

Institute of Art, Design & Technology Dún Laoghaire,
Faculty of Film, Art and Creative Technologies

Crossing the Printed Line:

Zines as a Tool for Survival, Revolution & Growth.

By Ethan Taylor

Submitted to the Department of Design and Visual Arts
in candidacy for the BA(Hons) in Graphic Design 2026

This dissertation is submitted by the undersigned to the Institute of Art, Design & Technology in partial fulfilment of the examination for the BA(Hons) in Graphic Design. It is entirely the author's own work except where noted, and has not been submitted for an award from this or any other educational institution.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ethan Taylor". The signature is written in black ink on a white background.

Grammarly was used throughout this dissertation to aid with spell-checks and rephrasing.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Catherine Taylor, and art teacher Tara Forde Carroll, who have nurtured my creativity and encouraged me to pursue it.

I would like to thank my friends and family for all their support during the process of this dissertation over the past year. Additionally, I would like to thank Elaine McDevitt for her invaluable knowledge, support, guidance and enthusiasm throughout the process. Lastly, thank you to the staff of the San Francisco Public Library, California, USA, for making my field research possible.

Abstract

This dissertation examines *Vanguard* (1965-1967), a pioneering queer youth organisation in San Francisco's Tenderloin district, and its self-published zines as tools of survival, revolution, and growth. Founded in 1965 and emerging more publicly through its magazine in 1966, *Vanguard* provided a platform for low-income gay and transgender youth to articulate their experiences, resist systemic oppression, and build community. Through analysis of three surviving volumes, this study explores the materiality, visual culture, and ideological significance of the zines, situating them within broader currents of civil rights activism, anti-war movements, and the evolving landscape of LGBTQ+ resistance. Drawing on theories of zine culture by Chris Atton and Stephen Duncombe, the dissertation highlights how self-publishing created "third spaces" for marginalised voices, fostering autonomy and collective identity. Comparative attention is given to the Tenderloin's activism alongside East Coast movements, particularly Stonewall, to underscore differences in scale, visibility, and survival strategies. Ultimately, *Vanguard's* zines are shown to embody defiance against mainstream narratives, offering both a historical archive and a radical act of self-determination. They reveal how creativity, community, and underground publishing became vital instruments for challenging oppression and asserting dignity in a hostile social order.

Contents

Introduction

Personal Statement *p. 7*

Methodology *p. 9*

0.1 Introducing the Vanguard and Zines *p. 11*

0.2 Materiality of Vanguard Zines *p. 19*

1. Zines as a tool for Survival

1.1 Safe Haven of Vices *p. 21*

1.2 Differences in Survival: The Tenderloin VS New York City *p. 23*

1.3 Information, Advocacy and the Power of Print *p. 30*

2. Zines as a tool for Revolution

2.1 Societal Ideologies and Defiance *p. 32*

2.2 Defiance of Identity Conformity *p. 39*

2.3 How Vanguard Zines Built a Revolution *p. 42*

3. Zines as a tool for Growth

3.1 Evolution of Vanguard Zines *p. 50*

3.2 Development of Creative Identities *p. 52*

Conclusion *p. 55*

List of plates

- Fig. 1 **Vanguard Magazine**. Vol 1, No. 1 August 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 11, 2025
- Fig. 2 **Vanguard Magazine**. Listing of Clinics and Missions Vol 1, No. 1 August 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 11, 2025
- Fig. 3 **Vanguard Magazine**. Night Songs Vol 1, No. 1 August 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 11, 2025
- Fig. 4 **Compton's Cafeteria**. Turk and Taylor St, San Francisco. Taylor. Ethan. August 25 2025
- Fig. 5 **Vanguard Magazine**. Cover Page Vol 1, No. 1 August 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 11, 2025
- Fig. 6 **Vanguard Magazine**. Spread featuring President, JP Marat's Letter and The Touchstone Vol 1, No. 1 August 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 11, 2025
- Fig. 7 **Vanguard Magazine**. Street Sweep Vol 1, No. 2 October 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 11, 2025
- Fig. 8 **Census of Population**. San Francisco, California US Census Bureau, Characteristics of persons by residence, United States: 1960 Census of Population, Supplementary Reports, PC(S1)-6, June 16, 1961. <https://www.census.gov/en.html>, accessed December 14, 2025
- Fig. 9 **Census of Population**. Manhattan, New York US Census Bureau, Characteristics of persons by residence, United States: 1960 Census of Population, Supplementary Reports, PC(S1)-6, June 16, 1961. <https://www.census.gov/en.html>, accessed December 14, 2025
- Fig. 10 **Vanguard Magazine**. Alert Citizens Vol 1, No. 2 October 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 6, 2025
- Fig. 11 **Vanguard Magazine**. National Planning Conference Vol 1, No. 2 October 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 6, 2025
- Fig. 12 **Vanguard Magazine**. Spread featuring Press Release Vol 1, No. 2 October 1966. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 6, 2025
- Fig. 13 **Vanguard Magazine**. Equality Under Law Vol 1, No. 4 February 1967. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 6, 2025
- Fig. 14 **Vanguard Magazine**. Lavender in Uniform Vol 1, No. 6 April 1967. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 6, 2025
- Fig. 15 **Vanguard Magazine**. Visiting or Joining SIR. Vol. 1 No. 4. February 1967. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 3, 2025
- Fig. 16 **Vanguard Magazine**. More Peace Talk. Vol. 1 No. 5. March 1967. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 9, 2025
- Fig. 17 **Vanguard Magazine**. People Power. Vol. 1 No. 4 February 1967. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 9, 2025
- Fig. 18 **Vanguard Magazine**. Page 10. Vol. 1 No. 4 February 1967. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed December 9, 2025
- Fig. 19 **Vanguard Magazine**. Cover of each issue Vol. 1 No. 1 through Vol 3, No. <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed January 25, 2026

Fig. 20. **Vanguard Magazine**. Cover of Vol. 3, No. 1 1970

<https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net>, accessed January 25, 2026

Introduction

Personal Statement

This dissertation represents not only the culmination of my academic journey but also a deeply personal exploration of transgender history, a subject integral to my identity. My interest in this field stems from my lived experience as a transgender man for nearly a decade. The obstacles and prejudices examined here, though historic in context, continue to resonate as part of my everyday reality.

Throughout this project, I have sought to combine rigorous academic analysis with a commitment to amplifying underrepresented voices. Inspired by Susan Stryker's *Transgender History*, this work began as a personal project and evolved into a broader investigation of the intersection between social movements and design practice. The process has deepened my understanding of transgender history while reinforcing the importance of critical thinking and collaboration in design.

Beyond fulfilling an academic requirement, this dissertation reflects my dedication to using design as a means of advocacy and social change. It has provided me with a unique foundation of knowledge that I intend to carry into my professional career, continuously building on it as I add work, to advance equal rights. My hope is that this research will serve as a foundation for future inquiry into the powerful overlap between design practice and social justice.

Although this dissertation does not focus specifically on transgender people in the Tenderloin during the 1960s, their presence is acknowledged and becomes more apparent throughout the study, particularly as the experiences of cisgender gay men and lesbian women are closely interconnected with those of transgender identities.

It is important to note in my work, that the use of language differs from that we use today in much of the research material used, however, due to my own investment in this research I have opted to use current terminology (where possible) as the terminology used in the 20th century in relation to LGBTQ+ individuals was at times archaic, harmful and degrading, which is still the case today. There are some instances where it is used, and this will only be in quotations from material of the time. For the most part I will refer to the people being spoken about as "LGBTQ+" or "Queer" (a term that was originally derogatory and used as a slur but has been reclaimed within the community and is now a preferred term by many) as it is more

inclusive and becoming of my work than to single out one specific area of the community unless necessary.

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the method in which the Vanguard organisation (1965 – 1967), based in the Tenderloin district of San Francisco, USA, used the medium of Zines to not only rally support from within the district but also as a tool for resistance in a time of severe systemic oppression. It studies how counterculture and self-publication can help to foster intimate connections between some of the most vulnerable members of society, especially in this notoriously dangerous and socioeconomically challenged area, where, to this day, there is still a very active open-air drug market, homelessness, and a socioeconomically disadvantaged LGBTQ+ community. Yet, it remains a place where these marginalised members of society find solace. (Shaw, R. 2025)

Through the visual examination of these zines, spanning three volumes of publications by Vanguard, under three distinct but interconnected headings, Survival, Revolution and Growth, this dissertation aims to prove how zines, when used by marginalised communities such as the LGBTQ+ community in the 1960s, can benefit and inspire change but also rally community support. Looking at the influence produced both in terms of visual culture, but also in the context of the community and wider society of San Francisco. Unfortunately, not all issues of the publication have been preserved within archives, so only a limited number were available for examination within the San Francisco Public Library.

It will showcase how Vanguard used independent writing submissions from members of the organisation, minimalistic materiality production and self-publication to create a space for its members to survive, revolt and grow despite establishment opposition at the time, and gave its young people a sense of autonomy within their lives that was actively being denied to them by laws and establishment governance devoted to villainising them.

It studies the political and societal surroundings of these publications and the social actions (*Compton's Cafeteria Riot; 1966, Tenderloin Street Sweep; 1965* and the *Dogie Diner Standoff; 1966*) taken by these young people, which were encouraged and documented through the series of zines during the time in operation of the organisation. Laterally examining how movements such as the student anti-war demonstrations in response to the Vietnam War Draft across the United States, had influence and similarities in sense of self. Drawing on theories discussed by leading

zine experts such as Chris Atton and Stephen Duncombe, surrounding self-publishing zines and how creating third spaces for marginalised members of society is integral to change. That by having a voice, even if it must be forced into existence under oppressive regimes and governance, publications, such as zines, are integral to movements of growth and change, as demonstrated by the ongoing trajectory of the LGBTQ+ activism from Stonewall to the present, where the fight for equal rights has been increasingly visible, widely publicised, and heavily politicised in response to the resurgence of far-right sentiment in society. The role of zine making, alongside the aesthetics and ideologies, is explored in its role as a device to strengthen and validate the development of identities in marginalised individuals, with a focus on the youth of Vanguard.

Methodology

This dissertation adopts a qualitative, design-led methodology centred on visual analysis, archival research, and contextual interpretation. Because the central aim of this study is to understand how Vanguard used zine-making as a tool for communication, identity expression, and community organising, the methods prioritise close examination of the visual and material qualities of the publications themselves. The primary purpose of this research is to examine how these zines operated as tools for survival, revolution, and growth for the young queer people involved with the organisation.

The research follows a visual-culture and graphic-design framework, drawing on approaches used in design history, queer studies, and independent publishing research. This allows the Vanguard zines to be treated not only as historical documents but as intentional pieces of graphic communication shaped by the organisation's values, constraints, and surrounding political context. Such an approach supports an understanding of the zines as lived artefacts of resistance and self-determination.

The primary collection examined consists of ten zines produced by Vanguard between 1965 and 1967. These were accessed through archival research in San Francisco, including the San Francisco Public Library (SFPL), and later through digitised materials available via The Transgender Archive. The zines were selected for their relevance to Vanguard's activities, their availability within these collections, and their representation of the organisation's evolving visual and editorial practices.

While similar in overall format, the zines show clear development over time in page count, editorial approach, and production methods. In addition to archival research, contextual understanding of the Tenderloin district was strengthened through on-site visits, including guided tours and independent exploration of the neighbourhood, providing spatial and historical grounding for interpreting the social conditions in which Vanguard operated.

Each zine is examined using a structured visual-analysis framework adapted for graphic-design research. The analysis focuses on format and materiality, typography, layout and composition, colour and reproduction quality, DIY markers, imagery, tone of voice and language use, methods of content gathering, and contextual cues relating to the thematic pillar under examination. This method foregrounds how design decisions communicated identity, urgency, and community values, and how the zines functioned as creative, political, and survival-oriented artefacts for the marginalised community they served.

The visual findings are interpreted through a queer-theoretical lens, drawing on research into DIY and grassroots print culture, community-driven design practices, the politics of visibility, resistance and reclamation, and queer publishing and self-representation. This ensures that the analysis remains attentive to the cultural and political conditions in which Vanguard operated, as well as the lived experiences of the queer youth who created and used these publications as tools for empowerment and collective action.

To contextualise the visual analysis, the study incorporates archival documents relating to Vanguard's activities, secondary literature on zines, queer activism, and graphic-design history, and key writings by Stephen Duncombe and Chris Atton on alternative media and self-publishing. Contemporary podcasts and oral histories discussing the historical context of the Tenderloin and queer organising in the 1960s further situate the zines within Vanguard's broader mission and the wider socio-political landscape of mid-century queer activism.

As a member of the LGBTQ+ community and a researcher with lived experience, the researcher's positionality informs engagement with the material. A reflective practice is therefore integrated throughout the study, recognising how personal investment, community affiliation, and contemporary understandings of queer identity may shape interpretation. This practice is supported by a personal statement included in the dissertation, outlining the researcher's connection to the topic and motivations for undertaking this work.

The study recognises limitations such as the ephemeral and inconsistent nature of zine preservation, gaps in archival records and authorship attribution, the interpretive nature of visual analysis, and the potential absence of contextual information for certain issues. These limitations are addressed through triangulation with secondary sources, careful documentation of analytical decisions, and transparency regarding interpretive boundaries.

0.1 Introducing the Vanguard and Zines

“Vanguard represented an historic step forward for the city’s gay movement. It was also the Tenderloin’s first organizational vehicle for its very low-income residents to work to improve their lives.” (Shaw, R. 2025. p.172)

In August 1966, a wave of resistance erupted into a full-scale riot in San Francisco’s troubled Tenderloin district, the key figures being the gay and transgender youth and locals who were taking a stand against the constant undignified treatment they had been receiving from police and policymakers in the United States. A year previously, the Vanguard organisation had been founded, and while it’s difficult to pinpoint one specific founder, a close representative to that role at the time was Rev. Adrian Ravarour, who led the queer youth of the Tenderloin in weekly meetings, later hosted in a space offered by Glide Memorial Church, where he helped these young people to rally together in an effort to not only make change but also to systematically demand it. In the summer of 1965, Ravarour, alongside his partner, Joel Williams, approached the street youth of the Tenderloin to ask them a simple question. “Are you willing to demonstrate for equal treatment, acceptance and to end discrimination?” (Ravarour, A. 2019. p.2)

During this time, Ravarour’s neighbour, Billy Garrison, discussed the founding of the organisation with him but opposed the idea of protests, citing concerns that they “could trigger [further] oppression”. Two directions were therefore proposed to the youth of Vanguard following their first meeting, where the young people in question chose to follow Ravarour’s plan. A key figure present at the first meeting was Rev. Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church, who offered the use of the church as a venue for “as long as needed” since this was “a population that interested Glide”.

Throughout the following weekly meetings, Ravarour would lead the youth in methods rooted in philosophy and critical thinking, asking leading questions and

using such references as Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Paine's *The Rights of Man*, Jefferson's *The Bill of Rights*, the French and American Revolutions, Gandhi, and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. This enabled the youth and therefore the organisation itself to become something of a civil rights force of its own. At this time, a friend of Ravarour, Dixie Russo, repeated this sentiment of becoming a civil rights organisation with the Transgender youth surrounding Turk and Taylor St (the centre of the Tenderloin).

Over the course of the next ten months, these meetings and lessons for the growth of the young people within Vanguard increased. Celebrations were held for the youth in Glide's basement, such celebrations as holiday dinners. Following the declaration of the Tenderloin as a poverty area, it was decided, through the assistance of Rev. Williams, that Vanguard should apply for a grant. Due to personal conflicts and public image concerns, Ravarour resigned as the leader of Vanguard. In May of 1966, JP Marat was elected president of Vanguard, and under his lead, the organisation grew and broke out into the community of the Tenderloin even further.

In August of 1966, under Marat's leadership, the first issue of Vanguard Magazine, also known as a zine due to its self-publishing and non-mainstream methods, the primary focus of this dissertation, was born (Duncombe, S. 1997). The first issue of this zine saw a variety of topics being discussed, with its contents including subjects such as *Exploitation*, *Citizens Alert*, *Central City: Profile of Despair*, *Employment* and a listing of Clinics and Missions contact details. Within this issue was the inclusion of *Night Songs*, where the youth had participated in adding their creative voices to the publication.

Throughout this dissertation, this sentiment of creativity, one that is not only crucial but typical of zine culture, and therefore its visual culture, will be explored and examined. Furthermore, its intensity and regularity of inclusion grew, but it can also be seen to have given the youth a strong sense of independent autonomy over their lives as the outcasts of society who were shunned in the Tenderloin due to their identities and sexualities. (Rohrer, M & Plaster, J. 2016)

EXPLOITATION

Jean-Paul Merat

YOU, the citizens of the Central City Area are being exploited every minute of every day of your life here in the area.

WHO, you ask, is exploiting us?

MANY OF THE MIDDLE CLASS SMALL BUSINESS MEN THAT HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH MONEY FROM THIS AREA.

TO NAME SOME:

The slim landlord who charges fantastic rents for one room hovels; where the water is neither ever cold nor hot, and where at night, the darkened corners of the hallways conceal a waiting thug ready to relieve you of this month's welfare or Social Security check.

The owner of the grocery store on the corner, whose scale is set to register just enough to make him a good profit but not so much as to make you suspicious, and whose price marker is just unclear enough so that his interpretation is usually a couple of cents higher than what you would have thought.

What about the dope pusher who sells his garbage for unbelievable profits?

Then there is the "upstanding middle-class citizen" who, because of his hypocritical attitude, has caused the the hustlers of the meat rack to sell their bodies to him to make a living because he won't employ them, for various irrational reasons.

The redevelopment of the certain areas in this city is a good idea, but, there are many people who buy these properties at a very low cost and then sell them to the redevelopment agencies at profits beyond imagination.

There are certain churches in the city, that for all of their preach-

If you are involved in or see
police brutality or harassment...

call
776-9669
24 hour assistance

Citizens Alert

The purpose further states, "Recognizing that unequal enforcement of the law, based on income, color, national origin, sexual identification and minority status, exists, Citizens Alert has been formed with the realization that the law enforcement bodies, local and national, need the full cooperation of all citizens to attain the high standards necessary in the rule of law and order."

1. A person dials 776-9669--our 24-hour answering service.
2. The person on duty at the answering service determines the nature of the problem and its seriousness.
3. The call is transferred to one of our volunteers if the need of the caller is immediate. From 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday the calls are handled at our office. At other times we have a staff of volunteers who are available at their home telephones to handle emergencies. If the call is not an emergency the caller is asked to come to our office (or call) during daytime hours.
4. When a volunteer receives a call his initial response is to take down all pertinent information on our "short form." This includes the caller's name, address, home and/or other phone numbers, where (or if) he is being held, if he expects to be moved and, if so, when and to where, if he wants us to contact a bail bondsman, attorney or some other person for him. The volunteer also asks if the person is injured and, if so, what are the nature and extent of the injuries.
5. The volunteer then reassures the caller that Citizens Alert will assist him, and ends the conversation.
6. Immediate steps are taken by the volunteer to provide assistance.



CENTRAL CITY: PROFILE OF DESPAIR

AS THE WALKER SURVEYS THE SKID ROAD DERELICTS ON 4th ST., OR THE HUSTLERS ALONG THE MEAT RACK ON MARKET, HE IS STRUCK BY THE SIMILARITIES OF THE PEOPLE LINGERING THERE, IN THE YOUTH AND AGED ALIKE, YOU CAN READ A TERRIBLE LONELINESS, A SENSE OF FUTILITY, ENDLESS BOREDOM, AND THE ENMITY OF A-WAITING FOR THE NEXT HAPPENING. SOMEHOW IT IS ALMOST LIKE A SUSPENSION OF CARING FOR SELF OR OTHERS.

PERHAPS THIS IS TRUE. PERHAPS THIS IS THE SORT OF THING THAT SOCIETY WANTS TO BE TRUE IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN IT'S SMOG SELF ASSURANCE THAT IT IS LIVING BETTER THAN THEY ARE. SOMEHOW, EVEN WITH THE WORST THAT WE CAN FIND IN THE SITUATIONS HERE, THERE IS A NIGGLING DOUBT THAT PERHAPS HERE TOO, HUMAN BEINGS ARE WORKING OUT THE RIDDLES OF PERSONAL EXISTANCE, IN WAYS THAT OFTEN SHOCK YET STILL RETAIN A FLAVOR OF COMMITMENT. AFTER ALL, IS THE DEDICATION OF THE WIND IN PURSUIT OF HIS NEXT BOTTLE SO UNLIKE THE STRUGGLE OF THE MONTGOMERY STREET BUSINESSMAN FOR AN EVEN GREATER SHARE IN THE "BUCK" OR THE POWER OF MONEY TRANSACTIONS. IN THE LEAST, ALL THE WIND DESTROYS IS HIMSELF, WHILE THE BUSINESSMAN, THROUGH THE PHILOSOPHY AND METHODS HE EMPLOYS, TAINT AN ENTIRE GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE WITH A SLAVISH MEMORACY TO THE LOWEST DENOMINATOR IN PUBLIC OPINION. DOES THE HUSTLER DAMAGE ANYONE BUT HIMSELF? IS HIS POVERTY OF SPIRIT LESS THAN THOSE MIDDLE-CLASS WRITERS IN CHICAGO WHO CHANT "WHITE POWER" IN THE FACE OF ORDERLY CHALLENGERS TO THEIR SECURITY BY THE LONG SUPPRESSED "BLACKS," WHO ARE THE REAL DERELICTS OF THIS SOCIETY? IS IT THE HIPPIY "MATTIN" HIGH ON DOPE SITTING IN SOME JOINT HAPPY WITH HIS VISIONS? OR IS IT THE SWEET, MIDDLE-CLASS BOYS WHO, WITHOUT A MURDER, GO TO WAR, PAY TAXES, GET JOBS, RAISE KIDS, POLLUTE THE AIR, SUSPECT ANY AND ALL PROTESTS OF BEING COMMUNIST INSPIRED, DON'T VOTE, AND DAMN IT, JUST GENERALLY DON'T CARE ABOUT NOTHIN' NOWHO THAT DOESN'T IMMEDIATELY AFFECT THEIR POCKET. THANK GOD FOR THE MIDDIES, THEY DO EXACTLY WHAT THEY ARE TOLD, IN JIG-TIME.

PERHAPS THE BIG HEAST IN ALL THIS IS THAT IN GENERAL, THE OUTCASTS OF THE CENTRAL CITY TEND TO HURT NO ONE BUT THEMSELVES. THE OTHERS MANAGE THROUGH PERSEVERANCE, DEDICATION, FAITH, SOLIDARITY, AND SELFMANSHIP TO HURT ALMOST EVERYONE ELSE THAT THEY TOUCH: THE NEGRO, THE POOR, THE QUEERS, THE OUTCASTS, ALL THAT THEIR SANCTIMONIOUS RELIGION TRAMPLES ON, ALL THAT THEIR GREEN GREASES UP FOR QUICK SALE. LET'S START ASKING THE RIGHT QUESTIONS OF THE RIGHT PEOPLE BY EXAMINING THEIR BELIEFS AND ACTIONS.

MARK FORRESTER
LAY ASSISTANT

1. Employment
A. Recruitment
1) Standards for Selection

Each grantee and delegate agency is expected to employ only capable and responsible personnel who are of good character and reputation.

Manifestations of disloyalty to the United States, membership in subversive organizations or lack of sympathy with the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act, is inconsistent with employment in a community action program.

Recent conviction of a crime involving moral turpitude shall be considered a strong evidence as failure to meet these standards.

- 3) Prohibition against partisan political activity

Employment in a community action program may not be offered as a consideration or reward for political support of any political party or candidate for public office, nor may any person, as an employee, engage in partisan political activity.

Sec. B No. 3

Salary increase for new employees

The action of a grantee or delegate agency in giving salary increases to individuals joining the staff of the agency will be subject to review by OEO. All which increases must be determined by the employee's qualifications for the position with the salary schedule in accord with the salary schedule established by the agency. In no event may an individual receive an increase that exceeds 20% of his previous salary of \$2,500.00, whichever is smaller, without the specific approval of the OEO, Regional Office.

DECISION MAKING NOTES:

Mem. 24

Membership in subversive organizations, or lack of sympathy with the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended, are inconsistent with membership on the governing bodies and policy advisory committees of community action agencies or single purpose agencies financed under Title II-A of the Act.

Moreover, all members of such bodies and committees shall be persons of good character; recent conviction of a crime involving moral turpitude shall be considered strong evidence of failure to meet this standard.

Prepared by
John J. Colvin
Vice Pres. VANGUARD

Fig. 1 Vanguard Magazine. Vol 1, No. 1. August 1966. Various pages: Exploitation, Citizens Alert,

Central City: Profile of Despair and Employment list

LISTING OF CLINICS AND MISSIONS

CLINICS FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT:

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DAYS</u>	<u>TIME</u>
Canon Kip Community House 8th & Natoma Streets Between Howard & Mission	Monday thru Friday	8:30 A.M. - 11:30 A.M.
San Francisco City Clinic 33 Hunt Street Between Howard & Mission Venereal Disease Clinic Free	Monday & Thursday Tues. Wed. & Fri.	9:30 A.M. - 6:00 P.M. 8:00 A.M. - 4:00 P.M.
Dr. Joel Fort (Special Problems Clinic) 2107 Van Ness & Pacific	Monday & Thursday Tues. Wed. & Fri.	8:00 A.M. - 9:00 P.M. 8:00 A.M. - 5:00 P.M.

MISSIONS FOR MEALS:

Salvation Army (Harbor Light) 240 4th Street	Monday thru Sunday	7:00 P.M. Weekdays 11:00 A.M. Sunday
Lifeline Mission (Breakfast) 306 Minna Street	Monday thru Sunday	8:00 A.M.
St. Anthony's West side of Jones Street St. Boniface Church	Monday thru Saturday	11:00 A.M. - 12:30 P.M.
Cedars of Lebanon 1042 Howard	Monday thru Friday Sunday	1:00 P.M. 1:00 P.M.
Volunteers of America 266 6th Street Between Howard & Folsom	Wed. Fri. & Sun.	8:00 P.M.
Anchor Rescue Mission 1255 McAllister (Clothing also)	Sunday thru Friday	7:00 P.M.

BARBER COLLEGES FOR FREE HAIRCUTS: Monday thru Saturday

4th Street at Natoma
6th Street at Natoma
55 6th Street near Market

OTHER SERVICES:

S.F. Suicide Prevention Inc.	24 hr. call service	221-1424
Travelers Aid Society of S.F.	630 Sutter	
Vanguard Inc.	330 Ellis	771-6300 ext. 19

Fig. 2 *Vanguard Magazine*. Listing of Clinics and Missions Vol 1, No. 1. August 1966.



THE HUSTLER

I sell my love for dollars,
If you can spare the time,
A hug is but a nickle
A kiss is but a dime.

I'll go to bed for twenty,
All night for just ten more.
Now don't get the idea
That I am just a whore.

For if I didn't sell my love,
Where else would it go?
I have no one to give it to;
No one who'd care to know.

So, open up your wallet
and show me what you've got,
And whether I should love you
A little or a lot.

ANONYMOUS (This was sent to
the VANGUARD office with no
name or return address)

NIGHT



THE FAIRYTALE BALLAD
of
KATY THE QUEEN

She's a Queen, oh Mary,
and you know it.
She's a Queen, my luv,
and she shows it.
She thinks she looks
and acts so fair,
But she's only a fake
and we know it!

She can swing her hips
like a lady,
And her violet eyes are
the right shady.
Her blouse and her pants
are so tight,
And she breaks her wrist
just right.
BUT, her real name's
Calvin, not Katy.

She swishes down Turk
so very femme,
With bracelets jangling,
she shrieks at Jim.
She plays and lisps and
carries on like a tease.
When it comes to the thing
she'll up and freeze.
'Cause she's a her, not a
him.

So here is what happened
to Katy the Queen"
She came on too loud on
the Market St. scene;
She blew her mind, and
the Vice's too
'Cause Katy in drag is not
too cool
Now she keeps the Fuzz
happy
And the Gay Tank clean.

MISS SHARI KENYON

S
O
N
G
S

Fig. 3 Vanguard Magazine. Night Songs Vol 1, No. 1. August 1966.



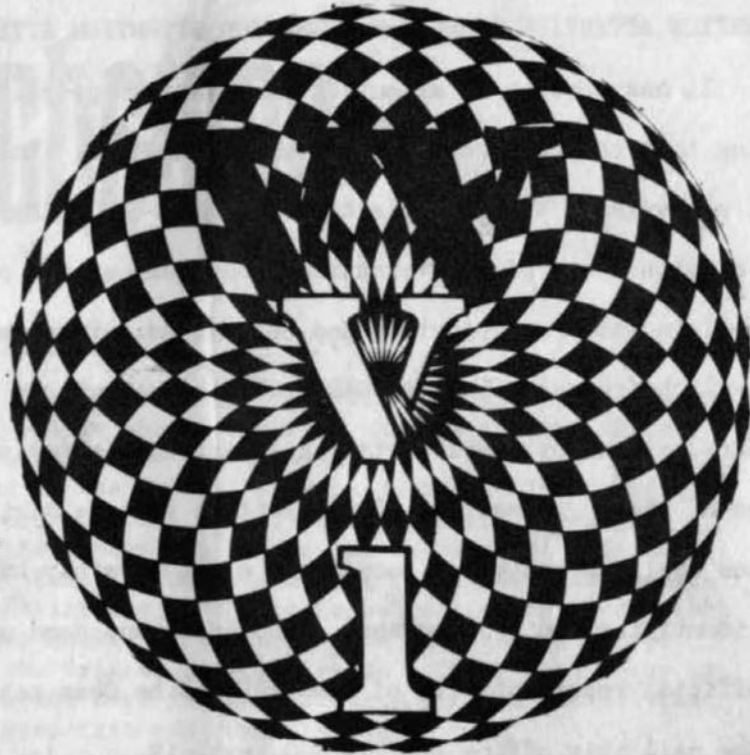
Fig. 4 Compton's Cafeteria, Turk and Taylor St, the Tenderloin, San Francisco 2025

The cover of the first issue of *Vanguard Magazine* was non-traditional compared to later publications that are examined in this dissertation. Instead of using the cover page to draw the audience's eye with intrigue, it's used as a page to be read, unconventional when compared to the organisations subsequent issues covers, which saw only illustrated covers with little or no text involved, a decision that was intentionally assertive in how it introduced the zine to the wider community but possibly a cost-saving measure as this was only the organisation's first publication into unchartered territory, somewhat a declaration of authority and self. It prints the Statement of Purpose, seen in Fig. 5, that the organisation ran by, which changed marginally over time, in what can be assumed to be in keeping with current events and wider context of the time. These changes to the Statement of Purpose will become clearer throughout the paper. From the outset, however, the Statement of Purpose can be seen to be at the heart of Vanguard until its closure in 1967.

"VANGUARD is an organisation for the youth in the Tenderloin attempting to get for its citizens a sense of dignity and responsibility to [sic] long denied. We of VANGUARD find our civil liberties imperiled [sic] by a hostile social order in which all difference from the usual in behaviour is attacked. We find our rights as human beings scorned and ridiculed. We are forced to accept an unwarranted guilt which is more the product of "societies" hypocrisy [sic] than scientific fact. We have finally realized that we can only change these processes through the strength we develop for ourselves through our own efforts. VANGUARD IS DETERMINED TO CHANGE THESE CONDITIONS THROUGH ORGANIZATION AND ACTION." (as illustrated in Vanguard Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1)

Inside the first two pages, as illustrated in Fig. 6, the organisation lays the groundwork for the publication, and its production remained quite comparable for the subsequent publications. A letter from the president, JP Marat (Vanguard Magazine, Vol. 1, No 1) highlights an issue arising locally where non-Vanguard members were acting under false pretences as members, for reasons that remain unclear. This action in the community led to Marat deeming it necessary for each official member to carry a letter on official stationery for any intended outreach or community work (Ravarour. 2019).

[1966]



Statement of Purpose
for
VANGUARD

VANGUARD is an organization for the youth in the Tenderloin attempting to get for its citizens a sense of dignity and responsibility to long denied.

We of VANGUARD find our civil liberties imperiled by a hostile social order in which all difference from the usual in behavior is attacked. We find our rights as human beings scorned and ridiculed. We are forced to accept an unwarranted guilt which is more the product of "societies'" hypocrisy than scientific fact.

We have finally realized that we can only change these processes through the strength we develop for ourselves through our own efforts. VANGUARD IS DETERMINED TO CHANGE THESE CONDITIONS THROUGH ORGANIZATION AND ACTION.

Fig. 5 *Vanguard Magazine*. Cover page Vol 1, No. 1 August 1966

Touchstone covers the departure of Rev. Hansen from the Tenderloin, noting the work he carried out for the community, but specifically in relation to the Vanguard. This first issue acted as an impromptu newsletter, having been in operation for ten months within the locality, it could be assumed this was a self-serving, official introduction to the neighbourhood (although it remains unclear how it was distributed) and a way to quickly spread further awareness of the problematic areas that Vanguard youth intended to face and therefore challenge. In later pages, Marat has a strong influence on the content, with much of the work in this first issue being self-written by Marat, unlike later publications of Vanguard. It is also important to note where the use of repurposed mainstream media was not commonly included in the creation of Vanguard Magazine, unlike what is 'typical' practice in many underground counterculture self-publications (Duncombe, S. 1997).

0.2 Materiality of Vanguard Zines

The zines of Vanguard were inconsistent in many ways, in terms of editorial layouts and content, but this is part of what made them authentic, real and centred around the people who they were by and for. The consistency with the Vanguard zines can be seen in terms of production, however, always in a B5 format and, in the majority of cases, on a light paper stock, very simply stapled together in the middle. This meant that production costs were low, with single issues being sold for just 35 cents and annual subscriptions being \$3 for members, \$6 for non-members (Kato-Kiryama, T. 2023).

Editor, Keith St Clare, in an interview with Joey Plaster, noted how he would put the magazines together in a small office on the top floor above a porn theatre. To have submissions sent in, rather than simply relying on word of mouth, St Clare would post signs in local Tenderloin laundromats to ask the local youth for their submissions of art, poetry, literature and what they would like to have included in the issues, truly creating a third space that was for the youth but also dictated by them, giving their voice a platform and potentially an archive for the future of similar movements surrounding equal rights. Megan Rohrer explained in the podcast 'Periodically Queer' "It gives someone permission to feel like maybe their poem will be read by someone, you know, 60 years into the future. And maybe their story, if it's a part of a continued movement, means more than if it's just their story" (K, T. 2023).

ATTENTION ATTENTION ATTENTION ATTENTION ATTENTION ATTENTION ATTENTION ATTENTION

It has come to my attention that various people are going around and saying that they are representatives of VANGUARD. This is all well and good, but, a couple of these people have used the VANGUARD name in such a way as to cause quite a bit of consternation among some of the people outside of the Tenderloin who are supporting and helping us. From now on, any and all people who will be representing VANGUARD, will be carrying a letter on official stationery, signed by myself, stating their function(s) as official representatives of the organization. These letters will be limited to the various committee chairmen and other people who might possibly have a constructive need for identification of this sort. Should anyone come up to you and say he is an official representative of VANGUARD and he does not show you a letter, please call this office at 771-6300, ext. 19.

Jean-Paul Marat

ten days in august
4th national convention of the daughters of billie, inc.
consultation on theology and the homosexual
national planning conference exact, san francisco will act as host to the thirty or more homophile organizations flocking here from all over the nation for this second such conclave. vanguard is sending two voting delegates to the conference. the next issue of the vanguard newspaper will contain a complete summary of everything that happened at the convention.
for ten days in august, from the 19th to the 28th to be exact, san francisco will act as host to the thirty or more homophile organizations flocking here from all over the nation for this second such conclave. vanguard is sending two voting delegates to the conference. the next issue of the vanguard newspaper will contain a complete summary of everything that happened at the convention.

The Touchstone

REV. HANSEN LEAVES

Once in a while a certain breed of minister arrives on the scene and brings about some real changes for the better. Such a man was Rev. Edward Hansen. He arrived in the Central City in August of 1965, and got about a work that has had fantastic repercussions. Where in the Tenderloin there was nothing but "business as usual," today we have VANGUARD, The Tenderloin committee, Lay Assistants, and soon to be realized projects such as a coffee house, a residence club and other services. Where in the Central City there was nothing but "decay as usual," we now have the Anti-Poverty program and all the possible good that can come from it. In all of this, Rev. Hansen played a very important part. But most of all, it was the way he cared about other human beings that counted. That was what he felt his real ministry to be. And it was. What Rev. Hansen began must now be continued without him. The "Hansen House" will have to be funded, VANGUARD, and its members will have to face up to the issues affecting the T.L. The Poverty Program will have to serve the poor, and it is the poor who will have to insist on this. As you may already know Rev. Hansen left to return to school in southern California. I think that I can safely say that during the time that he was here, Rev. Hansen became a legend in the Tenderloin. Without him and his help, many of us would not know who, why, or what we are. In his work in the Tenderloin, Ed came up against many obstacles, but never once did he turn back. I'm sure that he would like to hear from any and all of you that would like to write, so here is his new address:

REV. EDWARD HANSEN
1401 N. CALLEGE AVE.
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA
JEAN-PAUL MARAT Pres. VANGUARD
MARK FORESTER Lay Assistant

Fig. 6 Vanguard Magazine. Spread featuring President, JP Marat's Letter and The Touchstone Volume 1, No. 1. August 1966

The illustrations and art seen within the Vanguard zines were unique to each issue and from the very youth of the Tenderloin. But on rare occasions, mainstream media cartoons would find themselves repurposed and placed within the pages as ironic additions to the writing they accompanied. Each issue of Vanguard zine was also accompanied by a statement of purpose, some similar to that of the first issue, but each would bring into conversation just how aware this organisation was of the issues that they were fighting against at any given time (K, T. 2023).

Chapter 1: Zines as a Tool of Survival

1.1 Safe Haven of Vices

According to both Stryker and Shaw, the Tenderloin has always been a place of vice yet also community (Stryker. 2017. p.87 and Shaw. 2025, pp. 21-27). Even today, on tours of the district, tour guides greet everyone they meet along the way with a good morning and joyful conversation. Despite the fact that they don't know everyone, there is still a sense of community in how everyone responded to one another. This area is one that has a large demographic of people experiencing homelessness, but against the backdrop of hard times, these people have found a way to live in communities along the streets, forming bonds that are visible in everyday exchanges and small acts of kindness.

Shaw captures the spirit of the Tenderloin quite well when he describes "A community associated with illegal vice, yet one with an important legacy of supporting marginalized groups challenging establishment values." (Shaw, 2025. p.11). It is a neighbourhood that is actively advised against visiting for tourists and doesn't appear in any tourist information. But in this, tourists, and people generally, "miss seeing a community that is a reminder of the working-class, low-income neighbourhoods of San Francisco's past." (Shaw, 2025, p. 21). The absence of the Tenderloin from glossy brochures and official guides highlights how the district is deliberately hidden from mainstream narratives, yet its existence is a living testimony to resilience, survival, and solidarity among those who have been excluded elsewhere.

In her contextualisation of the Tenderloin, Stryker states that in most dictionaries you'll find its slang term to mean "an inner-city 'vice' district controlled

by corrupt police officers.” (Stryker, 2017. p. 87). She explains how the Tenderloin of San Francisco didn’t develop the same as other large cities in the United States did. As other cities developed, naturally, neighbourhoods where certain activities would not be tolerated, such as prostitution, gambling, selling and consuming criminalised drugs and sexually explicit entertainment, formed. Most of the time, police would turn a blind eye for purposes of personal financial gain; however, when local religious or civic groups created enough commotion surrounding the issues being let slide, the police would carry out “sweeps” as they did in the Tenderloin and arrest locals taking part in these illicit activities. This was later seen to inspire a parody of these events to be carried out by the youth of Vanguard, who mocked the police force and highlighted that the real issue was not them, the young people, but the establishment and, by association, the police force and their actions against the LGBTQ+ community of the Tenderloin (Stryker. 2017).

Individual self-expression without judgment was a by-product of the permissive and sometimes illicit atmosphere of the Tenderloin. People who had been shunned, ignored, disowned and ostracised by family, friends and society could form a new community with people experiencing similar situations. If the neighbourhood itself wasn’t stopping “illegal” activities, they likely would not care much more about LGBTQ+ youth claiming this corner of San Francisco as their own. In this way, the Tenderloin became not only a district of vice but also a sanctuary, a rare urban space where marginalised voices could be heard, identities could be lived openly, and solidarity could flourish despite the hardships surrounding them.

In fact, activism by the marginalised is deeply rooted in the community of the Tenderloin. After an earthquake and fire in 1906 that destroyed the district, sparing the Hibernia Bank, the city rebuilt quickly, with most of the single-room-occupancy hotels (locally referred to as SROs) and brothels contained in the Tenderloin. By 1917, three hundred sex workers arrived in front of Rev. Paul Smith’s, Central Methodist Episcopal Church, at the intersection of Leavenworth and O’Farrell streets (Dowd, Katie. 2021). This was in response to comments that Rev. Smith had made about the women, stating that they were “poor deluded women” who should seek genuine employment, and that asking just \$10 per week would be fine (Old Pros, 2021). Outside the church, Madam Reggie Gamble spoke of the treatment of women in the city and how many single mothers she employed at the brothel wouldn’t be able to survive on less than \$25 per week (Bailey, Kaytlin. 2022).

This was real activism from another community within the Tenderloin that most of society at the time wished to abandon, who they deemed to be outcasts or misfits. As activism within the district grew, they continued to act in the way of Reggie Gamble, passionate, loud and fearless, even going as far as confronting religious leaders and politicians throughout San Francisco.

The Tenderloin may not be somewhere tourists are directed to, but it is still home to families. But due to the rebuilding of the city in the 20th century, many SROs are still standing, forcing families to live in a home designed for a single person. ABC7 News' Paul Matier interviewed Executive Director of the Tenderloin Museum, Katie Conry, to discuss why this district of the city was designed 100 years ago as "a containment zone for the city's vice" (Matier, P and Miguel, K. 2022). Conry describes the Tenderloin as historically focusing on "having a high density of affordable housing." Most notably in her description of the Tenderloin, she points out the safety aspect of the district, "a safe haven throughout its history to people that don't quite fit into society's mainstream." The 1906 destruction and its subsequent rebuild can, in some ways, be seen to have had an impact on the growth of 'seedy entertainment'. Conry states how the prohibition pushed nightlife underground following the rise in SROs becoming occupied by single men and women. This led to an environment that saw women who were working, living alone and totally independent, going to bars "accompanied by men, and that was socially radical at the time." Between this lowering of inhibitions and the prohibition forcing new spaces to evolve, albeit illegally, "everything was more permissible again" (Matier and Miguel. 2022). In over 100 years, the Tenderloin hasn't changed drastically; instead, it has resisted through activism and welcomed society's 'misfits.'

1.2 Differences in Survival: Tenderloin VS New York City

"The 1950s ushered in a period of conservatism and growing cultural attention to homosexuality. McCarthyism unleashed a government-sponsored witch hunt against communists, leftists and inspired a widespread campaign known as 'the Lavender [sic] Scare' to remove gays and lesbians from government occupations" (O'Brien, K. 2019).

The period of political repression described above created a climate of fear for LGBTQ+ people across the United States. Employment discrimination, surveillance, and public stigma were rampant, and individuals who openly identified as gay or

lesbian risked losing their livelihoods, facing social ostracism, and, in some cases, imprisonment. The Lavender Scare in particular targeted LGBTQ+ individuals within the federal government, conflating homosexuality with disloyalty and moral deviance (Blumenfeld, W. J. 2006). This context helps explain why early LGBTQ+ activism was both necessary and dangerous, shaping the forms and strategies that queer communities adopted to survive and resist.

In June of 1969, the Stonewall Inn saw some 400 people join ranks to protest and riot against police and establishment oppression of the gay community, with those present including prominent figure, Marsha P. Johnson. This event has become widely recognised as a catalyst for the modern LGBTQ+ rights movement, inspiring new forms of activism, advocacy, and visibility (Duberman, M. B. 2019).

However, two years previously, on an undocumented date in August 1967 on the West Coast, a similar, although smaller, equal rights protest/riot took place at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco's Tenderloin district. While these two events are similar in a variety of ways, there was a stark contrast between them in terms of scale, impact and the socio-cultural context in which they occurred.

Stonewall is known as a turning point, globally, for the transformation of equal rights of LGBTQ+ people and is celebrated by annual pride events during the month of June. The riot at Stonewall was highly visible, drawing national and eventually international attention. It was catalysed by decades of repression, yet benefited from a unique convergence of urban density, a developing queer press, and emerging networks of LGBTQ+ organisations. But Stonewall wasn't the first step. It was built on a legacy of change that had started in various US locations over the course of the 20th century. Earlier protests, such as Compton's, although smaller and less widely recognised, illustrate the foundational struggles of LGBTQ+ communities, particularly on the West Coast, and demonstrate that the fight for equality was not localised to New York City alone.

On comparison of the events at Compton's Cafeteria and The Stonewall Inn, there is a clear point of difference between the East and the West Coast of America. Manhattan and San Francisco developed very differently in terms of population, urban planning, and the social dynamics of their queer communities. According to the census data available from the beginning of the 1960s in both Manhattan and the Tenderloin, the population of these two areas was drastically different.



Fig. 7 *Vanguard Magazine*. Street Sweep. Volume 1, No. 2. October 1966

The US Bureau of the Census data shows that the population of San Francisco in the 1960 census was 740'316, whereas the census of New York City and specifically the borough of Manhattan was a staggering 1'698'281, with the total for all five boroughs (Manhattan, Queens, Brooklyn, Bronx and Staten Island) being 7'781'984 (Bureau, 1961). This difference in population can be seen to have increased the odds of the LGBTQ+ demographic percentage being larger, indeed, for those identifying publicly and privately at the time. The sheer scale of New York City, its dense immigrant populations, and varied neighbourhoods allowed queer individuals to find pockets of anonymity and support in ways that were less feasible in a smaller city like San Francisco.

A difference in scale like this would've led to certain strength in numbers, as living in a population of this size affords individuals a level of anonymity. This anonymity was crucial for survival, enabling LGBTQ+ individuals to form social and political networks while reducing the risk of constant scrutiny and persecution, affording citizens who were discriminated against better opportunities for privacy and personal autonomy. Living in a population of close to a million fewer people would restrict such an opportunity and leave individuals open to more scrutiny in their locality. Boiling this down further to the small district of the Tenderloin, which is only a 31 square blocks in total, bounded by Mason, Geary, McAllister St. and buildings just east of Polk, where many of those in the Vanguard and even outside of this organisation but living in the LGBTQ+ community were shunned to, it could be seen how a microscope could be placed on them, most notably by law enforcement. The compactness of the Tenderloin meant that queer spaces were more easily policed and monitored, making public organisation or even casual socialisation a riskier endeavour.

D'Emilio argues that it was primarily through the growth and development of capitalism in the 20th Century and the subsequent development of large urban centres, and the effect of transformation that this had on social life, that the conditions, primarily material, for the development of LGBTQ+ identities and therefore communities became possible (D'Emilio, J. 1983, pp. 100–111). "It has made possible the formation of urban communities of lesbians and gay men and, more recently, of a politics based on sexual identity." (1983, p. 104). Large urban centres like Manhattan provided spaces where queer individuals could congregate, form social circles, and even establish business or cultural venues without immediate interference from local authorities. The growth in the environment that large cities

allowed gave rise to LGBTQ+ community development, where shared interests and lived experiences could come together. In contrast, the smaller, highly surveilled Tenderloin made development of a cohesive LGBTQ+ community far more challenging.

He also argues in relation to the change in attitudes between the 18th and 20th centuries that depriving the “household of its economic independence” and promoting the detachment of sexuality from procreation, capitalism therefore induced circumstances that allowed some men and women to organise a “personal life around their erotic/emotional attraction to their own sex.” This economic and social independence created the material and cultural conditions for the growth of LGBTQ+ identities, which were essential for political organisation, media visibility, and the eventual emergence of formal rights movements.

As one study of New York City’s gay press notes, “Increased sexual openness during the 1960s created media space where gay periodicals could thrive” noting how “The explosive post Stonewall expansion of the gay press was only possible because of, and largely arose from, the pre-Stonewall magazines” indicating that by mid 1960s NYC had begun to support more visible outlets for LGBTQ+ individuals (Miller, B. 2013 p.54). These publications allowed LGBTQ+ people to access information, share personal narratives, and organise politically. Young activists in New York also formed one of the earliest school-based LGBTQ+ groups, demonstrating the growing infrastructure for youth-led activism and community support (Johnson, D. 2007). These developments indicate that New York’s LGBTQ+ community, while still marginalised, had begun to carve out spaces for both visibility and collective action.

By contrast, in San Francisco, the situation was markedly different. Smith observes that “San Francisco gay bars experienced many barriers to public organization of gay men and lesbians...the city saw waves of police crackdowns on queer public spaces” (Smith. T, 2020. p. 2). Whereas, Reithmayr’s article’s description of a “bifurcated early history” in San Francisco suggests that its gay community did not develop as a single, unified entity even in its early years (Reithmayr, M. 2025, p. 1-21). This fragmentation limited the ability of individuals and organisations to build sustained campaigns for rights or broader community cohesion. Unlike New York, where collective networks, youth activism, and visible media channels contributed to community resilience, San Francisco’s LGBTQ+ population had to navigate a more precarious and surveilled urban landscape.

POPULATION OF WARDS IN CITIES OF 10,000 OR MORE, BY STATES: 1960--Con.

State, city, and ward	Population	State, city, and ward	Population	State, city, and ward	Population	State, city, and ward	Population
CALIFORNIA--Con.		CONNECTICUT--Con.		CONNECTICUT--Con.		FLORIDA--Con.	
San Francisco.....	740,316	Meriden.....	51,850	Stamford--Con.		Jacksonville.....	201,030
Assembly dist. 19..	130,699	Ward 1.....	2,867	Ward 10.....	5,765	Ward 1.....	13,310
Assembly dist. 20..	120,431	Ward 2.....	9,562	Ward 11.....	2,062	Ward 2.....	16,021
Assembly dist. 21..	115,852	Ward 3.....	13,308	Ward 12.....	3,773	Ward 3.....	32,797
Assembly dist. 22..	128,820	Ward 4.....	10,661	Ward 13.....	3,705	Ward 4.....	23,688
Assembly dist. 23..	139,904	Ward 5.....	15,452	Ward 14.....	3,591	Ward 5.....	40,003
Assembly dist. 24..	104,610	Naugatuck.....	19,511	Ward 15.....	3,235	Ward 6.....	17,267
Santa Fe Springs.....	16,342	Ward 1.....	6,029	Ward 16.....	8,068	Ward 7.....	26,357
Ward 1.....	4,526	Ward 2.....	5,421	Ward 17.....	7,149	Ward 8.....	16,528
Ward 2.....	4,794	Ward 3.....	7,261	Ward 18.....	10,664	Ward 9.....	15,099
Ward 3.....	4,171	New Britain.....	82,201	Ward 19.....	1,925		
Ward 4.....	507	Ward 1.....	4,496	Ward 20.....	4,581	Lakeland.....	41,350
Ward 5.....	2,344	Ward 2.....	4,661	Waterbury.....	107,130	Ward 10.....	14,120
COLORADO		Ward 3.....	4,462	Ward 1.....	20,523	Ward 25.....	9,205
Aurora.....	48,548	Ward 4.....	5,027	Ward 2.....	23,735	Ward 37.....	6,126
Ward 1.....	16,793	Ward 5.....	5,556	Ward 3.....	24,004	Ward 43.....	13,899
Ward 2.....	12,283	Ward 6.....	3,415	Ward 4.....	16,324	Lake Worth.....	20,758
Ward 3.....	8,600	Ward 7.....	5,832	Ward 5.....	22,544	Ward 1.....	6,367
Ward 4.....	10,872	Ward 8.....	4,506	Williamantia.....	13,881	Ward 2.....	5,122
Englewood.....	33,398	Ward 9.....	5,445	Ward 1.....	4,296	Ward 3.....	5,744
Ward 1.....	7,721	Ward 10.....	5,994	Ward 2.....	4,160	Ward 4.....	3,525
Ward 2.....	6,846	Ward 11.....	6,595	Ward 3.....	2,676	Orlando.....	88,135
Ward 3.....	5,005	Ward 12.....	7,122	Ward 4.....	2,749	Ward 1.....	21,627
Ward 4.....	9,826	Ward 13.....	6,470	DELAWARE		Ward 2.....	22,342
Greenlee.....	26,314	Ward 14.....	7,387	Wilmington.....	95,827	Ward 3.....	21,987
Ward 1.....	10,695	Ward 15.....	5,233	Ward 1.....	1,480	Ward 4.....	21,979
Ward 2.....	9,836	New Haven.....	152,048	Ward 2.....	4,497	Panama City.....	33,275
Ward 3.....	5,783	Ward 1.....	4,722	Ward 3.....	3,510	Ward 1.....	6,021
Littleton.....	13,670	Ward 2.....	2,461	Ward 4.....	4,644	Ward 2.....	10,320
Ward 1.....	4,863	Ward 3.....	4,576	Ward 5.....	2,341	Ward 3.....	10,062
Ward 2.....	4,534	Ward 4.....	4,644	Ward 6.....	5,817	Ward 4.....	6,872
Ward 3.....	4,273	Ward 5.....	2,341	Ward 7.....	2,760	Pensacola.....	56,752
Longmont.....	11,489	Ward 6.....	5,817	Ward 8.....	14,538	Ward 1.....	13,537
Ward 1.....	3,615	Ward 7.....	4,006	Ward 9.....	5,577	Ward 2.....	15,884
Ward 2.....	5,924	Ward 8.....	4,238	Ward 10.....	27,218	Ward 3.....	8,527
Ward 3.....	1,950	Ward 9.....	3,736	Ward 11.....	5,079	Ward 4.....	9,558
Sterling.....	10,751	Ward 10.....	1,858	Ward 12.....	9,190	Ward 5.....	9,246
Ward 1.....	3,199	Ward 11.....	3,917	DIST. OF COLUMBIA		St. Augustine.....	14,734
Ward 2.....	4,638	Ward 12.....	5,475	Washington.....	763,956	Ward 1.....	3,832
Ward 3.....	2,914	Ward 13.....	3,513	Ward 1.....	10,682	Ward 2.....	409
Thornton.....	11,353	Ward 14.....	3,386	Ward 2.....	45,061	Ward 3.....	847
Ward 1.....	2,580	Ward 15.....	3,626	Ward 3.....	33,940	Ward 4.....	2,255
Ward 2.....	2,816	Ward 16.....	4,748	Ward 4.....	7,480	Ward 5.....	1,510
Ward 3.....	2,883	Ward 17.....	5,384	Ward 5.....	45,222	Ward 6.....	3,521
Ward 4.....	3,074	Ward 18.....	4,355	Ward 6.....	65,156	Ward 7.....	2,360
Trinidad.....	10,691	Ward 19.....	5,048	Ward 7.....	32,664	GEORGIA	
Ward 1.....	1,554	Ward 20.....	3,974	Ward 8.....	63,629	Albany.....	55,890
Ward 2.....	953	Ward 21.....	3,460	Ward 9.....	82,256	Ward 1.....	10,545
Ward 3.....	3,393	Ward 22.....	3,974	Ward 10.....	79,118	Ward 2.....	20,607
Ward 4.....	2,722	Ward 23.....	4,504	Ward 11.....	102,939	Ward 3.....	12,260
Ward 5.....	2,069	Ward 24.....	4,867	Ward 12.....	63,497	Ward 4.....	6,807
CONNECTICUT		Ward 25.....	6,101	Ward 13.....	51,838	Ward 5.....	5,671
Ansonia.....	19,819	Ward 26.....	3,239	Ward 14.....	80,474	Athens.....	31,355
Ward 1.....	3,738	Ward 27.....	4,582	FLORIDA		Ward 1.....	5,484
Ward 2.....	4,290	Ward 28.....	5,627	Bradenton.....	19,380	Ward 2.....	6,549
Ward 3.....	5,344	Ward 29.....	11,163	Ward 1.....	6,485	Ward 3.....	10,377
Ward 4.....	3,276	Ward 30.....	7,573	Ward 2.....	1,256	Ward 4.....	3,540
Ward 5.....	3,171	Ward 31.....	5,671	Ward 3.....	5,954	Ward 5.....	5,405
Danbury.....	22,928	Ward 32.....	5,914	Ward 4.....	2,055	Atlanta.....	487,455
Ward 1.....	6,545	Ward 33.....	3,548	Ward 5.....	3,630	Ward 1.....	76,924
Ward 2.....	4,821	Norwalk.....	67,775	De Land.....	10,775	Ward 2.....	39,564
Ward 3.....	6,251	Ward 1.....	11,308	Ward 1.....	3,386	Ward 3.....	100,566
Ward 4.....	5,311	Ward 2.....	12,537	Ward 2.....	1,297	Ward 4.....	71,205
Derby.....	12,132	Ward 3.....	6,967	Ward 3.....	2,985	Ward 5.....	55,544
Ward 1.....	2,712	Ward 4.....	27,919	Ward 4.....	3,107	Ward 6.....	57,969
Ward 2.....	4,578	Ward 5.....	9,044	Delray Beach.....	12,230	Ward 7.....	64,886
Ward 3.....	4,842	Shelton.....	18,190	Ward 1.....	812	Ward 8.....	20,797
		Ward 1.....	4,978	Ward 2.....	11,418	Augusta.....	70,626
		Ward 2.....	8,354	Fort Myers.....	22,523	Ward 1.....	8,358
		Ward 3.....	4,858	Ward 1.....	5,071	Ward 2.....	9,782
		Stamford.....	92,713	Ward 2.....	3,498	Ward 3.....	11,308
		Ward 1.....	3,612	Ward 3.....	3,476	Ward 4.....	13,606
		Ward 2.....	3,753	Ward 4.....	5,492	Ward 5.....	7,490
		Ward 3.....	7,144	Ward 5.....	4,986	Ward 6.....	7,251
		Ward 4.....	3,745			Ward 7.....	7,595
		Ward 5.....	4,406			Ward 8.....	5,316
		Ward 6.....	3,134				
		Ward 7.....	3,779				
		Ward 8.....	3,939				
		Ward 9.....	4,683				

Fig. 8 Census of Population. San Francisco, California, 1961.

POPULATION OF WARDS IN CITIES OF 10,000 OR MORE, BY STATES: 1960--Con.

State, city, and ward	Population	State, city, and ward	Population	State, city, and ward	Population	State, city, and ward	Population
NEW YORK--Con.							
New York City--Con.		Oneida--Con.		Schenectady	81,682	Watertown--Con.	
Manhattan Borough.....	1,698,281	Ward 4.....	1,520	Ward 1.....	2,228	Ward 5.....	4,928
Assembly dist. 1....	92,998	Ward 5.....	1,673	Ward 2.....	9,526	Ward 6.....	1,148
Assembly dist. 2....	100,119	Ward 6.....	1,498	Ward 3.....	2,537	Ward 7.....	1,460
Assembly dist. 3....	125,017			Ward 4.....	1,041	Ward 8.....	2,114
Assembly dist. 4....	102,585	Oneonta	13,412	Ward 5.....	1,417	Ward 9.....	2,146
Assembly dist. 5....	160,917	Ward 1.....	2,267	Ward 6.....	4,490	Ward 10.....	2,665
Assembly dist. 6....	95,392	Ward 2.....	3,050	Ward 7.....	3,308	Ward 11.....	3,007
Assembly dist. 7....	94,495	Ward 3.....	2,799	Ward 8.....	7,541	Ward 12.....	1,442
Assembly dist. 8....	95,191	Ward 4.....	1,368	Ward 9.....	12,368		
Assembly dist. 9....	95,953	Ward 5.....	1,868	Ward 10.....	7,887	Watervliet	13,917
Assembly dist. 10....	94,940	Ward 6.....	2,060	Ward 11.....	9,142	Ward 1.....	3,614
Assembly dist. 11....	90,966			Ward 12.....	10,045	Ward 2.....	2,780
Assembly dist. 12....	134,537	Oswego	22,155	Ward 13.....	3,703	Ward 3.....	3,708
Assembly dist. 13....	91,042	Ward 1.....	4,272	Ward 14.....	6,449	Ward 4.....	3,815
Assembly dist. 14....	81,646	Ward 2.....	1,501				
Assembly dist. 15....	149,622	Ward 3.....	3,971	Syracuse	216,038	White Plains	50,485
Assembly dist. 16....	92,661	Ward 4.....	2,385	Ward 1.....	11,067	Ward 1.....	6,170
Queens Borough	1,809,578	Ward 5.....	2,573	Ward 2.....	9,616	Ward 2.....	6,737
Assembly dist. 1....	155,452	Ward 6.....	2,664	Ward 3.....	11,945	Ward 3.....	7,663
Assembly dist. 2....	154,973	Ward 7.....	1,832	Ward 4.....	14,708	Ward 4.....	4,022
Assembly dist. 3....	101,975	Ward 8.....	2,997	Ward 5.....	13,587	Ward 5.....	10,862
Assembly dist. 4....	103,761			Ward 6.....	12,460	Ward 6.....	15,011
Assembly dist. 5....	126,809	Plattsburgh	20,172	Ward 7.....	6,579		
Assembly dist. 6....	165,069	Ward 1.....	1,192	Ward 8.....	11,579	Yonkers	190,634
Assembly dist. 7....	138,528	Ward 2.....	3,227	Ward 9.....	8,560	Ward 1.....	10,368
Assembly dist. 8....	143,024	Ward 3.....	871	Ward 10.....	8,337	Ward 2.....	6,969
Assembly dist. 9....	109,580	Ward 4.....	4,160	Ward 11.....	10,038	Ward 3.....	19,008
Assembly dist. 10....	160,612	Ward 5.....	4,129	Ward 12.....	9,478	Ward 4.....	14,980
Assembly dist. 11....	156,785	Ward 6.....	6,593	Ward 13.....	13,763	Ward 5.....	11,561
Assembly dist. 12....	193,684			Ward 14.....	11,084	Ward 6.....	16,189
Assembly dist. 13....	99,326	Poughkeepsie	38,330	Ward 15.....	8,770	Ward 7.....	8,138
		Ward 1.....	3,732	Ward 16.....	13,331	Ward 8.....	12,664
Richmond Borough	221,991	Ward 2.....	3,076	Ward 17.....	18,924	Ward 9.....	22,876
Assembly dist. 1....	104,813	Ward 3.....	3,768	Ward 18.....	8,344	Ward 10.....	18,217
Assembly dist. 2....	117,178	Ward 4.....	4,635	Ward 19.....	13,868	Ward 11.....	24,239
		Ward 5.....	3,571			Ward 12.....	25,425
		Ward 6.....	4,342	Tonawanda	21,561		
Niagara Falls	102,394	Ward 7.....	10,383	Ward 1.....	7,901	NORTH CAROLINA	
Ward 1.....	1,529	Ward 8.....	4,823	Ward 2.....	5,730		
Ward 2.....	2,526			Ward 3.....	7,930	Asheville	60,192
Ward 3.....	3,255	Rensselaer	10,506			Ward 1.....	3,439
Ward 4.....	5,660	Ward 1.....	973	Troy	67,492	Ward 2.....	7,620
Ward 5.....	15,044	Ward 2.....	851	Ward 1.....	2,457	Ward 3.....	6,774
Ward 6.....	3,104	Ward 3.....	763	Ward 2.....	3,413	Ward 4.....	7,753
Ward 7.....	1,703	Ward 4.....	1,176	Ward 3.....	1,004	Ward 5.....	10,396
Ward 8.....	2,759	Ward 5.....	703	Ward 4.....	2,983	Ward 6.....	7,283
Ward 9.....	11,621	Ward 6.....	1,358	Ward 5.....	5,817	Ward 7.....	4,129
Ward 10.....	6,427	Ward 7.....	991	Ward 6.....	4,289	Ward 8.....	5,406
Ward 11.....	943	Ward 8.....	3,009	Ward 7.....	3,474	Ward 9.....	7,392
Ward 12.....	10,257	Ward 9.....	682	Ward 8.....	2,479		
Ward 13.....	6,952			Ward 9.....	2,305	Burlington	33,199
Ward 14.....	13,835	Rochester	318,611	Ward 10.....	4,102	Ward 1.....	7,396
Ward 15.....	16,779	Ward 1.....	1,039	Ward 11.....	2,077	Ward 2.....	10,182
North Tonawanda	34,757	Ward 2.....	664	Ward 12.....	2,523	Ward 3.....	4,477
Ward 1.....	2,316	Ward 3.....	7,201	Ward 13.....	4,498	Ward 4.....	11,144
Ward 2.....	3,153	Ward 4.....	5,334	Ward 14.....	6,135		
Ward 3.....	4,824	Ward 5.....	8,775	Ward 15.....	3,967	Concord	17,799
Ward 4.....	7,485	Ward 6.....	6,442	Ward 16.....	6,153	Ward 1.....	2,480
Ward 5.....	5,478	Ward 7.....	2,639	Ward 17.....	5,306	Ward 2.....	2,457
Ward 6.....	6,249	Ward 8.....	12,660	Ward 18.....	4,310	Ward 3.....	2,125
Ward 7.....	5,252	Ward 9.....	5,286			Ward 4.....	6,551
Ogdensburg	16,122	Ward 10.....	36,456	Utica	100,410	Ward 5.....	2,158
Ward 1.....	2,945	Ward 11.....	10,353	Ward 1.....	393	Ward 6.....	2,048
Ward 2.....	2,945	Ward 12.....	14,159	Ward 2.....	2,586		
Ward 3.....	4,086	Ward 13.....	4,223	Ward 3.....	1,784	Durham	78,302
Ward 4.....	2,797	Ward 14.....	26,606	Ward 4.....	1,976	Ward 1.....	11,229
Ward 5.....	6,294	Ward 15.....	7,890	Ward 5.....	1,022	Ward 2.....	12,897
		Ward 16.....	7,825	Ward 6.....	2,171	Ward 3.....	14,613
Olean	21,868	Ward 17.....	21,690	Ward 7.....	10,820	Ward 4.....	12,515
Ward 1.....	1,675	Ward 18.....	35,225	Ward 8.....	13,420	Ward 5.....	17,863
Ward 2.....	1,572	Ward 19.....	37,965	Ward 9.....	4,647	Ward 6.....	9,185
Ward 3.....	1,038	Ward 20.....	9,879	Ward 10.....	3,275		
Ward 4.....	1,260	Ward 21.....	13,549	Ward 11.....	9,175	Elizabeth City	14,062
Ward 5.....	1,698	Ward 22.....	24,636	Ward 12.....	8,048	Ward 1.....	3,268
Ward 6.....	1,852	Ward 23.....	8,662	Ward 13.....	11,896	Ward 2.....	3,629
Ward 7.....	2,138	Ward 24.....	9,453	Ward 14.....	8,580	Ward 3.....	3,374
Ward 8.....	2,316			Ward 15.....	5,320	Ward 4.....	3,791
Ward 9.....	2,753	Rome	51,646	Ward 16.....	6,673		
Ward 10.....	2,253	Ward 1.....	4,402	Ward 17.....	8,624	Gaston	37,276
Ward 11.....	3,313	Ward 2.....	5,366			Ward 1.....	3,424
Oneida	11,677	Ward 3.....	7,275	Watertown	33,306	Ward 2.....	9,003
Ward 1.....	1,368	Ward 4.....	7,187	Ward 1.....	2,399	Ward 3.....	7,828
Ward 2.....	3,890	Ward 5.....	6,678	Ward 2.....	3,025	Ward 4.....	4,831
Ward 3.....	1,728	Ward 6.....	6,548	Ward 3.....	3,988	Ward 5.....	7,116
		Ward 7.....	14,190	Ward 4.....	4,984	Ward 6.....	5,074

Fig. 9 Census of Population. Manhattan, New York, 1961.

This complexity contrasts with New York's increasingly visible and centralised modes of gay press and youth organising. These sources help support the claim that the East Coast (New York City) LGBTQ+ youth and communities enjoyed minorly increased liberties through relatively more organisational and media-visible space than those in the West Coast (the Tenderloin), where police repression and social invisibility remained dominant (Chauncey, G. 1994). In essence, while both coasts faced discrimination and legal obstacles, urban scale, infrastructure, and emerging cultural institutions created divergent pathways for LGBTQ+ survival, community formation and political activism (Stryker. 2017).

1.3 Information, Advocacy and the Power of Print

In July 1966, just before the events of Compton's Cafeteria Riot, Harry Benjamin published his book *'The Transsexual Phenomenon'*, a ground-breaking document of its time and one which paved the way for the medical care available today (although still often gatekept) for transgender people globally (Benjamin M.D., H. 1966). In his book, he covered the research he had carried out over the course of seventeen years, similar to the work advocated for by Dr Magnus Hirschfeld in Germany (before the Nazi regime took over), with whom he was a colleague. In his work, Benjamin proposed that while a person's gender identity could not be changed, it was the responsibility of doctors to support patients in living fuller, happier and freer lives in the gender they resonated with most and identified as.

Benjamin's book can also be seen to have helped bring about many changes in not only medical but also legal aspects and attitudes of the time, which had further positive implications on the wider LGBTQ+ community through affiliation. His book represented a new era for transgender individuals specifically with Stryker noting a "transgender resident named Louise Ergestrasse" using it to demand change from SFPD community-relations liaison officer, Elliot Blackstone (a key figure in the changes of policing for LGBTQ+ people) "Louise Ergestrasse came into Blackstone's office, threw a copy of Benjamin's [book] on his desk and demanded that Blackstone do something for 'her people'". For the first time, there was hope for establishment change as Blackstone was "willing to be educated on the matter", an attitude that can be seen as the polar opposite of his policing peers (Stryker. 2017, p. 98).

For the first time, there was something tangible that could be used in the fight for equal rights by the LGBTQ+ community, and specifically transgender

individuals of the locality and wider United States. “The changes in medical-service provisions that Benjamin recommended must have been an electrifying call to action.” So when the youth and, again, more specifically, the transgender youth of the Tenderloin, knew there finally were options for them to potentially live as their truest selves, “The next time the police raided their favorite neighborhood hangout, they had something to stand up for” (Stryker, S. 2008, p. 74).

The zines of Vanguard, which started shortly after the publishing of Benjamin’s work (August 1966), can be seen to have been not only a creative place for the Tenderloin’s LGBTQ+ residents to build a space for themselves, but it was also a vital collection of information resources for minorities and marginalised communities in a time before widespread information-sharing platforms. Information design was a key part of the first few issues of Vanguard Vol 1 as end material.

In Vol 1, No.2 of Vanguard Magazine, there is an interesting juxtaposition of information. On page eight, an “Alert Citizens” in a bold typographic hierarchy is used to inform readers quickly of vital information to gather in the case of arrest or police harassment. The layout used and typographic treatments convey a sense of urgency and importance. “Be sure to get that badge number” appears in the top right corner in a bold, condensed and stacked type setting. This layout of information on this page, before getting into the longer form text, shows the reader in an authoritative manner that this is an ongoing and highly prevalent issue. Vanguard situates the information in a place of awareness regarding wider communities (non-Tenderloin or LGBTQ+ individuals within San Francisco), disregarding police brutality of minorities, stating, “Most people when they hear the cries of ‘police brutality’ automatically think of the words cried by extremists, radicals, or of communist conspirators.”

The citizens' alert section explains how the members of the community, and again, specifically Vanguard, simply want equality and are not asking for the police to turn a blind eye to genuine crimes “We want equal law enforcement for all members of society; this includes homosexuals”.

However, on page ten of the same issue, the information being shared is not for protection but instead focused on another area of advocacy for the readers/members of Vanguard. The “National Planning Conference” page is far denser in information and yet, by contrast to page eight, appears calmer as the hierarchy and negative space used is less authoritative and more inviting, with the

largest header on the page reading “Ky’s Amazing Achievements”, a far more positive tone compared to that of the Citizens Alert page.

This page begins by informing the readers of the place and topic of the National Conference and states, “Here is a listing of some of the committees that were formed that will possibly [be] important to the members of Vanguard” It lists the one such section as “Youth and Homosexuality” and another, which is a key link to the citizens' alert of a “Legal Fund”. The beginnings of growth for Vanguard as an organisation in the public realm are seen for one of the first times within organisations similar to them, with a note being made, “Many of the organisations which publish newsletters or magazines are doing feature articles on us [Vanguard].”

The zines of Vanguard at this time were not just a creative outlet for young people; they were a crucial information infrastructure. Although Chapter 3, “Zines as a tool for Growth”, will show the shift in attitudes and needs of the Vanguard youth to becoming more notably more creative/expressive rather than informative, they created a tangible place where the groundwork of fighting for equality was laid. These early zines of Vanguard carved out a space for existence with dignity and visibility, where hope was becoming possible and simply reinforced the minor changes that were beginning to blossom, thanks in part to advocates such as Blackstone and Benjamin.

Chapter 2: Zines as a tool for Revolution

2.1 Societal Ideologies and Defiance

In *Hop on Pop*, Duncombe discusses how zinesters (zine writers) carve out their own space and therefore identity in society through their self-publications, albeit underground. By refusing to accept the ideology of fitting into the normative agenda and actively going against mainstream society, zine writers, generally speaking, create a home and community for themselves in defiance of the expectations put on them by embracing their marginalised identity and critiquing the world around them for demanding that they conform. When discussing who these zine producers are at heart, Duncombe cites that they are individuals who “feel at odds with mainstream society, and feel that their interests, voice and creativity are unrepresented in the commercial media” (Duncombe, S. 2002, p. 225–250).

By posing this same argument alongside the sentiment and production of the Vanguard zines, a clear correlation can be seen. The work of the Vanguard youth is that of young people who are at odds with the societal rhetoric they were stuck within. Not seen as members of mainstream society, but as outcasts who instead wished, and in fact needed, to create their own narrative, one where they are equals, in every way, just as relevant in the Tenderloins society, and the wider San Francisco catchment area, as their cisgender, heteronormative counterparts. By publishing in an underground manner, this simple act could easily be seen as one of defiance, an attitude of, we're just as good as you, where the prevalence of mainstream media coverage is watered down on a local level to give the real story behind the people in the Tenderloin, to showcase the true intentions, personalities, and talents of these dejected members of society. In simple terms, the very act of self-publishing and the content that was included by those at Vanguard in their publications was a provocative act of revolution on the paper streets of San Francisco's Tenderloin.

The act of rebellion that is self-publishing is far-reaching. Mainstream media position themselves as though only the words placed on high gloss paper in the heavily manicured pages of the highly edited magazines in newsagents are the stories and so-called intellectual ruminations that matter in society. The beautifully poetic part of zine publishing is that it's unauthorised. No one has asked for this unique critique of the world from the perspective offered to the reader from the creator, but the very act of brazenly publishing it anyway is a perfectly placed disregard for the unspoken rules of media culture, one which was of fantastic use to Vanguard. With little to no idea if it would spark debate, aid in outreach, or be of any interest to the wider community beyond themselves, the youth of Vanguard and JP Marat made their voices heard in a stand against the oppressive regime they, and people like them, had lived, even survived under, in the Tenderloin. Creating a space for themselves where they could demand change, highlight the indecencies and indeed atrocities they experienced as a people and 'call out' the very people who were creating the atmosphere of pure contempt for individuality on their streets (Ducombe. 2002).

The zines of the Vanguard were, at their roots, always founded in a call to action, a desire for change, based on the '*statement of purpose*' in Vol. 1 No.1 of the zine collection, by a group of what were frequently referred to as '*street youth*' or '*street people*'. The most notable of these calls was the documentation of the August 1966 '*Street Sweep*' in Vol. 1 No. 2, by the members of Vanguard.

Alert Citizens

IN CASE OF ARREST

**BE
SURE
TO
GET
THAT
BADGE
NUMBER**

ALERT CITIZENS -- Most people when they hear the cries of "police brutality" automatically think of the words cried by extremists, radicals, or of communist conspirators. The average middle class American is apathetic to the needs and wants of his neighbor, his feelings are only of self concern. Only when they themselves are victims, do they believe in police harassment, brutality, and intimidation.

Citizens Alert was not formed to "put down" the police department or to say which laws should be enforced or which should not. We want equal law enforcement for all members of society; this includes homosexuals, hustlers, prostitutes, hippies, Mexican-Americans, Negroes, etc. Most Citizens Alert cases involve members of minority groups. At the present time, for example, a majority of Citizens Alert cases come from the Haight-Ashbury district. Members of the Haight-Ashbury community are now working in cooperation with Citizens Alert to see that the police department, especially the Park Police Station, stop wasting their time and the tax payers money on harassment of members of San Francisco's "beat" community.

Next month--Tenderloin Cases

by James Reginald Turner-Lamont, writer and honorary member of VANGUARD, Inc.

CITIZENS ALERT
330 Ellis Street

San Francisco, CA 94102
Telephone: 776-9669, 24 hour assistance

Fig. 10 Vanugard Magazine. Alert Citizens Vol 1, No. 2. Page 8. October 1966

National Planning Conference of Homophile Organizations

THE CONFERENCE WAS HELD AT THE BELLVUE HOTEL, AUGUST 25-27, 1966.

HERE IS A LISTING OF SOME OF THE COMMITTEES THAT WERE FORMED THAT WILL POSSIBLY IMPORTANT TO THE MEMBERS OF VANGUARD, Inc., AND THE CITIZENS OF THE T.L.:

YOUTH AND HOMOSEXUALITY: The conference approved the appointment of a committee to study the problems of young persons who may have difficulties regarding homosexuality and other related matters categorized by society as anti-social problems. The committee would draw upon the resources, insights, and information VANGUARD, Inc. may provide and would prepare a report "*including constructive suggestions to alleviate any unnecessary hardships of these youths.*" The committee, consisting of Jean-Paul Marat, VANGUARD, Inc., John Blyth, VANGUARD, Inc., D.L. Barrett, DOB and VANGUARD, Inc., Clark P. Polak, Homosexual Law Reform Society, and Doug Saunders, Association for Social Knowledge, Vancouver, B.C., will issue a preliminary report within six months and a final report at the next meeting of the National Planning Conference.

LEGAL FUND: The conference approved a legal defense fund. To be established as a non-profit corporation, it would fund the legal defense of persons charged with crimes under laws affecting individual rights to privacy and freedom of choice in private life, according to a preliminary proposal. A committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Herb Donaldson, SIR, to study the proposal for such a fund and make detailed recommendations.

To many members of VANGUARD, this conference was a waste of time and money. It can be truthfully said that VANGUARD made quite an impression on the other delegates to the conference. Many of the organizations which publish newsletters or magazines are doing feature articles on us. The President of VANGUARD has been asked to write articles for a couple of the publications himself, so the Convention did us a lot of good. When the time comes for us to get working on the report mentioned above, let's everybody cooperate in helping to compile the information.

PAGE 12 SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE Tuesday, Sept 13, 1966 FHE ★

Joseph Alsop

OH, REALLY!

Ky's Amazing Achievements

Fig. 11 Vanguard Magazine. National Planning Conference Vol 1, No. 2. Page 10. October 1966

This civil action/demonstration was in direct response and a parody of the frequent street sweeps carried out by local law enforcement of the Tenderloin, where they would forcefully “move along” those deemed undesirable by local business owners. But in this action, the street youth weren’t trying to disturb the peace, instead they were attempting to show their pride for their locality, their willingness to be more than simply a statistic of those in the area allowing the current living situation to continue and most importantly, to prove they weren’t just the degenerates, runaways and street workers that many law enforcement and those outside of the community believed them to be. Donned with signs reading “All trash is before the broom”, they not so subtly hinted at the fact that they were not the trash that police and others believed them to be. These young people were eager for work, to be contributing members of society and that all they truly needed was an opportunity that wasn’t inhibited by their sexuality or gender identity (Ravarour. 2019). This was in part due to a lack of legal identification, which was later addressed as an issue and began to be corrected thanks to the opening of the “Centre for Special Problems” (Stryker. 2017. pp.98-99).

The selection of this double-page spread from Vol. 1 No. 2 of the Vanguard zine was done so after examining each remaining physical copy of the series produced between 1966 and 1970 available across San Francisco Public Libraries and Archives. The self-authored, self-determined and published coverage of the first demonstration carried out by members of Vanguard proves to be one of the most fundamental to the intent of this dissertation. Showcasing the resilience and self-assurance of these outcast members of society, who found a home within a community they built, originally under the guidance and founding of Rev. Adrian Ravarour and the later continued guidance of JP Marat. Making their zines a device for resilience, community building, identity development and self-determination.

It’s unclear who took the photos used in the publication to document the demonstration, it is assumed, however, that it was a fellow member of the Vanguard organisation. To accompany and publicise the efforts of the group, a short article complements the images on a double-page spread, much of the content being repurposed from local press “This VANGUARD demonstration indicates a willingness of societies outcasts to work openly for an improvement in their own social-economic power.” The article ends with a note that can be seen as hopeful, one that inspires further acts that could later be seen as rebellion, ‘*SO GET READY TO HEAR ABOUT “STREET POWER”.*’ The inclusion of this extract proved to be a

decisive point for the Vanguard, as the term *'Street Power'* was often repurposed and referenced by the Vanguard itself in further publications (Vanguard Magazine. Vol. 1, No. 2. October 1966).

The short article also comprised extracts from the AP (Associated Press) and UPI (United Press International) Wireservices and KGO Radio. AP, which quotes Vanguard president at the time, Jean–Paul Marat, *'That we have a sense of responsibility.'* While the mainstream media outlets described the events in a neutral tone as *'A group of teenagers and young adults from S.F's Tenderloin'*, Marat elaborated on this in his statement, *'We're considered trash by much of society, and we wanted to show the rest of society that we want to work and can work'*.

As previously stated, at the time of this zine's publication, due to it being one of the earliest publications of the Vanguard, it would likely have been seen by readers (and the organisation itself) as an introduction to the people of the Tenderloin. A clear announcement of their purpose, intent and demands as the youth of the locality. In a time pre-Stonewall and without the minorly increased liberties afforded to their peers on the East Coast, this publication, its contents and the actions discussed in it, were a central moment for the youth of the Tenderloin, and those yet to join the ranks fully, such as Rev. Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church.

At the time of this publication, a key piece of context is afforded to the readers in relation to the then-current American political and social landscapes, with a notable point of concern being in the notice above a background movie theatre. The notice read *'Vietnam in turmoil'*. The Vietnam War, of course, was a highly politicised and criticised war taking place overseas, which included thousands of American soldiers being called up in the draft. This was already a strain on the American economy and one which every individual felt in wider society due to the toll it took on the average family. In contrast to the activity in the Tenderloin, Americans across the country protested the war due to the continuing infringement by the government to limit First Amendment protections, mostly dealing with the right to assembly.

Youth and student activism grew at this time in an anti-war movement when, in 1966, the Lyndon administration announced the intended abolishment of automatic student deferments to the draft. The civil movement of these young Americans sought peace with slogans such as "Make Love – Not War!" and "Hell, no, we won't go!"

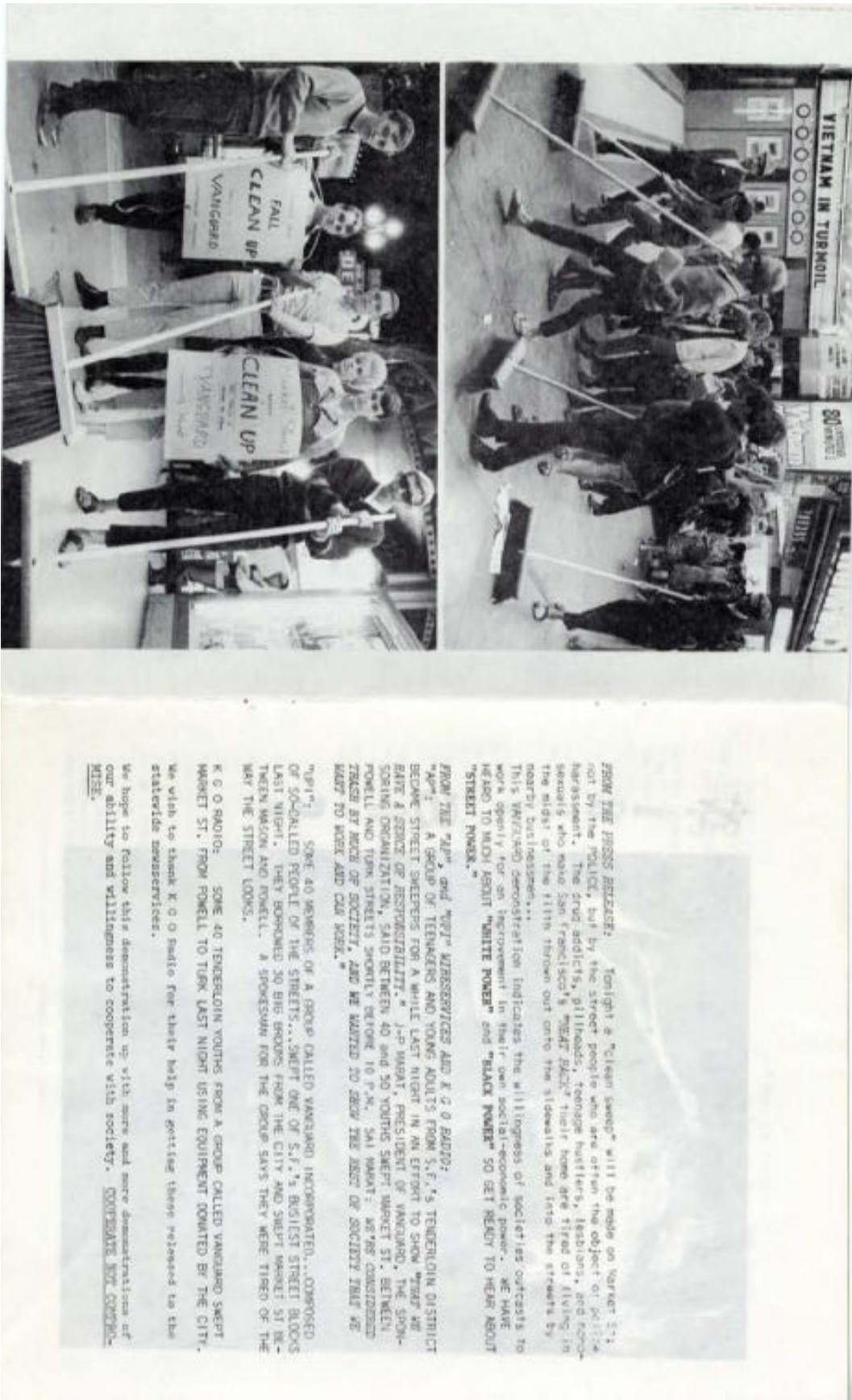


Fig. 12 Vanguard Magazine. Spread featuring Press Release Volume 1, No. 2. October 1966

This kind of young civil disobedience being widespread across America at the time helps to not only frame and highlight a turning point in attitudes towards the establishment, but also showcases how civil action from young, marginalised and disadvantaged individuals was seen and utilised as a tool for change through defiance (Kitchell, M. 1990).

2.2 Defiance of Identity Conformity

'A normativising, disciplining society wants to capture all difference and fold it into its norms as some sort of strategy of control that forecloses the possibility of radical change' (Stryker, S. 2024)

While creating a place where their voice mattered and they would be heard, even simply by one another, the individuals involved in the production of the Vanguard zines broke barriers further. The language they used rarely, if ever, referred to identifying labels associated with being within the LGBTQ+ community. Rather, these young members used a human-centric approach where they would speak of themselves or others, as humans first, followed by the attributes that would lead others to the classification of gay or lesbian, etc, being used. One incident of this being seen in V.1 No. 4, in a piece titled "Equality under law", Keith St. Clare writes in the piece "We are men and women for only a little time. We are humans and thus unique in our ability to love. Our love knows no boundary nor recess" Illustrating the primary concern of those in the LGBTQ+ community, being love without labels. Another such incident, also written by St. Clare, who himself had a background in the military air force, was seen in V.1 No. 6 in a piece titled "Lavender in Uniform", where the leading premise of the piece is to focus on the human, followed by their attributes and actions, which later denote how society categorises the person (Kato-Kiryama, T. 2023). "There are men and women serving well in this country's military-like armies who enjoy interpersonal relations—sex—with members of their own gender"

In the 18th Century, society truly began to categorise living things such as plants and animals. This came during the Enlightenment, when Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus developed a scientific classification of the biological system, *Systemae Naturae*, which was published in 1735. This served as a way to categorise plants and animals, which is now widely used in biological science. His work in 1758, where he proposed four subcategories of humans, went on to influence our categorisation

methods further. In this work, he determined that the four subcategories should be Americans, Asiaticus, Africanus and Europeanus. This work later went on to determine how we categorise humans by race (Takezawa, Y. 2025).

Upon retrospective examination, the leap from human categorisation by race to categorisation by sexuality, gender identity and other areas within the LGBTQ+ community wasn't that big. The work of Linnaeus in the 18th century, which was based heavily on plant sexuality and gendered metaphors, established a foundational and heteronormative framework of scientific categorisation, which 19th century thinkers, such as Karl Maria Kertbury, later adopted and adapted to define human sexuality. Kertbury's work to coin the terms related to the LGBTQ+ community, such as "homosexual", followed the personal tragedy and loss of a close friend to suicide, who faced blackmail due to stigma in society surrounding beliefs and attitudes to same sex relationships. The objective of Kertbury's work was to challenge the oppressive laws in 1869 Germany, specifically relating to paragraph 143, which criminalised the acts of sodomy. Kertbury believed that the state had no place interfering with private lives or relationships (EBSCO, 2022).

This kind of distinction has been shown to create divides between people in society, such as the Civil Rights movement of 1945 – 1968, so the leading language used in the Vanguard zines is of particular intrigue due to the human-first, categorisation-second approach (Soken-Huberty, 2023). This human-first language can be seen to have similar foundations to the reclaiming of the word "*Queer*" by much of the LGBTQ+ community in recent years. A word once used as a pejorative to insult and ridicule LGBTQ+ people has, through processes of reclamation, re-emerged as a source of power within the community. Although its use remains debated due to the complexities of linguistic reclamation, its significance lies in stripping away the homophobic connotations and removing it from the exclusive vocabulary of the prejudiced. Now, a word that is embraced by the younger demographic of the LGBTQ+ community and used widely in local and national groups (Guy, L. 2017).¹

Refusing to identify themselves by boiling their identity down to a one-word marker, these young people regained their power, refusing to fit perfectly into the

¹ Ryan, G. 2018. *Is Everyone Queer Now? A Linguistic Investigation into the Reclamation of the Word Queer*. Also contributed to this area of investigation but was outside the scope of what was necessary for this dissertation.

EQUALITY EQUALITY EQUALITY EQUALITY EQUALITY EQUALITY.....UNDER LAW

We among the groups of sexually "different " are often treated without common dignity. Moreover, by penal law the Establishment refutes our need for adequate sexual satisfaction. Voyeurists in blue and dejected civic DOM's--either from sadistic intolerance, or from fear of adverse publicity (and discovery?)--persist in treating deviants as members of a group predominantly inferior to others in basic human qualities. We feel it is unfortunate for America that such an archaic anti-sexual prejudice is still thriving. However the solution is obvious. Primarily, we feel that knowledge can alleviate self-righteous puritanism. Therefore we act so that the shackles of superstition and myth can be broken by fact and free everyone. Today we must rally against "dark ages" morality and all those who apparently fear that someone, somewhere, somehow may be happy.

Adequate documented research is abundant to substantiate the fact that homosexuality does not bear a direct relationship to an individual's human worth nor logically disqualify him from human rights. Moreover human sexual rights are constitutionally guaranteed to all, but "legally" denied to many--even to many members of the dominant sexual pattern. This is a disgrace and a grave error. It has been found that the repressive measures employed cause a reaction opposite to the one espoused publicly by society. Necrophilia, scopophilia, voyeurism and rape are some of the results of an individual's rebellion created by the inevitable conflict between an urgent sexual drive and the repressive measures employed under our conventional sex morality.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens, Article 5 states: "Liberty consists in being able to do all that which does not harm someone else."

We quote the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Therefore homosexual acts between consenting adults, whether some regard them as sinful, immoral or diseased, are within the constitutional rights of all. Sin is a moral and a religious term. In this country--the basic document of which insures total separation of Church and State--religious and purely moral views are not considered subject fit for police enforcement. However, moralists and hypocrits have evaded the impartial documents of our founding fathers, have diffused the issues and under cover of pseudo-clinical jargon and preposterous superstition, have made love impossible unless consummated in the saddle and for the purpose of breeding. Truly if homosexual activities are diseased then measures other than penal may be taken. We know of no disease that has ever been cured by law. continued

Fig. 13 *Vanguard Magazine. Equality Under Law. Volume 1, No. 4. February 1967*

societal labelling norms of heterosexual and homosexual. While much of the society at this time surrounding these young people wished to separate the heterosexual from the homosexual, the youth of the Vanguard were showcasing how they were so much more than simply lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender; they were human first and wanted a human existence like anyone else.

In other words, these young people were making the personal political. How they identified themselves, even simply in writing, was how they outwardly identified to the locality and, therefore, the establishment, even if at times this was only on paper. They showed that they would not surrender their autonomy, especially in how they characterised themselves to anyone, but particularly those wishing to further oppress their existence. After all, these were people who wished for their complete freedom to love and have relations with whomever they wished, despite administrative constraints on this at the time. So why would they give even this, a control on the language they used for self-identification, a seemingly simple 'win' to those who persecuted them? Within the world of zines and zine culture, the self-identification and authenticity of the writer are often one of the most relevant points. Zines are a place where there is no scrutiny as to what can or cannot be said, no censorship of the writer's story, their lived experience. Their freedom of expression is one that is somewhat protected due to the lack of bureaucratic red tape through self-publishing, so how someone represents within this self-curated world is how they often wish to portray themselves to the world, but for one reason or another, feel they cannot do so in simple terms. "The writer is only known by what he or she puts down on paper, the notion of who and what one is in a zine is potentially very flexible" (Duncombe, S. 2002, p. 243)

2.3 How Vanguard Zines Built a Revolution

With the creation of 'third spaces' such as zines, these non-mainstream, self-publications create an outlet for the contributors and by proxy, readers, but they also create a space in which a revolution can be felt before it is seen in more mainstream methods of society, such as the initiative actions taken by the Vanguard organisation. The Vanguard zines illustrate this through the use of some typical design conventions and the selective rejection of others.

In the zines of Vanguard, a sense of protest is ever-present through the use of hand-written and bold sans-serif typefaces, which often result in a clear rejection of

Lavender in Uniform

There are men and women serving well in this country's military-like armies who enjoy interpersonal relations--sex--with members of their own gender. There are jokes about the flesh in each division and strata of the Department of Defence and there are facts. In so far as personal experience is concerned; well, most everyone has had a sailor. Statistically

at least, the Marines prefer to be screwed. And as for the Air Force and Army they're open season for any reason. We all know fags in formations around the world.

So what's all the fuss about? Are they really a security risk? We see that only the ones who get caught are;



and they only to themselves. Most finish their obligation and become editors or candle dippers or something. In service, we are subject to the most heinous intimidation, principally because of the penalties of preposterous laws! A fear of exposure for purely soc-

ial reasons illogical, rare, and directly related to the emotional hangups of the individual and not the 'homosexual' as such. So, what is the real problem? We feel it's our national unreal sexual mores. Because of our ridiculous collective sexual identity and the resulting puritan legislation, we are the laugh of the civilized world and of every other military in it.

99% of the gay population in the service of our country is closeted—their sexual socializing is hindered because of the regemented heterosexuality, the intangling social duties and a galloping fear of discovery. For example, in my USAF Tech Training School, we sang as we marched, "Friday night and the week is past, I'll go out and get some ass," and then on Mondays we sang with obvious disgust, "It feels so good it must be sin, I sleep each night with my best friend." All comedy aside, it is illegal to be an inactive heterosexual in the armed forces. That is, unless one is ac-

Fig. 14 *Vanguard Magazine*. *Lavender in Uniform*. Volume 1, No. 6. April 1967

polished mainstream aesthetics. When paired with oversized headlines, uneven kerning, chaotic layouts (seen in Fig.15) and tight margins (which are often much wider in standard mainstream publications) and even frequent misspellings, the pages of these zines signal a sense of urgency and rebellion from the norm and toward a change, that change linking to the points raised in the Statement of Purpose. The cheap reproduction methods of the Vanguard zines, such as black and white printing on coloured paper stock paired with simple binding methods of two staples holding the work together, emphasise the DIY resistance (seen in Fig. 16), a true 'by any means necessary' attitude and approach. This black and white method also helps to reinforce the oppositional attitudes to the politics at the time by keeping contrast clear and stark, everything seen by readers sticks to the point and focuses more on information rather than finish.

As the zine grew with each issue, pages that appear to be overloaded with text became more common, once again showing a priority of information and the contributor's personal sentiment sharing in an urgent and radical way. During this growth, illustrations were included more frequently and grew in terms of tone; this growth is clearly evident when comparing the first issue of volume one and the sixth issue. Provocative and even 'taboo' illustrations (Fig. 16) signify a sentiment of anti-establishmentism and heighten the voice of individualism / non-conformity to what was socially acceptable in mainstream media. In issue four of the first volume, the inclusion of a "People Power" motif (Fig. 17) showcases how the publication situated itself very much in a position of counterculture, shifting the focus back to the readers and contributors rather than the publication itself.

In the fourth issue of the zine, an updated version of the Statement of Purpose can be found (Fig. 18), and while it is clearly linked / inspired by the original seen in issue one, it has been adapted, potentially in response to the context within the locality at the time. This rewritten Statement of Purpose acknowledges the organisation's position within a wider "cause" that members and readers are therefore a part of.

“EACH new issue of VD is designed not only for entertainment and education, but also to further the cause. We seek to right misdoings and to halt harassment. Therefore we request your meticulo[sic] aid. Anyone who has been directly victimized or discriminated against by Comptons’, The Plush Doggie or any other business please report the incident immediately to one of the editors. We remind you to save all evidence!.....Help is sorely needed in all departments. A willing worker on a standby, regular or sporadic [sic] basis is urgently needed. Come on put some time in for yourself...It’s easy to dodge responsibility, but few can dodge the consequences of dodging responsibility...Funds continue to be expanded and needed for the T.L.Welfare Fund. Money collected is spent on providing kids on the street and people in need with the bare, cold necessities...Vanguard is for you even if you hate us...Herb Donaldson speaks at business men’s luncheon, Febr. [sic] 15, 1967 about “The Homosexual” call Glide Memorial Church for full scoop...Vanguard.”
(Vanguard Magazine. Vol. 1, No. 4, February 1967)

Phrases such as “Help is sorely needed” and “Funds continue to be expanded and needed” convey a sense of crisis through the language used. This highlights the precarious nature of life in the Tenderloin at the time, with a focus on survival needs. Whereas other phrases, such as “Come on put some time in for yourself...It’s easy to dodge responsibility, but few can dodge the consequences of dodging responsibility” are rhetorical and reposition the reader from a passive one to an active participant.

Direct calls to action, “save all evidence” and “report the incident immediately”, transform the zine from simply a publication into a manual for activism. Meanwhile, the line “Vanguard is for you even if you hate us” is fascinating as it acknowledges the hostility experienced by Vanguard members but perseveres, even insists on, creating unending inclusivity.

The revolutionary potential of the Vanguard zines can not only be found in their content but their form. Their chaotic layouts, misspellings, and urgent typographic hierarchy rejected the highly polished authority of mainstream media publishing, embodying what Duncombe alludes to as the “aesthetics of refusal” (Duncombe, S. 1997, p. 123). In doing so, Vanguard positioned itself against both the establishment and the conventions of print culture, asserting that revolution could be felt in the very act of reading. The updated Statement of Purpose in issue four exemplifies this shift: its call for evidence gathering, collective responsibility, and welfare support transformed the zine into a manual for activism. Vanguard’s rough materiality reflected the precariousness of Tenderloin life, where survival and revolution were inseparable.

Keeping Busy at SIR

Meetings with guest speakers, skiing, dances, bowling, political education, square dancing, games, hiking, an art group, cards, chess, a conversation group, dinners, legal aid, a coin group and the production of stage shows are some of the activities at SIR.

Visiting and Joining SIR

Non-members are invited to attend the open meetings which are held the third Wednesday of each month. Guest speakers are usually featured and refreshments are served.

Guests are welcome to attend many kinds of SIR activities. A subscription to our monthly magazine is \$3 annually. MEMBERSHIP IS OPEN TO ANYONE 21 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER.

Persons can support the goals of SIR through active membership. ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP FEE IS \$10.00.

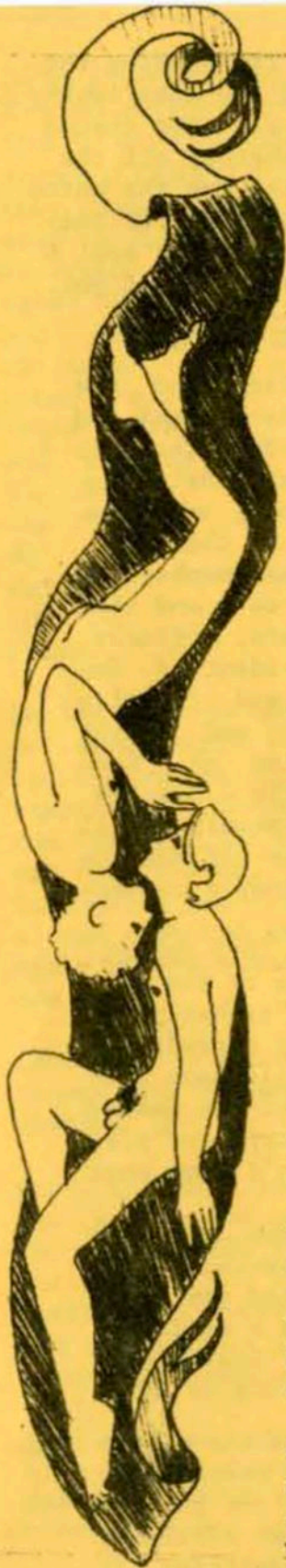
Is SIR A Success? LOOK magazine recently called SIR the most successful homophile group in the nation. The original twelve members has now grown to six hundred. . . . and the organization continues to grow at an astonishing rate. SIR COMMUNITY CENTER IS THE HOME OF SIR and is located at 83 Sixth Street in San Francisco. Its office is now open from 11:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. and the phone number is 781-1570. . . . the Center is a hub of continual activity with thirteen committees planning and carrying out functions; a visiting and TV lounge, the library, conference room, a kitchen, and auditorium with full stage. . . . so great is the activity schedule that many functions must take place outside the Center.

RECORDS

SIR is the SOCIETY FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. It was organized less than three years ago to redress individual pride and dignity regardless of orientation; eliminate the public stigma attached to human self-expressions; accomplish effective changes in unjust laws concerning private relationships among consenting adults; give real and substantial aid to members in difficulties; promote better physical, mental and emotional health; create a sense of community; establish an attractive social atmosphere and constructive outlets for members and their friends.

What
Is
SIR??
M
M
M
M
M
M

Fig. 15 Vanguard Magazine. Visiting or Joining SIR. Vol. 1 No. 4. February 1967.



MORE PEACE TALK

In less than thirty years, the United States has participated in three major wars. The First World War involved most of the nations of the North Atlantic. The Second World War affected all the great nations. The "Cold War" continued with devastating effects.

One would think that as a result of the terrible costs, and the distresses of these wars, man would not want to pass willingly through this experience again. War has always been the greatest source of suffering and misery for the human race.

The organizations for peace established after WW I did not prove strong enough to avert WW II. However, after the latter a new peace group was established--the United Nations. The UN was part of a plan for world government which was to be thoroughly effective in bringing about world peace. However we do not have peace now and the efforts to recognize individual rights throughout all nations and among all people regardless of race, sex, language or religion have not yet been begun in earnest.

Yet, human beings must establish a government of justice in the world to eliminate extensive military training and the manufacture of war equipment. We must create peace in order to create a future for mankind. A lasting peace is not an idle dream. Simply because we haven't had it does not mean that it can't be obtained. However, as long as independent nations exist, there will be disputes, but they could be settled by a means other than the means of war. An idea of world discipline is necessary. Today, if we as individuals have grievances we expect them to be settled by peaceful means. This is what will have to be done in international affairs if the world is to usher in an era of permanent peace.

Today, with the atomic bomb and other mighty weapons, we should be convinced that further war is dangerous. This is why we must strive so earnestly for world peace. **FACT: MODERN SOCIETY CAN NOT AFFORD WAR AS A MEANS OF SETTLING DISPUTES.** All men know this, yet we have been unable or unwilling to find a solution to war.

↳ CONTINUED ↯

Since the Second World War the United Nations has become a disputing and turbulent organization. Its members have selfish viewpoints. The UN is unable to give the world what it is craving right now----lasting peace.

Fig. 16 Vanguard Magazine. More Peace Talk. Vol. 1 No. 5. March 1967.

let there be a force of cause
when there is a midnight
and let there be life in the midst
of a silent wind-hushed battlefield.
let a flower blast through the mud-splattered
snow of winter.
and let there be a cry from that final silence
to let all the universe know
that we will stir into movement
and move into growth
and the people will grow into a
race of gods-
and the midnight

be damned!

Amen.

PEOPLE
POWER

In an effort to establish identity, in order to give purpose to heretofore bitter lives, a small group of people have united in a single cause; to better themselves, to better their city, to better their nation, and, ultimately, all mankind. These individuals in the Vanguard Movement, idealists of the slums, have banded together to promote an environment of love and understanding between all the peoples of the earth.

It is imperative, for the survival of such an organization, to maintain these basic principles:

- (1) to expand to include all people needing help, and all people willing to give aid to the organization or members thereof.
- (2) to unify as friends to meet the needs of the organization. And
- (3) to promote a public image of dignity, respect, and understanding. These three factors are so closely related that not one can be isolated. Not one should be misused or ignored.

All life consists of growth and movement. The motto of the Vanguard Movement is: "Going places and doing things!" These places and things must include the entire Bay Area to help bridge the gap of lack of communication. We cannot survive as an isolationistic organization! We must go to the world with hands and hearts open with the willingness to accept those very people who refuse to accept us.

Our voices can, must, and will be heard!

To find the answers in our search for identity, recognition and appreciation, we must be willing to guide each other as a brotherhood of friends through any and all personal and administrative road-blocks. Together we can do this, and together we will.

Fig. 17 Vanguard Magazine. People Power. Vol. 1 No. 4. February 1967.

Chapter 3: Zines as a tool for Growth

3.1 Evolution of Vanguard Zines

So far, this paper has examined how the zines of Vanguard emulated aspects of, and contributed to areas of survival and revolution for the organisation and wider community; now it will examine the final ‘pillar’ of this analysis, growth. It is important to note that, while these three themes are discussed linearly in this dissertation, they developed simultaneously through the release of the publications.

Over the course of the Vanguard publications from Volume 1, No. 1 to Vol 3, No. 1, the issues grew. Their size, content and creative tone evolved and became not only bigger but bolder, more independent. Their first publication started as a short, twelve-page magazine, and the last was 72 pages long and included far more colour, both through illustrations and inks, as well as the very paper stock used for print. When viewed as a collection (Fig. 19), the evolution of the zine is clear, but to readers it would’ve been a slow, possibly even unnoticed, growth over time. At the start of their publications, it was very clear and structured; it had a primary purpose to inform readers easily. But over time, it grew into a place where readers could see the work of their peers and even their own, not necessarily intellectual ruminations, but lived experiences and perspectives of their piece of San Francisco during turbulent times for the community. When the final issue is compared to the first, the change over time becomes clear. The interconnection of Survival, Revolution and Growth is more evident as the zine itself is far more confident; it’s a powerful statement to the resilience that a safe space, even in print, can foster in young people within the LGBTQ+ community.

The material included changed slowly over time. When analysing the first publication, the lack of diverse voices is blatant, with much of the work being credited as Marat’s or St Clare’s, but thanks to the outreach by St. Clare, each issue became unique. From the tone of voice on each page, to the current challenges and problems being raised by the young people, and even the method and media they each chose to use to express themselves. There were no overbearing rules or constraints imposed in terms of layouts, treatments or other general print design ‘etiquette’; instead, it was a safe space for these young people to speak out and embrace who they were, how they saw fit. To push back against the stigmatisation and issues they faced.

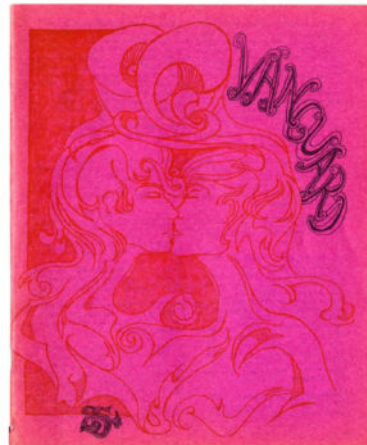
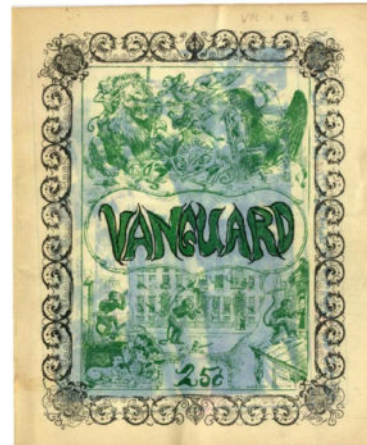
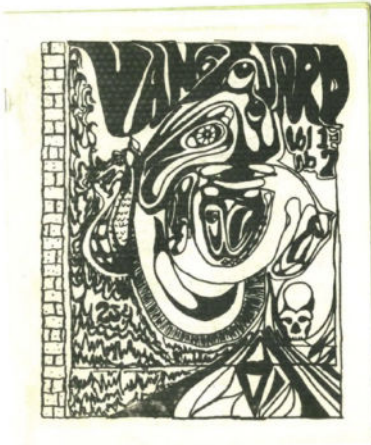
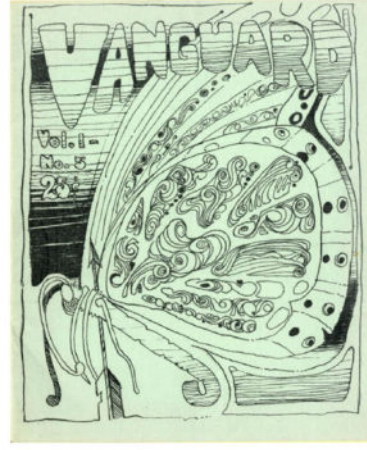
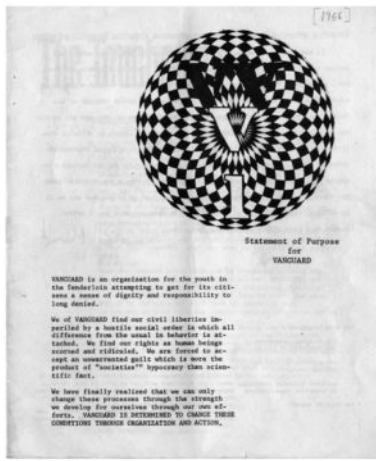


Fig. 19 Vanguard Magazine. Cover of each issue Vol.1, No.1 through Vol. 3, No. 1.

3.2 Development of Creative Identities

Examination of the first and last issue of the Vanguard Zines offers an interesting opportunity to understand how the organisation found its voice and wasn't afraid to use it. The young people weren't hiding; they were blatant in their nonconforming, through the use of their creative voice. The use of a large, red handprint brings in the urgency of revolution and change, but reflects the previously discussed human-centric approach that was at the heart of it all. The type on a circular path surrounding, and, in a sense, protecting the hand, highlights the care, united front and strength of the community while allowing moments of creative illustrations to showcase. A particularly interesting inclusion is also made on the cover that had been concealed within the pages of earlier publications. What could be seen as taboo even by today's practices, a naked male figure sits prominently on the cover, which speaks to the empowerment that the community had begun to feel. Until this point, while not uncommon within the zine collection and zine culture generally, the inclusion of illustrations of this nature had been used sparingly and only within the pages of the zines, never on the cover (as illustrated in Fig. 20).

However, this last zine from Vanguard was an outlier for another reason: it was the result of a two-part study (pre- and post-questionnaire) conducted with students in Political Science Studies at the City College of San Francisco, prepared and directed by Keith St. Clare of Vanguard (Vanguard Magazine Vol3. No.1). The study itself could be seen, now, as ahead of its time. Just two years later, the United States saw one of the most publicised LGBTQ+ moments of activism, Stonewall.

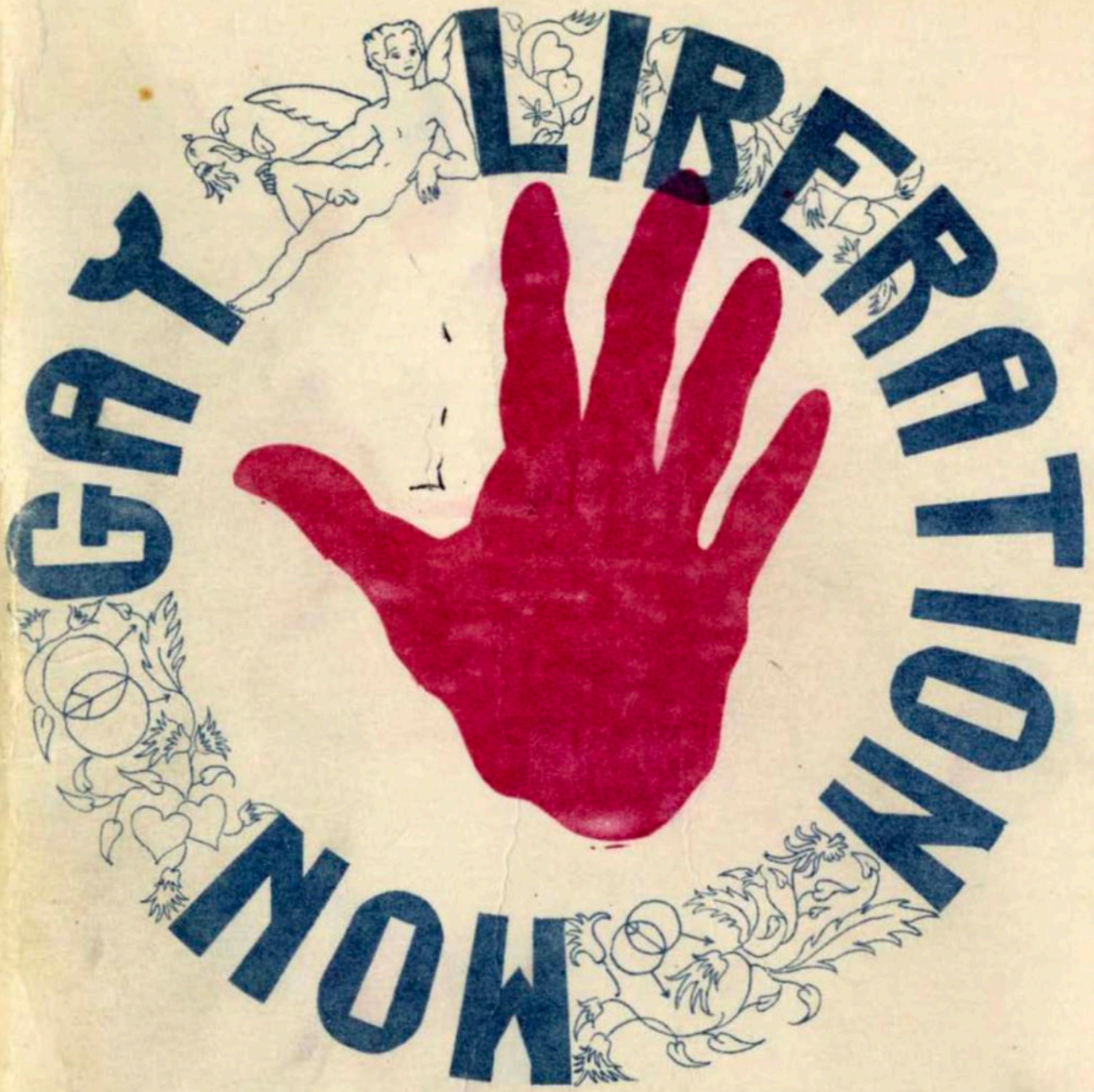
The proposal of the study, under the heading "Special Problem Area", was "Attitudes towards homosexuality as a latent social problem." Essentially, trying to gain data on the collective perspective, feelings and/or beliefs held by society. The main topic was to study "Student attitudes toward homosexual conduct, before and after exposure to factual information". Having identified a problem area, Vanguard sought to understand what the impacts were of misinformation and how informing cisgender, heteronormative citizens better could make a difference to their lives, rather than continuing to be subjected to fitting into the 'ideals' that the establishment appeared to be pushing for.

Vanguard appears to be the spearhead organisation of this study, with St. Clare directing it, but the impact had the potential to be more far-reaching than simply the members of Vanguard and into wider society, as gathering information

like this was unlikely to come from the establishment, which actively witch-hunted those from the LGBTQ+ community. (Blumenfeld. 2006)

\$ | ONE DOLLAR

**GAY LIBERATION
NOW**



VANGUARD MAGAZINE
VOLUME 3 NUMBER ONE

UPS & GLF

Fig. 20 Vanguard Magazine. Cover of Vol. 3, No.1 1970.

Conclusion

This dissertation shows how Vanguard's zines embodied the intertwined pillars of survival, revolution, and growth. In the Tenderloin, a district long marked by vice, poverty, and systemic neglect, these publications offered queer youth immediate tools for survival, from "Citizens' Alerts" against police harassment to listings of clinics and missions. They also became revolutionary texts, documenting and/or encouraging resistance in moments such as the 'Compton's Cafeteria Riot' and directly affiliated Vanguard actions such as the 'Street Sweep', and situating Tenderloin activism within wider currents of civil rights and anti-war movements. At the same time, they nurtured growth, providing a creative outlet where poetry, art, and personal testimony fostered autonomy and identity formation among marginalised youth.

By comparing the Tenderloin to New York's larger and more anonymous queer communities, this study has underscored the unique challenges of a smaller, heavily surveilled district, while highlighting how Vanguard's zines nonetheless carved out a "third space" for visibility and solidarity. Their materiality, inexpensive paper stock, stapled bindings, small format sizing and bold typographic hierarchies all reinforced their accessibility and urgency, while their content reflected both the fragility and resilience of their makers.

Ultimately, Vanguard's zines stand as both historical archive and radical act. They remind us that underground publishing was not simply a creative outlet but a vital instrument of survival, resistance, revolution, and self-determination. In their pages, Tenderloin youth transformed marginality into community, asserting dignity in a hostile social order and leaving a legacy that continues to inform contemporary struggles for queer visibility and justice.

Yet, due to the lack of academic studies at present of this organisations publications, this exploration also raises new questions. How might Vanguard's zines be read alongside other underground publications of the 1960s, such as feminist or anti-war zines, to map intersections of resistance across movements? What role did race, class, and gender dynamics play within the Tenderloin to shape the way in which some voices were included or excluded from Vanguard's pages? How might the ephemeral materiality of these zines, fragile and inconsistent, challenge conventional archival practices and force us to rethink how queer histories are preserved and retold to the next generation, especially as society's current

attitudes, laws and overall treatment of LGBTQ+ people change both for worse and better, depending on where in the world an individual within the community is?

Finally, what lessons can contemporary queer and trans zine-makers draw from Vanguard's example, particularly in an era where digital platforms dominate but still reproduce forms of gatekeeping and exclusion? Could the repurposing of messaging, tones and treatments be of benefit to contemporary LGBTQ+ social movements by tracing the lineage back to a pre-digital era where the fight for equality was maybe not first witnessed but began to be documented at scale?

Bibliography

Books

Atton, Chris. (2002) *Alternative Media*. California: SAGE Publications

Benjamin, H. (1966) *The Transsexual Phenomenon*. New York: Julian Press (electronic resource via Symposium Publishing, 1999). https://transreads.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/2019-04-07_5ca961529c262_HarryBenjamin-TheTranssexualPhenomenon1copy.pdf

Blumenfeld, Warren. (2006) *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War persecution of gays and lesbians in the federal government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304889477_The_lavender_scare_the_cold_war_persecution_of_gays_and_lesbians_in_the_federal_government

Chauncey, G. (1994) *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940*. New York: Basic Books.
<https://archive.org/details/gaynewyorkgender00chaurich/page/n3/mode/2up>

Collins, Richard. (2002) *Media and Identity in Contemporary Europe: Consequences of Global Convergence*. UK: Intellect Books.

Duberman, M. B. (2019) *Stonewall: The Definitive Story of the LGBTQ Rights Uprising that Changed America*. New York: Plume

Duncombe, Stephen. (1997) *Notes From Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*. Bloomington, IN: Microcosm Publishing.

Rohrer, Megan & Plaster, Joey. (2016) *Vanguard Revisited: The Queer Faith, Sex & Politics of the Youth of San Francisco's Tenderloin*. San Francisco, California: Wilgefortis

Stryker, Susan. (2008) *Transgender History*. New York: Seal Press
https://transreads.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/2019-03-17_5c8eb1ebaced4_susan-stryker-transgender-history2.pdf

Stryker, Susan. (2017) *Transgender History*. New York: Seal Press

Shaw, Randy. (2025) *The Tenderloin: Sex Crime and Resistance in the Heart of San Francisco*

Journal Articles / Academic Papers

D'Emilio, J. (1983) 'Capitalism and Gay Identity'. In Stansell, Christine. Snitow, Ann. and Thompson, Sharon. *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (pp. 100–114). NYU Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv12pnr6v.9>

Duncombe, Stephen. (2002) "'I'm a Loser Baby": Zines and the Creation of Underground Identity' in Jenkins, Henry. McPherson, Tara and Shattuc, Jane (first edition). *Hop on Pop*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, pp. 225 – 250

Johnson, D. (2007). "This Is Political!" Negotiating the Legacies of the First School-Based Gay Youth Group. *Children, Youth and Environments* 17(2), 380-387. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/cye.2007.0090>

Miller, B. (2013) 'Undesirable Elements': New York City's Gay Press Before Stonewall, 1960-1969', *Chicago Journal of History*, Autumn 2013. <https://cjh.uchicago.edu/issues/fall13/2.5.pdf?ref=hyperallergic.com>

Ravarour, Adrian. (2019) *Synopsis and Appendix: The Vanguard (LGBT) gay youth movement and organization, San Francisco 1965-1967 (GLC 198)*, LGBTQIA Centre, San Francisco Public Library

Reithmayr, Mori. (2025). *The Invention of Gay Community in San Francisco, 1960–1970*. *The Historical Journal*. 68. 1-21.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/387852132_The_Invention_of_Gay_Community_in_San_Francisco_1960-1970

Dissertations

Ryan, G. (2018) Is Everyone Queer Now? A Linguistic Investigation into the Reclamation of the Word Queer. BA(Hons) Dissertation. University of Michigan.

https://lsa.umich.edu/content/dam/english-assets/migrated/honors_files/Ryan,%20G_Dissertation.pdf

Smith, Tegan A. (2020) "San Francisco Gay Bars: Challenging Exploitation and Increasing Activism" The Macksey Journal. Vol. 1, Article 71.

<https://mackseyjournal.scholasticahq.com/article/21776-san-francisco-gay-bars-challenging-exploitation-and-increasing-activism>

Films

Berkley in the Sixties (1990) Mark Kitchell. California Newsreel.

Podcasts

Bailey, K. (2022) The Oldest Profession [Podcast] Social Good Fund, January 25, 2023. <https://open.spotify.com/episode/7t32IMWcmFSG56LAqwALTO?si=5942d5f9ee1d49b8> (Accessed 1 December 2025).

Kato-Kiryama, Traci. (2023) 'Vanguard Magazine: Prophets and Misfits' [Podcast] Periodically Queer, One Institute.

<https://open.spotify.com/episode/1QJKNZMuuNMa6ehbhNMAa0?si=0776f890bcde423d> (Accessed 11 October 2025)

Llinas Goodman, Ozzy and Woodstock, Tuck (2024) 'Episode 176: Susan Stryker' [Podcast] Gender Reveal.

<https://open.spotify.com/episode/57N29BKjou0CF7iiqZR7Hh?si=8125fa0799824f52> (Accessed: 13 October 2025)

Online Sources / News Articles

Dowd, Katie. (2021) 'In 1917, San Francisco sex workers marched through the Tenderloin', SFGATE. <https://www.sfgate.com/sfhistory/article/1917-San-Francisco-sex-workers-march-tenderloin-16030567.php> (Accessed: 1 December 2025).

EBSCO. (2022). *Kertbeny coins the terms 'Homosexual' and 'Heterosexual'* Social Sciences and Humanities. Research Starters. <https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/social-sciences-and-humanities/kertbeny-coins-terms-homosexual-and-heterosexual#full-article> (Accessed 13 February 2026)

Guy, Lauren. (2017) The Question of Reclaiming the Word Queer. <https://universitytimes.ie/2017/01/the-question-of-reclaiming-the-word-queer/> (Accessed 18 October 2025)

Matier, Phil and Miguel, Ken. (2022) 'Tenderloin: San Francisco's history and crime', ABC7 News. <https://abc7news.com/post/tenderloin-san-francisco-history-crime/11574311/> (Accessed: 1 December 2025).

O'Brien, Keegan. (2019) 'LGBTQ life, activism, and organizing in the United States before Stonewall', Teen Vogue. <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/lgbtq-life-activism-organizing-united-states-before-stonewall> (Accessed: 1 December 2025).

Old Pros Online. (2021) 'Why January 25th still matters today', Old Pros Online. <https://oldprosonline.org/why-january-25th-still-matters-today> (Accessed: 14 December 2025).

Soken-Huberty, Emmaline. (no date) Who started racism? History, Examples, Ways to Take Action. <https://www.humanrightscareers.com/issues/who-started-racism/> (Accessed 14 October 2025)

Takezawa, Yasuko I. and Smedley, Audrey. (2025) 'The history of the idea of race'. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/race-human/The-history-of-the-idea-of-race> (Accessed 14 October 2025)

US Census Bureau, Characteristics of persons by residence, United States: 1960
Census of Population, Supplementary Reports, PC(S1)-6, June 16,
1961. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1961/dec/pc-s1-6.html>
(Accessed: 2 December 2025)