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## “Oh Hell, May, Why Don’t You People Have a Cookbook?”: Camp Humor and Gay Domesticity

Stephen Vider

On Wednesday, December 1, 1965, the *New York Times* ran an advertisement for *The Gay Cookbook* by Chef Lou Rand Hogan, whether “for that very special man in your life or for the jaded hostess whose soufflés no longer stand on their own.” The ad, sponsored by Doubleday Book Shops, filled a quarter of the page and featured an image of a slender man wearing a flowery apron, his hand limply holding a steak over a grill. It did not go unnoticed. In January 1966 *Time* magazine printed a twenty-five-hundred-word essay, “The Homosexual in America,” its longest article yet on the lives of gay men and lesbians. In the introduction, the author named several signs that homosexuality was “more in evidence” than ever before: the addition of “beefcake” magazines to newsstands, explicit jokes in the most recent Rock Hudson movie, and Doubleday’s “smirking ads” for *The Gay Cookbook*.<sup>1</sup>

The publication of a “gay cookbook” four years before the Stonewall riots, typically acknowledged as the start of gay liberation, undoubtedly surprises many readers who stumble on a surviving copy today.<sup>2</sup> But Lou Rand Hogan’s book was not entirely unprecedented. As courts struck down obscenity laws in the early 1960s, books and magazines about and targeted to gay men proliferated as never before—and could be produced and purchased with far less fear of legal sanction. The gay mail-order catalog Guild Book Service, for example, included over one hundred books in its 1964–65 catalog, from paperback editions of William Burroughs’s *Naked Lunch* and James Baldwin’s *Another Country* to *The Gay Coloring Book* and *The Beginner’s Guide to Cruising*.<sup>3</sup> Mainstream magazines like *Life* and *Time* and newspapers like the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* discussed homosexuality regularly, both as a topic of serious fiction and theater, and as a social problem in need of solving. What might have surprised *Times* readers was not the subject of the ad but its blithe and quirky tone. When the *Times* ran an ad for Jess Stearn’s best-selling exposé *The Sixth Man* in 1961, it promised a “shocking revelation” of homosexual life.<sup>4</sup> The ad

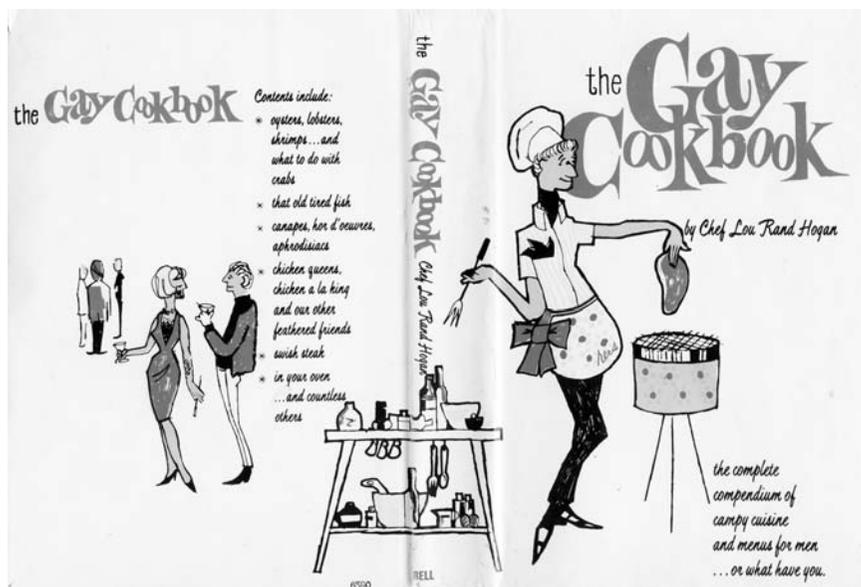


Figure 1.  
Dust jacket of *The Gay Cookbook* (Bell Publishing Company, 1965)

for *The Gay Cookbook* promised “the answer to your holiday gift shopping problem.”

That carefully humorous tone, or “smirk” as *Time* put it, was hardly accidental. *The Gay Cookbook* was published amid a wave of interest in gay culture set off by Susan Sontag’s essay “Notes on ‘Camp,’” published in 1964 in the *Partisan Review*. Rather than provide a stable definition of this “camp” sensibility, Sontag offered numerous, sometimes contradictory, aphorisms, including “Camp sees everything in quotation marks” and “It is the love of the exaggerated, the ‘off,’ of things-being-what-they-are-not.” Still, Sontag made one thing clear enough: there was an undeniable connection between camp and gay men. As she wrote, “While it’s not true that Camp taste *is* homosexual taste, there is no doubt a peculiar affinity and overlap.”<sup>5</sup> *The Gay Cookbook* capitalized on this sudden fascination with gay male taste, down to the tagline on its cover, the “complete compendium of campy cuisine.”

Yet Hogan’s version of camp did not align easily with Sontag’s assessment. Sontag presented “Camp,” in its highest form, as a way of *seeing* the world—of exposing, and treasuring, artifice and excess in popular culture. Hogan’s style of “camping” was a way of *being in* the world, a strategy of everyday performance derived from the working-class gay subcultures he first encountered in his teens and twenties. For Hogan, as for many other gay men of his generation,

camping was a way to negotiate cultural constructions of gender and sexuality and, at the same time, make community.

Hogan's style also contrasted sharply with early gay rights activists' emphasis on "respectable" self-presentation.<sup>6</sup> Since the 1950s, the two leading "homophile" organizations, the Mattachine Society, based in San Francisco, and ONE, Inc., based in Los Angeles, had largely concentrated on integrating homosexuals into American society, stressing the need for gender-normative behavior. Many self-identified homosexual men also criticized, and sought to distance themselves, from so-called swishes, whose visible effeminacy was seen as affirming dominant conceptions of homosexual deviance.<sup>7</sup> Hogan embraced camp humor, and its play on gender, as central to gay culture.

*The Gay Cookbook* was most innovative in using camp humor to reimagine gay domestic space. In the 1950s and 1960s, when mainstream journalism, movies, and popular sociology portrayed the lives of homosexuals, they typically conveyed an image of a dangerous, immoral, and unhappy "gay world"—seedy bars and street corners where men covertly ventured to find a companion for the night. *The Gay Cookbook* challenged these representations. Hogan depicted the gay home as a place of humor and pleasure—a central stage for shaping individual lives and relationships, without necessarily conforming to the gender norms embedded within Cold War domestic culture.

## Reconsidering Domestic Space

In the last three decades, scholars have repeatedly demonstrated the importance of public and commercial spaces—bars, bathhouses, parks, restrooms, and the street itself—in structuring male homosexual encounters, social networks, and identities.<sup>8</sup> Fewer, however, have considered the parallel role of domestic spaces in providing men opportunities to build social and sexual relationships with other men.

Among the important exceptions, George Chauncey's groundbreaking study *Gay New York* revealed that boardinghouses, residential hotels, and YMCAs in Manhattan and Brooklyn provided many working-class men, from the 1900s to the 1940s, the independence necessary to pursue sexual contact outside the bounds of marriage. These included a wide range of homosexual interactions, from one-night pickups to long-term romantic relationships. Not all men who engaged in same-sex sexual activity necessarily saw same-sex desire as a defining feature of their personality—the majority likely did not. Yet as gay male subcultures developed, residential hotels could also provide men a forum to meet and form social circles with other men who shared their sexual

preferences. Middle-class white men, at the same time, increasingly set up homes in the city's expanding number of apartment houses, where they could pursue same-sex relationships, and host friends, with even greater privacy.<sup>9</sup>

Several historians have also observed that apartment and house parties were an important way for gay men to socialize in many US cities. As David Johnson argues, in an essay on Prohibition-era Chicago, "Gay parties were more than occasions for a few friends to get together in private; they were events orchestrated to affirm and express gay sexuality in a group setting and served as important entry points into the gay world."<sup>10</sup> Others have traced the emergence of particular neighborhoods as gay residential enclaves, both before and after World War II.<sup>11</sup> Tracking residential patterns, however, while integral to understanding domestic patterns, does not necessarily help us understand how gay men structured their lives inside their homes.<sup>12</sup>

Greater attention to domesticity complicates scholarly and popular understandings of gay social life before gay liberation. Historical accounts of gay male life during the 1950s and 1960s have frequently emphasized state regulation, government investigations, legal restrictions, local surveillance and policing, as well as psychiatric and psychoanalytic pathologization—forces of oppression that led some gay men to organize politically, but forced many to hide or deny their same-sex desires.<sup>13</sup> As Martin Duberman recalls in his 1992 memoir *Cures*, "In these pre-Stonewall liberation years, a few brave souls had publicly declared themselves and even banded together for limited political purposes, but the vast majority of gay people were locked away in painful isolation and fear, doing everything possible *not* to declare themselves."<sup>14</sup> Local studies, like those of Esther Newton, Marc Stein, and Nan Alamilla Boyd, have significantly complicated this view, revealing the ways vacation resorts, bars, and clubs encouraged group consciousness and political resistance.<sup>15</sup> Craig Loftin and David Johnson, too, have demonstrated how homophile magazines, consumer culture, and pen pal clubs in the 1950s and 1960s enabled a sense of group identity, even for men far from cities.<sup>16</sup> This essay builds on this work to consider how the meanings of domesticity shifted for gay men during this period, from a site of supposed isolation or deviance, to a source of identity, community, and pleasure.

The limited attention to domestic space is due partly to the emergence of gay and lesbian studies out of the ethos of gay liberation. As Michael Bronski, Jeffrey Escoffier, and others have shown, the politics of gay liberation were, at their core, a politics of visibility. Taking a cue from women's liberation, the Black Power movement, and 1960s counterculture, gay liberation activists prioritized authentic self-revelation—"coming out"—as central to the larger

political goals of increased public representation, recognition, and rights. This new emphasis on public visibility brought with it a rejection of secrecy, consolidated in the popular slogan “Out of the closets, into the streets.”<sup>17</sup> Historians of gay and lesbian life since the 1970s have remained indebted to the paradigms embedded in that slogan—from invisibility to visibility, from isolation to community, from private to public—even as they have questioned such neat narratives.

Scholars in queer theory and queer studies, meanwhile, have tended to align domesticity with assimilation. In their 1998 essay “Sex in Public,” Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner critiqued the increasing normalization and privatization of lesbian and gay life and politics, through the prioritization of “institutions of intimacy”—principally marriage and family. Lisa Duggan echoed many of these points in her 2002 essay on what she influentially called a “new homonormativity”—“a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions, but upholds and sustains them, while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption.”<sup>18</sup> Duggan’s term *homonormativity* has since been adopted widely by historians and queer studies scholars to critique the ways the LGBT rights movement and LGBT culture have accepted, and perpetuated, a model of mainstream approval predicated on adopting conventional middle-class norms of respectability and kinship.<sup>19</sup> Yet often scholars use Duggan’s term uncritically, taking the link between domesticity, privacy, and homonormativity for granted. Rather than dismiss the home, scholars might examine how conventional ideals of domesticity structure the performances and politics of everyday life while considering the myriad ways individuals fail to conform to those ideals, or aspire toward alternatives.

The image of the white, middle-class, female-centered but male-dominant, reproductive home has occupied a privileged position in representations and prescriptions of American life, especially in periods of economic, social, and political upheaval.<sup>20</sup> The start of the Cold War brought with it what Elaine Tyler May has called “domestic containment,” symbolized most visibly by the spread of suburban homes and their still more private fallout shelters.<sup>21</sup> Historians have repeatedly reiterated assumptions about domesticity’s separation from the public sphere—commercial, productive, male—even when social realities operated otherwise. As Alice Kessler-Harris contends, “We have blurred aspects of a continuity located in households and communities.”<sup>22</sup> The home should be viewed not as a sealed private space but as a portal to the public where social connections and political consciousness may be fostered.

The expanding field of food studies has particularly troubled conventional views of domestic space as simply “separate.” Feminist scholars have revealed the complex and unexpected ways that food acquisition, preparation, consumption, and representation both reflect and shape understandings of gender, class, and racial identity—connecting individuals to the market, structuring social performance, and inspiring political activism.<sup>23</sup> Foodways can be conceived in Michel Foucault’s terms, alongside sexuality, as a “dense transfer point for relations of power,” serving multiple actors, strategies, and ends.<sup>24</sup>

### Camping Queens and Camp Mavens



**Figure 2.**

Photograph of Lou Rand Hogan, circa 1969. Originally published in *Avanti*. Photographer unknown. Reproduction courtesy of David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Women’s and LGBT Movements Periodicals Collection, Duke University.

Louis Randall—the future Lou Rand Hogan—was born in May 1910, near Bakersfield, California. He was the only son of George D. Randall, a Pennsylvania-born oil driller, and his Canadian wife, Lucille Hogan.<sup>25</sup> Their marriage was not destined to last. In 1920, when Hogan was ten, his father left California for Borneo, where he was sent to work for Royal Dutch Oil.<sup>26</sup> By 1931 George was still working overseas, and Lucille filed for divorce, blaming the “Borneo cuties” her husband mentioned in his infrequent letters.<sup>27</sup> At the time Lucille was living in Los Angeles, with Louis and her widowed mother, Jane Hogan; Lucille was employed as a copyist for the county clerk, Louis as a municipal clerk.<sup>28</sup>

Even in his teens, however, Hogan had gained a foothold in two worlds where conventional gender and sexual norms were suspended: the burgeoning theater scene of Los Angeles and San Francisco, and the tourist industry. As Hogan recalled in “The Golden Age of Queens,” a memoir published in 1974 under the pseudonym Toto le Grand, he got his first part in a production at Gilmore Brown’s Pasadena Playhouse and went on to perform in the chorus lines of two popular touring musicals—*Desert Song* and *Good News*—listed in the program only as “Sonia Pavlijev” (“What could be wrong with a polish (?) name for a young Irish (!) faggot . . .?”).<sup>29</sup>

Hogan’s stage career nonetheless floundered, and in 1936 he began working as a steward and cook on the newly launched Matson luxury cruise line, on trips to Hawaii, Australia, and the South Pacific.<sup>30</sup> The job itself was hardly glamorous: while passengers swam, dined, and lounged, many crew members remained below deck, and slept in crowded quarters. Still, Hogan was in good company. Of the five hundred men in the steward’s department, Hogan wrote, “Probably 486 were actively gay!”<sup>31</sup> Indeed, as Allan Bérubé revealed in his unfinished work on the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, the steward’s department of the Matson line largely consisted of gay white men, all with camp nicknames like Miss Cook, Miss McCormick, Miss Leprosy, and the African Queen. The ships themselves earned nicknames as well: the Lurline was known as the “Queerline,” the Matsonia the “Fruit-sonia,” and the Mariposa the “Mary” or “Fairy-posa.” Camping provided a private language for the crew members to make light of their living and working conditions, and to parody conventional views of housekeeping and personal service as “women’s” or “colored” work.<sup>32</sup>

The campy “sisterhood” of the Matson line more broadly reflected an expanding “camp” subculture that had emerged in the 1910s and 1920s in a number of American cities, including New York, Newport, and Chicago. This camp culture was epitomized by the “fairy”—biological males who challenged, intentionally and unintentionally, conventional male gender performances, adopting or accentuating mannerisms and linguistic styles coded as “feminine.” Fairies, like the stewards on the Matson line, might also refer to each other by female nicknames and joke about their sexual exploits and desires. Such “camping” gained further circulation in the 1920s and 1930s through popular fiction, vaudeville, and pre-Code films.<sup>33</sup> Hogan himself fondly recalled Robert Scully’s widely circulated 1932 book, *A Scarlet Pansy*: it followed a “heroine” named “Fay Etrange” (French for “strange fairy”) on the prowl for “rough trade”—and provided Hogan a model of “gay talk.”<sup>34</sup>

After World War II, Hogan landed back in San Francisco, but his history from there is harder to document. In one byline, from the late 1960s, he claimed to have cooked for restaurants, clubs, and luxury hotels in Los Angeles and San Francisco; served as the personal chef for the industrialist Henry J. Kaiser and the Sultan of Jahore; and written for *Gourmet* and *Sunset* magazines (though there is no concrete evidence that he ever did).<sup>35</sup> He occasionally peppered later bylines with the titles of books he never wrote.<sup>36</sup> Yet whatever the full truth of Hogan's biography, the story he presented matters just as much. Hogan saw his own history as deeply intertwined with that of California: its expanding cities, burgeoning entertainment industries, and growing gay communities.

Hogan capitalized on his intimate knowledge of San Francisco in his first publishing endeavor, a parody of classic noir, *The Gay Detective*. Released in 1961 under the slight pseudonym "Lou Rand," the novel followed Francis Morley, a private investigator trying to solve the murder of a young gay man.<sup>37</sup> The novel's humor depended on the characters' complicated play with the conventional gender norms popularized in hard-boiled crime fiction. In one scene, Morley proved his masculinity by challenging his new assistant Tiger, a former football star, to a boxing match—easily defeating him. But Morley also referred to other gay men as "girls" and seemed initially more interested in redecorating his office than getting down to work. He adopted his "gayest manner, even to a slightly mincing step" at the homosexual hangout "The Bait Room." The clientele, the headwaiter informed him, often "just sit and camp" into the early morning.<sup>38</sup> More than a mere reflection of gay life, the book provided a guided tour of postwar San Francisco places and personalities, loosely fictionalized but still recognizable.<sup>39</sup>

*The Gay Cookbook*, published four years later, offered readers guidance of a different sort—not to bars and bathhouses but to their own apartments. The cookbook most closely resembled the irreverent, anecdotal style of Peg Bracken's best-selling 1960 cookbook *The I Hate to Cook Book*. But while Bracken's book conjured images of a beleaguered housewife, Hogan depicted a new kind of cook. As Hogan explained in his introduction, there now seemed to be cookbooks for every demographic, so an editor suggested, "Oh hell, May, why don't you people have a cookbook? After all, you're supposed to be 'one-in-six,' and that's a lot of cooking!"<sup>40</sup> The popular claim that "one-in-six" men were homosexual was typically treated as reason for alarm. Hogan cited it as reason for publication—a kind of culinary identity politics, where every "type" of individual deserved a guide to the kitchen.

Figure 3.

Sample page of *The Gay Cookbook*

beets. Canned, sliced salad beets are best to use; these are drained, saving most of the liquid. Onions and garlic are prepared as for cucumbers. To about 2 cups of the juice, add one cup of cider vinegar. A couple of tablespoons of salt, and one of sugar (may be brown) are tossed into this juice. A little pickling spice may be added; at least a dozen or so whole cloves. The liquid is poured over the beets, and they are put away for a day or so. These too, are simply drained and served on crisp, cool lettuce, with possibly a minor sprinkle of green chopped parsley. Very pretty; very tasty.

#### FAVORITE SALAD

A great many men prefer — as a salad — just plain sliced tomatoes. Some like 'em with dressing, almost any kind; others want to sprinkle a little sugar and vinegar on them. The tomatoes must be firm, ripe, cold, and in nice thick slices.

#### FRUIT SALAD

As a fitting finale to this chapter, let us spare a few kind words for the Fruit Salad. (Oh! Behave, Gussie!)

At Happy House we use both fresh and canned fruits; first dumping the canned — with all the can juice — into a large bowl; then the cut-up apples, orange, banana, melon, or whatever. We add a good cup of heavy sherry (wine!) and put it all in the icebox to chill for an hour or so. With a slotted spoon (so we get no juice, see), we spoon it out onto lettuce cups, and pour a little honey mayonnaise over it. Then, if we feel really gay, we garnish with a few mint leaves, a large fresh strawberry, or even a cherry! It's swell!



#### HONEY MAYONNAISE

*1 cup mayonnaise (or 'type')*

*2/3 cup honey*

*Good squeeze of lemon juice*

Mad on a fruit salad. What do we do with the leftover juice and sherry? Why, we bake a ham in it, silly boy!

This seems to cover the salad bit; with these ideas you can take it from here. Try and remember, the simpler the salad, the better.

♦

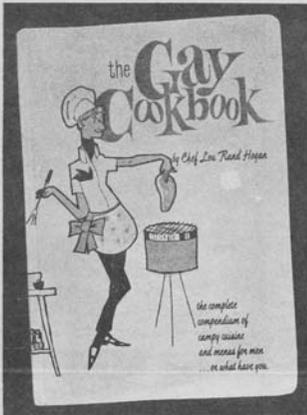
The publisher's motives were likely more profit-driven. Sherbourne was an up-and-coming press founded in the early 1960s as part of a larger West Coast publishing boom. Its primary goal was targeting previously "invisible" markets—whether sci-fi fans, movie fanatics, or biography junkies. Its ads in the mainstream press were virtual testaments to 1960s market segmentation, placing books for film buffs side by side with those for jazz connoisseurs.<sup>41</sup> It also published a fair number of books on sexual subcultures—*The Swap Club*, *The Erotic Revolution*, *Sex-Driven People*, among others—in addition to a still-wider range of pulp and erotica titles through its paperback imprint Argyle (including a reissue of *The Gay Detective*). Publishing *The Gay Cookbook* was daring, but it was also an obvious extension of its business model—identifying a new readership.

The gay press confirmed Sherbourne's instincts, that a gay audience was just waiting for mainstream publishers to notice it. The San Francisco-based newspaper *Citizens News* estimated in 1964 that each gay man and woman would spend, on average, \$123 a year on reading and education, compared with \$110 a year on alcohol: "In short," the editor concluded, "the gay dollar has not yet really been tapped."<sup>42</sup> A year later, when *The Gay Cookbook* was published, no full reviews appeared in the mainstream or gay press, but several gay mail-order services picked up the book. A flyer circulated by the Dorian Book Service went so far to boast that the book was hardcover, with a "Washable Binding for Kitchen Use!" The catalog's writers, like Hogan, did not imagine the book merely as a novelty item to sit on someone's coffee table—it was designed to be used.<sup>43</sup>

The book eventually sold an estimated ten to twelve thousand copies—but gay readers were only one segment of the book's intended audience. Sherbourne advertised the book in mainstream venues, as well, including the *New York Times* and *Publishers' Weekly*.<sup>44</sup> That same fall the book was also reprinted in smaller hardcover format by the Bell Publishing Company, an imprint of Crown Publishers in New York. The Los Angeles radio station KPFK even featured a thirty-five-minute interview with Hogan, rebroadcast the following week on WBAI radio in New York.<sup>45</sup> The potential gay audience does not seem enough to explain why *The Gay Cookbook* was so readily picked up by two mainstream publishers, and why it received such unprecedented publicity. How did the publishers and promoters expect straight audiences would understand the book?

**Figure 4.**

Dorian Book Service flyer. Reproduction courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



# The Gay Cookbook



\$5.95 by Chef Lou Rand Hogan

Hard-Cover Edition

Big 7x10 size!

280 pages!



Washable Binding for Kitchen Use!

## Read the Introduction to this Wild Wacky Book

In these sensuous sixties, when we're all waiting for someone to drop that big one, and hoping — for goodness sake — that there isn't a cake in the oven at the moment, one pauses to note those perennial offerings of the literary entrepreneurs - cookbooks.

Of course, there's nothing really new about cookbooks — some of the earliest known volumes remain from the time of those gay Caesars. Were they ever the ones! They'd eat it laying down; then, when they'd had all they could take, they'd swish into a handy room and spit it all out!

Of course, there've been some changes. Even fifty years ago many things weren't as good as they are now, including cookbooks. We had (yes, Myrtle, I do remember) some rather rough French translations in

this line (no pictures!) and the NEW BOSTON, or was it OLD FANNY FARMER?

Later, as the 20th century rolled on - and on - and on, cookbooks developed character, and characters developed cookbooks. Brawny wrestlers found that a well-publicized sponge cake tossed off while waiting for their wave to set was good business. Tired old burley queens offered cookbooks. Maine guides came out with 'em as did ministers, masons, and morticians.

In consequence, there are books on How to Cook a Wolf, and presumably vice-versa, a Book of One-Arm Cookery (it must be assumed that the other arm was cooked the week before) and so on. And there are the specialty cookbooks. Mad, girl, mad! Wine cookbooks, vegetable cookbooks, all-meat cookbooks, no-meat cookbooks (that's a life, dearie-some has it, some don't!)

In any case, there seem to be new jazzy cookbooks for everyone, for every type, every temperament. A mad, mad editor coyly suggested: "Oh, hell, May, why don't you people have a cookbook? After all, you're supposed to be 'one-in-six', and that's a lot of cooking!"

### CHAPTERS INCLUDE:

— SALADS AND DRESSINGS. INCLUDING LE FRENCH — THAT TIRED OLD FISH — IN YOUR OVEN — SWISH STEAK — OYSTERS, LOBSTERS, SHRIMPS, AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT CRABS — WHAT TO DO WITH A TOUGH PIECE OF MEAT — and others just as succulent! Every recipe entirely useful!

Over 30 riotous drawings add spice to every chapter

Well, why not? As a popular writer and columnist put it, "You used to guess whether one 'was' or 'wasn't'! Now it's damned hard to tell who isn't!" To repeat, why not? Many sad souls come home from a rough day over the ribbon counter, or from working over a hot comptometer, or even from 'down on Madison' (it's rough down on Madison, competition-wise) and face the prospect of wading into that grim little kitchenette to whip up something cheap and filling.

Yes, in that magic hour 'tween day and dark, after effacing the ravages of the day's toil and before the night's serious cruising, ya gotta take on some food. Man, woman, or child, a girl has got to eat!

So we'll offer here a sort of non-sensical cookbook for the androgynous (don't bother to look it up, Maude - it means "limp-wristed"). And while we can't guarantee the quality of the guests these dishes may be set before, we assure the reader that all preparations and recipe details are honest.

Here then is THE GAY COOKBOOK, which some queen will promptly call FAGGOT'S FARE!

Order your copy today — A433



While it might appear now to be an anomaly, *The Gay Cookbook* fit into a larger cultural fascination with camp. Sherbourne Press's ad in *Publishers' Weekly* referred to Hogan as the "acknowledged dean of campy cuisine," language echoing that on the book's cover. Similarly, the company's ad in the *New York Times Book Review* used words like "wit, flair, and savoir faire," and this time appointed Hogan the "dean of gay gastronomy." The Doubleday Book Shops ad in the *New York Times* main section, on December 1, 1965, meanwhile, pitched the book to multiple audiences, "the cookbook collector," the "special man in your life," or the "jaded hostess"—readers both gay and straight, but all urbane.

Only a year earlier, Susan Sontag had introduced the obscure concept of camp to a broad audience. Sontag aimed, in her words, to describe a "sensibility" defined by "its love of the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration."<sup>46</sup> She acknowledged the most traditional or "vulgar" use of the verb, "to camp," as "flamboyant mannerisms," but she was more interested in camp as it applied to movies, clothing, furniture, architecture, music, and literature. These cultural products were not campy in themselves, but could be transformed by "Camp taste," a way of looking that honors theatricality and style over sincerity or content. "Camp taste" has the power to look at art a "serious" critic might consider "bad," and revalue its failures as "good," be it a Tiffany lamp, *The Maltese Falcon*, a Busby Berkeley musical, or Flash Gordon comics. Gay men, Sontag argued, epitomized this taste for the artificial. Elevating gay men to cultural mavens and trendsetters, she called them "the vanguard—and the most articulate audience—of Camp."<sup>47</sup>

Not that she did so without hesitation. She did not address the connection of camp to gay men directly until note 50 of 58, and derided the very form of camp humor most central to gay culture since the 1920s. "Pure Camp is always naïve," Sontag argued. "Camp which knows itself to be Camp ('camping') is usually less satisfying."<sup>48</sup>

In the weeks and months after "Notes on 'Camp'" appeared, major newspapers and magazines began promoting camp as a hip, new trend. *Time* magazine printed an enthusiastic summary, noting that "it is to homosexuals' self-interest to neutralize moral indignation, and this Camp does by promoting playful estheticism." Soon after, the *New York Times Magazine* ran a four-page spread by Thomas Meehan proclaiming that growing ranks of New Yorkers were now using camp as "a catch-all term to describe a previously unnamed sensibility, a third stream of taste, entirely apart from good taste or bad taste," with photographs of Barbra Streisand (intentional camp), Batman comics (low camp), and many other examples to guide the camp novice. Gloria Steinem,

in *Life*, also weighed in, and Sontag quickly became known as the “Camp girl.”<sup>49</sup> Following Sontag’s lead, however, nearly all these popular commentaries overlooked the older style of outrageous, effeminate camping.<sup>50</sup> Sontag made camp widely appealing by downplaying its potential for gender and sexual parody—precisely the qualities Hogan most prized.

### The Cultural Politics of Gay Domesticity

If anything, *The Gay Cookbook* fell on the lowest rung of Sontag’s camp ladder, not pure, unintentional camp, but rather intentional camping. Amid long and detailed recipes, Hogan frequently included an aside directed toward the “ladies,” a community of gay readers whom he referred to by camp names like Sue Ellen or Gussie. In the middle of gazpacho instructions, for example, Hogan imagined a complaining reader, and responded, “I know, Maude. You’re all impatient, with your ‘what the hell is it?’” Even the copyright page warned, “All rights reserved, Mary.” Hogan also alluded to his, and his readers’, effeminate affectations. In a recipe for carrot salad he warned that grating “can be very rough on the manicure, so watch it!” He told readers not to “swish” into the butcher’s and “get all impatient at having to wait. Smile at the S.O.B., as you gayly ask, ‘How’s ya meat today, Butch?’”<sup>51</sup> (The cookbook was also the first time he used the name “Lou Rand Hogan,” appending his mother’s maiden name to the pseudonym he invented for his novel.)

The line drawings by the freelance artist David Costain further contributed to the camping (sometimes purely silly) tone of the book. In an illustration for French dressing, Costain depicted Hogan dancing with two men in European corsets and skirts. Next to a paragraph about choosing beef grades, Costain drew Hogan as a matador taming a wild bull. In another the chef literally netted a muscular man in a bathing suit.

Placing a homosexual, let alone a happy one, in the home, was more radical in 1965 than one might expect. Social scientists, journalists, and filmmakers of the 1950s typically depicted gay men as outsiders, if not threats, to the ideal heterosexual household, either antidomestic (lonely figures who lurked in city streets, bathrooms, and bars in search of a one-night stand) or hyperdomestic (prissy interior decorators whose work alienated “real” men from their homes). Even as representations of gay culture multiplied in the early 1960s, the idea of a happy homosexual seemed to many observers unfathomable. Mental health experts, for one, largely regarded homosexuality as a symptom of neurotic maladjustment—whether a “flight from masculinity” or the result of unresolved parental conflict. Popular sociological and journalistic accounts tended to be



more sympathetic, but still regarded male homosexuals as pathologically promiscuous and, very likely, pedophilic.<sup>52</sup> As Jess Stearn put it in *The Sixth Man*, “While he often says he prefers a lasting relationship, the adult homosexual seems quite ready to indulge in sex for sex’s sake. And when he ventures forth on the prowl, he generally prefers somebody younger.”<sup>53</sup>

When observers did depict gay men at home, they often did so with derision—even when the writers were gay themselves. In *The Homosexual and His Society*, for instance, Donald Webster Cory (a pseudonym for Edward Sagarin) and John P. Leroy (his young lover Barry Sheer) presented gay domesticity as a contradiction in terms. “Home: Where is that?” Cory and Leroy’s everyman-homosexual reflected. “A place without people, where the last roommate moved out a week ago, and the guy who stayed over Saturday night—oh, well, what was his name, anyway?” In their eyes, the gay home was not a refuge from a hostile world but a lonely, isolating space, where someone might, at best, stay for a night of anonymous sex. Sagarin and Sheer did not ignore gay men who *were* at ease in the domestic sphere—men who were “handy with the thread and needle” or knew “a thousand ways to make the same kind of spaghetti sauce taste different.” Rather, echoing popular psychoanalytic accounts, they depicted these men as sick and effeminate, “fleeing from manhood.”<sup>54</sup>

**Figure 5.**  
Illustrations from *The Gay Cookbook*, by David Costain

Hogan’s cookbook deflected such stereotypes of homosexual isolation and deviance. His imagined reader may have been single, but he entertained frequently—and needed to be prepared. “There always comes a time when someone drops in to call,” whether “late afternoon or early morning.” For side dishes, he advised, “Most (alleged) he-man types don’t want vegetables; but sometimes ya get a guy who digs them.” Elsewhere Hogan celebrated a cup of coffee not only for warming you up but for giving “you a chance to get acquainted with that stray pickup.” That carrot salad, too, was perfect for parties: Halloween, Thanksgiving, not to mention “bashes, buffets or drag dinners.”<sup>55</sup>

The book also overflowed with double entendres and sexual innuendos: “seafood” (sailors), “quickie,” “frenching,” “browning,” “chicken queens,” “crabs,” and “loose ends.” He titled one chapter “what to do with a tough piece of meat,” and warned against soggy canapés: “As you all know too damn well, a limp delicacy is neither pretty nor tasty.”<sup>56</sup>

This playful presentation of gay domesticity, with its frequent allusions to sexuality and gender nonconformity, was emblematic of a broader shift in gay politics and culture. Since the mid-1950s, the Mattachine Society and ONE, Inc. presented the typical gay male as normal, well-adjusted, and masculine

to the point of invisibility. The first issue of the *Mattachine Review*, for example, included an anonymous letter to a California senator, arguing, “We are not distinguishable from heterosexual people in any visible way.” In turn, homophile leaders, and readers, frequently rejected the “swish”—“obvious” homosexuals who might bring unwanted attention to gay bars or confirm popular stereotypes.<sup>57</sup>

By 1965, however, a new wave of gay rights organizations had begun to challenge what Jeffrey Escoffier calls the “postwar politics of adjustment.”<sup>58</sup> Founded in San Francisco in 1964, the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) pledged to represent “*all* expressions of the homosexual community,” and hosted events to attract a diverse crowd, from dances and bowling nights to drag shows and musical performances.<sup>59</sup> On the East Coast, Clark Polak took over the Philadelphia-based Janus Society in 1963 and made a repeated point of defending the “masculine woman” and the “feminine man” against the conformist stance of older organizations.<sup>60</sup> He also founded *Drum* magazine to put, in his words, “‘sex’ back into homosexuality,” mixing physique photography with political essays, cultural reviews, and campy cartoons. In Polak’s hands, camp, gender nonconformity, and sexual expression became modes of militancy, essential ways to reject normative ideals, both inside and outside the gay rights movement.

Hogan’s flamboyant writing style fit well with these nonconformist strategies, but he also saw value in public discretion. Only a few months after *The Gay Cookbook* was published, in February 1966, Hogan mailed an excerpt from a new book-in-progress called *Kitchens and Tea-Rooms* to Mattachine Society leader Hal Call. Here Hogan bluntly depicted gay life in bars and coffeehouses (as well as sex in parks, movie houses, and bathrooms) as exciting but undeniably dangerous, with the constant threat of arrest. On the flip side, Hogan wrote, “There are more couples of men (as well as more couples of women) living quiet, ‘decent’ lives together here than you would believe. And—this is in every walk of life; not just the obvious ‘arts’ people, but many professionals.”<sup>61</sup> “Respectability” was, for Hogan as for the Mattachine Society, a pragmatic approach to protecting individuals against discrimination and police entrapment. Yet even as Hogan praised the “quiet,” “decent” life, his own cookbook shouted to readers from the pages of the *Times* and *Publishers’ Weekly*. In the context of the 1960s gay rights movement, the cookbook was a paradox: making privacy public.

The expansion of a gay consumer market more largely functioned to blur divides between public and private gay life. Some mail-order catalogs, like the Dorian Book Service, operated by Hal Call, primarily distributed fiction

and nonfiction—including some produced by another Mattachine-owned company, the Pan-Graphic Press. The book service of Guild Press, similarly, distributed books from mainstream publishers, as well as magazines and novelty books produced in-house. Yet other services branched out farther. The 1965 *Vagabond* catalog, for example (operated by the Minneapolis-based company Directory Services Incorporated), sold not only books and magazines but also wall calendars, greeting cards, erotic photographs, records, sex aids, decorative statues, and “towels with a gay touch” (one pictured a singing rooster with the words “For a Gay Old Cock”).<sup>62</sup> Such services transformed the home itself into a site of gay cultural consumption. You no longer needed to go to a bar to “come out” into the gay world. Domestic consumption was now an extension, and expression, of sexual desire and identity.

Hogan’s recipes themselves ranged from easy standards to the gourmet—meat loaf to beef bourguignon, Texas chili to Cantonese chicken, codfish cakes to Wiener schnitzel—while including such staple ingredients of the 1960s as MSG and canned Campbell’s tomato soup. Hogan added a few surprises, too, like gefilte fish: “You could simply call them ‘fish balls’ (being very gay about it!),” he remarked, in case you are the kind of “ninny who would hesitate to serve an item with the racial connotation of gefilte.”<sup>63</sup>

This variety partly reflected broader trends in American cuisine in the 1940s and 1950s: chief among these was a heightened interest in Continental cuisine. Fascination with foreign foods would take off even more in the mid-1960s with the ascendance of food writers including Julia Child and Craig Claiborne.<sup>64</sup> Hogan’s cosmopolitan cookery, however, was likely inspired as much by his experiences aboard the Matson cruise ships. Matson menus, when Hogan was aboard, routinely included foreign-sounding dishes alongside familiar ones—not just Roast Chicken with American Stuffing but also Leg of New Zealand Lamb Boulangere, Cold Veal Loaf with Russian Vegetable Salad, Consomme with Vermicelli, and Parisienne Potatoes. Hogan’s cookbook also bore more specific marks of the routes he served—including Hawaiian barbecue and a Philippine dish for dried cod and potatoes.<sup>65</sup>

The culinary variety of Hogan’s cookbook, like others of the period, may better be understood as part of a longer cultural development that Kristin Hoganson calls “cosmopolitan domesticity”—whereby consumption enabled men and women to bring the foreign and exotic into their homes.<sup>66</sup> By the 1960s, food had arguably come to dominate as a key component in cosmopolitan domesticity. Nora Ephron, in her classic 1968 essay on the gourmet food establishment, for example, pointed to “the curry development” of the 1950s—whereby curry dishes began appearing everywhere from the frozen

food aisle to “fashionable homes.”<sup>67</sup> But while domestic cosmopolitanism may have allowed Americans to signal their class status and creativity, it also tended to fetishize the foreign as objects to be acquired or literally consumed—reaffirming existing racial, economic, and national hierarchies while giving white, middle-class Americans access to everyone else’s culture.

Often Hogan used humor to disrupt any sense of affluence. In his section on soups, for example, he explained the ingredients in *Consomme Madrilène en Gelee* and *Consomme Poivrade*, only to add, “Jeez! Ain’t we elegant; French names ’n everything!” Hogan, after all, was himself working class—and he frequently made suggestions for cutting costs. But Hogan’s humor could also rely on racial fetishizations. He joked that sushi would give readers “a chance to wear that mad kimono!” In a section on spaghetti sauces he suggested, “Why not just find a foot-loose Italian for your weekend houseguest and turn him loose in the kitchenette.” And he ended his recipe for Hawaiian barbecue by explaining, “Of course this type meal is made much jazzier if someone is plunking at a guitar or a ukulele—with everyone wearing a good coat of all-over tan, and a hibiscus bloom behind each ear, leis all over the place . . . and aloha to you, too.”<sup>68</sup> *The Gay Cookbook* may have offered readers a way to resist conventional gender, sexual, and class codes. It could not, however, so easily overcome the racial logic of American domesticity and culinary cosmopolitanism.

### Gay Domesticity after Liberation

The explosion of the gay liberation movement after the Stonewall riots of June 1969 immediately began to reshape gay politics and gay culture across the United States. In large part, gay liberation leaders succeeded in building a visible base so quickly because they radically redefined “coming out” as a personal political act, or as John D’Emilio put it, an “ends and means for young gay radicals.”<sup>69</sup> Before Stonewall, “coming out” had meant entering gay society—revealing your identity to other gay men and lesbians—but after Stonewall, “coming out” came to mean disclosing your identity to heterosexual family and friends. But while the leaders of the gay liberation movement rejected the integrationist principles of earlier activists, they ironically followed their predecessors’ lead in rejecting “effeminate” gay men and behavior—particularly when it came to domesticity.

Already in December 1969, *Esquire* printed a long report by Tom Burke hailing the new, hippie-inspired “homosexual of the Seventies.” In the first paragraph, Burke declared dead that “semi-neuter” who “lives in a white and silver Jean Harlow apartment, drinks pink gin, cooks *boeuf Bourguignon*,

mourns Judy [Garland], makes timid liaisons on Forty-second Street, . . . and masturbates while watching televised swimming meets.” Burke later quoted a twenty-four-year-old graduate student who had worked as a waiter in a gay bar, where patrons frequently arrived with their poodles in tow. Once, the student remembered, one of the men invited him home for dinner, but he was appalled by the man’s taste for Ethel Merman and Judy Garland records. And his apartment “looked like the Castro showroom on Times Square, only not as masculine. Everything . . . *embellished*. You know: not a straight line in the whole apartment.” How much time you spent at home, how you decorated, what you listened to, had become critical ways to separate the “old” homosexual culture of camp and effeminacy from the “new” homosexual culture of masculine virility.<sup>70</sup>

This critique of gay domesticity was hardly limited to the mainstream press. In the tenth issue of the radical Berkeley newspaper *Gay Sunshine*, Craig Alfred Hanson published “The Fairy Princess Exposed,” echoing *Esquire* in simultaneously deriding camp, “effeminacy,” and domesticity. Hanson argued that an aging breed of campy, extravagant fairies was imprisoned by egocentric fantasies and predicted that they would “simply linger on unto death as past relics of a bygone era in their fantasy world of poodle dogs and Wedgewood [*sic*] teacups.” To sharpen the blow, Hanson argued that these fairies did not even create the roles they played, whether “bitchy male hairdressers” or “snobbish antique dealers.” Rather, straight people imposed the roles and kept the fairies like “pampered pets in gilded cages.” The old fairies both lived in a world of camp and had become camp artifacts themselves.<sup>71</sup> Hanson also singled out Mart Crowley’s landmark 1968 play *Boys in the Band* for scorn. The play, and its 1970 film adaptation, centered on a Manhattan apartment where eight gay men gathered for a birthday party. But while Crowley took pains to represent a range of characters (Jewish, black, Catholic, single, coupled), Hanson focused on the figure of Emory, a lisping, camping, lasagna-baking antiques dealer, as a prime example of the “fairy princess,” or in the words of a fellow character, “a natural born domestic.”<sup>72</sup> For Hanson, gay domesticity simply reaffirmed stereotypes of gay “effeminacy,” passivity, and weakness, at a moment when gay activists were calling for militancy, even machismo.<sup>73</sup>

Not everyone agreed. Carl Wittman’s widely circulated “Gay Manifesto,” first published at the end of 1969, celebrated “nellies” and “queens” as “our first martyrs,” for being visible before many other gay men were.<sup>74</sup> In the third issue of *Gay Sunshine*, Mike Silverstein lauded camp as “a guerilla attack on the whole system of male-female roles.”<sup>75</sup> Camp did not simply disappear after the founding of the gay liberation movement, but its political value was suddenly

thrown into serious doubt, inspiring passionate and extreme arguments both from its defenders and from its skeptics. Other gay men seemed to reinvent camp, still calling each other by female pronouns, but making their jokes more sexually explicit and thereby more “masculine.”<sup>76</sup>

Lou Rand Hogan, too, seems to have realized that he would need to adapt the camp humor he cultivated in the 1960s for a new audience. In 1970 Hogan began writing a food column for the Los Angeles–based newspaper the *Advocate*. The column was called “Auntie Lou Cooks” and, in many ways, mirrored the style and content of *The Gay Cookbook*. Hogan frequently referred to himself as “Mother,” evoking a maternal sentiment while returning to older camp modes of gender reversal.

At the same time, Hogan changed the tenor of his jokes. In the cookbook, Hogan frequently winked at his audience: he might allude to an easy double entendre, but he resisted making it outright. When he referred to California as “the land of fruits and nuts,” for instance, he added

**Figure 6.**

Sample column, “Auntie Lou Cooks,” *Advocate*, March 3–16, 1971. © 1971 Here Media Inc. Reprinted with permission. All rights reserved. Reproduction courtesy of the General Collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

in parentheses, “(yes, we know, Bessie, a camp. But pull y’self together . . .).”<sup>77</sup> The aside had the double function of alerting straight readers to a joke that might have easily gone over their heads, and taming the gay humor to a more “respectable” level for publication. Yet when Hogan began writing for the *Advocate*, he more or less abandoned those winking asides, in favor of more aggressive camping. The shift was evident from his first column, which began, “EVERYBODY LOVES HAMBURGERS—if the meat is tasty! Of course, my dears, there are those unsubtle ones we all know, who, when making a new friend (read: pick up a trick) at once rush him into the nearest dark alley.”<sup>78</sup> Here, the parenthetical aside did not hint at a euphemism’s meaning; it made that meaning explicit.

Hogan’s racial assumptions, too, became more explicit. In one column titled “fabulous curries,” he called on readers to pay more attention to “Eastern dishes,” moving swiftly from the culinary to the sexual: “There is a general idea that all Oriental numbers are small ‘appetizers.’ Well, ’t’aint necessarily so.” He went on to literally size up various groups of Asian and Southeast Asian men, determining who was and was not “well-equipped, both physically and erotically, to please a busy palate.” These newly aggressive fantasies about foreign men of color reflected the *Advocate* and urban gay culture’s increasing consolidation of the homosexual’s presumed racial, class, and gender privilege—white, middle class, and masculine.<sup>79</sup>



## how 'bout a tall, blond lamb?

by LOU RAND  
Author of *The Gay Cookbook*

Well, hello Dolls, Auntie Lou has been whipping her memories and, happily, came up with an old trip to Norway many, many years ago. Fun in the fjords! Long past, of course, but we still have some peculiar recollections. Beautiful tall blond beasts in Bergen—and yards of lace curtains.

More pleasant eating was the national dish, a sort of lamb stew, though I recall it was often made with young venison. And not too expensive; a sort of family dish; suitable, too, for a coven of witches!



### LAMB-AND-CABBAGE (Får-i-Kål)—for 6 to 8:

- 2½-3 lbs. lean lamb or mutton, in 1½-in. dice.
- ½ c. butter PLUS 1 Tbs. oil.
- 1½ tsp. salt PLUS 1 tsp. Accent.
- 2 tsp. whole peppercorns.
- 2 lg. bay leaves.
- 2 c. water.
- 1 sm1-to-med cabbage, cored, cut in 8ths.
- 1 c. dairy sour cream (½ pt.).
- 6 med. potatoes, peeled, sliced thick or in quarters.

Now, Tess, how'ya gettin' on with your butcher? You'll need about 3 lbs. of chunky, lean meat. (Yah! Who doesn't?) You can buy about 3 to 4 lbs. of lamb loin, in one piece; take it home, and carefully cut meat away from bone (both sides); trim off excess fat, then cut into 1½-in. or 2-in. cubes.

OR you can buy a small leg of

lamb—say 5 lbs.—have Butch cut 3 steaks, nearly an inch thick from the center. Then you take it all home; wax-paper and foil-wrap each steak, put away for another time.

With that little, sharp knife, cut away all the rest of the lamb from the bone; peel away the thin outer skin of the lamb, cut off excess fat. Make your dice or chunks of the lean meat. Save bones.

Take bones, and a tired ol' carrot, a quartered onion, a half stalk of celery, and 3 cups of water. Bring to boil, reduce to simmer for an hour. Strain, discard vegetables, remove fat—and you have about 2 c. of good lamb stock.

Then, or next day, let's make our Får-i-Kål. We'll figure a little over an hour from stove to table. No, Maude, that'll have to wait . . .

Brown lamb pieces in hot butter-and-oil; toss with the seasonings and spices, cover with the 2 cups of lamb stock, or plain water if you didn't bother, or canned consommé, and simmer 45 to 50 min.

In a second pot of water, put potatoes on to cook, about 20 min.—should only be half-cooked. Add cabbage around on top of meat; drain potatoes and lay in on top of cabbage. Do not stir—try not to break up either cabbage or potatoes. Cover, simmer 15 to 20 min. Pour the sour cream over all, shake down into the pot; heat through, but do not boil.

Carefully spoon out—or use flat skimmer—onto large deep platter, including the whole peppers. These are, carefully—but elegantly, of course—spit out like olive seeds; you'll look surprised when you bite into one, and the whole family will giggle at you (family fun among the Norse!). Anyway, ladle it all out, perhaps potatoes in center, cabbage around, and the lamb over all. Pour all the juice over the meat. This is actually a very tasty dish, and—as Mother says—not too expensive.

Of course, some don't like lamb, a Western heritage, or something. All those stories about the horny sheepherders. Next time, something else; write in for recipes you'd like.

Until then, cook it nice, do it pretty, and don't get busted! . . . says . . . Auntie Lou.

The column was a success (it regularly featured questions for cooking advice from readers across the country), but in April 1974 Hogan left (or was asked to leave) the *Advocate*—only to turn up in July in the pages of the tamer San Francisco–based *Bay Area Reporter*.<sup>80</sup> His new cooking column, “The Gourmet Shoppe,” though, showed surprisingly little trace of camp—no double entendres, no asides to Maude and the other “ladies.” The camp culture Hogan had known seemed to be disappearing, and his domestic world along with it. As the increasing range of advertisements in the *Advocate* attested, the gay entertainment industry expanded rapidly in the 1970s—bars, clubs, bathhouses, stores, movie theaters, dating services. Privacy had ceased to appear politically or socially pragmatic; only by making oneself visible to people gay and straight alike could a gay community and its acceptance be achieved.

Hogan, in turn, was left feeling nostalgic for what seemed like a lost era. Just two months after he began “The Gourmet Shoppe,” the *Bay Area Reporter* began running his six-part memoir, “The Golden Age of Queens.” Flamboyantly campy and conversational, the memoir resurrected Hogan’s “Mother” persona, only to look back on the California he knew before World War II. “Yes,” Hogan wrote, “twas better back then, when there were MEN! Men who treated a ‘girl’ like a lady. . . . A ‘trick’ was for a whole weekend, or 48 hours, or longer. Many even lasted out the year, possibly the next, too. And, you stayed at home, and cooked and drank a little, and loved, and lived!”<sup>81</sup> To many younger readers, Hogan’s vision of gay domesticity must have seemed quaint, but, well into the 1970s, he never stopped defending it. Hogan’s domesticity did not simply embrace and reproduce white, middle-class norms but parodied, augmented, and reinvented them.

#### Notes

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1. Lou Rand Hogan, *The Gay Cookbook* (New York: Bell, 1965), published earlier that fall by Sherbourne Press, Los Angeles. The editions are virtually identical except in size. Advertisement, *New York Times*, December 1, 1965; “The Homosexual in America,” *Time*, January 21, 1966, 52.
2. As the San Francisco food columnist Michael Procopio remarked on his blog, “A *gay* cookbook? *Pre-Stonewall*? I never thought any such thing could exist” (“Swish Steak: Camp Food,” *Bay Area Bites*,

- August 14, 2009, <http://blogs.kqed.org/bayareabites/2009/08/14/swish-steak-camp-food/>). Another San Francisco food writer began his blog entry, "What the hell?: *The Boys in the Band* meets James Beard—a self-consciously campy guide to the kitchen, at a time when gays were still mostly closeted" (John Birdsall, "Is This the Gayest Book Ever Written about Food?," *SF Weekly*, June 26, 2009, [http://blogs.sfweekly.com/foodie/2009/06/is\\_this\\_the\\_gayest\\_book\\_ever\\_w.php](http://blogs.sfweekly.com/foodie/2009/06/is_this_the_gayest_book_ever_w.php)).
3. 1964–65 *Guild Book Service Catalog* (Washington, DC: Guild, 1964), Vintage Physique Photography, Timinvermont.com. On gay consumer culture, publishing, and censorship in the 1950s and 1960s, see David K. Johnson, "Physique Pioneers: The Politics of 1960s Gay Consumer Culture," *Journal of Social History* 43.4 (2010): 867–92; Whitney Strub, "The Clearly Obscene and the Queerly Obscene: Heteronormativity and Obscenity in Cold War Los Angeles," *American Quarterly* 60.2 (2008): 373–98; and Michael Bronski, *Pulp Friction: Uncovering the Golden Age of Gay Male Pulps* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2003).
  4. Jess Stearn, *The Sixth Man* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); advertisement, *New York Times*, March 21, 1961.
  5. Susan Sontag, "Notes on 'Camp,'" in *Against Interpretation, and Other Essays* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966), 275–92; originally published in *Partisan Review* 31.4 (1964): 515–30. For essential essays and debates on camp, see Fabio Cleto, ed., *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject: A Reader* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); and David Bergman, ed., *Camp Grounds: Style and Homosexuality* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993).
  6. Hogan, *Gay Cookbook*, ii, viii.
  7. The San Francisco–based Mattachine Society should be distinguished from its predecessor, the Los Angeles–based Mattachine Foundation. On the homophile movement, see especially 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); Martin Meeker, "Behind the Mask of Respectability: Reconsidering the Mattachine Society and Male Homophile Practice, 1950s and 1960s," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10.1 (2001): 78–116; and C. Todd White, *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). On effeminacy and gender normativity, see Craig M. Loftin, "Unacceptable Mannerisms: Gender Anxieties, Homosexual Activism, and Swish in the United States, 1945–1965," *Journal of Social History* 40.3 (2007): 577–96; Betty Hillman, "'The Most Profoundly Revolutionary Act a Homosexual Can Engage In': Drag and the Politics of Gender Presentation in the San Francisco Gay Liberation Movement, 1964–1972," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20.1 (2011): 153–81; and Barry Reay, *New York Hustlers: Masculinity and Sex in Modern America* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), 147–87.
  8. For examples of works in LGBT history that examine uses of public and commercial spaces, see especially George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Boston: Beacon, 1993); Brett Beemyn, ed., *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Reay, *New York Hustlers*; Ephraim Glenn Colter and Dangerous Bedfellows, eds., *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism* (Cambridge, MA: South End, 1996); Yolanda Retter, Anne-Marie Bouthilllette, and Gordon Brent Ingram, eds., *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance* (Seattle: Bay, 1997); William Leap, ed., *Public Sex, Gay Space* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
  9. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 152–63. Similar residential patterns in other cities are revealed by David K. Johnson, "The Kids of Fairytown: Gay Male Culture on Chicago's Near North Side in the 1930s," in Beemyn, *Creating a Place for Ourselves*; Brett Beemyn, "A Queer Capital: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Life in Washington, D.C., 1890–1955" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1997), 35–41; Steven Maynard, "'Without Working?' Capitalism, Urban Culture, and Gay History," *Journal of Urban History* 30.3 (2004): 378–98; and Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 109–34. See also John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100–113; and Joanne Meyerowitz, "Sexual Geography and Gender Economy: The Furnished Room Districts of Chicago, 1890–1930," *Gender and History* 2.3 (1990): 274–97.
  10. Johnson, "Kids of Fairytown," 105. See also Eric Garber, "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*,

- ed. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey (New York: Plume, 1990), 318–31; Chauncey, *Gay New York, 277–80*; Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 45–47. House parties have also been vital for many lesbian communities; see Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993); and Rochella Thorpe, “A house where queers go: African-American Lesbian Nightlife in Detroit, 1940–1975,” in *Inventing Lesbian Cultures*, ed. Ellen Lewin (Boston: Beacon, 1996), 40–61.
11. For examples, see Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 227–67; Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945–1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 17–48; and Moira Kenney, *Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).
  12. I focus my critique primarily on historiography on gay culture and politics in US cities. For an analysis of gay domesticity in England, see several essays by Matt Cook including “Families of Choice? George Ives, Queer Lives, and the Family in Early Twentieth-Century Britain,” *Gender and History* 22.1 (2010): 1–20; and “Domestic Passions: Unpacking the Homes of Charles Shannon and Charles Ricketts,” *Journal of British Studies* 51.3 (2012): 618–40. On lesbian households, see Lauren Jae Gutterman’s two essays: “‘The House on the Borderland’: Lesbian Desire, Marriage, and the Household, 1950–1979,” *Journal of Social History* 46.1 (2012): 1–22; and “Another Enemy Within: Lesbian Wives, or the Hidden Threat to the Nuclear Family in Post-war America,” *Gender and History* 24.2 (2012): 475–501. For a discussion of gay men’s homes outside cities, see John Howard’s *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 40–48.
  13. Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Estelle B. Freedman, “Uncontrolled Desires: The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920–1960,” *Journal of American History* 74.1 (1987): 83–106; David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Michael S. Sherry, *Gay Artists in Modern American Culture: An Imagined Conspiracy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
  14. Martin Duberman, *Cures: A Gay Man’s Odyssey*, tenth anniversary ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 3.
  15. Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island*; Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*; Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
  16. Craig M. Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012); Loftin, *Letters to ONE: Gay and Lesbian Voices from the 1950s and 1960s* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012); Johnson, “Physique Pioneers”; David Johnson, “The Adonis Male Club: Physique Magazines, Censorship, and the Making of the Gay Male Community” (paper presented at “Queer Places, Practices, and Lives: A Symposium in Honor of Samuel Steward,” Ohio State University, Columbus, May 18–19, 2012).
  17. Michael Bronski, *The Pleasure Principle: Sex, Backlash, and the Struggle for Gay Freedom* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1998); Jeffrey Escoffier, “Fabulous Politics: Gay, Lesbian, and Queer Movements, 1969–1999,” in *The World the Sixties Made: Politics and Culture in Recent America*, ed. Van Gosse and Richard R. Moser (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 191–218.
  18. Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, “Sex in Public,” *Critical Inquiry* 24.2 (1998): 547–566. Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon, 2003), 50; chapter, and other sections of the book, originally published as “The New Homonormativity,” in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 175–94.
  19. For examples of wider uses, see the special issue “Queer Futures,” *Radical History Review* 100 (Winter 2008), especially the introduction by Kevin P. Murphy, Jason Ruiz, and David Serlin on historicizing the concept of homonormativity (1–9); and Ryan Patrick Murphy, “United Airlines Is for Lovers? Flight Attendant Activism and the Family Values Economy in the 1990s,” *Radical History Review* 112 (2012) 100–112. See also Julian Carter, “Gay Marriage and Pulp Fiction: Homonormativity, Disidentification, and Affect in Ann Bannon’s Lesbian Novels,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 15.4 (2009): 583–609.

20. Nancy Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in Twentieth Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
21. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).
22. Alice Kessler-Harris, "Treating the Male as 'Other': Redefining the Parameters of Labor History," *Labor History* 34.2–3 (1993): 197. Her critique centers on analyses of labor and class, but the same point could be made for gender and sexuality.
23. See, for example, Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Jessamyn Neuhaus, *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Tracey Deutsch, *Building a Housewife's Paradise: Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and Kyla Wazana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).
24. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990), 103. For a similar point on eating, see Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 185.
25. California Death Index lists identical information, and social security number, for Lou W. Randall, Lou R. Randall, and Lou R. Hogan: born May 4, 1910, California; died August 4, 1976, Los Angeles (*California, Death Index, 1940–1997* [Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2000], Ancestry.com). George (Ghordis) D. Randall, born November 2, 1883, Smithport, Pennsylvania; Lucille C. Hogan Randall, born February 1, 1881, Montreal, Canada; see George D. Randall passport application, approved April 15, 1920, and Lucille C. Randall passport application, approved October 20, 1920 (*U.S. Passport Applications, 1795–1925* [Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2000], Ancestry.com); and US Census of 1910, Kern, California (*1910 U.S. Federal Census* [Provo, UT: Generations Network, 2002], Ancestry.com).
26. George D. Randall passport application.
27. "Island Wrecks Marital Ship," *Los Angeles Times*, February 28, 1931.
28. US Census of 1930, Los Angeles, California (*1930 U.S. Federal Census* [Provo, UT: Generations Network, 2002], Ancestry.com).
29. Toto le Grand [pseudonym for Lou Rand Hogan], "The Golden Age of Queens," *Bay Area Reporter*, September 4, 1974. Manuscript in Len Evans Papers, 93-8, box 1, Manuscript File, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California. Regional production of the musicals *The Desert Song* and *Good News* played to packed houses in both Los Angeles and San Francisco in 1928 ("Romberg Musical Show Reopens at Majestic Tuesday," *Los Angeles Times*, June 10, 1928; "Good News' Run Extended for Additional Week Here," *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1928).
30. Louis, Lou, or Lou W. Randall appears on at least thirteen passenger and crew lists between 1938 and 1941 on Ancestry.com, including those for the Matson line ships the *Mariposa*, the *Monterey*, and the *Ewa*, as well as three ships from the American President Line, the *SS President Garfield*, the *SS President Harrison*, and the *SS President Coolidge*. For example, Lou Randall, born c. 1910, is listed as a waiter on the *SS Monterey*, arriving in Honolulu from Melbourne, Australia, October 25, 1939; a waiter on the *SS President Garfield*, arriving in New York, from Kobe, Japan, April 18, 1940; and a room steward on the *SS Mariposa*, arriving in Honolulu from Melbourne, July 3, 1940. The records show that his service at sea began around 1936. See *Honolulu, Hawaii, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900–1959* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2009), Ancestry.com; *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820–1957* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2010), Ancestry.com.
31. Toto le Grand, "Golden Age of Queens," *Bay Area Reporter*, September 18, 1974.
32. Allan Bérubé, *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay, Community, and Labor History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 294–320.
33. On the fairy and camp culture, see Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 47–63, 286–91; George Chauncey, "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War One Era," *Journal of Social History* 19.2 (1985): 189–211; and Johnson, "Kids of Fairytown." On representations and portrayals of the fairy or "pansy," see Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 300–329; Richard Barrios, *Screened Out: Playing Gay in Hollywood from Edison to Stonewall*

- (New York: Routledge, 2003). For more on links between camp, effeminacy, and language, see Gershon Legman's lexicon, "The Language of Homosexuality," in Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), originally published in George W. Henry and the Committee for the Study of Sex Variants, *Sex Variants: A Study of Homosexual Patterns* (New York: P. B. Hoeber, 1941).
34. Toto le Grand, "The Golden Age of Queens," *Bay Area Reporter*, September 4, 1974; and Lou Rand, manuscript, "The Scarlet Pansy by Robert Scully: An Introduction," 1965, Len Evans Papers, box 1, Manuscript File.
  35. Introduction to "The Gay Gourmer" by Lou Rand, *Avanti* 1.2 (1969): 20. The *Gourmet* index does not list Hogan as a contributor—though many recipes and articles were published anonymously. The partial index of *Sunset* online (<http://sunset-magazine.stanford.edu/html/search.html>) also does not list Hogan, but again, many recipes appeared anonymously. The long-time *Sunset* food editor Jerry Anne Di Vecchio says Hogan did not appear as a writer: the magazine was staff-written, though they did publish reader recipes as "reader submitted" (e-mail to author, July 30, 2009).
  36. Among books Hogan claimed to write for which there are no records: *It Takes One to Know One* (listed in his first column in the *Los Angeles Advocate*, "Auntie Lou Cooks," March 1970, 34) and *Behind the Green Door* (first column in the "The Gourmet Shoppe," *Bay Area Reporter*, July 25, 1974).
  37. Lou Rand, *The Gay Detective* (Fresno, CA: Saber Books, 1961), republished as Lou Rand, *Rough Trade* (Los Angeles: Argyle, 1964; New York: Paperback Library, 1965).
  38. Lou Rand, *The Gay Detective* (San Francisco: Cleis, 2003), 74–75.
  39. For insightful summary and commentary, see Susan Stryker and Martin Meeker, "Introduction: Mystery as History," in Rand, *Gay Detective*.
  40. Peg Bracken, *The I Hate to Cook Book* (New York: Harcourt, 1960); Hogan, *Gay Cookbook*, vii.
  41. Sherbourne Press advertisements in *New York Times Book Review*, November 21, 1965, 55; and *Publishers' Weekly*, August 30, 1965, 181. Sherbourne's history based on interviews by the author with Shelly Lowenkopf, February 3, 2009, and Gil Porter, February 5, 2009. See also Robert Kirsch, "California Opens New Chapter in the Publishing Industry," *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 1965. On market segmentation, see Elizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), 292–344.
  42. "A Market Survey," *Citizens News*, August 31, 1964.
  43. *The Gay Cookbook* is not listed in *Book Review Digest* (Bronx, NY: H. W. Wilson, 1965–66). My search for reviews in the gay press included *Mattachine Review*, *ONE*, *The Ladder*, *Drum*, and three San Francisco-based publications, *Vector* (published by Society for Individual Rights), *Citizens News* (published by Strait and Associates), and *Town Talk* (published by Pan-Graphic Press). Advertisements appeared in *Drum* (through Trojan Book Service), March 1966, and December 1966; *Town Talk* (through Dorian Book Service), January–February 1966, 6. Dorian Book Service flyer, advertising catalogs and ephemera from Dorian Book Service, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; and two similar flyers dated January and May 1966 (Directory Services, Timinvermont.com).
  44. Advertisements, *New York Times Book Review*, November 21, 1965, 55; and *Publishers' Weekly*, August 30, 1965, 181. Sherbourne's sales figure based on estimates made by Shelly Lowenkopf (interview).
  45. Hogan interview on KPFK, Friday, May 13, 1966, listed in *KPFK Program Folio*, April 25–May 22, 1966; rebroadcast on WBAI, May 18, 1966, listed in *WBAI Folio*, May 1966 (Pacifica Radio Archives Digitized Folio Collection, Pacifica Radio Archives, <http://archive.org/details/pacifica>).
  46. Sontag, "Notes on 'Camp,'" 275.
  47. *Ibid.*, 281, 290.
  48. *Ibid.*, 282.
  49. "Taste: 'Camp,'" *Time*, December 11, 1964, 75; Thomas Meehan, "Not Good Taste, not Bad Taste, It's Camp," *New York Times Magazine*, March 21, 1965, 30; Gloria Steinem, "The Ins and Outs of Pop Culture," *Life*, August 20, 1965, 72. On response to Sontag's essay, see Cleto, *Camp*, 302–7, and bibliography. See also D. A. Miller on Sontag's "phobic de-homosexualization" of camp ("Sontag's Urbanity," *October* 49 [Summer 1989]: 93).
  50. *Holiday* magazine was one of the few to note the omission (George Frazier, "Call It Camp," *Holiday*, November 1965, 12).
  51. Hogan, *Gay Cookbook*, 16, 26, 91.

52. Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (New York: Anchor, 1983), 14–28; Jeffrey Escoffier, “Homosexuality and the Sociological Imagination: Hegemonic Discourses, the Circulation of Ideas, and the Process of Reading in the 1950s and 1960s,” *American Homo: Community and Perversity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 79–98; K. A. Cuordileone, “‘Politics in an Age of Anxiety’: Cold War Political Culture and the Crisis in American Masculinity, 1949–1960,” *Journal of American History* 87.2 (2000): 515–45; Fred Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic: The Origins of America’s Debate on Homosexuality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 11–52.
53. Stearn, *Sixth Man*, 41.
54. Donald Webster Cory and John P. LeRoy, *The Homosexual and His Society: A View from Within* (New York: Citadel, 1963), 136, 71. On Cory/Sagarin, see Martin B. Duberman, “The ‘Father’ of the Homophile Movement,” in *Left Out: The Politics of Exclusion: Essays, 1964–2002* (Cambridge, MA: South End, 2002), 59–94.
55. Hogan, *Gay Cookbook*, 3, 187, 257, 26.
56. *Ibid.*, 7.
57. On Mattachine and ONE’s strategies of visibility, see especially Meeker, “Behind the Mask”; Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); and Loftin, “Unacceptable Mannerisms.” See also “An Open Letter to Sen. Dirksen,” *Mattachine Review*, January–February 1955, 12; and Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 184.
58. Escoffier, “Homosexuality and the Sociological Imagination,” 85.
59. “SIR Statement of Policy,” quoted in D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 190. On SIR, see also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 227–31.
60. Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 200–258.
61. Manuscript of *Kitchens and Tea-Rooms*, with February 10, 1966, letter to Hal Call, box 4, folder 29, Harold L. Call papers, Coll2008-010, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, Los Angeles.
62. *Vagabond*, no. 7 (Minneapolis, MN: Directory Services, 1965), Queer Music Heritage, <http://queer-musicheritage.us/camp14.html>; Johnson, “Physique Pioneers.”
63. Hogan, *Gay Cookbook*, 84.
64. Harvey A. Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 213–26; David Strauss, *Setting the Table for Julia Child: Gourmet Dining in America, 1934–1961* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Thomas McNamee, *The Man Who Changed the Way We Eat: Craig Claiborne and the American Food Renaissance* (New York: Free Press, 2012). Claiborne was himself gay, but kept his friendships and relationships with other gay men secret in the 1950s and 1960s.
65. For representative Matson menus, see John Haskell Kemble Maritime Ephemera, Huntington Digital Library, [hdl.huntington.org](http://hdl.huntington.org).
66. Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
67. Nora Ephron, “Critics in the World of the Rising Souffle (Or Is It the Rising Meringue?),” *New York*, September 3, 1968, 34–39.
68. Hogan, *Gay Cookbook*, 15, 10, 46, 118.
69. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 235.
70. Tom Burke, “The New Homosexuality,” *Esquire*, December 1969, 178, 306.
71. Craig Alfred Hanson, “The Fairy Princess Exposed,” in *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation*, ed. Karla Jay and Allen Young (New York: Douglas Book Corporation, 1972), 266–69; originally published in *Gay Sunshine*, no. 10. See also Allen Young, “camp out:” *Gay Sunshine*, no. 1 (August–September 1970): 9.
72. Mart Crowley, *Boys in the Band* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1968); 1970 film directed by William Friedkin. It was also available as an LP (A&M, 1969).
73. On post-Stonewall gay masculinity and “clone culture,” see Martin P. Levine, *Gay Macho: The Life and Death of the Homosexual Clone* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).
74. Carl Wittman, “A Gay Manifesto,” in *Out of the Closets*, 330–41; originally published as “Refugees from Amerika: A Gay Manifesto,” *San Francisco Free Press*, December 22, 1969.
75. Mike Silverstein, “God Save the Queen,” *Gay Sunshine*, no. 3 (November 1970): 2.
76. Levine, *Gay Macho*, and Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 189–94.

77. Hogan, *Gay Cookbook*, 21.
78. Lou Rand, "Auntie Lou Cooks," *Los Angeles Advocate*, March 1970, 34.
79. Lou Rand, "Auntie Lou Cooks: Fabulous Curries," *Los Angeles Advocate*, April 29–May 12, 1970, 9. On race and class in the *Advocate*, see Scott Herring, "Out of the Closets, Into the Woods: *RFD, Country Women*, and the Post-Stonewall Emergence of Queer Anti-urbanism," *American Quarterly* 59.2 (2007): 341–72, particularly 347–52; and David Palmer, "Imagining a Gay New World: Community Identities and the Ethics of Difference in Late-Twentieth Century America" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 2011), 20–67. On foreign fantasy and travel in the 1970s, see Lucas Hilderbrand, "A Suitcase Full of Vaseline, or Travels in the 1970s Gay World," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22.3 (2013): 373–402 (alternate version, "A Suitcase Full of Vaseline, or Mapping Gay Travel in the 1970s," paper presented at "Queer Places, Practices, and Lives: A Symposium in Honor of Samuel Steward," Ohio State University, Columbus, May 18–19, 2012).
80. Final installment of "Auntie Lou Cooks" ran in the *Advocate* on April 24, 1974, 32. First column of "The Gourmet Shoppe" appeared in *Bay Area Reporter*, July 25, 1974. This seems to have predated the larger overhaul of the magazine initiated when the publisher Dick Michaels sold it to the investment banker David Goodstein (Stephen J. Sansweet, "Sign of the Times: A Homosexual Paper, The *Advocate*, Widens Readership," *Wall Street Journal*, November 3, 1975).
81. Toto le Grand, "Golden Age of Queens," *Bay Area Reporter*, September 4, 1974.