

DICHOTOMY OF THE MAFIA AFFECTING LGBTQ+ PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES

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For years, one of the only safe places for LGBTQ+ individuals in the United States to socialize was in bars owned and operated by the Italian Mafia. If a defined group is in an environment for an extended period of time, the environment will begin to act upon the group. Retrospective secondary research suggests that the dichotomy of the mafia in accordance with LGBTQ+ people is that while the syndicate facilitated LGBTQ+ culture, the Italian Mafia also put LGBTQ+ people in harm's way. Organized crime networks began providing spaces for LGBTQ+ people to socially consume alcohol and engage in dancing with the same sex, which was largely illegal before the Stonewall Riots. The mafia did this not out of an ethical obligation, but because of the financial opportunity of servicing an untapped market. This lack of concern by the Italian Mafia for LGBTQ+ individuals, beyond what they could produce for the crime families financially, contributed to outbreaks of disease and police brutality. The most well-known bar in the United States with a predominantly LGBTQ+ based clientele, the Stonewall Tavern, did not have running water, which led to outbreaks of oral herpes from improperly washed glassware. Many bars operated by the Italian Mafia did not have liquor licenses, which contributed to routine raids by law enforcement who victimized the LGBTQ+ patrons. Ultimately, the Italian Mafia was harmful to LGBTQ+ people, but LGBTQ+ rights may not have advanced without the Stonewall Riots and without the mafia operating bars for the LGBTQ+ community.

Index Terms: Italian Mafia, LGBTQ+, Stonewall, Law enforcement

Introduction

Before the research process began, I noticed how bars with a predominantly LGBTQ+ based clientele were owned and operated by La Cosa Nostra. La Cosa Nostra is an identifier for the Italian American mafia. Famously the Stonewall

Inn, the site of the Stonewall Riots, was owned by the Genovese crime family (Carter, 2004, pp. 67-88).

If one of the predominant places LGBTQ+ Americans could socialize in was

controlled by a homogenous group for an extended period, I began to wonder what possible effects the Italian Mafia had on the LGBTQ+ population in the United States.

Methods

It is challenging to conduct primary research on the effects the mafia may have had on LGBTQ+ Americans because the population of people who lived through La Cosa Nostra's control over the LGBTQ+ social scene are aging. For this reason, I chose to conduct retrospective secondary research consisting of an exploratory literature review.

There are significant gaps in the literature. The most accomplished author on the interactions the Italian American mafia had on LGBTQ+ people is David Carter. Carter has written numerous articles and a book titled *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (2004) that describe interactions La Cosa Nostra had on the LGBTQ+ community. Carter's work centered on the Stonewall Inn. As he was the premiere researcher in the field, there is a noteworthy lack of information concerning other establishments owned by the mafia. Particularly, there is a serious inadequacy in records of establishments servicing lesbian and sapphic individuals.

This research, based on fragmented literature whose content is geographically centered in New York City, is not wholly representative of LGBTQ+ Americans. New York City does have a sizeable sample of LGBTQ+ residents to allow significant value to be taken from this work.

I compared the work of David Carter to the works of other authors to deduce the conclusions I can make with an appropriate level of confidence for retrospective research.

Body Content

My hips bounce to Chuck Berry and my arms swing to the vibe of the room. I hand over my second drink ticket to the cutie behind the bar. I keep the tips flowing so the drinks follow. There are tons of other men here, all dancing. The only race that matters is who can get to the jukebox fast enough when the song is over. I waltz over to the cigarette machine to pull out a few more rolls for the night and slip on something, but it is impossible to see with the walls painted black and the air hazy with tobacco smoke. After grabbing my Marlboros, I spin around to a well-dressed man who gives me a wink and asks me to dance. Jiving to the song he twirls me and moves me around. Before I know it, I am being pulled into the bathroom. This isn't anything I wanted! He smiles while grabbing the front of my pants and pushes me against the wall. This man that I was just dancing with 15 seconds ago pulls out cuffs from his back pocket. "You are under arrest for committing lewd and lascivious acts!"

This was the reality for so many LGBTQ+ people pre-Stonewall. It was quite common for the police to entrap gay men and even sexually assault them to get an arrest (Arriola, 1995). Queer people have suffered centuries of abuse on this continent. Looking back in history, the British Empire had a rather large influence on countries with sodomy laws. Over half

of the countries with homophobic laws have a British origin. There is a greater chance of having homophobic laws on the books in a country if the British Empire at one point colonized it than other European empires. There is far more codified homophobia in ex-British colonies than in other European empires because after 1860 England standardized their legal codes across their colonies that contained homophobic edicts (Han & O'Mahoney, 2014).

Before the United States was even a country, colonial rulers persecuted LGBTQ+ people. An English ship captain by the name of Richard Cornish was hanged for sodomy in 1625 by Virginia colonists (Arriola, 1995). While homophobia was not standardized across the British empire until 1860, the British colonial government influenced queer populations. Doling out the death penalty to LGBTQ+ people stood in law until the 19th century.

While the Dutch settlers of lower Manhattan were still colonizers, they had a great deal of respect for the native Lenape people and their land which translated into how they lived their lives (New Netherland Institute, n.d.). Before Manhattan became what it is today, they experienced an agricultural period like most places of the time. In the colonial era of North America, trades and artisan industries only made up 10-18% of any local economy depending on the time and place, meaning that a supermajority of people engaged in agriculture or other means to live off of the land (Center for Medieval Studies, n.d.). These farmers had a deep respect for their land and the Native Americans they

inherited it from. They used the same paths the indigenous people had trod for countless years.

Around the turn of the 19th century, people saw a need to turn these paths into permanent roads. From the 18th to the beginning of the 19th centuries, several plagues struck New York. Cholera and Yellow Fever ran rampant in the slums of New York City (Plunz & Álvarez-Dávila, 2020; Carter, 2004, pp. 6-9). Masses of people flooded from the more densely packed lower Manhattan into what is now Greenwich. Infrastructure had to be built to support them. When it was time to pave the first roads in the area, the farmers would only let roads be built on the original paths used by the farmers and the Lenape. People in Greenwich on foot could get around the area but the roads didn't allow for an easy flow of traffic into the village (Carter, p. 9). People in Greenwich were culturally isolated from the rest of New York. As any place in isolation, they developed a unique culture with a particularly well-known resident, Thomas Paine. Thomas Paine was an Enlightenment thinker whose pamphlet *Common Sense* shook the kings of Europe. After being driven out of New Rochelle for his radical thinking, Thomas Paine lived his final days in Greenwich Village (p. 11). Greenwich started a tradition of accepting societal outcasts and revolutionaries.

The State of New York sent many outcasts assigned female at birth to Greenwich to serve time at the Women's House of Detention. This prison, which operated under a couple of different names over 200 years, used its walls to trap lesbians, women who didn't conform to traditional

gender norms, and trans men. Queer women and trans men would be taken from all over the region and be put into a place with other similarly identifying LGBTQ+ people. These individuals would then form connections on the inside and when they were freed, they would keep the connections with their chosen family. A strong lesbian presence developed in Greenwich because of this prison. Hugh Ryan described the creation of queer relationships as circular. Trans men and lesbians would be sent to this prison, make connections, and be released into the community. They could possibly be arrested again and make even more connections in the House of Detention (Anderson, 2022). Greenwich village has an extra appreciation for freedom, yearned for by the developing demographic of persecuted people, particularly queer individuals.

Being spunky and having a lot of lesbians are not the only reasons for Greenwich Village and Stonewall being the center for the gay revolution. A lot of gay activism in the 50s and 60s was a reaction to police oppression. As gay bars were one of the main places queer people met, they were frequently raided by the police. It got to the point where bar raids seemed "scripted". People started to view these regular bar raids as something to be proud of. The police were evil, and they were triumphant in challenging authority. Protests in general started to become more militant in response to systematic discrimination (Armstrong & Cragge, 2006). Systematic discrimination of LGBTQ+ people was not unique to New York. One Los Angeles precinct spent half of its vice budget to

combat LGBTQ+ people (Arriola, 1995, Footnote 12). One of the things that did make New York special was the inconsistent political climate of the pre-Stonewall period. With heavy activism from the Mattachine Society of New York, some headway was made in our legal system (Carter, 2004, pp. 46-53; Armstrong & Cragge, 2006). Police officers were no longer supposed to engage in mass arrest operations. It was also unlawful for the New York State Liquor Authority to shut down a bar or withdraw their liquor license because a bar had gay patrons. However, around election season the hammer would fall on the queer community. During the mid-60s the NYPD cracked down on bars with predominantly queer clientele to prove that they were tough on crime (Carter, pp. 42-46). Carter does not make it clear if the NYPD were acting under their own volition or from the orders of mayor John Lindsay. Carter does make it clear that other New York politicians like Robert Wagner and Mario Procacino intentionally tried to harm the social environments and freedoms of LGBTQ+ people (pp. 53, 119). The oppression in New York was less continuous than in Los Angeles or San Francisco, which gave revolutionaries more room to breathe. Gay activists found inspiration from the anti-war protests going on at the time. Other activists also took inspiration from the civil rights, black power, and women's rights movement (Armstrong & Cragge, 2006). What happens before and after the riots is almost as important, if not more important, than what happened at the riots itself.

To better understand the Stonewall riots, I want to paint a picture of the Stonewall Inn. Stonewall was a sleazy dive bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village, New York. The bar was owned by the Italian mafia (Armstrong & Crago, 2006). Specifically, Stonewall was one of possibly dozens of bars like Club 82 and Sea Colony managed by La Cosa Nostra (Carter, 2004, pp. 5-6, 47; Mitchell, 2019; Stegall, 2018). Almost every expense was spared when making the club. The space was originally used as a restaurant but was closed due to a fire. It sat empty until Fat Tony converted the place to a bar. He painted the place black to hide the charred boards from the fire years earlier. The mob installed heavy industrial doors for an extra layer of security. Past the coat check in the lobby, there was an entrance to the first room with a long bar with round stools and a jukebox on the end with a dance floor area. Stonewall was one of only a few places where you could dance with members of the same sex in NYC. Lastly, there was a smaller back room with a short bar. This room was called the Black Room because the music on this jukebox was soul music and attracted people of color to hang out. Neither of the bars in the tavern had running water behind them. They had a dirty tub of water they used to rinse out glasses quickly between customers. Several times there were outbreaks of oral herpes because of this practice (Carter, 2004, pp. 67-88). Stonewall may have been a grungy gay dive, but it was their grungy gay dive! Stonewall was a place where gays, lesbians, queens, butches, bisexuals, and femmes could all come together and exist in their truest and most honest form of

themselves. The gay community was at their boiling point and could no longer take the abuse of law enforcement after years of organized harassment campaigns.

On the 27th into June 28th, the police set up an undercover sting to prepare for a raid of the Stonewall club. The undercover cops were supposed to go in, take notes of who is staff, are there notable figures, and anything else they find interesting. One of the female police officers who was undercover didn't come out of Stonewall when she was supposed to. Fearing the mob figured out who she was, the police raided the club at either 1:00 am or 1:20 am on June 28th (Carter, 2004, pp. 137, 143). David Carter gave two different times for the raid. There is some disagreement in the literature on the exact time Stonewall was raided. Some scholars corroborate the raid as happening at 1:20 am (Armstrong & Crago, 2006) while others believe the raid occurred at 2:00 am (Stein, 2019). Apart from the lackluster undercover work, the raid started fairly typical, but it sure ended as anything but.

According to David Carter, as the police were lining up clubgoers to inspect their identification and violate their Fourth Amendment rights, a wave of frustration spread across the bar. People were sick of being treated like animals! Some were demanding to be let go. Some patrons were just 18-year-old kids celebrating their birthday who were terrified. Several trans women stood up against the police manhandling; so, after the managers, bartenders, and servers were put in a cab, the trans women were the next to be arrested. Attitudes, while frustrated, were relatively calm until a Puerto Rican trans

woman was taken out roughly from Stonewall. Not standing for this, she turned around and slapped the cop. This woman was in return beaten and thrown into the back of a van. The crowd grew angry and the protestors started throwing whatever they could find at the police (2004, pp. 151-157). This raid is already strange enough as it is having a crowd of people stick around outside of the bar. Usually, people run the other way when the cops are raiding a place, but not only are they standing their ground, they are throwing coins (Armstrong & Crage, 2006). The crowd doesn't really become a protest until the police bring out a lesbian patron. It should be noted that among the chaos of the night and the rapid pace of events, accounts of this part of the Stonewall Riots differ depending on who you ask. All notable records point to this woman being a traditional butch lesbian. She was being roughly handled and had the bravery to fight back. With several cops trying to hold her down, beat her, and throw her in the van, she had the strength and courage to crawl out and keep on swinging! This woman didn't just manage to do this once, but twice! Her act of defiance really riled up the crowd and the Stonewall protest started (Carter, 2004, pp. 151).

Pride began not as a celebration of love but as a founding rampart for queer people to defend their dignity and claim their freedom from an oppressive cis-heteronormative system that has been on the offensive for centuries. The Stonewall Riots had such an instrumental impact on the timeline of LGBTQ+ history, pride is now celebrated every June to mark the sacrifices made by queens at the

Stonewall Tavern (Library of Congress Research Guides, n.d.). The abuse of political authority carried out by police officers contributed to several severe consequences (described below) for people within the LGBTQ+ community, even though queer people now have legal protections in the United States.

A person's life experiences shape their beliefs and attitudes toward the world. As long as all important social factors (income, location of residence, family size, etc) are matched, people, regardless of sexuality, should have very similar life experiences. For example, two people that both live in the same major city and in the same income bracket should have equal access to the same food options and should have similar experiences with food. It would also be reasonable to think that two people of similar circumstance regardless of sexuality should have very similar experiences and attitudes towards the police because sexuality is a trait most explicitly expressed in private. However, reality plays out differently than this reasonable assumption.

People of the LGBTQ+ community have vastly different attitudes and experiences of police officers than of their cis-heterosexual peers. Vogler and Jenness reported on a survey conducted by AmeriSpeak with almost 1,500 responses that had very telling results. LGBTQ+ people are over 10% more likely to view the police as their enemy and are 23% less likely to view the police as their "friend" (2023). Results from the same report show a greater gap in distrust of the police when specific identities are analyzed. Almost 97% of non-binary people and

three quarters of transgender people view the police as a “foe” (Vogler & Jenness, 2023). People who identify as sexual minorities are less likely than people who are in the gender minority to view police as the enemy. Over half of the people who identify as bisexual and a quarter of the people who identify as gay viewed the police as their enemy, which is still significantly more than cisgendered, heterosexual people.

Biological factors like sexuality, sex, race, age, and family history all need to be taken into account for important social issues like this because disparities arise. Disturbing statistics appear when looking at specific demographic identifiers outside of the cisgender, heterosexual, and white majority. According to the UCLA in 2012, a quarter of Latina transgender women were sexually assaulted by law enforcement. Forty percent of gay men believe that contacting the police if they were ever a survivor of intimate partner violence would be unhelpful (Mallory et al., 2015). According to an ACLU (2024) press release about survey data collected by NORC at the University of Chicago, “almost 20 percent of LGBTQ+ people had been arrested”, and 71% of LGBTQ+ people “were less willing to call the police for help”. The same pattern emerges for specific identities being less likely to call the police for help as the rates of specific identities considering the police foes. For example, 60% of people who identified as queer would call the police if they were in trouble, and only 27.4% of non-binary people would do the same (ACLU, 2024). By not engaging with the needs of LGBTQ+ Americans, by harassing and

over-arresting them, and contributing to the high risk of sexual assault in the community, the justice system spreads injustice and mistrust. Even if there are honest, thoughtful, and fair officers on any given police force, these quality officers will not be made aware of any crimes being committed because of the vast mistrust of the executive system by members of the LGBTQ+ community. When no one can come to the scene of an ongoing crime to help LGBTQ+ people, there is a more serious risk of injury or death to occur. Police malpractice and police mistrust is costing LGBTQ+ lives.

With so many LGBTQ+ people historically being in the presence of the mafia or socializing in establishments owned by organized crime syndicates as they were the only available space queer people could congregate together, how, if at all, did the mafia impact tensions between LGBTQ+ people and the police? There is an underwhelming amount of literature available on the subject. What has been well established is that organized crime syndicates illegally operated many of their establishments (Carter, 2004, p. 47). Businesses operating illegally may achieve a higher yield of profits than their legal counterparts, which attracts the attention of the police.

Criminal enterprises do not release quarterly financial reports, however it is easy to deduce whether legal or illegal businesses make more money. According to Global Restaurant Consultants Aaron Allen & Associates (2022), labor costs are often the largest expense incurred by foodservice establishments, “averaging around 30% of sales” (para. 1). If a

business is below board they still should, but do not always, pay their workers as dictated by minimum wage laws. If a worker for an illegal business is being exploited, they have no recourse for fear of being incarcerated. A busser for a gay bar that engages in illegal business practices, for example, cannot go to the Department of Labor to complain about their working conditions. The busser themselves could be put behind bars and left to rot there alone; they do not make minimum wage so they cannot afford a lawyer, while the business they attempted to report on can hire lawyers with the money saved on labor costs. Whatever the worker decides to do, the illegal business makes more money than a legal business of the same caliber. A more obvious disparity is how illegal businesses increase their revenue by costing the federal government their tax revenue. The Internal Revenue Service estimated that in 2021 alone, tax evasion cost the United States government almost 700 billion dollars (Senate Budget Committee, 2024). Surely some of that money is owed by individuals and not businesses; this same report lists a handful of businesses but does not claim to be an exhaustive list of how much money they owe and what that money could be used for. For example, a \$10,000 tax credit could be established for first time homebuyers if Microsoft paid the 29 billion dollars they owe in taxes (Senate Budget Committee, 2024). There is no concrete evidence that Fat Tony, who owned Stonewall, engaged in tax fraud. He was a member of La Cosa Nostra (Carter, 2004, p. 5). The Italian crime families have a track record of indictments for tax fraud. Frank Costello, who was in the American

mafia (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2025), was found guilty of tax evasion of more than \$50,000 in 1954 (*New York Times*, 1954). Taking advantage of employees by cutting payroll and dodging taxes undercuts legitimate businesses and increases the profit margins of illegal businesses.

In illegal markets, like serving alcohol to people in the LGBTQ+ community in the mid-20th century, violence can take place because disputes cannot be handled in court. Kronick, with the support of Stanford University, found evidence that an increase in trafficking illegal substances increased deadly violence in the country of Venezuela (2020). The mafia illegally selling liquor and the cartels illegally moving narcotics are more similar than they are different. Both groups are ethnically homogenous, use violence to enforce their codes, and whose lifestyle is fueled by regulated drugs. Kronick spoke to officials in Latin America to learn about trafficking patterns, supply availability, product disbursement, and estimated margins of income. She learned that as the Colombian government was cracking down on the drug trade, there was an increased demand for substances sourced from Venezuela. Since the size of the pie was growing, more people wanted a piece. In the mid 80s, the rate of violent deaths in Venezuela stood at 12 for every 100,000. By 2012, that figure increased to 69 violent deaths for every 100,000 people (Kronick, 2020). An increase in the size of illegal markets is related to an increase in violence in that area.

As New York City grew, so did the market for illegal activity, which brought violence

behind it. According to the United States Census Bureau, the population of New York City doubled in 30 years, going from 3.4 million in 1900 to 6.9 million in 1930 (NYC Planning, 2018). While the city was exploding in population the federal government invented a new industry by ratifying the 18th Amendment, which was supposed to prohibit the manufacturing and transport of alcohol but instead opened a very profitable market for the mafia to illegally create and sell alcohol (Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, n.d.; Civics for Life, n.d.). It is hard to know for sure just how much alcohol consumption changed during prohibition because people are going to be cautious admitting to an illegal activity. What can be accurately analyzed is the cultivation of corn, which is used in distilling whiskey and barley to ferment beer. During prohibition, 65 million fewer pounds of barley were harvested per year, suggesting that prohibition did decrease beer production. Corn production, however, increased by 3.3 billion pounds per year during the same time (Edwards & Howe, 2015). It is possible that during prohibition, when people could no longer legally consume alcohol, people got really into Lucky Charms. I would not expect such a large increase in the production of corn a year after prohibition was ratified unless distilled spirits were still being manufactured, possibly at a higher rate than ever before. Such an excessive increase in the cultivation of a single crop cannot fully be explained by a population increase in a short amount of time. Within one year, a large portion of the population of new births will still be breastfeeding or on formula and not consuming cereal. The

dysfunction and poor execution of the 18th Amendment and the economic boom of the Italian Mafia is well illustrated by Will Rogers: "Why don't they pass a Constitutional Amendment prohibiting anybody from learning anything? If it works as good as Prohibition did, in five years we will have the smartest people on earth." (Will Rogers Memorial Museum, n.d.). With an ever-increasing population in the decades before prohibition, a want for alcohol, and all legal competitors forced to close their doors, the mafia immediately had a gigantic market open to them.

Now that a large and profitable market had opened, people were willing to fight and die to control it. A prime example of this is the Castellammarese War. At the height of prohibition in New York City, conflict was brewing between bootleggers who wanted to expand their business, but because the whole illegal alcohol market was tapped, organized crime outfits increasingly ran into each other (Castro, 2024). Gaetano Reina, who was an ally of the Masseria family had a hit taken out on him by Lucky Luciano in fear that he may try to defect to the Maranzanos (Gangster Priest, p. 519). Reina's remaining family members sided with the Maranzanos and the Castellammarese War had begun. Many powerful mobsters died vying to control the New York City liquor market, Giuseppe Morello, Manfredi Mineo, and Steve Fereginno to name a few. The Castellammarese War ended with the execution of Giuseppe Masseria and a restructuring of power leading to the formation of the Commission, also known as the Five Crime Families of New York (Castro, 2024).

The Castellammarese War did not happen in a vacuum. The press and the police were very aware of violence perpetrated by the mafia, in part because of how out and in the open it was. The July 15, 1930, edition of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reported that baker and bootlegger Vito Bonventre was gunned down in the morning light in front of his garage. On April 16, 1931, the *New York Times* published a front-page article of how Giuseppe Masseria was killed on Coney Island. This same article says he was involved in every racket and was bigger than Al Capone. So, not only were people aware of the violence inflicted by members of the mafia, but attention was also drawn to their business. Unfortunately for them, the police got involved and started investigating these deaths and the rackets associated with them. Selling alcohol to gay people at a time when that was illegal and providing a place for LGBTQ+ people to dance together was illegal. The Stonewall Inn was operated illegally by the mafia and this association drew the attention of the police. As a profitable racket of the mob that primarily served LGBTQ+ people, LGBTQ+ people had to interact with the police through their investigations. Gay people would not have had so many interactions with the police and developed such a poor relationship with the police if the mafia did not use them as a cash cow.

Discussion

This research on how the mafia affected LGBTQ+ people is highly fragmented, and so in the future it may behoove the scientific community to research other bars and clubs who primarily served the LGBTQ+ community. This may be quite

difficult to do as a secondary research process. I implore researchers to seek out individuals who lived through the gay liberation movement to better understand their history while we still can.

Conclusion

The Italian American organized crime syndicate La Cosa Nostra had dichotomous effects on the LGBTQ+ community. The mafia facilitated spaces for queer people to drink, dance, and socialize with individuals of the same sex, which was largely illegal for the time. La Cosa Nostra helped LGBTQ+ people form a community, not from a moral obligation, but as a financial opportunity to get business out of an untapped market. The mob also had dangerous effects on the LGBTQ+ community still seen in the present day. The mafia's illegal activity drew the attention of law enforcement to them and the businesses which they operate. Gay bars like Stonewall underwent consistent police harassment in large part due to their owners being criminals. During that time when police raids on gay bars were common, LGBTQ+ people were directly in harm's way. To this day a sizable portion of LGBTQ+ people have a negative view of the police. LGBTQ+ people are more susceptible to violent crime than cis-heterosexual people because of the hesitation or reluctance of queer individuals to contact the police in an emergency.

The Italian Mafia was ultimately destructive to the lives and safety of LGBTQ+ people. However, LGBTQ+ rights may not have advanced without the mafia operating bars for the LGBTQ+

community, laying a ground of tinder that sparked the gay rights revolution.

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Biographical Note

Mj Bates is an undergraduate student at SUNY Brockport, who is doubling majoring in psychology and women's & gender studies. Mj plans to graduate a year early to continue their studies at the postgraduate level in mental health counseling. Over their career at SUNY Brockport, Mj has conducted research independently with the Women's & Gender Studies Department under the tutelage of Dr. Obourn to investigate the relationship between organized crime and LGBTQ+ culture. Mj is also a lab assistant to Dr. Tiede in the Psychology Department, participating in a qualitative analysis of a new course offered by SUNY Brockport under direction of university administration, while helping Dr. Tiede develop a new measure to test for parenting styles. Mj Bates is starting to independently investigate interventions to positively affect the mental health outcomes of transgender youth.