

The Harvey Milk "in case" tapes



A timeline by Daniel Nicoletta

cover and back cover photo:
James Patrick Kennedy in his one man show
You Gotta Give 'Em Hope! - Harvey Milk In His Own Words
Set design; Malia Lewis
backdrop painting; Geoffrey Farmer

January 10, 1992, photos by Daniel Nicoletta



Supervisor Harvey Milk greeting the jubilant crowd gathered at the election night victory party at Castro Camera, November 8, 1977, photo by Daniel Nicoletta



Supervisor Harvey Milk running towards the jubilant crowd gathered at the election night victory party at Castro Camera, November 8, 1977, photo by Daniel Nicoletta

Table Of Contents

- Cover: James Patrick Kennedy's one person show *You Gotta Give' Em Hope: Harvey Milk in His Own Words*, (set design by Malia Lewis, backdrop by Geoffrey Farmer)
- Page 1: cover credits
- Pages 2 - 3: Supervisor Harvey Milk greeting the jubilant crowd gathered at the election night victory party at Castro Camera
- Pages 4 – 5: Table of contents
- Pages 6 – 7: Introduction
- Pages 8 - 16: Milk "in case" recordings timeline
- Page 17: Supervisor Harvey Milk sculpture at S.F. City Hall by Daub, Firmin & Hendrickson Sculpture Group, 5/19/2008
- Pages 18 - 20: A verbatim transcription of the "in case" tape #2 and an excerpt from "the Frank Robinson tape", (transcribed by Larry -bob Roberts and Dan Nicoletta)
- Page 21: Street flyer for a meet and greet to rally the community to lobby Mayor Feinstein to appoint Anne Kronenberg as Harvey Milk's successor, 1978
- Page 22: Poster for *You Gotta Give' Em Hope: Harvey Milk in His Own Words* - a one person show conceived by James Patrick Kennedy at Josie's Cabaret and Juice Joint, 1995
- Page 23: Program for Jenni Olson & Marc Henrich's listening party at Camerawork Gallery, 2/9/2007
- Pages 24 - 30: Program for the unveiling of the Harvey Milk Sculpture by Daub Firmin and Hendrickson at S.F. City Hall, 5/22/2018
- links in the printed program for www.milkmemorial.org and liptv.us are defunct. Parts of the original Milk Memorial website are archived here: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080514202138/http://www.milkmemoria.org/>
- Page 31: Liz Highleyman's article "Who was Harvey Milk" first appeared in the Bay Area Reporter on 12/1/2005, and was reprinted in the Milk Memorial Unveiling program by permission from the author and Q Syndicate
- Page 32: Revisiting Liz Highleyman's article "Who was Harvey Milk" by Daniel Nicoletta, 2021
- Page 33: T-shirt design by Jim Rivaldo and Dick Pabich for the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club (later renamed The Harvey Milk LGBTQ Democratic Club), 1979
- Page 34: Invitation to *Saint Harvey* exhibit at the GLBT Historical Society, 2003
- Page 35: Installation of Harvey Milk's suit in the *Saint Harvey* Exhibit at the GLBT Historical Society, 8/22/2003

- Page 36: The Harvey Milk Archives (volunteer workday at Scott Smith's home), 1/23/1983
Photo 2 - Scott Smith and his mom Mrs. Elva Smith, circa 1980s, by Harley Shapiro
- Page 37: Dan Nicoletta and Elva Smith, 12/1/1988, Photo by Norm Halm
- Page 38: title page - The three known recipients of the "in case" tapes
- Page 39: Frank Robinson and Harvey Milk at the Castro Camera storefront counter, circa 1976
- Page 40: l to r: Jim Kerley, Walter Caplan, Jim Rivaldo (seated), and Harvey Milk at the One United Nations Plaza Café, 3/7/1978
- Page 41: Attorney John Eshelman Wahl, addressing a protest held during the Pope's visit to San Francisco, 9/17/1987
- Page 42: title page - The preferred successors named by Milk on the "in case" tapes
- Page 43: Harry Britt campaigning for Harvey Milk during Milk's second supervisorial race, circa 1976
- Page 44: B.A.R. Publisher Bob Ross and Acting Mayor Harvey Milk, 3/7/1978
- Page 45: Anne Kronenberg and Supervisor Harvey Milk, SF LGBT Pride Celebration, June 1978
- Page 46: Frank Robinson in Harvey Milk's back office at Castro Camera, (Election Day for the Milk for Assembly Race), 6/8/1976
- Page 47: Frank Robinson at San Francisco City Hall on the set of *Milk*, the film, 3/9/2008
- Pages 48 - 49: hyperlinks in order of appearance in manuscript
- Page 50: Acknowledgements
- Page 51: Harvey Milk mural at *Given* gift store (formerly Castro Camera) by artist John Baden
- Back cover: James Patrick Kennedy's one person show; *You Gotta Give' Em Hope: Harvey Milk in His Own Words*, (backdrop painting by Geoffrey Farmer), 1/10/1992



Introduction by Daniel Nicoletta 11/9/2021

Harvey Milk recorded his political will in cassette format on November 18, 1977, just ten days after his election to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Because of his out-spoken pro-gay-rights stance, he had received many death threats. He sought to ensure that the Mayor would follow his recorded instructions for appointing a successor in the event of his assassination. On that night, Milk recorded three tapes (each slightly different) and later gave them to three friends for safekeeping. Thus, the recordings became known as the “in case” tapes.

Though this version of the story of the recordings is not complete, this timeline represents what information I have been able to cobble together so far. Please consider this a personal riff on the tapes and related topics rather than a formal essay.

After Dan White assassinated Harvey Milk on November 27, 1978, the recordings were brought out of storage and played by the various recipients.

Milk’s attorney, the late John Wahl, received a tape. I recently discovered through an oral history recording of the late Larry Hughes (Wahl’s then-partner) that Wahl and Hughes were the ones who first played Wahl’s tape for Board of Supervisors President Diane Feinstein.

The recording that Milk himself labeled tape #2, given to Walter Caplan, became the most widely distributed version thanks to Caplan’s equanimity. Caplan gave the digitized version of the recording to most who asked, resulting in a long history of community access.

Frank Robinson was the other recipient of a tape. In his memoir, *Not so good a gay man*, Robinson mentioned that he first played his recording with Milk insiders Jim Rivaldo and Dick Pabich. Randy Shilt’s biography of Milk, published in 1982, cited that of the three tapes, the Frank Robinson tape was the only one that contained the quote, “if a bullet should enter my brain, let that bullet tear down every closet door.”

There is only inconclusive information on the fate of Wahl’s and Robinson’s tapes. Very recently, I have come to believe that Larry Hughes’ executor may have preserved Wahl’s recording. Unfortunately, Robinson’s original tape is missing from his estate. However, a one-minute excerpt of Robinson’s tape has recently emerged on a Milk-themed audiotape collage by the late Carl Carlson. It includes the famous “bullet” quote. As far as I know, Carl Carlson’s holdings did not survive his death from AIDS, but since he was friends with Robinson, it is safe to surmise that Carlson did at one time have access to Robinson’s original tape. Robinson once mused to me that he couldn’t remember where his original tape had gone. Randy Shilts said that all three recordings were very similar, but wouldn’t it be great to compare the subtle difference between them now. I hope future researchers will one day have access to all three “in case” tapes in a digital format.

In concert with Walter Caplan’s gifting of the original cassette tape #2 to the GLBT Historical Society, I wanted to assemble this rudimentary timeline of the journey of the tapes to accompany Caplan’s gift. Because I was part of Milk and his lover Scott Smith’s family of friends, it made sense to aggregate as much information about the tapes while I was alive and able to be a conduit for that information. Should any additional info about the recordings emerge, I would be most grateful if you would contact me and share even the vaguest leads, or be sure to put them on the radar of The GLBT Historical Society.



The Harvey Milk "in case" tape #2, (courtesy of Walter Caplan),
January, 7, 2021, photo by Daniel Nicoletta

A timeline of Harvey Milk's "in case" tapes

11/18/1977

Newly elected San Francisco County Supervisor Harvey Milk recorded three separate cassette tapes late at night in his camera store, setting forth his instructions for the Mayor "in case" of his assassination. Milk then gave the three tapes to friends: Attorney John Eshelman Wahl, Milk's friend Walter Caplan, and Milk's editor/ghostwriter Frank Robinson. (Robinson co-wrote parts of Milk's now-famous "Hope Speech.")

On the tapes, Milk listed four individuals as his preferences for a successor on the Board of Supervisors should he be killed while in office. Those named were: Frank Robinson, Bob Ross (Bay Area Reporter publisher), Anne Kronenberg (Milk's lead staff assistant at City Hall), and Harry Britt (friend and Milk campaign volunteer.)

11/27/1978

San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone were assassinated in City Hall by former Supervisor Dan White. (Much has been written about this elsewhere). The recipients then played the "in case" tapes, and the contents were communicated to the pertinent individuals, including Acting Mayor Diane Feinstein.

After the Board of Supervisors elected Supervisor Feinstein to serve out the rest of Mayor Moscone's term, she appointed Britt to Milk's seat. Harry Britt served over ten years as a brilliant progressive in that seat, with his eye on the LGBTQ civil rights journey and a broader socialistic vision, especially for the needs of the poor and disenfranchised. Supervisor Britt's tenure was very much in the spirit of his friend Harvey Milk. (Britt died on June 24, 2020).

Harry Britt obituary

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2020/06/25/20200625_Britt_Harry/m20200625_0.jpg

1978

Though Mayor Feinstein chose Harry Britt to be Harvey's successor on the Board of Supervisors, there was a community effort to encourage Mayor Feinstein to choose Anne Kronenberg. (Kronenberg was Milk's campaign manager and lead administrative assistant during his 11 months in office.) In addition, Frank Robinson (also one of Milk's choices for successor) wrote a personal letter to Mayor Feinstein urging her to appoint Kronenberg.

There is a lot of speculation about why Feinstein didn't select Kronenberg, and we will never know the truth. Still, it is safe to say that a leather-clad motorcycle riding dyke like Kronenberg was intimidating to Feinstein, who had already made public pronouncements hinting that aspects of the leather community's visibility were problematic in her view. More likely, Mayor Feinstein's selection was informed by which candidate she felt would vote her way on the board. I doubt that she was very keen on any of Milk's choices, but savvy enough to know that choosing anyone outside of Milk's four named successors would be political suicide for her coming re-election.

1979

David Lamble (Fruit Punch Radio and KGO FM radio) produced *Harvey Milk Remembered*, an audio documentary. The piece includes an excerpt of one of the “in case” tapes and other now-legendary Milk-related sound clips, such as the Lamble recording of Milk’s Hope Speech (the Texas version - June 10, 1978). In addition, the archival audio material was woven into interviews that Lamble conducted with Milk insiders, such as Michael Wong (Milk supporter and progressive Chinese Community activist) and Bill Krause (activist and co - organizer of the No on 6 campaign). The audio program was published widely in its complete form and as excerpts.

1982

Randy Shilts’ biography of Harvey Milk, *The Mayor of Castro Street*, was published. The book contains one of the earliest known accounts of the complex history of the political-will tapes and includes Shilts’ paraphrased transcription of tape #2. Shilts first heard tape #2 and made notes from it while visiting Walter Caplan’s home the afternoon Caplan was preparing for a Passover Seder. (Milk himself numbered this tape and gave it to Caplan). Caplan had worked on several of Milk’s political campaigns and later recalled being taken aback by Harvey’s morbid request to hold a copy of the “in case” tape for safekeeping.

2/18/1982

Castro Street Fair, Inc produced a book signing and reading event for *Mayor of Castro Street* held at the vacant Castro neighborhood storefront (535 Castro Street), previously inhabited by Paperback Traffic bookstore. The Harvey Milk Archives decorated the empty storefront with Milk memorabilia and was a named beneficiary of the three-day exhibit and signing event. Seated in the dentist chair that was a centerpiece of the quirky DIY environment of Milk’s original Castro Camera store, Shilts autographed copies of his book for the attendees at the casual open house. On the first evening, Terry Hutchison, from the openly queer band *Buena Vista*, regaled the crowd with songs.

11/1/1984

Rob Epstein and Richard Schmiechen’s documentary film *The Times of Harvey Milk* opened with a somber narration by Harvey Fierstein and a one - minute excerpt from Milk’s “in case” tape #2. Mark Isham’s haunting score emerged quietly in the background and set the “grab your seat” tone of the film.

The Times of Harvey Milk went on to win an Academy Award for best feature documentary the following year in March 1985, and the film continues to garner many accolades. (It has remained one of the most effective and poignant teaching tools for the story of Harvey Milk, especially for those new to the story. I lovingly refer to it as Harvey Milk 101.)

[The Criterion Collection](#) released a [digitally restored version](#) of the film in 2011 on DVD and Blu-ray, and the Library of Congress selected it for preservation in the National Film Registry 2012, deeming it “culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant.” (The entire 13 minutes of the “in case” tape #2 is included on the extras section of the two-DVD set.)

4/4/1987

Carl Carlson, a close friend, and supporter of Milk passed away from AIDS. Milk's rental unit at 18 Henry Street was partly thanks to Carlson's generosity; Carlson was the landlord there and lived in unit 18A Henry Street. Carlson went to City Hall on November 27, 1978, to give Milk an emergency loan for 1,000 dollars. It was then that Dan White interrupted the transaction and asked Harvey if he could see Milk for a moment in White's office across the hallway, and that is where White killed Milk. Thus, Carlson was a crucial witness in the Dan White trial because he was the last to see Harvey alive before White killed Milk. (In the movie *Milk*, director Gus Van Sant cast me in a cameo role as my friend Carl Carlson in the scene that recreated the check-writing moment.)

Carlson has recently emerged as a significant player in the mystery of the missing Frank Robinson "in case" tape. Sometime after Harvey's death, Carlson created an eloquent audio tribute to his late friend. The tribute is comprised of various interviews with Milk that Carlson had done when he was a radio producer for KPOO (1974) and at KQED (circa 1975). The audiotape was a collage of interviews with other Milk-related audio clips. It included one minute of the Frank Robinson "in case" tape, including the "if a bullet should enter my brain..." statement by Milk. Carlson shared his tape with fellow radio producer David Lamble, and thankfully Lamble preserved it and shared the tape with Jimmy Kennedy for his one-person show about Milk. Kennedy has recently shared that tape with me, so I could hear and transcribe the "bullet" portion of the tape in time to include it in this manuscript. David Lamble is currently scouring his formidable archive on the hunt for anything related to Carlson and the Robinson "in case tape."

Carl Carlson obituary

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/1987/06/04/19870604_Carlson_Carl_H/m19870604_0.jpg

1/21/1995

Harvey Milk, the opera, premiered at the The Houston Grand Opera. (libretto by [Michael Korie](#) and music by [Stewart Wallace](#)). [Christopher Alden](#) directed the piece. The Houston Grand Opera invited Scott Smith (Milk's lover), Medora Payne (Milk campaign volunteer), Frank Robinson (Milk's editor), Anne Kronenberg (Milk's campaign manager), and Henry Der (San Francisco Chinese Community activist) to the Houston premiere. The guests also served on a panel discussion for the audience earlier on the day of the premiere.

The opera was co-commissioned by The Houston Grand Opera, The New York City Opera, and The San Francisco Opera. After Houston, the opera premiered at The New York City Opera in Lincoln Center in April 1995, then in Dortmund, Germany in February 1996, and San Francisco in November 1996. The opera was released on CD by Teldec Classics in 1998.

In Act Three, Scene 18, leading to the scene's depiction of Dan White shooting Harvey Milk, the opera creators deployed electronic manipulation and repetition to three short excerpts of the "[in case" tape #2](#) to chilling effect. Like Harvey Milk, Scott Smith was a loyal fan of opera. So for Scott, witnessing a depiction of himself in what may have been the first-ever same-sex kiss staged in an opera house was tremendously satisfying. Moreover, for Scott, the experience of attending the Houston premiere was timely in that he passed away from AIDS 14 days later.

2/4/1995

Scott Smith (Milk's soulmate since 1972) died intestate. Scott's mother, Elva Smith, inherited both Scott's and Harvey Milk's papers and served as executor until her death on June 17, 2010. In 1996, in concert with the advisement of an ad hoc group of Scott and Harvey's closest friends, and following Scott's verbal clues and best-practices notions, Elva donated the collection to two different venues. First, the photographs and papers went to the LGBTQ Studies Center at the San Francisco Public Library, which aptly named the gift [*The Harvey Milk – Scott Smith Collection*](#). Second, the remaining artifacts and ephemera were deeded to the GLBT Historical Society in November of 2002, which named the gift [*Harvey Milk and Scott Smith collection of artifacts and ephemera*](#). New citations about these two collections ought to credit the generous donation of Mrs. Elva Smith, but unfortunately rarely do acknowledge her. Though in principle Scott Smith himself made the gifts, his mother, Mrs. Smith, stayed the course set forth by her beloved son. (Working closely with Mrs. Smith were Scott's inner circle of colleagues, Frank Robinson, Linda Alband, Jim Rivaldo, Chuck Frutche (Scott's then-lover) as well as Harvey Milk Archives members: Dan Nicoletta, Terry Henderling, Denton Smith, Jim Gordon, David Waggoner, and David Pasko).

In the years after Harvey Milk's death, Scott was an intrepid spokesperson for remembering and preserving Harvey Milk's legacy. Unfortunately, Smith's organization, *The Harvey Milk Archives*, only lasted a few years. Still, it published four newsletters, and its dedicated group of volunteers did a tremendous amount of cataloging of the Milk materials. Their recording of pertinent dates, personnel, and event names remains an invaluable collateral asset to the Milk - Smith Collection at the San Francisco Public Library.

The Milk - Smith collections are essential not only because they were Milk and Smith's papers and artifacts but because the collections also include documentation of many of the posthumous tributes to Milk's legacy. I had the honor of working as a photographer on many of those projects. My friendships with Harvey Milk and Scott Smith and our circle of colleagues catalyzed my lifelong devotion to preserving and celebrating their/our legacy.

Scott Smith obituary

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/1995/02/09/19950209_Smith_Scott/m19950209_0.jpg

Elva Smith obituary

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2010/06/17/20100617_Smith_Elva_Roberts/m20100617_0.jpg

Alongside Scott Smith's efforts, activists like [Cleve Jones](#) as well as the [Harvey Milk LGBTQ Democratic Club](#) have been consistent advocates for remembrance of Milk's importance through their organizing, e.g., voter registration and vote recommendations, and many other projects and actions, especially the annual candlelight marches commemorating Supervisor Milk's and [Mayor Moscone's](#) deaths.

5/12/1995

You Gotta Give 'Em Hope: Harvey Milk in His Own Words opened at Josie's Juice Joynt and Cabaret in the Castro neighborhood. In his poignant one-person show, playwright James Patrick Kennedy depicted Milk taping his political will while the "in case" tape played as part of the sound design of the play. Radio producer David Lambie provided Kennedy with the excerpt of the Robinson "in case" tape.

2001 – Present

I first met Stuart Milk, Harvey's openly gay nephew in 2001. Stuart has been tirelessly fostering many significant projects in Harvey's Spirit and name ever since. With the support of his other family members and many others, Stuart founded the [Harvey Milk Foundation](#) in 2010. Notable projects include the Harvey Milk Postage Stamp, California's official State holiday - *Harvey Milk Day*, the induction of Harvey Milk into the California Hall of Fame in Sacramento (05/12/2010), and many projects that are international in reach.

06/06/2003 thru April 2004

The *Saint Harvey* exhibit at the GLBT Historical Society - was the debut exhibit of a portion of Mrs. Elva Smith's 2002 donation to the GLBT Historical Society of the [Harvey Milk and Scott Smith's artifacts and ephemera](#).

The blood - stained business suit that Milk was wearing when Dan White killed him was displayed prominently for the first time in the Saint Harvey exhibit. The historical society did not use the "in case" tape #2 in that exhibition of the collection. However, that earlier exhibit laid the groundwork for the future display of Milk's suit conjoined with a gallery listening station that included the "in case" recording of Milk's political will. Both components are now on permanent exhibition at [The GLBT History Museum](#) in the Castro neighborhood. They serve as a chilling reminder that the work of the LGBTQ civil rights movement to create a safer world for LGBTQ people and their allies is not finished.

12/10/2003

Bob Ross, the publisher of The Bay Area Reporter, passed away. In 1973 Ross gave Milk His first regular editorial column in the newspaper. Milk named Ross as one of his four chosen successors. The Bob Ross Foundation was instrumental in completing the funding of the Harvey Milk Sculpture at S.F. City Hall and the Foundation continues its long history of supporting remembrances of Ross and Milk.

The late Bay Area Reporter political columnist Wayne Friday passed away on October 12, 2009. Friday was a very close friend to Milk and inherited the news column after Milk was elected. Friday became a standard bearer for discourse on the LGBTQ civil rights movement.

Bob Ross obituary

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2003/12/18/20031218_Ross_Bob/m20031218_3.jpg

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2003/12/18/20031218_Ross_Bob/m20031218_4.jpg

Wayne Friday obituary

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2016/10/13/20161013_Friday_Wayne/m20161013_0.jpg

Circa March 2006

Independent filmmaker-historian Jenni Olson enrolled her trusted friend and audio engineer Jim Lively to remaster the original cassette tape given by Harvey Milk to Walter Caplan (tape #2). The digitization of the sound file by Olson and Lively (both working pro-bono) ushered in a long history of community access to the material for many projects, a few of which are mentioned herein.

In the years before the Olson - Lively remastering, Walter Caplan had fostered access to his copy of tape #2 to a few inquiring media outlets such as Channel 7 KGO-TV (who Caplan recalls possibly generated the first digitization of the material). Around this time, Caplan's colleague Charles Cyberski wrote the copyright notice for Walter Caplan above Harvey's original handwriting on the tape. Other early recipients of an electronic version of the tape were Channel 4 KRON-TV, National Public Radio, Art Bierman, and Rob Epstein and Richard Schmiechen for their film *The Times of Harvey Milk*. Caplan always encouraged the recipients to donate to an LGBTQ rights community organization of their choice in exchange for the use of Harvey's political will. After the Olson-Lively remaster was completed, I was entrusted with the "in case" tape #2 by Walter Caplan with the instruction to deliver the tape to the GLBT Historical Society. After a very long pause, In September of 2021, I finally shipped Walter Caplan's tape #2 to its permanent home with the GLBT Historical Society.

2/9/2007

Jenni Olson played the recording at a sound-file listening party at Camerawork Gallery in San Francisco. The program for the evening is included herein on page 23.

2007

[*My name is Harvey Milk*](#), a short film by [Leo Herrera](#) made in collaboration with the GLBT Historical Society, premiered. The film is comprised of Herrera's macro still photographs of Harvey's blood-stained suit. In addition, the short kinoscopic film uses a segment of the Olson-Lively remastering of tape #2 as a soundtrack. [Herrera's haunting film](#) was very well received on the international film festival circuits and went viral on the internet.

5/22/2008

A bronze sculpture of Supervisor Harvey Milk by Daub, Firmin, and Hendrickson financed by hundreds of people and the Bob Ross Foundation was unveiled in the ceremonial rotunda of San Francisco City Hall at a public community ceremony on Milk's birthday. A memorable sober moment at the event was the broadcast of a four-minute excerpt of Milk's "in case" tape #2. During it, you could hear a pin drop in the cavernous rotunda. Milk Memorial committee member Larry - bob Roberts did the tape editing and sound engineering for that event. The Harvey Milk City Hall Memorial project started in 2003, took five years to complete.

10/28/2008

[Milk](#), the feature film, premiered at the Castro Theatre. The film includes a re-creation of Harvey recording the political will tapes, but it altered the date of the making of the recording by a year to November 1978. Harvey's narration (by Sean Penn as Harvey) morphed to a more survey - oriented reminiscence than the original tapes contained. (The original tapes did have some musings beyond Milk simply setting forth his last will,

but they weren't as biographically inclined as the Milk film's version of the story.) The film's redating of the "in case" recording event confused more than a few inattentive researchers - yours truly included. *Milk* the film also used generous amounts of '70s era documentary footage of the Castro neighborhood and successfully blurred the lines of perception as to what was re-creation and documentary footage, a technique that director Gus Van Sant is fond of deploying. In 2009, Screenwriter Dustin Lance Black won the Academy Award for best screenplay, and Sean Penn won the Academy Award for best actor for his portrayal of Milk.

2009

[575 Castro St.](#), a film by [Jenni Olson](#), premiered at the Sundance Film Festival. Its audio track is an edited version of the "in case" tape. Olson remarked on the original's sound quality: "In our final sound mix, my sound guru Jim Lively diligently removed as many of the clicks and squeaks as he could from Harvey's tape. Harvey was an inspiring orator but really didn't seem to know the first thing about how to hold a microphone. Just as well – I think the noises provide a vivid sense of Harvey's presence in that room. There is even one point during the desk shot where we hear creaking of his chair (it seems almost as though he is pushing his chair back from the desk.)"

June 2010

In June 2010, LGBTQ historian [J.D. Doyle](#) created a [Harvey Milk Music](#) section to his Queer Music Heritage website. Though there is only one specific excerpt of Milk's "in case" tape, Doyle's survey of Milk-related audio content is inspiring and warrants inclusion here. The Harvey Milk Music section also contains a posted transcription of Doyle's narration for Doyle's Milk-themed audio program. The website also includes many fun visual components such as album cover art and photographs of the musical artists.

Doyle's fastidious work also includes linked searches to his other areas of research centered around his lived experience in [Houston, Texas](#). In 2019, Doyle was asked to partner with the [US Library of Congress](#) to preserve his website there.

January 2011 – present (soft opening 12/12/2010)

The [GLBT Historical Society](#) opened a storefront museum in the Castro on 18th Street featuring an installation of Harvey Milk's blood-stained suit. The installation includes a listening station where visitors can hear Milk's political will, the "in case" tape #2.

5/1/2012

[The Harvey Milk Interviews: In his own words](#) was published by Vince Emery. The citation of the political will tape is perfunctory, but this volume is one of the most structurally sound aggregations of Milk-related research in recent years. In 2010 Vince Emery also published the second edition of Mike Weiss's great book [Double Play - the hidden passions behind the double assassination of George Moscone and Harvey Milk](#) (initially published in 1984). That book also briefly mentions the "in case" tapes.

2013

University of California Press published: [*An Archive of Hope: Harvey Milk's Speeches and Writing*](#), edited by Charles E. Morris III and Jason Edward Black with a foreword by Frank Robinson. In this fine collection, the "in case" tape #2 recorded on November 18, 1977, is published with minimal paraphrasing and is slightly shortened. A reading of *An Archive of Hope* and an audience talkback by the editors and Frank Robinson was held at Books Inc. on Market Street in S.F. on 5/22/2013.

6/30/2014

[Frank Robinson](#) passed away. Frank was one of the recipients of Harvey Milk's "in case" tapes because he was one of Harvey's named successors on the recordings. The current location of Frank Robinson's tape is unknown, and it does not appear in the [study guide of his papers at the Bancroft Library](#). The quest for knowledge about Frank's tape continues, and I hope that someone did an electronic transfer of the entire tape before the original was lost. According to Randy Shilts in *The Mayor of Castro Street*, 'Only Frank Robinson's tape has the passage widely quoted after Milk's assassination "if a bullet should enter my brain, let that bullet tear down every closet door." In Robinson's memoir [Not So Good A Gay Man](#), there is a citation that right after Milk's assassination, Robinson met with Milk insiders Jim Rivaldo and Dick Pabich to listen to Robinson's tape. Even though she was a named successor, Anne Kronenberg never heard Milk's political will until many years later when Frank sent her a digital copy of tape #2.

2018

Harvey Milk: His Lives and Death by [Lillian Faderman](#) was published. Faderman's excellent book is part of the "Jewish Lives" series of books produced by Yale University Press. On pages 151-152, Faderman cites the number of tapes made by Harvey and summarizes the content variations of the tapes as previously discussed in Shilts' *Mayor of Castro Street*.

2019

[Dying To Be Normal - Gay Martyrs and the Transformation of American Sexual Politics](#) by Brett Krutzsch is published by Oxford University Press. Chapter 1, "The Gay M.L.K.: Harvey Milk," is devoted to Milk as part of the author's larger narrative on gay martyrs. Krutzsch mentions the Milk "in case" tape on page 24, and there is an inclusion of a photo of the display of Milk's suit in the 2003 GLBT Historical Society exhibit - *Saint Harvey*. Other topics in the book are the killing of Matthew Shepard in 2008 and the mass shooting deaths of 49 people at the Pulse Nightclub in Orlando, Florida, in 2016.

July 20, 2019

Harvey Milk Terminal 1, the recently renamed terminal at the S.F. International Airport, has a community Grand Opening. SFO Museum - a division of the Fine Arts Museums of S. F. opens the first of three art installations about Harvey Milk. The second phase, a permanent "inglenook" gallery devoted to Milk's legacy entitled [Harvey Milk - Messenger of Hope](#), opened in the spring of 2020. A free catalog at the gallery mentions an "in case" tape. The third installation, scheduled for unveiling in 2022, is slated for the roof of the terminal's outside passenger arrival area. The neon and cut mirrored ball installation by [Andrea Bowers](#) will evoke 70's era disco lighting and the Castro Theatre's now-legendary neon sign.

4/9/2020

Bay Guardian Books released Tom Ammiano's fun memoir. [*Kiss My Gay Ass - my trip down the Yellow Brick Road through activism, stand-up, and politics*](#). Ammiano's memoir only briefly mentions Milk's political will tape; however, the book is included in this list because it beautifully highlights Ammiano's friendship with Harvey Milk against the backdrop of the grassroots political landscape that they helped co - create. From the fight for out gay teachers in the San Francisco Schools to Ammiano's successful terms as a San Francisco City Supervisor and then his time in the California Assembly, Ammiano remains one of the most prolific and effective gay politicians of all time.

January 2021

I photographed the "in case" tape #2 as part of a series of photographs titled [*If I Remember Correctly*](#). The 14-image still life series is a meditation on memory and its disintegration and the fragility of significance over time.

05/18/2021

WBAI (Radio 99.5 FM) NYC partnered with a [*Gays Against Guns*](#) podcast program: *Radio GAG* to honor Harvey Milk on the anniversary of his birthday with a two-hour program (now permanently archived on [SoundCloud](#)). The program included an excerpt from the "in case" tape #2 and other pertinent audio clips and interviews with many primary sources. (Sound clips courtesy of Pacifica Radio Archive.)

6/25/2021

A small group of friends of Supervisor Harry Britt gathered in the AIDS Memorial Grove a year after Harry's death. The group listened to tape #2 where Harvey speaks about his fondness for Harry Britt and why he made Britt one of his choices for a successor. Britt memorial organizers Will Roscoe and Devlyn Camp (Mattachine Productions, LLC) are currently working on a podcast about Harry's life titled [*Give 'Em Hell, Harry*](#).

7/13/2021

After learning of the February 2020 death of Larry Hughes, life partner of Milk attorney [John Wahl](#), I began an inquiry into the fate of John Wahl's "in case" tape. Wahl died in 2010. I was close with Wahl and Hughes; both employed me right after Milk's death when I needed jobs. Sadly, I lost touch with them when they moved to Palm Springs. So once this project started, I wondered what happened to their papers. Hughes and Wahl were movers and shakers in the LGBT civil rights movement, particularly during the formative years of The Metropolitan Community Church. Still, the list of other involvements is truly formidable. Thankfully [Lynne Gerber](#) conducted an oral history of Larry Hughes in 2019. Through her research, the trail has led me to the current Executor for Larry Hughes (who wishes to remain anonymous), but who gave me assurance that the work of both men and Wahl's "in case" tape will be preserved and honored.

July 2021

As part of my series [*If I Remember Correctly*](#), which includes a still life photograph of Harvey Milk's "in case" tape #2, I co-created this timeline about the history of the "in case" tapes to help trace the long, poignant journey of the relics.



Supervisor Harvey Milk City City Hall Memorial Sculpture, by Daub, Firmin & Hendrickson Sculpture Group, May 19, 2008, photo by Daniel Nicoletta

A verbatim transcription of the “in case” tape #2

(transcribed by Larry-bob Roberts and Dan Nicoletta)

This is Harvey Milk speaking from the camera store on the evening of Friday, November 18. This is tape #2. I've already taped one for this. So, there will be variations between the tapes 'cause I'm not doing this from any notes or anything else, just thoughts. This is to be played only in the event of my death by assassination. Um. I've given some strong and long and considerable thought to this, not just since the election. I've been thinking of this for some time, prior to the election and certainly over the years. I fully realize that, um, a person who stands for what I stand for, an activist, a gay activist, becomes the target or the potential target for somebody who is insecure, terrified, afraid, or very disturbed themselves. Knowing that I could be assassinated at any moment or any time, I feel it's important that some people know my thoughts. Uh, and so the following is my thoughts, my wishes, my desires, whatever. And, uh, I'd like to pass them on and have them played for the appropriate people.

The first and most obvious and most concerned: If I was to be shot and killed, the Mayor has the power, that's George Moscone, of appointing my successor on the Board of Supervisors. I know that there will be great pressures on him and lobbying on him from various factors. And so, I would like to have him know what my thoughts are. I stood for more than just a candidate. I think there is a strong differential from somebody like Rick Stokes and myself.

I have never considered myself a candidate. I have always considered myself part of a movement, part of a candidacy. I consider the movement the candidate. I think there is a delineation of those who use the movement and those who are part of the movement.

And I think I was part of the gay movement. And I think that [pause] I wish I had time to explain everything I did; almost everything was done in the eyes of the gay movement.

And I would suggest and urge and hope that the Mayor would understand that distinction and that he would appoint somebody to my position who also came from the movement rather than used the movement or never understood the movement. I think those people who actively oppose me – the Stokeses, the Fosters, the Jo Dalys, Doug DeYoungs - those people never understood the movement.

I'm not saying they were against it; I wish they understood it. They used it. Maybe willingly, maybe unwillingly, but they never understood what it was about. I think those who remain in silence, the Frank Fitches, not wishing to play sides, never understood the movement. Never understood that silence sometimes is worse than speaking out.

And so, I would hope that the Mayor would understand that appointing somebody who actively opposed me or subtly opposed me or kept quiet all through it, stuck their head in the sand [pause] it would be an insult to everything I stood for. It would be an affront to the campaigns and the people who worked. And I would hope he would give strong consideration and only strong consideration to people who came from the movement. And I've talked about this with several people, and they know my thoughts. I just put them on tape so that there's no doubt in anybody's mind of my thoughts. There are some people I definitely have in mind who I would like to leave tapes.

First choice I would have is a gentleman by the name of Frank Robinson, who is quite an author. In his own right. Frank, even more so, knows my thought processes. Not only has he read everything I've written and helped re-write the major pieces, but Frank is the one who almost daily we had conversations on issues and points and philosophies. So, he knows my thinking as well. He understands how I arrived at decisions, and he played devil's advocate time and time again. And so, if there's anybody who knows me from the depth of the intellect, emotions, it is Frank Robinson. And I think, being who he is, he certainly has that incredible ability to express himself clearly and concisely and without any problems. And I think he would certainly be able to carry on the philosophy and the idea of what I stood for.

If for some reason Frank is not the choice, the next consideration I would hope the Mayor would give to would be to Bob Ross. Bob has read everything I've written for the last four years and also on many times has carried on extensive dialogues with me, also has that quality of getting along with a lot more people than I can, which is going to be needed. And Bob is a strong person who will not bend. And that's vital. Cannot have somebody made out of tissue paper. Cannot have a weak person. Cannot have the Rick Stokes types, the professional lawyers. Gay people, the first few gay people, must be strong. That doesn't mean obstinate or uncompromising but must be strong.

The third choice I would have would be Harry Britt, who most people don't know, but I've watched Harry, and Harry's been involved with three campaigns, and Harry knows where I am, and I've watched Harry grow and grow and grow and become more articulate and more articulate. And some people may find me wrong because he is somewhat emotional, but by God, what fabulous emotions! And a very, very dedicated, and strong person: one who will not be pushed around, one who understands where the movement is and where it must go, and someday we'll be there anyhow.

And a fourth possibility is a person who is younger, newer and learning every day, and that's the woman who put my campaign together, Ann Kronenberg. Who is strong, who understands, and as I said, learns fast, and that's vital. It would add a spirit, being a gay woman, that the others cannot add. And I think that would be an outstanding choice.

And I hope the Mayor would understand that in the cases like this, the tradition has been to replace the person who has been assassinated with somebody who was close to the candidate on thought rather than somebody who actively and quietly opposed the candidate. It's important that that happens. I cannot urge the Mayor strongly enough to know what I'm saying. And I think that if he did that, he'd be gaining a tremendous amount of support.

The other aspect of this tape is the... obviously, there's "what should happen if there is an assassination?" and there is [pause] cannot prevent if some people from getting angry and frustrated and mad, but I hope that we take that anger, frustration, and madness instead of demonstrating or anything of that type, I would hope they would take it to positive, and I would hope five, ten, a hundred, thousand would rise. I'd love to see every gay doctor come out; I'd love to see every gay lawyer, every gay judge, every gay bureaucrat, every gay architect come out. Stand up, let the world know: That would do more to end prejudice overnight, than anybody could ever imagine. Urge them to do that. Urge them. Come out. Only that way will we start to achieve our rights.

I hope there's no religious services. Whatever my God, first of all, I think there should be no services of any kind whatsoever, but I know some people are into that, and you can't prevent it from happening; they want it to happen. But by God - nothing religious. I mean until the churches speak out and say the Anita Bryants have been playing gymnastics with the Bible and through the Church and the churches which remain so quiet!, have the guts to get out and speak out in the name of Christianity or Judaism or whatever, they profess in paper and in words but do not in actions and deeds until those churches speak out, God! And that's the irony of God. Churches don't even know what it's about. I would verbally turn over in my grave if there was any kind of religious ceremony, and it's not as a disbelief in God; it's a disbelief and disgust of what most churches are about. How many leaders got up and spoke from the pulpits and went to Miami and said Anita, you're "playing gymnastics with the Bible! You're desecrating the Bible!" How many of 'em said it? How many of 'em hid and walked away? Ducked their heads in the name of Christianity, talked about love and brotherhood. No, no services whatsoever. If anything, maybe just play that tapes of Briggs and I, which is somewhere in the cabinet in the back, the file cabinet. Just play that tapes of Briggs and I over and over again, so people know what an evil man he is. So, people know what our Hitler is like. So people know where the seeds of hate come from. So the people know what the future is gonna bring if they're not careful.

That's all I ask. That's all. I ask for a movement to continue, for a movement to grow, because last week I got that phone call from Altoona, Pennsylvania, and my election gave somebody else, one more person, hope. And after all, that's what it's about. It's not about personal gain, not about ego, not about power - it's about giving those young people out there in Altoona, Pennsylvanias hope. Gotta give 'em hope.

A verbatim transcription of an excerpt of the Frank Robinson tape

(transcribed by Dan Nicoletta)

What happens if bang goes off? And that is - that I hope that people who are angry and mad and frustrated take the anger and madness and frustration out in a positive way rather than a negative way, that I would like to see every doctor come out who is gay, and the gay dentists, and every gay teacher and every gay judge and every gay lawyer and every gay architect. You come out and rip off the shreds of the closet door and come out forward, strongly, it's needed, and it will be needed moreso then. If a bullet should enter my brain, let that bullet destroy every closet door...

Continue the work Harvey Milk started.



Make sure we get the Supervisor that Harvey Milk wanted: **Anne Kronenberg**

Anne Kronenberg was Harvey Milk's full-time aide in City Hall.
Anne Kronenberg read every letter you sent Harvey Milk, and every letter Harvey Milk sent you.
Anne Kronenberg represented Harvey Milk at meetings throughout District 5. She knows first hand the needs and concerns of the people of District 5. Harvey Milk trusted **Anne Kronenberg** and valued her judgment on every one of his important decisions.
Harvey Milk often told his trusted friends and advisors that if anything happened to him, **Anne Kronenberg** could best carry on the work he began.

Meet Anne Kronenberg



Douglas School
4235 19th Street at Collingwood
Thursday, December 7
7:30 PM

Meeting sponsored by the following supporters of Anne Kronenberg:

Karen Apana, President, Duboce Triangle Neighborhood Association
Ernie Asten, President, Eureka Valley Merchants Association
Harry Britt, President, Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club (formerly San Francisco Gay Democratic Club)
Del Dawson, President, Noe Valley Merchants Association
Alix Dilworth, President, Friends of Noe Valley
Frank Fitch, President, Eureka Valley Promotional Association;
President, Alice B. Toklas Democratic Club

Don James, President, Concerned Republicans for Individual Rights
Phyllis Lyon, Co-founder, San Francisco Feminist Democratic Club
Rick Nichols, President, Haight Ashbury Improvement Association
Jim Rivaldo, President, Haight Fillmore Neighborhood Association
Marilyn Smulyan, President, Haight Ashbury Neighborhood Council
Elmer Wilhelm, President, Minutemen Democratic Club

Send a telegram of support for Anne Kronenberg
to Mayor Dianne Feinstein, City Hall, TODAY!



"Hearing Jimmy Kennedy interpret Harvey Milk's words today proves anew that Harvey was ahead of his time."

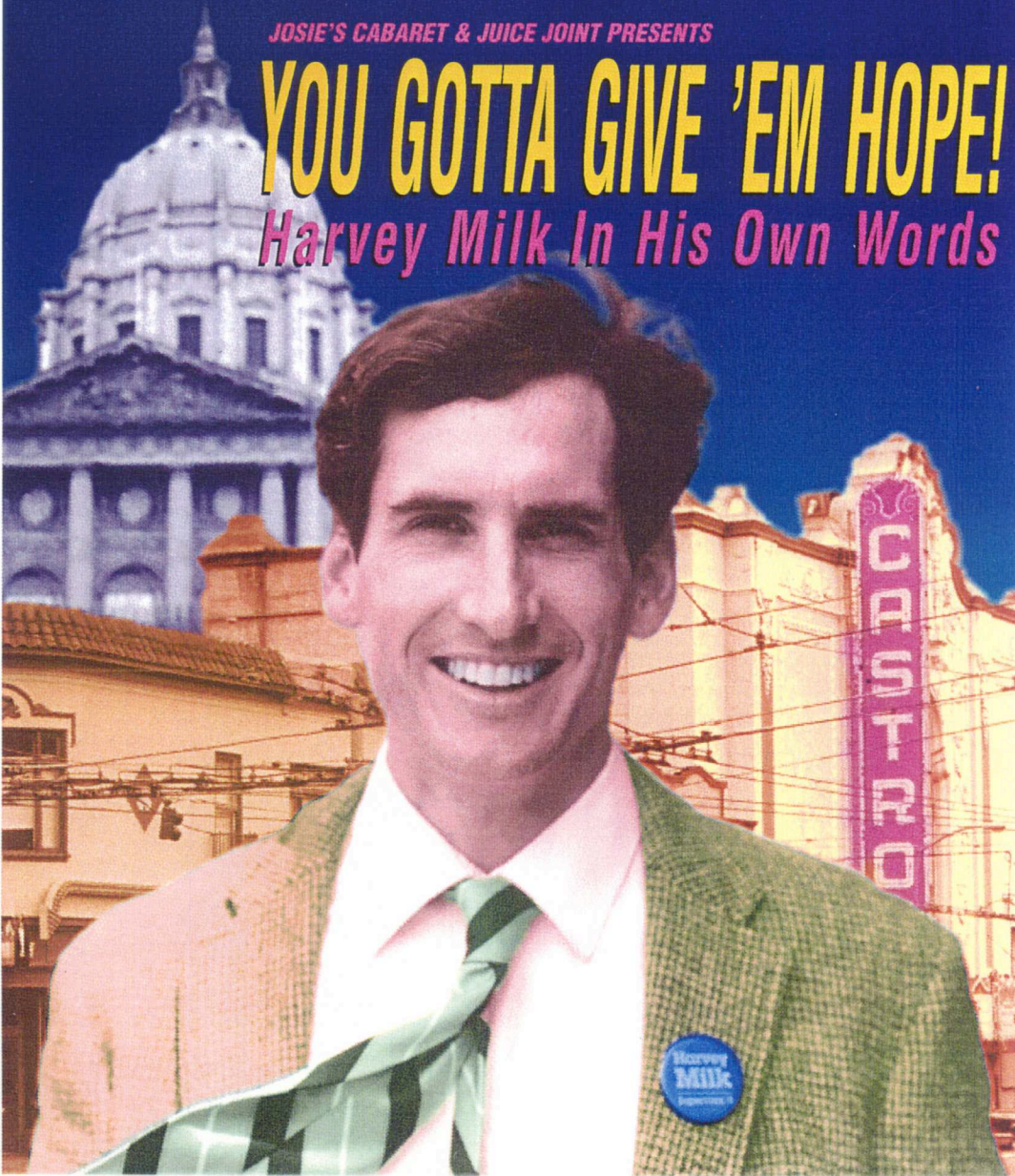
—SF Supervisor Tom Ammiano

"James Kennedy has movingly captured Harvey Milk's warmth, energy and vision. Everyone will be inspired by You Gotta Give 'Em Hope!" — **SF Supervisor Carole Migden**

JOSIE'S CABARET & JUICE JOINT PRESENTS

YOU GOTTA GIVE 'EM HOPE!

Harvey Milk In His Own Words



PHOTOS: DANIEL NICOLETTA DESIGN/COLORIZATION: TIM LEWIS

James Patrick Kennedy as Harvey Milk, 1995

The Listening Party at S.F. Camerawork - Friday, February 9, 2007, 6pm

Please steal occasional glimpses at this handy program guide to navigate tonight's relatively brief (approximately 23 minutes) audio tour. We strongly encourage you to close your eyes or stare off into space and try to envision what you're hearing. We hope you enjoy these select tidbits of historical and contemporary audio and look forward to a fascinating post-program discussion.

Audio excerpt from Bullit [Sic] (1968)
Dir. Peter Yates; Sound John Kean

Polk Theater outgoing answering machine message (August 1965)

MUNI train at Dolores Park (20th & Church)

"The Changing Light"
Reading by Lawrence Ferlinghetti (as heard in The Joy of Life)

Audio excerpt from The Conversation (1974)
Dir. Francis Ford Coppola; Sound Editor Walter Murch

Baltimore Orioles @ Oakland A's September 11, 2006, T.V. broadcast)

Audio excerpt from Bullit [Sic] continued

Mission Dolores Cemetery (16th & Dolores)

Harvey Milk "In Case" #2 audiotape November 18, 1977)
* This original cassette recording has a considerable amount of noise distortion.

The Bells of St. Anthony of Padua (Cesar Chavez @ Folsom Street)

Audio excerpt from Vertigo (1958)
Dir. Alfred Hitchcock; Sound Bill Wistrom

Cal Train crossing (from Aaron Ximm's QuietAmerican.com – check it out!)

"List of Missed Places" by Abby Tuttle
(from Long Ago and Right Now: An Audiozine About San Francisco)

Audio excerpt from The Joy of Life (2005)
Dir. Jenni Olson; Sound Editors Kadet Kuhne & Jim Lively (& Dave Nelson)

Audio excerpt from Bullit [Sic] continued

Special thanks to the creators of all these wonderful San Francisco sounds; and to all the talented, hard-working staff at S.F. Camerawork!

– your audio tour hosts Marc Henrich & Jenni Olson

The Harvey Milk Memorial Sculpture Unveiling Ceremony and Celebration



Harvey Milk in front of Castro Camera circa 1977. Photo by Daniel Nicoletta.

I ASK FOR THE MOVEMENT
TO CONTINUE
BECAUSE MY ELECTION GAVE
YOUNG PEOPLE OUT THERE HOPE.
YOU GOTTA GIVE 'EM HOPE.

San Francisco City Hall
May 22, 2008

Sculpture by Daub, Firmin and Hendrickson Sculpture Group

Event Hosts:

Mayor Gavin Newsom
The San Francisco Arts Commission
The San Francisco Board of Supervisors
The Bob Ross Foundation
San Francisco Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Pride
Celebration Committee
The Harvey Milk City Hall Memorial Committee
David Gin and Gary Nathan
Juanita More
The Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund
Federal Express
Charlotte N. Coleman
San Francisco Police Officers Association
The Circle Of Loving Companions in Memory of Harry Hay
White Crane Institute
Juanita More
Harvey's
James P. Riddel
Imperial Council of San Francisco
US Senator Diane Feinstein and Mr. Richard Blum
Lieutenant Governor John Garamendi
Betty Yee, Vice Chairwoman State Board of Equalization
Petra DeJesus, San Francisco Police Commissioner

Event Staff:

Executive Producer: Jim Skiba, CMP, World Incentive Nexus
Director of Event Management: CiCi Baker, Sierra Event Company
Director of Logistics: Gray Solar, Sierra Event Company
Director of Beverages: Keith McLaughlin
Director of Audio, Lighting, Video: Rick Bloom
Manager of Audio Services: John Wood, Permit This Productions
Manager of Video Services: Grant Davis, Lumens
Manager of Logistics: Michael Stortz
Manager of Hospitality: David Orr
Manager of Food & Beverage: Paule Tenchavez
Stage Manger: Richard Winchester
Assistant Stage Manager: Giovanni Adame

Harvey Milk City Hall Memorial Committee Members:

John Bardis, Joey Cain, David Gin, Dennis Hale, Rick Hauptman, Carolene Marks,
Gary Nathan, Daniel Nicoletta, Will Patterson, Larry-bob Roberts

Emeritus:

Raven Bourassa, Kirsten Boyd, Jonathan Fishleder, Karima, Kim Knox, Michael Goldstein,
Nancy McNally, Matthew Rorie, Roxxie Rosen, Phil Willkie

www.milkmemorial.org

to view online video of this event visit www.liptv.us

The Harvey Milk City Hall Memorial Sculpture Unveiling Ceremony

MCs - Jewelle Gomez & Cecilia Chung

Mayor Gavin Newsom

Connie Champagne
"Over the Rainbow"

Harvey Milk City Hall Memorial Committee
Dan Nicoletta, Joey Cain, Co-chairs

P. J. Johnston, San Francisco Arts Commission

Friends of Harvey
Anne Kronenberg

LGBT Elected Officials
Tom Ammiano

Estelle Mays & Arthur Scappaticci
"Give Them Hope" by A. Sandel and R. Link, Grace Renaud, piano

Tom Horn, Bob Ross Foundation

Stuart Milk

Ambassadors of the San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus
Dr. Kathleen McGuire, Artistic Director
"We Look to the Future" by T. Jefferson and S. Milloy
Cecil O'Neal Johnson, solo, Grace Renaud, Piano
Heidi Beeler, Conch Shell

Community Procession

Harvey Milk Speaks

Unveiling of the Sculpture
Fanfare - Members of the San Francisco Gay/Lesbian Freedom Band

Happy Birthday Harvey!

At the conclusion of the program we invite the public to queue up for a viewing
of the Harvey Milk City Hall Memorial Sculpture.

Those Who Made This All Possible...

Donors through 5/18/2008

Grassroots Friend \$1 to \$99

Lori Abbott Moreland
Timo Acosta
Linda Albard
Gilberto Alcantar
Randy Alfred
Mark A. Allyn
Brian Anthony
Gustavo Archilla & Elmer Lokkins
Harmond Ausiello
Jack Austin
Jenny B.
Alan Baird
Daniel Bao
Patricia Barr and Janet Sangster
Amy R. Beinart and Gary A. Marcus
Tortuga Bi Liberty
Molly Bode
David Bowman
Brandon Boyce
Laurel Brink
Adrian Brooks
Shirley Bruce
Michelle Bryans
Jeremiah Burke
Walter Caplan
Jennifer Carlin & Sandee Henry
Hillary Carlip
Ben Carlson
Rachel Carroll
Loni Carter
Wilder Ceplo
Urso Chappell
Lenore Chinn
Roger Christianson
Ceclia Chung & Dawning Ming Chung
Rebecca Clark
Christopher Clark
Carolyn A Cobb and Andrew Stevenson
William P. Connors
Arthur Covington
Jim Cromwell
Carol Carmick
Christopher Damon
Denise D'Anne
Tammy DeFord
Tom DeLeon
Jean Dierkes-Carlisle
Howard Dippold
Greg Douglas
Danielle Doyle
Emmie
Joseph Fitzgerald
Jeff Foote
Rich Forbes
Santos Allen Frances
James S. Frederick and Bryan L. Manire
Mark Freeman & Ken White
Wayne Friday
Geo Gaile
Martin Garcia
Marc Geller
Ken George
Philip B Gerrard

Rick Gerharter
Amy Goldman & Dorothy Bartolomuoci
Michael Goldstein
Gina Gotsill
Ronald Gorman
Justin Green
Damian Grey
Steven T. Grygelko
James W. Haas
Dennis Hale
Douglas E. Hanlin and Kelvin P. Lynch
Robert Heacock
John Hedges
Terry Henderling
Jeffrey D. Higham
Gordon Henderson & Abira Ali
Nina L. Homisak
Marc Huestis

Anthony Levinton
Anthony A. Levintow
Fidel Lirio
Sean M. Little
Deborah Logan & Bonnie Landess
Alfred M. Lopez
Peter Lundberg
Joan Macris
Kim Malcheski
Daniel Maiman and Mark Savery
Rafael Mandelman
Janelle Marchiano
Demetrios Maurice & Sandra Maurice
Jennifer Mayer
Gerry McBride
Theresa McGinley
Melissa Meris Ph.D.
Robert Meslinsky
Shay Miller

Chana Rung
Dan Ryan
Donna Sachet
Mary Patricia Sager
Joaquin Sanchez
Mark Sanchez
Sharyn Saslafsky
Mark E. Savery and Daniel G. Maimin
Denise A. Schmitt
Zelig Schragr Ph. D.
Mark Schwartz and Rosemary L. Manno
Jeffrey Schwarz
Dennis Seely
Martin Seiler
James D. Serafimides
Leslie Sheppard
Tara Sierra
Rachel Silver
Bryan Slabinski
Chuck Slaton Ronald Morrison
Richard E. Smoke
Sandra E. Somcot and Brian S. Stern
Jeffrey Spahn & Paul Bontekoe
Ron Stafford
Aiton Steen
Steve
Paul Stewart
Sara Stoll
Rebecca Strelein
John-Paul Sumaquero
Derrick Tynan-Connolly & James Patrick Kennedy
Paul Underwood
Tony Vela & Fernando Aguayo-Garcia
Mark E. White & Rusty A. Best
Scott Wiener
Hank Wilson
Rich Wilson
Charles Wincom
Amy Wingrave
Amy Wollman
Peter Wong
Andrew Wood
Scott Wood
David N. Young



Artist Eugene Daub from Daub, Firmin and Hendrickson Sculpture Group shares a joyful moment with the clay maquette of Harvey. March 28, 2008

Jon Jackman
Jim James
Bob Jaques
Michelle K. Jester
Jordan
Josh Kelley
Nicole Kelly
George David Kerlick
Eric Kerr
Susan C. King
Paul King
Rob Kirsten
Terrance Kissack
Jay and Mary A. Kloepfer
Kimberly Knox
Aidan Kotler
Joan Kovacs
Jeremy LaCroix & Gene Lee
Joq Lasner
Samuel L. Lasseter
Mary Leatherman
Jim Leff
Steven J. Leider
Dr. Nikolas P. Lemos

Ross Mirkarimi
Ellen Moffatt
Lucas Montgomery
Scott Morris, Factory Video Productions
Keith Nesson
John Newsome
Jason Nietupski
James C. Okeefe & Linda G.
Olive Works LLC
Orene Omelka
Randy Ortega and Stephen A. Kech
James Parr
Dave Payne
J K Pekrul
Scott Pomes
Elizabeth Claire Poole
Ken Prag
Antoine Proulx, LLC
Mark Quinn
Parker Reed
Mark E. Rennie
Mark Rhoades
Don Romeburg & David Mould

Grassroots Friend \$100 to \$249

Stephen H. Adams
Thomas Edward Ainsworth
Paule Anglim
Ralph Arnold III
ATYS Contemporary Living Accessories
Antoine Proxl, LLC
Patrick J. Barnett & K. E. Schroeder
John Blackburn & Bobby Heacock
Raven Bourassa
Peter Bowen
Raymond Buscemi
Joey Cain
Frederick Coetzee
Mark Cook
Joseph Czuberki
Kay Dickson
Disneyland Resort Community Relations

Eunice Elton
 Robert P. Epstein
 Factory Video
 David Fink
 Timothy Flint & Frederick Kirkbride
 Wayne Friday
 Marc Geller & Kevin Lyon
 Luke Gilleran
 Gimme Shoes, Inc.
 George
 Robert Grems
 Robert Haaland
 Tory & Bill Hartmann and Family
 Sally Hay
 Dave Hendrickson & Daniel Sonnefeld
 Ruth & Jack Holcombe and Family
 Michelle Jester
 Steven Michael Karp
 Paul Kerr
 Anne Kronenberg & Paul Weland & Family
 Dr. Jacob Lalezari, M.D. PC
 Barry Lawrence
 Nick Leonard
 Barry Linkner
 Alfred M. Lopez
 Alan Martinez
 Kevin McGee
 Kenneth McPherson
 Audrey Milk
 Stuart Milk
 Modern Appealing Clothing
 Lucas Montgomery
 William C. E. Moniz
 Ben Parry
 Will Patterson
 Christopher Read
 James P. Riddel
 Jerry Royer
 John Russo
 John & Mary Ryckman
 Mark Sanchez
 Dimitrios Serefimides and James Okeefe
 Chuck Slaton and Ron Morrison
 Eric Smith & Mark Garrett
 Herb Smith and John Verdusco
 Rebecca Swann
 James H. Takagi & Glenn Davis
 Thomas E. Talo
 Karl Titz
 Jim Van Buskirk
 Paul VanDeCarr
 Douglas Weinberg
 Hank R. Wilson
 Arden Wong

**Grassroots Friend
 \$250 to \$499**

Alvin H. Baum Jr.
 Jared Braiterman
 William K. Cleaveland
 Democratic State Central Committee of California - SOW
 Petra deJesus, SF Police Commissioner
 Cameron Eng & Terrance Allen
 Michael Harrington & Edwin Iraheta
 Mike Hennessey
 Bruce Mathews
 Larry Roberts & Tommy Netzbund

Michael Rodriguez
 Stonewall Democratic Club of Sacramento
 Young Broadcasting of SF Inc.

**Grassroots Friend
 \$500 to \$999**

John Bardis
 Bill Barnes
 Jerome Berbiar
 Rod & Michelle Funston-Carman
 Misha Cohen
 Petra M. DeJesus
 Paul Denning
 Friends of the Public Library
 HMS Associates
 KGAY / CBS Radio
 Senator Carole Migden
 Harvey Milk Archives - Scott Smith Collection at the James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Studies Center, SF Public Library

Senator Dianne Feinstein and Mr. Richard C. Blum
 Lt. Gov. John Garamendi
 David Gin and Gary Nathan
 Harvey's
 Imperial Court of San Francisco
 Assemblyman Mark Leno
 Tim McCarthy
 Lee Mentley
 Tom O'Horgan and Marc Cohen
 James Riddel
 Bond Shands
 Matthew Sandoval & Andrew Singer
 Svedka Vodka
 Stan Walker
 White Crane Institute, Inc.
 Betty Yee, Board of Equalization



"Young Harvey," Courtesy of The Scott Smith - Harvey Milk Collection at The San Francisco Library

Rich Nichols
 Nancy Norstad
 Tom O'Horgan and Marc Cohen
 Frank Robinson
 Mary P. Sager, In Memory of Rikki Streicher
 Dee-Dee Stout, Jesse Lee Stout and Alyssa Dressman in memory of crazy Uncle Dick
 Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence Inc.
 Gary Virginia
 Phil Wilkie
 William Wilson & Fernando P. Orlandi

**Grassroots Champion
 \$1000 to \$2499**

San Francisco Police Officers Pride Alliance
 Supervisor Tom Ammiano
 Castro Lions Club Charities Inc.
 Castro Street Fair

**Photo Store Friend
 \$2,500.00 to \$4,999.00**

San Francisco Police Officers Association

**Photo Store Champion
 \$5,000.00 to \$9,999.00**

Charlotte Coleman
 Federal Express
 Gay & Lesbian Victory Fund
 Juanita More Pride Benefit for HMCHMC
 The Circle of Loving Companions
In Memory of Harry Hay

**City Hall Champion
 \$25,000.00 and up**

Bob Ross Foundation

**Milk Memorial In Kind
 Sponsors**

Adam Acosta/Jakob Gerhardt Wines
 ATYS, Contemporary Living Accessories
 Antoine Proulx, LLC
 Autumn Press
 avenue 294
 Rick Bloom Audio Visual
 Bambuddha Lounge
 Cappa & Graham, Inc.
 Castro Street Fair, Inc.
 CBS Radio KGay
 El Torro Brewing Company
 Eniq Chang Studios
 Eye Candy Films
 Factory Video
 Film In Focus
 Gimme Shoes
 Hairbrained Productions
 Holzmuller Productions
 Honey Sound System
 Inkworks Press
 Jim James Photography
 Lawrence Helman Public Relations
 Ray Lobato - Aspect Gallery
 MAC (Modern Appealing Clothing)
 McCall Associates
 Olive Works
 Dave Haase et al, Out of Thyme Catering
 Permit This Productions
 Rainbow Grocery
 Safeway
 7x7 Magazine
 Slaton Morrison Properties
 Sunrise Printing
 Sunrise Deli
 Superior Coffee
 Tiger Beer
 Trannyshack
 World Incentive Nexus
 Youngs Market Company & The Estate group

Please forgive any omissions and bring them to our attention.

Thanks to our all of our volunteers and friends, people who spoke or performed or served at our events or who volunteered on our committees or at our public presentations such as our Street fair booths etc.... we are deeply moved by and grateful for your commitment to Harvey's legacy.

Tom Allegretti, Jazz violinist
 Bill Acheson Photography
 Giovanni Adame
 Randy Alfred
 Terrance Allen & Cameron Eng
 Supervisor Tom Ammiano
 Roger Arvid Anderson
 Matthew Bajko, B.A.R.
 Gilbert Baker
 Steven Baratz
 Scott Barney, Sugar Valley
 Regina Bauer, SFLGBTGCC
 Heidi Beeler
 Brendan Behan, SFLGBTGCC
 Jason Edward Black
 Dustin Blake
 Jay Blotcher
 Harry Britt
 Sam Broyles
 Wyatt Buchanan, SF Chronicle
 Bucheon Gallery
 Buckwheat
 Bob Burnside
 Nikki Calma
 Jean Dierkes Carlisle
 Catch Restaurant
 Jimmer Cassiol
 Connie Chamapgne
 Cecelia Chung
 Marc Cohen
 Kim Corsaro et al, SF Bay Times
 Anna Damiani, Assemblyman Leno's
 Office
 Daniel Detorie
 Daub, Firmin, Hendrickson Sculpture
 Group
 Regina Dick - Endrizzi
 Supervisor Bevan Duffy and Staff
 Nina Dunbar, SF Arts Commission
 William Eddleman, SF Performing
 Arts Library
 Mike Farrah, Mayors Office of
 Neighborhoods
 Matthew Fassberg
 Lawrence Ferlinghetti, City Lights
 Bookstore
 Allison Fish
 Jonathan Fishleder
 Peter Fiss, SFLGBTGCC
 Flower Frankenstein et al, Sugar
 Valley
 Roberto Friedman, B.A.R.
 Terence Kissack
 Arturo Galster aka Patsy Cline
 Christine Gasparic, Sen. Migden's
 Office
 Gay - Straight Alliance Network
 Glamamore
 Harvey Milk Civil Rights Academy
 Larkin Street Youth Services
 Marc Geller and Kevin Lyon
 Rick Gerharter, Bay Area Reporter
 Matthew Godeau
 Golden Gate Business Association
 Michael Goldstein
 Susan Goldstein, Smith/Milk Collec-
 tion, SF Public Library
 Jewelle Gomez

James Gong, SFLGBTGCC
 Matt Gonzalez
 Heidi Green
 Barbara Hansen
 Tory & Bill Hartmann & Family
 Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club
 Benji Hollman
 Tom Horn & Ceasar Allexander, Bob
 Ross Foundation
 Ellison Horne
 David Humphrey, SF Performing
 Arts Library
 Liz Highleyman, Bay Area Reporter
 Reese Aaron Isbelle, Assemblyman
 Leno's Office
 PJ Johnston, SF Arts Commission
 Cleve Jones
 Marshall Jones
 Jordy Jones
 Lyndsey Jones, SFLGBTGCC
 Karima
 Sheldon Katz
 S. Brett Kaufman
 Josh Klipp
 Anne Kronenberg & Paul Weland &
 Family
 Debra Lahane, SF Arts Commission
 Cynthia Laird, Bay Area Reporter
 Rick Laubscher
 Amy Laitenen
 Jimmy Lam
 Jennifer Lovvorn, SF Arts Commis-
 sion
 Jim Leff
 Rudy Lemke, Queer Cultural Center
 Assemblyman Mark Leno
 Sarah Lenoue, SF Arts Commission
 LipTV
 Ken Ludden, SF Spectrum
 Thom Lynch et al, SF LGBT Center
 Dennis MacMillan, SF Bay Times
 Ken Maley and Firat Yener
 Jill Manton, SF Art Commission
 Mark Mardon
 Estelle Mays and Arthur Scappaticci
 Elsie D. McAteer et al, City Hall
 Bldg, Mangmt.
 Tim McCarthy
 Bob Meslinsky
 Stuart Milk and Family
 Senator Carol Migden
 Supervisor Ross Mirkarimi
 Bill Montgomery et al, QCWebs
 Juanita More & the Moreboys
 Charles Montague & Heather Katz,
 Violin Duo
 Charlene Moore and The Restoration
 Gospel Choir
 Christopher Moscone & Family
 Darrin Nandagiri, SFLGBTGCC
 Rich Newirth
 Mayor Gavin Newsom & Staff
 Rich Nichols and Don Pierson
 Brook Oliver, Esq.
 Jenni Olson & Julie Dorf
 Online Policy Group
 Cecil O'Neil Johnson, soloist
 Pam Penniston, Queer Cultural Cntr.

Susan Pontious, SF Arts Commission
 Jill Posner Photography
 Poulos Brothers
 Kathleen Powers
 Jeannene Przyblyski
 Q Syndicate
 Efram Ramirez
 Alex Randolph, Mayors Office of
 Neighborhoods
 Sandy Reinhardt
 Rink Foto
 Jim Rivaldo
 Grace Renaud, pianist
 Larry-bob Roberts
 Adrian Roberts
 Donna Sachet
 Betsy Salkind
 Mark Sanchez
 Adam Sandel & Richard Link
 San Francisco Arts Commission
 San Francisco Visual Arts Committee
 San Francisco City Hall Preservation
 Advisory Commission
 San Francisco GLBT Historical
 Society
 San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus
 San Francisco Lesbian/Gay Freedom
 Band
 Jeff Scarcello
 Kevin Schaub
 Ellen Schumer
 Gabrielle Selden
 Larry C. Shank
 Ellen Shershow, SF Arts Commission
 Sisters Of Perpetual Indulgence
 Irene Soderberg
 Dan Smith
 Mrs. Elva Smith
 Michael Soldier
 Alan Spooner
 Dugald Stermer
 Betty Sullivan
 Kathleen Sullivan
 Zak Szymanski
 Tom Taylor
 Cedric Wentworth
 David Wilson Photography
 Bruce and Linda Wolfe
 The Whoa Nellies
 Jim Van Buskirk
 Gary Virginia
 Alan White
 Melissa White
 Phil Willkie
 Bill Wilson Photography
 Tim Wilson, Milk/Smith Collection,
 SF Public Library
 Richard Winchester
 Chuck Winchorn
 Teddy Witherington
 Lawrence Wong
 John Wood

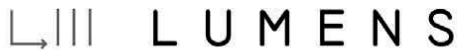
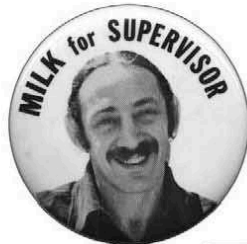
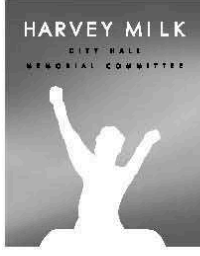
And all the Community Organiza-
 tions and individuals who partici-
 pated in the Unveiling Ceremony
 Procession.

**And our fabulous event
 volunteers dating back to
 our non-profit's inception in
 February, 2004**

Melinda Adams
 Fernando Aguayo-Garcia

Gilbert Alcantar
 Michael Alterman
 John Bardis
 Billy
 John Blackburn
 Raven Bourassa
 Kirsten Boyd
 Liz Bursis
 Joey Cain
 Walter Caplan
 Brian Carillo
 Meredith Clark & Bruce Anderson
 Don Eckert - Uncle Don's Castro
 Kennedy
 Gary Cook
 Juan Crovetto
 Carl Covin
 Rudy DeLeon & Bob Kelley
 Kent Denning
 Erica Dewberry
 Don Eckert - Uncle Don's Castro
<http://thecastro.net/>
 Edwardo
 Ron Fitch
 Theresa Fournier
 Flower Frankenstein
 Steve Gaynes
 Michael Goldstein
 Gordon Gregg
 Dennis Hale
 Norm Halm
 Rick Hauptman
 Bobby Heacock
 Terry Henderling
 Joe Holloman
 Josh Kelley
 Richard Kaprowski
 Kimberly Knox
 Jeremy LaCroix & Gene Lee
 Wayne Lee
 Heidi K. Lovig
 Michael Lynch
 Jeffrey Macris
 Mrs. Milton Marks
 Nancy McNally
 Terrence McGinnis
 Bill McGovern
 Tony Meredith
 Robert Meslinsky
 David Meyer
 Dan Miller
 David Miller
 Gary Nathan and David Gin
 Dan Nicoletta & Michael Pinatelli
 Patrick Parks
 James Parr
 Will Patterson
 Jason Pecache
 Jeff Pekrul
 George Ridgely
 Matthew Rorie
 Larry-Bob Roberts
 Roxie Rosen & Nancy Blair
 Sam Russell
 Brad Russo
 Johnathan Schaefer
 Harley Shapiro
 Dee Dee Stout
 The Model T Club
 Tony Vela
 Jane Warner
 Kevin Weaver
 Amron Yuwono
 Please forgive any omissions and
 bring them to our attention.

Thanks to our sponsors:



Who was Harvey Milk?

By Liz Highleyman

(This article first appeared in the *Bay Area Reporter* on December 1, 2005)

November 27, 1978: Openly gay San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk is assassinated by ex-Supervisor Dan White.

Harvey Milk's shift from closeted businessman to radical firebrand to political insider mirrored the trajectory of the gay rights movement during his life. Though his time in office was short, he is remembered as one of the most important gay icons of all time.

Milk was born May 22, 1930, in Woodmere, Long Island. Although he began having sexual experiences with men in parks and theaters in his early teens, he presented a conventional appearance and was a popular high school athlete. After graduating from the New York State College for Teachers, Milk enlisted in the Navy during the Korean War.

After leaving the Navy in 1955, Milk taught high school mathematics, coached basketball, and enjoyed a cozy domestic life with sometime hustler Joe Campbell (later immortalized as the "Sugar Plum Fairy" in Lou Reed's song "Walk on the Wild Side"). But Milk soon tired of teaching and its requirement for strict secrecy about his sexuality, and he went to work as a Wall Street financial analyst.

Possessed of both a voracious sexual appetite and a yearning for romance, Milk had a penchant for attractive, often troubled men many years his junior. After his relationship with Campbell, Milk took up with young activist Craig Rodwell. Next, he became involved with stage manager Jack McKinley, who introduced him to the bohemian Greenwich Village alternative theater crowd. Milk soon eschewed his buttoned-down ways, adopting a hippie style and liberal political views.

In 1972, Milk and his new lover, Scott Smith, moved to San Francisco, where they opened a camera shop on Castro Street, in what was then a working-class Irish neighborhood. Milk got involved in politics, making alliances with labor unions, seniors, and the city's Chinese community. He formed the Castro Village Association (a gay business alliance) and founded the Castro Street Fair.



Bob Ross, the late publisher of the *Bay Area Reporter*, with Harvey Milk in City Hall in March 1978.

Photo: Dan Nicoletta

Milk ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1973, following in the footsteps of drag impresario Jose Sarria, who, two decades earlier, had been the first gay man to vie for the office. Rejected by established gay leaders who preferred to cultivate straight political allies, Milk built his base on grassroots support.

After losing that election, Milk cut off his ponytail, traded his jeans for business suits, and swore off marijuana and bathhouses. Positioning himself as a champion of neighborhoods and against downtown developers, Milk ran unsuccessfully for supervisor again in 1975 and for state Assembly the following year. He rode the wave of militant gay activism in the wake of Anita Bryant's Save Our Children campaign, and took the lead in opposing California's failed Briggs Initiative, which would have barred homosexuals from teaching in public schools.

Milk finally won a supervisor seat in November 1977, becoming the first openly gay man to win a major political office in the United States. (Lesbian Elaine Noble had been elected state representative in Massachusetts in 1974.) Yet despite his political success, Milk's personal and financial life was in disarray. He was deeply in debt and had to close his failing camera business. He had broken up with Smith and taken a new young lover, Jack Lira, who was given to embarrassing drunken scenes at public functions and who committed suicide in 1978.

Milk's first legislative proposal was a gay antidiscrimination ordinance, which the supervisors passed with one dissenting vote – that of conservative ex-cop Dan White, who had been elected on a traditional values platform. Citing financial hardship, White resigned his board seat in the fall of 1978, but soon decided he wanted it back. At the urging of Milk, Mayor George Moscone declined to reappoint White, who had often provided the swing vote to block progressive legislation.

On the morning of November 27, 1978, White snuck in through a side window at City Hall, shot Moscone at close range, then marched down the hall and pumped five bullets into Milk. Coming just a week after the mass suicide of Jim Jones's People's Temple (which had been based in San Francisco), the assassinations threw the city into further turmoil. That night, thousands of people joined a candlelight march from the Castro to City Hall.

On May 21 of the following year, White was convicted on two counts of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced to less than eight years in prison, after his attorneys employed the "Twinkie defense," arguing that he was mentally impaired due to eating junk food. The city's gay community exploded in rage, shattering the windows of City Hall and torching police cruisers in what came to be known as the White Night riot. Later that evening, the police retaliated, invading the Castro with nightsticks swinging. In 1984, White was released on parole; the next year he committed suicide by carbon monoxide poisoning.

Having frequently received death threats, Milk had prepared a taped will suggesting who should succeed him (including Harry Britt, whom new mayor Dianne Feinstein appointed as his replacement). "If a bullet should enter my brain," he said in the message, "let that bullet destroy every closet door." At his memorial service, Milk's aide, Anne Kronenberg, read a poem she found in his desk: "I can be killed with ease/ I can be cut right down/ But I cannot fall back into my closet...I am too many/ I am all of us."

Reprinted with permission of Q Syndicate.

Revisiting Liz Highleyman's article; "Who was Harvey Milk"

by Daniel Nicoletta (11/9/2021)

When we unveiled the Milk sculpture in City Hall, we were excited to include Liz Highleyman's concise summary of Milk's epic trajectory in our printed program for the event. Our committee was fond of Liz's proficient distillation of Harvey's story. The piece not only served well as an accessible educational piece but had a keen sense of some of the more exciting parts of Harvey's story, such as the importance of Milk's early romantic partners: Joe Campbell, Craig Rodwell, and Galen McKinley.

That said (word count requirements notwithstanding), I am a big fan of speaking up whenever possible about Milk's openly gay and lesbian predecessors. The historical record often leaves out five early openly gay and lesbian electoral victors that came before Harvey Milk. First, Nancy Weschler and Gerry DeGriek came out in 1973 on the Anne Arbor City Council. Second, Kathy Kozenchenko won on an openly gay platform for the Anne Arbor City Council in February 1974. Third, Allan Spear was the Minnesota Senator who came out on December 9, 1974. Fourth, Jim Yeadon, an out candidate, was elected to the Madison, Wisconsin Common Council in April 1977. Finally, as Liz Highleyman already mentioned, openly lesbian Representative Elaine Noble was elected to the Massachusetts State House of Representatives in 1975. If there are others, please let me know.

One other point of clarification I want to make relates to Liz's citation of the quote that Anne Kronenberg read out loud as part of her speech at the S.F. Opera House memorial for Milk on November 30, 1978. Though often misattributed to Harvey, the passage turns out to be a distillation of a Marge Piercy poem. Shortly after Harvey's death, Kronenberg found an unsigned handwritten note in Harvey's office drawer with the words "I can be killed with ease / I can be cut right down / But I cannot fall back into my closet. I have grown / I am not by myself / I am too many / I am all of us".

It wasn't until many years later (circa 2003) that it came to light that Milk's notation was uncomfortably similar to a Marge Piercy poem. Ken MacPherson, who headed up an effort to create a monument to Milk at Arlington National Cemetery in D.C., considered utilizing the quote and attributing it to Harvey, but wisely reached out to Piercy to clarify authorship. Thankfully Marge Piercy wrote back to MacPherson in 2005;

"The quotation is completely botched. It should be:

I can be killed with ease. I can be cut right down,
but I cannot crawl back in the cavern
where I lay with my neck bowed.
I have grown. I am not by myself.
I am too many.

These are the concluding lines from *The Judgment*, part of the sequence
LAYING DOWN THE TOWER from *CIRCLES ON THE WATER*.

If you wish to quote it, you must get permission from Knopf, who owns the rights.
CIRCLES ON THE WATER is still in print -- in its 12th or 13th printing, I forget.
- Marge Piercy"

I feel compelled to mention these observations because I believe history should be a moving target. I fully hope that inconsistencies in what I write will be corrected, re-contextualized and illuminated in the future by others.

“I can be killed with ease
but I cannot be silenced:
I am too many, I am all of us.”



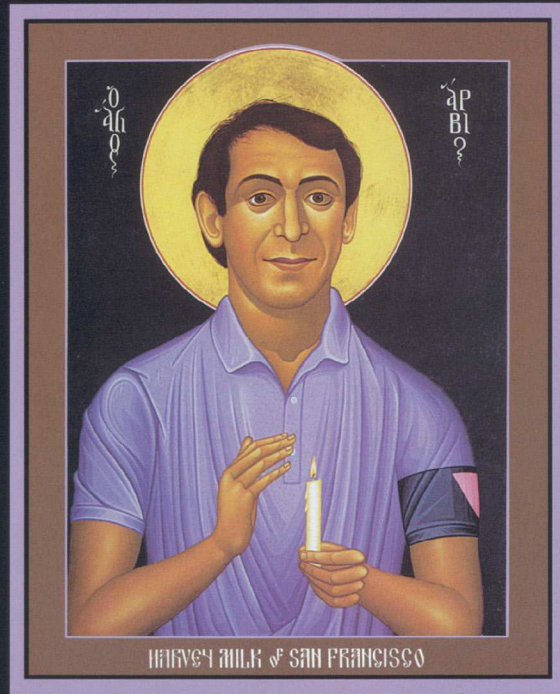
**HARVEY MILK
GAY DEMOCRATIC
CLUB**

A Rivaldo - Pabich design for a t-shirt for the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club. (Later on, the Club renamed itself The Harvey Milk LGBTQ Democratic Club). The “Milk Club” unveiled the new shirts en masse in the 1979 SF LGBT Pride Parade. (This quote was mistakenly attributed to being authored by Milk - see more info about that story on the previous page)

Historically, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) communities have suffered from discrimination and prejudice that discouraged the collection, preservation, and even study of their own history and culture.

Founded in 1985, the GLBT Historical Society archives now comprise one of the largest collections of queer historical materials in the world – unique manuscript collections, oral history transcripts, periodicals, photographs, and ephemera in addition to a collection of fine art, graphic art, textiles, artifacts and memorabilia.

In 2002, the GLBT Historical Society merged with the International Museum of Gay and Lesbian History to build the world's first full scale museum devoted to GLBT people, culture and history.



Board of Directors

Board Co-Chair
Karl Knapper

Board Co-Chair
Ruth Mahaney

Treasurer
Daniel Bao

Secretary
Ms. Bob Davis

Gerard Koskovich

Peter Lundberg

Margo Rila

Matthew Ryan

Thomas Ryan

Robert Wagner

Executive Director

Dr. Susan Stryker, Ph.D.

strong radical
real martyr
protagonist
on genuine
ess romantic
her resolute
t visionary
rant friend
x renegade
nwavering
olitical true
onventional
impetuous
uncommon
mentor saint

The life that led Harvey Milk to the steps of San Francisco City Hall is one of the better known biographies of gay American History – a Jewish boyhood in Woodmere, Long Island; a naval career during the Korean Conflict; years spent as a Republican Wall Street financial analyst; a countercultural awakening in the 1960s; a camera store on Castro Street in San Francisco and a campaign to bring gay liberation politics to the halls of institutional power.

When Harvey Milk was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1977 no one would have imagined that less than a year later an assassin's bullet would transform him into a modern-day martyr for the gay liberation movement.

Harvey Milk's legacy is perhaps even more compelling than his life. Within a few short years, he had become the subject of books and films – even an opera. Plazas and schools were named in his honor. His personal possessions were treated like the relics of a saint, lovingly tended and occasionally displayed by a band of friends until they finally came to rest in the archives of the GLBT Historical Society.

Saint Harvey : The Life and Afterlife
of a
Modern Gay Martyr
June 6, 2003 – April 2004

The International Museum of GLBT History
a project of
The GLBT Historical Society
657 Mission Street, #300; San Francisco CA 94105 415.777.5455

www.glbthistory.org

populist str
dreamer r
intuitive p
activist ic
rebel fearle
daring teach
leader def
proud tole
unorthodox
maverick u
intriguing p
brazen unco
humanist
serious foe
absolute m

Invitation to the GLBT Historical Society *Saint Harvey* exhibit, June 6, 2003



Saint Harvey Exhibit at the International Museum of Gay and Lesbian Bisexual Transgender History, August 22, 2003, photo by Daniel Nicoletta



The Harvey Milk Archives on a workday at Scott Smith's home, January 23, 1983, Photo by Daniel Nicoletta



Scott Smith with his mother, Mrs. Elva Smith, circa 1980s, Photo by Harley Shapiro



Dan Nicoletta and Elva Smith, December 1, 1998, Photo by Norm Halm

The three recipients of the “in case” tapes



Frank Robinson and Harvey Milk at the front counter of Castro Camera, 1976, photo by Daniel Nicoletta



L to r: Jim Kerley, Walter Caplan, Jim Rivaldo (seated), and Harvey Milk at the One United Nations Plaza Café.
As Acting Mayor for the day, Harvey Milk cut the ribbon at the establishment's Grand Opening.
March 77, 1978, photo by Daniel Nicoletta



During the Pope's visit to San Francisco, Attorney John Eshelman Wahl addressed a rally protesting the Vatican's anti-LGBTQ policies, September 17, 1987, photo by Daniel Nicoletta

The four preferred successors named on the “in case” tapes



Harry Britt campaigning for Harvey Milk during Milk's second Supervisorial race, circa 1976, photo by Daniel Nicoletta
(l to r: Lee Mentley, Harry Britt, Carl Carlson, Harvey Milk, etc.)



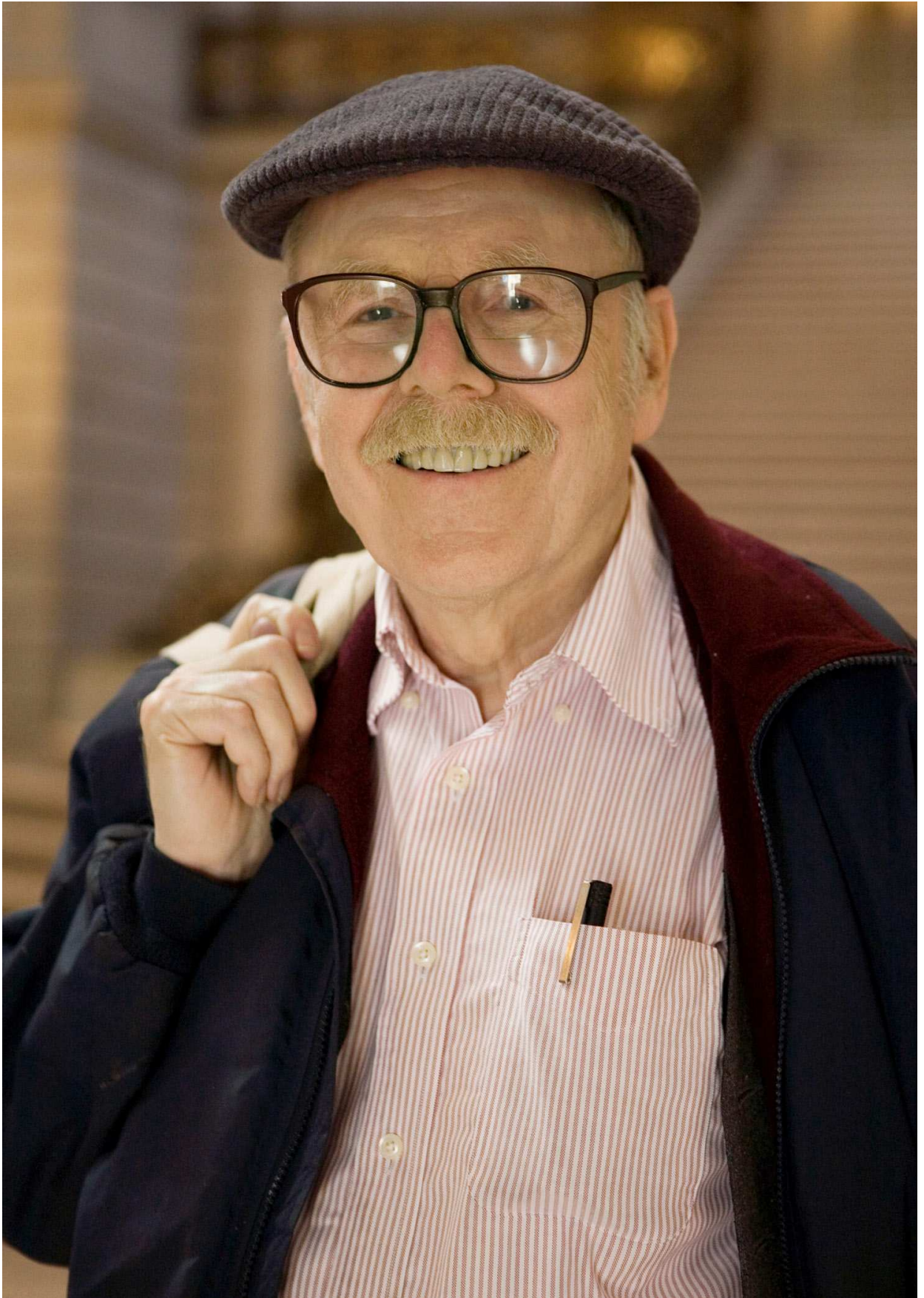
Bay Area Reporter Publisher Bob Ross and Acting Mayor Harvey Milk, at Mayor Moscone's desk, March 77, 1978, photo by Daniel Nicoletta



Anne Kronenberg and Supervisor Harvey Milk, SF LGBT Pride Celebration, June 25, 1978, photo by Daniel Nicoletta



Frank Robinson in Harvey Milk's back office at Castro Camera, Election Day for the *Milk for Assembly Race*, June 8, 1976, photo by Daniel Nicoletta, (This is likely the office where the "in case" tapes were made).



Frank Robinson at San Francisco City Hall on the set of *MILK* the film, Courtesy of Focus Features, Inc., March 9, 2008, photo by Daniel Nicoletta

Hyperlinks

(in the order they appear as nested links throughout the document)

(your browser security settings for blocking pop up windows may impair the ability to click on a hyperlink to open it automatically, which is generally rectified by simply cutting and pasting the full link below into a new browser window and then hitting the return keystroke.)

Document text section hyperlinks

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Criterion_Collection

<https://www.criterion.com/films/27549-the-times-of-harvey-milk>

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/1987/06/04/19870604_Carlson_Carl_H/m19870604_0.jpg

<https://michaelkorie.com/projects/harvey-milk/>

http://www.stewartwallace.com/harvey_milk.htm

<http://www.christopheralden.net/HarveyMilk.htm>

<https://soundcloud.com/user-714298346/assasination-harvey-milks-political-will>

https://sfpl.org/pdf/libraries/main/sfhistory/GLBT/Harvey_Milk_Archives-Scott_Smith_Collection.pdf

https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8jd5066/entire_text/

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/1995/02/09/19950209_Smith_Scott/m19950209_0.jpg

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2010/06/17/20100617_Smith_Elva_Roberts/m20100617_0.jpg

<https://www.clevejones.com/>

<https://www.milkclub.org/>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Moscone

<https://milkfoundation.org/>

<https://www.glbthistory.org/museum-about-visitor-info>

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/display.jsp?name=20031218_Ross_Bob

http://obit.glbthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2003/12/18/20031218_Ross_Bob/m20031218_3.jpg

<http://www.homochic.com/about-us/>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lMwWn951s-M>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20080514202138/http://www.milkmemorial.org/>

<https://www.focusfeatures.com/milk>

<https://vimeo.com/filminfocus>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jenni_Olson

<http://www.queermusicheritage.com/jun2010.html>

<http://www.emerybooks.com/news/harvey-milk-interviews-2nd-edition.htm>

<https://www.ucpress.edu/book/9780520275492/an-archive-of-hope>

http://obit.globthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2014/07/10/20140710_Robinson_Frank/m20140710_0.jpg

<https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8t72>

<https://www.lillianfaderman.net/>

<https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780190685218.001.0001/oso-9780190685218>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CPiVISIMteI&t=12s>

<https://www.ebar.com/news/news//292481>

<https://48hills.org/product/tom-ammianos-kiss-my-gay-ass/>

<https://www.dannynicoletta.com/still-life-series>

https://soundcloud.com/gays_against_guns/harvey-milk-day-special

<https://www.mattachinepod.com/harrybritt>

http://obit.globthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2020/06/25/20200625_Britt_Harry/m20200625_0.jpg

https://www.ebar.com/news/latest_news/303920

http://obit.globthistory.org/olo/imagedb/2010/05/20/20100520_Wahl_John_Eshleman/m20100520_0.jpg

<https://religiondispatches.org/author/lynne-gerber/>

Acknowledgements section hyperlinks

<https://www.imdb.com/name/nm3465026/>

https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8hh6s21/entire_text/

https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c81v5h7p/entire_text/

<https://wineandproses.com/>

<https://photographmaker.com/home.html>

https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8hh6s21/entire_text/

<https://www.linkedin.com/in/lizatblackrose/>

<https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c85m6czn/>

<http://www.qsyndicate.com>

Acknowledgments

Thanks to all my sources and collaborators:

John Baden, Tom Eure and Nick Romero and John Antoniadis

Allan Baird

Anne Kronenberg & Alex Weiland

Bay Area Reporter

Brian Kamps

Carl Carlson

Cary Owens

Charles Morris III & Jason Black's book [*An Archive of Hope: Harvey Milk's Speeches and Writing*](#)

David Lamble

[Lillian Faderman](#)'s book *Harvey Milk: His Lives and Death*

Frank Robinson's memoir [*Not so good a gay man*](#)

[Glenn McElhinney](#)

Hubert Zieba's 2009 dissertation - *Representation of Gay Men in Contemporary Mainstream American Cinema*

[JD Doyle](#)

[Jenni Olson](#) & Jim Lively

Jimmy Kennedy & Derrick Tynan – Connolly

[Larry-bob Roberts](#)

[Larry Bittner](#)

[Leo Herrera](#)

[Liz Highleyman](#) and [Q Syndicate](#)

[Linda Alband](#)

[Lynne Gerber](#)

[Michael Lee](#) (author of a forthcoming biography on Randy Shilts)

Michael Pinatelli, Jr.

[Norm Halm](#)

Ramon Silvestri, et al ([GLBT Historical Society](#))

[Randy Alfred](#)

Randy Shilt's book *The Mayor of Castro Street*

Richard Dworkin

[Stewart Wallace](#) & [Michael Korie](#)

Vince Emery's book [*The Harvey Milk Interviews: In his own words*](#)

Walter Caplan

Wikipedia

Will Patterson

Please let me know if there is anyone who I may have overlooked acknowledging for helping on this project.

Also, permit me to express my gratitude to all who have helped me over the years; I couldn't have done the work I have done without your help!



Mural by John Baden, rendered from a photo by the late Tom Eure made in 1975. The mural was commissioned circa 2007 by Nick Romero and John Antoniadis for their gift store *Given*, at 575 Castro Street (The site of Harvey Milk and Scott Smith's Castro Camera). *Given* closed in 2010, and [The Human Rights Commission](#) took over the space with a commitment to preserving the mural. Now that HRC has moved out of the location, the mural's fate hangs in the balance of time. There is some discussion by the [National Parks Conservation Association](#) to add the site to their registry of nationally landmarked LGBTQ historic sites. The location was designated a San Francisco landmark (#227) on 5/22/2000. (© 2006 by *Given* - reproduction from their printed post card.)

© 2021 by Daniel Nicoletta

All rights reserved

<https://www.dannynicoletta.com>

"....I wish I had time to explain everything I did;
almost everything was done in the eyes of the gay movement...

....I ask for a movement to continue,
for a movement to grow...."

- Harvey Milk
(November 18, 1977)

