CHAPTER 1

Sex on the Road

Migratory Men and Youths in the Pacific Northwest's Hinterlands

Ted Gladden (figure 1) was born into a large Minnesota Methodist family on an early spring day in 1880. His father made a modest living as a wainwright while his mother stayed home to care for their nine children. Despite the large family and their limited means, Ted later remembered his parents' marriage as a happy one. Tragedy struck in 1897, however, when Ted's father died. Ted, who had completed seven years of schooling, remained at home just one more year; apparently after leaving he found work nearby and helped support his mother until her death in 1908. She may have succumbed to typhoid, an illness that Ted himself suffered in that same year. At no time, during his young adulthood or later, did Ted show interest in marrying. He seems to have desired a solitary existence: in the first years of the new century not only did he leave his mother's home, but he slowly estranged himself from his siblings and cast aside his family's religion. As an adult, the midwesterner had a medium frame, stood little more than 5′ 5″ tall, weighed about 145 pounds, and had a dark complexion, gray eyes, and dark brown hair.[1]

Following the demise of his mother, and like so many thousands of his peers in North America who were able-bodied but had little education, no particular skills, and no strong family ties, Gladden took to the road. He headed to the Pacific Northwest, where over the next decade or so he alternated between periods of unemployment in the region's larger cities and seasonal jobs in the hinterlands. Gladden occasionally worked as an agricultural laborer and sometimes toiled in paper mills.

FIGURE 1. Ted Gladden, 1912. Gladden's life as a migrant laborer in the Pacific Northwest between 1910 and 1921 was punctuated by stays in prison in both Idaho and Oregon for sexual relations with youths. Idaho State Historical Society, Inmate 1916, Penitentiary Collection.

He quickly entered hobo culture and the life of the transient laborer, which included activities that got him into serious trouble with the law: he engaged in a number of sexual relationships with teenage males. In the spring of 1912, while southwestern Idaho residents were expressing their usual concern over the seasonal migration of "tramps" through their district, authorities arrested Gladden near the small town of Caldwell for sexual relations with a youth. Convicted of sodomy, Gladden spent nearly five years in Boise's penitentiary. After earning his parole, he headed to Oregon. In the fall of 1917 outside Albany, a tiny community eighty miles south of Portland, he had another brush with the law. This time he faced three more charges for sexual activities with youths. Convicted once again of sodomy, Gladden ended up at the state prison in Salem. He served exactly two years, but only a few months after his release, and for unknown reasons, he returned to the penitentiary. One late spring day in 1921 as he toiled away in the prison commissary, Gladden's heart failed him. At the time of his death, he was forty-one.

In a number of respects, Gladden's life and activities typified those of many men living in the Northwest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus his biography provides a fitting introduction to this chapter and the next, which investigate the region's transient working-class men, their lives, their sexual activities, and the difficulties they faced in a society that held same-sex affairs in contempt. Chapter 1 sketches the

causes and pervasiveness of transience in the Northwest and describes the varied attributes of the region's young male population. It then examines the distinctive culture that migrant laborers forged, concentrating on the same-sex sexual system they developed and that so dominated the rural work camps and byways. As Gladden's life attests, the most typical on-the-road same-sex relationship paired an adult with a youth. Those who entered into such couplings did so for a variety of reasons beyond simply a desire for sex; factors tied to gender, emotion, isolation, and survival also played significant roles. While adult-youth relationships dominated the physical expression of sexuality, other same-sex configurations did exist. Indeed, as we will see, the insular and transient nature of the region's work culture seems to have facilitated a variety of sexual relations between adult males as well. The chapter closes with a brief consideration of the physical geography of transients' same-sex sexual desires and activities in the rural Northwest, pointing out the need for increased historical attention to the conditions affecting homosexuality in nonurban settings.

The Pacific Northwest and the Migrant Laborer, 1880s–1930s

The last couple of decades of the nineteenth century and the first two or three of the twentieth are sometimes called the "golden years" or "heyday" of the casual worker. The economy at the time afforded an abundance of low-skill, seasonal, and labor-intensive jobs that still had not felt the full effects of mechanization.[2] In the West generally and the Northwest specifically, precisely because their economies were rooted in natural resources and agriculture, the demand was particularly high for seasonal workers with strong arms and sturdy backs.

The transformation of the Northwest from sleepy frontier into a center of extractive industries and a mecca for transient laborers largely occurred after 1880, caused primarily by the extension of transcontinental railroads to the region. Some railroads soon inaugurated their own shipping lines that linked Northwest ports more systematically to Asia, supplementing an already-existing, though hitherto limited, maritime trade. The steel road and international shipping stimulated exploitation of the region's natural and agricultural resources, many of which reached the pinnacle of their importance in the Northwest's overall economy between 1880 and 1930. But one industry dominated all others. Between 1889 and 1929, except when shipbuilding briefly surged during World War I, the lumber industry provided more than 50 percent of the manufacturing jobs in the region.[3]

This great economic expansion necessarily induced phenomenal population growth. In 1880 the combined population of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and British Columbia neared 332,000. Fifty years later the population was more than ten times that. Because the region's labor-intensive jobs attracted men, they greatly outnumbered women. In 1890 there were 15.5 males for every female in the Northwest. Twenty years later the disparity remained high, at 14.1 to 1.[4] With males more numerous than females, proportionally more bachelors could be found in the Northwest than elsewhere in the country. In 1890, 41 percent of males above the age of fifteen in the Northwest were married, whereas the figure in the country as a whole was 54 percent. In the same year, more than 74 percent of Northwest laborers were bachelors, but in longer-settled East Coast locations far fewer were single—in Massachusetts, for example, only about 44 percent.[5]

The Northwest's adult male population was also youthful, as the work available demanded strength and agility. In 1890 close to 57 percent of the region's males fell between the ages of fifteen and forty-four, while for the country as a whole the figure stood at about 47 percent. Twenty years later the disparity, though smaller, still remained: about 53 percent in that age range in the Northwest, compared with 49 percent for the United States as a whole.[6]

Moreover, the men of the Northwest with whom Ted Gladden traveled and labored were ethnically and racially diverse. American-born white males like Gladden made up the largest group of transient laborers, but African Americans, Native Americans, Latin Americans, Pacific Islanders, and men who hailed from a wide variety of Asian and European countries also found work in the Northwest. In 1910 the residents of Portland's Third Ward, the neighborhood in the city most dominated by transients, were 79 percent male. The population was 44 percent Asian, African American, Native American, and, to use the census's designation, "foreign-born white."[7]

Migration patterns, gender expectations, work availability, Old World expectations, and U.S. immigration restrictions favored males in the late nineteenth century, and as their numbers vastly increased, the preponderance of single men in the Northwest grew. In Washington State in 1910, bachelors accounted for nearly two-thirds of the 118,211 Native American, African American, Chinese, Japanese, and "foreign-born white" males. The Chinese provide the classic case of bachelor society in the American West during the era, but other migrant groups, such as South Asians and Greeks, were also primarily male and single.

The California gold rush of 1849 first drew large numbers of male Chinese laborers to the West; South Asians and Greeks began arriving somewhat later in the century. The Chinese dispersed as successive gold rushes took them across the western territories. Greek men, too, labored throughout the West, especially in mining, fishing, and railroad construction, but South Asians were generally confined to logging and agriculture on the Pacific Coast. Job potential, culture, and American laws limited the number of female migrants in these groups. For example, between 1863 and 1910 women never represented more than 5 percent of the total Chinese population in Idaho's Boise Basin mining district. The lack of Asian women and racial animosities and miscegenation laws prevented many Chinese and Indian men from marrying in the Northwest. By 1910, of the 5,369 Chinese males ages fifteen and older residing in Portland, 75 percent were single. Although Asian Indian men in California often married Mexican American women, the absence of the latter in the Northwest, as well as the same barriers that the Chinese faced, contributed to the creation of a South Asian bachelor society on the shores of the North Pacific.[8]

Perhaps 95 percent of all Greek migrants to America between 1899 and 1910 were male. As with the South Asians and Chinese, racist sentiments thwarted Greek men from mixing with American-born white women. But certain features of their own culture also discouraged them from developing permanent relationships with women in the United States. Because marriage to a woman outside of the Greek community might sever or restrict connections with that community, some immigrant men were dissuaded from taking such a step. In addition, sons in Greek families generally did not marry until after their sisters. The burden fell in part on the boys to ensure that the girls had an adequate dowry to attract a husband. Many Greek men migrated to America in order to earn the trousseau that their sisters needed. Therefore, marriage for them was out of the question, at least until their family had been provided for. Such traditions affected Greek men in the Northwest. For example, Haralambous (Harry) Kambouris, who worked throughout the region, ignored Greek custom when he married before his sisters did so in Greece. This action, which according to his son demonstrated "unusual independence," enraged Harry's mother back home.[9]

Regardless of where they came from, the workers in the turn-of-the-century Northwest were habituated to mobility. The very act of migrating to the region, repeated individually thousands of times, endowed the young men with a common experience of transience before they had

even arrived in the Northwest. Moreover, many had long pursued a peripatetic life, following certain natural resource–based industries from one part of the country (or, sometimes, the world) to the next as local supplies repeatedly ran out. Stewart Holbrook, a chronicler of the Northwest, depicted this scenario as he outlined the history of the American logging industry. He described how men left the cut-over Great Lakes region in the latter 1800s and made "the ghastly trip across [the Great] plains where there weren't even stumps to look at, and struck for the Pacific Northwest and California; many of them moved direct to British Columbia. The others went to the Deep South [pineries], from whence they would have to move again, and move West, too[.]"[10]

Economic conditions also contributed to worker transience. Although the Northwest economy enjoyed an overall robustness throughout this era, external and sometimes random forces produced instability. Outside control of transportation and resources, regional dependence on nonindigenous sources for investment capital, periodic overproduction as a result of competition and abundance, and especially the Northwest's reliance on distant rather than local markets all contributed to extreme volatility in the region's economy. Between the 1880s and the 1930s, recessions and depressions descended on the Northwest with a regularity paralleled only by the region's rains. During such times unemployment skyrocketed, increasing the number of men on the road.[11]

The seasonal character of the natural resource–based trades also caused transience among workers. On the one hand, planting, harvesting, logging, mining, fishing, and railroad construction all slowed or ceased operations in the wet, cool, and stormy winter months, only to start up again in the spring and summer. On the other hand, the period extending from early autumn until early spring coincided with the peak of international shipping. Oceangoing vessels usually anchored for a couple of months at a time in North Pacific harbors while waiting for their loading to be completed. To avoid the expense of feeding and caring for sailors, shipping companies dumped their men and boys into the region to mix and mingle with the unemployed seasonal workers, thereby periodically increasing the number of unattached males in coastal portions of the Northwest.[12] Other factors contributing to the workforce's mobile nature included easy accessibility to transportation—notably the expanding network of railroads, enabling one to hitch a ride on a freight train for nothing. Because extractive industries dominated, the jobs they provided required strong backs and arms and not a great deal of technical skill. Therefore, especially during boom times, a

laborer found it relatively easy when dissatisfied with one job to quickly find work in another.[13]

Between the 1880s and 1930s, transience typified labor in the Northwest.[14] Popular opinion, largely shaped by prejudice, has generally held the transient life to be lonely and dissipated. In reality, transients created a complex society among themselves replete with rules, an etiquette, a distinct language, a number of codes, a compendium of songs and ballads, an informal news network, a host of social and political organizations, and relationships that endured in various ways. Their migratory society also maintained a social hierarchy. At the top stood the "hobo," who saw himself as the true migratory worker. Below him perched the "tramp," an itinerant nonworker. On the periphery of this world operated the "yegg" and the "bum," both of whose reputations among other transients were less than acceptable. The yegg lived by means of thievery. He alternately traveled or stayed put in larger cities' transient-occupied neighborhoods, which were known as "main stems." Nels Anderson, an observer of and participant in migratory life in the 1910s and 1920s, claimed that this character's "laziness" precluded his inclusion in the good "tramp" category. Further below the yegg came the "bum," a one-time worker who because of age, injury, or other forms of displacement generally took up residence on the main stem and there sustained existence through begging.[15] The men and the youths of this transient culture also developed a multilayered sexual and gender system and integrated it into other aspects of migratory life.

A Sexual Geography of the Road

When twenty-nine-year-old Ted Gladden left his Minnesota home for a life on the roads of the Pacific Northwest in 1909, he entered into a largely male social world that traced its roots deep into history. At various times and places this transient world has countenanced and even promoted sexual relations between its participants. The historian B. R. Burg found that for the bands of male vagrants roving about England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a lack of access to women led to increased same-sex sexual activity.[16] So common did homosexual practices become that the migrants considered such intimacies to be ordinary, while the broader society viewed them as exotic transgressions. A similar situation existed in the turn-of-the-twentieth-century Northwest, though it is impossible to determine how many migrants engaged

in such sexual relations. One transient queried in 1923 asserted that "all" men and boys on the road "do it." In contrast, Josiah Flynt, an observer of and participant in migratory life in the 1880s and 1890s, estimated that about one in ten men practiced "unnatural intercourse."[17]

There is evidence that some groups of migratory workers at specific times and in particular locations entered into homosexual relationships at relatively high rates. In his monumental 1948 survey of sexual behavior in the human male, Alfred Kinsey reported that the highest frequency of homosexual activity in the United States occurred in the most remote locations, such as logging, mining, and ranching communities. Donald Roy undertook a more modest investigation of Seattle's Hooverville in 1934. Most of its six hundred male inhabitants, Roy discovered, had backgrounds in the extractive industries such as those mentioned in Kinsey's study. Roy claimed from his various experiences with these men that among them "homosexuality is undoubtedly rampant."[18]

Early-twentieth-century studies and anecdotal evidence confirm that homosexual activities were common in and around logging districts on the North Pacific coast. A 1914 investigation of a northern California camp determined that "sex perversion within the entire group is as developed and recognized as the well known similar practices in prisons and reformatories."[19] Various regional sources attest that, as in the case of Ted Gladden, same-sex relationships in logging and milling areas often paired an adult with a youth or even a boy (figure 2). For example, Ernest Seavy, a thirty-three-year-old lumber mill worker originally from Wisconsin but working in Whatcom County, Washington, landed in prison in 1911 on charges of sodomizing an eleven-year-old boy. According to legal documents, this was only one of a series of such affairs that Seavy had engaged in. Similarly, in 1919 in the forested district east of Portland, the forty-three-year-old logger Charles Brown hired teenage boys to help him clear land and then "after a few days would insist that they have sodomist relations with him."[20] In mining camps and in bustling seaports as well, the typical scenario was an adult having sex with a youth. In 1916, witnesses "caught in the act" a forty-one-year-old Oregon miner with a fourteen-year-old youth. In Victoria in 1907, a forty-five-year-old Scottish seaman faced charges of gross indecency with a thirteen-year-old whom records described as "incorrigible"; the boy previously had affairs with several other men in the port.[21]

Observers were in no more agreement about the sexualities that one could find on the road than about the number of peripatetic laborers involved in same-sex acts. Josiah Flynt and Nels Anderson, the two most

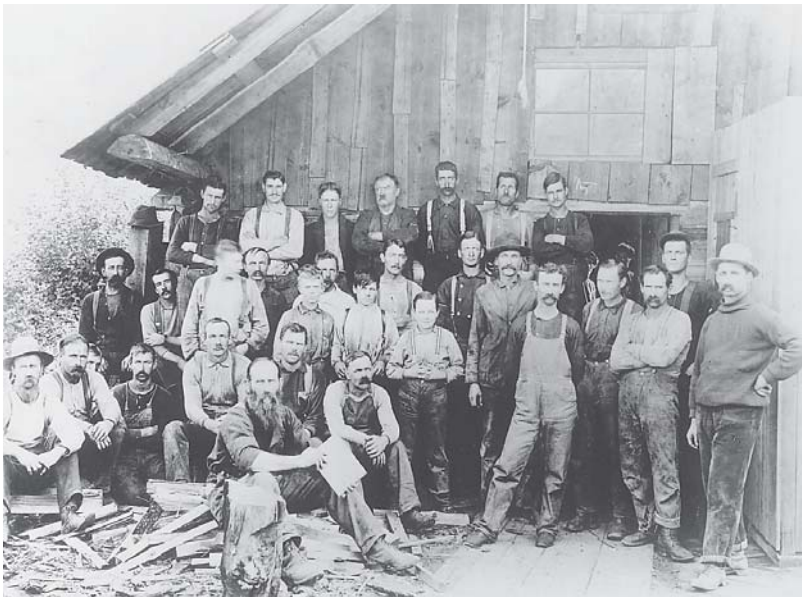

FIGURE 2. Men and boys at a logging camp in the Pacific Northwest, ca. 1900. Logging and other extractive industries provided thousands of jobs for men and youths at the close of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. At work camps, sexual contacts between male workers of all ages were common. Oregon Historical Society, #OrHi 66880.

prominent and prolific turn-of-the-century investigators of transient men, maintained that the migrants who had relations with each other could be divided into three categories. One consisted of transients who temporarily substituted males for females simply because the latter were scarce, although Flynt believed that few such individuals existed. In another grouping, Flynt included "sexual inverts." Anderson proposed a third category, "congenital" homosexuals.[22] Moreover, Flynt and Anderson were not always precise about whom they would include in or exclude from these groups. This uncertainly in part reflected the tremendous changes that notions about sexuality were undergoing when Anderson and Flynt were making their judgments. It also arose because the men Flynt and Anderson studied in fact harbored an assortment of desires.

By 1900, when Flynt came to write that some migrants were "sexual inverts," the larger society and particularly the medical profession had defined the invert as a female in a male's body or a male in a female's body. Sexual desire was not then distinguished from gender—the latter, as Judith Butler has so eloquently explained, being "the repeated styliza-

tion of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being."[23] At the time Flynt labored to understand migrant sexuality, only a "female," it was believed, could desire a "male," and vice versa. If a biological male somehow sexually desired a man, then he was really innately a female. A male sexual invert was thus understood as necessarily evincing a variety of particularly "effeminate" gender characteristics. It was taken for granted that a male invert would be sexually attracted to noninverts of his own sex, but that was only one of many of his "feminine" traits. The working class also felt that a male who appeared and acted like a "man" and performed traditionally "male" social and cultural roles, even if he did have sex with another male, was not a sexual invert (although he would undoubtedly be considered a criminal).[24]

During this same period, however, interrelated cultural and scientific developments were leading to the belief that the biological sex was more important than the gender of one's preferred sexual partner in "determining" one's sexuality. That is, a "homosexual" was now increasingly defined by his sex acts and not by his gender stylization. The British sexologist Henry Havelock Ellis and the Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud helped lead the way in this new sexual formulation.[25] Although the term *homosexual* had been around since 1869, from its inception medical experts had typically associated it with sexual inversion. For example, G. Frank Lydston, a Chicago physician, wrote in 1904 that inverts are "characterized by effeminacy of voice, dress, and manner. In a general way, their physique is apt to be inferior . . . although exceptions to this rule are numerous. Sexual perversion, and more particularly inversion—i.e., homosexuality, or sexual predilection for the same sex, is more frequent in the male[.]"[26]

Paradoxically, Flynt's use of "sexual inversion" in the 1890s when identifying tramps who engaged in "unnatural intercourse" was prescient, in that he also claimed that these tramps were "abnormally masculine" (i.e., especially masculine). In reporting what he saw on the road, Flynt took the definition of sexual inversion out of its traditional context and aligned it with the emerging understanding of homosexuality as a sexual phenomenon separate from gender. Flynt also differentiated such particularly masculine "inverts" from the hoboes on the road who chose to have sex with other males only because of an absence of females. Unfortunately, Flynt did not explain exactly how he made such a distinction. He simply related one interviewee's response when asked why he had sex with other males: "Cause there ain't women enough. If I can't get them I've got to have the other."[27]

As this notion took form at the turn of the twentieth century, homosexuality also became a fixed identity. It is thus not surprising that when Nels Anderson wrote of transient laborers in the 1920s, he drew on the work of Havelock Ellis and declared some migrants to be "congenital" homosexuals. Yet Anderson did not completely jettison the older conception of sexual inversion, for he stated that most of the congenital homosexuals on the road were "men who had developed from childhood feminine traits and tastes, and they may be regarded as predisposed to homosexuality."[28] It is true that Anderson may have been speaking here of individuals who in a later era might have identified themselves as transgendered or transsexual, for one of the problems with the notions of homosexuality then emerging is that they collapsed these varied identities.[29] As we will see, however, transgendered and transsexual males had a limited presence on the road—as Anderson himself indicates (though he also contradictorily asserts that effeminate males made up "most" of the homosexuals he discovered). A further complication is that Anderson, like Flynt, fails to make clear how he differentiated the masculine homosexuals from the apparently heterosexual males who turned to same-sex acts only because no women were available. In addition, it is hard to understand why Anderson's congenital homosexuals tended to be effeminate while Flynt's sexual inverts inclined toward masculinity. These variations and apparent discrepancies in the historical record do not just demonstrate past difficulties in categorizing sexualities; they also caution against such an endeavor today.[30] Certainly, the writings of Flynt and Anderson evince such fluctuating conceptions of and meanings for same-sex sexuality that great care must be exercised when using these men's descriptions to analyze the sexuality of the men on the road.

Further complicating this picture are the perspectives of the transient men and youths themselves. Of all the sexual relationships that occurred on the road, observers of the late 1800s and early 1900s commented almost exclusively on the very type for which Ted Gladden had been jailed: the coupling between an older and a younger male. Male migrants often referred to the adult as a "wolf" or a "jocker." Although the origins of these terms are uncertain, the juxtaposition of wolf and "lamb" (the boy in the relationship) suggests a certain level of intimidation—and descriptions of the wolf in the early twentieth century did indeed paint him as a rather coercive figure (as discussed in more detail below). *Jocker,* on the other hand, derives from a term for penis; and in the relationship between the transient adult male and youth, the former used his penis in sexual relations while the latter generally did not. The wolf and jocker could be men who substituted boys for women because

of their circumstances. Or they could be men who, according to Josiah Flynt, truly had a "passion" for boys. For many years, those in this migratory society did not differentiate between the two. By the early 1920s, however, members of the working class and in particular of the penitentiary population increasingly applied the term *wolf* specifically to the otherwise masculine man who performed traditionally masculine roles but apparently preferred to have sex with males rather than females.[31] The wolf differed categorically from transgendered males. According to the 1920s reformer Thomas Mott Osborne, wolves "by nature or practice prefer unnatural to . . . natural vice." Osborne was somewhat vague on the difference between "unnatural" and "natural" vice, implying that there might have existed a hierarchy of deviance with the wolf at its lowest rung. He also pointed out that the wolf should be seen as different from the effeminate male who submitted to sex with other men. This suggested, furthermore, that the "effeminate male," because of his gender and therefore identity, was somewhat better than the wolf because his effeminacy coincided with his inclinations, thereby rendering his vice "natural." At the same time, Osborne distinguished the wolf from the "ordinary men" who will avail themselves of other males only when deprived of women.[32]

The younger male in sexual relationships on the road also was variously labeled, most commonly "punk," "prushun," and "lamb." In the turn-of-the-century West, *punk* typically referred to any young male. Thus in the logging culture laboring youths and boys were called punks without any particular sexual connotation being conveyed. One of the jobs in logging camps, for instance, entailed operating whistles that marked time for a variety of social and work activities; the boy with that task was called a "whistle punk." On the road, however, a punk was a boy who submitted to the receptive role in sex with men. The origins of *prushun* is even less clear. Gershon Legman, who collected a glossary of such terms in 1941, claimed that it was a corruption of "prussian," which in a slightly earlier time referred to the inserter rather than the receptive partner in male sex. Exact definitions aside, accounts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lead us to conclude that the adult-youth configuration was the dominant sexual relationship in transient society. Such an intergenerational pairing, with a mixture of "homosexuals" and "heterosexuals" as represented in the jocker-punk and wolf-lamb relationships, further undermines a neat categorization of male sexuality on the road by either the historian or the eyewitness.[33] Because the sexuality of the adult-youth relationship remains obscure, but also

because it influenced the dynamics of other male homosexual systems in the Northwest at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is imperative that we examine it more thoroughly.

At the beginning of the jocker-punk relationship, the younger male was commonly in the middle of adolescence.[34] The adult male, if we take at face value contemporary reports, preferred sexual relations with teenage boys to those with men. Observers of the time believed that men who might under other social circumstances be attracted to females found that boys became desirable because they lacked certain masculine characteristics of older males. Apparently the "maleness" of the adult and the "femaleness" of the boy played such a critical role in some of these relationships that the former called the latter by feminine names or endearments. Nels Anderson asserted that jockers might sometimes dub their boys "Mabel," "Dollie," "Susan," "sweetie," or "the old lady," and even apply the prefix "Miss" to their names. Donald Roy discovered one inhabitant of Seattle's 1930s Hooverville who referred to a youthful sex partner as his "wife."[35]

Sometimes transient society used the term *fairy* to refer to punks. But the punk should not be confused with the fairy more typical of the era's larger urban centers. The historian George Chauncey, who has extensively studied the fairy in his history of gay New York, points out that the fairy stood at the center of the male sexual system of the period and "influenced the culture and self-understanding of *all* sexually active men."[36] He argues that the fairy served as the dominant public representation of the homosexual in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Consequently, many boys and men, especially those of the working classes, who had vague feelings of sexual and gender difference modeled themselves on this figure—embracing the fairy's carriage, demeanor, physical appearance, and clothing. Furthermore, the fairy adopted the traditionally "female" role (i.e., the receptive or insertee position) in sexual encounters (both oral and anal) with men. At the same time, because broader working-class society interpreted the fairy as more female than male (i.e., as a sexual invert), he did not pose much of a threat to other "normal" men. It was possible, then, for "normal" men to have sex with fairies—and perhaps even with other men—as long as they took the traditionally "masculine" sexual role of inserter. Because the role of inserter was so imperative to maintaining a reputation as a "normal" man, many observers in the first part of the twentieth century concluded that "homosexuals" (by which they meant effeminate males) did not take on this

role in sexual encounters. As late as 1941, Gershon Legman wrote that the inserter role in anal intercourse "is only infrequently practiced by male homosexuals, and is more often a matter of heterosexual vice or convenience, as in prisons or on ships or among tramps and hoboes. On the other hand, passive pedication [anal sex in the receptive role] is, after fellation, the most common practice of homosexual men[.]" In any case, the centrality of the fairy to the male sexual world leads Chauncey to conclude that this figure "offers a key to the cultural archaeology of all male sexual practices and mentalities in this era and the configuration of sex, gender, and sexuality in the early twentieth century."[37]

This fairy and the punk differed in a number of ways. In sexual relations the punk did take the receptive role, but seldom performed fellation. The vast majority of legal documents pertaining to the transient world report anal and interfemoral coitus (rubbing the penis between one's partner's thighs), with the older man performing the inserter role. This was the case in the example of Ted Gladden. When he was arrested in Albany, Oregon, officials charged him with having "attempted copulation between thighs and buttocks" of a number of adolescent boys.[38]

Both jockers and punks seemed averse to oral eroticism, perhaps reflecting their class background in their preferences. For the first half of the twentieth century, Alfred Kinsey found that males of the working class were considerably less likely than males of the upper classes to engage in petting, foreplay, and oral stimulation in their sexual encounters. Because in their own experience oral sex played a limited role, the adult in the sex couple of the road probably preferred anal or interfemoral intercourse to fellation with youths. Moreover, the same class-related factors probably made the youth less inclined to performing oral sex on the adult even if he were pressured to do so. Kinsey's data do reveal that young males from the lower social strata engaged in fellation less frequently than did youths from the middle class.[39]

These class-related factors might at first glance seem to explain why anal and interfemoral intercourse dominated the jocker-punk sexual relationship. But the working-class fairy, whom the same class-related factors also undoubtedly influenced, more willingly performed oral sex than did the punk. This contradiction may be more apparent than real. Because the fairy had vague feelings of (trans)gender difference, he might very well have been more open to, and even desirous of, performing the more taboo receptive sex role in fellation. The punk, however, did not necessarily enter into sexual relations with men because of same-sex desire nor because of feelings of gender difference. The punk and the

fairy were distinct characters in the working-class world. Desire, background, and other social factors considered below shaped their sexuality differently and also seem to have influenced the type of sexual intercourse that adult working-class males engaged in.

We must also take into account that the punk, though he performed a receptive role in sexual relations with men, did not necessarily act effeminately, as did the fairy. While Josiah Flynt asserted that some of the punks he came across seemed to him "uncommonly feminine," this was by no means the rule. Furthermore, Maury Graham, a hobo who spent time on the road in Idaho, related in his autobiography a story about a man in a boxcar who grabbed his crotch and demanded, "Boy, you wanna have some fun?" At the time, Graham was fifteen, about the average age of a punk, but somewhat more than 125 pounds and a champion wrestler. His size, strength, and skill hardly marked him as "effeminate." Nonetheless, Graham found that a number of men approached him for sexual relations.[40] Moreover, unlike the fairy who performed a specified role and faced permanent stigmatization in the working-class urban environment, the punk could change his role in sexual relations within a relatively short span of time. Both Flynt and Anderson explained that punks commonly became jockers one day, sometimes when still relatively youthful. Young males taking the inserter role with those even younger than themselves did indeed exist on the road. Take, for example, the story of the drifter Heber DeLong, whom authorities arrested on a mid-December day in 1906 in the small eastern Idaho community of Shelley. A "bunch of boys," according to a local newspaper, divulged to the sheriff that DeLong, who had been in town for a short time, committed sodomy on them a number of times. According to prison records, DeLong was only nineteen, stood 5′ ½″ tall, and weighed 120 pounds. Although we do not know if DeLong's previous sexual history included a period as a punk, nonetheless his example demonstrates that relatively youthful males also performed the jocker role.[41]

With all this in mind, we should not be surprised to discover that transient males distinguished between the punk and the fairy. Moreover, they favored the former over the latter. Anderson commented that the city's transgendered youths, whom he described as "lithe, lean youths with rouged lips," only occasionally wandered onto the main stem and sometimes tried "their fortunes at being hobos for a while." Some members of the broader transient society, notably the "yegg" and the "bum," did like to see the fairy come around. But the rank and file of the transient world did not necessarily share the opinion of the bum and yegg,

two characters who occupied the very outskirts of migratory society. Transient laborers, Anderson suggests, did not generally care for the fairy. In fact, the sociologist claimed that transgendered males "do not belong" in the migratory world at all. By definition, however, the punk did.[42]

In addition, when transgendered males did take to the road, they seemed generally to have stuck to themselves. One man, known only by the name "Vilma," described himself and a few of those he ran with in 1930s Seattle as "queens." In his colorful depiction of an occasional life on the road during the Great Depression, he suggested a certain clannishness that separated him and his cohorts from other migratory men. Vilma recalled,

> Some of the Seattle queens would bunch up and travel to San Francisco in boxcars and stay for three or four months. Then the queens in San Francisco would come up and stay in Seattle for three or four months. . . . Sometimes we'd meet each other in between the cities on the rails. That was a wild time, lots of hot stories and carrying on and we shared our food over a campfire along the tracks. We covered ourselves with newspapers at night. We traveled the rails as males but I heard about queens who traveled the rails in drag.[43]

A separation between the typical transient laborer and transgendered males like Vilma is also depicted in our scant documentation from the 1920s of a male sex trade on the West Coast.[44] Various salmon-canning companies operating in the North Pacific annually recruited laborers from the West Coast for seasonal work. Apparently understanding the sexual appetites of these workers who lacked access to women, as well as having an eye on the money to be earned, some transgendered male sex workers also migrated to northern shores. A report from 1923 claimed that men "dressed in silks and women's clothes" passed from one cannery to the next "for the sole purpose" of prostitution. More typically, cannery foremen enlisted sex workers. Aboard ship en route to the north and in Alaska, company foremen might hire them out for mock marriages and sexual relations with other men, usually splitting the profits with the sex workers. Foremen also realized that to win these sex workers' affections, cannery employees would spend additional money on candy, cigarettes, and liquor at company-owned stores. Because the Alaskan canning industry was isolated and because the sex workers apparently hired on or traveled together specifically to make money, they can be seen as somewhat outside the mainstream of transient society. But it should also be noted, as the same reports cited here relate, that

other male sex workers who were not transgendered made their way to northern shores as well.[45]

The punk and the fairy were distinct characters, who performed slightly different sexual roles. If on the road, the transgendered male generally remained apart from other transients. Most significantly, he was not directly linked to on-the-road culture except in unusual cases, such as being hired for sex in the Alaska salmon cannery trade. Not surprisingly, because the transgendered male was not a regular and integral part of that world, transients generally derided him, although they might take advantage of him in certain circumstances. In contrast, transient society embraced the punk. The punk also differed from the fairy because as part of the transient culture he had many roles to play beyond the sexual. A brief investigation of these roles enlightens us even more as to the culture, gender system, and sexuality of working-class men (transient and otherwise) in the Northwest and North America more generally at this time.

Part of the jocker-punk relationship grew out of domestic considerations. Among the tasks required of the youth were building fires, doing laundry, sewing, running errands, and even shaving the jocker. It makes sense that a boy away from home for the first time and fresh to life on the road would more willingly accede to perform these duties than would an older, more self-assured individual. As long as the youth carried out his chores, the relationship progressed smoothly. Anderson noted that a partnership between man and boy generally ended when the latter attained a level of "confidence in his own ability"—a scenario illustrated dramatically in a story Donald Roy uncovered while surveying men in Seattle's Hooverville in 1934. In one instance, a punk refused to perform certain "household duties." After a number of months of being nagged, while the shack accumulated all sorts of "dirt and rubbish," the "boy turned upon his . . . 'husband' with a revolver and shot him." Although the adult survived, the shooting effectively put a stop to the affair.[46] The adult's control over the youth spilled over into certain economic aspects of the migratory world. The tramp and the yegg often required their punks to beg and steal. One hobo reported that a wolf he met in eastern Washington maintained that his boy "was the best little bum y'ever saw" as he successfully mooched sandwiches and other food as well as clothes and even shoes. Sometimes the jocker purposely maimed the punk, realizing that an injured youth could garner more sympathy from those likely to offer a handout.[47]

The jocker-punk alliance had other explanations as well. Many of the participants drew on such relationships for emotional fulfillment, which

could come in a variety of forms. "The fiercest fight" Flynt ever witnessed came about when two hoboes battled over a boy whom they both claimed to love. Love could also act as a lure into such relationships. For instance, in Walla Walla, Washington, in 1917 a sometime itinerant laborer, thirty-two-year-old George McElroy, invited seventeen-year-old Roy Church, who had just arrived in town from northern Idaho, to his room at the inexpensive Tango lodging house. There, according to Church, McElroy attempted to coax him into a sexual relationship, claiming that "warm friendships . . . had been known to exist between men who indulged in that sort of intercourse."[48] Although the youth did not respond in the way McElroy had hoped—he fled the Tango in his bedclothes for the police station and McElroy landed in the state penitentiary—eyewitnesses to jocker-punk relationships reported it not unusual for the boy to reciprocate the adult male's feelings. Thomas Minehan studied hoboes in the early 1930s and discovered that wolf-lamb relationships "seemed to be one of mutual satisfaction." Similarly, Nels Anderson remarked that while affairs between men and youths he knew were generally brief, the attachments were nonetheless "very intense and sentimental." Sometimes such partnerships could last for years and even become conjugal in nature. Furthermore, Anderson claimed that he had twice made the mistake of stepping in between a man and his boy. On one occasion "his interference was resented by both." In the other, he found that the "lamb" would not be separated from his "wolf." Likewise, Minehan reported of a case in which he found that "the boy did not want to be separated from his friend. He resented and refused all efforts at his 'rescue.'"[49]

For a variety of reasons, then, the jocker-punk relationship was based on more than sex, which by definition it included.[50] It is thus safe to assume that factors such as the demographics of the road, the remoteness of some work locations, and generally poor relations between transients and urban fairies all contributed to migratory male culture distinguishing between punks and fairies. Even though they appeared to perform a similar sexual role, punks were held in much higher esteem. To be sure, the jocker-punk relationship could have harsh and coercive aspects. An account of a 1925 incident claimed that "the tramp always ruled the 'punk' by fear, the same crude brutal psychology that the pimp practiced over the weak woman of the underworld." Josiah Flynt reported in 1896 that the punk had to do exactly what the jocker commanded, or the latter might kick, slap, and generally maltreat him. Other investigations have argued the same, insisting that punks became a virtual slave to their

"masters." Nels Anderson, however, tried to dispel the belief that all such relationships were exploitive. Whether his efforts reflected reality or his wish to win sympathy for transient men is difficult to know with certainty.[51]

The context in which these reports were written also makes it difficult to separate fact from fiction in their depiction of such relationships. As the century progressed, two broad social changes led jocker-punk associations to be cast in increasingly pejorative terms: social disapproval of "homosexuality" intensified, and tolerance of transients decreased. Mechanization, unionization, public relief, federal regulation, and the development of the automobile all transformed western agriculture and extractive industries in the 1920s and '30s, undercutting the need for casual laborers and undermining more traditional forms of transience. The hangers-on increasingly became the "drunken bums" intolerable to society. Associated with debauchery, perversion, and industrial displacement, these men faced additional social castigation. In the 1890s, when Josiah Flynt described what he saw as negative in the jocker-punk relationship, he also reported on positive aspects, finding "some jockers to be almost as kind as fathers to their boys[.]" By the 1930s, observers were commenting only on the negative. One transient in Wenatchee, Washington, described the first "wolf" he came across as "a horrible-looking individual with red hair, bent nose, and repulsive lips." And Maury Graham claimed that the punks he encountered "were a ragged, seedy-looking bunch with sad, frightened eyes embedded in hard, unhappy faces."[52]

Moreover, the jocker's coercion of and control over his punk stressed by outsiders were in no way universal. In studying working-class statutory rape "victims" and "criminals" in 1910s California, Mary Odem has found that about three-quarters of the teenage girls in these sexual encounters described themselves as willing partners. Many actually encouraged their unions with older men. And like youths in relationships with men, teenage working-class girls entered into these sexual relationships for a wide variety of reasons, including economic rewards, romance, love, and sexual pleasure.[53] Like Odem's female subjects, youths benefited from their relationships with jockers. Boys received much-needed advice and information about life on the road. They also gained warmth and compassion—something particularly needed, as a broken home was the leading cause of boys' transience. Additionally, observers remarked that jockers guarded their punks jealously. Traveling alone, without a jocker's protection, could be far more dangerous for a boy. For example, while in company with eight hoboes on a slowly moving

train, Flynt witnessed a young lad scramble into the freight car, where he was then "tripped up and 'seduced'... by each of the tramps."[54]

Although some of these examples bespeak child molestation and an unwillingness on the part of boys to engage in some sexual relations with men, many youths sought out men for sexual pleasure. Flynt reported that some of the punks he encountered in the 1890s told him that "they get as much pleasure out of the affair as the jocker does.... [L]ittle fellows under ten... describe it as a delightful tickling sensation in the parts involved.... Those who have passed the age of puberty seem to be satisfied pretty much the same way that the men are." Alfred Kinsey's research for roughly the same period corroborates Flynt's observations. The sexologist found that homosexual play was an essential part of boy culture and that the children of the lower levels of American society were the least restrained, usually becoming involved in such activities at an early age.[55]

Flynt even encountered punks whom he described as "willfully tempt[ing] their jockers to intercourse." The motive of some was undoubtedly their own sexual satisfaction; of others, more basic needs of daily survival; and of yet others, a complex blend of the two. In the transient-labor world, compliant boys could make money and receive food, clothing, and shelter.[56] Donald Roy, a university student at the time he surveyed Seattle's Hooverville, was offered "chickens, pork chops, oranges" as well as money, a job, and "a happy home life" if he would submit to the passions of the men who propositioned him. Nels Anderson noted that boys often became sexually active in their relationships on the road and "even commercialize[d] themselves." Such was the case of a boy who, on the outskirts of the western railroad town of Ogden, Utah, in 1921, promised transient men that "he would 'do business' with anyone in the crowd for fifty cents." The young entrepreneur furthermore claimed this as "his method of 'getting by,'" rendering other work unnecessary. Many boys on the road probably found that having sex with men enabled them to make the best of an unfortunate situation. For example, legal documents describe how while riding on a boxcar through Kennewick, Washington, in 1911, Charles Smith "was practically caught in the act" of committing sodomy on a sixteen-year-old youth "with the consent of the boy, for the price of a meal."[57]

Historical evidence and past studies of sexual practices demonstrate that the jocker-punk relationship was not necessarily one-sided. The adolescent boy could and often did have his own emotional and sexual as well as economic reasons for forming relationships with men. Such evidence also supports Nels Anderson's theory that in the jocker-punk

relationship, force might not have been "so extensively employed as sometimes believed."[58]

A variety of factors beyond the sexual affected the adult-adolescent male relationships so prevalent in the transient world of the Northwest. The youthfulness of the punk proved imperative for certain domestic and economic aspects of the partnership to operate smoothly. The emotional rewards of the teacher-apprentice relationship or even basic warmth and compassion could also be gained by both jocker and punk. Such relationships provided safety and protection as well, giving boys themselves significant reasons unrelated to sex to submit to or even initiate these alliances. While the jocker might expect the boy to play a specific sexual role, the punk's background and sexual desires also seem to have shaped the sexuality of the adult. Such considerations help distinguish the punk from the urban fairy. The punk thus adds a significant dimension to our understanding of past working-class sexualities.

Variations in Migratory Male Sex and Gender Patterns on the Road

Turn-of-the-century "Hobohemia" literature commented more on the adult-adolescent male pairing than on any other sexual relationship found on the road. It may be that observers focused on it because society generally considered adult-juvenile couplings the most abhorrent. Moreover, that disapproval undoubtedly brought these relationships before the law more often than those in which two (or more) adult males mutually consented to sex with each other. Consequently, adult male–teenage boy pairings appear in the record most often.

Another possible reason why chroniclers of transient life focused on the sexual relationships between youths and men is their difficulty in accepting that men might actually be attracted to men. As long as men had relations with boys, a certain imbalance in power and possibly gender existed.[59] But hobohemia literature and other source material verifies that a variety of male-male relationships, whose participants had different age configurations and performed a variety of sex roles, also existed on the road.

As remarked on earlier, homosexual relationships regularly occurred in and around logging camps—but not all these paired an adult with a youth. The 1914 northern California investigation asserted that sexual relationships occurred between "men." Also, one individual later recalled of his

time spent in a small western logging camp in the early 1900s that seven of the nine adult male employees there engaged in sex with each other.[60] Consensual sexual relations between adult males were found among other western migratory and casual worker populations as well. The same man who reported on the homosexual activities of loggers in the early twentieth century also claimed to have labored in a western mining camp where fully half the fifty-five adult male employees got "relief from one another." And according to the early-twentieth-century cowboy Manuel Boyfrank, men on the western ranges commonly had sex together. Furthermore, federal officials who investigated Alaska's salmon canning industry in the 1910s and 1920s intimated that the men they found on transport ships had relations not only with boys.[61] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a diversity of male-male sexual relations occurred in the Alaskan canneries. As noted above, transgendered sex workers, either on their own or as subcontractors, sold sex and sometimes entered into "marriages" with cannery employees. In addition, underage boys who worked illegally in the canneries engaged in sexual relations with older laborers. There is also evidence that nontransgendered adult males hailing from a variety of ethnic and national backgrounds sold sex in the canneries.[62]

The practices that both men and youths engaged in varied widely. Although the 1914 investigation of northern California loggers gives no details, it does stress that "sex perversion" in lumber camps was as "developed and recognized as . . . in prisons and reformatories" in part because the "men sent out from the employment agencies are without blankets or even sufficient clothing, and they are forced to sleep packed together for the sake of warmth."[63] This sleeping arrangement might lead to anal or interfemoral coitus, as it did in an industrial work camp in northern California in October 1894. There Thomas Hickey and Harry Blair shared the same bunk for several weeks while others in the camp either witnessed or heard about the former anally sodomizing the latter on a number of occasions. Similarly, the anonymous informant who reported on his western logging and mining experiences, admittedly in a dramatizing tone, claimed that the men he knew in those occupations preferred anal sex. In all these cases, some adult, working-class men had to play the receptive role. Nels Anderson described a male sex triangle in northern California: one "wolf" lived "with two men in a room. . . . serving both of them and one of them was 'going 50–50' with him. That is, they would take turns playing the female role."[64]

Cramped sleeping arrangements might also result in other forms of intimacy. For example, investigations of the ships that delivered male

workers to Alaska's canneries reveal that some individuals on board these vessels had contracted venereal diseases in the throat.[65] Oral sex took place among other migratory laborers as well. Gus LaMere, a forty-three-year-old shingle weaver originally from Maine but working at Clear Lake, Washington, went to prison in 1909 for voluntarily submitting himself to oral coitus performed by Reuben Boyd, who seems to have been younger than LaMere. In 1912 in the restroom of a barbershop located in the eastern Washington mill and agricultural town of Colfax, twenty-eight-year-old John Mustard, a migrant, fellated thirty-seven-year-old David Gunreth, a worker traveling with the 101 Ranch Real Wild West Show.[66]

In these latter instances, it appears that the younger male took the receptive role in the same-sex sexual encounter, but he used his mouth. And the Mustard-Gunreth case makes clear that the younger male was hardly a boy, being close to thirty years old (although records did question his mental condition). There are also cases in which older men performed fellation on youths. In August 1915, Charles Altwater, a forty-eight-year-old itinerant shoemaker, stopped in the small Northern Pacific spur-line community of Burke, Idaho, and there encountered seventeen-year-old Joseph McCarthy. According to McCarthy, Altwater told him a story of a man down the tracks in the mining town of Wallace who became acquainted with a boy at the Sweets Hotel. Within a short time, according to the tale Altwater supposedly spun, the older fellow "got some pop beer and sand-wiches and they went up the track a ways . . . and went in the bushes layed [*sic*] in the shade and had a good time, drank the beer and ate the sand-wiches, and . . . took down his pants and had a good time." After recounting this titillating tale, Altwater was said to have asked if McCarthy might meet him the next day, pledging to supply soft drinks if McCarthy would bring some sandwiches. McCarthy kept the date and also brought along his sixteen-year-old friend Harold Warner. The boys claimed that Altwater coaxed them into a nearby warehouse, which the older man asserted would be "a good place for some hoboes to sleep" and a "boss place to get a couple of girls." After a few minutes, McCarthy and Warner sat down on some bales of hay. According to the two boys, Altwater first opened Harold's pants and then went over to McCarthy and took out his penis. It "got hard and he sucked it off."[67]

If we are to put much faith in hobohemia literature, later recollections, and contemporary legal documents, transient laborers engaged in a variety of sexual and generational partnerings, transgressing the ex-

pected gender norms that apparently regulated same-sex relationships in other settings. In 1941 "Donald H.," who spent time on the road in California and Oregon, provided a possible explanation for this phenomenon. He asserted, "It isn't really the old man who buggers the young man. Very often a man past forty gets his pleasure being buggered by a young man." Donald claimed that the man with the "most vitality" played the "active part."[68] Gus LaMere from Clear Lake gave another rationale; he claimed that he permitted Reuben Boyd to perform fellation on him because he had "heard of this party being of such charicter [*sic*]" that he would submit himself to such a role.[69] Was LaMere implying that Boyd was transgendered, or was he an otherwise masculine male who just liked performing oral sex on other men? Unfortunately, the records tell us nothing more about Boyd and his "charicter." Nor do our records reveal anything notable about the character and demeanor of Charles Altwater, who was past forty and fellated a teenage boy. Was he a "homosexual" who more willingly would engage in these sorts of relationships? Or was he simply Donald H.'s "less vital" older man? Yet Gus LaMere, also in his forties, took the opposite part in oral sexual relations. The records are simply too fragmentary for us to draw any more precise conclusions.

There may, of course, be other reasons why sexual relationships between men, in a variety of forms, could be found on the road, especially in the Northwest. The region's great imbalance in numbers of men and women and the isolation of various work locations probably helped make it easier for some men to turn to other men for sex as well as to fulfill emotional needs. Such circumstances also apparently made it easier for some men to cast aside considerations of gender role. That a number of individuals had same-sex sexual relations undoubtedly had a "normalizing" effect, making it possible for yet other men also to participate in them. Moreover, the high mobility of workers in the Northwest, where faces in work camps or hobo jungles or main stems constantly changed, might also have diminished the peer pressure that forced men in other settings—such as urban areas back East or even in prisons—to stick more closely to prescribed roles. Nels Anderson commented on this particular circumstance of transient culture and its relationship to sexual "perversion" in the early 1920s when he stated that "so long as one is in the tramp class" there is little worry about social ostracism:

> The tramp is not identified with any community or any social group. He is ever surrounded with the cloak of anonymity. Not even arrest reveals his identity. It is not easy to get this class of men into a position where they fear any stigma, for

they only need to pass on and start anew elsewhere without reference to their past. Each lives in his own world, and this promise of security is often taken advantage of.[70]

The Physical Geography of Sex on the Road

Nels Anderson remains one of the most informative observers of early-twentieth-century transient workers, but his conclusions about them are contradictory. Such contradictions are due in part to a discrepancy between reality and what Anderson really wanted his society—which had a negative view of migrant laborers—to know about his subjects. In the passage quoted above, for example, Anderson suggested that their lack of "community" accounted for the ability of some "tramps" to engage in "perversion." Yet at other times Anderson wrote eloquently about the complexities and cohesiveness of the transient community. Transient homosexuality caused Anderson discomfort. To explain it as aberrant, he called on the very stereotypes that he otherwise worked so hard to dispel.

In maintaining that transients' sexuality resulted from "the cloak of anonymity" (rootlessness, ability to change identities, and thus relative insularity from the watchful eye of society), Anderson resorted to what sounds suspiciously like the modern metaphor of the closet. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has explained that "[t]he closet is the defining structure for gay oppression";[71] indeed, it applies more broadly to all people with nonheteronormative sexualities. The closet both permits and at the same time enforces denial, isolation, concealment, and ignorance. In summoning the closet, Anderson attempted to erase the pervasiveness of migratory laborers' same-sex sexual activities and confine them to the most specific and unusual set of circumstances. But in fact, homosexual practices pervaded transient society. Migrating men and youths constructed an elaborate same-sex sexual culture that was anything but anonymous and furtive. They also applied a variety of identities to those among them who participated in it. Indeed, their *community* provided for and reinforced same-sex sexual activities. Thus openness, acceptance, and common practice rather than obscurity, disdain, and infrequency were responsible for transient same-sex sexuality. Anderson's closet is rooted in the sociologist's own homophobic society.

In recent years, geographers have pointed out that the closet is more than just a metaphor. It is physical space, too. As such, it is also something positive—often a refuge from a disapproving broader milieu. Historically, people who share "transgressive" sexualities have carved out

their own places that support, reinforce, conceal, and even permit their activities.[72] Most scholarly attention to this so-called queer space has focused on the city, because of the overall urban bias in gay studies—the long tradition that poses the city as the location of the first communities of people who had same-sex sexual desires and engaged in homosexual activities. This tradition holds that the city historically acted as a magnet. Over the years it drew to it rural men and women with same-sex desires who wished to find others like themselves and enjoy an overall atmosphere that was relatively more permissive, though there, too, they had to carve out their own protected spaces.[73]

Did the heavily transient nonurban settings like those found in the turn-of-the-century Northwest hinterlands also attract men who already had same-sex desires? Responding to this question is difficult for at least two reasons. First, as already noted, the available documents are sketchy and inherently biased. Second, unlike urban gay community, which grew and flourished over the course of the twentieth century, the transient worker world largely dissipated by the mid-1900s. Because it was not renewed and sustained, it lacked a continuous influx of new people with stories to tell. Nevertheless, there is evidence that suggests we should answer "yes." Male-male sexuality abounded on the road and was no secret. Although not always clear in their definitions, both Flynt and Anderson avowed that "homosexuals" did appear on the road. Moreover, the pervasiveness of same-sex sexuality among transient laborers enabled men with some form of homosexual interests to act on them. And without downplaying the exploitive control over transient labor that the capitalist system exerted, we do know that the seasonal nature of the Northwest's employment and the relative ease of finding successive jobs in different industries did entice to the region some men who preferred periodic rather than constant work.[74] By analogy, it seems likely that men and youths with homoerotic interests found the road attractive because of its sexual system.

Donald H. offered suggestive material on this point. Since his youth, Donald had engaged in both same- and opposite-sex activities. Having formed intimate relationships with peripatetic men on the West Coast when in his twenties, Donald nonetheless later chose to marry. Conjugal bliss never materialized, so he resumed a life on the road, intermittently playing the role of a hitchhiker and pickup and engaging in same-sex affairs as he did so. Ultimately he hit the road with one of his closer male friends, and they traveled to Oregon and worked as miners. Donald already knew at the time he fled his failed marriage for the road that "there

is a tremendous amount of homosexuality among hobos and generally a great deal of affection."[75] Such snippets speak to the likelihood that in the early twentieth century the urban center was not alone in attracting men with homoerotic desires; rural transient culture seems to have acted as a magnet for working-class men with such passions. It appears that some men sought transient society as a refuge and did not merely perceive it as a closet. These conclusions refute the traditional "wisdom" that rural America is a place averse to homoeroticism and lacking in attractiveness to a community of individuals with same-sex sexual interests.[76]

Throughout the twentieth century most large cities, despite drawing in gay men, remained hostile to them in a number of ways. That hostility made it necessary for urban gays to establish their own spaces for socializing and for sex, such as restrooms, parks, rooming houses, YMCAs, bathhouses, bars, and so on. In the urban setting, men moved between these "closeted" sites and the more open and public spaces of their families and jobs. Travel—whether by foot, in streetcars, or later by automobiles—was essential for many to realize their sexual and social interests in the city. Tim Retzloff has written that the automobile was the greatest force in "nurturing community and identity formation" among gay males in post–World War II Flint, Michigan. The car facilitated travel to gay spaces within Flint and to nearby and larger Detroit. The auto itself was a gay place; men used it for socializing and sex. Travel was also important to men with homosexual interests in other mid-twentieth-century settings. John Howard has noted that in this era the increasing availability of the automobile, the concomitant expansion of the highway system, and the establishment of roadside rest areas enhanced the possibilities for social and sexual encounters among men in the rural South.[77]

For the Northwest in an earlier era, mobility was the defining characteristic of a large segment of the male populace. Natural resource–based industries throughout the region's hinterlands depended on a multitude of men and youths migrating to them for work. The seasonal nature of these industries and the tendency of work camps to move after quickly depleting the raw material on which they relied intensified itinerancy. By 1914 West Coast laborers could expect in a single season for work in a lumber camp to last for fifteen to thirty days, in a mining camp for sixty days, at a railroad construction site for ten days, and in harvesting for seven days.[78] The constant movement of males to such locations where they concentrated in large numbers did more than make sexual contact likely: it provided the milieu in which sexual contacts regularly oc-

curred. Thus rather than having to travel from one site to the next for sexual relations, men found that the hinterland itself was a sexual space. Moreover, there were specific rural sites where sexual contacts were most likely: the work camps, the so-called hobo jungles, and on board the means of transportation. With regard to the first, Alfred Kinsey reported for the early twentieth century that "the highest frequencies of the homosexual which we have ever secured anywhere have been in particular rural communities in some of the more remote sections of the country.... [I]t is found among ranchmen, cattle men, prospectors, lumbermen, and farming groups in general[.]"[79] As this chapter has demonstrated, homosexual relations regularly occurred among men such as these and in these very places.

"Jungle" was what migrating men called their campgrounds on the outskirts of cities or along rural rail lines. Jungles could be permanent or temporary. Transients laid them out to maximize cover from legal authorities, taking advantage of a variety of natural amenities such as shade and water as well as proximity to transportation. In the jungles transients exchanged stories and information, socialized, did their laundry, read newspapers, and so on. Jungles also acted as sites for sexual relations; indeed, as already noted, transient youths could make a living as sex workers in them. Because the jungle's sexual potential was so great, Josiah Flynt found in the 1890s that some jockers withdrew from them entirely, "simply to be sure that their prushuns were not touched by other tramps."[80] In the 1930s—possibly because the dynamics of the road by then had changed, or possibly because he wished to ameliorate society's views of the hobo—Maury Graham reported that jungles had become segregated between those who engaged in same-sex relations and those who steadfastly refused them. So well-known had jungles become as sites of sexual activity that during the first part of the twentieth century some urban homosexuals frequented them. Those who "cruised" the jungles became known as "railroad queens."[81] As later chapters suggest, railroad queens were likely few in number in the Northwest at this time; but the point here is that male-male sex commonly occurred in these locations and they had a decided reputation for it.

The mode of transportation used by transients also provided opportunity for sexual encounters, whether invited or not. Between the 1880s and 1917 more than 16,000 miles of railroad were laid in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana. Transients used the iron road as their primary means of travel. They might cling to the undersides of railcars; for safety and comfort, many preferred the boxcar, which some dubbed the

"side-door Pullman." As noted earlier, it was in a boxcar where sometime Northwest hobo Maury Graham was first approached for sexual relations. It was also in a boxcar in eastern Washington where the twenty-eight-year-old laborer Charles Smith "was practically caught in the act" of having sexual relations with a sixteen-year-old fellow traveler. And a boxcar was where Josiah Flynt witnessed eight hoboes "seduce" a youth only moments after he had jumped on board.[82]

Railway construction eased in the Northwest in the 1920s, just as automobiles were becoming more affordable. In 1916, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana together had registered 132,755 motor vehicles. Only four years later, the number of licensed cars had nearly tripled. Road construction progressed slowly, however. By 1918 Idaho had only five miles of highway outside its urban centers. But as automobile travel became more common, migrants turned increasingly to hitching. As Donald H. found in the 1920s and '30s, both thumbing for rides and providing rides to transient men increased his chances for sexual encounters.[83]

During this period, male workers who left West Coast ports for the canneries of Alaska traveled by ship. Before the mid-1920s, they boarded sailing vessels; later, they increasingly took steamers. But whatever their means of propulsion, transports offered a place wherein sexual contacts abounded. By the 1920s, federal investigators complained that the ships provided only cramped bunks that two men shared without the benefit of an intervening partition to protect their "privacy." Authorities also noted the spread of venereal diseases on board, where they found a variety of male sex workers and others with same-sex sexual interests.[84]

Because of the large numbers of unattached men and because the transient community approved of and encouraged same-sex affairs, migrant workers did not necessarily have to travel for sexual encounters as did (and do) some men in other settings. Within the transient world both fixed and moving sites served as locations for sex. But as men and youths of the transient culture engaged in any of their possibly socially unacceptable behaviors, they ran the greatest risk of discovery in the small towns that also sprinkled the Northwest's hinterlands. These communities, though their economies in some ways relied on transient laborers, consistently lamented their presence, blaming them for all sorts of local problems and accusing them of creating a general menace. As early as 1889, Oregon officials reporting to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections on the social dangers that confronted the region's youth claimed that "prior to the advent of railroads, the commu-

nities were almost entirely free from the inroads of tramps, gypsies and other vagrants." In southwestern Idaho in the spring of 1912, anxieties about transients were heightened. Day after day, local papers ran unfavorable headlines about the large numbers of laborers passing through. "The hobo harvest keeps up," one reported, "and if there was ever a bumper crop of the product it has been this spring." Another charged that the local police have "their hands full these days, the tramps and hobos going through the city in droves." At the same time a front-page story appeared accusing hoboes of attacking and injuring a local brakeman.[85] It was within this very atmosphere, at this very time, and in this very place that Ted Gladden, with whom this chapter began, first encountered his troubles. On the one hand, then, the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century North American hinterlands helped create the conditions in which a particular working-class same-sex sexual subculture formed and flourished. Yet on the other hand, certain attributes of those hinterlands also presented dangers for the transient laborers who participated in same-sex affairs there.

In 1909, after leaving behind surviving family members and his Minnesota home, Gladden headed to the Pacific Northwest; there he entered into and readily participated in a thriving transient culture. For a variety of reasons this culture countenanced sexual relationships between its male participants. The relationship that made Gladden a historical figure was the one that epitomized the transient experience: the adult and adolescent male partnering. Typically the younger males who engaged in sex with men on the road were referred to as *punks*. As this chapter has outlined, the punk differed markedly from the urban fairy, another prominent figure in North America's working-class world at this time, though considerably less common in the Northwest because of the nature of its economy and workforce. On rural byways and in rural work camps the punk shaped working-class sexuality, and working-class sexuality in turn shaped him. But he also made his appearance in the region's major urban centers, as did the men who had sex with him. Ted Gladden, we know, spent some of his time in Portland. Together, the transient youth and the migratory adult male influenced male same-sex sexuality in the city, too. This is a subject that the following chapter examines more thoroughly.

Chapter 1. Sex on the Road: Migratory Men and Youths in the Pacific Northwest's Hinterlands

1. Conflicting prison, census, and newspaper reports provide information on Gladden. The account given here is gleaned from Ted Gladden, Inmate 1916, Idaho Territory and State Penitentiary Convict Register, 1884–1916, pp. 206–7, ISHS; Ted Glayton [*sic*], Inmate 7776, OSP Physical Description Records, Volume 1916–1922, OSA; Ted Glayton [*sic*], Inmate 7776, OSP Great Register, 1910–1925, pp. 324–25, OSA; Ted Glayton [*sic*], Inmate 7776, Parole Calendar for November 1918, vol. 5, [n.p.], Oregon State Parole Board Actions, 1915–1938, OSA; State of Idaho v. Ted Gladden, June 8, 1912, Indictment Records for Canyon County, ISHS; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, Manuscript Census, Marion County, Oregon, Enumeration District 214, sheet 9B, line 95; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census, 1920, Manuscript Census, Marion County, Oregon, Enumeration District 223, sheet 4B, line 69; *Nampa (Idaho) Leader-Herald,* various stories on hobos and local trouble with hobos, May 1912; and *Albany (Ore.) Daily Democrat,* November 29, 1917, 1, and November 30, 1917, 1.

2. Chris D. Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town: The Life and Death of the Skid Row District, Portland, Oregon" (Ph.D. diss., Portland State University, 1985), 32.

3. See James Neville Tattersall, "The Economic Development of the Pacific Northwest to 1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1960), 86, 90, 119, 134, 137, 138, 179, 140–41, 200; Dorothy O. Johansen, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest,* 2d ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 316–17, 372–73; Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History,* rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 169–78, 222, 329; Schwantes, *Railroad Signatures across the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993); Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 257–58, 278–80; Jean Barman, *The West beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 108–14; Chuck Davis and Shirley Mooney, *Vancouver: An Illustrated Chronology* (Burlington, Ont.: Windsor, 1986), 26, 33, 40; and James H. Hitchman, *A Maritime History of the Pacific Coast, 1540–1980* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990), 42–43.

4. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 4:405, 1357, 1691; Canada, *General Report of the Census of Canada, 1880–81* (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger, 1885), 4:2–3; Canada, *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, 1912), 1:520; Canada, Dominion Bureau Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, 1933), 2:156.

5. The census definition of *laborer* is somewhat slippery, as it changed throughout this period. The occupational categories included in my analysis are "laborers," farm laborers, lumbermen, raftsmen, woodchoppers, those in the

building and hand trades, saw and planing mill workers, longshoremen and stevedores, sailors and deckhands, fishermen and oystermen, railroad and other transportation labor, lumberyard and coal yard laborers, and warehouse workers. For census definitions and uses of the term *laborer,* see U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914), 4:19–22, 82–88.

Census figures offered in the text come from various census compilations. For the U.S. figures I factored in conjugal status only of men known to census takers, thereby eliminating from calculations those listed as "unknown." U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Population of the United States, 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895–97), part 1, 830, 842, 867, 877; part 2, 551, 569, 601, 621.

6. U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895), 830, 842, 867, 877; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 2:169.

7. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 3:523; Nels Anderson, *Men on the Move* (1940; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1974), 80–82; Nels Anderson, *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), 150–51. On labor, transience, and racial and ethnic minority groups in the Northwest, see Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870–1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Liping Zhu, *A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1997); Paul George Hummasti, "Finnish Radicalism in Astoria, Oregon, 1904–1940: A Study in Immigrant Socialism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1975); and Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican Labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942–1947* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

8. U.S. Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910,* 3:993; Zhu, *Chinaman's Chance,* 7–32, 87; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920,* 2:514. On miscegenation laws, especially in Oregon, see Peggy Pascoe, "Race, Gender, and the Privileges of Property: On the Significance of Miscegenation Laws in the U.S. West," in *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West,* ed. Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 215–30.

The literature on the Chinese in the West is vast; on Portland and the larger Northwest see, besides Zhu, Margaret K. Holden, "Gender and Protest Ideology: Sue Ross Keenan and the Oregon Anti-Chinese Movement," *Western Legal History* 7, no. 2 (summer/fall 1994): 222–43, and Nelson Chia-Chi Ho, *Portland's Chinatown: The History of an Urban Ethnic District* (Portland: Bureau of Planning, City of Portland, 1978).

On Chinese women, Chinese cultural restrictions against their emigration, and U.S. policies against female immigration, see Sucheng Chan, "The Exclu-

sion of Chinese Women, 1870–1943," in *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882–1943,* ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 94–146, and George Anthony Peffer, "Forbidden Families: Emigration Experiences of Chinese Women under the Page Law, 1875–1882," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 6, no. 1 (fall 1986): 28–46.

On Chinese and South Asian migration and experience in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America, see Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989); and Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 71–72.

On Greek immigration and work in the West, see George A. Kourvetaris, *Studies on Greek Americans* (Boulder, Colo.: Eastern European Monographs, 1997), 17–18; Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), 45, 55, 56, 58–59; and Saloutos, *The Greeks in America: A Students' Guide to Localized History,* Localized History Series, ed. Clifford L. Lord (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), 3–4.

9. Haralambous Kambouris, "Sojourn in America," edited by Konstantinos H. Kambouris, Haralambous Kambouris collection, MS 2638, n. 4 (n.p.), OHS. See also Kourvetaris, *Studies on Greek Americans,* 27; Saloutos, *Greeks in the United States,* 31, 85; Thomas Doulis, *A Surge to the Sea: The Greeks in Oregon* (Portland: Jack Lockie and Associates, 1977), 29; and Chrysie Mamalakis Costantakos, *The American-Greek Subculture: Processes of Continuity* (New York: Arno, 1980), 259.

10. Stewart H. Holbrook, *Holy Old Mackinaw: A Natural History of the American Lumberjack* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 247 (quotation), 72, 152–55, 246–47. See also Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 188–89; Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes, *Hard Traveling: A Portrait of Work Life in the New Northwest* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 28–31; John C. Schneider, "Tramping Workers, 1890–1920: A Subcultural View," in *Walking to Work: Tramps in America, 1790–1935,* ed. Eric H. Monkkonen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 224–25. On changing natural resource–based industries and their relationship to labor, see Anderson, *Hobo,* 62–63, and Anderson, *Men on the Move,* 135–68. On the history of Chinese men on successive gold rushes in various parts of the world, see Zhu, *A Chinaman's Chance.*

11. Schwantes, *Pacific Northwest,* 222; White, *"It's Your Misfortune,"* 258–63, 267–68; Norman H. Clark, *Mill Town: A Social History of Everett, Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), 67–68.

12. Schwantes, *Hard Traveling,* 28–31; Anderson, *Hobo,* 107–9; Sawyer, "From Whitechapel to Old Town," 187–88, 189; Johansen, *Empire of the Columbia,* 404; Schwantes, *Pacific Northwest,* 329.

13. Schwantes, *Pacific Northwest,* 330. See Anderson, *Men on the Move,* 74–75, for a detailed description of one Pacific Northwest laborer's transience over a period of several years.

14. Schwantes has pointed out that it would be wrong to assume that all of the region's workers at this time had few skills and moved about from one job to another. He argues that two categories of wage workers had emerged by the end of the nineteenth century. One was the group outlined here; the other was composed of "skilled workers who married, raised families, and put down roots in the community" (*Pacific Northwest,* 330). Nonetheless, Schwantes rightly notes that large numbers of men in the Northwest alternated between the two, possibly at rates higher than elsewhere in the country.

15. Nels Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 14, no. 2 (August 1923): 301; Dean Stiff [pseud. of Nels Anderson], *The Milk and Honey Route: A Handbook for Hobos* (New York: Vanguard, 1931), 201, 207, 209, 216, 217; see also Maury Graham and Robert J. Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road: My Life as King of the Hobos* (New York: Paragon House, 1990), 38, 62–63. Definitions for different elements of migratory society changed over time. Josiah Flynt, in "Homosexuality among Tramps" (appendix A in Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion,* vol. 4 of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex,* 2d ed. [Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1904], 219), claimed that there were "two kinds of tramps in the United States: out-of-works and 'hoboes.' The out-of-works are not genuine vagabonds; they really want work and have no sympathy with hoboes. The latter are the real tramps. They make a business of begging[.]"

16. B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 50–51.

17. Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 301, 302; Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 220, 223.

18. Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948), 457, 631; Donald Francis Roy, "Hooverville: A Study of a Community of Homeless Men in Seattle" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1935), 60, 88 (quotation).

19. Carleton H. Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1920), 73.

20. E. F. Seavey, WSP Inmate File 6027, WSAO; Oregon v. Charles Brown, July 30, 1919, MCCCC 77005; Charles Brown, parole calendar for July 1920, vol. 8, [n.p.], OSP Parole Board Actions, 1915–1938, OSA.

21. James Kennedy, Inmate 7215, parole calendar for May 1916, vol. 3, [n.p.], OSP Parole Board Actions, 1915–1938, OSA; James Kennedy, Inmate 7215, OSP Great Register Convict Record, 1910–1925, pp. 212–13, OSA; Attorney General, Inspector of Gaols, Victoria Gaol Records, 1859–1914, GR 0308, vol. 12, p. 104, entry nos. 64 and 67, and vol. 16, entry nos. 13, 16, 27, and 30 for May 1907, PABC.

22. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 220; Anderson, *Hobo,* 144.

23. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 33; see also 24–25, 134–41.

24. See Ken Plummer, *Telling Sexual Stories: Power, Change, and Social Worlds* (London: Routledge, 1995), 157–58; John Marshall, "Pansies, Perverts, and Macho Men: Changing Conceptions of Male Homosexuality," in *The Making of the Modern Homosexual,* ed. Kenneth Plummer (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1981), 134–37; E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 276–78; A. A. Brill, "The Conception of Homosexuality," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 61, no. 5 (August 2, 1913): 335–40; and Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women,* ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 157–210.

25. See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 38, 101; David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: And Other Essays on Greek Love* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 15–18; George Chauncey, Jr., "From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: Medicine and the Changing Conceptualization of Female Deviance," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History,* ed. Kathy Peiss and Christine Simmons with Robert A. Padgug (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 87–117; and Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (1995; reprint, New York: Plume, 1996).

26. G. Frank Lydston, *The Diseases of Society (The Vice and Crime Problem)* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1904), 375. See also John C. Burnham, "Early References to Homosexual Communities in American Medical Writings," *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality* 7, no. 8 (August 1973): 40, 41.

27. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 222; see also 220, 224.

28. Anderson, *Hobo,* 144.

29. On transgenderism and transsexuality, see Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998); Joanne Meyerowitz, "Sex Change and the Popular Press: Historical Notes on Transsexuality in the United States, 1930–1955," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 4, no. 2 (1998): 159–87; C. Jacob Hale, "Consuming the Living, Dis(re)membering the Dead in the Butch/Ftm Borderlands," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 4, no. 2 (1998): 311–48; Vernon Rosario II, "Trans (Homo) Sexuality? Double Inversion, Psychiatric Confusion, and Hetero-Hegemony," in *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Anthology,* ed. Brett Beemyn and Mickey Eliason (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 35–51; and Rosario, *The Erotic Imagination: French Histories of Perversity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

30. See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 44–48, and Valerie Traub, *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (London: Routledge, 1992), 91–116.

31. G. Legman, "The Language of Homosexuality: An American Glossary," in *Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns,* by George W. Henry (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1941), 2:1169, 1179.

32. Thomas Mott Osborne, *Prisons and Common Sense* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1924), 89–91. See also Louis Berg, *Revelations of a Prison Doctor* (New York: Minton, Bolch, 1934), 142, and George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994), 87, 88. For this specific reading of what Osborne meant by "unnatural" and "natural" vice, I am indebted to John Howard.

33. Stewart Hall Holbrook, *Wildmen, Wobblies, and Punks: Stewart Holbrook's Lowbrow Northwest,* ed. Brian Booth (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1992), 232–36; Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 220, 221; Anderson, *Hobo,* 145; Stiff, *Milk and Honey Route,* 212; Legman, "Language of Homosexuality," 1168, 1169, 1170, 1174, 1179.

On nineteenth-century sailing vessels, the boy in a relationship with a man was typically referred to as a "chicken" or "chickenship." On these terms and other aspects of the sailor's same-sex sexual culture, see B. R. Burg, *American Seafarer in the Age of Sail: The Erotic Diaries of Philip C. Van Buskirk, 1851–1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). Philip C. Van Buskirk, the subject of Burg's study, spent much of the 1890s in and around Snohomish, Washington. He died in Bremerton, Washington, in 1903. On Van Buskirk's life, see also Philip C. Van Buskirk, *Sailor on the Snohomish: Extracts from the Washington Diaries of Philip C. Van Buskirk,* ed. with an introduction by Robert D. Monroe (Seattle, 1957), microform; and Van Buskirk's diaries in the Philip Clayton Van Buskirk (1883–1903) Collection, accession no. 3621, Special Collections, University of Washington Manuscript and University Archives Division, Seattle. While the sexual practices of men on the road and sailors have a number of similarities, this and the next chapter focus on the customs of the former.

34. Sources conflict slightly on the age of the typical punk. See Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 220; Graham and Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road,* 35; Anderson, *Hobo,* 137; and Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 293.

35. Paul H. Gebhard, John H. Gagnon, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Cornelia V. Christenson, *Sex Offenders: An Analysis of Types* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 273, 295; Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 306; Anderson, *Hobo,* 145; Roger A. Bruns, *Knights of the Road: A Hobo History* (New York: Methuen, 1980), 94; Roy, "Hooverville," 86.

36. Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 47. On the "fairy" in transient society, see Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 305.

37. Legman, "Language of Homosexuality," 1155; Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 47 (quotation), 47–63. See also Marshall, "Pansies, Perverts, and Macho Men," 136.

38. Ted Glayton [i.e., Gladden], Inmate 7776, parole calendar for November 1918, vol. 5, [n.p.], Oregon State Parole Board Actions, 1915–1938, OSA; Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 221.

39. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior,* 347, 351, 355, 363, 367, 369, 370, 375.

40. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 224; Graham and Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road,* 47–48.

41. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 223; Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 305; Heber DeLong, Inmate 1319, ISP Parole Board Records, ISHS; *Idaho Falls (Idaho) Times,* December 18, 1906, 1.

42. Stiff [Anderson], *Milk and Honey Route,* 161–62.

43. Don Paulson with Roger Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 26; see also 22, 24.

44. Chapter 2 undertakes a more detailed analysis of male sex work.

45. Lauren Wilde Casaday, "Labor Unrest and the Labor Movement in the Salmon Industry of the Pacific Coast" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1937), 213–14; Jack Masson and Donald Guimary, "Asian Labor Contractors in the Alaskan Canned Salmon Industry: 1880–1937," *Labor History* 22, no. 3 (summer 1981): 390–91; Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor.* I thank Chris Friday for the 1923 reference, which he uncovered in a newspaper clipping in the Alaska Packers Association Scrapbook Collection, Semiahmoo Park, Whatcom County Parks, Bellingham-Blaine Area, Wash.

46. Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 300, 301–2; Roy, "Hooverville," 88; see also Gebhard et al., *Sex Offenders,* 272–73; Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 220; Stiff, *Milk and Honey Route,* 34; and Henning Bech, *When Men Meet: Homosexuality and Modernity,* trans. Teresa Mesquit and Time Davies (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 24–25.

47. Bruns, *Knights of the Road,* 94 (quotation), 95; Anderson, *Hobo,* 147; Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 301–2, 306, 307–8.

48. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 222–23; George McElroy, WSP Inmate File 6206, WSAO.

49. Thomas Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America* (New York: Gosset and Dunlap, 1934), 143; Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 306; Anderson, *Hobo,* 148; Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America,* 143; see also Gebhard et al., *Sex Offenders,* 289, 316; and Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing, 1912), 439–40.

50. While an adult and a teenage boy could form a partnership without a sexual component, it was designated a jocker-punk alliance only when sex was involved. According to Stiff [Anderson], by the early 1930s, such sex on the road was so common that "whenever a man travels around with a lad he is apt to be labeled a 'jocker' or a 'wolf,' and the road kid is called his 'punk,' 'prushun,' or 'lamb.' It has become so that it is very difficult for a good hobo to enjoy the services of an apprentice" (*Milk and Honey Route,* 161). From Flynt's description of the jocker-punk relationship ("Homosexuality among Tramps", 220), one can only conclude that it necessarily included sex. In addition, as already noted, the term *jocker* derives from a word meaning "penis" (i.e., *jock*).

51. Kenneth Allsop, *Hard Travellin': The Hobo and His History* (New York: New American Library, 1967), 219; Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 220; Josiah Flynt, "Children of the Road," *Atlantic Monthly* 77, no. 459 (January 1896): 68; Anderson, *Hobo.*

52. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 220; Flynt, "Children of the Road," 68; Bruns, *Knights of the Road,* 94; Graham and Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road,* 35.

53. Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 20, 24, 39, 50–51, 53, 54–57.

54. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 221 (quotation), 222–23; Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 292–97; Josiah Flynt, "How Men Become Tramps: Conclusions from Personal Experience as an Amateur Tramp," *Century Magazine* 50, no. 6 (October 1895): 941–45; Flynt, "Children of the Road," 58–71; Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps,* 37–53, 260–61 tables 13, 15, 16.

55. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 221, 224; Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior,* 168–71, 383. See also Joseph F. Fishman, *Sex in Prison: Revealing Sex Conditions in American Prisons* (New York: National Library Press, 1934), 69–70; and Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 56.

56. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 221; see also Allsop, *Hard Travellin',* 218–19.

57. Roy, "Hooverville," 12, 88; Anderson, *Hobo,* 146; Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 307; Charles Smith, WSP Inmate File 6154, WSAO. See also Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps,* 143.

58. Anderson, *Hobo,* 146.

59. Bech, *When Men Meet,* 23–25, 18.

60. Parker, *Casual Laborer,* 73; anonymous, quoted in *Flesh: True Homosexual Experiences,* ed. Winston Leyland (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1982), 14, as quoted in Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 159.

61. Anonymous as quoted in Williams, *Spirit and the Flesh,* 159; Manuel Boyfrank, letter to Roger Austin, December 16, 1974, Manuel Boyfrank Papers, International Gay and Lesbian Archives, West Hollywood, Calif., from notes shared with the author by Walter L. Williams, University of Southern California; E. P. Marsh, "Report on Alaska Cannery Conditions," September 7, 1920, record group 280, file 165–261, United States National Archives, College Park, Md., pp. 5, 7, 8, 12, 14 (I am indebted to Chris Friday for pointing me to this source). See also Masson and Guimary, "Asian Labor Contractors," 389.

62. Masson and Guimary, "Asian Labor Contractors," 391; Casaday, "Labor Unrest," 214; Friday, *Organizing Asian American Laborers,* 54–55, 113–14.

63. Parker, *Casual Laborer,* 73.

64. California v. Thomas Hickey, San Francisco Criminal Case no. 28, In the Supreme Court of the State of California, Transcript on Appeal, April 10, 1895, Los Angeles County Law Library, Los Angeles, Calif.; anonymous quoted in Williams, *Spirit and the Flesh,* 159–60; Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 304.

65. Marsh, "Report on Alaska Cannery Conditions," 8, 14.

66. Gus LaMere, WSP Inmate File 5524, WSAO; John Mustard, WSP Inmate File 6593, WSAO; David Gunreth, WSP Inmate File 6607, WSAO.

67. Idaho v. Charles Altwater, Trial Transcripts, Idaho Supreme Court Records, ISHS.

68. Donald H., quoted in Henry, *Sex Variants,* 1:29; see also Laud Humphreys, *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), 108–9.

69. LaMere, WSP Inmate File.

70. Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 308.

71. Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet,* 71. See also Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 6–7. In this section I am relying heavily on my reading of Michael P. Brown, *Closet Space: Geographies of Metaphor from the Body to the Globe* (London: Routledge, 2000).

72. Brown, *Closet Space;* Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire* (New York: William Morrow, 1997). Historical treatments devoted at least in part to "queer space" include Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Brett Beemyn, ed., *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Chauncey, *Gay New York;* and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

73. See, for example, John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); and Chauncey, *Gay New York.*

74. Graham and Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road;* Bruns, *Knights of the Road;* Parker, *Casual Laborer,* 148; Clark C. Spence, "Knights of the Tie and Rail—Tramps and Hoboes in the West," *WHQ* 2, no. 1 (January 1971): 5, 15; Allsop, *Hard Travellin',* 96, 97.

75. Henry, *Sex Variants,* 1:24–31; Donald H. quoted, 29.

76. For a perceptive critique of the urban bias against rural same-sex sexuality, see Howard, *Men Like That,* and John Howard, "Place and Movement in Gay American History: A Case from the Post–World War II South," in Beemyn, ed., *Creating a Place for Ourselves,* 211–25. An example of scholarship focusing on rural western America that laments the lack of homosexual community is Jerry Lee Kramer, "Bachelor Farmers and Spinsters: Gay and Lesbian Identities and Communities in Rural North Dakota," in *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities,* ed. David Bell and Gill Valentine (London: Routledge, 1995), 200–213.

77. Tim Retzloff, "Cars and Bars: Assembling Gay Men in Postwar Flynt, Michigan," in Beemyn, ed., *Creating a Place for Ourselves,* 229 (quotation), 227–52; Howard, *Men Like That,* 99–115.

78. Schwantes, *Hard Traveling,* 27.

79. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior,* 457.

80. Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 222–23. See also Anderson, *Hobo,* 16–26, and Anderson, "The Juvenile and the Tramp," 307.

81. Graham and Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road,* 19, 35; Legman, "Language of Homosexuality," 1175.

82. Schwantes, *Railroad Signatures,* 104, 17, 26; Schwantes, *Hard Traveling,* 19, 31; Allsop, *Hard Travellin',* 155–61; Graham and Hemming, *Tales of the Iron Road,* 47–48; Smith, WSP Inmate File; Flynt, "Homosexuality among Tramps," 221.

83. Schwantes, *Railroad Signatures,* 29, 244; Henry, *Sex Variants,* 1:29.

84. Marsh, "Report on Alaska Cannery Conditions," 14, 8, 7, 16; Casaday, "Labor Unrest and the Labor Movement," 213.

85. Allan East, "The Genesis and Early Development of a Juvenile Court: A Study of Community Responsibility in Multnomah County, Oregon, for the Period 1841–1920" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1939), 14; *Nampa (Idaho) Leader-Herald,* various articles from May 7, 14, 17, 21, 24, and 28, 1912.

Chapter 2. Sex in the City: Transient and Working-Class Men and Youths in the Urban Northwest

1. PPDDB, box 9, vol.: Graddock et al., April 1, 1911, to June 13, 1914, pp. 79–80, 81–84, 87 (April 8, 9, 12, 14–16, 19, 21, and May 8), SPARC; PPAR, vol.: April 13, 1913, to August 18, 1913, p. 10, SPARC; James C. Gill, Police Officer, to Mayor Harry Lane, "Partial list of houses of ill fame," April 16, 1909, MOC, box 14, folder 15, SPARC; Oregon v. Andrew Dillige, June 15, 1913, MCCCC 52505; OSP Great Register, 1910–1925, pp. 142–43, OSA; MCJR, Federal and State Prisoners, 1913–1914, vol. 8, entry for Grover King, April 19, 1913, OSA.

2. I do not include in this figure the several dozen men arrested in late 1912 during the YMCA scandal, who were part of a onetime concerted citywide vice crackdown. Records used here for surveying same-sex sex crime in Portland, 1870–1921, are PPAR, SPARC; PPDDB, SPARC; Portland Municipal Court Register Index, 1895–1907, SPARC; Portland Police Court Docket, State Cases, 1874–1891, SPARC; MCCCC, 1888–1920; OSP Convict Description Book, Physical Description Records, Record/Register, Great Register, OSA; and various newspaper reports. On "indecent exposure" and other vaguely defined crimes as tools for prosecuting men interested in same-sex relationships, see Joseph F. Fishman, *Sex in Prison: Revealing Sex Conditions in American Prisons* (New York: National Library Press, 1934), 60, 64–65; Allan Bérubé, "The History of Gay Bathouses," in *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism,* ed. Dangerous Bedfellows (Boston: South End Press, 1996), 189, 194–95, 196; and John Donald Gustav-Wrathall, *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same-Sex Relations and the YMCA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 161.

3. Henry Russell Talbot et al., *Report of the Portland Vice Commission to the Mayor and City Council of the City of Portland, Oregon* (Portland: Henry Russell Talbot, 1913), 136.