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What She Said: Recovering Women's Contributions to the *Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives*

Postmodern theory's characterization of traditional archives as patriarchal practically compels new digital projects to build a critical perspective on gender into online archives. We are working to demonstrate the potential of physical and online curation of historical material to rectify women's underrepresentation in the traditional archive. Following a brief history of the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, we will describe how Michelle Schwartz' International Women's Day Exhibit in the CLGA's new gallery space reclaimed women's centrality to the archive by drawing on the material traces of women's participation in the gay liberation movement. The quantity of women's material has been shaped by the archive's highly specific institutional history, from the competition from other archives, to the CLGA's commitment to remaining a community-run archive. Building on the International Women's Day Exhibit's express goal of highlighting women's contributions to the movement, we will introduce our digital project: *Lesbian and Gay Liberation In Canada, 1964-1975: An Online Research Database and Community Resource*. The LGLC project reconfigures Donald McLeod's remarkable monograph, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation In Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964-1975*, as a digital resource which, in addition to reproducing the text, will let researchers trace the events of the gay liberation movement using maps and timelines; model the shifting identities of the actors within the text; and critically evaluate the relationship between the text and the bibliographic material that underpins it. For the

purposes of this paper, we will introduce the rationale for our nascent nonce definition project. We've been building a populated, rather than verbal, "dictionary" of women's self-identification in the early Canadian gay liberation movement, a facet of the project which is both indebted to and in conflict with TEI

The CLGA

The Canadian Lesbian & Gay Archives was founded in 1973. Originally known as the Canadian Gay Liberation Movement Archives, the collection's core was formed by the records of *The Body Politic*, a gay liberation newspaper published in Toronto between 1971 and 1987. The nascent archivists began soliciting additional material in the pages of the paper, and the collection soon expanded beyond the basement of *Body Politic* member Ron Dayman, the archive's first champion. In 1975, the Archives changed its name to the Canadian Gay Archives, and began gathering material from all over Canada and from beyond the confines of the gay liberation movement. This broadening mandate led to the final name change, to the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, in 1993.

The CLGA has always been a volunteer-run, community-based organization. While similar collections, like the Canadian Women's Movement Archives and the ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives, have been swallowed by government and university libraries, the CLGA has opted to remain independent, run by and for the community it serves, even turning down an offer from the Archives of Ontario to take portions of the collection off its hands ("A Chronology of the Archives").

In 2009, the CLGA moved from what had become a vastly overcrowded warehouse to a beautiful Edwardian house at 34 Isabella Street, at the heart of the historic gay village in Toronto. This space was envisioned as a public showcase for the vast

amount of materials amassed over the course of almost four decades. For the first time ever, the archive had a dedicated gallery. The addition of this space led to the establishment of an annual program of juried exhibitions, which kicked off in 2010 with a call for proposals for the inaugural series in 2011. The call stated that "proposals may also be completed by individuals familiar with the collection and who wish to curate shows of materials from the CLGA" ("Call for Exhibition Proposals").



International Women's Day at the CLGA

Having volunteered as an archivist at the CLGA since 2009, Michelle Schwartz was well aware of the apparent dearth of women's materials at the archives. The majority of volunteers were white men in their fifties to sixties and, at first glance, the majority of the collection seemed male-oriented as well. In order to change the perception of the archive as an old boys club, and with the goal of getting more women involved, she and Roberta Wiseman, another volunteer archivist, wrote up a proposal for a show on lesbian history drawing on the CLGA's own collections.

They anticipated having a difficult time executing this plan. In her book on the history of the lesbian feminist movement in Toronto, *The House That Jill Built*, Becki Ross states that revealing women's history, especially lesbian history, is dependent on "bricolage – a process of piecing together fragments from disparate and incomplete sources" (Ross 7). This is certainly true of the CLGA where, according to longtime volunteer Harold Averill, "less than 10% of the total volume of personal papers in the Archives were donated by women over time, but a larger portion of records contain information *about* women. The majority of accessions [donated by women] consist of non-textual [personal or organization records] material, in the form of published books, periodicals, posters, AV items, etc." (Averill)

Despite the smaller volume of explicitly lesbian-focused materials, we had on our side the CLGA's mandate to "acquire, preserve, organize, and give public access to information and materials in any medium, by and about lesbians and gays, primarily produced in or concerning Canada." This expansive mandate, perfectly encapsulated by the CLGA motto "keeping our stories alive," was born out of a desperate need by the LGBT community for the representation they were not getting from mainstream society ("Collections"). It was also born out of the fear that if the CLGA did not preserve the material, no one would.

This fear was not without basis. Much LGBT material has been lost at the hands of censors, opponents, shortsighted people with good intentions, and even members of the LGBT community. Ross quotes a former member of the Lesbian Organization of Toronto (LOOT) as saying "I remember having arguments with Pat Leslie because she wanted to collect everything [almanacs, diaries, photos] for the archives and I said, Pat,

for fuck sakes, the cops just have to walk into those archives and there's a bunch of dead ducks sitting there" (Ross 80). Despite the barriers erected by both the closet and the devaluation of women's materials, Pat Leslie eventually got the Canadian Women's Movement Archives off the ground—it is now part of the University of Ottawa's special collections.

The CLGA also managed to amass an impressive amount of material over a similar period of time, surviving the very police raids that LOOT members feared, and working against “the conspiracy of silence that has robbed gay people of their history” (Greenblatt 125). The archives filled in the gaps as best it could by sending its volunteers out to gather bits and pieces of LGBT culture from the streets and placing them in the vertical files for safe keeping, a task that continues to this day. The CLGA has gathered over 5,300 vertical files representing queer events, organizations, and individuals across the globe. The vertical files, along with the newspaper clippings, periodicals, books, and artifacts, represent the end product of the CLGA’s dedication to preserve not just traditional archival records, but any mention of gay and lesbian existence it could get its hands on. This methodology, which can appear about as graceful as trying to catch one fish by trawling the entire sea with a massive net, has scooped up plenty of women’s material along with the inexhaustible supply of posters for circuit parties and drag shows.



With this knowledge of the CLGA's strengths and weakness in mind, we bypassed the organizational records and personal papers and went straight for the poster collection, figuring that this would yield the largest, most visually oriented items. After finding not one, but three International Women's Day posters, and determining that March 2011 marked the 100th anniversary of the holiday, we decided that an International Women's Day exhibit would be a marketable and engaging show to include in the exhibition series.

With our topic in mind, we began our research. Our first stop was the vertical files. These vertical files proved to be an abundant source of information for the exhibit, with folders representing almost every year that an International Women's Day march and rally was held in Toronto, starting in 1978. In fact, the majority of material we pulled for use in the exhibit was from sources not usually preserved by archives. It was in the margins surrounding the archive's more traditional collections of personal papers and organizational records that International Women's Day could be found.

When we had finally gathered together the material that would be included in the show, we began to conceptualize the installation. Much of the material consisted of ephemera—pamphlets, flyers, buttons, and postcards—that would not be highlighted effectively by frames or cases, the CLGA's traditional methods for displaying the collection. We decided instead to display the items as they would have been displayed by the women who created them, envisioning the CLGA gallery as a room in a women's centre. We took advantage of the fact that flyers were designed to be easily reproduced, photocopying the originals and hanging the new copies on bulletin boards we installed.



We covered handbags in protest buttons and placed them on coat hooks, as if the owners of the buttons had just stepped out for a moment. We used stencils to paint slogans on the walls, some which can

still be heard at protests today, some which we found immortalized on sheets distributed at past International Women's Day marches. We even designed our exhibit flyer in the style of the flyers we found in the vertical files, pinning it to the bulletin boards amongst the older material.

We got some interesting reactions to our concept. When we told people about the women's centre idea, before the show had even opened, women of all different ages and backgrounds responded by asking "Oh, so you'll have a tatty couch and a bulletin board?" Even women too young to have ever been to second wave-era women's centres mentioned the same signifiers—ratty couches, crowded message boards, teapots and cookies. These signifiers of women's spaces have been passed down through time, even if the spaces themselves are long gone. They are as ephemeral as the items on display.

For the opening of the show we enlisted Karlene Moore from the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre/ Multicultural Women Against Rape as a guest speaker. The TRCC is a volunteer-run grassroots feminist organization founded in 1974. The women of the TRCC participated in many International Women's Day events in Toronto and appeared



in many of the items included for display. We thought it was important that the show be seen not as a record of something dead, but as a representation of a constantly evolving movement. By including the still-active

TRCC/MWAR in the event, we hoped to bridge the gap between the past and the present, and by converting the CLGA's new space into our version of a women's centre, we hoped to demonstrate the importance of such places.

Despite the success of the exhibit, some concerns remained. As Kathy Ferguson states in her paper on the Emma Goldman Paper's Project, "there is no archive without a pattern of inclusions and exclusions; the question is how the inside pays its debts" (Ferguson) At the CLGA, the focus on gay white men has had the exclusion of women (as well as trans people and people of color) as a consequence. Many times this exclusion was unintentional, for instance "for the first twenty years [of the CLGA's existence] a lot of women donated to the Canadian Women's Movement Archives" instead, and often it was born out of neglect or just simple disinterest (Averill). We began to think of ways in which the CLGA could pay its debts.

Women's voices can be found in the archives, hiding in the margins, it was just a matter of figuring out a way to look for them. After all, as Ferguson says "archives are unsurpassed intellectual playgrounds, they have a center... but no solid peripheries, no single ordering principle, and myriad opportunities for making meaning" (Ferguson).

She suggests that hidden sub-narratives and counter-hegemonic voices can be exposed by broadening access to the archive. By opening itself up, the archive becomes a radical space, "honoring the debt that all order, even its own, owes to its margins... an archive can be counter hegemonic in its practices as well as its holdings: it can be inviting, not forbidding; welcoming, not controlling...Radical archives can, as Appadurai hoped, function as 'aspiration rather than recollection,' anticipating and enabling fresh possibilities for collective memory" (Ferguson). The CLGA is already a radical archive—it is an open space, welcoming any member of the community who wish to use its materials. Restrictions are not made based on age or academic qualifications and usage fees remain minimal. Volunteers of any skill set are welcomed, trained and put to work on any number of tasks. These are traits that the CLGA shares with the Lesbian Herstory Archives in New York, which has made exposing women's voices the apex of its mission to "change deprivation into cultural plentitude" ("A Brief History").

To further the radical goal of being an open, welcoming space, Michelle Schwartz has created an online gallery to display the collection on the CLGA website using Omeka, an open source content management system. This gallery will serve as a showcase for some of the CLGA's digitized materials, as well as opening up new access points to the collection. The ability to catalog material using Dublin Core fields and Library of Congress Subject Headings, organize it into collections and exhibits, tag it with more informal language, and use geographical coordinates to locate it on a map, will hopefully grant greater access to the collection, as well as make apparent relationships and connections that might not have been visible through traditional paper finding aids.

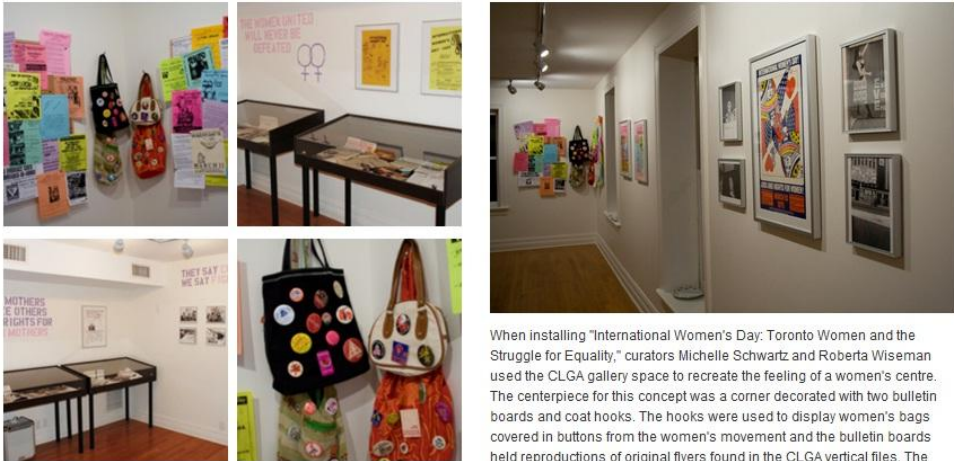
Browse Items	Browse Collections	Browse Exhibits	About
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INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

[In the news...](#) [On the street...](#) [At the CLGA...](#) [On the radio...](#)

[On the walls...](#) [In the display cases...](#)

On the walls...



When installing "International Women's Day: Toronto Women and the Struggle for Equality," curators Michelle Schwartz and Roberta Wiseman used the CLGA gallery space to recreate the feeling of a women's centre. The centerpiece for this concept was a corner decorated with two bulletin boards and coat hooks. The hooks were used to display women's bags covered in buttons from the women's movement and the bulletin boards held reproductions of original flyers found in the CLGA vertical files. The slogans on the walls matched ones found on International Women's Day flyers found in the collection.

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Because Omeka is a reasonably simple system to use, we are hoping to create a collaborative atmosphere at the CLGA, with digital exhibits curated by other volunteers at the archive, and additional information and tags being submitted by users of the site. Users will even be able to submit images, sound files, and text directly to the collection using Omeka's "Contribute" plugin.

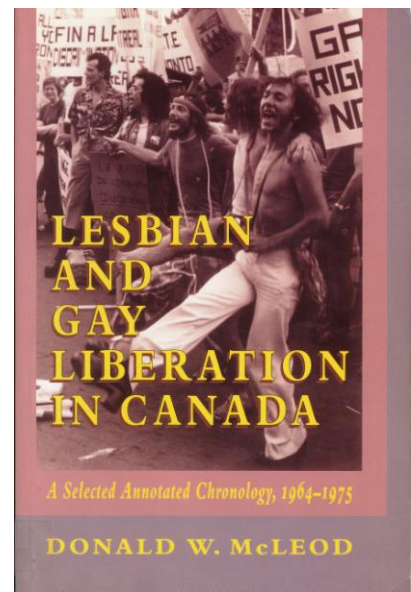
Archives can often appear intimidating to people outside academia, and trips to Toronto can be expensive. By creating this digital presence, we hope the CLGA will engage a larger, more diverse population. By enabling the "Contribute" plugin, these new

users will also be able to submit material directly to the archive, giving the CLGA access to previously untapped sources of information, and helping to keep a wider range of stories alive.

The next steps to becoming a radical archive, locating the sub-narratives and counter-hegemonic voices, anticipating and enabling fresh possibilities for collective memory, now needed to be taken. Doing research at the CLGA can often be difficult if you do not know exactly what you're looking for—a lack of subject level access being just one of the legacies of decades of volunteers, each with different ideas about systems of organization. If you know the name of an individual or organization, the catalog works fine, but if you are looking for something hazy like “lesbian organizations in the Sixties,” you're out of luck unless you happen to run into an older volunteer with a mind like a steel trap. Add together the inconsistent organization, the lack of digitized finding aids, and the fact that lesbian history is not as well trodden as gay male history, and you end up with a perfect recipe for losing women's voices into the depths of archival chaos. What was needed was some sort of research tool that could locate these voices.

One of the best access points to the CLGA's collection is Donald W. McLeod's book, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964-1975*.

Although Don McLeod, a longtime volunteer at the archives, developed the book as an independent project, it nonetheless provides a detailed history of the Canadian gay movement, with meticulous citations pointing the user directly to items in



the CLGA's collection. Donald McLeod's book covers the first twelve years of the gay liberation movement in Canada, although he is currently working on a follow-up that will cover 1976 through 1984. The book is organized by date and then by location, with each entry neatly summarizing a small moment in history, followed with a bibliography of sources. The detailed index was completed by hand—a mammoth undertaking—and is accompanied by three appendices that list gay and lesbian organizations, periodicals, and gay bars and clubs.

1975 LESBIAN AND GAY LIBERATION IN CANADA

May • Vancouver • After a 5–5 tie vote, Vancouver City Council rejected a grant proposal for \$9,000 to sponsor a gay education and counselling service, submitted by SEARCH. The proposal had been recommended to Council by the Director of Social Planning and had already passed Council's Standing Committee on Social Services. It was resubmitted but was rejected again on July 22, 1975, by a 6–5 margin.

[“Liberal Councilors Manipulate Gay: Analysis,” *Gay Tide* 3 (August 1975): 3; “SEARCH Grant Refused,” *Gay Tide* 3 (June 1975): 6.]

May 1 • Montréal • A lesbian and gay contingent of about sixty people took part in the annual May Day march for workers' solidarity. The group carried its own banner and placards and was generally well-received by the other marchers. This was by far the largest openly gay contingent in a Montréal demonstration to that time.

[Ron Dayman, “Quebec: Five Years of the Movement,” *Body Politic*, no. 29 (1976–77), p. 22; “Gay May Day Demonstration,” *Gay-Zette* 2 (June 1975): 4; “Gays Join May Day Marchers,” *Gay Times* 1 (May 1975): 3; S. Gupta, “Gay Mai Day” (photos), *Gay-Zette* 1 (June 1975): 3; “May Day! March Draws Gay Solidarity,” *Body Politic*, no. 19 (1975), p. 9.]

May 2 • Toronto • The Wages Due Lesbians collective, part of the International Wages for Housework movement, held a demonstration at Toronto City Hall. Eight women from different backgrounds spoke to a noontime crowd of about 350.

[“Wages for Housework,” *Other Women* 3 (Winter 1975): 6–7, 24; “Wages for Housework Mayday in Toronto: Progress Report,” *Other Women* 3 (Spring/Summer 1975): 22.]

May 6 • Ontario • The Ontario Educational Communications Authority (OECA) (Channel 19) broadcast the documentary *To Be or Not to Be* in its series “The Quiet Furies.” Filmed several years earlier in the United States, *To Be or Not to Be* was seen by some to be homophobic in its depiction of gays as superficial, immature, and living hopeless lives. GATE (Toronto) protested to OECA chairperson Ronald Ide, and demanded that the program be withdrawn and never shown again. Later, members of *The Body Politic*, GATE (Toronto), and GAY met with the head of adult programming for OECA in an attempt to influence programming on gay subjects.

[Michael Riordon, “Education vs. Being Gay,” *Body Politic*, no. 19 (1975), p. 7; M.R. (Michael Riordon), “TV Bomb,” *Gay Rising* 1 (June 1975): 3.]

May 6 • Vancouver • GATE (Vancouver) received a letter from MLA Rosemary Brown (NDP–Vancouver-Burrard), at that time a candidate for the leadership of the federal NDP, expressing her support for the campaign to reinstate John

1964

— • Montréal • Paul Chamberland's book of poetry *L'afficheur hurle* was published by Éditions Parti pris.

[André Gauthier, “L'afficheur hurle,” in *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, ed. Maurice Lemire et al., vol. 4 (1960–69) (Montréal: Fides, 1984), pp. 4–7.]

— • Montréal • Paul Chamberland's book of poetry *Terre Québec* was published by Librairie Déom.

[Maximilien Laroche, “Terre Québec,” in *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, ed. Maurice Lemire et al., vol. 4 (1960–69) (Montréal: Fides, 1984), pp. 868–70.]

— • Montréal • Jean-Paul Pinsonneault's novel *Les terres sèches* was published by Éditions Beauchemin.

[Jacqueline Gourdau, “Les terres sèches,” in *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, ed. Maurice Lemire et al., vol. 4 (1960–69) (Montréal: Fides, 1984), pp. 873–75.]

— • Montréal • Paul Toupin's collection of essays *L'écrivain et son théâtre* was published by Le cercle du livre de France.

[Alonso Le Blanc, “L'écrivain et son théâtre,” in *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, ed. Maurice Lemire et al., vol. 4 (1960–69) (Montréal: Fides, 1984), pp. 191–92.]

— • Toronto • The weekly tabloid newspaper *Tab* (later a bi-weekly renamed *Tab International*) featured a regular, catty news and gossip column by Lady Bessborough entitled “The Gay Set.” This became a prime source of information about happenings around Toronto's gay community, especially at the bars and clubs. Lady Bessborough was succeeded by Duke Gaylord, whose “Gay Set” column ran in *Tab International* as late as June 1985.

[*Tab* collection, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, Toronto.]

— • Toronto • By 1964 several Toronto physique photo studios, such as Frank Borck, Can-Art, Castillo, Jon Foto, C.K., and Harold Wells, provided photographs to the male physique and muscle-building magazines that were

Don McLeod's book matches Kathy Ferguson's goal of using lists to “honor the details—not just their facticity, but the power of their aggregation” (Ferguson) Speaking of her work with the Goldman papers, she says “lists of forgotten women, little-known journals and printers, selectively repressed or celebrated acts of violence challenge not just specific generalizations, but the very act of generalizing itself” (Ferguson). As such, *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964-1975*

seemed like the perfect place to begin. Although the book version was out of print and although it was currently online, it was available only as scanned pdfs on the University of Toronto's website. This digital version was not very accessible, as each chapter existed as a separate pdf, along with the index and appendices, so cross-referencing became almost impossible. Michelle Schwartz approached Constance Crompton, who was working on a text digitization project at Ryerson, encoding *The Yellow Book*, a Victorian periodical, for insight.

Don McLeod's book, is, as it happens, a perfect candidate for XML encoding. By using TEI, the markup specifications of the Text Encoding Initiative, to mark up names, dates, organizations, publications, and geographical coordinates, we could not just search the text, but create timelines, maps, and other visualizations of the data. We hope that the coding would make it possible to see relationships between people, places, and events that might not otherwise be clear, and track the development of the gay liberation movement as it swept across Canada. Most importantly, we hope the markup would allow us to find women's voices, and, like the Lesbian Herstory Archives, change deprivation into plentitude. As we began to code, the text began to expand beyond the original material in Don's book to include other sources, for instance tracking the later histories of gay publications using Alan Miller's painstakingly assembled *Our Own Voices: A Directory of Lesbian and Gay Periodicals, 1890s to 2000s*. The biographical records for individuals and organizations will also have to be expanded using information from other locations.

The Prosopographic Dictionary

Before explaining our expectations of TEI markup's utility in teasing out new meanings from the details of *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964-1975*, we'd like to open with the sort of story that we want the LGLC project to bring to the fore: On January 5th 1974 four women took to stage at the Brunswick Tavern's amateur talent night. The Brunswick, an institution in what was then a working-class neighbourhood that was only just starting to cater to the students at the nearby University of Toronto, was a rowdy place, a cavernous hall lined with wooden tables and benches, with a plywood stage at one end. Pat Murphy, Sue Wells, Adrienne Potts, and Heather Elizabeth sang "I Enjoy Being a Dyke", a lively send up of "I Enjoy Being a Girl." The management asked the four to leave. Despite being surrounded by beer-spitting catcalling patrons, the women refused to depart (Schwabel). They were arrested and, after hours of verbal harassment by Toronto police officers, were charged with creating a disturbance (Warner 40). The incident galvanized the Toronto gay community, whose defense of the Brunswick Four has been likened to the consciousness-raising that followed the Stonewall protests in the United States. The Brunswick Four are a perfect example of women's centrality to the gay liberation movement in Canada, although, as we will discuss shortly representing the Brunswick Four and their influence in TEI also helps dramatize the difficulty of trying to build a taxonomic index of the actors in the movement.

The LGLC, is not solely interested in recovering gay history, it is also responsive the very debates that have shaped that history. The *Lesbian and Gay Liberation In Canada, 1964-1975* project's initial personographic encoding has been motivated by the

1990's clash of those seeking to recuperate lost lesbian and trans histories. The debates may be familiar: in the 1980s there was a rush to claim biological females who lived as men, like surgeon James Barry, music hall performer Annie Hindle, and jazz pianist Billy Tipton, as lesbians who had not had access to "lesbian" as an identity marker. In the following decade the trans community rejoined with competing claims that these historical actors were part of trans history. Judith Halberstam draws on the typical characterization of Tipton to summarize the debate: "Billy Tipton, the jazz musician who lived his life as a man and who married a woman, is often represented within lesbian history as a lesbian woman forced to hide her gender in order to advance within her profession, rather than as a transsexual man living within his chosen gender identity" (Halberstam 293). Fifteen years later, these debates over identities past are far from settled. The LGLC project seeks to intervene, not in the interest of taking sides or settling debates, but in re-imagining how encoding can be used to produce a temporally-sensitive folksonomic articulation of identity that extends beyond the categories represented by the acronym LGBTQ2S.

What ought the conscientious encoder do, in the face of such temporal specificity? The particular actors in the LGLC project, are, of course, far removed from the cultural context that lead Billy Tipton to identify as a man in the forties and fifties, but the women in LGLC dataset give us an opportunity to code for self-identification over time. Encoding practices may offer a new way to comprehend the relationship between gender performance, sexual practice, and the cultural context embedded in identity naming practices.

If we were wary at the start of the project, as you will hear in the discussion that follows an outline of our coding practices, we are all the more wary about encoding identity now. Our initial vision was to develop a method that would produce temporally-specific identity definitions built from collective self-naming, rather than imposing identity definitions from the top down. The result would not be a dictionary definition of what, for example, "dyke" meant in 1974, but rather a list of women whose self-identification produces a definition by example. Our plan is to reconstruct what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick calls *nonce taxonomies*, formed through "the making and unmaking... of hundreds of old and new categorical imaginings... for mapping [a particular social] landscape" (Sedgwick 23). Although interesting in itself, this endeavor will also serve one of our central goals for the project. In order to make sense of our populated, rather than verbal, definitions, users will have to learn about the women in the archive, thus increasing the general knowledge about women's contributions to gay liberation in Canada.

We have been experiencing intense anxiety about categorical constructions made possible, and indeed categorically mandated, by TEI when encoding personographies. Our initial goal, to make women's contributions to the CLGA more visible, was quickly mired in my own desire to have the contributors and materials speak for themselves. In trying to design a prosopographic definition of "dyke" or "queer" am I risking just reproducing labels that actors within the LGFC dataset abhorred in the first place? Is a secondhand account of one person's identification enough to include in our markup? Would we have to comb through the archive, hoping that all the actors would, like the

Brunswick Four, have stood up, mics at the ready, to proclaim their identification at a particular moment and place?

Gender studies and identity border wars have taught us that identity is not static over time, but is contextually specific. As Halberstam has suggested, "many (if not most or even all) sexual and gender identities involve some degree of movement (not free-flowing but very scripted) between bodies, desires, transgressions, and conformities" (Halberstam 290). With all of its promise of contextual markup can TEI, with its rigid iso-defined dates, encode often fleeting and changing thing that is identity? Is it possible to use the non-iso bound @when attribute to encode a more flexible model of time, perhaps a model of time on the y axis that allows for an x axis that shows the influence of location on the espousal of identity. Identity is location specific. Indeed, it is even possible to imagine an actor so completely silenced their identity is closeted out of existence. After all, one of the Brunswick Four reported that she was terrified about losing her job due to the media coverage of her arrest (Schwabel). Where are the closets located in mainstream newspapers, journals, and workplaces, and should we put up digital markers to identify them? Even once we have attended to these concerns, our community-oriented methodology leaves us with particular technological challenges. We have yet to develop a plan for layering and displaying contributions made through Omeka over the text of *Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada: A Selected Annotated Chronology, 1964-1975*, in a way that gives due regard to multiple accounts of the saem event.

Inspired by a community-run archive, we are working to showcase women's contributions to the gay liberation movement. Building on the presentation of physical

objects, we've begun to imagine how to curate digital objects and stories to best reflect CLGA users back to the wider community. At the moment our encoding is meant to reproduce the nonce taxonomies from the late 1960 onwards; however, while our coding practices are fairly simple, short of unearthing the stories of a thousand lesbian karaoke nights, our methodology remains rather fraught. Founded as a community-based project, the boundary between the CLGA's users and creators has never been solid. Through code and curation we plan to find out just who and where the women in the archive are.

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