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Introduction: ''Travelin' Thru'' the Queer South

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Where to begin? The question comes honestly enough as I contemplate this special issue on ''Queering the South.'' Obvious though the geographical and cultural markers on one's compass may seem, however, this is the wrong question. Wayfaring on this zigzag journey has already long begun, much longer ago than most would imagine, though academic routes only quite recently have been charted. No, this is as much a beginning as the opening line of Truman Capote's *Other Voices, Other Rooms*: ''NOW a traveler must make his way to Noon City by the best way he can.''[1] Which is to say, with some bewilderment, not a beginning at all. Or aptly put otherwise, as does E. Patrick Johnson in *Sweet Tea*, ''the South is always already queer.''[2]

Instead, therefore, we might ask: What sort of stride? Which routes? Back roads? How far? Safe travel? Cruise that stop? Stay a spell? What does that billboard say about Jesus? Come along? Not necessarily where, in other words, though the Mason-Dixon Line and its consequential bordered imaginaries remain despite challenge, but preferably how and with whom. Inspiration for our wanderlust can be found in the opening lines of another queer southern text, Minnie Bruce Pratt's ''Folding Fan'':

> On tour, deep in the South, I've just read from a long story about fucking, about one of the ways you make love to me. The almost all-lesbian audience and I sweat in a bookstore temperature raised to the high nineties by a summer afternoon and erotic tension. I cool myself by unfolding my silk fan while into the silence a

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> woman asks if anyone has walked out while I was reading "those words." I say, "Not yet." Another white woman says, "We're Southern, we're too polite to leave." Flirting with my fan, I say, "Honey, are you sure that's the *only* reason you stayed?" I'm in a town where twenty years ago a dyke couldn't buy a dildo but this hadn't kept some mighty queer fucking from going on.[3]

Movement and love making, heat and heritage, pursed lips and tongues wagging, culture's enabling constraint—all implicated in this fanning of queer desire, and well suited to (dis)orient our mapping en route, but without ever reaching a specified destination, to southern queer world making. Or, as Dolly Parton sang in *Transamerica* (2005), we're just "travelin' thru."[4]

As of this writing it has been a dozen years since the publication of John Howard's *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, James T. Sears' *Lonely Hunters*, and the "Queering the South" conference at Emory University. Though important scholarship on sexuality and the South preceded these works,[5] it would be fitting in this context to call such a confluence, in the words of one of this field's conspicuously gay Southerners, "catalytic events."[6] That is, with these works one witnessed accelerated queer movement in both Southern Studies and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Studies. Region and desire constituted pathbreaking perspectives by incongruity regarding and intersection between two academic regimes of the normal.

On one hand, of disciplinary homophobia John Howard wrote, "Southern history has not served us well. Largely, it has ignored us. . . . [T]he keepers of Southern history, the archivists, have sometimes actively worked to thwart us, to exclude us from the fold. Some Southerners and Southern historians may take pride in eccentricity and difference here in the 'perverse section,' as C. Vann Woodward called the South. But we queers are just a tad too perverse."[7] On the other hand, of regional prejudice James Sears observed:

> Regrettably, gay history, like the movement itself, has had a bicoastal bias. If you were to rely on the many books found in lesbian and gay bookstores, you would assume that the South was irrelevant to the contemporary lesbian and gay movement. Even in the post-Stonewall histories, Southerners have been marginalized; the ways in which we and past generations have authored our lives have been ignored. While we can read about the emergence of the homophile movement in a Southern California living room or its radicalization at a Greenwich Village bar, the pivotal roles of Southerners in these and other events are untold stories.[8]

Resisting such homophobic and chauvinistic impulses, and in the spirit of these volumes, planners for the "Queering the South" conference asked the challenging question, "What does it mean to be queer in the South," punctuating in their call the following associations, prompts:

> Queers and the civil rights movement * Is the south queer? * queer rednecks, trailer trash, queer debutantes, queer mall rats * WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE QUEER IN THE SOUTH? * carson mccullers * donald wyndam * flannery o'connor * tennessee williams * lillian smith * WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE QUEER IN THE SOUTH? * blanche mccrary boyd * joey manley * jim grimsley * shay youngblood * dorothy allison * minnie bruce pratt * mab segrest * james baldwin * bayard rustin * WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE QUEER IN THE SOUTH? * rita mae brown *

> bertha harris * june arnold * becky bertha * luisah teish * bessie smith * ma rainey * michael stipe * anita bryant * newt gingrich * bowers vs. hardwick * jethro * miss jane * elvis * jim nabors * suzanne pharr * mandy carter * (in)visibility * alternative spiritualities * radical fairies * southern drag * the military and southern queers * institutional heterosexism * idgie and ruth * gospel girls * lady chablis * rupaul * queer journalism * fighting the right * religious right / religious wrongs * Christian queers * queers and the neo-confederacy * rural organizing * WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE QUEER IN THE SOUTH? * outness / closets * butch / femme * southern style * s&m * the south and AIDS.[9]

These catalytic provocations aimed to constitute a new area of inquiry, seeking manifold response to the queries posed by Donna Jo Smith: "Foremost is the question of how 'southern lesbian/gay' studies projects will define 'southern' and 'lesbian/gay.' In other words, who and what are our subjects? What are we assuming about the identity models we will draw on to theorize 'southern lesbian/gay' identity?"[10] These projects offered, to broaden Scott Bravmann's judgment in his review of *Carryin' On*, "a first glimpse of the varied terrains of southern queer lives, cultures, and politics."[11]

Since 1997 a diverse group of academics and activists have been traversing those varied experiential, cultural, and political southern terrains, disrupting predominant myths and imaginaries about southern queerness that had historically rendered it indigenous and invisible. Peculiar indeed it is that the South somehow could be both the citadel of perversity and too backwater for the gay social register, for gay history. Along the way, que(e)rying[12] regionalism and sexuality in Dixie has helped us to rethink what we thought we knew about the South and same-sex desire, practice, identity, location, and community; not only same-sex desire, practice, identity, location, and community *in* the South, but how such a regional focus can provide fresh vantages on the sexual landscape of the United States writ large and beyond.

Chief among the interventions that have comprised queer southern studies is John Howard's pathbreaking *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (1999). In displacing the familiar historical narrative that extends from the closet through coming out and community onto movement mobilization, by embracing and employing oral history, and from a perspective that emphasized mobility, space, acts, and institutions as well as identities, across race, class, and gender performance, Howard queered both the history of the South and gay history.

> Four decades of queer life show that marginalized Mississippians individually and collectively resisted—and sometimes were complicit in—the allocations and positionings of hegemonic forces. In their struggles against the often oppressive structures of church, state, and science, they occasionally accepted their "place" but more often made and remade spaces all their own. Maneuvering through the relations of everyday life, they established networks of interaction and sites for homosex, frequently within the very community institutions and built environments predicated on heterosexist privilege—the home, the church, the school, the workplace. Questioning received wisdom, scrutinizing the taken-for-granted, queer Mississippians reflected on and often rejected discursive conventions, exposing powerful mythologies like the homosexual suicide and homosexual homicide narratives as realities of a homo*phobic homo*cidal schema—a logical oppressive outgrowth of the inequitable play of capital [italics in original].[13]

The transformative lesson here—archival, historiographical, theoretical, and methodological—is found in Howard's closing observation that, "[Most] queer Mississippians followed other routes."[14]

Along those queer routes scholarship to date has forged thoroughfares from once relegated byways.[15] Howard, Sears, Johnson, and others have helped (re)establish the significance of oral history in accounting for LGBTQ history, and for that matter LGBTQ historiography; those vernacular voices so familiarly and tragically consigned to oblivion by families, archivists, and scholars, which not only deepen and diversify the archives of same-sex desire but usefully disrupt the professional narratives that have given abiding form to those historical fragments.[16] Explorations both pre- and post-Stonewall, within and among "southern queer ecologies,"[17] have revealed many identifications and disidentifications, antagonisms and solidarities, continuities and ruptures, across gender, race, and class. Southern engagements of home and migration,[18] homecoming and diaspora,[19] church and state,[20] congregation and legislation,[21] nation and transnationality,[22] space and place,[23] time and memory,[24] and violence,[25] among others, have sounded new queer cadences even as we recognize the familiar drawl. From queering the southern literary canon[26] to studies of queer rurality,[27] James T. Sears' observation has not only been substantiated but richly enacted: "Southern history is never simple and seldom straight."[28]

Of course, restlessness is the most treasured virtue in this project. One of the hallmarks of queer southern studies, I would argue, is that it has consistently answered Carlos L. Dews' call: "Southern studies must be southern critique."[29] His focused resistance against a particular scholarly tradition and the still troublesome legacies of the region—"I offer a challenge for scholars of the South to examine an attribute of the South thought of as characteristically southern, truly examine its cultural genealogy, without finding beneath it either misogyny, homophobia, racism, or classism"[30]—is well taken and should serve as a constant measure of reflexivity in our queer engagements. What is heartening about queer southern studies, however, is that from the beginning it has in fact addressed and struggled against privilege and prejudice, if never fully satisfactorily. Though there is no gainsaying Johnson's critique of southern queer history, for example, attention to race in queer southern studies from its inception, by contrast to any other given field of inquiry, has been noteworthy.[31] Nevertheless, various shortcomings remain to be more fully redressed, such as the lives of transgender southerners, and our queer commitment requires that our endless wending always entail glances in the rearview mirror, doubling back, detours, rerouting. Johnson comes to me once more, when in his moving epilogue he writes, "Traveling back to my roots and driving over thousands of routes to the narrators' homes made me realize how important it is to get these stories into the world." He quotes Michel de Certeau: "What the map cuts up, the story cuts across."[32]

That impulse to "southern critique" necessarily extends outward as well, whether of racism, nationalism, colonialism, or metronormativity. In one sense I mean by this a shared ongoing commitment to vexing the problem identified by Carolyn Leste Law when she observed, "It seems not a little disingenuous of the United States to heap all

the racism, bigotry, and ignorance of an entire nation upon one region."[33] Others have already substantively done so. Here too the ongoing silence and erasure of southern lives, past and present, must be resisted. But more, I have in mind the value of "southern critique" as a destabilization of hegemonic gay culture, deliciously articulated by Scott Herring: "Nothing, apparently, unsettles metropolitan gay men more than the sight of 'white trash' boys cloaked in Confederate flags."[34] As his study of Michael Meads' photography, specifically the exhibition and Website *Eastaboga* and *Alabama Souvenirs*, reveals: "The uneasiness that Meads's images provoke is thus best read as a reply to the taxonomic presumptions that, consciously or not, steer many urban imagined communities today, and the archive's illegibility must be seen as an attack on both the historicized narratives that structure this U.S. metropolitan gay identity in particular, and a westernized gay identity in general."[35] What is inspiring about queering the South, in short, is that the queer South has legs.

Fittingly, we begin this special issue by crossing boundaries with Scott Herring's essay "The Hoosier Apex." The term designates dialect patterns of southern Indiana, a "southern type" of speaking distinguishable, for example, by its pronunciation of "greasy" with a [z] and the phrase "granny woman." Insofar as it signifies migration across conventional regional borders between North and South, as well as region and nation-state, Herring argues that the Hoosier Apex serves well to queer "new southern studies," "since the concept emphasizes a migrating queerness—a regionalism beyond a calcified North-South battleground—that returns us to the queerness of the apex not only in terms of its geographic oddity but also in terms of its erotic cultures." To illustrate, Herring explores the queer migration of "greasy" across space, culture, time, talk, bodies, and Tina Turner—a genealogy that reveals just how fluid one becomes with proper lubrication.

In an essay that crosses the Stonewall divide of southern queer history, William Armstrong Percy III (re)introduces us to his literary uncle William Alexander Percy in "Walker, Uncle Will, and I: A Homophobe and Two Queens." Exhibiting the virtues of oral history and what John Howard has called "twice-told stories,"[36] Percy explores the sexuality of Will Percy, its influence on his work, and its homophobic erasure from the southern literary canon by his adoptive son Walker Percy. This essay in a sense is a sequel to Percy's contribution in *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South*,[37] and therefore deepens our engagement with Will Percy while also constituting a genealogy of performance in queer southern studies. Among the revelations of this engrossing Percy family narrative, we discover Uncle Will's interracial love affair, his formative influence on Walker, Walker's closeting of Will's queer corpus (abetted by Percy scholars), and its appearance despite such obfuscation. We also discover the author's role in queering Will's legacy, and his own place in southern queer history.

One constant in queer southern studies has been an insistence that no account is complete without the church, which in complex ways has been both a site of homophobic oppression and queer resistance. Such is the case in Rev. Robert Goss' essay, "Silencing Queers at the UpStairs Lounge: The Stonewall of New Orleans." Thirty-five years later, Goss reflects on the arsonist's blaze in the French Quarter

gay bar that took the lives of 32 people, including Pastor Bill Larson and 10 members of the GLBT Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) New Orleans, who ritually congregated at the UpStairs Lounge on Sunday afternoons. Goss' remembrance claims Larson's charred body, visible in the window for bystanders to see, as a horrible symbol of gay Christian martyrdom. Goss also argues that the appalling silence by a number of religious institutions amounts to what I have called mnemoncide.[38] But this is also a story of heroic queer community and visibility in relation to institutional religion, embodied in Rev. Troy Perry, who along with activist Morris Kight and Bishop Finis Crutchfield, staged a memorial service that openly mourned the fallen queer bodies of the UpStairs Lounge and fomented a defiant queer legacy.

Our traversal from past to present in this special issue is punctuated by the breathtaking realization that the existing cartography is grossly incomplete, that our journey broadens and lengthens and deepens when we follow those roads less traveled and linger at heretofore unmarked intersections and crossroads. As the crow flies is anathema to queer movement. Eric Darnell Pritchard exemplifies such reconfiguration in his essay, "'This is Not an Empty-Headed Man in a Dress': Literacy Misused, Reread and Rewritten in Soulopoliz." With the pseudonymous Ella Mosley as his guide, Pritchard brings in bold relief the long and largely ignored southern black queer experience, specifically through the embodiment of a black transgender woman activist living in the South. His thoroughgoing intervention extends beyond mere inclusion, valuable in its own right, to reconceptualization of queer oppression and resistance through the framework of literacy, its misuses, mandates, rereading, and rewritings, all in relation to the complex interplay among multiplicity of identities. Exploring Ella's southern literacies of racial injustice, church, and honoring elders in relation to her own race, class, gender, and regional identity teaches us much about what Pritchard calls "black queers' cultural activism as literate practices."

Jeffrey Bennett and Isaac West take us, as they once took me, to a Sunday night performance of the Armorettes at Burkhart's Pub in Atlanta. The significance of this weekly extravaganza of camp and bawdiness can only be understood in relation to the context of HIV/AIDS in the South, decidedly precarious circumstances that reveal much about the material and discursive wages of the now familiar rhetoric of "manageability" and its regional implications. One could rightly argue that the South is now the cradle of the epidemic; a distinction all the more alarming given its inverse proportion of resources with which to combat the disease and prevailing apathy. Thus the ritual philanthropic drag performances by Wild Cherry Sucret, Mary Edith Pitts, and the rest of the girls—what Bennett and West call "tactical repertoires" and the "spectacle of the grotesque"—seek to constitute memory, awareness, identity, and community. Outrageous, irreverent, tasteless, ironic—from sexual innuendo and props to the standard singing of Vestal Goodman's "Looking for a City" to the closing rendition of Brotherhood of Man's "United We Stand"—the Armorettes embody the "ethics of queer life."

We close this special issue as we began it, in the spirit of regional and national expansion of southern reach and resonance, here westward toward southern borders that have constituted cultural and political faultlines in the United States. In her essay

"Exploring the Defeat of Arizona's Marriage Amendment and the Specter of the Immigrant as Queer," Karma R. Chávez examines the 2006 campaign of the GLBT coalition group Arizona Together against Proposition 107, otherwise known as "Protect Marriage Arizona." That Proposition 107 was defeated might rightly be understood as a pyrrhic victory. As Chávez reveals, the context of nativist hostility toward immigration, amplified in recent years and especially during 2006 by state and national legislation and ballot measures, provided particular strategic maneuverability for Arizona Together. Relying on the broader and pervasive racist and xenophobic discourses that rendered immigrants abject and therefore, in this instance, queerer than queers, Arizona Together engaged in what Chávez identifies as "straight-washing" and "white-washing" to defeat Proposition 107. It is telling, Chávez observes, that Arizona Together mounted a successful campaign without affirming gay marriage or explicitly mentioning immigration. Chávez's study deftly illustrates not only that ongoing southern studies must remap its regional boundaries but also that "queering the South necessitates a sophisticated exploration of the relationships among whiteness, heterosexuality, heteronormativity, and nationalism within particular local contexts."

In taking on this special issue I initially felt a strong urge to locate myself on the southern map. A Baltimore boy with a patrilineage rooted in Whitesburg, Kentucky, I have long fancied myself bi-regional in the border state of my imagination. I spent five years in Nashville, taking my own queer stand at Vanderbilt, home of the Fugitives and Agrarians who a better part of a century before did much to silence southern queer voices. I felt the distant aftershocks of that legacy when the southern press that published my first queer book excised my exuberant acknowledgement of the gay pool parties that exemplified the southern hospitality and perversity I adored; put it in a private inscription, I was told. Bless her heart. And like so many queers, I have heard my soul sing at the intersection of Bourbon and St. Ann, even as I have recognized through years of friendship with French Quarter residents that, as Michael Meads observes, "Visiting New Orleans as a tourist is nothing like living there."[39] Such my feeble attempt to drawl. But in reading these essays I am reminded once more that where in the South is not the right question, but rather how to expansively traverse it, and with whom. Queering the South, if it does anything at all, should make plain that we are all southerners, all queer kin. And so I continue this zigzag wayfaring, wide-eyed and hungry like young Newell in Jim Grimsley's *Boulevard*,[40] eager to take you with us as we travel thru.

Notes

[1] Truman Capote, *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (New York: Random House, 1948), 3.

[2] E. Patrick Johnson, *Sweet Tea: Black Gay Men of the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 5.

[3] Minnie Bruce Pratt, "Folding Fan," *S/HE* (Ithaca: Firebrand Books, 1995), 107.

[4] Dolly Parton, "Travelin' Thru," *Transamerica*, Dir. Duncan Tucker, 2005: http://www.dollyon-line.com/archives/lyrics/travelthru.shtml (accessed May 8, 2009).

[5] See, for instance, Martin Duberman, "'Writhing Bedfellows' in Antebellum South Carolina: Historical Interpretation and the Politics of Evidence," *Journal of Homosexuality* 6 (Fall/Winter 1980/1981): 85–102; Mab Segrest, *My Mama's Dead Squirrel: Lesbian Essays on Southern Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1985); Joseph Beam, "Emmett's Story: Russell County, Alabama," *In the Life* (Boston: Alyson Books, 1986); James T. Sears, *Growing Up Gay in the South: Race, Gender, and Journeys of the Spirit* (Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press, 1991); David Bell and Gill Valentine, "Queer Country: Rural Lesbian and Gay Lives," *Journal of Rural Studies* 11 (April 1995): 113–122.

[6] James Darsey, "From 'Gay Is Good' to the Scourge of AIDS: The Evolution of Gay Liberation Rhetoric, 1977–1990," in *Readings on the Rhetoric of Social Protest*, 2nd ed., ed. Charles E. Morris III and Stephen Howard Browne (State College, PA: Strata Publishing, 2006), 486–508.

[7] John Howard, "Introduction: Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South," in *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, ed. John Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 4.

[8] James T. Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Life, 1948–1968* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 1.

[9] See the 1997 "Queering the South" conference call at: http://english.ttu.edu/kairos/2.1/news/cfps/dead/talk/queer.html; "'Queering the South" connects academics, activists and artists, *Emory Report* 49 (June 9, 1997): http://www.emory.edu/EMORY_REPORT/erarchive/1997/June/erjune.9/6_9_97LGBConference.html (accessed May 2, 2009).

[10] Donna Jo Smith, "Queering the South: Constructions of Southern/Queer Identity," in *Carryin' On* (see note 7), 371.

[11] Scott Bravmann, "Review of *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South*," *The Journal of American History* 85 (September 1998): 642.

[12] I take this term, its mission, and method of queering the historically "real" as well as racial and sexual identity, from Faedra Chatard Carpenter, "Robert O'Hara's Insurrection: 'Que(e)rying' History," *Text & Performance Quarterly* 23 (April 2003): 186–204.

[13] John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 297.

[14] Howard, *Men Like That*, 298.

[15] This is not to say that queer southern studies has been entirely acknowledged, embraced, or engaged. Note, for example, the absence in David L. Eng, with Judith Halberstam and José Esteban Muñoz, "Introduction: What's Queer About Queer Studies Now?" *Social Text* 23 (Fall–Winter 2005): 1–18.

[16] In her recent discussion of oral history in gay, lesbian, and queer historiography, Nan Alamilla Boyd writes, "In fact, it's this attention to the vernacular and to the mundane through which desire is felt and experienced that Howard is able to trace the history of 'men who liked that'—men who engaged in same-sex relations but didn't talk about it and certainly didn't write about it. These are the men who, heretofore, had escaped or evaded the attention of historians. Through their silence and absence these men have much to tell us about the meaning of sex and sexuality." Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Who Is the Subject? Queer Theory Meets Oral History," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17 (May 2008), 186. See also James T. Sears, *Growing Up Gay in the South: Race, Gender, and the Journeys of the Spirit* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1991); Sears, *Lonely Hunters*; Daneel Buring, "Softball and Alcohol: The Limits of Community in Memphis from the 1940s through the 1960s," in *Carryin' On* (see note 7), 203–223; Howard, *Men Like That*; Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones: Queering Space in the Stonewall South* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001); Johnson, *Sweet Tea*; James T. Sears, *Edwin and John: A Personal History of the American South* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

[17] Sears critiques the "grand narrative of 'community,' " which elides difference, division, and discrimination and often suggests historical or political bonds where none exist, in favor of what he calls "local queer ecologies": "queer spaces occupied by various groups with differing beliefs, symbols, identities, lifestyles, languages, and interests operating inside a common border and within a cultural context of homophobia and heteronormativity." Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones*, 312–323, 315, 319.

[18] Bonnie J. Morris, "Women's Festivals on the Front Lines," in *Out in the South*, ed. Carlos L. Dews and Carolyn Leste Law (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 56–71; David Knapp Whittier, "Race and Gay Community in Southern Town," in *Out in the South*, 72–94; Bonnie R. Strickland, "Leaving the Confederate Closet," in *Out in the South*, 97–114; Minnie Bruce Pratt, *The Dirt She Ate: Selected and New Poems* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003).

[19] Donna Smith, "Same Difference: My Southern Queer Stories," in *Out in the South* (see note 18), 127–143; R. Bruce Brasell, "Greetings *From Out Here*: Southern Lesbians and Gays Bear Witness to the Public Secret," in *Out in the South* (see note 18), 159–184.

[20] John Howard, "The Library, the Park, and the Pervert: Public Space and Homosexual Encounter in Post-World War II Atlanta," in *Carryin' On* (see note 7), 107–131; Robert J. Corber, "Queer Regionalism," *American Literary History* 11 (Summer 1999): 391–402; Angelia Wilson, *Below the Belt: Sexuality, Religion and the American South* (London: Cassell, 2000); Laura Milner, "From Southern Baptist Belle to Butch (and Beyond)," in *Out in the South* (see note 18), 185–203; Edward Gray and Scott Thumma, "The Gospel Hour: Liminality, Identity and Religion in a Gay Bar," in *Gay Religion*, ed. Scott Thumma and Edward Gray (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004), 285–302; Johnson, *Sweet Tea*, chapter 3.

[21] Howard, *Men Like That*, chapter 6.

[22] R. Bruce Brasell, " 'The Degeneration of Nationalism': Colonialism, Perversion, and the American South," *Mississippi Quarterly* 56 (Winter 2002/2003): 33–54; Riché Richardson, "Southern Turns," *Mississippi Quarterly* 56 (Fall 2003): 555–579; Jon Smith and Deborah Cohn, *Look Away! The U.S. South in New World Studies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

[23] Saralyn Chesnut and Amanda C. Gable, " 'Women Ran It': Charis Books and More and Atlanta's Lesbian-Feminist Community, 1971–1981," in *Carryin' On* (see note 7), 241–284; James T. Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones*; Kate Black and Marc A. Rhorer, "Out in the Mountains: Exploring Lesbian and Gay Lives," in *Out in the South* (see note 18), 16–25.

[24] James R. Keller, "Tennessee Williams Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Hypocrisy, Paradox, and Homosexual Panic in the New/Old South," in *Out in the South* (see note 18), 144–156; John Howard, "The Talk of the County: Revisiting Accusation, Murder, and Mississippi, 1895," in *Queer Studies: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. Robert J. Corber and Stephen Valocchi, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 142–158.

[25] Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

[26] Nathan G. Tipton, "Queer Be Dragons: Homosocial Identity and Homoerotic Poetics in Robert Penn Warren's *Brother to Dragons*," *Mississippi Quarterly* 55 (Spring 2002): 231–245; Axel Nissen, "Queer Welty, Camp Welty," *Mississippi Quarterly* 56 (Spring 2003): 209–229; Gary Richards, *Lovers and Beloveds: Sexual Otherness in Southern Fiction, 1936–1961* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); Michael Hardin, "Between Queer Performances: John Kennedy Toole's *The Neon Bible* and *A Confederacy of Dunces*," *Southern Literary Journal* 39 (Spring 2007): 58–77; Michael P. Bibler, *Cotton's Queer Relations: Same–Sex Intimacy and the Literature of the Southern Plantation, 1936–1968* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2009).

[27] Scott Herring, "Caravaggio's Rednecks," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12 (2006): 217–236; Scott Herring, "Southern Backwardness: Metronormativity and Regional Visual Culture," *American Studies* 48 (Summer 2007): 37–48; Reta Ugena Whitlock, "'The Ol' Nasty Lesbians'—Queer Memory, Place, and Rural Formations of Lesbian," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 13 (January 2009): 98–106.

[28] Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones*, 4.

[29] Carlos L. Dews, "Afterword," *Out in the South* (see note 18), 238.

[30] Dews, "Afterword," 238.

[31] Johnson, *Sweet Tea*, 5. See Chris Cagle, "Imaging the Queer South: Southern Lesbian and Gay Documentary," *Between the Sheets, In the Streets: Queer, Lesbian, Gay Documentary*, ed. Chris Holmlund and Cynthia Fuchs (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 30–45; Sears, *Lonely Hunters*, 108–162; Howard, *Men Like That*; Charles I. Nero, "Black Gay Men and White Gay Men: A Less Than Perfect Union," *Out in the South* (see note 18), 115–126; Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones*.

[32] Johnson, *Sweet Tea*, 547; Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 129. Johnson's speaking tour has further enacted and fulfilled this mission. See, for example, John Fenoglio, "Talk Offers Southern Exposure," *Windy City Times*, April 1, 2009, 6.

[33] Carolyn Leste Law, "Introduction," *Out in the South* (see note 18), 3.

[34] Herring, "Caravaggio's Rednecks," 217.

[35] Herring, "Caravaggio's Rednecks," 220.

[36] Howard explains, "This hearsay evidence—inadmissible in court, unacceptable to some historians—is essential to the recuperation of queer histories. The age-old squelching of our words and desires can be replicated over time when we adhere to ill-suited and unbending standards of historical methodology." Howard, *Men Like That*, 5.

[37] William Armstrong Percy III, "William Alexander Percy (1885–1942): His Homosexuality and Why It Matters," *Carryin' On* (see note 7), 75–92. It might also be read as part of a developing project of queering the Percy family. See Maria Hebert, "Between Men: Homosocial Desire in Walker Percy's *Lancelot*," *Mississippi Quarterly* 56 (Winter 2002/2003): 125–145.

[38] Charles E. Morris III, "My Old Kentucky Homo: Abraham Lincoln, Larry Kramer, and the Politics of Queer Public Memory," *Queering Public Address: Sexualities in American Historical Discourse*, ed. Charles E. Morris III (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007): 93–120.

[39] Michael Meads, "My New Orleans": http://www.michaelmeads.com/intro.html (accessed May 8, 2009)

[40] Jim Grimsley, *Boulevard: A Novel* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2002).