

CIRCLE CITY STRIFE: GAY AND LESBIAN ACTIVISM DURING THE HUDNUT ERA

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This paper will be discussing gay and lesbian activism in Indianapolis during the 1980s and how the mayoral administration at the time interacted with it. We know the stories of Stonewall and San Francisco. But what about gay and lesbian activism in the Midwest? What stories does Indianapolis have to tell? This thesis will cover how a portion of the movement played out in Indianapolis. It will shine a light on the 1980s and look specifically at police discrimination on Monument Circle, gatherings like the Gay Knights rallies and the 1990 Celebration on the Circle, and political efforts to combat the HIV epidemic. It will also explore the local actions by city government to undertake the urban renewal movement and how those efforts interacted with queer activism. Collections from the Indiana Historical Society, University of Indianapolis, and the Indiana State Library illuminate both sides of the social conflict to understand what made this moment in Indianapolis a touchstone moment for the city. This thesis argues that gay and lesbian protests and social gatherings on Monument Circle rendered the queer community impossible to ignore in the Hudnut administration's dreams to reform Indianapolis into an entrepreneurial city.

Jennifer Guiliano, PhD, Chair

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Images.....vii
Introduction 1
Chapter One: Visions of a Holy City 9
Chapter Two: Knights of the Round Monument 25
Chapter Three: A Celebration in Crisis..... 39
Conclusion..... 52
Appendix 56
Curriculum Vitae

LIST OF IMAGES

Image A-1: "A Letter from the Publisher"	58
Image A-2: "The Body Works Changes Locations"	59
Image A-3: "Letter from Stanley Berg to Mayor Hudnut"	60
Image A-4: "Justice, Inc. Meets with Gay Groups"	63
Image A-5: "Justice, Inc. Holds State-Wide Meeting"	64
Image A-6: "Profile: Kathy Sarris"	65
Image A-7: "Letter from Eric S. Evans to Mayor Hudnut"	66
Image A-8: "Letter from Kent Robinson to L. Keith Bulen"	67
Image A-9: "IGLC Requests Meeting"	70
Image A-10: "IGLC Meets with City Officials"	71
Image A-11: "Gays Take Their Protest to the Circle"	72
Image A-12: "Letter from Mayor Hudnut to Richard Blankenbaker and Joseph McAtee"	73
Image A-13: "Gay Knights on the Circle"	76
Image A-14: "Gay/Lesbian Night on Monument Circle"	77
Image A-15: "Letter from Mayor Hudnut to Stanley Berg"	78
Image A-16: "3000 Attend 'Circle Celebration'"	81
Image A-17: "Letter from Mayor Hudnut to Stephanie Turner"	82
Image A-18: "Letter from Mayor Hudnut to Mike Stillings and Patrick Ramschell"	83
Image A-19: "Celebration on the Circle Proclamation"	84
Image A-20: "Letter from Mark J. Goff to Mayor Hudnut"	85

INTRODUCTION

On January 1, 1976, William Hudnut III took office as Mayor of Indianapolis. A Republican, he would become the longest serving mayor in the city's history at sixteen-years. These years were marked by urban renewal, private-public partnerships, and Unigov, the government structure that Indianapolis adopted in 1970 that consolidated city-county into a single organizational unit. These activities coincided with the movement for gay and lesbian equality and the emergence of the HIV crisis. Hudnut's desire to reform Indianapolis into an entrepreneurial city shaped his political and cultural work. His desire for revitalization led to an eventual clash between himself and some of the proponents of the gay and lesbian movement within the Circle City. Indianapolis' gay and lesbian activists utilized the politics around urban revitalization as well as those of HIV in the 1980s to establish their own goals of equity and recognition. Mayor William Hudnut III was unable to ignore these efforts. He ultimately established his own policies regarding Indianapolis' queer community and recognized this community as a key sector of the city's population.

I utilize three definitions when referring to the community commonly categorized as LGBTQ throughout the duration of this historical summary and subsequent analysis: "gay", "lesbian", or "queer." As historian Leila Rupp notes in her 1999 work *A Desired Past*, Americans have engaged in same-sex or queer activities across history but have not always identified themselves by either of these labels.¹

¹ Leila Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

There is an ambiguity to these individuals' behaviors that is crucial to the history of gender and sexuality. Rupp says, "sexuality is not a fixed essence, understood and practiced the same way across history and around the globe."² In the framework of this thesis, "gay" is an adjective for a man who identifies as homosexual while "lesbian" is an adjective for a woman who identifies as homosexual. I utilize "gay" and "lesbian" specifically, because they were utilized by local queer Indianapolis newspapers during the period of exploration. The term "queer" will be used as another descriptor for the same group of people. Queer was "lobbed as a slur" in the early part of the 20th century. Historian Reginal Kunzel noted in 2018 that queer was "embraced for its anti-assimilationist punch" in the 1980s and 1990s. Queer theorists "forged 'queer' into a powerful analytic" that could be used "as a critical lens to investigate challenges to normative modes of gender and sexuality."³ In addition, "activist" will be used to refer to an individual who is working to further the betterment of Indianapolis gay and lesbian community through political actions of interacting with politicians, protesting, and voicing their thoughts and opinions through the press. The activists I analyze reject the common conception of activism established by Pierce in *Polite Protest*, which suggests a meeker nature for activists in Indianapolis.

In his 2016 monograph titled *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics*, Timothy Stewart-Winter considers city government's role in queer activism. He writes, "the urban character of gay politics cannot be understood without taking seriously the

² Rupp, *A Desired Past*, 10.

³ Kunzel, Regina. "The Power of Queer History." *American Historical Review*, December 2018, 1564-1565.

crucial role that state and local governments played in the political reorientation in which social issues... moved from the margins to the center of American politics". In Indianapolis, understanding urban renewal and Unigov is critical to understanding the city's queer political activist movement and the resulting anti-discriminatory policies they achieved. In his 1990 book *The Rough Road to Renaissance*, historian Jon Teaford notes that, in the years following World War II, "older cities struggled to capture their share of American affluence and polish their tarnished image." Indianapolis was one such city. Their tarnished image contrasted with the development of suburbia, "white flight" from the cities to suburbia, and investment in highway construction that enabled the movement of the middle class away from the inner city and its blights of poverty and crime. Urban renewal addressed a perceived lack of vitality and wealth that sought to entice those who had left to return. This paper will specifically analyze practices of urban revitalization that took place in the city of Indianapolis as they confronted these challenges.

Passed in 1970, the consolidation of Indianapolis' city government structure with most of the surrounding Marion County's government structure ran parallel to the efforts of urban renewal in Indianapolis. Unigov streamlined the conjoined government system, weeded out redundancy, and promoted efficiency. It also infamously enabled Marion County's suburban, predominantly Republican voters to assume leadership within the city. Referred to by Indianapolis Democrats as "Unigrab", the consolidation and its resultant political concentration in the hands of Republican voters effectively

silenced Indianapolis' minority communities, including African American, gay, lesbian, queer, transgender, and female Hoosiers.

The Indianapolis Gay/Lesbian Coalition (IGLC), Hudnut's chief opposition in regards to queer civic rights throughout the events of this thesis, was comprised of Indianapolis' leading gay and lesbian activists including Stanley Berg and Kathy Sarris. Berg, Sarris, and their compatriots developed city- and state-wide organizations to educate the larger queer community about issues of concern, provide an opportunity for community gatherings, and to ensure recognition by local government. The IGLC and their goals are products of both the post-WWII homophile movement in the United States as well as the ensuing gay liberation movement following the events at Stonewall in 1969.⁴

In parallel to this thesis is a digital public history component comprising tours and entries created for the Discover Indiana mobile application available at: <https://publichistory.iupui.edu/>.⁵ Public history, which interprets and applies history methods for the general public and their audiences, recognizes the need for additional interpretations of queer histories and communities. Historian Susan Ferentinos writes, "LGBT historical interpretation can foster public dialogue, enrich the full telling of US

⁴ Historian John D'Emilio's work, in particular, is crucial to understanding the homophile movement as well as the development of the gay and lesbian community as a minority. In addition, understanding the meaning of the events that took place in Indianapolis requires a broader understanding of queer activism, and queer history in general, on the national level.

⁵ Specifically, the project, as it now exists, consists of five entries that cover police harassment, the Gay Knights rallies, the 1990 Celebration on the Circle, The Body Works, and Justice, Inc. These entries can be found in the Appendix.

history, expand audiences and collections, and provide a sense of belonging to a group whose contributions to the nation have been largely unrecognized.”⁶ Ferentinos’ *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, which details the interaction between queer history and public history, serves as a model of the type of scholarship I hope to promote with this thesis.⁷

Utilizing queer theory as a leading methodology, my analysis is largely based around the writings of Annamarie Jagose and Nikki Sullivan. Queer theory developed as a lens through which to analyze sexuality and queerness in the 1990s. Theorist Jagose argues that queer theory is the culmination of prior activist efforts. Queer is an inclusive element to identity politics, breaking from the norm and allowing individuals to truly have a unique identity. Theorist Sullivan’s *A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory* argues for the different actions that queer theory can allow an individual to take and what the consequences of those actions are. This demonstrates what can happen when queer theory interacts with race, masculinity, fetishism, pop culture, and other social facets. She argues that queer theory can be used to “queer” academic and social concepts to look at them from a more inclusive and humanizing point of view. There is an underlying concept that everyone is a little “queer.”

For the sake of this thesis, queer theory will be applied to examine how the IGLC activists attempted to “queer” Indianapolis politics and public space. Specifically, how did they and Hudnut engage in the “queering” of politics behind-closed-doors versus out

⁶ Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 15.

⁷ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*.

in public on Monument Circle? Thus, for this thesis, “queering” or any verb form of “to queer” will highlight moments where both activists and politicians engaged in the process of inclusionary politics, specifically the inclusionary politics of meshing the dreams of the city’s queer community with those of the city’s government officials.

The activist leaders detailed in this thesis are predominantly white, and almost entirely male.⁸ The focus on Mayor Hudnut and his clash with a select group of Indianapolis activists lends itself to a focus on gay men and their interactions with the city and its leadership.⁹

Chapter One, “Visions of a Holy City”, introduces Mayor Hudnut and his ambitions of urban renewal for the city. I argue that Hudnut’s visions of urban renewal in Indianapolis were a Niebuhrian project of social responsibility and faith played out on a grand, entrepreneurial scale. Additionally, readers will be introduced to Berg, Sarris, and their dreams for the queer community’s education and recognition. I argue that these individuals forced Hudnut to “queer” Indianapolis politics in their initial first face-to-face meetings in the fall of 1983. This 1983 meeting between the mayoral administration and the IGLC established an ambiguous relationship that lacked

⁸ Future scholarship may draw comparisons between the movement of the Indianapolis LGBTQ minority in this paper and the movement of the Indianapolis black minority in works like Richard Pierce’s *Polite Protest*, those comparisons are outside the scope of this work.

⁹ Women like Kathy Sarris, a member of the IGLC and head of Justice, Inc., play key roles as either activists or constituents in this history, most of the historical actors in this thesis will ultimately focus on men like Stanley Berg and Mayor Hudnut. There is so much more research to be done on each group and the influence Indianapolis women had on each.

intentionality in public. It would play out on Monument Circle for the remainder of the decade.

In Chapter Two, “Knights of the Round Monument”, I analyze the Gay Knights protests on Monument Circle which came as a response by the IGLC cohort to anti-queer police discrimination on Monument Circle in summer 1984. This chapter explores the role of police harassment and discrimination in fracturing relationships between the Mayor and gay and lesbian activists in 1984. I argue that Hudnut created an environment that allowed for police hostility towards the city’s queer community via urban renewal endeavors and a noncommittal attitude towards queer activists. I then analyze how gay and lesbian activists made use of Monument Circle, a key piece of Hudnut’s urban renewal plans, to achieve their goals. I argue that this utilization of Monument Circle rendered the Indianapolis queer community impossible for Hudnut to ignore in his larger dreams for the city.

In Chapter Three, “A Celebration in Crisis”, I explore the effects of the HIV crisis from the mid-to-late 1980s to the early years of the 1990s as it impacted the relationship between Hudnut and the IGLC cohort. While Hudnut and his administration focused on changing policy, Berg and Sarris pushed for education on the sexual health in the city’s queer community. I argue that the HIV/AIDS epidemic was a threat to both Hudnut’s and the activists’ visions of a collaborative Indianapolis that altered the two groups’ relationship with one another via altered missions and organizational structures. I close by analyzing the 1990 Celebration on the Circle and Hudnut’s ensuing campaign for Indiana Secretary of State, arguing that both groups faced a familiar contestation for

space and queer public recognition on Monument Circle despite their altered relationship.

Cumulatively, I argue that Mayor Hudnut, Berg, and Sarris contested the space on Monument Circle via protests and community celebrations, which rendered Indianapolis' queer community impossible to ignore. Hudnut's visions of an entrepreneurial city were endangered by the public debacles on Monument Circle, police discrimination, and the HIV crisis. Activists established their own dreams for city-wide recognition that conflicted with Hudnut's. Behind-closed-doors and on the steps of Monument Circle, these two groups engaged in a queering of city policy that both effected Hudnut's dreams for the city and established the gay and lesbian community as a minority of value in the eyes of city leadership.

CHAPTER ONE: VISIONS OF A HOLY CITY

At the beginning of 1983, Mayor William Hudnut III was gearing up to run for a second term as mayor. His urban renewal efforts in the city of Indianapolis and his desire leave the moniker of “Indiana-No-place” behind were no secret. Monument Circle had undergone a renovation in the late 1970s to lay down brick pavement.¹⁰ The city had held the National Sports Festival in 1982. Ground had already broken on an expansion to the convention center as well as the Hoosier Dome, which would convince the Baltimore Colts to move to Indianapolis in 1984. The soon-to-be owner of the Indiana Pacers Herb Simon was meeting with Hudnut about sponsoring urban renewal efforts in downtown Indianapolis, including the construction of Circle Centre Mall.¹¹ While these revitalization efforts brought considerable success to the city, they also brought Hudnut into contact with queer activists in the city of Indianapolis. His initial interactions with these individuals formed a contentious relationship that would play itself out on Monument Circle over the course of the following decade.

Prior to his time in Indianapolis, Hudnut attended Union Theological Seminary in the mid-1950s where he was mentored by Reinhold Niebuhr.¹² Niebuhr rejected religious righteousness to focus instead on social responsibility as both a man of faith and a political operative. As intellectual historian Ray Haberski writes in “A Theology of Limits”, Niebuhr rejected “true-believers, whether their dogmatism was liberalism,

¹⁰ *The Indianapolis Star*, March 15, 1978.

¹¹ “Mayor Hudnut to Herb Simon, March 27, 1978”, UIndy Mayoral Archives.

¹² William Hudnut III, *Minister/Mayor* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987), 52.

communism, or some form of Christianity.”¹³ Hudnut implemented these beliefs in his posting as pastor of Second Presbyterian Church in Indianapolis at the age of 30. In his book, *Minister/Mayor*, Hudnut wrote of two goals as the head of the church: to rebuild connections within the church and to build positive relationships between the church and the community.¹⁴ He writes, “I offered the opinion that some Christians can be so heavenly minded they are no earthly good. I defended the church’s right to take stands on the issues of the day. I preached the importance of volunteering, of being involved, of showing that we cared...”¹⁵ He transitioned his parishioners from rote religious dogmatism to a community action-oriented congregation. Community action would be a key element of Hudnut’s strategy of urban renewal.

Encouraging his church to volunteer, Hudnut wrote, “I began to dabble in volunteer activity,” going on to say that “politics was working its way into my blood.”¹⁶ He continues by adding, “I feel that politics is a legitimate form of ministry, in that it constitutes service to people.” Politics was holy work as his training under Niebuhr and his time at Second Presbyterian encouraged social responsibility through public office. His political efforts were intrinsically tied to his faith.¹⁷ Hudnut was sworn into office as

¹³ Raymond Haberski, Jr., “A Theology of Limits”, *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (December 2012), 673.

¹⁴ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 31.

¹⁵ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 31-32.

¹⁶ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 32.

¹⁷ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 39. He would go on to serve one term in the United States House of Representatives as a Republican candidate where he would learn about the nuances of political reorganization. Nevertheless, he lost the re-election in the wake of the Watergate scandal and returned to Indianapolis to run for mayor.

mayor on January 1, 1976, inheriting a city united with the county through the implementation of Unigov by Mayor Richard Lugar in 1970.

Hudnut aspired for the Circle City to “become a holy place, a place where neighbors will work and dwell together in peace... here, as my father liked to say, the human race will be transformed into human family.”¹⁸ His “holy place”, though, required a process of urban renewal which called for the establishment of Indianapolis as an “entrepreneurial city.”¹⁹ By entrepreneurial, Hudnut meant to move his city towards a place of financial prominence and change by collectively engaging in several new ventures. “Cities can seize opportunities to reshape the way urban life is structured,” Hudnut wrote, “to renew themselves as they change, and to promote revitalizing forces in the midst of urban abandonment and disinvestment.”²⁰ Hudnut’s desire for urban renewal in Indianapolis was akin to a holy journey that would enable a path to greatness for the city and its citizens. For Hudnut, the urban revitalization process was Niebuhr’s vision of social responsibility via faith played out on a grand scale. “Through local initiatives they [cities] can overcome their problems to enhance their competitive positions and the quality of life their citizens enjoy,” Hudnut wrote.²¹ Urban renewal, in his eyes, was a wholesome community with all citizens contributing.

Hudnut’s political identity was forged in the shadow of both the New Right and the Christian Right. Composed of conservatives responding to the “liberal excesses of

¹⁸ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 164-165.

¹⁹ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 20-21.

²⁰ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 20-21.

²¹ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 20-21.

the 1960s”, these political movements expressed “grave concerns about the changing nature of gender, sexuality, marriage, and the family.”²² Their “grave concerns” included the participation of the queer minority and gender fluid individuals in the public space. These movements embodied the righteousness that Niebuhr had warned of in seminary school. While beneficial to Hudnut as a passionate Republican voting base, the New Right and Christian Right challenged his belief in community action by rejecting minority-focused endeavors as well as groups that didn’t meet the “traditional” family archetype (i.e. white and heterosexual). Denouncing both separatism, as the lack of religion and “moral consideration” from politics, and absolutism, as the “complete identification” of politics with the divine, Hudnut believed that “between these two extremes, however, there lies viable middle ground where the interplay between religion and political campaigning rightfully takes place.”²³ Much like the Religious Right, Hudnut maintained his “moral considerations” while he was in office to guide his choices and vision for the city. However, he also focused on minority communities suffering from social inadequacies. In attempting to revitalize the city of Indianapolis as a united community, he aimed to keep himself situated in the aforementioned middle ground.

Amidst the unfolding of his second mayoral campaign, Hudnut and his administration experienced their first in-person interaction with queer activists in October 1983. Seeds of the division to come between Hudnut’s administration and the

²² Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 116.

²³ Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 116.

Indianapolis Gay/Lesbian Coalition over queer civil rights and the queer community's use of public space were sowed at this meeting. This division would play itself out during the two groups' interactions on Monument Circle throughout the remainder of the decade.

The Indianapolis Gay/Lesbian Coalition (IGLC), a collection of leadership from multiple gay/lesbian groups in the Circle City, came together in late 1982 in an effort to handle what they viewed as misinformation circulating through the city's political leadership about the gay and lesbian community which had generated "unfair" local news coverage.²⁴ Representatives of IGLC wrote to Hudnut's office requesting a meeting with the Mayor as well as the city's chief of police and director of public safety. Their letter stated:

If the media is to rely on the Indianapolis Police Department [IPD] for accurate information, then IPD must be able to differentiate between a criminal element within the gay community, and the actual community itself... We, therefore, request a meeting with you, Police Chief Joseph McAtee, and Public Safety Director Richard Blankenbaker. Such a meeting would surely benefit the entire Indianapolis community.²⁵

This request by the IGLC leadership for intentional interactions and conversations with Indianapolis authorities presented an opportunity for dialogue. Hudnut responded that the IGLC should meet with Director Blankenbaker to express their concerns. While the directness of the IGLC request bears some resemblance to

²⁴ *The Works*, November 1982, Indiana Historical Society.

²⁵ "Tom E. Green Jr. to Mayor Hudnut, November 14, 1982", UIndy Mayoral Archives.

their coastal gay liberation counterparts in New York City and San Francisco, this call for dialogue and education is much more in line with the homophile movements of the 1950s and 1960s.

Homophile groups of the 50s and 60s were tight-knit and focused on the unification of the queer community. They hosted discussion groups to challenge anti-queer attitudes rather than public protests, which would be a hallmark of later aspects of the movement.²⁶ Historian John D'Emilio argues in his foundational 1983 text *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* that these homophile movements and their tendencies for discussion over passionate displays during the post-war years were what led to the creation of a publicly recognizable and self-aware homosexual minority in the United States. To examine these notions, he chronicled the actions of the Mattachine Society, the Daughters of Bilitis, and *ONE* magazine as part of his study, who presented with similar motives and actions to the IGLC in Indianapolis in the early 1980s.²⁷ The IGLC intended to educate city leadership on the need to recognize Indianapolis' queer community as a minority. They also hoped to educate leaders about the needs associated with the queer communities in the city.

The summer of 1969 brought the Stonewall Riots of New York City, which began in the early hours of June 28. Fed up with police harassment, queer protestors took to the streets sparking two waves of activism that would envelop the queer activist

²⁶ Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 49.

²⁷ John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd ed., 1998).

movement into the 1980s: gay liberation and lesbian feminism.²⁸ Each movement and its participants were frustrated with discrimination towards the queer minority. They expressed an outward pride in their orientation and a willingness to take action to change their plight through public protest. While the IGLC's focus on education was more in line with the homophile work done in previous decades, the coalition's choice to ask for a meeting with city leadership displays a first step in a subtle transition toward Stonewall-style political protests that liberationists in New York and San Francisco favored for their necessitation of a public response by local government.

On January 10, 1983, officials from the IPD and the mayor's office responded to the IGLC request by meeting with members of the coalition. The mayor's office was represented by Blankenbaker, mayoral aide Roger Coleman, and city attorney John Ryan, while the IPD sent Deputy Chief Bob Ward and three other members of the department. Mayor Hudnut and Police Chief McAtee were notably not in attendance at the meeting. This suggested an initial reluctance from both individuals to engage in the involvement of queer activists, practices, and recommendations in inner workings of Indianapolis – a “queering” of city politics.²⁹ This absence was an early indicator that Hudnut's relationship with this particular group would not align to his rhetoric of community action, as opposed to some of the determination he showed to the city's

²⁸ Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 79.

²⁹ *The Works*, February 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

black minority via the formation of task forces as well as conversations with some of the city's African American clergymen.³⁰

The IGLC was represented at the meeting by Stanley Berg, Kathy Sarris, Pat Brown, Mary Byrne, Tom Green, James Mallow, and Marla Devendorg. Berg and Sarris, in particular, were leading forces in the city's gay and lesbian activist community.³¹ Berg was the head of The Body Works bathhouse in Indianapolis and publisher of *The Works* gay magazine,³² as well as its eventual successor, *The New Works News*.³³ Both news magazines were an advertising tool for The Body Works as they proposed to further "the dream of a united gay community."³⁴ The news magazines also sought "a closer cooperation among gay businesses."³⁵ While on opposite sides of the issue of queer rights tactically, Berg's rhetoric skewed surprisingly close to Hudnut's. Both leaders pushed for unity and teamwork in hopes of building a better community. Berg, for example, wrote to encourage readers to "come out of your closet. Let the whole world

³⁰ William Hudnut III, *The Hudnut Years in Indianapolis, 1976-1991* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 26.

³¹ It should be noted however that while Berg and Sarris (and their accompanying tactics) were sources of some of the hallmark moments that led to these interactions with the city's mayoral administration, they were far from the only activist individuals engaged in queering Indianapolis politics. For instance, while these two were just getting their respective starts in the city in 1977, Mary Byrne was an activist who was already well-entrenched. Byrne organized the protest of the infamous Anita Bryant rally that year and opened the popular feminist bar, Labyris, two years later at Michigan Street and College Avenue. Other Indianapolis activists engaged with queer political activism at the time included Marla Stevens and Kent Robinson.

³² *The Works*, October 1981, Indiana Historical Society. Berg started *The Works* in October 1981 to promote "the dissemination of gay oriented 'news' to the gay public."

³³ Berg was also representing the Greater Indianapolis Gay Business Association (GIGBA) on the IGLC.

³⁴ *The Works*, October 1982, Indiana Historical Society.

³⁵ *The Works*, October 1982, Indiana Historical Society.

know you are gay... If every person did that, then maybe the whole world would realize that their sister, father, uncle, or some member of their family is gay; then acceptance would be more readily forthcoming.” This quote captures the balance at play between promoting homophile actions of education and leaning into the proud, in-your-face attitude of the liberationist movement. Berg saw value in both and used his company’s newspaper to oscillate between the two as he worked to promote Indianapolis’ queer community and their rights. As noted by American Studies scholar Craig Loftin in his 2012 book *Masked Voices*, the establishment of a queer newspaper or magazine like this one was key to the creation of a queer subculture.³⁶ Berg ensured that the Indianapolis queer community was staying informed, becoming more unified, and maintaining a consistent presence in the public eye. This would be a presence that Hudnut’s administration would not be able to ignore.

Sarris was president of Justice, Inc., a state-wide advocacy organization for queer Hoosiers that began a mere month after *The Works*. Sarris met with several of the state’s queer organizations in November 1981 to establish their mission.³⁷ “In 1980, nothing happened in Indianapolis during Gay Pride Week...” wrote Sarris. “A group of us (activists) got together that year at the Mid-Town Ramada Inn. We formed a Pride Week Committee and we organized and sponsored the 1981 Pride Week Brunch at the Essex House Hotel.”³⁸ Other groups “began approaching us with their plans for Pride Week, so

³⁶ Craig M. Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012).

³⁷ *The Works*, December 1981, Indiana Historical Society.

³⁸ *The Works*, December 1981, Indiana Historical Society.

we ended up doing some type of statewide coordination... To me, Justice was formed out of the need for some type of coordination between gay organization[s].”³⁹ Sarris’ efforts with Justice worked to queer public spaces by celebrating the gay and lesbian minority in public. Its main activities were the development of a successful Gay Pride Week as well as queer voter registration.⁴⁰ In 1982 alone, Gay Pride Week generated approximately 100,000 participants in Marion County.⁴¹ This advocacy for queer participation in public spaces was not without personal sacrifice as Sarris found herself the victim of an attack outside her workplace mere days after one of Justice’s state-wide meetings in August 1982. This incident illuminated the prevalent anti-queer violence that the IGLC was working against within the city.⁴²

At the meeting with Blankenbaker, Berg, Sarris, and their allies presented a list of seven recommendations to Hudnut’s administration:

“the establishment of a liaison within IPD (or to the Mayor’s office) to the gay community; the relevant education of police officers and staff about gay-related needs; an affirmative policy statement concerning the treatment of gays by police officers; the assignment of crimes against gays to the appropriate departments; the use of proper and inoffensive language by IPD, especially when dealing with the news media; an affirmative policy statement concerning the employment of gays by IPD; and the respect

³⁹ *The Works*, December 1981, Indiana Historical Society.

⁴⁰ *The Works*, October 1982, Indiana Historical Society.

⁴¹ *The Indianapolis Star*, June 28, 1982.

⁴² *The Indianapolis Star*, June 28, 1982.

of gays' privacy rights by an immediate cessation of filming in and around their businesses." ⁴³

Blankenbaker agreed to review these recommendations with a follow-up meeting scheduled through Green. He stated "what we are trying to do here is sit down and find common ground and ways that we can work together in solving our problems." This sentiment was echoed by Ward, who said "if we don't communicate, we all end up building walls". Ward also expressed a desire to understand the discrimination facing Indianapolis' gay and lesbian citizens.⁴⁴ Both Blankenbaker and Ward were receptive to the recommendations. They appeared to activists to be working in good faith towards a sense of compromise echoing Hudnut's vision of a holy city that promoted unity. However, Ward's desire for proper communication from both sides was problematic. It hinted at the lack of recognition of the harassment faced by queer individuals from the Indianapolis Police Department, where he served. Activists of the IGLC left the meeting with a sense of progress: "we went into this with a serious and positive attitude, and the result was a serious and positive meeting."

A smaller second meeting was organized for April 14, 1983 between Berg, Green, and Jackie Johnson representing the ILGC and Blankenbaker, Ward, and a handful of other city officials to discuss IGLC's recommendations.⁴⁵ IGLC representatives found themselves repeating the recommendations from the last meeting. City officials simply

⁴³ *The Works*, February 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁴⁴ *The Works*, February 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁴⁵ *The Works*, May 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

responded that the developments needed time to happen.⁴⁶ The city's concern about time was legitimate. It also illustrated reticence about how to approach the public queering of Indianapolis policy through the participation of queer activists in the political sphere. Blankenbaker and Ward had shown the willingness to meet, but actual actions had yet to happen. The way forward with the recommendations was much murkier.

Negative interactions between the IPD and members of IGLC during the summer nearly derailed the prospects of the in-person meeting between Hudnut and the IGLC that was intended to follow the Blankenbaker-Ward meeting. The June 1983 copy of *The Works* printed a statement from a vice captain in the IPD stating "our number one priority this year is Holliday Park on the Northside. The problem there, as usual, is the homosexual activity."⁴⁷ In addition, a local news station ran a story at the end of the month that Deputy Chief of Police Ward had made an off-camera statement calling The Body Works "nothing more than a male whorehouse". This was in response to Berg criticism that the IPD wasn't fully working with the city's queer community.⁴⁸ The news coverage and report led to Berg marching to Hudnut's office the next morning to "demand an apology from the city."⁴⁹ While *The Works* notes that no apology was provided, Berg met with Chief McAtee, Ward, and a mayoral aide which led to the release of a joint news release criticizing the news station's report.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *The Works*, May 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁴⁷ *The Works*, June 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁴⁸ *The Works*, August 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁴⁹ *The Works*, August 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁵⁰ *The Works*, August 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

The tensions at play in this situation demonstrate the realities of police harassment towards Indianapolis' queer community. It also supports the validity of the IGLC's recommendations. The use of public space for activities perceived by the government as deviant in a city that focused on urban renewal led to heavy police intervention. This exchange also demonstrated the power that *The Works* had begun to afford Berg. He was able to arrive unannounced at the seat of city government and gain an audience with officials that resulted in a joint public statement. The release of this joint statement showed a willingness to craft a solution between Hudnut's administration and leading queer activists. It also signaled a step forward in the developing relationship between the two sides.

With the tense encounter with Berg resolved, Mayor Hudnut finally met in-person with six members of the IGLC on October 3, 1983 to discuss discrimination, the status of the gay and lesbian community as a minority, and political advocacy.⁵¹ Representing the IGLC were Berg, Sarris, Green (an editor for *The Works*), Ruth Peters (representing Indiana NOW), Charles Wyeth (from Dignity/Central Indiana), and Philip Mischler (of the Fellowship organization). As the meeting got underway, Hudnut confirmed that he viewed the gay and lesbian community of the city as a minority. He "admitted that he had 'never focused on the issue before.'"⁵² According to *The Works*, Hudnut went on to affirm "in a comfortable manner" that it was not his intention to deny any gay and lesbian individual an opportunity in Indianapolis. He was open to

⁵¹ *The Works*, November 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁵² *The Works*, November 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

creating advisory roles for the gay and lesbian community within his administration. Hudnut also expressed interest in amending the Executive Order on city-county employment discrimination to include a line about sexual orientation.⁵³ He also noted the “possibility of issuing a proclamation declaring the third week of June as Gay Pride Week.”⁵⁴ For the activists, this dialogue represented progress. It also exposed the hurdles still faced. *The Works* noted that Hudnut was in “obvious discomfort” at being in a meeting with gay and lesbian citizens.⁵⁵ He turned down multiple invitations to gay and lesbian events as well as a photo opportunity at the end of the meeting that would have been made available publicly.⁵⁶ Hudnut’s response to these gestures was, “You have to realize that I am in a difficult position. I feel that everyone should have access to the Mayor... I usually have to try to avoid getting pulled too far off the middle of the road although I try to listen to all sides.”

Though marketing himself as a politician who advocated for volunteerism and social responsibility, Hudnut distanced himself from Berg and Sarris at this meeting. His

⁵³ *The Works*, November 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁵⁴ *The Works*, November 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

⁵⁵ These exchanges also necessitate a discussion of *The Works*’ potential bias in covering the events of the meeting. While there is no reason not to take the quotations printed in *The Works* as accurate (the outlet was a necessity for the queer community given their absence in major sources like *The Indianapolis Star*), it does feel editorialized to print that Hudnut was in “obvious discomfort.” Although that was more than likely the case at the meeting, it is still nonetheless something tricky to convey in good faith in a news article. Thus, while this article and others mostly assist in conveying the broader scope of events, they also subtly convey the IGLC’s reactions through the composition of the article too. Further research into this meeting and the rest of the events of this thesis would be best started with the Indiana Archives and Records Administration as well as IPD records.

⁵⁶ *The Works*, November 1983, Indiana Historical Society.

placing of value on his ability to interact with all parties suggests that he felt that this was a key ability of his in achieving his goals of urban renewal and a holy city. It provided him an opportunity to ignore the more “difficult” actions of engaging with the IGLC activists on a public level. Hudnut appeared to be willing to engage in a “queering” of Indianapolis political norms behind-closed-doors, hearkening back the issues of social justice instilled in him by Niebuhr.⁵⁷ This is fitting for the city’s Unigov-centered politics given the “behind closed doors” nature that the consolidated system allowed for its Republican politicians. A consolidated government, while efficient, allowed for fewer people to be involved in making decisions. Public knowledge of these activities would undercut Hudnut’s rhetoric of community engagement and involvement. Hudnut put a premium on public appearances in relation to his perception of how they would effect success of his agenda. Interactions with the queer communities being denounced by the New Right faction of the populace, which also made a large percentage Hudnut’s voting bloc, was not going to play as a unanimous success.⁵⁸

Berg, Sarris, and their peers left feeling that “at least a dialogue had been initiated that they would continue to pursue should Hudnut be re-elected.” It was an important moment for these activists as it was the first time an Indianapolis mayor had met to discuss issues facing their community. It was not, though, the completely rousing success they had hoped for. They had established a concrete dialogue for

⁵⁷ Nikki Sullivan, *A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).

⁵⁸ This notion of success will play a critical role in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

interactions with city leadership, akin to the education-drive activists of the homophile movements a couple decades prior. But it did not result in directed action by Hudnut to reform either the IPD or governmental agencies. This non-committal behavior set the stage for a larger showdown between the two groups on Monument Circle the following year in the form of the Gay Knights gatherings.

CHAPTER TWO: KNIGHTS OF THE ROUND MONUMENT

In August 1984, *The Works* ran a profile on David Molden, an openly gay nineteen-year-old man who experienced police harassment on Monument Circle. On his way home from work late at night on July 6, Molden was walking north on Meridian Street when a vehicle pulled up beside him. Demanding three times that he approach the car, the driver later identified as Officer S. Moore of the Indianapolis Police Department (IPD) shouted, "you'd better get your ass over here! I'm a cop!"⁵⁹ Moore then demanded Molden provide identification. Molden handed Moore his Body Works membership card and his fake driver's license. A police transportation wagon, two marked cars, and two unmarked cars joined the scene. Officer Gruner then inspected the Body Works card, questioning Molden about the connections between Body Works and his presence on the Circle. Gruner implied that Molden was "trolling" on the Circle, a practice where individuals would solicit one another for sex, both paid and unpaid. Molden replied, "I don't see what going to Body Works has anything to do with being on the Circle." Gruner grabbed Molden by the shirt calling him "a mouthy little son of a bitch." Molden claimed later that Gruner "proceeded to strike me two times in the face so hard that it brought tears to my eyes. Then he proceeded to choke me with both hands; I couldn't talk or breathe. I tried to scream but nothing came out. I believe one of the other officers pulled Officer Gruner off me; everything went black for a few seconds."⁶⁰ Molden was then shoved by Moore into a police car with Gruner attempting

⁵⁹ *The Works*, August 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁶⁰ *The Works*, August 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

to approach again. "Why don't you let the little son of a bitch back out here so I can have another go at him?" asked Gruner. When Molden inquired why Gruner had assaulted him, Moore responded, "I didn't see anything."⁶¹ This incident on Monument Circle, the public space surrounding the Indiana State Soldiers and Sailors Monument at the intersection of Meridian and Market Streets in the center of downtown Indianapolis, emblemized the confrontations between the Indianapolis Police and its gay and lesbian citizens. As the Circle was one of the major focal points of Hudnut's urban renewal efforts, it served as both a heavily policed public space and a microcosm of the conflict between the city, police, and Indiana's LGBT citizens. These confrontations over basic freedoms were not limited to the public spaces of the city but also to the supposedly safe spaces of the police station. Molden was asked by one officer filling out his processing paperwork, "Are you a fucking queer?" Another officer called Molden a "faggot". He was not allowed a phone call because he "had a bad attitude". Nor was he allowed to sign the custody envelope where his personal belongings were placed. Molden was walked past a "rowdy" cell while being told by one officer that he "ought to throw you in there and let them fuck your faggot ass to death". Throughout the night, he was moved to seven different cells only to be released the next morning with no charges filed against him. Officers Gruner and Moore were soon listed as being on "vacation", which I can only assume was a response to concerns about their behavior the previous evening.⁶² David Molden's experience was just one of several similar

⁶¹ *The Works*, August 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁶² *The Works*, August 1984, Indiana Historical Society; *The Works*, September 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

incidents in 1984. At least twenty-three allegations of harassment were lodged with the Indiana Civil Liberties Union (ICLU) and documented by *The Works*. Multiple claims were made of the IPD using videotaping as a method to deter queer interactions through public surveillance. Three allegations of harassment and brutality were lodged with IPD Internal Affairs⁶³---one of them being Molden's.⁶⁴

These events involving IPD officers and gay and lesbian citizens are a far cry from the hopeful tone that had emerged after the October 1983 meeting between Mayor Hudnut and the IGLC activists. Cases of police discrimination coupled with Hudnut's ambiguous relationship with the city's activists soured progress made between the city and its LGBT citizens. Activists were furious with the city's leadership which translated into a marked shift toward overt political organizing and public protest instead of private mediation. IGLC activists and their constituents would battle city leadership for the public space on Monument Circle in the summer of 1984 in the form of the Gay Knights protests. Would the Circle be a safe, renewed space that reflected Hudnut's urban renewal policies? Or would it be a space of public contestation that allowed for public expressions of LGBT community including sexual liberation?

By spring 1984, cracks had formed in the goodwill that had been forged at the October 1983 meeting. A resolution was introduced by the U.S. Conference of Mayors in

⁶³ *The Works*, August 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁶⁴ It is inescapable not to highlight the fact that *The Works* chose to highlight the plight of a white homosexual male with their profile. While each individual hate crime must be taken seriously on a case-by-case basis, this example also poses the questions of what the plight of non-white and non-homosexual members of the city's queer community experienced at this time. Further research is needed to illuminate this topic.

March 1984 that promoted legislation against anti-gay discrimination. *The Works* called for Hudnut to support it, noting that this would be a steppingstone to enacting an Indianapolis policy for fighting anti-gay hiring discrimination.⁶⁵ Hudnut responded, “I’m afraid I’ve been unable to identify the resolution that you have referenced. Should such a question require my action, I will give it due consideration in the context of the interest of the overall community.”⁶⁶ While there is a possibility that Hudnut was actually unable to locate the resolution, it is more likely that he was avoiding public recognition of his support for the city’s queer citizenry. Though he showed the willingness to consider “queering” city government behind closed doors, he was unwilling to face public scrutiny. He had denied the opportunity to take a picture with IGLC activists back in October. He also denied a request to issue a proclamation for Pride week a few months later in June 1984. He stated that it would “conflict with his beliefs.” Some gay and lesbian Hoosiers felt like progress towards equity had stalled out in Indianapolis.⁶⁷ The stall was also a sign of the widening gulf between the two groups that was being affected by national concerns.

For queer activists, the rise of the HIV crisis – a literal life or death scenario – shaped their interactions with the city. Although only 200 cases had been documented in Indianapolis⁶⁸, activists feared the city would follow the lead of San Francisco and

⁶⁵ *The Works*, March 1984, Indiana Historical Society; *The Works*, April 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁶⁶ *The Works*, June 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁶⁷ *The Works*, July 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁶⁸ *The Works*, September 1982, Indiana Historical Society.

New York in closing bathhouses and sex clubs as public health hazards.⁶⁹ Hudnut's urban renewal process was an unprecedented success. However, it was presented with a potential setback with the public disclosure of an active queer community as well as the HIV epidemic as individuals feared potential public contagion through contact with queer citizens.

The schism between Hudnut and queer activists grew with publication of a letter written by Hudnut in June 10, 1982 to his Chief of Police, Joseph McAtee, and his Director of Public Safety, Richard Blankenbaker. In the correspondence, Hudnut noted that "a number of young men... are trolling on the Circle and the immediate area around the Circle looking for a homosexual pickup". Efforts should be taken to "eliminate this kind of activity from that area, as its presence could become a substantial disincentive to persons to shop and dine downtown."⁷⁰ This notion of a disincentive to shop and dine echoes the language of urban renewal that promoted business interests. Hudnut's instructions to the police demonstrate a noticeable disconnect from the language used in his 1984 book *Minister/Mayor*. He writes "every time we seek to build bridges between the Police Department and the minority community, we do so with hope that relationships will improve and peace and tranquility will someday become a reality."⁷¹ While Hudnut was writing of his relationship with the city's black community, this quote pertains to his relationship with the queer community as well, which had long been

⁶⁹ Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012), 227.

⁷⁰ "Mayor Hudnut to Richard Blankenbaker & Joseph G. McAtee, June 10, 1982", University of Indianapolis Mayoral Archives.

⁷¹ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, p. 61-62.

established as a minority community through the homophile movements post-WWII. Hudnut wanted “peace and tranquility” on his terms. As such, queer citizens could and should not have different needs than his conservative heterosexual constituents. Hudnut did not directly encourage police brutality to take place. Yet, this 1982 letter undeniably portrays him as putting his dream for a holy city above the needs of those living in it. Monument Circle was a focal point for his efforts. His passion to develop the city combined with his devout faith in both his religion and his ability to revitalize Indianapolis enabled him to ignore the queer communities in public while meeting with them in private. Hudnut’s letter urging McAtee and Blankenbaker to eliminate queer presence on the Circle manifested in police violence. Although Hudnut had not called for the harassment per se, his inability to leverage the power he wielded with Unigov to protect queer citizens enabled the officers’ actions all the same. He was responsible for creating an environment that allowed the vicious treatment of queer citizens of Indianapolis.

Discrimination and police violence were common within the American queer communities. Historian Timothy Stewart-Winter’s “Queer Law and Order: Sex, Criminality, and Policing in the Late Twentieth-Century United States” discusses the abuse of those in power to analyze the relationship between gay and lesbian activism and police discrimination. Stewart-Winter delves into the strengthening of the “carceral state” and the punishment it has unfairly handed out to the queer community over the post-World War II years. He argues that queer rights were slowly gained at the same time as this carceral state was implemented. Queer activists slowly receded into the

periphery in fear of the police.⁷² This same carceral state is one that Hudnut enabled in Indianapolis as he actively and publicly ignored the city's queer community. They were merely obstacles towards urban renewal on Monument Circle.

On June 29, 1984, preventative measures were taken to relieve the conflict between police and the city's gay and lesbian activists. The ICLU hosted a press conference that condemned the police harassment targeting members of the city's gay community. In conjunction with this announcement, the IPD proclaimed that they would be withdrawing their Circle Unit, the vice squad tasked with monitoring Monument Circle, and substituting those police patrols with videotaping. While IPD claimed videotaping deterred prostitution, it was also an effort to document homosexual couples socializing in public and discourage them from doing so. Videotaping captured queer activities, making them part of the official police record.⁷³ As part of the announcement, the IPD and ICLU agreed on guidelines so that "innocent" bystanders would not be targeted.⁷⁴ In this situation, the necessity to classify queer individuals on Monument Circle as an innocent person demonstrates the heteronormative focus of urban renewal plans. These preventative actions did little to protect gay men as

⁷² Timothy Stewart-Winter, "Queer Law and Order: Sex, Criminality, and Policing in the Late Twentieth-Century United States" (*Journal of Urban History* 41, no. 5 (2015)), 825-835. Stewart-Winter's analysis of Chicago demonstrates that the carceral state forced its cities' activists to become disengaged with protests. The carceral state here in Indianapolis had the opposite effect on its members of the gay and lesbian movement.

⁷³ This thesis will, unfortunately, do little to grapple with the actions and consequences of police videotaping as there were no tapes to be found in the collections that are being utilized here. However, next steps could and should be taken on this front by interacting with the IARA and police records on this matter.

⁷⁴ *The Works*, August 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

Molden's detention would demonstrate days later. In the words of Berg, "If you're a male walking around Monument Circle at 10 o'clock at night and you're not attended by a female, you're committing a crime."⁷⁵

Following Molden's mistreatment at the hands of IPD, activist leaders including John Carlile from Justice, Inc., Ruth Peters from NOW, and Stanley Berg from The Body Works bathhouse announced a press conference of their own on Monument Circle for July 12.⁷⁶ Prior to the conference's scheduled start time, the ICLU and IPD again issued statements reassuring queer citizens that harassment on the Circle would cease. It included an acknowledgement that an Internal Affairs investigation into several officers had begun. At the conference itself, activist leaders published their own press release signed by several Indianapolis gay and lesbian organizations. They requested a number of accommodations: special police units should be instructed not to harass gays; an investigation of brutality charges against IPD officers should be launched; videotaping on the Circle should immediately cease; Hudnut and McAtee should meet with activist leaders to discuss discrimination against gay individuals in Indianapolis; an internal memo sent out to IPD from Hudnut and McAtee calling for the end of discrimination against the gay community should be distributed; Hudnut should appoint a permanent liaison with the gay community; and McAtee should create a mandatory gay and lesbian awareness training program for officers. To support their call for action, the closing remarks of the press conference promised social events on the Circle for members of

⁷⁵ *The Indianapolis Star*, July 29, 1984.

⁷⁶ *The Works*, August 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

the gay and lesbian community on July 20 and every ensuing Friday until the police harassment ceased.⁷⁷

This press conference and its call to engage on the Circle each Friday night demonstrated a transition in the methods of the IGLC activists from those of the homophile movement to those of the gay liberation movement. Discussing gay liberationists in his 2012 book *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, Marc Stein writes, “they believed that coming out in public would promote greater visibility for gays and lesbians, confront prejudice, and challenge the relegation of sexual matters to the private sphere.”⁷⁸ By the same token, in Linda Hirshman’s 2012 work *Victory*, she elaborates that the post-Stonewall activists had “showed they were scary enough so that the society had to include them in the social contract...”⁷⁹ Berg and his compatriots challenged the private sphere that Hudnut was clearly clinging to in his unwillingness to engage with them in public. They were establishing that they too had to be included in the city’s social contract. They were impossible to ignore.

From July 20 onwards, gay and lesbian citizens of the city were present on the Circle every Friday from eight to eleven each evening protesting and socializing as planned.⁸⁰ These Friday night events created a buzz in downtown Indianapolis. There was local media coverage. Horse-drawn carriages were staying busy. The Circle Café was even staying open until midnight instead of seven PM to accommodate the increased

⁷⁷ *The Works*, August 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁷⁸ Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 84.

⁷⁹ Linda Hirshman, *Victory* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2012), 129.

⁸⁰ *The Works*, September 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

foot-traffic. The first of these so-called "Gay Nights on the Circle" saw three hundred gay men and lesbian women on the north side of the Circle. A couple hundred more were spread throughout the Circle, leaving traffic congested for two blocks in every direction. Each Friday night afterwards included about two hundred members of the Indianapolis gay and lesbian community on the Circle. *The Works* dubbed the attendees of these events as the "Gay Knights."⁸¹ They claimed Hudnut's featured space at the center of his urban renewal efforts as their own.

Hudnut failed to respond to the actions of both the IPD's violation of queer citizens and the Gay Knights events. Only Police Chief McAtee stated in an interview that his office door would be open to discuss the police actions on the Circle. Activist John Carlile attempted to set up a meeting with McAtee several times. On August 2, McAtee told Carlile that he would not meet with any members of the gay community as it would only spark more press conferences.⁸² In less than a month, the presence of the Gay Knights was already being felt within the city. As Berg noted in an interview with *The Indianapolis Star*, "Hudnut and McAtee may wish no harm to come to the gay community. But because the political atmosphere is so volatile, they probably feel it is best to look the other way."⁸³ In addition, Sarris, Carlile, and Berg met with Michael Gradison of ICLU on August 1 to discuss the ICLU-IPD videotaping agreement. These activists felt there were too many loopholes in the document for it to be effective. It allowed IPD to film the Gay Nights on the Circle even though the agreement stated that

⁸¹ *The Works*, September 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁸² *The Works*, September 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁸³ *The Indianapolis Star*, July 29, 1984.

videotaping was not targeting the gay community. The ICLU desired to add a section to the document requiring a third-party review of all video tapes filmed by IPD.⁸⁴

The Gay Knights' events culminated in the August 31 "Gay/Lesbian Night on the Circle", which was reportedly attended by four hundred or more attendees.⁸⁵ *The Indianapolis Star* featured an ad for the event in the days leading up to the rally, providing basic information for when and where attendees should arrive and who they should expect to speak.⁸⁶ The five speakers at the rally consisted of Michael Jones, a gay man pressing charges for IPD harassment; Michael Gradison of ICLU, who affirmed the ICLU's stance against IPD harassment; Dr. Bruce Voelle, co-founder of the National Gay Task Force, who discussed the need for gays and lesbians to speak with one voice on issues; Katy Sarris from Justice, Inc., who spoke on political issues and the gay vote; and Stan Berg who represented *The Works*. *The Indianapolis News*' write-up of the night detailed some light harassment that took place from anti-homosexual protestors that organized across the street from the rally. The appearance of a pellet gun, an attempted

⁸⁴ *The Works*, September 1984, Indiana Historical Society. Ultimately, they agreed to disagree on the IPD videotaping policy.

⁸⁵ *The Works*, October 1984, Indiana Historical Society; This number was disputed as being closer to 200 people in the September 1, 1984 editions of *The Indianapolis Star* and *The Indianapolis News*. Espich, Frank. "Homosexuals' Protest." *The Indianapolis Star*. September 1, 1984, "Pellets Hurt 2 at Rally." *The Indianapolis News*. September 1, 1984.

⁸⁶ "Gay/Lesbian Night." *The Indianapolis Star*. August 29, 1984; For local media coverage, several local radio stations ran PSA's for the rally all day Friday. Channels 4, 6, and 13 were noted by *The Works* as giving positive coverage, while Channel 8 ran little coverage and Channel 59 ignored the rally completely. *The Works* wrote that *The Indianapolis Star* had little acknowledgment of it in the Saturday paper, and *The Indianapolis News* focused mainly on protestors and any violence in the Saturday paper.

removal of the event's banner, and the lighting of a firecracker were distractions during the event that were ultimately ended by police intervention.⁸⁷

In acknowledgement of the Gay Knights' public efforts, Mayor Hudnut issued a letter to *The Works* that highlighted Indianapolis' non-discrimination policy. "It is the policy of the City of Indianapolis not to discriminate," he wrote, "and it is the policy of the City of Indianapolis not to harass any citizens or segment of the citizenry including the gay community...".⁸⁸ An attached note on the policy from one of his advisors rests in the Mayoral Archive. The advisor noted "...the gays will get off your back if we insert the underlined phrase in this letter."⁸⁹ Dated August 16 on the draft, Hudnut waited on releasing his letter to the press, suggesting he took at least two weeks to ponder it. Hudnut's letter was the "first time that any Mayor of Indianapolis has made any public pronouncement on gays in Indianapolis."⁹⁰ The crowd cheered during the letter reading at the Friday night rally. Monument Circle echoed with chants of 'Gay, Gay, Gay!'.⁹¹

Politically, little was accomplished through this series of events. Indianapolis leadership including the mayor and police force did little to adhere to policy in the

⁸⁷ "Pellets Hurt 2 at Rally." *The Indianapolis News*, September 1, 1984; *The Works* describes that there were about 50 anti-gay protesters on the Circle who stayed in front of Christ Church Cathedral. A group of young boys led by their minister were the ones who tore down the Gay/Lesbian Night banner. The individuals who tore it down was promptly arrested while members of the rally held it back up for the remainder of the event. A couple stink bombs and M-80's were let off as well. *The Works* notes that the IPD "did a fine job keeping order on the Circle" and arrested several hecklers.

⁸⁸ *The Works*, October 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁸⁹ "Mayor Hudnut to Stanley Berg, August 16, 1984." University of Indianapolis Mayoral Archives.

⁹⁰ *The Works*, October 1984, Indiana Historical Society.

⁹¹ There was also a gay/lesbian disco dance party on Circle after the speakers finished.

events leading up to the Gay/Lesbian Night on the Circle. Hudnut had discovered that his urban renewal process was not going to be as easy as he thought. He could no longer treat queer citizens as a disincentive that could be ignored when they were being mistreated by the police department. His attempts at queering politics solely behind closed doors with the IGLC activists while simultaneously relying on a vice squad to discourage public activities by queer residents could not coexist as policy going forward. He would have to work directly, and publicly, with his citizenry to achieve complete success of his holy city vision. He was being forced to make progress with the city's queer community.

Berg, in an interview in 1988 reflecting on the Gay Knights rallies recalls feeling a sense of optimism towards Hudnut. He cites the rallies as a “watershed experience”. “Discrimination starts with the political machinery,” he offered. “If discrimination is allowed to go on in city government, it will be elsewhere. That’s why we have been somewhat lucky to have had Mayor Hudnut... while he may be somewhat reluctant to discuss gay issues, when a gun was held to his head, so to speak, he responded favorably.”⁹²

In *Minister/Mayor*, Hudnut states “the essence of community is not uniformity but being able to achieve an equilibrium among the difference.”⁹³ While this divide was hardly settled through the 1984 events on Monument Circle, both sides were fortunate to have reached an understanding when they did through their use of the public space.

⁹² *The Indianapolis Star*, August 27, 1988.

⁹³ Hudnut, *Minister/Mayor*, 59.

Another variable was beginning to take the forefront over civil rights in this Indianapolis schism that these two factions would grapple with for the remainder of the 1980s: HIV.

CHAPTER THREE: A CELEBRATION IN CRISIS

Following the Gay Knights protests of summer 1984, Mayor William Hudnut and IGLC leadership limited their contact with one another through the remainder of the 1980s. Both were dealing with the HIV crisis, but separately. HIV effected the tactics used by city's queer activists and how Hudnut and city leadership responded to the queer communities in the city. Both found their visions of a unified and collaborative city influenced by the work they had to do to combat HIV. Indianapolis activists focused education and outreach to the queer communities while Hudnut and his administration dealt with the HIV crisis through the larger Indianapolis citizenry as well as the widespread recognition brought to the central Indiana region by Ryan White. White was a high school student from Kokomo, IN who was also a hemophiliac that contracted the HIV virus. White's popularity soared in the wake of his work to be readmitted to school following his diagnosis. Hudnut's administration utilized public policy and federal government engagement to curb this public health crisis while simultaneously navigating the changing terrain of Republican politics brought on by the continued rise of the New Right. These parallel paths would once more converge on Monument Circle for the 1990 Celebration on the Circle during Pride festivities. With an election at stake, the Circle again served as a focal point about the role of queer individuals in public space. The resulting confrontation would impact the city by further establishing the Indianapolis queer community as a recognizable and impactful sector of the city's citizenry.

Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) was recognized by the American public in the early 1980s as reports began surfacing of gay men checking into hospitals with rare medical conditions. Initially dubbed “gay-related immune deficiency” (GRID), what became known as HIV was soon recognized as affecting those outside the queer community including individuals sharing needles and Haitian-immigrant populations. While the devastating HIV virus itself would not be identified until the mid-1980s, GRID and AIDS (Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome) were recognized as medical conditions by 1982, mere months before the formations of the IGLC in Indiana.

Historian Jennifer Brier contends in *Infectious Ideas* that AIDS activism created a new form of progressive politics that placed emphasis on sexual health within the queer community.⁹⁴ These progressive politics focused on engagement and community support within the queer community regarding HIV prevention. Political scientist Deborah Gould’s 2009 monograph *Moving Politics* interprets the history of the ACT UP organization and the key role that emotion played in their activities.⁹⁵ They argue that there were political, educational, and emotional consequences for AIDS on queer activists. These consequences would manifest themselves in the actions of Indianapolis’ queer participants including Berg, Sarris, and the Indianapolis Bag Ladies, who were already well-entrenched in AIDS activism before members of the IGLC concluded the Gay Knights rallies in the summer of 1984. The Indianapolis Bag Ladies got their start as

⁹⁴ Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 10, 44.

⁹⁵ Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP’s Fight against AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

a group of gay men who dressed in drag to host on elaborate parties and bus tours in the name of fundraising for HIV-related causes. As far back as October 1981, they raised funds, educated on HIV prevention and safe sex methods, and worked alongside local religious organizations to provide support for the queer community. These individuals pioneered AIDS activism in Indianapolis utilizing their mix of fun and drag. Berg and Sarris would join their efforts in the latter part of 1984.

The delay in IGLC joining in AIDS activism efforts was a result of their focus on police harassment and queer civil rights. Just a year after the Gay Knights rallies ended, *The Works* ran an article highlighting 14 complaints of police harassment on Monument Circle that had occurred since the start of the summer of 1985.⁹⁶ In one encounter, four IPD officers approached 18-year-old Michael Mandabach and his friend on the steps of the Circle. The officers told them if they ever saw their “asses there again, [they’d] have their asses hauled off to jail.”⁹⁷ Police harassment resuming on Monument Circle demonstrated another lapse from city leadership in the agreements that had resulted from discussions between IGLC and Hudnut’s administration. A letter sent to Hudnut by *The Works* hinted at the prospect of the IGLC initiating another set of Gay Knights rallies in the face of these continued episodes.⁹⁸ Hudnut presumably wished to avoid another contestation of the public space around Monument Circle so soon after the last one. The lack of any further evidence of a major public dispute resulting from these new instances of violence suggests that the severity of the ongoing HIV epidemic situation

⁹⁶ *The Works*, July 1985, Indiana Historical Society.

⁹⁷ *The Works*, July 1985, Indiana Historical Society.

⁹⁸ *The Works*, July 1985, Indiana Historical Society.

overwhelmed concerns about police harassment. Berg celebrated that *The Works* had the ear of the mayor writing in an annual retrospective that “for the first time, the gay and lesbian community has access to City Hall – we never had that access before the coming of *The Works*. City Hall knows that *The Works* screams loudly and eloquently in the cause of gay rights.” Despite ongoing police harassment, at least one leader within the city’s queer activists felt a modicum of success in efforts to work with Hudnut’s administration. Communication mixed with a willingness to use Monument Circle as a place of contestation were steadily achieving the goals they desired.

Berg, Sarris, and their compatriots found themselves preoccupied with how to combat the HIV epidemic in the Circle City. For Berg and *The Works*, HIV education through the increased publishing of HIV-related articles brought continual coverage of the situation. They detailed the proposed AIDS plans by the state and county in February 1986 and the Presidential AIDS Commission in September 1987. Articles analyzed the consequences of those plans and other policies, provided statistics for the number of new cases appearing in the state, promoted safe sex advertisements, and criticized politicians who turned a blind eye towards the plight of people living with HIV. This was a criticism notably directed at then-U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who only publicly uttered the word AIDS for the first time in 1985 and did not give a full speech devoted to the matter until 1987, but not Mayor Hudnut, whose administration had already recognized the epidemic before the Reagan speech.⁹⁹ News articles demonstrated the

⁹⁹ *The Works*, February 1986 and April 1986, Indiana Historical Society; *The New Works News*, May 1987 and September 1987, Indiana Historical Society.

multi-faceted nature of the health crisis facing the queer community. Berg's paper played a key role in communicating the need to understand sexual health. It helped queer citizens understand the politics associated with, and for, people living with HIV.

Sarris' Justice organization expanded into new programming for HIV activism. The organization implemented a state-wide annual conference focused on the education of the queer community starting in March 1987.¹⁰⁰ Their annual Gay Pride Week event also underwent major changes, transitioning from being a yearly brunch to a public picnic by the summer of 1989 at Westlake Park.¹⁰¹ Justice worked with Indiana politicians as well. They sent representatives to meet with members of Governor Evan Bayh's administration in April 1989 to open up communication about discriminatory violence faced by their constituents and the HIV epidemic.¹⁰² The same techniques utilized to get an in-person meeting with Indianapolis Mayor Hudnut were now being applied to the state's government.¹⁰³ While the specter of HIV hung over all these proceedings, Justice was able to communicate with the queer community and politicians alike through the conference and the meeting with Bayh's administration. Justice's actions demonstrate a continued focus on discussion-based forms of awareness that centered on sexual health and the impact of the HIV epidemic.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ *The New Works News*, May 1988, Indiana Historical Society.

¹⁰¹ *The New Works News*, August 1989, Indiana Historical Society.

¹⁰² *The New Works News*, May 1989, Indiana Historical Society.

¹⁰³ The July 1990 issue of *The New Works News* highlighted that Sarris, after stepping down as head of Justice in early 1988, went on to become the proprietor of Aesop's Kitchen and Cupboard, a Greek grocer in the City Market area.

¹⁰⁴ The work of these two organizations were not the only major moments for the Indianapolis activist landscape in the late 1980s. As noted in issue of *The New Works News*, March 1988 played witness to the rise of figurehead queer activist Marla Stevens

Mayor Hudnut and his constituents, meanwhile, grappled with implementing their dream of a holy city when that city and dream were under the threat of a health epidemic. Hudnut continued his revitalization efforts through the development of Circle Centre Mall, the selection of Indianapolis to host the 1987 Pan American games, and, later, the hosting of the NCAA Final Four in 1991.¹⁰⁵ However, these major events were muted by concerns over the HIV epidemic in the city. For Indianapolis, some of the first public conversations about instituting policies related to the curbing of AIDS occurred in 1986. The Marion County Health Department engaged with spokespeople for the city's queer community about proper methods for discouraging certain sexual behaviors. They encouraged documenting individuals who had contracted HIV and creating forums on the potential shuttering of bathhouses like The Body Works. They also encouraged discussion of prevention.¹⁰⁶

Hudnut opined that the HIV crisis could not just simply be a city-controlled matter. In an interview in June 1987, he noted that "if you leave it to the cities alone, you just are not going to get the job done." He called on the federal government to allocate funding to support these efforts. This appears to be a criticism of the federal government's failure to intervene in the epidemic. It demonstrated Hudnut's own predilection towards action in this situation instead of ignoring it like he did with police

to the rank of chairperson of the ICLU, while March 1989 saw the start-up of an eventual stalwart organization in the gay and lesbian community known as the Indianapolis Youth Group.

¹⁰⁵ Hudnut, *The Hudnut Years in Indianapolis*, 3-4.

¹⁰⁶ *The Indianapolis News*, January 15, 1986.

harassment in 1984.¹⁰⁷ As previously mentioned, President Reagan was notably unwilling to communicate about AIDS, and Hudnut's comments clash with these sentiments from his fellow Republican. Brier notes Reagan's position represented the overall "sluggishness" of the federal government to get involved with the epidemic.¹⁰⁸

The central Indiana region was brought to national attention with the national attention brought about by Ryan White. White was a hemophiliac teenager from Kokomo, Indiana who was diagnosed with AIDS in 1984. He became a focal point for the epidemic following his removal from school by his local school district following his diagnosis. At the time, the public feared that HIV/AIDS could be contracted through simple physical contact. Parents feared that allowing White to return to school would endanger their children. Working against those fears, White utilized his celebrity to educate the nation about the HIV crisis. He effectively moved the conversation away from the virus being something that only effected homosexual men. The public recognized that "innocent" people could even contract the disease through no fault their own. Part of what made White so popular was his age and race. As a young white male from a lower-middle class family, White was a palatable public figure who could represent the AIDS crisis without challenging conservative religious or social values. White's location brought attention to Indiana's crisis.¹⁰⁹ U.S. politicians, including

¹⁰⁷ *Louisville Courier Journal*, June 27, 1987.

¹⁰⁸ Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 80.

¹⁰⁹ White's funeral in 1990 was notably at Hudnut's home church of Second Presbyterian.

Hudnut, could not ignore the HIV crisis. The crisis affected the queer community as well as white heteronormative people living with HIV.

In May of 1988, Mayor Hudnut was invited to speak in front of President Reagan's Presidential AIDS Commission. He stated, "It is my responsibility to protect the rights of all of our citizens and all our City and County employees. The AIDS epidemic represents a challenge in respecting individual rights while at the same time safeguarding public health.... We take this responsibility seriously in Indianapolis."¹¹⁰ Mayor Hudnut focused on the betterment of his community as a whole by describing his recently signed Indianapolis Executive Order that promised no employment discrimination based on whether an applicant had AIDS or was suspected of having it.¹¹¹ Reflecting on these events in his 1995 book, *The Hudnut Years in Indianapolis, 1976-1991*, he writes, "we tried to express the ideal of a compassionate city in our response."¹¹² While this suggests an incremental step forward away from his days of the 1982 letter, it also draws attention to the fact that Hudnut only showed kindness in the wake of a life-or-death scenario. He drew more on his ethos of volunteerism instead of collaboration. This would have a significant impact on the events of the 1990 Celebration.

The speech, and most certainly the executive order, were viewed as watershed moments for the city and its relationship to people living with HIV. *The New Works News*, formerly *The Works*, lauded the move as a "major step forward for AIDS

¹¹⁰ *The New Works News*, June 1988, Indiana Historical Society.

¹¹¹ *The New Works News*, June 1988, Indiana Historical Society.

¹¹² Hudnut, *The Hudnut Years in Indianapolis*, 37.

legislation in Indianapolis.”¹¹³ The meaning of this policy was being praised, more than the policy itself. Progress was being made, but in small increments.

Planning began for Justice’s annual June Pride event in January 1990. The Pride event was being planned to be held on Monument Circle.¹¹⁴ Traffic would be closed off from entering the Circle with national- and state-level experts would be speaking throughout the all-day event.¹¹⁵ More than 40 different groups had committed to having a booth at the event, dubbed the “Celebration on the Circle.”¹¹⁶ Hudnut was invited to attend and issue a proclamation for the city’s “Gay Pride Week”. This invitation was extended in recognition of the release of the employment discriminatory policy in 1988.¹¹⁷ Hudnut’s proclamation was to be “published in the Celebration program and read publicly during the event”.

However, two of Hudnut’s advisers convinced him “to withdraw the Proclamation because issuing such a document would be harmful to Hudnut’s upcoming campaign for the office of Secretary of State.”¹¹⁸ Mark Goff, Hudnut’s Special Assistant for Public Affairs, wrote to Hudnut in a June 13, 1990 letter asking him to release the proclamation as planned: “I feel that I should advise you that to reverse your decision to issue the proc [sic] at this point could potentially pose a problem.”¹¹⁹ Towards the end of the letter, Goff writes “you have come so close to winning the unconditional support

¹¹³ *The New Works News*, June 1988, Indiana Historical Society.

¹¹⁴ *The New Works News*, January 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*; *The New Works News*, March 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

¹¹⁶ *The New Works News*, July 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

¹¹⁷ *The New Works News*, May 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

¹¹⁸ *The New Works News*, May 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

¹¹⁹ *Mark J. Goff to Mayor Hudnut, June 13, 1990*, UIndy Mayoral Archives.

of roughly 50,000 voters. They are already supportive of you. Take this risk, step up to the plate, and hit a home run.”¹²⁰ The nature of this exchange provides insight into Hudnut’s evolving view of the Indianapolis queer community. The presence of this debate shows that he had moved beyond viewing gay and lesbian citizens as a complete disincentive. Yet, the value he was placing in their relationship was different from what activists wanted.

Berg, having obtained an early copy of the proclamation, made known his intentions to put the story in the August issue of *The New Works News*. “If Hudnut is afraid of getting flack from right-wing groups,” Berg wrote, “wait until he starts getting flack from them and from the gay community.”¹²¹ Ultimately, the proclamation was issued as intended. “A Letter of Welcome” by Hudnut was to be published in the Celebration program which Berg forced amendments prior to its publication. According to Berg, Hudnut “was making it sound like AIDS Day on the Circle, which it is not. AIDS is an issue in the gay community, but it is not the only issue.”¹²² Hudnut’s capitulation to Berg’s demands not only further suggest the importance of the queer community as voting bloc in his upcoming election, but they also highlight that Hudnut did not actually understand queer culture or their experiences in the city yet. Hudnut would publicly recognize the challenges faced by the HIV epidemic but his understanding was, as Berg notes, limited. Despite this animosity, however, *The New Works News* wrote, “This is what a city is supposed to be like – alive, vibrant, filled with productive, enjoyable

¹²⁰ “Mark J. Goff to Mayor Hudnut, June 13, 1990”, UIndy Mayoral Archives.

¹²¹ *The New Works News*, August 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

¹²² *The New Works News*, August 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

activity.”¹²³ For the Indianapolis queer community, a presence on Monument Circle rendered them impossible to ignore.

Hudnut’s focus on his campaign for Secretary of State undoubtedly shaped his handling of the 1991 Monument Circle celebration. Monument Circle was still relevant to continued urban revitalization efforts through the plans for Circle Centre Mall. But as Hudnut needed to focus on statewide issues, there was concern about the proclamation having a larger political effect outside the city proper. Hudnut wrote in a thank you postcard following the celebration, “I particularly appreciated hearing from you since yours was the only word of thanks I received from anyone associated with that event for the proclamation I delivered and the effort our City made to satisfy the requirements of the organizers.”¹²⁴ These words convey a sense of contempt from Hudnut towards the event organizers. It also demonstrates his confusion as to the role he thought he was playing at the celebration. Hudnut appears to feel as if he were a ceremonial figurehead for this group that he had supported through two anti-discriminatory policies. This implied figurehead role was something he could opt in and out of as he saw fit. Clearly, he saw the queer community as a minority he was helping via Niebuhrian principles and not a group he quite saw as co-collaborators. Hudnut was not able to grasp the full needs of queer activists, thus leaving him with a sense of frustration.

Hudnut sparked further controversy a few months after the Celebration when, while finishing up his campaign for Indiana Secretary of State, he was quoted as saying,

¹²³ *The New Works News*, August 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

¹²⁴ *Mayor Hudnut to Mike Stillings and Patrick Ramschell, September 10, 1990*, UIndy Mayoral Archives.

“Let me just mention that, so far as I’m concerned, gays already have their civil rights. I do not support passage of the gay rights bill or other legislative initiatives giving them the right to get married and be foster parents.”¹²⁵ Hudnut seems to convey an unwillingness to work any further with the queer community on their goals, further establishing his limited view of these individuals as voting numbers as well as forced partners in his plans for a holy city. This would also suggest a lingering frustration for Hudnut following the Celebration debacle.

Hudnut’s confrontational shift cost him voters. In the election preview issue of *The New Works News*, gay and lesbian voters were encouraged to reconsider voting for Hudnut for Secretary of State: “While our initial response to this [vote] was a hands down yes to Hudnut, we have had to rethink that response... *NWN* can no longer give unqualified support to Hudnut.”¹²⁶ While the relationship between these two sides had largely played out in the public eye on Monument Circle, here it directly impacted political practices through voting rights.

Hudnut would go on to lose the Secretary of State race to future Indianapolis mayor Joe Hogsett by four percentage points.¹²⁷ Not long after, he would forgo a run for a fifth mayoral term in 1991. This effectively ended his public political relationship with the Indianapolis queer community. Monument Circle had once again been utilized by

¹²⁵ *The New Works News*, November 1990, Indiana Historical Society (via *The Indianapolis News*).

¹²⁶ *The New Works News*, November 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

¹²⁷ *The New Works News*, December 1990, Indiana Historical Society.

queer leadership and activists to challenge Hudnut and his administration. This time, events on the Circle explicitly negatively impacted Hudnut's political future.

CONCLUSION

In the summer of 1991, with only half a year remaining in his last mayoral term, several letters were written to Hudnut and other members of Indianapolis leadership by gay and lesbian citizens of the city conveying significant disappointment in his office's refusal to allow the year's Pride activities to take place on the Circle. Ray Gencius wrote, "How sad that your administration is blocking the use of Monument Circle by citizens wishing to celebrate gay Pride Month."¹²⁸ Robert Schmidt wrote to Hudnut as well, saying "I am quite distressed by the recent denial of the use of Monument Circle by Justice, Inc. for the Gay and Lesbian Pride Celebration. In 1990 your office issued an official letter of welcome for this event. In 1991 your administration is doing all it can to prevent this event."¹²⁹ While no research immediately reveals why Hudnut actually refused to allow Pride activities on the Circle, it does suggest a lingering divide between his intentions for an all-inclusive holy city and how he enacted that dream, especially given the ease and the pomp in which events like the Pan-Am games were allowed to use downtown spaces.

Reacting to public outcry, Hudnut chose to reverse the decision and allow Pride activities to once again take place on Monument Circle. His office released a statement on the matter, saying, "the City has agreed to allow the event's organizers to use the Circle, and 'Celebration on the Circle' organizers have agreed to limit the length of the event."¹³⁰ The letter also explained that access was initially denied due to concerns

¹²⁸ "Ray Gencius to Mayor Hudnut, April 6, 1991", UIndy Mayoral Archives.

¹²⁹ "Robert L. Schmidt to Mayor Hudnut, April 9, 1991", UIndy Mayoral Archives.

¹³⁰ "David H. Arland to R. Ray Gencius, May 2, 1991", UIndy Mayoral Archives.

“about the increasing costs of police overtime associated with Monument Circle functions” and pledges to look into the creation of “a policy to avoid such conflicts in the future.”¹³¹ Peddling this rather flimsy excuse of police overtime and promising yet another policy, this situation serves as yet another example of what became the hallmark of Hudnut and his office’s relationship with the Indianapolis queer community: a non-committal dialogue that, more often than not, only made progress in queering policy once queer citizens applied pressure through the use of public space.

Taking a closer look, however, also demonstrates that this is a relationship that had subtly evolved over the course of the 1980s. While Hudnut was still being dragged into progress with the queer community via public pressure and the need to rely on their numbers as a utility chip, he now appears to be a politician with less to lose as he approaches retirement. The promise of queering policy without the layer of security provided by being behind-closed-doors is certainly a new step for him. Additionally, the names writing these letters and applying pressure to the mayor are notably not folks like Berg and Sarris. This suggests that the two stalwart activists had achieved success and proven effective in growing their own dream of a public, connected, and queer city.

And yet, it is despite all these changes for both Mayor Hudnut’s office and the activists that the final word on their relationship is a statement that reads almost as ambiguous as the promises provided in their earliest encounters. While these groups had finally taken their exchanges from those of a behind-closed-doors setting to ones based in public statements, it is fitting that the official words left hanging are just

¹³¹ “Arland to Gencius, 1991”, UIndy Mayoral Archives.

another vague commitment. It is because of this final ambiguity that Hudnut's vision of a cooperative, successful holy city was never quite completed. While the progress in queering public policy and recognizing queer citizens as a legitimate minority that both groups did achieve through their discourse set the stage for future advancements, the inconclusiveness of their relationship in the 1980s meant there was no shining beacon of a city to look to in Indiana in regards to queer relations for the next few decades. While Hudnut's urban revitalization provided a Midwestern illustration of how to use sports to spur economic growth, his administration left no example of proper queer relations and inclusiveness to pull on when the Religious Freedom Restoration Act began percolating in the mid-2010s before being signed into law with gusto by Governor Mike Pence. The results achieved, both personally and politically, by the Hudnut administration and the IGLC activists were foundational to any future progress towards queer equity. However, it can not be escaped that the sins and struggles of the 1980s still have far-reaching consequences on the rapport surrounding contemporary Indianapolis queer rights.

By the end of 1992, the landscape for this relationship between Indianapolis queer activists and the Indianapolis mayoral office had already changed drastically. Berg lost his life in a battle with HIV. Hudnut was gone from office, leaving hardline conservative Stephen Goldsmith to take over the mayor's office in the wake of Hudnut's ambiguous relationship with the queer community. Sarris and her cohort watched as a new generation of activists began to cement their control of the city's queer education and protest activities. This turn of events set the stage for further struggles that would

arise between these groups throughout the 1990s and onwards into the 21st century. However, none of these new conflicts and any of their resulting progress for the Circle City would have taken place without the episodes of the 1980s. What started in a meeting room in 1983 ended with a simple letter. But in between, Monument Circle stood as a site of contestation and compromise for two groups of people attempting to enact their dreams for their city: one attempting to revitalize it and one attempting to queer it.

APPENDIX – DISCOVER INDIANA ENTRIES

The Body Works

The Body Works bathhouse in Indianapolis was opened by founder Stanley Berg in 1977. The bathhouse, known today as The Works, provided health programming as well the opportunity for gay men in the city to socialize with one another. It also served as the home of *The Works* gay magazine and its eventual successor, *The New Works News*. Both proposed to further “the dream of a united gay community.” The news magazines also sought “a closer cooperation among gay businesses.” Berg ensured that the Indianapolis queer community was staying informed, becoming more unified, and maintaining a consistent presence in the public eye. Articles reported upcoming government plans to fight the epidemic and analyzed the consequences of those plans and other policies. The news source also provided statistics for the number of new cases appearing in the state, promoted safe sex advertisements, and criticized politicians who turned a blind eye towards the plight of people living with HIV. The paper played a key role in communicating the need to understand sexual health. It helped queer citizens understand the politics associated with, and for, people living with HIV.

Operations at the bathhouse underwent two major transformations due to the success of *The Works*. The first of these took place in March 1987 when *The Works* magazine transitioned into a full-fledged newspaper format known as *The New Works News*, which allowed for more advertisements, a better financial situation, and, in their words, the ability “to bring you more of the news and in easier to read type.” The second transformation came a little over a year later in the summer of 1988 when the

Body Works transitioned into a new building on Keystone Avenue with the hopes to “start a trend to get gay businesses out of the downtown area into safer neighborhoods.” Sadly, Berg lost his life in a battle with HIV in 1991. His organization lives on today as The Works and is still located at the Keystone Avenue address.

A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

In attempting to organize my thoughts on this first letter from the publisher all the standard reasons for this traditional letter went through my mind. I could state that this letter was to help sell the gay community on the "moral" reasons for the publication--you know--the ones that say this publication will bring the gay community together in a more cohesive form or writing about the need for a quality publication oriented to the Indianapolis area. Or I could say what no publisher ever says- that the publication is here to earn the publisher dollars. In truth all the aforementioned reasons are valid including a few not mentioned. There is one real purpose for this publication--and only one--that being the dissemination of gay oriented "news" to the gay public.

What is news? Better people have attempted to define that word and failed so I won't make the attempt. But what it boils down to is that if something is of general or specific interest to our readers it will be printed--no matter how controversial.

But even printing the gay news is of little assistance to the gay community if no one reads it or if the reading public does not contribute to the content of the publication. So the publication needs to match its own output with input from its readers---even our straight readers. Your comments on the publication will be welcomed and personally read by me.

I am known as a person of few words. I do want to keep it that way. So I'll close this letter by wishing good luck to this publication for its good luck is also the good luck of our gay community. With Best Wishes,

Stanley E. Berg,
Publisher

Image A-1. "A Letter from the Publisher." This letter comes from the first issue of *The Works*. It displays Berg formulating his thoughts on what the paper could be as well as what the Indianapolis queer community could be.



The Body Works will be moving some time in June to their new building, pictured above, at 4120 N. Keystone Avenue. It's a beautiful building with 30,000 square feet of land. The new Body Works will be located just 2 blocks south of GG's. This could be the start of a trend to get gay businesses out of the downtown area and into safer neighborhoods.

Image A-2. "The Body Works Changes Locations." This image and caption from an issue of *The New Works News* highlights the bathhouse's change in location, which was a major sign of the company's growth over the course of the 1980s.

AUG 10 1984

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THE WORKS GAY NEWS
MAGAZINE

303 North Senate Avenue Indianapolis, Indiana 46204 (317) 632-2457

August 9, 1984
Mayor William Hudnut
City-County Building
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Dear Mayor Hudnut:

At the recent Mayors' Conference in Philadelphia, the Mayors unanimously endorsed a resolution calling for legislation in the area of gay/lesbian civil rights. You were at that conference, and we understand that Beulah Coughenour had your proxy when the vote was actually taken. THE WORKS would like to know, however, whether or not you personally endorse the resolution pertaining to gay/lesbian civil rights that the Mayors' Conference endorsed.

Moving on to matters on the Circle, THE WORKS feels that police harassment of gays on the Circle is a serious matter. When we met with you last year you stated that you felt no local legislation was needed guaranteeing gay/lesbian civil rights as we were already protected under existing statutes. I hope you now see that statement as not being entirely correct. As long as city government refuses to approach the problems of harassment and discrimination of its gay citizens, that harassment and discrimination will appear to be endorsed by the city's political leaders. A statement from you and/or the Police Chief decrying harassment and discrimination of your gay constituents would go a long way in at least eliminating that kind of activity on the part of police and others. That statement need not include an endorsement of the gay lifestyle. As a matter of fact the statement could read in part as follows: "While I do not endorse or condone the gay lifestyle, I do feel that the civil rights of all our citizens, including our gay/lesbian citizens, need be protected. Therefore, be it hereby known that the office of Mayor of the City of Indianapolis by executive order forbids any city employees, including the police department, to discriminate or harass the gay citizens of Indianapolis." If Indiana law prohibits this statement from being an executive order, then you could simply leave out the part about the executive order, and substitute the phrase "will not tolerate discrimination or harassment of its gay citizens by employees of the City of Indianapolis, including the police department." I truly think it worth running by some of your political friends as well as John Ryan in the City Legal Department.

The problems with the gay community will not go away until some positive action on your part is taken. I am sure that you will find representatives of the gay community most amenable to compromise. We are aware of what you think the political realities of the situation are; we even think that something positive on your part concerning the gay community will be of political benefit to you. Representatives of the gay community would like to meet with you and the Chief at your earliest possible convenience. We could make the initial meetings without the press being present; however, the press must eventually know the outcome of any meetings with you and the Chief.

want this set up ASAP?

cc: Bruce

Berg Investment Corporation

Image A-3. "Letter from Stanley Berg to Mayor Hudnut." Written prior to the Gay Knights events on Monument Circle, this letter is representative of Berg's rapport with Hudnut throughout the 1980s. Here, Hudnut is specifically requesting Hudnut speak out on the police discrimination facing the city's queer community.

Justice, Inc.

Formed in the early 1980s, Justice, Inc. was a state-wide advocacy organization for queer Hoosiers led by Kathy Sarris. “In 1980, nothing happened in Indianapolis during Gay Pride Week...” wrote Sarris. “A group of us [activists] got together that year at the Mid-Town Ramada Inn. We formed a Pride Week Committee and we organized and sponsored the 1981 Pride Week Brunch at the Essex House Hotel.” Other groups “began approaching us with their plans for Pride Week, so we ended up doing some type of statewide coordination... To me, Justice was formed out of the need for some type of coordination between gay organization[s].” Sarris’ efforts with Justice worked to insert the queer community’s narrative into public spaces by celebrating the gay and lesbian minority in public. Justice’s main activities were the development of a successful Gay Pride Week as well as queer voter registration.

Sarris’ Justice organization expanded into new public programming for HIV activism in the late 1980s with a state-wide annual conference focused on the education of the queer community and the transition of their annual Gay Pride Week event from a brunch to a public picnic. Justice worked with Indiana politicians as well, sending representatives to meet with members of Governor Evan Bayh’s administration in April 1989 to open up communication about discriminatory violence.

Not long after moving the organization to a new headquarters, Sarris chose to step down from her position in charge of Justice to take a job in Michigan for their state human rights group. While Sarris would ultimately return to the Indianapolis area after just a year away, she never came back to activism in a capacity like the one she had

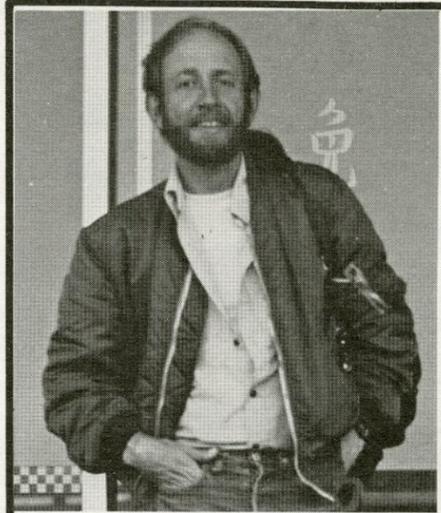
been in before, irrevocably altering gay and lesbian activism in the city at the tail end of the 1980s with her absence. Nevertheless, Justice would go on to continue their organization of marquee Pride Week events in Indianapolis such as the 1990 Celebration on the Circle, serving as a predecessor for the contemporary Indy Pride events.

Guidepost '82 CONFERENCE

(Terre Haute, IN) Guidepost '82, a conference for midwestern lesbians and gay males, will be held on the campus of Indiana State University in Terre Haute, October 1-3. The conference is being presented by Gays, Lesbians, and Friends, which is Terre Haute's gay/lesbian organization.

Greg Day, a San Francisco community activist, and candidate for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors will address the conference as a keynote speaker. Other speakers include; Tom Reeves, a civil rights activist and writer, Dan Tsang, writer and editor of "Gay Insurgent", and Terri Worman, founder of Fort Wayne's Gay/Lesbian Organization.

The conference will include an exhibition of the First International Lesbian and Gay Photography Competition, which will be presented by Greg Day. Also, numerous workshops will be conducted throughout the weekend including,



Keynote Speaker for Guidepost '82, Greg Day; writer and San Francisco community activist.

among others, Gay Youth Concerns, Gays and Religion, The Gay Press, Female Sexuality, and Man/Boy Love. Further information may be obtained by calling the Terre Haute Gay Switchboard. 812-232-6311 ext. 2355, 7-9 PM, Mon, Wed, and Sat.

JUSTICE INC. Holds STATE-WIDE MEETING

(Fort Wayne, IN) Justice, Inc., a coordinating group for gay organizations in Indiana, held a state-wide meeting in Fort Wayne on August 21. Attendance was low, with about 15 people participating in the meeting from cities such as Columbus, Muncie, Fort Wayne, Elkhart, and Indianapolis.

Discussion at the meeting included a review of Gay Pride Week activities. Initial plans were made to request a meeting with Karen Fowler Williams, the Director of the Indiana Civil Rights Commission, as a follow up to Justice's post card campaign, which was held during Gay Pride week this year (see related story in September issue). Attention was focused on Justice's attempts to organize a voter registration drive. Phil Mischler, the organ-

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12

Image A-5. "Justice, Inc. Holds State-Wide Meeting." Another article from *The Works* shows Justice's continued Indiana outreach efforts.

Profile: Kathy Sarris

Tom Green, Jr.

Although Kathy Sarris is at ease speaking to a large audience, she consistently appears to be uncomfortable with the use of microphones. At the recent Gay Pride Week Brunch in Indianapolis, Kathy, while holding what seemed to be an ordinary microphone to her mouth, explained why. "One of these days someone will manufacture a microphone in the shape of a woman's breasts, and then I'll be more comfortable." Not bad, you might say, but can she sing and dance?

Sarris is the president of Justice, Inc., a statewide coordinating group for gay organizations in Indiana. Through her leadership, Justice has played a key role in a number of gay related issues in Indiana, the most notable of which was the introduction earlier this year of Senate Bill 311, a gay civil rights bill.

With a successful Gay Pride Week just behind us, perhaps a closer look at Justice and its president are in order.

Kathy Sarris came to Indianapolis from the Chicago area in 1976. Shortly after her arrival, she became involved with several gay or-

ganizations including Bloomington's Gay/Lesbian Alliance and the Gay People's Union (GPU) in Indianapolis.

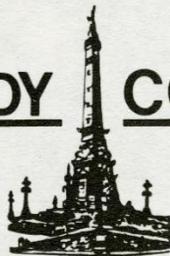
THE WORKS: HOW DID JUSTICE, INC. COME TO EXIST?

SARRIS: "In 1980, nothing happened in Indianapolis during Gay Pride Week. GPU was falling apart, and many people took a lot of flack because nothing happened that year. A group of us (activists) got together that year at the Mid-Town Ramada Inn. We formed a Pride Week Committee and we organized and sponsored the 1981 Pride Week Brunch at the Essex House Hotel. Other organizations began approaching us with their plans for Pride Week, so we ended up doing some type of statewide coordination... We talked to many people and then drew up a strategy paper. To me, Justice was formed out of the need for some type of coordination between gay organization."

THE WORKS: WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE JUSTICE'S GREATEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DATE?



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Image A-6. "Profile: Kathy Sarris." Sarris, President of Justice, Inc., provides an interview with *The Works* that highlights her philosophy on activism and the history of her organization.

Justice, INC.

P.O. Box 2387 • Indianapolis, Indiana 46206 • 317/634-9212

March 3, 1990

The Honorable William H. Hudnut, III
Mayor, City Of Indianapolis
2501 City County Building
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Dear Mayor Hudnut:

Congratulations on your recent decision to enter the Secretary of State's race. Voters around Indiana certainly have more of a reason to take interest in the outcome of the race for that office now that you are involved.

As spokesman for Justice, Inc., a statewide political organization of lesbian and gay men, I write to you today to discuss an exciting, upcoming event that will be of major interest to many in the State of Indiana.

On June 30, 1990, Justice will host "Celebration on the Circle" a local event designed to coincide with Gay Pride activities taking place in cities nationwide. "Celebration" will be an outdoor event with a festival atmosphere created to focus on the theme "Look To The Future". The event will feature food booths, entertainment, and will provide a forum for speakers to address the assembled crowd. A multi-media promotional campaign to increase public awareness of this activity in other Indiana cities is already taking shape, roughly 3000 are expected to attend this first annual Hoosier event.

This letter is to ask you to issue a proclamation setting aside June 30, 1990, as "Celebration on the Circle Day". We would also like to invite you and your wife, Beverly, to attend our celebration and read the proclamation, if your schedule permits. However if you are unable to attend, we would still like to read it during our program.

Your support for our "Celebration" would mean a great deal, not only to Justice and its members throughout the state, but to the estimated hundreds of thousands of lesbian and gay Hoosiers.

*"What precious rights we would surrender if we allow the Darkness of Tyranny to extinguish the fragile light of Justice."
Leonidas 450 BC*

Image A-7. "Letter from Eric S. Evans to Mayor Hudnut." This letter, representative of Justice's correspondence with political figures throughout the late 20th century, shows the initial request by the organization for Hudnut to participate in their 1990 Celebration on the Circle.

Justice, INC.
P.O. Box 2387 • Indianapolis, Indiana 46206 • 317/634-9212

Questions

May 16, 1990

L. Keith Bulen
8323 Rahke Rd.
Indianapolis, IN 46217

Dear Mr. Bulen:

June 30, 1990! This date marks the 10th Statewide celebration of gay/lesbian Pride Week in Indiana. In honor of this special anniversary, we are planning an afternoon (12 noon - 7 PM) festival--"Celebration on the Circle"--on Monument Circle in Indianapolis. The program will include nationally known speakers, local and regional activists, entertainment, booths for businesses and organizations, food, and other special features.

Governor Bayh and Mayor Hudnut have been invited to speak to those attending. We are also inviting the members of the General Assembly and candidates to attend and indicate their support of gay/lesbian rights and other legislative issues of concern to our community. Remarks are requested to be limited to no more than 5 minutes per speaker.

If you are able to attend this special celebration, please return the form below. If you need more information, you may call me at (317) 299-5760. Thank you for your consideration regarding this special occasion.

Sincerely,

Kent Robinson

Kent Robinson
Legislative Coordinator

NAME: _____ PHONE: (____) _____

OFFICE: _____ DISTRICT: _____

I wish to attend the 1990 Gay/Lesbian Pride Week Festival on Saturday, June 30 and indicate my support for your issues to those present.

Please indicate your first, second, and third choices of times:

___ 2PM-3PM ___ 3PM-4PM ___ 4PM-5PM ___ 5PM-6PM ___ 6PM-7PM

Please return by June 6 to the above address. Thank you!

"What precious rights we would surrender if we allow the Darkness of Tyranny to extinguish the fragile light of Justice."
Leonidas 450 BC

Image A-8. "Letter from Kent Robinson to L. Keith Bulen." This is another image that's representative of Justice's efforts to garner the involvement of politicians in their events. For instance, this photo shows Kent Robinson, a major player in Justice, requesting L. Keith Bulen's participation.

Police violence on Monument Circle in the 1980s

In August 1984, *The Works*, a newspaper dedicated to documenting queer Indianapolis, ran a profile on David Molden, an openly gay nineteen-year-old man who experienced police harassment on Monument Circle. On his way home from work late at night on July 6, Molden was stopped by Indianapolis Police Department (IPD) officers, forced to provide identification, and then physically assaulted by an officer. Police implied that Molden was “trolling” on the Circle, a practice where individuals would solicit one another for sex, both paid and unpaid. This incident on Monument Circle, the public space surrounding the Indiana State Soldiers and Sailors Monument at the intersection of Meridian and Market Streets in the center of downtown Indianapolis, emblemized the confrontations between the Indianapolis Police and its gay and lesbian citizens during the 1980s. Molden’s experience was just one of several similar incidents in 1984 with at least twenty-three other allegations of harassment lodged with the Indiana Civil Liberties Union (ICLU) and documented by *The Works*. Multiple claims were made that the IPD violated individual’s civil rights by using videotaping as a method to deter queer interactions through public surveillance. The Circle served as both a heavily policed public space and a microcosm of the conflict between the city, police, and Indiana’s LGBT citizens.

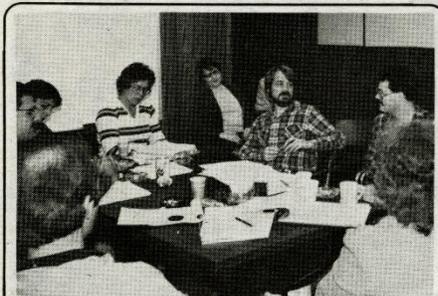
The Indianapolis Gay/Lesbian Coalition (IGLC), a collection of leadership from the city’s queer organizations, came together in the early 1980s to handle city leadership’s misinformation about the queer community as well as the ongoing police violence. The group included folks like Stanley Berg, owner of The Body Works bathhouse and

publisher of the queer newspaper known as *The Works*, and Kathy Sarris, president of Justice, Inc. The IGLC met with Director of Public Safety Richard Blankenbaker and Mayor William Hudnut III multiple times to discuss the appointment of a queer liaison with city government and procedures to establish equitable treatment from the IPD. Activists also staged the Gay Knights rallies in summer 1984 on Monument Circle in response to Molden and others' plight. These protests garnered the release of a policy highlighting the city's anti-discriminatory policy towards the queer community.

I.G.L.C. Requests Meeting

The Indianapolis Gay/Lesbian Coalition has formally requested a meeting with Mayor William Hudnut, Police Chief Joseph McAtee, and Public Safety Director Richard Blankenbaker.

The coalition, which has representation from every gay/lesbian organization in Indianapolis, sent a letter to the Mayor's office on November 15, requesting a meeting to discuss improving the relationship between the city's police department and the gay community. Members of the coalition feel that misinformation within the Indianapolis Police Department regarding gay people has resulted in unfair press coverage by the local news media.



IGLC has representation from every gay/lesbian organization in Indy.

At press time, the Mayor had just responded to the letter, suggesting that the group meet with Richard Blankenbaker to discuss their ideas and concerns. W

G.I.G.B.A. January Meeting

The Greater Indianapolis Gay Business Association has scheduled a special meeting for January 11. The meeting is open to all gay-related or gay-owned businesses in Indianapolis.

Encouraging new businesses to join the association is expected to be one of the main topics of discussion at this meeting. In addition, there will be a discussion about the association's plans for Gay Pride Week, 1983. It is possible that GIGBA may plan a business oriented street fair to be held in

Indianapolis during Pride Week.

The meeting will be held at The Body Works (inside The Gears Disco) at 6:30PM on January 11. There will be a social hour with a cash bar, and all businesses who are not currently members of GIGBA are encouraged to attend. W

G.R.N.L. Creates New Foundation

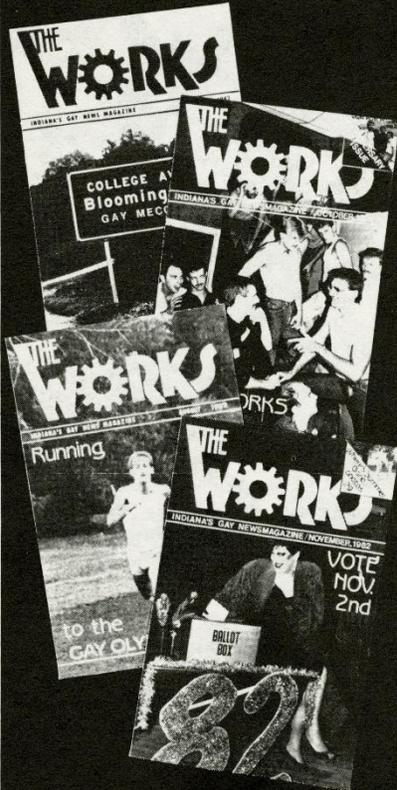
WASHINGTON, D.C.--The Gay Rights National Lobby has set up a new organization, The Right to Privacy Foundation, to serve as a "think tank" and training institute concerned with the gay and lesbian civil rights movement. Many organizations provide important education on the issue of homosexuality, but there is no single organization devoted solely to providing the unique educational and research services required to effectively address the public policy questions surrounding national legislation of concern to lesbians and gay men. The Right to Privacy Foundation will fill this void.

The Right to Privacy Foundation will provide a unique program aimed at both the gay and non-gay public. Education in the gay community will focus on skill development training; education in the non-gay public will stress the public interest questions and implications of federal legislation of special concern to lesbians and gay men, leaving the more comprehensive efforts to multi-purpose groups in an effort to avoid duplication of efforts. The Foundation's research projects will include documenting discrimination against lesbians and gay men and exploration of utilization of technological innovations such as telemarketing, cable television, microprocessing, and focus groups. Perhaps more importantly, The Foundation will analyze both pro- and anti-gay arguments and the impact of both pro- and anti-gay bills and amendments in Congress.

The Right to Privacy Foundation can be reached at 750 7th Street S.E., Washington, D.C., (202) 546-2130. W

Image A-9. Image of an IGLC meeting from a copy of The Works.

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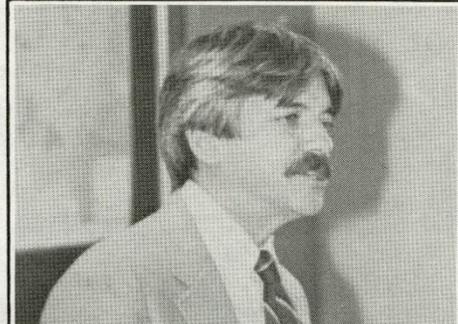
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12

Gay Rights Bill, cont.



State Senator Louis Mahern. "The gay and lesbian leadership must maintain control of this issue."

Despite the fact that it may take a number of years to see this civil rights bill pass in Indiana, gay leaders are encouraged. One activist stated, "It's great to finally have something in front of us (the bill), instead of just talk and ideas."

I.G.L.C. Meets with City Officials

On January 10, seven members of the recently formed Indianapolis Gay/Lesbian Coalition (IGLC) met with officials of the Indianapolis Police Department and the Mayor's office. The meeting, which heralded the beginning of direct talks between this city's administration and the gay community, was designed to focus on opening up communication and understanding between the two groups, and was held at the request of IGLC.

Mayor Hudnut's administration was represented at the meeting by Public Safety Director Richard Blankenbaker, Roger Coleman (an aid to the Mayor) and city attorney John Ryan. The police department (IPD) was represented by Deputy Chief Bob Ward, his assistant Lt. Campbell, Cpt. Crockett (Vice Dept.) and Lt. Bowles (Operations). Attending the meeting for the coalition were Pat Brown, Stan Berg, Kathy Sarris, James Malloy, Marla Devendorf, Tom Green and Mary Byrne. Each of these individuals are involved with gay/lesbian organizations within Indianapolis.

Image A-10. "IGLC Meets with City Officials." Image of an IGLC meeting from a copy of *The Works*.

Keeping Current

Police Back Off - Special Unit Removed from Circle

(Indy) Due to the widespread adverse publicity the Indianapolis Police Department has received in recent weeks, their special "Circle" unit has been withdrawn from that area. Allegations of harassment from at least 23 individuals have been lodged with the Indiana Civil Liberties Union and **THE WORKS NEWSMAGAZINE** in recent weeks. Three charges of harassment and brutality have been lodged with the IPD Internal Affairs Division. **THE WORKS** has identified two of those individuals, one of whose story appears in another column. Both Michael Jones and David Molden have lodged complaints with IPD about harassment and brutality by the IPD Special "Circle" Unit.

On June 29 the Indiana Civil Liberties Union (ICLU) held a press conference in order to publicly protest the "police campaign ostensibly against 'victimless crimes' which clearly affects so many innocent people in both public and private life." The ICLU further stated that "the police harassment... is apparently directed toward members of the gay community."

"Police Resume Videotaping"

At the same time IPD announced the withdrawal of their special "Circle" unit, they announced the resumption of videotaping on the Circle. Deputy Chief of Police Paul Annee stated that the videotaping would be done in accordance with guidelines agreed upon by IPD and the ICLU when the same problem erupted last year. The police and the ICLU are negotiating to further restrict the videotaping by allowing the ICLU unrestricted access to the tapes to make sure that innocent bystanders are not being filmed. The stated purpose of the videotaping is to deter

News for Gay Hoosiers

prostitution on the Circle, even though a recent secret interdepartmental police memo indicated there was no problem with prostitution on the Circle at this time.

"Gays Take Their Protest to the Circle"

Leaders of the gay community had become incensed at the police harassment of innocent gays on the Circle and announced a press conference that was held on the Circle at 1:00PM on July 12. Earlier



Representing the Gay Community at the press conference were (l to r) Ruth Peters, David Molden, John Carlile, and Stan Berg.

that same day the ICLU and the IPD through Michael Gradison and Police Chief McAtee had issued statements assuring gays that the harassment on the Circle would cease and that investigations by Internal Affairs had already begun into charges against several officers. Obviously the police had decided the situation was too volatile, and were attempting to defuse the situation prior to the gay press conference on the Circle.

Gay leaders went ahead with the conference as it was felt that the public at large needed to be informed about the continuing Circle problem. The press release was signed by members of Justice, Inc., COGLA, Gay/Lesbian Rights Committee of Indianapolis NOW, **THE WORKS NEWSMAGAZINE**, BGLA, The Ball State Gay Alliance, and Fellowship.

"Details of Press Release"

The press release specifically urged the police and city administration to consider the follow-

Image A-11. "Gays Take Their Protest to the Circle." IGLC members such as Ruth Peters and Stanley Berg stand with David Molden at a press conference following police harassment on Monument Circle.



CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS

WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, III
MAYOR

June 10, 1982

MEMORANDUM

TO: Richard Blankenbaker, Director of Public Safety
Joseph G. McAtee, Chief of Police

FROM: William H. Hudnut, III

RE: Trolling on the Circle

It has come to my attention that a number of young men, some of them in their early teens, are trolling on the Circle and the immediate area around the Circle looking for a homosexual pickup. Needless to say, this information concerns me greatly, and I feel that the Vice Squad should undertake some special steps to eliminate this kind of activity from that area, as its presence could become a substantial disincentive to persons to shop and dine downtown and enjoy the amenities that we have.

Any help you can give will be greatly appreciated.

WHH:s

cc: Sidney H. Weedman, Executive Director, Commission for Downtown, Inc.

Image A-12. "Letter from Mayor Hudnut to Richard Blankenbaker and Joseph McAtee."

In this letter, Mayor Hudnut requests that his Director of Public Safety and Chief of Police undertake actions to dissuade queer citizens from socializing on Monument Circle. In attempting to preserve his urban revitalization plan, Hudnut is creating an environment that would lead to police violence on Monument Circle within the next few years.

The Gay Knights Protests

Following a rash of police violence targeting the Indianapolis queer community in the early 1980s on Monument Circle, activists announced a series of social events on the Circle for the city's queer citizens. Starting on July 20 and continuing every Friday evening until the police harassment ceased, queer citizens protested and socialized on the Circle. The first of the "Gay Nights on the Circle" saw three hundred participants gather with a couple hundred more throughout the area, leaving traffic congested for two blocks in every direction. *The Works*, a local gay newspaper run out of The Body Works bathhouse, dubbed the attendees of these events as the "Gay Knights." These events culminated in the August 31 "Gay/Lesbian Night on the Circle", which was reportedly attended by over four hundred individuals. Speakers at the rally included Kathy Sarris, president of Justice, Inc., and Stan Berg, owner of The Body Works bathhouse and publisher of *The Works*. *The Indianapolis News'* write-up of the night detailed harassment that took place from anti-homosexual protestors who organized across the street from the rally. Their actions were stopped by police intervention.

In his first public comment on these events, Mayor William Hudnut III acknowledged the Gay Knights' efforts and issued a letter to *The Works* that highlighted Indianapolis' non-discrimination policy. He wrote, "it is the policy of the City of Indianapolis not to harass any citizens or segment of the citizenry including the gay community...". Hudnut's letter was the "first time that any Mayor of Indianapolis has made any public pronouncement on gays in Indianapolis." The Gay Knights crowd cheered during the letter's reading at the August 31 rally. Monument Circle echoed with

chants of “Gay, Gay, Gay!”. After the speakers finished, a disco/dance party took place on the Circle in celebration.

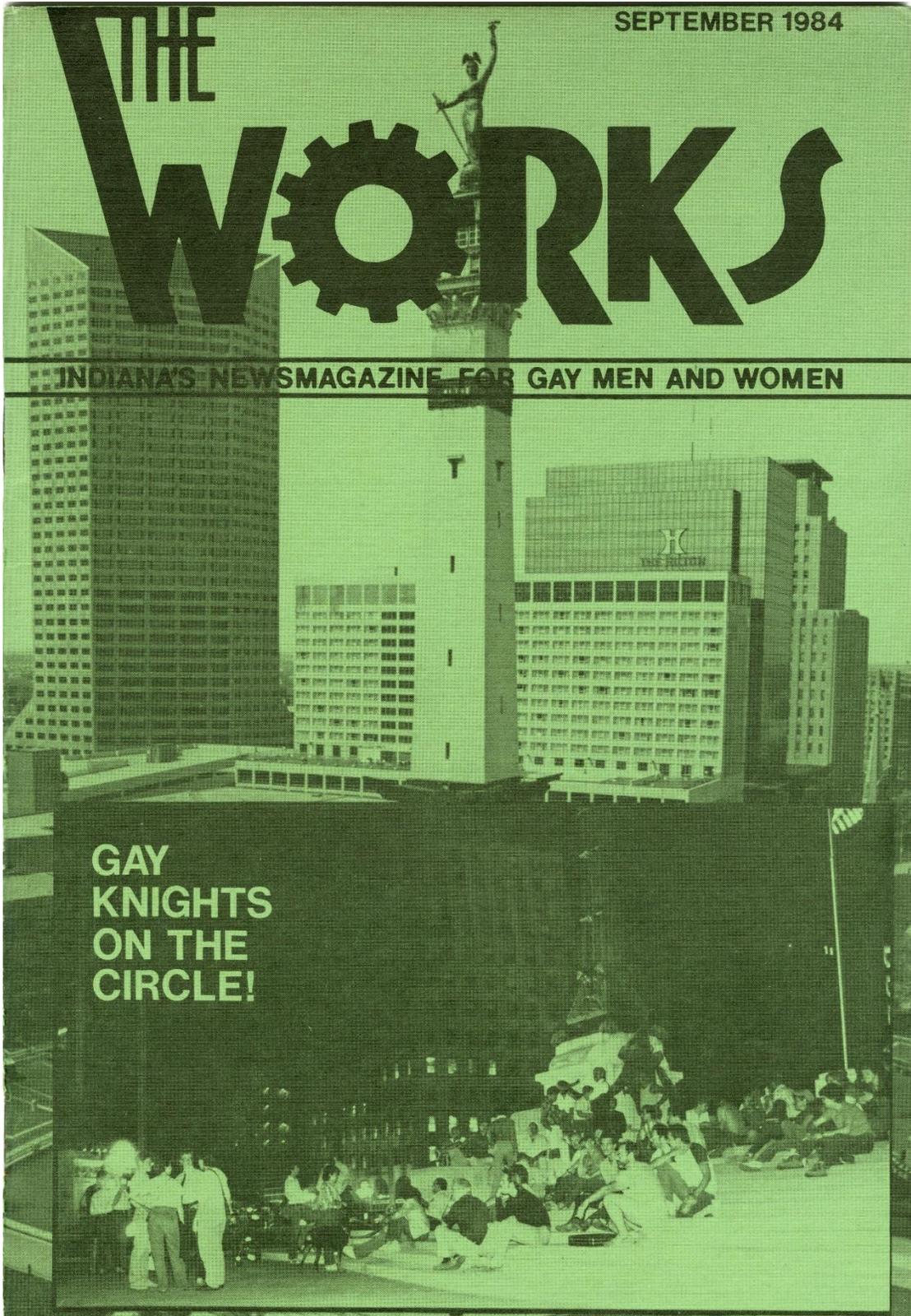


Image A-13. "Gay Knights on the Circle." The cover of the September 1984 copy of *The Works* shows an image from one of the Gay Knights' weekly Friday night events on Monument Circle, which were done to peacefully protest police violence.

the Circle from where gays were rallying, causing one of the Circle carriage horses to bolt. Shortly after the rally ended two people were treated for minor injuries caused by a pellet gun believed fired from a cream colored camper. No arrests were made in that incident. Injured were Benjamin Hollins and Benjamin Davis.

According to IPD and gays present, the crowd on the Circle was very orderly and little trouble developed. The Indianapolis Police Department did a fine job keeping order on the Circle. IPD did arrest several people who were heckling gays on the Circle, and ran off a group in a truck who were screening obscenities.

'Media Coverage Adequate but Not Overwhelming'

Indianapolis radio stations took an early lead in giving positive publicity to the Rally on the Circle by gays. WIRE, WIBC, WTLC, and other radio stations made public service announcements about the rally all day on Friday. Justice and GIGBA had placed a first-ever ad in both THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR and THE NEWS announcing the coming Rally on the Wednesday before the event. Channels 4, 6 & 13 gave the best and most positive coverage of the Rally on their nightly news shows, while Channel 8 gave only cursory coverage. Channel 59 ignored the event. The INDIANAPOLIS STAR ran a picture in their Saturday paper with a caption reading only that about 100 gays were protesting on the Circle. Saturday evening THE INDIANAPOLIS NEWS gave gays front page coverage with the headline "Pellets Hurt 2 At Rally." While nearly ignoring the Mayor's statement, THE NEWS concentrated on the anti-gay protesters and violence at the rally.

WORKS voter recommendations on page 22. Take it with you to the polls on Nov. 6.

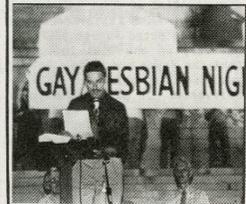
GAY/LESBIAN NIGHT ON MONUMENT CIRCLE



John Carlile introduced speakers. Michael Gradison of ICLU



Mike Jones gave a rousing speech.



Berg reading the Mayor's letter. Note Gays in background holding up Gay/Lesbian Night sign torn down by thugs.



Guest speaker, Dr. Bruce Voeller, being interviewed by Channel 13.



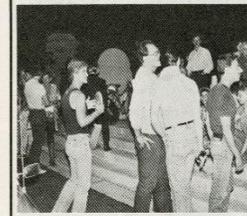
Listening to the speakers.



Registering Gays to vote.



Counterdemonstrators.



A mixed crowd.

Gay Television

[Indy]Gays and lesbians will come to local television on the public access channel by the first of the year. The show will examine national and local gay news, conduct interviews and give advice. Content will be directed at a broad spectrum of the gay/lesbian community from the most closeted to the activist.

Volunteers are need to staff the show in several capacities. To be a part of this exciting development, write:

Andy Weghalter
P.O. Box 1922
Martinsville, IN 46151.

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Image A-14. "Gay/Lesbian Night on Monument Circle." In an article from *The Works* covering the Gay Knights' culminating Gay/Lesbian Night on the Circle, a handful of pictures portray the events of the night, such as Stanley Berg's speech and the attending crowds.



CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS

WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, III
MAYOR

August 16, 1984

Mr. Stanley E. Berg
Publisher
The Works Gay News Magazine
303 North Senate Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Dear Mr. Berg:

In response to your letter of August 9, I am pleased to reiterate the position that I endeavored to outline verbally for you and your associates last fall when you visited with me in my office.

It is the policy of the City of Indianapolis not to discriminate, and it is the policy of the City of Indianapolis not to harass any citizens or segment of the citizenry including the gay community. We believe in treating everybody equally and impartially, just as we also feel that we have a responsibility to enforce the laws and protect our citizens against crime and the criminal in an even-handed manner.

Further, I think that it is imperative that both Public Safety and the Indianapolis Police Department and the gay community abide by the citizen complaint review process that was agreed to in a series of meetings some time ago by Public Safety, the Indianapolis Police Department and the gay community (which you were a member of and present) and give this process a chance to work. Public Safety Director Richard Blankenbaker informs me that all the involved parties have not utilized this established and agreed upon process.

If you feel that it would be productive to meet with the Police Chief and/or our Director of Public Safety, they would be glad to meet with you to discuss your concerns. The door is open. I cannot see that there would be much point in meeting with me, because I would simply refer your concerns to these individuals and repeat the statements I have made verbally and in writing to you regarding our City's policy.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Hudnut III

William H. Hudnut, III

WHH:map

bcc: Slash, Krauss, Ryan and Blankenbaker

2501 CITY-COUNTY BUILDING • INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204 • (317) 236-3600

FYI - Rib talked to him Berg who told him the gays will get off your back if we insert the underlined phrase in this letter. Rib then delivered revision to Berg. W

Image A-15. "Letter from Mayor Hudnut to Stanley Berg." This letter from Mayor Hudnut was read by Stanley Berg at the Gay/Lesbian Night on the Circle in 1984. The harassment policy (which is partially underlined in the image) garnered massive cheers from the crowd. This copy of the letter, which resides at the UIndy Mahyoral Archives, portrays some of the work done by Hudnut's team to craft this letter.

The 1990 Celebration on the Circle

In January 1990, state-wide queer advocacy organization Justice, Inc. began planning for their annual June Pride event. A predecessor of today's Pride activities, the 1990 Pride event was the first to be held on Monument Circle. National- and state-level experts to attendees spoke with more than 40 different groups setting up booths at the event, which was dubbed the "Celebration on the Circle." Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut III was invited to attend and issue a proclamation for the city's "Gay Pride Week" in recognition of his recent policy against employee discrimination in 1988, which promised employees and prospective employees of the state would not be discriminated against if they had an HIV diagnosis.

The proclamation was intended to welcome queer attendees to the event and recognize the day's significance to Indianapolis' Pride Week. In the days leading up to the event, two of Hudnut's advisers convinced him to withdraw from the Celebration as they were concerned with the optics of his participation. However, Mark Goff, one of his public affairs assistants, and Stanley Berg, the prominent queer activist who owned one of the Indianapolis bathhouses, reminded Hudnut to consider what losing the queer vote would do for his upcoming campaign for Indiana Secretary of State. "A Letter of Welcome" by Hudnut was published in the Celebration program. Berg helped edit it to address a concern that it focused too much on HIV. The event proved to be a huge success for the Indianapolis queer community amidst the ongoing struggle with the HIV epidemic. Describing the day and how it played out, *The New Works News* (a local gay

Indianapolis newspaper) wrote, “This is what a city is supposed to be like – alive, vibrant, filled with productive, enjoyable activity.”

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75
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THE VOLUME 9 No. 11-INDIANA'S NEWS PUBLICATION FOR GAY WOMEN & MEN-AUGUST 1990 \$1.50
NEW WORKS NEWS

3000 Attend "Circle Celebration"

Success Briefly Marred By 50 Demonstrators

As I looked around me at the "Celebration on the Circle," I had but one thought: this is what a city is supposed to be like - alive, vibrant, filled with productive, enjoyable activity. It's what downtown Indianapolis used to be like thirty years ago. Now our downtown is just a conglomeration of characterless office buildings and holes in the ground. But for a few hours on June 30, 1990, Indianapolis was a city again.

That is not to say that the Gay Pride "Celebration on the Circle" had no faults, but, all things considered, the event was a tremendous success and more people were pleased with it than not. It was also an event of great historic importance, being the first time that such a large gay (and public) event had been staged anywhere in Indiana. You can only do something for the first time once, and twenty years from now 500,000 people will insist that they were there (just like Woodstock and Stone-wall). As it was, throughout the day the numbers in attendance came very close to the hoped-for 3000. In excess of 1500 people watched the performance of the "La Cage" troupe of female impersonators from 3535 West, certainly the largest audience for a drag show in Indiana history.

We talked with many people during and after the event and formed a general consensus of how participants, public and police felt about the event.

First, we must commend a number of

individuals for the efforts they put forth to make the event the success that it was.

We commend Ruth Peters, head of the Gay Pride Planning Committee, for the Herculean (or should we say Juno- esque) job she did in organizing and coordinating the various committees and multitudinous details for the celebration. Her energy and dedication cannot be too highly praised.

Randal Fisher did an absolutely monumental job of assembling and directing a corps of volunteers to set up and tear down the nearly fifty booths required for the Celebration. Fisher was also in charge of a crew of security monitors who were congratulated by the police for the efficient and cool-headed manner in which they worked with police in containing several potentially volatile situations. It is especially noteworthy that during the entire nine-hour event, there was not a single arrest for any reason.

Police officers also told several booth holders that this was the best and most cooperative group they had ever worked with at a festival event on the Circle. Fisher told the *New Works News* that his volunteers had the Circle completely cleaned up by 9:30 p.m., a half-hour after the end of the event. The gay community needs fifty Randal Fishers.

Also to be commended are the efforts of *NWN* publisher Stan Berg, who saw to it that we had both an official Proclamation and a Letter of Welcome from

Continued To Page 14



Raising The Gay Flag On The Circle

Pride Photos & More In Features

Three More Plead Guilty To Prostitution Charges Justice Statement Condemns Goldsmith's Tactics

(Indy) Three more men who worked for a multistate sex ring run by the late James Dayton pleaded guilty to prostitution charges on June 21st and 28th, and were given suspended one-year jail terms.

Previously, Scott Murray, 27, of Chicago, pleaded guilty and received two days in jail and six months probation. Jeffrey Hornbrook of Detroit and Allan T. Butler, 23, of Indianapolis, pleaded not guilty and their cases were dropped because the probable cause affidavit filed by the prosecutor's office did not contain the names of the alleged patrons.

According to the *Indianapolis Star* and the *Indianapolis News*, Terry Downs, 26, who now lives in Alabama, and John Higgenbotham, 28, of Indianapolis, pleaded guilty on June 21st in Marion Municipal Court, Room 11, to one mis-

demeanor count of prostitution and were placed on probation for six months.

Court commissioner Steven R. Jacobs ordered Downs to undergo testing for the HIV virus and said that if Downs tested positive, he would have to inform his sexual partners.

Deputy Prosecutor J. Michael Loomis said the sex ring's computer records indicated Downs was its most prolific prostitute, having more than 100 contacts with customers. Loomis said Higgenbotham had far fewer contacts and had tested negative for the infection.

On June 28th, David Molden, 25, of Indianapolis, pleaded guilty in Marion Municipal Court, room 10, to a single count of misdemeanor prostitution. Judge A. Toni Cordingley sentenced

Continued To Page 8

CBC Employee Killed By Police

(Indy) Leonard R. Barnett, 25, an assistant manager at the Club Body Center (CBC), 620 N. Capitol Avenue, was shot and killed by Indianapolis police officer Scott L. Haslar after a high-speed chase through northeast Indianapolis in the early morning hours of July 9th, ending in the crash of Barnett's car at 10th and College Avenue.

Although subsequent reports of the incident in the *Indianapolis Star* and the *Indianapolis News* have varied considerably, the most consistent facts appear to be that Barnett was allegedly the suspect in an armed robbery at the Taco Bell restaurant at 6327 East 82nd Street. Barnett allegedly forced the restaurant's night manager, William Scott McBride, 24, at gunpoint to give him two money bags containing \$2100 and his wallet. Barnett then reportedly fled the scene in a red 1990 Chevrolet Camaro registered to Barnett's roommate, Bradley Wisley.

McBride called police, who pursued Barnett for over half an hour and nearly apprehended him several times. Barnett finally lost control of his car at a roadblock set up at 10th and College and crashed his car into the cement porch of a house. One of Barnett's legs was broken in the accident. He climbed through a broken window of the car and was confronted by Haslar, who was close enough to touch him. Barnett turned away and reached into the car, and as he turned back to Haslar, Haslar shot Barnett five times with a 9mm gun, inflicting fatal injuries. The money bags containing the stolen cash were found in the car, but no gun was found.

McBride was subsequently fired by Taco Bell for being in the business alone after hours.

Charges have been raised that Haslar did not follow proper procedure for

Continued To Page 8

Image A-16. "3000 Attend 'Circle Celebration.'" This cover to a copy of *The New Works News* portrays a segment of the crowd in attendance at the 1990 Celebration on the Circle.



CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS

WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, III
MAYOR

June 30, 1990

Ms. Stephanie Turner
President
Justice, Inc.
P. O. Box 2387
Indianapolis, Indiana 46206

Greetings:

To all assembled for the Celebration on the Circle, welcome to Indianapolis. With its majestic Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument topped by Miss Victory, the Circle is at the center of our state and serves as a gathering place for hundreds of thousands of Hoosiers each year.

On this day, nearly 3,000 people are expected to "Look to the Future" at the invitation of Justice, Incorporated. It is a celebration of solidarity and dignity to encourage fair and equal treatment for all in our society.

As you may know, I believe strongly in making our society a more compassionate one. To this end, my wife Beverly and I have worked with various service organizations, and we praise the tireless efforts of community groups that extend a compassionate hand to others.

I would also mention that Indianapolis is a City with a strong commitment to affirmative action and equal rights for all, and in this regard, is proud to be on record as affirming a non-discrimination policy in our employment practices.

With this spirit in mind, the City of Indianapolis welcomes visitors to the Celebration on the Circle, and we hope that your event is a successful and productive gathering.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

William H. Hudnut III

William H. Hudnut, III

WHH:sc

bee: JDB
DA

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Image A-17. "Letter from Mayor Hudnut to Stephanie Turner." This letter contains a draft of Hudnut's welcome the 1990 Celebration on the Circle.



CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS

WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, III
MAYOR

September 10, 1990

Mr. Mike Stillings
Mr. Patrick Ramschell
Post Office Box 295
Andrews, Indiana 46702

Dear Mike and Patrick:

Thank you for your postcard of July 5 regarding
"Celebration on the Circle" here in Indianapolis on
June 30.

I particularly appreciated hearing from you since
yours was the only word of thanks I received from
anyone associated with that event for the
proclamation I delivered and the effort our City
made to satisfy the requirements of the
organizers. It was thoughtful of you both to
write.

Warmest regards to you.

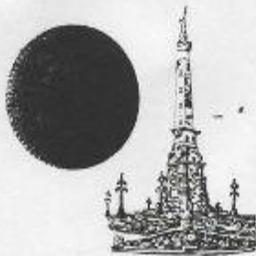
Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "William H. Hudnut III".

William H. Hudnut, III

WHH:ln

Image A-18. "Letter from Mayor Hudnut to Mike Stillings and Patrick Ramschell." This letter features Hudnut responding to a couple of attendees of the 1990 Celebration on the Circle. It seemingly presents Hudnut as somebody who feels unappreciated for their actions.



CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS

WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, III
MAYOR

PROCLAMATION

"CELEBRATION ON THE CIRCLE DAY"

June 30, 1990

WHEREAS: Monument Circle, with its majestic Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, stands at the geographical center of the Hoosier state, and serves as an attraction for hundreds of thousands of visitors each year; and

WHEREAS: This focal point of our State and its capital city, Indianapolis, is a fitting place for Hoosiers of all walks of life, who gather here to celebrate life itself and the contributions they make to a better Indianapolis and Indiana; and

WHEREAS: Justice, Inc., a statewide organization serving gay and lesbian Hoosiers, is a group that is committed to an optimum quality of life in our City and State for those it represents; and

WHEREAS: On this day, thousands of Hoosiers, as well as out-of-state visitors, have gathered on Monument Circle at the invitation of Justice, Inc., to celebrate their solidarity and promote pride in themselves:

NOW, THEREFORE: I, William H. Hudnut, III, Mayor of the City of Indianapolis, do hereby proclaim June 30, 1990, as

"CELEBRATION ON THE CIRCLE DAY"

in Indianapolis, and call upon our citizenry to welcome these celebrants to the center of our City and State and extend them traditional Hoosier hospitality.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the City of Indianapolis to be affixed this 30th day of June, 1989.


William H. Hudnut, III
WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, III, MAYOR

*Given to Evans
by III 6/22 9:30*

Image A-19. "Celebration on the Circle Proclamation." This document is an original copy of Hudnut's proclamation for the 1990 Celebration on the Circle.



CITY OF INDIANAPOLIS

WILLIAM H. HUDNUT, III
MAYOR

MEMORANDUM

TO: III

FROM: Mark J. Goff, Special Assistant for Public Affairs *mjg*

DATE: June 13, 1990

RE: Justice, Inc. "Celebration on the Circle"

The purpose of this memo is to provide input on the recent change in plans in regard to the proclamation you agreed to issue for the Justice, Inc. "Celebration on the Circle."

You may recall your meeting with Pride Committee Chairman Eric S. Evans on Friday, April 27, 1990, when you verbally committed to not only issuing the proclamation, but to sending either Beverly or another representative to the celebration if you were unable to attend and present it. Following that meeting, Evans reported back to the Executive Committee of Justice your agreement. The minutes from that meeting were included in the Spring Justice newsletter that has been distributed.

I regret that, for whatever reason, I was dropped from the discussions on this matter, but I feel that I should advise you that to reverse your decision to issue the proc at this point could potentially pose a problem. **Since you have already committed, any change in that agreement might be viewed as an "about face" that could result in a negative reaction on the part of Justice members throughout the state.**

The content of the letter and the proc are basically the same. **Why risk creating an uproar over the format of the "message?"** One whereas that contained a reference to "gays and lesbians" was deleted, and although I understand the controversy of using those terms, let me say that not using them would be akin to writing a Black Expo proc and not using the word Black or writing a proc for the Hebrew academy and not using the word Jewish.

- more -

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100% RECYCLED PAPER

Image A-20. "Letter from Mark J. Goff to Mayor Hudnut." This letter from Goff was key in convincing Hudnut to maintain his participation in the 1990 Celebration on the Circle after initially being convinced to withdraw by other advisers.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Samuel Evan Opsahl

Education

- Indiana University (IUPUI) – Master of Arts in Public History
- Purdue University – Bachelor of Arts in History

Professional Experience

- The Polis Center at IUPUI – Editorial Assistant
- Indiana State Museum – Engagement Specialist
- National Council on Public History – Graduate Assistant; OAH Amplified Initiative Internship
- Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology – Special Projects Internship

Presentations

- Indiana Association of Historian's 2019 Annual Meeting – February 23, 2019
- 2019 Midwestern History Conference – May 30, 2019