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PROBATION

Were Among 20 Charged
With Perverted Sex Acts

Gay, lesbian activists
target Maryland law

Suit seeks to overturn
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Headlines from the *Baltimore Sun* and
Annapolis Capital, 1966-1998

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sodomy!

a gay little history zine number eight

by ben

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SODOMY IN MARYLAND:

THE FIRST 400 YEARS



A Cock

+



AN ASS

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People in our community rarely get an opportunity to learn our history, so I want it to be as available as I can make it. I also want to make it fun, a lot of this history is really ridiculous in a sort of melodramatic, campy way.

If you want to get into the nitty-gritty, if you want nuance, and you don't mind reading something a little more serious and dry, you should check out my website at www.mdhistory.gay, it has a few longer, boringer, more academic articles and links to that statewide study. If you like it, please let me know! If you don't, well, you can't say I didn't warn you. It also has info about **a gay little history of Maryland, volume one**, which is a compilation of the first six zines published by Red Emma's Booksellers in Baltimore.

If you have questions about these stories or queer history in general, I can be reached through my history Instagram:

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Ah yes: this is the story of how sodomy was viewed and policed in Maryland since the 1630s. How the definition and purpose of the law changed and **expanded** in the 1910s. How after WWII, **stiffening** backlash to queer visibility led to new forms of repression and allowed the **long arm** of the law to **insert** itself **deeper** and **deeper** into the most **intimate** parts of queer Marylanders' lives.

But it's also a story of how, as the law was **bearing down** on them, Maryland's queers **pushed back on it**, and **came together** in solidarity. And, at the end, it's a warning: the law can still **cum** for us in new forms, and we need organizations willing to give **full-throated** support to Maryland's sodomites regardless of how respectable they are.

OK, I think that's about as many double entendres as I can jam into one zine. I mean, I can only milk a joke so much. Sorry. Now we're done.

So, a toast! Here's to 400 years of sodomy in Maryland, and let's raise our glasses, and our sweet, sweet asses, to 400 more! To sodomy!

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by ben egerman with Jamie Grace Alexander September 2026

A note: most of my zines are somewhat adult in content. This one is, uh, more. It's literally all about gay sex. Also, this zine is like 50% sex puns, so if that's not your thing, well, sorry. Don't worry, it's subtle—I try not to cram it down your throat.

It is February 2004, on Winthrop Beach, a small stretch of sand right outside of Boston's airport. Two boys are seated up against a stone retaining wall, shielded from anyone driving by but not the biting wind. They're in high school and only one is out to his parents. Neither knows anywhere else to go. So, deafened by airplanes coming in for a landing, shivering against the cold, they clumsily open one another's pants. Trying to avoid the sand (and failing), they tug at each other for a while before realizing it's just too cold and unpleasant for either of them to get off.

A few months later: two boys are fumbling for a condom behind the bushes of a suburban park. Beside them is a now-empty bottle of wine one stole from his parents to give them the courage to go "all

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the way." But it isn't courage that they're lacking, and it definitely isn't enthusiasm. It's lube. One thought getting a lubricated condom meant you didn't need to. After a lot of trying and positioning to no avail, they sober up and drive home disappointed.

If you guessed that I was gratuitously telling you about my first two sexual encounters to introduce this zine and establish myself as a bone-a fide sodomite, you're correct. It's wild to think these were some of the most important and exciting moments in my life at the time. It's also wild, given how deeply unpleasant both were, that I ever wanted to have sex again instead of taking a vow of chastity and becoming a monk.

Wilder still: what we were doing had only been decriminalized in our state two years earlier. Not the public part—that was still illegal. I'm talking about consensual gay sex of any kind. Because their state's final sodomy law had only been struck down in 2002.

Many states retained active sodomy laws until a push to challenge them in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Maryland was one, with its laws ruled unenforceable in two rulings in 1998 and 1999 in the lawsuit *Williams v. Glendening*. A few years later in 2003, the Supreme Court

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look for whatever tools they can find to clear their jurisdictions of people they don't like. We should keep taking those tools away when we can. Bad laws for sure, but we should take other things out of the toolbox. Like funding. And weapons. And legal protections. Because the more power we give to racist, sexist, homophobic & transphobic bullies, the more likely it is that they will abuse it.

Jamie's story shows something else: the importance of independent LGBTQ+ organizations that don't prioritize respectability and are willing to challenge people in power. Freestate isn't unique here: it's a common story of the past few decades that as big gay rights organizations get closer to political power, they become less willing to challenge it, and tend to view community members who make politicians uncomfortable or are too critical as obstacles and problems.

We need LGBTQ+ orgs to be challenging politicians to do more for the community, not stifling community voices to keep politicians comfortable. And that's about the nicest thing I can say about that.

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**MARYLAND
IS FOR
COCKS♥CKERS
(SINCE 2023)**

Maryland Tourism Board, you know how to contact me.

If we move past the obvious tourism potential of the repeal, you might recognize something: the actions of police were already legally sketchy, and prosecutors immediately dropped the charges, probably thinking that they were legally unsustainable. The Harford cops had just lobbied to keep laws long considered unenforceable on the books, got what they wanted, and taken that as permission to get more aggressive. They wanted to shut down a cruising spot and used the tools at their disposal to make their raid. And they knew they would face no consequences for it.

It's good to remove that tool from the toolbox, but don't forget—when police have broad, unchecked power, they'll

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struck laws against consensual sodomy down nationwide when ruling in the case *Lawrence v. Texas*. Before that, these laws had been used extensively by police to target queer people, mostly men, for public and private sexual encounters

But the history is complicated: although some of these laws date back to the colonial period, their meaning and enforcement changed over time and had as much to do with moral panics as legislation. The push to overturn them challenged waves of aggressive enforcement fueled by 80s and 90s conservative backlash to queer visibility and the HIV/AIDS crisis.

The very meaning of “sodomy” changed, too, and “unnatural sex practices” laws were passed to criminalize a wider range of acts, while others focused on soliciting for them in public. And although we generally group these laws together, only a tiny fraction of the many queer people persecuted by police and government in American history were actually charged with sodomy. And, as we'll see at the end, Maryland police were still running old-fashioned sodomy stings as recently as 2021.

It's a long story, and a hard one at times. So strap in (or strap on, if that's your style), hold on tight to your bot-

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ties of VCR tape head cleaner, and hope you prepared yourself enough to be filled with knowledge.

PART 1: KNOWETH THINE

SODOMY LAWES:

From the creation of its charter in 1632, Maryland adopted English Common Law instead of creating its own legal code, seemingly because the Calvert family didn't want to. So Maryland's early sodomites were subject to a 1533 law approved by King Henry VIII (then in between wives one and two), outlawing "the detestable and abominable Vice of Buggery committed with Mankind or Beast" and making it punishable by death.

Does this law define "Buggery"? Of course not! But from the way British and colonial courts applied these laws, buggery and sodomy seem to have been used interchangeably to describe any non-procreative sex act, as well as any sexual activity with an animal, with a child, or between two men.

The legal reality was more complicated. The law was

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CONCLUSION:

And so, three years after instituting a compromise for *no good fucking reason*, the Maryland State Senate and Assembly changed course, sending the repeal to the governor. Wes Moore did the same as his predecessor, leaving it unsigned without vetoing it, allowing it to become law without having to put his name on it.

And that's how in 2023 we finally repealed our "unnatural sex practices law," making it clear that in Maryland, now and in the future, oral sex is the law (yay!).

I think the state's tourism board should make more of this. I have lots of ideas: "Visit Maryland: A Great State to Fellate!" or "Come to Maryland: We can't spell 'legal cunnilingus' without 'U!'" or "Maryland: 36th in Sodomy Decriminalization, First in Fun!"

And sure, Virginia is for Lovers, but how about this?:

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That past political compromise was the reason we had to be there. We were what was compromised. We were going to be the ones charged. Unsurprisingly, we were the only people who cared to finish the job and take out this antiquated law.

On the day of the senate hearing you could feel that history in the marble floors and patterned carpets of the judicial proceedings room. History that hypnotically told you this is how it has always been and this is how it always will be. Imposing what it is to be normal.

I watched my dyke elder wring her hands, attempting drag in the vague shape of a business casual normal woman. Signing her compromises to her girlfriend in the waiting room—the same hands I’ve seen gloved and gleefully fisting, reduced to shakes. She did amazing though, and walked the fine line we have to balance belonging to the “bookstore community”

The bill passed & the law was repealed. Which means gay blowjobs and other unnatural perverted sexual acts are legal in Maryland as of October 1st, 2023. Happy sucking!

Post Script:

Today I work as an expungement paralegal. On the Petition form for Expungement Of a Guilty Disposition, the first

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used almost exclusively in cases involving violent sexual assault, minors, or bestiality. English courts had rejected testimony from anyone who had willingly engaged in sodomy, making it difficult to prosecute consensual sex. But there were other colonies that were more than willing to try.

In general, Maryland and Virginia were far less interested in policing sex than the Puritan colonies in New England. It’s hardly surprising: northeastern colonies were religious communities trying to create model Christian societies, while the Chesapeake colonies were commercial ventures focused on tobacco. The northern colonies were made up of devout families moving together, while Chesapeake growers wanted as many young, able-bodied men as possible to clear land and work the fields.

And that meant that there were a lot of men. Throughout the 1600s, Maryland had between three and six times as many men as women. These men were almost all young and unmarried. Men who would live and work in close quarters together. Working men who washed their lean, muscular bodies in creeks and streams together. Men who would gaze at each other there, unashamed of their nakedness, and walk closer. Men who would watch other men grow hard in their hand, lean close and whisper, “Place

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thine rod within me and promise that thou shall not be gentle." Men who probably caught malaria while getting railed in a creek or stream by one man after another after...

Anyway, where were we? Oh yeah, men. Mmm. So leaders weren't too interested in policing what one book called the Chesapeake colonies' "randy young men." Puritans weren't a fan, with one pastor saying in 1676 that in Maryland, "All notorious vices are committed; so that it has become a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest-house of iniquity." Sounds like fun.

Eventually things changed as the tobacco economy shifted from indentured European labor to enslaved African people, and as the rest of Maryland's economy grew, the gender imbalance evened out, while the law became increasingly racialized and focused on enforcing and preserving slavery.

After the Revolutionary War, Maryland politicians decided it was time for a brand-new, good ol' fashioned 'Murican sodomy law, finalized in 1793. It removed the death penalty (wow, progress!) ...for free people and indentured servants, instead allowing county courts to sen-

his squadron of med school interns, & speaking of Bush River Video Store, which had been framed through his testimony as an "innocent bookstore". I informed him & his staff that Bush River isn't a bookstore by any common meaning of that word. That we can't have the voices of the men arrested represented because they definitely prefer to be anonymous-but there are many people of the "bookstore community" who need this law changed & who can speak on behalf of those arrested.

I had only been a part of the "bookstore community" for a couple years at that point but I knew enough to know who to Paul Revere: Leatherpeople-elders, titleholders & friends from across the state. All the people with enough clout to get buy-in from others and spread the word that unless something is done, we'd be next. I made a Facebook group chat & names poured in until it was thirty people. Many people were too lavender-scared to lose their government jobs. Like with most groupchats, others just lurked. Only two people in addition to myself went to speak out against the law.

A butch elder, Glenda, who was mentored in community based political organizing and leather/kink concepts and skills by Louise Parker Kelly, writer of the often-cited bible for our small community of local queer historians, LGBT Baltimore. As well as, my friend and former Freestate coworker Ian, the only other black trans person, or young person for that matter, who was down.

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In 2020, Freestate Justice got Section 3-321 of the Maryland Code, criminalizing "sodomy" repealed but left the following part Section 3-322, on "unnatural & perverted sexual practices" as a political compromise.

Legislators assured us nobody would be charged with this very old law.

To everyone and no one's surprise, they were wrong.

A couple years later, I was working in legislative advocacy at Freestate Justice, but there was no appetite among my coworkers to continue the work past the finish line, even with the recent arrests at Bush River. I was discouraged from pursuing the bill and speaking about how it applied to our community, I was told we should appear squeaky clean as the best strategy for tolerance. Particularly, I was told not to involve the kink community, even though many of those elders had been part of past iterations of Freestate advocacy, including the referendum to pass gay marriage. But I knew this bill staying on the books was a critical threat to queer sex spaces.

So, when I spoke to the bill's sponsor, Delegate Moon, I had to use coded language. I remember sitting around the table in his office with

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tence sodomites to up to seven years of hard labor maintaining county roads or "repairing and cleaning the streets and basin of Baltimore-town." For enslaved people, punishment was doubled, or the court could sentence them to death. Because yeah, America.

Again, the law didn't define sodomy. It also doesn't seem to have been enforced much, if the condition of Baltimore's streets and harbor are any indication. When it was, cases once again involved sexual assault of younger men, women, or children.

In 1810, Maryland made history as the very first state after independence to conduct a sodomy trial (We're #1! We're #1!). *Davis v. State* concerned a man accused of sexually assaulting another man. His lawyer argued that no Maryland law defined sodomy and that the charges didn't describe the act well enough for his client to defend himself. Maryland's highest court was unmoved, writing that "the crime of sodomy is too well known to be misunderstood, and too disgusting to be defined further than merely mentioning it."

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PART 2: SEXUAL PERVERSION:

HOMO-SEXUALITY

Maryland's sex laws held until the 1910s, when a state commission scandalized Marylanders with reports of widespread "perversion" and urged lawmakers to act.

At the time, states across the country were creating vice commissions in response to moral panics about sex trafficking, or as it was known then, wait for it, "white slavery." The story was that wealthy foreigners, especially Jews, were drugging and abducting nice white Christian girls who had just moved to cities and forcing them to work in brothels catering to the perverted desires of working-class immigrants. Later this list of perverts was expanded to include

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News From the Front in the War On Blowjob

In May 2021, 4 men were arrested for "unnatural & perverted sexual practices" at the Bush River Video Store in Harford County, 15 minutes from my old high school. They were booked but their charges were dropped, ending the case disposition in a nolle prosequi.

Bush River is pretty seedy, I've been there with my old high school friends just to get poppers. No surprise we got looked at weirdly but at least we didn't get carded. Its main attraction is some back rooms to "watch porn" aka suck dick & get back on the highway. Patrons include truckers, no-profile Grindrers, Sniffies, old coots, & closeted dads.

Harford County NEMBY's had been complaining to the police about them for some time so it wasn't shocking when the police showed up, but that was the first time arrests were made. What was shocking was that they used the "unnatural & perverted" statute, probably because they couldn't find anything else to charge them

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Well, kind of.

A bill removing the sodomy and oral sex bans passed the State Assembly, but the Senate amended it to affect only the sodomy law, leaving the oral sex laws on the books. The house agreed. Larry Hogan intentionally left it unsigned without vetoing it, allowing it to become law without having to put his name on it.

And just like that, Maryland became the 36th state to fully decriminalize consensual sodomy. We're 36th! We're 36th!

Legislative leaders in Annapolis congratulated themselves on a compromise that preserved an oppressive sex law that multiple deep red states had no issue repealing. Prosecutors and police supported keeping it, saying they wanted vague and open-ended sex-crime laws available as tools. Why not give them to them? They never get anything nice.

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Yeah, this wasn't actually a reflection of reality. It channeled anxieties about single women living and working in cities, changing attitudes toward sex, and demographic shifts caused by immigration and the Great Migration, and used them all to explain away the very visible presence of sex work in American cities.

That didn't stop conspiracy theorists from laying the legal basis for human-trafficking laws. Prosecutions for trafficking are still done under an amended version of the Mann Act, formally titled "The White-Slave Traffic Act of 1910."

Maryland's Vice Commission formed in 1913 and issued its reports in 1915 and 1916. Its main focus was heterosexual prostitution: whether to shut down brothels or create a regulated red-light district, plus the ever-important hunt for "white slavery."

After two years interviewing hundreds of sex workers, di-ents, madams, police, and others, the commission admitted it hadn't found a single case that resembled these conspiracies. Baltimore's brothels were local businesses, not run by a cabal of wealthy foreigners, and the women who worked there generally said they had chosen the work themselves,

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often because brothels were among the safer forms of sex work.

The commissioners were shocked by how common sex work was in Baltimore and that nothing matched their warped expectations. They were even more shocked to discover that the most common paid sex act wasn't sex as they understood it (heterosexual, missionary, silent, unsatisfying, through a hole in the sheet). No, it was what they called "perversion," specifically "perversion involving the mouth." That's right, they had discovered oral sex.

But that wasn't their only startling discovery. In a short appendix, they write about finding a brand new kind of man in Mt. Vernon, who referred to each other playfully with women's names and supposedly held "disgusting sexual orgies." The commission described their mannerisms and sexual behavior in a section titled "SEXUAL PERVERSION - (Homo-Sexuality)." In a great tribute to lesbian erasure, it ended with three paragraphs noting that female Homo-Sexual Perverts existed too, but the commission never bothered investigating them.

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But these battles hadn't just happened in courtrooms. Following a disastrous 1986 Supreme Court ruling upholding sodomy laws in Georgia, activists had gone on the offensive, decrying it as a massive intrusion into the privacy of everyone living in America and finding a good amount of success. Newspapers ran cartoons depicting judges going door to door to inspect people's bedrooms. Queers success-

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Which is why in 1916 Maryland politicians passed a first-in-the-nation law against “unnatural sexual practices,” making Maryland the very first state to outlaw oral sex. We're #1! We're #1! We're—oh wait.

In 1920, they followed it with “soliciting for lewdness,” a new crime covering requests to engage in unnatural sex practices.

Most prosecutions under these new laws were heterosexual. After all, they were created to suppress heterosexual sex work. Queers were only one of several secondary targets. That changed after WWII, when moral panics around homosexuality led to increasing surveillance and entrapment of men cruising for sex in sodomy stings.

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PART 3: THE AGE OF THE SODOMY STING:

It is April 1966, somewhere around Loch Raven Reservoir, ten miles north of downtown Baltimore. Maryland's crime rate has doubled in six years. Social conflict is high, the suburbs are booming, stretching public budgets thin. Baltimore County police had to carefully consider where to spend their limited resources.

One way they used those resources was to have officers drill a hole in the ceiling of a remote restroom, hide in the crawlspace above, and watch men jerk each other off late at night, then arrest them. Officers were stationed there throughout the month, ultimately leading to 20 arrests. It was one of Maryland's first major sodomy stings.

Starting in the 1950s, laws around sodomy and "unnatural sex practices" were increasingly applied to queer people. Although still focused on sexual assault, a 1955 study of "homosexual offenders" in Baltimore City showed that consensual sex between men was being prosecuted wherever it happened.

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That made the laws ripe for a legal challenge. In the late 90s, the ACLU, Lambda Legal, and Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (a Boston-based group) coordinated lawsuits across 10 states with similar laws. Among others, GLAD handled Massachusetts (the one that would have applied to 17-year-old Ben's terrible first hookups), the ACLU handled Maryland's *Williams v. Glendening*; Lambda Legal handled *Lawrence v. Texas*, which reached the Supreme Court in 2003.

The Maryland challenge argued that the state used these laws to create a criminal category of people and justify police harassment. The state claimed it never used these laws to target private, consensual sex, but John Doe's experience suggested otherwise. The AACPD spokesman didn't help when he stated that the law made gay sex illegal anywhere, and his department would *absolutely* continue applying the laws to consensual, private sex.

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These operations were openly motivated by bias. Cops invoked fears around HIV/AIDS and pedophilia, with one spokesman saying, "if you don't keep them in check, it's only a matter of time before a kid gets grabbed." They always mentioned "concerned parents" worried about the visible presence of gay men. They often targeted parks closest to Baltimore and stated their goal was to keep the city's gay community from encroaching on *their* county.

It was boundary-setting: deciding who the law protected and who it bound in Anne Arundel County. It was part of a familiar playbook: aggressive and selective enforcement to clear public spaces, scaremongering about threats to the (white, heterosexual) family, and a politics of containment of undesirables to urban settings.

Now, by this time, Maryland's legal environment had changed. Courts ruled in the 70s that the state had an interest in promoting marriage, so sex laws couldn't apply to married couples. In 1990, a judge extended that pro-

practices for jerking each other off in a park at night. One received six months; the other was committed indefinitely to an asylum. Semi-public, two white homos were arrested for a blow job in a car and received probation. And most disturbingly in private, two Black men were arrested and sentenced for sodomy for "living together as man and wife." One got probation; the other spent three months in jail.

Race clearly played a big part. The study's author noted that the law was applied most severely to interracial pairings. Black queers received harsher sentences and made up about 40% of homosexual arrests despite being 25% of the city's population. Interestingly, Baltimore's enforcement was less racialized than most cities: in Washington, DC, upwards of 70% of defendants were Black. Why was this? Good fucking question.

This was all during the Lavender Scare, a postwar moral panic around homosexuality. Starting in 1950, US House and Senate committees coordinated a campaign to identify and expel queer federal employees, arguing they were "security risks" susceptible to blackmail by communist spies. But by the 1960s, things were shifting as homosex-

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A sodomy sting was a coordinated operation between police, prosecutors, and newspapers to arrest men looking for sex with other men, charge them with vague but serious sex crimes, and publish their names, charges, ages, and full addresses the next day. Journalists would highlight if anyone worked in government or education.

Outing these men, exposing them to danger, getting them fired, forcing them to move, and ruining their lives wasn't a byproduct, it was the goal. This was seen as a civic virtue and community vigilance by people who considered homosexuals a threat to American society.

Officials understood early on that a certain portion of targets would die by suicide; Maryland had known cases in every decade from the 1950s through the 1990s. Two of the twenty men arrested in 1966 took their lives shortly after their release.

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But most examples weren't much better. One cop was routinely sent to parks around BWI known for cruising. He'd lounge shirtless on the hood of his car and invite men to get into it to blow him or jerk off together. If they did, they were cuffed and taken to jail for soliciting lewdness and unnatural sex practices.

But their biggest target was always 20/20 Video. Men would be approached by an undercover police officer who would express interest and would continue until the target either agreed to fool around with the undercover cop or physically touched him in any way. When they agreed, they would be charged with soliciting lewdness, sodomy, and/or unnatural sex practices; taking out their own dick meant indecent exposure; if they touched the cop in any way, that was assaulting an officer and fourth-degree sexual assault. One man demanded to see identification from the undercover cop and tried to warn other patrons

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very least, we can enjoy the image of a month of homophobic cops hiding in a cramped loft above a men's room, staring through a peephole, forced to take detailed notes as strangers jerk each other off. Did they have to describe each dick and decide which one was prettiest? Did they note, "suspect one employs an overhanded grip and a surprisingly delicate touch despite his strong forearms and rough, calloused hands"? Did suspect two grab suspect one's nipple as he came? Did any of the cops look through the peephole, think about his marriage, and sigh, "God, I wish we had what they had"?

Now, most queer people were never arrested for sodomy or unnatural sex practices, but these statutes criminalized queer people throughout the legal system and exposed them to police harassment and malicious prosecution.

Stories abounded of queer people reporting an assault or robbery by a partner only to be arrested. A bigoted neighbor or jealous ex could report an unrelated crime at a gay couple's home and expect police to arrest them (this is what happened in *Lawrence v. Texas*). Police also used sodomy charges to blackmail and extort visibly queer people for money and sometimes sexual favors. Leslie Feinberg's *Stone Butch Blues* gives a particularly brutal description of

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This was especially dear for queer parents, most often lesbian mothers. It was extremely rare for queer women to be arrested for unnatural sex practices, but the 1916 law meant that any sexually active lesbian was committing a crime. Starting in the late 1960s and 70s, family courts used this as a pretext to deny custody to women who came out as lesbians and lived with partners. After all, ex-husbands could ask: would a court really put children in a house of admitted habitual criminals? Gay fathers faced similar attacks, often portrayed as sex-crazed, mentally ill, and likely pedophiles. The conservative white men of the judiciary were more than happy to take queer parents' children away.

This became a major issue for Maryland's queer communities. Groups like the Gay and Married Men's Association and later Families With Pride built support networks and advocated for queer parents.

Generally, the calculus changed post-Stonewall. As attitudes toward sex grew more liberal and queer activists organized against police harassment, many cities backed away from aggressive enforcement, including Baltimore.

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Maryland wasn't one of them, rejecting several attempts. To quote State Delegate Joseph Owens (D-Montgomery County) in 1977: "there will be no legalisation of homosexuals here."

We were, however, leaders in one more respect. In 1973, Maryland passed a first-in-the-nation law defining marriage exclusively as the union of a man and a woman. We're #1! We're #1! We're—sigh.

PART 4: OPERATION SPRING CLEAN

It's 1997 at 2020 Books and Video, a sex shop with viewing booths and dark spaces in back where men cruise for sex. But one man is too squeamish for public action. When another man asks him to join him in back, he declines. When he suggests going to his car, the man says no. Instead, he says, let's go back to my place.

The other man agrees and they drive over. But as the man walks from his car toward his own home, he is intercepted by members of

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