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Who is the Queer Consumer?

Historical Perspectives on Capitalism and Homosexuality

In his 1902 New Year editorial ‘Beau Brummell Jr.’, pseudonymous editor of *Fashion*, the early men’s lifestyle magazine, explicitly denied that the magazine was ‘effeminate’ or designed to appeal to ‘young (and old) gentlemen who wear corsets and spend the morning in Bond Street getting their hair curled’. Were this true, he countered, ‘*Fashion* would be crowded with unpleasant advertisements, and the proprietor would be a very wealthy man’.¹ More interesting even than Brummell’s derision of effeminate men was his identification of them at even this early date as prospective consumers. A generation later, in a 1925 article for the populist magazine *John Bull*, Freda Utley alerted Britons to the danger of Bond Street’s ‘Languid Youth’. In particular she noted his affluent consumption: a gold cigarette case and ‘last-word clothes’. She described his ‘vices’ as ‘exotic’ and from the ‘East’, suggesting homosexual deviance.² And in 1963, following the John Vassall queer spy scandal, the *Sunday Mirror* continued to rely on consumerist understandings of homosexuality in its primer on ‘How to Spot a Possible Homo’.³ Such men, Lionel Crane instructed readers, could be found on Bond Street in

London, Tokyo's Ginza, Rome's Via Veneto and other world-renowned, metropolitan sites of fashionable consumption.

Writing for mass audiences of mainstream publications, and relying on well-known references to gender and sexual difference, each writer identified queer men by their assumed consumer practices. I use 'queer' here to identify a range of male historical actors who felt same-sex attraction, engaged in same-sex sexual acts or whose gender expression was not conventionally associated with their biological sex. They may or may not have self-identified as homosexual, but were often classified by observers as such.⁴ These commentators relied on stereotypes of elite and privileged consumption, believing that particular consumer practices, including an 'effeminate' love of fashion, characterized male homosexuality.⁵ From at least the late nineteenth century, elite and effete male consumers have been coded as queer. In turn queer men, like women, have been understood as natural consumers. These assumptions have been so strong, in fact, that they have guided business practice, influenced the cultivation of male consumers, and also shaped scholarship on queer subcultures and studies of masculine consumer culture ever since.

From the late nineteenth century, interplays between legal prohibitions, the expansion of media and retailing, and demographic shifts attendant with urbanization all helped create, through processes of appeal and denial, the idea of the queer consumer. By queer consumer, I suggest the historical belief that queer men were natural consumers who enjoyed using licit and illicit goods, spaces, and leisure activities in coded, homoerotic, and subversive, ultimately *queer*, ways. This notion of the queer consumer was shared both by those seeking to restrain homosexual activities and those hoping to

profit from them. This essay begins to think more critically about queer consumers by providing an overview of extant scholarship, considering primarily how proprietors sold commodities to queer men, and by proposing avenues for further research.

Even as observers have long sought to identify queer men by their behaviors as consumers, only limited historical scholarship has examined the relationship between homosexuals and consumer capitalism. This is surprising given that as early as 1980, British historian and sociologist Jeffrey Weeks proposed that capitalism and sexuality were ‘inextricably linked’. Building on a range of work by sociologists, social psychologists, and literary theorists, Weeks insisted that capitalism creates certain sexual types, like the homosexual, at particular historical moments to regulate sexual behavior and the body politic.⁶ In America, historian John D’Emilio also looked to capitalism for the origins of the modern homosexual. Open labor markets, he argued, separated family members from household economies. Free from the oversight of family and locality, individuals who desired their own sex could forge new identities and communities.⁷

Few historians directly expanded on Weeks’s or D’Emilio’s focus on capitalism, even as later research emphasized commercial spaces of the large metropolis as critical sites of homosexual identity and community formation.⁸ Rather than building a history of queer capitalism, most historians have implicitly reinforced the idea that consumer practices, even if prosecuted and condemned, were themselves unremarkable. Men and women who consumed in queer ways, or proprietors who sought to profit from real or imagined queer consumers, have therefore received little scholarly attention. Frank Mort’s 1996 *Cultures of Consumption* is a notable exception, embedding homosexuality in the operations of capitalism and construction of new consumer groups in late

twentieth-century Britain.⁹ In Mort's study, gay men play multiple roles in the capitalist project: consumers of goods and services, leisure opportunities, and media; the source of homoerotic aesthetics and codes of urban gay subcultures that filtered into advertising; arbiters of taste and also media and creative professionals who helped normalize both the male and queer consumer. A longer history is yet needed, however, one extending beyond the recent past to more unfamiliar worlds of pre-decriminalization and pre-Gay Liberation experiences.

Focusing on the British but also American examples, I consider how historians have understood homosexuals as consumers and entrepreneurs. Expanding beyond homosexuals as the subject of economic interest, some scholarship also suggests business enterprise's interest in 'selling' particular understandings of homosexuality to all consumers. We must further consider how and why the historiography on lesbian consumers might differ from that of male homosexuals. This essay thus asks: What insights can be gained by interrogating rather than assuming relationships between homosexuality and consumer capitalism? Could business enterprise identify, based on the assumption of shared identities, historical consumers who did not yet even recognize themselves as a group? But first, what would it mean to *queer* the history of capitalism?

'Thinking Queer' about Consumers

Recently, historian Matt Houlbrook critiqued the drive to uncover a historical queer market.¹⁰ Influenced in particular by Laura Doan's important new book *Disturbing Practices*, Houlbrook advocates 'thinking queer – suspending both contemporary identity

categories and binary understandings of difference and normality'.¹¹ In his discussion of the market, Houlbrook was referring specifically to my article on the inter-war men's magazine *Men Only*, and what he characterized as the pursuit of 'an unproblematised queer consumer' that assumes 'a coherent prior existence (queer-as-being)' that could be identified and cultivated by magazine producers. He continues: 'Thinking queer we might instead consider how *Men Only* enabled particular identifications for very specific social worlds – *calling into being* temporary provisional affiliations – in a critical practice that suspends both our own categories of sexual identity and the notion of identity itself.'¹² There are two issues that must be unpacked.

First, how do we characterize queer men in the past(s). Houlbrook contests the notion of stable identities, instead identifying 'structured processes of becoming rather than structured positions'.¹³ He asks us to resist the desire to read men described as 'effeminate', 'pansies', 'rouged rogues', and 'languid youth' as homosexual, or unified by any stable identity. Such men, Houlbrook suggests, cannot therefore be further named as part of a stable, shared queer consumer identity or, by extension, a market. Second, we need to think about how the category of consumer might map onto sexual difference. Because early twentieth-century queer men did not identify as a cohesive group based upon shared sexual alterity, does this mean that marketers, advertisers, and entrepreneurs could not identify these men as potential consumers? I believe they did. Other scholars argue that queer men *were* identified as different by contemporaries, including capitalists, who might use this knowledge, rightly or wrongly, to identify them as potential consumers.

US historian of marketing Blaine Branchik, for example, argues that ‘American businesses have been marketing products and services to gays for more than 100 years’.¹⁴ Branchik uses the term ‘gay’ loosely, but critically his focus is on consumers. Branchik identifies queer men as consumers of sexual services, leisure opportunities, and various goods from small businesses, which could be influenced by their spending habits and patronage. Homosexual men emerged first as an underground subcultural ‘market segment’, but by the time of the Stonewall Riots and then Gay Liberation were recognized ‘as a large, identifiable *target* market’.¹⁵ Political engagement by homosexuals as a group with consumer capitalism, Lisa Power recounts however, only appears with the explicit anti-capitalism of the Gay Liberation Front.¹⁶ Prior to the 1970s, then, historians must grapple with a complex dissonance. Capitalists identified a potential queer market segment based on assumed similarities, stereotypes, and sexual and gender expression. But this group would not have identified similar links among themselves.

Houlbrook’s exhortation to historicize identity, or the lack thereof, is a useful if partial intervention. It is critical that we identify from whose perspective queer consumers are being understood, whether and when they are only imagined, and when and if they become a self-aware ‘subculture’. Much of this work, particularly on the transition from the imaginations of capitalists to the lived experience of gay men and lesbians, has yet to be undertaken. But even if queer identities were disparate, atomized, or engaged only in ‘processes of becoming’, that doesn’t require that capitalists recognized this complexity and contingency. That would be to assign to them a remarkable and sophisticated awareness. Instead, relying on a range of assumptions and stereotypes, capitalists interpellated a queer consumer, defined by sexual and gender

otherness. It was not, however, until the postwar period that anything resembling today's pink pound emerged, with a clear subject – a queer consumer – only appearing in the last third of the century.

Queer Consumers and Queer Entrepreneurs

Roughly coinciding with the emergence of mass markets and new technologies for appealing to consumers, the late nineteenth century also saw the criminalization in Britain of all homosexual acts not otherwise covered by existing buggery statutes. Section 11 of the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, the so-called Labouchère Amendment, criminalized any act of 'gross indecency'—all male homosexual acts short of anal penetration—whether committed in public or in private, and made them punishable by up to two years imprisonment with or without hard labor. Queer male Britons thereafter lived under a state of imposed criminality, forced furtiveness and the always-present danger of blackmail.¹⁷ Outside a narrow range of legal and medical discourses, trial coverage and press exposés, most mainstream and commercial discussion of homosexuality and homosexuals was curtailed.¹⁸

Scholars have shown, however, that even during the period of criminalization, some capitalists strategically employed what US historian Lizabeth Cohen describes as a 'dual marketing approach' to speak to queer patrons without alienating mainstream consumers.¹⁹ Much of this work has focused on the mass periodical, examining how queerness figured in arts and male fashion publications between the 1880s and 1960s. For example, historians Laurel Brake and Matt Cook have demonstrated that editors of the

arts journal *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture* (1880-1902) relied upon elite knowledge of Hellenic imagery and ideals of youthful masculine beauty to appeal to queer tastes while remaining palatable to its core heterosexual audience.²⁰ *The Artist* used these elements to establish what Brake termed, albeit anachronistically, a ‘gay audience’ as ‘an important backup to its dominant address to its “artist” readers’.²¹ This appeal to what she describes as a ‘pink market niche’ would indicate interest in queer consumers from at least the late nineteenth century. *The Artist* was not, however, the only arts publication Brake identifies as seeking a nascent queer consumer in the 1890s. Where *The Artist* relied upon literary references, *The Studio: an Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* (1893-1964) used coded images of naked youths by photographers like Wilhelm von Gloeden and Frederick Rolfe to similarly invoke the homoerotic associations of ancient Greece and compete for the custom of the same men.²²

While arts publications sought queer consumers by capitalizing on the beauty of others, early male lifestyle magazines pursued men concerned with their own appearance and consumption. From the turn of the twentieth century, as historians and literary scholars like Christopher Breward, Matt Cook, Brent Shannon and myself have demonstrated, magazine producers increasingly realized the potential of middle-class male and also queer consumers. The earliest publications like *Fashion* (1898-1904) and *The Modern Man* (1908-15) actively cultivated male consumer desires, but in so doing could not, Shannon notes, avoid the subject of effeminate or queer consumers.²³ They were unavoidable because, as Breward asserts, after the 1895 Oscar Wilde trials, homosexuality was more readily associated with sartorial indulgence.²⁴ Editors of *Fashion* and *The Modern Man* needed to distinguish and insulate masculine from

effeminate or even queer male consumption. A significant skill, argues Cook, was to recognize suspect urban fashions when substantial overlap existed ‘between recognisable urban figures and homosexual behaviour’.²⁵ I have argued, however, that *The Modern Man* nonetheless included coded discussions—articles on queer friendships, blackmail threats, and sites for homosex—in a calculated bid to attract queer consumers.²⁶ Producers of the inter-war *Men Only* (est. 1935) used nude female imagery, bawdy jokes and a familiar tone to protect masculine consumption,²⁷ but then deployed subtle textual cues and visual codes to engage queer consumers as well.²⁸ Attempts to attract queer consumers were never stable and these early appeals were inevitably disrupted by terminated business operations, changes to key staff, or shifting editorial priorities.

Historians of fashion, gender, and sexuality have further explored the aesthetics and styles associated with sexually ambiguous, transgressive and queer men.²⁹ As Richard Hornsey argues, ‘queer desire was made visible [by] ordinary commodities that became transformed into the prosthetic extensions of their owners’ criminal bodies’.³⁰ In late nineteenth-century Oxbridge, for example, Paul Deslandes shows that an ‘excessively feminine’ décor or personal appearance that included ‘bellowing waistcoat’ and a ‘soupcon of powder’ marked the sexually ambiguous aesthete.³¹ In inter-war London, Matt Houlbrook demonstrates that observers identified ‘pansies’ and ‘dilly boys’ by their brightly colored clothes and use of rouge and powder.³² Their gender and sexual alterity was confirmed by their purchase and use of female-gendered consumer goods. After the Second World War, as Sean Cole, Paul Gorman, Alistair O’Neill and myself have all uncovered, some queer men identified themselves through queer-coded fashions, purchasing tight garments, low-cut trousers and unusually colored clothes.³³ Cole pursues

the link between fashion and desire further to determine how ‘gay men have used their clothing specifically to attract sexual partners’.³⁴ They did this, he asserts, through the subtle breaking of convention and the deliberate purchase of coded garments.

Homosexual men’s interest in coded styles opened spaces for queer entrepreneurs. Physique photographer cum queer retailer Bill Green, historians have noted, operated Vince Man’s Shop, a boutique in London’s Soho, through the 1950s and 1960s. Relying on the queer codes of erotic photography, Vince’s advertisements were directed at homosexual men.³⁵ Another queer entrepreneur, John Stephen, learned a valuable lesson about emerging markets as a Vince sales assistant. His own early advertising initially appeared in the queer physique magazine *Man Alive*.³⁶ Stephen went on to fabulous mainstream success in the 1960s as the so-called ‘King of Carnaby Street’ based on the sale of what O’Neill terms ‘drag or casual separates’ originally purchased predominantly by queer consumers.³⁷

Art historians have explored the relationship between queer imagery and advertising in the cultivation of homosexual markets. Paul Jobling argues that inter-war UK underwear advertisements eroticized the male body not just for women (the primary buyers of men’s undergarments), but for male consumers as well. Queer-coded images in some ads evoked cruising for sexual partners, and ‘appeared at least to sublimate gay desire and to make an appeal to prospective gay customers’.³⁸ Richard Martin similarly identified homoerotic elements in US advertisements by 1920s illustrator J.C. Leyendecker, potentially indicating awareness of queer consumers. Alternatively, David Boyce suggests that desires of queer advertisers and illustrators may simply have seeped into their work.³⁹ Carole Turbin, however, argues that homosexual readings of such ads

are misplaced, because ‘excessive’ expressions of style or color would not have appealed to most queer consumers concerned primarily with maintaining normative expressions of masculinity.⁴⁰ Still, as Branchik demonstrates in his survey of ‘gay’ images in twentieth-century American advertising, representations of homoerotic situations and queer men changed alongside social, cultural, political and economic transformations.⁴¹ Advertising, whether actively seeking queer consumers or merely reflecting creators’ subjectivities, deployed doublespeak and ambiguity, insulating appeals to mainstream heterosexual consumers to avoid disrupting social norms.

Personal advertisements from men looking for companionship and sex with other men further demonstrate the readership, and therefore consumers, of some publications. H.G. Cocks identifies same-sex personal ads appearing in both specialized and mass-circulation magazines and newspapers across the twentieth century. And I have shown that from the mid-1950s until immediately prior to decriminalization, publisher Philip Dosse recognized other homosexual men as a market with sufficient disposable income to consume fashion and the arts, leisure and travel. His *Films & Filming* (1954-1990) not only included content and advertisements intended for queer men, but also queer personal ads.⁴² With decriminalization, competition among queer commercial magazines expanded rapidly. As Matt Cook, Stephen Jeffery-Poulter, and Jeffrey Weeks have all shown, examples like *TIMM: The International Male Magazine* (1967), *Jeremy* (1969), *The International Males Advertiser* (1969, from October retitled *Spartacus*) and *Gay News* (1972) soon appeared directed more overtly at queer consumers offering, Cook notes, ‘legions of advertising space’ to queer-oriented British business interests.⁴³

Little work has yet been undertaken on queer erotic commercial networks or their proprietors. A notable exception is recent work by Paul Deslandes on post-decriminalization gay pornography. After 1967, ‘self-confidently gay and assertive entrepreneur[s]’ sold magazines, erotica and pornography to a ‘burgeoning community of gay men’ eager to consume.⁴⁴ Many of these entrepreneurs were queer themselves and also invested in other queer business interests ranging from magazines and photos, to books and travel.⁴⁵ In the US, David Johnson has demonstrated that in the 1960s, Conrad Germain and Lloyd Spinar’s mail order company Directory Services Inc. was pivotal in creating networks that promoted collective identities. And with fourteen employees by 1967, DSI was, Johnson asserts, ‘arguably the largest gay-owned and gay-oriented enterprise in the world’.⁴⁶ With overlapping commercial and imperial networks, access to continental Europe and relationships with overseas territories, British history has the potential to illuminate further transnational networks of queer commerce.

Queer Commercial Sociability and Leisure

Urban locations of queer sociability, like pubs and clubs, have long been regarded as the most visible indicator of a queer subculture. Matt Cook, for example, identifies their post-decriminalization expansion as ‘part of the new visibility of gay life’.⁴⁷ These sites of queer commerce and visibility, however, have histories fraught by discord. According to Hornsey, in Britain after the Second World War criticism of the urban queer centered on his *inappropriate consumption*.⁴⁸ His public consumption was deemed selfish, and

conflicted with post-war reconstruction imperatives that emphasized social, cultural and familial, ultimately hetero-national, stability.

Even as observers feared the destabilizing effects of queer consumer practices, Houlbrook has shown that early and mid-twentieth-century London's queer pubs and clubs were complicit in reinforcing race, gender and class hierarchies.⁴⁹ Class difference, maintained by access costs, divided queer men who socialized variously at inexpensive pubs, cafes, seedy clubs, or more exclusive bars. Members-only clubs, meanwhile, appealed to white, conventionally masculine, respectable, middle-class queer men who could afford the privacy guaranteed by pricey membership dues.⁵⁰

Locations of commercial leisure also demonstrate how homosexuality was 'sold' to wider audiences. In nightclubs, proprietors used homosexuality to signal modernity and sophistication, as with the homosexual acts and cabaret shows, or 'pansy craze', George Chauncey describes as flourishing in Prohibition-era New York. The exploitation of a queer aesthetic and presence offered heterosexual, middle-class New Yorkers the chance to participate vicariously in a sexual demi-monde, proclaiming their own modernity.⁵¹ London's nightclubs similarly attracted urban explorers seeking the bohemian sophistication and spectacle afforded in the 1930s by brushes with the city's sexual underworlds.⁵²

In addition to titillation and modernity, club proprietors also 'sold' particular representations of queer behaviors, lives and desires to mainstream, ostensibly heterosexual, consumers. They relied upon stereotypes of effeminacy to reinforce dominant perceptions of sexual deviance and uphold the hegemony of traditional gender ideologies. But there is something decidedly *queer* in these relationships between club

owners and the mainstream consuming public. ‘Pansy’ acts performed not for queer men but for observers consuming the spectacle of urban otherness. It therefore begs the question: who precisely is the queer consumer? And what exactly does it mean to consume queerly?

Lesbian Lives and Gendered Consumption

Scholarly work on pre-decriminalization queer consumerism tends to focus primarily on elite, urban men.⁵³ This is the result of several interrelated factors. Owing to stereotypes linking queer men with effeminacy, and thus also a range of associated goods and services, male homosexuals were categorically implicated in fashionable consumption. Homosexual men were often more visible due to the social and cultural resonance of their gender and legal transgressions, and were therefore also more readily identified than many lesbians as a distinct group. And, in Britain through the 1950s and 1960s campaigns for decriminalization, the 1957 release of the Wolfenden Report and ultimately homosexual legal reform in 1967, interest in legislative change positioned homosexual men at the forefront of discussions about homosexuality and public visibility. Lesbians were concerned with legal reform, to be sure, but because only male acts were criminalized, public discussion regarding decriminalization privileged male experience and promoted queer male visibility.

Women’s economic marginalization further reduced lesbians’ involvement in the consumer economy and the archival record of their participation. Historian Rebecca Jennings has argued, for example, that women’s unequal economic power and pressures

to care for family meant that lesbian sociability remained domestically oriented. Even as venues like the noted Gateways club in London's Chelsea flourished in the 1960s,⁵⁴ British metropolitan lesbian sociability was generally non-commercial.⁵⁵ Advertisers and marketers, therefore, had less interest in identifying and courting lesbians. American author and scholar Sarah Schulman also attributes this to the lower earning power of lesbian households, which translates to lower disposable income and purchasing power. At the same time, she notes, lesbians have become adept at identifying queer subcultural codes, recognizing and sometimes even identifying with marketing directed at gay men in the absence of messages directed at them; advertisers know that 'marketing to gay men can result in sales to lesbians'.⁵⁶ This cross-gender commercial identification offers another facet of the pink pound that requires further research sensitive to gender, sexuality and marketing strategies.

Lesbians, however, were both subjects and readers of pulp fiction and nonfiction, women's and niche magazines, and consumers of other goods and services.⁵⁷ But as women they were not transgressing by consuming many of these goods and services, and therefore attracted less attention from observers. Still, there is need for work to be undertaken into consumption by lesbians who transgressed normative expectations of female behaviour and appearance: How did butch lesbians acquire non-gender conforming clothing? What of public consumption of alcohol by women not accompanied by male companions? How did female same-sex couples navigate shared consumption and their domestic economies?

Conclusion: Significance and Directions for Future Research

Non-historians, typically economists, sociologists and business scholars, have generally been most active in describing the significance of contemporary queer markets. Steven Kates's survey of gay men in 1990s Toronto found they valued business 'allies' and deliberately supported them financially.⁵⁸ While marketing campaigns directed at queer consumers have rapidly expanded,⁵⁹ economist M. V. Lee Badgett discredits the stereotype of the affluent gay consumer upon which they are based.⁶⁰ Building on feminist scholarship and African-American history, Alexandra Chasin finds a correlation between equality struggles and target marketing. While market forces contributed to 'hailing' into existence a cohesive and public gay and lesbian movement, the overall effect of consumer capitalism, Chasin concludes, is divisive and fragmentary.⁶¹ Worse, argues cultural studies scholar Edward Ingebretson, consumer capitalism has the effect of containing gay men and lesbians and undermining political gains. 'Market politics,' he concludes, 'dangerously reconstitutes the pre-Stonewall closet'.⁶²

Queer theorists have argued that gay participation in the consumer economy and the desire to accumulate contributes to what Lisa Duggan has termed the 'new homonormativity', a politics that sustains rather than challenges heteronormative institutions. It promises 'the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption'.⁶³ This scholarship questions the benefit of consumer recognition to gay liberation. Domesticated and de-radicalized politics not only excludes already marginalized LGBTQ citizens, but, Jasbir Puar argues, also sustains anti-queer government agendas as 'the nation benefits from the liberalization of the market, which proffers placebo rights to queer consumers

who are hailed by capitalism but not by state legislation'.⁶⁴ Puar describes the complicity between homosexual subjects and heteronormativity, state priorities, neo-liberal politics and the race, class and citizenship privileges they require as another form of homonormativity, which she calls 'homonationalism', with consumer capitalism playing a complicitous role.⁶⁵

Queer capitalism has the ability to promote visibility and liberation of some populations through public commercial validation. Queer theorists, however, counter that business enterprise privileges Anglo-American men at the expense of women, people of color, queer elders and other economically marginalized individuals. Immersion in consumer capitalism, they argue, may also de-radicalize populations who become invested in marriage, family and the acquisition of the paraphernalia of comfortable households. Looking at the relationship between homosexuality and consumer capitalism historically, British histories of queer capitalism offer unique contributions to an increasingly vibrant and transnational field. Research linking London with other commercial centres and non-urban areas will contribute to a richer understanding of non-metropolitan queer experience, but also personal, professional and commercial networks. Most excitingly, a British history of queer capitalism would include imperial, post-colonial and global networks highlighting transnational differences, continuities and connections between queer identities and communities. Such research offers to expand queer histories to surpass single-city and nation-bound studies, mitigate tensions between histories of consumption and production, and illuminate the formation of collective identities, political movements and international queer networks in Britain and beyond.

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¹ Beau Brummell, Jr, 'Some New Year Remarks', *Fashion*, January 1902, p. 5 quoted in Justin Bengry, 'Courting the Pink Pound: *Men Only* and the Queer Consumer, 1935-1939', *History Workshop Journal* 68: 1 (2009), 125.

² Freda Utey, 'The Languid Youth', *John Bull*, 17 October 1925, p. 30. Thanks to Matt Houlbrook for sharing this reference.

³ Lionel Crane, 'How to Spot a Possible Homo', *Sunday Mirror*, 28 April 1963, p. 7.

⁴ On the history of the term see Jeffrey Weeks, 'Queer(y)ing the "Modern Homosexual"', *Journal of British Studies* 51:3 (2012), 524-7.

⁵ Also see Steven Maynard, '“Without Working?”: Capitalism, Urban Culture, and Gay History', *Journal of Urban History* 30: 3 (2004), 378-98.

⁶ Jeffrey Weeks, 'Capitalism and the Organization of Sex', in Gay Left Collective (ed.), *Homosexuality: Power and Politics* (London: Allison and Busby, 1980), pp. 11-20. In particular, Weeks was influenced by Mary McIntosh, 'The Homosexual Role', *Social Problems* 16:2 (Fall 1968), 182-92. On the multidisciplinary origins of gay and lesbian history see Weeks, 'Queer(y)ing the "Modern Homosexual"', 530-1.

⁷ John, D'Emilio, 'Capitalism and Gay Identity', in Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson (eds), *The Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), pp. 100-13.

⁸ Maynard, 'Without Working?'; Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion, and City Life, 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Shaun Cole, 'Don We Now Our Gay Apparel': *Gay Men's Dress in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2000); Richard Hornsey, *The Spiv and the Architect: Unruly Life in Postwar London* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1919-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁹ Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption*, esp. pp. 164-70, 175-82.

¹⁰ Houlbrook, 'Thinking Queer: The Social and the Sexual in Interwar Britain', in Brian Lewis (ed.), *British Queer History: New Approaches and Perspectives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 141.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 148. See Laura Doan, *Disturbing Practices: History, Sexuality, and Women's Experience of Modern War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

¹² Houlbrook, 'Thinking Queer', p. 141. Emphasis original.

¹³ Ibid., p. 143.

¹⁴ Blaine J. Branchik, 'Out in the Market: A History of the Gay Market Segment in the United States', *Journal of Macromarketing* 22:1 (2002), 86.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 90. Emphasis original.

¹⁶ See Lisa Power, *No Bath but Plenty of Bubbles: An Oral History of the Gay Liberation Front, 1970-1973* (London: Cassell, 1995), pp. 171-80.

¹⁷ Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Quartet Books, 1977 and revised ed. 1990); Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (London: Longman, 1981); Sean Brady, *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain, 1861-1913* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); H. G. Cocks, *Nameless Offenses: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003); Hornsey, *The Spiv and the Architect*; Houlbrook, *Queer London* and Brian Lewis (ed.), *British Queer History: New Approaches and Perspectives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

¹⁸ For popular histories see Hugh David, *On Queer Street: A Social History of British Homosexuality, 1895-1995* (London: Harper Collins, 1997); Patrick Higgins, *Heterosexual Dictatorship: Male Homosexuality in Postwar Britain* (London: Fourth Estate, 1996).

¹⁹ Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), p. 331.

²⁰ Laurel Brake, ‘“Gay Discourse” and *The Artist and Journal of Home Culture*,’ in Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein (eds), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 271-94; Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality*, pp. 127-9.

²¹ Brake, ‘Gay Discourse’, pp. 271-2. Emphasis mine.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

²³ Brent Shannon, *The Cut of his Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860-1914* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006), pp. 91-127.

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- ²⁴ Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 247.
- ²⁵ Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality*, pp. 31, 40.
- ²⁶ Bengry, 'Courting the Pink Pound', pp. 125-8.
- ²⁷ Jill Greenfield, Sean O'Connell, and Chris Reid, 'Fashioning Masculinity: *Men Only*, Consumption and the Development of Marketing in the 1930s', *Twentieth-Century British History* 10:4 (1999), 457-76.
- ²⁸ Bengry, 'Courting the Pink Pound'.
- ²⁹ See Shaun Cole 'Don we now our Gay Apparel'; Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, esp. pp. 246-8.
- ³⁰ Hornsey, *The Spiv and the Architect*, p. 138.
- ³¹ Paul Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), p. 74.
- ³² Houlbrook, *Queer London*, esp. pp. 139-141 and Matt Houlbrook, "'The Man with the Powder Puff' in Interwar London', *The Historical Journal* 50:1 (2007), 145-71.
- ³³ Justin Bengry 'Peacock Revolution: Mainstreaming Queer Styles in Post-War Britain, 1945-1967', *Socialist History* 36 (2010), 55-68; Nik Cohn, *Today there are no Gentlemen: The Changes in Englishmen's Clothes Since the War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971); Cole, 'Don We Now our Gay Apparel'; Alistair O'Neill, *London: After a Fashion* (London: Reaktion, 2007).
- ³⁴ Cole, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel*, p. 6.
- ³⁵ See Bengry, 'Peacock Revolution' and Justin Bengry, 'Films and Filming: The Making of a Queer Marketplace in Pre-decriminalization Britain', in Lewis, *British Queer*

History, pp. 253-4.

³⁶ See Bengry, 'Peacock Revolution'.

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