

CONCLUSION

By the end of 1981, homosexuals in Houston appeared to have constructed a complete array of institutions to serve their needs. After a few false starts, they had established a viable political organization, the Gay Political Caucus, which wielded considerable influence in city politics. The Gay Political Caucus had accrued power through the ability to deliver a significant percentage of the city vote to candidates it had chosen to endorse. Depending on whose estimate you accepted, the exact percentage varied from a 2% minimum to a 10% maximum, but whatever the specific figure, the vote was crucial in a city like Houston, which divided fairly evenly politically.

The Gay Political Caucus' power base was Montrose, a near downtown neighborhood, in which the greatest concentration of homosexuals in the city lived. Made up of ten precincts, seven of them hard core (a homosexual vote greater than 30%), Montrose illustrated the disciplined and effective nature of the GPC's endorsement. The vote in the seven precincts for GPC endorsed candidates was regularly 20% higher than the vote polled for the same candidates city or district wide. To win

either the District C City Council position, or the 79th District seat for the Texas House of Representatives, both of which included Montrose within their electoral boundaries, the securing of the GPC endorsement had become increasingly necessary to assure victory.

Consequently, homosexuals through their political power had gained allies in City Hall, persons who could effect change and remove restrictions that had constricted the homosexual community. The ability to deliver vital votes ensured the support from some politicians, who might otherwise have ignored the demands of the city's homosexuals. More importantly, the disciplined homosexual vote had won gays allies in their fight against the consistent abuse and harassment of the Houston Police Department. The police had constantly applied an unwritten policy of harassment, interrupted only by the vociferous protests of the city's minorities. The Police Department responded half-heartedly, appointing powerless liaisons. Basically, they were reluctant to even recognize that a problem existed. Between 1969 and 1981, the Department continually lacked new direction, because police Chiefs were promoted from within, bred and nourished in a regime of prejudice. With the election of Kathy Whitmire, matters were to change. B. K. Johnson stepped down, and Whitmire broke tradition searching outside the Department for her new police Chief. She eventually brought in a law enforcement professional from Atlanta, the present Chief Lee Brown, who

continues to meet regularly with the homosexual community through the medium of a committee established by George Greanias. Certainly, in these terms, both the endorsements of Whitmire and Greanias had paid off.

Paradoxically, the consequences of continual police harassment were not all negative. Like the Anita Bryant campaign, the overt hostility created a rallying point, around which homosexual activists could generate a feeling of community under siege, and thereby create enthusiasm and encourage participation. As homosexuals became more vocal politically and accrued more power, then other organizations took heart and began to materialize, until the homosexual community possessed a full array of institutions catering to their social, professional, medical, and religious requirements.

The religious institutions, servicing the spiritual needs of the city's homosexuals, have met with varied degrees of success. The numbers attending the alternative services have remained low, in terms of the potential congregations. Many homosexuals appeared to have turned a deaf ear to the teachings of their traditional churches and thereby remained comfortably within. In addition, a few mainline churches have eased up on the orthodox teachings of the Bible, indirectly encouraging homosexuals to stay. The homosexual churches have not performed the same pivotal role in the gay community, as other

churches have in more traditional communities. The bars have usurped much of their function, continuing to play a central social role for the visible homosexual community.

However, for those homosexuals who have sought religious alternatives, the homosexual churches and support groups have provided a vital refuge, healing the spiritual wounds of alienation. MCC-Houston has dominated the religious scene since its inception in 1975, overshadowing the support groups, organized on denominational lines, and the precarious splinter churches, whose roots can be traced back to dissatisfaction with the religious emphasis of the MCC system. Each institution, nevertheless, views its own existence and associated function, sometimes somewhat blindly, as critical, but then again, each has lent to and encouraged the sense of community.

Therefore, by 1981, Houston homosexuals displayed a remarkable degree of institutional completeness. Yes, it was possible to eat, sleep, and work gay, but, of course, not every homosexual wanted to. For the majority of homosexuals participation in traditional society proved inevitable and not undesirable, especially in terms of employment. Politically too, homosexuals remained within the orthodox structure, because that was where the power to effect change lay. However, as far as it was practically possible, by 1981, Houston homosexuals successfully operated a fully-fledged notion of community.

APPENDIX A

71

MONTROSE

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HERMANN PARK

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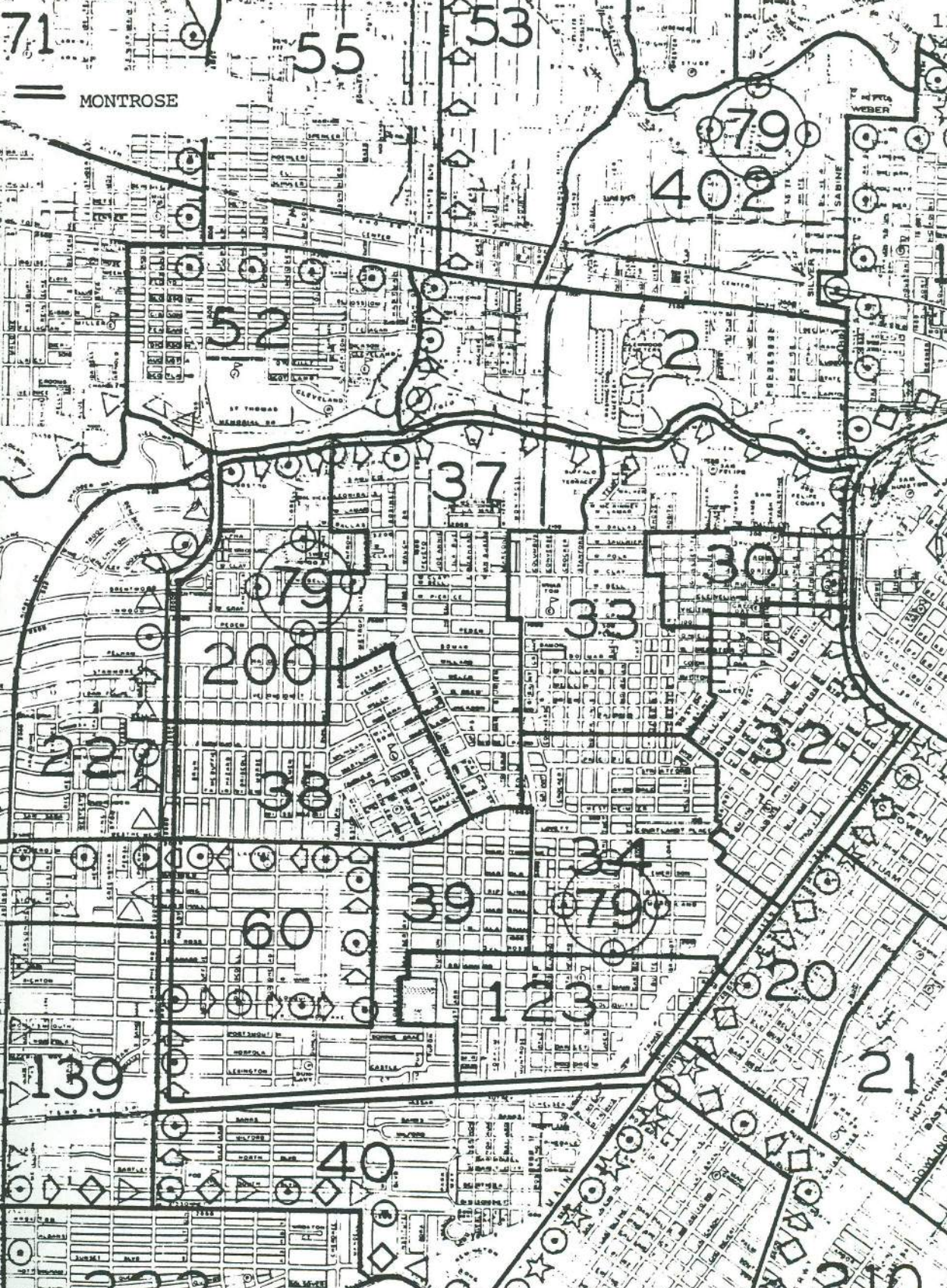
502

7

3

15

10



For one evening... come out of your closet... you may never go back.

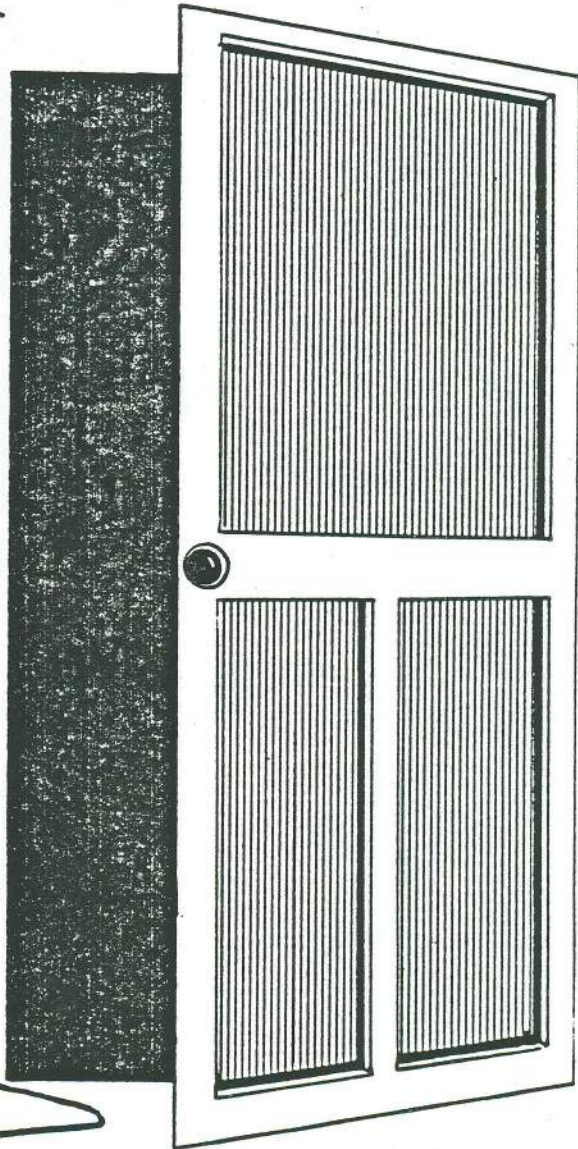
THURSDAY... JUNE 16... 8pm... at
BAGBY and McGOWEN

Depository II parking lot

A PEACEFUL RALLY...
TO SHOW OUR
STRENGTH/UNITY...
BRING A CANDLE...
BE PROMPT...

ALL NATIONAL AND LOCAL
LEADERS ARE EMPHASIZING
THE NECESSITY OF A PEACE-
FUL, NON-VIOLENT RALLY.
ANYTHING TO THE CONTRARY
COULD DO IMMENSE HARM TO
THE GAY MOVEMENT.
THIS RALLY SHOULD BE
ATTENDED BY BOTH GAY AND
NON-GAY FRIENDS.

RSVP 526-9719



ENDNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the personal Relations of Immigrants", 70, American Journal of Sociology (September, 1964), 195-205.

2. For a comprehensive study of the notion of community, see Joseph R. Gusfield, Community. A Critical Response (New York, 1975).

3. The "Gay is Good" slogan was endorsed by delegates at the 1968 convention of the North American conference of Homophile Organizations in Chicago.

4. For an overall perspective of black protest in the fifties and sixties, see Robert H. Brisbane, Black Activism. Racial Revolution in the United States, 1954-1970 (Valley Forge, 1974). More particular monographs include Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power. The politics of Liberation in America (New York, 1967), Howard Zinn, SNCC. The New Abolitionists (Boston, 1964), Alex Haley and Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York, 1973), Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice (New York, 1974).

5. John D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities. The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970 (Chicago, 1983), 225.

6. For a concise study of the counterculture and the New Left, see Willaim O'Neill, Coming Apart. An Informal History of America in the 1960's (New York, 1971), chapters 8 & 9. On women in the twentieth century, see William H. Chafe, The American Woman. Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970 (New York, 1972) and Barbara Ehrenreich and Deldre English, For Her Own Good. 150 Years of Experts' Advice to Women (New York, 1978). For their post-war status, see Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York, 1973). For an interesting

collection of essays, see Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past. Placing Women in History (New York, 1979).

7. International Vagabond 1968 World Travel Address Guide and This Week in Texas, December 18-24, 1981.

8. Montrose Star, September 20, 1979. See Appendix 1 for a map of Montrose.

9. Houston Chronicle, December 7, 1977. The Gay Political Caucus has been Houston's most effective political organization for homosexuals since its inception in 1975.

10. Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (Philadelphia, 1948), 640, and Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, and Paul H. Gebhard, Sexual Behavior in the Human Female (Philadelphia, 1953), 499.

11. Houston Chamber of Commerce, 1980 Houston Region Census Data (1981), 3.10.

12. Of all the activists I interviewed only 1 lived outside the Montrose area.

13. Interview with Max Todd, precinct Judge for precinct 37, April 13, 1983.

14. Joseph Harry and William B. Devall, The Social Organization of the Gay Male (New York, 1978), 136.

15. Ibid., 150.

16. All this information was obtained from the Gay Archives of Texas, which is located at 802 Westheimer. The Archives possess near complete sets of each publication.

17. Interview with Gary van Cotteghem, April 4, 1983.

18. Upfront, April 7, 1978.

19. Interview with Pokey Anderson, May 3, 1983.

20. In conversation with Charles Gillis, owner of the Wilde and

Stein bookshop.

21. 1980 Gay Pride Week Program.
22. The Montrose Voice was printing 5,700 copies in the latter part of 1981. This Week in Texas estimated that it was printing 16,000 copies.
23. Nuntius , November, 1972.
24. Upfront , April 18, 1979.
25. Ibid., November 23, 1979.
26. Ibid., February 15, 1980.
27. Updated pamphlet issued by Family and Friends of Gays.
28. Upfront , January 16, 1981.
29. Ibid., June 20, 1980.
30. Ibid.
31. Undated pamphlet entitled "Montrose Counseling Center: Its History and People." This pamphlet is readily available from the Center.
32. Nuntius February 1973, and August 1975.
33. Houston Post April 8, 1976, Houston Chronicle April 15, 1977 and Houston Post January 12, 1977. The January 12 article reported that 24,220 cases of gonorrhea had been detected in Harris County in 1976, an increase of 13% on the previous year. In addition, there had been 800 cases of infectious syphilis, an increase of 42%.
34. Interview with Michael White, April 1, 1983.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid. LGPIM had been founded in 1977 as a sub-committee of

the Committee for Human Rights of the American Medical Students Association.

38. Ibid.
39. Harry and DeVall, Social Organization of Gay Males , 146
40. UPI Press Release. June 29, 1981

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. 1980 Gay Pride Week Program. For a national perspective of the homosexual rights movement before 1970, see John D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities. The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970 . (Chicago, 1983).
2. Nuntius , November, 1970.
3. Ibid., February, 1971.
4. Ibid.
5. For a study of homosexuals and their resultant political affiliations, see Alan P. Bell and Martin S. Weinberg, Homosexualities. A Study in the Diversity among Men and Women . (New York, 1978), 155-159.
6. 1980 Gay Pride Week Program.
7. For a discussion of Frank Kameny and the activities of the Washington Mattachine Society, see John D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities . (Chicago, 1983), 150-165.
8. Houston Chronicle , February 23, 1971.
9. Nuntius , December, 1971.
10. Ibid.

11. 1980 Gay pride Week program. The group was originally called Dignity, but a name change became necessary when, in 1973, national Dignity held its first conference in Los Angeles. Houston Dignity was not an affiliate and therefore, changed its name to Integrity. A year later, differences within the organization resulted in a split. The Catholics wanted to affiliate with the national group and did so, reverting to the original name of Dignity. Integrity then became a community organization with wide interests, social, medical, and political. Integrity later became Interact to avoid confusion with the national support group for Episcopalian homosexuals that had chosen that name.

12. Nuntius , November, 1972.

13. Ibid., September, 1972.

14. Ibid., June, 1973.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Integrity letter to legislators dated May 7, 1973.

18. Nuntius , January/February, 1974.

19. Ibid.

20. People's Choice newsletter dated November, 1973.

21. Ibid.

22. Laud Humphreys, Out of the Closets (Enlewood Cliffs, 1972),
97.

23. All the activists interviewed stressed their debt to earlier activists.

24. Interview with Pokey Anderson, May 3, 1983. The Lesbian Task Force had been organized by the National Organization of Women as a local caucus.

25. Ibid.

26. Vernon's Texas Codes Annotated, Penal , Vol. 1, 389. The full text of Section 21.06 reads:

(a) A person commits an offense if he engages in deviate sexual intercourse with another individual of the same sex.

(b) An offense under this section is a class C misdemeanour.

PRACTICE COMMENTARY

by Seth S. Searcy III & James R. Patterson of the Austin Bar.

Contact between any part of the genitals of one person and the mouth or anus of another person, if both are of the same sex, was proscribed by penal Code art. 524 & Section 21.06 continues this proscription. Note that this section covers consensual conduct in private.

27. Contact , Augsut 13, 1975.

28. Ibid.

29. Journal of the House of Reprsentatives of the Sixty-fourth Legislature of the State of Texas , Vol. 3, 4237, 4264-4265.

30. Contact , August 13, 1975.

31. Interview with Pokey Anderson.

32. Ibid.

33. Houston Chronicle , July 13, 1975.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Montrose Star , July 16-22, 1975.

37. LXIX , March 25-31, 1978.

38. Houston Chronicle , March 21, 1978.
39. Interview with Gary van ooteghem, April 13, 1983.
40. Montrose Voice , June 31, 1981. This article includes the full transcript of what is a very moving speech.
41. Interview with Gary van Ooteghem.
42. GPC endorsement pamphlet.
43. Montrose Star , July 23-29, 1976.
44. Ibid., December 31-January 6, 1976/77.
45. The Civil Rights Commission was established by president Eisenhower in September, 1957, as part of the Civil Rights Act of the same year. Bsically a fact-finding and appraising agency, it possessed no powers of enforcement, although it could issue subpoenas in the course of its investigation. A non-partisan body, the six commissioners were appointed by the president. For the early history of the Commission, see Foster Rhea Dulles, The Civil Rights commission: 1957-1965 (Michigan, 1968).
46. Interview with Pokey Anderson. For a report on the campaign and a rundown of election statistics, see the Montrose Star , July 24-30, 1976.
47. Montrose Star , December 3-9, 1976.
48. 1977 GPC Policy Statement.
49. Ibid.
50. Interview with Gary van Ooteghem.
51. Montrose Star , June 2, 1977.
52. Houston Chronicle , June 4, 1977.
53. Houston Post , May 25, 1977.
54. Ibid., June 3, 1977.

55. Houston Chronicle , June 17, 1977
56. Houston Post , June 17, 1977.
57. Interview with Larry Bagneris, April 7, 1983.
58. Houston Post , June 25, 1978.
59. Montrose Star , July 7, 1977.
60. GPC letter sent to members dated November 10, 1977.
61. Houston Chronicle , December 7, 1977.
62. Houston Post , July 17, 18, & 19, 1977.
63. Interview with Steve shiflett, April 14, 1983.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Town Meeting I Handbook. Several copies of the handbook are held in the Gay Archives of Texas at Wilde and Stein bookshop at 802 Westheimer.
67. Houston Post , May 27 & June 1, 1978.
68. Houston Chronicle , June 26, 1978.
69. Upfront , July 7, 1978.
70. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
71. Pamphlett issued by the Ad Hoc Committee For Our Right To Privacy.
72. Interview with Pokey Anderson. For the origins of the lesbian/male homosexual dichotomy, see Toby Marotta, The Politics of Homosexuality (Boston, 1981), chapters 9, 10 & 11, and John D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities. The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970 , (chicago, 1981), 228-230,

236-237.

73. Upfront , July 21, 1978.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Pamphlet issued by the Ad Hoc Committee For Our Right To Privacy.
78. Upfront , July 21, 1978.
79. Pamphlet issued by the Ad Hoc Committee For Our Right To Privacy.
80. Ibid.
81. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
82. Houston Post , June 25, 1978.
83. Houston Chronicle , June 1, 1978.
84. Houston Post , June 25, 1978.
85. GPC Report on Lake Somerville Retreat.
86. Interview with Larry Bagneris
87. Upfront , April 18, 1979.
88. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
89. Montrose Star , June 14, 1979.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Interview with Steve Shiflett.

93. Interview with Larry Bagneris.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Houston Chronicle , August 12, 1979.
97. GPC newsletter dated August, 1979, and Montrose Star , August 3, 1979.
98. Houston Chronicle , August 12, 1979.
99. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
100. GPC Operation Documentation pamphlet.
101. A Steve Shiflett speech to welcome representatives of the National Gay Task Force, text date February 19, 1979.
102. Interview with Larry Bagneris. The Civil Rights Commission decided in 1978 to conduct a national survey of police practices, because of the increasing number of complaints alleging police misconduct. The Houston Police Department came under particular scrutiny. The hearings in Houston were held at the University of Houston's Bates College of Law on September 11 & 12. For a general report on the proceedings, see Daily Cougar , September 12 & 13, 1979.
103. Montrose Star , September 6, 1979.
104. Ibid.
105. Houston Chronicle , September 14, 1979.
106. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
107. Houston Chronicle , September 14, 1979.
108. Ibid., October 25, 1979.
109. Ibid.

110. Interview with Larry Bagneris.

111. I am grateful to Max Todd, Precinct Judge of Precinct 37, for the voting statistics contained in this study. Only the hard core Montrose vote as defined by Max Todd, i.e. precincts 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 60 & 123, is used, because it gives a clearer indication of how homosexuals were voting. Todd estimates that all these precincts have a homosexual vote of between 30% and 40%.

112. Montrose Star , November 15, 1979.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid., November 22, 1979.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid.

117. Max Todd's election statistics.

118. Montrose Star , November 15, 1979.

119. Ibid., November 8, 1979.

120. Ibid., November 1, 1979.

121. Houston=Chronicle, November 3, 1979.

122. Interviews with Larry Bagneris and Steve Shiflett.

123. Max Todd's election statistics.

124. Houston post , November 7, 1979.

125. GPC newsletter dated November 11, 1979.

126. Max Todd's election statistics.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid.

129. Houston Chronicle , November 21, 1979.

130. Houston Post , November 21, 1979.

131. Upfront , December 7, 1979.

132. Ibid.

133. Houton post , December 17, 1979.

134. Interview with Steve Shiflett.

135. Interview with Robert Schwab, October 9, 1982. As the actual judgement of Baker v Wade was not handed down until August, 1982, it will not be dealt with in the main text of this study. However, for the best summary of events, see Judge Jerry Buchmeyer's decision filed in the US District Court, Northern District of Texas on August 17, 1982. Judge Buchmeyer took fourteen months to write the opinion, an opinion that displays a profound and scholarly knowledge of the legalities of the issue. In the memorandum opinion, he both pointed out the inherent legal weaknesses of the defense and lauded the sound factual prosecution. He contended that the right of privacy did extend to private sexual conduct between consenting adults, and therefore, declared section 21.06 of the Texas Penal Code unconstitutional.

136. Interview with Larry Bagneris.

137. Interview with Steve Shiflett.

138. Interviews with Larry Bagneris and Steve Shiflett.

139. Ibid.

140. A Steve Shiflett campaign pamphlet.

141. Upfront America , February 29, 1980.

142. Ibid., February 15, 1980.

143. Montrose Star , February 21, 1980. Steve Shiflett's controversial campaign advertisement appeared in the same issue of the Montrose Star .

144. Ibid.
145. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
146. Interviews with Larry Bagneris and Steve Shiflett.
147. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
148. Interview with Larry Bagneris.
149. Montrose Star , February 21, 1980.
150. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
151. Upfront America , February 29, 1980.
152. Ibid.
153. Ibid.
154. Houston Chronicle , March 5, 1980.
155. Interviews with Larry Bagneris and Steve Shiflett.
156. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
157. Ibid.
158. Ibid., and Montrose Star , March 27, 1980.
159. Montrose Star , April 10, 1980.
160. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
161. Ibid.
162. Beside having been an aide to Ron Waters and a precinct judge, Danburg's campaign literature claimed she had been an active member of the GPC since its inception, the negotiator for human rights in the Fred Hofheinz administration, the coordinator of the women's straight/gay rap group at the University of Houston, and a founding member of the N.O.W.'s task force of sexuality and lesbianism.

163. Montrose Star , April 3, 1980.

164. Interview with Steve Shiflett.

165. Montrose Star , April 10, 1980. The one vote recorded against censuring Shiflett was cast by Sam Canzoneri, who today is a member of the Board of Trustees of Shiflett's Campaign for Human Equality. The six members of the GPC Board, who loaned their names to the Danburg advertisement and censured Shiflett were Kay Little, Chuck Hickman, David Bonuelos, Norman Guttman, Renee Rabb, and Johnny Peden.

166. Ibid.

167. Interview with Steve Shiflett.

168. Montrose Star , May 15, 1980.

169. Ibid.

170. Interview with Larry Bagneris.

171. Montrose Star , April 17, 1980.

172. Ibid.

173. Interview with Gary van Ooteghem.

174. Interview with Lee Harrington, April 14, 1983.

175. Montrose Voice , February 20, 1981. In February, 1982, the
GPC

176. Houston Post , June 21, 1980.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid.

179. Upfront America , July 18, 1980. The full text of Leland's letter to Johnson is printed on page 7 of this issue of Upfront America

180. Ibid.

181. Interview with Larry Bagneris.
182. Interview with Steve Shiflett.
183. Upfron American , July 4, 1980.
184. Houston Chronicle , June 29, 1980.
185. Upfront America , Augut 29, 1980. The task force consisted of Ray Hill, an old friend of paez's and old enemy of the Houston Police Department, Debra Danburg, GPC president Lee Harrington, Sue Cummings, a local activist, and James Kuhn, an attorney. The task force joined at least four other agencies investigating the incident, John Donovan and the Houston Police Homicide Division, Houston police Internal Affairs, the Harris County District Attorney, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
186. Houston Chronicle , July 3, 1980.
187. Upfront America , August 29, 1980.
188. Houston Chronicle , September 9, 1981.
189. Ibid., April 26, 1981.
190. Ibid.
191. Ibid.
192. Melinda Beck and Stryker McGuire, "Gay Power in Macho Houston", Newsweek , 98, (August 10, 1981), 29.
193. Ibid.
194. Houston Chronicle , November 18, 1981.
195. Ibid., October 19, 1981.
196. Ibid.
197. Max Todd's election statistics.

198. For an example of the campaign advertisement, see Montrose Voice , October 30, 1981.

199. Max Todd's election statistics.

200. Houston Post , November 18, 1981.

201. Max Todd's election statistics.

202. Houston Chronicle , November 18, 1981.

203. Judge Buchmeyer found section 21.06 of the Texas penal Code to be unconstitutional on the grounds it violated the individual's right to privacy as guaranteed by the Constitution.

204. The City of Houston even today in 1983 does not have an ordinance prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual preference.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 2

1. Genesis 19:1-11, Leviticus 18:22, Leviticus 20:13, Deuteronomy 23:17-19, Romans 1:26-27, I Corinthians 6:9-10, I Timothy 1:8-11.

2. This is only a very brief summary of the revisionist interpretations of the scriptures. For a more extensive analysis, the reader should consult the titles mentioned in the text, and John Boswell's Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality (1980).

3. Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker, The Gay Crusaders (New York, 1975), 14.

4. *Ibid.*, 14.

5. *Ibid.*, 16.

6. *Ibid.*, 17.

7. Troy Perry and Charles L. Lucas, The Lord is My Shepherd and He Knows I'm Gay (New York, 1973), 7.
8. Ibid., 8.
9. Kay Tobin, The Gay Crusaders, 21.
10. Houston Chronicle, June 22, 1973.
11. "Brief History of Metropolitan Community Church of the Resurrection, Houston." An undated newsheet.
12. Ibid.
13. MCC-Houston records.
14. "The Universal Fellowship Today", an undated MCC pamphlet.
15. Texas Methodist, April 11, 1975.
16. Ibid., April 4, 1975.
17. Houston Chronicle, July 7, 1976.
18. Ibid., July 7, 1976.
19. Ibid., February 7, 1976.
20. Ibid., September 26, 1976.
21. Ibid., July 18, 1976.
22. Ibid., July 7, 1976.
23. Ibid., July 7, 1976.
24. Ibid., June 16, 1977.
25. Ibid., July 7, 1976.
26. Ibid., June 29, 1977.
27. Houston Post, May 24, 1978.

28. There appears to be a difference between the black and white Baptist Churches. The black Baptist Church, with a legacy of liberalism from the civil rights campaigns of the sixties, is more tolerant of homosexuality.

29. MCC-Houston records.

30. After differences with other leaders within the church, Wanstrom led the first breakaway from MCC-Houston, establishing teh Agape Church which was short-lived.

31. MCC-Houston records.

32. Houston Post , May 24, 1977

33. Interview with Reverend Dee Lamb, Assistant pastor of MCC-Houston, February 2, 1983.

34. Interview with Philip Slusser, student clergy of MCC-Houston, January 28, 1983.

35. Interview with Reverend Jeanne Leggett, Church of Christian Faith, February 10, 1983.

36. This information is a summary, established from a series of interviews with representatives of the relative organizations.

37. Roy Birchard, "Metropolitan Community Church. Its Development and Significance," The Baptist Journal of History and Theology , (April-June, 1977) , 128.

38. MCC-Houston records.

39. "Brief History of Metropolitan Community church of the Resurrection, Houston," an undated newssheet.

40. MCC-Hoston records.

41. Ibid.

42. Joseph Harry and Willaim B. Devall, The Social Organization of Gay Males (New York, 1978) , 145.

43. Church of Christian Faith pamphlet, undated.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Interview with Jeanne Leggett.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Church of Christian Faith pamphlet, undated.
50. Interview with Jeanne Leggett.
51. Ibid.
52. Interview with Reverend Laura Sieczynski, New Freedom Christian Church, February 2, 1983.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Interview with Dee Lamb.
58. Ibid.
59. Interview with Laura Sieczynski.
60. Ibid.
61. Interview with Dee Lamb.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.

64. Interview with Laura Sieczynski.
65. Interview with Reverend Stickland, Community Gospel Center, January 22, 1983.
66. Interview with Dee Lamb.
67. Interview with Reverend Stickland.
68. Ibid.
69. Interview with Dee Lamb.
70. Undated Dignity pamphlet.
71. Interview with Bob Heer, Dignity, January 25, 1983.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Letter from John Robbins to Bruce Remington, March 7, 1983.
75. Ibid.
76. Interview with Bob Heer.
77. Ibid.
78. An extract from a sermon delivered by John Robbins, penecost, 1976.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Letter from John Robbins.
82. Interview with Bob Heer.
83. Undated integrity pamphlet.

84. Ibid.
1983. 85. Interview with Houston Convenor of Integrity, February 21,
86. Undated Integrity pamphlet.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. Interview with the Houston Convenor of Integrity.
90. This Week in Texas , December 10, 1982
91. Interview with Jim Brown, Lutherans Concerned For Gays, March 2, 1983.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Interview with Denis Milam, Gay Unitarian/Universalist Caucus, March 18, 1983.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. A Cappella Chorus pamphlet, undated.
102. Ibid.
103. Interview with Reverend Ronald Pogue, Bering Memorial Methodist Church, March 1, 1983.

104. Nuntius , September, 1973.
105. Interview with Reverend Ronald Pogue.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
114. Interview with Don Sanders, Gay Atheist league of America, January 26, 1983.
115. The Advocate , January 10, 1980.
116. Interview with Don Sanders.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Interview with Jim Brown and interview with the convenor of Integrity.

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Oral History (by author)

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Larry Bagneris, President of the Gay Political Caucus, April 7, 1983.

Jim Brown, Lutherans Concerned For Gays, March 2, 1983.

Jay Foxx, Convenor of Integrity, February 21, 1983.

Lee Harrington, Former President of the Gay Political Caucus, April 14, 1983.

Bob Heer, Dignity, January 25, 1983.

Reverend Dee Lamb, Assistant Pastor of the Metropolitan Community Church of the Resurrection (MCC-Houston), February 2, 1983.

Reverend Jeanne Leggett, Pastor of the Church of the Christian Faith, February 10, 1983.

Denis Milam, Unitarian/Universalist Gay Caucus, March 18, 1983.

Gary van Ooteghem, Former President of the Gay Political Caucus, April 13, 1983.

Reverend Ronald Pogue, Pastor of the Bering Memorial Church, March 1, 1983.

Don Sanders, Gay Atheist League of America, January 26, 1983.

Robert Schwab, Texas Human Rights Foundation, November 11, 1982 and October 9, 1982.

Steve Shiflett, Former President of the Gay Political Caucus, April 14, 1983.

Reverend Laura Sieczynski, Pastor of the New Freedom Christian Church, February 2, 1983.

Dr. William Simon, Professor of Sociology, University of Houston-University Park, November 1, 1982.

Philip Slusser, Student Clergy, Metropolitan Community Church of the Resurrection (MCC-Houston), January 28, 1983.

Reverend Stickland, Pastor of the Community Gospel Center, January 22, 1983.

Max Todd, Precinct Judge of Precinct 37, April 13, 1983.

Ken Vance, Montrose Counseling Center, April 7, 1983.

Michael White, Lesbians and Gay Persons in Medicine, April 1, 1983.

In conversation with:

Richard Burckhardt, Archivist, Gay Archives of Texas.

Charles Gillis, Owner of the Wilde and Stein Bookshop.

Ray Hill, Homosexual Activist.

Dr. Richard Murray, Professor of Political Science, University of Houston-University Park.

Tony Vega, Archivist, Gay Archives of Texas.

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