

The Central West End:
Its Role in the Life of Post-Stonewall
Gay St. Louis

by

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There is a single idea that ties the CWE. It is the idea of tolerance. Where else could the very rich and the very poor, blacks and whites, artists and politicians live so closely? Where else could families with six children plant flowers in alleys alongside gay couples and retired businessmen? The people who have chosen to live here have chosen a way of life that tolerates all sorts of expression.

Jeannette Batz*

In 1985, a south county high school yearbook included a two-page spread on the Central West End. According to the yearbook's text, the Central West End is the place to be "when looking for interesting and innovative night spots." According to a senior at that suburban high school, "The Central West End has a friendly atmosphere where a person can be themselves. Everybody can fit in." (1)

In that last phrase ("Everybody can fit in.") one finds crystallized the popular perception of that specific geographical location within metropolitan St. Louis--an area which encompasses St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and Franklin, St. Charles and Jefferson counties in Missouri, as well as Madison and St. Clair counties in Illinois.

For decades the Central West End has been perceived as the place in which anyone "can fit in." In a 1972 book, Laud Humphries, former sociologist at Washington University, described the Central West End as "a highly transient district,...the center of what remains of St. Louis hippiedom:" (2)

A December 1994 *Post-Dispatch* "Everyday" section cover story on the Central West End, entitled "Anything Goes In The CWE," made reference to the CWE as "Greenwich Village in St. Louis." Pete Rothschild, owner of Rothschild's antique store at Euclid and McPherson was quoted in that article as

saying, "This has always been a very eclectic place with a lot of diversity. It's as close to New York or San Francisco as you're going to get in St. Louis." (3)

The CWE possesses what Howard Becker referred to as "a culture of civility," which he described as an attitude of "tolerance" toward that which is seen by the majority as "deviant" behavior:

Like ethnic minorities, deviant minorities create enclaves whose differences add to the pleasure of city life. Natives enjoy the presence of hippies and take tourists to see their areas, just as they take them to see the gay area...Deviance, like difference, is a civic resource, enjoyed by tourist and resident alike. (4)

Gay St. Louisans feel safer, more welcome and more at home in the CWE than they feel anywhere else in the area. As a result, it is in the Central West End--more than any place in town--one will glimpse a same-sex couples strolling hand-in-hand or offering their partner a quick good-bye kiss. The CWE is the place, according to a promotional brochure, "where tradition meets the avant-garde...It is a place where limousines and bicycles share the streets..." (5)

It was in the CWE that many of the popular gay bars were found; it was in the CWE that the first public

organizations of St. Louis's gay community were founded: the Metropolitan Community Church being the first held services in the CWE from 1974 to 1984, and the first attempt to establish a Gay Community Center in St. Louis was within a building on McPherson in the late 1970's; it was on the streets of the CWE that the first Gay Pride Parade occurred in 1980; and it was in the CWE that the *Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph*, the oldest continuously running paper of the gay community in the Midwest, was published from 1983 until 1992.

It is in the CWE that the annual Gay Pride Parade continues to careen from Forest Park, north on Kingshighway, east on Lindell, south on Euclid and then west on Forest Park Parkway back to its origin point; it is in the CWE that several Gay groups meet at Trinity Episcopal Church--as they have for twenty-five years; it is in the CWE that Gays (mostly white men in the 20's and 30's) socialize at one of the city's more popular Gay bars, The Loading Zone; it is in the CWE that a business, Left Bank Books at 399 N. Euclid, advertises as "33% Lesbian Owned; 100% Queer Friendly;" and it is in the CWE, at the Sunshine Inn, that formal receptions hosted by the Gay community. (6)

The area under survey originally consisted of French farm tracts. The earliest structure built upon the land which would come to be the CWE was erected in 1819. By the 1870's most of this area was semi-rural. A decade later, beginning at its eastern end, urban development began with the first construction of homes occurring on Lindell and development to the north and south of Lindell beginning in the 1890's. This was the "last stand of the St. Louis elite" who sought to get away from the pollution, population and crime of the innercity. (7)

Not until the beginning of the twentieth century, however, would the Central West End truly commence its journey toward becoming a thriving neighborhood. In "History of St. Louis Neighborhoods," the author states that "a large share of the credit for the enhancement of this part of the City is due to the advent of the World's Fair. This ultimately led to the urbanizing of the area as far west as DeBaliviere Avenue, the Fair's main entrance." (8)

Between 1907 and 1914, the Cathedral of St. Louis (the New Cathedral), with its monumental edifice whose interior contains the world's largest collection of mosaic art, was constructed in the east end of the neighborhood, serving as a community anchor and an attraction for St. Louisans who desired to leave the hustle and bustle of the downtown area.

Famous or soon-to-be famous families lived in the homes of the CWE: T.S. Eliot at 4446 Westminster (whose grandfather founded Washington University); and Tennessee Williams, author of *The Glass Menagerie*, which is set in St. Louis, at 4633 Westminster. (9)

As trains and streetcars made their way into the area, the CWE flourished. Once the abode only of the wealthy, the middle class relocated to the area. By 1960, about one-third of the residents of the CWE were African American. (10)

In the years following World War II, the national trend toward white flight from urban centers into suburban planned communities of like-minded, like-educated and like-colored people affected the Central West End along with the rest of the city. In St. Louis, urban whites abandoned their city dwellings to find new homes and communities in south and west county--areas which were perceived to be safer and to have better schools and better neighborhoods. In the late 1960's Saks and Montaldo's, prominent stores in the CWE, relocated to the county. That, and the dying out of Gaslight Square--on the northeastern corner of the CWE, caused many to believe that the fate of this area was sealed: "The neighborhood used to be very chic with many of the stores now in Plaza Frontenac having CWE stores. The neighborhood was perceived to be in decline as those stores

pulled out and some of the private streets sagged a little." (11).

White flight caused real estate prices to fall, thus abetting the creation of a "Greenwich Village of sorts, teeming with artists, musicians and entrepreneurs," who could afford the cost of living there. By the mid-1970's, however, a movement back to the CWE began. Extensive redevelopment plans were set in motion; renovation of homes and apartment buildings began; townhouses were constructed; and new businesses opened shop. Between 1976 and 1986, the values of larger homes in the CWE rose 600 to 700 percent. The 1980's emerged as the "renaissance years" in the Central West End's history. (12)

And so the city within a city was rejuvenated.

Locating precisely the wheres and whats of this city within a city--which cradles a Gay city--is difficult. The popular mind has one image; sociologist and historians have another; urban planners yet another. Laud Humphries, in 1972, described the area bound by Saint Louis University at its eastern point, the Daniel Boone Expressway (Highway 40) on the south, and Forest Park on the west as a "gay ghetto." At that time, the ten gay bars in the Metro Area (west of

the Mississippi) were situated along the northern boundary of this "gay ghetto." (13) [See Appendix A]

According to Humphries, these bars (and their non-gay counterparts) formed "a symbolic barrier between the bohemian community of high social and racial diversity on the south and the all-black community...to the north and east." (14) For this paper, Humphrie's more generous description, similar to that of the *Post-Dispatch*, will be considered as the CWE. [See Appendix B]

In the popular mind, however, the Euclid strip--from Forest Park Parkway on the south to Washington on the north--is the Central West End. The remainder of the CWE is housing: one family mansions to high-rise apartment buildings and flats bustling with urbanites, many of whom are young professionals. Euclid is the business district of the Central West End; it's where friends and couples (with plenty of gays) spend their evenings on sidewalk cafes before a night out. Restaurants (about 30) abound, from Asian to Cajun and Italian to American; Antique shops, art galleries, record stores, bookstores, framing shops and flower shops are within a few blocks north, south, east or west of Maryland Plaza (Euclid and Maryland)--the center of much of CWE life.

Several factors account for the evolution of the Central West End into an identifiably gay-friendly environ, which occurred in that late 1970's and 1980's. In the early 1970's--according to Gary Belis, a south countian in his early 20's whose first visits to Gay bars were to the Potpourri and Herbie's on Euclid--the CWE was not thought of by him as "gay--just funky and bohemian." (15)

The eclectic nature of the Central West End is the beginning point. It is a diverse neighborhood: "Stand on Euclid awhile and you'll see students and bag ladies, yuppies and hippies, blacks and neo-Nazis--all peacefully pacing the same patch of pavement." (16) The diversity of the neighborhood and its tolerance for that diversity was extended, when the time came, to Gays.

According to the 1990 census, there are 8,000 residents in about 5,000 households in the Central West End. African Americans make up about one-third of the population, as they have been since the 1960's. About seventy percent of the residents are single, gay or living with a non-relative roommate. Three times the percentage of people in the greater St. Louis with college or graduate degrees have earned these in the CWE. (17)

One factor is easy understand, and was put very well by Daniel Webster Cory in his pioneering work on gay life, the

1951 *The Homosexual in America*:

A minority retreats unto itself, forms a world within the world, formed on the one hand by rejection from the populace at large, and encouraged on the other by the myriad interests and activities common to the group. (18)

Margaret Cruikshank, writing four decades later in *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement* expanded upon Cory's thesis: "Because homosexuals have no common country or language to bind them, gay culture is especially important in creating a sense of community." (19)

In the CWE Gay people's interests were met, and their culture--bars, restaurants, businesses, newspapers--was found. And other Gay people found them, "just as traveling Methodist ministers or union officials can find their own people when they are on the road, gay men and lesbians have their special network." (20)

One must look to Trinity Episcopal Church at Euclid and Washington, a cornerstone of the religious community in that area as a factor in fostering the rise of a Gay ghetto. From the beginning of the modern gay rights movement in St. Louis, until this day, the gay community has been permitted to make use of Trinity for various meetings.

Located in the northwest section of the Central West End, Trinity, beginning in 1969, served as the first non-bar entity in St. Louis to host "public" meetings of gay

organizations. Among the first gay rights organizations in St. Louis, the Mandrake Society's organizing meeting was in April 1969 in a small apartment a few blocks from the Church. Within a few months, however, Mandrake began meeting in Trinity's parish hall two nights a month; in addition to providing a meeting place, Trinity kindly paid \$25.50 a month to Mandrake to purchase a full-page ad in its newsletter. (21)

Today, Trinity serves as a semi-monthly meeting place for In Our 20's, a gay social club which organizes speaking engagements, bowling excursions and, following each meeting, a trip to Nuberry's, an ice cream shop at Euclid and Maryland, a few blocks south of Trinity; a monthly meeting place for the Privacy Rights Education Project (PREP), a political organization founded in 1986 which works to insure privacy rights for Missourians, with the perennial mission of seeking the repeal of Missouri's sexual misconduct laws which criminalize gay sex, and a regular meeting place for Whites Organizing Against Racism, an all-white group of gays and lesbians who describe themselves as anti-racists.

When Candace Gingrich, lesbian half-sister of Speaker Newt Gingrich came to town in June 1995, she spoke to a crowd of about 100--mainly gays and lesbians--from the parish hall of Trinity; and the Mayor's Gay and Lesbian Task Force, hoping

to focus the media on the violence (physical and verbal) which some gays experience, this spring organized a Speak Out at Trinity. (22)

The Reverend William B. Chapman retired from Trinity in 1993, after leading the congregation for nearly twenty years. In his church, gay unions have been blessed and openly gay and lesbian parishioners attend Trinity without fear.

Amy Adams Squire Strongheart, openly lesbian columnist for the *Post-Dispatch*, has attended the services of Trinity for eight years, after purposefully seeking out a church in which "as a Lesbian, I could participate in the full life of the church community." In July 1991, Amy Strongheart was married to her "life-partner" at Trinity in what was, as she put it, "the first public same-sex marriage in the Episcopal diocese of Missouri." (23)

Strongheart--the chosen family name of Amy and her partner whom Amy refers to as "my wife"--describes Rev. Chapman as a man with a "long-standing reputation for championing the rights of minorities, often to the chagrin of his superiors. He has worked for the rights of black, women, and gays." According to Rev. Chapman, "We've finally gotten to a point where we can all be together--black white, straight, gay." (24)

A means of communication within a community is necessary to create culture. The Gay community in St. Louis currently has two radio programs on KDHX (88.1 FM): "Coming Out of Hiding" on Tuesday evenings and "Out and Open" on Friday evenings, as well as a monthly broadcast television show, "OutLook St. Louis." In the 1970's and 80's, however, the Gay community had only print media to tell its story.

(25)

According to Jim Sleeper, author of a book about politics and race in New York, "a newspaper alters the communication loops of a community even if it's read by just a hundred people..." (26) In the mid- and late-1970's various publications of the gay community were started, only to fold after brief stints, sometimes after just a few issues.

The *Lesbian and Gay News-Telegraph* (until 1986 *The Gay News-Telegraph*) was founded in October 1981. The first few issues were printed out of the homes of the founders, prior to the office being located in Maplewood for several months. In 1983, however, the paper's office relocated to 10 S. Euclid, above the Sunshine Inn; the *News-Telegraph* (the paper has recently dropped "Lesbian and Gay" from its title) remained on Euclid until the summer of 1992, when, entirely as a result of space considerations, its offices were moved

to Shenandoah, north of Tower Grove Park. (27)

For over a decade *The News-Telegraph* has been the primary paper of the gay community in St. Louis (and by the late 1980's for the Midwest); it always has been widely distributed in the CWE. Today, the Gay community has two other regular print publications, *LesTalk* (a monthly magazine) and *TWISL* (The Week In St. Louis). These publications are distributed through the bars and gay and gay-friendly business, many of which are in the CWE.

Founder and publisher of the *News-Telegraph*, Jim Thomas, an Alton, Illinois native who has been involved in St. Louis's gay community for nearly twenty years, believes that two things gave the CWE its gay-friendly reputation: a bar and Halloween festivities.

Bars consistently have played a crucial role in the lives of Gay Americans: "homosexuals form the only subculture in which one of the basic institutions is the bar." Often the only place in which Gays were free of outside control (as African Americans were free of outside control within their churches) it was also in bars "that homosexuals learned they were not the only ones." (28) The role the Gay bar has played in Gay culture cannot be overemphasized.

Herbie's was a bar located on the corner of Euclid and

Maryland in the late 1970's and early 1980's (the current home of The Magic Wok across from Nuberry's), which was owned by Adelaide and Herbie Carp (who also owned Balaban's restaurant a few blocks north on Euclid). Thomas describes Adelaide as being at the bar

all the time...I remember being there once and Adelaide standing at the door at closing, shaking hands and saying good night to everyone and making sure no one drove if they really needed a taxi. She...often allowed leafleteers to stand at the door at closing handing out information. There was such a warm good spirit in how she ran the bar. It somehow managed to be very chic--by virtue of decor and cutting edge music--and homey--by virtue of, well, of virtue, Adelaide's, that is. (29)

Herbie's is recalled by nearly every gay St. Louisan involved in the community at that time. Flowing Johnson, St. Louis resident for most of the past thirty years--CWE resident in 1978-79--and long-time lesbian activist remembers Herbie's, but not with the same nostalgia as Jim Thomas.

She remembers that the first Take Back the Night March in 1979 was opposed by Herbie's, which she found "very unwelcoming for lesbians." The planners, "about thirty of us...mostly lesbians," met with the owners of the various businesses in the CWE: "When I went in to talk to the people there they were actively hateful toward me." Flowing's partner, Judy Thursby, next tried to speak to the Herbie's

establishment; this time she encountered Adelaide.

Adelaide's response was quite different than her husband's as she supported the March. Following the conversation with Adelaide, as Flowing describes it, the "opposition to the march from the merchants in the area disappeared." (30)

During her stay in the CWE, Flowing Johnson--with two other women (Sunshine Inn employees)--rented the second floor of a boarding house on McPherson between Kingshighway and Euclid. The area, she recalls,

was full of hippies, street people and lots of fun. There was the Bottom of the Pot for a while--a [women's] bar in the basement of Potpourri, a male bar....I found the CWE a fascinating place to live, then. It was cheap, lots of one bedroom places and lots of efficiencies. One of my favorite things, on a weekend, used to be to wander the CWE with a bunch of dyke friends and freak out the folks from the county. (31)

Brad L. Graham, southsider, gay activist, PR man and freelancer whose work often appears in the *Post-Dispatch*, moved to St. Louis in 1987 to attend university. He encountered the CWE in the early 1980's:

I have never lived in the Central West End. My earliest exposure to the "gay scene" there was when I was fourteen or fifteen years old, just exploring "coming out" when I traveled to St. Louis with friends to go dancing at Herbie Ballaban's nightclub at Euclid and Maryland--now The Magic Wok. When I moved to St. Louis as an adult, I initially lived in Webster Groves, and heard frequent references to the Central West End district in the pejorative as the "Central Rear End," an allusion to anal-genital sex that pretty much

summed up my neighbor's and colleague's understanding of gay people....I do consider [the CWE] one of my favorite neighborhoods, and as the bartenders and proprietor of The Loading Zone will attest, also make it a second home in practice. (32)

In addition to Herbie's, the Potpourri and Bottom of the Pot bars served as magnets for the Gay community.

The Potpourri was a Gay male bar at Euclid and McPherson; in its basement was the Lesbian bar Bottom of the Pot. According to Flowing Johnson, "there was virtually no mixing of the patrons [between the two bars]. In fact, lesbians felt somewhat uncomfortable having to go through the males to get to the basement." (33)

The famous Halloween festivities of the Central West End are well-known and credited by Jim Thomas, at least in part, as factors aiding the creation of the "gay-friendly" reputation of the Central West End. According to Thomas, the Halloween festivities "developed kind of a Mardi Gras meets Easter Parade feel, with lots of people donning wonderful costumes and parading up and down the sidewalks" of Euclid and adjacent streets. (34)

Halloween for many years has been a "high holiday" for Gay people. According to Thomas, "it is consumed with costumes, reversed identities, masks allowing for expression of usually repressed behavior....Gays in the neighborhood,

Halloween becomes important; Halloween is tolerated, more Gays show up in the neighborhood."

Harold Austin, a permanent resident of St. Louis for nearly four decades remembers Herbie's Adelaide Carp as a "hippie-like woman wearing long, flowing dresses" and the Halloween gatherings as "a big street party where people came dressed up--some came to watch. Restaurants had tables out on the sidewalks and there were Halloween costume contests. And it was gay and straight. It wasn't just a gay party." (35) But the party made gays feel welcome and, of course, following it they could get a drink at Herbie's, Potpourri, or the Bottom of the Pot, or a bite to eat at the Sunshine Inn which at the time, according to Flowing Johnson was "a major mecca and hangout for lesbians, gays, feminists, and our fellow travelers." (36)

Churches and community centers often serve as magnets and glue to various groups. The same is true for the Gay community and its presence in the CWE. (37)

The Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches was founded in Los Angeles in 1968. In the fall of 1973, Rev. Carol Cureton, a UFMCC minister, arrived in St. Louis with the commission of founding an MCC here. She did. From 1973 to 1977 MCC-St. Louis was the spark for a visible Gay community here.

In 1974, MCC moved to 5108 Waterman, between Kingshighway and Union. From its basement, the first Gay Hotline commenced operation and the Mid-Continent Life Services Corporation (MLSC) in 1975 founded a Gay Community Center.

The Center, as it was called, operated the Gay Hotline, provided meeting space (political and social) for the Gay community and published news and information of importance to that community. Its facilities were located at 4746 McPherson and later 4940 McPherson. By the fall of 1978, its financial condition was strained to the breaking point. It relocated to 10 S. Euclid (five years before the *News-Telegraph* would occupy this address) in an attempt to stay afloat. It sank in October 1978.

The first Gay Pride March in 1980 used the streets of the CWE. The participants gathered at the fountain in Maryland Plaza. From there, they went down Euclid, turned right on Lindell and headed to the Washington University quadrangle where a grand release of balloons accompanied the participants as they made their way into the quadrangle. (38)

In addition to these social factors which serve as partial explanations for the CWE's gay-friendly reputation, Brad Graham proposes a geographic reason. The CWE is "the

frontier" between the city proper and the county. In the 1970's

Either folks moving "in" from the county, not quite ready to confront the bustle and crime of the downtown area, or folks moving "out" from the city for the same reasons. With building stock going for a song...and with considerable support from the stalwarts who continued to reside in the massive homes on the area's private streets, the CWE as I now think of it--racially diverse, commercially eclectic, and generally a midpoint between the cultural bankruptcy of the County and the urban woe of the downtown area--was born. (39)

The era in which the Central West End was the gay-friendly neighborhood in St. Louis has passed, although it still is given as the answer to the question, "Where's the gay area?"

In the early 1980's, as a result of redevelopment plans for the area, the licenses to gay bars were not renewed. Herbie's closed; the Potpourri closed; the Halloween party was ended. The Sunshine Inn on south Euclid and Left Bank Books on north Euclid remained visible and are responsible, according to Jim Thomas, for "holding the fort for an out Gay presence in the difficult years of the redevelopment efforts." (40)

The CWE remained in the 1980's a gay magnet, but it had lost some of its steam. Our World Too, the first Gay community bookstore opened on Vandeventer between Forest

Park Parkway and Laclede in June 1987, in part to rejuvenate the Gay community and its presence in the CWE. In the 1990's, however, a Gay presence is felt in places of the city other than the CWE.

Brad Graham mentions the Washington Avenue area between the CWE and downtown as the site of many of the new gay clubs--Twist, Fallout, Sanctuary; and the Lafayette Park and Shaw and Tower Grove East neighborhoods on South Grand as areas "in the running to supplant the CWE as 'ghettos' for gay residents and home-owners." (41)

Lisa Marie Neff, a resident of St. Louis of less than one year's standing, but an astute observer of her times and prolific writer for the *News-Telegraph*, remarked that

in researching where to live and where to go in St. Louis before moving here, people told me the Central West End was the place to be, the equal to say Old Town or Wrigleville in Chicago. Of course the Central West End was too pricey and I ended up in south St. Louis. Surprisingly, the Central West End is not the center of the gay community for me. It is definitely a vibrant place with good restaurants and interesting shops, but I tend to spend more time on South Grand or University City and it is on South Grand that I notice the Gay couples holding hands, kissing at sidewalk cafes or

dancing

together at straight bars...From my experience here, in Chicago and out east, I have to guess that South Grand is hot because it needs some care and history has shown we are "urban pioneers." (42)

Even though the CWE has a historical hold on Gay life in St. Louis, the present state of Gay affairs is widespread. The Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) of Greater St. Louis deserted the area in 1984 for a home in Midtown; Growing American Youth (G.A.Y.) meets at MCC-Greater St. Louis (interestingly, after their meetings they rejoin each other at West End Cafe or Nuberry's in the CWE); MCC-Living Faith meets at the First Congregational Church on Wydown in Clayton, as does Missourians for Freedom and Justice, an organization for people of faith opposed to anti-gay discrimination; Blue Moon Coffee House, a lesbian-owned business that caters to the Gay community and hosts meetings of Gay organizations in town like the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Teachers Network (GLSTN) is located on Gravois, one block west of Grand; Whiz Bam!, is a gay-owned video store on South Grand which stocks videos one would not find anywhere else in town, including several movies featuring Gay characters or themes, and videos on gay history; The Complex is a popular Gay (white, male) bar on Chouteau, one block east of Grand; Attitudes, the most well-know lesbian bar in town in at Sarah and Manchester, just south of the geographic CWE. Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (P-FLAG) has met for years at the Unitarian Church in Kirkwood with a spin-off chapter meeting at Centenary

United Methodist Church downtown; Umoja, an organization for African-American gays and lesbians meets in members homes all over the metro area. Although the CWE continues to have historical and contemporary ties for many of St. Louis's Gay citizens, Gays and their institutions have been integrated throughout the metro area, including the suburbs of the county. (43)

It has been such throughtout American history that ethnic minorities carve out a living space within the greater community in order to exist near each other, to go to church with each other and to shield each other from the majority culture. Once settled and enculturated into majority ways (or at least the public practice thereof) ethnic minorities spread their wings and leave the nest.

Gays are born far flung from each other, in every town and city. Once they become aware of their difference-- which, according to Margaret Cruikshank, is "the basis for a gay subculture" (44)--, they migrate to cities or to "ghettos" within cities to feel safe, secure, and to "find their people."

When a more secure environment has been established for them, they, like ethnic minorities, spread their wings. St. Louis's Gays were nurtured in the Central West End; many

have not left that nest; some, however, have ventured out--
that's the story of Gay life in this city in the 1990's.

Appendix A

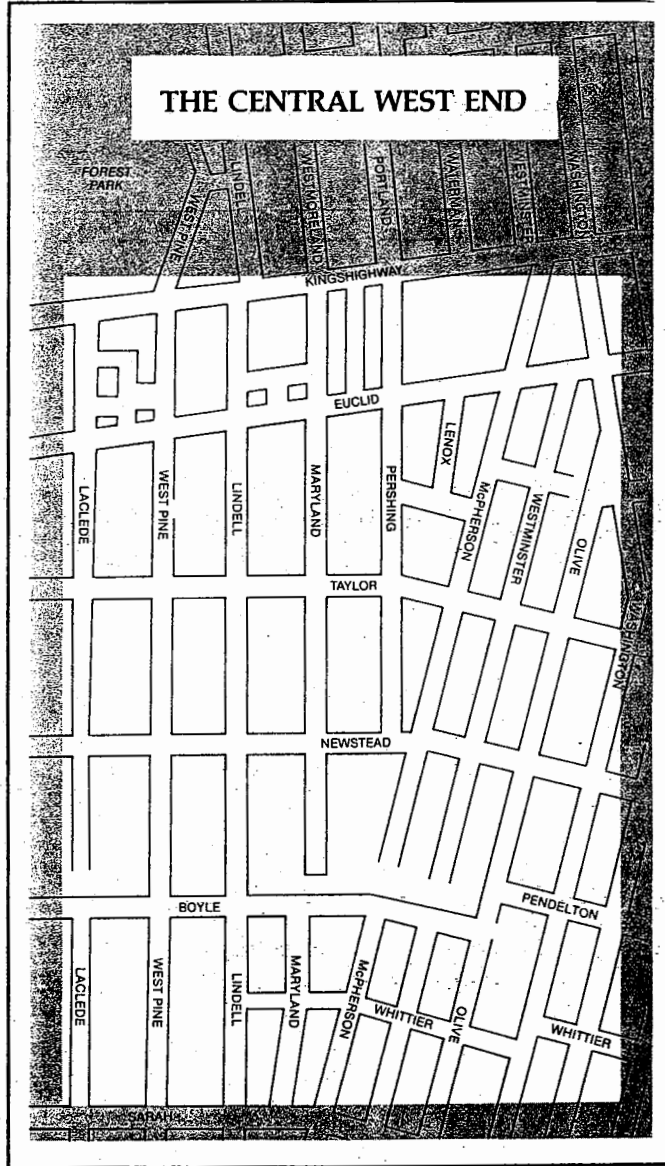
Homosexual Bars

Jurisdiction	Number	Jurisdiction	Number
Alabama	13	Montana	5
Alaska	4	Nebraska	10
Arizona	28	Nevada	10
Arkansas	8	New Hampshire	3
California	381	New Jersey	39
Colorado	16	New Mexico	7
Connecticut	15	New York	264
Delaware	5	North Carolina	19
District of Columbia	34	Ohio	65
Florida	130	Oklahoma	21
Georgia	32	Oregon	25
Hawaii	12	Pennsylvania	95
Idaho	2	Rhode Island	11
Illinois	82	South Carolina	8
Indiana	22	South Dakota	2
Iowa	9	Tennessee	26
Kansas	11	Texas	111
Kentucky	8	Utah	6
Louisiana	55	Vermont	2
Maine	13	Virginia	13
Maryland	22	Washington	33
Massachusetts	70	West Virginia	7
Michigan	48	Wisconsin	32
Minnesota	16	Wyoming	6
Mississippi	5	Puerto Rico	19
Missouri	26	Virgin Islands (US)	7
		Total	1913

SOURCE: *Gayellow Pages*, Renaissance House, New York, N.Y., 1981 edition.

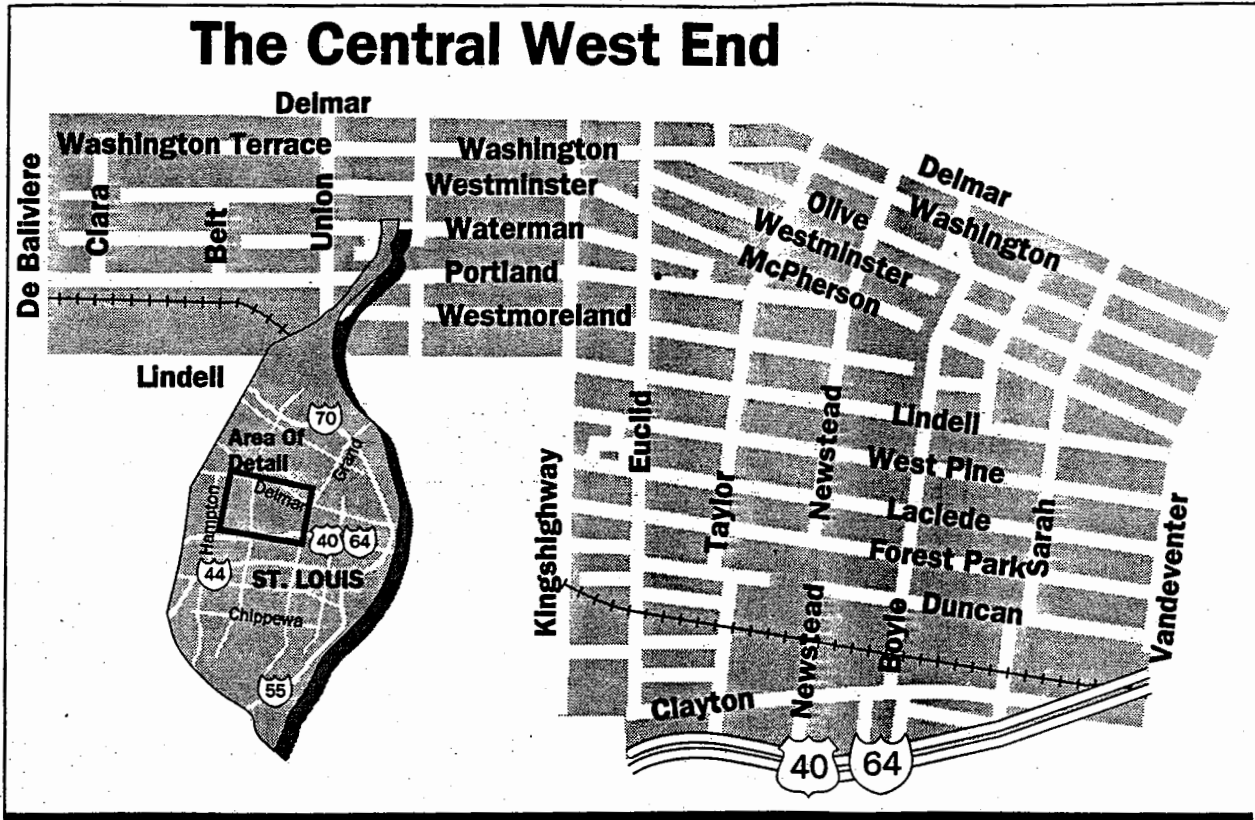
Source: Enrique Rueda, *The Homosexual Network*, 34.

Appendix B



The Central West End According to Barringer Fifield,
Seeing St. Louis, 91.

Appendix B, Cont.



Post-Dispatch Map

Source: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 27, 1994, 3D.

Notes

1. Mehlville High School Yearbook, 1985.
2. Laud Humphries, *Out of the Closets: The Sociology of Homosexual Liberation* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1972), 81.
3. Lia Nower, "Anything Goes in the CWE, *Post-Dispatch*, December 27, 1994.
4. Howard S. Becker and Irving Louis Horowitz, "The Culture of Civility," *Transaction*, April 1970, 14.
5. Promotional brochure produced by the Central West End Marketing Association.
6. The information in the two preceding paragraphs is based upon personal knowledge of the author.
7. Norbury Wayman, *History of St. Louis Neighborhoods: Central West End* (St. Louis Community Development Agency, 1980), 4,6,8; Lia Nower, "Anything Goes in the CWE."
8. Norbury Wayman, *History of St. Louis Neighborhoods*, 9.
9. Barringer Fifield, *Seeing St. Louis* (Washington University, 1987), 81,83,86-87.
10. Lia Nower, "Anything Goes in the CWE."
11. Barringer Fifield, *Seeing St. Louis*, 81; Interview with Jim Thomas; for more information of the migration to the county, see chapter 17 ("County Communities After World War II") in Faherty's *St. Louis: A Concise History*.
12. Lia Nower, "Anything Goes in the CWE."; Suzanne Goell, editor, *The Days and Nights of the Central West End* (St. Louis: Virginia Publishing Co., 1991), 30,31.
13. Laud Humphries, *Out of the Closets*, 80,81.
14. Laud Humphries, *Out of the Closets*, 80,81.
15. Interview with Gary Belis, July 1995.
16. Lia Nower, "Anything Goes in the CWE."

17. Lia Nower, "Anything Goes in the CWE."
18. Donald Webster Cory, *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach* (New York: Greenberg, 1951), 114.
19. Margaret Cruikshank, *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 118.
20. Margaret Cruikshank, *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement*, 125.
21. Laud Humphries, *Out of the Closets*, 82,83.
22. Personal knowledge of the author.
23. Interview with Amy Adams Squire Strongheart, July 1995.
24. Amy Strongheart interview; Lia Nower, "Anything Goes in the CWE."
25. Personal knowledge of the author. "OutLook St. Louis" airs the last Sunday of each month on WHSL (Channel 46) at 6 a.m., with repeats every Saturday evening at 9:30 on TCI cable channel 21.
26. Jim Sleeper, *The Closest of Strangers: Liberalism and the Politics of Race in New York* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), 23.
27. Interview with Jim Thomas, July 1995.
28. Enrique Rueda, *The Homosexual Network: Private Lives, Public Policy* (Old Greenwich, CN: The Devin Adair Company, 1982), 34; Margaret Cruikshank, *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement*, 121.
29. Interview with Jim Thomas.
30. Interview with Flowing Johnson, July 1995.
31. Interview with Flowing Johnson.
32. Interview with Brad L. Graham, July 1995.
33. Interview with Flowing Johnson.
34. Interview with Jim Thomas.
35. Interview with Harold Austin, July 1995.
36. Interview with Flowing Johnson.

37. For more information about MCC-St. Louis and the Gay Community Center, see author's article "'The Seed Time of Gay Rights': Rev. Carol Cureton, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Gay St. Louis, 1969-1980," in the Missouri Historical Society's quarterly publication *Gateway Heritage*, fall 1994.
38. Interview with Jim Thomas; Thomas chaired the 1980 and 1981 Pride March Committees in St. Louis.
39. Interview with Brad L. Graham.
40. Interview with Jim Thomas.
41. Interview with Brad L. Graham.
42. Interview with Lisa Marie Neff, July 1995.
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44. Margaret Cruikshank, *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement*, 119.

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