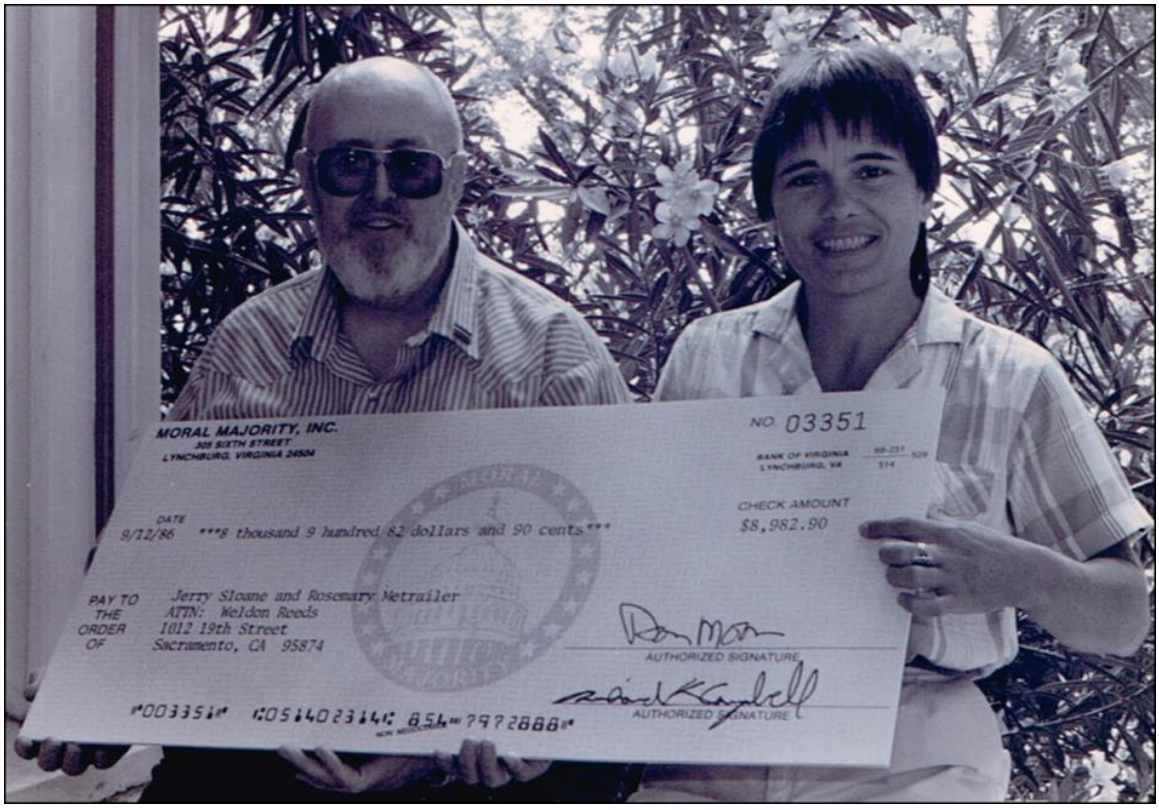

Figure 50. Reverend Jerry Sloan and Rosemary Metrailer with the check from the lawsuit against Reverend Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. Source: Sacramento LGBTQ Community Center.

The Lambda Community Center was similar in some ways to earlier drop-in centers, but it offered a larger and more comprehensive scope of services and over the years served the full cross-section of Sacramento's gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community.[263] The center provided services such as AIDS education, a youth program, political lobbying and letter-writing campaigns, health education, a theater troupe called the Lambda Players, and a monthly newsletter.[264] In 1996, the center relocated to 919 20th Street (extant). Around the same time, the center established a Lambda Youth program for gay youth between the ages of 15 and 19. The program was overseen by Jerry Sloan and Tim Warford and became a beloved and important safe space for young gay people in

[262] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history. By comparison, LGBTQ+ community centers were established in San Francisco in 1966, the Los Angeles in 1969, Seattle in 1971, and San Diego in 1973.
[263] Burg, *Midtown Sacramento*, 41-42.
[264] Claussen, 142.

Sacramento.[265] The center changed its name to the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Center in 2006 and again in 2013 to the Sacramento LGBT Community Center, after a long and arduous effort by the transgender community to be included in the organization's name. The center moved to 1015 20th Street in 2019.[266]

The Sacramento's community's response to HIV/AIDS is discussed in detail in Chapter 4; however, it was the community's acute need to provide care and services to its sick and dying members during the HIV/AIDS crisis in the 1980s and 1990s that began the process of uniting Sacramento's previously fractured LGBTQ+ community under one banner. Many lesbians stepped up during the epidemic to provide care and other services to sick and dying gay men, breaking down barriers and forming lasting bonds between the groups. The experience began the path toward further collaboration between gay men and lesbians and initiated a shifting perspective that gay men and lesbians were part of one unified community. Transgender people and people with other gender and sexually non-conforming identities were not brought into community until the 2000s.[267]

THE LAVENDER LIBRARY, ARCHIVES AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE (LLACE)

The creation of a library, archive, and research center for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community began in 1997 during a tumultuous time for Sacramento's LGBT Community Center (then the Lambda Community Center). Struggling to stay open, the center downsized from a large building at 919 20th Street (extant) to a small office located across the street at 920 20th Street (extant). This resulted in a purging of the center's Jane Roundtree Library, in which over half of its collection of LGBTQ+ books were taken outside and thrown in a dumpster.

The downsizing of the Jane Roundtree Library caught the attention of community member Gail Lang, who was working a block away at the LGBTQ+ bookstore The Open Book at 912 21st Street (extant). Lang immediately spoke to Matt Burlingame, who was the production editor for *This Side Up* Newspaper (TSU), which also had offices at 920 20th Street. The two rallied a few other community members, including Clint Vigen, who worked nearby at The Lambda AIDS Project, and the group took the discarded books into the TSU office, where they were kept for several months.

When TSU officially closed its doors in May 1997, the book collection was moved to Lang's basement, where it remained while a core group of local community members—including Lang, Vigen, Burlingame, Ann Jones, Marsha Swayze, Troy DeVore, and later Michael Bennett—began meeting to

[265] Matt Burlingame, email correspondence to Clare Flynn, October 17, 2024.
[266] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history.
[267] Conversation between Tina Reynolds, Clare Flynn, and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

form the 501(c)(3) nonprofit known as The Lavender Library Archives & Cultural Exchange (LLACE), or more commonly as the Lavender Library.

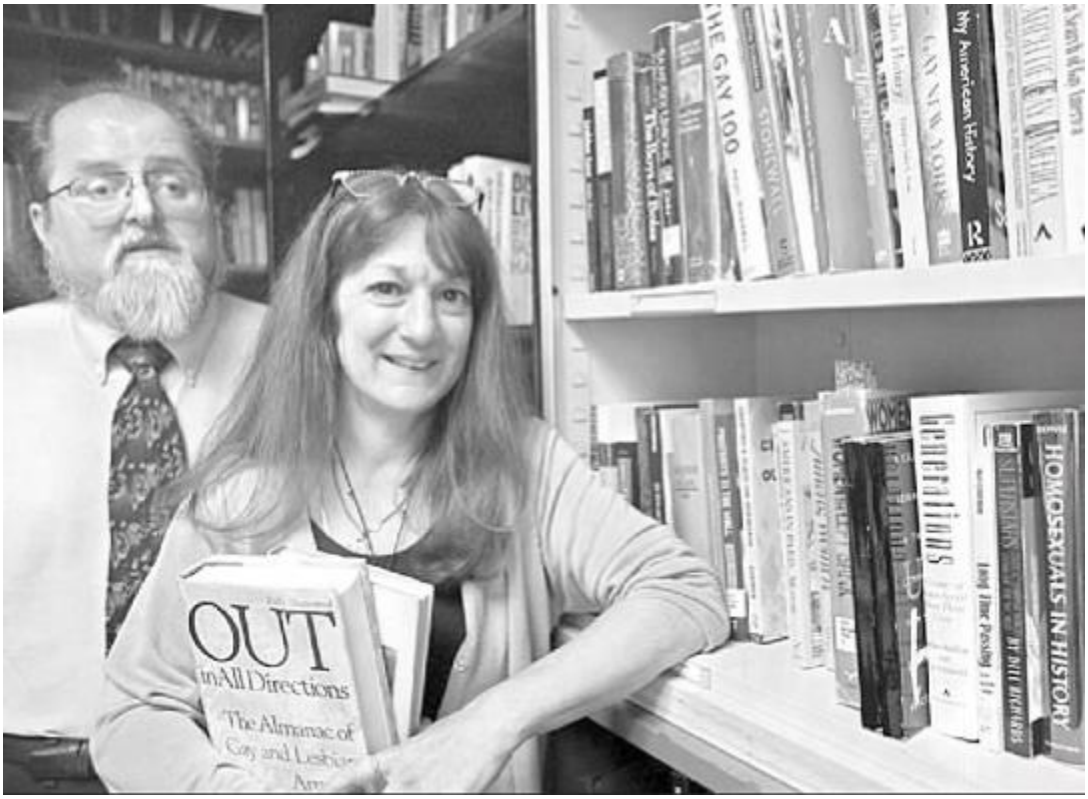

Figure 51. Michael Bennett (left) and Gail Lang (right) at the Lavender Library's original B Street location (2000). Source: Leilani Hu for *The Sacramento Bee*.

The founders considered several other names before settling on the Lavender Library, including River City Community Library, Sacramento Alternative Library, Capital Library Archive Project (CLAP), and Sacramento Library and Archive Project (SLAP). With the generous support of the community, within a short time, the new library moved into its first location in the same complex as the B Street Theatre at 2711 B Street (extant). The opening was attended by many and included poetry by Poet Laureate Michael Gorman. Quickly outgrowing the small B Street location, the library moved to its current space at 1414 21st Street (extant) in 2000.

LLACE would not have existed had it not been for the passion and tenacious drive of Gail Lang. When she died in 2003, she left the library a legacy fund that allowed it to carry through during lean financial times over the years. The library's visionaries and founders hoped for a future where the LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento could thrive. Today, LLACE houses a lending library and archive for LGBTQ+ books and magazines, archival materials, and other media that preserves the collective

histories of the LGBTQ+ community. The library regularly hosts community events throughout the year, including book clubs, support groups, open mic nights, craft markets, becoming a sanctuary and gathering place for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community.[268]

LGBTQ+ Newspapers & Media

Through at least the 1990s, most local community newspapers and media catered specifically to the gay and lesbian communities, with little or no coverage of the transgender community or other LGBTQ+ sexual and gender identities. Among these were Sacramento's primary newspaper, the *Sacramento Bee*, despite the fact that its president, starting in 1980, was a closeted gay man. Charles Kenny "C.K." McClatchy II, the fourth-generation president of McClatchy Newspapers, which owned many of the major newspapers in the Sacramento Valley and San Joaquin Valley, including the *Sacramento Bee*, was closeted for his entire life. As leader of McClatchy Newspapers, he guided the family-owned media company to become the modern, publicly owned McClatchy Company. Though he reportedly quietly supported the local gay and lesbian newspaper, *Mom Guess What…!* (described in detail in this chapter), it was only after his death in 1989 that his sexual orientation was discovered. The *Sacramento Bee* and *Sacramento Union* reported that McClatchy had died of a heart attack while jogging in Land Park; however, medical examinations, spurred by a tip from someone close to McClatchy, showed that McClatchy had AIDS at the time of his death. The discovery, along with an obituary in *Mom Guess What*…! that listed McClatchy's friend and housemate Eugenio Brodbeck Neto as his survivor, before his mother and three children, confirmed the long-held suspicions of many who knew him. McClatchy's insistence, as reported by those who knew him, on keeping his sexual orientation a secret even beyond death, shows the degree to which even the most powerful gay and lesbian individuals were pressured by society to deny their true identities.[269]

The establishment of newspapers and other forms of media specifically by and for the lesbian and gay communities was crucial to spreading news and fostering connections between individuals, organizations, clubs, and businesses that contributed to the development and growth of gay communities across the United States, including Sacramento. Along with the gay bar scene, gay newspapers, journals, and magazines showed individuals that a wide network of people just like them existed in the same cities and neighborhoods. In the late 1960s and 1970s, gay newspapers began to proliferate in major cities across the United States with the intention of developing positive gay awareness and providing needed support for gay and lesbian individuals as an increasing number of people came out of the closet.[270]

[268] Matthew Burlingame-Couk, "Re: LGBTQ+ Historic Project," email to Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, October 9, 2024.
[269] Robert W. Peterson, "He'd Die First," *The Advocate*, 20 June 1989: 13.
[270] David C. Weinerth, "From the Inside Out," *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 December 1978.

Sacramento's first gay publication was *ARC News*, published by the Association for Responsible Citizenship, which appeared in serial production during 1966 and early 1967. *ARC News* was distributed in bulk at gay-positive venues around Sacramento and West Sacramento.[271] More gay and lesbian publications were established in the early 1970s, as the community became increasingly open and visible. Early publications had short runs, often lasting less than one year and in some cases only publishing a single issue. Examples included the *Gay Voice Sacramento* newsletter, which ran from 1971 to early 1972 and was published by a small group of gay male and lesbian non-journalists, the *Good News* newspaper, which was based in Roseville and published one issue in April 1976; and *Gay Sacramento*, a mimeographed newsletter published by James K. Graham and his friends in June 1977.[272] A feminist newspaper named *Gibbous Rising*, created by Robin Purdy and Lynn Patten, began publication in 1978 and focused on women's issues.

Other forms of media also emerged to serve the community in the late 1970s. Out gay man Jok Church became news director for the popular local freeform radio station KZAP in 1975. Church began his radio career at local public radio station KERS-FM (now Capital Public Radio), which started as a student radio station at Sacramento State University.[273] Radio programs hosted by Church on KERS and KZAP were key sources of information about local gay events and provided meaningful visibility and validation to members of the LGBTQ+ community at a time when many still remained closeted.[274] In 1976, a radio program specifically for gay men and lesbians began airing on 88.9FM, hosted by Sue Diehl and Allen Chamberlin. Originally titled "Our Hour," the program changed its name to "Interface" in 1977. The program aired every Saturday evening from 6:00pm to 7:00pm and featured news, interviews, music, and other "features of interest to gay people." It ran through at least 1979.[275] Despite their short spans of operation, early gay and lesbian forms of media such as these showed that there was an increasing awareness among Sacramento's lesbian and gay residents of the existence of others like them and a desire for media specifically by and for them.

[271] Carson Anderson, "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS," July 9, 2024.
[272] "Publications Sacramento," undated, private collection of George Raya; "One Year Later…" *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979; *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 1 and No. 2, 1971-1972.
[273] John V. Hurst, "On The Air," *Sacramento Bee,* 4 March 1975.
[274] Tucker, "Notes on CSUS's Gay Liberation Front."
[275] "Gay Radio Returns," *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 March 1979.

Figure 52. “Our Hour” radio program hosts Sue Diehl and Allen Chamberlin (1978). Source: Robert I. McQueen, "Deadbolts for Doorknobs," *The Advocate*, 4 October 1978: 17.

MOM…GUESS WHAT…! NEWSPAPER

The longest-running and most influential of all of Sacramento’s LGBTQ+ media was the *Mom…Guess What…!* (MGW) newspaper. The newspaper was founded by local resident Linda Birner and ran its first issue in November 1978, roughly around the same time that similar newspapers launched in major North American cities, including New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., Toronto, Philadelphia, Montreal, San Francisco, Denver, Los Angeles, and others.[276] Born in Fort Wayne, Indiana in 1949, Birner arrived in Sacramento in 1962, where she worked her way through a Master’s degree in Psychology at Sacramento State College doing graphic work for state legislators Mervyn Dymally and Leona Egeland.

After working for a consulting firm for a period, she started her own graphics design business. Demonstrating the close ties between growing activism among the gay community and other activist

[276] Weinerth, "From the Inside Out.”

movements of the 1960s and 1970s, she became active in the Women's Movement through the National Organization for Women (NOW), believing that the first step to achieving gay rights was obtaining equal rights for women. "All of it's related," she said. "I call it the Gay/Feminist Movement."[277] Spurred into action by the campaign to pass Proposition 6, known as the Briggs Initiative, which aimed to ban gay and lesbian individuals from working in California's public schools, she founded *MGW* to share important information about the initiative and encourage readers to vote against it. The first meeting to share information about plans for the newspaper and solicit interest from potential writers, photographers, artists, and other contributors was held at Earhart's Café in November 1978.[278] Early staff members, all of whom initially worked as volunteers, included publisher and design director Linda Birner, executive editor David S. Weinerth, editor James K. Graham, associated editors Bill Spiller and J. Anne Wessel, and photographers Jan-Michelle Sawyer and Adam Ciesielski. Contributing writers included Allen Chamberlin, Sue Diehl, Ron Drum, Colleen Moreland, Greg Low, Doug Biggert, Arthur Corbin, and Zana S. Blazer.[279] Former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers later contributed to sections on politics, art, and culture.[280] Mangers's involvement in local LGBTQ+ political activism is discussed further in Chapter 5.

The group initially worked out of Birner's house at 3441 Fair Oaks Boulevard, where they brainstormed the name of the paper and assigned and wrote stories, before eventually moving to an office of its own at 1919 21st Street (extant). In contrast to many of the sexually oriented publications directed toward the gay community at the time, Birner insisted that MGW be a "clean" newspaper without sexually explicit content so that it could appeal to a broader audience, could be openly displayed on coffee tables in public places, and could improve the self-esteem of the gay community.[281] The newspaper was published monthly and distributed at gay bars and restaurants, the Sacramento Women's Center, and other local gay businesses, establishments, and social gathering places.[282]

[277] "One Year Later…" *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979.
[278] *Mom…Guess What…!* , November 1, 1978.
[279] *Mom…Guess What…!* , November 1, 1978.
[280] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.
[281] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," Center for Sacramento History.
[282] *Mom…Guess What…!* , November 1, 1978.

Figure 53. *Mom…Guess What…!* founder Linda Birner (1998). Source: Hector Amezcua for the *Sacramento Bee*.

Figure 54. *Mom…Guess What…!* staff (from left to right): Bill Spiller, J. Anne Wessel, Linda Birner, James K. Graham, and Gary Kimball. Source: *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979. Photo by Rebecca Gregg.

At a time when the gay and lesbian communities were often distinctly separate from each other, *MGW* was designed as a newspaper for both gay men and lesbians across the Sacramento area and wider region. Reflecting one of its goals of increasing awareness, understanding, and acceptance toward the gay community among the broader population, it also notably targeted straight allies, or "Friends," as part of its main readership base. This mission was explicitly stated on the first page of its first issue:

> "*MOM…GUESS WHAT…!*" is a tabloid newspaper that happens to be Gay. It's for women and men in the Sacramento Valley area and the Mother Lode countries who happen to be gay and for their friends who happen to like sharing the enjoyment of their friends who happen to be gay.
>
> "MOM…GUESS WHAT…!" is designed to appeal to the interests of a lot of nice people who may not know each other yet but probably should. After all, Sacramento's a big place. In and around River City there are thousands of Lesbians, Gay Men, and Friends of all ages and all walks of life who are not only interesting and unique in themselves, but who are also eager to find out more about each other and about their many opportunities for social activity, recreation, and personal growth through involvement with each other.[283]

As demonstrated by its original mission statement, *MGW* went beyond political activism and was explicitly intended to foster the creation of a gay community in Sacramento. In the newspaper's one-year anniversary issue, associate editor James Graham stated, "You can't decide, 'we are going to organize a community.' It has to happen, develop and come together. You can work to create the conditions, and I feel MOM…GUESS WHAT! is doing that."[284] With that goal in mind, MGW published articles not just about local news, important legislation, and policies that were of special interest to the gay community, it also included a calendar of social events, a guide to local entertainment locations, a list of social organizations along with their contact info, and classified advertisements.

According to local mental health worker Elizabeth Harrison, Sacramento's gay community had been primarily bar-oriented until *MGW* began publishing issues. "When *Mom, Guess What…!* started, it opened a whole new world," she said.[285] The newspaper allowed lesbians and gay men to find not just bars and clubs but also doctors, therapists, sports leagues, professional organizations, and other social clubs, events, and services, specifically by and for members of the gay community. Demonstrating its goal of uniting and uplifting the community, *MGW* was unique in that, as Harrison

[283] *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 November 1978.
[284] "One Year Later…" *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979.
[285] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison," May 31, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nWsdfGrixw.

described it, "the newspaper was kind – it didn't go after people or do exposés. It elevated people and brought people together."[286]

Often the newspaper literally did just that. Classified ads published in *MGW* were frequently the way gay and lesbian individuals met each other and found romantic relationships. People would place an ad in the newspaper and typically list a P.O. box address as their contact in order to keep their personal addresses private. According to Sacramento resident and former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers, it was common for individuals to meet for coffee at the New Helvetia café located in the former fire station at 1215 19th Street (extant) or for some other activity after work.[287]

On the newspaper's tenth anniversary, the newspaper received proclamations from the City of Sacramento, County of Sacramento, and the California State Assembly. It was also recognized by the Human Rights Commission and received numerous journalistic and photography awards from the Gay and Lesbian Press Association (GLPA).[288] *MGW* ceased publication in 2009, having published approximately 585 issues over the course of its more than 30-year existence.[289]

GROWTH OF LGBTQ+ PUBLICATIONS IN SACRAMENTO

PATLAR Gazette

MGW paved the way for other LGBTQ+ publications in Sacramento. Among these were many short-lived publications that lasted for one or two years, including the *River City Rambler* (1981-1982); the *Sacramento Star* (1982-1984), *Dad Guess What* (1996), and *Our Families Magazine* (1997-1998), among others.[290] One of the longest running of the publications that emerged after *MGW* was the *PATLAR Gazette,* which was founded in 1982 by publisher Larry Lanham with business partner James "Pat" McWhorter (Pat and Lar) and editor James Weston. Initially started as a local gazette for the greater Sacramento Valley region, *PATLAR* grew at a rapid rate most immediately and was picked up for national distribution in all 50 states and several Canadian provinces within a little more than a year of its first publication. Billed as the "Voice of Gay America," its staff was soon joined by nationally well-known gay writers Bob Damron, founder of the Damron guides, and Frank Batley, who became regular contributors. It also featured columns that addressed the experiences of gay and lesbian

[286] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison," Center for Sacramento History.
[287] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," Center for Sacramento History.
[288] Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, "News from Those Who Print the News: Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, What It's Been Like and Where They're Going," undated, LLACE.
[289] Graham Womack, "Community Gathers Issues of Sacramento LGBT Newspaper," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 July 2023: D1.
[290] "Publications Sacramento," George Raya collection.

people of color, written by Ernie Brown and DeWitt Hoard.[291] Just as *PATLAR* appeared to be posed for long-lasting success, the publication faced a major setback and period of uncertainty and transition following the devastating loss of many of its writers and readers to the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and 1990s. Among those lost were editor Jim Weston in 1990 and co-founder Jim McWhorter in 1991. The outlet responded with a renewed commitment and vision to its community under new editor Martin Casey and new writers, such as Michael Gorman. *PATLAR* evolved into a magazine for political and social discourse that would serve its readers nationwide, with a focus on sharing information about AIDS and issues facing lesbian and gay families.[292]

Figure 55. A collage of mastheads of *PATLAR* over the course of its first ten years. Source: *PATLAR*, July 1992.

The Latest Issue & Outword Magazine

Around 1988, publisher Kate Moore founded *The Latest Issue*, a monthly newsletter that covered local gay and lesbian happenings in Sacramento. Moore envisioned the newsletter as a way to "build pride in the community and inspire its membership to take action in the lesbian and gay civil rights movement."[293] In addition to Moore, early staff members included graphic artist Kevin Cohee, graphic designer Michael J. Patterson, business representative Sara Myers, and bookkeeper Cher Pearson. Tina Reynolds, who later became Moore's life partner and wife, did graphics work for the publication. In 1992, Dell Richards—a journalist and author of the

Figure 56. Logo for *The Latest Issue.* Source:

[291] Ernie Brown, "Views from the City," *PATLAR Gazette,* 20 September 1982; DeWitt Hoard," People of Co-Lore," *PATLAR Gazette*, 20 September 1982.
[292] Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, "News from Those Who Print the News: Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, What It's Been Like and Where They're Going," undated, LLACE.
[293] Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, "News from Those Who Print the News: Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press."

"Lesbian Lists" whose syndicated articles appeared in gay and lesbian publications across the country—joined *The Latest Issue* as editor. Michael Gorman, who had previously spent a short time as the editor for *Mom Guess What…!* and *PATLAR*, was the editor, editorialist, reporter, reviewer, and columnist for *The Latest Issue* until its closure. One of Gorman's columns, titled "An Old Dude Speaks," was republished in the national gay magazine *Genre*. The magazine's publisher called it one of the most significant pieces he published during his career.[294]

Within its first three years, *The Latest Issue* co-sponsored more than 30 community events, such as the Capital AIDS Walk and Lambda Freedom Fair, and received national recognition from GLPA for its local and national news reporting, photojournalism, and design.[295] Moore gained a reputation for her activism in support of LGBTQ+ rights, victims of HIV/AIDS, and marriage equality, organizing rallies and marches, while covering the subjects in *The Latest Issue*. After being diagnosed with leukemia in 1995, Moore sold *The Latest Issue* to publisher Fred Pamer. At the time, the publication had a circulation of 15,000 readers.[296] Moore went on to join KOVR Channel 13 as a graphic artist and the marketing and design studio Uptown Studios, which was founded by her wife, Tina Reynolds, in 1992. Uptown Studios 's tagline is "Designs for Social Change," and specializes in work with nonprofits, government agencies, and local entities that make positive changes in their communities. In a letter to Moore, just before her passing in 2023, Denny Mangers summed up Moore's contributions to Sacramento:

> Professionally, you've developed a strong reputation as a creative force in our community. […] For many of us, your most significant contribution to our community and our activism on behalf of civil and human rights will be your creation of "The Latest Issue." It was a pivotal time for us, and you sensed a need to support our activism by keeping the larger community informed, inspired and motivated to remain proud and empowered to take initiatives against hate, bullying and discrimination. At the same time, it was entertaining and its reporting on our activities in the community reminded us that being gay is not just a matter of sexual orientation but an invitation to live, love and have fun as our authentic selves.

Under Fred Palmer's leadership, *The Latest Issue* evolved into *Outword Magazine*. Approximately 20 staff members and volunteers who had worked on *The Latest Issue* joined the staff of the new magazine, including Michael Gorman, who served as its first editor, and Tina Reynolds, who did graphic design for the magazine before founding Uptown Studios. *Outword Magazine* was envisioned as a professional news publication with paid staff and less of an activist focus than MGW. The first

[294] Michael Gorman, email to Clare Flynn, August 20, 2024.
[295] Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, "News from Those Who Print the News: Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press."
[296] Tina Reynolds, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Robert D. Davila, "Ailing Editor of Gay Paper Stops Presses for Good," *Sacramento Bee*, 18 July 1995: B4.

issue of the new bi-monthly publication hit newsstands in August 1995 and was distributed in cities throughout Northern California, including Sacramento, Davis, Lake Tahoe, Chico, Stockton, Modesto, Santa Rosa, and the Russian River area.[297] *Outword Magazine* continues to publish regularly.

Figure 57. (From left to right) *Outword Magazine* art director Ron Tackitt, an unidentified person, Kate Moore, and *Outword Magazine* publisher Fred Palmer (ca. 1993). Source: *Outword Magazine*, Special Issue, no. 214, February 9, 2023.

LGBTQ+ Media Publications in the 1990s and 2000s

As the LGBTQ+ community became more integrated into mainstream society, the number and diversity of media publications that catered to the community expanded in the 1990s and early 2000s. In 1991, Billie Jean Jones started *TV Guise* as a newsletter for the Sacramento Gender Association (SGA), a local social club for the transgender and crossdressing communities. The newsletter was originally billed as "A General Journal of Gender." Jones laid out her vision for the newsletter in its first issue: "The SGA newsletter could profile a different TV [transvestite] each issue, report on all the preceding social events organized through SGA … [include] an extensive letters page or two; an editorial section with guest commentary; [and] a page or two of news concerning the progress of TV's as we take our rightful place as honored members of society."[298] By 1992, it was renamed *GenderFlex* and rebilled as "A Polygenderous Publication." Jones ran the publication from her residence at 3430 Balmoral Drive #10 (extant). It highlighted Sacramento-area and Northern

[297] "New Gay Paper Rises After Closure of Old," *Sacramento Bee,* 9 September 1995: B1.
[298] Billie Jean Jones, *TV Guise* 1, No. 1 (April 1991).

California events, clubs, organizations, commentary, works of fiction, and interviews for the transgender and crossdressing communities.[299]

Figure 58. Billie Jean Jones (1991). Source: *TV Guise*, August 1991.

Figure 59. July-September 1994 cover of *GenderFlex*. Source: Digital Transgender Archive.

Around the same time, many publications began to shift their mission away from activism and hard-hitting news and increasingly toward serving LGBTQ+ individuals, couples, and families as ordinary members of society. While *MGW* and *Outword Magazine* continued to focus on the news and important issues, they expanded their coverage to include lifestyle topics and celebrity news. *Jane and Jane*, a Sacramento-based women's magazine, was created in 2006 by co-publishers and partners Alison Zawacki and Debbi Wells. *Jane and Jane* billed itself as the "first home and family magazine for lesbian lifestyles" with a mission to show that lesbians were just like everyone else in mainstream society. An article in the *Sacramento Bee* that highlighted the evolution of LGBTQ+ media in Sacramento described the look and content of *Jane and Jane* as akin to that of a younger sibling to

[299] *TV Guise* 1, No. 6 (September 1991).

Sunset Magazine.[300] Collectively the wide-ranging coverage offered by Sacramento's LGBTQ+ media from the 1960s to 2000s played a pivotal role in increasing the visibility of LGBTQ+ residents, portraying them as ordinary and often-extraordinary people, instilling a sense of pride, and helping to build a rich, vibrant, and self-sustaining LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento.

Figure 60. *Jane and Jane* founders and co-publishers Alison Zawacki and Debbie Wells (2007). Source: Autumn Cruz for the *Sacramento Bee*.

LGBTQ+ Social Outlets & Events

As shown by the wide-ranging coverage of social and recreational activities published in *Mom, Guess What…?!*, bars and clubs were no longer the only place for members of Sacramento's lesbian and gay communities to socialize and meet people by the early 1980s. A myriad of alternative forms of entertainment, recreation, and socialization began to proliferate during this period, fostered by the connections and promotional opportunities provided by publications like *Mom…Guess What…!.* The variety of offerings reflected the diversity of Sacramento's gay community.

[300] Sam McManis, "Media Savvy: New Outlook.," *Sacramento Bee*, 24 April 2007: E1.

In addition to gatherings and events at the Lambda Community Center and Lioness Books, several other opportunities were available for members of the LGBTQ+ community to meet and make connections outside Sacramento's gay bar scene. Classified ads published in issues of the *Mom…Guess What…!* newspaper frequently provided a means for gay and lesbian individuals to meet each other and found romantic relationships. People would place an ad in the newspaper and typically list a P.O. box address as their contact in order to keep their personal addresses private. According to Sacramento resident and former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers, it was common for gay individuals to meet for coffee at New Helvetia café located in the former fire station at 1215 19th Street (extant) or for some other activity after work.[301]

In 1996, Larry Bailey and Ron Grantz opened a second gay and lesbian bookstore, The Open Book, at the building formerly occupied by Dr. Harvey Thomson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz's offices at 910-912 21st Street (extant). The Open Book stayed open until midnight and also contained a café that hosted small live music performances and art shows, offering popular option for late-night socializing.[302] The bookstore carried titles related to HIV/AIDS, self-help, coming out, and queer science fiction, and was an important home for LGBTQ+ for literary fans and writers in the Sacramento community.[303] A reading group of Black lesbians, Sister Circle, met there regularly in the 1990s.[304] The Open Book developed strong ties with Patricia Nell Warren, an author known for writing the first gay love story to make the *New York Times* bestseller list.

SOCIAL CLUBS & CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS

Numerous social clubs and charitable organizations formed, often in response to the need for social outlets that could provide a safe and welcoming environment for specific groups or subcultures within Sacramento's broader LGBTQ+ population. The activities of these social clubs and charitable organizations were often interlinked, reflecting a collective sense of responsibility to uplift the community as a whole.

An early gay charitable organization that was active in the early 1980s was the Charitable Sisters of Izod. A satellite of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence in San Francisco, the group raised money for local charities, such as Muscular Dystrophy, and sponsored events with the goal of projecting a positive image of the gay community to Sacramento's broader population. Members dressed as nuns—as one member, Jim Harvey explained—because "there is no group so identified with caring

[301] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.
[302] Walt Yost, "Booksellers Provide Rare, Eclectic Works," *Sacramento Bee*, 13 June 1996: 2A.
[303] Walt Yost, "Booksellers Provide Rare, Eclectic Works," *The City*, June 13, 1996, 6A.
[304] Judy Walls, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, September 5, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

and community service as nuns, and we think that's the kind of image we want to project. We're a sensitive and caring group."[305]

Figure 61. Members of the Charitable Sisters of Izod in 1982, including from left to right, Sister Cutty a la Sark, Sister Lyla, Sister Grace, Sister Heavyweight, Sister Salvation, Sister Talya All About It, and Sister Mary F. Source: *Suttertown News*, August 1982.

Pillars of the Community, or "Pillars" for short, was a popular gay and lesbian social group founded in the 1980s by Larry Hoover. The group met monthly at local hotels and motels with large banquet rooms.[306] Dinners often included entertainment, including performances by Romanovsky and Phillips, a gay singing and comedy duo from San Francisco. Hundreds of people often attended their events, providing important opportunities for members of the gay community to make personal, as well as professional, connections.[307]

[305] "Sacto's Gays Find Home in 'Lavender Heights,'" *Suttertown News* VIII, No. 22, August 13-20, 1982. Courtesy of William Burg.

Figure 62. A group of transgender and crossdressing people at an SGA event at Joseph's Town and Country in 1991. From left to right: Aunt Helen, Jane Peabody, Bill Henken, Baby Sybil, and (across their laps) Billie Jean Jones as "Miss Tacky." Source: *TV Guise*, December 1991/January 1992.

Sacramento's first known social group specifically for the transgender and crossdressing communities formed in 1984. Initially created as a local chapter of the Gateway Gender Alliance, a group originally founded in San Francisco as the Golden Gate Girls/Guys, its formation was announced in the *Phoenix Monthly International*, an internationally distributed newsletter for transgender and crossdressing individuals in April 1984. Bonnie Goodwin was listed as the group's key contact for early meetings.[308] The chapter disbanded later the same year but was reincarnated as the Sacramento Gender Association (SGA). The group's initial meetings were held on Friday evenings at the Metropolitan Community Church at 2731 34th Street before moving to the home of a sympathetic cisgender woman named Pati Preston Fink. In September 1987, Fink died in a car accident on the Capitol Avenue bridge. To honor Fink, SGA incorporated her nickname "Princess Blue Rose" into its name, adding "The Blue Rose Chapter" to its moniker. SGA was governed by a four-person, membership-elected board, though it did not become an official nonprofit organization. As described previously, by 1991, it had its own monthly newsletter, *TV Guise* (later

[308] "New Sacramento Chapter," *Phoenix Monthly* International IV, No. 3 (March 1984).

renamed *GenderFlex*), which was led by SGA member Billie Jean Jones. SGA members met once a month at Joseph's Town and Country Inn at 2062 Auburn Boulevard (extant).

While the SGA served as a social group for crossdressers and transgender individuals, it remained connected with the Sacramento drag community in Sacramento and attended CGNIE Coronation Balls. The SGA held yearly talent shows with proceeds going toward funding the group's newsletters and keeping a member "closet," which contained donated and purchased garments of larger sizes, for members to use who were unable to purchase their own clothing. Members often opened their homes to other members, many of whom were closeted, to change into their female personas before group activities. SGA disbanded in the mid-2000s.[309] Local transgender residents, including Billie Jean Jones, also participated in Educational Transvestite Channel (Educational TV Channel or ETVC), a social and support group for transgender people founded in San Francisco in 1982. In 1998, the group changed its name to TransGender San Francisco.[310]

Tired of Sacramento's predominately white gay bars treating them unfairly, refusing to play soul and R&B music, and mandating strict dress codes, gay Black men and women formed their own social clubs to collectively gather, connect, and express themselves. A group of 30 Black lesbians from Northern California formed a group called the Nia Collective during the Black Lesbian Caucus at the Lesbians of Color conference in San Francisco in 1987. The group's name, "nia," was inspired by the Swahili word for "purpose," which is also one of the key principles of Kwanzaa. The Nia Collective became the only Black lesbian organization in Northern California in the 1980s and 1990s and sought to bring together LGBTQ+ Black women together from around the world for empowerment and sisterhood. Though centered broadly in Northern California, according to Sacramento resident and Nia Collective member, Judy Walls, the group's membership was predominately composed of women from San Francisco and Sacramento, who gathered together at small social events and house parties in each other's cities throughout the year. Members donated money and organized fundraisers to produce a large annual event, which brought members together from around the world and included empowerment workshops. Workshops focused on health, spirituality, stress management, financial management, and other topics for individual and collective betterment. The first annual event took place at a beauty shop in Oakland, but over the years other venues, such as the Asilomar Conference Grounds in Pacific Grove and Walker Ranch, hosted the event. Though it ceased activity in 2016, the Nia Collective provided an important safe space for Black LGBTQ+

[309] Heather McCabe and Matt Burlingame, email correspondence to Clare Flynn, October 17, 2024; Jennifer Richards, "The Blue Rose Chapter: A Brief History," SGA newsletter, 1988.
[310] ETVC Archives, accessed November 4, 2024, https://lltransarchive.org/etvc/.

women to discuss difficult topics and helped many women address substance abuse and other significant issues in their lives.[311]

In the early 1990s, Sacramento resident and gay Black man Joe Hawkins started a local chapter of the group Black Men's Xchange in Sacramento.[312] Black Men's Xchange was originally founded by Dr. Cleo Manago in Los Angeles in 1989 to provide "Black males, across the class, perspective, sexuality, educational attainment, age and economic strata, with tools for increasing self-evaluation, embracing a sense of responsibility, and working toward self-sufficiency and community care."[313] The group works to address and heal the social, mental, and health issues and toxic ideas of masculinity that many Black men face, and which contribute to homophobia within the Black male community.[314] The Sacramento chapter of Black Men's Xchange organized fundraisers at The Mercantile Saloon in the summer to support local charities and organizations.[315] Many members of GALA—including Asa Salley, John Ortiz-Hudson, and John Freeman—were also involved with the Black Men's Xchange. The group lost many members during the AIDS epidemic.

Around 1990, a group of Black community members formed Gay and Lesbian African Americans (GALA) to provide a safe space and greater visibility of the African American presence in Sacramento's larger gay and lesbian community. The organization began meeting in one of the community rooms at the Lambda Community Center (now the LGBT Community Center). In later years, the group's gatherings rotated between members' homes. Tolanda McKinney and Guy Madison were the organization's first co-presidents. Lavinia Cooper later replaced McKinney as a co-president. Founding members included McKinney, Madison, Cooper, John Freeman, Virgie-Roots-Hayes, John Ortiz-Hutson, Asa Salley, and many others.

GALA became a community in its own right and a refuge for many, as one of the important faces of Sacramento's African American LGBTQ+ community. During the first couple of years of its existence, the group formed an African American Gay and Lesbian book club at The Open Book bookstore with employee Carmen Fortes, an African American lesbian and PhD student at UC Davis. In 1992, GALA rented a booth at the Sacramento Rainbow Festival to highlight the organization and increase membership. According to one member who had just moved to Sacramento, when she first arrived in Sacramento that day, she was drawn to the Pride-like festivities, found GALA's booth, and found

[311] Judy Walls, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, September 5, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Heather Cassell, "Nia Collective Celebrates its Silver Anniversary," *Bay Area Reporter*, November 14, 2024, accessed September 12, 2024, https://www.ebar.com/story.php?ch=news&id=243075.
[312] Salley, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[313] "What is BMX?" Black Men's Xchange, accessed September 12, 2024, http://www.bmxnational.org/what-is-bmx/.
[314] Irene Monroe, "Cleo Manago: The Most Dangerous Black Gay Man?," HuffPost, February 2, 2016, accessed September 12, 2024, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/cleo-manago_b_1280272.
[315] Salley, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.

her tribe. In 1996, GALA successfully petitioned the Lambda Community Center to add two of its members, Leann Robinson and Asa Salley, to its Board of Directors, thus, providing visibility and a voice for Sacramento's African American LGBTQ+ community.

That same year, the Lambda Community Center's Board of Directors, under the leadership of board president Larry Hoover, decided to commemorate the opening of the new Lambda Community Center at 919 20th Street by selling glass blocks for a permanent display in the center's Assembly Room called the "Founder's Wall," designed by local architect Michael Sweeney. GALA purchased a brick for $500 to ensure that the organization would forever be remembered. The "Founder's Wall" was lost during the Lambda Community Center's relocations to new locations, and its whereabouts are unknown.

Figure 63. GALA co-presidents Lavinia Cooper and Guy Madison (second and third from the left) giving a $500 check to members of the Lambda Community Center board of directors. Source: Courtesy of Asa Salley.

In July 1996, GALA hosted a three-day AfroCentric Weekend that kicked-off at The Mirage with a performance by a live jazz band featuring transgender African American woman Diva Diana and Jazz Explosion. The weekend continued with two events: a barbeque at Faces with Bid Whist dominoes competitions and a guest DJ, followed by a much-anticipated talent show at The Mirage, the only Black lesbian-owned bar in Sacramento. The weekend concluded at the Lambda Community Center with poetry readings, screenings of gay and lesbian African American films, and assorted vendors. The AfroCentric Weekend remains the largest and most ambitious event organized by GALA. In the

years that followed, GALA struggled to decide if it was primarily a social club or political organization. The group decided to undertake strategic planning to pursue 501(c)(3) status but began to splinter and disbanded near the end of the process around 2000.[316]

Outside of the activities organized by these groups, many of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ people of color turned to private house parties as an essential social outlet. "Big Kim" hosted a large annual Memorial Day party for Black lesbians and gay men at her house in the 1990s. Shirley Mims was well-known for the private house parties she hosted in the early 2000s.[317]

Figure 64. GALA's AfroCentric Weekend (1996). Source: Courtesy of Asa Salley.

Drag & The Court of the Great Northwest Imperial Empire (CGNIE)

A drag queen and drag king social club and charitable organization, called the Imperial Court of Sacramento was established in 1973.[318] The Imperial Court of Sacramento was a local chapter of the International Court System, which was founded by Jose Sarria ("Mother Jose") in San Francisco in 1965. Initially created as a guild of gay bars to protect themselves against police raids and arrest, the International Imperial Court System evolved into a charitable organization with local chapters across the United States, Mexico, and Canada as the need for support and protection for LGBTQ+ communities around the world became increasingly apparent.[319]

The Imperial Court of Sacramento followed a similar pattern of development and primarily functioned as a social club for its first decade. In the 1970s, Imperial Court events and drag shows took place at the Hide and Seek, Log Cabin, Parking Lot, Joseph's Montana Saloon, and other local

[316] Asa Salley, email correspondence with Clare Flynn, October 2024.
[317] Clarmundo Sullivan, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, June 9, 2024.
[318] "Who We Are," The United Courts of CGNIE, accessed August 24, 2024, https://www.cgnie.org/who-we-are/.
[319] Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 20, 2024, Sacramento, CA; "Jose Julio Sarria," California Museum, accessed August 24, 2024, https://californiamuseum.org/inductee/jose-julio-sarria/.

Figure 65. Empress IV Pat Montclaire at the Parking Lot (1979). Source: Fifty Gay Years In The Greater Sacramento Area.

Figure 66. CGNIE Emperor XXV Ernie Brown (left) (undated). Source: Courtesy of Clarmundo Sullivan.

bars.[320] Members also did drag performances as far away as Auburn and Reno in the 1970s, and more recently in other states across the country. During the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s, the organization increasingly shifted its focus to fundraising to support the local LGBTQ+ community.[321]

The leadership body of the Imperial Court consists of a hierarchy of officers, led by an Empress and Emperor. Other titles include a Prince and Princess Royale, Leather Crown Prince, and King Father and Mother Queen. The Emperor and Empress are selected at an annual Coronation Ball. Coronation Balls have been held at the Jewish Community Center, Sacramento Convention Center at 1401 K Street (extant, now the SAFE Credit Union Convention Center), and California Automobile Museum at 2200 Front Street (extant), though most have taken place at Turn Verein at 2249 J Street (extant) in East Sacramento, because it includes a stage and theatrical equipment and can be rented for a full day.[322]

The first Emperor and Empress of the Imperial Court of Sacramento were Tim Carson and Billy Tree. Several people have been crowned as Monarchs multiple times, including Billy Tree (Empress I and IX), Spanky (Emperor III and IV), Tina Barbosa (Empress VI and VII), Terry Sidie (Emperor XIII and XXXVII), Paul Becerra (Emperor XVI and XIX), Stacy (Empress WVI and XIX), Ashley Harwood (Empress XXIII and XXXIII), Danielle (Empress XXIV and XXVIII), Do-Me Moore (Empress XXVII, XXX, XXXXI, and XXXXVII), Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U (Emperor XXX, Empress XXXII and XXXXIII), and Jeo Treto (Emperor XXXXIII and Regent XXXIX).[323] Terry Sidie was crowned Emperor I of the Americas, one of the two highest ranked people in the

[320] Melba, "Fifty Gay Years In The Greater Sacramento Area: 1950 – 2000."
[321] Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 20, 2024.
[322] Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 20, 2024.
[323] "Imperial Court Emperors and Empresses," The United Courts of CGNIE, accessed August 24, 2024.

International Court System in 2020, giving Sacramento international prominence and power among the drag community.[324]

Figure 67. Empress XXI Racine (far left) with local drag queens posing in front of the State Capitol as the Spice Girls from a video shoot with David Menken (ca. 1990s). Source: Courtesy of Larry Engelhardt-Lee.

The overall character and fundraising focus of a specific "Reign" is determined by The Empress and Emperor, based on causes they are passionate about. In 1976, the Imperial Court of Sacramento organized a fundraiser for the George Sand Community Fund at the Parking Lot. The event notably brought together members of the local lesbian and gay motorcycle clubs and LGBTQ+-supporting church organizations, such as the Metropolitan Community Church and Dignity.[325] In 1982, Emperor John V of Modesto hosted a Mr. Macho and Junior Mr. Macho contest to raise funds for the Special Olympics and the Sacramento Aquarian Effort Health Clinic.[326] In the 1980s, Sacramento's court hosted prom-like events as a playful response and act of healing to homophobia that had denied them the right to dance with same-sex partners at high school proms and dances.[327] More recent reigns have supported the Heart Foundation, Front Street Animal Shelter, local arts organizations, and others.[328]

The Imperial Court of Sacramento has historically been a diverse and inclusive organization, welcoming people of all genders, races, and sexual orientations. One of its earliest empresses, Pat Montclaire, was a transgender woman. Several Empresses and Emperors have been Black or from communities of color. In the 1980s, Emperor XXVIII Willie Anderson and his Empress Danielle organized an annual Afrocentric Weekend at the Mercantile Saloon. This was an earlier and separate

[324] "Official Message from Queen Mother 1 of the America's, Nicole the Great," International Court System, August 26, 2019, accessed August 24, 2024, https://internationalcourtsystem.org/official-message-from-queen-mother-1-of-the-americas-nicole-the-great/.
[325] Tim Holt, "Sacto's Gays," undated, private collection of George Raya.
[326] *River City Rambler* 2, no. 1, January 1982.
[327] CGNIE event flyers, Kevin Cohee Collection, LLACE.
[328] Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 20, 2024.

event from the Afrocentric Weekend organized by GALA in the 1990s and was the only Black LGBTQ+ Pride event in Sacramento. The weekend of events included soul music, soul food, dominoes and other card games, and drag performances.[329] During the 1990s, Sacramento's court was known for its three Black Empresses, known as the "Dream Girls," Shondra, and Danielle. Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U is Filipino. Empress XXXXVIII Dymond Brown is straight.[330]

The Imperial Court of Sacramento has expanded over time to include "sister courts" in 27 counties in Northern California, including the courts of Redding, Chico, and Stockton. The Sacramento court provides training and other support for these smaller sister communities. Reflecting its broad geographic territory of influence, the Sacramento court adopted the name the Court of the Great Northwest Imperial Empire (CGNIE), or the United Courts of Sacramento, Redding, Chico, and Stockton. Locally, CGNIE continues to grow as "Rebel Courts"— such as the Fairy Godfathers and Rainbow Festival, which represent specific causes or organizations—seek to take over its leadership are absorbed into the court.

Leather Clubs & Competitions

Like the drag community, the leather community has historically been stigmatized and "othered" within the broader LGBTQ+ community and created its own spaces and social outlets for personal expression and mutual support. The Valley Knights Motorcycle Club (for gay men) and Leather and Lace (for lesbians) were clubs for local motorcyclists and enthusiasts and were important early incubators for the leather community. The Valley Knights Motorcycle Club has been in continuous operation since 1976. According to an article published in the *River City Rambler* in 1982, the Valley Knights were "a social organization of gay men 'on the masculine side' who [shared] a love of motorcycles and the gay community's betterment."[331] Gay motorcycle clubs, such as the Valley Knights, traditionally led annual Pride festivals in communities around the country.[332] Such motorcycle clubs hosted events called "runs" during which members would take their bikes on a "run" to campsites and meet up with other motorcycle club members. Sacramento's motorcycle clubs held runs until around the 1980s. The idea of leather "runs" was revived in Sacramento around 2006 with the Sacramento Leather Run, a convention of queer leather people.[333]

[329] Clarmundo Sullivan, conversations with Carson Anderson, August 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[330] Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 20, 2024.
[331] "Interview," *River City Rambler* II, No. 2, February 1982, LLACE.
[332] Filmmaker Glenne McElhinney, Bay Area Dykes on Bikes leader during the 1970s/1980s, Carson Anderson, "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS," July 9, 2024.
[333] Matt Bunch, phone conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2023.

Figure 68. Members of the Valley Knights Motorcycle Club in front of Bob and Frank's Underpass (1978). Source: Fifty Gay Years In The Greater Sacramento Area.

Leather and Lace was founded in 1979 with the goal of bringing together motorcycle clubs, independent riders, and their supporters to raise funds for non-profit organizations that work to address health issues for women, children, and animals. One of the club's original members was Dayne "Grumbles" Davidson-Sands. The club adopted a "Heart and Wings" logo and, in 1981, the colors fuchsia and silver to represent it. Members of Leather and Lace often served as the security force at LGBTQ+ events and led the annual Pride parade. In 2001, the club changed its name to Sisters of Scota.[334]

In 1997, an all-men's leather club, the Sacramento Leathermen (now the Sacramento Leather Corps), formed. Reflecting the leather community's history, rooted in motorcycle and military culture and a sense of obligation to protect the vulnerable among the LGBTQ+ community, the group was initially created to meet the need for a color guard at local LGBTQ+ events, a role which is traditionally filled

[334] "Sisters of Scota Women's Motorcycle Club," accessed September 24, 2024, https://www.sistersofscotawmc.org/.

by military veterans. Because Sacramento did not have a gay veteran's group, the Leathermen stepped in to provide this service. The group also had a strong interest in fundraising to support the LGBTQ+ community and hosted regular pancake breakfasts at the Lambda Community Center at 1931 L Street (extant) to raise funds for local charities. The club remains active. Existing members sponsor new members, who are "patched" and "paddled" in at initiation ceremonies, somewhat like a college fraternity.[335]

Figure 69. The Wreck Room during its third anniversary celebration (1983). Source: *Patlar Gazette*.

The Wreck Room was the hub of the local leather community for much of the 1980s. First located at 925 20th Street in 1980, it relocated to 2513 Broadway (extant) in 1984. After the Wreck Room closed in 1999, The Bolt, located at 2560 Boxwood Street (extant), became the main hub and social gathering place for the leather community. The Bolt hosted an annual competition to award the title of "Mr. Bolt." The current iteration of the contest began in 2003, though there were earlier Mr. Bolt contests in the 1990s and earlier leather title competitions and winners in Sacramento that predate the 2000s, such as Mr. Leather Sacramento, Bear titles, and rodeo titles. Title winners represent Sacramento in the International Mr. Leather Competition in Chicago and serve as ambassadors for The Bolt and Sacramento's leather community at events throughout the year. Somewhat akin to a pageant, participants compete against each other in several rounds of events, which include a meet and greet and private interview with a panel of judges; a formal introduction to the public; a "leather formal" in which participants dress in evening wear-inspired leatherwear, and a "pecs and personalities" event, in which participants describe their personal platform if selected as the winner.[336] The annual Mr. Bolt competitions are one of the largest yearly events at The Bolt. Half of the proceeds go to local charities, often HIV treatment and education organizations like the Sunburst Project and Golden Rule Services. The other half pays for event expenses and to keep The Bolt, as community hub for the leather community, running. Matt Bunch is the only Mr. Bolt title winner to have also been an Emperor of CGNIE.[337]

[335] Matt Bunch, phone conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2023.
[336] Jonathan Cameron/Taryn Thru-U, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 20, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[337] Matt Bunch, phone conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2023.

Leather titles and competitions also existed for lesbians. In 1987, the first Ms. Leather Sacramento competition was held to select a woman to represent Sacramento at the International Leather Competition. The first Ms. Leather Sacramento competition took place at the Blue Moon on Franklin Boulevard. Kim Wallace was chosen as the winner. Jolanne Tierney won the next two titles in 1988 and 1889. After the Blue Moon closed, the competition moved to Joseph's Town and Country on Del Paso Boulevard and later Tierney's bar, Jammin' Jo's Sports, and Dance Bar in 1995.[338]

Figure 70, The first Ms. Leather Sacramento, Kim Wallace (1987). Source: Private collection of George Raya.

Figure 71. Mr. Leather Sacramento 1991-1992 (1992). Source: *Patlar Gazette*.

[338] Text message from Jolanne Tierney to Clare Flynn, August 21, 2024.

Figure 72. Ms. Leather Sacramento Jolanne Tierney and other competition participants (1988). Source: Courtesy of Jolanne Tierney.

SPORTS & ATHLETICS

The number and variety of sports clubs and leagues also grew in the 1970s and offered many options to the local community. Sacramento had its own gay baseball league for a time in the 1970s. The league was comprised of four or five teams, each of which represented one of the area's local gay bars: the Hu Hu Hut in West Sacramento, Mercantile Saloon, Faces, the Parking Lot, and Wreck Room. Games were held on Sundays and attracted approximately 300 to 400 fans. Similar clubs from San Francisco that were looking for more teams to play traveled to Sacramento for games for a period, before the league folded due to a lack of a sufficient number of teams.[339] In the 1980s, some games were held at Ulysses S. Grant Park at 21st and C streets.[340]

[339] Tim Holt, "Sacto's Gays," undated, private collection of George Raya.
[340] Wreck Room advertisement, *PATLAR Gazette*, June 1992: 4.

Several women's sports leagues were also available to lesbians in the Sacramento community and were important athletic and social outlets that fostered a strong sense of camaraderie among members. A women's rugby team, the River City Ruggers, formed in the late 1970s. The team competed against other women's rugby teams from Northern California and occasionally traveled to Southern California for tournaments. Practices and local games were initially held at Miller Park and McKinley Park before moving to Florin Reservoir Park around 1986. After games and practices, the players and their opponents typically gathered at the Blue Moon women's bar on Franklin Boulevard, which was owned by River City Ruggers player and artist Shannon Morgan, for food, entertainment, and socializing. The team supported itself by organizing fundraisers to pay for team uniforms, equipment, and travel expenses. Jude Grden was president and captain of the team from approximately 1983 until the team dissolved around 1998, as the rising popularity of women's soccer pulled many players away.[341]

Figure 73. The River City Ruggers (undated). Source: Courtesy of Jude Grden.

[341] Jude Grden, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 23, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

Figure 74. Kuniko Takeuchi (1970). Source: *Sacramento Bee.*

Many lesbian and straight women also participated in popular fast and slow pitch softball leagues. Fast pitch softball dominated in the 1970s and 1980s. Slow pitch softball overtook fast pitch softball in the early 1980s and 1990s. Women's softball teams represented local gay hair salons and bars, such as the Crazy Razors. Games and practices took place at Roosevelt Park at 10th and P streets and were typically followed by team gatherings at the Buffalo Club nearby. The league was so popular among the lesbian community that members often told lesbians who were new to town to go to games to meet women. Feeling unwelcomed by white lesbians on these softball teams, Black lesbians started their own softball team, Sisters and Friends, which was sponsored by Lioness Books and played in another City-run women's softball league on Sundays at Curtis Park.[342]

There were also active women's teams for rowing, golf, and roller hockey. In the 1990s, Chicks with Sticks, a Masters Women's Rowing club for women over the age of 27, competed and won sweeps at Lake Natoma. For a short period, a women's roller hockey team, managed by Manon Rheaume, a Canadian Olympic gold medal-winning hockey player and the first woman to play in the National Hockey League, played at Iceland Ice Skating Rink at 1420 Del Paso Boulevard (extant). A casual all women's gay golf league, called Mixed Bag, played at the William Land Golf Course.[343]

Sacramento has produced many elite LGBTQ+ athletes. Judoka master Kuniko Takeuchi arrived in Sacramento from Japan in 1968 with then partner and fellow judoka Midge Marino. At the time, she was the second highest ranked female judoka in the United States and the sixth ranked judoka in the world. By 2022, she was an eighth-degree black belt and was considered the highest ranked female judoka in the world.[344] Takeuchi began her training in judo as a high school student in Tokyo. In 1968, she and Marino began teaching judo and self-defense classes to female students at El Camino High School. She later became a physical education teacher at Campos Verdes Junior High School and Martin Luther

[342] Judy Walls and Asa Sally, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, September 11, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[343] Jude Grden, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 23, 2024.
[344] "Highest Ranked Woman in the World," Okubo Judo, accessed October 24, 2024, https://www.okubojudo.com/highest-ranked-woman-in-the-world/.

King, Jr. High School, before retiring in 1999. She contributed to the spread and popularization of judo in the United States as an instructor at the San Juan Judo Club and later the Okubo/APOA.

In 1993, Takeuchi coached a team of American women to a world championship in Canada. Three years later, she was selected to serve on the technical staff for the judo competitions at the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia.[345] From 2000 to 2010, she was Vice Chairman of the Promotion Committee of the American Judo Association, and from 2001 to 2010, she was the Chairman of the American Judo Federation's Judicial Committee. In 2020, the government of Japan awarded her the Order of the Rising Sun, a prestigious national award given to those who have performed exceptional service to the state in various fields, for her role in promoting judo and friendship between the United States and Japan. Takeuchi has continued to teach judo in the Sacramento area through the 2020s.[346]

A gay and lesbian bowling league, the River City Bowlers, competed at the Alhambra Bowl at 1229 Alhambra Boulevard. The league later met at Land Park Lanes at 5850 Freeport Boulevard (extant) and included a team of Black gay men and lesbians called "Four Brothas and a Sistah." Members included Robert Jones, Steve Sykes, Asa Salley, John Ortiz-Hudson, and others.[347] Sacramento also had a gay square-dancing club called the Capitol City Squares and a Sacramento Gay Rodeo Association. A gay volleyball league was started by David Kwong.

Sacramento LGBTQ+ athletes also competed in many sporting events at the Gay Games. The first Gay Olympic Games was held in San Francisco in 1982. According to founder Tom Waddell, the event's "formula for success was visibility and identity. And both were right there on the field. We were visible, and we were identified. And what did people see? They saw healthy people, out there, doing something that everyone could understand. They were out there to complete and have fun."[348] More than 1,300 athletes from 11 countries, including the United States, and approximately 170 cities participated in the first event. Music legend Tina Turner performed. Athletes from Sacramento took home a total of 18 medals. The end of the games featured a triumphal march of all the athletes, which received a 45-minute standing ovation.[349]

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[345] Edgar Sanchez, "Martial Artist at Work," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 April 1996.
[346]Satoru Furuya, "Kuniko Takeuchi Sensei Interview," Daiheigen Judo Yudanshakai, accessed October 24, 2024, https://www.daiheigen.org/2023/05/kuniko-takeuchi-sensei-interview/.
[347] Dr. Jon Marshack and the Reverend Rik Rasmussen, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, July 3, 2024; Asa Salley and Judy Walls, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[348] Scottie Andrew, "Welcome to the 'Gay Games,' An Alternative to the Olympics, Where Activism is Encouraged and Everyone's an Athlete," CNN, July 31, 2021, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.cnn.com/2021/07/31/us/gay-games-lgbtq-olympics-trnd/index.html.
[349] Ernie Brown, "Gay Olympic Games," *PATLAR Gazette*, 20 September 1982.

Figure 75. Some of Sacramento's contingent of athletes at the first Gay Olympic Games in 1982. Source: *The Sacramento Star*, 8 September 1982, Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE).

After the U.S. Olympic Committee demanded that organizers remove the word "Olympic" from the event's name, the event was changed to the "Gay Games."[350] A second Gay Games was held in San Francisco in 1986. Sacramento had 165 athletes at the games, the third largest contingent of athletes from any city after San Francisco and New York. Sacramento's athletes captured 54 medals that year.[351] Among Sacramento's many medalists were Don F. Dingler, who won the bronze medal in triathlon in 1986, and Carl Ray McCollum, who won a bronze medal in bowling at the 1990 games.[352]

Many of Sacramento's gay and lesbian athletes, and those simply seeking to stay fit or get into better shape, found a welcome place to train and exercise at Valentis gym. When lesbian couple Kimberly Miller and Liz White opened the gym in 1988, they realized a lifelong personal dream. Miller was

[350] Andrew, "Welcome to the 'Gay Games.'"
[351] Ernie Brown, "Views from River City," *Patlar Gazette,* September 1986.
[352] "Don F. Dingler," *Sacramento Bee*, 13 December 1989: C2; "McCollom, Carl Ray," *Sacramento Bee*, 17 September 1992: B7.

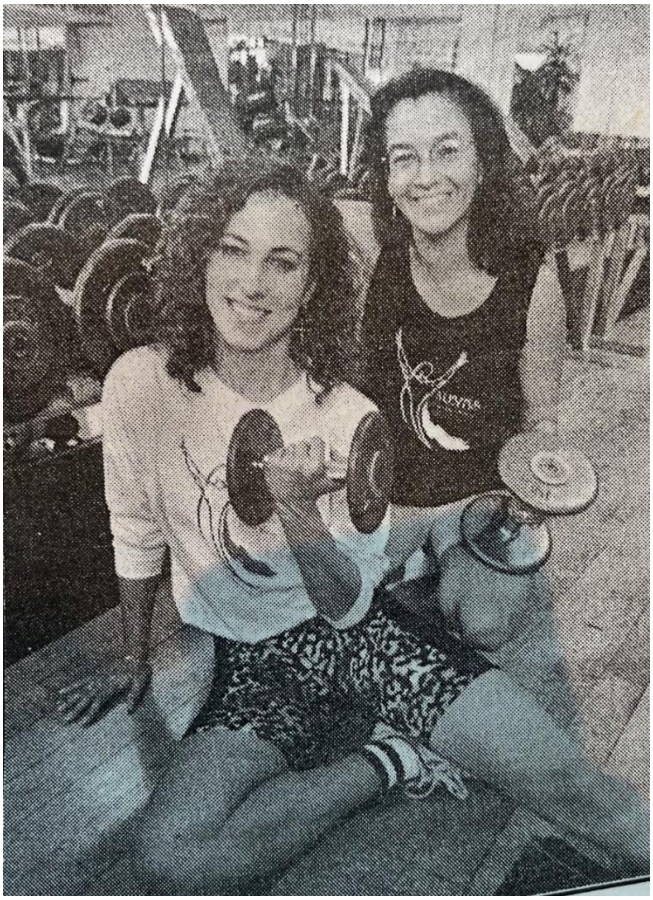

Figure 76. Kimberly Miller (front) and Liz White (back) at Valentis gym (ca. 1988). Source: Courtesy of Kimberly Miller.

herself a lifelong athlete who had been inducted into the San Francisco State College Hall of Fame, while White enjoyed personal fitness, competitive bodybuilding, and outdoor recreational activities. Located inside the Elks building at 921 11th Street (extant) in downtown Sacramento, the building was already equipped with a swimming pool, racquetball courts, basketball courts, and a sauna when Miller and White first arrived. They added a juice bar and a hair salon, run by Eddie Camacho, and massage therapist facilities. White was responsible for running the gym's fitness programs, while Miller took charge of business finances and administration.

Miller's upbringing and positive experience coming out to her family instilled in her the belief that there was no separation between gay or straight people. They took that belief to Valentis, which was envisioned as a gym that was welcome to all. Valentis was successful immediately, with lines out the doors. News about the gym spread by word of mouth through friends in the local gay community. Clientele consisted primarily of men and women between their thirties and fifties who worked in the downtown area and came there after work or during breaks. Employees from the Legislative Data Center, located across street, made up a large portion of early membership. Several local athletes who competed in the Gay Games trained at Valentis, including White, who performed a well-received bodybuilding routine to Barbara Streisand's version of the song "There's A Place For Us" with fellow bodybuilder Ed Blagdon at the 1990 Gay Games. A combination of factors led to the close of Valentis Gym in 1995, including rising rent prices at the Elks building and the declining number of people working nearby.[353]

[353] Kimberly Miller, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

ARTS & ENTERTAINMENT

Sacramento also had plenty to offer for gay and lesbian residents with an interest in the arts in all of its forms. In the 1960s and 1970s, artistic offerings were directed primarily at gay and lesbian residents, but did not specifically cater to transgender people or other LGBTQ+ subgroups. *Mom…Guess What…!* advertised live music, theater, dance performances; art shows and exhibitions; and other artistic events in its monthly publications. The newspaper also published reviews of new music releases, highlighting those that were the work of local gay and lesbian musicians, and profiles of local artists. Many of the local gay bars and clubs regularly hosted live music performances by local and traveling musicians.

Theater

Several LGBTQ+ theater troupes formed and were active in Sacramento between the 1970s and 2000s. Le Theatre Lesbien, a lesbian theater company, was founded by Cherie Gordon and Patricia One Person (now Matty One Person) in 1971, making it reportedly one of the earliest openly gay theatre troupes in the United States. At the time, both Gordon and One Person were active in the women's movement at Sacramento State University. Gordon was completing a master's degree in communications, with a research focus on the subject that "lesbianism is everywhere." One Person was part of the university's pioneering faculty, who, along with Marty Rogers and Charles Moore, introduced the first gay and lesbian courses to the university. One Person taught courses in the Honors Program on the "Lesbian in America" and the "Lesbian in Society."[354] More information about One Person's contributions to LGBTQ studies at Sacramento State University are included in Chapter 5.

Gordon and One Person initially created Le Theatre Lesbien to provide an additional source of entertainment at parties; however, all of its productions had a strong political message at their core that were underpinned by the principles of lesbian-feminism. By increasing the visibility of lesbians, its founders believed, more lesbians would be encouraged to come out of the closet. Countering the serious tone of much of the women's movement, Gordon believed that humor was the most effective way to communicate these messages and open the hearts and minds of audiences. In Gordon's words, Le Theatre Lesbien was "dedicated to the presentation of lesbians with positive models with whom they [could] identify" and "also to spoof the gay community just a bit."[355] One play, called "The Homobrontosaurus," featured lesbian dinosaurs to show that lesbianism is "as old

[354] Cherie Gordon, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[355] Alfred Kay, "Strategically OK Lesbian Play Fails as Theater," *Sacramento Bee*, 10 September 1979: B7.

as time."[356] The play was performed as part of the Lesbian Colloquium, which One Person helped organize at Sacramento State University, in 1972.[357]

Figure 77. Members of Le Theatre Lesbien, including Cherie Goron (far left), at the 1980 March on Sacramento for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1980). Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Jonna Ramey Collection.

In 1976, Le Theatre Lesbien presented a production called "Dykes on Parade," which was billed as a "hersterical, herstorical, theatrical review of lesbian fashion."[358] The characters portrayed in the production were inspired by real lesbian or gender non-conforming people from history, gay publications, and lesbian journals and included the Greek poet Sappho; Gertrude Stein; Quaquam, a female Blackfoot warrior; Parisian novelist Collette; and French poet Renee Vivian, among others. The play's intent was to portray these famous lesbian figures from history as real people.[359] "Dykes on Parade" was one of Le Theatre Lesbien's most popular productions, receiving standing ovations that lasted several minutes when it was performed at Sacramento State University.[360] The play was performed several more times throughout Northern California through the early 1980s. Le Theatre

[356] Cherie Gordon, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[357] Cherie Gordon, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[358] Cheryl Clark, "Lesbian Show Of 'Herstory' Is Gay Event," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 October 1976: B2.
[359] Clark, "Lesbian Show Of 'Herstory' Is Gay Event."
[360] David A. Reichard, *Here Are My People: LGBT College Student Organizing in California* (Athens, CA: University of Georgia Press, 2024, 68.

Lesbien also used its work to challenge how lesbians were perceived and talked about in broader society. The name of the troupe's 1979 production, "Cowdykes at the Lavender Corral," was intended to bring derogatory words used to refer to lesbians out into the open, challenge them, and show them to be "as ludicrous as they are."[361]

Most of Le Theatre Lesbien's plays were initially created through improvisation and later written down. By 1973, Sue Cugene joined the troupe and developed many of the plays with Gordon. After 1976, Pat Lynch (also known as Madame Szwambi) also contributed several plays. Actors were recruited from the community, often by Gordon simply walking up to women at bars and asking if they were interested in acting. Most of the Le Theatre Lesbien's early plays were performed at theatres and venues on the campus of Sacramento State University, where they had easy and free access to stages and theatrical equipment. In the early 1980s, after Gordon left Sacramento State University, many of the troupe's productions were performed in the theater at the Sierra 2 community center at 2791 24th Street (extant) in Curtis Park. Over the course of the troupe's history, they also performed at local lesbian bars, including the Off Key in West Sacramento and the Casino Club on 16th Street, as well as local gay pride parades, festivals, and events; cafes, bars, and theaters in San Francisco, Berkeley, and Albany; and the campus of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).[362] In 1986, Gordon created a women's only dance event, The Botticelli Costume Ball, and Le Theatre Lesbien performed its play "Wine, Women, and War," written by Madame Szwambi. An all-female band, Tommy, was hired from San Francisco to perform at the catered event, and guests were greeted by vestal virgins clad in togas. Le Theatre Lesbien's last performance took place at the one-night-only "Off Key Re-union" event at the building formerly occupied by the Off Key bar and featured a performance of "The Psychoanalysis of Edward the Dyke," based on a poem by Judy Grahn.[363]

Neil Treganza formed another theatre troupe, the Lambda Players, at the Lambda Community Center (now the Sacramento LGBT Community Center) at 1931 L Street (extant) in 1989. The troupe was initially created as an alternative to the local gay bar scene and served as entertainment at the community center's regular coffee nights. The troupe gradually outgrew the community center's living room space and began performing at local theatre venues around Sacramento, such as the YWCA and Sierra 2 community center theater. Over time, the Lambda Players performances evolved from casual amateur events into major sponsored productions that were attended by audiences of roughly 1,000 people. The troupe typically performed five plays each season. Plays performed by the troupe were selected to promote a positive image among the LGBTQ+ community and included

[361] Alfred Kay, "Strategically OK Lesbian Play Fails As Theater," *Sacramento Bee*, 10 September 1979: B7.
[362] Cherie Gordon, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss; Cherie Gordon, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, July 5, 2024.
[363] Cherie Gordon, "Corrections to Your 2nd Draft of Chapter 3," email to Clare Flynn, September 23, 2024.

both established and original works that dealt with LGBTQ+ themes or were written by LGBTQ+ playwrights. Some years, the plays had a political message that was intended to respond to issues that were being debated at the State Capitol. Early board members who were instrumental in the troupe's growth and development included Treganza, Maureen Gaynor, Terri Ramos, Wayne Spellman, Michael Perry, Tom Bach, and Charlie Peer. Board members shared responsibilities and took turns completing tasks required to get each production to the stage. Gregg Peterson served as the in-house playwright for a time. Tom Swanner and Matt Burlingame also served as in-house playwrights and directors at the same time and were co-artistic directors. Swanner and Burlingame wrote both together and individually. Actors included both gay men and lesbians. The troupe was nomadic, performing in various spaces throughout Sacramento until 2007, when it obtained its first official theater space at 2427 17th Street (extant). The troupe remained there for one year before moving to the Studio Theater are 1028 R Street (extant). Burlingame and Swanner wrote and directed almost all of the Lambda Players' productions in the troupe's final year. The troupe disbanded in 2011 but had a lasting impact on uplifting the community and encouraging closeted individuals to come out.[364]

Figure 78. Tom Bach (right) and Patrick Elkins-Zeglarski (left) in a Lambda Players' production (ca. 1990). Source: Center for Sacramento History.

[364] Maureen Gaynor, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 23, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Michael Gorman, email to Clare Flynn, August 20, 2024.

Music

Starting in the 1970s, individual LGBTQ+ musicians emerged, and clubs, groups, and businesses formed to provide additional avenues for community members to express themselves and see their experiences reflected back at them through music.

Figure 79. Jean Millington (far left) and June Millington (top, center) on the cover of Fanny's 1972 album, Fanny Hill. Source: AllMusic.

Among the most successful LGBTQ+ musicians to come out of Sacramento were sisters June and Jean Millington, founders of Fanny, one of the first all-female rock bands to sign to a major record label and achieve critical and commercial success. The Millington sisters were born in the Philippines and moved to Sacramento with their parents as teenagers in 1961. Outcast by students in school due to their race, they found a refuge in music and formed a garage band called the Svelts, which initially performed Top 40 rock at local Air Force bases, San Francisco hotels, and Las Vegas casinos.[365] In 1969, the Millington sisters, along with drummer Alice de Buhr and keyboardist Nickey Barclay, signed a record contract with Reprise Records as the band Fanny. June came out as gay at the age of 20; de Buhr was also gay. Fanny recorded five albums before disbanding in 1975 and achieved two Top 40 hits: "Charity Ball" and "Butter Boy." The band performed with other prominent rock bands of the 1970s, including Jethro Tull, Humble Pie, the Kinks, Slade, and Chicago. In a 1999 interview with Rolling Stone, David Bowie called Fanny one of the finest rock bands of their time. Other fans included Bonnie Raitt.[366] After the band disbanded, June and Jean continued to play music as solo artists and in various configurations with former

[365] Judy MacLean, "June Millington," *The Advocate*, 8 June 1982.
[366] Mark Yarm, "The All-Female Band Fanny Made History. A New Doc Illuminates It," *New York Times*, 25 May 2022.

members of Fanny.[367] The documentary "Fanny: The Right to Rock," which was released by PBS in 2023, highlighted the band's unheralded importance to music history.[368]

Music and concerts produced specifically for women, known at the time simply as "women's music," provided an important social and emotional outlet for many in Sacramento's lesbian community. Women's music was written by and for women, many of whom were lesbians, and reflected their lives, emotions, and experiences in a way that other popular or mainstream music did not. In 1979, four local women—Anne Seeley, Terry Wong, Lisa Davis, and E. Jane White—formed a production company to promote women's music in Sacramento called Crystal Moon Productions. The company organized and promoted concerts featuring local and touring feminist musicians.[369] Operating on a budget of up to $2,500 per event, each of Crystal Moon's concerts attracted approximately 600 to 700 people within the first year. Most of the concerts took place at local school auditoriums, including at Hiram Johnson High School, which were the cheapest venues to rent that included stages and equipment.[370] Local lesbian musicians who performed at events organized by Crystal Moon Productions included Robby Fuller, Jeanette Hess, Jan-Michelle Sawyer, Liz Cook, and others. Many of the performers were nationally known touring musicians associated with the pioneering women's music record label Olivia Records, which was established in Oakland in the mid-1970s. Among the "Olivia Women" who performed in Sacramento were Olivia Records founder Meg Christian, Cris Williamson, Holly Near, Linda Tillery, Margie Adams, Theresa Trull, Mary Watkins, and others.[371] In 1973, Kate Millett, a visiting professor and author of the classic feminist book *Sexual Politics* (1970), organized a Women's Music Festival at Sacramento State University. Musician and composer Margie Adam began her professional career as a musician during an open mic session at the event.[372]

In addition to Cherie Gordon's work with Le Theatre Lesbien, she also created Lavender Lady Productions, which produced smaller concerts, featuring local lesbian singers and musicians, at local cafes, restaurants, and other locations in Sacramento and Davis. One of the common locations for these shows was Earhart's Café.[373] Other local women's music performances were organized by musician Jan-Michelle Sawyer, who created "A Light Night of Women's Music" as an outlet for lesbian women to showcase and experience music that spoke to them. These small concerts for women's

[367] Jason Ankeny, "Fanny Biography," AllMusic, accessed July 31, 2024, https://www.allmusic.com/artist/fanny-mn0001467262#biography.
[368] Yarm, "The All-Female Band Fanny Made History. A New Doc Illuminates It."
[369] Cherie Gordon and Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[370] Zenobia Jonell Gerard, "Feminist Music – Producers Encourage Non-Offensive Lyrics," *Sacramento Bee,* B4.
[371] Cherie Gordon and Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[372] "Margie Adam," Women Arts, May 24, 2004, accessed September 24, 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20100620211925/http://womenarts.org/network/profile_974.html.
[373] Cherie Gordon, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.

music took place at the Redwood Room at Sacramento State University and the Pease Conservatory of Music at 2130 L Street (extant) in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[374]

Many of the local gay and lesbian bars had dance floors that made them popular for dancing, such as the Parking Lot, Bo Jangles, and Faces. One of the most popular DJs and event coordinators in the Sacramento LGBTQ+ community since the early 1980s has been Jolanne Tierney, also known by her DJ-ing name as "Jammin' Jo." A Sacramento native, Tierney came out when she was 15 years old at Bo Jangles bar. Tierney's mother, Georgette Tierney, though a practicing Catholic, accepted her daughter for who she was and welcomed her friends into her home like family, becoming a mother-like figure to the community, who provided safety and acceptance for many who had been rejected by their own families. When Jolanne turned 21 in 1984, her parents allowed her to throw a birthday party at their house. Approximately 100 people attended the event. It was such a success that Tierney's friends asked her to throw another party the next year. From then on, Tierney's annual "21st birthday party" became a major event for the LGBTQ+ community. The parties grew larger each year and eventually included a stage and lip-sync performances. After police were called to respond to the sixth annual 21st birthday party, Tierney began to rent event halls to host the event.

During the late 1980s, Tierney began to develop her skills as a disc jockey (DJ) while working as a bartender at Faces. While bartending at Ladies' Night one Wednesday night, she was asked to fill in for a DJ who had failed to turn up. People enjoyed the music so much that Tierney was asked to DJ again and became the regular DJ for Wednesday Ladies' Nights at Faces. Soon, friends began to ask Tierney to DJ birthday parties, weddings, and other events, and "Jammin Jo" was born. In 1983, she became a Universal Life minister and received her marriage license, which she used to symbolically marry gay and lesbian couples from the 1980s and until the early 2000s. After the passage of Sacramento's Domestic Partnership Ordinance in 1992, Tierney performed ceremonies for same-sex couples who registered as domestic partners. Between June and November 2008—after the California Supreme Court overturn the state's ban on same-sex marriages and before Prop 8 repealed that decision—she legally married approximately 35 same-sex couples.

Tierney, who also had a passion for fundraising to support the LGBTQ+ community, used nearly all of her events, including her annual 21st birthday parties, as fundraisers that supported local charities and organizations that were dear to her heart, including the local YWCA, Sacramento AIDS Foundation, the Society for the Blind, and others. Tierney's events were open to anyone who wanted to have fun, regardless of gender, sexual orientation, race, or income level and allowed people to

[374] Jeanette Hess, conversation with Clare Flynn, August 13, 2024.

pay for entrance to her events on a sliding scale, depending on what they were able to pay, or offered those who could not afford it a spot on the guest list.[375]

Joey Claytor—a Black lesbian, DJ, and community organizer—created similar events that brought the community together through music, dance, and personal expression. Claytor began her career as a DJ at Anna Marie's, a popular lesbian bar in West Sacramento, in 1975. After the bar closed, Claytor DJ-ed at Anna Marie's reunion parties, initially at rented spaces in downtown Sacramento, and later at Faces, before starting a production company called Music by Joey and hosting her own events, using the popularity of her own name and reputation to attract crowds. She also created high-end parties, known as "Secrets" and "Gay-las," knowing they would be more attractive to women than typical bar events. All of Claytor's events were underground and advertised only by word of mouth. Claytor's events brought community members together in meaningful ways and were the place many couples first met.[376]

Sacramento also offered opportunities for gay men who had a passion for music to socialize and express themselves through music. During Pillars' monthly gathering in August 1984, Rick Whitnah and his partner Steve Mabbs announced their intention to form a men's chorus. The chorus was originally named the Sacramento Men's Chorus to protect its members from discrimination. The chorus's first planning meeting was held at a Christmas party at Whitnah and Mabbs' house at 2851 Castro Way in December 1984. The chorus initially consisted of between 25 and 40 singers. Members included successful lobbyists, lawyers, school principals, teachers, businessmen, and community leaders, some of whom were closeted in their professional lives and for whom the club was an outlet and refuge from the realities of discrimination they faced in their daily lives. It also offered an alternative for socializing outside of gay bars.

In the early years, members sang in straight lines and dressed in formal suits and ties to avoid the chance of being identified as gay. As it became increasingly safe and acceptable to be openly gay in the early 2000s, the chorus changed its name to the Sacramento Gay Men's Chorus and began to incorporate dancing and more expressive styles of singing and clothing into their performances. The chorus's first rehearsals and its first formal concert took place at the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) at 2741 34th Street in Oak Park in 1985. Over the years, many performances have taken place at the MCC and St. Paul's Episcopal Church at 1430 J Street (extant). In addition to these formal concerts, the Sacramento Gay Men's Chorus has performed at a variety of notable events, including the inaugurations of Governor Gray Davis and Mayor Joe Serna, numerous AIDS benefits,

[375] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 2, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[376] "Joey Claytor, DJ and Lesbian Social Organizer," Legends of Courage, dir. Dawn D. Deason, February 14, 2024, accessed September 17, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RRIi3NZIYRQ.

the opening of the Center for AIDS Research and Education Services (CARES), two concerts by famed folk singer Judy Collins, and Sacramento Kings basketball games. Most of the chorus's performances have been performed for charity or community benefits for which members were not paid. Money spent on costumes, rehearsal spaces, travel, and other expenses were paid almost entirely through donations. The club celebrated its 30th anniversary at the Memorial Auditorium in 2015 and has grown to more than 150 singers.[377]

Figure 80. The Sacramento Men's Chorus in front of the Capitol just before its first public concert (1985). First row (from left to right): Dr. L. Steven Winlock, Robert O'Neil, Ray Irish, Dr. David Kirp, Mark Fisher, J. Michael Angelwirth, Dennis Mangers, Bob (last name unknown), Lindsay Ouelette, unknown, Tony Martin, Norv Giles, and Dr. David Newnham. Second row (from left to right): Frank Lawler, Rich Whitnah, Matthew Curtin, Ron Clyma, Steve Mabbs, Alan Charles, Larry Hoover, Curt Filer, Mike Dole, Brent Smith, Jeff Goldman, David Kwong, and Larry Dunlap. Source: Courtesy of Denny Mangers.

[377] Marcos Breton, "Men Live, Sing in the Open," *Sacramento Bee*, 10 May 2015: B1.

Fine Arts

Research revealed limited information about the involvement of the LGBTQ+ community in fine arts and crafts. Twin brothers Jed Johnson and Jay Johnson were born in Minnesota but moved to Fair Oaks, just east of Sacramento, with their parents at the age of 10. The boys attended Bella Vista High School and moved to New York City in 1967, where they met artist Andy Warhol and became fixtures of The Factory, Warhol's famed Manhattan studio. Jay Johnson became a model and helped paint some of Warhol's paintings for the Factory.[378] Meanwhile, Jed's talent for design and aesthetics caught Warhol's eye, who tapped Jed to collaborate with him on several of his films, including as editor of *Trash* (1970), *Heat* (1972), and *Blood for Dracula* (1974), and director of *Bad* (1977). Jed Johnson and Warhol developed a romantic relationship, and the two were partners for 12 years. Friends of Warhol and Johnson considered Johnson to be one of the great loves of Warhol's life.

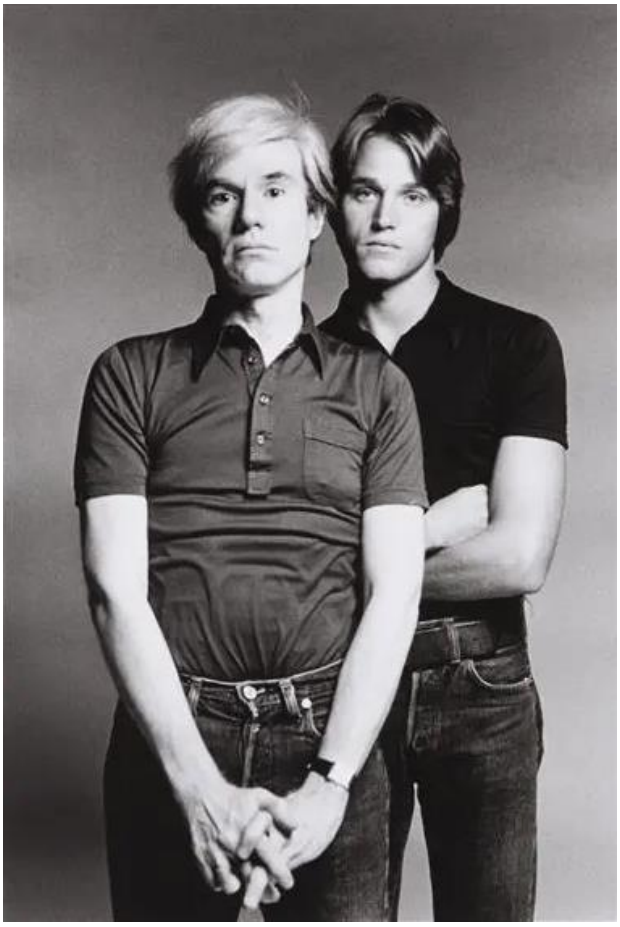

Figure 81. Jed Johnson (right) with Andy Warhol (left). Source: Revolver Gallery.

After leaving Warhol in 1976, Johnson became a renowned and sought-after interior designer with clients that included rock star Mick Jagger, actress and singer Barbara Streisand, French businessman and art patron Pierre Bergé, and French fashion designer Yves Saint Laurent. His life was cut short by the TWA Flight 800 crash in 1996.[379] In its obituary, *The New York Times* stated, "Jed Johnson had an eye, one of the best eyes that has existed in our time."[380] He was posthumously inducted into the Interior Design Hall of Fame and was named as one of the "World's 20 Greatest Designers of All Time" by *Architectural Digest* in 2010.[381]

[378] William L. Hamilton, "The Surviving Twin, Rearranging the Furniture," *The New York Times*, 10 November 2005.
[379] Mitchell Nugent, "Meet Jed Johnson, the Man Who Stole Andy Warhol's Heart," Interview, March 21, 2022, accessed September 24, 2024, https://www.interviewmagazine.com/culture/meet-jed-johnson-the-man-who-stole-andy-warhol-heart.
[380] Paul Goldberger, "Jed Johnson: Grace Interrupted," *The New York Times*, 25 July 1996.
[381] Gerald Clarke, "The World's 20 Greatest Designers of All Time," Architectural Digest, January 2010, accessed September 24, 2024, https://archive.architecturaldigest.com/article/2010/1/the-worlds-20-greatest-designers-of-all-time.

Jok Church, a local radio host and founding member of the Damien House community service center in Sacramento in the 1970s, created the popular cartoon strip "You Can with Beakman and Jax," which first ran in the *Marin Independent Journal* in 1991. Each panel of the "wacky science" cartoon strip answered a science question submitted by readers. By 1999, the cartoon strip was featured in approximately 300 newspapers across the country. It also inspired the children's television show "Beakman's World," which ran for four years.[382]

In 1979, a woman named Donna opened a co-op for gay artists and their friends to display and sell their artwork on a commission basis. The co-op was located at the Double D Manufacturing Shop at 3443 La Grande Boulevard (extant).[383] In addition, Artist Harry John "Ric" Roletto resided in Sacramento for a time and was featured in a profile in the nationally distributed LGBTQ+ newspaper, *The Advocate*, in 1981. The profile highlighted a series of series of collages Roletto created as part of his coming-out process that mixed humor with images of nature, architecture, and erotica.[384] Other known local artists in the LGBTQ+ community who were active through 2000 included photographer Larry Lazarus and sculptor and painter George Kafource.

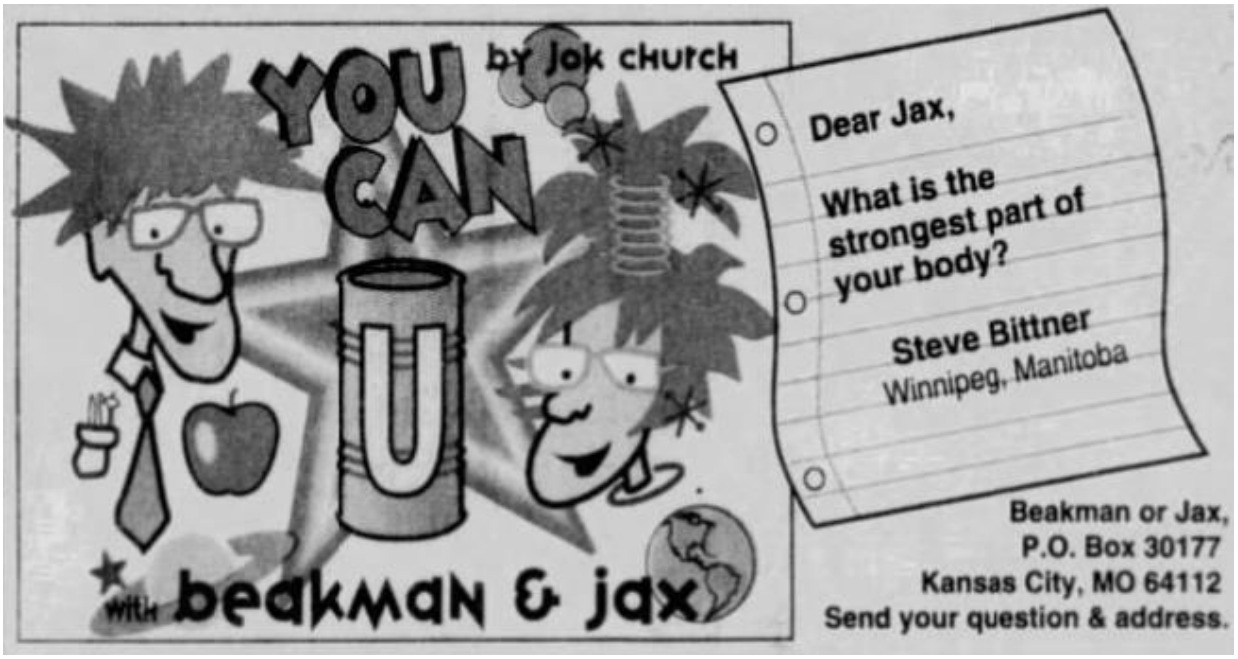

Figure 82. Portion of a "You Can with Beakman and Jax" comic strip by Jok Church (May 1992). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

[382] "'Wacky Science' Man at UCD," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 January 1999; "Steve Rubenstein," Jok Church, of Beakman and Jax Cartoon Strip for Kids, Dies at 67," SF Gate, 5 May 2016, accessed October 29, 2024, https://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Jok-Church-Beakman-and-Jax-cartoon-strip-for-7396400.php.
[383] "Gay Art Co-Op Has Display Area," *Mom…Guess What…!,* February 1979.
[384] "Ric Roletto," *The Advocate*, 1 October 1981.

Film & TV

In the 1980s, Robert Bequette and his partner Will created "Being Gay Today," a television show that ran on local cable access television on Thursday nights for approximately twenty years until the 2000s. In its early incarnation, it was an interview show that featured local politicians, group organizers, HIV experts, and community members from all backgrounds to talk about their work and the Sacramento LGBTQ+ community. The program later added movie reviews by Tom Swanner, which led to an overhaul of the show into an entertainment focused show with pre-recorded segments. "Being Gay Today" highlighted LGBTQ+ life in Sacramento and became an important source of information for the local LGBTQ+ community. The show featured several notable hosts over the course of its run, including Swanner, Joanna Cassese, Sam Catalano, and others.[385]

In 1992, Sacramento State University student and military veteran Allen Cole approached student activities director Lou Camera about starting an annual LGBTQ+ film festival at the university to celebrate National Coming Out Day (October 11), inspired by a similar student-run festival at Fresno State University.[386] Cole and Camera enlisted the help of the Delta Lambda Phi gay fraternity and the university's gay and lesbian student alliances to help. The result was the Sacramento International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival (SIGLFF). The first program consisted of seven short films and sold out almost immediately. As its popularity grew, the festival's annual program quickly expanded to consist of more than one dozen feature-length and short films from around the world that dealt with LGBTQ+ topics, some of which were written and performed by members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Question and answer sessions with the directors, producers, and other production members were held after each screening. Proceeds from each year's festival went to a local LGBTQ+ charity or nonprofit.[387]

According to Cole, the festival's intention was to offer "not just positive portrayals of gays and lesbians but realistic, artistic portrayals—something that was multidimensional and not stereotypes."[388] Inspired by the California Supreme Court's decision to overturn the state's ban on same-sex marriages in 2008, the theme of that year's festival was marriage. Gay and lesbian couples with marriage licenses were welcomed to get married at the festival. Among those to officially marry at the festival were Uptown Studios founder Tina Reynolds and her partner Kate Moore, *Latest Issue* newspaper founder

[385] Matt Burlingame, comments on Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Historic Context Statement Second Public Draft and October 9, 2024 public meeting; Matt Burlingame, email correspondence to Clare Flynn, October 17, 2024.
[386] Michael McGough, "Sacramento's LGBTQ Film Festival Coming to Permanent End," *Sacramento Bee*, 16 May 2022: 5A; Carla Meyer, "Reflecting the Times," *Sacramento Bee*, 9 October 2011: I1.
[387] Carla Meyer, "Wedding Theme for Gay-Lesbian Film Fest," Sacramento Bee, 5 October 2008; Maureen Gaynor, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 23, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[388] Meyer, "Reflecting the Times."

and multimedia director for Uptown Studios, whose film "Words Matter" premiered at the festival and documented gay and lesbian weddings in Sacramento. The films were chosen by the festival's long-time program director Patti Barcena and a selection committee.[389] In addition to Cole, Camera, and Barcena, other individuals who contributed to organizing the festival over the years included Paul Curtis, Todd Lohse, Dawn Deason, Michael Dennis, Brian Verkuylen, and David van der Griff, among many others. Scott Brozek served as the festival's president from approximately 2012 to 2022. [390]

Figure 83. Founders and board members of SIGLFF/BENT outside the Crest Theater during the festival's 20th anniversary in 2011. From left to right: Paul Curtis, Todd Lohse, Allen Cole, Patti Barcena, Michael Dennis, Brian Verkuylen, Dawn Deason, Lou Camera, and David van der Griff. Source: Manny Crisostomo for the *Sacramento Bee*.

[389] Meyer, "Wedding Theme for Gay-Lesbian Film Fest," Maureen Gaynor, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 23, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[390] McGough, "Sacramento's LGBTQ Film Festival Coming to Permanent End."

Early festivals were held at the Redwood Room at Sacramento State University, the Sierra 2 Community Center, and other small venues. As the festival grew, the Crest Theater at 1013 K Street (extant) became its primary screening location, although additional screenings also took place at the Tower Theater at 2508 Land Park Drive (extant). In the 2020s, the festival was renamed the BENT Film Festival. Declining annual attendance and the COVID-19 pandemic led to the festival's closure in 2022. At the time, it was the longest running film festival in Sacramento.[391] On National Coming Out Day 2023, the festival's organizers continued the legacy and mission of SIGLFF/BENT by using remaining funds to create a lasting grant program to support LGBTQ+ filmmakers from the Sacramento region.[392]

PROFESSIONAL CLUBS & ORGANIZATIONS

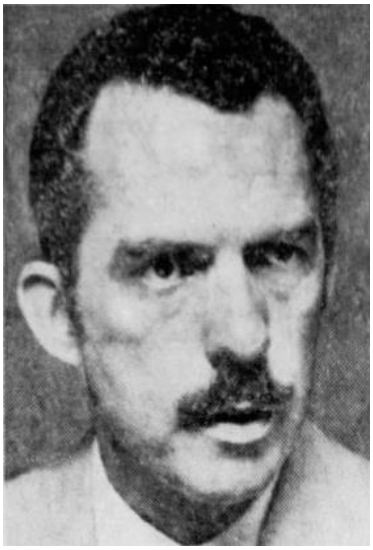

Figure 84. Norvell Giles, founder of the River City Business Association (1979). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

Several professional clubs and organizations supported Sacramento's local gay and lesbian business leaders starting in the 1970s. In 1979, Linda Birner and copy shop owner Norvell "Norv" Giles created the River City Business Association (RBCA), a local business association modeled after the Golden Gate Business Association in San Francisco, as well as similar groups in San Jose, San Diego, Chicago, New York City, and other major U.S. cities. The organization aimed to help local gay and business owners and professionals network and build mutual support. Members met monthly at the Whistle Stop restaurant in Old Sacramento, where they passed around business cards and discussed issues facing them. Giles, who served as president of the association, envisioned RCBA eventually becoming part of a national gay chamber of commerce with connections stretching across the country. Within two months of its founding, 26 people joined the RCBA. Members included lawyers, accountants, restauranteurs, interior decorators, boutique owners, graphic designers, newspaper employees, housekeepers, and other local businesspeople. Members' names were kept secret upon request to prevent backlash if employers discovered that their workers were members.[393] Giles used his position to publicly speak out against the discrimination that gay businesses and patrons faced,

[391] McGough, "Sacramento's LGBTQ Film Festival Coming to Permanent End."
[392] BENT – LGBTQ Film Festival, Facebook page, October 11, 2023, accessed August 31, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/bentfilmfest.
[393] Marguaret Peterson, "'Mom, Guess What?' Gay Tells of Fear Overcome, Association Started," *Sacramento Bee*, 10 July 1979: C7.

particularly anti-gay attitudes and treatment they received from the Sacramento Police Department.[394]

Looking to form a group to help lesbians socialize and network, attorney Rosemary Metrailer founded the Sacramento Area Career Women's Network (SACWN) in 1984. The group was created in response to numerous requests that Metrailer received through her law firm for referrals to lesbians in other professional fields and careers. The group's 1989 constitution stated that its purpose was to provide "a structure for sharing ideas and resources" to lesbians "of all cultures, ages, physical abilities, and social and economic backgrounds."[395] In meeting this mission, SACWN provided a safe place for lesbian career women to meet socially, do business together, and enjoy educational and recreational events together. With the emergence of other professional networking opportunities in the early 2000s, the organization dissolved in 2007. Over the group's 23 years of existence, it served hundreds of Sacramento area women and their families and friends and was responsible for the formation of many enduring relationships.[396]

In 1981, Metrailer was part of the establishment of another support group for gay Sacramento-area professionals. Realizing that many deeply closeted gay men in Sacramento lacked much-needed support networks during the terrifying early days of the AIDS crisis, she and fellow gay attorney and McGeorge School of Law professor Larry Levine, started a professional association for gay and lesbian attorneys and their allies. The group, Sacramento Lawyers for Equality for Gays and Lesbians (SacLegal), was initially envisioned as a safe space for gay and lesbian attorneys to connect and bond.[397] By 1996, the group had 60 members, who heard about the group largely through word of mouth.[398] SacLegal worked to provide effective legal representation to Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, confront discrimination and defend the legal rights of LGBTQ+ people, and create a network of LGBTQ+ lawyers. SacLegal continues to be active in the Sacramento community and is an affiliate of the Sacramento County Bar Association and National LGBTQ Bar Association.[399]

In 1989, Kevin Cohee organized a new gay business group called the Business Alliance for Networking Gays (BANG). With the mission to foster an inclusive and prosperous environment for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ business community, the group provided assistance to local LGBTQ+ business owners and corporate partners through networking opportunities, advocacy, business development, and knowledge sharing. Criticism that the group's name was too sexually charged led it to change its

[394] "Hiring Ban 'Immature,'" *Sacramento Bee*, 31 July 1979: B2.
[395] "S.A.C.W.N. Inc. Constitution, Policies and Committee Descriptions," 1989, LLACE.
[396] Rosemary Metrailer, "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS," July 9, 2024.
[397] "The Story of Rosemary Metrailer," Legends of Courage, dir. Dawn Deason, accessed September 25, 2024, https://vimeo.com/legendsofcourage.
[398] Ramon Coronado, "Lawyers United to Uphold Gay Rights," *Sacramento Bee*, 19 September 1996: B4.
[399] "About," SacLegal, accessed September 25, 2024, https://www.saclegal.org/about_saclegal.

name to Lesbian and Gay Business Alliance and, by the early 2000s, to the Rainbow Chamber of Commerce. The Rainbow Chamber continues to serve the LGBTQ+ business community of the seven-county Greater Sacramento region.[400]

Religious & Spiritual Expression Within the LGBTQ+ Community

Just like any other community, members of the LGBTQ+ community have sought spiritual fulfillment through religion and other spiritual traditions. However, for much of their existence, LGBTQ+-identifying individuals have had to hide their identities when worshiping openly and publicly, due to discrimination they often faced from mainline religious congregations and fellowships. Starting in the 1960s, however, some churches began to welcome gay and lesbian individuals into their congregations. For example, Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco, known for its progressive teachings and focus on social justice, had a pioneering role in advocating for the LGBTQ+ community at a time when other churches rejected them, providing ministry, social support, and organizing retreats and conferences to educate others about homosexuality. The church formed strong bonds with local homophile groups, with whom the church and became an important partner in advocating for LGBTQ+ rights.

In Sacramento, a similar relationship developed between the Oak Park Methodist Church at 36th Street and Broadway in the Oak Park neighborhood and the local chapter of the homophile group Association for Responsible Citizenship (ARC), founded by Rick Stokes and his partner David Clayton in 1965. Oak Park Methodist was Clayton's long-time family church and hosted early meetings of the ARC, disguised under the name "David's group," until the growing size of the meetings alerted other parishioners to their true purpose. Oak Park Methodist allowed the meetings to continue, as long as attendees refrained from drinking or smoking, and, similar to Glide Memorial Church, held regular church services, educational forums, and dinners, in addition to organizational meetings for ARC.[401] For approximately one year in 1966, ARC also distributed Sacramento's first gay/lesbian periodical, a monthly newsletter, at bars and other gay-positive venues.[402]

Sacramento's first religious congregation dedicated primarily to serving the gay community was the Sacramento Metropolitan Community Church (MCC). Founded in 1971, the Sacramento MCC was an offshoot of the Metropolitan Community Church, first established by Reverand Troy Perry in Los Angeles two years earlier in 1969. The MCC welcomed gay, lesbian, and straight parishioners.[403] The

[400] "MS2/Kevin Cohee Collection," Lavender Library, Archives, and Cultural Exchange; "Sacramento Rainbow Chamber," Sacramento Rainbow Chamber of Commerce, accessed November 4, 2024, https://rainbowchamber.com/about/about-history/.
[401] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance*, 161.
[402] Carson Anderson, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, June 23, 2024.
[403] SurveyLA, "LGBT Historic Context Statement," 49.

Figure 85. Reverend Freda Smith of the Sacramento MCC (1987). Source: *Sacramento Bee.*

scope of pent up demand for spiritual sustenance among the lesbian and gay populace was immediately apparent, and attendance soared, spawning the establishment of local congregations in other cities in California, starting with San Diego and San Francisco.[404] The Sacramento MCC was founded by Sacramento native Vance Babineau, a young deacon who decided to establish a congregation in his hometown after serving at the MCC in San Francisco. The congregation initially met in Babineau's mother's living room.[405] After hearing Troy Perry preach at his church in San Diego, pastor Joseph H. Gilbert offered his services to the fledgling Sacramento congregation and became its first pastor.[406] In the spring of 1971, the Sacramento MCC voted to become a separate church from the San Francisco MCC. Among the 13 original charter members were Reverend Gilbert, Reverend Freda Smith, Reverend Jean Hart, Madeline Reed, Eugene Brockett, and Keith Kimball.[407] After meeting in Reverend Gilbert's living room for a time, the congregation rented offices on the second floor of the Ruhstaller Building at 902 J Street (extant) for one year, before moving to a building at R and 16th streets, which included a small sanctuary, 10-bedroom parsonage, and separate building, which they leased to the first Gay Community Center in Sacramento. The congregation welcomed 72 parishioners at Sunday services in 1972, by which time the Sacramento MCC was one of 26 MCC branches in California. By 1974, the number of MCC branches had grown in more than 70, including branches in Nigeria, Australia, England, and Sweden.[408]

Reverend Freda Smith, a graduate student at Sacramento State University, was ordained as the first female and lesbian pastor by the national body of the MCC in 1973 and became one of the Sacramento MCC's pastors the same year. When Reverend Smith joined the congregation, its membership primarily consisted of men, but her presence helped shift membership so that it was

[404] SurveyLA, "LGBT Historic Context Statement," 49-50.
[405] "History of the Metropolitan Community Church," undated, private collection of George Raya.
[406] David Deas, "Metropolitan Church Preaches, 'God Also Loves Homosexuals,'" *Sacramento Bee*, 12 February 1972: A12.
[407] "History of the Metropolitan Community Church."
[408] Ann Reed, "Gay Church," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 September 1974: 29.

split roughly evenly between men and women within one year. She was also instrumental in helping the Sacramento MCC acquire and relocate to the former Odd Fellow's Building at 2741 34th Street in the Oak Park neighborhood in 1974.

There, Reverend Smith married gay and lesbian couples who had been together for at least six months and, at the couple's request, filed the marriage certificate with the Sacramento County Clerk's office, using a special form designed for heterosexual couples who had been living together and wanted to legitimize their weddings without others finding out. Such certificates were officially recorded by the County but sealed by the clerk's office to ensure the couple's privacy. Reverend Smith believed that the church helped gay and lesbian individuals overcome the "heartache, alienation and loneliness which they encounter so often in the gay community."[409] "We aren't only lesbians, only homosexuals here. We are the children of God," she preached. "This is the church that God, that love, is building. [...] I no longer feel I am wrong. I feel that the people who oppress me are wrong."[410] In 1990, the congregation purchased a former bank building at the opposite end of the block at 3418 Broadway (extant) for a new sanctuary so that they could offer expanded activities and services from its building on 34th Street. Before this could happen, however, the building on 34th Street was destroyed by a fire. Instead, the congregation moved to a church on the closed Mather Air Force Base in 1994, where it remains.[411]

A local chapter of Dignity, an organization of lesbian and gay Catholics, began in Sacramento in 1975, after local resident Ron Drum attended several Dignity meetings in San Francisco the year before. The pastor at St. Francis Church at 26th and K streets in Midtown encouraged Drum to form a local chapter and offered the church's social hall for monthly meetings. The first Dignity meeting was held in April 1975, with Drum serving as its first president. According to a pamphlet produced by the group, "Dignity exists to show lesbian and gay Catholics—God loves all people unconditionally."[412] Dignity masses, retreats, dinners, and other events were held at St. Francis Church. The local chapter's membership was much smaller than that of other chapters in California. In 1989, the Sacramento Dignity chapter had 34 members, compared to 245 in San Francisco, 189 in Los Angeles, 171 in San Diego, and 115 in Long Beach. According to Drum, Sacramento Dignity's "main purpose was always to merge into our Parishes as active and contributing members—This has happened almost miraculously at St. Francis Church with the Franciscans." Feeling that this purpose had been achieved, the Sacramento Dignity chapter disbanded around 2000.[413]

[409] Ann Reed, "Gay Church."
[410] John Robin Witt, "The Gospel According to Freda Smith," *Sacramento Bee*, 17 May 1987: 6.
[411] "History of the Metropolitan Community Church."
[412] Dignity pamphlet, undated, private collection of George Raya.
[413] Ron Drum, "Dignity History Update," 2005, private collection of George Raya.

In the decades following the 1960s, several other religious congregations or fellowships, representing a wide range of denominations and faiths, were established to serve Sacramento's diverse LGBTQ+ community. The First United Methodist Church at 2100 J Street (extant) hosted early homophile group meetings in the late 1970s and gained a reputation for welcoming the LGBTQ+ community. St. Paul's Episcopal Church at 1430 J Street (extant) was led by a gay rector David Myers in the 1980s until his death in 1991. Myers was a member of the Sacramento Gay Men's Chorus, which also held its rehearsals and formal concerts at the church in the mid-1980s.[414] By 1987, at least seven gay-specific congregations existed in Sacramento: MCC, Dignity, Affirmation (Methodist), Ahavat Tzion (Jewish), Integrity (Episcopalian), Kinship (Seventh-Day Adventist), Sacramento Family (Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints), Presbyterians Concerned, Lutherans Concerned, and Sierra Oaks New Covenant Christians (Independents).[415] By the late 1990s, additional congregations and fellowships that welcomed LGBTQ+ members included the Pioneer Congregation Church at 27th and L streets (extant), CA House, Interfaith Counseling Service, the Sun Holy Communion, the Unitarian Universalist Community Church, the Assembly of Wicca, and the Lutheran Church of Our Redeemer in Arden Arcade.[416]

Gay Pride Parades

The gay liberation movement's messaging and mission included instilling the community with a sense of pride, rather than loathing, toward their authentic selves and their sexual orientations. On the one-year anniversary of the Stonewall riots in June 1970, the Christopher Street Liberation Day Parade was held in New York City, marking the one-year anniversary of the Stonewall riots. The event inspired gay pride parades and celebrations that occur every June across the country, including Sacramento.[417]

Sacramento's first gay pride parade took place on June 17, 1979. The parade's theme was "It's About Time," and was billed as a celebration of how far the community had come while recognizing how far they had yet to go to achieve equality. The march started at the Way Station at 14th and I streets, traveled down I Street to 7th Street, from 7th to J Street, east on J Street to 11th Street, and ended with a rally at Capitol Park on the north steps of the Capitol. An estimated 800 to 1,000 people participated in the march. Keynote speakers at the rally included Leonard Matlovich—then a candidate for San Francisco County Supervisor who as a gay federal employee had successfully sued the government for anti-gay employment discrimination—and Theresa Corrigan of the Sacramento Rape Crisis Center, a notable manifestation of the Women's Movement during the 1970s.

[414] Dennis Mangers, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 30, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[415] Witt, "The Gospel According to Freda Smith."
[416] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 149.
[417] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 81.

Representatives of various gay and ally organizations also spoke, including Sacramento Human Rights Commissioner Gary Miller, *Mom…Guess What…!* associated editor James Graham, River City MCC Reverend Freda Smith, Audrey Merz of the National Organization for Women, and Cherie Gordon and Liz Fisk of Le Theatre Lesbien. Free buffet dinners at the Topper, Upstairs/Downstairs, and Bo Jangles followed the rally. Bo Jangles also held a "victory dance."[418] A second gay pride parade was held the following June. The event attracted 1,000 marchers. In the lead-up to the event, Mayor Phil Isenberg declared the week of June 15-22, 1980 as Sacramento Gay Pride Parade.[419]

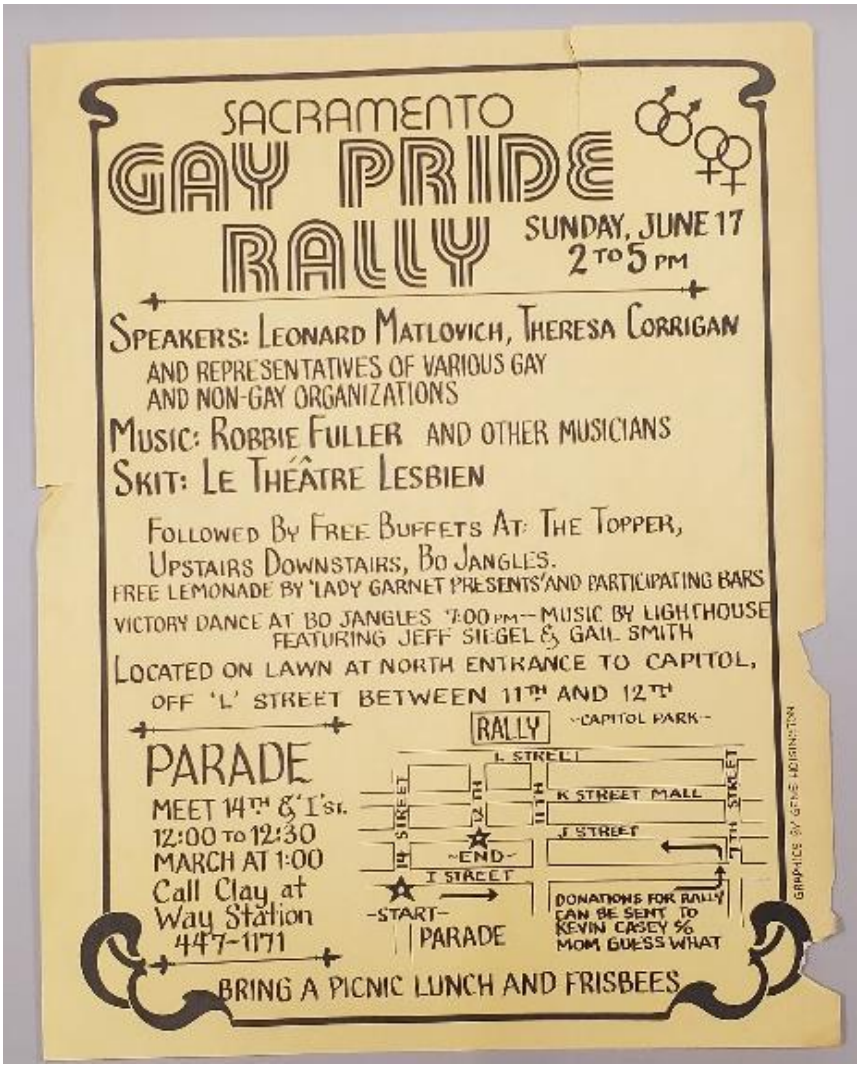

Figure 86. Flyer for Sacramento's first gay pride parade (1979). Source: *Mom…Guess What!* Collection, Center for Sacramento History.

[418] *Mom…Guess What…!,* July 1979.
[419] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance*, 173-174.

The annual Pride parades were accompanied by a festival of food, drink, crafts, music, and other entertainment to celebrate and uplift the LGBTQ+ community. Originally titled the Lambda Freedom Fair and sponsored by the Lambda Community Center, the event was initially held at McKinley Park in East Sacramento before moving to Southside Park under a new name, the Freedom Fair, in 1998. At the time, the River City Metropolitan Community Church took over sponsorship of the event. The annual fair attracted thousands of people from across Northern California.[420]

Figure 87. Various photographs from Sacramento's first gay pride march in 1979, including (clockwise from upper left): a banner with the parade's theme, members of an interracial lesbian motorcycle group, members of the Parking Lot's baseball team, and marchers with out gay dentist Dr. Art Katz. Source: *Mom…Guess What…!,* July 1979.

[420] "7,000 Attend Gay Picnic at McKinley Park," *Sacramento Bee*, 16 June 1991: B2; "New Location for Gay Fair," *Sacramento Bee*, 9 May 1998: B2.

Figure 88. Float for the Wreck Room at the 3rd annual Pride parade in 1981. Source: Frank Stork for the *Sacramento Bee*.

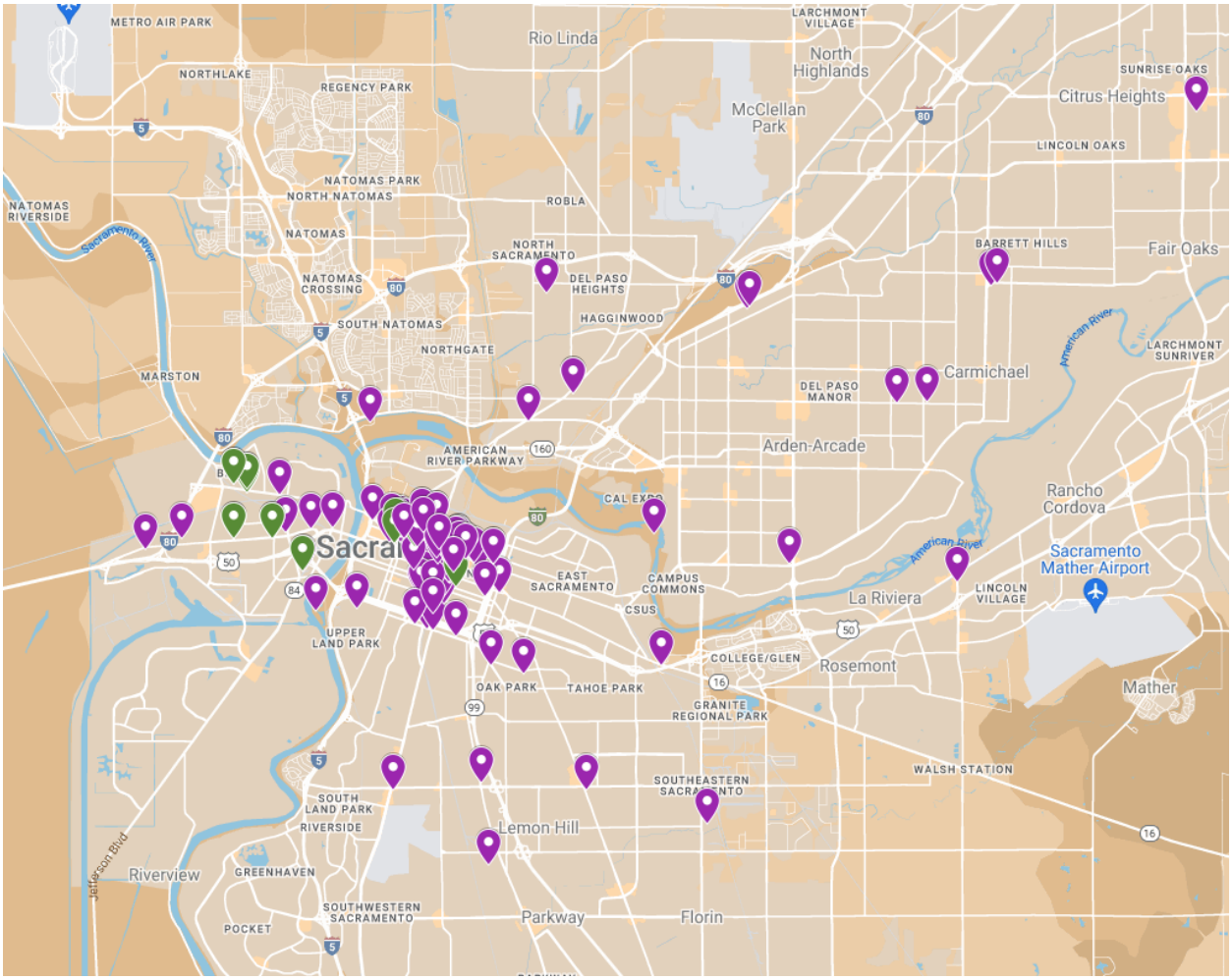

Figure 89. Map of LGBTQ+ spaces in the Sacramento area, ca. 1940-2000. Green markers denote locations that were active from the 1940s-1960s. Purple markers denote locations that were active from the 1970s to the 1990s. Source: Google Earth, edited by Page & Turnbull.

04

AIDS and the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community's Response

1981-1996

Images on chapter cover (from left to right):

1. Participants in the die-in at the State Capitol comfort an AIDS victim (1988). Source: Center for Sacramento History.
2. Dr. Harvey Thompson (left) and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz (right) in 1983. Source: *Sacramento Bee*.
3. Demonstrators at a candlelight march at the State Capitol in memory of AIDS victims (1989). Source: Center for Sacramento History.

THEME 4: AIDS & THE SACRAMENTO LGBTQ+ COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE, 1981-1996

Federal and Global Context

The AIDS outbreak in the 1980s and the subsequent global pandemic was a watershed moment in history and led to profound loss, stigmatization, and alienation for those within the LGBTQ+ community. In 1981, a rare cancer-like illness was detected in California and New York City among otherwise young, healthy men, many of whom were gay. In the earliest years, the disease had a very high mortality rate, leading to panic within the general public and alienation of patients for fear of the spread of the disease. Despite the emergence of cases amongst women and other heterosexual patients, the media began to perpetuate rhetoric stigmatizing the gay male community, calling the illness the "gay disease," "gay cancer," "gay plague," or "gay-related immune deficiency" (GRID).[421] It was not until August 1982 that the United States Center for Disease Control (CDC) began calling the disease "Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome," or AIDS; however, misconceptions and associations of the disease with the gay community persisted. AIDS is a disease caused by the spread of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and is defined as an advanced stage of the HIV infection. Regardless of their sexual orientations, those infected with HIV/AIDS, including numerous healthcare workers who treated infected patients, were often ostracized by friends, family, and employers due to the intense stigmatization of the disease.

Members of the LGBTQ+ community quickly and harshly discovered how little support they had from within mainstream society and political institutions to help their sick and dying loved ones. Because same-sex marriages were not yet legal, gay couples were not able to extend health benefits provided by their employers to their partners. The mainstream media ignored or only provided minimal coverage of AIDS in the early years, and only fractional funding was initially provided to study the disease. At the federal level under President Ronald Reagan (in office from 1981 to 1989), there was little to no response to the public health crisis and minimal funding for research or aid that would normally assist with a national emergency and global pandemic of this scale.[422] In January 1983, 18 months after the first cases were reported, a total of $2.2 million had been given to the CDC to study AIDS, even though more people had died of AIDS during that short time period than Legionella and toxic shock syndrome, which received seven times the amount of research funding.[423] As a result, the LGBTQ+ community was largely left to navigate the horrors of AIDS, provide care for victims, and advocate for funding to research the causes and treatments for the disease on its own.[424] In the following decade, numerous organizations were founded across the

[421] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 86.
[422] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 88.
[423] Don Stanley, "AIDS Nightmare: Puzzling, Deadly – And Spreading," *Sacramento Bee*, 4 January 1983: A18-A19.
[424] Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Clare Flynn, April 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

United States to provide education, resources, and care to the LGBTQ+ community for those who were sick and dying.[425]

Within the country's largest cities—including San Francisco, New York City, and Los Angeles—bathhouses where many gay men congregated were forced to close in an attempt to curb the spread of the disease. After such action, many members of the gay community saw the closures as a misguided solution and an infringement on their civic freedoms.[426] The death of movie star Rock Hudson from AIDS in 1985 was a pivotal moment for many Americans outside of the gay community to understand the breadth and impacts of the epidemic. Hudson was a closeted gay man, and his death marked the first of a major American celebrity to die from an AIDS-related illness. President Reagan, who was a fellow actor and close friend of Hudson, acknowledged the HIV/AIDS epidemic publicly for the first time upon Hudson's death. The statement was deemed long overdue, and the federal government faced immense criticism throughout the 1980s and early 1990s from the LGBTQ+ community and allied communities for its perceived failure to provide timely and adequate resources for lifesaving research and medical coverage.[427] Over the next decade, case numbers rose exponentially. By 1990, over 31,000 people had died of AIDS.[428]

In 1986, the landmark Supreme Court case *Bowers v. Hardwick* upheld the constitutionality of a Georgia state sodomy law that criminalized oral and anal sex in private between both same-sex and heterosexual partners. This case was eventually overturned by the Supreme Court case *Lawrence v. Texas* in 2003, however during the 1980s the *Bowers v. Hardwick* ruling, coupled with overall federal inaction, contributed to further radicalization of rhetoric about AIDS within the media and increased social castigation of HIV positive/AIDS patients.[429] To combat these larger political setbacks and lack of government assistance, many gay and lesbian communities united in grassroots efforts in the fight against AIDS. In 1987, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) was founded in New York City and played an important role in nationwide LGBTQ+ mutual support and advocacy efforts. ACT UP staged protests and "die-ins" to draw attention to the AIDS crisis, including its publicized debut at the Second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Washington, D.C.[430]

[425] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 87.
[426] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 87–88.
[427] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 88.
[428] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 86.
[429] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 88.
[430] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 89.

AIDS Advocacy in Sacramento

While Sacramento had a significantly smaller and more culturally conservative gay population than the larger cities of San Francisco or Los Angeles, the AIDS epidemic still took a grim toll on Sacramento's gay community and local resources. Prior to 1982, most of the reported cases were clustered in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and coverage of the topic in *Mom…Gues*s What…! shows that the perception of the disease remained at a distance. The perception within Sacramento's gay community became more heightened after the summer of 1982 when the CDC formally named the virus the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and the disease the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), and after the first member of Sacramento's gay community died later in 1982 with symptoms mirroring people infected in other large cities.[431]

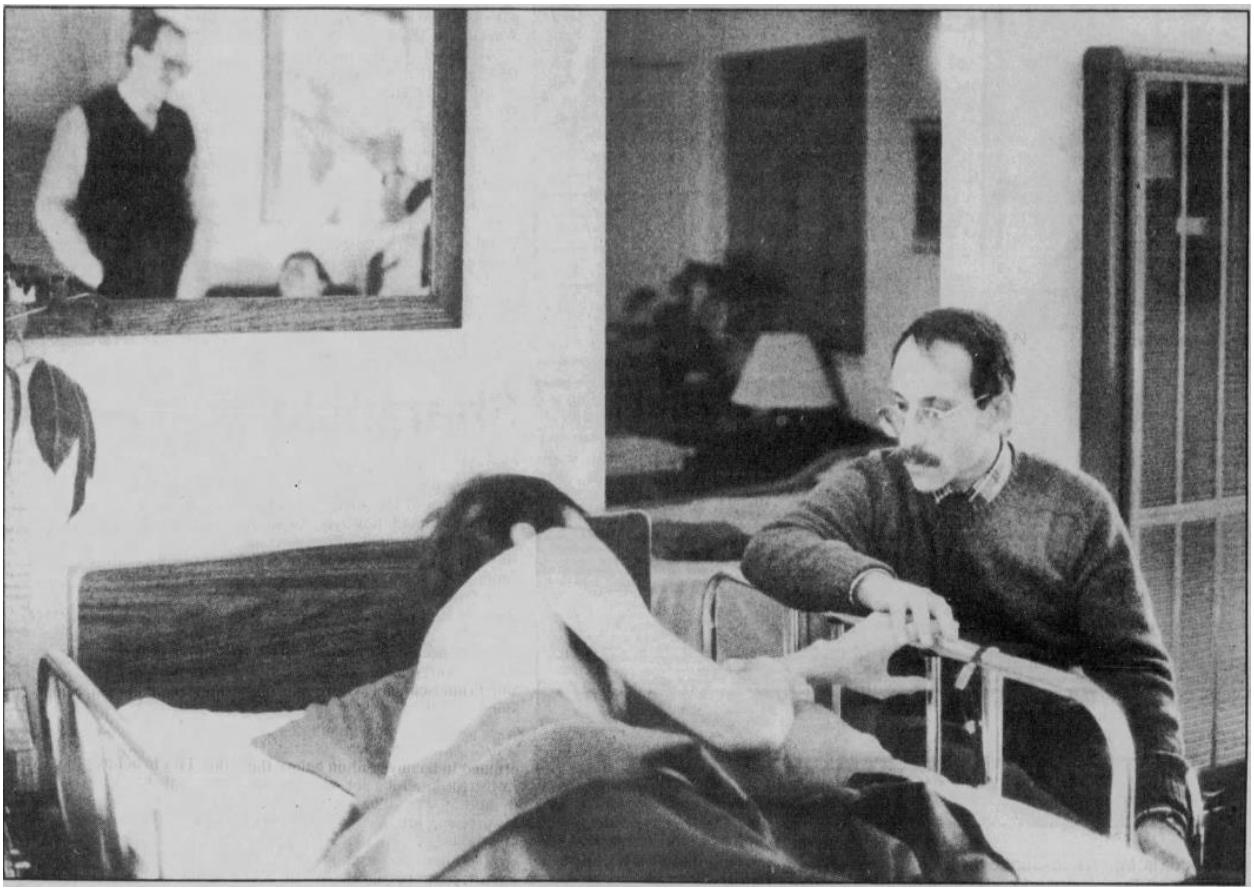

Figure 90. Dr. Sandy Pomerantz comforts a patient with AIDS at their home in Sacramento (1987). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

[431] Amber Elena Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic: Aids in Sacramento, 1981-1989" (California State University, Sacramento, 2010), 28-29, Sacramento State University Library, https://scholars.csus.edu/esploro/outputs/99257830893001671/filesAndLinks?index=0.

From 1981 to 1985, the spread of HIV and resulting AIDS cases was managed through community advocacy within Sacramento's gay and lesbian populations, who took an overtly internalized and compassionate approach to care, rather than treating patients as a threat or dangerous, as was common by the media and outsiders.[432] At the forefront of local efforts were Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz, two Sacramento-based internal medicine physicians. Both members of the gay community themselves, Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz had mostly gay, male patients and focused their work on the treatment of AIDS. Dr. Thompson opened a medical clinic, which mostly served gay men, at 912A 21st Street (extant) in 1978. Dr. Pomerantz was a recent transplant from San Francisco and teamed up with Dr. Thompson to serve Sacramento's gay community.[433] Dr. Pomerantz authored a regular column that focused on health issues facing the gay community in *Mom…Guess What…?!.* His August 1981 column "Gay Medical Symposium: Two New Gay Illnesses" was the first mention in Sacramento of the disease that became known as AIDS.[434] *The Sacramento Bee* did not step up its coverage until 1983.

In the fall of 1982, shortly after diagnosis of the first reported case of AIDS in Sacramento, Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz met with other members of the gay and lesbian communities to brainstorm methods to manage the further spread of AIDS within their community. The meeting held by Pomerantz and Thompson in 1982 was attended by Stanley "Stan" Hadden, a senior administrative aide to Senate President Pro Tempore David Roberti, and Dr. Elizabeth Harrison, a psychiatrist and contributor to *Mom…Guess What…!.* The meeting produced the early framework of what would become the AIDS/Kaposi's Sarcoma Foundation, later changed to the Sacramento AIDS Foundation (SAF). Inspired by (and originally affiliated with) the San Francisco AIDS Foundation, SAF officially began operation at 2115 J Street (extant) in the spring of 1983 and provided educational advocacy along with emotional and hands-on support to patients through a service called "Hand to Hand."[435] SAF was a volunteer-run, community-funded organization. Much of the initial funding came from gay bars, including $4,000 from the Wreck Room, which was used to get the organization started. Funding for much of the first year of operations came from the Sacramento County Public Health Department and various fundraisers and donations.[436] SAF worked in affiliation with the University of California, Davis (UC Davis) Medical Center, where Dr. Thompson served as an assistant clinical professor of medicine and family practice. Later addresses that housed the clinic included 1900 K Street (extant) from 1986 to 1994 and 1330 21st Street (extant). Other key leaders of SAF were Dr. Jerome Lackner and Dr. Neil Flynn, head of the UC Davis AIDS Clinic.

[432] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 2–3.
[433] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29.
[434] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 24.
[435] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29.
[436] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29-30.

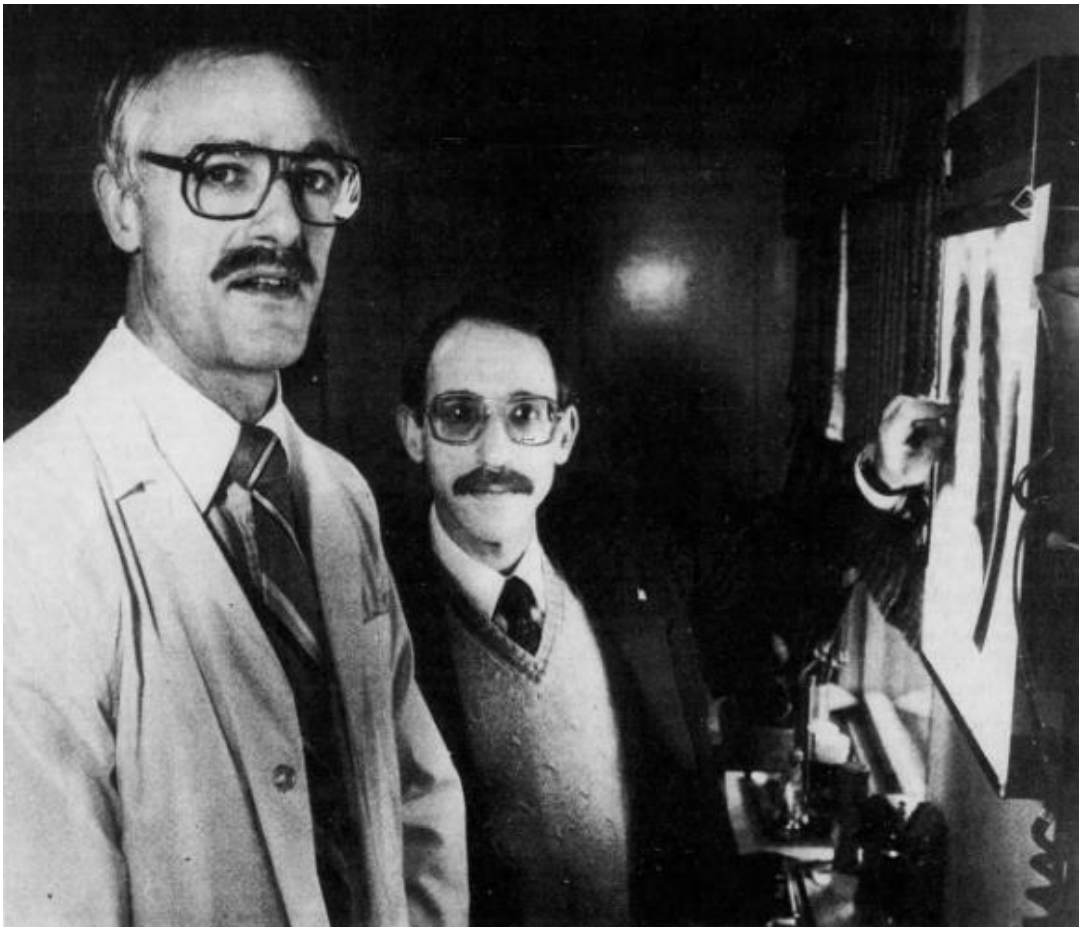

Figure 91. Dr. Harvey Thompson (left) and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz (right) in 1983. Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz held meetings with the Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) at the Carmichael Presbyterian Church at 56465 Marconi Avenue and a free public forum for members of the gay community called "AIDS: Implications for Lifestyles" at the auditorium of Sutter General Hospital at 2820 L Street (extant) in January 1983. By this time, studies had begun to indicate that AIDS was sexually transmitted, and Dr. Pomerantz was determined to relay this essential information to the gay community in the hope of slowing the spread of the disease.[437] Dr. Pomerantz's column in *Mom…Guess What…!*, along with others in the *Sacramento Bee,* highlighted the outreach that was done amongst Sacramento's medical professionals to educate the gay community regarding sexual health and information on the HIV virus, a vital service at a time when little information was known about HIV and AIDS.[438] Dr. Thompson's column in *Mom…Guess What…!* was

[437] Stanley, "AIDS Nightmare: Puzzling, Deadly – And Spreading."
[438] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 3.

eventually syndicated and distributed nationwide to the gay and lesbian press. Throughout this time, SAF played an integral and often intersectional role in Sacramento's gay community, serving as a fundraiser for important medical and educational services and advocating for policy changes, among other capacities. Dr. Thompson died of AIDS in 1986 at the age of 45. Dr. Pomerantz died of AIDS in 1993 at the age of 44.[439]

Such efforts by the gay medical community were aided by some in the religious and spiritual community. Several SAF volunteers came from St. Francis Catholic Church, which hosted the Sacramento chapter of the gay Catholic organization Dignity and was located in Midtown, where many gay residents lived, and a few blocks away from Sutter General Hospital, where many AIDS patients were treated. Franciscan Brother Angelo (last name unknown) also assisted patients at the hospital.[440]

Figure 92. Stan Hadden (1991). Source: *Sacramento Bee.*

As residents of California's capital city, several members of Sacramento's gay community were directly involved with policymaking and specifically with the drafting of California state legislation that provided funding for AIDS research and treatment. Across the United States, there were five main focuses of AIDS policy: domestic HIV/AIDS funding, U.S. foreign policy in response to international AIDS, preventative education, government regulation of blood products, and AIDS drug testing. [441] Along with his work through SAF, Stan Hadden, in his role as legislative aide to Senate President Pro Tempore David Roberti, helped to draft the legislation that established funding for most of the programs carried out by the state Office of AIDS. Hadden is also credited with the passage of a California Senate bill that established the California AIDS Advisory Committee in 1983 and legislation in 1985 that encouraged a coordinated approach to local AIDS programs and services. Hadden died of AIDS in 1991 at the age of 41.[442] Following his death, Stan's efforts were continued by his life partner, Ken Topper.

[439] Robert D. Davila, "Noted AIDS Physician Dead at 44," *Sacramento Bee*, 6 October 1993: B1.
[440] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison."
[441] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 19.
[442] "Stan Hadden; Roberti Aide Influenced AIDS Policy," *Los Angeles Times*, December 26, 1991.

Figure 93. Laurie McBride (undated). Source: "Laurie McBride," *Sacramento Bee*, 20 December 2020.

Another prominent local activist who worked to address the AIDS crisis at the state level was Laurie McBride. Born in Hollywood, McBride moved to Sacramento as a child and graduated from McClatchy High School and then University of the Pacific in Stockton. As a young woman, she moved to San Francisco and lived there for 20 years, where she opened a successful print and graphic design business. There, she began to hone her political skills in the early days of the AIDS epidemic, serving as the Northern California co-chair for the campaign that defeated Propositions 64 and 69, which called for quarantining people with AIDS. She also co-chaired the state's Mobilization Against AIDS, an experience that introduced her to lobbying at the State Capitol in Sacramento for AIDS funding and policy issues.

Building upon that experience, she accepted a position to serve as the executive director of the Lobby for Individual Freedom and Equality (LIFE) in 1990 and moved back to Sacramento. At the time, LIFE was California's only lobby dedicated exclusively to HIV/AIDS and LGBTQ+ health and civil rights issues. During her tenure with LIFE, McBride worked tirelessly to defend the rights of LGBTQ+ Californians, bringing together voices from across the political spectrum—including the AIDS patient advocacy group, AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP), Log Cabin Republicans, and gay doctors and lawyers—to develop a unified message to support their positions.[443] Among her wide-ranging work to promote LGBTQ+ rights, she played a pivotal role in defeating other legislation, in addition to Propositions 64 and 69, that would have stripped away the rights of those with HIV/AIDS, including policies that would have made having sex with someone with HIV a felony. She passed away in 2020.[444] Additional details about McBride's accomplishments as a political activist are included in Chapter 5: Political Activism and the Fight for LGBTQ+ Rights.

As the AIDs crisis worsened through the 1980s, local interest groups from various sides came together to address AIDS in Sacramento. In response to pressure from the LGBTQ+ community and concern from the public and medical community about the growing number of AIDS cases among low-risk groups, Mayor Anne Rudin organized the Mayor's AIDS Task Force in December 1985. The idea for the task force came from a letter Hadden sent to Mayor Rudin, suggesting the creation of a

[443] "Laurie McBride," Legends of Courage, dir. Dawn Deason, 2017, accessed July 19, 2024, https://vimeo.com/244891172.
[444] "Laurie McBride," *Sacramento Bee*, 20 December 2020: C8.

task force led by the combined governments of the City of Sacramento and Sacramento County to help coordinate responses and services for AIDS, which up to that point were disorganized and scattered amongst various groups and organizations. The task force's mission was two-fold: to address the LGBTQ+ community's demand for improved treatment services for those with AIDS while also addressing the broader public's desire for better prevention and containment of the disease.[445] Members consisted primarily of doctors, public health officials, and policy makers. Some of these people, such as Hadden and SAF executive director Kate Guzman, also represented the gay community. The task force recommended a four-prong response, consisting of understanding how the disease was transmitted, preventing its spread, and treating and preventing discrimination against those with AIDS. Although most of the recommendations were not funded or adopted, the task force resulted in the adoption of an AIDS anti-discrimination ordinance, similar to Sacramento's anti-discrimination ordinance that had been adopted in 1986, and organization of a needle exchange program to reduce transmission among IV drug users.

Lacking funding at the local level to address the need for increased treatment and care services, in March 1988, Mayor Rudin spoke at the Hearing of Western States Response in San Francisco, part of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus, to request federal and state funding for a regional AIDS care center. That center, the Center for AIDS Research and Education Services (CARES), opened at 2710 Capitol Avenue (now the site of The Sophia/B Street Theater) in 1989.[446] Susan Strong was its executive director during these early years. In 1996, the center moved from its cramped original location to a vacant bank building at 1500 21st Street (extant).[447] For more than two decades, CARES devoted its efforts primarily to addressing the causes and treatment of AIDS. The center used a variety of programs that combined science and clinical treatment with social justice—including helping patients enroll in research studies to improve treatment of the disease, advocating for needle exchange programs, and working to heal the rift between gay men and the religious community—to holistically combat the AIDS crisis at the individual and community level.[448]

The HIV/AIDS epidemic exacted an unfathomable physical, emotional, psychological, cultural, and political toll on the LGBTQ+ community. Although the disease was most often associated with the young, white gay male population in the media, the broader African American/Black and Latinx communities were among the hardest hit, with disproportionate impacts toward LGBTQ+ individuals within those ethnicities. In 1986, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), reported that African Americans/Blacks accounted for 51% of all AIDS cases among women and were more than three

[445] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 5.
[446] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 80.
[447] Cynthia Hubert, "Former Midtown Bank Turning into AIDS Center," *Sacramento Bee*, 8 December 1996: B3.
[448] "History," One Community Health, accessed September 25, 2024, https://onecommunityhealth.com/about/history/.

times likely to contract the disease than white people.[449] In 1988, the CDC reported that African American/Blacks accounted for 70% of all AIDS cases among heterosexual men, 70% of those in women, and 75% of those in children.[450] Historically, the majority of cases in which women have contracted AIDS resulted from unprotected sex with a male partner, although cases also occurred within lesbian communities and in non-sexual scenarios involving blood transfusions, drug or other needle injections.[451]

Despite these disparities, very little HIV prevention efforts occurred in Sacramento for minority communities. The Women's Civic Improvement Club is credited with conducting some of the first HIV prevention efforts in Sacramento that targeted the African American/Black community. However, it was not until 1999 when Clarmundo Sullivan, a local Afro-Latinx gay man, founded Golden Rule Services (GRS), that culturally competent HIV/AIDS education, prevention, and outreach interventions were created "by" and "for" local African American/Black gay and bisexual men. The organization originally operated out of Sullivan's garage before relocating to a building at 4433 Florin Road (extant).[452] Golden Rule Services conducted Sacramento County's first needs assessment for African American/Black gay and bisexual men to better understand the challenges they faced and what they wanted in an HIV prevention intervention. The needs assessment found that they experienced an alarming rate of social isolation, exclusion, invisibility, fetishization, racism, and discrimination--all risk factors that contributed to their elevated risk of HIV infection. In response, Golden Rule Services created the Men's Soul Food Project, the first African American/Black adult gay and bisexual men's HIV prevention intervention in Sacramento. Because young adult African American/Black gay and bisexual men wanted a service that addressed their unique needs, Golden Rule Services created the Son-Shine Project. In addition to home-grown HIV prevention services, GRS also conducted street and bar outreach, condom distribution, and HIV information tabling at LGBTQ+ events. GRS has evolved from a small needs assessment program to becoming Sacramento's first and only BIPOC LGBTQ+ HIV service organization in Sacramento that provides a variety of free, trauma-informed, and culturally competent services, including rapid HIV and HCV testing, three-site STD testing, PrEP and DoxyPEP navigation, and non-medical case management for people living with HIV/AIDS. GRS has gone from being called the little "Black gay organization in Oak Park" in the early 2000s to now being a respected and trailblazing BIPOC LGBTQ+ HIV service organization by community members. Mr. Sullivan is affectionately know as the "Black Gay Godfather."[453]

[449] Center for Disease Control, "30 Years of HIV in African American Communities: A Timeline," accessed November 8, 2024, https://stacks.cdc.gov/view/cdc/26102.
[450] Richard M. Selik, Kenneth G. Castro, and Marguerite Pappaioanou, "Distribution of AIDS Cases, by Racial/Ethnic Group and Exposure Category, United States, June 1, 1981-July 4, 1988," Center for Disease Control, July 1, 1988.
[451] HIV and Women (Based on Assigned Sex at Birth). "HIV and Specific Populations," December 11, 2023. https://hivinfo.nih.gov/understanding-hiv/fact-sheets/hiv-and-women-based-assigned-sex-birth.
[452] Clarmundo Sullivan, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, June 9, 2024.
[453] Clarmundo Sullivan, "Golden Rule Services Narrative," email to Henry Feuss, November 7, 2024.

Figure 94. Golden Rule Services founder Clarmundo Sullivan tabling at 2001 Sacramento Pride to share HIV information and invite African American gay and bisexual men to the Men's Soul Food Project (2001). Courtesy of Clarmundo Sullivan.

Hospices were set up by community members to care for those dying of HIV. Board members of the local non-profit Loaves and Fishes, which was dedicated to helping people experiencing homelessness in Sacramento, became invested in the AIDS crisis when they began to observe the growing number of people with AIDS who were becoming homeless after they were rejected by their families and friends and lost their homes. Loaves and Fishes founders Chris and Dan Delany, who were members of the Catholic Worker movement, donated a Victorian house at 619 12th Street (extant) to serve as a hospice residence for AIDS patients. Donations from local businesses and organizations were used to renovate the house. The largest donor was the Sierra Foundation, which contributed $30,000 to the cause. The hospice, called Hope House, opened in 1987 with a prayer service led by local religious leaders, including Bishop Francis A. Quinn of the Catholic Diocese of Sacramento, Rabbi Kalman Dubov of Congregation beth Shalom, Reverend Freda Smith of the River City MCC, and Reverend Kent McNair of the Episcopal Diocese of Northern California. The house could accommodate 12 people in private rooms that were decorated to feel like home, rather than like a hospital or medical facility. At the time of its opening, the media was asked not to publish the

address or photos of the building because of stigma against people with AIDS.[454] In 1989, actress and activist Jane Fonda visited Hope House and hosted a benefit to raise funds for Hope House and the Sacramento AIDS Foundation.[455] In 1995, another residential hospice, Avalon House, opened in the Carmichael area. It was operated by the AIDS Housing Alliance and provided comfortable private rooms for six people. Residents were referred to Avalon House by the Sacramento AIDS Foundation, which also provided training for volunteers to assist residents.[456]

The religious community stepped up in other ways as well. In the mid-1980s, the Bishop's Commission on AIDS was developed by the Episcopal Diocese of Northern California. A workshop was held at St. Paul's Church at 1430 J Street (extant), which was known for embracing the gay community, to address the spiritual support of persons with AIDS and how the church could advocate for health care and against discrimination.[457]

The loss of a large portion of a generation of Sacramento's gay community and many of the most prominent leaders took a long-lasting toll on the community. Some community members remembered that the annual Pride parades, which had previously been occasions of joyful outpouring, began to feel like funeral processions, and they stopped attending.[458] After growing rapidly after its founding, the membership of the Sacramento Gay Men's Chorus shrank rapidly as a large proportion of its members were killed by AIDS. People who attended their performances during the peak of the AIDS epidemic remembered that with every performance, it seemed like the size of the choir was cut in half.[459] *Mom…Guess What…!* provided an essential public service by publishing the obituaries of those who had died of AIDS, creating a record of the people who had been lost and a comforting space for the community to openly and collectively grieve.[460] Sonya Cox became the newspaper's HIV/AIDS editor from 1986 until the newspaper ceased publication in 2009. Cox wrote an "HIV Newswire" column for the newspaper and created an "In Loving Memory" column in early 1993. The June 1993 column contained six names. By 2009, the annual list contained over 1,000 names, most of which consisted of those who had died from HIV in the Sacramento community.[461]

By the mid-1980s, frustrations at both a local and national scale had mounted around the lack of adequate government response to providing healthcare, support, and research. Despite the growing

[454] Mark Glover, "Home for AIDS Patients Opens," *Sacramento Bee*, 1 December 1987: B3.
[455] 'Fonda Benefit," *Sacramento Bee*, 19 January 1989: 196.
[456] Ronald Javor, "Agencies Offer Affordable Housing to Residents with Special Needs," *Sacramento Bee*, 3 August 1996: 2.
[457] Dr. Jon Marshack and the Reverend Rik Rasmussen, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, July 3, 2024.
[458] Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Clare Flynn, April 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[459] Conversation between Tina Reynolds, Clare Flynn, and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[460] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison."
[461] Matt Burlingame, email correspondence to Clare Flynn, October 17, 2024.

mortality rate and pressure from the gay community for funding for AIDS research from the State, Governor George Deukmejian repeatedly slashed funding for AIDS, from $3.9 million to $2.9 million in 1984, and from $21.5 million to $4.9 million in 1985. The lack of support reflected the general public's false perception that AIDS was limited to a small sector of the population and was restricted to the gay community.[462]

Figure 95. AIDS quilt founder and activist Cleve Jones recovering after being stabbed in downtown Sacramento (1986). Source: Leilani Hu for the *Sacramento Bee*.

Discrimination and harassment of the gay community increased in response to continuing fear and misinformation about the disease. In 1985, human rights activist Cleve Jones, recently diagnosed as HIV positive and then living in Sacramento while working as a lobbyist, was stabbed in the back and called a "faggot" while walking on H Street near 19th Street in downtown Sacramento.[463] While recovering in Sacramento, Jones worked to develop a large-scale, tangible memorial to bring greater attention to the scale of lives lost to AIDS. The concept for the memorial was inspired by events at a 1985 march in San Francisco in remembrance of Supervisor Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone. Jones asked marchers to write on cardboard placards the names of friends and loved ones who had died of AIDS and tape them on the walls of the San Francisco Federal Building. The resulting display looked like a patchwork quilt.

This event sparked Jones and his friends to create the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt, a quilt composed of human-sized cloth panels contributed by people from across the United States in remembrance of those who had been lost to AIDS. The quilt was first displayed on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. at the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in 1987. At the time, it included nearly 2,000 panels and spanned approximately two football fields.[464] Approximately 200 delegates from Sacramento attended the march to protest the government's inaction on AIDS.[465] Panels contributed by Sacramento residents included memorials to Dr. Harvey Thompson; Al Adami, a former staff member of the Sacramento AIDS Foundation; and Randy Hindman, a bartender at the Mercantile Saloon.[466] The response to the quilt led to a four-month national tour of the quilt in 20 cities across

[462] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 39.
[463] Judy Tachibana, "Activist's Knifing Called Part of Anti-Gay Trend," *Sacramento Bee*, 31 May 1986: A1.
[464] "The History of the Quilt," National AIDS Memorial, accessed October 7, 2024, https://www.aidsmemorial.org/quilt-history.
[465] Ernie Brown, "Views from River City," *Patlar Gazette*, November 1987.
[466] Gretchen Kell, "Sewing Goodbye to AIDS Fallen," *Sacramento Bee*, 31 August, 1987: A1.

the country. At each stop, the quilt grew as panels from local residents were added. By 2020, the quilt included approximately 50,000 panels containing nearly 110,000 names.[467]

In 1986, a local chapter of ACT-UP formed in Sacramento.[468] With frustrations growing to a boil, in May 1988, 500 people staged a "die-in" on the State Capitol steps in memory of 5,000 AIDS victims and demanded increased funding for AIDS research and treatments. A second die-in, protesting state budget cuts for AIDS funding and social services, was held in July 1990.[469] They also called for an end to discrimination based on sexual orientation and legislation prohibiting discrimination against people with AIDS.[470]

Figure 96. Participants in the die-in at the State Capitol comfort an AIDS victim (1988). Source: Center for Sacramento History.

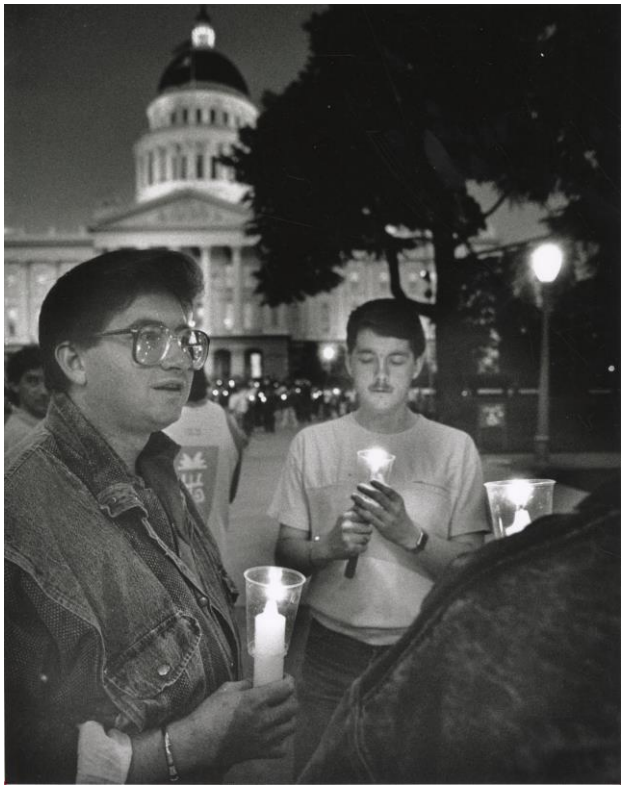

Figure 97. Demonstrators at a candlelight march at the State Capitol in memory of AIDS victims (1989). Source: Center for Sacramento History.

Federal AIDS funding increased under the administration of President Bill Clinton, though the majority of this funding went toward paying for the high cost of treatments, leaving those with low

[467] "The History of the Quilt," National AIDS Memorial.
[468] Arturo Jackson III, "Act-Up Sacramento Active Again," *The Latest Issue*, March 1990.
[469] "Acting Up Over State Budget Cuts," *The Latest Issue* 2, No. 3, July 1990.
[470] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 80.

incomes with few options for treatment and care. Local residents and service agencies stepped in to assist. Ted Ross, a community organizer and president of the local outreach and television production firm Ross-Campbell, Inc., organized several AIDS benefit concerts in Sacramento that featured major nationally known celebrities to raise money for local AIDS service organizations. These included performances by Barry Manilow at Arco Arena in 1993, Bette Midler also at Arco Arena in 1994, and Michael Feinstein at the Sacramento Community Center Theater (now the SAFE Credit Union Performing Arts Center) in 1996. Proceeds from the concerts benefited local AIDS organizations, including the Sacramento AIDS Foundation, CARES, and Hope House. Manilow's concert alone raised $160,000.[471] In 1995, the Lambda Community Center received grants from Sacramento County to start the Lambda AIDS Project. The program had a staff of approximately five therapists and provided AIDS education and prevention services, as well as mental health services, food vouchers, and rent assistance for roughly 150 HIV-positive people. Facing a loss of its grant funding, the Lambda AIDS project dissolved in 1998.[472]

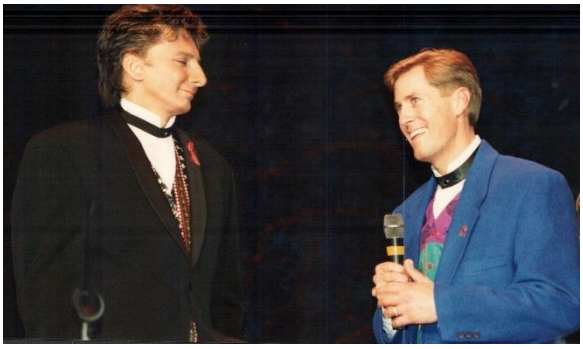

Figure 98. Barry Manilow (left) with Ted Ross (right) on stage at Arco Arena at the 1993 AIDS benefit concert. Source: Courtesy of Ted Ross.

Figure 99. Bette Midler (third from left) presenting a check to organizers of her 1994 AIDS benefit concert, including Denny Mangers (far left), Ted Ross (far right), and representatives from benefiting HIV/AIDS agencies. Source: Courtesy of Ted Ross.

Another vital local program emerged at the same time as the Lambda AIDS Project. In 1995, Sacramento's Metropolitan Community Church established Breaking Barriers to serve low-income AIDS patients in Sacramento. The program was inspired by a one-day event held at Plaza Park (now Cesar Chavez Plaza) on World AIDS Day in 1994 during which approximately 30 local AIDS agencies offered free AIDS testing to roughly 150 unhoused individuals. Headed by former Lambda AIDS Project director John Rambo and funded in part by the Ryan White Care Act and private donations, Breaking Barriers was the only program of its kind in California at the time, providing transportation for participants to and from medical appointments, errands, and social service agencies; peer

[471] Ted Ross, Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project - Public History Collection, October 2024.
[472] Robert D. Davila, "Help South for Gay Programs," Sacramento Bee, 20 February 1998: B1.

counseling; help with household chores; and companionship for free to those in need. The program relied on a paid staff of only four people and nearly 200 volunteers. One of its principal aims was to reintegrate HIV-positive people, whose diagnosis had cut them off from friends and family, back into society by enabling them to leave their homes and attend social events around the city.[473] The program operated out of an office building at 1722 J Street (extant). Around 2004, Breaking Barriers and Golden Rule Services began a collaboration to provide HIV/AIDS education and prevention services to Sacramento, which became a model for HIV/AIDS service organizations across California during the 2009 State HIV/AIDS budget cuts. Faced with declining funds, Breaking Barriers closed its doors in 2014.[474]

In 1996, the tides in the war against AIDS began to ebb. That year, several important medical treatments were approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA), starting with the first home testing and collection kit in May, followed by the first viral load test that could measure the level of HIV in the blood and the first non-nucleoside reverse transcriptase inhibitor (NNRTI) drug in June. Introduction of the first NNRTI drug was a major turning point in the fight against AIDS, as it gave patients a chance to survive the disease for the first time and dramatically decreased death rates. After this, the first substantial decline in AIDS deaths occurred in the United States, which fell by 47 percent compared to the previous year.[475] The LGBTQ+ community's advocacy led to HIV and AIDS drugs being approved by the CDC faster than the usual timeline. The precedent set by the AIDS epidemic became integral in the accelerated approval of COVID-19 vaccines during the COVID-19 pandemic.[476]

As the treatment and understanding of AIDS progressed and diagnosis shifted from being a death sentence to a chronic disease that a person could live with, local community responses and AIDS organizations evolved. CARES expanded its services to address all health issues affecting the Sacramento community and, following the passage of the Affordable Care Act in 2010, became a primary healthcare provider for all in need of care. Reflecting its broadened mission, CARES was renamed One Community Health in 2017 and continues to serve the Sacramento community.[477]

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[473] Matt Burlingame-Couk, "The Time is Now for Breaking Barriers," *Mom Guess What*, 1 July 1997: 12; Rebecca Nolan, "Agency Strives to Open Doors for Ill Clients," *Sacramento Bee*, 23 January 1997: 1, 11.
[474] Tia Ewing, "Sacramento HIV/AIDS Nonprofit Breaking Barriers Closing its Doors," Fox 40 News, 3 November 2014, accessed October 14, 2024, https://fox40.com/news/local-news/sacramento-hivaids-nonprofit-breaking-barriers-closing-its-doors/.
[475] HIV.gov, "A Timeline of HIV and AIDS," accessed May 3, 2024, https://www.hiv.gov/hiv-basics/overview/history/hiv-and-aids-timeline#year-1982; "Golden Rule Services on the Closing of Breaking Barriers," Golden Rule Services Press Release, 26 November 2014.
[476] Thomas Calder et al., "Leveraging Lessons Learned from the COVID-19 Pandemic for HIV," *Communications Medicine* 2 (2022), accessed May 21, 2023, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC9423691.
[477] "History," One Community Health, accessed September 25, 2024, https://onecommunityhealth.com/about/history/.

More than any other event prior to the 1980s and 1990s, the AIDS epidemic united Sacramento's previously fractured LGBTQ+ community and mobilized it to fight for equal rights to protect itself from discrimination and provide essential support, care, and services to its loved ones. The organizations, strategies, and leaders that were forged during the crisis helped pave the way for the progress that was achieved in the following decades and continues to reverberate into the present-day.

05

Political Activism and the Fight for LGBTQ+ Rights in California's State Capital

1969-2000

Images on chapter cover (from left to right):

1. Members of the board of directors of the Gay Studies Program at CSUS, including Darby Malone, Joe Aiello, and Dr. Marty Rogers (1972). Source: "Nation's First? Gay Studies Program Formed," *The Advocate*, August 16, 1972: 9.
2. Marchers at the 1980 March on Sacramento for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1980). Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Jonna Ramey Collection.
3. George Raya (ca. early 1970s). Source: ONE Archives at USC Libraries.

THEME 5. POLITICAL ACTIVISM & THE FIGHT FOR LGBTQ+ RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA'S STATE CAPITAL, 1969-2000

As discussed under earlier themes in this document, in the late 1960s, a potent mix of forces and the coming-of-age of the Baby Boom generation combined to push back against traditions, norms, policies, and prejudices that had restricted much of America's diverse population. Out of this mix, a more inclusive society was forged which brought members of the gay, lesbian, and transgender communities out of the closet for the first time.

The Baby Boom generation, the largest generation in the United States in the 20th century, entered their teenage years and early adulthood during the 1960s and 1970s. More Americans than ever attended college, producing a highly educated generation of young people who were exposed to different perspectives and ways of life and were ready to reshape society according to their vision. Long-festering discontent and frustration with the unequal treatment of African Americans and women, as well as opposition to the Vietnam War, spread across the United States, coalescing in the civil rights movement, women's movement, and anti-war movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s. All three movements supported and spread the idea that individuals should have control over their own bodies, rather than the government.[478]

The civil rights movement introduced strategies and methods that were adopted by other activist groups, including sit-ins, protests, marches, and more militant approaches to force political action. Black activist and gay man Bayard Rustin was a key organizer for Martin Luther King, Jr. and the principal planner for the March on Washington in 1963.[479] Greater sexual freedom and the free love hippie movement challenged conventional gender expressions, as young men and women began wearing clothing of either gender or dressed in unisex styles. The approval of the birth control pill in 1960, meanwhile, gave women greater freedom to delay or avoid pregnancy entirely, allowing greater numbers to work outside the home and forge new paths for themselves outside of marriage and motherhood. The pill also undermined traditional thinking that sexual relationships were only for procreation, and therefore, should only occur between a man and a woman. At the same time, escalating opposition to the Vietnam War increased distrust of the government, bubbling up in massive anti-war demonstrations, and encouraged more people to question institutions and figures of authority.[480] These powerful, nationwide grassroots activist movements reshaped the history of

[478] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 76.
[479] Bonnie J. Morris, "A Brief History of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Social Movements," March 16, 2023, American Psychological Association, accessed April 25, 2024, https://www.apa.org/topics/lgbtq/history.
[480] Mark Thompson, *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York City: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 18.

the United States and laid the foundation for similar activist movements among other minority groups, including the gay, lesbian, and gender non-conforming community.

The visibility and increasingly radical strategies of these movements—such as the Black Power movement and radical feminism—inspired gay, lesbian, and transgender activists to shift away from the polite, assimilationist methods espoused by the earlier homophile groups toward a more direct and confrontational approach in the late 1960s.[481] Inspired by the slogan of the Black Power movement "Black is Beautiful," gay rights activist Frank Kameny coined the slogan, "Gay is Good" at a national convention of homophile organizations in 1968.[482]

The Gay Liberation Movement in Sacramento

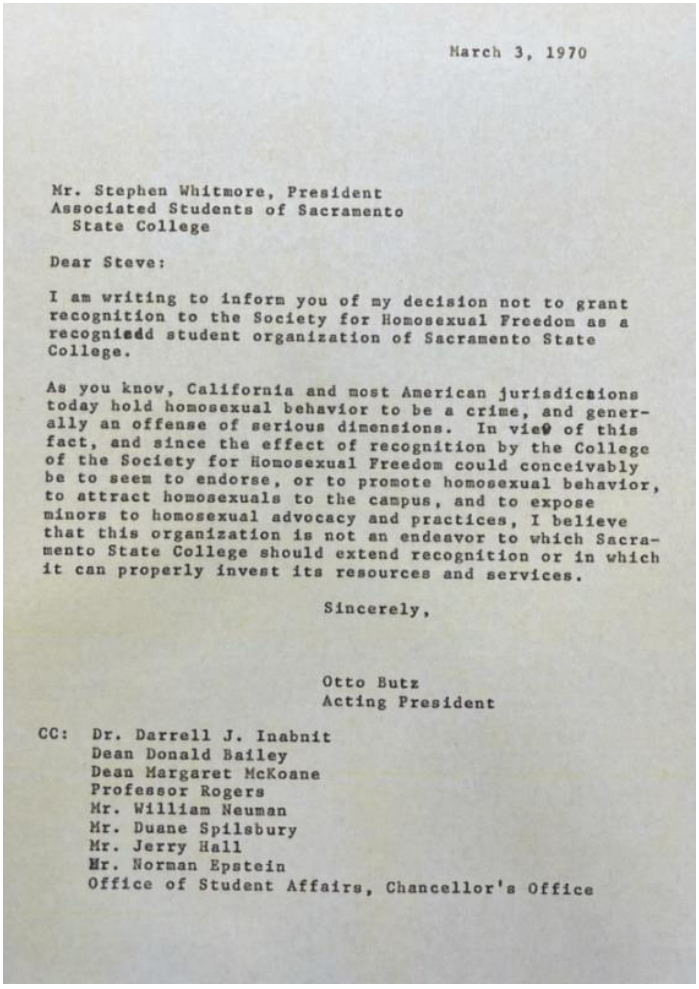
Out of this charged environment emerged the Gay Liberation Movement. Sparked by the police raid of the Stonewall Inn in New York City and following days of protests in June 1969, a new revolution emerged that inspired a more visible and direct era of political organizing. In the aftermath of the Stonewall riots, numerous national gay rights activism groups with a more radical approach formed. Unlike the cryptic names and missions of the earlier homophile groups, the names of these groups were more explicit and clearly expressed their advocacy for gay, lesbian, and transgender rights, including the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), Gay Activists Alliance, Street Transvestite Action Revolution (STAR), and National Gay Task Force. Inspired by these pioneering national organizations, activists founded local chapters and similar groups in smaller cities across the country.

SOCIETY FOR HOMOSEXUAL FREEDOM & GAY LIBERATION FRONT

In December 1969, a group of teachers and students who were influenced by the Stonewall riots and militant race rights groups, such as Black Panthers and Sacramento's own Royal Chicano Air Force, formed a gay activist group at Sacramento State College. The group's first meeting was held at the home of Dr. Martin ("Marty") Rogers, an assistant professor of psychology who first conceived of forming such a group after helping a similar student group form at UC Davis. [483] Titled the Society for Homosexual Freedom (SHF), the group's mission was to "further self-understanding among the members and to promote better understanding of homosexuality in the community."[484] In addition to Dr. Rogers, founding members included student body president and executive coordinator Steve Whitmore, executive director Bill Cross, Edgar Carpenter, and George Raya, who was also active in

[481] Thompson, *Long Road to Freedom*, xviii; Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 77.
[482] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 77; Megan Gambino, "Remembering Gay Rights Activist Frank Kameny (1925-2011)," Smithsonian Magazine, October 14, 2011, accessed May 22, 2024, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/remembering-gay-rights-activist-frank-kameny-1925-2011-105187020/.
[483] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance*, 163.
[484] Pat Jones, "Society for Homosexual Freedom Seeks Recognition on SSC Campus," *Sacramento Bee*, 1 March 1970: 16.

the local Chicano movement.[485] In addition to Marty Rogers' house, early meetings were also held at the Alternative Coffee Shop, which was located in Edgar's home in Apartment #2 at 2215 P Street (extant).[486] SHF created a speakers bureau to organize speaking events at local schools and organizations to increase education and understanding of homosexuality among the general population. The group also created a 24-hour crisis hotline to help gay, lesbian, and transgender individuals find professional psychiatric, medical, and legal aid.[487]



March 3, 1970

Mr. Stephen Whitmore, President
Associated Students of Sacramento
State College

Dear Steve:

I am writing to inform you of my decision not to grant recognition to the Society for Homosexual Freedom as a recognized student organization of Sacramento State College.

As you know, California and most American jurisdictions today hold homosexual behavior to be a crime, and generally an offense of serious dimensions. In view of this fact, and since the effect of recognition by the College of the Society for Homosexual Freedom could conceivably be to seem to endorse, or to promote homosexual behavior, to attract homosexuals to the campus, and to expose minors to homosexual advocacy and practices, I believe that this organization is not an endeavor to which Sacramento State College should extend recognition or in which it can properly invest its resources and services.

Sincerely,

Otto Butz
Acting President

CC: Dr. Darrell J. Inabnit
Dean Donald Bailey
Dean Margaret McKoane
Professor Rogers
Mr. William Neuman
Mr. Duane Spilsbury
Mr. Jerry Hall
Mr. Norman Epstein
Office of Student Affairs, Chancellor's Office

Figure 100. Letter from Sacramento State College president Otto Butz denying recognition of SHF as a recognized student organization (1970). Source: Personal collection of George Raya.

By March 1970, SHF had approximately 50 members, which included both gay and heterosexual individuals. With its membership growing, the group applied to Sacramento State College for formal recognition. Although similar groups had already formed at other college campuses in California without causing any serious disturbance to campus life, college president Otto Butz denied the request, stating that "California and most American jurisdictions today hold homosexual behavior to be a crime, and generally an offense of serious dimensions."[488] He substantiated his refusal by citing fears that formal recognition of such a group would "seem to endorse, or to promote homosexual behavior, to attract homosexuals to campus, and to expose minors to homosexual advocacy and practices."[489]

[485] Jones, "Society for Homosexual Freedom Seeks Recognition on SSC Campus."
[486] "Judge Orders College to Recognize Gay Club," *The Advocate*, No. 55 (March 17-30, 1971), 1, 9.
[487] Jones, "Society for Homosexual Freedom Seeks Recognition on SSC Campus."
[488] Letter from Otto Butz to Stephen Whitmore, March 3, 1970, personal collection of George Raya.
[489] Letter from Otto Butz to Stephen Whitemore, March 3, 1970, personal collection of George Raya; "George Raya: A Sac State LGBT Pioneer," April 26, 2023, accessed April 25, 2024, https://hornethistories.com/2023/04/george-raya-a-sac-state-lgbt-pioneer/.

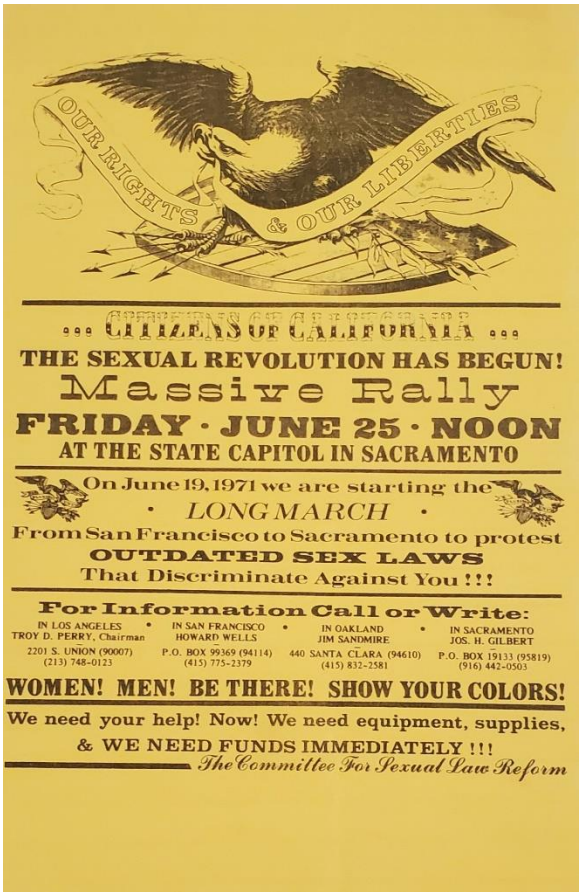


Figure 101. Poster for the 1971 "March for Sexual Freedom." Source: GLBT Historical Society Museum Archives.

In response, Raya, who also headed the college's committee that approved the charters of student organizations, filed a lawsuit challenging Butz's decision. Sacramento State College alumnus and attorney John M. Powell represented the case for SHF. During preparation for the trial, the group met at the Ruhstaller Building on 9th and J streets. During the trial, Butz and his replacement, Bernard Hylink, admitted that SHF's intentions were not inherently illegal or dangerous and that their concerns were based on personal suspicions that the group would become dangerous or encourage other students to engage in homosexual behavior. The presiding judge, William Gallagher, decided that the college could not suppress student free speech unless there was a clear and present danger, and since by their own admission they had denied recognizing SHF out of "mere suspicion, disgust, unpopularity, and fear of what might occur," the college had violated the student's rights by denying SHF. Following the decision, the college formally recognized SHF in February 1971.

Although SHF was not the first gay student group in California, the lawsuit set a legal precedent for recognizing other similar student groups around the country and kicked off a particularly active period for organizing among Sacramento's gay community.[490] In April 1971, the SHF, renamed the Gay Liberation Front of Sacramento State College, held a week-long gay symposium in Sacramento, named "The Gay Scene," that featured prominent national speakers, including Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, MCC founder Reverend Troy Perry, and Daughters of Bilitis founders Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon. Later that year, Perry and national gay rights groups such as the GLF organized a march of 300 people from Los Angeles to the State Capitol in Sacramento to bring attention to efforts to pass a bill authored by State Assemblyman Willie Brown, Jr. to end California's state sodomy laws, which had been languishing in the state legislature. Although the number of marchers dwindled to around a dozen the day before the planned rally in

[490] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance*, 165-166.

Sacramento, approximately 200 people ultimately attended a rally on the steps of the Capitol.[491] While the march did not have the immediate effect of pushing Brown's bill through, it increased public awareness and inspired other marches and activists. A local chapter of the MCC was founded in Sacramento the year after the march.[492]

Figure 102. Marchers reach Sacramento during the 1971 March for Sexual Freedom. Source: ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.

GAY STUDIES PROGRAM AND CENTER AT SACRAMENTO STATE UNIVERSITY

Simultaneously with these events, the women's liberation movement, which was encouraging women to seek equal rights across the country in the late 1960s and 1970s, inspired students and faculty members at Sacramento State College (renamed California State University, Sacramento, or Sacramento State University, in 1972) to establish women's studies courses at the university. These

[491] Max Miller, "Sex Freedom March," *Sacramento Bee*, 24 June 1971: 21; "'Gay Power' Group Treks to Capitol," *Sacramento Bee*, 25 June 1971: 26.
[492] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance*, 166.

women's studies courses became the seed from which a gay studies program developed at Sacramento State University.

In 1970, Patricia One Person (now Matty One Person) published a study titled "Suppression of Sexual Behavior."[493] She and other lesbian-feminists at the university were instrumental in bringing other feminists, including faculty members from San Francisco State University, to speak at the campus about lesbianism. In 1971, the university began to offer its first women's studies courses.[494] The organizers of the new Women's Studies Program always intended for it to include lesbian topics and courses, though these courses were met with backlash and controversy. By 1972, the university offered 11 women's studies courses and two extension courses. One course, which was offered as part of the Honors Program, was called "The Lesbian in America" (or alternatively as "The Lesbian in Society") and was taught by Shannon Hennigan and Patricia One Person.[495] Facing complaints about the inclusion of the word "lesbian" in the course title, its name was changed to the more generic "Female Sexuality" in 1973.[496]

In December 1972, Sacramento State University's Cultural Programs, Women's Studies Program, and local lesbian-feminists organized a three-day event called the "Colloquium on Lesbian Women: Myth and Reality," which was aimed at increasing awareness of lesbians in society.[497] The event featured speeches and presentations by many prominent members of the women's liberation and gay liberation movements, including author Rita Mae Brown, Daughters of Bilitis founders Del Martin and Phyllis Lyons; Sally Gearheart, an out lesbian professor who founded the first women and gender study programs in the country at San Francisco State University; and Le Theatre Lesbien's performed its play, "The Homobrontosaurus," based on a poem by One Person.[498] Hundreds of people attended the three-day event.[499]

The lawsuit against SHF, Gay Symposium, March for Sexual Freedom, Lesbian Colloquium, Women's Studies Program at Sacramento State University, and other gay events and organizations at the university in the early 1970s increased the visibility of LGBTQ+ people, particularly at Sacramento State University, and provided a vital spark that brought positive momentum to the creation of more lasting change at the university. In 1971, Dr. Marty Rodgers and fellow out gay professor Dr. Charles Moore initiated a Gay Studies Program and Gay Studies Center at Sacramento State University.

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[493] Matty One Person, " First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments," July 5, 2024.
[494] "Women's Studies," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 February 1971: C1.
[495] "Women's Studies," course brochure, 1972, personal collection of Theresa Corrigan; "Gay Studies Course Offerings," *The Hornet*, California State University, Sacramento, Spring 1973, courtesy of Theresa Corrigan.
[496] Reichard, *Here Are My People: LGBT College Student Organizing in California, 45.*
[497] Reichard, *Here Are My People: LGBT College Student Organizing in California, 60.*
[498] Matty One Person, " First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments," July 5, 2024.
[499] Freda Smith, "Lesbianism: 'Personally Healthy, Politically Necessary,'" *The Lesbian Tide*, December 1972, 13.

According to an article published in *The Advocate* newspaper in August 1971, the university's Gay Studies Program and Gay Studies Center were believed to be the first college-recognized gay studies program and center in the United States. While other universities had single courses as part of their curriculum by 1970, the Gay Studies Program at Sacramento State University included multiple courses in conjunction with the Gay Studies Center with the goal of establishing at least a minor in gay studies.

Figure 103. The board of directors of the Gay Studies Program at Sacramento State University, including, top row (from left to right), Darby Malone, Judy Williams, and Freda Smith; and bottom row, Joe Aiello, Dr. Marty Rogers, and Edgar Carpenter. Dr. Moore is not pictured. Source: "Nation's First? Gay Studies Program Formed," *The Advocate*, August 16, 1972: 9.

In developing the program, faculty members Dr. Rogers and Dr. Moore followed the earlier examples set by the university's Women's Studies Program and drew support and expertise from the women who led the program. Both programs had begun by initially offering a limited number of unofficial courses to demonstrate student demand, prior to seeking official university approval and recognition. Similarly, the Gay Studies Program at Sacramento State University started with two unofficial courses: "The Image of the Homosexual in Literature," which was taught by Dr. Moore as part of the English department, and "Homosexuality," which was taught by Dr. Rogers as part of the psychology department. Both courses were quickly over-enrolled. Cross-pollination with the Women's Studies Program continued as the Gay Studies Program grew. Hennigan and One Person's course, "The Lesbian in Society," which was intended to raise the sexual consciousness of women by dispelling negative stereotypes about lesbians, was offered as part of the university's Experimental Honors program in 1972.

With the courses proving to be immensely popular among the student body, Moore and Rodgers went before the Student Senate for initial approval in 1972. Approval by the Academic Senate followed soon after.[500] The Gay Studies Program was administered by a board of directors, which included Dr. Rogers and Dr. Moore, and five gay students, three of whom were women: Darby Malone, Judy Williams, Freda Smith (later pastor for the Metropolitan Community Church), Joe Aiello, and Edgar Carpenter.[501] By Spring 1973, the program had doubled in size and offered six courses. New courses included "Human Sexuality," taught by Mina Robbins, which explored human sexuality through a physiological, sociological, and psychological lens to dispel confusion surrounding the subject. Another course, "The Homoerotic Tradition in Western Literature," taught by Marc Bertonasco, focused on homoeroticism as an integral part of the human experience in Greco-Roman and Renaissance literature. "Homosexuality: A Cross-Cultural Approach," taught by Charles Moore, examined the role and status of homosexual people in different societies and cultures through time, and "Laboratory in Human Relations: Gay-Straight Male Encounter," taught by Marty Rogers, focused on student interactions and male sexual stereotyping.[502] Cherie Gordon, a graduate student, taught a course in the Speech Communications Department, titled "The Rhetoric of Feminism," which included lesbian content. In 1974, Sacramento State University added a new course titled "Lesbianism and Feminism," later renamed "A Society of Women," which bridged between the women's studies and gay studies programs. The course was taught by recent Sacramento State University graduate, Theresa Corrigan, who had been teaching courses in the English Department. The course continued to be taught until the mid-1990s, at which time it was the only course that included lesbian content in its description. Corrigan went on to be a leading figure in the founding

[500] "Nation's First? Gay Studies Program Formed," *The Advocate*, August 16, 1972: 9.
[501] "Nation's First? Gay Studies Program Formed."
[502] "Gay Studies Course Offerings," *The Hornet*, California State University, Sacramento, Spring 1973, courtesy of Theresa Corrigan.

and development of the Sacramento Women's Center and its many women's service programs and was founder of Lioness Books. She taught courses in women's studies at Sacramento State University for 30 years until her retirement in 2003. She and Dr. Rogers worked to extend educational opportunities beyond Sacramento State University. After the University of California system was mandated to prevent discrimination against gay and lesbian employees, they created a training program for UC employees called "The Invisible Employee." At the high school level, they developed a second training program for high school students to address homophobia in their classrooms, called The Invisible Student.[503]

Outside the classroom, the Gay Studies Program engaged in direct action to demand fair and equal treatment. Shortly after receiving university approval in the fall of 1972, the Gay Studies Program rented the Newman Center, a campus ministry center run by the Catholic Diocese that was located just outside the Sacramento State University campus at 5900 Newman Court (extant), for a Halloween Costume Ball that was to be held in conjunction with the Regional Conference of Gay Organizations. Bishop Alden J. Bell cancelled the contract the day before the event, claiming that gay people were immoral and should not be allowed to dance in the center. In response, approximately 75 members of the Gay Studies Program and conference delegates picketed in front of the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in downtown Sacramento before morning Mass, attracting a dispatch of police officers to the peaceful demonstration. The matter was brought before the student senate of Sacramento State University, which passed a resolution that it could break off relations with the Newman Center if it did not treat all campus organizations equally.[504]

Students continued to lead local gay and lesbian activism in Sacramento over the course of the decade. In 1976, three Sacramento State University students and members of Le Theatre Lesbien—Patricia (Matty) One Person, Cherie Gordon, and Therese Quinn—infiltrated the City's Bicentennial Parade. Uninvited and unannounced, the trio unfurled a six-foot banner that read, "Lesbians Come Out After 200 Years Of Oppression," leaving the crowd speechless.[505]

LGBTQ+ studies offerings at Sacramento State University extended beyond gay and lesbian topics, as well. In 1979, the university's Gay Peoples Union and Bi-Support Group sponsored a panel on bisexuality at the student union as part of Gay Awareness Week. Dr. Harriet Leve, co-founder of the Bisexual Center in San Francisco, was one of three bisexual speakers on the panel.[506]

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[503] Theresa Corrigan, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments," July 7, 2024; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[504] Freda Smith, "Gays Picket Catholic Church," *The Lesbian Tide*, December 1972, 9-13.
[505] Gordon, "Corrections to Your 2nd Draft of Chapter 3."
[506] "Bisexuality Panel at CSUS," *Mom Guess What…!*, 1979.

Political Advocacy & The Push for Legislative Change

GAY RIGHTS POLICIES & LEGISLATION

Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community was perfectly placed to have an outsized impact on politics on all levels because of its proximity to the State Capitol, where state legislation was debated and passed, and proximity to the powerful and outspoken LGBTQ+ community in San Francisco. The Capitol was the marquee destination for grassroots marches, protests, and rallies, and attracted scores of legislators, lobbyists, and their staff to Sacramento every day. Exposure to political dealings at the state level gave Sacramento residents—many of whom were themselves State employees—greater access to politicians and an up-close education on political tactics that could also be used at the municipal level. Members of the local LGBTQ+ community used these factors to their advantage.

The proximity and exchange of ideas, resources, and expertise between the LGBTQ+ communities of Sacramento and San Francisco also proved to be a powerful tool, with the communities often working hand-in-hand to enact political change. A potent example of the collaboration between people in Sacramento and San Francisco emerged during the years of efforts to repeal California's state anti-sodomy laws, which had led to arrests and harassment of gay and lesbian people for more than 100 years. The bill to repeal these laws, known as AB 437, was authored and sponsored by State Assemblyman Willie Brown, Jr. of San Francisco. George Raya, who had moved to San Francisco become the state's first gay rights lobbyist, was hired by the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) to work as the first full-time lobbyist to work on the bill. During this period, Raya survived on food stamps, handouts from family and friends, and occasional payouts from selling his own blood plasma.[507] On June 20, 1971, the San Francisco MCC congregation marched from Oakland to the State Capitol for a statewide rally to support the bill's passage. Rick Stokes, founder of the Association for Responsible Citizenship in Sacramento, who had also subsequently moved to San Francisco, drummed up endorsements. In May 1975, State Senator George Moscone and Assemblyman Brown led efforts to pass AB 437 in both houses of the state legislature, and it was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown, Jr. shortly after.[508] The repeal of California's anti-sodomy laws was a sea change in LGBTQ+ history, as it allowed gay people to openly express their sexual identities without fear of arrest or incarceration.

The gay rights movement made similar gains in states across the country in the early 1970s. The first anti-discrimination ordinances were passed in Seattle, Washington, Washington, D.C., and Alfred, New York between 1973 and 1974. In California, Harvey Milk became the first openly gay man to be elected to public office in the state when he was elected to serve as a member of the San Francisco

[507] Pam Strandberg, "Raya: 'No Game for an Ostrich,'" *The Advocate*, 23 April 1975: 10.
[508] Graves and Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 227-228.

Board of Supervisors in 1977. The same year, the National Gay Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force) was formed and invited to the White House to discuss policy issues that affected the gay community, the first group of openly gay lobbyists to receive such an invitation. Sacramento gay rights activist George Raya was chosen to participate in the task force as a representative from Northern California. The task force's efforts led to funding for hepatitis research and laid the groundwork for later efforts to study the transmission of AIDS in the early 1980s.[509]

As public and government support grew, a corresponding anti-gay movement emerged, led by conservative Christian congregations and the religious right. In response to an anti-discrimination law passed in Dade County, Florida, also in 1977, popular singer and orange juice spokeswoman Anita Bryant launched a campaign to repeal the law and founded the anti-gay organization Save Our Children. Bryant's highly publicized campaign initiated a nationwide anti-gay political effort that spread to the California State Capitol. In 1978, conservative California State legislator John Briggs, of Orange County, sponsored Proposition 6, known as the Briggs Initiative, in the California State Senate. The proposition proposed to ban gay people from teaching in the state's public schools.[510] When Linda Birner founded the newspaper *Mom…Guess What…!* that same year, one of its initial missions was to spread information about the Briggs Initiative to members of the gay community encourage them to take action. The newspaper's first issue was published on November 1, 1978 and included letters of support from Sacramento Mayor Phillip L. Isenberg and District Three Supervisor Sandra R. Smolley, both of whom were outspoken supporters of the gay community.[511] Public support from City officials in the 1970s showed the growing clout of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community as a political force. The Briggs Initiative was defeated on November 7, 1978 by 58 percent of California voters.[512] The defeat of the Briggs Initiative was accomplished through a massive grassroots campaign across the entire state and was a watershed moment in LGBTQ+ history and political activism in California.

[509] Cody Drabble, "LGBTQ Civil Rights Pioneer George Raya Looks Back on 50 Years of Progress," Capitol Public Radio, June 27, 2019, accessed May 1, 2024, https://www.capradio.org/news/insight/2019/06/27/lgbtq-civil-rights-pioneer-george-raya-looks-back-on-50-years-of-progress.
[510] Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBTQ History*, 84-85.
[511] *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1978.
[512] "LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History," Teaching LGBTQ History, accessed May 1, 2024, https://lgbtqhistory.org/lgbt-rights-timeline-in-american-history/.

Figure 104. George Raya (far right) with members of the National Gay Task Force during their visit to the White House (1977). Source: ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, University of Southern California Libraries

On November 27, 1978, Harvey Milk and San Francisco Mayor George Moscone, a vocal advocate for gay rights, were assassinated by fellow Supervisor Dan White. In response, *Mom…Guess What…!* published an "In Memoriam" piece honoring Milk and Moscone. The piece contained the following call to the community to use their loss to fuel increased political advocacy:

> We have to accept the loss, but we do not have to accept the attitude that caused the loss – the feeling that violence and bloodshed will solve our problems. Now more than ever, all people must join forces and work to end misunderstanding and prejudice, the conditions that cause and perpetuate them, and the violent, outrageous results of them. A fitting memorial for Harvey Milk and George Moscone will not be any statue or plaque, or even a political or charitable fund. No, their fitting monument will be redoubled efforts to achieve goals they worked for – the triumph

> of human rights and human dignity over ignorance, prejudice, oppression, and hate.[513]

One event, however, finally pushed the State Legislature and local government to take up the issue of gay rights. In 1981, the U.S. Center for Disease Control (CDC) reported the first cases of AIDS in the United States. The AIDS epidemic and Sacramento community's response are covered in greater detail in Chapter 4, but it is important to highlight here the significant role it played in the political landscape and broader fight for equal rights for the LGBTQ+ community. Some of the first debates in the State Legislature around gay issues centered around the issue of providing funding for AIDS research.[514] Discrimination prevented LGBTQ+ couples—who were unable to legally marry—from being able to provide health insurance and necessary health care to their sick and dying loved ones. In some cases, lesbian women married gay men in order to provide them with health insurance.[515] In 1988, Sacramento State Assembly Member Phil Isenberg and State Senator Patrick Johnston (D-Stockton) introduced twin bills address the issue of companies testing individuals for HIV to exclude them from life or health insurance. In a de facto compromise, testing for life insurance was allowed, but the bill allowing testing for health insurance failed in the Senate.[516] This laid the foundation for further legislation in 1993, when State Assembly Speaker Willie Brown of San Francisco and State Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles successfully sponsored legislation that prohibited insurance companies from cancelling policies for persons with HIV and/or AIDS.[517]

Others risked losing their jobs if they contracted the disease. AIDS revealed in the most stark and tragic ways imaginable how little legal protection the LGBTQ+ community had against discrimination in health care, employment, housing, and other sectors of everyday life. It mobilized the LGBTQ+ community to become politically active more than any other previous issue. The AIDS epidemic also set community progress in the battle for equal rights back by a decade, as much of the previous generation of leaders was killed by the disease, and all of the community's energy and attention was redirected toward fighting the disease and supporting its loved ones and away from efforts to get LGBTQ+ people elected to political office.[518]

As a result, political support through officially elected channels continued to come from allies at the state and local levels for much of the 1980s and 1990s. In addition to Mayor Isenberg and Supervisor Smolley, another prominent ally who effected positive policy changes for the local LGBTQ+

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[513] James K. Graham, editor, "In Memoriam," *Mom…Guess What…!,* December 1978.
[514] Stan F. Carlsen, "Out on the Inside: A Case Study of the Political Transformation of the LGBTQ Community in California" (masters thesis), California State University, Sacramento, 2006, 23.
[515] Conversation between Liz [last name redacted] and Clare Flynn, April 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[516] Alan LoFaso, comments on First Public Draft, email to Clare Flynn, September 219, 2024.
[517] Carson Anderson, "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS," July 9, 2024.
[518] Carlsen, "Out on the Inside: A Case Study of the Political Transformation of the LGBTQ Community in California," 27-30.

community was Anne Rudin. A registered nurse by profession, Rudin was elected to City Council in 1971. She became motivated to publicly express her support for gay rights following the passage of the national Equal Rights Amendment in 1972 and subsequently earned a reputation as a vocal advocate for gay rights over the course of her career. In 1983, she ran for election to become the city's mayor. Rudin was endorsed by *Mom…Guess What…!.* She won the election and served three terms, stepping down in 1992. [519] In 1986, Mayor Rudin created the Mayor's AIDS Task Force to address AIDS in Sacramento. Among its recommendations was passage of an anti-discrimination ordinance to protect gay people from banned discrimination against homosexual people in employment, housing, commerce, real estate, education, and city services. Later that year, Mayor Rudin and the Sacramento City Council approved the city's first anti-discrimination ordinance by a 7-2 vote.[520]

In 1992, Rudin spearheaded passage of the City of Sacramento's domestic partnership ordinance. The ordinance allowed any two people, regardless of gender or sexual orientation, to register with the city as domestic partners. The ordinance required employers to grant unpaid leave to domestic partners for situations such as bereavement, required hospitals to grant the same visitation rights to domestic partners as married couples, and declared that domestic partners must be treated as family in any lease or rental agreement.[521] It was not until 2006 that Sacramento County's first openly gay public official, Gretchen Bender, was sworn into office when she won the election to serve on the Sacramento County Board of Education. Bender, a former teacher, served as president of the Board of Education, representing Area 2, which includes Antelope, Del Paso Heights, Elverta, Gardenland, North Highlands, Natomas, and other northern Sacramento communities. She resigned in 2009 to take a job in San Diego.[522] Steve Hansen became the first openly gay person to hold office in the City of Sacramento in 2012 when he was elected as the City Councilman, representing the neighborhoods of River Oaks, Central City, Land Park, South Land Park, and Little Pocket.[523]

POLITICAL ADVOCACY GROUPS

Political advocacy groups, specifically aimed at influencing policy changes relevant to the gay community, formed in Sacramento during this volatile period. In 1975, a local chapter of the Eleanor Roosevelt Democratic Club was established in Sacramento. The group, whose name referenced Roosevelt's secret relationship with a woman named Lorena Hickok and her reputation for defending the rights of minorities, worked within the established political systems to influence lawmakers to support legislation that improved gay rights and freedoms. Members met at the local

[519] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance*, 177-178.
[520] Jim Sanders, "Gay Rights Ordinance Backed After Heated Council Session," *Sacramento Bee*, 26 March 1986: 1.
[521] Dan Bernstein, "City Extends Some Benefits to Domestic Partners," *Sacramento Bee*, 14 October 1992: A1.
[522] Melody Gutierrez, "Region in Brief," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 June 2009: B2.
[523] "Meet Steve," Steve Hansen for Sacramento Mayor, accessed May 1, 2024, https://www.steve4sacramento.com/meet-steve.

MCC facilities. A liaison for the group attended State legislative sessions and kept track of bills that were entered into or up for a vote in committees. Bills related to or that might impact the gay community were reported back to the club, after which letters were sent to committees to inform them of the club's stance on the issues.[524]

The Briggs Initiative prompted a massive response from Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, which came out in force to oppose the initiative. Following the defeat of the Briggs Initiative in November 1978, *Mom…Guess What…!* issued a call for the community to redouble its efforts to educate the public and support local advocacy groups working to pass gay rights legislation. Among the groups mentioned were the Gay Speakers Bureau, which was organized by Way Station founder Clay Shipway and planned speaking engagements in the Sacramento area for gay rights activists and prominent figures, as well as the Sacramento chapter of the California Human Rights Advocates (CHRA).[525] The CHRA had a full-time lobbyist named Steve Badeau based in Sacramento who worked to get gay rights legislation passed by the State Legislature. In late 1978, Badeau's focus was on passage of Assemblyman Art Agnos's Gay Employment Rights Bill (AB 1). The organization opened a local office at 1107 9th Street in December 1978. Another local political group formed in the wake of the Briggs Initiative was a local chapter of the Log Cabin Republicans, an organization for LGBTQ+ Republicans. Other local advocacy events around the same time included a statewide meeting of the Gay Caucus of the California Democratic Council in January 1979.[526]

Figure 105. Dennis Mangers when he served as State Assemblyman for Orange County. Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

Two political advocacy groups, the Capitol Network and Capitol Political Action Committee (CAP-PAC), were created with the help of former State Assemblyman Dennis ("Denny") Mangers in the 1980s. Mangers was born in Inglewood, California and studied singing and education administration as a young man at the University of Southern California (USC). After serving in the Navy, he worked as a teacher at inner-city schools in Long Beach and became one of the youngest principals in the state of California. In 1976, Mangers ran for and won election to serve as the State Assembly representative for Orange County. He lost his seat in 1980 and was hired to serve as principal lobbyist for the California Cable and Telecommunications Association. Shortly after

[524] Untitled article in Good News (Roseville) newspaper, 4 June 1976, George Raya collection.
[525] An earlier informal speakers bureau was created at Sacramento State University in 1971. Speakers included Marty Rogers, Charles Moore, Cherie Gordon, Matty One Person, and Edgar Carpenter.
[526] Greg Loe, "Under the Dome," *Mom…Guess What…!,* December 1978.

leaving the state legislature, Mangers was outed as a gay man.[527] Though no longer himself a member of the State Legislature, Mangers used his experience, connections, and compassion for the gay community to continue to fight for gay rights. He contributed articles on politics to *Mom…Guess What…!* to raise awareness about policies that would impact the community.

Then, in 1985, Stan Hadden, aide to Senate President Pro Tempore David Roberti, came to Mangers with the idea of forming a political group outside the State Capitol building to help him gather the perspectives of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community on legislative issues. Mangers initially named the group "The Junto," inspired by the name of a secret group founded by Benjamin Franklin, before renaming it the Capitol Network. The group's mission was to form a unified agenda for the LGBTQ+ community and establish clear priorities, strategies, and steps for advancing the community's rights. Hadden would report the group's priorities and stances to Roberti to push forward in the State Legislature. Early members included approximately 30 closeted gay staff members for Governor George Deukmeijian and the Secretary of State, consultants working for senate committees, the director of the California Arts Council, legislative advocates, legislative analysts, lobbyists, activists, chiefs of State departments, local journalists, and others. The group met secretly once a month in Mangers' offices in the Senator Hotel at 1121 L Street (extant) across the Street from Capitol Park. An emotional encounter with a man dying of AIDS in 1986 convinced Mangers that the fight on behalf of the gay community could no longer remain quiet and hidden. The Capitol Network dissolved, and Mangers and others formed a new public-facing political organization, the Capital Area Political Action Committee (CAP-PAC), in its wake.[528]

Inspired by the gay advocacy political action committees in Los Angeles and San Francisco, the Municipal Elections Committee of Los Angeles (MECLA) and BAYMEC, CAP-PAC was formed to provide a unified political organization, based in Sacramento, that could influence political campaigns and political opinion on issues of statewide importance to California's LGBTQ+ community. The committee aimed to "provide a voice for the lesbian and gay communities in the mainstream political process."[529] CAP-PAC was unique in that it was entirely bi-partisan with membership that was evenly split between gay men and lesbians of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The first co-chairs were Doug Brown and bisexual attorney Carolyn Langenkamp. Most of the early members were closeted gay men and women, many of whom were legislative staffers employed by the Senate Majority Leader and Governor George Deukmejian. As such, early meetings were held in secret to maintain the anonymity of members. The first official meeting was held in 1988 at Mangers' house at 2230 Indian Wells Court (extant) in the Swallows

[527] Matt Coker, "The Gay Godfather," *Sacramento News & Review*, 8 May 2008.
[528] Denny Mangers, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 30, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[529] "CAP/PAC – A Voice of Political Power," pamphlet, 1990, courtesy of Ted Ross.

California Capitol Political Action Committee

Board of Directors

Tom Burns, Co-Chair
Carolyn Langenkamp, Co-Chair
Ann Bersinger, Secretary
Louis Camera, Treasurer
Candace Blase
Lee Cranfield
Gary Miller
William M. McOmber
Rosanna Herber
Jayne Rountree

Council of Founders

Larry Baca
Linda Birner
Candace Blase
Doug Brown
Steve Burns
Tom Burns
Louis Camera
David Felderstein
Greg Gorges
Craig Hartzman
Rosanna Herber
Larry Hoover
Monika Hudson
Carolyn Langenkamp
John Madriz
William M. McOmber
Helyne Meshar
Rosemary Metrailer
Shireen Miles
Gary Miller
Lee Nichols
Carole Nutt
Ted Ross
Jayne Rountree

Figure 106. List of the Board of Directors and Council of Founders for CAP-PAC in 1990. Source: Courtesy of Ted Ross.

Nest housing development along the Garden Highway. Early members included AIDS quilt founder Cleve Jones, Channel 40 news director Bob Cook, Bureau of Automotive Repair chief Marty Dyer, journalists Scott Schaeffer and David Kirp, and others.[530]

However, reflecting the continuing stigma against gay people and very real risk of losing their jobs if they were outed, some members refused to allow their names to be listed publicly and in some instances publicly opposed efforts to expand gay rights, while secretly working behind the scenes to advance them. One illuminating example is that of Bob Cook, who wrote an editorial opposing lifting the ban on gays in the military in 1992 in which he stated that "allowing homosexual into barracks, on bases and serving onboard U.S. Navy ships could create a serious health threat" due to the risk of spreading AIDS.[531] Meanwhile, Cook was actively working to repeal discriminatory policies like this as a member of CAP-PAC.[532]

Among CAP-PAC's early accomplishments was raising $15,000 in 1986 to help defeat Proposition 64, known as the LaRouche Initiative, which would have returned AIDS to the list of communicable diseases under state public health laws, resulting in the quarantining of people with AIDS. In addition to its lobbying work, CAP-PAC also raised money for local charities and organizations, particularly the Sacramento AIDS Foundation. The group's first fundraiser event in 1987 raised $9,000 for SAF and featured an appearance by actress Jane Fonda. Starting in 1989, CAP-PAC held annual fundraising dinners that attracted hundreds of political leaders. Prominent politicians—such as well-known gay Massachusetts Congressman Barney Frank, women's movement leader Bella Abzug, and then San Francisco mayor Gavin Newson—have spoken at the events over the years. CAP-PAC continued its work through the early 2000s.[533]

[530] Denny Mangers, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[531] Bob Cook, "Gay Navy," November 14, 1992, courtesy of Alan LoFaso.
[532] Alan LoFaso, comments on First Public Draft, email to Clare Flynn, September 19, 2024; Bob Cook, editorial to LIFE AIDS Lobby, courtesy of Alan LoFaso.
[533] Denny Mangers, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 30, 2024; Materials and documents from the private collection of Denny Mangers.

Figure 107. From left to right: City Council member David Shore, Congressman Vic Fazio, State Assemblymember Phil Isenberg, and former State Assemblymember Dennis Mangers at a fundraiser for CAP-PAC in 1990. Source: Alan LoFaso, "Congressman Attends Brunch," *Mom…Guess What…!.*

Liberal members of CAP-PAC later formed the River City Democratic Club in 1983. The club first met at the Incredible Edible, a gay-owned restaurant at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard (extant).[534] The River City Democratic Club spearheaded advocacy efforts to pass a local Domestic Partnership Ordinance in collaboration with Mayor Anne Rudin, which eventually passed in 1992. The River City Democratic Club also took on community improvement projects, most notably planting 200 trees in 1992 along Highway 50 outside of the Capital Christian Center. The tree plantings were dedicated as an AIDS Memorial.[535]

[534] "New Club," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 1, 1983, C7.
[535] Steve Wiegand, "Tree-Planting with a Twist," *The Sacramento Bee*, March 16, 1992.

Figure 108. Sam Catalano (left) with Laurie McBride (undated). Source: Sacramento Stonewall Foundation.

Though the River City Democratic Club folded in 1992, its remaining members formed a local chapter of the Stonewall Democratic Club in 2000. The club's original members consisted of a group of 100 individuals, who collectively worked to give the LGBTQ+ community a voice and recognition in state politics with the ultimate goal of getting LGBTQ+ people elected to political office. Through the recruitment efforts of its members, most visibly represented by Sam Catalano, co-chair of the California Democratic Party for Sacramento County, the Sacramento Stonewall Club became the largest Stonewall Democratic chapter in the nation and had over 300 members in 2006.[536] Catalano, along with others, expanded the leadership of the club with the creation of the Stonewall Foundation in 2016, which works to empower LGBTQ+ youth and young adults and their allies through educational initiatives, scholarships, and partnerships.[537] Catalano also worked tirelessly to integrate the LGBTQ+ community into the state government system and physical environment at every chance he could. He successfully petitioned to have the first LGBTQ+ displays installed in the Rotunda of the California State Capitol building for Pride month, won support to have a paving stone for LGBTQ+ veterans included in the California Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Capitol Park, and

[536] Carlsen, "Out on the Inside: A Case Study of the Political Transformation of the LGBTQ Community in California," 26; "Sam Catalano - Political Animal," Legends of Courage, dir. Dawn D. Deason, 2023, accessed July 19, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B7KvRz6fBIs&t=232s.
[537] "About," Stonewall Foundation of Greater Sacramento, accessed July 19, 2024, https://www.sacstonewallfoundation.org/about.

raised funds to have a bench installed at the State Capitol Park World Peace Rose Garden. Catalano considered these accomplishments to be among his highest personal achievements.[538]

The same year CAP-PAC formed in 1981, the Gay/Lesbian Sacramento Political Action Caucus was created. Led by chairman Steve Schwichow, the group worked to support non-discriminatory laws in employment and housing and increase political representation by getting LGBTQ+ people and their allies elected to political office.[539]

In 1988, Boyce Hinman—an out gay man, Carmichael resident, and employee of the State Employment Development Department—created the Lambda Letters Project with significant aid and professional guidance from the River City Democratic Club.[540] The project was run out of Hinman's residence at 6212 Silverton Way (extant). The grassroots advocacy effort created a coalition of residents from districts across the spectrum of political parties to write letters to their elected officials about policies and issues regarding LGBTQ+ issues, women's issues, and AIDS.[541] The project published three Tip Sheets each month, one for each of its key topics, which contained a comprehensive listing and status of bills before the State Legislature that were of importance to the LGBTQ+ rights, women's rights, or the AIDS response. Each month, Hinman provided members with sample letters (or emails), which they could sign and return to their legislators as-is, or use them to model their own messages.[542] Topics addressed each month were selected at monthly meetings based on suggestions from concerned citizens. The Lamba Letters Project also had a hotline that members of the public could call for information about State and Federal legislation. By the end of its first year, the project sent an estimated 1,700 letters to legislators.[543] The numbers grew exponentially. By 1997, the project was sending 40,000 pieces of mail to legislators annually. The number grew to 353,000 letters and emails per year by 2006.[544]

Hinman was also instrumental in the establishment of a gay rights advocacy group within the State system, itself. Around 1985, a group of approximately 12 gay and lesbian employees of California State Parks, part of the Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR), formed State Parks Advocates for Gay and Lesbian Rights (SPAGLAR). Among its founding members were Nina Gordon, Lois Harter,

[538] "Sam Catalano - Political Animal," Legends of Courage.
[539] "Gay Group Forms," *Sacramento Bee*, June 7, 1981.
[540] Dr. Jon Marshack and the Reverend Rik Rasmussen, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, July 3, 2024.
[541] Robert D. Davila, "Gay Rights Movement Now at Standstill in Capital, Many Say," *Sacramento Bee*, 23 November 1997; Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, "The Lambda Letters Project," News from Those Who Print the News, undated, LLACE, 51
[542] "Lambda Letters History til 2004," 2004, private collection of George Raya.
[543] Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, "The Lambda Letters Project."
[544] Davila, "Gay Rights Movement Now at Standstill in Capital;" Carlsen, "Out on the Inside: A Case Study of the Political Transformation of the LGBTQ Community in California," 31.

Anna Cross, Jonathan Williams, and Nan Haynes, many of whom had personally experienced discrimination at work due to their sexual orientation. Williams, for instance, was refused access to a required training because the instructor knew he was gay. Inspired by women's rights groups which formed within the State government system and were making noticeable gains, the founders of SPAGLAR sought a similar group to aid gay and lesbian employees. More commonly known as the "Lavender Bears," the group initially met in San Francisco, where many of its members were based; however, the group grew to include representatives throughout the State. In its first year, the Lavender Bears participated in the Gay Pride Parade in San Francisco, wearing their Park ranger uniforms to vividly demonstrate their presence within the State system. At the following year's Pride parade, the Lavender Bears again wore their uniforms and marched with a campsite display at which they humorously pretended to camp whenever the parade stopped. Even after State officials told members they could no longer wear their uniforms at the Pride parades, they continued their advocacy efforts.

SPAGLAR became an officially recognized organization within the State system around 1987 thanks to the assistance of Boyce Hinman, who used his position in the State Employment Development Department to push for formal recognition. Female members of SPAGLAR were placed on existing State women's rights committees. Through their presence in these committees, they were able to bring LGBTQ+ issues to the forefront of the State's attention and implement notable changes. Through their efforts, gay and lesbian employees were included in hiring interviews, giving them a voice in who was hired by the State. Official meetings of SPAGLAR took place at State office buildings in Sacramento, where all of the State department headquarters, including DPR, were located. The visibility of the Lavender Bears had an important impact on morale by acknowledging and showing support for gay and lesbian employees as part of the State Parks community. The group remained active for approximately ten years and gradually disbanded as members retired or changed careers.[545]

As previously described in Chapter 4, LIFE was a powerful force for change at the statewide legislative level. Led by executive director Laurie McBride, starting in 1990, the organization grew to represent 75 affiliated organization throughout California around issues of LGBTQ+ rights. In addition to McBride's previously discussed work with LIFE, fighting for legislative support during the HIV/AIDS epidemic, she was tireless leader for local, state, and national LGBTQ+ policy and politics, who pushed to advance LGBTQ+ rights across all facets of life. In 1990, she met with Governor Pete Wilson and Senator Diane Feinstein to establish the statewide credibility of LIFE and discuss topics they could collectively support.[546] During her tenure with LIFE, McBride was the principal lobbyist in

[545] Jonathan Williams, conversation with Clare Flynn, August 7, 2024.
[546] Internal Memo to Life Lobby Affiliates, October 30, 1990, McBride Collection, Box 4, LLACE.

support of AB 101, which would have added sexual orientation to the non-discrimination provisions of the state's fair employment and housing law and defeated legislation aimed at prohibiting discussions of gays and lesbians in California's public schools, and AB 1001, which amended the state's Education Code to protect LGBTQ+ students from discrimination in school. In 1996, LIFE organized a Queer Youth Lobby Day at the State Capitol that brought together over 300 queer students and allies to show their support for further school-based anti-discrimination legislation, known as the "Dignity for All Students Act."

Figure 109. Hundreds of queer youth and allies attended Queer Youth Lobby Day at the State Capitol (1996). Source: *Centerstone,* Newsmagazine of the Stonewall Alliance Center II, No. 2, February 1996, McBride Collection, Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE).

In addition to introducing local young people to gay rights advocacy, LIFE was also significant for explicitly welcoming not only gay and lesbian youth but also transgender and bisexual youth and queer youth of color.[547] When a second Youth Lobby Day was held in 1997, it included a diverse range of caucuses including HIV Positive, Latina/Latino, Men's, Women's, Mixed Heritage, Service Provider, Transgender/Transexual, White Youth Resisting Racism, and Youth of Color caucuses.[548] In 1998, McBride was hired by then-Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa to serve as the Assistant

[547] "California's first Lesbian/Gay Youth Lobby Day Successful." *Mom Guess What…!,* 15 January 1996, McBride Collection, LLACE.
[548] Flyers, McBride Collection, Box 4, LLACE.

Secretary of State, a role she filled for 10 years. McBride was also involved with the National Stonewall Democrats from 2003 to 2023 and became co-chair of the California Democratic Party's LGBT Caucus in 2007.[549] After her death in 2020, the Stonewall Democratic Foundation of Greater Sacramento named an annual scholarship in her honor.[550]

With Governor Wilson's veto of AB 101 in 1991 and the limited protections for employment discrimination provided by AB 2601, advocates in Sacramento turned their attention for the remainder of the 1990s to other important issues facing the LGBTQ+ community. Among these were ways to recognize families headed by same-sex couples and high school students facing discrimination at school in an era when LGBTQ+ people were coming out at increasingly younger ages. In 1994, LIFE first introduced legislation to recognize domestic partners at the state level. Building on local ordinances throughout California, including Sacramento, advocates recognized that only the state could extend strong family protections to same sex families. In robust debates occurring in Sacramento and across the state, many organizations debated how to approach legal recognition of same-sex couples more than a decade before the nation would ultimately recognize their right to marry. The right to marriage formed a background to this debate, as community members debated whether marriage was the right model for same-sex families and opponents consistently raised fears that any legal recognition would lead to "gay marriage." In March 1994, *Mom…Guess What…!* reported "proponents say they're not proposing 'marriage' … but some opponents see little difference in the effect such a split hair can have…"[551]

As advocates debated what benefits to legalize for same-sex couples, many continued to focus on the public's discomfort with same-sex marriages. Ultimately, advocates focused on addressing the denial of benefits which were most acutely felt during the AIDS epidemic: the right to visit a partner in the hospital, the right to inherit property, the right to oversee the affairs of a same-sex partner in crisis (conservatorship), and access to a partner's employment-based health insurance. Of strong interest to many state employees living in Sacramento, legislation was introduced in 1996 to provide for domestic partner coverage under health care plans offered by the state's Public Employees' Retirement System. The legislation failed, but that same year Los Angeles Assembly Member Richard Katz finally succeeded in getting AB 2810, containing all of the benefits advocated by the community under LIFE's aegis, to the governor's desk. As with AB 101 before, Governor Wilson vetoed the legislation. Ultimately, with a new, Democratic governor, Gray Davis, elected in 1998, the decade culminated with the original contents of AB 101, protections against employment and housing

[549] "Laurie McBride," *Sacramento Bee*, 20 December 2020: C8.
[550] "Scholarships," Sacramento Stonewall Foundation, accessed July 19, 2024, https://www.sacstonewallfoundation.org/scholarships.
[551] Marghe Covino, "Reviews Mixed on Partners' Bill," *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 March 1994.

discrimination for LGBTQ+ individuals, and the first domestic partners bill all finally signed into law in 1999.[552]

Advocacy Among Communities of Color

During the period of elevated fervent activism in the late 1960s and 1970s, addressing gay rights remained less of a priority for LGBTQ+ people of color than addressing racial issues that restricted their basic human needs. Already facing housing and employment discrimination due to their racial and/or ethnic backgrounds, they often chose to stay closeted, as adding "gay" to their identifies would make achieving these basic necessities nearly impossible. They received little support or acceptance from the white gay and lesbian communities, which were often overtly racist and exclusionary toward people of color. Hypocritically, white gay activists pushed gay people of color to confront homophobia in their racial and ethnic communities while refusing to address racism among the white gay and lesbian communities. This racism prevented many people of color from actively and openly joining gay liberation causes.

Figure 110. Members of the Lesbians of Color at the 1981 March for Gay and Lesbian Rights. Notable New York lesbian attorney Florynce Kennedy is in the center of the photo on the right (1981). Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Jonna Ramey Collection.

In spite of these obstacles, some LGBTQ+ people of color did become politically active and form political advocacy groups. In the 1980s, the number of advocacy groups organized by gay people of color grew across the country. In Sacramento, one such group was the Lesbians of Color (or Lesbianas de Color), who organized and visibly participated in marches on the State Capitol with

[552] Alan LoFaso, comments on First Public Draft, emailed to Clare Flynn, September 19, 2024; Aurelio Rojas, "Davis Signs 3 Gay Rights Bills," *Sacramento Bee*, 3 October 1999: A1.

colorful banners, proudly announcing their support.[553] Pamela Garrett, a reporter for *Mom Guess What…!* and a woman of color, was part of the formation of what she described as a "local ethnic gay organization" around 1980. When the fledgling organization participated in Sacramento's 1980 Gay Pride Parade, Garrett publicly urged all ethnic gay people to join them and participate in the parade. "Let's join in solidarity with the rest of the gay community in our June parade, and at the same time affirm our unique and beautiful heritages," she wrote.[554]

La Raza de Ambiente was another early support group formed specifically by and for Latinx gay men and lesbians in 1983. The group celebrated its establishment with a "Don't Forget the Salsa" potluck that was attended by 40 gay men and women. Some of its early events included an art auction, wine, and cheese party fundraiser, which raised $400; a Mexican Night at The Mercantile Saloon with Mexican food and music provided by the Adrian Duo that was hosted by the bar's Latino manager "Bobbette" Hoyos. In November 1983, the club held its first elections to select its first leaders, who included co-chairpersons Chica Rodriguez and Angel Arellano, Joey Hernandez (Secretary), Jose Pacheco (Treasurer), Jason Kindo and Frank Olives (Fundraising), and Robin Peters and Yolanda Alvares (Public Relations). Rodriguez hosted a Thanksgiving dinner and collected food baskets to distribute to gay families in need at her house at 1701 O Street, Apartment #110. The group's early meetings were held at the First Sacramento Women's Building on Tuesday events and were open to all gay men and women of color.[555]

In 1981, a Sacramento chapter of Black and White Men Together, a group originally founded in San Francisco, formed. The group's mission was to improve interracial relations between white and Black gay men and women and other ethnic groups through participation in social gatherings, political rallies, Rap Groups, and other events. The group was organized by two men named Ric and Jim (last names unknown).[556] In the 1990s, local gay Black and Latino men John Ortiz Hudson and Clarmundo Sullivan co-founded social political action groups called "Griot," named after the word for a traditional West African community leader who preserves culture and traditions through storytelling, music, poetry, and art.[557]

GAY RIGHTS MARCHES & DEMONSTRATIONS

This direct engagement with politicians was supported by marches and demonstrations organized by local and statewide advocacy groups that demonstrated mass public support for equal rights for the LGBTQ+ community. In 1979, over 100,000 people gathered in Washington, DC for the March on

[553] Peter Freiberg," Gay Voices from The Third World," *The Advocate*, 24 January 1984: 386.
[554] Pamela Garrett, "Ethnic Gay People to March in Gay Pride Parade," *Mom Guess What…!,* Issue 20, June 1980.
[555] Robin Peters, "La Raza Del Ambiente" New Group Accomplishes Much, Plans More," *Sacramento Star*, 30 November 1983.
[556] "Black and White Men Together Forming Chapter in Sacramento," *Mom Guess What…!* Issue 33, August 1981.
[557] Clarmundo Sullivan, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, June 9, 2024.

Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights to show their support. That May, California Governor Jerry Brown, Jr. signed an executive order, prohibiting discrimination against State employees on the basis of sexual preference. Shortly afterward, a group of gay State employees called the Advocates for Gay State Employees (AGSE) formed to provide input to the State Personnel Board about the implementation of the executive order. The AGSE met monthly at the Incredible Edible, a gay-owned restaurant, at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard (extant) and formed a coalition with a similar group from Los Angeles and the state of Pennsylvania.[558]

Figure 111. Participants in the 1980 March on Sacramento for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Jonna Ramey Collection.

The following year, in January 1980, the statewide gay rights organization the California Human Rights Advocates (HCRA) organized a march to the State Capitol, called the March on Sacramento for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Three-thousand people participated in the march, despite a large storm the day before that had threatened to dampen attendance. The march provided a model for future marches and increased Sacramento's visibility as the hub of political action in California.[559] Another march for Lesbian and Gay Rights occurred in 1988. Los Angeles gay rights icon, Morris Kight, was one of the organizers. Leonard Matlovich, Vietnam War veteran and Purple Heart and Bronze Star

[558] "Gay State Employees Have a Voice," *Mom...Guess What...!,* 1 September 1979.
[559] Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance*, 173.

recipient, who became the first gay man to publicly come out to the military when he announced he was gay in 1975, made his last public speech at the march, shortly before his death of AIDs. Despite his deteriorating health, Matlovich tearfully stood before the crowd in front of the State Capitol to share a message of pride and love for his community. "I want you to look at the flag, our rainbow flag, and I want you to look at it with pride in your heart, because we too have a dream, " Matlovich said. "And what is our dream? Ours is more than an American dream. It's a universal dream. Our mission is to reach out and teach people to love, and not to hate. [...] In the AIDS crisis, if there is any one word that describes our community's reaction to AIDS, that word is love, love, love."[560]

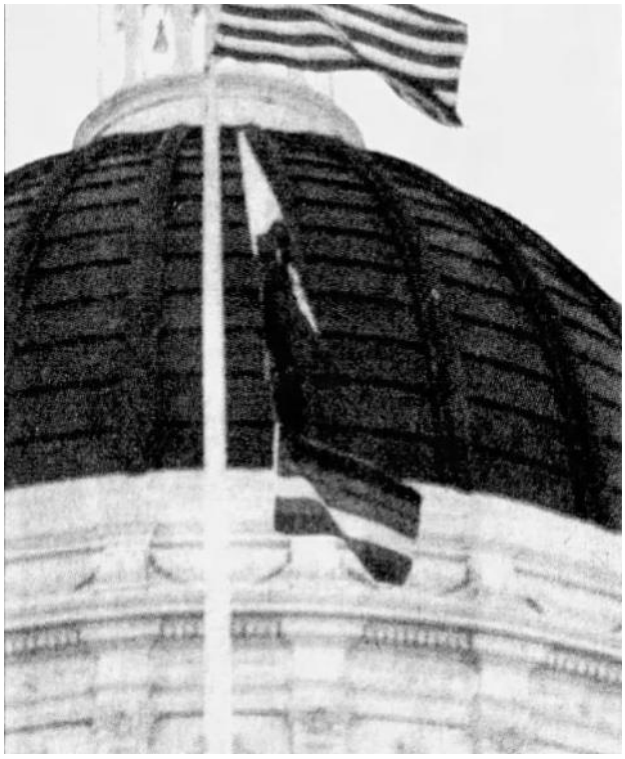

Figure 112. The rainbow flag flying over the Capitol (1990). Source: Jerry Sloan, Special to the *Sacramento Bee*.

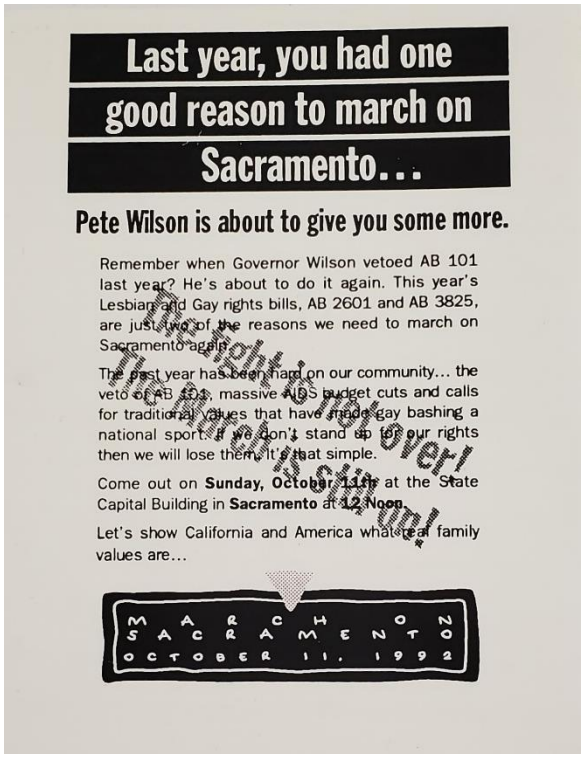

Figure 113. Flyer for the 1992 March on Sacramento. Source: San Francisco GLBT Historical Museum Archives.

Promoting the symbology associated with the LGBTQ+ community became an important strategy in raising support and awareness. In 1990, local gay rights leaders worked through the office of Senator Milton Marks of San Francisco to obtain permission from the State Legislature to fly the rainbow flag of the national gay rights movement over the State Capitol in recognition of National

[560] Danny Ingram, "AVER Honors American Heroes on Memorial Day in Washington DC," American Veterans for Equal Rights, accessed July 31, 2024, http://aver.us/aver-honors-american-heroes-on-memorial-day-in-washington-dc/aver-honors-american-heroes-on-memorial-day-in-washington-dc.htm.

Coming Out Day on October 11. Within hours, outcry from conservative lawmakers prompted Governor Deukmeijian to order the flag pulled down.[561] Following its removal, the flag was raised at Plaza Park (Cesar Chavez Plaza) in front of City Hall.[562]

In 1991, after what the LGBTQ+ press characterized as a "ferocious debate," the California State Assembly passed AB 101, which aimed to ban employment discrimination because of one's sexual orientation, by a one-vote margin.[563] The Lobby for Individual Freedom and Equality (LIFE) was the key proponent of the bill, while Assemblyman David Knowles (R-Placerville) was one of its most vocal opponents. Knowles' comments during the AB 101 debates were so offensive that almost every other member of the Assembly Republican Caucus left the Assembly floor to disassociate themselves from his remarks.[564] The bill passed the State Senate but was vetoed by new Republican Governor Pete Wilson.

Governor Wilson's veto sparked a statewide response from the LGBTQ+ community, which came to Sacramento on National Coming Out Day on October 11, 1991. In a tense stand-off between advocates from across the state and Capitol police, who barricaded the Capitol building to an extent not seen in over a decade, the demonstration unleashed the anger of a community disappointed once again seven years after the veto of AB 1. Commenting on the demonstration, Senate aide Ken Topper commented that "the veto seems to be changing the voting apathy that has plagued the gay community … [Wilson's veto] has activated a sleeping community and charged them with a wake-up call."[565]

The following year, a second march took place to rally support for new anti-discrimination legislation, AB 2601 and AB 3825, that was before the State Legislature.[566] Governor Wilson signed AB 2601, which provided protections against employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (though to a more limited degree than AB 101), in September 1992. Wilson vetoed AB 3825, which would have provided a broader slate of anti-discrimination protections.[567]

[561] Thorne Gray, "Gay Flag Raises a Flap at State Capitol," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 October 1990: A1.
[562] Ricci Graham, "'Immorality' Foes Raise 'Christian Flag,'" *Sacramento Bee*, 14 November 1990: B1.
[563] Chris Nealon, "Calif State Assembly Passes Gay/Lesbian Rights Bill," *Gay Community News* [Boston], 14-20 July 1991, accessed through Gale Archives of Sexuality online.
[564] Alan LoFaso, comments on First Public Draft, email to Clare Flynn, September 19, 2024.
[565] "Gay Politics: A Veto Gone Wrong," *Sacramento News and Review*, 24 October 1991.
[566] SF LGBT Groups Ephemera Collection 1950-2010, Collection #GRP EPH, San Francisco GLBT Historical Society Museum Archives.
[567] Amy Chance, "Governor Signs Gay Rights Bill," *Sacramento Bee*, 26 September 1992: A1; Amy Chance, "Wilson Signs Some Civil Rights Measures," *Sacramento Bee*, 25 September 1992: A5.

The Sacramento community again participated in the March on Washington in 1993 with the goal of pressuring the newly installed Clinton Administration to meet its campaign promises to increase HIV/AIDS funding and lift the ban on gay people serving in the military. California's contingent in Washington was lead by Sacramento's LIFE AIDS Lobby and its director Laurie McBride.[568]

Responses to Continuing Discrimination

Although the LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento was becoming increasingly visible, discrimination continued. In May 1978, the Sacramento Police Department conducted sting operations at adult bookstores that were known cruising spots. Undercover police officers visited the stores, pretending to be customers, and entrapped gay men for soliciting lewd acts in a public place.[569] In April 1979, the Upstairs/Downstairs gay disco was raided on two consecutive nights. On the first night, police officers requested identification from all patrons and arrested one for an undisclosed offense. The next night, the officers returned and poured out all of the bar's beer and wine, allegedly looking for hard alcohol, but destroying the bar's entire stock in the process.[570] The harassment lessened after the Sacramento Human Rights Commission investigated and Mayor Phil Isenberg and then-Councilwoman Anne Rudin got involved and talked to the police department and officers involved.

Figure 114. Allen Chamberlin and Carolyn Langenkamp in court (1983). Source: Leilani Hu for the *Sacramento Bee*.

In 1982, two separate lawsuits were filed by local gay men to address discrimination by their employers. While working as a flight attendant for Frontier Airlines in 1979, Allen Chamberlin requested discounted airline ticket prices for his partner of nine years, Joe Shields. Although discounted tickets were a benefit regularly awarded to spouses of the airline's employees and their families, the airline denied Chamberlin's request. Chamberlin had filed for a certificate of marriage with the City and County of Denver, where he was stationed at the time, but that, too, was rejected. In 1982, Chamberlin filed discrimination charges with the California State Department of Fair Employment and Housing, followed by a suit in the Sacramento Superior Court one year later. Chamberlin was represented by Carolyn Langenkamp the

[568] Alan LoFaso, comments from October 2 public meeting, emailed to Clare Flynn, October 3, 2024.
[569] "Entrapment by Sheriff's Dept.," *Mom...Guess What...!,* May 1978.
[570] Bill Spiller, "Harassment in Disco Raid," *Mom...Guess What...!,* April 1979.

pioneering LGBTQ+-led law firm Metrailer, Langenkamp, and Buscho. In his decision, Judge Roger K. Warren ruled that Chamberlin's complaint must be argued with the Association of Flight Attendants Union, not the courts and ruled that Chamberlin and Shields' marriage was invalid. Chamberlin won the case on appeal in 1986.[571]

Also in 1982, Boyce Hinman, then a 14-year employee of the State Employment Development Department and later founder of the Lambda Letters Project, filed a similar discrimination lawsuit in the Sacramento County Superior Court against the State Department of Personnel Administration. Hinman was joined in his lawsuit by the Advocates for Gay and Lesbian State Employees on behalf of other gay and lesbian State employees. Hinman charged that the State had refused him his full health benefits when it refused to extend dental benefits to his long-time partner, Larry Stephen Beatty, a standard benefit offered to the spouses of State employees. Hinman was represented by Roberta Achtenberg of the Lesbian Rights Project in San Francisco.[572] In her arguments, Achtenberg stated that even though homosexual couples were untraditional, "they are families nonetheless."[573] The Sacramento County Superior ruled against Hinman in 1983, and its decision was upheld by the 3rd District Cout of Appeal in 1985. The California Supreme Court refused to hear the case, and Hinman did not seek further appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.[574]

Figure 115. Boyce Hinman (1985). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

[571] "Small collections from the Sacramento region," Online Archive of California, accessed February 9, 2024, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8pz5hmj/.
[572] Pam Slater, "Gays' Suit Seeks Dental Benefits for Mates," *Sacramento Bee*, 30 December 1982: 6.
[573] Gracie Bonds, "No Benefits for Gay's Partner Called Indignity," *Sacramento Bee*, 20 February 1985: 19.
[574] Bonds, "No Benefits for Gay's Partner Called Indignity;" Ricardo Pimentel, "Gay Couple Lose Case on Benefits," *Sacramento Bee*, 1 May 1985: A1; "Gay Couple Denied Dental Care Appeal," *Sacramento Bee*, 16 August 1986: B1.

In 1991, 24-year-old gay man Vincent Blades, who had recently moved to Sacramento from Reno, was stabbed and killed by two men who had been shouting gay epithets at him in a parking lot near the Faces bar at 20th and K streets. The deadly event shocked the local LGBTQ+ community and spurred it into action. Within months, community members, including Midge Marino and Shaanon Lindauer, in collaboration with the Lambda Community Center and Sacramento Police Department, created the Lavender Angels, a citizen-led security force that was modeled after the Guardian Angels in San Francisco. The goal of the Lavender Angels was to serve as the eyes and ears of the police and to report hate crimes and violence toward the LGBTQ community. Volunteers wore white t-shirts with "Lavender Angels" printed on them in neon pink and patrolled the epicenter of Lavender Heights between 19th and 20th streets and Capitol Avenue and K Street on Friday and Saturday nights. The program was supported by the local police department and set up a hotline for people to anonymously report such crimes directly to the police.[575] Midge Marino provided training in self-defense to volunteers, similar to trainings she offered to students at Sacramento State University, state agencies, and organizations throughout California.[576]

Local resistance against discriminatory laws and policies extended beyond Sacramento's borders to the federal government. In the late 1980s, a group of lesbian women with ties to Sacramento confronted the federal government's discriminatory "Don't Ask Don't Tell" policy, which barred gay men and lesbians from openly serving in the military. In 1989, Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer, then chief nurse of the Washington State National Guard and a closeted lesbian, applied for a promotion to serve as general of the Nurses Corps. Col. Cammermeyer was a top candidate for the generalship, who had received a Bronze Star for her service in the Vietnam War, held a PhD in nursing, and won the Veterans Administration's award for Nurse of the Year. Believing the military would take care of her because of her years of dedicated and decorated service, Cammermeyer freely and truthfully admitted she was a lesbian during the required security clearance process. The Army immediately began discharge procedures against her.

Cammermeyer challenged the Army's decision and enlisted the help of attorneys from the Los Angeles branch of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund. Col. Pat Thompson—who had served at Mather Air Force Base at the start of her military career in 1956 and risen through the ranks to become the first chief nurse of the Army National Guard, stationed in Washington, D.C.—was chosen to oversee Cammermeyer's discharge proceedings. Thompson was herself a closeted lesbian who had met her partner, Barbara Brass, through a lesbian support group meeting advertised on a bulletin board at Lioness Books while she was stationed at McClellan Air Force Base

[575] Steve Gibson, "Gays Will Patrol For Bashers," *Sacramento Bee*, 19 April 1991: B3.
[576] Pat Drouet and Rita Maningo, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, October 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

Figure 116. Col. Pat Thompson (left) and Barbara Brass (right). Source: Still from *Surviving the Silence* (2021).

Figure 117. Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer (left) and Glenn Close (right) (1995). Source: GLBT Historical Society.

and had her permanent residence in Sacramento. Although Thompson could not defend Cammermeyer without also outing herself and ensuring she would also be discharged, she delayed the proceedings long enough to allow Cammermeyer's legal team to gather witnesses and evidence for the official records of the proceedings. Although Cammermeyer was ultimately discharged, she was grateful to Thomson for the compassion and sensitivity with which she handled the proceedings, which enabled her to use the official records of her discharge to challenge the decision in federal court, have her discharge deemed unconstitutional, and win reinstatement to the military.

The same year, Cammermeyer wrote a book about her experience titled *Serving in Silence* that was adapted in 1995 into a film produced by singer and actor Barbara Streisand with actor Glenn Close starring as Cammermeyer. Cammermeyer rejoined the military and continued to serve as one of the only openly gay servicemembers in the military while "Don't Ask Don't Tell" was still in effect until her retirement in 1997. Her case helped influence the eventual repeal of the policy by President Barack Obama's administration in 2011. Thompson came out publicly for the first time at a speaking event at Sierra College in Rocklin in 2013. A documentary called *Surviving the Silence* that featured Cammermeyer, Thompson, and Brass, was released in 2021.[577]

In 1999, a wave of hate crimes spread across the United States, prompting the media to dub it the "Summer of Hate."[578] In Northern California, two gay men were murdered in their home in Redding,

[577] *Surviving the Silence*, directed by Cindy L. Abel (New York, NY: Virgil Films, 2021), Amazon Prime Video.
[578] "In Tomorrow's Bee," *Sacramento Bee*, 10 June 2000: A22.

while in Sacramento three Jewish synagogues—Congregation B'Nai Israel, Congregation Beth Shalom, and Kenesset Israel Torah Center—were firebombed. The attacks became a powerful rallying point for the LGBTQ+ community as well as other oppressed communities, who came together to resist hate and celebrate diversity. Nearly two decades of work by local leaders and advocates in response to the hate crimes culminated in the opening of the Unity Center, a permanent exhibit at the California Museum in downtown Sacramento in 2017. The exhibit "celebrates the state's diverse people, customs and cultures."[579]

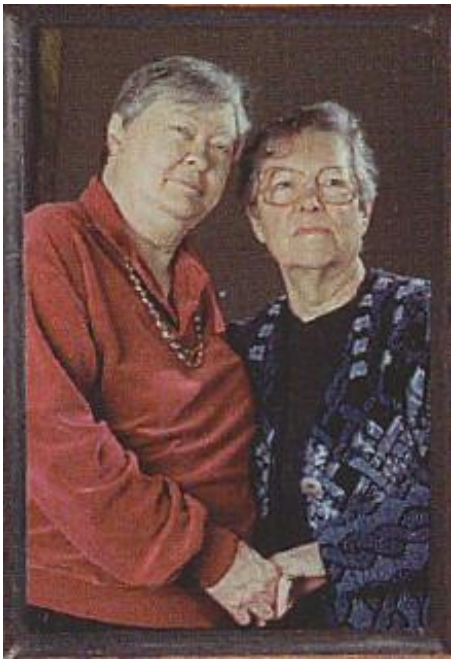

Figure 118. Jeanne Barnett and Ellie Charlton (1999). Source: *The Advocate*.

The experience and policy wins garnered through the combination of LGBTQ+ political advocacy groups, individual lobbyists, community reporters and media, rallies, marches, and other grassroots efforts from the 1960s to the 1990s laid the foundation for monumental legislative, social, and cultural changes in the 2000s. California, and specifically Sacramento, was at the forefront of the fight for marriage equality. In 1999, more than 80 United Methodist pastors from across the country publicly rejected their church's official stance on gay marriage when they came to Sacramento to bless the 15-year relationship of lesbians Jeanne Barnett and Ellie Charlton in front of more than 1,000 guests at the Sacramento Community Convention Center. The event took place in the months before California residents were set to vote on a ballot proposal, introduced by conservative State Senator William "Pete" Knight of Elk Grove, that would bar unions of any kind between same-sex couples, including those performed by church leaders, such as the union of Barnett and Charlton. Barnett and Charlton's union attracted national attention and elevated discussions about gay marriage around the country.[580] Although the Knight Initiative passed, it provoked redoubled efforts and intensified collective organizing by LGBTQ+ activists and advocacy groups across California over the following decade that finally knocked down the last barriers to marriage equality.

On May 15, 2008, the California Supreme Court struck down Proposition 22, which banned recognition of out-of-state same-sex marriages, under the grounds that it violated the state

[579] "Remembering the 1999 Sacramento Synagogue Attacks," Capital Public Radio, June 20, 2019, accessed October 7, 2024, https://www.capradio.org/news/insight/2019/06/20/remembering-the-1999-sacramento-synagogue-attacks/.
[580] "Love and Justice," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 March 1999: 9.

Constitution. The campaign to defeat Proposition 22 was the first time many young members of the LGBTQ+ community gained practical campaign experience and brought together a diverse grassroots coalition of people of all ages, genders, races, and lifestyles.[581]

Following this ruling, many LGBTQ+ couples married during a time that became known locally as the "Summer of Love."[582] However, in November of the same year, California voters passed State Proposition 8, which again restricted marriage to members of opposite genders. In 2013, the U.S. Supreme Court decisions in *U.S. v. Windsor* and *Hollingsworth v. Perry* effectively invalidated the National Defense Against Marriage Act and California Proposition 8. Same-sex marriages were finally legalized by the federal government in 2015 in the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which guaranteed the fundamental right to marry to same-sex couples under the Due Process Clause and Equal Protections Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.[583]

[581] Alan LoFaso, comments on October 2, 2024 public meeting, emailed to Clare Flynn, October 3, 2024.
[582] Dr. Jon Marshack and the Reverend Rik Rasmussen, "First Draft LGBTQ+ Historic Context – Email Comments, July 3, 2024.
[583] "LGBTQ Rights Timeline in American History," accessed May 1, 2024, https://lgbtqhistory.org/lgbt-rights-timeline-in-american-history/.

06

Conclusion

Images on previous page (from left to right):

1. Terry Sidie (2015). Source: Paul Kitagaki for *The Sacramento Bee*.
2. Mr. Leather Sacramento 1991-1992 (1992). Source: *PATLAR Gazette* (July 1992)
3. Theresa Corrigan (1983). Courtesy of Theresa Corrigan.

CONCLUSION

History happens in places but not without the people who came forward and forced change to happen. As stated by community member Michael Gorman, the story of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community is the story of the people who for decades risked their lives to build this community. Although this historic context statement frequently highlights the work of individuals, the achievements that forged Sacramento's "vibrant, creative, world-changing" community were the collective work of many, most of whom remain behind the curtain and underrecognized. None have remained more hidden than the generations of gender and sexually nonconforming people who called the Sacramento area home prior to the mid-20th century but were forced into the shadows by deep-seated and widespread discrimination from society at large, and whose stories will likely never be known. They existed and resisted in ways that were available to them, often at great personal risk.

The leaders and everyday people who came out of the closet starting in the 1960s worked tirelessly to create a true LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento—one that provided for all facets of social, political, spiritual, medical, professional, and cultural life for its members. The visible community that emerged by the early 1980s, with its geographic center in Lavender Heights, was driven, tight-knit, and diverse. What is referred to in this document as the "LGBTQ+" community was in reality comprised of a multiplicity of smaller, sometimes fractious, communities that formed to carve out safe spaces for those who shared the same gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, or other part of their personal identity. While the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s hit gay men the hardest, it had a profound impact on Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community as a whole, uniting its diverse factions in ways no other prior events had and unleashing a powerful new force onto the political stage.

Located in California's capital city, Sacramento's LGBTQ+ residents used their proximity—and in many cases, their personal experience with lawmaking, politics, and community organizing—to have an outsized role in advancing LGBTQ+ rights locally and across the state. Through their collective efforts, the LGBTQ+ community became an integrated part of the fabric of Sacramento's broader populace around the year 2000 and entered a new phase of its history. While the prior decades of community building and political activism often focused on the gay and lesbian communities, like LGBTQ+ communities across the country, the definition and identity of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community has continued to expand since the start of the new millennium, broadening its umbrella to more consistently and outwardly embrace transgender, bisexual, and other sexually and gender diverse people. As these communities have become more visible and have come under increasing attack, Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community faces new challenges. Standing on the foundations laid by the generations before them, the current and future generations of LGBTQ+ leaders and community members are poised to write the next chapter of LGBTQ+ history in Sacramento.

07

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Images on previous page (from left to right):

1. Golden Rules Services founder Clarmundo Sullivan. Source: *Sacramento Observer*.
2. Cherie Gordon with Le Theatre Lesbien at the 1980 March on Sacramento for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1980). Source: Lavender Library, Archives and Cultural Exchange (LLACE), Jonna Ramey Collection.
3. The River City Ruggers (undated). Source: Courtesy of Jude Grden.

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Appendices

Images on previous page (from left to right):

1. The first Ms. Leather Sacramento, Kim Wallace (1987). Source: Private collection of George Raya.
2. Dowager Empress II and III Cary Christion (undated). Source: CGNIE pamphlet.
3. Robert "Bobbette" Hoyos (1979). Source: *Mom…Guess What…!*

APPENDICES

Preservation Goals & Policies

Based on the work to date, the following recommendations are offered to continue preservation efforts:

Recommendation: Complete Site-Specific Survey and Research on the Properties for Further Research

From the research conducted, addresses related to the themes and which appear to remain extant were collected in a spreadsheet as properties for further research. They may be candidates for designation as landmarks or historic districts in the Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources. City staff or members of the public can conduct additional research to confirm their association with the LGBTQ+ community, the dates of association, and appearance during that association or alterations since then. Field surveys should also be conducted to determine if the properties retain integrity per the considerations in this context. As this HCS is not comprehensive, additional properties associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community are likely to be discovered over time. They should also be researched and surveyed following the same methods.

Recommendation: Designate Eligible Resources at Local and National Levels

For properties that meet the eligibility standards and retain integrity, nominations for Sacramento Register designation should be prepared. The City of Sacramento may also consider preparing a National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Submission for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ Community. The historic overview and themes in the historic context statement may be used as the content of the Multiple Property Documentation nomination form. At least one property with property-specific site history and significance under one of the themes will need to be submitted along with the form. Once the Multiple Property Submission is approved, future nomination of individual properties to the National Register under this topic will need to provide only property-specific information and a statement identifying the criteria and theme(s) the property is significant under and why.

Recommendation: Amend Existing Designations to Include Association with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ Community

Existing designations of individual landmarks and historic districts that are listed on the Sacramento Register should be amended to reflect the stories and contributions of the LGBTQ+ community. As opportunities arise to update other designations or the Sacramento Register, the City should consider researching the properties to see if they are also associated with the LGBTQ+ community.

Recommendation: Continue to Update and Expand the Historic Context Statement

Historic context statements are living documents that can and should be updated regularly. The end period will extend as time passes and later decades become historic. Additional research materials may become available, such as digital scans of local LGBTQ+ newspapers and publications. Potential areas of expansion include, but are not limited to:

- History and contributions of the local transgender, bisexual, and other parts and subcultures of the LGBTQ+ community, which are not covered in detail in this Historic Context Statement due to the recency of many of the most significant events in the history and visibility of these communities.
- History and contributions of AAPI, Latinx, Native American, and LGBTQ+ people of other racial or ethnic groups, which are not covered in detail in this Historic Context Statement, due to limited available resources and public feedback to date.
- Document the evolution of the LGBTQ+ community after the early 2000s in light of important legal and policy achievements after this period, including (but not limited to) the repeal of "Don't Ask Don't Tell" in 2011 and the legalization of same-sex marriage in 2015.

The schedule imposed by the grant for this historic context statement limited the amount of research that could be conducted. Not all important themes could be adequately studied, and for some themes, not enough associated important individuals, events, or properties were addressed. As is typical with historic context statements, additional themes can be added as resources become available or more information is discovered.

Recommendation: Documentation and Recognition of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ Community

Much more remains to be documented and shared about Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, including in the greater Sacramento region beyond the city. This may include publishing books and articles or creating exhibits from the research already conducted. Additional stories of long-term residents and significant individuals can be recorded as interviews and oral histories. The artifacts, photographs, and papers of significant individuals and organizations can be collected and donated to existing archives for public use, such as the Center for Sacramento History. The research and findings compiled by the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project may be used to support future grant and other funding opportunities to support efforts to recognize and celebrate important historic sites in local LGBTQ+ history, particularly those that have been lost over time. Support from the City and the Sacramento community as a whole for these and other efforts to preserve the area's LGBTQ+ legacy is encouraged.

Recommendation: Collaboration Between the City of Sacramento and City of West Sacramento to Recognize Local LGBTQ+ History

Due to discrimination and strict policing of the LGBTQ+ community within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento through the 1970s and beyond, much of the earliest recorded history of the Sacramento area's LGBTQ+ community took place in the separate City of West Sacramento. The Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Historic Context Statement contains an overview of the history of the community's presence and early establishment in West Sacramento. This research should be shared with relevant City officials, organizations, groups, and members of the public in West Sacramento to encourage expanded efforts to preserve and recognize local LGBTQ+ history.

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SACRAMENTO LGBTQ+ EXPERIENCE HISTORY PROJECT

Historic Designation Eligibility Standards and Criteria

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

PREPARED FOR

City of SACRAMENTO

December 2024

Cover image: The Depot, formerly the site of The Western gay bar, in Lavender Heights.

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INTRODUCTION

These Historic Designation Eligibility Standards and Criteria have been produced for the City of Sacramento in conjunction with the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS). The eligibility standards and criteria build upon the HCS and are intended to guide the identification and evaluation of properties associated with local LGBTQ+ history for historic significance for potential listing on the Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register).

HOW TO USE THIS DOCUMENT

The eligibility standards and criteria are intended to be used in conjunction with the Sacramento LGBTQ+ HCS when identifying and evaluating properties with a historic association to Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. The standards and criteria reference the themes identified in the Sacramento LGBTQ+ HCS as the starting point for analyzing properties for potential eligibility. The themes included in the HCS include:

1. Early Gender Transgressive Expression in the Sacramento Area, Pre-1940
2. Finding One Another: World War II & Postwar-Era Sacramento, 1941-1968
3. Out & Proud: Development of A Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community, 1969-2000[1]
4. AIDS & The Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community's Response, 1981-1996
5. Political Activism & The Fight for LGBTQ+ Rights in California's State Capital, 1969-2000

It is important to note that while the HCS identifies key historical themes in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, it is not intended as a comprehensive history of the community, nor does it provide a definitive listing of the city's significant historic resources. Instead, it provides a general discussion of the overarching forces that shaped LGBTQ+ life in Sacramento over time, why properties associated with that history are important, and what characteristics they need to qualify as potential historic resources.

[1]The National Register considers 50 years to be "a general estimate of the time needed to develop historical perspective and evaluate significance." This is not the case with the California Register. According to the California Office of Historic Preservation: In order to understand the historic importance of a resource, sufficient time must have passed to obtain a scholarly perspective on the events or individuals associated with the resource. Because so much of LGBTQ+ history, nationally as well as locally, has occurred within the last 50 years, the time periods addressed in the Sacramento LGBTQ+ HCS and associated eligibility standards and criteria extend well into the recent past, while aiming to provide adequate distance from the past to contextualize and understand their significance. In several cases, the end dates were chosen in collaboration with and based on feedback from members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community.

This document also identifies various property types associated with the themes and discusses historic significance and integrity considerations for each property type. Together, this provides a framework for identifying and evaluating individual historic properties and neighborhoods for designation on the National Register of Historical Resources, California Register of Historical Resources, and Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Municipal Code Chapter 17.604.210).

GUIDELINES FOR EVALUATION

The following discussion of significance and integrity guides the analysis of property types found in later chapters of this document and should be used to support future evaluation of historic resources in Sacramento. It is important to note that each property is unique; therefore, the evaluation of the significance and integrity of an individual property must be conducted on a case-by-case basis.

PREVIOUS HISTORIC DESIGNATIONS

Some properties associated with the history of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community have already been designated on the Sacramento Register (SR) as Landmarks or Contributing Resources; the California Register (CRHR), and/or the National Register (NRHP). These properties include:

Address	Historic LGBTQ+ Use/Association	Designation
1107 9th Street	California Human Rights Advocates	SR Landmark, Contributing Resource (Plaza Park Historic District)
619 12th Street	Hope House	SR Landmark
1215 19th Street	New Helvetia	SR Landmark
1112 26th Street	Dignity	SR Landmark, Contributing Resource (Capitol Mansions)
3418 Broadway	Metropolitan Community Church	SR Contributing Resource (Oak Park Historic District)
1725 Capitol Avenue	Metrailer, Langenkamp, and Buscho	SR Contributing Resource (East End Historic District)
1329 H Street	Metrailer, Langenkamp, and Buscho	SR Landmark
910 I Street	Plaza Park	SR Landmark, Contributing Resource (Plaza Park Historic District)
1403 I Street	The Way Station	SR Landmark

902 J Street	Ruhstaller Building	SR Landmark, Contributing Resource (Plaza Park Historic District); CRHR; NRHP
926 J Street	Citizen Hotel - Older Women's League (OWL)	SR Landmark, Contributing Resource (Plaza Park Historic District)
2100 J Street	First United Methodist Church	SR Landmark
1928 L Street	The Mercantile Saloon	SR Landmark
1931 L Street	Lambda Community Center	SR Landmark
2215 P Street	Alternative Coffee Shop	SR Contributing Resource (Winn Park Historic District)
1515 Q Street	Fremont Park	SR Contributing Resource (Fremont Park Historic District)

National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places (National Register, or NRHP) is the nation's most comprehensive inventory of historic resources. The National Register is administered by the National Park Service and includes buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts that possess historic, architectural, engineering, archaeological, or cultural significance at the national, state, or local level. Typically, resources over fifty years of age are eligible for listing in the National Register if they meet any one of the four criteria of significance and if they sufficiently retain historic integrity. However, resources under fifty years of age can be determined eligible if it can be demonstrated that they are of "exceptional importance," or if they are contributors to a potential historic district. National Register criteria are defined in depth in *National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. There are four basic criteria under which a structure, site, building, district, or object can be considered eligible for listing in the National Register. These criteria are:

> Criterion A (Event): Properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
>
> Criterion B (Person): Properties associated with the lives of persons significant in our past;
>
> Criterion C (Design/Construction): Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the

work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction; and

Criterion D (Information Potential): Properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

A property can be considered significant to American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture on a national, state, or local level. Perhaps the most critical feature of applying the criteria for evaluation is establishing the relationship between a property and its historic context, which is defined as "those patterns or trends in history by which a specific occurrence, property, or site is understood and its meaning (and ultimately its significance) within history or prehistory is made clear."[2]

An extended discussion of archeological resources and their registration requirements under Criterion D is not included in this report, which primarily focuses on extant buildings and structures.

CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS

Certain types of properties are usually not considered for listing in the National Register. However, these properties *can* be eligible for listing if they meet special requirements, known as Criteria Considerations. If working with one of these excluded property types, an evaluator must determine that a property meets the Criteria Considerations in addition to one of the four evaluation criteria described above in order to justify its inclusion in the National Register. These considerations are defined as follows:

Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties: A religious property is eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties: A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

[2] National Park Service, National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1997), 7.

Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces & Graves: A birthplace or grave of a historical figure is eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life.

Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries: A cemetery is eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events.

Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties: A reconstructed property is eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived. All three of these requirements must be met.

Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties: A property primarily commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Criteria Consideration G: Properties that Have Achieved Significance within the Past Fifty Years: A property achieving significance within the past fifty years is eligible if it is of exceptional importance.[3]

California Register of Historical Resources

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register, or CRHR) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. Resources can be listed in the California Register through a number of methods. State Historical Landmarks and National Register-listed properties are automatically listed in the California Register. Properties can also be nominated to the California Register by local governments, private organizations, or citizens. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.

In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

[3] National Park Service, National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, 7.

Criterion 1 (Events): Resources that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history, or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

Criterion 2 (Persons): Resources that are associated with the lives of persons important to local, California, or national history.

Criterion 3 (Architecture): Resources that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values.

Criterion 4 (Information Potential): Resources or sites that have yielded or have the potential to yield information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California, or the nation.

Resources listed in the National Register are automatically listed in the California Register.

An extended discussion of archeological resources and their registration requirements under Criterion 4 is not included in this report, which primarily focuses on extant buildings and structures.

Sacramento Register of Historic & Cultural Resources

The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:

i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
v. It possesses high artistic values; or
vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;

b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

B. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Historic districts.** A geographic area nominated as a historic district shall be listed on the Sacramento register as a historic district if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:

1. Requirements.
    - The area is a geographically definable area; or
    - The area possesses either:
        - A significant concentration or continuity of buildings unified by: (A) past events or (B) aesthetically by plan or physical development; or
        - The area is associated with an event, person, or period significant or important to city history; or
    - The designation of the geographic area as a historic district is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to protect, promote and further the goals and purposes of this chapter and is not inconsistent with other goals and policies of the city.
2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a geographic area on the Sacramento register as a historic district, the following factors shall be considered:
    - A historic district should have integrity of design, setting, materials, workmanship and association;
    - The collective historic value of the buildings and structures in a historic district taken together may be greater than the historic value of each individual building or structure.

C. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Contributing resources.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a contributing resource if the council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the following requirements are satisfied:

1. The nominated resource is within a historic district;
2. The nominated resource either embodies the significant features and characteristics of the historic district or adds to the historical associations, historical architectural qualities or archaeological values identified for the historic district;
3. The nominated resource was present during the period of historical significance of the historic district and relates to the documented historical significance of the historic district;
4. The nominated resource either possesses historic integrity or is capable of yielding important information about the period of historical significance of the historic district; and

5. The nominated resource has important historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a contributing resource is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to protect, promote and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.[4]

TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF HISTORIC DESIGNATION CRITERIA

National Register/ California Register	Sacramento Municipal Code 17.604.210	Significance	Discussion
A/1	i	Events, Patterns & Trends	Properties may be eligible if they are associated with trends or development patterns that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the city's history, or if they are the site of a significant historic event.
B/2	ii	Persons	Properties may be eligible if they are associated with the lives of persons or organizations who contributed to the history or culture of the city.
C/3	iii, iv, v	Architecture/ Design	Properties may be eligible if they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; if they represent the work of a master architect or builder; or if they possess high artistic values.
D/4	vi	Information Potential	Properties may be eligible if they have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

[4] Sacramento, California City Code, 17.604.210 Criteria and requirements for listing on, and deletion from, the Sacramento register, accessed May 7, 2024, https://library.qcode.us/lib/sacramento_ca/pub/city_code/item/title_17-division_vi-chapter_17_604-article_ii-17_604_210.

THE "FIFTY YEAR RULE"

In order to be determined eligible for listing in the National Register, resources less than fifty years of age must be shown to have "exceptional importance," as the National Register considers fifty years to be "a general estimate of the time needed to develop historical perspective and evaluate significance."[5] This is not the case with the California Register. According to the California Office of Historic Preservation, in order to understand the historic importance of a resource, sufficient time must have passed to obtain a scholarly perspective on the events or individuals associated with the resource. A resource less than fifty years old may be considered for listing in the California Register if it can be demonstrated that sufficient time has passed to understand its historical importance.[6]

Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento Register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. Due to the fact that discrimination and criminalization of LGBTQ+ people forced the community into hiding for much of its history and, locally, through at least the mid-1970s, nearly all of the history of the local LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento occurred less than 50 years ago at the time of this writing. Places that reflect the cultural and social history of underrecognized communities are of exceptional importance in part because of the societal forces that marginalized them and forced them into the shadows until the very recent past. As a result, the most historically significant people, events, places, and other developments to the local LGBTQ+ community occurred less than 50 years ago and are considered exceptionally significant and deserving of recognition.

INTEGRITY

In addition to qualifying for listing under at least one of the National Register/California Register/Sacramento Register criteria, a property must be shown to have sufficient historic integrity to convey its significance. The concept of integrity is essential to identifying the important physical characteristics of historic resources and in evaluating adverse changes to them. Integrity is defined as "the authenticity of an historic resource's physical identity evidenced by the survival of characteristics that existed during the resource's period of significance."[7] The same seven variables or aspects that define integrity—location, design,

[5] National Park Service, National Register Bulletin Number 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, 41.
[6] California Office of Historic Preservation, Technical Assistant Series No. 7, How to Nominate a Resource to the California Register of Historic Resources (Sacramento, CA: California Office of State Publishing, 2001), 11.
[7] California Office of Historic Preservation, Technical Assistant Series No. 7, How to Nominate a Resource to the California Register of Historic Resources, 11.

setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association—are used to evaluate a resource's eligibility for listing in the National Register and California Register. According to the *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,* these seven characteristics are defined as follows:

- **Location** is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. The original location of a property, complemented by its setting, is required to express the property's integrity of location.

- **Design** is the combination of elements that create the form, plans, space, structure and style of the property. Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of design are its form, massing, construction method, architectural style, and architectural details (including fenestration pattern).

- **Setting** addresses the physical environment of the historic property inclusive of the landscape and spatial relationships of the building(s). Features which must be in place to express a property's integrity of setting are its location, relationship to the street, and intact surroundings (e.g., neighborhood or rural).

- **Materials** refer to the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern of configuration to form the historic property. Features that must be in place to express a property's integrity of materials are its construction method and architectural details.

- **Workmanship** is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. Features that must be in place to express a property's integrity of workmanship are its construction method and architectural details.

- **Feeling** is the property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Features that must be in place to express a property's integrity of feeling are its overall design quality, which may include form, massing, architectural style, architectural details, and surroundings.

- **Association** is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. Features that must be in place to express a property's integrity of association are its use and its overall design quality.

Evaluating Integrity

A historic property will possess several, and usually most, of the seven aspects of integrity. While it is understood that nearly all properties undergo change over time—and thus some alterations or changes are not uncommon—the resource must possess enough of its essential physical features to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both *why* a property is significant, including applicable criteria and area(s) of significance, and *when* it was significant, also known as the period(s) of significance. Some properties may change during the period of significance, such as expansion through additions or material replacement as resources become available; these changes may gain significance over time.

Determining which aspects are most important to a particular property requires an understanding of the property's significance and its essential physical features. Evaluators of potential historic resources should weigh the combination of characteristics such as massing; roof forms; arrangement of spaces; fenestration patterns; cladding materials; type, amount, and style of ornamental detailing; and other aspects when evaluating a property's integrity. Changes to large-scale features, such as massing and roof form, will have a greater impact compared to smaller elements, such as ornamentation.

For a historic district to retain integrity as a whole, the majority of the components that make up the district's historic character must possess integrity even if they are individually undistinguished. Contributors to a district may have a greater degree of acceptable alterations than properties deemed individually eligible. For example, in a residential historic district, properties with reversible exterior alterations, such as enclosed porches and replaced windows, should not automatically be excluded from consideration. Overall, the relationships among the district's components must be substantially unchanged since the period of significance.

The necessary aspects of integrity also depend on the reason the property is significant – the why, where, and when. High priority is typically placed on integrity of design, materials, and workmanship for properties significant under National Register/California Register/Sacramento Register Criterion C/3/iii-v (Architecture/Design), while for properties significant under Criterion A/1/i (Events) or B/2/ii (Persons), these aspects are only necessary to the extent that they help the property convey integrity of feeling and/or association. Similarly, integrity of location, feeling, association, and sometimes setting may be more important for properties significant under Criterion A/1/i (Events) and Criterion B/2/ii (Persons) than for properties significant under

Criterion C/3/iii-v (Architecture/Design). For properties significant under any of these criteria, it is possible for some materials to be replaced without drastically affecting integrity of design, as long as these alterations are subordinate to the overall character of the building.

Evaluations of integrity should also include some basis of comparison. In other words, the evaluator should understand the relative levels of integrity associated with each property type. For instance, increased age and rarity of the property type may lower the threshold required for sufficient integrity. Conversely, some properties may rate exceptionally high in all aspects of integrity. Such properties should be given greater priority in preservation planning efforts and are more likely to be eligible for listing in the National Register. Generally, a property with exceptional integrity will have undergone few or no alterations since its original construction and will not have been moved from its original location.

The legacy of exclusion and discrimination for historically marginalized communities should also be taken into consideration in evaluating integrity. Members of the LGBTQ+ community experienced discrimination in all sectors of their lives that prevented them from openly engaging with society as their true selves until the very recent past, and for much of that history, words to identify members of the community were limited or nonexistent. As such, there is very little historic record or documentation of places where people who today would identify as members of the LGBTQ+ community lived, worked, socialized, recreated, sought spiritual fulfillment, gathered, and generally participated in human life in Sacramento prior to the 1960s. For many important places to the LGBTQ+ community, the physical appearance of these places is secondary or insignificant compared to their intangible cultural and social significance to the community. Some places have continued to be in active use by the community for several decades and continue to be recognized as historically important locations by the community, even though their appearances have changed to meet the evolving needs and desires of their users over time. Properties may still be eligible under Criterion A/1/i or B/2/ii on the strength of their association with historic events or people. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether someone from the period of significance would recognize the property as it exists at the time of nomination.

Finally, it should be stressed that historic integrity and condition are not the same. Buildings with evident signs of deterioration can still retain eligibility for historic listing as long as it can be demonstrated that they retain enough character-defining features—those essential physical features—to convey their significance.

ELIGIBILITY STANDARDS AND CRITERIA

The following section provides guidance on the standards and criteria that properties associated with the history of the LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento should meet to be considered eligible historic resources. The information in this section is organized around the themes contained in the Sacramento LGBTQ+ HCS. The following information is provided for each theme: statements of significance that summarize the detailed history contained in the HCS, examples of property types associated with each theme, eligibility standards required for designating a property as a historic resource, additional eligibility and integrity considerations, and a sample of properties associated with each theme that merit further research.

OVERALL ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The following list of associated property types applies to all properties associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history. As needed, additional property types that are specific to individual themes in local LGBTQ+ history are provided in the theme-specific sections that follow.

- Properties that are purpose-built for, purchased and re-used by, leased to, or used intermittently by an LGBTQ+ business, organization, group, club, or individual.
- Commercial, residential, institutional, civic, recreational, cultural, religious, industrial, medical, or mixed-use properties, landscapes, or public spaces.
- One of several properties associated with a specific business, person, organization, group, or club.
- Properties that are located throughout the City of Sacramento, though a higher concentration exists in the Midtown and Downtown areas

OVERALL ELIGIBILITY STANDARDS

The following eligibility standards apply to all properties associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history. Additional eligibility standards that are specific to individual themes in local LGBTQ+ history are provided in the theme-specific sections that follow.

- Contributing resources to historic districts may have short periods of association (one year or less) and remain eligible. Additionally, more than one property may be associated with a specific business, organization, group, person, or event and be eligible as a contributing resource to a historic district. The brevity of use and frequent need to

relocate to a new location tell the story of the volatility of the early but pioneering periods of the LGBTQ+ community's history.

OVERALL INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

The following integrity considerations apply to all properties associated with Sacramento's LGBTQ+ history. As needed, additional integrity considerations that are specific to individual themes in local LGBTQ+ history are provided in the theme-specific sections that follow.

- Retains integrity of Location, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance.
- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance.
    - At a minimum, retains the overall form and massing and general rhythm of window openings and entrances associated with the period of significance,
    - Very early individual examples and contributors to historic districts may have a greater degree of alterations/lower level of integrity and remain eligible.
- Properties may be modest with some degree of altered or removed original materials.
    - Reversible alterations to the exterior, such as replaced doors or windows or new cladding applied over original cladding, should not automatically be excluded from consideration.
    - Replacement cladding of a similar material or character (i.e., rough stucco for smooth stucco) should not automatically exclude the property from consideration.
    - Replacement of storefronts is a common alteration and would not automatically exclude a commercial building from eligibility.
    - Removal of historic signs should not automatically exclude a property from eligibility.
    - In outdoor public spaces, the removal, replacement, or alteration of plantings, landscaping, outdoor furniture, and other features may not exclude a property from eligibility if the general spatial relationships and site organization of areas where significant events occurred remain legible.
- Primary interior spaces where gatherings occurred, such as assembly halls, large meeting rooms, or living rooms, should remain as readable spaces, though finishes may have changed.
- Adjacent setting may have changed.
- Under Criteria A/1/i or B/2/2, the basic integrity test is whether someone from the period of significance would recognize the property.

- Under Criterion A/1/i, altered properties that are restored to be recognizable from the period of significance may be considered for eligibility.
- Under Criterion B/2/2, integrity is based on the period during which the significant person or persons occupied or was associated with the property.
- Those significant under Criterion C/3/3 must also retain the type of exterior cladding from the period of significance and enough features that illustrate the property's architectural distinction to retain overall integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

EARLY GENDER TRANSGRESSIVE EXPRESSION IN THE SACRAMENTO AREA, PRE-1940

Summary Statement of Significance

While people with nonnormative gender identities and sexual orientations have always existed in every place around the world, broad societal understandings and attitudes toward transgressive gender and sexual expression have continuously evolved throughout the course of history. Although many Native American tribes—including the Nisenan, Miwok, and Patwin who called the Sacramento region home—embraced an expansive and fluid understanding of gender and sexuality, the Spanish missionaries and European and American settlers who colonized California in the 18th and 19th centuries brought with them more restrictive views, influenced by religion and traditional societal power structures, that treated any gender expression outside cisgender heterosexuality as a voluntary personal vice that should be punished or treated.

In California, the Gold Rush in the mid-19th century fostered an environment with less rigid gender norms. The flood of people into the fledgling state, most of whom were men, created a severe gender imbalance that upended many of the gendered and racialized structures of Anglo-American society, as many men were forced to take on roles that had traditionally been assigned to women and a unique kindship developed between many men. Both men and women cross-dressed for a variety of reasons, including to engage in activities or behaviors that were not traditionally acceptable for their genders, as well as to express their true gender identities or act in popular minstrel shows and vaudeville performances on stage.

Attitudes toward gender transgressive expressions shifted toward the end of the 19th century. As more people across the United States moved from rural communities into cities in the 19th century, the increasing urbanization of the United States gave gender and sexually

transgressive individuals greater opportunities to express their true identities and meet similar people away from the eyes and ears of disapproving family and community members. Meanwhile, the term "homosexuality" and concept of same-sex attraction as an innate part of a person's being were first introduced by the medical communities in Europe and the United States in the mid- to late 19th century. These experiences laid the groundwork for the formation of the earliest nonnormative gender and sexuality communities and cultures in the United States. However, the increased visibility of people with nonnormative gender and sexual identities between World War I and the Great Depression led to greater suspicion among mainstream society. Relative tolerance of same-sex attraction during the comparatively more socially liberal Roaring Twenties declined during the Great Depression as people feared losing their jobs if they engaged in behaviors or activities outside the societal norms.

Increasing intolerance throughout the country in the early 20th century was also apparent in Sacramento. Anti-gay rhetoric was broadcast from positions of power to the general public, creating an atmosphere that was openly intolerant and sometimes outright violent toward anyone who did not fall within the strict lines of socially accepted sexuality and gender norms. Although people with nonnormative gender identities and sexualities lived in Sacramento at every point in the city's history, widespread discrimination and the real risk of arrest, imprisonment, or institutionalization forced them to hide their true selves. As such, very little is known about their existence in Sacramento prior to the gay liberation movement of the 1960s.

Associated Property Types

Refer to the list of Overall Associated Property Types on Page 15.

Note: Due to the limited understanding and visibility of gender and/or sexually nonconforming people during the 19th and early 20th centuries, minimal documented examples of gender and/or sexually transgressive expression in Sacramento during this period, and the redevelopment of much of the oldest neighborhoods of Sacramento, existing properties associated with the earliest periods of LGBTQ+ life in Sacramento up to 1940 are extremely rare, increasing the importance of those that may survive.

Eligibility Standards

To meet eligibility requirements for inclusion in the National Register/California Register/ Sacramento Register, a property may be significant in association with the theme of Early Gender Transgressive Expression in the Sacramento Area, Pre-1940 under the following criteria:

National Register / California Register / Sacramento Register	Significance
A / 1 / i - Events	• Association with important events, activities, patterns, or trends in early gender and sexuality nonnormative history in Sacramento during the 19th or early 20th centuries • Association as the location or meeting place of a business, establishment, club, or organization known to have been patronized by gender nonconforming people • Association with the participation of gender nonconforming individuals in commercial, social, artistic, cultural, spiritual, political, or recreational life
B / 2 / ii – Persons	• Association with the life or work of a documented gender nonconforming person
C / 3 / iii, iv, v – Architecture / Design	• Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, architectural style or method of construction. • Represents the work of a recognized gender nonconforming architect, builder, designer, or creative individual. • Possess high artistic or historic value.

Additional Eligibility Considerations / Associative Features

- Due to the extreme rarity of properties with documented associations with gender nonconforming people in Sacramento the 19th and early 20th centuries, a majority of surviving properties would be eligible.
    - Properties where a gender nonconforming person only had a fleeting presence (i.e. a short stay at a hotel, boarding house, or food or drink establishment while passing through Sacramento on the way to another destination) would likely not be eligible.
- Locations used by gender nonconforming individuals or groups for social, artistic, cultural, recreational, or spiritual activities or community services may be located in a building designed for another use,

Integrity Considerations

Refer to the list of Overall Integrity Considerations on Page 15.

FINDING ONE ANOTHER: WORLD WAR II & POSTWAR-ERA SACRAMENTO, 1941-1968

Summary Statement of Significance

The onset of World War II in the early 1940s brought great social change to the United States and Sacramento. Millions of men were drafted into the military, while others who had previously lived in small or rural towns were called to work in the cities. At the same time, many women joined the workforce for the first time to aid in the war effort and experienced greater personal and social independence. These experiences—which brought large numbers of people of the same gender together—created increased opportunities for the formation of same-sex relationships.

Medical studies and publications in the late 1940s and 1950s, including the pioneering work of sexologist Alfred Kinsey and publicity surrounding transgender woman Christine Jorgensen, elevated overall societal awareness of nonnormative gender and sexuality. Despite the impact of these studies on the process of normalizing homosexuality, paranoia surrounding perceived dangers to national security during the Cold War following World War II created a climate of fear and anxiety that criminalized anything different from the societal norms. As a result, the 1950s were a period of increasing discrimination against any form of otherhood in which nonnormative gender identities and sexualities were criminalized and treated as metal illnesses.

Amidst this period of intense scrutiny and the spread of bigoted rhetoric, the first homophile groups organizations—precursors of the gay liberation groups of the 1960s and 1970s—formed in the United States to provide support for gay men and women. In Sacramento, one such group, Americans for Responsible Citizenship (ARC), was established in the mid-1960s and became one of the earliest known gay rights advocacy groups in the city.

Rising intolerance and the risk of arrest or institutionalization forced gender and sexually nonconforming people to develop clandestine methods for socializing and forming relationships. Bathhouses, outdoor public spaces, and bars became popular places to meet sexual partners, and a culture of “cruising” developed. Bars that were known for accepting gay patrons were vital places for forming connections and developed into the center of gay life for both men and women. In response, cities across the United States, including Sacramento, conducted raids of known cruising locations and suspended the liquor licenses of gay bars to crack down on homosexual behavior. Outspoken intolerance from city leaders and strict

policing deterred the development of a true gay social scene within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento until the 1960s and 1970s. A small number of gay bars existed in the downtown area, near K Street, where many people worked and socialized in their free time; however, the earliest concentration of gay-friendly businesses in the area emerged just across the Sacramento River in the separate city of West Sacramento, outside the grasp of the legal authorities in Sacramento. These early gay establishments offered a safe and accepting space for gay and gender nonnormative people to be themselves during a period of intense discrimination.

Associated Property Types

Refer to the list of Overall Associated Property Types on Page 15.

Note: Due to widespread discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community and the resulting clandestine nature of LGBTQ+ life through the postwar period, the concentration of local LGBTQ+ community presence and expression in the adjacent city of West Sacramento during this period, and the demolition of many buildings in the downtown area, existing properties associated with the LGBTQ+ community from 1941-1968 are believed to be very rare, increasing the importance of those that survive.

Eligibility Standards

To meet eligibility requirements for inclusion in the National Register/California Register/ Sacramento Register, a property may be significant under this theme for:

National Register / California Register / Sacramento Register	Significance
A / 1 / i - Events	• Association with important events, patterns, or trends in the history of the LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento during World War II and the postwar era • Association as the founding location, headquarters, primary meeting place, or place of activity for an LGBTQ+ business, club, organization, advocacy group, community or service center, publication, or other social, cultural, or community group that made a significant contribution to Sacramento and/or its LGBTQ+ community.

National Register / California Register / Sacramento Register	Significance
	• Association with the patterns of the LGBTQ+ community's participation in commercial, social, artistic, cultural, spiritual, or recreational pursuits and other aspects of daily life.
B / 2 / ii – Persons	• Association with LGBTQ+ persons who played an important role in the development of the Sacramento LGBTQ+ community • Association with LGBTQ+ persons who played an important role in LGBTQ+ rights advocacy and/or homophile movement
C / 3 / iii, iv, v – Architecture / Design	• Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, architectural style or method of construction • Represents the work of a recognized LGBTQ+ architect, builder, designer, or creative individual. • Possess high artistic or historic value.

Additional Eligibility Considerations / Associative Features

- Eligible properties that were constructed or used by members of the LGBTQ+ community during the period of significance
- Under Criterion B/2/ii:
    - The individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to LGBTQ+ community development, social life, culture, arts, sports, recreation, professional development, or spiritual or community expression
    - The property should be directly associated with the productive life of the person who made important contributions to the history of the LGBTQ+ life.
- Locations used by LGBTQ+ individuals or groups for artistic, cultural, recreational, or spiritual activities or community services may be located in a building designed for another use.
- The length of time and significance may be compared to other locations of the same organization, club, or group to identify resources that are most representative.
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance.

Integrity Considerations

Refer to the list of Overall Integrity Considerations on Page 15.

OUT & PROUD: DEVELOPMENT OF VISIBLE SACRAMENTO LGBTQ+ COMMUNITY, 1969-2000

Summary Statement of Significance

Prior to the late 1960s, it was virtually unheard of for LGBTQ+ individuals to be publicly open about their sexual orientations and/or gender identities. The Stonewall Inn riots in New York City in June 1969 sparked a nationwide gay liberation movement that encouraged LGBTQ+ people to be open and proud about their identities and stand up for their rights, transforming the experiences of LGBTQ+ people across the United States. This was accompanied by a major shift in how the medical community viewed homosexuality after the American Psychiatric Association updated how it classified homosexuality and no longer treated it as a mental disorder. In 1975, California's anti-sodomy laws were repealed, removing the threat of arrest and imprisonment for people who enjoyed same-sex relationships. Large numbers of people came out as gay or gender nonconforming over the following decades as a result of these developments. As more people found each other and formed connections, the first visible LGBTQ+ communities developed in cities across the United States.

In the Sacramento area, the epicenter of the local LGBTQ+ community began to shift from West Sacramento to the City of Sacramento in the 1970s. Although LGBTQ+-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly businesses and services opened throughout the city, the largest and most visible concentration was located in a neighborhood of Midtown near the intersection of 20th and K streets that became known as Lavender Heights. Like many cities across the United States, a variety of subgroups and subcultures, reflecting a broad range of nonconforming gender and sexuality identities, developed in Sacramento. Due to a general distrust and lack of acceptance between the various subgroups through much of the latter half of the 20th century, however, members of each group tended to socialize separately and developed their own places to safely congregate and meet people. A rich social and cultural scene emerged that reflected the diversity of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, including bars, restaurants, bookstores, medical and legal offices, sports leagues, theater troupes, social clubs, media publications, professional business associations, and religious and spiritual institutions that catered specifically to the LGBTQ+ community. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community was recognized as a visible and vibrant part of the city's general population. The city's first gay pride parade was held in 1979 and has continued to be an important annual event in the city since.

Associated Property Types

Associated property types under this theme may include, but are not limited to:

- Properties that are purpose-built for, purchased and re-used by, leased to, or used intermittently by an LGBTQ+ business, organization, group, club, or individual.
- Commercial, residential, institutional, civic, recreational, cultural, religious, industrial, or mixed-use properties, landscapes, or public spaces.
- One of several properties associated with a specific business, person, organization, group, or club.
- Properties that are located throughout the City of Sacramento, though a higher concentration exists in the Midtown and Downtown areas, particularly around the Lavender Heights neighborhood.

Eligibility Standards

To meet eligibility requirements for inclusion in the National Register/California Register/ Sacramento Register, a property may be significant during the time period of 1969 to 2000 under this theme for:

National Register / California Register / Sacramento Register	Significance
A / 1 / i - Events	• Association with important developments in establishing, supporting, or increasing the visibility of the LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento, either as the location of discrete events or cumulative activities over time. • Association as the founding location, headquarters, primary meeting place, or place of activity for an LGBTQ+ club, organization, community service center, media outlet, support group, or other social, cultural, or community group that made a significant contribution to Sacramento and/or its LGBTQ+ community. • Association as the primary practice facility, performance space, or exhibition location for LGBTQ+ arts or cultural groups, organizations, schools, or collectives.

National Register / California Register / Sacramento Register	Significance
	• Association with the collective participation of the LGBTQ+ community in commercial, social, artistic, cultural, spiritual, or recreational pursuits. • Association as the founding location, primary practice, or competition ground of an LGBTQ+ athletic club or organization
B / 2 / ii – Persons	• Association with LGBTQ+ persons who played an important role in the development of the Sacramento LGBTQ+ community • Location where a significant LGBTQ+ community leader or figure lived or conducted community-related work
C / 3 / iii, iv, v – Architecture / Design	• Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, architectural style or method of construction • Represents the work of a recognized LGBTQ+ architect, builder, designer, or creative individual. • Possess high artistic or historic value.

Additional Eligibility Considerations / Associative Features

- Eligible properties that were constructed or used by members of the LGBTQ+ community during the 1969-2000 period of significance
- Under Criterion A/1/i:
    - LGBTQ+ clubs, groups, organizations, businesses, and establishments must have occupied the property for a substantial period of time (more than three years) or during an important period of its history, if it is not the founding location.
    - Properties with a short period of confirmed use by the LGBTQ+ community (less than three years), that were the location of occasional gatherings, or that are associated with an LGBTQ+ organization, club, group, or publication that had a short tenure (one year or less) in Sacramento would need to demonstrate a clear impact on the development of the LGBTQ+ community to be eligible.
- Under Criterion B/2/ii:

    - The individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to LGBTQ+ community development, social life, culture, arts, sports, recreation, professional development, or spiritual or community expression
    - The property should be directly associated with the productive life of the person who made important contributions to the history of the LGBTQ+ life.
- Locations used by LGBTQ+ individuals or groups for artistic, cultural, recreational, or spiritual activities or community services may be located in a building designed for another use
- The length of time and significance may be compared to other locations of the same organization, club, or group to identify resources that are most representative.
- For National Register eligibility, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance.

Integrity Considerations

Refer to the list of Overall Integrity Considerations on Page 15.

AIDS & THE SACRAMENTO LGBTQ+ COMMUNITY, 1981-1996

Summary Statement of Significance

The AIDS outbreak in the 1980s and the subsequent global pandemic was a watershed moment in history and led to profound loss, stigmatization, and alienation for those within the LGBTQ+ community. Initially wrongly stereotyped as a disease that only affected gay people, AIDS received little attention from the mainstream media and political leaders for much of the decade, leaving the LGBTQ+ community to navigate the horrors of AIDS, provide care for victims, and advocate for funding to research the causes and treatments for the disease largely on its own. The first AIDS-related death occurred in Sacramento in 1982 and sparked heightened community efforts to combat the disease. Local gay and lesbian community members led efforts to disseminate important information about the spread of the disease; establish clinics, such as the Sacramento AIDS Foundation, to care for the sick and dying; and advocate for funding and legislation to study and treat the disease.

The AIDS epidemic exacted an unfathomable physical, emotional, psychological, cultural, and political toll on the LGBTQ+ community. A large portion of a generation of Sacramento's gay community—many of whom had been the most prominent political, professional, social, or cultural leaders—died, leaving a permanent mark on the community. By the late 1980s, frustrations around the lack of adequate government response boiled to a head, leading to demonstrations at the State Capitol and demands for legislation to end discrimination against people with AIDS. Thanks to the continuous efforts of local community members, the City of Sacramento organized the Mayor's AIDS Task Force in 1985, expanding local efforts to address AIDS outside the gay community for the first time. The tides in the war against AIDS began to ebb after the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved the first medical treatments for AIDS in 1996. These treatments gave patients a chance to survive the disease for the first time and led to the first substantial decline in death AIDS-related deaths.

More than any other event prior to the 1980s and 1990s, the AIDS epidemic united Sacramento's previously fractured LGBTQ+ community and mobilized it to fight for equal rights to protect itself from discrimination and provide essential support, care, and services to its loved ones. The organizations, strategies, and leaders that were forged during the crisis helped pave the way for the progress that was achieved in the following decades and continues to reverberate into the present-day.

Associated Property Types

Refer to the list of Overall Associated Property Types on Page 15.

Eligibility Standards

To meet eligibility requirements for inclusion in the National Register/California Register/ Sacramento Register, a property may be significant during the time period of 1981-1996 under this theme for:

National Register / California Register / Sacramento Register	Significance
A / 1 / i - Events	• Association with events, activities, or movements to address AIDS • Association as the founding location, headquarters, primary meeting place, or place of activity of an AIDS organization, clinic, support group, or service provider that contributed to the Sacramento LGBTQ+ community's response to AIDS
B / 2 / ii – Persons	• Association with an individual who was a leader or influential figure in the community response to AIDS • Location where a significant AIDS activist, medical professional, or community leader lived or conducted AIDS-related work
C / 3 / iii, iv, v – Architecture / Design	• Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, architectural style or method of construction of AIDs-related spaces (i.e. clinics) or artwork (i.e. mural, sculpture, object, etc.) • Possess high artistic or historic value.

Additional Eligibility Considerations / Associative Features

- Eligible properties that were used or constructed by members of the LGBTQ+ community during the period of significance
- Under Criterion A/1/i:

    - AIDS organizations, support groups, clinics, or service providers must have used the property during a significant period or pivotal moment during the history of the AIDS crisis, if it is not the founding location.
    - As the AIDS crisis was a particularly acute period during which time was of the essence and responses evolved quickly to address the rapid spread of the disease and continuously changing understanding of the disease, a short period of association (less than one year) with the community response to AIDS would not disqualify a property from eligibility.
- Under Criterion B/2/ii:
    - The individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to addressing the AIDS crisis at the local, state, and/or national level
    - The property should be directly associated with the productive life of the person who made important contributions to the fight against AIDS.
- Locations used by AIDS organizations, support groups, clinics, medical practices, leaders, activists, etc. may be located in a building designed for another use
- The length of time and significance may be compared to other locations of the same organization, club, or group to identify resources that are most representative.
- For National Register eligibility, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance.

Integrity Considerations

Refer to the list of Overall Integrity Considerations on Page 15.

Additional integrity considerations:

- Medical buildings are likely to have been altered or upgraded over time to meet stringent code requirements. Therefore, a higher level of alterations may be acceptable.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM & THE FIGHT FOR LGBTQ+ RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA'S STATE CAPITAL, 1969-2000

Summary Statement of Significance

In the late 1960s, a potent mix of forces and the coming-of-age of the Baby Boom generation combined to reject traditions, norms, policies, and prejudices that had previously restricted much of America's diverse population. Long-festering frustration with the unequal treatment of African Americans and women and the Vietnam War coalesced in the civil rights movement, women's movement, and anti-war movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Along with the Stonewall Uprising in New York City in 1969, these movements laid the foundation for the gay liberation movement in the late 1960s. Inspired by the Black Power movement and radical feminism, the gay liberation movement presented a shift away from the polite, assimilationist methods espoused by the earlier homophile groups toward a more direct and confrontational approach to achieve acceptance and equal rights. Students at university campuses, including Sacramento State University, established many of the earliest gay liberation groups and, in Sacramento, spearheaded many of the first visible events for the LGBTQ+ community in the area.

Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community was well placed to have an outsized impact on politics on all levels because of its proximity to the State Capitol and proximity to the powerful and outspoken LGBTQ+ community in San Francisco. The Capitol became the marquee destination for numerous statewide gay rights marches, protests, and rallies. Local LGBTQ+ residents lobbied for anti-discrimination legislation both from within the political establishment and through grassroots efforts as private citizens. Numerous political advocacy groups, specifically aimed at influencing policy changes relevant to the gay community, formed in Sacramento during this volatile period. Meanwhile, individuals who experienced discrimination filed lawsuits, seeking equal treatment as their straight peers. The AIDS epidemic in the 1980s mobilized the LGBTQ+ community to become politically active more than any other previous issue, as it exposed the lack of legal protections and rights LGBTQ+ couples had to care for their sick and dying loved ones.

The experiences and policy wins garnered through the monumental efforts of the statewide LGBTQ+ community—including significant contributions from the Sacramento community—from the 1960s to the 1990s laid the foundation for monumental legislative, social, and cultural changes in the 2000s, which culminated in the legalization of same-sex marriage in California in 2013 and across the United States in 2015.

Associated Property Types

Refer to the list of Overall Associated Property Types on Page 15.

Eligibility Standards

To meet eligibility requirements for inclusion in the National Register/California Register/ Sacramento Register, a property may be significant during the time period of 1969-2000 under this theme for:

National Register / California Register / Sacramento Register	Significance
A / 1 / i - Events	• Association with events, activities, or movements to address discrimination or expand the rights of LGBTQ+ people. • Association as the founding location, headquarters, primary meeting place, or place of activity of an LGBTQ+ rights organization or advocacy group that contributed to the fight for equal rights and advancement of the LGBTQ+ community. • Association with one or more LGBTQ+ rights organization or group.
B / 2 / ii – Persons	• Association with an LGBTQ+ activist, community or political leader, or organizer who has made important contributions to Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, the city, state, or nation in the realm of political activism and LGBTQ+ community uplift.
C / 3 / iii, iv, v – Architecture / Design	• Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, architectural style, method of construction of LGBTQ+ civic gathering places, or LGBTQ+ rights-related artwork (i.e. mural, sculpture, etc.) • Possesses high artistic value

Additional Eligibility Considerations / Associative Features

- Eligible properties that were used or constructed by members of the LGBTQ+ community during the period of significance
- Under Criterion A/1/i:
    - LGBTQ+ groups, organizations, or clubs must have used the property during a significant period or pivotal moment in its history, if it is not the founding location.
    - Properties with a short period of association with LGBTQ+ activity, that were the location of occasional gatherings with little or no demonstrable significant outcomes, or that are associated with an LGBTQ+ organization, club, group, or publication that had a short tenure (one year or less) in Sacramento would generally not be considered significant. However, properties that were the site of occasional gatherings for multiple LGBTQ+ organizations, clubs, groups, publications, etc. over a period of one year or less, may be eligible as the site of collective activities of the community.
- Under Criterion B/2/ii:
    - The individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to LGBTQ+ rights, politics, or community uplift
    - The property should be directly associated with the productive life of the person who made important contributions to the history of LGBTQ+ activism.
- Locations used by LGBTQ+ individuals for advocacy efforts or political organizing may be located in a building designed for another use
- The length of time and significance may be compared to other locations of the same organization, club, or group to identify resources that are most representative.
- Properties own by, constructed or remodeled for, or otherwise controlled by LGBTQ+ individuals, rather than rented or leased spaces, may be a consideration in determining significance.
- For National Register eligibility, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance.

Integrity Considerations

Refer to the list of Overall Integrity Considerations on Page 15.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION
PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____3CD, 5D2_____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

Page 1 **of** 26 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) Lavender Heights Historic District
P1. Other Identifier: _____
*__P2. Location:__ ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 20th and K Streets City Sacramento Zip 95811
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone ___, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)
See boundary description, District Record, Page 2.

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
Lavender Heights is an enclave of cultural landmarks associated with the history of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. The district consists of commercial and institutional properties historically centered around the intersection of 20th and K Streets in Sacramento's Midtown neighborhood. District contributors include 12 commercial, institutional, and converted residential buildings that are associated with the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento, starting in 1967 through the year 2000, when increasing integration of the LGBTQ+ community into mainstream society resulted in distinct changes to the tight-knit character of the community. The district also contains 29 non-contributing properties. (Continued on page 2).

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building, HP16. Religious building, HP13. Community center/social hall

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object
☐ Site ☒ District ☐ Element of District
☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) Lavender Heights sign marker at 20th and K streets, view east.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
ca.1895-1972 (Sacramento County Assessor Year Built data)

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Multiple private owners

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** September 25, 2024

***P10. Survey Type:** (Describe)
Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Page & Turnbull, "Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement," 2024

***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☐Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☒District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

***D3 Detailed Description:** (Discuss overall coherence of the district, its setting, visual characteristics, and minor features. List all elements of district.)

The district is located in the urban core of Midtown Sacramento, which is zoned C-2-SPD (General Commercial/Special Planning District). Midtown is platted on a gridded streetscape with low- to medium-density land use including one- to three- story commercial buildings; areas of historic and infill single- and multi-family housing, some of which have been converted to commercial use; larger formerly industrial buildings; religious buildings; several larger office buildings and parking garages; and paved surface parking lots. East-to-west arterial streets are bisected by alleyways, which have street names. Examples of historic housing date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries and include single- and multi-family houses and apartment buildings designed in the vernacular, Queen Anne, Italianate, Stick-Eastlake, Craftsman, Prairie, Art Moderne, and Classical Revival styles. Commercial, institutional, and residential buildings throughout the district do not conform to a cohesive style or period of construction and include examples of adaptive reuse of late 19th-century residential properties for commercial use, along with contemporary storefronts and infill dating to the 1980s and 1990s. Contributors to the district include the locations of community centers; gay bars; businesses that were owned by and catered to members of the community; offices of organizations and individuals that provided essential health and welfare services to the community, including during the AIDS epidemic; and a church that hosted events and provided spiritual sustenance.

The contributing elements of Lavender Heights Historic District are listed in **Table 1** below and described in detail beginning on page 3 of the attached Continuation Sheets.

Table 1. Contributing Properties, Lavender Heights Historic District

Contributing Elements	APN	Description	Years of Association	Status Code	Still in Historic Use?
1215 19th Street	007-0143-001-0000	New Helvetia Roaster	1991-2002	3DC, 5D3	No
919 20th Street	007-0016-017-0000	Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and AIDS Response Programs (ca. 1997-1999)	ca. 1997-1999	3DC, 5D3	No
912 21st Street	007-0016-010-0000	Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz offices / The Open Book	1978-1987, 1996-2005	3DC, 5D3	No
2100 J Street	007-0091-001-0000	First United Methodist Church	ca. 1967-present	3DC, 5D3	Yes
2115 J Street	007-0022-015-0000	Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices	1985	3DC, 5D3	No
2220 J Street	007-0093-007-0000	Sacramento Women's Center, Gifted Gardener	1975-1976, 1989	3DC, 5D3	No
2224 J Street	007-0093-008-0000	Lioness Books, Sacramento Women's Center, Rape Crisis Center, WEST	ca. 1982-1999	3DC, 5D3	No

Contributing Elements	APN	Description	Years of Association	Status Code	Still in Historic Use?
1900 K Street	007-0084-023-0000	Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices	1986-1994	3DC, 5D3	No
2000 K Street	007-0086-020-0000	K Street Station/Faces gay bar	1985-present	3DC, 5D3	Yes
2001 K Street	007-0085-012-0000	The Western/The Depot gay bar	ca. 1997-present	3DC, 5D3	Yes
1928 L Street	007-0143-007-0000	Mercantile Saloon gay bar	1976-present	3DC, 5D3	Yes
1931 L Street	007-0084-030-0000	Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, Stop AIDS Project	1987-ca. 1998	3DC, 5D3	No

Table 2. Non-Contributing Properties, Lavender Heights Historic District

Non-Contributing Elements	APN	Status Code
1209 19th Street	007-0143-002-0000	6Z
923 20th Street	007-0016-016-0000	6Z
1015 20th Street	007-0085-001-0000	6Z
1116 20th Street	007-0084-011-0000	6Z
1120 20th Street	007-0084-012-0000	6Z
924 21st Street	007-0016-011-0000	6Z
1011 22nd Street	007-0093-001-0000	6Z
2001 J Street	007-0016-015-0000	6Z
2011 J Street	007-0016-014-0000	6Z
2015 J Street	007-0016-019-0000	6Z
2020 J Street	007-0085-017-0000	6Z
2031 J Street	007-0016-018-0000	6Z
2101 J Street	007-0022-028-0000	6Z
2109 J Street	007-0022-016-0000	6Z
2124 J Street	007-0091-002-0000	6Z
2130 J Street	007-0091-011-0000	6Z
2200 J Street	007-0093-025-0000	6Z
1930 K Street	007-0084-031-0000	6Z
2007 K Street	007-0085-011-0000	6Z
2015 K Street	007-0085-015-0000	6Z

Non-Contributing Elements	APN	Status Code
2025 K Street	007-0085-008-0000	6Z
K Street	007-0084-024-0000	6Z
K Street	007-0084-025-0000	6Z
K Street	007-0084-029-0000	6Z
1906 L Street	007-0143-019-0000	6Z
1914 L Street	007-0143-004-0000	6Z
L Street	007-0143-025-0000	6Z
L Street	007-0143-020-0000	6Z
L Street	007-0143-021-0000	6Z

***D4 Boundary Description:** (Describe limits of district and attach map showing boundary and district elements.):
The district is roughly bounded by I Street to the north between 20th and 21st Streets, 23rd Street to the east between Improv Alley and Jazz Alley, Liestal Alley to the south between 19th and 20th streets, and 19th Street to the west between Liestal Alley and K Street. (See Error! Reference source not found. on Continuation Sheet, page 5).

***D5. Boundary Justification:**
By the 1970s, the foundations of a clearly identifiable, vibrant, openly gay neighborhood began to emerge in Sacramento. Known as Lavender Heights, the neighborhood was centered around the intersection of 20th and K streets and the surrounding blocks, though its boundaries were not clearly defined and evolved over time with the growth of LGBTQ+-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly business establishments in the Midtown area. The boundaries of the Lavender Heights Historic District encapsulate the epicenter of the larger landscape of Midtown Sacramento within which many of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ residents lived, socialized, cared for one another, and coalesced into an identifiable, diverse, vibrant, and tight-knit community between the late 1960s to around the year 2000. As several landmarks within the broader Lavender Heights neighborhood are no longer extant, the historic district boundaries encompass the blocks where the highest concentration of extant LGBTQ+ properties are located; shown in the maps below **(**Error! Reference source not found.**).**

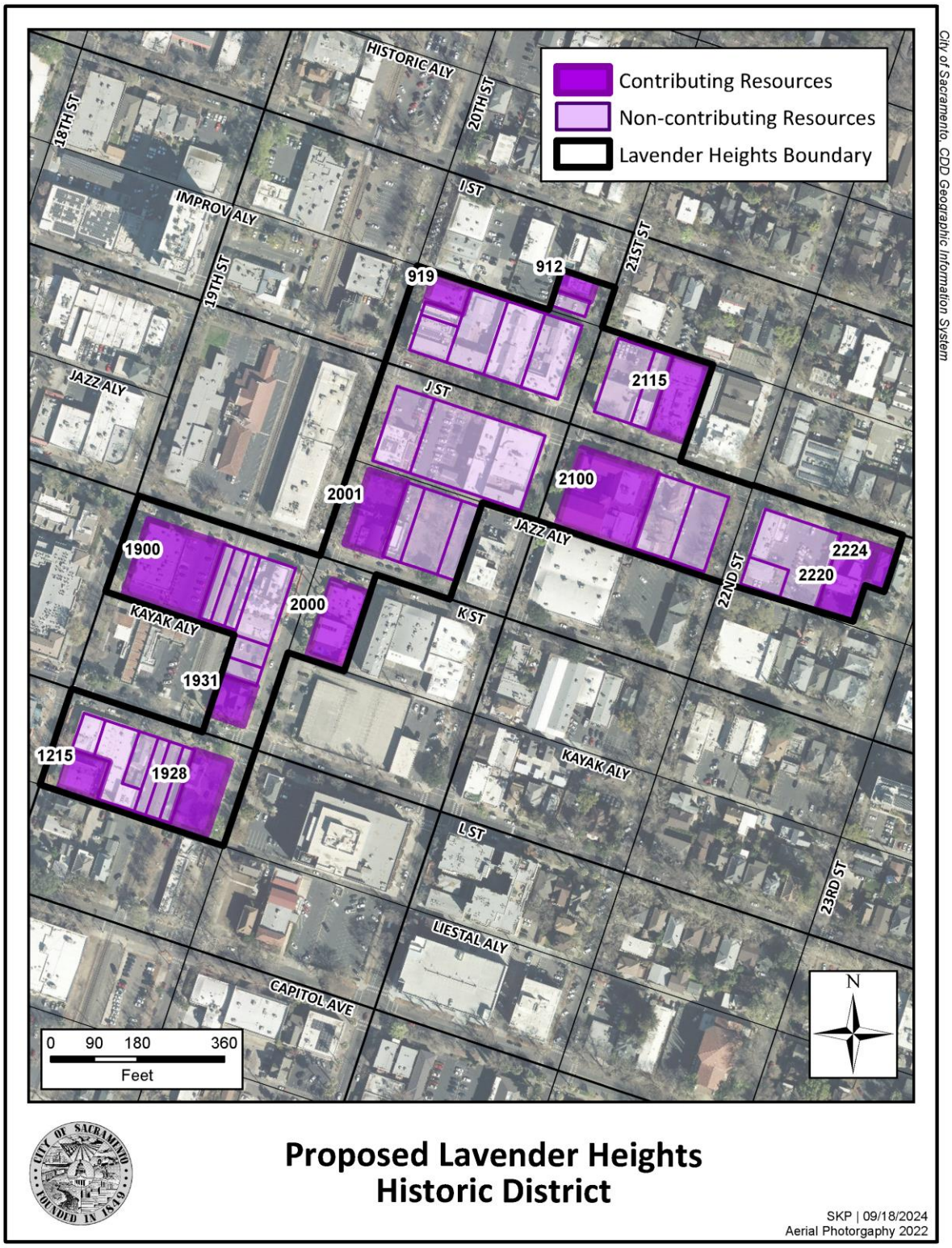
D6. Significance: Theme Social History **Area** City of Sacramento
Period of Significance 1967-2000 **Applicable Criteria** 1/i and 2/ii
(Discuss district's importance in terms of its historical context as defined by theme, period of significance, and geographic scope. Also address the integrity of the district as a whole.)

See Continuation Sheets, pages 8-24.

***D7. References** (Give full citations including the names and addresses of any informants, where possible.):
See Continuation Sheet, page 25.

***D8. Evaluator:** Samantha Purnell and Clare Flynn **Date:** September 25, 2024
Affiliation and Address: Page & Turnbull, 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

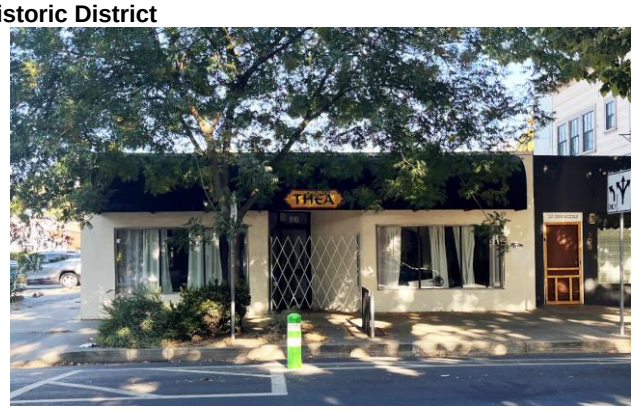
***D3 Detailed Description:** (cont'd)



***D3 Detailed Description:** (cont'd)

Table 2. Contributing buildings, Lavender Heights Historic District

1215 19th Street (APN 007-0143-001-0000) New Helvetia Roaster. The property was occupied by New Helvetia Roaster from 1991-2002.



910-912 21st Street (APN 007-0016-010-0000) Offices of Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz and the Open Book bookstore. The building housed the medical offices of Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz from 1978-1987 and the Open Book from 1996 to 2005.

2115 J Street (APN 007-0022-015-0000) Sacramento AIDS Foundation. 2115 J Street was occupied by the Sacramento AIDS Foundation in 1985.

2220 J Street (APN 007-0093-007-0000) Sacramento Women's Center and the Gifted Gardener. 2220 J Street was occupied by the Sacramento Women's Center from 1975-1976 and was the first location of the Gifted Gardener in 1989.

2224 J Street (APN 007-0093-008-0000) Lioness Books. 2224 J Street was occupied by Lioness Books, Sacramento Women's Center Rape Crisis Center, and WEST from ca.1982-2000.

1900 K Street (APN 007-0084-023-0000) Sacramento AIDS Foundation. 1900 K Street was occupied by the Sacramento Aids Foundation from 1986-1994.

2000 K Street (APN 007-0086-020-0000)
K Street Station/Faces. 2000 K Street has been occupied by K Street Station/Faces since 1985.

2001 K Street (APN 007-0085-012-0000)
2001 K Street has been occupied by a bar since 1938 and first became known as a gay bar at an unknown date. It has been a gay bar called The Depot since 1997.

1928 L Street (APN 007-0143-007-0000)
Mercantile Saloon. 1928 L Street has been occupied by the Mercantile Saloon since 1976.

1931 L Street (APN 007-0084-030-0000)
Lambda Community Center. 1931 L Street was occupied by the Gay and Lesbian Community Center, Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and AIDS Response Program from 1987-1998.

919 20th Street (APN 007-0016-017-0000)
Lambda Community Center. 919 20th Street was occupied by the Gay and Lesbian Community Center, Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and Stop

2100 J Street (APN 007-0091-001-0000)
First United Methodist Church. The church hosted meetings for early homophile groups in the late 1960s and has continuously welcomed members of the

AIDS Project from 1997-1999.

LGBTQ+ community.

D6. Significance: (continued)

Lavender Heights Historic Context

Neighborhood Development

Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community remained largely underground until the 1970s due to widespread discrimination and harassment. The increasing visibility of LGBTQ+ individuals following the Stonewall Inn riots in New York City in 1969 and repeal of California's anti-sodomy laws in 1975 led more people to come out the closet and begin to form visible communities across the country in the 1970s. In Sacramento, several factors contributed to the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento's Midtown neighborhood during this period. During the postwar period, the flight of wealthy residents and resources out of the older neighborhoods within and near Sacramento's original street grid, known as the Central City, to newer suburbs in outlying areas resulted in a decline of property values and rents in the Central City.[1] Young, single people, some of whom were gay, moved into the area, attracted by the abundance of low-rent apartment houses, excitement of urban life, and greater tolerance for alternative lifestyles than suburban areas. The Midtown neighborhood, which had an eclectic mix of aging, affordable residences in close proximity to commercial streets, became a particularly popular destination for young gay and lesbian residents.[2]

Likely drawn to Midtown by the growing number of gay and lesbian residents in the area, gay-friendly businesses began to open in the 1970s. As with many gay neighborhoods throughout the United States, the first seeds of the Lavender Heights neighborhood were planted by the establishment of several gay bars—traditionally the center of gay life – around the intersection of 20th and K streets. As will be described in more detail later in this evaluation, some of the earliest and most prominent gay bars in the neighborhood were the Mercantile Saloon, The Western (later The Depot), Club 21, K Street Station (later Faces), and the Wreck Room, all of which were located at or within a few blocks of 20th and K streets. The name "Lavender Heights" was coined by members of Sacramento's gay community in the 1970s, but it did not become more publicly used until the early 1980s, when the *Sacramento Bee* published a series of articles highlighting the neighborhood and several of its businesses. Although the origin of the neighborhood's name is unknown, the color lavender was a reference to the popular association of the gay community with the color purple. Another name, "Fruit Flats," was reportedly considered for the neighborhood and showed the community's sense of humor but did not catch on.

As more LGBTQ+ individuals moved into Midtown, and the number of gay businesses, institutions, and services grew, Lavender Heights became a community of congregation, a self-created and self-defined place where the LGBTQ+ community chose to establish itself and felt a collective sense of safety, acceptance, and awareness.[3] A true community emerged in Lavender Heights that provided services for all aspects of daily life, including health and welfare services for women and people with AIDS.[4] By the 1990s, Lavender Heights contained not just a concentration of gay bars but also a wide variety of restaurants, health clinics, community centers and service organizations, spiritual institutions, clothing stores, laundromats, shops, bookstores, beauty salons and barber shops, doctors, therapists, lawyers, dentists, and realtors that catered specifically to LGBTQ+ clientele.[5] With such a variety of businesses and services specifically by and for LGBTQ+ residents, Lavender Heights became a relatively self-contained and self-sufficient neighborhood.[6] As the primary location throughout much of the surrounding area in which one could find businesses and services specifically intended to meet the needs and desires of LGBTQ+ individuals, it also served as the center for the Sacramento region's broader LGBTQ+ community.[7]

Gay Bars in Lavender Heights

Gay bars – which had covertly served a vital role as some of the only LGBTQ+ individuals could openly express their sexual identities since the first decades of the 20th century – blossomed into the public center of LGBTQ+ life in the decades after the late 1960s. Gay bars became not just places to meet sexual partners; they developed into the de

[1] Michael Andrew Claussen, "Lavender Heights: The Emerging Gay Community in Downtown Sacramento, California," (M.A. thesis, California State University, Chico, 1998,), 140.
[2] Robin Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 September 1982: A1-A17.
[3] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 84, 164.
[4] Conversation between Tina Reynolds, Clare Flynn, and Henry Feuss, May 22, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[5] Witt, "Gays Gain Acceptance, Visibility in Sacramento."
[6] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 120.
[7] Claussen, "Lavender Heights," 122.

facto center of gay life, where LGBTQ+ individuals received and exchanged news, formed lasting friendships and romantic relationships, and organized social, professional, and political groups, clubs, and events.

The development of the first openly gay-friendly social gathering places and business establishments in Sacramento did not occur overnight. Through the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, as much of the gay community remained closeted and being publicly "out" could still put one at risk of arrest, losing one's job, and being ostracized from family, friends, and coworkers, gay and lesbian individuals continued to meet in secret. While some gay bars existed in Sacramento's Central City grid prior to the late 1960s, California's anti-sodomy laws, which had been used to harass and imprison LGBTQ+ individuals for over 100 years, and the City of Sacramento's strict enforcement of those laws, prevented the formation of any recognizable concentration of gay-owned or gay-friendly establishments within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento until the state laws were repealed in the 1970s. As a result, nearly all gay bars and other business establishments that welcomed LGBTQ+ patrons existed across the Sacramento River in the unincorporated town of West Sacramento, which was located in a separate county, through the early 1970s. In 1975, Assembly Bill 437, which ended California's sodomy laws, passed both houses of the California state legislature and was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown, Jr.[8] The impact of the repeal of the state's sodomy laws was visible in the pattern of development of gay bars and gay-friendly establishments in the Sacramento area. Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, the number of gay bars and queer-friendly establishments steadily increased and spread throughout the City of Sacramento as policing of sexual activities decreased.

One of the first gay bars in Lavender Heights was the Mercantile Saloon, which opened at a converted Victorian house at 1928 L Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1976. Lovingly nicknamed "The Merc," it was credited with making gay nightlife more visible in Sacramento. The Merc was owned by local restauranteur Bill Christie. Christie was also the owner of a prime rib restaurant called Christie's Elbo Room nearby at 2001 K Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District), which later became a series of gay bars. The bar became known for welcoming gay Black men at a time when many other gay bars did not. Ernie Brown—a gay Black man who was also an Emperor of the Imperial Court of Sacramento (also known as CGNIE), board member of the George Sand Community Benefit Fund, and former owner of Ernie's Place bar at 725 Tower Court in West Sacramento—managed the bar in the 1980s. Robert "Bobbette" Hoyos was another popular manager of the bar for 15 years from 1981 until his death in 1996.[9] The Merc was less hostile toward gay Black men than most of Sacramento's other gay bars. Together with a jazz bar called the Rose Cocktail Lounge across the street at 2001 L Street (demolished), The Merc, under Ernie Brown's management, became the main bar and social gathering place for gay Black men in Sacramento.[10] On Friday nights, tables five rows deep would be filled with gay Black men until the AIDS epidemic killed many of the bar's gay Black patrons in the 1980s.[11]

The Western at 2001 K Street (extant, contributor to the Lavender Heights Historic District) was continuously operated by members of the Dallosta family from 1938 through the 1990s and took the name The Western around 1953.[12] By at least the 1990s, it had a reputation as bar for older gay men.[13] In 1997, TJ Bruce and his mother Marjorie purchased the building and reopened it as a gay bar called The Western Pacific Depot.[14]

[8] Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 227-228.
[9] "Hoyos, 'Bobbette' Robert," *Sacramento Bee*, 15 November 1996: B7.
[10] John Bennett, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 26, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Clarmundo Sullivan, conversation with Carson Anderson, August 9, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[11] Asa Salley, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, September 5, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[12] Sacramento city directories, 1938-1982, Ancestry.com; "Genevieve Mary 'Gen' (Domich) Dallosta," *Sacramento Bee*, 27 November 2018.
[13] Taylor Facha, text conversation with Clare Flynn, August 30, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[14] Cameron Jahn, "Club Plan Ignites Dispute," *Sacramento Bee*, 20 June 2002: D1.

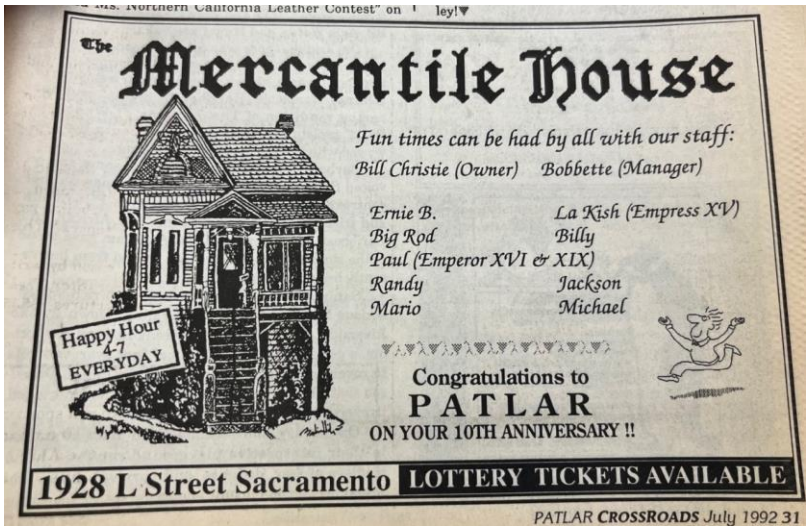


Figure 1. Advertisement for the Mercantile Saloon (1992). Source: *Patlar Gazette*.

In 1981, Bernie Ferris opened Club 21 at 1122 21st Street (demolished and outside the historic district boundaries) with investors and brothers Clay and Bill Biscoe. Ferris received his teaching credential from Sacramento State University and initially worked as a grade school teacher for 17 years before coming out as gay in the late 1970s. After being publicly harassed at school by former students who had seen him at a local gay bar, he left the teaching career and went to work as a real estate agent for Century 21. In 1979, he met brothers Bill and Clay Biscoe, and the men decided to take over a straight bar called the Aero Tavern, which they named Club 21. The bar was immediately successful, attracting 350 people on an average Saturday night and receiving an award as the River City Business Association's Business of the Year in 1982.[15] Two years later, they closed Club 21 in order to open a larger bar in the building formerly occupied by Christie's Elbo Room at 2001 K Street. The new bar was named K Street Station and had an upscale atmosphere with several bar areas and a full restaurant in a side room that was later converted into a video bar. The bar hosted art shows for local artists and had dancing every night. In spite of the bar's popularity, its owners became overstretched and declared bankruptcy in 1985. Terry Sidie, who owned another popular gay bar called Bo Jangles near the Sacramento State University campus in East Sacramento, purchased the property and transformed it into a new bar called Faces in 1985. Ferris continued to work as the manager of Faces until 1994.[16] The name Faces was coined by Incredible Edible Place restaurant owner Paul Fitzgerald and was intended to reflect that the bar was open to all communities and all "faces." Sidie envisioned Faces as a destination for dancing and a luxurious alternative to the typical dive bar. By 2015, the bar featured three dance floors, each of which played different genres of music, 16 bar stations, and an outdoor swimming pool. A rainbow-colored triangular sign at the front door was installed that read "You are entering a gay bar! Respect us, and we'll respect you!"[17]

[15] Bill Lindelof, "Gay Bars Flourish in Downtown Area As Places to Relax, Find Partners," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 September 1982: A16.
[16] Bernie Ferris, "Bernie Ferris History," undated, courtesy of Christine Ferris.
[17] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 September 2015: B1, B6.

Figure 2. Faces owner, Terry Sidie (kneeling in front with a cowboy hat) with staff of Faces (1987). Source: Collection of Terry Sidie.

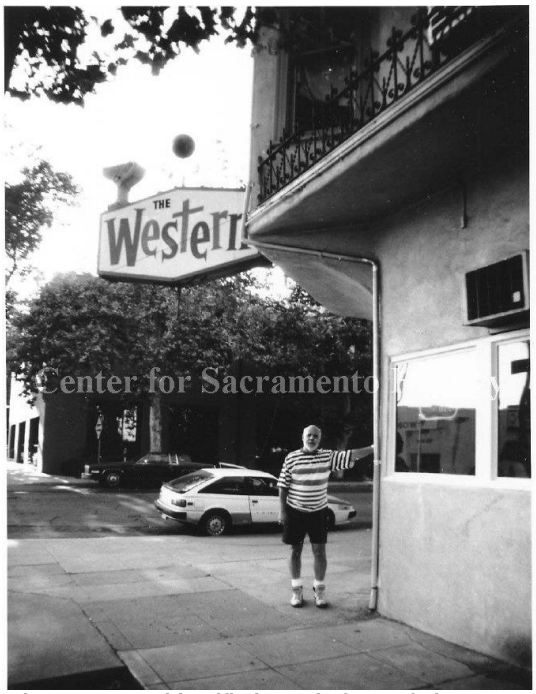


Figure 3. An unidentified man in front of The Western, ca. 1992. Source: Center for Sacramento History.

The success of Faces, in particular, brought a groundswell of energy to the intersection of 20th and K Streets, which would become the heart of Lavender Heights. Steve Hansen, the first openly gay City Councilman in Sacramento's history, described Faces as "that initial piece of life that built this reef of activity [in Lavender Heights]." In 2015, Sidie reflected back that prior to the opening of K Street Station and its reopening as Faces, the neighborhood around 20th and K streets "was nothing. It was broken-down garages, an empty funeral parlor. There was a down bar called The Western. Lewis Florist was falling into the ground. It wasn't called 'Lavender Heights.' They didn't even call it 'mid-town.'"[18] Under Sidie's leadership, Faces became akin to a community center.

Born and raised on a farm in Wisconsin, Sidie left home at the age of 19 to live with an aunt in Detroit, where he came out as gay. He later moved to Los Angeles, where he worked as a private-duty nurse before enlisting in the military in 1971. Though hoping "to see the world," he was stationed at the hospital at Mather Air Force Base in the Sacramento area. In the evenings, he moonlighted as a bartender at bars in Sacramento and West Sacramento, gaining experience with the local gay bar scene. After opening Bo Jangles in 1976, Sidie became one of the most successful and influential figures in Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, opening several other bars, restaurants, and establishments, and supporting community clubs and organizations through donations and fundraisers. At one point, Sidie owned Bojangles and Faces, as well as the reopened Club 21 (which operated through the early 2000s), a restaurant called Head Hunters, the Verona Village Resort in Sutter County, and a farm in his home state of Wisconsin. Sidie used the success of his business endeavors to benefit and empower Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Faces became a hub for the community and arguably the most well-known and recognizable landmark for the LGBTQ-life in Sacramento. In addition to its regular business, the bar hosted events such as voter drives for the Sacramento chapter of the gay political advocacy group the Stonewall Democratic Club, fundraisers for LGBTQ+-friendly politicians, and the first meeting of the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Softball League.[19] In 1987, Sidie assisted Hamburger Mary's owner Richard Boriolo in starting the Rainbow Festival. The festival, which is held annually as a fundraiser for local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations, has continuously used Faces as its main hub.[20] In reflecting on Sidie's impact on the community, Reverend Jerry Sloan, founder of Sacramento's LGBT

[18] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[19] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[20] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 2, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

Community Center, stated, ""A lot of people and groups, including myself, have certainly gone to him and said, 'Terry, we need,' and he never hesitates. And we're talking thousands of dollars, not 20 bucks."[21] By 1997, Sidie, himself, estimated he had given $120,000 to local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations.[22]

The character of Sacramento's gay bars varied widely, reflecting the diversity of Sacramento's gay community. The Merc looked like a typical straight bar except that there were usually no women present. Club 21 had a similar "casual and friendly" atmosphere to The Merc, but differed from other local gay bars in hosting a clientele that consisted of gay doctors, lawyers, and other professionals.[23] The Wreck Room a few blocks away at 925 20th Street (inside the historic district but a non-contributor due to alterations), was a leather bar that featured male underwear hanging on chains above the bar.[24] Despite the differing characters of the city's gay bars, community members reflected that Sacramento's gay bar scene "had a closeness and unity that larger cities, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, could only wish to have."[25] By 1982, an article in the *Sacramento Bee* estimated that roughly 3,500 to 5,000 of the city's estimated gay residents frequented the city's gay bars. By 1987, the Damron Guides – a directory and guidebook that listed gay-friendly businesses and cruising locations in cities across the United States – no longer showed any gay bars located in West Sacramento, indicating that the center of gay life had completed its shift east to Downtown and Midtown Sacramento.[26]

Community Centers & Services

The growing self-awareness among Sacramento's LGBTQ+ residents that they were part of a larger underserved community came with the recognition that they needed to come together to help their own. Individuals stepped up and pooled their resources and social networks to found community centers, charities, and other service organizations to meet the community's needs.

Lambda Community Center / Sacramento LGBT Community Center

The most prominent and long-standing of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community centers, the Lambda Community Center (later renamed the Sacramento LGBT Community Center) was established in the 1980s, using funds procured by Reverend Jerry Sloan, founder of the Sacramento Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), the first religious congregation that was dedicated primarily to serving Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. As a young man, Sloan attended Baptist Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, where his classmate was Reverend Jerry Fallwell. Fallwell later became the leader of the Religious Right, founder of the Moral Majority political action committee, and an outspoken opponent of homosexuality. Sloan, meanwhile, came out as a gay man and founded chapters of the MCC in Kansas City, Missouri; Des Moines, Iowa; and Sacramento. On March 11, 1984, Falwell expressed his view that homosexuality was the embodiment of evil, stating, "Thank God this vile and satanic system will one day be utterly annihilated, and there will be a celebration in heaven."[27] When Falwell and Sloan were guests on a television program in Sacramento a few months later, Falwell denied his statements and promised to pay Sloan $5,000 if he could provide taped evidence. Sloan produced the tapes, but Falwell refused to pay him, claiming that he had been misquoted. Sloan hired local attorney and lesbian legal pioneer Rosemary Metrailer and filed a lawsuit against Falwell and won nearly $9,000 in the settlement.[28] After paying his legal fees, Sloan—along with Timothy Warford, Terry Sidie, Marghe Covino, CGNIE Emperor Randy Hartman, and other community members—used the rest of the winnings from the lawsuit to open the Lambda Community Center in the heart of the Lavender Heights district at 1931 L Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1986.[29] Sloan named a closet at the center of the building after Falwell.

[21] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[22] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[23] Christine Ferris, "1980's History of Sacramento LGBTQ Community," email to Henry Feuss, July 10, 2024.
[24] Lindelof, "Gay Bars Flourish in Downtown Area As Places to Relax, Find Partners."
[25] "Story - Bar History I, 1955-1995," undated, George Raya collection.
[26] Mike Walker, "Damron Guide Reveals Sacramento Past," 2005, George Raya collection.
[27] William Burg, *Midtown Sacramento: Creative Soul of the City* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014), 41-42.
[28] Burg, *Midtown Sacramento*, 41-42.
[29] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history. CGNIE is a continuously operating drag queen and drag king club and charitable organization with a hierarchy of officers, including an Emperor, Empress, Duchess, Lord, and Princess Royal.

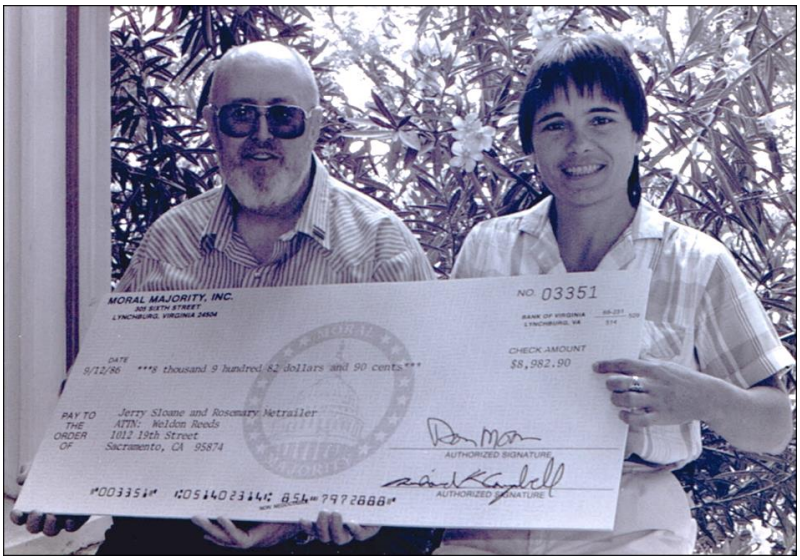


Figure 4. Reverend Jerry Sloan and Rosemary Metrailer with the check from the lawsuit against Reverend Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. Source: Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community Center.

The Lambda Community Center was similar in some ways to earlier drop-in centers for gay residents, but it offered a larger and more comprehensive scope of services and over the years served the full cross-section of Sacramento's gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender community.[30] The center provided services such as AIDS education, a youth program, political lobbying and letter-writing campaigns, health education, and a monthly newsletter.[31] A theatre troupe that performed plays with gay and lesbian themes, the Lambda Players, started at the Lambda Center on L Street in 1989 as an social and entertainment alternative to the gay bar scene. Between roughly 1997 and 1999, the center was located at 919 20th Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District). The center changed its name to the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Center in 2006 and again in 2013 to the Sacramento LGBT Community Center. The center moved to 1015 20th Street in 2019 (extant, non-contributing property outside the period of significance of the Lavender Heights Historic District).[32]

[30] Burg, *Midtown Sacramento*, 41-42.
[31] Claussen, 142.
[32] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history.

Figure 5. The first home of the Lambda Community Center at 1931 L Street.
Source: Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community Center.

HIV/AIDS Community Services

The AIDS outbreak in the 1980s and the subsequent global pandemic was a watershed moment in history that led to profound loss, stigmatization, alienation for those within the LGBTQ+ community. It had a profound impact on strengthening and unifying the community around a common cause. Members of the LGBTQ+ community quickly and harshly discovered how little support they had from within mainstream society and political institutions to help their sick and dying loved ones. Ostracized from mainstream society and lacking support or funding from government bodies and institutions, Sacramento's gay and lesbian populations took on the responsibility of managing the spread of HIV and resulting AIDS cases and caring for the sick and dying largely by itself through the mid-1980s.[33] At the forefront of local efforts were Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz, two Sacramento-based internal medicine physicians. Both members of the gay community themselves, Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz had mostly gay male patients and focused their work on the treatment of AIDS. Dr. Thompson opened a medical clinic, which mostly served gay men, at 910-912 21st Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1978. Dr. Pomerantz was a recent transplant from San Francisco and teamed up with Dr. Thompson to serve Sacramento's gay community.[34] Dr. Pomerantz authored a regular column that focused on health issues facing the gay community in the local gay newspaper *Mom…Guess What…?!.* His August 1981 column "Gay Medical Symposium: Two New Gay Illnesses" was the first mention in Sacramento of the disease that became known as AIDS.[35] *The Sacramento Bee* did not step up its coverage until 1983.

In the fall of 1982, shortly after diagnosis of the first reported case of AIDS in Sacramento, Dr. Thompson and Dr. Pomerantz met with other members of the gay and lesbian communities to brainstorm methods to manage the further spread of AIDS within their community. The meeting held by Pomerantz and Thompson in 1982 was attended by Stanley "Stan" Hadden, a senior administrative aide to State Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti, and Dr. Elizabeth Harrison, a psychiatrist and contributor to *Mom…Guess What…!.* The meeting produced the early framework of what would become the AIDS/Kaposi's Sarcoma Foundation, later changed to the Sacramento AIDS Foundation (SAF). Inspired by (and originally affiliated with) the San Francisco Aids Foundation, SAF officially began operation at 2115 J Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District) in the spring of 1983

[33] Amber Elena Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic: Aids in Sacramento, 1981-1989" (California State University, Sacramento, 2010), 28-29, Sacramento State University Library, 2–3.
[34] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29.
[35] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 24.

and provided educational advocacy along with emotional and hands-on support to patients through a service called "Hand to Hand."[36] Between 1984 and 1994, SAF was located 1900 K Street (extant, contributing property to Lavender Heights Historic District). SAF was a volunteer-run, community-funded organization. Much of the initial funding came from gay bars, including $4,000 from the leather community's main hub, the Wreck Room, which was used to get the organization started. Funding for much of the first year of operations came from the Sacramento County Public Health Department and various fundraisers and donations.[37] SAF worked in affiliation with the University of California, Davis (UC Davis) Medical Center, where Dr. Thompson served as an assistant clinical professor of medicine and family practice. Other key leaders of SAF were Dr. Jerome Lackner and Dr. Neil Flynn, head of the UC Davis AIDS Clinic. Throughout this time, SAF played an integral and often intersectional role in Sacramento's gay community, serving as a fundraiser for important medical and educational services and advocating for policy changes, among other capacities.

By 1983, studies had begun to indicate that AIDS was sexually transmitted, and Dr. Pomerantz was determined to relay this essential information to the gay community in the hope of slowing the spread of the disease.[38] Dr. Pomerantz's column in *Mom…Guess What…!*, along with others in the *Sacramento Bee,* highlighted the outreach that was done amongst Sacramento's medical professionals to educate the gay community regarding sexual health and information on HIV, a vital service at a time when little information was known about HIV and AIDS.[39] Dr. Thompson's column in *Mom…Guess What…!* was eventually syndicated and distributed nationwide to the gay and lesbian press. Dr. Thompson died of AIDS in 1986 at the age of 45. Dr. Pomerantz died of AIDS in 1993 at the age of 44.[40]

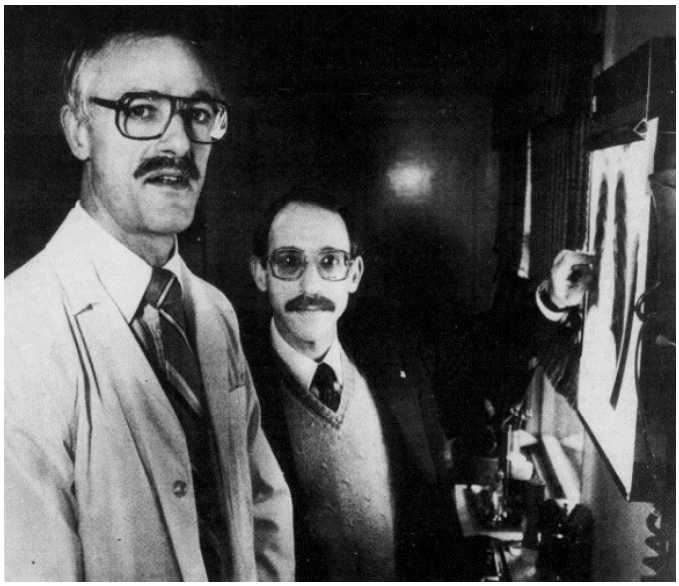


Figure 6. Dr. Harvey Thompson (left) and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz (right) in 1983. Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

Women's Services

In the 1970s, many women in Sacramento came together to create an expansive network of social services specifically for local women, including lesbians. Nationwide, many women, including Sacramento residents, were first introduced to community organizing and advocacy through the women's liberation movement. The women's movement attracted many lesbians, who faced the same issues as straight women and similarly sought recognition and equal rights. Seeking to uplift women and reject all forms of patriarchy that had historically been the source of their oppression, some of the more radical feminists came to believe that lesbianism, or love between women, and the rejection of all things male were the highest forms of feminism. These lesbian-feminists dreamed of creating self-

[36] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29.
[37] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 29-30.
[38] Don Stanley, "AIDS Nightmare: Puzzling, Deadly – And Spreading," *Sacramento Bee*, 4 January 1983: A18-A19.
[39] Piona, "How To Create Policy in an Epidemic," 3.
[40] Robert D. Davila, "Noted AIDS Physician Dead at 44," *Sacramento Bee*, 6 October 1993: B1.

sufficient, women-centered institutions and communities where women supported each other and were the primary drivers of culture and society.[41]

Inspired by the women's movement, almost all of Sacramento's first women's services and aid organizations were started by lesbian-feminists, who took it upon themselves to support women in the community who were otherwise largely overlooked and underserved by institutional systems and authorities. Many of these women's service organizations spawned from one organization, the Sacramento Women's Center. The center began as the idea of a group of approximately 30 local feminist women, many of whom were students at local colleges – including Sacramento State, UC Davis, and American River College – as well as other local women's groups, such as the YWCA and Sacramento Community Commission for Women. According to the *Sacramento Bee*, the group was led in its earliest phase by Judy Poxon, then a sophomore at Sacramento State, and Karen Burke Redman, a graduate student at UC Davis. From the start, the women envisioned the Sacramento Women's Center as having the "feminist perspective" at the core of its mission. The center would be operated collectively to provide a broad base of support for the needs of Sacramento's women. Modeled after women's centers in Davis, Oakland, Berkeley, Santa Barbara, Seattle, and Vancouver, the vision for the Sacramento Women's Center included providing temporary housing for women in need, a medical clinic, a children's day care, job placement programs, classes, workshops, a library and bookstore, and referrals to relevant community aid agencies.[42]

Figure 7. Members of the Sacramento Women's Center, likely at the 1981 March for Gay and Lesbian Rights. Source: Lavender Library.

The Sacramento Women's Center moved to several buildings across the Midtown and Downtown neighborhoods throughout the course of its existence. The earliest iteration of the center opened on Susan B. Anthony Day, February 15th, 1973, at the YWCA building at 1122 17th Street (extant but outside Lavender Heights Historic District). The center began by providing an identifiable and visible place for local women to come together to discuss women's roles in society. The center relocated to its first standalone location, a house at 1221 20th Street (demolished and outside the Lavender Heights Historic District), in 1974. The *Sacramento Bee* published a feature on the center, which by this time had expanded into the Sacramento Women's Center and Bookstore and had begun to offer some of the services its founders originally envisioned. One of those services was a rape crisis center (RCC). Although there was broad agreement among City officials and the police department about the need for such a program, the police department opposed it being run by the Sacramento Women's Center, after they reported finding lesbian books, pamphlets, and posters at the center. With no evidence, they claimed that vulnerable women who had been

[41] Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 201-206.
[42] Jan May Bassett, "Women's Center Will Have 'Feminist Perspective,' *Sacramento Bee*, 29 November 1972: 67.

physically and emotionally abused, would be coerced into becoming lesbians.[43] Despite this opposition, the City awarded the Sacramento Women's Center a $10,000 grant.[44]

In 1974, the center received a $178,000 grant from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to set up a program for women who were the victims of rape and other forms of sexual abuse.[45] The grant was one of the largest federal grants for any project in the country at the time and made RCC one of the first rape crisis center to receive federal funding in the United States. However, it required $10,000 in matching funds from local sources. To match the federal funds, RCC borrowed the money from ten local woman, and RCC held self-defense classes, taught by Midge Marino, a black belt martial artist who taught self-defense at Sacramento State University's Women's Studies Program. RCC charged money for some of these classes to reimburse the women. Some of them in turn donated their money to RCC and others were paid back.[46] RCC turned down a second year of funding from LEAA, after LEAA required that RCC disavow that any lesbians worked there and that the program establish a governing board, 50% of which consisted of law enforcement personnel, as conditions for continued funding. Both conditions were untenable to the Women's Center.[47]

Initially led by Women's Center members Inga Mountain and Kathy "Kit" Mahoney, by 1975, Kate Guzman, the newly formed Rape Crisis Center (RCC) provided 24-hours services for rape victims, including individual and group counseling, assistance dealing with the legal and hospital systems, self-defense classes and speaker series on women's issues, and a 24-hour telephone hotline, which was staffed by volunteers who provided immediate emotional support to rape victims. The hotline received 145 calls in its first three months alone. It also gave educational sessions about sexual assault and abuse on local public television and at other women's centers across California.[48]

Figure 8. A group of women and children at the Sacramento Women's Center at 1221 20th Street (1974). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

With calls for help pouring in, the staff of the Women's Center discovered there were other serious unmet needs facing the women of Sacramento. Women who called in that were experiencing abuse needed a safe place for themselves, and sometimes their children, to stay to escape their abusers. The idea for a shelter evolved into a broad-reaching range of services for Sacramento's low-income mothers. Claudia Deuel (also known as Claudia Desmangles) was a key figure in the development of such an agency within the Sacramento Women's Center. Deuel was, herself, a single mother, who knew the struggles of low-income single mothers well. While completing her bachelor's degree in psychology, she used welfare to care for her son and eventually became so physically

[43] Jeff Raimundo, "Women 'Appalled,'" *Sacramento Bee*, 12 July 1974: 21.
[44] Bathen, "Women's Center Raps Council Unit On Rape Crisis Funding."
[45] Sigrid Bathen, "Women's Center Raps Council Unit On Rape Crisis Funding," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 July 1975: B3.
[46] Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[47] Theresa Corrigan, "Edits," email to Clare Flynn, September 25, 2024.
[48] Sigrid Bathen, "Capital Rape Victim Helped Inspire New Legislation," *Sacramento Bee*, 15 September 1974.

debilitated that she had to be hospitalized with rheumatic fever and permanent heart damage.[49] Initially, the Sacramento Women's Center assisted single mothers by serving as a home for women to share childcare and household expenses, as well as an emotional outlet to discuss and process their feelings. In Spring 1974, the Sacramento Women's Center submitted a grant proposal to Sacramento County to expand their services for low-income mothers into a more comprehensive program, which would include a 24-hour hotline, a drop-in center, counseling services, a children's playroom, a lending library, emergency clothing closet, and a referral service for legal aid, child care, pregnancy and birth control information, and housing assistance.[50] The county awarded the center a $71,000 grant. The resulting organization was named Mothers Emergency Stress Service (MESS).[51]

In 1975, a group of abused Hispanic women formed a second separate organization to aid victims of domestic violence called Women Escaping A Violent Environment (WEAVE).[52] In 1978, WEAVE was formally established as a nonprofit organization, and funding sources that had previously been allotted to MESS were shifted to WEAVE. MESS dissolved shortly after. By the mid-1980s, services offered by RCC were also absorbed into WEAVE.[53]

Despite this internal turmoil, the Sacramento Women's Center persevered and continued to grow. Under Guzman's coordination, by the late 1970s, the organization had matured into a sophisticated and professional government-funded service center.[54] In 1979, a new program, Women's Employment Services Training (WEST), was established under the Women's Center's umbrella of services. The program was funded by a $200,000 federal grant for funds from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).[55] Led by Robin Purdy, editor of the early feminist newsletter *Gibbous Rising*, WEST provided training for women who were struggling to find long-term employment and had been on welfare. The program offered trainings and workshops on topics such as resume writing and interview techniques, on-site career counseling, and travel vouchers and a clothing closet for women to attend job interviews.[56]

In 1980, Theresa Corrigan, who had been involved with the Women's Center in many capacities – including as a staff member at RCC, author of the grant proposals that funded WEST and Women's Stress Alternatives, and president of the center for a period – purchased the stock of the Women's Center's bookstore along with her partner Kathy Haberman and Karie Wyble with plans to continue the bookstore at a new location under a new name, Lioness Books. Seeking a property that the Sacramento Women's Center and bookstore could call their own, without the risk of being forced to move, Corrigan and Haberman purchased a converted Colonial Revival house at 2224 J Street (extant, contributor to the Lavender Heights Historic District) in 1982. More than 35 volunteers, most of whom were women, volunteered their time mostly on weekends to renovate the old building for reuse. Haberman, who was a builder and handyperson, typically working 14-hour days, seven days a week, to bring the building up to commercial code.[57] While the building at 2224 J Street was being renovated, Corrigan reopened the bookstore at a temporary location at 1311 21st Street (extant, non-contributor outside the Lavender Heights Historic District). Corrigan had renamed the bookstore Lioness Books, drawing inspiration from the role of female lions in a pride, because "in a pride of lions, the [male] lion gets all the credit, but the lionesses do all the work."[58] The Sacramento Women's Store's bookstore and Lioness Books were the first and only women's and gay/lesbian bookstores in Sacramento for a number of years. Lioness Books fostered a welcoming and inclusive environment and worked together with other local bookstores to service the Sacramento community. Tower Books stopped carrying feminist and gay/lesbian literature and directed customers to Lioness Books, while staff at Lioness Books directed clientele who came looking for other types of literature to Tower and other local stores.[59] Lioness Books was more than a bookstore; it was an important alternative for social gatherings, entertainment, and personal connection to the lesbian bar scene. For many lesbians who moved to Sacramento, it was the first place they came after they arrived and helped them make

[49] Sigrid Bathen, "Women's Center Is for a Woman Alone Who Need Not Be," *Sacramento Bee*, 23 June 1974: 19.
[50] Bathen, "Women's Center Is for a Woman Alone Who Need Not Be."
[51] Sigrid Bathen, "Control of Women's Center May Have Been Spark for Fatal Fray," *Sacramento Bee*, 3 April 1975: 17-19.
[52] "WEAVE's Journey," WEAVE, accessed August 14, 2024, https://www.weaveinc.org/sites/main/files/file-attachments/40-yr-timeline-8.5x11_2.pdf?1518826703.
[53] Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[54] Cheryl Clark, "Women's Centers," *Sacramento Bee*, 12 April 1977: B4.
[55] Nurk Franklin, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 8, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[56] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[57] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024; Alison apRoberts, "First Women's Building True Labor of Love," *Sacramento Bee*, 18 August 1983: 29.
[58] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[59] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.

some of their first connections. The bookstore hosted events and social gatherings, had bulletin boards with information about women's and lesbian social groups and organizations, sponsored a softball team for Black lesbians called Sisters and Friends, and provided referrals to women's, lesbian, and gay service providers.[60]

Around the same time the Women's Center was relocating from Capitol Avenue to J Street, Kate Guzman left the Women's center to become the executive director of the Sacramento AIDS Foundation. In 1983, Mayor Anne Rudin participated in the official opening ceremony of the building at 2224 J Street, which she designated the First Sacramento Women's Building. Lioness Books occupied the first floor, and the offices of the Sacramento Women's Center's programs – including RCC and WEST – were located on the second floor. As previously described, RCC's services were eventually absorbed into WEAVE. Lioness Books closed in 2000, making it the longest continuously operating location of the Sacramento Women's Center and its associated agencies.[61]

Figure 9. Theresa Corrigan on the porch of the First Women's Building at 2224 J Street (1983). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.

Other Social & Community Connectors

In addition to Lioness Books and events at the Lambda Community Center, Lavender Heights offered several opportunities for members of the LGBTQ+ community to meet and make connections outside the gay bar scene. The First Methodist Church at 2100 J Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District) hosted the earliest recorded LGBTQ+ event in Lavender Heights in 1967. That year, Sacramento's earliest LGBTQ+ advocacy group, Americans For Responsible Citizenship (ARC), hosted a forum titled "The Homosexual 1967 Sacramento" at the church.[62] The First Methodist Church has had a continuous reputation for welcoming and offering a spiritual outlet for the LGBTQ+ community since that time.

In 1989, David Kwong, a former banker and founding member of the Sacramento Gay Men's Chorus, opened a gardening supply and design store called the Gifted Gardener in 2220 J Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District), one of the locations previously used by the Sacramento Women's Center. The store operated there for a little more than a year, before moving to a new location at 1730 H Street (extant, non-contributor outside the Lavender Heights Historic District), where it remained for nearly 30 years.[63]

[60] Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, July 25, 2024.
[61] Haines Criss-Cross directories, Sacramento, 1982-1999; Theresa Corrigan, conversation with Clare Flynn, August 27, 2024.
[62] William Burg, *Sacramento Renaissance: Art, Music & Activism in California's Capital City* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013), 113.
[63] Cathie Anderson, "Midtown Sacramento's Gifted Gardener Will Close," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 March 2017: A2.

In 1996, Larry Bailey and Ron Grantz opened a second gay and lesbian bookstore, The Open Book, in the neighborhood at the building formerly occupied by Dr. Harvey Thomson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz's offices at 910-912 21st Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District). The Open Book stayed open until midnight and also contained a café that hosted small live music performances, offering an important alternative for late-night socializing.[64]

Classified ads published in issues of the *Mom Guess What…! newspaper* frequently provided a means for gay and lesbian individuals met each other and found romantic relationships. People would place an ad in the newspaper and typically list a P.O. box address as their contact in order to keep their personal addresses private. According to Sacramento resident and former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers, it was common for gay individuals to meet for coffee at New Helvetia café located in the former fire station at 1215 19th Street (extant, contributing property to the Lavender Heights Historic District) or for some other activity after work.[65]

Lavender Heights Post-2000s

The tight-knit character of Lavender Heights as an enclave primarily by and for members of the LGBTQ+ community shifted by the early 2000s as social acceptance of LGBTQ+ people, identities, and expressions became more common and a growing number of straight people began to patronize the area's gay bars and businesses. As the LGBTQ+ community became more mainstream and the number of LGBTQ+-friendly businesses grew, competition increased and the drive to support LGBTQ+ businesses as an act of resistance, survival, and pride from within the LGBTQ+ community declined. Terry Sidie reflected that Lavender Heights lost much of its previous "oomph" by 2005. "There's not the same energy as before," he said.[66] That year, the Open Book, a gay and lesbian bookstore closed, citing competition from other stores and waning support from LGBTQ+ patrons. Looking back on the evolution of Lavender Heights since the 1970s, Fred Palmer, publisher of the LGBTQ+ publication *Outword Magazine*, reflected in 2005, "[Lavender Heights] used to be a true 'gay ghetto' business district, but it's lost a lot of its gay focus. What that tells you is that the local gay community has grown up, that Sacramento in general is a safer place to be publicly gay."[67] Several community members confirmed in oral history interviews conducted in 2024 for the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project that the close community-oriented character of Lavender Heights dissolved around the year 2000.

D6. Significance: (continued)

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places. In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Criterion 1 (Events): The Lavender Heights Historic District is significant under Criterion 1 as a distinct geographic area that contains a concentration of properties with significant associations to the history of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Properties within the district represent the founding locations, headquarters, primary meeting places, or

[64] Walt Yost, "Booksellers Provide Rare, Eclectic Works," *Sacramento Bee*, 13 June 1996: 2A.
[65] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.
[66] Jon Ortiz, "No Longer a Sure Sell," *Sacramento Bee*, 14 April 2005: A1.
[67] Ortiz, "No Longer a Sure Sell."

places of activity for LGBTQ+ businesses, clubs, organizations, advocacy groups, community or service centers, or other social, cultural, or community groups that made a significant contribution to the LGBTQ+ community during its formative years. The district is also significant for its association with historic patterns of the LGBTQ+ community's participation in commercial, social, artistic, cultural, spiritual, or recreational pursuits and other aspects of daily life. Lavender Heights is significant as the home of several longtime LGBTQ+ cultural landmarks and for its role in fostering safe and accepting spaces for LGBTQ+ business owners and patrons since the late 1960s. Following the early establishment of several gay bars and pioneering social clinics in the 1970s and early 1980s including the Mercantile Saloon, Faces, the Lambda Community Center/LGBT Community Center, and Sacramento Women's Center and Bookstore (later Lioness Books), the neighborhood flourished into a hub for the LGBTQ+ community and has continued to attract new residents and businesses. Lavender Heights has played an important role in providing avenues for kinship, safe social networks, and mutual aid services to the LGBTQ+ community. The district became a self-defined space in which LGBTQ+ individuals could express themselves freely, pursue business opportunities, and seek a range of intersectional services during the HIV/AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s, when harsh discrimination was prevalent in most realms of society. Lavender Heights continues to be an important landmark of LGBTQ+ cultural heritage in Sacramento. For these reasons, the Lavender Heights Historic District appears eligible under Criterion 1.

Criterion 2 (Persons): The Lavender Heights Historic District is significant under Criterion 2 for its association with several LGBTQ+ persons who played an important role in the formation of a vibrant, tight-knit LGBTQ+ community in the City of Sacramento from the late 1960s to the early 2000s. The district is closely associated with the important historic contributions of LGBTQ+ persons and community leaders, including *Mom Guess What…!* newspaper founder Linda Birner; Lambda Community Center/LGBT Community Center founder Reverend Jerry Sloan; AIDS treatment, research, and education pioneers Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz; local business and community leader and philanthropist Terry Sidie; and women's services leaders Theresa Corrigan and Kate Guzman, among many others, each of whom played an important role in establishing a sense of community visibility, identity, connectedness, safety, support and standards of care for the LGBTQ+ community within Lavender Heights and across the broader Sacramento region. For these reasons, the Lavender Heights Historic District appears to be significant under Criterion 2.

Criterion 3 (Architecture): The Lavender Heights Historic District does not appear to be significant under Criterion 3. As a grouping of buildings with construction dates ranging from around 1895 to 1972, the district contributors include several architectural styles, none of which are distinct examples. District contributors vary in scale, massing, and style, and do not conform to any cohesive style or period of construction. The district contributors also do not represent the work of a recognized LGBTQ+ architect, builder, designer, or creative individual, nor do they possess high artistic or historic value. Therefore, the district is not eligible under Criterion 3.

Criterion 4 (Information Potential): The Lavender Heights Historic District does not appear to be significant under Criterion 4. The "potential to yield information important to the prehistory or history of California" typically relates to archeological resources, rather than built resources. When Criterion 4 (Information Potential) does relate to built resources, it is relevant for cases when a building itself is the principal source of important construction-related information. The historic district as a grouping does not appear to include construction methods or materials which, with further research, would yield important historical information.

Integrity
In order to qualify for listing in any local, state, or national historic register, a property or landscape must possess significance under at least one evaluative criterion as described above and retain integrity. Integrity is defined by the California Office of Historic Preservation as "the authenticity of an historical resource's physical identity evidenced by the survival of characteristics that existed during the resource's period of significance," or more simply defined by the National Park Service as "the ability of a property to convey its significance."[68]

The Lavender Heights Historic District retains overall integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. The historic district and its contributing buildings remain in their original locations, and no buildings have been moved or

[68] California Office of Historic Preservation, *Technical Assistance Series No. 7: How to Nominate a Resource to the California Register of Historical Resources* (Sacramento: California Office of State Publishing, 4 September 2001), 11; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1995), 44.

rotated. While the surrounding neighborhood in Midtown Sacramento has evolved and experienced some development and changes in demographics since 2000, Lavender Heights retains its characteristic eclectic mixture of moderately scaled residential, commercial, and institutional buildings, which were built from the late 19th century to the present day and house a variety of businesses and community services. The district continues to have a thriving nightlife scene and retains its feeling of inclusivity and safety for the LGBTQ+ community thanks to the presence of new and legacy LGBTQ+ owned and occupied businesses, institutions, and service organizations, several of which have remained in continuous operation in their original locations since the district's period of significance. Although some contributors to the historic district have been physically altered since 2000, integrity of materials, design, and workmanship are less essential for a district that is significant under Criteria 1/i and 2/ii. The contributors would still be recognizable today to LGBTQ+ individuals who visited them during the district's period of significance. Lavender Heights continues to be strongly identified by the general population as the cultural, social, and historic center of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and, therefore, retains its historic association with the community. As such, the Lavender Heights Historic District retains overall historic integrity.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

B. Listing on the Sacramento Register—Historic districts. A geographic area nominated as a historic district shall be listed on the Sacramento register as a historic district if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:

1. Requirements.
    a. The area is a geographically definable area; or
    b. The area possesses either:
        i. A significant concentration or continuity of buildings unified by: (A) past events or (B) aesthetically by plan or physical development; or
        ii. The area is associated with an event, person, or period significant or important to city history; or
    c. The designation of the geographic area as a historic district is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to protect, promote and further the goals and purposes of this chapter and is not inconsistent with other goals and policies of the city.
2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a geographic area on the Sacramento register as a historic district, the following factors shall be considered:
    a. A historic district should have integrity of design, setting, materials, workmanship and association;
    b. The collective historic value of the buildings and structures in a historic district taken together may be greater than the historic value of each individual building or structure.

C. Listing on the Sacramento register-Contributing resources. A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento register as a contributing resource if the council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the following requirements are satisfied:

1. The nominated resource is within a historic district;
2. The nominated resource either embodies the significant features and characteristics of the historic district or adds to the historical associations, historical architectural qualities or archaeological values identified for the historic district;
3. The nominated resource was present during the period of historical significance of the historic district and relates to the documented historical significance of the historic district;
4. nominated resource either possesses historic integrity or is capable of yielding important information about the period of historical significance of the historic district; and
5. The nominated resource has important historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a contributing resource is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to protect, promote and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

(B) Listing on the Sacramento Register – Historic Districts	
(1) Requirements	
(a)	As described in the previous discussion on California Register Criterion 1, the Lavender Heights Historic District meets requirement (a) for listing on the Sacramento Register, because it is a geographically definable area, consisting of a collection of extant properties with known historic associations to the city's LGBTQ+ community that are concentrated around the enclave's epicenter at the intersection of 20th and K streets.
(b) (i)	As described in the previous discussion on California Register Criterion 1, the Lavender Heights Historic District meets requirement (b)(i) as an area that possesses a significant concentration of buildings unified by their association with the development of an identifiable LGBTQ+ enclave within the City of Sacramento during the LGBTQ+ community's its formative years from the late 1960s to approximately the year 2000.
(b) (ii)	The Lavender Heights Historic District meets requirement (b)(ii). As described in the previous discussion for California Register Criterion 2, the historic district is strongly associated with the development of a visible LGBTQ+ community within the City of Sacramento, as well as several significant individuals who were instrumental in the establishment, development, and growth of the LGBTQ+ community, including but not limited to Linda Birner, Reverend Jerry Sloan, Dr. Harvey Thompson, Dr. Sandy Pomerantz, Terry Sidie, Theresa Corrigan, Kate Guzman, and others.
(c)	The Lavender Heights Historic District meets requirement (c) as it aligns with the goals and purposes of historic preservation in Sacramento, as well as the city's other goals and policies. Lavender Heights is a vibrant, beloved centerpiece of Sacramento. Per the Sacramento City Code, the preservation of districts such as Lavender Heights enhances the "city's economic, cultural and aesthetic standing, its identity and its livability, marketability, and urban character."
(2) Factors to be considered	
(a)	As discussed in the integrity evaluation, the Lavender Heights Historic District retains integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. As such, it retains sufficient overall integrity to meet this factor for consideration as a historic district.
(b)	The Lavender Heights Historic District meets factor (2)(b), because its contributing properties represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose collective historic value is greater when taken as a whole.

(C) Listing on the Sacramento Register – Contributing Resources		
Address	**Historic Name**	**Property meets all contributing resource criteria specified in Sacramento City Code section 17.604.210.C.1-5**
1215 19th Street	New Helvetia Roaster	The New Helvetia Roaster, located within the Lavender Heights Historic District, was an integral part of the district's community fabric from 1991 to 2002. As a site representing LGBTQ+ community life during the 1990s, it contributed to the district's social and cultural narrative. Although no longer in use, it remains a key reflection of the district's social and architectural characteristics from its active years. Its role in representing the district's evolution justifies its status as a contributing resource.
919 20th Street	Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and AIDS Response Programs (ca. 1997-1999)	The Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, and AIDS Response Programs, active from approximately 1997 to 1999, were significant in addressing AIDS and supporting LGBTQ+ communities. Situated within the Lavender Heights Historic District, this site played a crucial role in the district's history of health advocacy and LGBTQ+ support. Despite no longer being in use, it maintains historical importance and reflects the district's past efforts in these areas. Its historical impact supports its designation as a contributing resource.
912 21st Street	Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz offices / The Open Book	The offices of Dr. Harvey Thompson and Dr. Sandy Pomerantz, which later became The Open Book, were significant from 1978 to 1987 and again from 1996-2005. Located within the Lavender Heights Historic District, these offices were pivotal in the LGBTQ+ cultural and social landscape. They were present during crucial periods of the district's history, including early in the AIDS crisis, adding to its narrative.

(C) Listing on the Sacramento Register – Contributing Resources		
Address	**Historic Name**	**Property meets all contributing resource criteria specified in Sacramento City Code section 17.604.210.C.1-5**
		Although the site is no longer in use, it retains historical significance and contributes to the district's understanding of LGBTQ+ culture.
2100 J Street	First United Methodist Church	The First United Methodist Church, an ongoing institution from around 1967 to the present, is a key site within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It has been a continuous venue for LGBTQ+ events and activities, reflecting its importance in the district's religious and social history. Its ongoing operation underscores its historical integrity and significance, making it a vital contributing resource for the district.
2115 J Street	Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices	The First United Methodist Church, an ongoing institution from around 1967 to the present, is a key site within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It has been a continuous venue for LGBTQ+ events and activities, reflecting its importance in the district's religious and social history. Its ongoing operation underscores its historical integrity and significance, making it a vital contributing resource for the district.
2220 J Street	Sacramento Women's Center/ The Gifted Gardener	The Sacramento Women's Center, active from 1975 to 1976, was an important site within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It contributed to women's and LGBTQ+ advocacy during its operational years, enhancing the district's historical narrative of support for marginalized groups. Despite its closure, the site's historical significance in early advocacy efforts supports its designation as a contributing resource. The Gifted Gardener, a popular gay-owned business that operated in Sacramento for nearly 30 years, first opened at 2220 J Street in 1989.
2224 J Street	Lioness Books, Sacramento Women's Center, Rape Crisis Center, WEST	Lioness Books, the Sacramento Women's Center, Rape Crisis Center, and WEST, operating from approximately 1982 to 1999, were integral to the Lavender Heights Historic District's advocacy network. These organizations contributed significantly to LGBTQ+ and women's services, reflecting the district's role in social activism. The site's historical importance and its multifaceted role in community services justify its contributing status, despite its current non-use.
1900 K Street	Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices	The Sacramento AIDS Foundation offices at 1900 K Street, active from 1986 to 1994, were an important part of the Lavender Heights Historic District's efforts to address the AIDS crisis. While the offices are no longer operational, their historical role in health support and advocacy during a critical period of the district's history underscores their significance. This historical impact supports its designation as a contributing resource.
2000 K Street	K Street Station/Faces gay bar	K Street Station, known as Faces gay bar since 1985, remains an active and significant venue within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It has played a crucial role in LGBTQ+ nightlife and culture, contributing to the district's social and cultural history. Its ongoing operation and importance in the district's LGBTQ+ community validate its status as a contributing resource.
2001 K Street	The Western/The Depot gay bar	The Western, later known as The Depot gay bar, has been a prominent LGBTQ+ venue since around 1997. Located within the Lavender Heights Historic District, it has significantly contributed to the district's nightlife and cultural scene. Its continued operation and role in the district's LGBTQ+ history affirm its historical integrity and importance as a contributing resource.
1928 L Street	Mercantile Saloon gay bar	The Mercantile Saloon, a gay bar active since 1976, is a significant site within the Lavender Heights Historic District. It has been a key venue for LGBTQ+ social activities, reflecting the district's historical narrative. Its ongoing operation and long-term contribution to the district's community life support its designation as a contributing resource.

(C) Listing on the Sacramento Register – Contributing Resources		
Address	**Historic Name**	**Property meets all contributing resource criteria specified in Sacramento City Code section 17.604.210.C.1-5**
1931 L Street	Lambda Community Center, Lambda Players, Stop AIDS Project	The Lambda Community Center and Stop AIDS Project, active from 1987 to approximately 1998, were pivotal in providing services and support to the LGBTQ+ community and addressing the AIDS epidemic within the Lavender Heights Historic District. This site significantly contributed to the district's advocacy and support network during a critical period, underscoring its importance in the district's history. Although the site is no longer operational, its historical impact on public health and LGBTQ+ support justifies its status as a contributing resource.

Conclusion

The Lavender Heights Historic District appears to be eligible for listing on the California Register and Sacramento Register under Criterion 1/i for its association with important developments in establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and as the home to many important LGBTQ+ businesses and organizations during the community's formative years from the late 1960s to around the year 2000.The Lavender Heights Historic District also appears to be eligible for listing under Criterion 2/ii for its association with several important LGBTQ+ community leaders and businesspersons who made important contributions to the development and visibility of the community as a whole.

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State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 1401 Alhambra Boulevard
P1. Other Identifier: Incredible Edible Place restaurant

*P2. **Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
- ***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
- ***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
- c. Address 1401 Alhambra Boulevard City Sacramento Zip 95816
- d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
- e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
1401 Alhambra Boulevard (APN 007-0215-001 and 007-215-002) is a one-story, 1,610-square-foot commercial building located on the southeast corner of the intersection of Alhambra Boulevard and N Street in the East Sacramento neighborhood of Sacramento. The building was constructed in 1975 and has a roughly square footprint with a hipped parapet roof with broadly overhanging boxed wood eaves and clay tile roofing. The northwest, northeast, and roughly two-thirds of the southwest facades are clad with painted concrete blocks, while the west third of the southwest façade and all of the southeast facades are clad with vertical wood siding. The northwest facade, facing Alhambra Boulevard, and northeast façade, facing N Street, are the primary facades of the building and contain public entrances to the building (**Figure 1** and **Figure 2**). These entries are located in arched openings with glazed metal storefront doors. (Continued on Page 3)

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View southeast of 1401 Alhambra Blvd., taken August 13, 2024.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
1975, Source: Sacramento County Assessor.

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Alhambra 1401 LLC, 6040 Bayville Ct. Granite Bay, CA 95746

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience
History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)

***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

*Resource Name or # 1401 Alhambra Boulevard
B1. Historic name: Incredible Edible Place
B2. Common name:
B3. Original Use: Commercial
B4. Present use: Commercial
*B5. Architectural Style: Spanish Eclectic
*B6. Construction History: (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)
Jerry Staveris submitted a permit to construct a restaurant at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard in 1974.[1] According to the Sacramento County Assessor, the building was completed in 1975.[2] (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

*B7. Moved? ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown Date: Original Location:
*B8. Related Features: None
B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown
*B10. Significance: Theme Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community Area Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1977-1992 Property Type Commercial Applicable Criteria 1/I, 2/ii

Historic Context:

Incredible Edible Place (1977-1992)

Gay businessman Paul Fitzgerald opened the Incredible Edible Place restaurant at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard in 1977. According to a 1979 article in *Mom Guess What…!* highlighting gay businesses in Sacramento, Fitzgerald's goal for the Incredible Edible Place was to give Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community "good and affordable service."[3] Though he desired for Sacramento to have a restaurant solely for the LGBTQ+ community, he recognized that when his restaurant opened in the late 1970s, the local LGBTQ+ community was not yet large enough to support an openly gay restaurant in the numbers required to sustain a healthy business. The restaurant's staff were evenly split between gay and straight employees, and patrons also included a mix of both gay and straight people. Fitzgerald was a prominent advocate for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. He was particularly committed to the development of a gay business community. In his interview with *Mom Guess What…!,* he stated: "I feel that gay people should support gay businesses and that the gay business community should educate the rest of the community as to the advantages of gay businesses such as: political clout, getting more gay people into other fields such as doctors, mechanics, etc."[4] With this goal in mind, he extended the hours of the Incredible Edible Place into the evening on weekends to provide a space for LGBTQ+ patrons to gather for a late-night snack or cup of coffee.

As a result of the welcoming and safe environment fostered by Fitzgerald, the Incredible Edible Place became a popular meeting place for local LGBTQ+ clubs and organizations. It was the site of the first meeting of the Advocates for Gay State Employees (AGSE) in 1979. AGSE was formed by a group of State employees earlier that year to provide input to the State Personnel Board about implementation of Governor Jerry Brown's executive order, prohibiting discrimination against State employees on the basis of sexual preference.[5] (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. References: Refer to footnotes
B13. Remarks: N/A
*B14. Evaluator: Page & Turnbull, Inc.
*Date of Evaluation: October 8, 2024

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

[1] "City Building Permits," *Sacramento Bee*, 23 June 1974: E13.
[2] Sacramento County Assessor, Assessor Parcel Viewer, accessed September 4, 2024, https://assessorparcelviewer.saccounty.gov/jsviewer/assessor.html#.
[3] James K. Graham, "Gay Business…Right Here in River City," *Mom Guess What…!,* April 1979.
[4] Graham, "Gay Business…Right Here in River City."
[5] "Gay State Employees Have a Voice," *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 September 1979.

***P3a. Description (continued):**
Large arched storefront openings flank the entrances. The door and window openings are surrounded by projecting concrete block borders. A large coffee cup sculpture and signage for Starbucks Coffee sits on a flat semicircular platform on the roof at the northwest corner of the building. The southwest façade faces a small surface parking lot and has one arched storefront window (**Figure 3**). The southeast façade faces a small concrete paved patio that is surrounded by a low concrete block wall with metal pickets (**Figure 4**). The subject block is bounded by Alhambra Boulevard to the northwest, N Street to the northeast, 32nd Street to the southeast, and Carly Way to the southwest. 1401 Alhambra Boulevard is zoned C-2-SPD (General Commercial/Special Planning District).

Figure 1. Northwest facade, view southeast.

Figure 2. Northeast facade, view southeast.

Figure 3. Southwest facade, view north.

Figure 4. Southeast façade, view west.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

Page 1 **of** 6 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 1725 L Street
P1. Other Identifier: Offices of *Mom…Guess What…!*

***P2. Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 1725 L Street City Sacramento Zip 95811
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)

1725 L Street (APN 006-0126-010) is a one-story, 2,716-square-foot commercial building located on the north side of L Street in Midtown, Sacramento. 1725 L Street consists of a one-story brick masonry commercial storefront built in 1923 attached to a two-story, wood-frame, former residential building constructed around 1880. The primary south façade fronts L Street and features brick cladding with an asymmetrical fenestration, including divided- and single-lite fixed wood storefront windows and a glazed door beneath a fabric awning. The east façade faces a narrow alleyway, and the west façade is attached to the neighboring building at 1729-1731 L Street. The rear façade is obscured from the public right-of-way. The subject block is bounded by 18th Street to the east, Kayak Alley to the north, 17th Street to the west, and L Street to the south. 1725 L Street is zoned C-2-SPD (General Commercial/Special Planning District).

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View north of the south facade, taken July 15, 2024.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
Ca.1880, Source: Sanborn maps

***P7. Owner and Address:**
St John's Lutheran Church
Sacramento, 1701 L St., Sacramento, CA 95811

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Page & Turnbull, *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project Historic Context Statement* (2024)
***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

*Resource Name or # 1725 L Street

B1. Historic name: Offices of *Mom…Guess What…!*

B2. Common name:

B3. Original Use: Residential

B4. Present use: Commercial/Residential

*B5. **Architectural Style:** Commercial storefront

*B6. **Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

The property first appeared on Sanborn insurance maps in 1895, although the address was referenced in local newspaper records as early as 1887 **(Figure 1)**. From 1895 to 1952, several additions were added to the rear façade, along with infill of an addition to the primary façade of the house portion. The commercial storefront was added in 1923 **(Figures 2 and 3).**

(Refer to continuation sheet, page 3).

*B7. **Moved?** ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown **Date:** **Original Location:**

*B8. **Related Features:** None

B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown

*B10. **Significance: Theme** Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community **Area** Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1988-2003 **Property Type** Commercial/Residential **Applicable Criteria** 1/i; 2ii

Historic Context:

Mom…Guess What…! Newspaper

The longest-running and most influential of all of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ media was the *Mom...Guess What…!* (MGW) newspaper. MGW operated from its longtime location at 1725 L Street (the subject property) from circa 1988-2003. The newspaper was founded by local resident Linda Birner and ran its first issue in November 1978, roughly around the same time that similar newspapers launched in major North American cities, including New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., Toronto, Philadelphia, Montreal, San Francisco, Denver, Los Angeles, and others.[1] Early staff members, all of whom initially worked as volunteers, included publisher and design director Linda Birner, executive editor David S. Weinerth, editor James K. Graham, associated editors Bill Spiller and J. Anne Wessel, and photographers Jan-Michelle Sawyer and Adam Ciesielski. Contributing writers included Allen Chamberlain, Sue Diehl, Ron Drum, Colleen Moreland, Greg Low, Doug Biggert, Arthur Corbin, and Zana S. Blazer.[2] Former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers later contributed to sections on politics, art, and culture.[3] The group initially worked out of Birner's house at 3441 Fair Oaks Boulevard, where they brainstormed the name of the paper and assigned and wrote stories, before eventually moving to an office of its own at 1919 21st Street (extant) from 1980-1982.

(Refer to continuation sheet, page 3).

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. **References:** Refer to footnotes

B13. Remarks: N/A

*B14. **Evaluator:** Page & Turnbull, Inc.

***Date of Evaluation:** October 8, 2024

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

[1] David. C. Weinerth, "From the Inside Out," *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 December 1978.
[2] *Mom…Guess What…!* , 1 November 1978.
[3] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**
From visual analysis during a July 2024 site visit, it appears that aluminum windows were installed at an unknown time on the primary façade of the wood-frame house portion. Apart from cosmetic changes to retail signage and awning at the front storefront addition, no other major exterior alterations appear to have taken place to the house or storefront portions of the property during or after the period of significance.

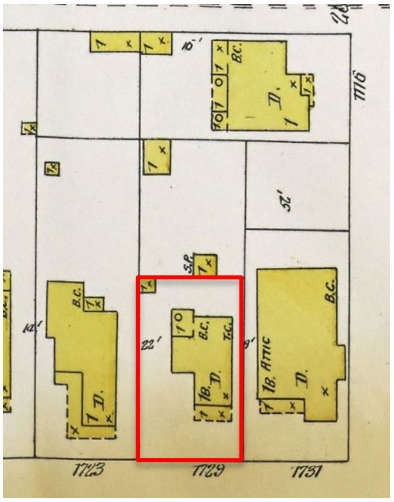

Figure 1: Sanborn-Perris Map Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1895. Page 17L. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

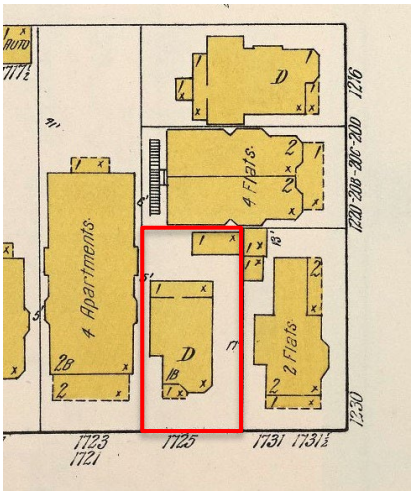

Figure 2: Sanborn Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1915. Volume One, Page 41. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

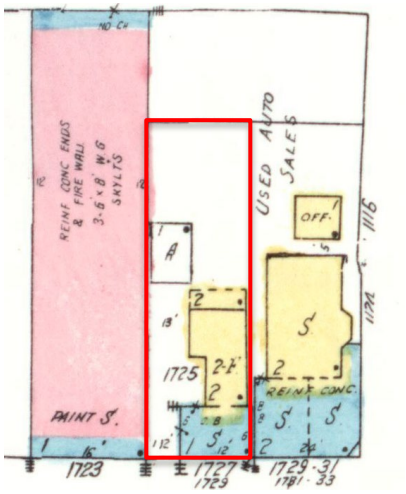

Figure 3: Sanborn Map Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1952. Volume One, Page 41. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library.. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)
In contrast to many of the sexually oriented publications directed toward the gay community at the time, Birner insisted that MGW be a "clean" newspaper without sexually explicit content so that it could appeal to a broader audience, could be openly displayed on coffee tables in public places, and could improve the self-esteem of the gay community.[4] The newspaper was published monthly and distributed at gay bars and restaurants, the Sacramento Women's Center, and other local gay businesses, establishments, and social gathering places.[5]

At a time when the gay and lesbian communities were often distinctly separate from each other, *MGW* was designed as a newspaper for both gay men and lesbians across the Sacramento area and wider region. Reflecting one of its goals of increasing awareness, understanding, and acceptance toward the gay community among the broader population, it also notably targeted straight allies, or "Friends," as part of its main readership base. This mission was explicitly stated on the first page of its first issue:

> "*MOM…GUESS WHAT…!"* is a tabloid newspaper that happens to be Gay. It's for women and men in the Sacramento Valley area and the Mother Lode countries who happen to be gay and for their friends who happen to like sharing the enjoyment of their friends who happen to be gay.
>
> "MOM…GUESS WHAT…!" is designed to appeal to the interests of a lot of nice people who may not know each other yet but probably should. After all, Sacramento's a big place. In and around River City there are thousands of Lesbians, Gay Men, and Friends of all ages and all walks of life who are not only interesting and unique in themselves, but who are also eager to find out more about each other and about their many opportunities for social activity, recreation, and personal growth through involvement with each other.[6]

As demonstrated by its original mission statement, *MGW* went beyond political activism and was explicitly intended to foster the creation of a gay community in Sacramento. In the newspaper's one-year anniversary issue, associate editor James Graham

[4] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," Center for Sacramento History.
[5] *Mom…Guess What…!* , 1 November 1978.
[6] *Mom…Guess What…!,* 1 November 1978.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION
PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code 3CS, 5S3
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

*Resource Name or #: (Assigned by recorder) 2215 P Street
P1. Other Identifier: Gay Alternative Coffeehouse

*P2. Location: ☐ Not for Publication ☒ Unrestricted
*a. County Sacramento and (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
*b. USGS 7.5' Quad Sacramento East, CA. Date 2021 T 8N ; R 5E ; ☐ of Mt. Diablo ☐ of Sec 00 ; B.M.
c. Address 2215 P Street City Sacramento Zip 95816
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

*P3a. Description: (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
2215 P Street (APN 702-540-190-000) is a two-story, 1,440-square-foot multi-family residential building located on the north side of P Street in the Winn Park neighborhood of Sacramento. The building was constructed in 1900 and has a rectangular footprint with a hipped roof, overhanging boxed wood eaves, and composite roofing. It is clad with horizontal clapboard siding throughout. The north facade, facing P Street, is the primary facade of the building (**Figure 1** and **Figure 2**). A detached ADU is located behind the main residential building. The subject block is bounded by 23rd Street to the east, Opera Alley to the north, and 22nd Street to the west. 2215 P Street is zoned R-3A-SPD (Multi-family Alternative Residential 36 units/acre/Special Planning District).

(Continued on Page 3)

*P3b. Resource Attributes: (List attributes and codes) HP3. Multiple family property

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

*P4. Resources Present:
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) Primary façade, view north, taken August 13, 2024.

*P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source: ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
1900, Source: Sacramento County Assessor.

*P7. Owner and Address:
Keith R/Alice M. Kelly Family Revocable Trust, P.O. Box 162612
Sacramento, CA 95816

*P8. Recorded by: (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

*P9. Date Recorded: October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

*P11. Report Citation: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)

*Attachments: ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

*Resource Name or # 2215 P Street

B1. Historic name: Gay Alternative Coffeehouse
B2. Common name:
B3. Original Use: Residential
B4. Present use: Residential

*B5. **Architectural Style:** Queen Anne Free Classic

*B6. **Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

2215 P Street was built in 1900. In 2009, a permit was issued for reroofing the rear porch with composite shingles.[1] In 2022, two permits were issued: the first to convert the second story of the main residential building to an ADU, and the second to construct a detached ADU at the rear of the property.[2] Windows appear to have been replaced with vinyl sash and a new concrete staircase was constructed at an unknown date. (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

*B7. **Moved?** ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown **Date:** _____ **Original Location:** _____

*B8. **Related Features:** None

B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown

*B10. **Significance: Theme** Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community **Area** Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1971-1972 **Property Type** Residential **Applicable Criteria** 1/i

Historic Context:

Gay Alternative Coffeehouse

The intersection of P and 22nd streets was a hub for local LGBTQ+ activity in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1971, the first known LGBTQ+ coffeehouse opened at a building around the corner from the Pink Fairy Palace at 2215 P Street. The coffee shop was located in Apartment #2, which was the apartment of a man named Edgar, who was a writer for Gay Voice Sacramento, one of the first LGBTQ+ newsletters in Sacramento. Edgar was likely Edgar Carpenter, a student at Sacramento State College (now California State University, Sacramento and also known as Sacramento State University or CSUS) at the time and a leader in the gay liberation group, the Society for Homosexual Freedom (SHF), that was founded at the college. SHF held its early meetings at the coffeeshop in 1971.149 It also hosted a series of gay community potluck dinners.

The coffeeshop, appropriately known as the Gay Alternative Coffeehouse, was created as space for young gay people to socialize outside the gay bar scene. It operated from approximately 1971-1972. According to a piece written by Edgar in *Gay Voice Sacramento* around the time the coffee shop opened:

> The reason the coffeehouse has been started is that there is no gay scene in Sacramento outside of the bars (no gay scene for those of us under twenty-one) where we are charged exorbitant prices for drinks in a noisy, impersonal, meat-rack atmosphere which is the opposite of the atmosphere of community and brotherhood/sisterhood.[3]

To furnish the coffeehouse, *Gay Voice Sacramento* solicited donations of pillows, rugs, artwork, other décor items and a refrigerator.[4] In 1972, the Gay Alternative Coffeeshop moved to another apartment building at 1516 29th Street (extant).[5]

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. **References:** Refer to footnotes
B13. Remarks: N/A
*B14. **Evaluator:** Page & Turnbull, Inc.
***Date of Evaluation:** October 8, 2024

(This space reserved for official comments.)

[1] City of Sacramento, Community Development Department. Permit #9800095. Sacramento, California: June 16, 2009.
[2] City of Sacramento, Community Development Department. Permit #RES-2204147. Sacramento, California: February 24, 2022; City of Sacramento, Community Development Department. Permit #ADR-2200078. Sacramento, California: March 8, 2022.
[3] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 1, 1971.
[4] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 1, 1971.
[5] *Gay Voice Sacramento*, No. 2, undated.

***P3a. Description: (Continued)**

The subject property is two stories in height with a hipped roof and hipped dormers on the south, east, and west facades. The primary north façade features a two-story wood frame porch with simple Tuscan columns and wood baluster. The second story of the porch is accessed from a set of concrete stairs with metal railings. The east façade is partially visible and features a bay window at the second floor and double-hung windows. The west and rear north facades are mostly obscured from view (**Figure 3**). At the rear of the property, there is a two-story ADU with hipped roof (under construction as of August 2024). (**Figure 4**).

Figure 1. Primary south facade, view northeast.

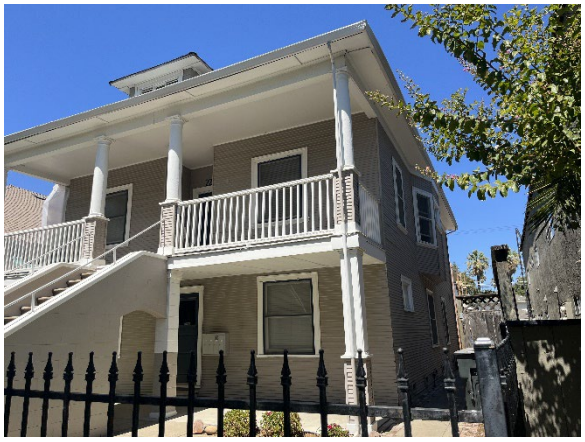

Figure 2. Oblique view of south and east facades, view north.

Figure 3. Partial view of the rear façade and detached ADU, view southwest.

Figure 4. Context view of detached ADU, view southwest.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION
PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 2565 Franklin Boulevard
P1. Other Identifier: The Blue Moon

*P2. **Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 2565 Franklin Boulevard City Sacramento Zip 95818
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
2565 Franklin Boulevard (APN 010-0247-040) is a one-story, 2,554-square-foot brick masonry commercial building located in the Curtis Park neighborhood of Sacramento on the east side of Franklin Boulevard between Broadway to the north, 2nd Avenue to the south, and State Highway 99 to the east. The building was constructed in 1925 and has a rectangular footprint with a low-pitched hipped roof with built-up roofing that is surrounded on the north, south, and east sides by a flat parapet wall and on the west (front) side by a projecting false hipped roof with red clay tile roofing and boxed wood eaves. The west and south façades are clad with vertically scored red facing bricks laid in a running bond, while the north façade is clad with smooth bricks laid in a common bond. The west (front) façade faces Franklin Boulevard and has two bays. The main entrance is centered in a recessed opening in the right (south) bay and consists of a flat metal door with a diamond-shaped peephole window (**Figure 1**). The facade appears to have originally had large storefront window openings, which were infilled at an unknown date with vertically grooved plywood cladding. A vinyl picture window with flat wood trim is located in the plywood infilled opening to the left (north) of the entrance
(Continued on Page 3).

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object
☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View northeast of 2565 Franklin Blvd., taken August 25, 2024.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both
1925, Source: LoopNet.

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Campus Plaza Assoc, Care Of
Brocchini Partners,
3801 W. Pacific Ave. Ste. A
Sacramento, CA 95820

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)
***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

BUILDING, STRUCTURE, AND OBJECT RECORD

*NRHP Status Code 3CS, 5S3

*Resource Name or # 2565 Franklin Boulevard

B1. Historic name: The Blue Moon
B2. Common name:
B3. Original Use: Commercial
B4. Present use: Commercial

*B5. **Architectural Style:** 20th-Century Commercial

*B6. **Construction History:** (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

2565 Franklin Boulevard was constructed in 1925 for property developers Anderson-Govan Company by an unknown architect and builder. Research did not uncover any historic photographs of the building. A fire insurance map published by the Sanborn Map Company in 1950 shows the building as a masonry building with a roughly rectangular footprint with an angled front façade aligned with Franklin Boulevard. At the time, the building contained two commercial units and its south façade faced 1st Avenue (now a surface parking lot). The building's earliest known tenant was a lighting and ornamental iron work designer and manufacturer in 1931. By 1935, the building was in use as Leejo's Tavern, a Prohibition-era bar that was raised for possessing an illegal cache of untaxed alcohol in a secret cabinet behind sliding doors.[1] Various bars, including the lesbian bar The Blue Moon from 1985 to 1990, occupied the building through 2021, when the interior of the building was remodeled to convert it into a drive-in style restaurant.

*B7. **Moved?** ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown **Date:** **Original Location:**

*B8. **Related Features:** None

B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown

*B10. **Significance:** **Theme** Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community **Area** Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1985-1990 **Property Type** Commercial **Applicable Criteria** 1/I

Historic Context:

Lesbian Bars in Sacramento (ca. 1969-2000)

Gay white men were historically, and continue to be, the most visible and recognized LGBTQ+ subgroup both in Sacramento and the broader LGBTQ+ population nationwide. As in other cities, lesbians in Sacramento often felt angered, embittered, and alienated by the treatment they received from gay men and the lack of recognition or representation they often received. Some gay businesses and organizations explicitly did not welcome lesbians. Many gay bars, which catered to a majority white male clientele, did not welcome and often rejected lesbian patrons. The practice of "carding" lesbians and LGBTQ+ persons of color to discourage their presence was not uncommon. If carded, those seeking admission would have to produce multiple forms of personal ID to secure entrance, making it difficult if not impossible for them to be admitted.[2] As a result, lesbians in Sacramento were forced to establish their own safe spaces, social gathering places, clubs, and organizations where they could openly and comfortably express themselves. Known lesbian bars that operated in the City of Sacramento during the formative period of the LGBTQ+ community's development from the late 1960s to approximately the year 2000 included the Crescent Moon at 1704 Broadway (extant but extensively altered), the Blue Moon (the subject property), the Buffalo Club at 1831 S Street (demolished), The Mirage at 601 15th Street (extant, primarily a bar for Black lesbians), and Jammin' Jo's Sports and Dance Bar at 2721 Broadway (extant).
(Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. **References:** Refer to footnotes

B13. Remarks: N/A

*B14. **Evaluator:** Page & Turnbull, Inc.

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

[1] "Caches Uncovered in Liquor Raids," *Sacramento Bee,* 8 March 1935: 5.
[2] Carson Anderson, "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS," July 9, 2024.

***P3a. Description (continued):**

The south façade faces a large surface parking lot and has another large window opening that is infilled with plywood cladding and a vinyl picture window (**Figure 2 and Figure 3**). An exit door with a metal security door is at the east end of the façade. The north façade is clad with brick laid in a common bond and has iron ties across the upper courses (**Figure 4**). The rear (east) façade is not visible from the street. 2565 Franklin Boulevard is zoned C-2 (General Commercial).

Figure 1. South facade, view northeast.

Figure 2. Parking lot south of the building, view north.

Figure 3. North facade, view southeast.

State of California — The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #_____
HRI #_____
Trinomial_____
NRHP Status Code _____
Other Listings_____
Review Code_____ Reviewer_____ Date_____

Page 1 **of** 6 ***Resource Name or #:** (Assigned by recorder) 7042 Folsom Boulevard
P1. Other Identifier: Bo Jangles

***P2. Location:** ☐ **Not for Publication** ☒ **Unrestricted**
***a. County** Sacramento **and** (P2c, P2e, and P2b or P2d. Attach a Location Map as necessary.)
***b. USGS 7.5' Quad** Sacramento East, CA. **Date** 2021 **T** 8N ; **R** 5E ; ☐ **of** Mt. Diablo ☐ **of Sec** 00 ; **B.M.**
c. Address 7042 Folsom Boulevard City Sacramento Zip 95826
d. UTM: (Give more than one for large and/or linear resources) Zone __, _____ mE/ _____mN
e. Other Locational Data: (e.g., parcel #, directions to resource, elevation, decimal degrees, etc., as appropriate)

***P3a. Description:** (Describe resource and its major elements. Include design, materials, condition, alterations, size, setting, and boundaries)
7042 Folsom Boulevard (APN 079-0222-034) is a one-story, 4,266-square-foot commercial building located on the south side of Folsom Boulevard between Brighton Avenue to the west, State University Drive to the west, and U.S. Highway 50 to the southeast in the East Sacramento neighborhood of Sacramento. The building was constructed in 1940 and has an irregular footprint. Approximately two-thirds of the front of the building has a hipped parapet roof with overhanging boxed eaves and standing seam metal roofing. The rear third of the building has a flat roof. The building is clad with stucco. The front (north) façade faces Folsom Boulevard and contains the main entrance to the building, which is covered with plywood (**Figure 1**). The east façade contains a secondary entrance, consisting of two metal doors (**Figure 2**). The west façade features two fixed window openings and another door opening. One of the windows and the door opening are covered with plywood. The rear (southeast) facade is not visible from the public right-of-way but appears to face a rear patio that is enclosed by a stucco-clad wall. The building is located on a 0.75-acre triangular parcel that is enclosed by a metal chain link fence. A small patio surrounded by a wood board fence with concrete and wood posts is located in front of the main entrance. Paved surface parking lots flank the building on its east and west sides. 7042 Folsom Boulevard is zoned C-2 (General Commercial).

***P3b. Resource Attributes:** (List attributes and codes) HP6. 1-3 story commercial building

P5a. Photograph or Drawing (Photograph required for buildings, structures, and objects.)

***P4. Resources Present:**
☒ Building ☐ Structure ☐ Object ☐ Site ☐ District ☐ Element of District ☐ Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: (view, date, accession #) View southeast of 7042 Folsom Blvd., taken August 25, 2024.

***P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source:** ☒ Historic ☐ Prehistoric ☐ Both 1940, Source: Sacramento County Assessor.

***P7. Owner and Address:**
Malkah J LLC
6236 Mahala Dr.
Carmichael, CA 95608

***P8. Recorded by:** (Name, affiliation, and address) Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1007 7th Street, #404, Sacramento, CA 95814

***P9. Date Recorded:** October 8, 2024

P10. Survey Type: (Describe) Intensive

***P11. Report Citation**: (Cite survey report and other sources, or enter "none.")
Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)

***Attachments:** ☐NONE ☐Location Map ☒Continuation Sheet ☒Building, Structure, and Object Record
☐Archaeological Record ☐District Record ☐Linear Feature Record ☐Milling Station Record ☐Rock Art Record
☐Artifact Record ☐Photograph Record ☐ Other (List): _____

*Resource Name or # 7042 Folsom Boulevard
B1. Historic name: Bo Jangles
B2. Common name:
B3. Original Use: Commercial
B4. Present use: Commercial
*B5. Architectural Style: Vernacular
*B6. Construction History: (Construction date, alterations, and date of alterations)

The building at 7042 Folsom Boulevard was constructed in 1940.[1] Research did not reveal its original owner or builder. The earliest known photographs of the building consist of aerial photographs from the 1950s and 1960s, which show the building with a rectangular footprint and low-pitched gabled roof (**Figure 3** and **Figure 4**). The building has had numerous uses over the course of its existence, but has most frequently been used as a bar, nightclub, or music venue. From the late 1960s to early 1970s, the building was occupied by the Pink Tiger Tavern, a go-go dance club. In 1966, three large windows were broken and the interior was damaged after burglars set off an explosion inside the building.[2] One week later, someone threw a stone through glass in the front door and poured flammable liquid along 10 feet of the rear wall and set it on fire, causing smoke damage.[3] In 1976, an addition for a card room was constructed. The addition is visible in an aerial photograph taken in 1981 (**Figure 5**) (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

*B7. Moved? ☒No ☐Yes ☐Unknown Date: _____ Original Location: _____
*B8. Related Features: None
B9a. Architect: Unknown b. Builder: Unknown
*B10. Significance: Theme Out & Proud: Development of Visible Sacramento LGBTQ+ Community Area Sacramento, California
Period of Significance 1976-1986 Property Type Commercial Applicable Criteria 1/I, 2/ii

Historic Context:

Early Gay Bars in the City of Sacramento

Through the late 1960s and into the early 1970s, as much of the gay community remained closeted and being publicly "out" could still put one at risk of arrest, losing one's job, and being ostracized from family, friends, and coworkers, gay and lesbian individuals continued to meet in secret. Gay bars—which had covertly served a vital role as some of the only places LGBTQ+ individuals could openly express their sexual identities since the first decades of the 20th century—blossomed into the public center of LGBTQ+ life in the decades after the late 1960s. Gay bars became not just places to meet sexual partners; they developed into the de facto center of gay life, where LGBTQ+ individuals received and exchanged news, formed lasting friendships and romantic relationships, and organized social, professional, and political groups, clubs, and events.

While some gay bars existed in Sacramento's Central City grid prior to the late 1960s, California's anti-sodomy laws, which had been used to harass and imprison LGBTQ+ individuals for over 100 years, and the City of Sacramento's strict enforcement of those laws, prevented the formation of any recognizable concentration of gay-owned or gay-friendly establishments within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento until the state laws were repealed in the 1970s. In 1975, Assembly Bill 437, which ended California's sodomy laws, passed both houses of the California state legislature and was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown, Jr.[4] (Refer to continuation sheet, Page 4.)

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: N/A

*B12. References: Refer to footnotes
B13. Remarks: N/A
*B14. Evaluator: Page & Turnbull, Inc.
*Date of Evaluation: October 8, 2024

(This space reserved for official comments.)

Source: Sacramento County Assessor, Online Parcel Viewer, 2024. Subject Parcel shown outlined in red.

[1] Sacramento County Assessor, Assessor Parcel Viewer, accessed September 4, 2024. https://assessorparcelviewer.saccounty.gov/jsviewer/assessor.html#.
[2] "After-Hours 'Visitors' To Bar Take Coins and Then Really Have a Blast," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 September 1966: D1.
[3] "Pink Tiger Is Target Again – Flames, Stone," *Sacramento Bee*, 29 September 1966: A11.
[4] Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 2016 227-228.

*P3a. Description (continued):

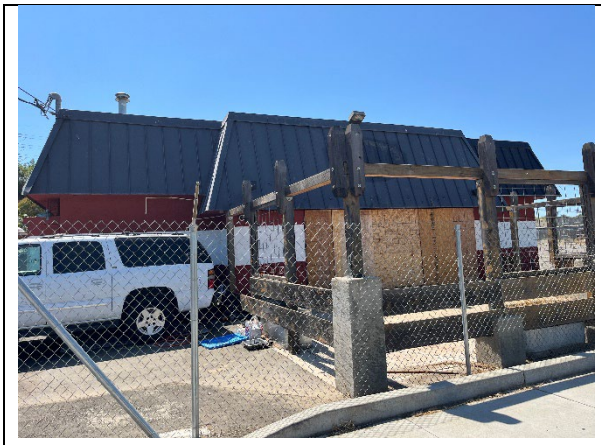

Figure 1. North facade, view southwest.

Figure 2. East facade, view southwest.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**

LGBTQ+ entrepreneur, community leader, and philanthropist Myron "Terry" Sidie purchased the property in 1976 and remodeled it into a popular gay dance club called Bo Jangles. The rear patio appears to have been added around this time. Permit records describe the installation of a new door to the patio and outdoor fireplace in 1977. In 1980, the building had another fire that damaged approximately 20 percent of the building.[5] The damage was repaired. City directory listings indicate that Bo Jangles closed around 1986, but building permit records show that the property continued to be owned by Sidie through at least 1990. From the mid-1980s through 2007, the property was used as a live music venue, known for primarily hosting alternative rock bands and musicians. The venue went by several different names during this time period, including Club Me!, The Cattle Club, and The Library. Additional fires resulted in unspecified damage to the building in 1998 and again in 2002. A fire protection system was installed in 2005.[6] Three windows in the north (front) façade were repaired in 2007. The Library closed in 2007, after a gang fight resulted in the accidental death of a 20-year-old student who was sitting in her car outside the bar. Bisla's Sports Bar subsequently occupied the building from 2009 to 2013. Google Street View shows that the front façade was modified around 2014 as part of remodeling the building into a barbeque restaurant, Fahrenheit 451. A new outdoor patio seating area with wood and concrete posts was constructed at the front of the building at this time, and three fixed windows at the front façade were replaced with glazed doors that opened to the patio. Chain link fencing was added around the property around 2022.[7] The only other exterior alterations that are documented in building permit records consist of the installation of signs for the various tenants that have occupied the building.[8]

Figure 3. 1966 aerial photograph. The subject building is indicated by a white arrow. Source: HistoricAerials.com. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

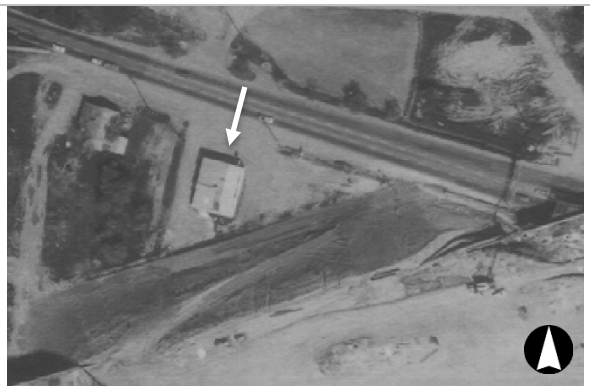

Figure 4. 1971 aerial photograph. The subject building is indicated by a white arrow. Source: Cartwright Aerial Surveys, Flight CAS-3069, 1971, UC Santa Barbara FrameFinder. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

Figure 5. 1981 aerial photograph. The subject building is indicated by a white arrow. Source: Cartwright Aerial Surveys, Flight CAS-81081, 1981, UC Santa Barbara FrameFinder. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

Figure 6. 2024 aerial photograph. The subject building is indicated by a white arrow. Source: Google Maps. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

[5] "Bojangles Bar Burns," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 October 1980: B3.
[6] Building permit records, City of Sacramento.
[7] Google Street View, accessed September 18, 2024.
[8] Building permit records, City of Sacramento.

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)

The impact of the repeal of the state's sodomy laws is visible in the pattern of development of gay bars and gay-friendly establishments in the Sacramento area. Locations where queer people could openly gather and interact were initially scattered throughout the city, though the largest concentrations remained across the Sacramento River in the City of West Sacramento through the mid-1970s. The Damron Guides recorded only two queer-friendly establishments in Sacramento from the publication of the first issue in 1965 through 1970: the Topper Club and Mark Twain Hotel bar located along the cruising area on the K Street Mall in downtown Sacramento.

Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s, however, the number of gay bars and queer-friendly establishments steadily increased and spread throughout the City of Sacramento as policing of sexual activities decreased. A small number of new establishments emerged within the city in the early 1970s. The first, though short-lived, gay bar on 21st Street that was listed in the Damron Guides was Raye's Inn at 1617 21st Street in 1971. A few years later, the Cruz'in/Y-Not bar was located a few blocks to the north at 2026 I Street near the intersection of 21st and I streets. By 1973, the Corker Club (later Bob and Frank's Underpass and Corral/Broadway Limited) at 1946 Broadway.[9] The Topper Club and Mark Twain Hotel were demolished at an unknown date. The building at 2026 I Street has been replaced with contemporary infill housing, while the exterior of 1946 Broadway has been extensively altered beyond recognition.

Figure 7. Advertisement Bo Jangles (ca. 1980). Source: *Mom…Guess What…!* Lavender Library.

Bo Jangles (1976-1986)

Many of the most popular and successful early gay bars within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento opened in outlying neighborhoods outside the Central City in the 1970s. In 1976, Wisconsin-native Myron "Terry" Sidie opened his first of several gay bars and businesses in Sacramento, a dance club called Bo Jangles at 7042 Folsom Boulevard (extant) just outside the campus of California State University, Sacramento in East Sacramento. However, despite the growing visibility of gay men and lesbians in Sacramento, anti-gay discrimination and violence remained a constant reality. In 1979, four patrons at Bo Jangles were wounded when someone fired a gun into the crowded patio outside the bar from nearby Highway 50. No arrests were recorded in the *Sacramento Bee's* reporting.[10] Despite the continuing threat of violence and harassment, Bo Jangles was an important social outlet for the community. The bar was a popular spot for young people due to its proximity to the campus of Sacramento State University and the fact that most of the bar was open to people under the age of 21.[11] Bo Jangles became a place where many members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community first publicly came out, had their first openly LGBTQ+ experiences, or first met others in the LGBTQ+ community. Jolanne Tierney, known by her DJ-ing name Jammin' Jo, remembered the bar as the first place where she publicly came out. When she walked into Bo Jangles for the first time as a high school student in 1979, she said it "was the first time [she] knew she wasn't alone," adding, "It felt like home."[12] City directories list Bo Jangles until 1986, after which the property was primarily used as a live music venue.

Myron "Terry" Sidie

Born and raised on a farm in Wisconsin, Terry Sidie left home at the age of 19 to live with an aunt in Detroit, where he came out as gay. He later moved to Los Angeles, where he worked as a private-duty nurse before enlisting in the military in 1971. Though hoping "to see the world," he was stationed at the hospital at Mather Air Force Base in the Sacramento area. During the evenings, he moonlighted as a bartender at bars in Sacramento and West Sacramento, gaining experience with the local gay bar scene. After opening Bo Jangles in 1976, Sidie became one of the most successful and influential figures in Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, opening several other bars, restaurants, and establishments, and supporting community clubs and organizations through donations and fundraisers. In 1985, he purchased the building that contained another early gay bar, K Street Station, located at 2000 K Street (extant), and reopened it as a new gay dance club called Faces, which continues in operation. Sidie envisioned Faces as a destination for dancing and a luxurious alternative to the typical dive bar. Sidie wished to combat the exclusionary attitude of the gay community and the bar scene in the 1970s by creating a place that welcomed everyone. Under Sidie's leadership, Faces became akin to a community center. The success of the bar has often been credited by community

[9] Mapping the Gay Guides, accessed August 14, 2024, https://mappingthegayguides.org/viz/map/.
[10] "Shots Fired at Bar Crowd," *Sacramento Bee*, 29 July 1979: A26.
[11] Alan LoFaso, conversation with Clare Flynn, September 13, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[12] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 2, 2024, Sacramento, CA.

members, business and political leaders as a catalyzing force in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ neighborhood, Lavender Heights.[13]

In addition to Bo Jangles and Faces, at one point, Sidie also owned Club 21, a restaurant called Head Hunters, the Verona Village Resort in Sutter County, and a farm in his home state of Wisconsin. Sidie used the success of his business endeavors to benefit and empower Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. Faces became a hub for the community and arguably the most well-known and recognizable landmark for the LGBTQ-life in Sacramento. In addition to its regular business, the bar hosted events such as voter drives for the Sacramento chapter of the gay political advocacy group the Stonewall Democratic Club, fundraisers for LGBTQ+-friendly politicians, and the first meeting of the Sacramento Gay and Lesbian Softball League.[14] In 1987, Sidie helped start the Rainbow Festival with Hamburger Mary's owner Richard Boriolo. The festival, which is held annually as a fundraiser for local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations, was Boriolo's idea and continues to use Faces as its main hub.[15] In reflecting on Sidie's impact on the community, Reverend Jerry Sloan, founder of the Lambda Community Center (now the Sacramento LGBT Community Center), stated, ""A lot of people and groups, including myself, have certainly gone to him and said, 'Terry, we need,' and he never hesitates. And we're talking thousands of dollars, not 20 bucks."[16] By 1997, Sidie, himself, estimated he had given $120,000 to local LGBTQ+ charities and organizations.[17]

Sidie has also been a leader in other important LGBTQ+ organizations in Sacramento. He helped found the Lambda Community Center (now the LGBT Community Center) in 1986 and was crowned Emperor XIII and XXXVII of the Imperial Court of Sacramento (also known as the Court of the Great Northwest Imperial Empire, or CGNIE), a local chapter of the drag social club and charitable organization the International Court System. He was named Emperor I of the Americas, one of the two highest ranked people in the International Court System in 2020.[18] Sidie's prominence in the Imperial Court System has given Sacramento power and distinction within the drag community worldwide.[19]

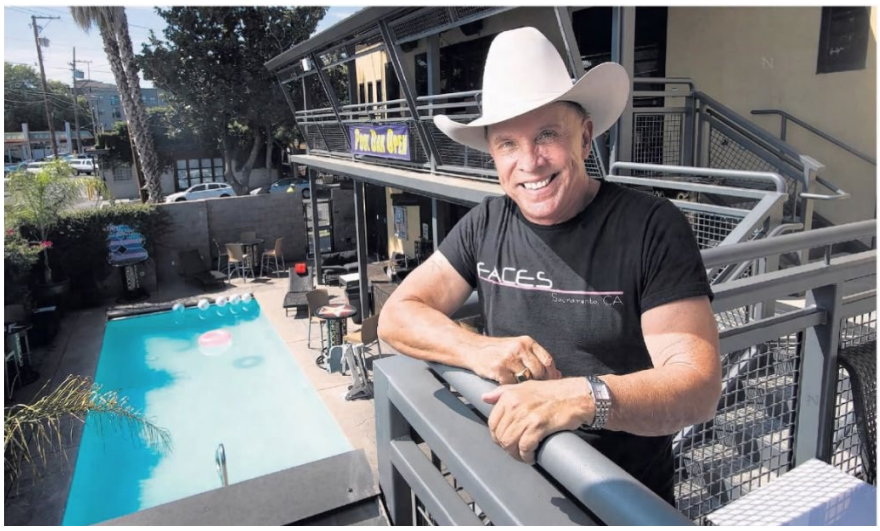

Figure 8. Terry Sidie at Faces (2015). Source: Paul Kitagaki for *The Sacramento Bee*.

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance. Refer to the *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)* and *Survey Methodology & Framework* for evaluative criteria of each theme.

[13] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 September 2015: B1, B6.
[14] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[15] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss.
[16] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[17] Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion."
[18] "History," Sacramento LGBT Community Center, accessed April 11, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history; "Imperial Court Emperors and Empresses," The United Courts of CGNIE, accessed August 24, 2024.
[19] "Official Message from Queen Mother 1 of the America's, Nicole the Great," International Court System, August 26, 2019, accessed August 24, 2024, https://internationalcourtsystem.org/official-message-from-queen-mother-1-of-the-americas-nicole-the-great/.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation
The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.
In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the location of Bo Jangles, one of the earliest openly gay bars and nightclubs within the limits of the City of Sacramento. Opened in 1976 at a time when the LGBTQ+ community still remained primarily hidden and underground, Bo Jangles was an important social gathering place and outlet for personal expression for the LGBTQ+ community, where people came out publicly for the first time, met and made meaningful connections with other LGBTQ+ people, and freely expressed themselves. The property, thus, is significantly associated with establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard appears to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii for its association with prominent gay entrepreneur, business owner, and philanthropist Myron "Terry" Sidie. Bo Jangles was the first of several gay bars and other businesses Sidie opened. Starting with Bo Jangles, he realized his vision of creating spaces where the LGBTQ+ community felt safe and welcome to be themselves. Sidie's businesses, many of which have been located near the intersection of 20th and K street, played a critical role in the development of Lavender Heights into Sacramento's recognized LGBTQ+ neighborhood. Sidie used the success from his businesses to support the LGBTQ+ community through donations to LGBTQ+ groups, causes, and organizations and fostering the development of the annual Rainbow Festival. He has also been a leader in several local LGBTQ+ organizations. Through his businesses, beginning with Bo Jangles, and his philanthropic work, Sidie has contributed in numerous ways to the establishment of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community from its formation in the 1970s to the present. As such, the property is eligible under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 3/iii-v. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. The building is a vernacular commercial building that does not display the characteristics of any particular architectural style or important building type. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

California Register Criterion 4/Sacramento Register Criterion vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento Register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed in 1940 and is over 50 years old. However, its historic association with the LGBTQ+ community began in 1976, less than 50 years ago at the time of this evaluation. The property is exceptionally significant for its cultural importance to the LGBTQ+ community. Based on a reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project in 2024, relatively few properties remain that have a strong individual association with the development of the City of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, particularly outside the Midtown area, and that retain sufficient historic integrity. Operating as Bo Jangles, 7042 Folsom Boulevard possesses a high level of intangible cultural and social significance as a place where many people had their first or formative public experiences, both individually and collectively, as members of the LGBTQ+ community. The building holds a meaningful place in the memories of many and had a lasting role in fostering the establishment of the community. Therefore, the property meets consideration Factor e.

Integrity

7042 Folsom Boulevard retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and its setting continues to be characterized by surface parking lots and its proximity to Folsom Boulevard, U.S. Highway 50, and the campus of Sacramento State University, all of which were present during Bo Jangles' years of operation. The building appears to have undergone limited exterior alterations since the closure of Bo Jangles in 1986, primarily consisting of the conversion of three windows at the front façade into a door opening and the construction of an exterior seating area in 2014. Although the alterations to the front façade have modified its appearance somewhat, the building retains the same overall form, footprint, massing, and roofline from the early period of Terry Sidie's ownership and, therefore, retains enough of its design, materials, and workmanship from its period of significance (1976-1986) to remain recognizable to someone who visited the bar while it was in operation. As such, the building retains integrity of feeling and association with the development of early gay bars within the City of Sacramento.

Character-defining Features of 7042 Folsom Boulevard

Character-defining features of 7042 Folsom Boulevard that reflect its period of significance (1976-1986) include but are not limited to the following features:

- One-story height
- Stucco cladding
- Hipped parapet roof with overhanging boxed wood eaves
- Rear patio surrounded by stucco wall

Conclusion

The property at 7042 Folsom Boulevard appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) and 2/ii (Persons) for its association with Bo Jangles, a prominent early gay bar and nightclub within the boundaries of the City of Sacramento, and its owner, Terry Sidie. Bo Jangles was an important gathering place for members of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community as it became increasingly open and visible in the 1970s through the 1980s and was the first business opened by Sidie, an important figure in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community through his work as a businessman, entrepreneur, and philanthropist. 7042 Folsom Boulevard appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[20]

References

"After-Hours 'Visitors' To Bar Take Coins and Then Really Have a Blast." *Sacramento Bee*. 22 September 1966: D1.

"Bojangles Bar Burns." *Sacramento Bee*. 28 October 1980: B3.

Building permit records. City of Sacramento.

Graves, Donna J., and Shayne E. Watson. "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco." 2016.

"History." Sacramento LGBT Community Center. Accessed September 19, 2024, https://saccenter.org/history.

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Tierney, Jolanne. Conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss. August 2, 2024. Sacramento, CA.

[20] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**
Building permit records document few exterior alterations to the building over time aside from the installation of various exterior signs, reroofing in 1991, and the installation of new concrete paving in 1999.[3] Based on visual observations made during an August 2024 site visit, additional exterior alterations include infilling large storefront window openings at the front (west) and south facades with vertically grooved plywood siding and vinyl picture windows and installing hanging metal pendant lights from the projecting hipped roof at the front façade.

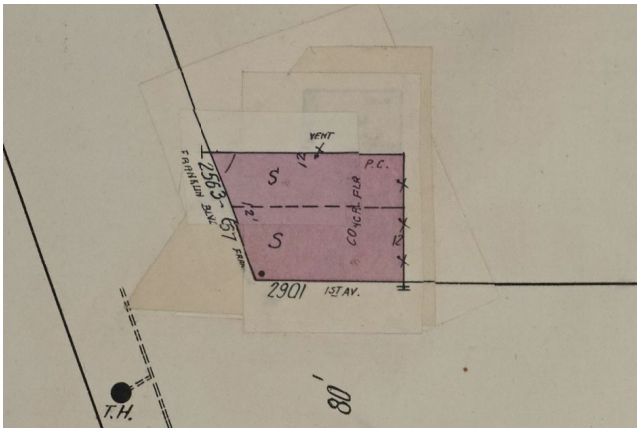

Figure 4. 1950 fire insurance map by the Sanborn Map Company, showing the subject building. Source: Library of Congress.

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)

The Blue Moon (1985-1990)
A lesbian bar called The Once Upon a Blue Moon, more commonly known as the Blue Moon, opened around 1985 at 2565 Franklin Boulevard. The bar was owned and operated by Shannon Morgan, an out lesbian and local blown-glass artist who played in the local women's sports leagues. Lesbian residents of Sacramento have described that Sacramento historically could only support one lesbian bar at a time. If a new bar opened, it would pull patrons away, and the previous lesbian bar would close soon after. The Blue Moon was the only lesbian bar in Sacramento for much of the 1980s and became one of the most prominent and popular social gathering places for Sacramento's lesbian community during that decade.

Members of the local women's slow and fast pitch softball leagues and other sports teams often gathered at the bar after weekly Sunday games to socialize.[4] Morgan was a member of the local women's rugby team the River City Ruggers, which also gathered at the Blue Moon after games and practices for food, entertainment, and socializing. The first Ms. Leather Sacramento competition, a leather title competition that was a feeder to the International Leather Competition in Chicago, was held at the Blue Moon in 1987 and annually until the bar closed in 1990.[5]

[3] Building permit records, 2656 Franklin Boulevard, City of Sacramento Planning Department.
[4] Jolanne Tierney, conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss, August 7, 2024, Sacramento, CA.
[5] Haines Criss-Cross Directory, Sacramento, 1990, Sacramento Public Library.

Figure 5. Artwork from an advertisement for The Blue Moon (1986).
Source: *The Patlar Gazette*, January 1986.

Statement of Significance:
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California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation
The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.
In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:

i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
v. It possesses high artistic values; or
vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;

b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.
The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the location of The Blue Moon, a lesbian bar that opened in 1985 when Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community became a visible and recognizable part of the city's population for the first time. During this formative period, gay bars served as the center of social life for many in the LGBTQ+ community and were the place where people went to form social and sexual connections, exchange news, share life experiences, discuss important topics to the community, and openly express themselves at a time when being gay was still not generally accepted by mainstream society. Rejected from most of the gay bars and spaces in Sacramento, which catered primarily to gay white men, lesbians in Sacramento were forced to establish their own spaces, including their own lesbian bars, where they could socialize safely and openly. According to numerous community members, Sacramento typically only had one lesbian bar at a time. During the 1980s—a highly potent era in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community when many LGBTQ+ businesses, clubs, and organizations were founded—The Blue Moon was the most prominent, and perhaps the only, lesbian bar in the city. The bar was the place where lesbian social groups and organizations, including local women's sports teams, gathered and the annual Ms. Leather competition was held. As such, it became an important incubator and connective force for Sacramento's lesbian community. The property, thus, is significantly associated with establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard does not appear to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii for association with an individual of historic significance to local LGBTQ+ history. The owner of the Blue Moon, Shannon Morgan, was well-known within the lesbian community for her connection to the bar and was active socially in local women's sports leagues and as an artist. However, research did not indicate that she was personally recognized as a leading figure in the establishment and development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. As such, the property is eligible under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 4/vi. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. The building is a modest and undistinctive commercial building built in the early 20th century. The building is not exemplary representation of an architectural style. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

Criterion 4/vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed in 1925 and is over 50 years old. However, its historic association with the LGBTQ+ community began in 1985, less than 50 years ago at the time of this evaluation. The property is exceptionally significant for its cultural importance to the LGBTQ+ community. Based on a reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project in 2024, relatively few properties remain that have a strong individual association with the development of the City of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, particularly outside the Midtown area, and that retain sufficient historic integrity. Additionally, only a handful of lesbian bars existed in the City of Sacramento during the formative period of the community's development from the late 1960s to approximately 2000, several of which have been extensively altered. Properties that were significant as community social gathering spaces that were not gay bars are also rare. Therefore the property meets consideration Factor e.

Integrity

2565 Franklin Boulevard retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of commercial, residential, and mixed-use development, most of which was present during its period of significance (1985-1990). The building appears to have undergone minimal exterior alterations since the closure of The Blue Moon in 1990, primarily consisting of re-roofing and the installation of new concrete paving. The building would still be recognizable from the street to someone who visited the bar while it was in operation in the 1980s.

Character-defining Features of 2565 Franklin Boulevard

Character-defining features of 2565 Franklin Boulevard that reflect the period of significance (1985-1990) include but are not limited to the following features:

- One-story height
- Fluted and smooth brick masonry cladding
- Hipped false parapet roof with overhanging boxed wood eaves and red clay tile roofing
- Recessed front entrance

Conclusion

The property at 2565 Franklin Boulevard appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) for its association with the lesbian bar The Blue Moon. The bar was one of the most popular and well-known social gathering places for lesbians in Sacramento during the 1980s, when the LGBTQ+ community became a visible and recognizable part of Sacramento's population for the first time. It was the location of many social gatherings for local lesbian groups that fostered connections within the community and played an integral role in the community's development. 2565 Franklin Boulevard appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[6]

References

Anderson, Carson. "Comments on Draft LGBTQ HCS." July 9, 2024.

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[6] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation. *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*. Sacramento, November 2004.

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Tierney, Jolanne. Conversation with Clare Flynn and Henry Feuss. August 7, 2024. Sacramento, CA.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**
Sanborn Insurance maps from 1915 and 1950 show that the subject property consisted of two residential flats with a two-story full-width front porch **(Figure 5).** By 1950, the overall building footprint of the main residential building had remained mostly unchanged, apart from an extension to the rear porch and removal of a detached garage facing Opera Alley **(Figure 6).**

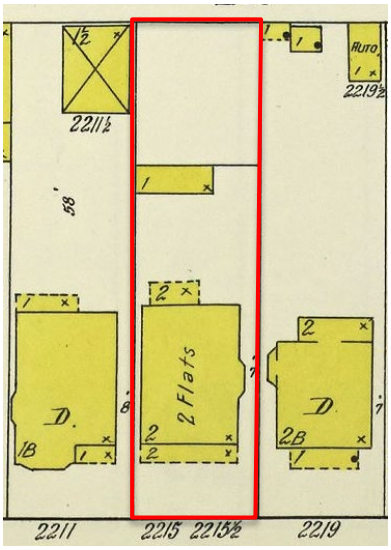

Figure 5: Sanborn Map Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1915. Volume Two, Page 123. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

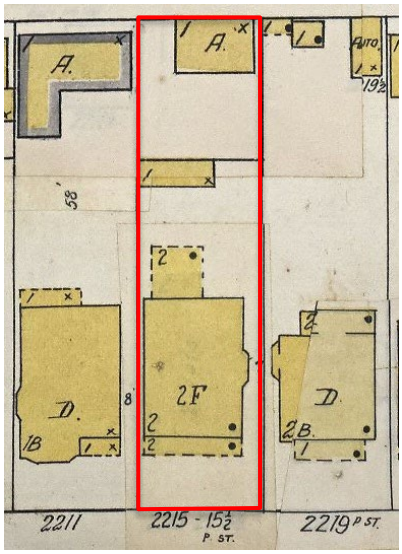

Figure 6: Sanborn Map Company fire insurance map of Sacramento, 1950. Volume Two, Page 123. Subject property outlined in red. Source: Historical Information Gatherers, San Francisco Public Library. Edited by Page & Turnbull.

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In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

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      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
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   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.
The property at 2215 P Street appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the location of the Gay Alternative Coffeehouse, a gay-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly coffee shop that opened in 1971 during an important transitional period in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community. The coffee shop served as an alternative gathering space for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community outside of the bar scene, particularly for young people under the age of 21. Despite operating at 2215 P Street for only one year before moving to another location, the establishment of the Gay Alternative Coffeehouse played an early role within the broader community effort to create new and alternate LGBTQ+ owned and friendly spaces for social connection outside of the gay bar scene. Thus, the property is significantly associated with establishing, supporting, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
The property at 2215 P Street does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 2/ii. While the property is potentially associated with Edgar Carpenter, a writer for *Gay Voice Sacramento* and a leader in the gay liberation group the Society for Homosexual Freedom, research did not definitively confirm that the "Edgar" associated with the coffee shop is the same as Edgar Carpenter. Therefore, it is not possible at this time to confirm an association with Carpenter. No other important individuals with significant association to the subject property were identified. For these reasons, the property is not eligible for listing under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 2215 P Street does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 3/iii-v. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. The building is a modest residential building designed in the Queen Anne "Free Classic" style with horizontal wood siding, Tuscan columns, hipped roof, and

replacement vinyl windows. The building is not a distinctive or exemplary representation of the style. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

California Register Criterion 4/Sacramento Register Criterion vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.
The property at 2215 P Street does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Integrity
2215 P Street retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of residential properties that were present during its period of significance (1971-1972). While the property has undergone alterations to the exterior including window replacements and the construction of a rear ADU, the building would still be recognizable to someone who visited the coffee shop while it was in operation.

Character-defining Features of 2215 P Street
Character-defining features of 2215 P Street that reflect its period of significance (1971-1972) include but are not limited to the following features:

- Two-story height
- Horizontal wood siding
- Hipped roof with boxed wood eaves and asphalt roofing
- Wood frame full-width front porch with Tuscan columns
- Double-hung windows and dormer window.

Conclusion
The property at 2215 P Street appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) for its association with the gay-owned and gay-friendly coffee shop Alternative Gay Coffeehouse. The coffee shop was an important gathering place for members of the LGBTQ+ community during the early years of its development in Sacramento in the 1970s and provided an alternative third space outside of the gay bar scene. 2215 P Street appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[6]

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"Gay State Employees Have a Voice." *Mom…Guess What…!.* 1 September 1979.

Graham, James K. "Gay Business…Right Here in River City." *Mom Guess What…!.* April 1979.

Macias, Chris. "Celebrating Inclusion." *Sacramento Bee*. 5 September 2015: B1, B6.

"Marriage Licenses." *Record Searchlight* (Redding, CA). 12 September 1964.

[6] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

"New Club." *Sacramento Bee*. 1 April 1 1983: C7.

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stated, "You can't decide, 'we are going to organize a community.' It has to happen, develop and come together. You can work to create the conditions, and I feel MOM…GUESS WHAT! is doing that."[7] With that goal in mind, MGW published articles not just about local news, important legislation, and policies that were of special interest to the gay community, it also included a calendar of social events, a guide to local entertainment locations, a list of social organizations along with their contact info, and classified advertisements.

According to local mental health worker Elizabeth Harrison, Sacramento's gay community had been primarily bar-oriented until *MGW* began publishing issues. "When *Mom...Guess What…!* started, it opened a whole new world," she said.[8] The newspaper allowed lesbians and gay men to find not just bars and clubs but also doctors, therapists, sports leagues, professional organizations, and other social clubs, events, and services, specifically by and for members of the gay community. Demonstrating its goal of uniting and uplifting the community, *MGW* was unique in that, as Harrison described it, "the newspaper was kind – it didn't go after people or do exposés. It elevated people and brought people together."[9]

Often the newspaper literally did just that. Classified ads published in *MGW* were frequently the way gay and lesbian individuals met each other and found romantic relationships. People would place an ad in the newspaper and typically list a P.O. box address as their contact in order to keep their personal addresses private. According to Sacramento resident and former State Assemblyman Dennis Mangers, it was common for individuals to meet for coffee at New Helvetia café located in the former fire station at 1215 19th Street (extant) or for some other activity after work.[10]

On the newspaper's tenth anniversary, the newspaper received proclamations from the City of Sacramento, County of Sacramento, and the California State Assembly. It was also recognized by the Human Rights Commission and received numerous journalistic and photography awards from the Gay and Lesbian Press Association (GLPA).[11] *MGW* ceased publication in 2009, having published approximately 585 issues over the course of its over 30-year existence.[12]

Linda Birner

Born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1949, Linda Birner arrived in Sacramento in 1962, where she worked her way through a master's degree in Psychology at Sacramento State College (now California State University, Sacramento) doing graphic work for state legislators Mervyn Dymally and Leona Egeland. After working for a consulting firm for a period, she started her own graphics design business. Demonstrating the close ties between growing activism among the gay community and other activist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, she became active in the Women's Movement through the National Organization of Women (NOW), believing that the first step to achieving gay rights was obtaining equal rights for women. "All of it's related," she said. "I call it the Gay/Feminist Movement."[13] Spurred into action by the campaign to pass Proposition 6, known as the Briggs Initiative, which aimed to ban gay and lesbian individuals from working in California's public schools, she founded *MGW* to share important information about the initiative and encourage readers to vote against it. The first meeting to share information about plans for the newspaper and solicit interest from potential writers, photographers, artists, and other contributors was held at Earhart's Café in November 1978.[14] Linda Birner owned and operated *MGW* through 2009, after which the newspaper folded and the business became Guess What Media, LLC. Birner passed away on July 3rd, 2024.[15]

[7] "One Year Later…" *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979.
[8] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison," May 31, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nWsdfGrixw.
[9] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 4: Linda Birner and Elizabeth Harrison," Center for Sacramento History.
[10] "Sacramento Oral History Episode 2: Linda Birner and Dennis Mangers," May 30, 2023, Center for Sacramento History, YouTube, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8t3BwNfUXk.
[11] Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, "News from Those Who Print the News: Sacramento's Lesbian and Gay Press, What It's Been Like and Where They're Going," undated, Lavender Library.
[12] Graham Womack, "Community Gathers Issues of Sacramento LGBT Newspaper," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 July 2023: D1.
[13] "One Year Later…" *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979.
[14] *Mom…Guess What…!* , November 1, 1978.
[15] Legacy Remembers. "Linda Birner Obituary." *Legacy* (blog), July 19, 2024.

Figure 4. *Mom…Guess What…!* founder Linda Birner (1998). Source: Hector Amezcua for the *Sacramento Bee*.

Figure 5. *Mom…Guess What…!* staff (from left to right): Bill Spiller, J. Anne Wessel, Linda Birner, James K. Graham, and Gary Kimball. Source: *Mom…Guess What…!,* November 1979. Photo by Rebecca Gregg.

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Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources
The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.

e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.
The property at 1725 L Street appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the longtime operating headquarters of *Mom...Guess What…!,* one of Sacramento's earliest and longest running LGBTQ+ newspapers. *MGW* was an invaluable asset to the LGBTQ+ community that provided a myriad of news, stories, and advertisements relating to the cultural fabric and daily life of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community from the late 1970s through early 2000s. The newspaper was an influential resource that had a profound impact on the social, professional, and political scene for the LGBTQ+ community in Sacramento.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.
The property at 1725 L Street appears eligible under Criterion 2/ii for its association with Linda Birner, the founder of seminal LGBTQ+ newspaper *Mom...Guess What…!* and an avid educator, community leader, and advocate for social justice. Under Birner's direction, *MGW* thrived as an acclaimed publication and produced queer-centered journalism, stories, and advertising. Birner advocated for a publication that united and uplifted intersectional voices and that allowed for new avenues of social connection, professional development, and connection to LGBTQ+ owned/operated services.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.
The property at 1725 L Street does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 4/vi. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. 1725 L Street is a modest commercial storefront added onto the front of a Victorian-era house that is not a distinctive example of any architectural style.

Criterion 4/vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.
The property at 1725 L Street does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register under Criterion 4 as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property used as the offices of *Mom...Guess What…!* less than 50 years ago. LGBTQ+ communities did not become visible across the United States until the late 1960s and early 1970s, and many of the most significant developments in the community's history occurred after this period, as it fought to establish itself and achieve equal rights with mainstream society. As such, at the time of this evaluation, the "50 year rule" would eliminate nearly all properties with historic associations with the LGBTQ+ community from eligibility for local designation. 1725 L Street does not appear to be of exceptional significance, but it is clearly historically significant, as demonstrated by its eligibility under Criteria 1/I and 2/ii. Therefore, although Factor e was considered in this evaluation, it should not apply when considering the eligibility of the subject property for listing on the Sacramento Register.

Integrity
1725 L Street retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of commercial, residential, and mixed-use development that was present during its period of significance (1988-2003). The building appears to have undergone minimal exterior alterations since the relocation of *Mom...Guess What…!* in 2003. The building would still be recognizable to someone who visited the restaurant while it was in operation and continues to convey its identity as a commercial building built in the 1970s.

Character-defining Features of 1401 Alhambra Boulevard

Character-defining features of 1725 L Street include but are not limited to the following features:

- One-story brick masonry commercial storefront
  - Brick masonry construction
  - Storefront window openings
  - Glazed wood entry door
- Two-story residential building
  - Front-facing gabled roof
  - Gabled vent
  - Horizontal channel rustic wood cladding

Conclusion

The property at 1725 L Street does appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) and 2/ii (Persons) for its association with the publication of the important local LGBTQ+ publication *Mom…Guess What…!* and for its association with the newspaper's founder Linda Birner, a leader and activist in Sacramento's LGBTQ community. The property appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. The California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[16]

References

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Womack, Graham. "Community Gathers Issues of Sacramento LGBT Newspaper." *Sacramento Bee*. 2 July 2023: D1.

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[16] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

***B6. Construction History (continued):**
Several restaurants operated out of the building in its first few years including a Mexican restaurant called Alimena's Mexican Restaurant in 1975 and a pizza restaurant called Tower Pizza in 1976.[6] Gay bar owner and entrepreneur Paul Fitzgerald purchased the property and applied for a license to sell alcoholic beverages at the building in 1977.[7] Fitzgerald's restaurant, the Incredible Edible Place, opened soon after and remained in operation through approximately 1992.[8] In 1994, the property was sold and reopened as a Starbucks Coffee shop. The property continued in this use until 2024.[9] The interior of the building has been remodeled numerous times over its history, starting during Fitzgerald's ownership in 1983. Building permit records document limited exterior alterations to the building after the Incredible Edible Place closed in 1992, including the installation of exterior signage in 1996 and the replacement of existing built-up and tile roofing with new TPO and concrete tile roofing in 2010.[10]

***B10. Significance:**
Historic Context (continued)

Another political advocacy group, the River City Democratic Club, had its first meeting at the Incredible Edible Place in 1983.[11] The club spearheaded several political efforts on behalf of the LGBTQ+ community in the 1980s and 1990s, including passage of Sacramento's Domestic Partnership Ordinance in 1992 and a project to plant 200 memorial trees along Highway 50 as a memorial to victims of AIDS.[12]

Fitzgerald is also credited with coining the name of one of Sacramento's most prominent and longest running gay bars, Faces, which was opened by Terry Sidie at 2000 K Street in 1985. The name was reportedly intended to reflect the bar's goal to be a place that was inclusive and open to all communities and "faces."[13]

City directories record the Incredible Edible Place at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard until 1992. In 1994, the building was remodeled and reopened as a Starbucks Coffee shop.[14] The building remains in use as a Starbucks Coffee location through 2024.

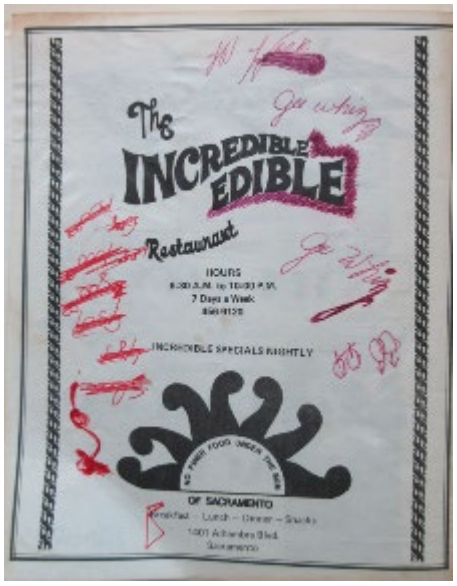

Figure 5. Advertisement for the Incredible Edible Place (1981). Source: *The River City Rambler*, Vol. 1, Issue No. 12, December 1981. Lavender Library.

Paul Fitzgerald (1939-2012)
Paul Fitzgerald was born in 1939 in Poteau, Ohio. He served in the 82nd Airborne Division of the U.S. Army from 1960 to 1963. In 1964, Fitzgerald married Bonnie Elyce Raposa in Redding, and the couple had a son and two daughters. Fitzgerald came out as gay by the late 1970s, and he and Bonnie divorced in 1976.[15] Fitzgerald worked for a time as a manager at JCPenney in Redding and for eight years at a large food firm outside the Sacramento area. Worn down by the long hours and extensive travel, Fitzgerald moved to Sacramento and began opening a series of gay-friendly businesses in Sacramento. From 1977 to 1992, Fitzgerald owned and managed the Incredible Edible Place restaurant at the subject property. By 1979, he had also opened a gay bar called Upstairs Downstairs at 1225 K Street in Downtown Sacramento.[16] Sometime after 1982, Fitzgerald lived next door to the Incredible Edible Place in a house at 3114 N Street.[17] He died of ALS in 2012.[18]

Statement of Significance:
In order for a property to be considered eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), or the Sacramento Register as a landmark, the property must possess significance and retain integrity to convey that significance. Refer to the *Sacramento LGBTQ+ Experience History Project Historic Context Statement (LGBTQ+ HCS)* and *Survey Methodology & Framework* for evaluative criteria of each theme.

[6] Classified ads, *Sacramento Bee*, 11 October 1975: C5; Advertisement, *Sacramento Bee*, 16 September 1976: D6.
[7] "Public Notice No. 632," *Sacramento Bee*, 2 November 1977: E6.
[8] Sacramento City Directories, 1978-1992, Sacramento Public Library.
[9] Certificate of Occupancy, 94-7563-C, City of Sacramento Planning and Development Department, 1994.
[10] Building permit records, City of Sacramento.
[11] "New Club," *The Sacramento Bee*, April 1, 1983, C7.
[12] Steve Wiegand, "Tree-Planting with a Twist," *The Sacramento Bee*, March 16, 1992.
[13] Chris Macias, "Celebrating Inclusion," *Sacramento Bee*, 5 September 2015: B1, B6.
[14] Sacramento city directories, 1978-1994, Sacramento Public Library.
[15] "Marriage Licenses," *Record Searchlight* (Redding, CA), 12 September 1964; California, U.S., Divorce Index, 1966-1984, Ancestry.com.
[16] Graham, "Gay Business…Right Here in River City."
[17] U.S. Public Records Index, 1950-1993, Volume 2, Ancestry.com.
[18] "Fitzgerald, Paul Neeson," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 January 2012: B5.

California Register of Historical Resources Evaluation

The California Register of Historical Resources (California Register) is an inventory of significant architectural, archaeological, and historical resources in the State of California. The evaluative criteria used by the California Register for determining eligibility are closely based on those developed by the National Park Service for the National Register of Historic Places.
In order for a property to be eligible for listing in the California Register, it must be found significant under one or more of the following criteria:

1. (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

2. (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

3. (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

4. (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources

The Sacramento Register of Historic and Cultural Resources (Sacramento Register) is the City of Sacramento's official inventory of historic and cultural resources. In order to be listed as a local landmark, historic district, or contributing resource to a historic district, a building, structure, site, or feature must meet the following criteria and requirements for listing on the Sacramento Register, as outlined in Chapter 17.604.210 of the City's municipal code:

A. **Listing on the Sacramento Register—Landmarks.** A nominated resource shall be listed on the Sacramento Register as a landmark if the city council finds, after holding the hearing required by this chapter, that all of the requirements set forth below are satisfied:
   1. Requirements.
      a. The nominated resource meets one or more of the following criteria:
         i. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of the history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
         ii. It is associated with the lives of persons significant in the city's past;
         iii. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction;
         iv. It represents the work of an important creative individual or master;
         v. It possesses high artistic values; or
         vi. It has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in the prehistory or history of the city, the region, the state or the nation;
      b. The nominated resource has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association. Integrity shall be judged with reference to the particular criterion or criteria specified in subsection A.1.a of this section;
      c. The nominated resource has significant historic or architectural worth, and its designation as a landmark is reasonable, appropriate and necessary to promote, protect and further the goals and purposes of this chapter.

2. Factors to be considered. In determining whether to list a nominated resource on the Sacramento register as a landmark, the factors below shall be considered.
   a. A structure removed from its original location is eligible if it is significant primarily for its architectural value or it is the most important surviving structure associated with a historic person or event.
   b. A birthplace or grave is eligible if it is that of a historical figure of outstanding importance and there is no other appropriate site or structure directly associated with his or her productive life.
   c. A reconstructed building is eligible if the reconstruction is historically accurate, if the structure is presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and if no other original structure survives that has the same association.
   d. Properties that are primarily commemorative in intent are eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value invests such properties with their own historical significance.
   e. Properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are eligible if such properties are of exceptional importance.

California Register Criterion 1/Sacramento Register Criterion i (Events): Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history or the cultural heritage of California or the United States.

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard appears eligible under Criterion 1/i as the longtime location of the Incredible Edible Place, a gay-owned and LGBTQ+-friendly restaurant that opened in 1977 during an important transitional period in the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, when the community still remained largely underground but was becoming increasingly visible and open. The Incredible Edible Place was one of the earliest openly gay restaurants in the City of Sacramento. The restaurant was owned and operated by a gay man, Paul Fitzgerald, and had a mix of gay and straight patrons and staff. Fitzgerald envisioned the restaurant as a gathering place for Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, and it became the meeting place for local LGBTQ+ individuals, groups, clubs, and organizations, including the site of the first meetings of political advocacy groups the Advocates for Gay State Employees (AGSE) in 1979 and River City Democratic Club in 1983. The property, thus, is significantly associated with the establishing, support, and increasing the visibility of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community and is eligible under Criterion 1/i.

California Register Criterion 2/Sacramento Register Criterion ii (Persons): Associated with the lives of persons important to local, California or national history.

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard appears to be eligible under Criterion 2/ii for its association with gay business owner Paul Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald opened both the Incredible Edible Place and Upstairs Downstairs gay bar, both of which were important gathering places for the LGBTQ+ community when it was developing into a visible part of the broader Sacramento community in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Fitzgerald's leadership and vision for his businesses to serve as incubators for the LGBTQ+ business community, professionals, organizations, and other groups transformed them into important community gathering spaces that contributed to the development of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community during its formative years. As such, the property is eligible under Criteria 2/ii.

California Register Criterion 3/Sacramento Register Criteria iii-v (Architecture): Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region or method of construction or represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values.

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible under Criterion 4/vi. The subject property has not been identified as the work of a notable architect or builder and does not possess high artistic merit. The building is a late example of a modest commercial building designed in the Spanish Eclectic style with concrete block cladding, a hipped concrete tile roof, and large arched openings. The building is not a distinctive or exemplary representation of the style. Therefore, it is not eligible for listing based on its architectural design under Criterion 3/iii-v.

California Register Criterion 4/Sacramento Register Criterion vi (Information Potential): Has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation.

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard does not appear to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register or Sacramento Register under Criterion 4/vi as a building or property that has the potential to provide information important to the prehistory or history of the City of Sacramento, state, or nation. It does not feature construction or material types, or embody engineering practices that would, with additional study, provide important information. Evaluation of this property was limited to age-eligible resources above ground and did not involve survey or evaluation of the subject property for the purposes of archaeological information.

Sacramento Register Factor e.: Factor e. for consideration of properties for listing on the Sacramento Register states that properties that achieved their historic significance less than 50 years ago should be of exceptional significance. The subject property was constructed in 1975, 49 years ago. It will be 50 years old in 2025. The property opened as the Incredible Edible Place in 1977, 47 years ago as of the date of this evaluation. The property is exceptionally significant for its cultural importance to the LGBTQ+ community. Based on a reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through the Sacramento LGBTQ+ Historic Experience Project in 2024, relatively few properties remain that have a strong individual association with the development of the City of Sacramento's LGBTQ+ community, particularly outside the Midtown area, and that retain sufficient historic integrity. Additionally, properties that were significant as community social gathering spaces that were not gay bars are also rare. Therefore the property meets consideration Factor e.

Integrity

1401 Alhambra Boulevard retains all seven aspects of integrity (setting, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association). The building remains in its original location and continues to be surrounded by a variety of commercial, residential, and mixed-use development that was present during its period of significance (1977-1992). The building appears to have undergone minimal exterior alterations since the closure of the Incredible Edible Place in 1992, primarily consisting of re-roofing and the installation of exterior signage. The building would still be recognizable to someone who visited the restaurant while it was in operation, and continues to convey its identity as a commercial building built in the 1970s.

Character-defining Features of 1401 Alhambra Boulevard

Character-defining features of 1401 Alhambra Boulevard that reflect its period of significance (1977-1992) include but are not limited to the following features:

- One-story height
- Concrete block cladding
- Hipped parapet roof with broad overhanging boxed wood eaves and concrete tile roofing
- Arched window and door openings

Conclusion

The property at 1401 Alhambra Boulevard appears to be individually eligible for listing in the California Register and the Sacramento Register under Criteria 1/i (Events) and 2/ii (Persons) for its association with the gay-owned and gay-friendly restaurant The Incredible Edible Place, and its owner Paul Fitzgerald. The restaurant was an important gathering place for members of the LGBTQ+ community during the early years of its development in Sacramento in the 1970s and was the site of some of the first meetings of significant LGBTQ+ clubs and organizations. 1401 Alhambra Boulevard appears to retain all seven aspects of historic integrity from its period of significance. California Historical Resource Status Code (CHRSC) of "3CS, 5S3" has been assigned to the property, meaning "Appears eligible for CR as an individual property through survey evaluation" and "Appears to be individually eligible for local listing or designation through survey evaluation."[19]

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[19] California State Office of Historic Preservation Department of Parks and Recreation, *Technical Assistance Bulletin #8: User's Guide to the California Historical Resource Status Codes & Historical Resource Inventory Directory*, Sacramento, November 2004.

IDENTIFIED POTENTIAL HISTORIC RESOURCES

Sacramento

Address	Historic Name	Extant?	Association
1218 K St.	Topper	Demolished	Bar/Club
	K St. Mall		Cruising Area
1946 Broadway	Corker Club/ Underpass / Bob & Frank's Underpass / Corral		Bar/Club
590 Morey Ave.	Del Paso Park		Cruising Area
1515 Q St.	Fremont Park		Cruising Area
2026 Broadway	Goldie's Book Stores		Book Store
5644 Stockton Blvd	Goldie's Book Stores	Demolished	Book Store
1305 J St.	Goldie's Book Stores	Demolished	Book Store
1223 K St.	Underground Shingle	Demolished	Bar/Club
1619 R St.	Harmony Metropolitan Community Church	Demolished	Religious
2026 I St.	Cruz 'In/Y-Not	Demolished	Bar/Club
922 9th St.	Nine-Twenty-Two Club	Demolished	Bar/Club
5121 El Camino Ave.	The Atticus / Male Box		Bar/Club
1923 16th St.	Casino		Bar/Club
2551 5th St.	Steve's Health and Social Club / Steam Works	Demolished	Baths
7042 Folsom Blvd	Bo Jangles		Bar/Club
1704 Broadway	Bob & Frank's Other Place; The Crescent Moon		Bar/Club
1600 Garden Hwy	Discovery Park		Cruising Area
1928 L St.	Mercantile Saloon		Bar/Club
2804 Auburn Blvd.	Parking Lot	Demolished	Bar/Club
1214 K St.	Star Theatre	Demolished	Theatre

Address	Historic Name	Extant?	Association
6000 J St.	California State University, Sacramento		Cruising Area
1403 I St.	Way Station		Organization
2990 Bradshaw Rd.	Incredible Edible		Restaurant
1011 L St.	Davis Travel Service	Likely Demolished	Business
1905 16th St.	Earhart's Cafe		Cafe, Meeting Location
5423 Franklin Blvd.	Adult World		Bookstore, Erotic Shop
1122 21st St.	Club 21	Demolished	Bar/Club
1112 26th St.	Dignity		Religious
2531 Broadway	Fancy's Adult Books & Things		Bookstore, Erotic Shop
823 J St.	Sacramento Film Exchange	Demolished	Business
1919 21st St.	Mom...Guess What offices		Publication
925 20th St.	Wreck Room		Bar/Club
701 L St.	Greyhound bus Depot		Cruising Area
2232 J St.	Lioness Book Store		Book Store
2001 V St.	The Rose		Bar/Club
5211 Carlson Drive	Paradise Beach		Cruising Area
2701 Marina View Drive	Miller Park		Cruising Area
731 J St.	The Windsor		Bar/Club
910 I St.	Plaza Park		Cruising Area
1230 H St.	Sacramento Women Bookstore/Sacramento Women's Center (1977-1978)	Demolished	Organization

Address	Historic Name	Extant?	Association
1225 K St.	Underground Shingle/Hickory House/Upstairs Downstairs	Demolished	Bar/Club
1107 9th St.	California Human Rights Advocates		Organization
630 I St.	Early Meeting location for California Human Rights Advocates		Meeting Location
2721 Broadway	Jammin Joe's		Bar/Club
1931 L St.	Lambda Community Center		Organization
1304 O St.	Aquarian Effort Medical Clinic		Medical
2224 J St.	Lioness Books		Bookstore
1729 L St.	Flashback		Bar/Club
1401 Alhambra Blvd.	Incredible Edible Place		Restaurant
1816 21st St.	Power Plant		Bar/Club
2840 Auburn Blvd.	The Forum		Bar/Club
4729 El Camino Ave.	Stumble Inn		Bar/Club
1517 21st St.	Town House		Bar/Club
2000 K St.	K St./Faces		Bar/Club
2001 K St.	The Western/Depot		Bar/Club
2115 J St.	Sacramento AIDS Foundation		Organization
1330 21st St.	Sacramento AIDS Foundation		Organization
1900 K St.	Sacramento AIDS Foundation		Organization
912 21st St.	Dr. Harvey Thompson (office - 1978)		Medical
3033 8th Ave.	Dr. Harvey Thompson (residence?)		Residence
1500 21st St.	Center for AIDS Research Education (CARES)		Medical

Address	Historic Name	Extant?	Association
3441 Fair Oaks Blvd.	Linda Birner Residence		Residence
1831 S St.	Buffalo Club	Demolished	Bar/Club
601 15th St.	Mirage		Bar/Club
5609 Freeport Blvd.	Stardust Room		Bar/Club
1311 21st St.	Lioness Books		bookstore
1215 19th St.	New Helvetia		Café, Meeting Location
3443 La Grande Blvd.	Double D Manufacturing Shop		Arts Co-op
902 J St.	Ruhstaller Building		Meeting Location
1329 H St.	Metrailer, Langenkamp, and Buscho, Sac Legal		Law Office
2100 J St.	First United Methodist Church		Religious
1300 J St.	Hickory House	Demolished	Bar/Club
801 L St.	Diamond Club	Demolished	Bar/Club
619 12th St.	Hope House		Medical, Organization
1454 Del Paso Blvd.	Joseph's Town and Country		Bar/Club
2560 Boxwood St	The Bolt		Bar/Club
1225 K St.	The Metro	Demolished	Bar/Club
919 20th St.	Lambda Community Fund (1990s)		Organization
2215 P St.	Alternative Coffee Shop		Residence, Café
1516 29th St.	Alternative Coffee Shop (2nd location)		Residence, Café
926 J St.	Citizen Hotel - Older Women's League (OWL)		Organization

Address	Historic Name	Extant?	Association
911 28th St.	George Raya residence		Residence
1221 20th St.	Sacramento Women's Center (1974-1975)/Edgar Carpenter apartment (1972)	Demolished	Organization, Residence
2104 Capitol Ave.	Sacramento Women's Center and Book Store (also included Rape Crisis Center) (1979-?)		Organization, Bookstore
2220 J St.	Sacramento Women's Center (1975-1976)		Organization
1725 L St.	Mom Guess What offices (ca. 1988-2003)		Publication
2545-2565 Franklin Blvd.	Blue Moon		Bar/Club
3418 Broadway	Metropolitan Community Church		Religious

West Sacramento

Address	Historic Name	Extant?	Association
825 Sunset Ave.	Hide and Seek		Bar/Club
1532 Sacramento Ave.	Jaquette's Court and W Capitol Log Cabin		Bar/Club
725 Tower CT.	Ernie Place / Charlie's Place		Bar/Club
1531 Sacramento Ave.	Yolo Baths, Club Baths of Sacramento		Bath
?	Staircase		Bar/Club
4205 W. Capitol Ave.	Club Zodiac		Bar/Club
3480 W Capitol Ave.	Other End / Purple Tortoise		Bar/Club
717 Tower Ct.	Ben's Books		Bookstore
2400 W. Capitol Ave.	Hawaiian Hut		Restaurant
824 West Capitol Ave.	The Experience Motel		Motel
1432 W. Capitol Ave.	Continental Motel		Motel
440 W. Capitol Ave.	Picardi's Books / Adult World		Bookstore
723 Tower Ct.	Purple Tortoise / World of Adults		Bar/Club, Book Store, Erotic Shop
160 Sacramento Ave.	Awful Annies Cafe		Restaurant
1040 Soule St.	Off Key		Bar/Club
1721 West Capitol Ave.	Kolo Club		Bar/Club

Carmichael

Address	Historic Name	Extant?	Association
7436 Fair Oaks Blvd.	Fays		Bar/Club
7604 Fair Oaks Blvd.	Montana Saloon / Joseph's		Bar/Club
6212 Silverton Way	Boyce Hinman Residence, headquarters of Lambda Letters Project		Residence, Organization

Images on back cover (from left to right):

1. Volunteer J.B. Hefferlin rubs the feet of an AIDS patient (1987). Source: *Sacramento Bee*.
2. Members of the Sacramento Men's Chorus, including Denny Mangers (center) (1985). Courtesy of Denny Mangers.
3. Earhart's Café co-owner Pam Musante (ca. 1992). Source: Center for Sacramento History.

SACRAMENTO LGBTQ+ HISTORIC EXPERIENCE
HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT • DECEMBER 2024

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