LGBTQ AMERICA

A THEME STUDY OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, AND QUEER HISTORY

Edited by Megan E. Springgate
LGBTQ America:
A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History

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Links (URLs) to websites referenced in this document were accurate at the time of publication.
This theme study is dedicated to all lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans and to our friends, allies, and families of choice past, present, and future.
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The chapters in the Introduction section give context to the rest of the theme study. This is the context for the contexts, as it were. This section gives background on the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and provides a broad social history of LGBTQ in America. The ideas in this introductory section will resonate throughout the rest of the theme study.
WHY LGBTQ HISTORIC SITES MATTER

Mark Meinke

Start here. We exist.

We, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer people (LGBTQ), all the subdivisions of the sexual and gender minority community, exist in America. The places we remember and hold dear, those places that have become part of our identity, also exist. Still. Many of them.

In the 1960s no lesbian, gay man, bisexual, transgender person, or queer gave a thought to their sites and actions being historic. They were struggling for their basic rights, explicitly denied them by their government and the larger society around them. As Dr. Franklin E. Kameny, often called the “father” of LGBTQ civil rights, asserted with some asperity in his 1960 petition for a *writ of certiorari* to the Supreme Court “Probably [homosexuals] most dominant characteristic is their utter heterogeneity. Despite [the] common popular stereotype of a homosexual which would have him discernible at once by appearance, mannerisms and other
characteristics, these people run the gamut of physical type, of intellectual ability and inclination and of emotional make-up ... ”¹ (Figure 1).

In making his case for tolerance and an end to restrictions on homosexuals’ rights, Kameny was in this instance most focused on discrimination in employment, though in addressing his own particular case, he noted that those rights were the equal of every American’s rights and should not be legally, logically, constitutionally, or on any other basis diminished (Figure 2). The depth of Kameny’s asperity was plumbed in his outraged summary of the government’s case for oppressing homosexuals’ employment in a resonant indictment of federal oppression:

“Respondents’ [US Civil Service Commission, Army Mapping Service, the US Army] case is rotten to the core. Respondents’ case had been shown to fail factually and to be defective procedurally; the regulations upon which they base their case have been shown to be legally faulty, invalid, and unconstitutional; their policies have been shown to be improperly discriminatory,

¹ Franklin Edward Kameny v. Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army et al., Petition for a Writ of Certiorari, no. 676, US Supreme Court, 1960, 36. Kameny’s writ was intended to win him a Supreme Court review of his appeal against dismissal from the Army Mapping Service on grounds of homosexuality in 1957. It did not. However, in articulating his arguments against US government repression of homosexuals and its ban on employment of homosexuals, Kameny set forth clearly many of the arguments and goals that would characterize his activism over the next fifty-one years. The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence is located in the northwestern quadrant of Washington, DC. It was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.
irrational and unreasonable, inconsistent and against the general welfare, and unconstitutional. ...

The government’s regulations, policies, practices and procedures, as applied in the instant case to petitioner specifically, and as applied to homosexuals generally, are a stench in the nostrils of decent people, an offense against morality, an abandonment of reason, an affront to human dignity, an improper restraint upon proper freedom and liberty, a disgrace to any civilized society, and a violation of all that this nation stands for. These policies, practices, procedures, and regulation have gone too long unquestioned, and too long unexamined by the courts.”

A community of people, identical to other American citizens except for the objects of their affections, was united by its shared oppression and came together in the 1960s and the 1970s not to “fit in” but to build their own community for themselves within the enveloping context of American society. Absorbed in asserting and demanding recognition not merely of their existence but of their rights as citizens under the law and the constitution, LGBTQ people created, and continue to create, communities

2 Ibid., 58-59.
across the nation to provide for their needs, provide support when needed, and more recently to celebrate their shared past and historic sites.

Many of those sites have historically been in economically marginal urban areas because such locations were less likely to attract negative attention from neighboring businesses and because they were cheaper for LGBTQ persons and organizations not particularly blessed with affluence. Also unique to LGBTQ communities is the predominance for much of the twentieth century of bars and taverns as significant sites for which community members feel affection and pride. Because of the difficulty in finding and meeting others like themselves, as well as because of society’s restriction of places for LGBTQ persons to freely associate, bars across the country became sites of first acquaintance.

It was often at these bars that community organizations started, held fundraisers, held meetings and special events, and connected with their LGBTQ public. In the 1960s, it was at social spaces such as bars that some of the most egregiously violent encounters between LGBTQ people and American society’s enforcers occurred. The now iconic Stonewall riots of June 1969 were preceded by similar occurrences at Compton’s Cafeteria in San Francisco in 1966 and the Black Cat Tavern riot in Los Angeles in 1967.3

The years immediately following the events at Stonewall saw a nationwide eruption of social spaces and places across the country. In the exuberance of the early post-Stonewall activism, LGBTQ community centers, health centers, churches, bookstores, collectives, and communes sprouted across the nation’s urban centers and were joined by service and support organizations that used these spaces for meeting and

3 The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. The riots spilled out into the adjacent streets and Christopher Park. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999, designated an NHL on February 16, 2000, and designated the Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016. Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat Tavern was at 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.
socializing. As Dr. Kameny noted in his petition to the Supreme Court, LGBTQ communities reflected the heterogeneity of heterosexual society.

In Washington, DC, the 1970s saw the number of social spaces, places in which LGBTQ persons could meet and socialize, quadruple over the previous decade to 130 places, predominantly bars and restaurants but also including service organizations and stores (Figure 3). Many were notably short-lived but others became integral to the community, providing meeting space and social services. Guides to gay tolerant and gay friendly bars, restaurants, and hotels appeared in the 1950s. In the 50s and 60s they carried explicit warnings about entrapment and potential violence.

By the 1970s, guides such as John Francis Hunter's The Gay Insider USA (1972) offered ratings of the ambience of social spaces as well as
directories of activist organizations and publications on a state-by-state basis. Washington DC’s Washington Area Gay Community Council published a directory for the LGBTQ community in 1975 that identified the places and organizations that had appeared over the past half-decade. In the case of DC, *Just Us* listed three political organizations, four religious organizations, three women’s organizations, six gay support services, six publications, two student groups, two Levi and leather organizations, seven drag organizations, eighteen bars, two cinemas, four shops, and two bathhouses (Figure 4). Of these sixty some organizations, just under twenty had existed before 1970 and only four of them had existed before 1960. Like Topsy, the LGBTQ communities just grew and grew in the 1970s.

This is the corpus from which the LGBTQ communities across the nation are now beginning to identify the sites that to them are historic, iconic, and deserving of preservation.

**Our Sites Matter**

In the fifty years since the National Historic Preservation Act was enacted, a number of communities have been underrepresented in the National Park Service’s list of National Historic Landmarks (NHL) and
National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Among these are the Latina/Latino, African American, Women’s, Asian and Pacific Islander, Native American, and LGBTQ communities. As of this writing, LGBTQ sites make up .08 percent of the 2,500 NHLs and .005 percent of the more than 90,000 places on the NRHP.

For most of the fifty years since the preservation act was enacted, the LGBTQ community itself was still emerging from hiding and learning to value itself so it is little surprise that it was not actively identifying and preserving the places it loved. But members of the communities across the United States knew and remembered the places that were significant in their emerging history.

The National Park Service (NPS) at the end of May 2014 launched an LGBTQ Heritage Initiative to underscore the value and increase the representation of LGBTQ sites on both the NHL and the NRHP lists. That initiative is one of the spurs to historic preservation of queer sites. Among the most immediate results of the NPS initiative is the creation of a national map of LGBTQ places across the country.4

The Queer Value of LGBTQ Historic Preservation and Landmarks

Place and identity are inextricably linked. Tom Mayes, of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and recipient of the Rome Prize in historic preservation and conservation, in a series of insightful blogs for the Preservation Leadership Forum notes that “... the continued presence of old places helps us know who we are, and who we may become in the

4 See Google Maps website, “Places with LGBTQ Heritage,” https://www.google.com/maps/@41.6232728,-112.8587991,3z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m2!6m1!1szUo4VdCIQUrM.kpjJD0fu37MU
future.”⁵ In the LGBTQ community, where discovering who one is and accepting that identity is often challenged by the surrounding society, discovering tangible physical echoes of that identity can underpin queer youth’s self-acceptance and reinforce a sense of belonging.

There is much evidence that preserving historic sites brings intangible benefits of identity, continuity, and community.⁶ Most people enjoy old places. We usually visit those historic places that connect with our own identity or sense of self in some way. We see ourselves in them and feel our identity reinforced. Those in the LGBTQ community haven’t been able to do that.

If you’re lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or any of the other iterations of the gender and sexual minorities, you have probably spent your youth trying to understand yourself, to accept your same sex affections or your gender identity, in the face of a society that is only just beginning to accept that such affections and identities exist and are acceptable. Youth today have many more options for support than I did. Fifty years ago, in my youth in a small midwestern town, there was no support and there were no sources of information. There were no queer-identified places that would reassure me that I was not a hateful anomaly.

There are an admittedly tiny number of LGBTQ-identified sites across the United States—so far. But the NPS LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and state and local historic landmark programs are growing the inventory. The LGBTQ press is increasingly covering the issue of disappearing sites and celebrating those that are being recognized and preserved. Media coverage helps to spread the news that there are queer historic sites that are considered worth saving.


⁶ Ibid. Mayes offers fourteen answers to the query “Why do old places matter?” – continuity; memory; individual identity; civic, state, national, and universal identity; beauty; history; architecture; sacred; creativity; learning; sustainability; ancestors; community; and economics.
Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter

What difference does it make to a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer person if the Bayard Rustin home is recognized as a landmark? Or the Kameny home, or the Furies Collective, or the Gerber house? Why would it make a difference if Harvey Milk’s camera shop was a national landmark or that docents at Walt Whitman’s Camden, New Jersey home mention that he was homosexual and had a long-running relationship with Peter Doyle in Washington, DC?\(^7\)

As Mayes points out, places become symbols of and rallying points for identity—both personal and community. These historic sites help LGBTQ people find a context for themselves. They become points for remembering our past and for staging celebrations within our community and which also educate those who aren’t part of our community. They provide a perspective peopled with ancestors whose existence re-affirms our existence and whose recognition underpins a feeling that if they matter, we matter.

A young member of the LGBTQ community can find an echo of self in the Stonewall Inn or the Bayard Rustin home in New York City, the Gerber house in Chicago, the Franklin E. Kameny home or the lesbian Furies Collective in Washington, DC, the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco, or the James Merrill home in Connecticut. These are just the beginning. To a young African American working through a discovery that their affections and gender identity may not be those of the social majority, knowing that an African American as prominent and central to the social justice and civil rights movements as Bayard Rustin was a gay man can be very reassuring. To a young woman, the knowledge that the lesbian Furies Collective had been declared a landmark offers a similar feeling of affirmation (Figure 5). Unfortunately, there are not yet sites to recognize

\(^7\) The Bayard Rustin Residence is located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City. It was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016. The Furies Collective in the southeastern quadrant of DC was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 2016. Walt Whitman’s Home at 330 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, New Jersey was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962.
transgender, bisexual, or all of the heterogeneity of the LGBTQ community. They will come.

With an epidemic of suicide among bullied LGBTQ youth, every celebration of queer history can be counted an instance of asserting the normality and acceptability of who they are. A 2004 study of Minnesota ninth and twelfth graders showed that 50 percent of those with gay, lesbian, or bisexual orientations had contemplated suicide and 37.4 percent had attempted suicide.\(^8\) Groups responding to this epidemic include The Trevor Project which focuses on prevention of suicide and History UnErased which develops curricula and provides training for bringing LGBTQ history to K-12 classrooms nationwide.\(^9\) Preservation and landmarking of queer historic sites underpin projects to improve self-esteem and self-confidence among queer youth. If knowing about a historic queer site keeps one queer youth alive, landmarking and preservation is a victory.

Since the burden and the expense of identifying and landmarking LGBTQ historic sites, and the expense of preservation, falls locally, there is necessarily a lag between identifying and landmarking. The process of landmarking, whether at the local, state, or federal level, is a lengthy one


\(^9\) The Trevor Project is online at [http://www.trevorproject.org](http://www.trevorproject.org); History UnErased is online at [http://www.historyunerased.com](http://www.historyunerased.com).
Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter

and one not given to quick results. But the rewards of achieving landmark status or of preventing another beloved community site from disappearing under the developer’s wrecking ball are great. The more that local LGBTQ community members develop the prosaic skills of writing landmark nominations, the more they will create visible memories of LGBTQ struggles and achievements.

LGBTQ historic preservation and landmarking appear poised to slowly build achievements. Regional and local preservation groups are drawing communities’ attention to their built heritage. A preservation movement which has seemed largely bicoastal is beginning to fill in as more archival and historical groups emerge in LGBTQ towns and cities of the heartland. A national LGBTQ forum for landmarking and preservation, the Rainbow Heritage Network, has appeared within the last two years to provide resources and a forum for discussion.¹⁰

Benefits Beyond the LGBTQ Community

Several attempts have been made by non-LGBTQ preservation groups to spark preservation projects in the queer community over the past couple of decades from a clear sense that the LGBTQ community can be a successful partner with these groups and within the national preservation community.

In launching its LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, the NPS demonstrated its commitment to including the story of the LGBTQ civil rights struggle and the creation of LGBTQ communities as part of the national story. The NPS is working to ensure the inclusion of the underrepresented communities’ landmarks within the ninety thousand plus sites on the NRHP and the twenty-five hundred NHLs.

¹⁰ The Rainbow Heritage Network is online at http://rainbowheritagenetwork.org.
Mark Meinke

As these sites become part of the national fabric of historic structures, the wider community will be exposed to the LGBTQ heritage and will learn of its celebrated persons and events. Since Stonewall was first landmarked by New York State and initially placed on the NRHP and later designated an NHL, the site has become iconic not just to those whose experiences it tells but to a national community increasingly aware of those experiences.

In this writer’s experience, while developing Washington DC’s Rainbow History Project, the wider community responded with interest and alacrity to opportunities to see, understand, and question the history and heritage of the local LGBTQ community. Eight walking tours developed to give an overview of LGBTQ heritage and presence in local neighborhoods and within special communities (e.g. African American, drag, women) proved particularly popular with non-LGBTQ walkers. On most of the tours, at least 60 percent of the walkers were not members of the LGBTQ community.¹¹

Landmarking and preserving LGBTQ sites gives the nation as a whole a chance to celebrate a community that has historically been vilified and repressed.

The LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study

In 2016, as part of its LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, the NPS published this multi-chapter theme study of the national LGBTQ experience, the first federal government account of this community. This theme study aspires to tell enough of the story of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) experience in the United States to be an accurate and useful framework for assessing the significance of historic sites in that experience.

¹¹ The Rainbow History Project is online at http://rainbowhistory.org.
It is, in its essence, a snapshot of where the LGBTQ community is now, how it has gotten to now, and what the important considerations are in understanding that evolution. As with snapshots in general, the image may omit some surrounding detail. It provides the best available guidance to the significant events, institutions, persons, and narrative of the LGBTQ communities within the LGBTQ community in general. It provides invaluable guidance to the NPS as it evaluates nominations for the NRHP and for the list of NHLs. The theme study is also intended to be a reference for state, tribal, and local historic preservation offices as they consider LGBTQ site nominations. It can be used to “provide opportunities for the public to learn about the nation’s heritage through interpretive and educational programs.” Although extensive, there are aspects of LGBTQ history that are not individually addressed, such as the experience of women, or of the drag and leather communities. But they are included within the other chapters of the theme study.

This is after all, a snapshot of a community’s heritage. The test is whether we recognize ourselves in it. And whether others recognize us as well.
INTRODUCTION TO THE LGBTQ HERITAGE INITIATIVE
THEME STUDY

Megan E. Springate

*Invisibility is a dangerous and painful condition... When those who have power to name and to socially construct reality choose to not see you or hear you... when someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing. Yet you know you exist and others like you, that this is a game with mirrors.*

- Adrienne Rich

The National Park Service (NPS) is committed to telling the stories and histories of all Americans. The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Heritage Initiative is part of this commitment. This theme study, a core component of the initiative, is a starting point for telling

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LGBTQ histories in the NPS, not the end of the process. Included here are a summary history of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative; a review of LGBTQ places on the NRHP and designated NHLs; the importance of the initiative; the organization of the document; methodological considerations; and a conclusion of important themes and connecting threads.

The Initiative

Among its many programs, the NPS manages both the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmarks (NHL). These programs recognize those places across the United States and its territories and possessions that have significance to our history; they are “America’s Memory Keepers.” Both of these programs are place-based; buildings or structures or archeological sites must still exist with some level of integrity; to paraphrase Gertrude Stein, there needs to be a “there” there. The NRHP recognizes historical significance at local, state, and national levels while the NHL program acknowledges exceptional national significance. The NRHP and NHL programs are not designed to be memorial or intangible heritage programs, and many other ways of commemorating truly lost history and heritage exist.

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2 Gertrude Stein’s family moved to Oakland in 1880, when she was six, living in a home near this location. She lived in Oakland until 1891, and left at age seventeen for Baltimore, after her parents passed away. Nearly forty-five years later, Stein returned to Oakland on a lecture tour in 1935. By that time, the city had urbanized. When she left, Oakland was a pastoral place, her house on a ten-acre property surrounded by farms and orchards. When she returned, it had been replaced by dozens of houses, and her childhood home was no longer there. When she published Everybody’s Autobiography in 1937, saying there was “no there there,” it was written to reflect her pain about her home being gone and the land around it being completely changed. See Matt Werner, “Gertrude Stein’s Oakland,” Huffington Post, July 31, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/matt-werner/oakland-in-popular-memory_b_1560227.html. Stein had several relationships with women during her lifetime, the best known of which was with Alice B. Toklas.

3 Other means include oral histories, archives, walking tours, signage through municipal or other heritage programs, online exhibits, etc. See also Jessie McClurg, Alternative Forms of Historic Designation: A Study of Neighborhood Conservation Districts in the United States (Minneapolis, MN: Neighborhood Partnerships for Community Research, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, 2012); National Park Service, National Heritage Areas website, accessed October 27, 2015, http://www.nps.gov/heritageareas; James Michael Buckley and Donna Graves, “Using the Past in the Present: Contemporary Neighborhood Planning and Preservation of Diverse Social and Cultural Histories,” paper presented at the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, Los Angeles, California, November 2015.
In recent years, the NPS has acknowledged that the important histories and stories of many Americans are underrepresented in the NRHP and NHL programs. This lack of representation (and the fact that the NPS is now working to address it) is the result of historical and structural forces in American history and historiography that have foregrounded the elite and powerful in celebrations of the predominantly white men who are popularly perceived as the driving forces behind the exploration, settlement, expansion, and military and political success of the United States. This focus influenced nominations submitted to the NRHP and NHL programs and therefore the types of properties that are represented. It was not until the new social history that began in the 1960s became more widespread in both academia and cultural resource management that historians began to focus on the rich, complex, and important histories of “those of little note”: non-male, non-citizen, non-wealthy, non-Protestant, non-heterosexual, and non-white (and various combinations of these identities). In the last generation or so, this shift in historical focus has resulted in an increase in NRHP and NHL properties representing a broader diversity in American history and heritage, but that increase has been relatively slow.

In late 1999, the US Congress passed the National Park System New Area Study Act of 2000, which instructed the Secretary of the Interior to direct a series of special resource studies, including one focusing on civil rights sites on a multistate level. The resulting Civil Rights Framework was completed in 2002 (rev. 2008) and called for projects addressing the underrepresentation of certain groups in the NRHP and NHL programs, including a specific call for work on LGBTQ heritage (Figure 1). In 2010, NPS staff member Dr. Turkiya L. Lowe contacted State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) across the country regarding lesbian, gay,

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5 See, for example, Howard Zinn, A People's History of the United States (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).  
6 National Park Service, Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2008), iii. In addition to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, there are also the Latino/Latina Heritage Initiative, the Women's History Initiative, and the Asian American-Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative, see National Park Service, Your Story is America's Story.
biomedical, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) places that might be eligible for inclusion on the NRHP or as NHLs. Dr. Lowe received several replies; the project stalled when she took on different responsibilities within the NPS.

Beginning in 2012, I began working with Dr. Barbara Little at the NPS, communicating with LGBTQ community members and preservationists to identify places across the country with LGBTQ history and heritage. Plotting these places on a map, it quickly became clear that the map was a powerful, yet intuitive, tool demonstrating both the broad geographic breadth of LGBTQ history in the United States (a history not confined to the “Gay Meccas” of New York City and San Francisco) and the “gaps” where additional research and community outreach was needed. The map has become a main product and tool of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, providing people a way to see themselves and their communities represented, as well as a starting point for LGBTQ researchers.7

In early 2014, the Gill Foundation made a generous donation to the National Park Foundation to fund the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative.8 At the

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7 National Park Service website, “Places with LGBTQ Heritage,” http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/LGBTHistory/places.html
8 The Gill Foundation provides grants to further LGBTQ civil rights in the United States, see http://gillfoundation.org.
end of May 2014, Secretary of the Interior Sally Jewell stood outside Stonewall in New York City and announced the initiative,⁹ and on June 10, 2014 a panel of over twenty LGBTQ scholars convened in Washington, DC, to kick off the initiative, define its goals, and discuss the direction and content of its core product: the theme study.¹⁰ Theme studies provide an historic context that allows the identification of significant properties in the context of the NRHP and NHL programs, provide important background information for other research efforts, and can be used to educate the public both directly and by shaping interpretation at historic sites.

As a result of the work done at the scholars’ roundtable, the name of the initiative was changed from the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Heritage Initiative to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Heritage Initiative. Recognizing that the word queer is charged, and uncomfortable to some, the scholars wanted

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¹⁰ Members of the scholars’ roundtable were: Dr. Katie Batza, Assistant Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, University of Kansas; Dr. Eliza Byard, Executive Director, Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN); Ms. Paloma Bolasny, Historian, NPS Cultural Resources Office of Outreach and Coordinator, Cultural Resources Diversity Internship Program; Dr. Drew Bourn, Historian and Archivist, Stanford University; Dr. Nan Alamilla Boyd, Professor of Women and Gender Studies, San Francisco State University; Dr. Julio Capó, Jr., Assistant Professor, Department of History and the Commonwealth Honors College, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Dr. John D’Emilio, Professor (retired) of Gender & Women’s Studies and History, University of Illinois at Chicago; Dr. Petra L. Doan, Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, Florida State University; Dr. Jen Jack Gieseking, Postdoctoral Fellow in New Media & Data Visualization in the Digital and Computational Studies Initiative, Bowdoin College (now Assistant Professor of Public Humanities in American Studies, Trinity College, CT); Dr. Christina B. Hanhardt, Associate Professor, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland at College Park; Dr. Jamie Jacobs, NPS Historian, Historic American Buildings Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program; Mr. Gerard Koskovich, Historian, San Francisco, CA; Dr. Barbara Little, Program Manager, NPS Cultural Resources Office of Outreach; Dr. Alexandra Lord, Branch Chief, NPS National Historic Landmarks Program (now Chair and Curator, Medicine and Science Division, National Museum of American History, DC); Ms. Paula Martinac, Writer and Editor, NC; Mr. Mark Meinke, Community Preservationist and Historian, VA; Dr. La Shonda Mims, Lecturer, Towson University; Mr. Stephen Morris, Chief, NPS Office of International Affairs; Dr. Pat O’Brien, Cultural Resource Specialist, NPS Intermountain Region Desert Southwest Ecosystems Studies Unit; Dr. Will Roscoe, Community Organizer and Historian, San Francisco, CA; Ms. Megan Springate, PhD candidate, University of Maryland at College Park and Prime Consultant to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative; Ms. Shayne Watson, Architectural Historian, Oakland, CA. This scholars’ round table was chaired by Dr. Stephen Pitti, Director, Ethnicity, Race, and Migration Program and Professor, American Studies and History, Yale University and Chair of the National Historic Landmarks Committee of the National Park System Advisory Board.
to acknowledge the importance of groups like Queer Nation who influenced the trajectory of both LGBTQ and national histories in part through their reclaiming of the word, as well as to have the initiative be explicitly inclusive of those who, for personal or political reasons, do not feel represented by lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender identifiers.11 Since early 2014, the four goals of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative have been:

- To increase the number of listings of LGBTQ-associated properties in the National Register of Historic Places, including amendments to current listings;

- To identify, document, and nominate LGBTQ-associated National Historic Landmarks, including amendments to current designations;

- To engage scholars and community members who work to identify, research, and tell the stories of LGBTQ associated properties and to preserve and nominate properties for appropriate levels of recognition; and

- To encourage national park units, National Heritage Areas, and other affiliated areas to interpret associated LGBTQ stories.

While the NPS LGBTQ Heritage Initiative is the first of its kind worldwide, it is no longer the only nationwide project dedicated to documenting LGBTQ history and heritage. A similar project in England called “Pride of Place” was announced in May 2015.12

11 Although the name of this initiative is the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, it is intended to encompass a broader umbrella of gender and sexual minorities, including asexual and intersex individuals, those questioning their identities, and others.

LGBTQ Places Currently Listed on the NRHP and NHL

As of June 2016, a total of ten places are currently listed on the NRHP or have been designated as NHLs because of their association with LGBTQ history. One of these (Stonewall) has been designated a National Monument—the first NPS unit to explicitly recognize LGBTQ history. Other places included in the NRHP and NHL programs reflect LGBTQ histories, but those histories were not included in the nominations. The ten currently listed places are:

- **Stonewall, New York City, New York** (listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; designated as Stonewall National Monument—an NPS unit—on June 24, 2016). On June 28, 1969, in what was a continuation of a long pattern of harassment of LGBTQ bars, police once again raided the Stonewall Inn. Frustrated, patrons fought back against the police, spilling out into the street and nearby Christopher Park. The Stonewall Rebellion (also known as Stonewall Riots, and Stonewall) continued through July 3, 1969. While not the first example of resistance by LGBTQ people in the face of police harassment, Stonewall is recognized as a turning point in the modern LGBTQ rights movement. Pride celebrations are held in June every year in commemoration of Stonewall.\(^{13}\)

- **Henry Gerber House, Chicago, Illinois** (designated an NHL on June 19, 2015). From his home, Henry Gerber co-founded and ran the Society for Human Rights, the first gay rights society in the United States. The organization lasted from 1924 to 1925, and was suspended after an episode of police harassment. Afterwards,  

\(^{13}\) The Stonewall nomination encompasses the Stonewall Inn at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York as well as the surrounding streets and park. David Carter, Andrew Scott Dolkart, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, National Historic Landmark Nomination: Stonewall (Waterford, NY: New York Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, 1999).
Gerber continued to work for LGBTQ rights, and influenced homophile activists of the 1950s and 1960s, including Harry Hay, one of the founders of the Mattachine Society.14

- Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House, Washington, DC (listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011). Known as “the father of gay activism,” Dr. Franklin E. Kameny was one of the leaders of a newly militant activism in the gay civil rights movement of the 1960s, and was co-founder of the Mattachine Society in DC. From his home in Northwest Washington, DC, Kameny fought for civil rights in federal employment, criminal law, and security clearance cases, and for removing homosexuality from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual.*15

- Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York (listed on the NRHP on June 4, 2013). The Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre played a significant role in shaping Cherry Grove into “America’s First Gay and Lesbian Town.” The Community House was the home of the Cherry Grove Property Owners Association, organized in 1944 to serve the needs of this beach colony. The theater was added to the building in 1948. The association influenced the community’s development, and actively facilitated the integration of LGBTQ residents into the town’s governing affairs. LGBTQ individuals and groups shaped Cherry Grove’s geography in a period in which that could not be said for any other city or town in the United States.16


15 The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence is located in northwestern DC. Mark Meinke, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence (Washington, DC: District of Columbia State Historic Preservation Office, 2006).

Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study

- James Merrill House, Stonington, Connecticut (listed on the NRHP on August 28, 2013; Figure 2). For over forty years, beginning in 1956, this was the home of renowned US poet James Ingram Merrill and his partner, writer and author David Noyes Jackson. While the significance of the property is not specifically for its association with LGBTQ history and heritage, the nomination is very clear about the relationship between Merrill and Jackson and how that relationship and their lives in Stonington, Connecticut affected Merrill’s poetry.17

- Carrington House, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York (listed on the NRHP on January 8, 2014). This location, the home of theater director Frank Carrington, is an important link to the development of Fire Island as an LGBTQ town. Carrington introduced many of his theater and other artistic acquaintances and colleagues (many of whom were LGBTQ) to Fire Island during his residency here,

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from 1927 through 1969. He also rented the house out to artists, including Truman Capote, who wrote *Breakfast at Tiffany’s* here (Figure 3).19

- Bayard Rustin Residence, New York City, New York (listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016). Bayard Rustin moved into this apartment in 1962 and lived here until his death in 1987. His residency included the time he spent organizing the August 28, 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. He also helped to create and lead the A. Philip Randolph Institute, an important trade union organization, as well as various other human rights and advocacy organizations and causes in the United States and throughout the world. In 1977, Rustin’s partner Walter Naegle, moved into the apartment with him.21

- Julius, New York City, New York (added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016). On April 21, 1966 members of New York’s Mattachine Society executed a “sip-in.” Their intent was to challenge liquor

laws that prevented gays and lesbians from being served alcohol. Approaching the bar at Julius, they announced they were homosexual and ordered drinks; the bartender refused service. As a result, the law was changed, leading to the growth of legitimate gay bars and the development of bars as important social spaces for urban LGBTQ people.²²

- Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), San Juan, Puerto Rico (added to the NRHP on May 1, 2016). In 1975 and 1976, this was the meeting location for the first gay and lesbian organization established in Puerto Rico (Figure 4). Established in 1974, inspired by the Stonewall Riots and their aftermath, Comunidad de Orgullo Gay pioneered the use of organized resistance against heterosexual social dominance in Puerto Rico. This included political action, educational programs,

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²² Julius is located at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. Andrew S. Dolkart with Amada Davis, Ken Lustbader, and Jay Shockley, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Julius’ (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016).
public protest, and assistance to the local LGBTQ community. They disbanded in 1976.23

- The Furies Collective House, Washington, DC (added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016). This was the operational center of the Furies, a lesbian feminist separatist collective from 1971 to 1973. The work done by the Furies here, including publication of their newspaper, The Furies, was instrumental in creating and shaping the ideas that continue to underpin lesbian feminism and lesbian separatism.24

In addition to the above-mentioned LGBTQ places, the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco, California has been federally recognized through an NPS program (designated a National Memorial in 1996), though it is not included in either the NRHP or NHL programs.

The Importance of Being Seen

In 1995, urban historian and architect Dolores Hayden hoped for an expansive social history of place that included ethnicity and gender, and that would be transformative, “redefining the mainstream experience, and making visible some of its forgotten parts.”25 In the increasing use of tax dollars to fund historic preservation, Hayden finds a mandate for a more expansive history; quoting Gans (1975) she writes that “private citizens are of course entitled to save their own past, but when preservation becomes a public act, supported with public funds, it must attend to

everyone’s past.”

This includes the past of LGBTQ people, whose lives and experiences have in some cases, been actively erased (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Concrete marker at the grave of the first child to die of AIDS in New York City, Hart Island Potter’s Field, New York City. The inscription reads: “SC [special child] B1 [baby 1] 1985.” Frightened by the disease, the city buried hundreds of individuals who died of AIDS in unmarked mass graves here during the early years of the epidemic. The Hart Island Project is working to identify them and their burial locations and to raise awareness of the Hart Island burials. Hart Island Potter’s Field remains in use. Photo copyright 1992 Joel Sternfeld, courtesy of The Hart Island Project.

The importance of being seen and included in the nation’s “official” histories represented by NRHP and NHL listings cannot be overstated. Studies show that when positive portrayal of populations (including LGBTQ, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinas/Latinos) are excluded from popular narratives (like cultural sites, television shows, museum exhibits, and textbooks), members of those groups suffer lower self-esteem. Seeing oneself as part of the story, as part of history, is

26 Hayden, Power of Place, 3. Emphasis added.
important to feeling like part of a society—a sense of cultural belonging.\(^{28}\) The inclusion of “minorities” in popular narratives also helps increase awareness and acceptance of diversity in broader society.\(^{29}\) Finally (paraphrasing Adrienne Rich), it is impossible to understand what heterosexuality means—both historically and individually—when people are kept ignorant of “the presence, the existence, the actuality” of those who have centered their emotional, social, commercial, and erotic lives on those of the same sex (including bisexuals). This ignorance, anxiety, and silence—the absence of whole populations—is disempowering for all who seek to better represent the past and all who want to imagine a better future.\(^{30}\)

Despite the importance of diversity, the predominant narrative of LGBTQ history is largely white, cis-gendered homosexual male, middle-class, and urban.\(^{31}\) People of color, transgender people, those who identify as bisexual, the poor, and rural folks are most often excluded, despite the critical role they have played. This erasure reflects in part the structural privilege that comes with being white, male, and middle class in our society; it is also a function of respectability politics:

Those with nothing to lose are often those who push hardest when the time comes; this was true at the Stonewall riots, and continued into the gay liberation movement, much to the dismay of those whose idea of ‘gay liberation’ was either inclusion in straight society or managed revolution. These forces of gay normativity and revolutionary management marginalized, erased,

\(^{29}\) GLSEN, *Teaching Respect*.
\(^{30}\) Rich, *Invisibility*, 200-201. This sentiment also applies to genders beyond male and female, including intersex, genderqueer, third- and fourth-genders, etc.
\(^{31}\) Being cis-gendered means that a person’s gender identity and expression matches the gender they were assigned at birth.
and silenced those whose bodies, histories, or ethical orientations refused dominant models.32

The tensions between a politics of respectability and a more radical approach have long been factors in American LGBTQ civil rights struggles. Respectability politics is a concept first articulated by Higginbotham in the context of black civil rights work of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.33 It describes the self-policing of marginalized groups to enforce social values compatible with mainstream values (assimilation) as a strategy for acceptance, rather than challenging the mainstream’s failure to embrace difference. Respectability politics in the struggle for LGBTQ rights is well summarized by a quote attributed to a French organization: “public hostility to homosexuals resulted largely from their outrageous and promiscuous behaviour; homophiles would win the good opinion of the public and the authorities by showing themselves to be discreet, dignified, virtuous and respectable.”34 This kind of respectability politics—that gays and lesbians (predominantly portrayed as white and middle class, rarely bisexuals, even more rarely transgender people, and hardly ever queers) are just like straight people—has, as well as existing in other guises, underpinned many of the arguments for same-sex marriage.35 This is in contrast to more radical actions for LGBTQ civil rights that insist, despite differences from mainstream society, LGBTQ people deserve, and will demand, their civil rights. This more radical stance is perhaps best reflected in a slogan of Queer Nation, “We’re Here, We’re Queer, Get Used


to It.” The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, a group that uses religious iconography and symbolism to critique and expose bigotry and hypocrisy is also an example of a more radical approach.

Several LGBTQ authors have addressed the cost of assimilationist respectability politics. Urvashi Vaid argues that this forgetting, this exclusion or leaving behind of those who do not “fit in” does not lead to actual advances in LGBTQ rights. True social transformation, she argues, is inclusive, and does not leave people out. O’Neill writes that “anyone who values diversity of thought and tolerance of dissent should find the sweeping consensus on gay marriage terrifying.”

Heather Love describes this respectability politics as deeply coercive and discriminatory, an irony perhaps of the bleakest kind when wielded in the pursuit of civil rights:

“Advances,” such as gay marriage and the increasing media visibility of well-heeled gays and lesbians threatens to obscure the continuing denigration and dismissal of queer existence....Given the new opportunities available to some gays and lesbians, the temptation is to forget—to forget the outrages and humiliations of gay and lesbian history and to ignore the ongoing suffering of those not borne up by the rising tide of gay normalization—is stronger than ever.

“Respectability, not flamboyance,” writes Melinda Chateauvert, “is the central theme of the recent focus on marriage equality, full military service, and an end to employment discrimination against gay men and lesbians.”

Entrenched almost invisibly in how we remember ourselves, respectability politics have shaped and colored much of what has been remembered as LGBTQ history. For example, narratives of the Stonewall Riots often celebrate the defiance of gays (and sometimes lesbians) in the face of police harassment without mentioning that many of the bar’s patrons, like Sylvia Ray Rivera and Marsha P. (“Pay It No Mind”) Johnson, were people of color, hustlers, transgender people, and sex workers.\(^\text{41}\) Rivera and Johnson were “not respectable queers, nor were they poster-children for the modern image of ‘gay’ or ‘transgender.’” They were poor, gender-variant women of color, street-based sex workers, with confrontational, revolutionary politics and, in contrast to the often abstract and traditionally political activists... focused on the immediate concerns of the most oppressed gay populations.”\(^\text{42}\)

They were heavily involved throughout their lives advocating for LGBTQ rights and with the group, Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which offered a nightly refuge for LGBTQ street youth (Figure 6). This project, funded largely by the adults hustling, was a pioneering effort in providing outreach, resources, and safety for homeless transgender and queer youth.\(^\text{43}\) This history of Stonewall is, more often than not, left out

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\(^{41}\) Chateauvert, Sex Workers, 9.

\(^{42}\) Nothin, Queens Against Society, 6.

\(^{43}\) For two or three years during the 1970s, Sylvia Rivera and Marsha Johnson rented a building at 213 East 2nd Street, New York City (now demolished). Known colloquially as STAR House, they ran it as a safe place for homeless, queer, and transgender kids to live: “Marsha and I just decided it was time to help each other and help our other kids. We fed people and clothed people. We kept the building going. We went out and hustled the streets. We paid the rent. We didn’t want the kids out in the
and silenced out of a conviction that “heroes must be noble and virtuous, worthy of acceptance by straight America.” Likewise, the importance of individuals like Chuck Renslow have been excluded from the dominant narrative of LGBTQ history, likely due to his identity as a leatherman. There is no question, however, that Renslow has played a significant role in LGBTQ history, both in Chicago and on a national stage. He has been deeply invested in Chicago’s gay community from the middle of the twentieth century as the owner of numerous businesses including bars and publications. He has also been heavily involved in politics, both in Chicago under mayors beginning with Richard J. Daley, and nationally, running as a delegate for Senator Ted Kennedy’s 1980 presidential run just three years after dancing with another man at an inaugural ball for Jimmy Carter in 1977. He was involved with Kinsey’s sex research, battled Anita Bryant, and fought censorship and entrapment.

Historians and community activists increasingly insist that more complete and diverse LGBTQ histories must be recorded and told, and they are doing the work. One of the key philosophies underlying the theme study is that a full understanding of American LGBTQ history is only possible when the histories of the multiple communities that fall under the LGBTQ umbrella—and not just the “respectable” histories and not just the white, largely male, homosexual, middle-class, and urban histories—are included.

Structure of the Theme Study

Initially presented with a draft structure for the theme study that was organized chronologically (pre-Stonewall, Stonewall to AIDS, AIDS and streets hustling.” See Sylvia Rivera, “‘I’m Glad I was in the Stonewall Riot’: An interview with Sylvia Rivera,” in Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, 13.

44 Chateauvert, Sex Workers, 9-10.
45 Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).
46 See, for example, William Leap, ed., Public Sex / Gay Space (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Patrick Moore, Beyond Shame: Reclaiming the Abandoned History of Radical Gay Sexuality (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); Love, Feeling Backward; Susan Stryker, Transgender History (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008); Baim and Keehnen, Leatherman; Vaid, Irresistible Revolution; and Chateauvert, Sex Workers.
Activism), the scholars’ panel quickly rejected this as reflecting only a very particular LGBTQ history: one predominantly white, male, middle-class, and urban. The current structure and content of the theme study reflects this critique. It is now organized into six sections: Introduction, Preserving LGBTQ History, Inclusive Stories, Themes, Places, and Legacy. Subject matter experts were commissioned to write chapters, and each chapter was peer reviewed by two additional subject matter experts. A description of each section and the chapters in each are as follows:

**Introduction:** This section gives background on the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, which has goals of both interpretation and preservation. It defines terms used throughout the theme study and provides a broad social history of LGBTQ in America. The ideas in this introductory section resonate throughout the rest of the theme study.

- Prologue: Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter, Mark Meinke
- Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study, Megan E. Springate
- Introduction to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) History in the United States, Leisa Meyer and Helis Sikk

**Preserving LGBTQ History:** The chapters in this section provide a history of archival and architectural preservation of LGBTQ history in the United States. An archeological context for LGBTQ sites looks forward, providing a new avenue for preservation and interpretation. This LGBTQ history may remain hidden just under the ground surface, even when buildings and structures have been demolished.

- The History of Queer History: One Hundred Years of the Search for Shared Heritage, Gerard Koskovich
- The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage, Gail Dubrow
- LGBTQ Archeological Context, Megan E. Springate

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47 For a list of peer reviewers for the theme study, see the front matter.
Inclusive Stories: Although scholars of LGBTQ history have generally been inclusive of women, the working classes, and gender-nonconforming people, the narrative that is found in mainstream media and that many people think of when they think of LGBTQ history is overwhelmingly white, middle-class, male, and has been focused on urban communities. While these are important histories, they do not present a full picture of LGBTQ history. To include other communities, we asked the authors to look beyond the more well-known stories. Inclusion within each chapter, however, isn’t enough to describe the geographic, economic, legal, and other cultural factors that shaped these diverse histories. Therefore, we commissioned chapters providing broad historical contexts for two spirit, transgender, Latino/a, African American, Asian American/Pacific Islander, and bisexual communities. These chapters, read in concert with the chapter on intersectionality, serve as examples of rich, multi-faceted narrative within a fuller history of the United States.

- A Note About Intersectionality, Megan E. Springate
- Making Bisexuals Visible, Loraine Hutchins
- Sexual and Gender Diversity in Native America and the Pacific Islands, Will Roscoe
- Transgender History in the US and the Places that Matter, Susan Stryker
- Breathing Fire: Remembering Asian Pacific American Activism in Queer History, Amy Sueyoshi
- Latina/o Gender and Sexuality, Deena J. González and Ellie D. Hernández
- “Where We Could Be Ourselves”: African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter, Jeffrey Harris

Themes: The chapters in this section explore different aspects of LGBTQ history and heritage, tying them to specific places across the country. They include examinations of LGBTQ community, civil rights, the law, health, art and artists, commerce, the military, sports and leisure, and sex, love, and relationships.
Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study

- LGBTQ Spaces and Places, Jen Jack Gieseking
- Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation, Christina B. Hanhardt
- LGBTQ Business and Commerce, David K. Johnson
- Sex, Love, and Relationships, Tracy Baim
- Struggles and Triumphs in LGBTQ Civil Rights, Megan E. Springate
- Historical Landmarks and Landscapes of LGBTQ Law, Marc Stein
- LGBTQ Military Service, Steve Estes
- Struggles in Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in US History, Drew Bourn
- LGBTQ and Health, Katie Batza
- LGBTQ Art and Artists, Tara Burk
- LGBTQ Sport and Leisure, Katherine Schweighofer

Places: This section looks at LGBTQ history and heritage at specific locations across the United States. While the authors present a broad LGBTQ American history in the Introduction section, these chapters provide examples of the regional, and often quite different, histories across the country. New York City and San Francisco are often considered the epicenters of LGBTQ experience. However, there are queer histories across the nation, like in Chicago, Miami, and Reno.

- San Francisco: Placing LGBTQ Histories in the City by the Bay, Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson
- Preservation of LGBTQ Historic & Cultural Sites – A New York City Perspective, Jay Shockley
- Locating Miami’s Queer History, Julio Capó, Jr.
- Queerest Little City in the World: LGBTQ Reno, John Jeffrey Auer IV
- Chicago: Queer Histories at the Crossroads of America, Jessica Herczeg-Konecny

Legacy: People engage with history in many ways beyond just reading books and reports. This section begins with an introduction to nominating
LGBTQ places to the NRHP and to the NHL program. Chapters on interpreting LGBTQ history at historic sites and teaching LGBTQ history in the classroom complete this section. These chapters are designed to be resources for those writing and reviewing nominations. They can also be used by those who do applied history work and who wish to incorporate LGBTQ history and heritage into their programs, lessons, exhibits, and courses. This can include NPS interpreters, museum staff, teachers, professors, and parents.

- Noming LGBTQ Places to the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks: An Introduction, Megan E. Springate and Caridad de la Vega
- Interpreting LGBTQ Historic Sites, Susan Ferentinos
- Teaching LGBTQ History and Heritage, Leila J. Rupp

Methodological Approaches

The content and format of the theme study are shaped by a number of methodological approaches. These include: modeling the telling of LGBTQ history using place; a commitment to community, including being accessible and useful and in

48 License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/63894475@N00/335576385/. This shop was located at 39 Baltimore Avenue, Rehoboth Beach, Delaware.
Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study

recognizing many LGBTQ communities in the United States; the importance of multiple voices; the need to acknowledge and respect identity; and the inclusion of difficult and painful histories.

Telling LGBTQ History Using Place

Many theme studies use already-listed NHL and NRHP places to illustrate how properties associated with a particular theme can meet the various NHL and NRHP requirements. Because there are only ten NRHP and NHL properties listed for their association with LGBTQ history and heritage, this approach is not effective. Instead, this theme study will model the different ways that LGBTQ history can be told using places and provide general information about linking those histories to the NRHP and NHL programs.

Throughout the theme study, specific places associated with LGBTQ history, people, and events are mentioned. These include private residences, bars, shops, hospitals, government agencies, hotels, parks, bridges, beaches, community centers, and more (Figures 7 and 8). Where possible, street addresses for these places are given; if they are listed on the NR or as NHLs, national monuments, or NPS units, the dates of listing and/or founding are also given. In the case of places that are currently private

Figure 8: The Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Greater Cincinnati in Cincinnati, Ohio. They transitioned from this physical location to being a virtual, on-line center only in November 2013. Photo by Jere Keys, 2008.49

49 License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LGBT_community_center_Northside.jpg. The community center was located at 4119 Hamilton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
residences, neighborhood-level location information is given instead of street addresses in order to protect the privacy of occupants.

Commitment to Community

The LGBTQ Heritage Initiative has been largely a grassroots effort, with community support and contributions which have fueled the project and very often changed its trajectory. It is important that the products of the Initiative be as useful as possible for the communities they are meant to serve. These communities include heritage professionals, LGBTQ community members and activists, teachers, interpreters, and other members of the public. Authors of the theme study have been asked to write for a general public, and to avoid (or define) technical terms that are not commonly used. While most theme studies have focused solely on the NHL program, the LGBTQ theme study has a broader scope and incorporates information about the National Register of Historic Places so that individuals can think about nominating places important to their local and state communities, as well as those with national NRHP or NHL eligibility. A commitment to community also recognizes that under the LGBTQ umbrella are many communities, defined by many different overlapping and intersectional identities (ethnicity, geographic location, gender, socioeconomic status, etc.). In order to provide the most complete context possible, the often very divergent histories of these many communities must be acknowledged and included.

Multiple Voices

Gumbo ya-ya, or multiple voices talking at once, is an approach to “doing” intersectionality proposed by historian Elsa Barkley Brown. With many voices speaking at once, she argues, the whole becomes accessible.

[50] See Springate (Intersectionality; this volume) for a more in-depth discussion of this topic.
[51] See, for example, Love, Feeling Backward; Vaid, Irresistible Revolution; and Susan Ferentinos, Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).
This commitment to multiple voices is reflected in the number of subjects of chapters in the theme study (much broader than in many other theme studies); and in the diversity of authors and peer reviewers involved with the study. This approach also reflects that there is no single “right” way to connect history to place in the context of the NRHP and NHL programs. While there are certain content and formatting requirements for the nomination forms, there are many ways to meet these requirements. For instance, some theme study authors are historians, who start with history and incorporate place in their chapters; others are geographers who start with place and incorporate history; others are community preservationists and activists who start with the communities and incorporate history and place; and others, including journalists and museum professionals bring their own expertise and approach to the process. Authors and peer reviewers, who have self-identified as white, Latina/o, African American, mixed-race, Asian American, lesbian, gay, queer, heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, transgender, male, female, and genderqueer, include graduate students, early- and later-career professors from a number of types of post-secondary institutions, community activists, journalists, and others. This “gumbo ya-ya” of multiple voices and perspectives helps ensure that multiple communities are included in the theme study. This approach should also remind potential nomination authors that advanced degrees are not required in order to do this work.

Identity

A key issue faced by the theme study was ensuring that how people identified themselves in the past (and identify themselves in the present) is honored. The concept of identity itself is historically situated; our modern ideas of identity have their roots in specific historical processes including state formation, colonialism, capitalism, and individualism. Identity are complex, personal and collective, created through experiences and imposed from without. They are about both being

different than or alienated from some people, and about belonging with, or the same as, others. Hayden argues that place nurtures profound cultural belonging. "Identity," she writes, “is intimately tied to memory: both our personal memories (where we have come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbors, fellow workers, and ... communities.” This shared history can convey a sense of belonging and of civic identity. Heather Love envisions the relationship between identity and the past and memory as a conversation: “Identity accounts not only for the shape of the past but also for the feelings that we continue to have about that past. It is in large part because we recognize figures, emotions, and images from the past as like ourselves that we feel their effects so powerfully.” The power of place and memory in the formation and validation of identities make it important to ensure that the diversity of the LGBTQ communities are represented by place in the context of the theme study.

Just as ideas of what identity is and how it is connected to place come out of various historical processes, the terms gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer have meaning only within certain historic and cultural contexts. While it is tempting to “claim”

![Figure 9: In orbit high above the Earth, America’s first female astronaut, Sally K. Ride, monitors flight status from the pilot’s chair of the Space Shuttle Challenger, June 1983. It was not until Ride’s death in 2012 that her 27-year long relationship with another woman, Tam O’Shaughnessy, was made public. NASA photo.](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ride_on_the_Flight_Deck_-_GPN-2000-001083.jpg)

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55 Hayden, *Power of Place*.
Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study

individuals out of the past to validate contemporary LGBTQ identities, it is inappropriate to foist an identity on those who did not or could not identify themselves in the same way. For example, a woman in the early twentieth century could not have identified herself as a lesbian (first used as a noun in 1925), just as someone before the late twentieth century would not have identified using the word transgender (first appearing in 1988). The word homosexual itself was not used until the turn of the twentieth century when it was introduced and defined by the psychological profession. Some people, regardless of time period, also lived their lives quietly, hidden, or closeted, not identifying publicly as anything other than heterosexual or avoiding discussion of their private lives (Figure 9). There may also be no “proof” if same-gender individuals were intimate with each other, and our only evidence may be rumor and willful silences when being out was dangerous:

This hearsay evidence—inadmissible in court, unacceptable to some historians—is essential to the recuperation of queer histories. The age-old squelching of our words and desires can be replicated when we adhere to ill-suited and unbending standards of historical methodology.

To address those cases where people have not self-identified, theme study authors have been instructed to write about the relationships important in their subjects’ lives. While intimate behavior is often seen as a defining characteristic, many people knew they were (and are) gay, lesbian, bisexual, or queer before, or without ever, having sexual relationships. In addition, there may be no specific documentary evidence of intimate relationships. One such example is Jane Addams, founder of

60 See, for example, Love, Feeling Backward.
Addams and her staff and volunteers did groundbreaking work from the late nineteenth century, helping immigrant and working-class communities at a time when there were very few, if any, public social services. Whether Addams identified as a homosexual is debated; what is clear, however, is that her relationships with Ellen Gates Starr and Mary Rozet Smith were primary in her life. There is no evidence of her relationships with men, and she never married.65

Difficult Histories

Difficult LGBTQ histories include discussions about sex and sexuality, as well as painful topics like violence. Although not explicit, the theme study does include places associated with LGBTQ sex and intimacy. Where the very definition of what it means to be lesbian, gay, queer, or bisexual is based on attraction and intimacy, sex cannot be ignored. Places of public or illicit sex, like cruising grounds, bathhouses,
and clubs are included throughout; when it was illegal to be intimate with someone of the same gender, communities were made and found at the margins (Figure 10).

Much of LGBTQ history is difficult; it is about loss, violence, struggle, and failure. Love argues that a consistently affirmative bias—of overcoming, of progress, of improvement—is problematic, because it does not allow for the paradox of transformative criticism: that dreams for the future are founded on a history of suffering. Despite this critique of a linear, triumphalist history, “we are in practice deeply committed to the notion of progress; despite our reservations, we just cannot stop dreaming of a better life for queer people.”\textsuperscript{67} And yet, it is by letting go of this story of progress in queer lives, that we can disrupt the present and change the future.\textsuperscript{68} A representative historic context of LGBTQ America must include the failures, the setbacks, and the heartbreaking events. This includes places and events associated with anti-LGBTQ movements and actions.

Conclusion

Readers of this theme study will find threads in the following chapters that tie together the theme study as a whole. These include mention of common places—like the Henry Gerber House and Stonewall—in different contexts and from different perspectives. The factors and effects of community coalescence, stability, and dissipation, gentrification, and the importance of property ownership in these processes are forefront in chapters on LGBTQ Spaces and Places and Creating Community, but also thread through several other chapters. Broad concepts of identity and intersectionality, inclusion/exclusion, power, private vs. public, and revolution vs. assimilation play out across chapters, as does the role of LGBTQ history in the broader American experience.

\textsuperscript{67} Love, \textit{Feeling Backward}, 3.
\textsuperscript{68} Love, \textit{Feeling Backward}, 1, 45.
Megan E. Springate

This theme study makes clear that LGBTQ histories and experiences are dynamic and central to the US past. A thriving body of scholarly literature and impressive and energetic preservation and oral history efforts in communities across the country have shown that we are not what we once were, nor have we ever been all the same. History, culture, and community shape gender and sexuality and how they interact. For instance, the Native American concept of two-spirit is distinct from western systems of gender and sexuality, and before the medicalization of sexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, people had intimate relations with others of the same sex (homosexual acts) and were not considered to be gay (homosexual identity). Today, by contrast, people often identify as gay, lesbian, queer, or bisexual before having intimate relationships.

This theme study aims to connect the complex, multivocal histories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people to American history more broadly, and to places and landscapes in particular. These connections form the framework for identifying, protecting, and interpreting places with LGBTQ histories, and for (where appropriate) nominating properties to the NRHP and as NHLs. As a framework for this work, the completion of this theme study is only a beginning to increasing LGBTQ representation in NPS programs and American history more broadly.
LGBTQ history is an umbrella term that captures the stories of strength and struggle of diverse individuals, cultures, and communities that have been considered nonnormative. It is the story of movements for justice; of moments of triumph and tragedy that people we now understand as LGBTQ have faced—and often continue to face—in our daily lives and demands for the right to live, love, and thrive. In the modern era, sexual and gender identity and expression have been central to Americans’ understandings of themselves, even as they have been shaped by—and shaped—broader structures and attitudes toward race, ethnicity, class, gender, ability, and nation. Major institutions, governments, courts, churches,
and the medical profession, have served as arbiters, constructing normative and deviant sexualities and providing criteria for defining the range within each. Therefore, the study of LGBTQ history is the study of cultural, social, and legal politics in the United States and who and what is considered part of the “national” narrative. The National Park Service LGBTQ Heritage Initiative is a testament to how America’s perception of who is seen as part of the nation has shifted over the years.

LGBTQ history is an exercise in recovery and reclamation. Doing and telling this history involves finding traces of LGBTQ people in texts (letters, diaries, novels, popular print culture, court and police records), visual material (art, public spectacle), oral narratives and traditions, and the built environment (buildings, parks, homes as meeting places, churches). Exploring the spaces and places that LGBTQ people might have occupied, frequented, or passed through requires excavation—asking new questions of conventional sources of information. At the same time, we must also not presume that such traces are hidden, and look also to the vibrantly visible mentions overlooked by some and dismissed by others who have gone before us. As historian George Chauncey, Jr. remarked when asked why no one had ever discussed the vibrantly visible “gay world” he found in late nineteenth/early twentieth-century New York City: “Until recently, nobody looked for it.”¹ A strong necessity remains today to continue to excavate and look for such worlds and the historically specific sexual and gendered communities, systems, meanings, discourses, and realities they contained. In this process of seeing and excavation, we must keep at bay presumptions that LGBTQ people have been visible and publicly accepted only recently. We cannot frame our history in an oversimplified narrative of movement from repression to liberation.

Early Moments and Findings

How do we uncover a history of individuals, peoples, and identities that shifted over time and were often distinct to place and cultures? How does one talk about sexual and gender identity and expression cross-culturally during periods when such identities and expressions were not necessarily linked to particular kinds of sexual or gendered behavior? How does one talk about sexual or gender identity cross-culturally or during periods in which the meanings of such behaviors were dramatically different than what they are today? Can we only use the terms “lesbian” or “gay” or “bisexual” or “transgender” or “queer” to describe those who would not have had such labels in the past? If so, should we only assign them to those people whom we can “prove” had same-sex sexual contact with one another, who explicitly spoke of their sexual desire for individuals of the same sex, or who explicitly articulated clear choices in relation to gender nonconformity? Or should we broaden our definitions of same-sex sexual categories and gender transgression to encompass multiple kinds of passions between individuals, including intimate same-sex friendships that might or might not have been sexual? Alternatively, should we talk only about lesbian or gay or bisexual or queer sexuality historically when individuals identified themselves explicitly as engaged in same-sex sexual relationships or only at the points when self-conscious cultures formed around shared sexual or gender identities? These are only a few of the many questions that anyone doing LGBTQ history today needs to consider when excavating the pasts of nonnormative identities, cultures, activities, and communities.

Thomas(ine) Hall’s life provides an example of how challenging it is to align LGBTQ “ancestors” with our contemporary understandings of sexual and gender identities, expressions, and categories. Born in 1603 in England and christened female, Hall as a child was trained and worked in sewing and needlework—conventionally feminine tasks for the period. Beginning in the 1620s Hall shifted gender presentation depending on the
circumstances—moving to a masculine gender presentation and going by Thomas to enter military service or to take advantage of work opportunities on the tobacco plantations of Virginia then moving to Thomasine immediately following his military service and when relocating as a female servant to the Plymouth Colony. The fluidity of Hall’s gender presentation and reported intimate encounters with women and men drew the attention of authorities and community members in the small Virginia village where Hall resided. Town leaders detained Hall, who was physically examined first by a group of “leading women” then by a group of “leading men” in the settlement to ascertain Hall’s “true” sex. When no clear consensus emerged from the groups as to which category Hall belonged, the judiciary summoned the servant to the regional court in Jamestown, Virginia, where Hall was sentenced to dress in male and female clothing simultaneously. The court’s verdict marked Hall as always visibly outside of the “male/female” gender binary. What might we take from Thomas(ine)’s story in the twenty-first century? From the available records we could imagine that Hall’s sex and what we term today Hall’s gender identity/expression were distinctly genderqueer or gender fluid. Or perhaps we could claim Hall as a transgender forbearer. Or that Hall might have understood herself as a woman but donned male attire simply to gain employment and social mobility. Or given that Hall seemed to engage in sexual activity with both men and women, we might claim Thomas(ine) as bisexual. Rather than demanding this queer life history conform to one of these interpretations, however, LGBTQ history encourages us to keep open the possibilities of each, even as we look to the past to better understand the dominant cultural framework within which Hall existed. From there, we can determine the boundaries of acceptable gender and

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2 Kathleen Brown, “Changed into the Fashion of a Man’: The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth Century Anglo-American Settlement,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6, no. 2 (1995): 171-193. Plymouth, Massachusetts served as the capital of Plymouth Colony from when it was first founded in 1620 until its merger with the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1691. Plimoth Plantation is a living history museum in Plymouth that interprets the original seventeenth-century Plymouth Colony as it would have been when Thomasine Hall worked there.

3 Historic Jamestowne, located at the original site of Jamestown, Virginia. Founded in 1609, it was the first permanent English settlement in what is now the United States. The Jamestown National Historic Site (part of the NPS) was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966.
sexual identity and expression in that time and place even as we seek to understand why and how transgression could—and did—occur.

Hall’s shifting gender presentation, at one time at least ostensibly to enter military service, is an example of a larger historical pattern of people who crossed genders during times of war. Deborah Sampson was one such soldier who served in the Continental army during the American Revolution (Figure 1). Early nationalists celebrated Sampson's gender-nonconforming exploits as epitomizing the patriotic fervor of the colonists in their war against England. Although Sampson married a man after leaving military service, her subsequent apology for her “masquerade,” and assurances to public audiences that she had not engaged in any sexual transgressions with

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5 Sampson served seventeen months in the Continental army as Robert Shurtleff and served with the Light Infantry Company of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment. Wounded in the leg in 1782 at a skirmish near Tarrytown, New York, she left the hospital before her wounds could be treated to avoid detection and removed a musket ball from her own leg using a penknife. Her leg healed poorly, and she was reassigned to serve as a waiter to General John Paterson. Though her identity as a woman was found out in the summer of 1783 after she got ill in Philadelphia, General Paterson did not reprimand her. She was honorably discharged at West Point, New York in October 1783. The United States Military Academy at West Point, New York on New York Route 218 was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.
women or men during her cross-dressing years, suggests the presumption that sexual deviance would accompany her actions.⁶

In contrast to Hall’s example, which emerged from a western European ideological context we can see the much more fluid understandings of gender, sexuality, and identity in some indigenous North American cultures prior to, during, and after European colonization.⁷ Identified as “berdache” or “hermaphrodites” by Europeans (both in colonial times and more recently) many Native American nations have recognized a multiplicity of genders and sexualities. Since the 1970s, the term two-spirit has been adopted by many Native Americans and anthropologists as an umbrella term for these multiple identities. This concept developed out of and in response to the lengthy period of repression and violence under Euro-American colonial regimes, including the actions of government agents and missionaries to coercively “civilize” Native peoples in part by removing Native children to white Protestant boarding schools whose goal was to eradicate any elements of Native culture from these children. Two-spirit roles then became the focus of rediscovery, renewal, revival, re-interpretation, and theory since the 1970s, and two-spirit identified Native people are participating with growing prominence in pan-tribal and traditional settings.⁸

Each Native American group has had their own terms to describe these people, and different criteria for defining them. For example, a male two-spirit was called boté by the Crow and nádleehí by the Navajo. The most common trait attributed to male two-spirits across cultures (though not always) was skill in making crafts that were typically done by women.⁹

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⁷ For a detailed discussion, see Roscoe (this volume).
These definitions could be much more complex than a man who lives as a woman: Zuni *lhamana* We’Wha was a two-spirit male who government ethnologists encountered in 1879 while on an expedition to record “vanishing” Native American cultures as white America expanded westward (Figure 2). As a *lhamana*, We’Wha embodied both male and female traits and activities while dressing in traditionally female clothing. We’Wha was a potter (a female craft) but also excelled in weaving (a male craft) as well as being a farmer and a member of the men’s kachina society, who performed masked dances (both male-identified activities). In 1886, ethnologists Matilda Coxe Stevenson and her husband James Stevenson hosted We’Wha in Washington, DC. Other colonial encounters

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10 License: Public Domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:We-Wa,_a_Zuni_berdache,_weaving_-_NARA_-_523797.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:We-Wa,_a_Zuni_berdache,_weaving_-_NARA_-_523797.jpg)
include: the sixteenth-century meeting between René Goulaine de Laudonnière’s expedition to claim what is now Florida for the French and two-spirits of the local Timucua people; those between Captain Cook and aikāne representatives of Hawaiian chiefs and later between missionaries and the māhū in Hawai‘i; between the Kutenai female two-spirit Qánqon and fur traders in the early nineteenth century along the border of Idaho and British Columbia; the alliance of boté Ohchiish with the US Army against the Lakota Sioux and Cheyenne in 1876 at the Battle of Rosebud in Montana.\textsuperscript{12}

Unlike that of Native peoples, whose colonial-era identities and relationships we understand largely based on the descriptions left by European explorers and colonists, the identity and culture of white colonists have been to a large degree understood through their own written words.\textsuperscript{13} It is often in the correspondence between women and between men that we find LGBTQ history.\textsuperscript{14} Historian of sexuality and biographer Martin Duberman writes of the exchanges between James Henry Hammond (Jim) and his friend Thomas Jefferson Withers (Jeff) in the early nineteenth-century United States (Figure 3).\textsuperscript{15} These erotically charged and at moments explicitly sexual letters between these two “respectable” elite white southerners seem to suggest that same-sex sexual relationships might have been, if not common, at least somewhat

\textsuperscript{12} For more details, including specific places associated with these encounters, see Roscoe (this volume).

\textsuperscript{13} Archeological deposits, which often contain information about long-term, everyday activities, also have the potential to reveal information about same-sex and gender-variant pasts. See Springate’s LGBTQ archeological context (this volume).

\textsuperscript{14} Other sources of information come from military records, court cases, newspapers, and other written documents; see, for example, Stein and Estes (this volume).

\textsuperscript{15} The letters describing James Henry Hammond’s relationship with Thomas Jefferson Withers were written in 1826, just after Hammond left law school. He married the wealthy Catherine Elizabeth Fitzsimmons when she was seventeen years old, and entered the planter class, eventually amassing several plantation houses and more than three hundred enslaved persons. An attorney and outspoken supporter of slavery, Hammond served as a member of the US House of Representatives from 1835 to 1836, the Governor of South Carolina from 1842 to 1844, and as a US senator from 1857 to 1860. Redcliffe Plantation, 181 Redcliffe Road, Beech Island, South Carolina was completed in 1859, and has been home to Hammond and three generations of his descendants as well as generations of the enslaved. Now a South Carolina state park historic site, Redcliffe was added to the NRHP on May 8, 1973.
unremarkable for some during this period. Here again, it might not be the lack of evidence of an LGBTQ presence that explains our general absence from the historical record but rather scholars’ concealment of that evidence and unwillingness to interrogate the possibilities of alternative or nonnormative sexualities and gender expressions in their interpretations of this history.16

The oft-used theoretical concept, “romantic friendship” offers a somewhat ill-fitting category to frame women’s same-sex intimacies in seventeenth through early twentieth-century America. Some scholars have used this term to describe intimate relationships between women characterized by declarations of love for one another expressed in poetry and passionate letters replete with references to kissing, cuddling, and sharing a bed. Some historians have defined these relationships, especially during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the United States, as marking almost a lesbian “golden age.” According to this perspective, during this period women’s abiding affection for other women, especially in the emerging bourgeoisie, was not perceived as threatening to either heterosexual

marriage or dominant standards of sexual morality. In fact, by the eighteenth century, the cultural norm of intense female friendships among white native-born women of the middle and upper classes was well established in the United States and rested on the white, middle-class assumptions that women were by nature virtuous and predominantly asexual.\textsuperscript{18} Thus, the acceptability of these relationships resided in their ostensibly nonsexual nature. Women in these relationships characterized their feelings for one another as “love,” yet did not proclaim, and often disclaimed any erotic attachment. There are numerous examples of romantic friendships that conform to this platonic model, while others suggest relationships of a more explicitly sexual nature.

Mary Grew and Margaret Burleigh were such lifelong companions in nineteenth-century America. In writing of their friendship, Grew characterized it as a “closer union than that of most marriages” while also describing her love for Burleigh as “spiritual” not “passionate” nor “sexual.”\textsuperscript{19} Almost a century later, however, two other “romantic friends,” Molly and Helena, implicitly acknowledge the passion that was central to their relationship. In a letter just prior to Helena’s marriage, Molly wrote to Helena’s betrothed that she and Helena had loved each other “almost as girls love their lovers.”\textsuperscript{20} At the same time Frances Willard, a white middle-


\textsuperscript{20} Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," Signs 1, no. 1 (1975): 1-29; see note 12 for details on the relationship between Molly and Helena, which Smith-Rosenberg notes is based on “the 1868-1920 correspondence between Mary Hallock Foote and Helena, a New York friend (the Mary Hallock Foote Papers are in the Manuscript Division, Stanford University). Wallace E. Stegner has written a fictionalized biography of Mary Hallock Foote (Angle of Repose [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1971]). See, as well, her autobiography: Mary Hallock Foote, A Victorian Gentlewoman in the Far West: The Reminiscences of Mary Hallock Foote, ed. Rodman W. Paul (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1972), 5-6.”
class female activist and creator of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, agonized in her diaries about her love for Mary, her brother’s fiancée. She understood this love to be “abnormal” and reproached herself endlessly for the desires she felt toward her friend (Figure 4). In another example, two African American women, Addie Brown and Rebecca Primus, were involved for nine years in a relationship that was both highly visible within their Hartford, Connecticut, community and explicitly sexual. Moreover, even in relationships that generally were perceived as above reproach, popular suspicions of sexual deviance abounded.

While excavation and happenstance might help us locate implicit hints and explicit articulations of same-sex intimacies and desires, other evidence yields frustration and horror as we find references to letters documenting such relations being burned or destroyed, meet some archivists’ refusal to allow materials to be published or to be read, and some scholars refusal to entertain the possibilities of same-sex desire and intimacy despite evidence to the contrary. Such excavations are also always dependent on where we look, the questions we ask, and sometimes how we look. Characterizing these diverse examples as

21 Carolyn De Swarte Gifford, ed. Writing Out My Heart: Selections from the Journals of Frances Willard, 1855-1896 (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1985). Willard lived in the house her father built at 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois from 1871 until her death in 1898. From 1871 through 1874, she served as dean of the Women’s College at Northwestern University. She helped found the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in 1874, and was president of the organization for nineteen years. Her home in Evanston served as an informal headquarters for the WCTU. The Frances Willard House is open as a museum; it was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

22 Karen V. Hansen, “No Kisses is Like Youres”; An Erotic Friendship between Two African American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” in Vicinus, Lesbian Subjects, 178-208. See also B. Denise Hawkins, “Addie & Rebecca – Letters of Free-Born African-American Women During the Civil War,” Diverse: Issues in Higher Education, June 17, 2007, http://diverseeducation.com/article/7496. After the Civil War, the Hartford (Connecticut) Freedmen’s Aid Society sent Primus, then twenty-nine years old, to Royal Oak, Talbot County, Maryland to help educate former slaves. In the four years she was there, she built a school house, completed in 1867, which the locals called the Primus Institute. County records indicate that a school for black children was present in Royal Oak through 1929. The building has since been lost. Travis Dunn, “Scholars Describe Historic Role of Primus Institute, School’s Founder: School Started by a Freedmen’s Aid Society,” Star-Democrat (Easton, Maryland), February 28, 2001, 1A, 13A.

“lesbian” or “gay” or evidence of same-sex desire, sexual intimacy or identity, turns on the question of how we define such terms. Is spiritual love between women sufficient for such a definition? Is explicitly sexual love sufficient? Must the women or men themselves or the culture in which they reside perceive such relationships as deviant from heterosexual norms of behavior in order to speak of them as queer?

Modern Moments and Naming

Some scholars argue that understandings of deviance in the nineteenth century in relation to same-sex intimacy as well as romantic friendship-type relations continued into the twentieth- and twenty-first
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(LGBTQ History) in the United States

centuries. Yet what was distinct about the twentieth century was a steadily increasing effort to identify, name, and categorize sexualities and genders. One of the most influential theorists on modern sexuality, Michel Foucault, has articulated this gradual yet major shift in our understandings of sexuality as a difference between acts and identities. While in the nineteenth century, same-sex sexuality and nonconforming gender behavior were seen as discretely punishable acts, in the twentieth century such acts placed the individual in a specific category that indicated a state of being and a species: “homosexual,” “deviant,” or “invert.”

This shift from criminal acts to group identity was not immediate or even; as the twentieth century progressed a man engaged in genital sexual relations with another man might still be arrested for sodomy, but was now also likely to be defined by medical professionals as a “sexual invert.” This early twentieth-century category referenced not just the type of sexual behavior in which an individual was engaged, but also more broadly referenced the type of person who engaged in such behavior. This type was linked by sexologists to effeminacy in men and mannishness in women. For the British sexologist Havelock Ellis and others this phenomenon was worthy of sympathy—but sexual inversion transposed the issue of same-sex desire into one of gendered physical attributes, behaviors, and forms of dress. Thus many sexologists collapsed into one category a range of sexual orientations that we would now distinguish as bisexuality, transgender, and/or same-sex sexuality. Here emerges another key question for those looking to excavate and document LGBTQ histories: who created modern understandings of sexual and gender

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identities, and how do they change over time and context? Official arbiters—scientific, medical, legal, religious, and political institutions—have demarcated the categories of sexual “deviance” while simultaneously creating the range of behaviors attributed to normative sexualities. Since the late nineteenth century, sexological (the science of sexuality) work has been one of the most influential arbiters in categorizing, describing, and assigning value to sexual and gender deviance—as well as scrutinizing the normal. In the first half of the twentieth century, religious pronouncements of “sin” and oral discourses engaging and describing sexual and gendered behavior as binary (homosexual/heterosexual; female/male) were increasingly joined and more than occasionally trumped by the emergence of parallel scientific and medical discourses addressing sexual and gender “deviance” and “normativity.” While Ellis and other sexologists highlighted the likely biological basis for sexual inversion or homosexuality, by the 1920s some psychologists, basing their approach on the work of Sigmund Freud’s theories of psychoanalysis, looked instead to the mind and environmental influences as central to shaping individuals’ sexual choices. In focusing on and creating detailed criteria for defining deviance, sexologists clarified implicitly the criteria defining “normal” sexual behavior—opposite sex partners and sex engaged within marriage. In contrast, Freud and his American followers sought to define the normal—seeing it as a category that itself required analysis and critique, and in providing criteria for this normal simultaneously defined those whose sexual choices did not fit such categories as deviant. In the end, by the 1920s sexologists and psychologists defined inversion more in terms of same-sex desire or sexual object choice and the concept of homosexuality was adopted as more accurate in encompassing a variety of same-sex orientations that sexologists confronted in their clinical practice. As the new binary between homosexuality and heterosexuality emerged,

27 Gayle Rubin, who disentangled sex, gender, and sexuality as areas of inquiry, described the “Charmed Circle” of behaviors defined by society/law/religion/etc. as normal and acceptable; those identities and behaviors deemed deviant fell outside the circle. She noted that the Charmed Circle is not fixed; what is considered normal/deviant shifts and changes over time, and from culture to culture. Gayle Rubin, “The Traffic in Women: Notes on the ‘Political Economy’ of Sex,” in Toward an Anthropology of Women, ed. Rayna Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).
bisexuality was effectively removed from the discussion—an erasure that has continued to this day.\(^{28}\)

Similarly, courts and legal institutions have facilitated the broad and sweeping use of sodomy statutes and state and local gender codes to police, imprison, and constrain LGBTQ people’s lives through the twenty-first century.\(^{29}\) Gender historian Nayan Shah’s study of Asian immigrants in the early twentieth-century northwest brings us the often complex dynamic of such sodomy laws. Anti-Asian immigrant sentiment was at a peak in the early twentieth century. Chinese and Indian men who engaged in interracial sexual encounters were arrested and charged with sodomy, marking them as deviants. As a result, they were denied access to citizenship. Their white partners, on the other hand, were often described as “victims.”\(^{30}\)

No matter how seemingly powerful official arbiters have been during different moments in the past, they did not and do not create or assign sexual and gender identities. Historians have characterized medical literature and legal discourse as parts (albeit powerful ones) of many often competing sexual and gender ideologies. Joanne Meyerowitz, for instance, documents how discourse about transsexuals came in part from those hoping to change their sex, and not just from the popular culture, the courts, medicine, and science. Transsexual people “articulated their senses of self with the language and cultural forms available to them” and in doing so participated across the twentieth century in creating and reconfiguring their own identities.\(^{31}\) This continues today with growing calls for self-definition and agency. In other words, the formulation of modern understandings of sexuality was not abrupt and immediate, and official


\(^{29}\) See Stein (this volume).


systems of knowledge never held total sway. Rather, they were inconsistent, contested, and influenced by the people they were describing and categorizing. They continue to be challenged by a multitude of forces today, the most important of which are the people who live it.

Thus, excavating LGBTQ history means paying close attention and uncovering the often differing and not easily detectable markers that people have left behind. As one might expect, those with the greatest access to resources and education have historically left the most abundant textual records. The difficulties in locating records or traces of the sexualities of people of color make clear that while exploring the links between gender and sexuality are critical, attention to the relationships between sexuality, race, class, and ethnicity are equally if not more important. Finding traces of LGBTQ history among groups who have not had access to education and other resources requires both creativity and the willingness to look to what might be considered “unconventional” sources.

The feminist scholar, Domna Stanton identifies a “hybrid mode” of inquiry, which considers poetry, fiction, and autobiographical writings as central spaces through which LGBTQ people of color have expressed their sexual and gender identities. Stanton’s creative take on “unconventional” sources is only one of many approaches that help us include the stories of LGBTQ people of color as part of historical narratives. Given the often hidden, overlooked, or obscured nature of LGBTQ histories, other “unconventional” sources should be considered. For example, historians E. Patrick Johnson and John Howard discuss the importance of rumor, innuendo, and willful silences in doing LGBTQ history.


Literary critic Siobhan Somerville’s hybrid mode combines late nineteenth and early twentieth-century legal, sexological, film, and literary texts to point out how the formation of the homosexual/heterosexual identity binary in the late nineteenth-century United States took place at the same time that distinctions and boundaries between black and white bodies were being established. Somerville’s elegant study cautions against oversimplifying linkages between race and sexuality through the language of analogy. In 2016, as we write this chapter, some activists and historians are pointing to the 1967 Supreme Court decision in Loving v. Virginia (which struck down state statutes banning interracial marriage) as a legal precedent to striking down bans on same-sex marriage. Somerville makes clear in her work that analogies like this erase identities that exist at the intersections of queer and nonwhite.

Performance and musical expression have joined fiction as another possible “unconventional” source for excavating the stories of LGBTQ people of color. For example, the musical performances carried out by female blues singers during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1910s and 1920s. Ma Rainey’s “Prove It On Me Blues,” which openly

Figure 5: Gertrude Pridgett “Ma” Rainey, 1917. Photographer unknown.

34 Siobhan Somerville, Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 3
references intimate relationships between women, has become a staple of lesbian genealogy (Figure 5).\textsuperscript{36} Gladys Bentley performed during the 1920s and early 1930s in full male regalia (a tuxedo and tails) and explicitly identified and was understood as a lesbian during that period.\textsuperscript{37} To complicate these racial ethnic narratives and directly challenge the black/white binary within sexuality studies, historian Emma Pérez draws our attention to \textit{corridos}, narrative songs or ballads generated by Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Chicana/os throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These musical performances speak to significant themes in Mexican and Mexican American history including immigration, border crossings, and the dangers of love and war, and offer valuable tools for exploring the LGBTQ histories heretofore hidden, only hinted at, or willfully ignored in these communities.\textsuperscript{38}

\textbf{Contemporary Moments and Community Formations}

Yet “community,” defined primarily as based on shared sexuality and/or gender identity, is itself a “naming” that oversimplifies LGBTQ life in the United States. The presumption that “community” is or \textit{should} be the goal for sexual and gender minorities and the implicitly celebratory stance of many studies of sexual communities has been challenged by several scholars, including historian Karen Krahulik in her study of Provincetown, Massachusetts (Figure 6). She investigates the interactions between white Yankee residents and Portuguese immigrants, and Portuguese residents and lesbian, gay, and transgender tourists and

\textsuperscript{36} Lyrics from “Prove It on Me Blues” include “They said I do it, ain’t nobody caught me. Sure got to prove it on me. Went out last night with a crowd of my friends. They must’ve been women, cause I don’t like no men.” After her singing career ended, Ma Rainey (born Gertrude Pridgett in 1886) moved to 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia. She lived in this home, now open as a museum, until her death in 1939.

\textsuperscript{37} Bentley gained notoriety for her performances at gay speakeasy, Harry Hansberry’s Clam House on 133rd Street in Harlem, New York City. In the early 1930s, she headlined at the Ubangi Club at 131st Street and Seventh Avenue, Harlem, New York (now demolished). During the McCarthy Era, Bentley married, and disavowed her earlier lesbianism. See Gladys Bentley, “I Am a Woman Again,” \textit{Ebony} 7, no. 10 (August 1952): 94.

neighbors throughout the twentieth century. The stories highlight that “community” is defined as much by who is excluded as it is by who is included. The initial forays of effeminate white gay men to Provincetown in the 1950s, for instance, challenged residents’ mainstream understandings of manhood and masculinity; the later presence of white lesbian entrepreneurs in the 1970s likewise called into question assumptions that men were more suited than women to the business world. At the same time, however, the choice of some white gay men to appear in blackface during local parades in the 1990s maintained and reinvigorated racial stereotypes and hierarchies. Krahulik suggests the need to move beyond a simple celebration of the creation of queer community and look to the consequences of such creation. In other words, the creation of a queer community—like the creation of any other community—is always also about constructing boundaries—boundaries that operate within communities as well as between emergent and existing communities.39

39 Karen Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: NYU Press, 2005). The Provincetown Historic District was listed on the NRHP on August 30, 1989. The Atlantic House at 4-6 Masonic Place, Provincetown, Massachusetts was built in 1798. Many of America’s most noted writers, including gay playwright Tennessee Williams, were patrons in the 1920s. It became truly gay-friendly in the early 1950s, and has continued as a gay bar ever since. See also, Scott Herring, *Queering the Underworld: Slumming, Literature, and the Undoing of Lesbian and Gay History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

40 License: CC BY-NC 2.0. [https://www.flickr.com/photos/blueherondesign/7841835094](https://www.flickr.com/photos/blueherondesign/7841835094)
The complexities of the idea of “community” in LGBTQ history is also highlighted by scholarship done on cities as the place where, during the twentieth century, queer subcultures have formed and found spaces.41 “Gay New York” boasted an effervescent and highly visible “gay world” in the early twentieth century, years before the 1969 Stonewall rebellion that for some has symbolized the beginnings of LGBTQ liberation.42 In this world gay men were not isolated from one another or from the broader culture within which they lived, rather they were visible to the “outside” world and they also were not self-hating (as some contemporaneous medical opinions held). New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, DC, San Francisco, and Atlanta (among others) had neighborhoods within which gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians lived and thrived—leaving markers of their presence by wearing red ties or “dropping hair pins” so others could find them and identify the spaces they frequented.43 Moreover, during the first third of the twentieth century, the stunningly rendered, highly visible, and well-attended drag balls of the 1920s in these cities made the visibility of LGBTQ people explicit (Figure 7).44

41 See also Hanhardt and Gieseking (this volume).
42 See George Chauncey, Jr., Gay New York. Stonewall at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.
43 George Chauncey, Jr. argues that the “slang expressions” used by some gay men to identify themselves to others often “hinged on...the difference between the ‘masculinity’ of the personas they normally presented in public and the supposed ‘femininity’ of the inner homosexual self, which expressed a ‘womanlike’ sexual desire for men.” So “letting one’s hair down” often meant making one’s homosexuality explicit to a group or individual acquaintance. Chauncey, Jr., Gay New York, 289.
44 Predominantly put on by and for members of the African American drag communities, drag balls were also attended by well-to-do whites, who would travel to Harlem to observe and take part in the gender-bending and queer culture. Webster Hall and Annex, famous in the 1910s and 1920s as a site of masquerade and drag balls, is located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York. Rockland Palace, 280 West 115th Street, New York City, New York (demolished in the 1960s) was another well-known location of drag balls. Organized by the black fraternal organization, Hamilton Lodge No. 710 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, balls here drew up to eight thousand attendees—participants and observers (it was fashionable for white and black social leaders to attend these balls as observers. Visitors to the Rockland Palace balls of the 1920s and 1930s included Tallulah Bankhead and members of the Astor and Vanderbilt families).
Cities continued to be important geographic spaces where LGBTQ cultures were created, maintained, and rebuilt through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The urban community study—a common approach to regional history—has served to both bring LGBTQ history to the forefront, but also to hide or gloss over it. The deep context and historical specificity of many of these studies both describe and revise dominant understandings of the LGBTQ history. That said, the very term “community” also suggests the creation of new generalizations and exclusions. The late historian Horacio Roque Ramirez, who studied LGBTQ Latina/o communities, explicitly points out one of the most striking blind spots of the majority of community histories: the failure to analyze and center the movements and experiences of LGBTQ people of color. Ramirez

Figure 7: Rockland Palace in Harlem was home to popular drag balls in the 1920s and 1930s that would draw thousands of spectators and participants. Photographer unknown.

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urges scholars of queer communities and activism to go beyond the question of how LGBTQ people of color fit into, or are related to the implicitly white gay movement. Instead, he proposes that scholars ask and research the importance of people of color forming and acting within their own “racial communities.”

Another generalization found in many urban community studies is the presumption that sexual systems, behaviors, and norms have their origins in metropolitan areas and move outward to smaller cities, towns, and rural areas. Other scholars have challenged this idea, suggesting instead that residents of towns and other smaller communities developed their own understandings of sexuality and gender based on their unique histories, locations, and populations. These understandings may or may not mirror developments in urban America, but they are not blind copies of the changes happening in city centers. Historian John Howard addresses this explicitly in his study of same-sex male sexualities in twentieth-century Mississippi. Howard shows us that queer sexuality in rural Mississippi was not based on “urban archetypes” but was regionally specific and rooted in local community folkways and institutions. Using the term “queer network” instead of “queer community,” Howard criticizes the privileging of “community and subculture” in other queer histories, instead, he focuses on “desire” as an organizing category for explaining and interrogating the many varieties of sexual activities “worked out between two men.” Created via the highways that took gay men to bars, rest stops, bus stations, and hotels, Mississippi’s gay cultures existed “alongside and

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47 Sharon Ullman, Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 10-11. For examples of regional differences between LGBTQ communities, see Graves and Watson, Capo, Auer, Shockley, and Herczeg-Konecny (this volume). For an example of differences in gender between urban and rural areas, see Emily Kazyak, “Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality,” Gender & Society 26, no. 6 (2012): 825-848.

within” broader queer networks and “self-identified gay men shared spaces with presumably large numbers of non-gay-identified queers.”

It was the United States’ involvement in World War II that provided an unprecedented opportunity for LGBTQ people to begin to imagine themselves as part of a community that stretched across the country’s rural and urban areas. The massive mobilization of people that was needed to conduct a total war (and WWII was indeed such) meant that Americans left their homes for new war-based jobs and found themselves in largely gender-segregated communities without the restrictions and constraints typical of their hometowns. This provided multiple possibilities to explore their sexualities and gender identities. For men and women conscious of a strong attraction to their own sex but constrained by social norms from acting on it, the war years eased the coming out process and facilitated entry into the “gay” world (Figure 8).

Figure 8: The guard house on Governor’s Island occupied the two-story angled portion of Castle Williams. During his posting at Governor’s Island during World War II, Henry Gerber (who in 1924 had founded the Society for Human Rights in Chicago) spent time confined in the guard house because of his homosexuality. Photo by Jim Henderson, 2008.

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49 Howard, *Men Like That*, 78.
50 License: Public Domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castle_Williams_land_side_2eh.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castle_Williams_land_side_2eh.JPG)
51 For men, the military offered opportunities to be around, and with, other men. Homosexual activity among the ranks did not go unnoticed. Henry Gerber, who in 1924 had cofounded the Society for Human Rights and operated it from his boardinghouse flat in Chicago’s Old Town Triangle neighborhood until it was raided in 1925, spent the last portion of his US Army career stationed at...
The transformations induced by the war also created possibilities for gay men and lesbians to create institutions that bolstered and protected their identities. During the 1940s, exclusively gay bars appeared for the first time in cities as diverse as San Jose, Denver, Kansas City, Atlanta, and Cleveland. As significant, during the war the various military branches called on psychiatrists to evaluate the suitability of the male draftees and male and female volunteers for military service. The military collaboration with psychiatric professionals meant that male and female inductees were asked directly whether or not they had thought about or engaged in homosexual encounters. While intended to eliminate those soldiers, sailors, marines, and officers who might be homosexual or present stereotypical homosexual tendencies, this policy instead introduced the concept of same-sex sexuality to many of these enlistees and draftees for the first time and for some of them gave, finally, a definition that seemed consistent with how they understood themselves. The effects of the war on the latter half of the twentieth-century LGBTQ history cannot be overstated. The war years were crucial for thousands of LGBTQ to understand who they were and to be more certain than ever in their identities and collective interests, erotic or otherwise.

In 1948 and again in 1953, zoologist, taxonomist, and sexologist Alfred Kinsey shocked Americans when he published his respective reports on male and female sexuality and reported that people had sex—lots of it, and in many different configurations.\textsuperscript{52} With massive quantities of data,
the Kinsey reports documented the wide gap between what Americans did and what they said they did. Kinsey popularized conversations about sex and sexuality at a time when there was a calculated targeting of lesbians and gay men as sexually subversive (known as the “Lavender Scare”), the continuing listing of homosexuality as a mental illness in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) of the American Psychiatric Association (APA), and an uneasy silence on broader questions of what was “normal.” Most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, Kinsey argued that sexuality was best defined as a continuum with his zero to six scale, with exclusive heterosexuality at one end, exclusive homosexuality at the other, and shades of bisexuality in between. His studies showed that same-sex sexual behavior and fantasies were, if not common, at least significantly present among both men and women in the American population. This “new” sexual knowledge produced by Kinsey and his team has left a lasting legacy in relation to same-sex sexualities. Kinsey’s zero to six scale and the 10 percent figure loosely describing the instances of homosexual expression, desire, and fantasy (alone or as well as heterosexual expression, desire, and fantasy) in the general population have remained with us today.53 His studies were among the reasons that the APA removed homosexuality from its list of mental disorders in the DSM in 1973.54


54 This decision was the product of research by other psychologists, including Dr. Evelyn Hooker, who found that the correlation between homosexuality and mental illness was false. See Evelyn Hooker, “The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual,” Journal of Projective Techniques 21 (1957): 18-31. Dr. Hooker’s office at the time she published this paper was in the psychology department of the University of California, Los Angeles. The change in the DSM was also the result of lesbian and gay
The two decades following the World War II period were a study in contrasts between highly visible dominant cultural norms and ideals, the lived experiences of many Americans, and the emerging social movements that formed resistance to many of these norms. The 1950s witnessed the emergence of the lesbian and gay homophile movement, through organizations such as the Daughters of Bilitis (lesbians) and the Mattachine Society (gay men). The chapters of each of these that formed in a variety of places across the country established themselves as a counterpoints to the military purges of LGBTQ people after World War II. Those organizations took hold at the height of what is commonly referred to as the Lavender Scare: witch hunts and mass firings of homosexuals who, as potential traitors and communists, were seen as moral and political subversives that had to be contained lest they undermine the American ideal of the white, middle class, heterosexual nuclear family. In other words, the 1950s political and popular rhetoric directly linked the survival of democracy to the suppression of LGBTQ life and visibility. The Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) supported LGBTQ people through those difficult times by lobbying with local government officials for equal rights, creating spaces where people could come together and discuss the issues most pressing to them, and by publishing newsletters and other mailings to communicate relevant information to the community.

Activism especially by homophile organizations protesting the definition of homosexuality as a mental illness. It occurred in the context of other powerful movements for civil rights and social justice from the 1950s to the 1970s, including the African American civil rights movement, the women’s rights and liberation movements, and the gay rights and liberation movements. Dr. Franklin E. Kameny is especially noted for his work in having homosexuality removed from the DSM. His residence in the northwest quadrant of Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

The Mattachine Society was founded in 1950 by Harry Hay and others in Los Angeles, California. Early meetings were held at his homes in the Hollywood Hills and Silver Lake neighborhoods. The Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) were formed in 1955 after a meeting of women including Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon (often credited as founding the DOB) at the home of Filipina Rose Bamburger in San Francisco. In the 1950s and 1960s, the DOB and the Mattachine Society had offices in the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. The building also housed the offices of Pan Graphic Press, one of the first small gay presses in the United States, who printed (among other things) the monthly Mattachine Review and the DOB monthly, The Ladder. See Marcia Gallo, Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement (New York: Seal Press, 2007).

Dr. Franklin Kameny was just one of the casualties of the Lavender Scare; he was fired from the Army Map Service in 1957 after being asked if he was gay.
Historian John D’Emilio’s pathbreaking 1983 book, *Sexual Politics*, *Sexual Communities* was the first to bring our attention to the critical contributions of these groups in the service of homosexual rights. Other historical studies about mid-twentieth century LGBTQ communities have highlighted the importance of working-class people in the fight for LGBTQ public places. For example, at Compton’s Cafeteria on an August night in 1966, drag queens and transsexuals—some of whom had working-class jobs while others worked the streets—rioted in San Francisco in reaction to police harassment and discrimination. On the other side of the country, working-class butches and femme lesbians in 1950s Buffalo, New York resisted being labeled as deviant by holding hands in public and participating openly as couples in public establishments, most often bars.

It was these same butches and femmes who joined with drag queens, street hustlers, and others on Friday evening June 27, 1969, to protest yet another raid by the New York City Tactical Police Force at a popular Greenwich Village gay bar, The Stonewall Inn. Raids were not unusual in 1969. In fact, they were conducted regularly without much resistance. However, that night the street erupted into violent protest as the patrons, largely working-class people of color, fought back. The backlash and the several nights of protests that followed have come to be known as the Stonewall Riots. The Stonewall Riots have been considered the event marking the beginning of gay liberation and critical in a transformation from accommodation and silence to active protest and visibility, pride, and

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58 Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The building is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009. See *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria*, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

59 Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge Press, 1993). Ralph Martin’s at 58 Elliott Street, Buffalo, New York (now demolished) was the center of Buffalo’s LGBTQ bar life in the 1940s. It catered to a large mixed gender/mixed orientation/racially diverse crowd from 1934 to 1951.

60 The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.
action. Yet we should not forget the everyday activism and moments of more conservative visibility undertaken by the homophile organizations and their members: from picketing in front of Independence Hall (in respectable dress slacks and ties for the men and dresses for the women) to attending psychiatric conferences trying to persuade these professionals that “homosexuals” were not ill or deviant.61

Despite their efforts in creating a public stage of protest and visibility, drag queens and butch-femme lesbians would be left behind for a period. The gay rights and liberation movements as well as the lesbian coalitions that subsequently emerged via feminist activism constructed new standards of appropriate behavior for the LGBTQ community. These new standards, rooted in middle-class respectability politics, demanded “respectable” presentation of members, which meant that mostly white gay liberation and lesbian feminist activists started to identify against and exclude people of color, those from lower (and occasionally higher) classes including working-class butches and femmes, and those like drag queens and transsexuals who transgressed gender norms. As the LGBTQ community became more visible it also became more exclusive; those who were formerly included became marginalized by many lesbians and gay men.

Undeniably, the work done by white gay rights activists and lesbian feminists is important. Yet, we should look at this history with a hint of caution. The politics of sexuality works both ways—to include as well as exclude—and it is important to recognize the costs of the community

61 From 1965 to 1969, homophile groups picketed Independence Hall on July 4 (Independence Day). Known as the Annual Reminders, the purpose of the picket was to remind people that not all US citizens shared the same rights laid out in the Constitution of the United States. Independence Hall, 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is a contributing element of Independence National Historical Park. The park was formed on June 28, 1948 and designated an NHL on October 15, 1966. At the 1972 American Psychiatric Association’s Annual Meeting in Dallas, Texas, Dr. John E. Fryer, wearing a joke-shop rubber mask and introduced as Dr. H. Anonymous to protect himself from professional censure, was the first psychiatrist to speak publicly about his homosexuality. It was part of a many-year campaign by activists including Dr. Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings to have homosexuality removed from the DSM. The annual meeting was held at the Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center, now known as the Kay Bailey Hutchison Convention Center, Canton and Akard Streets, Dallas, Texas.
formation at various moments throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that has been and is so necessary for all of our survival. The appeal by Sylvia Rivera during New York City’s 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day Rally (an early Gay Pride event) highlights how such inclusions are a matter of life and death (Figure 9). A Latina transgender woman of Puerto Rican and Venezuelan descent, Rivera was one of the main actors in the Stonewall Riots. She took the stage at Washington Square Park and shouted, while accompanied by boos from the crowd: “I have been beaten, I have had my nose broken, I have been thrown in jail! I lost my job, I lost my apartment for gay liberation... and you all treat me this way?”62 Rivera’s frustration and demands for inclusion over thirty years ago seem even more harrowing now, as transgender people, particularly transgender women of color, are bearing the brunt of not just street violence resulting in a record number of transgender deaths in 2015, but also violence at the hands of the state.

Gay rights and liberation activists, as well as lesbian feminists, would be critical players in other moments through the 1970s and 1980s. The 1970s campaign to elect Harvey Milk to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors was actively supported by gay and lesbian liberation activists. During Milk’s successful 1977 campaign, he convinced the growing LGBTQ population of San Francisco that they could have a role in city

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63 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://vimeo.com/45479858
leadership, and people turned out to form “human billboards” for him along major streets and highways surrounding and in the city. In doing so, they outed themselves in a way once unthinkable. His successful election to the board in 1977 was a moment of triumph, as he became the first openly gay man elected to serve in a major political office. For many in San Francisco it was invigorating, and the mobilization inspired people across the country. As one 68-year-old lesbian wrote after his election—“I thank god I have lived long enough to see my people emerge from the shadows and join the human race!”

Milk’s election, however, was followed by tragedy. On November 27, 1978, former San Francisco Supervisor Dan White assassinated Milk and San Francisco Mayor George Moscone. White quickly admitted to the murders but a jury convicted him of manslaughter—a lighter charge—and sentenced him to just five years with parole. While San Franciscans marched in silent candlelight protests after the murders, the sentencing brought two days of rioting known as the White Night Riots (Figure 10).

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64 Harvey Milk operated his camera shop, Castro Camera, and lived at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. He also ran his election campaign from the storefront.
65 In 1974, Kathy Kozachenko was the first openly gay, lesbian, or bisexual candidate to win public office in the United States when she won a seat on the city council for Ann Arbor, Michigan. Elaine Noble, who came out as a lesbian during her campaign, was the first openly gay, lesbian, or bisexual candidate elected to a state-level office when she won the race for the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1974. See Tina Gianoulis, “Noble, Elaine (b. 1944),” GLBTQ: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, & Queer Culture website, http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/noble_e.html, archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20061019230759/http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/noble_e.html.
67 Moscone and Milk were murdered at San Francisco City Hall, part of the Civic Center Historic District, listed on the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.
68 Early on in the White Night Riots, the chief of police ordered the police not to retaliate against the protesters. Despite orders, police officers entered the Elephant Walk Bar on Castro Street and began beating patrons. By the time the chief of police had ordered officers out of the Castro, sixty-one police officers and one hundred civilians had been hospitalized.
Milk’s assassination was followed just a few years later by a far more devastating blow. At a moment when gay men and lesbians were claiming their right to freely express their sexuality, in 1981 the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) quietly announced the emergence of a new and deadly disease. Because it seemed to affect mostly gay men, the disease was initially labeled “GRID”—gay-related immune deficiency. Shortly thereafter, because of protests that GRID stigmatized the gay population and the fact that the virus was also found in intravenous drug users, Haitians, and patients who had received blood transfusions, the name was changed to

Figure 10: Rioters outside San Francisco City Hall the evening of May 21, 1979, reacting to the voluntary manslaughter verdict for Dan White that ensured White would serve only five years for the double murders of Harvey Milk and George Moscone. San Franciscans protested peacefully following the murders, but rioted in the streets (the White Night riots) following the verdict. Photo by Daniel Nicoletta, 1979.69

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https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rioters_outside_San_Francisco_City_Hall_May_21_1979.jpg
AIDS—acquired immune deficiency syndrome. By the end of 1981, there were 234 known cases and the numbers increased dramatically each year; by 1987 over forty thousand people had been infected.

The CDC’s announcement precipitated a general public hysteria with calls for quarantining homosexuals and IV drug users. Responses to the epidemic saw healthcare workers refuse to treat AIDS patients and first responders refuse to resuscitate men suspected of being gay. Religious evangelicals including Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell characterized AIDS not as a disease caused by a virus, but rather as god’s punishment for an immoral lifestyle. They dubbed AIDS the “Gay Plague.” Moreover, the response of the federal government under the leadership of President Ronald Reagan was extraordinarily slow. Reagan did not mention AIDS until 1985 and did not hold a press conference to address it until 1987.70

In response to this neglect LGBTQ people formed organizations throughout the country to combat the disease. These efforts included the formation of cooperatives to research medications and protests to pressure drug companies and the Food and Drug Administration to speed up their efforts to find effective, affordable treatments. A new type of protest began in 1987 when New York City activists founded ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power).71 Focused on increasing public visibility around the disease and criticizing the lack of action by the federal government to address the epidemic, ACT UP took to the streets in “die-ins,” lying on the ground in t-shirts emblazoned “Silence=Death” until law enforcement removed them (Figure 11). They posted statements on billboards and flyers, and distributed buttons throughout New York and

71 ACT UP had their first meeting at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York in March 1987.
other cities—doing all they could to draw attention to the disease and ways to prevent its spread, including safer-sex workshops and handing out free condoms. By the early 2000s, the total number of fatalities from the disease in the United States topped one-half million while globally the pandemic had claimed over six million lives and was marked by over twenty-two million infected individuals. While there are treatments that allow those that can afford them to live longer, there is not yet a cure for AIDS.73

The public panic around AIDS also led to an increase in attacks on LGBTQ people. In gay communities across the country, street patrols formed to help prevent anti-LGBTQ violence.74 The violent murder of Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyoming in 1998 received

Figure 11: A mass “die in” on the lawn of the National Institutes of Health during ACT UPs May 21, 1990 “Storm the NIH” demonstration. Photo by William or Ernie Branson for the National Institutes of Health.72

72 License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/nihlibrary/5489664638
74 The increase in anti-LGBTQ violence also led to an increase in people taking self-defense classes, formalizing buddy systems while out, and people arming themselves with mace and other weapons. The antiviolence patrols were carried out by groups like Queer Nation and the Gay Safe Street Patrols. See, for example, Hugo Martin, “Gays Form Patrols to Battle Hate Crimes: Self Defense: With Attacks on Homosexuals Increasing, the West Hollywood Effort is Part of a Mobilization Throughout the Southland,” Los Angeles Times, December 3, 1991, http://articles.latimes.com/1991-12-03/local/me-628_1 Anti-gay-hate-crimes.
huge national and international attention.\textsuperscript{75} The antigay protests at his funeral generated unprecedented sympathy and outrage for the struggles of LGBTQ people in America. Despite this outpouring of support, the disturbingly high number of murders in the last few years of transgender women of color has not caused the same level of public outcry. In the first two months of 2015, transgender women of color were murdered at a rate of almost one per week.\textsuperscript{76} Out of all the documented anti-LGBTQ homicide victims in 2014, 80 percent were people of color and 55 percent were transgender women whereas transgender survivors of color were 6.2 times more likely to experience police violence.\textsuperscript{77} Transgender people are also four times more likely to live in poverty than the rest of the general population and the prevalence of HIV among transgender women is nearly fifty times higher than for other adults.\textsuperscript{78} As always, the race, class, and gender status of activists and victims determines how much or little attention will be paid to the situations of individuals, and continues to mark the value attached to particular lives.

\section*{Why LGBTQ History Matters}

Despite these moments of tragedy, despair, and sorrow, we should also mark those signifying LGBTQ resilience and triumphs. In the last two decades there have been a number of significant changes in legislation that have had a major impact on the everyday lives of LGBTQ people in America.

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\textsuperscript{75} On October 6, 1998, Matthew Shepard was brutally beaten and left to die at the intersection of Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, Laramie, Wyoming.
\textsuperscript{77} National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, Hate Violence Against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and HIV-Affected Communities (New York: National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, June 2015). Significantly, this report includes data only from organizations who are partners with NCAVP that is headquartered in New York City. Founded in 1995, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) brings together anti-violence programs in cities and regions across the United States. Although this report is by far not perfect, it’s more thorough than the annual FBI report on hate crimes.
\end{flushright}
America. A series of court decisions in the early 2000s overturned previous rulings that had kept in place the often reinforced state and federal laws which constrained and limited the possibilities for LGBTQ people. In 2003 the United States Supreme Court’s decision in Lawrence v. Texas demonstrated the importance of activism, visibility, and of writing LGBTQ history. On June 16, 2003 the highest court in the nation struck down the Texas sodomy law that made consensual sex between men illegal. In doing so, the court implicitly rendered other sodomy and so-called “crimes against nature” laws unconstitutional. Sodomy laws had a long history in the United States of being used to criminalize and imprison predominantly gay men as sex offenders, as well as being used as the rationale for denying or removing children from the custody of gay and lesbian parents.79

The majority decision written by Justice Anthony Kennedy reflected the work of those who had been recording LGBTQ histories. In fact, Kennedy based a substantial portion of his opinion on the historical research outlined by historian George Chauncey and nine other LGBTQ scholars. As John D’Emilio remarked in an article discussing his reactions to the decision, when Justice Kennedy “used words such as ‘transcendent’ and ‘dignity’ when referring to intimate same-sex relationships” it was a “dizzying and heady moment for me”—“oh my god, I thought, ‘history really does matter!’” LGBTQ history is American history; it “really does matter” in part by helping to shape the politics and policies of our local, state, and federal institutions and leaders.80

79 See also Stein (this volume).
Most recently, the US Supreme Court in United States v. Windsor (2013) and Obergefell v. Hodges (2015) struck down the federal Defense of Marriage Act (and similar statutes passed by individual states), legalizing same-sex marriage nationally (Figure 12). At the same time as the Windsor decision, however, the Supreme Court also gutted key provisions of the long-standing 1964 Voting Rights Act. In one fell swoop, the court created cause for optimism and hope among some LGBTQ people and simultaneously delivered a devastating blow to the continuing struggle for racial justice and equity—a blow that affects straight and LGBTQ people

Figure 12: The White House is lit up in the colors of the rainbow to celebrate the Supreme Court decision in Obergefell v. Hodges, which struck down the federal Defense of Marriage act and legalized same-sex marriage across the country. Photo by David Shelby for the United States Department of State, June 2015.

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81 License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/iip-photo-archive/19080149740
alike. The legalization of same-sex marriage has created backlash in two related and overlapping types of legal responses. The first is modeled on federal religious freedom provisions and aims to remove sexual orientation and gender identity from state legal protections; the second are the so-called bathroom bills that target transgender people directly.\footnote{Both of these types of laws also affect straight or non-transgender people, making those who may be perceived as LGBTQ for whatever reason, also targets for legal discrimination.} As the American Civil Liberties Union notes on its website, “There are bills in state legislatures across the country and in Congress that could allow religion to be used to discriminate against gay and transgender people in virtually all aspects of their lives.”\footnote{“Anti-LGBT Religious Exemption Legislation Across the Country,” American Civil Liberties Union website, May 5, 2016, accessed May 7, 2016, \url{https://www.aclu.org/anti-lgbt-religious-exemption-legislation-across-country}.} In North Carolina, HB2 has codified this discrimination to directly target transgender people by requiring them to use bathrooms and other facilities in government buildings and public schools that match the sex on their birth certificates. In May 2016, the federal Department of Justice responded by filing suit related to gender discrimination; later in the month, a joint letter from the Departments of Education and Justice issued guidelines directing public schools to allow transgender students to use facilities that match their gender identity.\footnote{Colin Campbell and Craig Jarvis, “LGBT Protections End As NC governor Signs Bill,” \textit{The News and Observer} (Raleigh, NC), March 23, 2016, accessed May 7, 2016, \url{http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article67731847.html}; Emanuella Grinberg, “Feds Issue Guidance on Transgender Access to School Bathrooms,” CNN, May 14, 2016, \url{http://www.cnn.com/2016/05/12/politics/transgender-bathrooms-obama-administration/index.html}; “Obama Administration Sues North Carolina Over Anti-LGBT Law,” \textit{BBC News}, May 9, 2016, \url{http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-36252949}.}

These moments speak to the politics of intimacy and the importance of sexual and gender diversity to politics. Above all, these recent moments show that in order to effectively fight for the civil and equal rights of all LGBTQ people in this country, we need to remember and recall the struggles of the past. It is vital to remember moments in the life of LGBTQ America that have made up our history and that many have sought to claim and restore. Indeed, the National Park Service Initiative to recognize, interpret, and make visible LGBTQ historic places across the country is central to this claiming and restoration. These moments have certainly

\footnote{In North Carolina, HB2 has codified this discrimination to directly target transgender people by requiring them to use bathrooms and other facilities in government buildings and public schools that match the sex on their birth certificates. In May 2016, the federal Department of Justice responded by filing suit related to gender discrimination; later in the month, a joint letter from the Departments of Education and Justice issued guidelines directing public schools to allow transgender students to use facilities that match their gender identity.}
been marked by oppression and despair, tragedy and violence, but also by struggles to build communities and cultures, create coalitions, and contest the designation of LGBTQ lives as not worthy of respect or dignity.

As the selection of stories in this chapter illustrates, every historical narrative is by definition exclusive. Telling a story is similar to taking a photograph: it brings our attention to only a very small fraction of the world. LGBTQ histories are as varied and distinct as the fields and approaches of those who teach or research or live it. Thus, the histories that we have agreed upon on at this moment are not set in stone and constantly need to be interrogated by the public, by us, by you. It is up to the visitors as excavators in their own right to interrogate this heritage project—the texts and sites—and provide their own narratives that would help to complicate and expand the current boundaries of what we now consider part of LGBTQ history. Be in the place, take time to understand the stories that are told, but always be vigilant to the histories, stories, and identities that are missing. LGBTQ history is a project in the making as we continue to excavate previously untold stories and pay attention to important moments as we move forward.
The chapters in this section provide a history of archival and architectural preservation of LGBTQ history in the United States. An archeological context for LGBTQ sites looks forward, providing a new avenue for preservation and interpretation. This LGBTQ history may remain hidden just under the ground surface, even when buildings and structures have been demolished.
Searching for the history of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender history may seem a particularly queer conceit—and searching for meaningful places associated with efforts to document, preserve, interpret, and share that history may seem queerer still. After all, every individual has a past, so at first glance it may appear that every social group must have a shared heritage. For those who benefit from a position of power...
and respect, that heritage can take the form of historical knowledge elaborated over the course of centuries and conveyed via institutions of state and culture such as schools, museums, and monuments. Those marginalized by hierarchies of class, race, language, or immigrant status are often ignored in such settings, yet they have managed to convey their heritage through more informal means, with elders telling their children or grandchildren stories of earlier times that succeeding generations pass along as a vital family inheritance.

LGBTQ people, by contrast, customarily are born into families that have little or no connection with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender life. While growing up, they have not benefited from hearing stories at home that reflect their emerging same-sex desires or their sense of a gender that differs from the one assigned to them at birth. As historian and theorist of sexuality David Halperin observes, “Unlike the members of minority groups defined by race or ethnicity or religion, gay men cannot rely on their birth families to teach them about their history or culture.”¹ Although Halperin focuses on the experience of gay men, the statement applies equally well to lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals.

Traditionally, history as a formal discipline and a cornerstone for national heritage likewise represented little or nothing of LGBTQ lives. What were seen as the homoerotic misdeeds of the occasional ancient Roman emperor or Renaissance monarch might have surfaced in passing in a historical volume or a college course, but historians customarily ignored evidence of same-sex desires and nonnormative gender identities—or regarded it as inconsequential or as a sign of immoral, criminal, or deviant behavior best forgotten. LGBTQ people similarly saw scant reflection of their own past in museums, public monuments, local historical societies, and the popular history distributed by mainstream media, let alone at officially recognized historic places. As Paula Martinac notes in her 1997 book The Queerest Places, “One thing that historic sites

and travel guides never taught me was about a most important part of myself—my heritage as a gay person in this country.”2

As a movement to defend homosexual men and women established itself in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century, the silence—and silencing—did not go unremarked. Around 1979, the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project described the situation in these stark terms: “Our letters were burned, our names blotted out, our books censored, our love declared unspeakable, our very existence denied.”3 The sense that LGBTQ people had been deprived of their heritage likewise echoes in the title of an anthology that provided a foundational text for the remarkable growth of the field in the 1990s: Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past (1989).4 Beyond the disregard or outright disapproval of society in general, however, evidence of a desire for history extends back at least to the late nineteenth century among people with same-sex attractions and nonnormative gender identities in the United States.5 Scholars have yet to research this subject in a comprehensive way, but we can trace a few of the outlines through the one hundred years before the consolidation of an academic discipline of LGBTQ history in the 1990s.

The Prehistory of Queer History

Despite the strictures of kin and the limits of formal history, at least some LGBTQ Americans caught glimpses of their own heritage in an era

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when the topic was not addressed in public or family settings. Before the emergence of print media produced by and for LGBTQ people in the United States, stories of the queer past no doubt circulated confidentially between individuals and within local queer social networks. For those who gained access to such networks, conversations among the members could include individuals who experienced same-sex desires or whose sense of gender did not match social expectations recounting their own memories, as well as recollections shared by others whose stories extended further back in time. Such folk interest in queer history is difficult to trace before the late nineteenth century, both because evidence is scarce and because the shifting meanings, forms, and interrelations of gender, same-sex desire, and homosexual acts over a longer period make the task increasingly complex.

Figure 1: The final home of Ruth Fuller Field in the 1930s was in the Gailmore Apartments at 500 N. Glendale Boulevard in Glendale, California. The site is now the location of a Chase Bank building constructed in 1965 (pictured). Photo courtesy of photographer Chris Reilly, 2015.

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On the shift from oral and confidential networks of communication to wider and more public communication via print media, see Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
One telling incident of oral transmission of memory from around 1900 appears in *The Stone Wall*, the autobiography of Ruth Fuller Field (1864–1935), published in 1930 under the pseudonym Mary Casal (Figure 1). The author describes her introduction to a circle of lesbian friends in Brooklyn, including a somewhat older but much more worldly woman whose short hair is “tinged with gray” and who tells stories of her many same-sex affairs over the years. Hearing these memories had a powerful effect on Field: “How much suffering would have been saved me and what a different life I would have led if I had known earlier that we are not all created after one pattern....” The knowledge of the past produced by contacts of the sort Field experienced most often would have been personal, fragmentary, and fragile—subject not only to the variations inevitable in stories told and retold but also to the vagaries of memory embodied in stories passed from one individual to another and gradually lost.

Looking further, individuals with the cultural capital of literacy and the means to buy or borrow print materials could come upon tantalizing evidence, although finding it often required enduring the trauma of repeated assertions that same-sex desires and nonnormative gender are by nature signs of moral impairment or mental illness. Notably, medical, psychological, and legal publications dealing with sex not infrequently featured historical details of what was characterized as sexual and gender irregularity over the centuries or of the supposed prevalence of

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8 Casal, *The Stone Wall*, 178–180. The woman is referred to in *The Stone Wall* only as “the Philosopher” or “Phil.” Darling, “A Critical Introduction,” 91–92, identifies her as Vittoria Cremers, an early follower of Theosophy. Darling does not give Cremers’s date of birth, but various authors indicate 1859 or 1860, based on records indicating Cremers was 26 when she married in 1886. See, for instance, Richard Kaczynski, *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2012), 221. Neither Field nor Darling provide a date for Field’s first encounter with Cremers, but it was before the death in 1906 of Johnstone Bennett, another member of the group whom Field met at the same time; for Bennett’s death, see Darling, “A Critical Introduction,” 87.
homosexuality among noted figures of the past. One example is *Human Sexuality: A Medico-Literary Treatise on the History and Pathology of the Sex Instinct for the Use of Physicians and Jurists* (1912) by J. Richardson Parke (1858–1938), a physician of dubious background whose practice was located near Washington Square Park in Philadelphia (Figure 2). Borrowing from earlier English, French, and German writers, his comments on the past range from “Sexual Depravity in Early Rome” through “Sexual Inversion Among Artists” to the “Freda Ward Case” (a lesbian murder case in Memphis, twenty years before the book was published). Obscenity laws putatively restricted the sale of such publications to the professional class, yet as Parke acknowledges in his preface, they nonetheless found their way into the hands of avid laypeople. By the 1920s and 1930s, a handful of popular books also offered details about the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender.

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Biographies, autobiographies, and memoirs are another genre where stories of the recent past for homosexual and bisexual women and men and for gender-variant individuals occasionally turned up. While books of this sort usually required close reading to decipher coded references and strategic silences, a few addressed the subject directly and in ways that questioned or countered dominant narratives of depravity and pathology. Field’s *The Stone Wall* is a striking example: living in retirement in California, she recorded both her own memories and the memories of the somewhat older lesbian she had met in Brooklyn decades before, thus ensuring that further generations of LGBTQ people could learn their stories of the past.14 Similarly exceptional are two volumes, *The

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14 Field lived in California for the last twenty years of her life; at the time of her death, her address was the Gailmore Apartments, 500 North Glendale Avenue (now demolished) in Glendale, a city near Los Angeles; see Darling, “A Critical Introduction,” 24. The site is now the location of a Chase Bank branch built in 1965. For the apartment building, see *Glendale City Directory 1928* (Glendale, CA: Glendale
Gerard Koskovich

_Autobiography of an Androgyne_ (1918) and _The Female-Impersonators_ (1922), that look back to queer life in New York City in the 1890s, both written by the pseudonymous Earl Lind (ca. 1874–?), also known as Ralph Werther and Jennie June, a feminine-identified man whom some might now see as a precursor to contemporary transwomen. Published by specialized small presses, Field’s and Lind’s books received limited circulation, yet knowledge of their existence reached those on the lookout for such titles. Long after publication, new readers continued discovering them through copies passed hand to hand or sold in shadowy zones of the used book market.

The fragments of the LGBTQ past found scattered in nonfiction and fiction in this early period enabled individuals and social networks to constitute alternative cultural histories that were missing from the textbooks and that helped sustain them in the face of social opprobrium and marginalization. The result was not critical scholarship, but a folk historiography demonstrating that queer and gender-variant people had always existed, had been accepted in some cultures distant in time and place, had been persecuted for centuries, yet were at times capable of

Directory Co., 1928), 78; for the bank building, see City of Glendale Property Information Portal website, record for 500 North Glendale Avenue, accessed February 8, 2016, [https://csi.glendaleca.gov/csipropertyportal](https://csi.glendaleca.gov/csipropertyportal). Field’s publisher, Eyncourt Press, was based in Chicago at 440 South Dearborn Street; see the display ad for _Jonathan Meeker, Pioneer Printer of Kansas_ by Douglas McMurtrie, the owner of the press, and Albert H. Allen in _The Rotarian_ (August 1930): 52. The site is now a parking lot.

15 Earl Lind (“Ralph Werther” “Jennie June”), _Autobiography of an Androgyne_ (New York: Medico-Legal Journal, 1918), and Ralph Werther–Jennie June (“Earl Lind”), _The Female-Impersonators_ (New York: Medico-Legal Journal, 1922); the publisher’s office was located in an existing apartment building on West 83rd Street near Central Park in New York City. The identity of the author behind the pseudonyms has not been established, his year of birth can only be estimated based on internal evidence from his books, and his date of death is unknown; see Scott Herring, “Introduction” in Ralph Werther, _Autobiography of an Androgyne_, edited and with an introduction by Scott Herring (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), xvi. For the complexities of the author’s sexuality and gender identity in the context of his times, see Herring, “Introduction,” xxiv–xxvi.

16 Herring, “Introduction,” xviii, notes that the books by Earl Lind/Ralph Werther/Jennie June were offered by a “small-scale, specialized scientific press ‘by mail only.’” He adds that the titles received no reviews and soon vanished from sight; see page x. Both volumes were, however, reprinted in 1975 by the Arno Press (New York City) in the Homosexuality: Lesbians and Gay Men in Society, History, and Literature Series, edited by Jonathan Katz and others. _The Stone Wall_ also had a traceable afterlife. For example, the first nationally circulated lesbian periodical in the United States, published a retrospective review three decades after the book appeared. See Gene Damon (pseudonym of Barbara Grier), “Books: _The Stonewall: An Autobiography_,” _The Ladder_ 4, no. 8 (May 1960): 18–19. The title also was reprinted in the 1975 Arno Press series.
greatness. The phenomenon even found its way into at least one novel of the period: in Blair Niles’s *Strange Brother* (1931), the young white protagonist, Mark Thornton, has moved to New York City to live as a homosexual. An older friend had sent Mark a copy of Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass* before Mark left his small hometown. In New York he discovers English sex reformer and homosexual emancipationist Edward Carpenter’s *Love’s Coming of Age* (1902) “by chance in a second-hand book shop on Fifty-Ninth Street.” When another friend asks him to ship some books to a doctor, he encounters a volume of English sexologist Havelock Ellis’s *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1900–1905), where he reads about “the history of abnormal love” and learns that it “had existed always, everywhere...everywhere from the beginning.” Finding self-affirmation in his discoveries and inspired by Alain Locke’s influential anthology *The New Negro* (1925), Mark even dreams of editing a book of historic texts defending “manly love.”

As the fictional Mark Thornton’s discovery of homosexual history through happenstance and personal contact suggests, creating an alternative queer heritage was not a simple matter. Many bookstores and public libraries wanted little or nothing to do with the most forthright books, and no readily available bibliographies existed to guide interested readers—yet the effort was vital for many LGBTQ people. As Donald

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17 Blair Niles, *Strange Brother* (New York: Liveright, 1931). The novel had a long afterlife, with a new hardback edition released in 1949 by Harris; a pocket paperback with lurid cover art published in 1952 by Avon; and a hardback published in the 1975 Arno Press reprint series. All the publishers were based in New York City.

18 Niles, *Strange Brother*, 78. For the used bookstore where Mark Thornton finds *Love’s Coming of Age*, the novelist may have had in mind the longtime shop of E. A. Custer at 107 East 59th Street near Park Avenue, which was open at least until 1918. The store is described in Bruno Guido, *Adventures in American Bookshops, Antique Stores and Auction Rooms* (Detroit, MI: The Douglas Book Shop, 1922), 40–43. The address appears in “Books Wanted,” *The Publisher’s Weekly* (April 21, 1917): 1284. The site is now the location of a later multistory building with a leather goods shop in the storefront at number 107.


Webster Cory (pseudonym of Edward Sagarin, 1913–1986) notes in his 1951 book *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach*, scouring the historical record for heroes “is characteristic of any minority having an inferior social status”; he adds that homosexual men and women in particular were “anxious to find in literature justification and clues to happiness....”

Figure 3: The home of Jeanette Howard Foster’s parents on Pleasant Avenue in Chicago’s Beverly neighborhood. As an adult, Foster lived here with her parents during part of the 1920s and 1930s. Modifications include the construction of an addition with a garage at left, completed in 2016. Photo courtesy of photographer Daniel Barthel, 2016.

A well-documented example is offered by Jeannette Howard Foster (1895–1981). In the mid-teens of the twentieth century, when she was an undergraduate at Rockford College (now Rockford University) in Rockford, Illinois, she began a lifelong search for books referring to romantic and erotic relationships between women, including women portrayed as bisexual or favoring men’s clothing. By the 1920s she was


22 Jeannette H. Foster, *Sex Variant Women in Literature: A Historical and Quantitative Study* (New York: Vantage Press, 1956); in the unpaginated “Foreword,” the author dates the start of her bibliographical search to learning about a student expelled for lesbianism when she was in college.
collecting such books and by the 1930s was giving much of her free time to bibliographical research, including travel to libraries holding otherwise inaccessible titles (Figure 3). During both of these decades, she lived for periods of time in her parents’ Chicago home and kept her growing collection there.23 After obtaining a PhD in library science at the University of Chicago and holding a series of posts as a librarian, Foster ultimately produced a groundbreaking study reflecting both her search for a personal heritage and her academic training: Sex Variant Women in Literature: A Historical and Quantitative Study (1956). She courageously published the book under her own name and at her own expense in the midst of the anti-homosexual panic of the 1950s.24 Foster’s publication provided a foundation for work on the cultural history of lesbianism that would appear in the subsequent two decades.25

Homophile Organizers and History Enthusiasts

With the emergence in the 1950s of the earliest enduring American homosexual organizations and periodicals—a phenomenon often referred to as the homophile movement—the search for a shared heritage began to shift from largely private and fragmentary pursuits to more public and structured ones. The first national groups were the Mattachine Society,

For further detail on the incident, see Joanne Ellen Passet, Sex Variant Woman: The Life of Jeannette Howard Foster (New York: Da Capo Press, 2008), 44–45.
23 On the scope of Foster’s research, see Passet, Sex Variant Woman, especially pages 121 and 129. As an adult building her collection and researching lesbian literature, Foster spent two periods living with her parents in the home where she had grown up: in 1922–1923 while studying for her master’s degree and in 1933–1934 as a doctoral student; see Passet, Sex Variant Woman, 16, 68–75, 114–117. Located on Pleasant Avenue in the Beverly neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois, the house is extant, although a comparison with the 1906 photograph reproduced in Passet, Sex Variant Woman, 16, shows that it has undergone extensive modifications, notably with an addition including a garage constructed on one side of the house in 2016.
25 For example, Gallo, Different Daughters, 37–38, notes Foster’s influence on the bibliographical efforts of Marion Zimmer Bradley. For an instance from the subsequent generation of lesbian scholars, see note 47 below.
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founded in 1950, which focused on the concerns of homosexual men; One Incorporated, founded in 1952, which primarily concentrated on men but also took an interest in women’s issues; and the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), founded in 1955, which brought together lesbian women. Both One Incorporated and the Mattachine Society were initially based in Los Angeles, with Mattachine moving to San Francisco late in 1956; DOB was headquartered in San Francisco from the start. All three published long-running periodicals that usually appeared monthly: *The Mattachine Review* (1955–1966); *One* (1953–1967, with a brief reappearance in 1972); and *The Ladder* (1956–1972). In addition, One Incorporated later launched a scholarly publication, *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* (1961–1970).

The earlier informal knowledge of queer history produced by individual effort and disseminated through social networks reached a nascent public readership via these new periodicals, with homosexual history buffs contributing articles on a fairly regular basis. As John D’Emilio notes,

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27 Sites associated with the periodicals include the Williams Building at 693 Mission Street in San Francisco, where the Mattachine Society rented offices for most of its existence and where the Daughters of Bilitis shared the space starting early in 1957 before moving to its own office in the Department Store Center Building at 165 O’Farrell Street in San Francisco in 1958; the Williams Building also housed the Pan-Graphic Press, a small-press publishing and offset printing firm established by Mattachine members that printed the *Mattachine Review* and *The Ladder*. For the Mattachine Society, 693 Mission Street appears for the first time in “Mattachine Review: Where to Buy It,” *Mattachine Review* 1, no. 5 (September–October 1955): 35; it remained the address through the final issue, “Organizational Directory,” *Mattachine Review* 11, no. 1 (July 1966): 14–15. For Pan-Graphic Press, see Hal Call, “Mattachine Review” in *Homosexuals Today 1956*, ed., Marvin Cutler (pseudonym of W. Dorr Legg) (Los Angeles: One Incorporated, 1956), 58–60. For DOB, see the masthead of *The Ladder* 1, no. 5 (February 1957), which gives the address as 693 Mission Street for the first time; for the move to 165 O’Farrell St., see Del Martin, “We’ve Moved,” *The Ladder* 2, no. 6 (March 1958): 4–5. For sites associated with One, see notes 37 and 43 below.

28 The homophile movement’s use of history has yet to receive in-depth scholarly attention; the discussion here is based largely on the author’s review of the organizations’ periodicals. Also note that the first documented homosexual advocacy group in the United States was the Society for Human Rights in Chicago in 1924–1925. It published two newsletter issues, but no copies are known to survive; a few paragraphs of content preserved in French translation make no mention of historical topics. See Clarens, “Friendship and Freedom,” *L’Amitié*, no. 1 (April 1925): 13, posted at Séminaire
“Through bibliographies, books reviews, and essays on history and literature, the publications filled an informational void and became valuable tools for self-education.”29 He adds that such articles reflected the groups’ effort “to legitimate homosexuality as a significant and pervasive component of human experience....”30 Despite their attention to evidence of the past, however, homophile history enthusiasts expressed virtually no interest in historic preservation, likely because publicly marking places meaningful to queer memory would have attracted traumatizing reactions in an era when LGBTQ territories remained clandestine, policed, and contested.31

A survey of the first five years of the three main homophile magazines suggests the extent to which history held an important place in the movement. The Mattachine Review, for instance, ran approximately twenty substantial articles with a historical focus during its first five years. These included brief biographies of figures from the past such as the Roman emperor Hadrian; lengthy reviews of popular books such as G. Rattray Taylor’s Sex in History (1954); a two-part series on what the author characterized as homosexuality among Native Americans, drawing on observations from European explorers and colonists; the tale of Civil War hero Jennie Hodges, presented as a woman who passed as a man to serve in the Union Army; and a ten-year retrospective of the Mattachine Gay, accessed May 28, 2015, http://semgai.free.fr/doc_et_pdf/L_amitie.pdf. The article also is available in reprint in Lucien Mirande, Inversions 1924–1925, L’Amitié 1925: Deux revues homosexuelles françaises (Lille, France: GayKitschCamp, 2006), 228–229. The Society for Human Rights operated out of the rooming house where Henry Gerber lived in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois. It was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015; see Diana Novak Jones, “Old Town Site of Nation’s First Gay Rights Group Designated National Landmark,” Chicago Sun-Times, June 19, 2015, accessed January 29, 2016, http://chicago.suntimes.com/news/7/71/705597/old-town-site-nations-first-gay-rights-group-designated-national-landmark.

29 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities, 110.
30 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities, 111.
31 The only article mentioning recognition of an LGBTQ historic site recorded in my survey of national homophile journals suggests how fraught the topic could be: An article reprinted from the Canadian weekly Macleans describes London celebrations in 1954 marking the centenary of Oscar Wilde’s birth. It recounts the unveiling of a plaque at Wilde’s former home identifying him as a “dramatist and wit,” yet disparages homosexuality as a “crime or disease” and as a “dreadful cult.” For the author of the article, Wilde merits a historic site as a great writer, yet still deserves nothing but scorn as a homosexual. See Beverly Baxter, “London Letter: Has Oscar Wilde’s Crime Been Redeemed?” Mattachine Review 1, no. 4 (July–August 1955): 22–25.
Society’s own history. The magazine also published a multipart bibliography with more than one thousand listings for fiction and nonfiction books dealing with homosexuality, including out-of-print titles dating back decades.

The Ladder also played its part in bringing alternative homosexual histories into print, publishing approximately twelve substantial history-related articles in its first five years. Mostly dealing with literary and cultural history, the articles included a succinct biography of British novelist Radclyffe Hall (1886–1943), a survey of cross-dressing by women, a synopsis of films with lesbian themes produced from the early 1930s on, and a discussion of lesbianism and the law from ancient Rome to twentieth-century America. In addition, the magazine contributed to lesbian bibliography by publishing a standing “Lesbiana” column of capsule book reviews, primarily recent fiction, but also fiction from the first half of the twentieth century and occasionally nonfiction titles touching in some way on lesbian history. Initially written by Marion Zimmer Bradley (1930–1999), the column ran unsigned before being taken over by Barbara Grier (1933–2011) under the pseudonym Gene Damon in September 1957.35


35 See Gallo, Different Daughters, 36–37. The first installment of “Lesbiana” ran in The Ladder 1, no. 6 (March 1957): 12. It included reviews of a 1955 edition of the collected works of Pierre Louÿs, the French poet whose Songs of Bilitis (1894; English translation 1926) inspired the name of the Daughters of Bilitis; Radclyffe Hall’s The Well of Loneliness (1928); and a new edition of a “long out-of-print classic,” Colette’s Claudine at School (1900; English translation 1930). “Lesbiana” continued appearing regularly through the end of the run. For reprints of the columns from the final six years of
The third national homophile group, One Incorporated, merits particular notice for working to develop alternative understandings of homosexuality into a structured field of study with history as a key component. Much like the Mattachine Society and the DOB, the organization started out with a periodical that included substantial articles dealing in whole or part with history—approximately seventeen in the first five years of One magazine. In 1956, the leaders of the organization went beyond publishing the occasional history article: they moved to elaborate a systematic approach to thinking and teaching about homosexuality by establishing the One Institute for Homophile Studies. The Institute described itself as “an adult education facility offering courses of undergraduate and graduate levels. Classes in history, literature and social studies centered upon homosexuality and its relation to world cultures, religion, law, morals, psychology, medicine, and

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36 In the case of One, the count is less clear than for the Mattachine Review and The Ladder for two reasons: the run on microfilm from the New York Public Library consulted by the author lacks scattered issues, so an article or two may be missing; in addition, the editors of the publication tended to run think-piece essays that draw only in passing on historical evidence and arguments, so determining which to count as substantial history articles is a somewhat subjective matter.
Among the instructors from the beginning was Harry Hay (1912–2002), a founder of the Mattachine Society who had devoted himself in particular to the ethnohistory of homosexuality and gender variation in American Indian cultures.38

In an era when academic historians and university history departments ignored not only the history of homosexuality but also the history of sexuality in general, developing a cross-cultural history curriculum on homosexuality from ancient times to the modern era was an objective of the One Institute from the outset.39 Expanding from the inward-looking, self-affirming search for a personal heritage that LGBTQ people had pursued informally for decades, the institute argued that learning about the history of homosexuality also served an important purpose for society as a whole. One of the instructors, James Kepner (1923–1997), put it in these terms: “The task of countering majority bias is in the long run as vital to the majority itself as it is for the homophile or other social deviants. Does anyone seriously think he can really understand the history, not only of ancient Greece or modern Germany, but of any era or country, while ignoring the homosexual pieces in the puzzle?”40

37 “One Institute of Homophile Studies,” One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies 1, no. 1 (Spring 1958): inside front cover. Classes were held at the offices of One Incorporated, located at 232 South Hill Street in downtown Los Angeles from 1953 to 1962, then at 2256 Venice Boulevard in the Arlington Heights neighborhood from 1962 to 1983; see “History,” One Archives at the USC Libraries website, accessed June 1, 2015, http://one.usc.edu/about/history. The Hill Street building no longer exists. The Venice Boulevard structure is extant and is listed as a “known resource” in GPA Consulting, Carson Anderson, and Wes Joe, SurveyLA: LGBT Historic Context Statement (Los Angeles: Office of Historic Resources, Department of City Planning, City of Los Angeles, 2014), 30.


39 See White, Pre-Gay L.A., chap. 4, “The Establishment of One Institute.” As White notes on page 74, a report prepared by One Incorporated that led up to the founding of the institute underscored the failure of higher education to address the subject of homosexuality with the exception of approaches involving “medical, psychoanalytic and other biases....” On the early history classes at the institute, see Legg, Homophile Studies, 27–28, 31–32, and chap. 5, “Homosexuality in History.”

Both course lectures and student papers from this enterprise provided content for the institute’s scholarly journal, *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies*. The full run includes approximately twenty-two substantial history articles. Taken together, they provide a sweeping view of ancient, Renaissance, early modern, and nineteenth-century histories, along with considerations of Asian history and ethnohistory. The contributors drew largely on published primary and secondary sources in English, generally emphasizing intellectual and cultural history. The historical articles mostly discuss male homosexuality, with lesbian and transgender topics more often featured in essays employing sociological, medical, and psychological frameworks. With no trained historians involved and no access to outside fellowships or significant funding, archival research evidently was beyond the means of the institute’s early participants. The organization lasted well beyond the period of the homophile movement, ultimately receiving state accreditation in 1981 to issue graduate degrees; it ceased operation as a teaching institution in 1994.

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42 Only one academic was involved in the early years of the One Institute of Homophile Studies: Merritt Thompson (under the pseudonym Thomas R. Merritt), an emeritus dean of the School of Education at the University of Southern California; see White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*, 74–76. The leader of the institute, W. Dorr Legg, had bachelor’s degrees in landscape architecture and music from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and had briefly taught at the State University of Oregon, Eugene; see Wayne R. Dynes, “Legg, W. Dorr (1904–94),” in Aldrich and Wotherspoon, eds., *Who’s Who*, 244–245.

Community Archivists, Independent Scholars, and Academic Pioneers

The gay liberation and lesbian-feminist movements of the late 1960s and 1970s produced a wave of highly visible organizing across the United States that quickly surpassed the reach of the much smaller homophile organizations.44 As the movement garnered members and allies, it also encountered widespread and at times harsh opposition. As with other groups that embraced identity politics at the time, gay and lesbian people responded in part by looking for support from a shared past they could publicly assert as their own.45 Given the generational and political divides between older homophile activists and younger liberationists, many among the latter group may have been unaware that they were continuing a search that itself had a long history.46 Some of the younger history enthusiasts, however, eagerly found guidance in the bibliographies developed in the homophile period.47

Three interlinked phenomena demonstrate the growing interest in the United States in the history of gay men and lesbians—and to a lesser extent transgender and bisexual people—starting with the era of gay liberation in the 1970s and continuing through the 1980s:

44 The scholarly literature on the gay liberation and lesbian-feminist movements is considerable. For a recent overview, see Marc Stein, Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement (New York: Routledge, 2012), chap. 3–4.
45 Susan Ferentinos notes the link between identity politics and interest in community history in this period; see her book Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 22.
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- The founding of the first organizations devoted primarily or entirely to documenting, researching, interpreting, and disseminating this history.

- The contributions of a growing number of independent scholars.

- The emergence of the first historians to address the subject of homosexuality in the setting of university humanities departments.

To some extent, these developments reflected the decades-old desire for self-affirmation and a common heritage among people with same-sex attractions and nonnormative gender identities. As Jeffrey Escoffier notes, lesbian and gay scholars in this period initially “looked for antecedents as a way of claiming ancestors, of validating themselves through the achievements of great and famous queers and dykes.”\(^{48}\) In addition, they advanced and transformed the historical project of the homophile period, sharpening its assertion of a shared past not only into a tool for the formation of identity and community, but also into a political strategy for influencing internal and external debates about lesbian and gay communities and for demanding respect from society as a whole.\(^{49}\) The resulting production of community-based historical institutions, resources, and scholarship laid the groundwork for the establishment of LGBTQ history as a seriously regarded subject of academic study and for the emergence of queer heritage initiatives in the traditional field of historic preservation.

The effort to create LGBTQ archives and libraries as independent entities starting in the 1970s brought focus to a less-noticed enterprise of the three national homophile groups: all had collected relevant books and periodicals—and in the case of One Incorporated, the holdings had grown


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considerably to support the educational initiatives of the One Institute.\textsuperscript{50} Academic libraries and archives, by contrast, had taken little interest in documenting the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender expression—a situation that persisted into the 1990s. The rare exceptions proved the rule: the Kinsey Institute at Indiana University, founded in 1947, had gathered such materials as part of its wider focus on human sexuality, but the collection remained largely inaccessible to outside researchers in the field of history until the 1980s.\textsuperscript{51} Another forerunner was the Joseph A. Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, with holdings focused on radical social movements. The collection expanded to include sexual reform movements under the leadership of Edward C. Weber (1922–2006), a gay man who served as director from 1960 to 2000 and who began accessioning homophile materials in the early 1960s.\textsuperscript{52}

Starting in the 1970s the void left by academic libraries was filled by community-based LGBTQ archives and libraries, many of which not only collected books, periodicals, and papers, but also responded to the equivalent exclusion from museum collections by gathering works of art and artifacts. Furthermore, most of the organizations assumed additional functions of traditional public history institutions by documenting historic places associated with LGBTQ life and by offering exhibitions and public


\textsuperscript{51} See The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender and Reproduction (Bloomington, IN: Kinsey Institute, 1984), especially pages 19–21. The Institute has been located on the Indiana University campus in Bloomington, Indiana, since its founding: in Biology Hall (Swain Hall East) from 1947 to 1950, in Wylie Hall from 1950 to 1955, in Jordan Hall from 1955 to 1967, and subsequently in Morrison Hall. See “The Kinsey Institute: Chronology of Events and Landmark Publications,” The Kinsey Institute website, accessed June 13, 2015, \url{http://www.kinseyinstitute.org/about/chronology.html}. Wylie Hall was listed on the NRHP as part of the Old Crescent Historic District on September 8, 1980.

\textsuperscript{52} See Tim Retzloff, “Edward Weber, Retired Labadie Collection Curator at U of M, Dies at 83,” Pride Source, April 20, 2006, accessed June 1, 2015, \url{http://www.pridesource.com/article.html?article=18419}. Also see Rubin, Deviations, 15–16. The Labadie Collection is housed in the Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library at 913 South University Avenue on the University of Michigan campus in Ann Arbor. From the construction of the library in 1920 until 1970, the collection was located in the original building, now known as the North Building; in 1970, Ed Weber oversaw the move to its current home in the Special Collections Library in the then-new South Building. See Julie Herrada, curator, Joseph A. Labadie Collection, e-mail to the author, June 19, 2015.
programs. As scholar Ann Cvetkovich notes, by gathering and interpreting LGBT historical materials outside traditional academic frameworks, such groups played a vital role in addressing “the traumatic loss of history that has accompanied sexual life and the formation of sexual publics, and they assert the role of memory and affect in compensating for institutional neglect. Like other archives of trauma, such as those that commemorate the Holocaust, slavery or war, they must enable the acknowledgment of a past that can be painful to remember, impossible to forget, and resistant to consciousness.”

The first such formally established organization in the United States was the Lesbian Herstory Archives (LHA), conceived in 1974 during discussions at a lesbian-feminist consciousness-raising group in Manhattan of which writer, activist, and self-defined “white Jewish fem lesbian” Joan Nestle was a member. As the LHA notes in the history posted on its website, “At one meeting in 1974, Julia Stanley and Joan Nestle, who had come out before the gay liberation movement, talked about the precariousness of lesbian culture and how so much of our past culture was seen only through patriarchal eyes”; with others responding to the observation, “a new concept was born—a grassroots lesbian archives.”

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In 1975, the institution installed its collections in the apartment on 92nd Street in the Upper West Side shared by Nestle and her then-partner, Deborah Edel (Figure 5). Volunteers, researchers, and visitors frequented the space for the next seventeen years, after which the institution relocated to its current location, a brownstone in the Park Slope neighborhood of Brooklyn. Nestle’s apartment also provided a home to Mabel Hampton (1902–1989), a working-class African American lesbian elder who had donated her own collection to LHA and was a mainstay among the volunteers. She lived there part-time starting in 1976 and full-time for the last three years of her life. Hampton was one of a number of

Figure 5: A birthday party for Mabel Hampton at the Lesbian Herstory Archives in the apartment of Joan Nestle, circa 1979. At far left: Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel; at far right: Mabel Hampton. Photo courtesy of photographer Morgan Gwenwald, circa 1979.

56 The LHA purchased the brownstone where it is still located at 484 14th Street in the Park Slope Historic District of Brooklyn in 1990 and opened to the public there in 1993. See Lesbian Herstory Archives, “Lesbian Herstory Archives: History and Mission.” According to Deborah Edel, the collection was moved from Nestle’s apartment in the first half of 1992; e-mail from Edel to the author, June 15, 2015. Thistlethwaite, “Building ‘A Home of Our Own,’” 155, likewise dates the move to 1992. The Park Slope Historic District was listed on the NRHP on November 21, 1980.


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women of color who played significant roles in the early years of LHA; others have provided ongoing leadership as members of the governing collective.\footnote{Thistlethwaite, “Building ‘A Home of Our Own,’” 161.}

The other major archives and library founded in the 1970s started as the Western Gay Archives, the name that Los Angeles homophile movement pioneer James Kepner gave his personal collection. In the first half of the 1970s, he began inviting researchers to his apartment one afternoon a week to use the materials he had amassed in the previous three decades. Kepner transformed his private collection into a formal nonprofit association and renamed it the Natalie Barney/Edward Carpenter Library of the National Gay Archives in 1979, at which time the collection moved to a Hollywood storefront where it was regularly open to the public.\footnote{On the Western Gay Archives and its transformation into the National Gay Archives, see James Kepner, “An Accidental Institution: How and Why a Gay and Lesbian Archives?” in Carmichael, ed., Daring to Find Our Names, 179. Also see One Archives, “History”; this page gives 1971 as the year in the introduction and 1975 in the chronological timeline that follows. White, Pre-Gay L.A., 78 and 202, gives the year as 1975. For a brief summary of Kepner’s life, see “Biography,” Finding Aid of the Jim Kepner Papers, Coll. 2011.002, One Archives (Los Angeles), posted at the Online Archive of California, accessed June 12, 2015, http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt8d5nf4c6/admin/#ref3. The National Gay Archives storefront was located at 1654 North Hudson Avenue in Hollywood from 1979 to 1988 (now demolished); see One Archives, “History.”} In contrast to the lesbian-feminist orientation of the LHA with its emphasis on recuperating women’s history, the Southern California institution adopted a comprehensive approach from the outset, looking to gather historical and contemporary materials reflecting in any way on homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender variation.\footnote{Notably, Kepner reported that early purchases for his collection starting in 1942 included both nonfiction and fiction and books dealing with both gay and lesbian themes. See Kepner, “An Accidental Institution,” 176.} Through name changes, moves, and a merger with One Incorporated, the archives and library remained in the hands of a community-based organization until 2010, when the group donated the materials to the University of Southern California.\footnote{See One Archives “History.”}

These two groundbreaking institutions embodied in several ways the organizational outlines for the LGBTQ archives and libraries that would be
established around the United States throughout the 1980s, into the 1990s, and beyond. Some would grow out of community organizing efforts, as did the LHA. This group includes the Gerber/Hart Library and Archives in Chicago, founded in 1981, and the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society in San Francisco, founded in 1985. Others would grow from private collections, as did the National Gay Archives. This group includes the Quatrefoil Library, created in 1983 in Minneapolis from the personal library that David Irwin (1920–2009) and Dick Hewetson started in the mid-1970s, and the Stonewall Library, created in 1987 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, from a private collection launched in 1973 by Mark Silber.

All of those organizations developed wide-ranging holdings embracing lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender materials, limited in some cases only by a regional focus. Furthermore, all were committed to documenting the racial and ethnic diversity of LGBTQ communities. In practice, however, evidence of the experience of cisgender white men often constituted a majority of the collections, in part because systems of privilege meant that

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62 A precise count of the community-based archives established during this period is difficult to establish, as many were small, local, and ephemeral, with collections that ultimately merged with those of larger organizations or were placed at university libraries or general historical societies; see “Introduction,” in Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable, “Lavender Legacies Guide” (updated 2012), Society of American Archivists website, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www2.archivists.org/groups/lesbian-and-gay-archives-roundtable-lagar/lavender-legacies-guide-introduction.


more such material had been produced and preserved in the first place.65 Other community-based archives followed the model of the LHA, seeking to address such challenges by focusing specifically on underrepresented groups. Institutions in this category include the National Transgender Library and Archive, which Dallas Denny created as a personal collection in 1990 in Tucker, Georgia (Figure 6), then donated in 1993 to the American Educational Gender Information Service, which in turn transferred it to the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan in 2000.66 Another example is the Historical Archive of the Latino GLBT

Figure 6: A portion of the National Transgender Library and Archive in the home of Dallas Denny, Tucker, Georgia. Photo courtesy of photographer Dallas Denny, circa 1995.

66 See Dallas Denny, e-mails to the author May 25, 2015; June 11, 2015; and June 13, 2015; also see the catalog record for the holdings at the University of Michigan Library website, accessed June 11, 2015, http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004366562. According to Denny, the collection was located in her home on Chisholm Court in Tucker, Georgia, from 1991 until it was transferred to the University of Michigan.
History Project, started as a personal collection by José Gutierrez in Washington, DC, in 1993 and incorporated as a nonprofit in 2007. The 1970s and 1980s also saw the emergence of independent scholars working individually and in collaboration to research the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender expression. These historians drew not only on a depth and range of published primary sources that surpassed those employed by the homophile movement, but also on the production of oral histories and sustained archival research, often gathering the materials directly from LGBT elders or working in association with the new community-based archives. As Susan Ferentinos notes, “The field of LGBT history owes a great debt to these mostly amateur community historians, for they saw the need to collect the history long before mainstream archives, and these early efforts form essential contributions to the historical collections of today. In a similar vein, many of the earliest books on LGBT history in the United States were written by historians (professionally trained or otherwise) who were unaffiliated with universities.”

A major independent scholar whose work emerged in this milieu is historian Jonathan Ned Katz, who conducted much of his early research at the Bobst Library at New York University in the years before LGBTQ community libraries and archives were founded. “My work on gay history began with my play Coming Out, produced by the Gay Activists Alliance, NYC, in June 1972, and reproduced the following year,” Katz recalls. “There was also a Boston production, I guess in 1973. The play used documents of LGBT history for dramatic purposes. The attention the play

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67 See “About Us: Our History” and “Historical Archive”, Latino GLBT History Project website, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www.latinoglbthistory.org. The collections have been housed in Gutierrez’s apartment on S Street NW at the corner of Seventeenth Street in Washington, DC, since he began gathering the materials; José Gutierrez, message to the author, October 26, 2015.

68 For a discussion of the efforts of lesbian and gay independent scholars in this period, see Escoffier, American Homo, 104–110.

69 Ferentinos, Interpreting LGBT History, 22.

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got led to my being offered a contract for a book on gay history, which turned into Gay American History in 1976. I always say that my work on gay history comes directly out of the political movement.”71 Katz adds that “I started out by trying to find out everything that was already known about LGBT history. I collected all the existing bibliographies on homosex and cut them up and put them in chrono order on 3 x 5 cards. It was revelatory.”72

Katz’s 1976 book, Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.—A Documentary, brought together an array of primary sources from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries, along with Katz’s historical commentaries and an eighty-three page bibliography.73 As with the play that preceded it, the book included histories of women and men, white people, people of color, and individuals with diverse desires and gender expressions, many reflecting the experience of eras well before the conception of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender identities. Gay American History was the first volume in the field brought out by a major New York publishing house. This connection helped give the book unprecedented reach, drawing the attention of many LGBTQ individuals and not a few academic historians to the potential depth and range of this area of history. Katz also helped develop basic resources for gay and lesbian studies by serving as general editor of “Homosexuality: Lesbians and Gay Men in Society, History, and Literature,” a series of some one hundred books from the Arno Press in New York City that reprinted scarce


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and long out-of-print titles and brought unpublished original scholarship into print.\textsuperscript{74}

At a time when American universities remained almost entirely unwelcoming to the history of homosexuality, the period from 1972 to 1980 saw the first three graduate students successfully complete doctoral dissertations dealing with the subject: Rictor Norton, Salvatore Licata, and Ramón Gutiérrez.\textsuperscript{75} With a new assertiveness reflecting the impact of gay liberation politics, these young researchers took on the sustained intellectual labor and constrained economic circumstances of graduate school, even though they had every reason to believe they would face considerable challenges establishing careers in academia.\textsuperscript{76} As Gayle Rubin notes, advisers of graduate students doing such work at the time not infrequently “told them bluntly that they were committing academic suicide, and these warnings were not unrealistic.”\textsuperscript{77} In their overall approach to queer history, the early dissertations look back to the traditions of folk and homophile histories and forward to future thinking about LGBTQ people and their place in the past. Their pioneering authors

\textsuperscript{74} See Escoffier, \textit{American Homo}, 109. Also see the preliminary announcement for the series, which was subsequently expanded to include additional titles: \textit{Homosexuality: Lesbians and Gay Men in Society, History, and Literature. A Collection of 54 Books and 2 Periodicals. First Announcement (New York: Arno Press, 1975); in addition to Katz as general editor, the editorial board consisted of two university professors, Louis Crompton of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, and Dolores Noll of Kent State University; a graduate student at Cornell University, James Steakley, who went on to a career as a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison; and another independent scholar who was a veteran of the homophile movement, Barbara Gittings (1932–2007).


\textsuperscript{77} Gayle Rubin, “Blood Under the Bridge: Reflections on ‘Thinking Sex,’” in Rubin, \textit{Deviations}, 198. Brenda Marston reports that such obstacles continued into the next decade: when she was a graduate student hoping to study lesbian history at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in the early 1980s, an adviser told her, “It will ruin your career.” See Brenda Marston, “Archivists, Activists, and Scholars: Creating a Queer History,” in Carmichael, ed., \textit{Daring to Find Our Names}, 137.
opened the way for three more PhDs in the field in the 1980s, earned by John D’Emilio, Michael Lombardi, and George Chauncey.78

The first individual in the United States to receive a PhD for work dealing with the history of homosexuality was Rictor Norton, a graduate student in English at Florida State University in Tallahassee from 1967 to 1972.79 His dissertation traces literary representations of male homosexuality through pastoral mythology from the ancient world to the Renaissance, with an afterword on modern European and American authors. Norton’s work brought scholarly rigor to the queer tradition of alternative cultural and literary histories, but having come out publicly, he found that his advisor opposed his search for an academic post.80 In 1973, he moved to London, where he worked in journalism and publishing and has produced numerous publications on gay history as an independent scholar.81

The second PhD in the United States on the history of homosexuality went to Salvatore Licata (1939–1990), a graduate student in history at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles from 1971 to 1978. In part recalling the early efforts of the Mattachine Society to record its own history, his dissertation focused on the American gay movement from the early twentieth century to 1974.82 Licata taught an early course section titled “Sexual Nonconformity in America” as part of a freshman American

79 On Norton’s graduate school experiences, see Rictor Norton, e-mails to the author, June 3, 2015 and June 4, 2015.
81 For a brief biography of Norton, a list of his publications, and links to many of his articles, see Gay History & Literature: Essays by Rictor Norton, updated August 22, 2015, accessed June 10, 2015, http://rictornorton.co.uk.
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history seminar at USC in 1976. He later taught gay history at San Francisco State University, but did not obtain a permanent academic post; when he died of AIDS in 1990, he had been working for several years as a journalist and community educator on HIV.

The third American doctoral dissertation that discusses the history of homosexuality is the work of Ramón Gutiérrez, a graduate student in the History Department at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, from 1974 to 1980. Although in part addressing the ethnohistory of American Indians that previously had attracted the attention of homophile organizers, Gutiérrez dropped their approach to same-sex desire and nonnormative gender expression as isolated phenomena; instead, he integrates them into his analysis of larger systems of sex, gender, marriage, and family in colonial New Mexico from the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. In contrast to Norton and Licata, Gutiérrez built an academic career and now holds an endowed chair in history at the University of Chicago.

Independent scholars and academics also worked together in several initiatives during this period. One such effort was the Buffalo Women’s Oral History Project, founded in 1978 by Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy,

83 See “Schedule of Classes and Registration Instructions, Spring Semester 1976,” Bulletin of the University of Southern California 71, no. 9 (November 15, 1975): 30. The course was held in Room 206 of Waite Phillips Hall of Education at 3470 University Avenue (now Trousdale Parkway) on the USC campus; for the building, see “Schedule of Classes and Registration Instructions,” 2. Currently known simply as Phillips Hall, the structure remains in use as the home of USC’s Rossier School of Education.


85 Ramón A. Gutiérrez, e-mail to the author, June 15, 2015.


87 See the faculty homepage of Ramón A. Gutiérrez, University of Chicago website, accessed June 10, 2015, https://history.uchicago.edu/directory/ram%C3%B3n-guti%C3%A9rrez.
Madeline D. Davis, and Avra Michelson.\textsuperscript{88} They jointly conceived an initiative to record oral histories of the Buffalo lesbian community, create an accessible archive of the interviews and supporting documents, and write a book based on the materials. With other collaborators over time, including Wanda Edwards (1955–1995), an African American graduate student, the project continued for fourteen years, capturing memories reflecting the diversity of gender expression, race, and urban territories among the city’s working-class lesbians before 1970.\textsuperscript{89} Kennedy and Davis ultimately produced a book drawn from the work of the project: \textit{Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community} (1993). Their introduction sums up the project in these words: “Uncovering our hidden history was a labor of love, and restoring this history to our community was a political responsibility.”\textsuperscript{90}

Another such initiative was the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, which had a wide-ranging national impact over time. Founded in summer 1978, the project provided a network of support and intellectual exchange for participants who were carrying out research, writing, and public history initiatives.\textsuperscript{91} Meeting initially in the apartment of founding

\textsuperscript{88} Kennedy was a professor of women’s studies at the State University of New York; Buffalo; Davis was a librarian and lesbian activist who had returned to school to obtain a master’s degree but did not pursue an academic career; Michelson had received a master's in American studies in 1976 but went on to work as an archivist. On Kennedy and Davis and on the Buffalo Women’s Oral History Project in general, see Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, \textit{Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of Lesbian Community} (New York: Routledge, 1993), xvi; and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, e-mail to the author, July 20, 2015. On Michelson’s training and career, see Avra Michelson, “Description and Reference in the Age of Automation,” \textit{American Archivist} 50 (Spring 1987): 192.


\textsuperscript{90} Kennedy and Davis, \textit{Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold}, xvi.

\textsuperscript{91} See Rubin, “Blood Under the Bridge,” in Rubin, \textit{Deviations}, 199–200; and John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, “Allan Bérubé and the Power of Community History,” in D’Emilio and Freedman, eds., \textit{My Desire for History}, 10–12. For the date the project was founded, see “San Francisco Gay History Project,” typescript funding proposal (1978), 1; GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project Records (collection no. 1988-05), box 1, folder 1: “SFGHP Project Proposal 1978.” Published sources based on the authors’ recollections, by contrast, variously give the year as 1978 or 1979; see Rubin, \textit{Deviations}, 362, note 57, and Escoffier, \textit{American Homo}, 169. Note
member Allan Bérubé (1946–2007) in the Haight-Ashbury District (Figure 7) and occasionally sponsoring public presentations in community settings, the History Project remained active into the mid-1980s. John D’Emilio and Estelle Freedman, both of whom were members, recall that “remarkably, given the strong tendencies toward lesbian separatism in the 1970s, the project remained a mixed-sex group, although lesbians met separately as well as with the male participants. While almost entirely white, it also was a mixed-class group and one that defined itself as politically activist.”

Many of those involved in the History Project went on to produce significant work. Independent scholars who were active with the group include Bérubé, recipient of a MacArthur Fellowship for his historical research; Academy Award-winning filmmaker Rob Epstein; author and

Figure 7: Historian Allan Bérubé in his apartment on Lyon Street near Oak Street in San Francisco, California in 1979. The earliest meetings of the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project were held here. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco).

that the group originally called itself the San Francisco Gay History Project; the name was changed to add the word “lesbian” sometime between June 1, 1979, and March 4, 1980; see the dated promotional materials in GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project Papers (collection no. 1988-05), box 1, folder 2: “Publicity: Flyers, Articles, Events.”

Bérubé’s apartment was located on Lyon Street just south of the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park; see GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), Allan Bérubé Papers (collection no. 1995-17), box 1, folder 7: “125 Lyon Street Apartment Papers.” The first public program sponsored by the project was a presentation of the slide show “Lesbian Masquerade” on June 21, 1979, at the Women’s Building of San Francisco, located at 3543 Eighteenth Street in the Mission District. See “Dear Friends,” promotional letter signed by Amber Hollibaugh and Allan Bérubé (June 1, 1979); GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project Papers (collection no. 1988-05), box 1, folder 2: “Publicity: Flyers, Articles, Events.”

D’Emilio and Freedman, eds., My Desire for History, 10–11.
editor Jeffrey Escoffier; historian and bibliographer Eric Garber (1954–1995); and activist and writer Amber Hollibaugh.94 The History Project also was the setting where Garber and independent scholar Willie Walker (1949–2004) launched a database of San Francisco LGBTQ historic sites that has subsequently supported the work of numerous researchers on the history of queer places in the city.95 The group likewise nurtured Walker’s proposal that led to the creation in 1985 of the GLBT Historical Society, now a renowned LGBTQ archives and museum (Figure 8).96

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95 On the sites database, see Damon Scott, interview with the author, May 19, 2015. Scott indicates that Garber and Walker passed the database along to the GLBT Historical Society, where Scott himself later incorporated further data, including sites identified by Elizabeth A. Armstrong in research for her book Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950–1994 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). The database is now available to researchers at the society’s reading room in San Francisco.

96 See Diana Kiyō Wakimoto, “Queer Community Archives in California Since 1950,” PhD diss., Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia, 2012, 93–94. Also see Wyatt Buchanan,
The careers of academics who were involved with the Lesbian and Gay History Project suggest the extent to which universities remained a challenging setting for LGBTQ scholarship during this period: several produced exceptional work, yet endured long struggles to achieve full university appointments in their chosen fields. For instance, D’Emilio was a graduate student at the time he joined the project. After completing his PhD, he initially taught at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, then took a position at the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute. Ultimately he was hired as professor in 1989 at the University of Illinois, Chicago, from which he retired in 2015.97 When Freedman joined the project, she was already teaching at Stanford University, where she was awarded tenure in 1983 only after a lengthy public battle. She established a distinguished career as a feminist historian and now holds an endowed professorship at Stanford.98 A third member, Gayle Rubin, was an anthropology graduate student who went on to publish highly influential essays in feminist theory, sexuality studies, and the history of leather and SM. After many years of short-term posts at various institutions, she obtained tenure in 2011 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, where she is now an associate professor.99


99 Gayle Rubin, e-mail to the author, February 2, 2016; and Rubin curriculum vitae, November 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.
Coda: The Queer 1990s and Beyond

The 1990s and beyond have seen LGBTQ history widely recognized as both a valid field of academic study and a subject of popular interest. Several developments demonstrate this shift away from the long period in which individuals and communities searching for stories of the LGBTQ past encountered the barriers of shaming and pathologizing, silence and silencing, the struggle to find and share sources for production of knowledge, and the risk of disapproval and opposition when possibilities for scholarship began to emerge. Since the beginning of the 1990s, academics working in LGBTQ history have been active around the United States, with an increasing number of universities supporting research, acquiring library special collections, and offering courses related to the subject.100 One marker of the establishment of the field is the production of PhDs: the count jumped from three in the 1970s and three in the 1980s to thirty-seven in the 1990s followed by eighty-three from 2000 to 2013.101 Doctorates in the 1990s included the first focused on lesbian history and the first substantially dealing with transgender history.102 Among the institutions awarding these doctorates were Harvard, Stanford, the University of California, the University of Iowa, the University of...

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100 For research, see Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History, “Dissertations and Theses.” For a sampling of LGBTQ history courses offered at more than fifty institutions of higher education in the United States from 1997 to 2015, see “Syllabi,” Committee on LGBT History website, accessed January 31, 2016, http://clgbthistory.org/resources/syllabi. For the growth of LGBT special collections and archival holdings in academic libraries, see Stone and Cantrell, eds., Out of the Closet, 7; also see Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable, “Lavender Legacies Guide.”

101 Although Ramón Gutiérrez submitted his dissertation in 1980, I include it in the count for the 1970s because virtually all of his doctoral work took place during that decade.

Drawing on the boom in dissertations as well as the ongoing research and writing of professors and independent scholars, the 1990s and 2000s also saw university presses and commercial publishers bring out a significant number of titles in the field of LGBTQ history. Reflecting insights from feminist studies, sexuality studies, ethnic studies, and queer studies, these publications often focus on the extent to which the forms and meanings of sexuality and gender change through time; on the intersectionality of experiences of sexuality, gender, race, immigration, and class; on questioning the concept of stable sexual and gender identities that form unitary communities; and on understanding same-sex desire, same-sex sexual activity, and nonnormative gender as aspects of systems of sex, gender, and power that structure society as a whole. In addition, the 1990s brought the first books from major commercial publishers addressing bisexual and transgender history: Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to RuPaul (1996) by transgender activist, journalist, and grassroots historian Leslie Feinberg (1949–2014), and Vice Versa: Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life (1995) by Marjorie Garber, a professor of English at Harvard.


Garber’s book notwithstanding, the history of bisexuality has remained one of the least documented areas of the LGBTQ past.105

Beyond the academy, LGBTQ people continue looking for the self-affirmation offered by a shared heritage.106 They are creating queer history projects and archives well beyond the metropolises customarily recognized as centers of LGBTQ culture.107 In addition, they widely echo James Kepner’s prescient warning of almost six decades ago that “ignoring the homosexual pieces in the puzzle” deprives society in general of vital knowledge. Academic historians, public historians, independent scholars, and activists today note that the LGBTQ past forms a meaningful part of history as a whole and emphasize that creating a heritage for LGBTQ people also means honoring a past that rightfully belongs in all its diversity to all Americans. Advocacy for inclusion of LGBTQ history in public
school curriculums is one setting where this approach is evident.108 Another place where it is literally on display is exhibitions at LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ institutions such as libraries, historical societies, and museums.109 And the field of historic preservation is now bringing the queer past to the attention of the wider public, a development forcefully demonstrated in the National Park Service’s LGBTQ Heritage Initiative of which the present publication is a key component.


THE PRESERVATION OF
LGBTQ HERITAGE

Gail Dubrow

Introduction

The LGBTQ Theme Study released by the National Park Service in October 2016 is the fruit of three decades of effort by activists and their allies to make historic preservation a more equitable and inclusive sphere of activity. The LGBTQ movement for civil rights has given rise to related activity in the cultural sphere aimed at recovering the long history of same-sex relationships, understanding the social construction of gender and sexual norms, and documenting the rise of movements for LGBTQ rights in American history. This work has provided an intellectual foundation for efforts to preserve the tangible remains of LGBTQ heritage and make that history publicly visible at historic sites and buildings, in museum exhibits, and on city streets. This essay traces the history of the movement to identify, document, designate, interpret, and preserve elements of the built environment and cultural landscape associated with LGBTQ heritage.
Undocumented LGBTQ History at National Historic Landmark Properties and those on the National Register of Historic Places

Sites with queer associations made their way onto the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and roster of National Historic Landmarks (NHL) not long after the passage of the 1966 Historic Preservation Act; however their connections to LGBTQ heritage almost always went undocumented in inventory-nomination forms and the subject went unmentioned—or was referred to only in euphemisms—when visitors toured places open to the public. Only in recent years, with rising public acceptance of differences in sexual orientation and gender expression, wider public support for LGBTQ civil liberties, and the creation of a robust body of scholarship in LGBTQ studies has it become possible to document and convey the full significance of these “lavender landmarks.” Yet much work remains to be done to fully integrate the histories of lesbian gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people into local, state, and federal cultural resources management programs.

Not all historic places are open to the public. Among those that are, many—including historic house museums—were established at a time when any discussion of sexuality and gender nonconformity was impermissible in public venues, but especially in the context of LGBTQ issues.¹ Historic houses associated with individuals noted for their literary or political achievements constitute the majority of listed properties with untapped potential to address LGBTQ themes. Nearly all that are open to the public were established at a time when any discussion of sexuality was impermissible in public venues, but especially in the context of LGBTQ issues. Because gay-positive public attitudes have evolved more quickly in major metropolitan areas, historic house museums that lie outside of urban centers have been slower to broadcast their LGBTQ associations.

¹ For more on interpreting LGBTQ historic sites, see Ferentinos (this volume).
In some cases, those charged with managing historic properties have been aware of relevant LGBTQ content, but have suppressed it within their interpretive programs. Despite persistent inquiries about LGBTQ connections to the properties, they have resisted taking action, sometimes hesitant to “out” historical figures who worked overtime to hide their sexual orientation. Some site managers have found themselves mired in uncertainty about how to make sense of documented same-sex affections that do not neatly fit into contemporary categories of sexual orientation and identity. So too, while it feeds the logic of homophobia, they fear that the social stigma and shame attached to homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender nonconformity might sully the reputation of the person or people being honored at the property they manage. Finally, in the context of the nation’s culture wars, in which the rights of gays, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender people became one of the most divisive issues in American politics, few mainstream organizations relished the idea of actively courting controversy by bringing LGBTQ content to the fore at historic places. For all of these reasons, there are many designated NHLs and

Figure 1: Willa Cather’s Childhood Home, Red Cloud, Nebraska, 2010. Photo by Ammodramus.²

² License: Public Domain.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Willa_Cather_house_from_NE_1.JPG
properties listed on the NRHP whose connections with LGBTQ history remain to be articulated, including at historic properties association with Walt Whitman, Willa Cather, Eleanor Roosevelt and her associates, and Frances Perkins.

The small two-story wood-framed house in Camden, New Jersey that Whitman occupied from 1884 until his death in 1892 is open to the public, managed by the New Jersey Division of Parks and Forestry. Whitman’s homosexuality is neither mentioned in the NHL nomination for his home, nor on the museum’s website, despite the homoeroticism in his work, including his masterpiece, *Leaves of Grass* (the final version of which he wrote at this location) and evidence of his relationships with other men. Likewise, although the NHL nomination for Willa Cather’s childhood home in Red Cloud, Nebraska recognized the home as a source of inspiration for her fiction, it was silent on Cather’s transgressive gender expression in adolescence and her adult romantic and sexual ties with women (Figure 1). Existing interpretation at the historic house museum as well as the official website also skirt these aspects of her life history, referring only briefly to Cather cropping her hair short, calling herself Willie or William, and adopting male attire as examples of her unusual degree of

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3 The Walt Whitman home is located at 330 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, New Jersey. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962. It is a key contributing element of the Walt Whitman Neighborhood Historical District, listed on the NRHP on January 20, 1978.


5 Willa Cather’s childhood home is located at 241 North Cedar, Red Cloud, Nebraska. It was added to the NRHP on April 16, 1969 and designated an NHL on November 11, 1971. As an adolescent, Cather developed a masculine alter ego she called William J. that prefigured her unorthodox adult life as a lesbian and woman writer. Photographs of Cather as William exist and her gender-bending persona is well documented by scholars. By the 1980s, literary scholars such as Phyllis C. Robinson and Shannon O’Brien, who integrated biographical and literary analysis, were openly addressing the issue of Cather’s lesbianism and identifying the specific women she loved over a lifetime. More recently, scholars have analyzed her fiction through the lens of queer theory, finding in her male protagonists and female love objects a coded expression of same-sex attachments, developed at a time when open expressions of lesbian desire were unacceptable among adult women. Phyllis C. Robinson: *Willa: The Life of Willa Cather* (New York: Doubleday, 1983); and Shannon O’Brien, *Willa Cather: The Emerging Voice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). For a brief review of Cather’s treatment within queer literary theory, see Phyllis M. Betz, “Willa Cather,” in *Readers Guide to Lesbian and Gay Studies*, ed. Timothy F. Murphy (Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2013), 119-120. See also Marilee Lindemann, *Willa Cather: Queering America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
independence, rather than her defiance of social norms regarding sexual orientation and gender expression. Changing ideas about Cather’s place in American literature are mirrored in the evolving interpretation of her Red Cloud childhood home, except for the treatment of her personal life—and its implications for her work—which remain outdated by three decades.

As scholars have uncovered evidence of same-sex intimacies in connection with some of the most prominent figures in American history, including Eleanor Roosevelt and her circle, the managers of landmark destinations such as the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York, known as Val-Kill, have had to weigh competing pressures...
to tackle the subject head-on or deflect potential controversy by only addressing it when visitors make inquiries.\textsuperscript{8}

Eleanor Roosevelt was close friends with many influential and powerful lesbians, including couples Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman and Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read (Figure 2). Roosevelt credited Lape and Read as playing an important role in her development as a political activist; Cook and Dickerman were frequent visitors to Val-Kill, ultimately residing in a stone cottage there for three decades.\textsuperscript{9} Eleanor herself had a lengthy and intimate relationship with journalist Lorena Hickok: they vacationed together, Hickok had a bedroom in the White House, and the two wrote extensive and sensual letters to each other daily.\textsuperscript{10} Evidence of this passionate relationship challenges long-standing stereotypes of Eleanor as “cold, remote...ugly, terminally insecure, dry-as-dust.”\textsuperscript{11}

As to whether Eleanor Roosevelt and “Hick” were physically intimate, according to historian Blanche Wiesen Cook:

\textsuperscript{8} Val-Kill is part of the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York, established as an NPS unit on May 27, 1977. It was listed on the NRHP on March 20, 1980 and designated an NHL on May 27, 1977.

\textsuperscript{9} Eleanor rented an apartment from Lape and Read in New York City’s Greenwich Village, staying there on her many trips into the city. Eleanor also visited Salt Meadow, the country retreat of Lape and Read on several occasions. Esther Lape donated Salt Meadow to the US Fish and Wildlife Service in 1972. Located at 733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Connecticut, it now forms the core of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge. Refuge staff are working on an NRHP for the former Salt Meadow estate that will recognize the same-sex relationship of Lape and Read. See “Elizabeth Fisher Read (1872-1943),” Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, George Washington University website, \url{https://www.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teaching/ginger/glossary/read-elizabeth.cfm}; and Susan Wojtowicz, “Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read: Pioneers for Women’s Rights and Conservation,” US Fish and Wildlife Service website, \url{https://usfwsnortheast.wordpress.com/2016/03/21/esther-lape-and-elizabeth-read-pioneers-for-womens-rights-and-conservation}.


\textsuperscript{11} The furor that accompanied publication of Blanche Wiesen Cook’s biography of Eleanor Roosevelt is captured in her reply to Geoffrey Ward, “Outing Mrs. Roosevelt,” New York Review of Books, March 25, 1993, \url{http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1993/03/25/outing-mrs-roosevelt}. Among the interpretive issues Cook highlights is the inability of Ward to consider the possibility that women who exercised power in the public realm also had sexual passions, pointing to the combination of sexism and homophobia that have influenced past interpretations of Eleanor Roosevelt’s life.
We can never know what people do in the privacy of their own rooms. The door is closed. The blinds are drawn. We don't know. I leave it up to the reader. But there's no doubt in my mind that they loved each other, and this was an ardent, loving relationship between two adult women.12

Neither the NHL nomination for Val-Kill nor the NPS website mention the same-sex relationships of either Eleanor Roosevelt or Cook and Dickerman. Concerns about the erasure of these aspects of Val-Kill’s history have been long-standing, dating to Paula Martinac’s 1997 observations in The Queerest Places that despite the evidence, “you won’t hear even a hint about Eleanor’s lesbianism [or bisexuality] in the official Park Service interpretation and film, in which Nancy and Marion are painted as ‘good friends,’ and Hick – one of the major relationships of her life – isn’t mentioned at all.”13 In this case and many others, the ambiguity of evidence surrounding same-sex sexual intimacy, as opposed to intense emotional or romantic attachments, frequently has been used as a rationale for avoiding the issue. Established as a National Historic Site in 1977, Val-Kill would benefit from refreshed interpretation that brings insights from the past twenty-five years of scholarship into the presentation of Eleanor Roosevelt’s life and legacy.

Likewise, nominations and interpretations of places associated with Frances Perkins, another major figure in Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt’s New Deal circle, neglect to mention her same-sex relationships.14 The first

14 The Frances Perkins House in northwestern Washington, DC, secured NHL status under the Women’s History Landmark Study. Perkins lived here in the mid-1930s. It was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on July 17, 1991. The Perkins Homestead at 478 River Road, Newcastle, Maine, was first listed on the NRHP on February 13, 2009 as the Brick House Historic District for its archeological significance. The property was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on August 25, 2014. This NHL nomination, prepared by a board member of the Frances Perkins Center (dedicated to preserving the homestead and her legacy) explains the complications of Perkins’ marriage (her
woman to serve in a presidential cabinet, Frances Perkins was secretary of labor from 1933 to 1945 (Figure 3). While married to Paul Caldwell Wilson, Perkins maintained a long-standing romantic relationship with Mary Harriman Rumsey, who had founded the Junior League in 1901. Both women made their mark advancing the Progressive movement’s labor and consumer reform agenda and subsequent New Deal initiatives. They lived together in DC until Rumsey’s death in 1934, after which Perkins shared her life and home in DC with Caroline O’Day, a Democratic congresswoman from New York.¹⁵ Building on her many accomplishments, Perkins went on to fight for the Social Security Act.

The interpretation and understanding of these places—and all of the others with silenced LGBTQ history—would benefit from representing the full complexity and histories of those who lived there. Part of this process is amendments to the existing nominations, and ensuring that LGBTQ history is incorporated into future nominations. Since anyone can prepare and submit an NHL nomination, the coverage of LGBTQ-related content depends on the author’s awareness, comfort level, and facility. Review of draft nominations by NHL and NRHP program staff is therefore key to

ensuring quality control. But these programs have, for many years, been chronically understaffed. One way to help ensure successful representation of LGBTQ places in these programs is by more fully engaging LGBTQ scholars in the review process at the state, regional, and federal levels.17

Strategies for Improving the Documentation and Interpretation of LGBTQ History at Existing Landmarks

Similar to past efforts to improve the presentation of American women’s history at historic properties and museums, designated landmarks open to the public might benefit from a coordinated program of consultation with experts in LGBTQ history to develop more accurate and complete interpretive programs. At the federal level, Planning Grants to Museums, Libraries and Cultural Organizations from the National Endowment for the Humanities are an underutilized source of support to plan for reinterpretations of historic sites and districts that improve the coverage of previously neglected aspects of history and expand the diversity of public history audiences.18 A 1992 project by the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, aimed at improving the interpretation of women’s history at the state’s historic sites and buildings, offers one model for bringing the staff at multiple historic properties into an extended dialogue with scholars to mine the possibilities for improved interpretation.19 As LGBTQ sites are identified in systematic surveys and theme studies, it is important to designate overlooked properties and improve both the

17 One source of subject experts is the pool of academic and community historians who contributed to the LGBTQ Theme Study.
Gail Dubrow

documentation and interpretation of places already listed on landmark registers.

Scaling Up: Illuminating LGBTQ Presence in National Register Districts

Individual buildings, often historic houses, constitute the vast majority of properties listed on landmark registers with unexplored connections to LGBTQ history. But many historic districts also have unrealized potential to address LGBTQ themes, including those designated at the local, state, and federal levels. Greenwich Village was designated a local historic district by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission in 1969.\(^\text{20}\) Completed in the same year as the Stonewall uprising, the designation report for Greenwich Village reflects the preservation movement’s contemporary emphasis on documenting the architectural significance of buildings in field surveys, rather than elaborating on their social history. To the extent that its historical significance was addressed directly, attention focused on the district’s vibrant role as a cultural incubator for theater, literature, and the arts, evidencing no awareness of its overarching national significance as a haven for LGBTQ people over the long arc of the twentieth century, which has been documented in numerous scholarly works in recent decades.

Districts such as Greenwich Village have been protected by whatever land use tools are applicable at the local level, but in many cases their original nominations and related preservation plans need to be updated from a LGBTQ perspective. Among the missing elements in Greenwich Village are apartment buildings that were not only home to bohemians generally, but also havens for lesbians specifically in the interwar years. One co-op building, for example, was home to two power couples in

Eleanor Roosevelt’s circle: Molly Dewson and Polly Porter; and Marion Dickerman and Nan Cook, who lived across the hall from one another.21 The property was proposed for NHL designation under the Women’s History Landmark Project in 1991, but rejected by NHL program staff because they had an internal practice of only designating apartment houses when the whole building was deemed significant, rather than selected apartments.22 Beyond recognizing multifamily housing associated with major political figures, even the well-covered theme of Greenwich Village as a creative cauldron merits updating with respect to the lesbian and gay literary figures who made it their home, including luminaries such as Lorraine Hansberry and James Baldwin.23 The places associated with them present opportunities to reflect on the confluence of gender, race, and sexuality in the life and work of two pivotal writers in the mid-twentieth century. Beyond individual properties, district boundaries and determinations about which places constitute contributing elements might change when considered from a queer perspective.

The interpretive silences and distortions that overshadow LGBTQ lives at historic properties extend more broadly to historical figures whose circumstances and choices carried them beyond normative expectations of their gender. This is particularly true of women who chose not to engage in intimate relationships with anyone; those who married, but were unable or chose not to have children; free spirits who defied normative

21 References to this apartment building and its lesbian residents, located at 171 West 12th Street, is found in Roger Streitmatter, ed., Empty Without You: The Intimate Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt and Lorena Hickok (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1998), 74. It was included in Andrew Dolkart, The Guide to New York City Landmarks (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1992) and in subsequent editions. The Porter family’s summer cottage, Moss Acre, in Castine, Maine, is another significant property associated with Dewson and Porter, who summered there annually and made it their permanent residence in retirement. It was designed by the Chicago architectural firm of Handy and Cady in 1892 for the Porter family and was still standing as of 2016. Castine Historical Society, Images of America: Castine (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1996), 119.

22 Gail Dubrow and Carolyn Flynn, “Molly Dewson Residence,” proposed NHL Nomination, 1991. A proposed nomination for the tenement apartment in New York City’s East Village where Emma Goldman lived and published Mother Earth News also was rejected by staff at the time for similar reasons. In both cases, issues of sexuality tainted the proposals, and in Goldman’s case, her anarchist politics were regarded by reviewers as controversial.

expectations of monogamy; or the minority who preferred communitarian living to the relative isolation of a nuclear family. Normative expectations about men and women’s proper roles affect the interpretation of all lives—gay, straight, and beyond the usual binaries—making insights from feminist and queer theory relevant to the interpretation of many historic properties.

Historic resources associated with the Modernist poet Marianne Moore illustrate some of the possibilities for challenging visitors’ assumptions about gender norms and preconceptions about sexual orientation and identity in a domestic setting. Marianne Moore’s parents were only married for two years, separating before her 1887 birth in Kirkwood, Missouri. Marianne and her brother John Warner were raised by their mother Mary, with help from her female lover, Mary Norcross, until the relationship ended. Photographs from around 1904, showing one Mary sitting affectionately on the other’s lap, and the two adults and children on a trip to the shore, are stunning reminders of lesbian family life more than a century ago (Figure 4).

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24 Her father, who suffered from mental illness, played no role in parenting his children.
25 These photographs are in the Rosenbach’s collection. See for example, “Marianne Moore, Mary Warner Moore, and Mary Jackson Norcross on rocks, Monhegan Island, Maine,” (1904), Moore XII: 02:33f, Marianne Moore Collection. One of the childhood homes of Marianne Moore was the John V. Gridley House, 37 Charlton Street, New York City, New York.
Gay and lesbian individuals and couples figured prominently in the Moore household’s social circle. After crushes on other women in her youth, however, the poet is not known to have entered into any intimate relationships, either with men or women. She thought it necessary to choose between dedication to her craft and the social expectations that accompanied romantic relationships, marriage, or parenting. Though Marianne’s brother married and established an independent home, the poet ended up living with her mother in various apartments in New York City for almost all of her adult life, first moving to Greenwich Village in 1918. Mother Mary provided nearly all of the supports needed for her daughter to focus on writing, although by all accounts it was a complicated mutual dependency. As Marianne Moore rose to prominence as a pioneer of Modernist poetry, she enjoyed a rich social life that included the most notable literary figures of the time: Elizabeth Bishop, H.D, her lover Winnifred Ellerman (aka Bryher), William Carlos Williams, and more. The first time Marianne lived on her own was at the age of sixty, after her mother’s death in 1947. In all of these respects, the Moores’ lives did not follow the standard narrative for women who came of age in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.26

Philadelphia’s Rosenbach Museum and Library was the recipient of the poet’s papers, photographs, and personal possessions, including the contents of her Greenwich Village apartment at 35 West 9th Street after her death in 1972.27 Exhibited on the third floor of the townhouse that contains the Rosenbach’s collections, Moore’s literary works are displayed in a reconstruction of her living room, allowing visitors to contemplate Marianne Moore’s creative accomplishments in the social and spatial context of her unconventional upbringing, and adult lives that defied social expectations for two generations of women.

Indeed, the reconstruction of Moore’s living room is a rare example of alternative constructions of family on display in a museum. With the exception of communitarian settlements such as Shaker Villages or historic properties associated with Catholic religious orders of men and women, there are exceedingly few places where visitors can glimpse the private lives of people who in past times opted out of the mainstream. The recent NRHP designation of the lesbian-feminist collective, the Furies, DC home boldly points to the ways that places originally designed to be single-family dwellings could be re-appropriated for collective living. The NRHP designation of Bayard Rustin’s home signals the beginnings of a more racially-inclusive LGBTQ agenda for historic preservation, but is also notable for marking a distinguished American political figure whose home life was based in one unit within a larger urban apartment building—a breakthrough in its own right. Occupied by private owners, neither the Furies’ home nor Rustin’s apartment are open to the public.

While the Rosenbach’s reconstruction of Moore’s apartment offers a welcome view of bohemian lives, dislocation from its physical context increases the risk that gays, lesbians, bisexuals, uncoupled people, and even those who chose celibacy will appear to have been more isolated from community than they were in actuality. Women who led unconventional lives, such as Mary and Marianne Moore, felt at home in Greenwich Village precisely because they contributed to shaping a public literary, artistic, and social culture that was their own. From the 1920s on:

The South Village emerged as one of the first neighborhoods in New York that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence. Eve Addams’ Tearoom at 129 MacDougal Street was a popular after-theater club run in 1925-26 by Polish-Jewish lesbian émigré Eva Kitchener (Clothier), with a sign that read, ‘Men

28 The Furies Collective house in Washington, DC’s Capitol Hill neighborhood, was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 2016.
29 Bayard Rustin’s residence in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.
are admitted but not welcome.’ Convicted of “obscenity” (for Lesbian Love, a collection of her short stories) and disorderly conduct, she was deported. Later popular lesbian bars were: Louis’ Luncheon (1930s-40s), 116 MacDougal Street; [and] Tony Pastor’s Downtown (1939-67), 130 West 3rd Street, which was raided on morals charges in 1944 for permitting lesbians to ‘loiter’ on the premises, but survived with mob backing until the State Liquor Authority revoked its license in 1967.30

Because these and other welcoming public places provided a community context for women whose sexual orientation, identity, or choice of living arrangements set them apart from the mainstream, the most powerful approach to presenting the domestic lives of LGBTQ people is likely to be in situ, where the inextricable connections between public and private lives are evident.

Fortunately, the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation (GVSHP) has taken the lead in efforts to remedy these sorts of oversights and omissions in preservation planning.31 In 2006 the Society commissioned a report supporting the establishment of a new South Village Historic District; its author, Andrew Dolkart, noted that the section of MacDougal Street within the proposed district was “the most important and the best-known locus of gay and lesbian commercial institutions” by the 1920s.32 A cluster of new local landmark nominations advanced by GVSHP also bring attention to individual properties significant in LGBTQ heritage, such as Webster Hall, a popular working-class gathering space that included lesbians and gays in the African American culture of drag at

30 “20th Century Lesbian Presence, South Village Historic District (1920s),” in LPC, 150 Years of LGBT History. For more information on LGBTQ sites in New York City, see Shockley (this volume).
costumed balls. The New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission increasingly has addressed LGBTQ history within its designation reports for individual historic properties, as well as proposed historic district designations. Its 2003 and 2004 reports for houses on MacDougal Street detailed the block’s importance to lesbians and gays in the 1920s, and reports for the Gansevoort Market (2003) and Weehawken Street Historic Districts (2006) called attention to the cluster of bars and nightclubs serving LGBTQ patrons from the 1970s to the present. The long-term presence of historian Jay Shockley on the Landmarks Preservation Commission’s research staff, from 1979 until his retirement in 2014, was key to incorporating LGBTQ history into designation reports. There’s no substitute for expertise in LGBTQ heritage on staff and among consultants working for advocacy groups and cultural resources management agencies.

Greenwich Village is one of many historic districts designated at the local, state, or national level that have overlooked LGBTQ heritage in their documentation. Similarly, the historical significance of Chicago’s Boystown, which lies within the eastern section of the Lakeview Historic District, was not articulated in the original NRHP nomination. One consequence is that contributing resources are defined mostly in terms of their architectural distinction, as opposed to their connections with LGBTQ themes or other aspects of significance, particularly in relation to marginalized groups. Without documenting important aspects of social history within historic districts, gaps remain in the knowledge base used to make decisions about planning, preservation, and future development.

35 Shockley was an original member of the 1994 Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD) mapping group, a coauthor of the Stonewall nomination, and is now co-director of a project to document the city’s LGBTQ landmarks.
New York City’s Greenwich Village and Chicago’s Boystown are just two examples of neighborhoods with enormous potential for enriched public interpretation. There are many other places between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts that are significant in LGBTQ heritage. One example is the German Village Historic District in Hamilton [Columbus], Ohio (Figure 5). Recognized for its association with German settlement, anti-German sentiment during World War I, the impact of urban renewal on near-downtown neighborhoods, and the power of preservation to revitalize them, a recently developed tour offered by the German Village Society calls attention to the role of gay men in the neighborhood’s preservation and revitalization from the 1960s on, efforts which led to listing the district on the NRHP.38 A new walking tour, “Gay Pioneers of German Village,” explains that

37 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GermanVillageHamilton.jpg
38 Gretchen Klimoski, “German Village: National Register Inventory-Nomination Form,” July 1974. The boundaries of the district later were amended to include eleven adjacent acres of historic houses.
The commonality for many men that came to German Village in the early years was their sexuality; they were gay. While this fact was not broadcasted in the open for most of them, it was integral part to whom they were and why they chose to move to German Village in the first place. The Gay Pioneers of German Village tour is intended to interpret the lives of individuals that impacted the community and whose stories just happen to be intertwined by their sexual orientation.39

German Village has become an influential model for historic district restoration, winning recognition from the American Planning Association as one of its Great Places in America in 2011. Similarly, the role of gay men in preserving other historic places such as Pendarvis, in Mineral Point, Wisconsin, has been a topic of renewed interpretive interest.40 In his 2005 book, A Passion to Preserve, Will Fellows made a compelling case for recognizing the instrumental role that gay men have played in the historic preservation movement. Now it’s time to recognize their contributions, and those of lesbians, bisexual, and transgender Americans at the historic buildings, landscapes, and districts they have so lovingly restored and saved.

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Considering New National Register Districts Associated with LGBTQ Communities

Many urban neighborhoods with clusters of properties significant in LGBTQ history await survey, documentation, recognition, and protection. In Seattle, Washington, for example, two historic neighborhoods have unrealized potential to be recognized for their association with LGBTQ heritage: Pioneer Square, which was central to LGBTQ activity during the pre-World War II period; and Capitol Hill, which became important in the post-Stonewall era.41 Specific Seattle landmarks of LGBTQ history remain to be designated, for example the Double Header Tavern in Pioneer Square, which laid claim to being the oldest continually operating gay bar in the city (and possibly the United States), having opened in 1934 and closed on December 31, 2015.42

Largely framed by neighborhoods as units of study, official surveys of the city’s historic resources have generally emphasized architecture at the expense of social history, including LGBTQ themes.43 Even Seattle’s Harvard-Belmont Historic District, which lies in the heart of Capitol Hill, presents its character defining features in terms of “fine homes built by the city's leading financiers, industrialists, merchants, and businessmen in the early years of the twentieth century,” overlooking the role of LGBTQ


43 See, for example, the “Narrative Statement of Significance for the Pioneer Square – Skid Road National Historic District.” For a complete list of context statements completed for Seattle neighborhoods, see http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/HistoricResourcesSurvey/context-pioneer-square.pdf.
community in shaping neighborhood character. But it is not just a matter of adding the missing information; the way that district boundaries have been framed from neighborhood and architectural perspectives may not align with the social geography of LGBTQ community.  

Signature urban “gayborhoods” too often have been overlooked by preservation planners, however geographers Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, who mapped Seattle’s LGBTQ heritage, including historic places within the Pioneer Square and Capitol Hill neighborhoods, caution that concentrated neighborhoods are also paralleled by more diffuse patterns of queer settlement; “we are everywhere.” Historical patterns of residential segregation by race also complicate the geography of LGBTQ settlement. This pattern made San Francisco’s Castro District a center for white, gay male community beginning in the 1960s, while across the Bay, the color line combined with a richness of community institutions to make Oakland the locus of African American LGBTQ settlement. Building on the work of Omi and Winant, and Oliver and Shapiro, respectively, Charles Nero offers a reminder of the critical role housing has played as a site of racial formation, constraining African Americans’ residential opportunities in American cities. It has framed the racialized geography of LGBTQ communities in ways that have largely unexplored implications for preservation planning.

Moreover, geographic differences among and between cities have implications for varying patterns of spatial development in LGBTQ communities. For example, Los Angeles covers more geographic area than

47 For more about community formation, see Hanhardt and Gieseking (this volume). For more about the intersection of LGBTQ identity and race, see also Harris, Roscoe, Sueyoshi, and Gonzalez and Hernandez (this volume).]
Manhattan and San Francisco put together, necessitating “a mobility of
daily life that scatters ethnic, racial, religious, and other culturally defined
communities,” including LGBTQ communities. As a result, instead of
concentrated “gayborhoods,” like those found in the Castro and
Greenwich Village, “gay and lesbian communities exist at all scales and
levels of visibility... simply put, the complexity of Los Angeles’s social and
physical geography is the basis for a different narrative.”48 These
observations point to the need for more conceptually and
methodologically sophisticated approaches to conducting surveys of
places significant to LGBTQ communities, designating their landmarks,
framing prospective historic districts, and assessing the relative
significance of cultural resources.

From Los Angeles’ West Hollywood and Las Vegas’ so-called Fruit Loop,
heading east to gay-friendly enclaves such as Lambertville, New Jersey
and New Hope, Pennsylvania, and reaching north to the lesbian haven of
Northampton, Massachusetts, the commercial and residential spaces
claimed by LGBTQ people in America, while often recognized at the local
level, have yet to be fully acknowledged as nationally significant in the
context of the NHL and NRHP programs.49 The tendency to conceptualize
urban historic districts as dense, contiguous, and rooted in the downtown
core may make it easier to designate neighborhoods historically populated
by those white gay men whose relative economic, social, and racial
privileges have allowed them to come together in dense urban residential
and commercial zones, as opposed to the places where queer women and
people of color have tended to make their homes.

48 Moira Rachel Kenney, Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics (Philadelphia:
Temple University Press, 2001); especially chap. 1: “Locating the Politics of Difference,” 5-6. For other
examples of geographic differences in LGBTQ communities, see Graves and Watson, Capó, Auer,
Shockley, and Herczeg-Konecny (this volume).
49 Ann Forsyth, “‘Out’ in the Valley,” International Journal of Urban and Regional Research
The abundance of historic houses on the NRHP, and predominance of this building type among listings with potential to interpret LGBTQ lives, reflects a prior generation’s emphasis on extraordinary individuals as agents of change and underlying biases that favored preserving the architecturally distinguished heritage of a property-holding elite. The rise of the New Social History in the 1960s and 1970s brought greater attention to places associated with the collective struggles, accomplishments, and experiences of the American people. Beyond the questions it raised about whose history is remembered, this paradigm shift in historical scholarship has pointed to the need to preserve a wider array of property types beyond historic houses and districts. Historic resort destinations that established a welcoming climate long before it was a consistent feature of everyday life, such as Provincetown, Massachusetts; Fire Island, New York; and Palm Springs, California, offered unusual degrees of freedom precisely because of the vast scope of the public landscape queer folks claimed as their own: hotels, guest houses, beaches, groves, entertainment venues, and streets.50 When a single property with a high degree of integrity is designated as emblematic of a larger landscape, such as the Cherry Grove Community House and Theater on Fire Island, it skews the overall picture of LGBTQ community life in past times and places.51

Private residences of various types served as safe spaces for launching homophile and gay rights organizations. Henry Gerber’s Chicago residence was the organizational base for the briefly lived Society for Human Rights from 1924 and 1925. The Society was the first chartered organization in

50 For more about LGBTQ resort communities, see Schweighofer (this volume). The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989 (but does not include mention of LGBTQ history).
the United States dedicated to advocacy for the rights of homosexuals, and published *Friendship and Freedom*, the first known publication of a homosexual organization in the United States. While the Society dissolved in 1925 when Gerber and several other members were arrested, Gerber continued to advocate for the rights of homosexuals throughout his lifetime.\(^{52}\) The brick row house, built in 1885, is a contributing element in the Old Town Triangle Chicago Landmark District, which was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1984. The property associated with Gerber was first designated a Chicago City Landmark based on its significance in LGBTQ history in 2001 and became a National Historic Landmark in 2015. Similarly, Harry Hay’s various residences in Los Angeles played a similar role by hosting formative meetings of the Mattachine Society in the late 1940s and early 1950s; the Gay Liberation Front at the end of the 1960s; and the Radical Faeries a decade later.\(^{53}\)

Once these sorts of groups gained organizational momentum, expanded membership, and adopted a more confident public posture, the next step was to rent storefronts and office space. Any organization that survived more than a few years, such as the Daughters of Bilitis, moved multiple times, since they were tenants rather than property owners.\(^{54}\) Other commercial property types historically associated with the formation of LGBTQ communities include bathhouses, bars, and social halls. Ephemeral events often are tied to place without necessarily leaving a


\(^{53}\) Hay’s residence in the Silver Lake neighborhood of Los Angeles was the site of meetings of the group called Bachelors Anonymous beginning in the summer of 1948. By 1950 they formally named the organization the Mattachine Society. The Margaret and Harry Hay House in the Hollywood Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles was listed as Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument #981. Hay commissioned architect Gregory Ain to design this split-level, International Style house for his mother Margaret in 1939. Margaret was supportive of her son’s causes and hosted meetings at her home. The property is regarded as Los Angeles’ first gay landmark, as well as the first location that the FBI identified as a known gathering place in California for homosexuals.

\(^{54}\) Recent efforts to designate a historic property associated with Daughters of Bilitis, established in 1955 in San Francisco, have been complicated by its many locations over the years. Originally located in the Williams Building at 693 Mission Street, it moved to at least three other Mission Street addresses and others on O’Farrell, Grove, and Hyde Streets.
permanent imprint, including sites of protests and demonstrations, marches, riots, gatherings, and celebrations. The random accrual of NHL and NRHP listings without intentionally planning for the protection of LGBTQ cultural resources has skewed queer lives in ways that render them as more isolated than they were in actuality. In years to come, as the historic context for LGBTQ heritage is fleshed out and a wider range of property types are documented, a far richer picture will emerge of the LGBTQ dimensions of American history.

Mapping LGBTQ Historic Places

Beginning in the mid-1990s, grassroots efforts were launched simultaneously in several cities to identify and map places of significance in gay and lesbian history. One notable project was *A Guide to Lesbian and Gay New York Historical Landmarks*, prepared in 1994 by preservationists involved with the Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD) in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion in New York City. This project drew upon original research by OLGAD members including Ken Lustbader’s 1993 Columbia University graduate thesis on preserving lesbian and gay history in Greenwich Village.

Community-based mapping projects, driven largely by volunteer energy, have been intertwined with two related developments to support LGBTQ preservation: the emergence of archives with collections and exhibition programs; and a growing body of scholarship, particularly studies of local history, highlighting LGBTQ individuals, organizations, events, and aspects of everyday life potentially linked to historic places. Mapping projects have reflected this convergence of archival collecting, public history projects, and local scholarship.

56 See Koskovich (this volume).
Founded in 1994 by Mark Meinke, Jose Gutierrez, Charles Johnson, Bruce Pennington, and James Crutchfield, the volunteer organization Rainbow History initially took on the project of archiving DC’s gay history, driven by an overarching concern about the loss of community memory due to the AIDS epidemic and Meinke’s specific interest in documenting local drag culture. As the oral histories and archival sources pointed to places of significance, Rainbow History established a database of historic places. As Meinke has explained, “By the end of the first year, the Places and Spaces database of sites, compiled from oral histories, newspaper advertising, and extant community guides had reached 370 sites.”

By its second year, the organization used the information it had amassed to begin preparing a NRHP nomination for the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny home and office in the Palisades area of Washington, DC. Between 2003 and 2010, Meinke generated a series of eight self-guided walking tours of LGBTQ historic places in DC, available to the public in brochure form, with members of Rainbow History periodically leading groups on tours. Similar volunteer initiatives that generated public exhibits, maps, and walking tours in Boston, Los Angeles, and Seattle, among other cities, brought new attention to the status of LGBTQ historic sites and buildings long before the mainstream of the preservation movement was ready to extend its embrace.

Although it was not

57 Mark Meinke, email communication to author, April 14, 2016.
58 License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/gordonwerner/19058347036
59 The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011.
60 See for example, the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Claiming Space; or The History Project, dedicated to documenting LGBTQ Boston, which was established in 1980 by
necessarily the case at the time they were originally identified for maps and walking-tour itineraries, some of the extant historic buildings they located eventually became the object of focused preservation activity.

A number of urban design, streetscape improvement, and street naming interventions have amplified a LGBTQ presence in public places. Yearly Pride Celebrations to mark the anniversary of the Stonewall rebellion have built an audience for relevant programming at the local level and offered an impetus for new projects to increase the public visibility of LGBTQ communities, simultaneously presenting opportunities for local, state, and federal government entities to signal their commitment to diversity and inclusion. The City of Philadelphia added rainbows to its Twelfth and Thirteenth Street signs in recognition of its vitality as a so-called “gayborhood,” and the cities of West Hollywood and Seattle, in 2012 and 2015 respectively, decorated crosswalks in a rainbow design in conjunction with Pride celebrations (Figure 6).61 As a strategy to promote LGBTQ tourism, West Hollywood ultimately made its rainbow crosswalks permanent. Related initiatives have popped up in cities including Key West, Philadelphia, Northampton, San Francisco, and Sacramento.62 Recognizing that progress in LGBTQ rights has also been matched by a backlash, Seattle used rainbow crosswalks to call attention to the consequences of virulent homophobia, marking eleven spots where people had been the victims of homo- and transphobic assaults.63 This raises the larger question of whether there is room within commemorative programs to address some of the most pernicious and troubling aspects of

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LGBTQ history—discriminatory firings and evictions, unjust incarceration in prisons and mental hospitals, hate speech, and violence—subjects not readily embraced by the tourist industry, which tilts toward substantially more upbeat and heroic narratives.

Strategies for Increasing LGBTQ Visibility in American Cities

A variety of strategies have been adopted to make LGBTQ pioneers, communities, and history visible on public streets, even when there is no direct connection to preserving historic resources. Chicago’s Boystown was the object of a 1998 neighborhood streetscape investment by Mayor Richard M. Daley intended to recognize and make visible its significance as an LGBTQ neighborhood. The resulting urban design project erected ten pairs of rainbow pylons, with memorial plaques honoring icons of LGBTQ history, which together define a Legacy Walk along the North Emma Willard Street. The Legacy Walk is now a popular destination for tourists and locals alike, serving as a testament to the resilience and contributions of LGBTQ individuals.

Figure 7: Panorama of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2012. Photo by Jim D.64

64 License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/jkdevleer04/6832888247
Halsted Street corridor. Street naming initiatives have commemorated major figures in the LGBTQ rights movement, including Frank Kameny (Washington, DC, 2010), Barbara Gittings (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2012), José Sarria (San Francisco, California, 2006), Sylvia Rivera (New York City, New York, 2005), Harvey Milk (San Diego, California, 2012; Salt Lake City, Utah, 2016), Bettie Naylor (Austin, Texas, 2012). In 2015, Staten Island renamed a street to honor Jimmy Zappalorti, a gay military veteran who was brutally murdered in a gay bashing in 1990. In 2011, Los Angeles’ Silver Lake Neighborhood Council voted to rename the Cove Avenue Stairway in honor of gay rights pioneer Harry Hay.

Historical marker programs, such as the one run by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, have begun to commemorate sites associated with LGBTQ heritage. In 2005, they erected a state historical marker across from Independence Hall in Philadelphia to honor the LGBTQ activists who held annual Fourth of July Reminder Day demonstrations there from 1965 to 1969 calling for equality (Figure 7). In 2016, the state erected a state historical marker commemorating the life and work of Barbara Gittings. A state historic marker recognizes the birthplace of lesbian poet Natalie Clifford Barney in Dayton, Ohio, and in Hidalgo County, Texas, a state marker was placed in 2015 at the grave of Gloria Anzaldúa, an influential cultural theorist who had relationships with both men and women. Honorific street naming is also under consideration for the block of Taylor Street in San Francisco where Compton’s Cafeteria was located, in recognition of patrons’ 1966 protest against homophobic police harassment.

Artists have also played a role in making LGBTQ history more visible at historic sites and buildings, independent of their official status in

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66 Independence Hall is located at 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It is part of Independence National Historical Park, established June 28, 1948 and designated an NHL district on October 15, 1966.
The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage

designation and preservation programs. In a 1994 temporary street sign installation project called Queer Spaces, the artists’ collective REPOHistory boldly called attention to nine New York City landmarks of LGBTQ history with text screened onto pink triangles made of chipboard, queering the narrative usually found on historical markers. Similar to other REPOHistory projects, the signs were intended as counter-monuments to provoke public reflection on why some histories are visible, while others remain obscured in public memory. Since 1989, the Visual AIDS organization has used art projects to increase AIDS awareness and prevention, document the work of artists with HIV/AIDS, and promote the artistic contribution of the AIDS movement. It offers a reminder of the impact of the epidemic on an entire generation, including its artists, and points to the enormous shadow it casts over LGBTQ preservation efforts. While none of these strategic interventions in urban design, public art, or streetscape projects has led directly to the preservation of historic resources, together they have helped to gain traction for emerging heritage preservation initiatives.

Leveraging the Tourist Industry to Promote LGBTQ Heritage Preservation

A complementary force informing all of these initiatives is a growing segment of the tourist industry that markets its services to LGBTQ people, contributing in direct and indirect ways to creating a market for LGBTQ heritage tourism. Some travel agents, resorts, cruise ships, and lodging owners have built their reputation on being LGBTQ-friendly, advertising places of respite in a heteronormative and homophobic world. Many of these enterprises operate under the banner of the International Gay and

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Gail Dubrow

Lesbian Travel Association, founded in 1983, whose reach now extends to eighty countries on six continents.\textsuperscript{71} Tourist itineraries that highlight places significant in LGBTQ heritage have been bolstered by this industry, for example in world cities that have hosted the Gay Games, which feature a robust slate of athletic and cultural events.\textsuperscript{72} In 1998, when Amsterdam became the first city outside of North America to serve in that role, the usual canal cruises were augmented with tours of local queer heritage.

Over time, some cities have intentionally promoted their reputation as being LGBTQ-friendly in a bid for tourist revenue. Some places that took the lead in legalizing same-sex marriage or civil unions launched campaigns to become destinations of choice for couples unable to tie the knot in their home state. These segmented marketing campaigns have highlighted local history, cultural resources, and commercial establishments of particular interest to queer visitors. Beginning in 2002, for example, the Philadelphia Gay Tourism Caucus began marketing its attractions with a website provocatively titled, “Get Your History Straight and your Nightlife Gay.”\textsuperscript{73} This advertising tends to feature current businesses, but sometimes is linked to LGBTQ heritage tours. In Philadelphia, Bob Skiba bridged the marketing of Philadelphia as a gay-friendly tourist destination and related heritage tourism: while president of the Philadelphia Association of Tour Guides in 2008, he prepared a series of maps that documented LGBTQ business in Center City. Later, as curator at the William Way LGBT Community Center’s John J. Wilcox, Jr. Archives, Skiba created a blog called \textit{The Gayborhood Guru}, which translates the

\textsuperscript{71} IGLTA holds an annual convention and sponsors a foundation. One of their heritage tourism-focused members, for example, is Oscar Wilde Tours, whose offerings range from walking tours of Greenwich Village to multiday European itineraries. See IGLTA website at \url{https://www.iglta.org}.

\textsuperscript{72} The Federation of Gay Games has had a Culture Committee since 1993, whose mission is to identify “the censorship and oppression that block artistic and cultural expression, [examine] the production of successful arts/cultural events, [identify] guidelines to guarantee inclusion, and [explore] nontraditional ways to present art and culture.” Heritage tours have been featured by some of the commercial enterprises attached to the Gay Games, see the Federation of Gay Games website at \url{https://gaygames.org/wp}.

\textsuperscript{73} This was noted by Sarah Nusser in “What Would a Non-Heterosexist City Look Like? A Theory on Queer Space and the Role of Planners in Creating the Inclusive City,” master’s thesis, Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2010. She cited the Visit Philadelphia website which features a map of Philadelphia’s Center City “gayborhood,” see \url{http://gophila.com/pub/campaign/gay}.  

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city’s queer history into site-specific historical information, occasionally leading walking tours of these places under the Way Center’s auspices.\textsuperscript{74}

Small scale heritage tours were established early on in the most queer-friendly cities, notably Trevor Hailey’s walking tour, “Cruisin’ the Castro,” which started in 1989.\textsuperscript{75} While much of the mapping of LGBTQ historic places—and occasional tours—have been advanced by nonprofit organizations such as DC’s Rainbow History or the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project in Seattle, tours that highlight places of contemporary and historical significance have emerged as more elaborate profit-making enterprises in recent years. Paid walking tours can be found in New Orleans and Chicago, while bus tours are available in Manhattan and Los Angeles.\textsuperscript{76} The combined forces of LGBTQ pride, queer entrepreneurship, and urban boosterism enhanced the commercial viability of heritage-oriented LGBTQ enterprises from the 1990s onward. It was in this broader context, and amidst growing interest in LGBTQ history generally, that Paula Martinac found a welcoming audience for the 1997 publication of her national guide to historic sites, \textit{The Queerest Places}.\textsuperscript{77}

The Rise of LGBTQ Advocacy in Fields Associated with Preservation

Developments within scholarly and professional associations have buoyed LGBTQ preservation efforts both directly and indirectly. In all cases, LGBTQ heritage and cultural resources professionals have built networks of mutual support, organized to advocate for their interests, and promoted visibility for emerging scholarship in their fields, including in flagship

\textsuperscript{75} Upon Hailey’s retirement in 2005, Cruisin’ the Castro Walking Tours was sold to professional tour guide Kathy Amendola, a sign of the growing commercial viability of LGBTQ heritage enterprises, see the company’s website at http://www.cruisinthecastro.com/tours.html.
journals and on the programs of annual meetings. The Committee on LGBT History, founded in 1979 as the Committee on Lesbian and Gay History, has played an important advocacy role within the American Historical Association (AHA), with which it has been affiliated since 1982. 78 As public memory and the power of place increasingly have become analytical categories within historical scholarship, AHA sessions sponsored by the committee, such as one at the 2013 annual conference in New Orleans on “Locating LGBT History in Urban Spaces,” have become increasingly relevant to the project of queer heritage preservation. 79 The Committee on the Status of LGBTQ Historians and Histories, established in 2013, has played a similar role within the Organization of American Historians (OAH). Links between scholarship and tangible heritage are illustrated by the committee’s offerings at the 2015 OAH meeting, which included a walking tour of the queer history of St. Louis’ Central West End, as well as selections from the exhibit Gateway to History, featuring the city’s LGBTQ history. 80 The National Council on Public History also has been a welcoming home for LGBTQ content at its annual meetings.

Founded in 1989, the Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable (LAGAR), an interest group within the Society of American Archivists, formed to advance queer history and the status of LGBTQs in the archival profession. In addition to basic advocacy work, LAGAR has created a guide to collections of interest to the LGBTQ community and a manual outlining best practices for community archives. 81

Within the museum world, the LGBTQ Alliance, a professional network within the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), is committed to advancing a more inclusive agenda. While its concerns include issues of representation and visibility at large institutions, its membership includes

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78 For information on the Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, see their website at http://clgbthistory.org.
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managers of historic sites and independent museum professionals who are grappling with how issues of sex and sexuality—as well as race, class, and gender—can be integrated into interpretive programs.\textsuperscript{82} A useful tool, two years in the making by Alliance members and released at the May 2016 AAM meeting, articulates “Welcoming Guidelines” that set standards for LGBTQ inclusion in museums.\textsuperscript{83} The volume of scholarship related to the interpretation of LGBTQ history at museums and historic sites is growing, from focused case studies of particular sites, for example Michael Lesperance’s study of Virginia’s Glen Burnie, to a comprehensive treatment in Susan Ferentinos’ award-winning book.\textsuperscript{84} In a related field with implications for museums, the Queer Caucus for Art, initiated in 1989 as a society of the College Art Association (CAA), has been instrumental in advancing art history, theory, criticism, and art practice related to LGBTQ themes, issuing its first newsletter in 1995 and holding sessions, exhibitions, and related activities at annual meetings of the CAA.\textsuperscript{85}

The emergence of LGBTQ advocacy groups within the architecture and design professions has had direct consequences for historic preservation.\textsuperscript{86} As well as OLGAD’s work in New York City,\textsuperscript{87} Boston Gay and Lesbian Architects and Designers (BGLAD), formed in 1991 as a committee of the Boston Society of Architects, worked with the Boston Area Gay and Lesbian History Project to produce a map of known lesbian

\textsuperscript{82} See also Ferentinos (this volume). The Glen Burnie House is located at 901 Amherst Street, Winchester, Virginia. It was listed on the NRHP on September 10, 1979.


\textsuperscript{84} For a single-site case study, see Michael Lesperance, “Rearranging the Closet: Decoding the LGBT Exhibit Space,” \textit{InPark Magazine}, April 15, 2014, https://www.themsvo.org/sites/default/files/InPark%20Magazine%20%E2%80%93%20Rearranging%20the%20Closet%20%20Decoding%20the%20LGBT%20Exhibit%20Space.pdf. For comprehensive treatment see Susan Ferentinos, \textit{Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites} (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

\textsuperscript{85} Archived newsletter produced by the Queer Caucus for Art can be found online at http://artcataloging.net/glc/glcn.html. A summary chronology of its activities is located at http://artcataloging.net/glc/chronology.html.

\textsuperscript{86} See, for example, Kathryn H. Anthony, \textit{Designing for Diversity: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in the Architectural Profession} (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

\textsuperscript{87} See Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers, \textit{A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks}.
and gay historic places in 1995. Progressive Architecture reported on OLGAD’s inaugural Design Pride Conference in New York City, held in 1994, which provided a forum for discussing concerns about the status of lesbians and gays in architectural firms and helped to build an audience for an array of new publications about the relationship between (homo)sexuality and space. The Arcus Endowment and Foundation Chair, established at University of California, Berkeley in 2000, is the rare university-based resource supporting emerging experts and projects at the intersection of LGBTQ issues and the professions of architecture, landscape architecture, and planning.

At the American Planning Association (APA) national conference in Boston in 1998, Gays and Lesbians in Planning (GALIP) became a new division of the APA, having functioned as an informal network since they met for the first time in 1992 at the national conference in Washington, DC. Similar to the other scholarly societies and professional organizations previously mentioned, GALIP provides a venue for information exchange, mutual support, and promoting scholarship in city and regional planning. The field of planning has produced numerous articles and two major volumes on LGBTQ themes that incorporate historic

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preservation on the queer planning agenda. Beyond professional associations, citizen planners began to organize in the mid-1990s to protect queer interests in gay neighborhoods facing runaway development pressures, for example the Bay Area group Castro Area Planning + Action.

The intellectual foundations for efforts to map queer space have been reinforced by academic work at the intersection of geography and urban and regional planning, as spatially-oriented social scientists began in the 1990s to engage with sexuality as a category of analysis in addition to race, class, and gender. While early architectural publications tilted toward the experiences of white gay men, geography proved to be more inclusive of the spatial dimensions of lesbian lives. Within the Association of American Geographers (AAG), the specialty group Sexuality and Space formed in 1996, arising out of serious concern about the

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“unquestioned heterosexuality of the geographic enterprise.” Over time, the specialty group has become an intellectually vital force in mapping out a new subfield of geographic study by holding pre-conferences in conjunction with annual AAG meetings and bringing recognition to outstanding scholarship. Two of its members, Larry Knopp and Michael Brown, have been central to a project that mapped Seattle’s LGBTQ landmarks.

Established in 2014 after more than a decade of effort, the Queer Archaeology Interest Group is one of more than a dozen affiliates of the Society for American Archaeology, providing a network for LGBTQ archeologists and an engine for advancing research and pedagogy. Beyond providing a gathering place for scholars working in this area, the formation of the interest group is a landmark achievement in its own right by overcoming “the difficulties often associated with being LGBTQI and stigmatization within [the] discipline and society at large.” While the theoretical and methodological implications of this field are emerging, it is not yet clear what will be required to integrate insights from queer archeology into the public interpretation of archeological sites. Past struggles to incorporate LGBTQ history into the interpretive programs at historic properties points to the likelihood of a significant lag between the state of knowledge in the field and successful implementation in public archeology practice.

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99 For a discussion of how LGBTQ archeology can be incorporated into larger questions of interpretation, see Springate, LGBTQ Archeological Context (this volume).
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The Rise of a LGBTQ-Inclusive Preservation Movement

Advocacy for LGBTQ issues directly within the preservation movement began to coalesce at the end of the 1980s and firmly took hold in the 1990s, powered by the combined forces of local and national initiatives. Grassroots activities in San Francisco drew the Western Regional Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) into issues of preservation that involved LGBTQ communities, a position that put it out in front of the parent organization in many respects. At a time when the preservation movement was still resistant to addressing LGBTQ issues and the community had not yet explicitly embraced preservation within its broader agenda for political equality and cultural equity, the advocacy group Friends of 1800 formed in San Francisco to articulate the connections.

Friends of 1800 organized in 1987 as advocates for the preservation of San Francisco’s nearly century-old Carmel Fallon building, whose future was threatened by demolition plans intended to make way for a LGBTQ Community Center.100 Thus, the Friends’ initial cause required work to build awareness of and appreciation for the value of historic preservation within the LGBTQ community, though it also raised awareness of LGBTQ issues among many preservation professionals. These goals ultimately shaped the organization’s mission to preserve “significant historical buildings, landmarks and the architectural heritage of San Francisco with a special interest in the identification and recognition of issues and sites important to GLBT history and culture.”101

For a time, Friends of 1800’s website was the place to go for information on LGBTQ preservation. Following the organization’s success in preserving the Fallon Building, the Friends organized a 2001 conference in San Francisco focused on preserving LGBTQ heritage, Looking Back and Forward, in collaboration with the GLBT Northern California Historical Society and the James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center at the San Francisco Public Library. As organizer Gerry Takano recalled, the conference broke new ground:

Back then only a few bona fide preservations sanctioned the legitimacy of the glbt community’s minority status. The basis of a cultural resource’s recognition and significance, instead, was commonly defined by race and ethnic origin, not sexual orientation. Furthermore, the high proportion of gay men and lesbians involved in some form of preservation activity was trivialized as inconsequential and negligible.

For that reason, the conference highlighted a wide array of places significant for their connection with LGBTQ communities, and helped to coalesce advocacy for LGBTQ cultural resources among preservationists. The vocal contingent of LGBTQ preservationists who organized to save the Carmel Fallon Building served as a bridge between the LGBTQ and preservation communities, raising questions of where their concerns fit on each other’s agendas. Friends of 1800 also directly advanced the cause of identifying places of significance in LGBTQ heritage by producing the first historic context statement in the United States on LGBTQ properties.

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102 The Carmel Fallon Building is San Francisco Landmark #223 (1998).
Institutional Transformation: Gaining Traction for LGBTQ Issues within the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Park Service

These early initiatives helped to seed a network of concerned LGBTQ preservationists and their allies, who in turn leveraged momentum to press for a more visible place on the program of annual meetings of the NTHP with the goals of embedding issues of sexual orientation within the organization and institutionalizing change. Behind the scenes, there were wrenching struggles over the prominence of LGBTQ topics on the program of NTHP annual conferences, as the organization’s leadership was concerned about antagonizing and alienating conservative elements of the membership at a time when the culture wars were raging.

Progress in advancing organizational change advanced incrementally. The first sign of progress was the NTHP’s commitment to hosting an October 1996 social gathering for LGBTQ preservationists at its fiftieth annual conference in Chicago. It foreshadowed a more significant commitment the following year to a full educational session, “Hidden History: Identifying and Interpreting Gay and Lesbian Places,” at its National Preservation Conference in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The resounding success of that session paved the way for LGBTQ receptions and heritage tours at the National Trust’s annual conferences. These steps cumulatively laid the foundation for addressing LGBTQ issues within the NTHP’s publications: Preservation Magazine, which is a perk of general membership; and Forum, which is followed mainly by preservation practitioners and educators.

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105 For an account of this struggle within the NTHP, see Gail Dubrow, “Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles and Rainbow Trails,” Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation, eds. Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 281-299.
Coverage of the San Francisco walking tour “Cruisin’ the Castro” broke the silence about LGBTQ heritage within Preservation in 1997. It was followed in 1998 by the publication of my essay, “Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles and Rainbow Flags,” in Forum. Drawn from my presentation at the New Mexico session, the article outlined an agenda for action, including: (1) writing gays and lesbians into the history of the preservation movement; (2) improving the interpretation of LGBT history at existing landmarks; (3) identifying and listing overlooked historic resources; (4) increasing public education and awareness of LGBT heritage; (5) building advocacy for the protection of historic resources; and (6) building institutional capacity within preservation advocacy organizations and cultural resource management agencies to address these issues effectively.

Still, it was unclear to what extent the NTHP was prepared to address LGBTQ themes at historic properties in its own portfolio, as evidenced by pressure from Forum editors to drop references in the “Blazing Trails” article to the Trust’s planned acquisition of Philip Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut and negotiations in process over Georgia O’Keeffe’s Ghost Ranch in Abiquiu, New Mexico. My point was that the acquisition of these historic properties would provide the NTHP with the opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to LGBTQ inclusive policies and practices, since same-sex relationships were essential to their creation. The editorial conflict captured the leadership at a moment of deep ambivalence, caught between the demands of LGBTQ preservationists in its own ranks, who were frustrated by chronic silences that devalued their contributions to the movement and obscured important elements of their history, and a conservative faction within the 

108 Philip Johnson’s Glass House is located at 798-856 Ponus Ridge Road, New Canaan, Connecticut. It was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 18, 1997. Ghost Ranch Education and Retreat Center is located at 280 Private Drive 1708, Abiquiu, New Mexico. It was designated a National Natural Landmark in 1975.
membership still struggling with unvarnished presentations about the horrors of slavery at NTHP properties, much less shame-free narratives about gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people.

Ultimately, Ghost Ranch remained in the hands of the Presbyterian Church, which runs it as an education and retreat center. To date, the contributions of Maria Chabot to building the house, and her intimate relationship with O’Keeffe, have little purchase. In contrast, the Glass House, which Johnson ultimately bequeathed to the NTHP, has become a model of candor since opening to the public in 1987 (Figure 8). Both the website and site-based programs directly address its gay content as a landmark of modern architecture designed by a gay architect, Philip Johnson, whose partner of forty-five years, David Whitney, was instrumental in shaping their private art collection. The fact that Johnson stepped out of the closet late in life helped make it possible to address his sexual orientation and same-sex partnership without the shadow of outing

Figure 8: Philip Johnson’s Glass House, New Canaan, Connecticut, 2013. Photo by Edeltei,109

License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Casa_de_Cristal_PJ.jpg
someone against their wishes.\textsuperscript{110} It has become one of the rare historic houses that explicitly acknowledges a same-sex life partnership on its website as well as in creative site-based programming.\textsuperscript{111} In May 2016, for example, Glass House hosted a performance of “Modern Living” by Brennan Gerard and Ryan Kelly, whose work is a meditation on “how the house sheltered and protected a queer subculture.”\textsuperscript{112} The property is a bellwether of the NTHP’s growing embrace of LGBTQ issues. Today the preservation advocacy organization broadcasts its commitment to inclusion in multiple ways, sponsoring a listserv for those interested in LGBTQ issues, publicizing examples of historic places, and bringing advocates into broader conversations about diversity and inclusion in the preservation movement.\textsuperscript{113}

By the end of the 1990s, the foundation for an LGBTQ-inclusive preservation movement had been established through grassroots initiatives, the formation of new interest groups focused on LGBTQ heritage within professional associations, and an increasingly vocal contingent of out lesbians and gay men working within the field of preservation. Preservation professionals, some of whom had been active in grassroots initiatives, mobilized to make the major preservation organizations and agencies more responsive to their concerns. These efforts were complemented by progressive developments in a wide range of scholarly and professional organizations in the fields of history, archival and museum administration, architecture, art, planning, and geography,


\textsuperscript{111} See, for example, ubiquitous references to Whitney on the Glass House website at http://theglasshouse.org/learn/new-canaan-with-philip-johnson.


\textsuperscript{113} See, for example, “LGBT Heritage Stories,” National Trust for Historic Preservation website, https://savingplaces.org/story-categories/lgbt-heritage-stories#VxYreyMrI1; or its affinity-group listserv for those interested in LGBT preservation issues, subscribe-lgtpreservation-l@lists.nationaltrust.org.
which lent support to changes in the preservation movement’s approach to LGBTQ issues.

The National Park Service exhibited similar concerns in the 1990s about the prospect of political fallout in response to any effort to designate historic places tied to LGBTQ people and events. At a time when the culture wars were raging, matters of historical interpretation became highly politicized at the federal level. Intense controversy in 1989 over the National Endowment for the Arts’ support for Andres Serrano’s provocative photograph, *Piss Christ*; and the Smithsonian’s National Air and Space Museum’s planned 1994 exhibit of the Enola Gay, the plane used to drop atomic weapons on Japan, put federal agencies on notice that a coalition of conservative politicians and their constituents, particularly religious organizations, would use the threat of budget cuts to enforce their views.

In this climate, some NHL nominations prepared for the Congressionally-funded Women’s History Landmark Study that touched on controversial contemporary issues such as birth control, abortion, sexuality, and radical politics—for example Margaret Sanger’s Birth Control Clinic and Emma Goldman’s apartment, where her ideology of free love was practiced and the *Mother Earth News* was published—were sidelined. Conservative hostility toward critiques of American history, feminism, and LGBTQ rights that reached into the next decade occasionally derailed unrelated NHL nominations, such as Seattle’s Panama Hotel, which is significant in Japanese American history for many reasons, including the ca. 1915 traditional Japanese bathhouse, *Hashidate-Yu*, in the basement. In the nomination review process, the bathhouse—a model of propriety—was erroneously conflated with gay bathhouses, where public sex has been a feature of male sociality and a celebration of same-sex attraction. The 2002 nomination stalled for four years before finally securing NHL status. But its eventual success begs the question: what if

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114 Gail Dubrow and Connie Walker, “Panama Hotel [and Hashidate-Yu],” 605 South Main Street and 302 Sixth Avenue South, Seattle, Washington. NRHP Registration Form, July 18, 2002. The Panama Hotel was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on March 20, 2006.
actual gay bathhouses were proposed for landmark designation, such as the Everard, Lafayette, Continental, and New St. Marks in New York City; or their San Francisco equivalents: the Palace, Jack’s, Ritch Street, Barracks, and Liberty Baths, among many others? These types of sites, far more provocative than domestic idylls, are just beginning to be considered for recognition, for example San Francisco’s Ringold Alley in the South of Market neighborhood. Once a cruising spot for gay men seeking quick pickups and sex, it is now scheduled to become a commemorative plaza, which will include bronze footprints in the pavement and the reproduction of an iconic mural from the Tool Box Bathhouse, harkening back to its heyday from 1962 to the mid-1960s. The volatile relationship between politics and culture that settled into American public life in the 1990s (which has morphed into new debates over the impact of LGBTQ rights on those who object on moral or religious grounds) provides a context for appreciating the cultural victory that Stonewall’s listing as a National Historic Landmark represented in 2000.

115 For example, for a history of San Francisco’s gay bathhouses, see Allan Bérubé, “The History of Gay Bathhouses,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 44, no. 3 (2003): 33-53. The Everard Baths were located at 28 West 28th Street, New York City; they were open from 1888 through 1986. The Lafayette Baths were located at 403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City (now demolished). The Continental Baths were located in the basement of the Ansonia Hotel, 2101-2119 Broadway, New York City from 1968 to 1975; the Ansonia Hotel was listed on the NRHP on January 10, 1980. The New St. Marks Baths were located at 6 St. Marks Place, New York City, New York from 1979 until closed by the City in response to the AIDS epidemic in 1985. The New St. Marks Baths opened in the former location of the Saint Marks Baths, a Turkish bath that served the areas immigrant population from 1913. In the 1950s, a gay clientele began to visit the baths in the evenings; by the 1960s, it became exclusively gay. Jack’s Baths was located at 1052 Geary, San Francisco, California from circa 1936 through 1941, when they moved to 1143 Post Street, San Francisco, California. They closed in the 1980s. The Ritch Street Health Club, 330 Ritch Street, San Francisco, California, was popular in the 1960s and 1970s. The Barracks at 72 Hallam Street, San Francisco, California opened in 1972, and burned in 1981. The Liberty Baths was open at 1157 Post Street in the Polk Gulch neighborhood of San Francisco, California in the 1970s. They closed in the 1980s during the early years of the AIDS epidemic.

The contentious political climate in this period also explains why much of the forward momentum to recognize places of significance in LGBTQ history can be traced to grassroots initiatives. The Victorian-era building that housed Harvey Milk’s Castro Camera shop and residence, which also served as headquarters for his four campaigns for public office, was designated San Francisco Landmark #227 in July 2000 (Figure 9). Iconic Stonewall, part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, was entered into the National Register of Historic Places in 1999, and designated a National Historic Landmark in 2000. It would take fifteen more years, however, before the property would be approved as a New York City landmark.\footnote{License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. \url{https://www.flickr.com/photos/sfpsanfranciscohistoricalphotographcollection/3574510522} \footnote{The principal authors of and advocates for the Stonewall nominations were former members of OLGAD, such as Andrew Dolkart, Ken Lustbader, and Jay Shockley, who first worked on raising the visibility of these types of sites in their 1994 guide to lesbian and gay sites in New York City. Their dedication, persistence, and the platform of their professional positions have been critical to changing the climate for LGBTQ heritage preservation. Stonewall, which encompasses the bar at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City and surrounding areas, was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000. It was designated as Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.}}

In DC, the group Rainbow History was the driving force behind the addition of gay rights activist Frank Kameny’s home and offices to the

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  \caption{Harvey Milk in front of Castro Camera, San Francisco, California, 1977. Photo from the Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection, Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library.\footnote{License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. \url{https://www.flickr.com/photos/sfpsanfranciscohistoricalphotographcollection/3574510522}}}\end{figure}
roster of local landmarks, with support from the DC Preservation League. The research and writing process began in 2003 and resulted in a completed National Register nomination in 2006, with the property becoming a DC landmark in 2009 and listing on the NRHP in 2011.\footnote{Mark Meinke, “Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence,” National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, July 22, 2006. The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in northwestern Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011, approximately three weeks after his death on October 11, 2011.} A contributor to the delay was the standard practice of limiting NRHP designations to those no longer living. While Kameny had the satisfaction of living to see his home and office listed as a DC landmark, the property was added to the NRHP only after his death, becoming the first property to honor a major figure in the LGBTQ rights movement.

Support within the Department of Interior for listing these overlooked properties on the NRHP and recognizing the most outstanding examples as NHLs came from GLOBE: Gay Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Employees of the Federal Government. Interior GLOBE, a mutual support and advocacy group run by and for employees of the Department of the Interior, played a key role in advancing Stonewall for listing on the NRHP as a first step toward NHL designation, which is restricted to properties with the highest levels of significance and integrity. According to Stephen A. Morris, a founding member of Interior GLOBE, it was at one of its:

monthly meetings in the summer of 1998 that the idea of honoring Stonewall as an official historic site was first discussed – the members hit on this as a bit of a legacy project for the Clinton Administration which had brought so many openly gay political appointees into the Department [of the Interior].\footnote{Stephen A. Morris, “Interior Globe Sparked and Guided the Collaborative Effort to Recognize Stonewall Inn,” \textit{Interior Globe News} 1 (Spring 2000).}

Their partnership with the GVSHP, OLGAD, and Andrew Dolkart and colleagues, who authored the nomination, moved the project beyond the roadblocks encountered in an attempt several years earlier.
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GLOBE also lent support to the inclusion of Frank Kameny’s house on the NRHP.121

Connecting Grassroots Initiatives with Landmark Designation Programs

One of the major limitations of the many local, community-based mapping projects, from the perspective of historic preservation, is that they did not directly advance the protection of resources significant in LGBTQ heritage or integrate them into programs to designate landmarks. Nevertheless, as momentum grew within the preservation movement, grassroots mapping projects became a source of actual nominations. Virginia-based Rainbow Heritage Network has proven to be a particularly fruitful generator of nominations, widening the coverage of places associated with women and people of color. Rainbow Heritage Network co-founder Mark Meinke, along with homeowner Robert Pohl, led efforts to nominate the Capitol Hill row house that was the main home and operational center for the Furies as a DC landmark and to the NRHP. The Furies was a small lesbian feminist collective founded in 1971 that played a key role in the rise of Second-wave feminism and the LGBTQ movement. The building’s large basement hosted meetings of the collective and was the headquarters for publishing its newspaper, The Furies: Lesbian/Feminist Monthly. The property was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on May 2, 2016.122

The DC home of the Furies’ Collective is not the only site with significant connections to the rise of lesbian feminism. There are others...

121 Stephen A. Morris, email to author, April 13, 2016.
that also have the potential to become landmarks. The homes of some of the movement’s most articulate proponents, for example black lesbian feminist writer and activist Audre Lorde, which stands in Staten Island; or preeminent American poet Adrienne Rich, who established long-term residences with her partner, the writer and editor Michelle Cliff, in Montague, Massachusetts, and later in Santa Cruz, California, could become the late twentieth century’s equivalents of a prior generation’s drive to save Willa Cather and Walt Whitman’s houses. Moreover, collective spaces such as the offices of Olivia Records, which was founded in 1973 to record and distribute women’s music (based in Los Angeles and subsequently located in Oakland), along with critical sites of political action, by groups such as ACT UP and the Lesbian Avengers, both of which shunned conventional forms of protest in favor of bolder tactics, await recognition for their distinctive roles in LGBTQ history.

Fortunately work to identify and designate places associated with some of the most compelling LGBTQ figures in American history has begun to move beyond the lives of white gay men to include women and people of color. Trailblazing civil rights activist Bayard Rustin’s (1912-1987) residence at the Penn South Complex in Manhattan was recognized as a landmark by the New York State Board for Historic Preservation in 2015 and added to the NRHP in 2016. An African American gay man, Rustin was active in American movements for civil rights, socialism, nonviolence, and gay rights, earning a reputation as the best organizer in America. He purchased the apartment in 1962, joined by his life partner Walter Naegle in 1977. Rustin lived there until his death in 1987, after which Naegle

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123 “Audre Lorde Residence, Staten Island, New York, St. Paul’s Avenue/Stapleton Heights Historic District,” in LPC, 150 Years of LGBT History.
124 See, for example, Laraine Sommella’s interview with Maxine Wolfe, “This is about People Dying: The Tactics of Early ACT UP and Lesbian Avengers in New York City,” in Ingram, Bouthillette, and Retter, Queens in Space; and The Lesbian Avengers’ website at http://lesbianavengers.com.
preserved it almost exactly as it had been during Rustin’s time. Rustin was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor, by President Barack Obama in 2013.126

One little-recognized source of information feeding LGBTQ preservation projects are theses and dissertations by students pursuing graduate degrees in historic preservation and related fields (particularly architecture, urban planning, museum studies, and public history), who are eager to connect their political concerns and identity to their chosen profession.127 Ken Lustbader’s 1993 Columbia University thesis on Greenwich Village laid a foundation for two decades of initiatives addressing LGBTQ history within the historic district and pointed the way for broader initiatives to recover NYC’s queer cultural resources.128 Bill Adair’s graduate thesis and Moira Kenney’s dissertation, both completed in UCLA’s Urban Planning program, fed into a grassroots project to map the city’s gay and lesbian landmarks, an initiative that was supported by the Western Regional Office of the NTHP.129 Similarly, Shayne Watson’s

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2009 University of Southern California thesis, which identified the tangible remains of San Francisco’s lesbian community in North Beach in the period from 1933 to 1960, provided both methodological insights and a stream of information for a recent citywide context document. Many of these projects created experts and leaders in the area of LGBTQ heritage. It points to the possibilities for cultivating a next generation of leadership by supporting the work of graduate students with an interest in and aptitude for preserving queer heritage.

Because much of the foundational work to preserve LGBTQ historic places was not commissioned or sponsored by formal preservation advocacy groups or agencies, the mapping projects and growing number of individual landmark designations were done without some of the most useful tools for preservation planning, namely: (1) detailed historic context documents that identify the range of themes and property types significant in LGBTQ heritage within a particular locale; and which provide a comparative context for assessing the relative significance and integrity of places associated with those themes; and (2) systematic surveys that document the history and condition of extant resources. These kinds of projects require substantial resources to produce high-quality products and go well beyond the capacity of purely voluntary efforts. Fortunately, there are now several model projects to guide further work of this type, and new projects in the pipeline.


Employing the Tools of Preservation Planning: LGBTQ Context Documents, Field Surveys, and Nominations

The first known example of an LGBTQ context document, prepared by Damien Scott in 2004, grew out of the foundational work done by Friends of 1800 in San Francisco and was carried out with very limited funding. Faced with financial constraints, project organizers are rarely able to engage the full range of constituencies nominally organized under the banner of LGBTQ. More than two decades later, the City and County of San Francisco deepened its commitment to planning for the protection of its queer heritage by commissioning a new context document that built upon and reached beyond the pioneering 1994 project. San Francisco’s leadership points to the level of political mobilization, advocacy, organization, and volunteer effort required to bring LGBTQ heritage to the fore, and explains why it remains obscured elsewhere in the American landscape, despite the fact that LGBTQ people have resided everywhere. Fortunately, this picture is beginning to change as groups outside the metropoles of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York City are organizing to preserve their cultural queer resources.

The ability to carry out systematic surveys of LGBTQ places has hinged on the willingness of preservation agencies to allocate funding, which in turn depends on the political clout of the local LGBTQ communities. For that reason, the cities of Los Angeles and San Francisco have been at the forefront of supporting the development of historic context documents. Nestled within the larger project “Survey LA,” the City of Los Angeles completed an LGBT Historic Context Statement in 2014 with support from the NPS and the California Office of Historic Preservation.\textsuperscript{131} It focused on

\textsuperscript{131} Office of Historic Resources, Department of City Planning, City of Los Angeles, “Survey LA: LGBT Historic Context Statement,” prepared by GPA Consulting with contributions from Carson Anderson, Senior Architectural Historian, ICF/Jones & Stokes, and Wes Joe, Community Activist (September 2014).
resources dating from the 1930s through the 1970s, principally located in neighborhoods between Downtown and Hollywood such as Westlake, Angelino Heights, Echo Park, and Silver Lake. The project utilized an online forum to gather information from members of the community and concerned groups, a strategy that augmented information exchange at a public meeting. The final report highlighted several themes, including: (1) the Gay Liberation Movement; (2) LGBT persons and their impact on the entertainment industry; (3) the reconciliation of homosexuality and religion; (4) gay bars as social institutions; (5) the misguided labeling of homosexuality as a mental illness; (6) the LGBT community and the media; (7) gays and lesbians on the Los Angeles literary scene; and (8) queer art. Each theme generated information about multiple properties.

The most comprehensive citywide historic context statement on LGBTQ history completed to date began in 2013 and was completed in 2015 by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson for San Francisco, funded by a grant from the City and County’s Historic Preservation Fund. This context statement covered a longer timeline and wider range of themes than its Los Angeles counterpart, including: (1) early influences on LGBTQ identities and communities; (2) the development and building of local LGBTQ communities; (3) policing harassment; (4) homophile movements; (5) the evolution of LGBTQ enclaves and development of new neighborhoods; (6) gay liberation, pride, and politics; (7) LGBTQ medicine; and (8) the city’s experience of the AIDS epidemic.

The San Francisco project has clarified the value of engaging in an intensive process of grassroots consultation to generate information about properties meaningful to various segments of the LGBTQ community, a process that requires more funding than typically is needed for well-documented aspects of history. So too, it has highlighted the


problems that arise when urgently trying to protect historic places whose significance was overlooked for decades and survival is threatened by rising land rents and the rapid pace of development in a superheated regional economy, in this case fueled by the tech boom.133

NPS funding, directed toward local projects to advance preservation in underrepresented communities, is supporting systematic surveys of LGBTQ heritage in New York City, the development of an LGBTQ context document and amendment of several NRHP nominations in Louisville, Kentucky, and the nomination of civil rights properties (including LGBTQ) to the NRHP in San Francisco.134 Funding for the NPS Underrepresented Communities Grants has been approved for 2016. These sorts of investments will begin the hard work of filling gaps in our shared understanding of the lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans, and increase the possibilities for preserving the tangible resources associated with their heritage in the future.

Once more work has been done to identify the landmarks of LGBTQ history across the American landscape, and understand their comparative significance and integrity, it will be possible to develop a more comprehensive agenda for preservation and interpretation. The case of NHL designations for Frances Perkins, Molly Dewson, or others in the Roosevelts’ political and social circle (as discussed earlier), points to the value of considering all of the possible sites before narrowing the focus of preservation efforts to one or more properties. The same is true for some of the highest-profile LGBTQ designations.

Prepared as an individual nomination, rather than as part of a comprehensive study, Stonewall was designated without necessarily

133 These observations were developed in conversation with Donna Graves, who with Shayne Watson authored the San Francisco study.
considering the comparative significance and integrity of other contemporary sites of rebellion. Well-documented examples occurred years earlier, in August 1966 at Compton’s Cafeteria in San Francisco, also sparked by resistance to police harassment.\textsuperscript{135} Two parallel riots occurred in Los Angeles: the first at the popular downtown hangout, Cooper’s Donut shop, in May 1959, which was a hangout for drag queens and hustlers because they were barred from entering either of the gay bars that flanked it; and the second at the Black Cat Tavern in Los Angeles, which occurred on January 1, 1967.\textsuperscript{136} It inspired a demonstration the following month that drew hundreds of people to protest police raids, harassment, and violence. The Black Cat was designated as a Los Angeles Cultural-Historic Landmark in 2008.

There’s no debate about Stonewall’s significance or its merit for NHL designation. However, it would hew closer to historical reality to recognize that most national social movements emerge as multi-nodal phenomena over an extended time period, and accordingly, to designate a cluster of associated tangible resources as a thematic group, rather than searching for one iconic property. While local studies are currently the path along which progress is advancing, thematic studies that cross geographic boundaries, for example of the homophile movement, resistance to discrimination in the military, or the emergence of same-sex marriage in America, would benefit from a careful examination of extant historic properties nationally, rather than on a case-by-case basis. The themes explored in this study provide the foundation for a more comprehensive approach to planning for the protection of LGBTQ resources, but additional progress depends on moving to the next stage by commissioning field surveys of the extant tangible resources.

\textsuperscript{135} Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. This building is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

\textsuperscript{136} Cooper’s Donuts was located between 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California. This “seedy stretch” of Main Street was located between the Waldorf and Harold’s bars, according to Lillian Faderman, \textit{Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians} (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1. The Black Cat was located at 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.
The Queer Future of Preservation Action

Much of the work in LGBTQ preservation undertaken to date has focused on identifying landmarks, increasing public awareness of their significance, and securing their presence on local, state, and federal registers of historic places. Realizing the goals of preserving LGBTQ heritage, however, will require concerted action to protect places of significance from demolition or damaging alterations. Development pressures, especially in cities with runaway growth, make it difficult to preserve historic landmarks under any circumstances. But the long neglect of LGBTQ heritage, uneven knowledge base, and limited mobilization of advocates complicate the process of trying to save threatened cultural resources. San Francisco routinely reports the planned demolition and redevelopment of properties that were identified in its recent theme study. Entry of information about the LGBTQ historic places into the city's Property Information Map makes it possible to flag them when applications for demolition permits are filed and to include them in broader planning studies, but it doesn’t guarantee protection.\(^\text{137}\)

Where the LGBTQ community exercises considerable political influence, including within local advocacy organizations, negotiations have begun over the fate of threatened landmarks. One property identified as significant within the Survey LA LGBT Historic Context Statement is Circus Disco, a prominent gay and lesbian bar founded in 1975 which had a large Latino/a following.\(^\text{138}\) In addition to being a place to socialize, it also played an important role in political organizing and coalition building: “In 1983, civil rights and labor leader Cesar Chavez addressed roughly one hundred members of the Project Just Business gay and lesbian coalition

\(^{137}\) To access the San Francisco Planning Department’s Property Information Map, see \url{http://propertymap.sfplanning.org}.
\(^{138}\) The Circus Disco was located at 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. It closed in January 2016, see Lina Lecaro, “Say Goodbye to Circus Disco With One Last Night of Disco Music,” \textit{LA Weekly}, December 4, 2015, \url{http://www.laweekly.com/music/say-goodbye-to-circus-disco-with-one-last-night-of-disco-music-6347338}.
at the bar, where he offered strategies for organizing boycotts and coalition fundraising.”

Circus Disco was recommended by city staff for consideration as a Los Angeles landmark, however it was not deemed significant or worthy of designation in the Environmental Impact Report prepared for the Lexington Project, the development scheduled to replace it. Early in 2016, Hollywood Heritage struck a deal with the developer to save key artifacts from the property. While it wasn’t a total victory from the perspective of preservation, it signaled a new level of activism to protect the tangible remains of LGBTQ heritage. Most news is bleaker: the shuttering of legacy businesses due to soaring rents or threatened demolition of historic properties due to redevelopment. Clearly much work remains to be done to translate a growing knowledge base about LGBTQ cultural resources into effective preservation action.

Recent Progress in Reinterpreting LGBTQ Historic Properties

Beyond the designation and protection of places previously overlooked in preservation planning, the work of reinterpreting designated historic properties is advancing on many fronts. At the Hull-House Museum, where the nature of Mary Rozet Smith’s relationship with founder Jane Addams has long been a point of contention, new leadership in 2006 opened the door to engaging with the interpretive issue directly (Figure 10). Under Lisa Yun Lee’s direction, museum staff invited visitor responses to alternative descriptions of the bonds between these women:

140 “Historic Preservation; A Place in Gay History,” Los Angeles Times, January 22, 2016, B2.
142 Hull House, located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.
After consulting with historians and descendants, museum staff crafted three different labels and displayed them next to the painting, … inviting visitors to indicate which label they found most meaningful by posting their comments on a nearby large public response board. Staff hoped the project would inspire visitors to think more critically about the history presented at the museum and to reflect on what was at stake — the determining of the meaning of history and who gets to decide. Thousands of people responded to the project, both at the museum and online, and these responses ultimately informed the treatment of the painting in … the museum’s new permanent exhibit. The exhibit now includes additional artifacts and

143 License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/ftgene/4452221987
photographs illustrating the deep emotional intimacy the two women shared.144

“Gender and Sexuality” is a relatively recent addition to the tour options for Hull-House Museum visitors.145 Other historic places with submerged LGBTQ histories have contended with greater degrees of resistance, conflict, and controversy before site administrators accepted the need for making adjustments. A case in point is Clear Comfort, the home of pioneering photographer Alice Austen located on the north shore of Staten Island.146 The NHL nomination, which was generated in the context of a Congressionally-mandated study of women’s history landmarks, like many others of their day, comes close to addressing LGBTQ issues, while ultimately skirting the subject:

Many of Austen's pictures explored not only conventional Victorian morals but also gender roles. Often, she and her friends are shown in intimate poses, revealing glimpses of underwear or sharing a bed, private things that no man would have dared to photograph. Other pictures show cigarettes dangling from their lips (at a time when women could be arrested for smoking in public). To further test gender boundaries Austen would dress her friends in male clothing and encourage them to parody what they viewed as typical male poses. Perhaps her rebellion against conventional Victorian standards explains the fact that

146 Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House, is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on July 28, 1970 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993.
Austen never married. Her friends said, ‘she was too good for men, that is she could do everything better.’ Instead, she and friend Gertrude Tate formed a fifty-year partnership in which each complemented the other. Austen and Gertrude Tate traveled extensively. In her lifetime Austen made over twenty trips abroad and travelled through much of the United States.\textsuperscript{147}

The Friends of Alice Austen, which manages the property on behalf of New York City’s Department of Parks and Recreation, resisted pressure to deal directly with the issue, a controversy that has been documented by heritage planner Tatum Taylor, who wrote her 2012 graduate thesis in Columbia University’s Historic Preservation Program on the dilemmas of interpreting marginalized aspects of heritage:\textsuperscript{148}

\textbf{In fact, the museum’s board threatened to close the house as a debate swelled over whether Alice’s supposed lesbianism was being intentionally suppressed, or whether it was a fact irrelevant to the interpretation of Clear Comfort’s historic significance. The debate was marked by a 1994 protest at the house held by the Lesbian Avengers.}\textsuperscript{149}

\textbf{In recent years, visitors have benefited from a slightly more candid interpretation of Austen’s relationship with Gertrude Tate, who lived with her at Clear Comfort from 1917 to 1935. Addressing their relationship is not only an important biographical fact, but also a key context for understanding some of the subjects of Austen’s photographs. As the Alice Austen House website explains it:}


\textsuperscript{149} Tatum Taylor, “Undeniable Conjecture: Placing LGBT Heritage”.
On one such summer excursion in 1899, visiting a Catskill hotel known as "Twilight Rest," Alice met Gertrude Tate, who was recuperating there from a bad case of typhoid fever. Gertrude was twenty-eight, a kindergarten teacher and professional dancing instructor, who worked to support her younger sister and widowed mother in Brooklyn. Judging from the small personal photo album that commemorates that summer, Gertrude's spontaneous gaiety and warm humor enchanted Alice, who was then thirty-three. Gertrude began regularly to visit the Austen House, then to spend long summer holidays in Europe with Alice. But not until 1917, when her younger sister and mother gave up their Brooklyn home, did Gertrude, overriding her family's appalled objections over her ‘wrong devotion’ to Alice, finally move into Clear Comfort.150

Because the website and interpretation of the historic house made limited direct references to Austen and Tate's relationship when she examined them in 2012, Taylor was critical of the omissions in the museum’s displays, its orientation film, and related aspects of public interpretation.151 Landmark nominations for this property and others like it that have not been amended to address LGBTQ themes run the risk of overlooking—and potentially threatening—aspects of the physical fabric that merit inclusion in historic properties’ preservation, interpretation, collections management, and restoration plans.

151 Friends of Alice Austen House recently received a NEH planning grant to reinterpret Austen through “new eyes.” Of the nearly fifty projects funded under this category from 2012 through 2015, this is the only one with obvious potential to advance the interpretation of LGBTQ history. However as of the May 2016 project end date, there was little evidence of improved coverage on the Austen House’s official website.
But even in cases where historic site administrators remain reluctant to embrace LGBTQ history, it is possible to convey that history to the public through independent projects presented on the internet or in public spaces adjacent to the property. The New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, for example, has prepared a presentation that explains the LGBTQ connections to many listed properties, including the Austen House, and there are many models for site-specific art projects that mark placed-based histories in public space. Independent initiatives that do not require obtaining the consent of property owners or nonprofit boards offer paths to interpretive freedom. Buy-in is critical for institutionalizing and embedding reforms on site; but direct action has the virtue of disengaging from intractable resistance to make claims on LGBTQ heritage at historic properties that lie beyond current grasp.

At many historic properties, decisions about how much to reveal remains in the hands of individual docents, who often calibrate presentations based on their own perceptions of each visitor’s receptivity. Such is the case at the Gibson House Museum in Boston’s Back Bay, another example of an NHL where little is officially recognized about the place’s connections to LGBTQ history, but where

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152 LPC, 150 Years of LGBT History.
153 License: CC BY 2.0. [https://www.flickr.com/photos/leewrightonflickr/24712591944](https://www.flickr.com/photos/leewrightonflickr/24712591944)
individual guides, with an interest in the subject, have begun to address visitors’ questions about the sexuality of key interpretive figures, in this case Charles Hammond Gibson, Jr. (1874-1954), who was the leading force in preserving the family home as a museum (Figure 11). As Gibson House guide Jonathan Vantassel explained, he is:

circumspect about the love life of Charles Hammond Gibson Jr., who preserved his family’s Victorian home for the public, but forthcoming when asked directly about Gibson’s sexuality — often by LGBT visitors. ‘It’s very clear that he was very open and proud about who he was,’ Vantassel says. ‘I think that absolutely we have to . . . give that to our visitors. Otherwise, we’re not telling the whole story.’

This revised interpretation complicates Gibson’s self-representation as an exceedingly formal and patrician man, who was viewed by others as aloof and lonely.

Deepening research about the LGBTQ dimensions of historic places, such as Beauport, located in Massachusetts, is transforming their presentation to the public. Located atop a rocky ledge overlooking Gloucester Harbor, Beauport was the creation of and home to self-taught designer Henry Davis Sleeper (1878-1934), a gay man who was a nationally-recognized antiquarian, collector, and interior decorator. The property, designated an NHL in 2003 and operated as an historic house

154 The Gibson house is featured in a critique of the silencing of gay history in Joshua G. Adair, “House Museums or Walk-In Closets? The (Non)representation of Gay Men in the Museums they Called Home,” in Gender, Sexuality, and Museums, ed. Amy Levin (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 264-278. The Gibson House Museum is located at 137 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on August 7, 2001. It is also within the Back Bay Historic District, listed on the NRHP on August 14, 1973.


157 Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House is located at 75 Eastern Point Boulevard, Gloucester, Massachusetts. It was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 27, 2003.
museum, marks Sleeper’s contributions to American decorative arts, and is one of only two places illustrating his career as a designer that survive with a high degree of integrity. Described in most accounts as a lifelong bachelor, tour guides originally responded to questions about Sleeper’s sexuality by stating he never married. Close examination of his passionate letters to A. Platt Andrew, Jr. offered new insight into his same-sex relations, providing an evidentiary base for addressing his homosexuality on guided tours of the property. Since 2008, tour guides at Beauport have acknowledged that Sleeper was gay, making it a positive example of the ways LGBTQ heritage can be incorporated into the interpretation of historic places that in the past have principally been recognized for their architectural significance.

Appropriating New Technologies to Improve the Protection of LGBTQ Heritage

Projects to map LGBTQ sites are becoming more technologically sophisticated, drawing on geographic information systems that marry databases to geolocation programs. Where a community is willing and able to contribute its memories and knowledge of historic places to online venues, the interactive capability of these types of projects allows for crowd-sourced information exchange. Several major projects of this type are directly lodged in the preservation community. Founded in 2012 by Gerard Koskovich, Shayne Watson, and Donna Graves, “Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California” is a Facebook page that welcomes posts and comments. “California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories” is an intensive, online archives dedicated to the identification, interpretation, and


159 Fox, “A Gloucester Mansion Leads the Way for LGBT Figures”; Beauport’s potential for interpretation as a LGBT-related historic property is explored by Kenneth C. Turino, “Case Study: The Varied Telling of Queer History at Historic New England,” in Ferentinos, Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites, 132-133.
commemoration of queer historic places. It was launched in 2014 with seed funding from the NTHP. Rainbow Heritage Network, organized in 2015 by Megan Springate and Mark Meinke, has also established a web-based approach to connecting those interested in LGBTQ preservation, sharing information about relevant issues on Facebook, and feeding information into a map locating LGBTQ historic properties. The issue with web-based interactive projects, however, is that they require consistent funding to maintain and to support ongoing engagement with members of relevant communities. For these reasons, the long-term success of what started as independent projects will require ongoing institutional commitments, hosts, and homes that stabilize the infrastructure for information collection, dissemination, and mobilization to advance the preservation of LGBTQ heritage.

Conclusion: Strategies for Realizing an Inclusive Preservation Agenda

This overview of the history of LGBTQ preservation points to the many independent initiatives, collective efforts, and organized struggles for institutional change that have moved the needle over the past three decades. Future progress depends not only on coalescing LGBTQ activism, but also on integrating issues of sexuality and gender identity into the larger movement to transform preservation from its elite origins to become more democratic and inclusive. The same identity politics that have energized campaigns to preserve overlooked aspects of women’s history, ethnic history, and LGBTQ history run the risk of missing the intersections among and between them. As new investment is directed toward preparing nominations of LGBTQ properties, it makes sense to prioritize places that have the potential to illuminate the overlap areas.

A nomination in progress for the San Francisco Women’s Building captures multiple layers of historical significance and intersectional themes. A four-story building in San Francisco’s Mission District, it was built in 1910 as a Turn Hall, which housed German social and athletic clubs and subsequently purchased in 1939 by the Sons and Daughters of Norway. In 1978 a group of women, who founded San Francisco Women’s Centers, initiated the purchase of this building to provide an incubator and hub for a wide array of projects dedicated to improving the lives of women. Known as The Women’s Building, it became the first women-owned and operated community center in the United States. Renovations and seismic retrofits in 2000 retained elements from former uses while addressing the contemporary functional needs. Over time, the Women’s Building has housed more than 170 independent organizations, such as San Francisco Women Against Rape, Lilith Lesbian Theater Collective, Lesbian Youth Recreation and Information Center, and Somos Hermanas, a Central American solidarity group led by lesbians of color. An NHL nomination for the Women’s Building currently is being prepared by Donna Graves that highlights its important roles in Second-wave feminism and the LGBTQ movement, addressing the connections among and between the politics of gender, race, class, and sexuality as Second-wave feminism unfolded from the 1970s to the present.

Another priority for advancing a LGBTQ preservation agenda is identifying sites that illuminate the complexity of political alliances and differences among and between lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transgender people. The spatial implications of racism are etched deeply into the landscape of community, resulting in a pattern of bars and other institutions having been more or less welcoming to people of color. Before Stonewall, some gay bars and their patrons kept a distance from drag queens and others who crossed customary gender boundaries because

161 The San Francisco Women’s Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.
the criminalization of public cross-dressing provided ready opportunities for police harassment. Some of the alliances that produced a political movement inclusive of LGBTQ people under one banner actually fray upon closer inspection; for example, ideological divisions between lesbian feminists who limited entry to the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival to “womyn-born-womyn” and those who denounced the policy as transphobic (Figure 12). An annual event held on land in Oceana County, Michigan, for forty years from 1976 to 2015, the festival’s popularity waned with the decline of women’s record labels such as Olivia; the mainstreaming of female recording artists; and a new generation of feminists disinclined toward binary conceptions of sex and gender, and therefore with a different attitude toward women-only events. The festival ended permanently over irreconcilable political differences between the separatist ethos that shaped its origins and the rise of greater activism related to the rights of transgender people.

When previously suppressed aspects of history finally are brought to light, the temptation often is to critique societal forces of oppression and valorize the oppressed. An accurate and complete representation of history, however, demands a critical perspective on the complex dynamics of gender, race, and class, among other categories of social analysis, that
have shaped the circumstances, standpoint, status, and political
consciousness of particular LGBTQ people. Finally, there is a need to move
beyond marking places associated with LGBTQ history per se to identify
places that have been essential to producing and policing
heteronormativity. Marking gay bars that were sites of rebellion is a
powerful act; however, as a matter of social justice, police stations and
liquor licensing offices that once led the charge in harassing LGBTQ
people are also critical sites for telling the story. Similarly, historic places
such as psychiatric hospitals where queer people were incarcerated and
“treated” under the mistaken medical belief that they possessed disorders
should address the dark and difficult aspects of their history as part of site
interpretation. It’s necessary, but far from sufficient, to mark this history at
the few sites LGBTQ people historically claimed. Justice demands a critical
perspective and more LGBTQ positive message at places that played an
instrumental role in enforcing heterosexuality as normative: churches,
hospitals, military facilities, and more. As an instrument of social justice,
cultural work on behalf of oppressed groups requires telling difficult truths
about the past, honoring their struggles to achieve equity, and reclaiming
the wider world from which they were so often excluded as a welcoming
place for all of the American people. Historic places and their
interpretation cannot in themselves bring about justice for historic
inequities in the treatment of indigenous people, women, people of color,
or those whose sexuality and gender expression defied social norms. But
these forms of cultural work can disrupt the oppressive logic of settler
colonialism, sexism, racism, and homophobia; signal a public ethos of
equality; and promote civic dialogue about the gaps that remain between
our actual practices and our aspirations for a democratic and inclusive
society.

While preservation advocacy built around the politics of identity thus
far has marginally improved representations of women, ethnic
communities of color, and LGBTQ people at historic places, in the long run
it risks diluting the collective power of previously underrepresented groups
to change discriminatory policies and practices that pose structural and
institutional barriers to equity. The standards of significance and integrity that guided the designation of NHLs were set at a time when the activities and accomplishments of elite white men of a propertied class were at the center of historical scholarship. Now that history includes not only those who were significantly disadvantaged, but also dispossessed, or considered property themselves, notions about the integrity of the places associated with them merit reexamination. In this sense, many underrepresented groups share a common cause for reform of standard preservation policies and practices that a focus on a particular identity may obscure. For that reason, building alliances among groups whose histories have been marginalized and supporting the development of emerging leaders inclined to build bridges between them is critical to realizing a progressive vision for historic preservation.

\footnote{For an extended argument about the need to forge alliances among and between interest groups organized around specific identities, see Gail Dubrow, “From Minority to Majority: Building On and Moving Beyond the Politics of Identity in Historic Preservation,” in \textit{Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation in the United States}, eds. Max Page and Marla Miller (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, forthcoming in 2016).}
Introduction

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmarks (NHL) programs are place-based and to be included in them, the places (buildings, structures, landscapes, and archeological sites) must still exist. This is a challenge when looking at the history and heritage of historically marginalized populations, who are often located at the edges of society. These are places that become targets of demolition, redevelopment, urban renewal, and gentrification—all of which impact the physical places and force their inhabitants and customers elsewhere. In addition, the further back in time we go, the more likely it is that the buildings and structures that we often associate with historic places are no longer standing and that landscapes have changed (forests grown or cut down, land tilled or left fallow, streets and railroads torn up or built; rivers channelized and mountains razed). Archeology—the study of past peoples and societies through the physical remains they left behind—is one way of studying the marginalized who are often neglected (or are otherwise under- or mis-represented) in the historical record; of learning
about the past from physical remains when aboveground structures or landscapes are gone or changed; and of learning about the history of the people who inhabited what we now know as the United States for thousands of years before Europeans arrived.\(^1\) Archeology is especially well-suited to revealing the everyday lives of people as reflected in the ordinary objects of day-to-day life. While documentary records often identify specific individuals, archeology focuses on the aggregate study of people in a place—household members (kin, chosen family, boarders, servants, slaves, etc.), workers in factories and other workplaces, and people in communities.

Like other marginalized populations, sexual and gender minorities were often located at the edges of society—both figuratively and literally. It is a broad category that encompasses many identities and practices that Western society has viewed as different from, and often inferior to, social norms. Other cultures, including some Native American groups, do not consider these identities as different or inferior; just less common. For consistency within the theme study, LGBTQ and queer are used here broadly to refer to gender and sexual minorities. I use lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, two-spirit, and other specific terms when referring to specific identities.

This chapter introduces an archeological context for LGBTQ sites.\(^2\) It includes an overview of the archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit sites, presents the kinds of questions that archeology can answer, and provides examples of how those questions can be addressed using the archeological record. Issues of archeological site integrity and other concerns directly associated with the listing of archeological sites on the

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1 Many people are not represented, misrepresented, or underrepresented in historical documents. These include those who did not or could not own property, could not vote, could not serve in the military, were “others,” and/or who did not make news. This includes LGBTQ, two-spirit, women, working classes, children, immigrants, and others.

2 Also important, but not included here, are the experiences and discrimination of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeologists in the field. See Dawn Rutecki and Chelsea Blackmore, eds., “Special Section: Towards an Inclusive Queer Archaeology,” *Society for American Archaeology SAA Record* 16, no. 1 (2016): 9-39.
NRHP or being designated an NHL are discussed elsewhere in the theme study.  

National Register and National Historic Landmark Criteria

Both the NRHP and the NHL programs have criteria that encompass the archeological record. This includes places where only the archeological material survives and places where archeology can contribute additional information to a place with standing buildings and structures or surviving landscapes. While we often consider archeology as limited to Criterion D/Criterion 6, archeology can also address other criteria, most likely (but not limited to) NRHP Criteria A and B and NHL Criteria 1 and 2.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion A: [Places that] are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion B: [Places that] are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion D: [Places that] have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 1: [Places that] are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.

3 See Springate and de la Vega, this volume.
National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 2: [Places that] are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.

National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 6: [Places that] have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

Introduction to the Archeology of Gender and Sexual Minorities

I do not refer to queer archeology here, as the term refers to a specific field of inquiry. While queer archeology began by challenging heteronormative assumptions deeply ingrained in how archeologists traditionally have thought about the past (i.e., that everyone in the past were in or interested only in opposite-sex relationships; that the nuclear family of a husband and wife and children living in a household was the norm; and that only two sexes or genders exist), it has broadened in scope to challenging other assumptions (like the clear demarcation between past and present) and different ways to interpret the past (like sensory archeology).4

Gender and sexuality are distinct, and yet deeply intertwined, aspects of human life. The specifics of how these behaviors and identities are expressed, understood, and influence each other, however, are historically and culturally specific. The study of gender and sexual minorities in archeology developed out of gender, feminist, and queer archeologies. These, in turn, were informed by the work of anthropologists like Gayle Rubin who disentangled sex, gender, and sexuality as areas of study, and of theorists like Judith Butler, who showed us that gender is a context-specific and reflective performance that requires both actors and audience. Other influential theorists include Michel Foucault and Eve Sedgwick.

For examples of this, see González and Hernández, Harris, Meyer, Roscoe, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).


In the last twenty years, a handful of historical archeologists including Barbara Voss and Eleanor Casella have been examining sexuality in archeology. Included under this umbrella have been a small handful of studies exploring same-sex relationships and an even smaller number of investigations of two-spirit identity in pre-contact and colonial periods. Few of these come from the United States, with the majority emerging from work in different parts of the world and representing a wide range of times and cultures. The excavations of queer sites from elsewhere can be useful in thinking about the archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit identities. For example, Eleanor Casella’s work at the Ross Female Factory, a mid-nineteenth century women’s prison in Australia, identified a currency of relationships among women that could be variously and simultaneously predatory, strategic, economic, and affectionate.

The lack of work that specifically addresses LGBTQ, two-spirit, and other sexual and gender minorities may reflect a documented hesitance by researchers to be associated with work considered controversial. They fear this may reduce their credibility (as through accusations of self-interest), or that this research might otherwise hurt their careers.

Sexual and gender minority identities are historically and culturally situated, and we must be cautious in applying interpretations cross-culturally. This includes applying our modern ideas about lesbian, gay,
bisexual, transgender, and queer identities on to people who might have
choosen not to take those identities or could not, as these categories may
not have existed or were not culturally relevant. Two-spirit identities of
Native Americans, for example, fall outside the binary (male-female) sex
and gender system dominant in Western culture. Despite this, they are
often described using terms like homosexuality and transsexuality—terms
that are rooted in a binary sex and gender system. In Native American
cultures that recognize multiple genders, these descriptors lose their
usefulness. Similarly, while Western cultures tend to view gender and
sexuality as essential and often static personal identifiers, many Native
American cultures perceive these qualities very differently.

Early archeological studies looked at evidence from burials, and
identified individuals as two-spirit when their cultural gender (expressed
by the artifacts they were buried with) differed from their physical sex
(determined through osteological analysis). More recent work has taken
a more nuanced and holistic approach to understanding two-spirit identities, and has been undertaken in contexts beyond burials. For example, Sandra Hollimon has re-examined Chumash burials in a broader context, including gender, sexuality, religion, and occupation. She concluded that ‘aqi identity in the Chumash culture is usually associated with those who are members of an undertaking guild and who do not engage in procreative sex. This includes several categories of identity that Western culture sees as distinct: biological men who live as women; men who have sex with other men; men without children; celibate people; and postmenopausal women. Similarly nuanced work has also been done by archaeologist Elizabeth Prine in her study of the miati of the Hidatsa and by Perry and Joyce in their examination of Zuni Ihamana identities.

Since the 1980s, there have been many archeological investigations that address gender, including some, like work done at brothels across the United States, which are sexual in context. Even in these cases, however, sexuality is rarely addressed. One notable example is found in Barbara Voss’ The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco in which she includes sexuality as part of a broad,
intersectional analysis of people becoming *Californios*.\(^{18}\) Another notable example that deals with gender and same-sex sexual relationships among women is the work by Eleanor Casella at the Ross Female Factory, described above.

**Avenues of Inquiry**

Archeology at LGBTQ sites and of LGBTQ identities and practices broadens our understanding not just of the queer past, but can also contribute to wider discussions in archeology and anthropology. Lacking a broad body of American LGBTQ and two-spirit specific work to draw from, this archeological context poses questions, problems, and issues that can be addressed through excavation and interpretation at these kinds of sites. The types of properties of interest include domestic spaces; meeting places; commercial sites; sites of resistance and protest; public cruising places; sacred places; and institutions. While one of the fundamental questions is if and how LGBTQ material remains differ from those found associated with heterosexuality, important work can also be done examining the formation and negotiation of political and social communities and identities. Many possible avenues of inquiry at LGBTQ sites like these parallel research by archeologists working in other contexts, including African American sites, those looking at gender, and those who study class. The work that has been done in these other areas provides precedence for methods and interpretive frameworks. The types of broader questions that archeological investigation at LGBTQ and two-spirit sites can address include the following.

\(^{18}\) While there is little mention of same-sex sexualities in this work, it is an example of the importance of gender and sexuality in understanding cultures and cultural change. Same-sex sexuality is mentioned briefly as an example of the “savagery” of the indigenous people in the area, as described by missionaries and other early settlers. Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 51. See also Barbara L. Voss, “Colonial Sex: Archaeology, Structured Space, and Sexuality in Alta California’s Spanish Colonial Missions,” in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 35-61.
A key tension in archeological investigations of identity is determining the scale of analysis: identities vs. communities vs. populations. For example, when looking at gender and sexual minorities, are we looking at individuals who personally identify with particular social or political categories (i.e. lesbian, gay, queer, etc.), populations whose sexual preferences and activities or gender presentations are statistically in the minority, or are we looking at communities that form around shared identities, activities, or politics? In addition to these questions of scale, researchers must also grapple with some very fundamental questions when looking at LGBTQ and two-spirit identities in the archeological record. How do we use artifacts and other things that survive physically to see variations in gender expression? Or to see heterosexuality compared with sexual minorities including those who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer? How does this materiality show up in the archeological record?

While answers to these questions can be debated on a broad, general level, they are also culturally, temporally, and site specific. Thinking about these questions will influence the type of research questions asked around a particular project, the methods used to collect data, and the interpretation of what is recovered. There are no easy answers to these fundamental questions. There are, however, places to start thinking about them. First, do not assume that the people who lived in a place had only two genders, two sexes, or were necessarily heterosexual. This forces us as researchers to look closely at what the evidence tells us, rather than forcing the evidence into our own assumptions. In some cases, historical documents, oral histories, and ethnographic studies will be available. Those that have detailed information on how people organized themselves both interpersonally and spatially, and which have good descriptions of material culture and how it is used will be particularly useful in considering

19 Barbara Voss, in personal communication with the author.
20 See, for example, the discussion of personal artifacts and identity in Carolyn L. White and Mary C. Beaudry, “Artifacts and Personal Identity,” in Teresita Majewski and David Gaimster, eds., The International Handbook of Historical Archaeology (New York: Springer, 2009), 209-225.
what to look at, how to find it, and how to think about it in analysis and interpretation.21

Emergence and History of LGBTQ and Contemporary Two-Spirit Identities

Gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer, and two-spirit identities are historically situated. For example, a woman in the early twentieth century would not have identified herself as a lesbian (first used as a noun in 1925), just as someone before the late twentieth century would not have identified using the word transgender (first appearing in 1988). The word homosexual itself was not used until the turn of the twentieth century, introduced and defined by the psychological profession.22 Examining the relationship between these changing categories of identity and material things and spaces is an important avenue of archeological investigation. How have people used physical things and places to both stabilize and transform their identities? How have they responded when, as with psychologists “inventing” homosexuality at the turn of the twentieth century, they have had identities thrust upon them? Work done on LGBTQ and two-spirit sites can inform broader investigations into the materiality of identity by serving as case studies and in raising both issues and possible solutions to what is one of the key questions in archeology. Previous work on the archeology of identities and on emerging identities can serve as springboards for work at LGBTQ and two-spirit sites.23

21 For examples of this kind of approach, see Prine, “Third Genders” and Hollimon, “Aqi’”. For historical archeology, the work done by art historian Kevin Murphy on gay and lesbian summer houses in New England could serve as a good jumping-off point for considering these types of issues. Kevin D. Murphy, “Secure from All Intrusion” Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century American Resort,” Winterthur Portfolio 43, no. 2/3 (2009): 185-228. We must also, however, be cautious and critical when using the ethnographic record, particularly when considering pre-contact cultures. These records are written from particular points of view, and these have historically been ones that ignore or demean these identities.

22 For more detailed discussion, see Meyer (this volume). See also Gayle S. Rubin, “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality,” in Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton, eds., Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader (New York: Routledge, 1984), 149.

Shifting Personal Identities

This question looks at changing identities at a more personal, rather than cultural level. Early work in identity, including LGBTQ and two-spirit identities, treated aspects of identity (including race, sexuality, and gender) as essential and innate characteristics of individuals that do not change. In reference to sexuality, this was largely the result of sexological and other medical work in the early twentieth century that defined and categorized sexuality and gender expression. This bias affected research in both LGBTQ and two-spirit contexts. Despite Kinsey’s work in the 1930s and 1940s that acknowledged that people’s sexual orientation shifted along a continuum based on their changing social circumstances, it has only been in the relatively recent past that the essential nature of these aspects of identity have been challenged, and that there has been a broader acknowledgement that identities are malleable and can shift over a lifetime.24

Can archeologists see the development and shift in a person’s identity reflected in the archeological record? This is challenging, as archeology is best suited to looking at broad patterns through time, rather than associating individual artifacts with specific individuals and specific events.

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However, archeology is good at trends at the household level. While archeologists cannot necessarily identify specific objects with specific people living in a household, it is possible to see changes both within and between households. There are already archeological studies looking at the life cycles of households and the changing material and physical environments of young singles vs. households with children vs. empty nesters vs. the elderly. These precedents can be used as jumping-off points for considering what the material signs of changing and shifting LGBTQ activities or identities of people within a household may be.

**Intersectionality**

Intersectionality is the recognition that various axes of identity (gender, sex, class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, geographical location, etc.) influence and are influenced by each other. People with different sets of intersecting identities have different—often very different—histories. This is why, for example, this theme study includes chapters on transgender, two-spirit, African American, Asian American, Latino/Latina, and bisexual LGBTQ communities, as well as the separate chapters representing the queer histories of various cities across the United States.

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28 See Auer, Capó, Graves and Watson, González and Hernández, Harris, Herczeg-Konecny, Hutchins, Roscoe, Shockley, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).
What can the study of intersectionality that includes LGBTQ and two-spirit identities contribute to the broader study of intersectionality in archeological contexts? How can we explore intersectionality in the context of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeological sites? Broadening the study of intersectional identities to include sexuality is an important intervention in research that has traditionally focused predominantly on gender, class, and ethnicity. It is only by looking at sexuality broadly that the role of LGBTQ gender and sexual identities can be understood in cultural context.

Understanding that different axes of identity influence each other is rather straightforward. Doing intersectional analysis and interpretation to tease out how they influence each other and play out in peoples’ lives, including at archeological sites, is challenging. One approach is to include multiple narratives in interpretation; the “gumbo ya-ya” proposed by Elsa Barkley Brown, where everyone talks at once, telling their stories in connection and in dialogue with one another.29 How, though, do you control for unaccountable or competing narratives? Philosopher and archeologist Alison Wylie advocates “integrity in scholarship,” which entails being fair to the evidence and a methodological multivocality that brings multiple sources of information to bear on interpretations.30 Another approach to intersectional interpretation is strategic essentialism, whereby diversity is explicitly and temporarily homogenized in order to achieve common goals or facilitate interpretation.31 Archeologists who have successfully done this kind of multivocal and intersectional work include Whitney Battle-Baptiste with her development of a black feminist archeology, Barbara Voss in her work looking at the process of

29 Elsa Barkley Brown, “‘What Has Happened Here”: The Politics of Difference in Women’s History and Feminist Politics,” Feminist Studies 18, no. 2 (1992): 295-312. In an archeological context, this multivocality can include the archeological record, historical record, ethnographic resources, oral histories, landscape analysis, architectural analysis, etc. See also Chela Sandoval, Methodology of the Oppressed (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) for a broader look at working intersectionally.


31 Strategic essentialism is a concept put forward by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and the Subaltern Studies Group; see Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, eds., The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (New York: Routledge, 1996), 214.
ethnogenesis in what is now California, and Janet Spector’s early work giving multiple interpretations of a sewing awl in a Wahpeton Dakota village.32

Different Genders

Considerable work has been done since the 1980s in theorizing and looking at gender archaeologically. While much of the work has focused on women and female genders, some work on masculinities has recently begun to be published.33 Other researchers are working to destabilize assumptions of a gender binary.34 While two-spirit identities have often been used as “proof” that gender is socially constructed, they cannot be accurately interpreted using Western constructs.35

Within LGBTQ communities are genders that have not previously been examined archeologically. How do we recognize and analyze different gender identities and expressions within LGBTQ communities, including the different genders of women who have sex with women (butch, femme, lipstick lesbian, stud), genderqueer, drag kings and queens, people who identify along the transgender spectrum, bears, and others?36 Recent work in gender archeology, including investigations of masculinities, a gender spectrum, and how genders are formed communally (rather than


34 Chelsea Blackmore, “How to Queer the Past”.


individually) has begun to provide methodologies and ways of interpreting data.37

Work done by theorists and anthropologists outside of archeology can be used to help think about different genders and how they intersect with other axes of identity. For example, while butch and femme gender expressions among women who have sex with women have traditionally been associated with the working classes, a recent study suggests that the meaning of a masculine gender presentation can also vary by location.38 Queer theorists like Jack Halberstam provide frameworks for understanding both how sexuality and gender interact to create multiple spectrums of identity and the possibility of (and ways of naming) more genders than male, female, and other.39

**Marginalization**

In 1984, Gayle Rubin introduced the “Charmed Circle.” At the center of the circle are culturally ideal sexual behaviors; in the United States at the time the article was published, these included monogamous, heterosexual, married, not kinky, done within the home. At the edges and outside the circle are those behaviors considered less acceptable or deviant—in this case, multiple partners, homosexual, unmarried, kinky, done in public. The circle, however, is not fixed. In addition to being culturally specific,


behaviors once considered deviant can become increasingly acceptable, moving towards the center, and vice versa. The process through which groups come to be seen as socially and politically different—and to understand themselves through these lenses, has been a central dynamic shaping LGBTQ history. Using archeology, we can look at the material reflections of these shifts as, for example, homosexuality has become more or less socially acceptable, and also how it (and other sexual and gender identities and practices) might have been used to regulate “normative” behavior and identification.

As archeologists, we must also acknowledge more broadly that what is normal and what is deviant are not fixed, essential qualities. Archeologists looking for difference have held heterosexuality as the norm, looking to identify queer sites based on their difference from straight sites. Likewise, many analyses of the poor and working classes have held middle-classness as the norm, and ethnic analyses have held whiteness as the norm or as the point of comparison. These are powerful statements of what we, as researchers, consider normal and what we consider “other;” they can find their origins in structural privilege. In order to truly understand the dynamics of power that mark some behaviors and people as deviant or other, we must interrogate and critically examine heterosexuality and other behaviors and identities held as “normal.”

**Oppression and Resistance**

Being LGBTQ or two-spirit (or engaging in same-sex sexual relations and/or having a different or transgressive gender identity) has often led to

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40 Rubin, “Thinking Sex”.  
41 Barbara Voss, personal communication with the author.  
43 For example, whiteness is not often actively engaged with as a racial or ethnic identity. An important and accessible exploration of how this kind of privilege plays out can be found in Peggy McIntosh, “White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences through Work in Women’s Studies,” Working Paper No. 189 (Wellesley, MA: Massachusetts Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, 1988), often cited in various versions as “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Backpack.” For an overview of the costs of these assumptions and a discussion of “deviance” in the archeological record, see Aimers and Rutecki, “Brave New World”.

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both oppression and resistance to it. How have LGBTQ and two-spirit individuals and communities responded to oppression, both by other individuals and by the state? For example, did LGBTQ households “hide” by maintaining a public façade of heterosexuality while internally organizing their homes to reflect the realities of same-sex interpersonal behavior? If so, what does this look like spatially and materially? How does this differ by ethnicity, class, gender, geographic location, and other intersectional axes?

In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois described African Americans’ experience of double consciousness or “two-ness”: the tensions and struggles of living both within and outside two distinct worlds defined by color. In 1991, cultural theorist Chela Sandoval described differential consciousness as a way that people survive and operate within oppressive environments while simultaneously developing beliefs and tactics to resist domination and oppression. Archeologists studying African Americans, both free and enslaved, have done considerable work in exploring double consciousness and differential consciousness using archeological data. This includes looking at oppression, resistance, and living lives that appear one way in private and another in public, as well as assimilationist versus oppositional responses to oppression. Archeologists studying labor,

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44 Examples of oppression include physical violence, being fired or denied housing, vilification, incarceration, harassment, social exclusion leading, for example, to being closeted, higher rates of suicide and homelessness, etc. Examples of resistance include street protests, secret signs like wearing a green carnation in one’s lapel to indicate homosexuality or a double-headed axe (labrys) indicating identity as a lesbian.
violence, and sabotage, as in the coal fields of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Colorado, are also laying the groundwork for the investigation of oppression, resistance, and survival.47

Community

Moving to a broader lens, archaeology can be used to trace the development and decline of LGBTQ neighborhoods at various scales. Largely urban phenomena, like the Philadelphia gayborhood, there are also less urban examples like Provincetown, Massachusetts; Fire Island Pines and Cherry Grove, New York; Saugatuck, Michigan; and Guerneville, California. These neighborhoods and the people who live there come together and dissipate for many reasons.48 These include patterns of property ownership, gentrification, redevelopment, police harassment, and more recently, changes associated with an increase in the acceptance of LGBTQ people, particularly in urban areas.49 Archeology can be used to study these processes and effects at the levels of individual properties

Megan E. Springate

(households, businesses, etc.) and communities as a whole, using artifacts, buildings (standing and demolished), and landscapes.50

Archeology can also be a tool of civic engagement, empowerment, and emancipation. Through engagement with living communities, archeological research questions, methods, and interpretations can be used to address questions important to existing communities. Civically engaged and activist archeologies recognize that the past and the present are inextricably intertwined. There is an extensive literature on civically engaged and community archeology that includes methods, approaches, and case studies.51

Types of Sites

Assuming archeological deposits remain, any of the property types identified for this theme study can be investigated archeologically, whether or not a structure or building remains standing.52 A different way


52 See Springate and de la Vega (this volume).
of thinking about site types in the context of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeology is based on three different categories of site:\(^53\)

i) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with community and identity formation, including those of events, people, organizations, businesses, etc. who are important to LGBTQ and two-spirit history (NRHP Criteria A and/or B; NHL Criteria 1, 2, and/or 5). Archeology at these locations will reveal the use and organization of things and spaces that reflect these individuals’ or groups’ identities, strategies, and daily lives, among other things. This would include places like the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House in Washington, DC, and the area of the Stonewall Riots in New York City.\(^54\)

ii) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with events, people, organizations, businesses, etc. who are important to other histories (NRHP Criteria A and/or B; NHL Criteria 1, 2, and/or 5) and which are also in some way associated with LGBTQ and two-spirit identities or histories. Archeology at these locations can contribute information about the relationship between sexual and/or gender minority status and the other historical events that the person, organization, etc. is significant for. Examples of these types of places might include Hull House in Chicago, Val-Kill in New York State, Rosebud Battlefield in Montana, and the Tanglewood Tavern in Virginia.\(^55\)

iii) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with LGBTQ and two-spirit aesthetics (NRHP Criterion C; NHL Criterion 4). Examples include Philip Johnson’s Glass House in Connecticut; the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco; Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House in

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\(^53\) With many thanks to Barb Voss, in personal communication with the author
\(^54\) The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House in Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011; Stonewall in New York City was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.
\(^55\) Hull House in Chicago, Illinois was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965; The Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Site (Val-Kill) in Hyde Park, New York was designated in 1977; the Rosebud Battlefield Site in Busby, Montana was listed on the NRHP on August 21, 1972 and designated an NHL on August 19, 2008; the Tanglewood Tavern in Maidens, Virginia was listed on the NRHP on September 12, 2002.
iv) The study of archeological sites and landscapes to better understand the history of sexual and gender minorities at the individual, household, neighborhood, and community levels (NRHP Criterion D; NHL Criterion 6). These types of sites include locations where buildings and structures associated with any of the above types of properties are no longer extant, but can also encompass those types of places that are still standing, and where archeology can contribute to a more complete history and understanding of the place.

Conclusion

As a queer archeologist, it is tempting to look for myself and other LGBTQ and two-spirit people, just as we are today, in the past. To legitimize our existence by “proving” that we have always existed. And yet, to paraphrase Barb Voss, we need to be wary of projects that essentialize sexual and gender identities by using archeology to create a lineage of gay, lesbian, bisexual and queer forefathers and foremothers and transgendered foreparents for present-day identities. Archeological projects that explore the full richness, diversity, and dynamism of gender and sexual minorities are ultimately much more useful. The archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit places and landscapes can not only provide important information about past genders and sexualities, but also contribute to important dialogues in archeology about the relationship between and expressions of sexuality and gender, community, cultural change, and identity.

56 Philip Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut was designated an NHL on February 18, 1997; the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco, California was designated in 1996; Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House in Gloucester, Massachusetts was designated an NHL on May 27, 2003; the Georgia O’Keeffe Home and Studio in Abiquiú, New Mexico was designated a NHL on August 5, 1998.

57 Voss, “Looking for Gender”, 34
Although scholars of LGBTQ history have generally been inclusive of women, the working classes, and gender-nonconforming people, the narrative that is found in mainstream media and that many people think of when they think of LGBTQ history is overwhelmingly white, middle-class, male, and has been focused on urban communities. While these are important histories, they do not present a full picture of LGBTQ history. To include other communities, we asked the authors to look beyond the more well-known stories. Inclusion within each chapter, however, isn’t enough to describe the geographic, economic, legal, and other cultural factors that shaped these diverse histories. Therefore, we commissioned chapters providing broad historical contexts for two spirit, transgender, Latino/a, African American Pacific Islander, and bisexual communities. These chapters, read in concert with the chapter on intersectionality, serve as examples of rich, multi-faceted narrative within a fuller history of the United States.
There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle, because we do not live single-issue lives. –Audre Lorde

Intersectionality is the recognition that categories of difference (sometimes also referred to as axes of identity) including—but not limited to—race, ethnicity, gender, religion/creed, generation, geographic location, sexuality, age, ability/disability, and class intersect to shape the experiences of individuals; that identity is multidimensional. These identities are not mutually exclusive but interdependent. LGBTQ is not a single community with a single history; indeed, each group represented by these letters (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) is made up of multiple communities. The axes of gender, generation, geographic location, ethnicity, and other factors play an important role in the history of

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LGBTQ America, shaping the various histories of LGBTQ communities across the nation and the places associated with them. For example, the experiences of rural LGBTQ individuals are different from those in urban areas; those of white, gay Latinos different from those of gay AfroLatino men; middle-class African American lesbians’ lives differ from those of working-class African American lesbians and middle-class white lesbians.

The idea of intersectionality is not new; in her 1851 speech now known as “Ain’t I A Woman,” Sojourner Truth spoke about the intersections of being a woman, being black, and having been enslaved. In the 1960s and 1970s, black and Chicana women articulated the intersectionality of their lives, forming black feminist and Chicana feminist movements as their experiences as women of color were ignored, belittled, and/or erased by the largely white, middle-class women’s movement that treated race and gender as mutually exclusive categories. In their lived experience, oppression as people of color, as women, and as women of color could not be untangled. The term intersectionality was first used in print by Kimberlé Crenshaw in a law journal describing the problematic effects of a single-axis approach to antidiscrimination law, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. Since then, intersectionality has become an important concept across many disciplines, including history, art and architectural history, anthropology, geography, sociology, psychology, and law.

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4 Truth spoke at the Women’s Convention at the Old Stone Church, corner of North High and Perkins Streets, Akron, Ohio on May 29, 1851. Various versions of the speech exist, including several published from memory by Frances Dana Barker Gage, which include the phrase “Ain’t I A Woman.” The earliest published version, recalled by Marius Robinson, does not include this phrase. See Corona Brazina, Sojourner Truth’s “Ain’t I a woman?” Speech: A Primary Source Investigation (New York: RosenCentral Primary Source, 2005); Kay Siebler, “Teaching the Politics of Sojourner Truth’s ‘Ain’t I a Woman?’” Pedagogy 10, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 511-533.


An understanding of intersectionality is important for place-based research and historic preservation because these axes of difference can affect the physical places associated with communities; they also affect the relationships that various individuals and communities have with places. People who own instead of rent their homes and commercial buildings are more likely to be able to stay in their neighborhoods as housing prices increase—a result, for example, of gentrification. Using an intersectional approach that takes into account income disparities based on race and sexual orientation, it becomes clear that lesbians and transgender individuals, especially those of color, who tend to have lower incomes than others, and therefore cannot afford to own their own homes, are forced out of neighborhoods more rapidly than middle-class gay white males, who tend to have more income that can be invested in purchasing buildings. Similarly, because lesbians (as women) have tended to have less disposable income than gay men, there have tended to be fewer lesbian clubs and bars. Instead, white women and women of color, as well as people of color, tended to meet and socialize in private spaces.8

The meanings of places also differ across the various LGBTQ communities. For example, the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival, founded in 1976 as a women-only space has been an important event in the history of women’s land, women’s music, and community-based organization. However, the festival has also had a history of excluding transgender women.9 This resulted in the founding in 1991 of Camp Trans, a protest encampment by transgender women and their allies just outside the festival grounds. The Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival means very different things to these different communities: some experience the

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8 See, for example, Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community (New York: Routledge, 1993). For examples of how ethnicity and sexual and gender identity intersect, see González and Hernández, Harris, Hutchins, Roscoe, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

9 See Stryker and Schweighofer (this volume).
place as one of inclusion and visibility, while others feel oppressed and excluded.\textsuperscript{10}

Intersectionality has been presented as a means to avoid causing epistemic violence (excluding people from how we understand and know the world) to individuals and communities by silencing their voices or rendering their experiences invisible.\textsuperscript{11} The temptation to ignore those alternative voices in LGBTQ history is great: “Given the new opportunities available to some gays and lesbians, the temptation to forget—to forget the outrages and humiliations of gay and lesbian history and to ignore the ongoing suffering of those not borne up by the rising tide of gay normalization—is stronger than ever.”\textsuperscript{12} Those excluded from the normalized, mainstream gay rights movement and therefore its history—to varying degrees—include those living on low incomes, people with disabilities, people of color, the elderly, women, transgender people, drag queens, bisexuals, those living in rural areas, and those whose sexual practices fall outside the realm of the socially acceptable, described by Gayle Rubin as the “charmed circle.”\textsuperscript{13} Especially alienated are those whose identities encompass more than one of these axes of exclusion.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{10} Compare, for example, Voices from the Land, \url{http://www.michfestmatters.com}; Cristan Williams, “Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival,” TransAdvocate, 2013, \url{http://transadvocate.com/michigan-womyns-music-festival_n_8943.htm}.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Heather Love, Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), xiv; see also Elizabeth Freeman, Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
Cynthia Levine-Rasky argues that a full understanding of these as axes of exclusion and oppression also requires that researchers pay attention to the intersectionality of whiteness and middle-class identity (and, by extension, other identities that are privileged in our society).\(^{15}\) An intersectional reevaluation of the experiences of those groups that have been comparatively well-represented (including gay, white, urban men) will also result in a more nuanced and accurate understanding of LGBTQ history and its role in American society.

An intersectional approach to history provides a much more complete and nuanced understanding of our past; one that includes the experiences and voices of those who are often silenced in dominant narratives that focus primarily on the actions of those with privilege, including white, middle- and upper-class, heterosexual, men. One instance where an intersectional approach to history that included previously excluded axes of ethnicity and the working classes provided a more complete history is in the study of women’s rights. The dominant narrative of women’s rights recognizes three “waves”: the First Wave is described

\[^{15}\text{Cynthia Levine-Rasky, “Intersectionality Theory Applied to Whiteness and Middle-Classness,” Social Identities 17, no. 2 (2011): 239-253.}\]
as spanning the years between 1848 (the First Convention for Women’s Rights at Seneca Falls, New York) and 1920 (passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, granting women the right to vote); the Second Wave that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as women worked towards ending gender discrimination in arenas including employment, medical care, and financial equity; and the Third Wave that began in the 1990s, which involved a more active and mainstream approach to intersectionality in the women’s movement (Figure 1). This narrative of feminist waves is based predominantly on the experiences of white, middle-class women in advocating for women’s rights and in reaping the benefits of their activism. For example, though women were granted the right to vote in 1920, Jim Crow laws in the southern states kept African American women (and men) from the voting booths until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
Many Native Americans of all genders were likewise denied voting rights until the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.

Recent scholarship that takes an intersectional approach to feminism recognizes that the women's movement did not vanish during the years following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Betty Friedan’s book, *The Feminine Mystique*, is based on her observations of and experiences as a white, middle-class suburban housewife, but does not mention her experiences as a journalist for leftist and labor union publications. While her work is often credited with sparking the Second Wave of feminism such analysis ignores the experiences and gains of African American women and wage-earning women (and their white, middle-class allies) who had not stopped working towards feminist goals after suffrage. After 1920, women who had been

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16 License: Public Domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anna_Howard_Shaw_House.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anna_Howard_Shaw_House.JPG)
focusing their efforts on suffrage shifted their focus to labor and social welfare legislation, with some women choosing to work within the political party system or within the government itself, and others working in private organizations or with labor organizers. Women who had been working within the labor and racial justice movements prior to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment continued their work. It was this work, which culminated in the creation in 1961 of the President’s Commission on the Status of Women and its 1963 report, *American Women: Report of the President’s Commission on the Status of Women*, as well as the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that laid the groundwork for the founding of the National Organization of Women (NOW) in 1966. NOW (which included Betty Friedan among its founding members) was the organization that spearheaded the women’s rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. This intersectional analysis, which includes working women and labor organizers as well as women working for racial justice, puts lie to the idea of a Second Wave of feminism that is discontinuous from the reform movements of the early twentieth century and which has its roots in white, middle-class experience.

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21 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:JuniperLedgeExt1.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:JuniperLedgeExt1.JPG), Juniper Ledge was added to the NRHP on May 4, 2006.
Missing from the above intersectional analysis, however, is a consideration of LGBTQ contributions. This is a reflection of how often the roles of LGBTQ individuals in the history of America have been excluded. This results in an incomplete and oversimplified picture of our nation’s history. More recent scholarship has directly addressed the role of LGBTQ individuals and organizations like Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt, couples Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read, and Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman in the women’s movement; Frances Kellor and Bayard Rustin in social reform movements; the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, Howard Wallace and the Lesbian/Gay Labor Alliance, Emily Blackwell and other workers and union organizers in labor history (Figures 2 to 4).22

22 See, for example, Lillian Faderman, To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done for America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999); Miriam Frank, Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014); and Wendell Ricketts, Blue, Too: More Writing by (for or about) Working-Class Queers (FourCats Press, 2014); Allan Bérubé, “Queer Work and Labor History,” in My Desire for History, eds. John D’Emilio and Estelle Freedman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 259-269; Bérubé, “No Race-Baiting, Red-Baiting, or Queer-Baiting! The Marine Cooks and Stewards Union from the Depression to the Cold War,” in My Desire for History, 294-320; Kitty Krupat and Patrick McCreery, Out At Work: Building a Gay-Labor Alliance (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001). Anna Howard Shaw and her partner, Lucy Anthony (niece of Susan B. Anthony) lived together in Moylan, Pennsylvania; Carrie Chapman Catt and her partner Mary Hay lived at Juniper Ledge, Briarcliff Manor, New York during Catt’s most influential years, 1919-1928. Juniper Ledge was added to the NRHP on May 4, 2006; Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read shared an apartment on East 11th Street, New York City, New York in a building they owned. They rented an apartment in the building to Eleanor Roosevelt. The pair also had a summer home called Salt Meadow, where they entertained Eleanor Roosevelt, at 733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Connecticut (donated to the US Fish and Wildlife Service on July 20, 1972 forming the core of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge); Marion Dickerman and Nancy Cook lived at an apartment on West 12th Street, New York City, New York; Frances Kellor lived with her partner Mary Dreier near the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, New York; Bayard Rustin’s apartment in New York City was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016. Dr. Emily Blackwell was the third woman to earn a medical degree in the United States; in 1857, she cofounded the New York Infirmary for Indigent Women and Children at East 7th Street near Tompkins Square Park (an expansion of the New York Dispensary for Poor Women and Children founded by her sister, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, in 1853). When it opened in 1868, Emily was on the faculty of the Woman’s Medical College of the New York Infirmary founded by her sister at 126
Working with Intersectionality

Intersectional analysis that takes several axes of identity into consideration can be challenging to implement. Several authors have presented different ways of working with intersectionality. One method is the inclusion of multiple narratives in interpretation. These serve both to oppose dominant narratives and hegemonic power and as a way to enrich our understanding of the past by including multiple experiences and voices. Elsa Barkley Brown describes the Creole phenomenon of “gumbo ya-ya,” where everyone talks at once, telling their stories in connection and in dialogue with one another, as a nonlinear approach to intersectionality and multivocality. Applying a multivocal approach to understanding the past brings its own set of challenges, including the problem of unaccountable narratives. Philosopher Alison Wylie advocates “integrity in scholarship” to correct for any cacophony of competing narratives. This integrity includes being fair to the evidence and a methodological multivocality that incorporates multiple sources of information in support of interpretations. These many voices may come from written documents, oral histories, and autoethnography, among others. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak talks about the use of strategic essentialism, in which groups choose to foreground particular identities—a strategy which can also be used in analysis. Other authors, like Chela Sandoval and Emma Pérez, write about working intersectionally. In writing LGBTQ history, some of these multiple sources of information may...

Second Avenue, New York City, New York. Emily became the director of the college when Elizabeth moved to England. From 1883, Dr. Emily Blackwell lived with her partner Dr. Elizabeth Cushier.


27 Emma Pérez, The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1999); Chela Sandoval, Methodology of the Oppressed (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
include rumor and willful silences about members of communities where being out was too much of a risk:28

This hearsay evidence – inadmissible in court, unacceptable to some historians – is essential to the recuperation of queer histories. The age-old squelching of our words and desires can be replicated when we adhere to ill-suited and unbending standards of historical methodology.29

Intersectionality in LGBTQ contexts plays out along lines of sexuality, race or ethnicity, religion, gender, class, age, sexual practice, and geography to name a few. Below, I provide several examples of how these identities intersect with each other. While not exhaustive, they give a sense of the importance and impact of intersectional analysis.

Intersectional Analysis

Historian Judith Bennett demonstrates that the sexual identity of “lesbian” (and by analogy other sexual identities) is unstable and unfixed by describing the many different types of lesbian, including butch (more masculine in appearance and behavior), femme (more feminine in appearance and behavior), vanilla (not sexually radical), sexually radical (i.e., kinky or polyamorous), of different ages, and different ethnicities.30 “If lesbian is not a stable entity now,” she writes, there is “no reason to think it was stable in the past.”31 She also notes that the connection of sexuality to the act of having sex is problematic. We recognize that someone may identify as straight, gay, or bisexual without having had sex, or during periods of their lives where they are not sexually active. But what about studying people in the past, whose sexual activity remains uncertain?

Bennett proposed the concept of “lesbian-like” for studying women in the past whose lives might have particularly offered opportunities for same-sex love; who resisted norms of feminine behavior based on heterosexual marriage; and who lived in circumstances that allowed them to nurture and support other women. Other researchers identify people as queer based on speculation, hearsay, and willful silences without hard evidence that they were sexually active with others of the same sex, arguing in part that rumor carries meaning and that regardless of their sexual behaviors they led queer, nonnormative lives.

Butch and femme gender expressions (where one partner is more masculine and the other more feminine in appearance and behavior) among queer women have traditionally been associated with the working classes. Despite this traditional association, a recent study suggests that the meaning of masculine gender presentation varies by location. In urban areas, female masculinity is often associated with lesbian identity, while in rural areas it is acceptable for women, regardless of their sexuality, to have a more masculine gender presentation. The presence of LGBTQ people in rural areas is often overlooked, with much of the history focused on “the well-rehearsed triumvirate of ...queer mythology: New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.” Regardless of gender presentation or location, "Lesbians, suffering from the dual disqualification of being gay and female, have been repeatedly dispossessed of their history.”

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33 Victoria Bissell Brown, “Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing,” in Austin and Brier, Out in Chicago, 63-76; Howard, Men Like That; Johnson, “Gays and Gospel.”
35 Kazyak, Midwest or Lesbian?
Additional “disqualifications” like being a person of color or disabled, exacerbate the impacts.

Queer theorists like Judith Jack Halberstam, Judith Butler, and Gayle Rubin provide frameworks for understanding both how sexuality and gender interact to create multiple spectrums of identity and the possibility of (and ways of naming) more genders than male, female, and other.38 Recent work by authors including Freeman and Halberstam describes how queer is more than just an expression of gender/sexual identity, arguing that the queer subculture works within ideas of space and time that are independent of those that structure the normative heterosexual lifestyle.39 These shape how LGBTQ people experience and interact with space, place, and history.40


Figure 5: Miss Gay Latina, Gay Pride Parade, Seattle, Washington. Photo by sea turtle, 2012.41

Often marginalized from the mainstream narratives, LGBTQ people of color are often confronted by a “politics of respectability” and describe feeling pressure to hide their sexuality or gender identity (or other identities) in order to appear respectable

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40 See, for example, Doan, *The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces* for a discussion of how being transgender shapes her experience of places, public and private.
41 License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. [https://www.flickr.com/photos/sea-turtle/7539841034](https://www.flickr.com/photos/sea-turtle/7539841034)
within their ethnic community and to be respectable representatives of their ethnic community to the dominant (white) culture.\textsuperscript{42} This politics of respectability is not limited to expressions of sexuality or gender, but influences many aspects of their lives. Evelyn Higginbotham describes it within the context of African American experience, but other people of color, including Latino/as also describe the effects of respectability politics (Figure 5).\textsuperscript{43} LGBTQ people also feel pressure, both from within their communities and from without, to be respectable as a means of advancing acceptance and gay rights. Straight, white, middle-class people, by contrast, generally do not have to contend with accusations or feelings of disappointing their communities because heterosexual, middle-class, white privilege means that any violation of social norms is an individual act, and not representative of racial identity.\textsuperscript{44} Black Lives Matter (BLM) was founded by three queer women of color in response to violence targeted against African Americans. Intersectional by design, BLM pushes against violence (physical, epistemic, and/or by exclusion) directed towards all black people, including those who are LGBTQ. This has brought into sharp relief many of the divisions that persist among and between LGBTQ communities. In 2015, in response to an unprecedented murder rate of transgender people, particularly transgender women of color, BLM and Trans Lives Matter worked together, insisting that #BlackTransLivesMatter (Figure 6).\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{42} Alimahomed, Thinking Outside the Rainbow; Meyer, An Intersectional Analysis, 861; and Moore, Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women.

\textsuperscript{43} Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, \textit{Righteous Discontent: The Women’s Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); see also González and Hernández (this volume) and Meyer, An Intersectional Analysis, 853.

\textsuperscript{44} Grillo, Anti-Essentialism and Intersectionality; Meyer, An Intersectional Analysis, 853; and Moore, Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women, 37.


07-14
Within the Latino/a community, expressions of gender (masculinity and femininity) have been shaped historically by unique traditions, religious influences, and laws. Gender norms emphasize macho masculinity for men and Marianismo femininity for women, serving as the basis for heterosexuality and the family as the central social structure. Macho is an expression of Latino heterosexual masculinity: an often exaggerated sense of masculine pride associated with strength, sexual potency and prowess, and ideals of chivalry. In traditional Latino/a thinking, most gay men are considered insufficiently macho. In contrast, Marianismo is characterized by women who are modest, virtuous, and sexually abstinent until heterosexual marriage, after which they are faithful and subordinate to their husbands. The mojer passiva or la mujer abnegada sacrifices her own individualism for the benefit of her (heterosexual) family. Individuals who express their gender and sexuality outside these cultural gender roles risk censure and ostracism from their family, which is central to Latino/a
experience. For Latina lesbians, this meant they were often single parents, unpartnered, or disowned by their families of origin.48

In much of the mainstream LGBTQ history, Latino/as have been found largely at the margins or invisible. In part, this has been because many chose to remain closeted and to protect their status in their families and communities; others stayed away from the predominantly white, mainstream gay rights movement because they felt marginalized or felt the weight of widespread anti-Latino/a sentiment.49 Latino/as are becoming increasingly visible both because homosexuality is slowly becoming more acceptable in their communities and because Latino/as are becoming more politically active.50

One place where the emphasis on respectability for African Americans plays out is in the experiences of middle-class black lesbians and of queer gospel singers. Researchers describe black lesbians navigating their identities in such a way that they retain racial group commitments to be “people of good character” while simultaneously being autonomous sexual selves.51 Gospel singers within the black church likewise navigated their identities to be both godly (of good character) and to express their sexuality.

Contemporary gospel music had its beginnings in Chicago in the 1920s, blurring the lines between secular rhythms and sacred texts. With this melding of forms, “gospel provided a space for those who were not necessarily accepted around the ‘welcome table’—namely sexual and gender nonconformists—to participate in the musical form’s continued growth and innovation.”52 In a culture of silence around sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular within the black churches, and

48 González and Hernández (this volume).
49 Almilahomed, Thinking Outside the Rainbow; González and Hernández (this volume).
51 Moore, Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women, 37.
52 Johnson, Gays and Gospel, 110.
where homosexuality was seen to violate the “God-given order of things” many queers remained closeted or neither confirmed nor denied their sexuality. This secrecy was crucial; without it, one could lose both their livelihood and their acceptance in their “first family,” the church, which was their community before they came to understand their sexuality. Church choirs, argues Johnson, served as “nurturing sites” for the creative expression of effeminate boys who otherwise may have been ostracized. “Church sissies” and “church butches” found each other in church choirs, and it was not uncommon for queer singers and musicians to use conventions, including the National Baptist Convention, as opportunities to socialize with each other. While homosexuality was considered an abomination and preached against from the pulpit, parishioners often looked the other way for talented artists. There seemed to be no such opprobrium regarding gender nonconformity: “How else could one explain the number of flamboyant singers such as Little Richard, who grew up and returned to the church, whose sexuality seems to have never been an issue?”

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53 Johnson, Gays and Gospel.
54 Johnson, Gays and Gospel.
55 Johnson, Gays and Gospel, 117.
56 License: CC BY-SA 3.0.
What are the implications in an intersectional approach to LGBTQ history and heritage, particularly in the context of the National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks programs? By recognizing that there are many LGBTQ communities and histories formed around and influenced by various aspects of identity, we can ensure that the richness of these multiple voices—including ones often silenced or marginalized—can be represented. An intersectional approach also allows the recognition and evaluation of historic properties in context. For example, the interior of bars and clubs have often been remodeled extensively over time and may no longer retain their historic integrity. This is, however, the nature of clubs, which often changed hands or were renovated to try to appeal to a different clientele in order to stay in business (either a different segment of the LGBTQ communities or to a more heterosexual audience). Integrity, then, may be evaluated differently for an LGBTQ bar than for a residence. Recognizing that lesbians historically have had fewer bars and clubs for socializing encourages us to look elsewhere for women’s social spaces. Intersectionality also allows us to broaden our thinking about what the division of social space along axes including binary gender (male-female), ethnicity, and sexuality (gay-straight) means and has meant for those whose identities include being trans and/or bisexual and/or of a particular ethnicity (white, African American, Latino/a, Asian American, American Indian, etc.) and to consider these effects in our analysis. As well as providing a more nuanced and complete approach to documenting LGBTQ sites, an intersectional approach also connects LGBTQ history to broader patterns in American history, including Civil Rights, women’s history, and labor history, just to name a few.

57 For a discussion of this in the context of African American sites, see Kerri S. Barile, “Race, the National Register, and Cultural Resource Management: Creating an Historic Context for Postbellum Sites,” *Historical Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2004): 90-100.
58 Seven aspects are considered when evaluating integrity in the context of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmark (NHL) programs. These seven aspects are: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The evaluation of integrity is always a variable process, and guidance provided by the National Park Service for their NRHP and NHL programs is always applied on a case-by-case basis. See Springate and de la Vega (this volume).
Introduction

Everyone is not *either gay or straight*. This mistaken assumption lies behind most ordinary daily conversations about who and how people create their families, identities, and love lives, but it is often not the whole truth. Bisexual people’s experiences are hidden in plain view, perhaps not visible, sometimes revealed.

This chapter is about that paradox: how we see what has been unseen, become more conscious of those who love others of more than one gender, until we recognize that these relationships and realities are more common than is usually acknowledged and have always been a part of history, visible or not.

If they think about it, most English teachers are aware, for instance, that the writing of Walt Whitman, the well-loved US civil war nurse who changed the form of poetry from rhyming verse to lush free-form praise songs, celebrated the beauty of both women and men in his works, as did poet Edna St. Vincent Millay.¹ Students, however, are rarely taught these

¹ Walt Whitman nursed injured Civil War soldiers at the Old Patent Office Building at F and Seventh Streets NW, Washington, DC. Now home to the National Portrait Gallery, this building was listed on the
When studying nineteenth-century US political history, many pupils discover the story of social justice organizer Emma Goldman, but only a few textbooks record her significant relationships with both women and men during her lifetime or the fact that she was a very outspoken advocate for gay and lesbian rights. It is now pretty well established that First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt had a long-term relationship with journalist Lorena Hickok, who even had a special guest room at the White House. People now know that CNN anchor Anderson Cooper is gay, because he’s spoken openly about it over the past few years. But what he and his mother, Gloria Vanderbilt, are only now revealing publically is that her mother, his grandmother, had at least one relationship with a woman, back in the 1920s. Similar stories circulate about other US public figures like famous musician Leonard Bernstein. Contemporary artists such as Margaret Cho and Alan Cumming, usually described as gay OR straight (but not both), insist that their lives are just not that simple. “Some days I feel like I have a foot in both worlds, yet never really belonging to either.”

NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965. Whitman spent the last years of his life at his home, 330 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, New Jersey (listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966; designated an NHL on December 29, 1962). It was here that, just before his death, he finished his final edits to Leaves of Grass. In 1923, Edna St. Vincent Millay was the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for poetry. In 1924, she and a group of friends founded the Cherry Lane Theatre, 38 Commerce Street, New York City. While the original group disbanded in 1926, Cherry Lane is the longest continuously-operating off-Broadway theater in New York City, and has a long history of producing LGBTQ-themed plays. Millay's home, Steepletop, in Austerlitz, New York was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on November 11, 1971. She lived in the house from 1925 through 1950.


4 Bronski, Ibid, 150.


6 “That Bernstein was bisexual was no secret in his later years, and he has been outed (snarkily, awkwardly, gleefully) since his death. Here he outs himself, through frank exchanges with his new wife, Felicia Montealegre, with whom he formed an unspoken covenant: He could have affairs with men, he could lead his ‘double life,’ as long as he was reasonably discreet.” From John Rockwell, “Maestro: The Leonard Bernstein Letters,” New York Times Sunday Book Review, December 13, 2013.

Making Bisexuals Visible

says Oregon Governor Kate Brown, the country’s first out bisexual governor, speaking openly about how hard it is being a public bisexual role model, in government or anywhere.8 Hundreds of these stories wait to be uncovered or have been uncovered and then covered up again. An organized US bisexual rights and liberation movement keeps bringing stories like these to light, insisting on the importance of bisexual role models for everyone (Figure 1).

The acronym LGBTQ—lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer—encompasses an inclusive, diverse coalition of sexual orientations and gender identities, and out bisexual people, whatever name they have called themselves or been called, have been a key part of making these changes happen from the start. However, when we open the book on the modern gay liberation movement in this country, its bisexual roots are often ignored. Though Sylvia Rivera, one of the key mobilizers of the

Figure 1: Some of the bisexual contingents at the 2009 National Equality March, Washington, DC. Photo by BlueFireIceEyes.9

8 “She wrote in ‘Out and Elected in the USA,’ an online collection of essays by LGBTQ elected officials, that some of her gay friends called her ‘half-queer.’ Straight friends were convinced she couldn’t make up her mind.” See Associated Press, “Gov. Kate Brown veers from typical graduation speech to talk about her sexuality,” Oregonian, May 20, 2016, http://www.oregonlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2016/05/gov_kate_brown_veers_from_typi.html.

9 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bis_at_NEM.jpg
resistance against the police crackdown at the Stonewall bar in New York City in June 1969, for instance, is often claimed as a gay and/or transgender person, what is not as widely acknowledged is that Rivera openly related intimately to more than one gender and was open about loving women as well as men.\textsuperscript{10} So why not say that and teach that? Why keep part of Rivera’s, and all these others’ identities, silent? The list of famous US bisexuals is long, and growing, but as we reconstruct the history, where do we find the places they lived and loved? \textsuperscript{11} Where do we find the big events that mark accomplishments for bisexual rights and liberation in the United States during the past fifty years? That is what this chapter brings to light.

Though much has been said about the limits of the binary (either/or) view of assuming everyone is gay OR straight, much has yet to be uncovered and understood. A great many people of all ages have the capacity to be bisexual. Many may know privately that they are. Many still are not open about it, for various reasons. However, there is a huge change in visibility that has been building over the past fifty years. New studies show that the majority of teens, in the United States and in some other Western countries, now recognize themselves as non-heterosexual.\textsuperscript{12} They are comfortable being openly attracted to more than one gender, whether they act on it or not. This is a huge shift that US culture is still adjusting to, to say the least.

This chapter is dedicated to this next generation, and to everyone older who wants to better understand that bisexuality is not a “new” identity at all, by whatever names it goes by. Bisexualities and other, nonbinary ways

\textsuperscript{10} Sylvia Rivera was assigned male at birth and claimed her female identity at age ten, when she changed her name from Ray to Sylvia. Sylvia Rivera, “Queens in Exile, The Forgotten Ones,” in Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle (Untorelli Press, 2013).

\textsuperscript{11} Nicole Kristal and Mike Szymanski, The Bisexuals Guide to the Universe: Quips, Tips, and Lists for Those Who Go Both Ways (New York: Alyson Publications, 2006) has a list of famous bisexuals, as do a number of websites like the October LGBT History Month site at http://www.lgbthistorymonth.com.

\textsuperscript{12} Matthew Rodriguez, “Queer Teens Are Now the Majority, Goodbye Straight People,” Mic, March 12, 2016, citing a report from the J. Walter Thompson Innovation Group that found only 48 percent of teens identify as completely heterosexual on the Kinsey scale, a smaller percentage than any previous generations surveyed, see http://mic.com/articles/137713/queer-teens-are-now-the-majority-goodbye-straight-people.
of viewing attraction are merely coming out more into the open. It behooves us to be more informed about how this is happening. Chronological timelines of bisexual US history are available elsewhere.13 This chapter offers a selection of the emblematic stories, the people, and places where important bisexual events have happened in the United States, particularly over the past half-century. First some basic definitions and historic research background for those interested.

i) Defining Bi Identity, the History of Being Bi

Bisexuality is simply the capacity to be attracted to and love more than one gender. Alfred Kinsey, the father of sexuality research in the United States was himself someone who had relations with men as well as women. In the 1930s through 1950s when US sexuality research was mostly nonexistent, Kinsey and his team surveyed thousands of people about their sexual experiences.14 Out of this work he developed the Kinsey Scale, which charted a range of sexual orientations or attractions, all the way from exclusively attracted to a different sex than oneself (usually marked as zero) to exclusively attracted to one’s own sex (marked as six), with five gradations or degrees in between.15 Kinsey didn’t label people or ask them how they identified, he merely cataloged their behaviors and experiences. What he found was that a lot of people who would regard themselves, and be regarded, as heterosexual (near the zero end of the scale), in fact had significant same-sex experience, and that a number of people who were primarily attracted to their own sex (toward the six end of


14 From 1927 through 1956, Alfred Kinsey and his family lived in a home he designed in a neighborhood just south of the University of Indiana. It is a contributing element to the Vinegar Hill Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 17, 2005. The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is currently located in Morrison Hall, University of Indiana, Bloomington. See Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948), 651, Table 147. Also see Ron J. Suresha, ed., Bisexual Perspectives on the Life and Work of Alfred C. Kinsey (London: Routledge, 2010).

15 Kinsey also recognized that some individuals were asexual, or not sexually attracted to other people, regardless of gender. He placed these individuals in a category he labeled “X” that was separate from the Kinsey scale.
the scale) had also sometimes had significant relations with a sex different than their own. But the human mind tends to sort things into easy binaries; black/white, hot/cold, up/down. And so the categories gay and straight oversimplify and distort the natural range of people’s attractions, causing the vast and populated middle grounds to be minimized, and disappear.

To complicate things even further, a lot of the post-Kinsey researchers tended to lump lesbians, gays, and bisexuals together when doing studies about non-heterosexual people so it was difficult, for a long time, to get good information on how many people have attractions for and relationships with more than one gender, i.e. how many people are

Figure 2: Peg Preble and Robyn Ochs, pronounced married by Town Clerk Pat Ward in the Town Clerk’s Office, Brookline, Massachusetts. They were the first same-sex marriage ever in Brookline that morning of Monday, May 17, 2004, the day same-sex marriage became legal in Massachusetts. Often misrepresented in the media as a lesbian couple, Robyn identifies as bisexual and has been a long-time bisexual activist, as well as instrumental in the same-sex marriage equality movement. Photo by Kate Flock/Brookline Tab, courtesy of Robyn Ochs.
bisexual in the broadest sense.\textsuperscript{16} And even when studies did try to collect that kind of data there were/are often discrepancies between which study counts only people who openly identify with the label, “bisexual,” (which is still a fairly small group, partly due to the stigma of being labeled such), versus the much larger group of people who have had sexual experiences with more than one gender/sex but don’t identify openly as members of a community or movement for bisexual rights and liberation (or a gay or lesbian rights movement either, for that matter). Still, as mentioned about the teens surveyed above, things have changed a lot in the past several decades, with more people now identifying as other than straight—and even other than homosexual. Marriage equality has changed things tremendously (Figure 2). Even while conservative backlash aims to limit and roll back the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender, and queer people as well as of other sexual minorities, there also continues to be forward motion and inclusionary measures building toward making our society more accepting of a diversity of sexualities and sexual identities.

\textit{ii) Erasure’s Roots in Research \& Organizing}

It is no exaggeration to say that bisexuality’s existence, prevalence, and significance in United States history has been erased and discounted, made repeatedly invisible even after it has surfaced, again and again and again. The reasons for this have been explored by some authors, but generally go beyond the scope of this chapter.\textsuperscript{17} To briefly summarize the phenomena here, it is important to say that the foundational concepts of sexuality research, over the past century and a half of its existence, have tended far too much to frame human behaviors in a binary way that dismisses and/or eclipses attraction to any one sex/gender in favor of


\textsuperscript{17} The interested reader is referred to texts such as sociologist Paula Rust’s works; legal scholars Ruth Colker and Kenji Yoshino’s classic studies on bisexual labeling, politics and erasure; historians Stephen Angelides’ and Clare Hemmings’ books; and Lindasusan Ulrich’s groundbreaking report to the San Francisco Human Rights Commission. All of these are cited in the author’s chapter in the new Routledge anthology on LGBTQ histories; “Let’s Not Bijack Another Century,” in \textit{The Routledge History of Queer America}, ed. Don Romesburg (London: Routledge, 2017).
ignoring or discounting the other(s). Beginning with sexuality researchers in nineteenth-century Europe, the same assumptions that have stigmatized homosexuality as a lesser-than-and-inferior orientation have also re-enforced the heterosexual/homosexual binary-only frame. In other words, the nineteenth-century white European males who were the first sexologists based their research on key binary assumptions that heterosexuality was the “opposite” of being attracted to one’s own sex, and that it was also superior to same-sex attractions. Underlying these assumptions was the belief that people are either heterosexual or homosexual, and that being bisexual and attracted to more than one gender is neither legitimate nor real. Of course this framework was invented by heterosexuals to differentiate themselves from homosexuals, neither of which category really exists outside the human mind. As Kate Millet wrote, “homosexuality was invented by a straight world dealing with its own bisexuality.”

During the first few decades of LGBTQ Studies, bisexual erasure was, and still is, common. The “B” has been included mostly in name only and often events and organizations that are labeled with the inclusive acronym are not really inclusive in the processes of reporting and pedagogy that play out. For example, while English departments, psychology departments, sociology departments, history departments, and others have opened up to including positive examples of gay and lesbian life and accomplishments and formalizing them via scholarly journals, textbooks, academic conferences, and curricula at undergraduate and graduate levels, the stories that follow here in this chapter were almost never included as part of these narratives. They still, for the most part, are not.

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18 Other(s) is stated as plural rather than singular since there are many who now argue there are more than two genders, that gender is not inherently binary, that binary, either/or male/female genders are a culturally-specific phenomena and an oversimplification of the vastly more complex reality of how humans understand and express themselves.
20 Kate Millet, *Flying* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 97.
You will read two examples under the Resistance and Protest heading, and more under other headings below.

Continuing to assert one’s bisexuality in the face of this denial, dismissal, and erasure takes tremendous strength of will and sometimes just sheer cussedness or stubbornness—attributes that are often seen to be anathema to those who want to fit in and be well liked by others. And yet, bisexuals have been a part of many social movements, including what is now called the LGBTQ one. This activism has not been without cost, nor without almost constant censorship, even from within and without the bisexual movement. This biphobia, both internalized and from external sources has resulted in the achievements and events related to bisexual identities being erased or excluded from the record. Repeated efforts are needed to put bisexuality and bisexual history back in, over and over again.

iii) Important Events and Places in US Bisexual History

Although there were individual bisexual support groups in various cities during the 1970s and 1980s—including BiPOL, the first bisexual political organization that formed in San Francisco in 1983—it took until the late 1980s for a national bisexual networking capacity to form. During the mid-1980s, US bisexual social groups and political action groups, not only on both coasts, but also in the Midwest, the Northwest, and the Southeast, began to communicate with each other. The official start of the US bisexual movement and the launch of BiNET USA is often marked as the day in Washington, DC, in October 1987 when about eighty bisexual activists from around the country who had come for the second national March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights gathered to form the first ever bisexual contingent at a national march. But years of preparation and cross-country organizing went into making that contingent possible. People brought homemade bisexual pride signs. Some wore T-shirts

bearing a bisexual symbol of overlapping pink and blue triangles making a purple triangle in the middle. Everyone marveled to see each other, finally, assembled in a suite at the Mayflower Hotel, a few blocks north of the White House. Before they joined the line of the march farther south, they distributed copies of a flyer to give out to others along the route. The flyer, “Are We Ready For A National Bisexual Network?” included BiPOL’s address that people could write to in order to keep in touch with national organizing efforts. Some of these same bisexual leaders had been active with the March on Washington’s national organizing committee during the previous year, including San Francisco BiPOL organizer, Lani Ka‘ahumanu. Her piece in the march’s civil disobedience handbook, “The Bisexual Movement, Are We Visible Yet?” was a first of its kind in national gay/lesbian publications of the day. While the 1987 March weekend marks the beginning of national bisexual organizing, bisexual activists have been involved in the LGBTQ movement from its very beginnings.

For those interested, a number of bi history timelines chronicling important meetings and occurrences from the 1960s on are available online. These helpful resources—particularly on health, and political organizing topics—provide useful touchstones. What follows are examples of bisexual history being reclaimed. A number of archives concentrating on bisexual history are now also available, most notably the Bisexual Resource Center’s collection in Boston; the University of Minnesota’s Tretter Collection; the collection at the James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center at

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23 The Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1983.
24 The address given for BiPOL was 584 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.
25 The Civil Disobedience Handbook guided people through a day of nonviolent protest at the United States Supreme Court, in response to the Bowers v. Hardwick decision upholding Georgia’s sodomy law criminalizing oral and anal sex in private between consenting same-sex adults. This decision was later overturned by the court’s Lawrence v. Texas decision. The civil disobedience actions accompanying the 1987 march weekend occurred the day after the long march down Pennsylvania Avenue to the US Capitol Building.
26 For bisexual history timelines, see websites included in note 12.
the San Francisco Public Library; and the bisexual materials that are part of the San Francisco GLBT Historic Society Archives.27

Sites of Resistance and Protest

Were bisexuals at Stonewall? Yes, of course. Those attracted to more than one gender, like Sylvia Rivera, one of the first transgender activists, and Brenda Howard, a multi-issue social justice activist, were part of organized response to police violence directed against sexual minorities during the days of the Stonewall uprising in New York City in June 1969 and a part of the one-year anniversary commemorative event, later recognized as Pride Day.28 Howard, now known as “The Mother of Pride” for her work coordinating the first rally the year after Stonewall, was an antiwar activist who chaired the Gay Activists Alliance Speakers Bureau and was one of the first members of the Gay Liberation Front in New York City.29 She helped steer the city’s gay rights law through the city council in 1986, worked with ACT UP, Queer Nation, and helped found the New York Area Bisexual Network, along with its Bisexual Political Action Campaign (BiPAC) and many other groups. She served as a regional representative in the national organizing that mobilized the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation in Washington, DC, and served in 1994 as female co-chair of the leather contingent of the Stonewall 25 march held June 26, 1994 in New York City. She was also

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27 The Bisexual Resource Center’s collection is housed at Northeastern University’s Snell Library, 360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Studies is at the University of Minnesota’s Andersen Library, 222 Twenty-First Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota. The James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center (formerly the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center) is located at the San Francisco Public Library, 100 Larkin Street, San Francisco (part of the Civic Center Historic District, added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987). The GLBT Historical Society Archives are at 989 Market Street, San Francisco, California.


instrumental in organizing the Third International Bisexual Conference held on June 25th, the day before Stonewall 25, at Bayard Rustin High School.\textsuperscript{30}

Though often described as gay in historic accounts, Alan Rockway, one of the key organizers of the Florida orange juice boycott against Save Our Children’s Anita Bryant, was an out bisexual psychologist.\textsuperscript{31} He went on to do bisexual political organizing with BiPOL in San Francisco, including helping organize the first Bisexual Rights Rally and protest during the 1984 Democratic Convention because the gay and lesbian delegates were not including bisexuals in the process (Figure 3).\textsuperscript{32} Rockway created and taught the first college-level course on bisexuality, “Psychological Views of Bisexual Behavior,” offered at Sonoma State College.\textsuperscript{33} By 1977, Rockway had founded the Miami Transperience Center, a mental health services company providing counseling to the GLBTQ community.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{30} The Bayard Rustin High School, named after the famous gay civil rights leader who was chief architect of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, is now called the Bayard Rustin Educational Complex. It is located at 351 West 18th Street, New York City, New York.

\textsuperscript{31} This early homophobic campaign, the precursor of today’s anti-LGBT initiatives, was called “Save Our Children.” It started in Florida in the 1970s and spread to other cities and states, and was championed by singer and Florida Citrus Commission spokesperson Anita Bryant. See “Foes of Anita Bryant Successful in Getting New Gay Law on Ballot,” Akron Beacon Journal (Akron, Ohio), October 5, 1978, 37.

\textsuperscript{32} The 1984 Democratic Party Convention was held July 16-19 in the Moscone Center, San Francisco’s convention center, built in 1981, in the South of Market area. It was named after San Francisco Mayor George Moscone who had been assassinated, along with Supervisor Harvey Milk, in 1978. The Moscone Center currently consists of Moscone North, Moscone South, and Moscone West; Moscone South is the original structure, built in 1981. Rockway worked with San Francisco bisexual activist Lani Ka’ahumanu and others in BiPOL, a political action group, to create bisexual visibility actions around the convention, including securing a permit from the city for a protest stage for the first Bisexual Rights Rally in a parking lot across from the Moscone Center. The parking lot at 730 Howard Street is now occupied by Moscone Center North. Bisexuals had been explicitly told by organizers that they were not welcome in the National March for Lesbian and Gay Rights that took place from Castro and Market Streets to the Moscone Center during the convention.

\textsuperscript{33} In some historic records, Susan Carlton’s 1990 course on bisexuality, at the University of California, Berkeley is listed as the first college-level course taught on bisexuality. In fact, Rockway originated the first course a decade and a half earlier. Others have followed suit in various LGBTQ university programs, but stand-alone courses that focus solely on bisexual issues are still rare, forty years later. Sonoma State College (since 1978, Sonoma State University) is located at 1801 East Cotati Avenue, Rohnert Park, California. The Rockway Institute, founded in 2007, is a center for LGBTQ research and public policy at the California School of Professional Psychology, Alliant International University, One Beach Street, San Francisco, California. It is named in honor of Alan Rockway. See http://www.alliant.edu/cspp/about-cspp/cspp-research-institutes/rockway-institute/index.php

\textsuperscript{34} “Nation’s Press,” Panama City News-Herald (Panama City, Florida), December 16, 1977, 36.
Bisexuals are resilient, surviving in a world that repeatedly erases and elides their existence. They resist erasure over and over again. Left out of the names of organizations and marches, excluded from studies and efforts purporting to represent all same-sex loving people, they persist, and continue to assert who they are.

In 1991, Princeton and Rutgers universities cohosted the fifth annual Lesbian and Gay Studies Conference at the Rutgers campus in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Although organizers at the 1990 conference held at Harvard University had added bi into the title the year before, the word “bisexual” was taken back out of the name of the conference when it was held in New Jersey. Likewise, although a number of papers on bisexuality were presented at the 1991 New Jersey conference, the resulting anthology, Negotiating Lesbian and Gay Subjects, contained none of
them.35 No conference was held during 1992 or 1993 but this foundational effort in LGBTQ studies resulted in one last November 1994 conference at the University of Iowa, Iowa City. As a result of bisexual advocacy and resistance over being “written in and out” of earlier gatherings, the 1994 conference was dubbed “InQueery/InTheory/InDeed: The Sixth North American Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Studies Conference.” The Iowa City conference included programming on bisexual and transgender issues as well as gay and lesbian ones and produced a book based on conference proceedings.36 The public parks and town square of Northampton, Massachusetts became a parallel site of resistance in response to this exclusionary “Now You See Us, Now You Don’t” mentality. As has been partially related in Hemmings’ Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender, this small western Massachusetts town used a bi-inclusive title for its annual Pride celebration one year, and then erased the bisexual part of the name the next.37

Is resistance “futile,” as the Star Trek Borg would tell us, or is it “fertile,” as indomitable resisters of all types assert? Many bisexuals long known for refusing-to-choose (sides in a war not of their making) answer “it’s both/and.” Both “futile” in the sense of being monumentally discouraging to continually insist on one’s right to belong and exist, and inspirationally “fertile” in the sense that hope beyond simplistic binaries springs eternal in non-gendered human breasts.

Many, many small towns and big city communities around the country have their own specific tales of bi inclusion/exclusion, instances where bisexuals were included in groups’ titles, marches and other events, and then excluded again—sometimes over and over again, even up to this day

36 Beemyn and Eliason, eds., Queer Studies.
37 Clare Hemmings, Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender (New York: Routledge, 2002). See pages 62-75 for photo reproductions of posters used for various years of the marches in Northampton, illustrating bi inclusion and exclusion. Since at least the late 1970s/early 1980s, Northampton, Massachusetts has been recognized as home to a large number of lesbians; in the early 1990s, it was dubbed “Lesbianville, USA” by the mainstream media. See Julia Penelope, “Lesbianville, U.S.A.?” Off Our Backs 23, no. 9 (October 1993): 8, 16-17.
in time. There have been bisexual grand marshals who were honored and helped lead Pride parades, and also many times when they could/should have been, and were not. For example, in 1986, when BiPOL’s Autumn Courtney was elected co-chair of San Francisco’s Lesbian Gay Freedom Day Pride Parade Committee, it was the first time an openly bisexual person was chosen to hold this sort of position in the United States.38

Another kind of protest occurred when people did, and do, individual and small group actions, sometimes involving civil disobedience, to try and draw attention to their cause. One such example was the action of Dr. Elias Farajajé-Jones, an African American bisexual Howard University School of Divinity professor, who staged a sit-in at the Washington, DC Mayor’s office in 1991 to protest inaction of the DC government regarding the release of HIV/AIDS funding.39 The exact date of this protest has been lost and Farajajé himself died in early 2016. This protest is particularly poignant as his own lover was dying of AIDS in Washington, DC’s Veterans Administration Hospital at the time.

As the above stories show, there is a lot of hidden history about the dynamics of coalition organizing—what gets put in a group’s platform or a campaign’s demands or a march’s platform, and what gets left out or voted down.40 It is always informative to ask your local college or place of worship or activist group what kind of naming battles went on, and/or are still going on, and what people think it means, what kinds of messages are sent, by the ways we use language: who is represented and who is not,

38 For more of these kinds of bisexual historic political facts, see “A Brief History of the Bisexual Movement,” BiNet USA website, http://www.binetusa.org/bihistory2.html.
39 The Office of the Mayor is located at 1350 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Howard University, an historically black university, has its divinity school at 2900 Van Ness Street NW, Washington, DC. Dr. Farajajé-Jones became a Sufi scholar who later changed his name to Ibrahim Farajajé. He developed a department of Islam Studies at Starr King School for the Ministry in Berkeley, California, where he served as provost for many years before his death in February 2016. Starr King School for the Ministry is located at 2441 Le Conte Avenue, Berkeley, California.
40 See, for example, the updated introduction, “Still About Naming After All These Years,” in Ka’ahumanu and Hutchins, Bi Any Other Name.
Building Bisexual Communities – Local, Global, and Everything in Between

The first thing to understand about the concept of bisexual communities is that they do not stand alone, apart from other demographic groups. That’s not how bisexuality works. Bisexuals partner and have children with those who are not bisexual, and work within and among and apart from and alongside many different kinds of interest groups. Bisexual leaders and activists in the past were well known for saying “there is no point in organizing a separate bisexual political movement” because the issues of loving more than one gender are woven into more than one community, so the point is to organize cross-communities and among them, not apart from them. Like others, bisexual activists do not work only to build bisexual-specific organizations or for bisexual rights, but work as out bisexuals in many movements that, ideally, network with each other. It means there are bisexual-identified people organizing within electoral politics and political parties, within LGBTQ organizations, within the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the women’s movement, the environmental movement, and more; making the intersectional connections between bisexual issues and other issues whenever platforms, campaigns, and protest demands are formulated.

Still, when trying to trace more precisely the beginnings of bisexual-focused community efforts, we often start by looking back at the “firsts” in LGBTQ history, those that have been commemorated in the LGBTQ history books and textbooks, and those that also have sometimes been left out. Recognized as the first homophile organization in the United States, the Society for Human Rights was founded by Henry Gerber and others,

41 For example, regarding organizations on college campuses, see Brett Beemyn, “The Silence is Broken: A History of the First Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual College Student Groups,” Journal of the History of Sexuality 12, no. 2 (April 2003), 205-223.
including an African American clergyman named John T. Graves (who is listed as president on the incorporation papers), in Chicago, Illinois in 1924. The group, which operated out of Gerber’s flat in a rooming house, limited membership to gay men only (explicitly excluding bisexuals). Unknown to the organizers, the society’s vice president, Al Weininger, was married. His wife reported the organization to a social worker in 1925, resulting in a police raid of Gerber’s quarters. The organization’s records and typewriter were seized, and not returned, effectively ending the society’s existence.42

Using “gay” in the most expansive, inclusive sense possible, there have been lasting gay support and social groups on college campuses and in individual communities for over sixty years.43 Some histories tell the story about how students in the late 1980s and early 1990s agitated to change the names of their groups to be more inclusive, often adding “lesbian” and “bisexual,” and then “transgender” and “queer” to their names. But what isn’t generally known, taught, or told, is that the very first US gay student group was started by a bisexual man.

The Student Homophile League at Columbia University was started in 1966, several years before Stonewall.44 The founder was student Stephen Donaldson (birth name Robert Martin), perhaps better known as Donny the Punk. Donny led a short illustrious life, having affairs with famous gay and lesbian political leaders and organizing for bisexual rights among everyone from nonviolent Quakers to convicted felons. He was one of the very first anti-prison-rape activists and died of AIDS much too young. Today, meetings of the Columbia Queer Alliance are held in a special room

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43 The Mattachine Society was founded in Los Angeles, California in 1950; the Daughters of Bilitis formed in 1955 in San Francisco, California. Both of these homophile organizations lasted in various forms for many years.

dedicated to Donaldson’s memory (Figures 4 and 5). With Donaldson’s support, activists on other campuses formed similar groups, laying the groundwork for what became the gay liberation movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s.45

This is but one example of what historian Genny Beemyn has characterized as the pattern of many LGBTQ groups being started by, and continuing to be run by bisexual people, whether they are out and recognized as bisexual, or not. Other LGBTQ youth groups have also been started by bisexuals. In Miami in 1977, Alexei Guren, a young Cuban American bisexual activist, organized the Gay Teen Task Force, an LGBTQ youth group that met monthly at the offices of The Weekly News. In 1982,

[45 Meetings are held in the basement of Columbia University’s Furnald Hall, Broadway and 116th Street, New York City, New York.]
Grassroots bisexual social and support groups were the pre-internet basis of organizing the bisexual community and movement. There are hundreds unmentioned here. They continue, with the assistance of social media, to foster community ties and to serve as entry points for helping people identify openly as bi, to find resources, and for those interested in getting involved with activist and advocacy work on behalf of LGBTQ issues as well as those specific to bisexuality. Some long-lasting examples include BiFriendly in San Francisco, Biversity in Boston, and the many bi brunches and munches that spring up and die down and spring up again in communities across the country.

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46 Offices of The Weekly News were located at 901 NE Seventy-Ninth Street, Miami, Florida. The Institute of Sexism and Sexuality is located at the Wolfson Campus of Miami Dade College, 300 NE Second Avenue, Miami, Florida. Pridelines Youth Services currently has offices at 9526 NE Second Avenue, Miami, Florida.
Leisure

What is leisure to a community under oppression? Then again, leisure is all the more necessary and life-giving to people in crisis and under stress. During the 1980s and 1990s (and often still today) bisexuals were vilified as being the disease vectors who “spread AIDS to the general population,” as if they themselves were not part of society. In reality, bisexual health workers and activists designed and developed some of the first city, county, state, and federally-supported safer sex protocols now in use around the country. In San Francisco, bisexual activists David Lourea and Cynthia Slater worked to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS before they, themselves, died of the disease. As early as 1981, they were providing safer-sex education in the city’s bathhouses and BDSM clubs, and by 1983, Lourea had been appointed to San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein’s AIDS Education Advisory Committee. In 1984, he convinced the city’s public health department to include bisexual men in its weekly “New AIDS Cases and Mortality Statistics” reports, a model later adopted by other public health departments across the country. Slater started the first Women’s HIV/AIDS Information Switchboard in San Francisco in 1985. Other bisexuals have made important contributions to HIV/AIDS prevention, including Rob Yaeger at the Minneapolis AIDS Project and Alexei Guren, who as well as founding Pridelines, was involved with the 1983 founding of the Health Crisis Network in Miami, Florida which did outreach and advocacy for Latino married men who have sex with men. From 1992 to 1994, Lani Ka’ahumanu was project coordinator at Lyon-Martin Women’s Health Services in San Francisco for an American Foundation for AIDS research grant—the first grant in the United States

47 See, for example, Martin S. Weinberg, Colin J. Williams, and Douglas W. Pryor, Dual Attraction: Understanding Bisexuality (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 205.
targeting young high-risk lesbian and bisexual women for HIV/AIDS prevention and education research.\textsuperscript{49}

Safer sex education is a topic of science and organizing, not a topic of leisure. But it relates to leisure because in the time of HIV/AIDS, the prevention of sexually-transmitted diseases became a matter of life or death. These safer sex protocols were most efficiently, effectively, and popularly taught at public baths, at leather bars and sex parties, and at workshops during conferences where explicit demonstrations and conversations could be had without fear of condemnation or retribution. These often transient places can never be fully cataloged.

\textsuperscript{49} In 1998, Heath Crisis Network merged with the Community Research Initiative to form Care Resource, South Florida’s oldest and largest HIV/AIDS service organization. They currently have four locations in Miami, Fort Lauderdale, and Miami Beach, Florida, see “About,” Care Resource website, \url{http://www.careresource.org/about}. For more information on bisexual involvement in health, see “Timeline: The Bisexual Health Movement in the US,” BiNet USA website, \url{http://www.binetusa.org/bihealth.html}; see also Batza (this volume) and Capó (this volume). The Minneapolis AIDS Project is located at 1400 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Lyon-Martin Women’s Health Services is at 1748 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
One of the modern-day inheritors of these traditions is the Center for Sex and Culture founded in 2000 by bisexual activists Carol Queen (who also co-founded GAYouth, described above) and Robert Lawrence.\textsuperscript{50} The Center for Sex and Culture hosts many bisexual and bi-friendly events for the larger San Francisco community and maintains an archives of sexuality research (Figure 6). In New England, long-time bisexual activist and author Wayne Bryant founded Bi Camp, a popular summertime leisure activity that ran from 1994-2009.\textsuperscript{51} Each winter, announcements and flyers were mailed out encouraging people to get their camping gear together, to start thinking about potluck campfire recipes, and to make packing lists of musical instruments, games, and sports equipment to bring along. Bi Camp started at a campground in Vermont’s Green Mountain National Forest, and moved after five years to Indian Hollow Campground owned by the Army Corps of Engineers in Chesterfield, Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{52} The camp hosted anywhere from 25-80 campers each year, including bisexual people, their families, and friends. It inspired a video Bryant made, and a sing-along, multi-versed song by Philadelphian Moss Stern, called “Bi Camp.”

Organizing Every Which Way

Bisexuals have helped organize the first national marches for the rights of sexual minorities in the United States, as well as similarly-oriented local community events, and have been part of Pride parades since the beginning (Figure 7). They have helped organize LGBTQ events as well as bisexual-specific ones, locally, nationally, and globally for many years, recognized or not.

\textsuperscript{50} The Center for Sex and Culture is located at 1349 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. They strive to promote creativity, information, and healthy sexual knowledge, see “Mission and Vision,” Center for Sex and Culture website, http://www.sexandculture.org/mission.

\textsuperscript{51} Bryant was the author of the first book ever to critique films from a bisexual point of view, \textit{Bisexual Characters in Film: From Anais to Zee}, Haworth Gay & Lesbian Studies (New York: Haworth Press, 1997). He served on the board of the Bisexual Resource Center, 29 Stanhope Street, Boston, Massachusetts and was an organizer of the Fifth International Conference on Bisexuality that drew nine hundred attendees to Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts from April 3-5, 1998.

\textsuperscript{52} Green Mountain National Forest is located near Rutland, Vermont. Part of the US Forest Service, it was established on April 25, 1932.
Making Bisexuals Visible

Bill Beasley, a bisexual man who was also involved in the black civil rights movement, helped lead the first Los Angeles Pride parade down Hollywood Boulevard in 1970, and went on to serve on the board of San Francisco Pride, as well as being active with the Bay Area Bisexual Network. A. Billy S. Jones (now Jones-Hennin), an African American activist and author, served as operations coordinator for the first National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay rights on October 14, 1979. The event featured a march down Washington DC’s Pennsylvania Avenue to the National Mall, where a program of speeches and musical entertainment occurred. Illustrating the kind of bicoastal organizing of the time, Jones had been active in San Francisco’s Bisexual Center before

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53 The Bay Area Bisexual Network met at the San Francisco LGBT Community Center, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
54 Wanting more support as a bisexual man with a wife and family and not finding it in existing groups, in 1978 Jones founded the Gay Married Men Association (GAMMA) of Washington, DC, which has been meeting continuously ever since. They currently meet at Saint Thomas’ Parish Episcopal Church, 1772 Church Street NW, Washington, DC. There are now several GAMMA groups meeting across the country. See GAMMA-DC website, http://www.gammaindc.org.
Loraine Hutchins

moving to the Washington, DC, area.\textsuperscript{55} During the weekend of the 1979 march, Jones also served as one of the key conveners of the Third World Lesbian Gay Conference held at the Harambee House Hotel.\textsuperscript{56} It was at this conference that ties among many black and other people of color LGBTQ communities were strengthened. Audre Lorde, who was just beginning to come out as a lesbian poet and leader, spoke at that conference, as did many others. In the year following that conference, Jones and the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays, brought the first ever people of color delegation to meet with President Carter’s White House staff. This delegation was organized because an all-white gay delegation had arranged a meeting with the White House a year earlier. Thirty-three years later, on a cool 2013 September morning, Jones and many other bisexual activists and leaders returned to the White House to talk with administration officials about bisexual policy issues for the first time.\textsuperscript{57}

The bisexual movement in the United States has been built on conferences that knit and weave and sew the experiences of local communities together and make joint actions across state, and even national borders, possible. One of the earliest recorded meetings on bisexuality took place at a gathering of Quakers (Friends) in upstate New York in the early 1970s. Bisexual activist Stephen Donaldson—the same

\textsuperscript{55} The San Francisco Bisexual Center was located on Hayes Street just north of the Golden Gate Park panhandle, in the bottom flat of a two-flat building that is now a residence. The San Francisco Bisexual Center was founded by Maggi Rubenstein and Harriet Levi. Before it closed in 1984, it provided a newsletter, support groups, counseling, social activities, a presence in Pride marches, and was internationally renowned.


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man who founded the first gay student group in the United States—told *The Advocate* that he had organized an impromptu workshop on bisexuality at the 1972 Friends General Conference in Ithaca, New York.\(^{58}\) Donaldson, whose birth name was Robert Martin, said the workshop involved over one hundred participants and overflowed into several different meeting rooms over two days, resulting in what has become known as The Ithaca Statement on Bisexuality, which may have been the first public statement on bisexuality by a religious or political group.

From the 1970s, one bisexual man, Dr. Fritz Klein, has helped perhaps more than anyone else to facilitate bisexual networking and conferences. Dr. Klein was a psychiatrist who did early research and publishing on bisexuality. He also traveled widely, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, connecting bisexual communities around the world with each other, and helping to start international bisexual conferences in London, Amsterdam, Toronto, and Vancouver. Klein himself was bicoastal, living for a long time in New York City and then moving to San Diego. He started the first peer-reviewed scholarly journal on bisexuality, *The Journal of Bisexuality*. Klein founded the American Institute of Bisexuality in 1998 to encourage research and education about bisexuality. He served as Chairman of the Board until his death in 2006.\(^{59}\)

\(^{58}\) While efforts to find records of this meeting in Friends' archives have been unsuccessful, there are mentions of it in the August 8, 1972 *Advocate* article, and in a number of anthologies chronicling bisexual history. Stephen Donaldson, “The Bisexual Movement’s Beginnings in the ‘70s: A Personal Retrospective,” in *Bisexual Politics: Theories, Queries, & Visions*, ed. Naomi Tucker (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1995), 31-45; Robert Martin, “Quakers ‘Come Out’ at Conference,” *Advocate*, August 2, 1972, 8. The Friends General Conference took place in June 1972 at Ithaca College, 953 Danby Road, Ithaca, New York.

\(^{59}\) The American Institute of Bisexuality was located at 8265 West Sunset Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. Fritz Klein also developed a variation of the Kinsey Scale called the Klein Sexual Orientation Grid which built upon Kinsey's zero to six scale. His book, *The Bisexual Option*, was one of the first studies that did not pathologize bisexuality, and that gave the identity legitimacy. See “About Fritz Klein,” American Institute of Bisexuality website, [http://www.americaninstituteofbisexuality.org/fritz-klein](http://www.americaninstituteofbisexuality.org/fritz-klein). Klein lived with his partner, Tom Reise, in the Emerald Hills neighborhood of San Diego, California from 1995 until his death in 2006.
One of the most catalyzing and foundational conferences of the US bisexual movement took place in June 1990 at San Francisco’s Mission High School (Figure 8). The conference was the result of outreach done during the 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights mentioned earlier, and drew over 450 people from twenty US states and five countries. The school is located directly across from Dolores Park in the Mission District, and in the beautiful weather that weekend, many conference goers took their conversations out onto the grass across the street and created impromptu workshops on the balconies and in the courtyard of the old school. It was at this conference that BiNet USA, the oldest national bisexual organization in the United States, was inaugurated.

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60 The Mission High School is located at 3750 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.
61 BiNet USA facilitates communication and networking among bisexual communities, promotes bisexual visibility, and distributes educational information about bisexuality, see BiNet USA website, http://www.binetusa.org.
Other regional bisexual organizing conferences have been held, including Washington, DC’s Embracing Diversities Conference in fall 1991; the BECAUSE Conference that has been an annual convening in the Midwest since 1992; and the Transcending Boundaries Conference created to bring the bisexual and transgender communities together that has taken place since 2001 around New England.62

Much has changed in the way municipal, state, and federal laws deal with same-sex relationships over the years, yet in some ways, much remains to be done. Years before bisexual people, along with their lesbian, gay, and queer siblings, became active in marriage equality efforts, bisexuals were also active in organizing for veterans’ rights and for the rights of those in the military. One of the most prominent was Cliff Arnesen, who was dishonorably discharged from the military for being bisexual (Figure 9). Afterwards, he went on to become an activist for all LGBTQ people in the military and was the first LGBTQ veteran to testify before a

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62 Embracing Diversities was sponsored by AMBi, Washington DC’s bisexual political action group at the time, and was held at St. Thomas’ Parish Episcopal Church, 1772 Church Street NW, Washington, DC. The BECAUSE conference is usually held on the University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis.

63 Val-Kill is part of the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York. The NPS unit was established on May 27, 1977. Val-Kill was added to the NRHP on March 20, 1980 and designated an NHL on May 27, 1977.
congressional subcommittee about the health needs and rights of his fellow service members.\textsuperscript{64} 

In 2013, a group of activists at the Lavender Law Conference, hosted by the National LGBT Bar Association, formed BiLaw, the first national organization of bisexual-identified lawyers, law professors, law students, and their allies.\textsuperscript{65} In 2015, the Lavender Law Conference programmed its first panel on issues of bisexual jurisprudence, bisexuality, and the law.

Protesting Amongst Our Own

As mentioned earlier, a lot of the hard work of bisexual organizing occurs within non-bisexual organizations. These may not be openly welcoming to people with bisexual identities but may include many closeted bisexuals among them, whether passing as heterosexual, lesbian/gay, or both. More explicitly, the work of dismantling bisexual erasure and invisibility is constant. It takes place not only in the energizing bisexual conferences and meetings held around the country, but is also alive within professional organizations like the National LGBT Bar Association (mentioned above) and professional organizations such as the American Library Association, the American Psychological Association, the National Association of Social Workers, the National Women’s Studies Association, the American Historical Association, and more. When LGBTQ caucuses are formed within these groups and gay/lesbian specific presentations and panels are scheduled at annual conferences, bisexual topics are often left out. This, alas, is almost as likely to occur within gay and lesbian oriented organizations as it is within those more in the mainstream. For example, in 1989, the Hetrick-Martin Institute, a nonprofit organization serving the needs of LGBTQ youth, advertised a workshop to be held at their Harvey Milk High School.\textsuperscript{66} The workshop was

\textsuperscript{64} Bi Any Other Name
\textsuperscript{65} The Lavender Law Conference that year was held at the San Francisco Marriott Marquis Hotel, 55 Fourth Street, San Francisco, California.
\textsuperscript{66} Harvey Milk High School was founded in 1985 by the Hetrick-Martin Institute to provide a safe place for LGBTQ youth to get an education (threats and instances of violence, bullying, and harassment affect the ability of many LGBTQ youth from succeeding in school). It is located at 2-10 Astor Place,
called, “Bisexual Men: Fact or Fiction?” In response to the workshop title, which challenged the very existence of bisexual men, BiPAC New York, a bisexual political action group, protested. In response, institute staff agreed to withdraw the workshop from their curriculum. This is but one example of instances like it around the country.

On a national basis, many national LGBTQ gatherings have been sites of protests focused on bisexual rights. Two historic examples from the early 1990s concern bisexual activists and the National LGBTQ Task Force—then known as the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. The Task Force began its historic annual Creating Change conferences in Washington, DC, in 1988, the year after the 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Since then, Creating Change has become the largest annual gathering of LGBTQ activists and leaders in the United States and bisexuals have been there from the beginning, often fighting for recognition and space on the program, sometimes recognized and sometimes not. In November 1991, Creating Change drew almost one thousand participants to Alexandria, Virginia. For the first time at Creating Change, bisexual activists held a workshop for gay and lesbian leaders to talk with bisexual activists about tensions between the groups.

Creating Change returned to the DC area again in November 1996, when two thousand people again convened in Alexandria, Virginia. In the intervening years, the bisexual community had continued to hold separate women’s and men’s dialogues across orientation lines at each annual Creating Change, initiating and fostering difficult communication between

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New York City, New York. The Hetrick-Martin Institute operated the school until 2002, when it became a fully accredited public school under the jurisdiction of the New York City Department of Education.

67 The National LGBTQ Task Force was founded in 1973 as the National Gay Task Force; they changed their name to the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in 1985, and to the current name that includes bisexuals, transgender people, and queer/questioning people in October 2014. Lani Ka‘ahumanu was the first openly bisexual person to serve on the board of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, completing her term in 2000. The National LGBTQ Task Force headquarters are located at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

68 The 1991 Creating Change Conference was held at the Best Western Old Colony Inn, 1101 North Washington Street, Alexandria, Virginia.

69 The 1996 Creating Change Conference was held at the Radisson Plaza Hotel at Mark Center, 5000 Seminary Road, near the Crystal City neighborhood of Alexandria, Virginia. In 1999, Hilton Hotels and Resorts bought the hotel; it is now the Hilton Alexandria Mark Center.
those who identified as gay or lesbian and those who identified as bisexual. Things came to a head at the 1996 conference when the number of discriminatory acts and remarks against bisexuals and transgender people reached such a peak that a Bi/Trans Action at the main plenary on Saturday morning was planned. Before the keynote speeches began, activists took to the stage recounting examples of biphobic and transphobic offenses committed against them during that weekend conference. They asked everyone in the room who identified as bi and/or transgender, and/or who was an ally, to stand up and be counted and to vow to confront biphobic and transphobic actions and attitudes in the future. Although the Bi/Trans Action was not included in the Gay and Lesbian Task Force press release following the conference, they did note that the first significant conversation between bisexual and transgender activists and members of the administration had occurred that weekend:

...Representatives of the bisexual and transgender community held a first-ever meeting at the Conference with a White House representative to discuss discrimination, violence, ENDA, bi and trans visibility and inclusivity in the Administration and other issues. Richard Socarides, outgoing White House liaison to the g/l/b/t community, met with the bi and transgender leaders to hear their concerns in a meeting that was described as productive and promising....70

That meeting laid the groundwork for White House meetings that would take place in the new century.

Political Activism as Celebration

Sometimes political victories are the cause for much celebration and, in fact, inspire sites of rejoicing and festivities in and of themselves. Such was the case with the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation the last weekend in April. The 1993 march was the third of a total of five marches held on Washington for LGBTQ rights and, in many ways, the most grassroots and inclusive of all of them. The “bi” word was included, after much debate, in the title of the march for the first time and a bisexual speaker, Lani Ka‘ahumanu, was invited to speak from the main stage on the National Mall for the first time as well. Bisexual activists converged on Washington, DC, a week before the march to staff an impromptu bisexual coordinating center located in donated office space in the Dupont Circle neighborhood (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Bisexual activist and reproductive justice and rights activist Laura Perez at the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. Photo courtesy of Efrain Gonzalez.

71 The National Mall was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966. It is part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks NPS unit.
and held a national meeting of BiNet USA, followed by a Bi Dance at George Washington University’s Marvin Center, the night before. The march itself had been organized with 50/50 gender/racial parity, meaning that there were many more women and people of color involved in leadership roles determining the platform demands of the march as well as traveling to Washington, DC, as participants.

First observed in 1999, Celebrate Bisexuality Day was started by three BiNet USA activists, Wendy Curry from Maine, Michael Page from Florida, and Gigi Raven Wilbur from Texas. It has been celebrated in small towns, large cities, and internationally, on the internet and at many events, usually around September 23, the date of the first event. A 2013 White House meeting between federal officials and bisexual activists to discuss bisexual issues was scheduled for September 23 in recognition of the day. Since 2013, BiNet USA working in coalition with other bisexual and LGBTQ organizations, has expanded Celebrate Bisexuality Day to cover a whole week. The Bisexual Resource Center in Boston has also designated the

Figure 11: Faith Cheltenham, president of BiNET USA flies the bisexual pride flag outside the White House following the September 2015 bisexual issues policy roundtable with federal officials. Photo courtesy of Kevin Hogan.

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72 The Second National Conference Celebrating Bisexuality, organized by BiNet USA, the Bisexual Resource Center, and the Washington, DC, organization Alliance of Multicultural Bisexuals (AMBI) was held at American University’s Ward Circle Building, 3590 Nebraska Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Bi Dance was held at George Washington University’s Cloyd Heck Marvin Center, 800 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC.

73 The informal meeting took place in the Indian Treaty Room of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building (then the Old Executive Office Building) at Pennsylvania Avenue NW and Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC. The building was added to the NRHP on June 4, 1969 and designated an NHL on November 11, 1971.
month of March as Bisexual Health Awareness Month, focusing on raising awareness about bisexual health issues, nationally and locally.

Two years later, many of the same leaders who had been at the 2013 meeting returned that same week in September to meet again with representatives from federal offices to discuss bisexual concerns. When leaving the meeting, many participants pulled bisexual pride flags out of their backpacks and briefcases and created an impromptu celebration in front of the White House (Figure 11).

Conclusion

Bisexuals have chosen many different names for themselves through the years. Many people whose lives encompass loving more than one gender never openly call themselves bisexual, or even queer or gay or lesbian, or any other label that describes a sexual minority. Yet, bisexual people continue to exist, to make families and communities, and to organize—among themselves and with others—for better acceptance and understanding. Did bisexuals help build the United States of America? You bet. Have we discovered all the places they have lived and worked and loved and where they continue to do so? Not a chance. And that’s beautiful. Discovering more of the history, seeing them clearly, are the next steps.
This chapter provides an introduction to the significant diversity in gender roles, sexualities, and identities among the native peoples of the United States—American Indians, Alaskan Natives, and native Hawaiians. Following an overview of the varying characteristics, roles, and meanings attributed to sexual and gender diversity in native traditions, the lives of four historical two spirits who played notable roles in American history are explored.

Two Spirits in Native Tradition: Roles, Genders, Identities, and Diversity

In 1564, René Goulaine de Laudonnière arrived in Florida to assert French claims to the region, homeland of the village-dwelling Timucua
people. On a forced march through the dense Florida woodlands, his party found itself exhausted and far from its destination. At that moment, he reported, “We met an Indian woman of tall stature, which also was an Hermaphrodite, who came before us with a great vessell full of cleere fountaine water, wherewith she greatly refreshed us.... And I beleive that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite... we had taken up our lodging all night in the wood.” Later he encountered another “hermaphrodite” serving as an emissary of a Timucuan king.

The artist Jacques Le Moyne, who accompanied the expedition, painted two pictures of these “hermaphrodites,” published as engravings in 1591.

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1 Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve, Florida (National Preserve established and listed on the NRHP on February 16, 1988); Fort Caroline National Memorial, Florida (established January 16, 1953; listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966).
2 René Goulaine de Laudonnière, in The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation..., vol. 9, 1-100, ed. Richard Hakluyt (Glasgow, Scotland: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904), 16, 56, 69.
One depicts four long-haired men carrying corpses on stretchers, while two others carry sick or injured persons on their backs. According to Le Moyne, because they were strong, hermaphrodites accompanied warriors to battle, carrying provisions and tending to the injured.\(^3\)

The multiplicity of gender and sexuality among native peoples was noted as early as 1540 along the Colorado River by Alarcón, in the 1770s in Hawai‘i by Cook’s third expedition, and in the same decade by Russian explorers in Alaska.\(^4\) Sadly, the gestures of friendship made by the Timucuan hermaphrodite and others in these early encounters were often met with condemnation and violence—epitomized by the grizzly episode in 1513 when Vasco Núñez de Balboa had forty two spirits in Panama thrown to his dogs.\(^5\)

The term hermaphrodite was often used by Europeans to describe native people they encountered who appeared to be crossing or mixing genders. In fact, the striking individual that gave Laudonnière “succour” represents traditions with no counterpart in European societies—belief systems in which gender is not limited to “man” and “woman,” and sexuality is not constrained to relationships between “opposite” genders defined by anatomical sex. Europeans had no single term for these multidimensional identities—and, indeed, the sheer diversity of Native American and Pacific Island cultures makes the use of any umbrella term problematic.

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One finds an array of terminology in Euro-American accounts. To describe what appeared to be a mixing of genders, some of the earliest explorers evoked the figure of Hermaphroditos from Greco-Roman mythology. In Renaissance Europe, “hermaphrodite” could indicate intersexuality, androgyny, or homosexuality. Others singled out what they saw as the sexuality of the males they observed and deemed them “sodomites”—men who committed an abominable act. Throughout the contact period the terminology used by Euro-Americans alternated between this dichotomy of gender and sexuality. As a Spanish explorer of California in 1775 wrote, “I inferred they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites.”

The word “berdache” is believed to have been introduced by the French, although only one published use of it in reference to Native Americans occurs before 1800. At the time, versions of “berdache” were current in several western European languages, referring to a younger or subordinate partner in a male homosexual relationship. In Canada and the Mississippi Valley it became an intercultural or “frontier” term used by both French speakers and Native Americans to identify a social role common among various tribes. From the Mississippi Valley its use spread into the Plains and Rocky Mountain regions, and in the early nineteenth century, Métis voyageurs from Canada introduced it into the Chinook jargon, a pidgin trade language used along the lower Columbia River. In some instances it was used as a personal name (see the account of Qánqon below). When anthropologists heard it spoken by both whites and natives they recorded it using a variety of spellings—bardache, berdashe, bird-ash, bredache, and so forth—and identified it merely as French-

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Canadian in origin, unaware of its longer history in European, Arabic, and Persian languages.\textsuperscript{10}

In the twentieth century, “berdache” became the standard anthropological term for alternative gender roles among Native Americans. By the 1980s, however, its inappropriateness, as articulated by scholars and community members, led to a search for new terminology. “Two spirit” was coined at a gathering of Native American and First Nations people in 1990 and embraced for its connotations of balancing or combining male and female qualities. In 1993 a conference sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation brought together anthropologists, native scholars, and community members who adopted a formal statement endorsing its use.\textsuperscript{11} Today, “two spirit” (sometimes rendered as “two-spirited”) is used in reference to both male-bodied and female-bodied native people who mix, cross, or combine the standard roles of men and women.\textsuperscript{12}

Two-spirit males have been documented in at least 155 tribes; in about a third of these a recognized status for females who adopted a masculine


\textsuperscript{12} “Two spirit” has been widely embraced but some commentators have pointed to its limitations. In many tribal belief systems all individuals are understood to combine male and female modes of being, whether intellectually, psychologically, socially, or ceremonially. In these contexts, identifying specific tribal members as “two spirits” implies that they achieve this balance while others do not, which can lead to confusion and division. In other cases, when “two spirit” is translated back into native languages it acquires unintended meanings (see Bea Medicine and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, eds., \textit{Learning to Be an Anthropologist and Remaining “Native”: Selected Writings} [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001], 147–148). Yet others have noted the way in which its use fosters blanket statements about the universal presence and social acceptance of “two spirit people.” The case for presence and status needs to be established for each tribe through careful research grounded in written and oral sources. As the dialogue among scholars and in native communities evolves, the most encompassing way to identify the subject of this chapter is “two-spirit/LGBTQ” native people. For additional discussion, see Wesley Thomas and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, “…And We Are Still Here”: From Berdache to Two-Spirit People,” \textit{American Indian Culture and Research Journal}: 1999, 23 no. 2 (1993); 91-107; Joseph Gilley, \textit{Becoming Two-Spirited: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); and the various contributors to Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang, \textit{Two-Spirit People}. For a discussion of the interrelationships of white colonialism, modern queer identity, and two-spirit activism, see Scott L. Morgensen, \textit{Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).
lifestyle existed as well. Each tribal language had its own terms for such individuals and each term reflects distinct beliefs, traditions, and social customs. In Crow, a male two spirit was called boté, in Lakota winkte, in Zuni lhamaña, in Navajo nádleehí. Terms for a female two spirit include hwame: in Mohave, hetaneman in Cheyenne (Figure 2), and tayagígux’ in Aleut. Sometimes the same word was used for both male and female two spirits: twlinna’ ek in Klamath, t’übs in Northern Paiute, and tangowaip in western Shoshone. Some of these terms can be translated as “man-woman” but many cannot. Nádleehí, for example, literally means “one who is changing.”

These terms, which distinguish two spirits from men and women, have lead anthropologists, historians, and archeologists to describe two-spirit roles as alternative or multiple genders. Although Western cultures

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13 For an index of anthropological and historical sources by tribe see Roscoe, Changing Ones, 223-247. The evidence is heavily weighted toward tribes west of the Mississippi River. Various factors account for this. Unlike the Spaniards, who sought to missionize intact native communities and often recorded details of their cultures, English settlers were singularly uninterested in the cultures of the people whose lands they were determined to occupy and recorded little about them. Indeed, Puritans such as John Winthrop conflated the entire native population with the Biblical Sodomites (Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny [New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1977], 50). By the time anthropologists began documenting native cultures in the late nineteenth century, few descendants of Eastern tribes remained with knowledge of traditional practices and beliefs. Limited, but questionable, evidence has been cited for the presence of two spirits among the Iroquois, and a single reference from 1825 suggests that male two spirits had at one time been present in Cherokee society. See Roscoe, Changing Ones, 250-251 and Gregory D. Smithers, “Cherokee ‘Two Spirits’: Gender, Ritual, and Spirituality in the Native South,” Early American Studies 3 (2014): 626-651 (Smithers offers a nuanced discussion of the challenges and opportunities for recovering two spirit traditions in the face of limited documentation using the methodology of ethnohistory). Better evidence for male and female two spirits comes from the Algonkian-speaking Illinois of the Mississippi Valley, where Marquette observed males called ikoueta, who engaged in women’s work, assisted men on war parties, sang at ceremonies, and gave advice at tribal councils, and Lahontan noted women who refused to marry and were called ickoue ne kioussa, or “hunting women,” because of their preference for men’s activities (Jacques Marquette, “Of the First Voyage Made by Father Marquette Toward New Mexico, and How the Idea Thereof was Conceived,” in Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites, 86-163, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 59 [Cleveland, OH: Burrows Brothers, 1900], 128–129; Louis Armand de Lahontan, Mémoires de l’Amérique Septentrionale, ou la suite des voyages de Mr. Le Baron La Hontan, vol. 2 [Amsterdam: Jonas L’Honoré, 1705], 144).

14 The term nádleehí refers to an individual who is a member of the gender class nádleeh, see Jacobs, Thomas, and Sabine, eds., Two-Spirit People, 15.

15 For a listing of native language terms for alternative gender roles see Roscoe, Changing Ones, 213–222.

16 See Roscoe, Changing Ones; Jacobs, Thomas, and Sabine, Two-Spirit People; Sabine Lang, Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); Sandra E. Hollimon, “The Archaeology of Nonbinary Genders in Native North American
assume only two genders are “natural” based on anatomical sex, many native societies are capable of accommodating three, four, and possibly more genders, or having a gender system characterized by fluidity, transformation, and individual variation.

Typically, male and female two spirits were identified in childhood based on a preference for activities of the “opposite” sex. In some tribes, entry into two spirit status was marked ceremonially. Shoshone, Ute, Kitanemuk, and Pima-Papago families staged a ritual test in which a boy was placed in a circle of brush with a bow and a basket (men’s and women’s objects, respectively). The brush was set on fire, and whichever object the boy picked up as he ran out determined his identity: if he took the basket he would be two spirit.

The occupations Le Moyne attributed to Timucuan “hermaphrodites”—conducting burial rites, caring for the ill, assisting on war parties, serving

Figure 2: Cheyenne hetaneman, or female two spirit, in battle wearing a man’s breechcloth. Ledger book drawing attributed to Yellow Nose, ca. 1889. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives (MS 166,032, 08709000).

as intermediaries—were common to two male two spirits in many parts of North America. Perhaps the trait most often attributed to them was skill in crafts typically made by women. As Ruth Benedict noted, “The Dakota had a saying, ‘fine possessions like a berdache’s,’ and it was the epitome of praise for any woman’s household possessions.” Among Plains tribes, male two spirits excelled in working with hides, which were used to make everything from clothing to shelter; in California they were basket-makers; in the Southwest, weavers and potters.

In many instances, male and female two spirits were medicine people, healers, shamans, and ceremonial leaders. While these roles were not specific to two spirits, certain ceremonial functions were. Cheyenne he’emanéo and Mohave alyha: directed their tribes’ victory dances, while Crow and Hidatsa two spirits selected the tree used for construction of Sun Dance lodges. In the late nineteenth century, a Mohave female two spirit, or hwamei:, was widely recognized as a powerful shaman able to cure venereal disease. Among Plains tribes, dreams and visions of female deities or the moon served to confirm male two-spirit identity and convey unique abilities. Some winkte were seers who could locate enemies at great distances, predict the weather, and foretell future events. Among the Pueblo Indians, two-spirit status was sanctioned by myths and portrayed in masked dances representing mythological figures.

Evidence for a named status for females who routinely engaged in men’s activities such as hunting and warfare comes predominantly from tribes west of the Rocky Mountains, but as noted earlier, absence of evidence cannot be taken as evidence of absence. The lives of native women have been overlooked in general and obscured by Euro-American sexual and racial stereotypes. Taking a broader view reveals that women throughout North America and the Pacific Islands often engaged in male pursuits, from hunting to warfare and tribal leadership, without necessarily acquiring a different gender identity. Some of these women deserve recognition as leaders in the Native American resistance to European

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settlement. Weetamoo, a chief of the Pocassets led a force of more than three hundred warriors against the English during King Philip’s war, and the Apache warrior woman Lozen fought alongside Geronimo until his final surrender in 1886.18

Two spirits typically formed relationships with non-two-spirit individuals of the same sex, which were viewed within their own cultures as equivalent to those between men and women (but typically understood as homosexual by Euro-Americans). In the 1930s, a Navajo elder told Willard Hill, “If they marry men, it is just like two men working together.”19 In the early nineteenth century, the Crow leader Woman Chief married four women following her successes in battle. Because two spirits occupied a distinct gender status, their relationships were not viewed as being same-sex. Some had relations with both men and women, and sometimes heterosexually-married men and women became two spirits on the basis of dreams or visions. (The one sexual pattern not attested is that of two spirits in sexual relationships with each other.)

Sexual and Gender Diversity in Native Hāwaiʻi

In native Hāwaiʻi, males who preferred the work of women and formed relationships with other men were called māhū, a status present in several Polynesian societies.20 Christian missionaries and travelers, in their zeal to suppress what they considered immoral practices, recorded little about māhū, but a vibrant oral tradition credits them with a variety of

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18 See Roscoe, Changing Ones, chap. 4. Weetamo was present at the Great Swamp Fight in 1675 (Great Swamp State Management Area, West Kingston, Rhode Island). After drowning while attempting to escape the English 1675, her head was displayed on a pole in Taunton, Massachusetts (Taunton Green Historic District; listed on the NRHP on March 1, 1985). Key sites associated with Lozen include the Fort Apache Historic District, located on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation, Arizona (listed on the NRHP on October 14, 1976), Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, Florida (designated a National Monument on October 15, 1924; listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966), and Mount Vernon Arsenal-Searcy Hospital Complex, Mount Vernon, Alabama (listed on the NRHP on May 26, 1988), where she died as a prisoner of war in 1889.
20 Terms for a similar status in other Polynesian languages include faʻafine in Samoan and wakawawine in Pukapukan. See Raleigh Watts, “The Polynesian Mahu,” in Oceanic Homosexualities, 171–184.
significant roles, from healing, to caretaking, naming infants, and above all teaching and leading hula dance traditions.21

Distinct from māhū were men who formed aikāne relationships. This term is often translated as “friend” or “lover,” but in native Hawaiian it has distinctly sexual connotations. A member of the Cook expedition of 1776–1780 wrote, “It is a disagreeable circumstance to the historian that truth obliges him to inform the world of a custom among them contrary to nature, and odious to a delicate mind. . . .The custom alluded to is that of sodomy, which is very prevalent if not universal among the chiefs.” 22 Aikāne relationships were often between older and younger, or higher and lower status men, but they could be formed by men of similar age and social status, and in traditional stories the goddess Hi‘iaka has an aikāne.23 Most men with aikāne were bisexual and married women as well. One of the legendary hero-kings of Hawaiian mythology, Kepakailiula, has an aikāne, and with him performs some of his most spectacular feats.24

The Cook expedition had several encounters with aikāne of Hawaiian chiefs. In January 1779, after making landfall at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai‘i, Palea, an aikāne of the chief Kalani‘opu‘u, appeared as an emissary.25 His negotiations with one of Cook’s officers resulted in the chief’s ceremonial visit soon after. But a month later, when Cook returned, Palea had been replaced by a rival. The embittered former aikāne was implicated in the theft of one of Cook’s boats, resulting in the hostilities that led to the explorer’s death.26

23 Matzner, “‘O Au No Keia,” 222.
25 Kealakekua Bay Historic District, Hawai‘i (listed on the NRHP on December 12, 1973).
Two Spirits Today: Renewal and Change

“Before Alcatraz,” recalled Mohawk poet Maurice Kenny, referring to the occupation of the island by Indian activists in 1969, “it was just about impossible to stand up and say who you were. If you had a job you’d get fired. Your family might disown you. You certainly would be ridiculed.” Kenny’s 1976 essay, “Tinselled Bucks: An Historical Study of Indian Homosexuality,” and Paula Gunn Allen’s 1981 article, “Beloved Women: Lesbians in American Indian Cultures,” marked the beginning of renewed awareness of two-spirit traditions.

In 1975, Barbara Cameron (Lakota) and Randy Burns (Northern Paiute) founded Gay American Indians in San Francisco. In addition to providing advocacy and social services, the group published Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology in 1988. Several contributors have since played prominent roles in fostering cultural renewal and political activism among two-spirit/LGBTQ native people, including Richard LaFortune (Anguksuar), who launched the Two Spirit Press Room in 2005, and the writers Beth Brant, Chrystos, Anne Waters, and Janice Gould. In 1988, a conference organized by American Indian Gay and Lesbians in Minneapolis inaugurated a tradition of annual gatherings. By the 1990s, LGBTQ native organizations had appeared throughout the country, often in response to the need for services created by the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

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29 Burns, Cameron, and other founding members met while participating in the American Indian Art Workshop at the American Indian Center, 225 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California.
30 Roscoe published a bibliography of Native American LGBTQ writers in 1998 (Changing Ones, 279–280).
Many who identify as two spirit today are active in intertribal powwow networks. In 2015, the Bay Area American Indian Two-Spirits Powwow drew more than two thousand attendees. Comments from participants reveal the broad range of identities and beliefs encompassed by the term “two spirit” today. One dancer explained that “two spirit means being born with a male and a female spirit,” while for another the term is “more of a historical reminder that before colonization all of our tribes had multiple genders.” In Hawai‘i there has been a similar revival of the māhū role.

In the 1990s, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, as it had among American Indians and Alaskan Natives, provided impetus for creating organizations reaching out to Hawaiian gay and transgender communities. Today, the


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32 Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits Fourth Annual Two-Spirit Powwow, February 7, 2015, Cow Palace, 2600 Geneva Avenue, Daly City, California.
term māhū is being reclaimed by a wide range of individuals, and some like Hina Wong-Kalu, are widely-respected as traditional kumu, or teachers (Figure 3). As one contemporary māhū explains:

The American Indians have a really nice way of putting it. They say “two-spirited.” So I like to borrow that and apply it to māhū, and have it mean “two-spirited”...Because māhū could mean a guy who likes a guy, but is somewhat soft, and likes to have relations with the same sex. Or it could be like us [transgender]. And many, many others. So, if you’re anywhere within that two-spirited realm, the word

Figure 4: The Stones of Kapaemāhū (Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū ʻā Kapuni), Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, Hawai‘i. Photograph by Wally Gobetz, 2010.

34 According to Robertson, “The māhū population today embraces an astounding variety of individuals. It can designate women who dress and work as men, men who dress and work as women, women or men who dress and act so as to obscure their biological classification, women who will only associate with other women, men who dress ‘festively,’ men who undergo hormone treatments and/or eventually change their sex surgically, true hermaphrodites, and women and men who might, in English, call themselves ‘gay.’ Any of these people may choose to procreate or to raise children through the traditional adoption arrangement known as hanai. In fact, parents sometimes put their children in the care of māhū, for mixed gender individuals are recognized as special, compassionate, and creative,” (“The Māhū of Hawai‘i,” 314–315).

35 License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/wallyg/4744202959/
māhū could apply to you. People like this have an aura...They give off both man and woman.36

In Waikiki, Hawai‘i, tucked between the tourist hotels lining Kalakaua Avenue, four worn boulders embedded upon a stone platform attest to the enduring presence of māhū traditions in Hawaiian history (Figure 4).37 According to markers in English and Hawaiian, the stones were erected as monuments in the early sixteenth century at the direction of four powerful healers from Tahiti.38 In Hawaiian historical accounts, these healers performed miraculous cures throughout the Hawaiian Islands. To commemorate their deeds they had these stones placed at Waikiki, transferring their mana, or spiritual power, to them before they returned to their homeland. The stones were named for these four priests, the most important of whom was Kapaemahu.

The element “mahu” in this name is the only trace in this account of the true significance of the stones. By supplementing written sources with oral tradition, Andrew Matzner gives a fuller telling of their history. The four priests were māhū—“hermaphrodites” in the earliest sources. They had both male and female appearance and manners, and this quality was the source of their powers. Today, hundreds of tourists pass by the site every day, but as Matzner notes, “The transgendered aspect at its core remains deeply buried, like a piece of history deemed unfit for consumption.”39

For centuries the stones remained in place and were credited with healing the sick and protecting seagoers. When Archibald Cleghorn acquired the site in 1872 the stones had naturally settled into the sand.

36 Matzner, ‘O Au No Keia, 221.
37 The Stones of Kapaemahu, Kuhio Beach, adjacent to Waikiki City Police Station, 2425 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
38 Mary K. Pukui, E. W. Haertig, and Catherine A. Lee, Nana I Ke Kumu (Look to the Source) (Honolulu: Queen Lili’uokalani Children’s Center, 1972), 2: 108, 110; June Gutmanis, Pohaku: Hawai‘ian Stones (Laie, HI: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University, Hawaii, [1986]), 33–36. Andrea Feeser speculates that they may have settled in O‘ahu during the second wave of Polynesian immigration to Hawai‘i, which introduced Tahitian religious and sociopolitical practices to the islands (Waikiki: A History of Forgetting and Remembering (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006), 79.
39 Matzner, ‘O Au No Keia, 279; Feeser, Waikiki, 78–82.
Cleghorn had them unearthed and placed in a prominent setting on his estate; his wife, Princess Likelike and her daughter prayed to them whenever they went swimming. Following Cleghorn’s death the stones underwent a variety of ignominies: the Moana Hotel was built behind them; in the 1920s they were buried beneath a bowling alley.40

By the standards of many preservationists, historical significance is seen as function of what humans attribute to places and structures. The disappearance of the stones in the sands of Waikīkī Beach represents an interruption in their use that compromises their historical integrity. But for native people, as Luan Fauteck Makes Marks notes, “the Land inheres as sacred—beyond human perception and conception, beyond our capacities for belief and imagination—in and of itself.” 41 This is especially true for sacred places. As Christopher H. Peters of the Seventh Generation Fund says, “If there were no humans on earth, they would still be sacred.” 42

Recovered in the 1960s, the Stones of Kapaemāhū, as they are known today, were relocated to their present site in 1980; in 1997, they were rededicated in a ceremony lead by the Hawaiian leader Papa Henry Auwe—and as the leis strewn upon the wrought iron fence that surrounds them today attest, for Hawaiian people the influence of the stones in their lives, that is, their spiritual power, has never been interrupted.

Two Spirits in the History of the United States

In the long history of contact between native and Euro-American peoples, two spirits have had important roles and their stories are linked to many places and sites. Qánqon-kámek-klaúlha (Kutenai), Ohchiish (Crow), We’wha (Zuni), and Hastíín Klah (Navajo) were each remarkable individuals who lived complex lives against the backdrop of unfolding conflict and change.

40 Feeser, Waikīkī, Ibid.; Gutmanis, Pohaku, 35.
42 Ibid.
Qánqon-kámek-klaúlha (ca. 1780s–1837)

One of the most fascinating, if ultimately mysterious, female two spirits was the Kutenai known as Qánqon-kámek-klaúlha, Sitting-in-the-Water-Grizzly, or simply Qánqon. Born in the late 1700s along the lower Kootenai River around the border of Idaho and British Columbia, her tribe occupied a strategic area of the Northwest, the site of fierce competition between the Americans and British in the fur trade.

According to Kutenai elders interviewed in the 1930s, Qánqon’s original name was One-Standing-Lodge-Pole-Woman. Undistinguished as a child, she grew up to be large and strong. The earliest reference to her is in the journals of David Thompson of the British North West Company, who crossed the Rocky Mountains and established a trading post near the headwaters of the Columbia River in 1807. One of his men returned from a foray accompanied by a Kutenai wife. According to Thompson, her “conduct was then so loose that I had to request him to send her away to her friends.” This was the woman who became known as Qánqon.

When Qánqon rejoined her people she told a fantastic tale. Her white husband had “operated” on her and transformed her into a man; she now called herself Gone-to-the-Spirits. “We Indians,” she said, “did not believe that white people possessed such power from the supernaturals. I can tell you that they do, greater power than we have.” As a result of her experiences among the whites, Qánqon claimed to have acquired supernatural power of her own.

She began dressing in men’s clothes and courting women, and she became interested in hunting and warfare. The Kutenai called such women titqattek, which has been translated as “pretending to be a

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After her first war party she adopted the name Qánqon Kámek Klaúlha, Sitting-in-the-Water-Grizzly. She was also known by the Europeanized name Ignace Onton.

In April 1811, the Americans established a trading post at Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River. Simultaneously, David Thompson was making his way down the river from the east. Unbeknownst to him, two Kutenai Indians were traveling ahead of his party and reached Astoria before him. The Americans believed them to be a man and a woman; in fact, they were the two spirit Qánqon and her companion. They had with them a letter addressed to a trading post in British Columbia, and they claimed, somewhat dubiously, to have become lost while attempting to deliver it.

When David Thompson arrived at Fort Astoria in June he immediately identified Qánqon as the Indian woman once married to his aide. The Americans were unfazed. Qánqon’s glowing description of the interior and the maps she drew for them convinced them to organize an exploring party to compete with Thompson. In late June, two parties left Astoria—the Americans, guided by Qánqon and her wife, and Thompson.

One of the Astorians described the Kutenai women as “bold adventurous amazons….They sometimes shot ahead, and at other times loitered behind, as suited their plans. The stories they gave out among the non-suspecting and credulous natives as they passed were well calculated to astonish as well as to attract attention.” Qánqon claimed that she had been sent by “the great white chief” to announce that white men were bringing the Indians wonderful presents. As they traveled upstream, the couple was eagerly greeted along the way and given generous gifts.

46 Ibid., 224.
47 Fort Astoria, Astoria, Oregon (contributing property to the Astoria Downtown Historic District; listed individually on the NRHP on October 15, 1966; designated an NHL on November 5, 1961).
49 Ibid., 212.
50 Ibid., 206.
Eventually, they led the Americans to the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan rivers, where the Astorians established Fort Okanogan.\textsuperscript{51}

Qánqon’s prophecies spread throughout the Pacific Northwest. According to the explorer John Franklin, “many young men put themselves under her command....and at length she became the principle leader of the tribe, under the designation of ‘Manlike Woman.’”\textsuperscript{52} In the early twentieth century, Kutenai elders remembered her as a shaman as well, who on one occasion cured a chief.\textsuperscript{53}

In 1825, Qánqon appeared at Flathead Post in western Montana with a group of Kutenai.\textsuperscript{54} The trader John Work described her as a “leading character among them” and called her “Bundosh” —a variation of the word “berdache.” Fluent in the Flathead language, Qánqon served as an interpreter.

In 1837 she appeared at another key moment, when William Gray, who had helped establish the Whitman Mission at Walla Walla, Washington, was traveling through northwestern Montana with a group of Flathead Indians. The party encountered hostile Blackfoot and several were killed. The Flatheads were holding a victory dance when three unknown Indians appeared—two Blackfoot and a woman, whom Gray identified as “Bowdash.” They were seeking a truce, with Qánqon serving as an interpreter. Gray was able to resume his journey, but several days later wrote in his journal: “We have been told that the Black Feet have killed the Kootenie woman, or Bowdash, as she is called. She has hitherto been

\textsuperscript{51} Fort Okanogan, Okanogan County, Washington (listed on the NRHP on June 4, 1973. The fort site was flooded in 1967 by the newly-formed Lake Pateros reservoir, following the construction of the Wells Dam).
\textsuperscript{52} John Franklin, \textit{Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Seas in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827} (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Carey, 1828), 251–252.
\textsuperscript{53} Schaeffer, “The Kutenai Female Berdache,” 214.
\textsuperscript{54} Flathead Post (also known as Saleesh House), Highway 200, one mile east of Thompson Falls, Montana. The location is identified by a Montana State Historical Marker.
In 1916, a Flathead elder recalled his memories of the Kutenai two spirit. She was a strong woman and a great prophetess. After her success as a warrior, she became a peace messenger among the warring tribes. She was killed by the Blackfoot because they discovered that she had purposely delayed the talks in 1837 to allow the Flatheads to escape.56

In the early nineteenth century, native women in several tribes gained renown for crossing cultures and genders. Woman Chief of the Crow led war parties, killed a grizzly bear single-handedly, and had four wives; Kuilix, a Pend d’Oreille woman who wore a British soldier’s coat (Figure 5), was permitted to go from all the camps, without molestation, to carry any message given her to either camp.”55

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56 Ibid., 217.
observed in battle by the Jesuit missionaries Pierre-Jean De Smet and Nicholas Point; and Running Eagle of the Blackfoot, joined nine raids and counted coup three times.57

We’wha (ca. 1849–1896)

Gender diversity among the Zuni Indians of western New Mexico can be traced from prehistoric times. At the site of Hawikku, near present-day Zuni, archeologists found males buried with objects typically associated with women—a ball of clay and baskets—and in one case a woman was buried wearing both a dress and a man’s dance kilt.58

In 1879, the first expedition of the government’s newly-founded Bureau of Ethnology arrived at the remote village of Zuni. Led by James Stevenson, accompanied by his wife Matilda Coxe Stevenson, the expedition was charged with collecting artifacts and recording the customs of a people considered to be both ancient and on the verge of extinction. The Stevensons encountered a striking Zuni working for the local missionaries. We’wha, Matilda Stevenson noted, “was the most intelligent person in the pueblo” with an extensive knowledge of Zuni history and culture, and therefore an excellent informant for anthropological research. But there was something unusual about We’wha. “She” was one of the tallest members of the tribe, male or female, and in Stevenson’s opinion, “certainly the strongest, both mentally and physically.”59 Nonetheless, many years passed before Stevenson discovered the truth: We’wha was a man. His identity in Zuni culture was that of the *Ihamana* or two-spirit male (Figure 6).

The Ihamaha role entailed complex interweavings of men’s and women’s traits and activities. Born around 1849, We’wha demonstrated a talent for women’s work at an early age and learned pottery making from female relatives. But We’wha also excelled in weaving, which was usually done by men, and a census made in 1881 lists him as a farmer, another male role. We’wha was also a member of the men’s kachina society, responsible for performing masked dances.

Stevenson formed an enduring friendship with the Zuni Ihamaha. In 1886, she brought We’wha to live with her and James for six months in Washington, DC, where We’wha called on President Cleveland and other political leaders and circulated in Washington society. All believed he was a woman. We’wha assisted Stevenson with her ethnographic research and posed for a series of photographs documenting Zuni weaving at the Smithsonian Institution and on the National Mall—one of the first uses of photography for this purpose. In fact, We’wha may be one of the first Native American artists to have signed their work—two pots in the collections of the American

Figure 6: We’wha in ceremonial dress. Photograph by John K. Hillers, Washington, DC, 1886. Courtesy of the US National Archives and Records Administration (NAI 523798).

60 In the public domain: https://catalog.archives.gov/id/523798
61 Home of James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson, 1913 N Street NW, Washington, DC (no longer extant).
62 Smithsonian Building, Jefferson Drive at Tenth Street SW, Washington, DC (added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966; designated an NHL on January 12, 1965), National Mall (added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966).
In 1892, six years after traveling to DC, We’wha was arrested for striking an American soldier attempting to arrest the Zuni governor. A contingent of heavily armed troops from Fort Wingate was dispatched to the pueblo and a raucous confrontation ensued. In the aftermath, key Zuni leaders, and We’wha, were arrested and imprisoned at Fort Wingate for a month.64

Stevenson was present at We’wha’s death in 1896:

We’wha asked the writer to come close and in a feeble voice she said, in English: “Mother, I am going to the other world….Tell all my friends in Washington good-by. Tell President Cleveland, my friend, good-by. Mother, love all my people; protect them; they are your children; you are their mother.”65

We’wha’s death, Stevenson reported, elicited “universal regret and distress.”66 When a Zuni woman was tried by tribal authorities for having caused We’wha’s death by witchcraft, soldiers were again dispatched from Fort Wingate and occupied the village for five months. These traumatic events are remembered vividly by Zunis to the present day.67

Ohchiish, (1854-1929)

On June 17, 1876, General George Crook was leading one of three Army columns bearing down upon the hostile Lakota Sioux and Cheyenne Indians amassed under Sitting Bull when he decided to bivouac along the

64 Fort Wingate Historic District, near Gallup, New Mexico (added to the NRHP on May 26, 1978).
66 Ibid., 310.
67 For a full account of the episode and its aftermath see Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, chap. 4.
Rosebud River in southern Montana.\textsuperscript{68} He sat down to play a game of cards with his officers. At that moment the Sioux and Cheyenne attacked.

Crook barely avoided Custer’s fate, whose forces were wiped out ten days later at the Little Big Horn. In the initial fray, Crook’s command was nearly overwhelmed and only the intervention of Crow warriors, who had joined his forces to fight their traditional enemies, saved his position. Among these was the boté Ohchiish, a shorted form of Ohchikapdaapesh, or Finds-Them-and-Kills-Them (Figure 7).\textsuperscript{69}

Born in 1854, Ohchiish had shown interest in women’s work from an early age and as an adult dressed as a woman. He enjoyed a reputation for skill in leatherwork and beading, and was credited with making the largest tipi known in the tribe, the lodge of Chief Iron Bull. Years later, a Crow woman named Pretty Shield recalled what happened that day on the Rosebud:

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\textsuperscript{68} Rosebud Battlefield–Where the Girl Saved Her Brother, near Kirby, Montana (added to the NHRP on August 21, 1972; designated an NHL on August 19, 2008). “Where the Girl Saved her Brother” is the Cheyenne name for the site, based on an incident that occurred during the battle when a Cheyenne woman, Buffalo Calf Road Woman, charged into the fray to rescue her brother. She was not a hetaneman, or two-spirited female, however, as indicated by her appearance in a ledger drawing depicting the event (National Anthropological Archives, MS 166,032, 08704700), where she is dressed in the typical manner of a Cheyenne woman. In contrast, the Cheyenne female depicted in Figure 2 is fighting as a man, bare-chested, wearing a man’s breechclout.

\textsuperscript{69} See Roscoe, Changing Ones, chap. 2. I follow the transcription of the name in Lillian Bullshows Hogan, The Woman Who Loved Mankind: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Crow Elder (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012). Hogan, a Crow elder, uses both male and female pronouns in referring to Ohchiish and notes, “They don’t call him ‘him’ or ‘her.’ They just say ‘a person’” (124).
Yes, a Crow woman fought with Three-stars [Crook] on the Rosebud, two of them did, for that matter; but one of them was neither a man nor a woman. She looked like a man, and yet she wore woman’s clothing; and she had the heart of a woman. Besides, she did a woman’s work. Her name was Finds-them-and-kills-them....

The other woman...was a wild one who had no man of her own. She was both bad and brave, this one. Her name was The-other-magpie; and she was pretty....

During the fight on the Rosebud both these women did brave deeds. When Bull-snake fell from his horse, badly wounded, Finds-them-and-kills-them dashed up to him, got down from her horse, and stood over him, shooting at the Lacota as rapidly as she could load her gun and fire. The-other-magpie rode round and round them, singing her war-song and waving her coup-stick, the only weapon she had.

When the Lacota, seeing Bull-snake on the ground, charged to take his scalp, The-other-magpie rode straight at them, waving her coup-stick. Her medicine was so strong that the Lacota turned and rode away; and Bull-snake was saved.

Both these women expected death that day. Finds-them-and-kills-them, afraid to have the Lacota find her dead with woman-clothing on her, changed them to a man’s before the fighting commenced, so that if killed the Lacota would not laugh at her, lying there with a woman’s clothes on her. She did not want the Lacota to believe that she was a Crow man hiding in a woman’s dress, you see.70

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Fighting together, Ohchiish and The-Other-Magpie killed a Lakota warrior and returned to camp bearing his scalp.

In the years that followed, the Crows faced growing pressure to abandon traditional culture. Boté, including Ohchiish, were singled out by government agents, school teachers, and missionaries. One agent attempted to suppress the role altogether. According to tribal historian Joe Medicine Crow, “The agent incarcerated the badês, cut off their hair, made them wear men’s clothing. He forced them to do manual labor, planting these trees that you see here on the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] grounds. The people were so upset with this that Chief Pretty Eagle came into Crow Agency, and told [the agent] to leave the reservation.”

In the end, none of this seemed to affect Ohchiish. In 1919, retired Army general Hugh Scott interviewed “Woman Jim” as he was known among the local whites. Using Plains Indian sign language, Ohchiish recalled the day he fought on the Rosebud. An officer, Colonel Guy Henry, was shot in the face, and while being carried on a travois dropped into a mud hole. Ohchiish pulled him up and remembered how the gallant officer laughed at his predicament. Asked how he felt, another observer reported, Henry replied, “Bully! Never felt better in my life. Everybody is so kind.”

Hastíín Klah, (1867-1937)

In November 1937, a group of Anglo-Americans and Navajo Indians gathered on a hilltop above Santa Fe to inaugurate a unique institution, the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art. Built at the expense of the Boston heiress, Mary Cabot Wheelwright, the museum was to be devoted to the preservation of the art and culture of the Navajo Nation. Today, the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian continues to occupy the

same striking structure dedicated that day—a large-scale recreation of the traditional Navajo house, the eight-sided hogan.73

The Wheelwright Museum was the result of a collaboration between two remarkable individuals, Wheelwright and perhaps the most influential two spirit in American history, the Navajo nádleehí, Hastín Klah (Figure 8).

Klah was born in 1867 in western New Mexico. He showed interest in religion at an early age, and by the time he was ten he had learned his first ceremony.74 This required memorizing long chants, mastering complex ceremonial procedures, and creating sandpaintings using ground stones and other materials depicting mythological scenes.

73 Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 704 Camino Lejo, Santa Fe, New Mexico (added to the NRHP on December 18, 1990).
Klah’s nádleeh status was confirmed when he was a teenager following his recovery from a near-fatal accident. According to his friend Francis Newcomb, he had entered a “very special category”:

The Navahos believed him to be honored by the gods and to possess unusual mental capacity combining both male and female attributes. He was expected to master all the knowledge, skill, and leadership of a man and also all of the skills, ability, and intuition of a woman. Klah during his lifetime lived up to these expectations in every way.\(^75\)

As an adult, Klah dressed as a man. The anthropologist Gladys Reichard observed that “there was nothing feminine about him unless an indescribable gentleness be so called. The reasons the Navajo called him ‘one-who-has-been-changed’ were chiefly that he wove blankets and was not interested in women.”\(^76\) He mastered the skills of weaving smooth, finely patterned rugs, and in 1893 he was invited to demonstrate his craft at New Mexico’s exhibit at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago.\(^77\)

When Arthur and Francis (known to friends as Franc) Newcomb took over a remote trading post near Klah’s home in 1914, he was a prominent figure in the area. Whereas most medicine men learned one or two ceremonies in a lifetime, Klah mastered eight.\(^78\) At his first Yeibichai dance in 1917, Newcomb estimated that nearly two thousand Indians from several tribes attended. Klah distributed goods and sheep representing one-third of his worldly wealth and declared his intention to devote his life to spiritual concerns.

In 1919, Franc Newcomb proposed that Klah incorporate sandpainting designs into his weavings. “I assured him that a blanket of this type would never be used on the floor but would be hung on the wall of some

\(^75\) Newcomb, Hosteen Klah, 97.


\(^77\) Burnham Park, Lakefront and Northerly Island, 5491 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

museum. He said he would think about it.” Klah’s first sandpainting tapestry created a stir. Because of its religious content, some Navajos demanded that it be destroyed. Klah believed that his powers as a medicine man could protect him. His tapestries were an immediate success. In the midst of the Depression, they sold for as much as five thousand dollars. Most are now in museums. Klah’s bold innovation helped transform what had been a craft into a fine art.

Wheelwright’s friendship with Klah began in 1921 soon after she purchased one of his weavings. In 1931, when Klah’s assistant died, it was a bitter disappointment. In his sixties, he no longer had time to train another student. Wheelwright asked him if he would be willing to place his ceremonial equipment and weavings in a place where they would be preserved and could be studied. Klah agreed and plans were begun for the museum in Santa Fe.

In 1934, Klah returned to Chicago to demonstrate sandpainting and display his tapestries at the Century of Progress International Exhibition. En route, a newspaper reporter asked him for his impression of Americans. Klah replied:

The Americans hurry too much. All the time you hurry and worry how you are going to hurry and worry more. You go thru life so fast you can’t see beauty. I live the way I did when I came here first in 1893. I am happy. That is why I come. I want to show the white people that I am happier than they are because I don’t have all those things to worry about.

Hastíín Klah died at the age of seventy in February 1937, a few months before the dedication of the museum he helped envision.

80 Jackson Park, 6401 South Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
81 Roscoe, Changing Ones, 57.
Conclusion: History Matters

Knowledge of the sexual and gender diversity of American Indians, Alaskan Natives, and native Hawaiians has real implications for Americans of all backgrounds. The 2010 film Two Spirits relates the story of a young Navajo named Fred Martinez, Jr.82 As a teenager in Cortez, Colorado, Fred expressed many of the mix-gender traits and temperament typical of a traditional nádhleh. In the film his mother recalls, “He’s the kind of person so willing to give what he has. If he seen somebody, a boy that has a shoe that’s not good...‘I got lots of shoes, I got lots of shirts. Let me give this to them.’ He would give it to them.” Fred wore makeup and often used female names. His mother supported him, but living off the reservation he had no access to traditional extended family support systems or mentoring. Nor did school officials intervene when he was subjected to bullying. Tragically, as the film relates, Fred was murdered in 2001 by a young Anglo man in a brutal hate crime.

The incident shocked the community, and in its aftermath the local high school changed its dress code and instituted anti-bullying programs to protect gay and transgender children, while local law enforcement officials gained awareness of the seriousness of crimes motivated by homophobia and transphobia. But another lesson is to be learned, as well. Two-spirit/LGBTQ history not only challenges stereotypes and transforms prejudice, it provides the path to self-esteem, empowerment, and community for two-spirit/LGBTQ native people, while the stories of two-spirit males and females in American history teach us all about sexual and gender diversity and the ways in which these differences make distinctive cultural and historical contributions.

82 Lydia Nibley and Russell Martin, Two Spirits (Los Angeles: Independent Lens/Riding the Tiger Productions, LLC, 2010), DVD.
The word “transgender” first appeared in print in American English in 1965, and entered widespread use only in the 1990s.¹ Thus, it might seem to name a relatively recent phenomenon without much of a history—one that has had scant time to leave many traces in the built environment or inhabited landscape. In most respects, “transgender” is just today’s term for referring to the ways people can live lives that depart from the conventional patterns according to which all bodies are assigned a sex at birth (male or female) and enrolled in a social gender (girl or boy), form gendered personalities (subjective feelings of being a man or a woman or something else), and come to occupy the social and kinship roles considered normal for people assigned to their particular birth-sex (for example, becoming a wife or father). In so doing, such people cross over (trans-) the gender categories that organize the historically specific ways we all imagine ourselves to be the particular kind of persons that we are.

Such “gender variance” is a common feature in human cultures. It seems that however a given culture constructs its typical ways of being a person, some members of that culture do it differently, for whatever reason.²

Different cultures deal with gender variance differently.³ Over the past few hundred years, gender variance in societies of western European origin, including dominant US culture, has most often been understood as something antisocial, sinful, criminal, or psychopathological—and thus in need of correction. People with what we might now call transgender feelings about themselves have often resisted the moral, legal, and medical characterizations of their lives that have resulted in their social oppression. At the same time they have sought to be recognized legally and socially as the kind of gendered person they consider themselves to be, and may also have sought medical treatment or psychotherapeutic support for expressing their gender. Since the nineteenth century, the struggles of such people have formed one thread in the larger historical tapestry of identity-based social movements that have sought to better the conditions of life for people in marginalized minority communities in the United States. Transgender social history has definitely left its mark on America, and these stories are increasingly coming to the public’s attention. As the title of a 2016 web-based series of trans-history mini-documentaries puts it, “We’ve Been Around.”⁴

Prior to European colonization, and continuing until the present day, many cultures indigenous to North America have organized gender,

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⁴ We’ve Been Around, directed by Rhys Ernst (Los Angeles: Nonetheless Productions, 2016); available online at various media outlets, for details see http://www.nonethelessproductions.com.
sexuality, and social roles quite differently than settler societies of modern European origin.\(^5\) Transgender histories in the United States, like the broader national histories of which they form a part, originate in colonial contact zones where members of the arriving culture encountered kinds of people it struggled to comprehend. This is not to say that such indigenous persons can or should be slotted into a contemporary “transgender” category, but to note that Eurocentric notions of transgender are inextricably caught up in colonial practices for the management of cultural difference. Important sites for transgender history thus include places where soldiers, missionaries, and settlers encountered indigenous practices that did not align with their own sense of proper expressions of gender and sexuality.

In the first published narrative of European exploration in what is now the United States, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, writing of his overland journey from Florida to Mexico between 1528 and 1536, described encounters with apparent males who lived and worked as women, whom he called *hombres amarionados impotente* (impotent effeminate men). Jacques Marquette, the first European known to have visited the Upper Mississippi, observed “men who do everything women do” in his travels in what is now Illinois, between 1673 and 1677.\(^6\) Relatedly, indigenous scholar Deborah Miranda (Esselen and Chumash) characterizes as “gendercide” the compulsory regendering, or outright extermination, of indigenous persons at Spanish missions in California and the Southwest who did not conform to Eurocentric ideas of proper gendered personhood (Figure 1).\(^7\)

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\(^5\) See Roscoe (this volume).
\(^7\) Deborah A. Miranda, “Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010): 253-284. Many missions in California and elsewhere are listed on the NRHP and/or designated NHLs. Specifically mentioned in the article are the Mission San Carlos Borromeo del rio Carmelo (Carmel Mission); Mission San Antonio de Padua (Mission San Antonio); Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcala (Mission San Diego); Mission Santa Barbara; Mission San Jose; Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores); Mission Santa Clara de Asis (Mission Santa Clara); and Mission Santa Ynez (Mission Santa Ines). The Carmel Mission, 3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated
While such encounters left no physical landmarks, interpretive signage and other explanatory text on websites and in visitor centers devoted to historic trails and early colonial sites could describe European perceptions of gender variance, and note that the perception of gender variance in indigenous cultures typically functioned as a justification for colonization: that these people were worthy of death, in need of salvation, or unfit to occupy the land. Similarly, interpretive materials could also incorporate

an NHL on October 9, 1960. Mission San Antonio de Padua, near Jolon, Monterey County, California was listed on the NRHP on April 26, 1976 and is located along the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) established in 1990. Mission San Diego, 10818 San Diego Mission Road, San Diego, California was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL as the San Diego Mission Church on April 15, 1970. Mission Santa Barbara, 2201 Laguna Street, Santa Barbara, California was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on October 9, 1960. Mission San Jose, 43300 Mission Boulevard, Fremont, California was listed on the NRHP on July 14, 1971. Mission San Francisco de Asis, 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972. Mission Santa Clara, 500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, California, not listed; Mission Santa Ynez, 1760 Mission Drive, Solvang, California, was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 1999 and designated an NHL on January 20, 1999.

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Drawing on this article, the following are examples of places that could include the recognition of native variance from European norms, and European responses to it, in interpretive materials: for Cabeza de Vaca, see Donald E. Sheppard, “Cabeza de Vaca, Journeys Across North America 1528-36,” http://www.floridahistory.com/cabeza.html; for Marquette, see Melinda Roberts, “Jacques
indigenous worldviews that demonstrate how “gender” could be conceptualized differently.

It is by looking at the lives of transgender, transsexual, cross-dressing, and gender variant individuals and groups that we reveal the historical geographies of American transgender history. Cases involving gender-variant people are present in some of the earliest legal records of the Anglo-American colonies. In 1629, the Virginia Court in Williamsburg heard testimony to decide the fate of one Thomasine or Thomas Hall, apparently an individual born with physically ambiguous genitalia who lived as both a man and a woman at different periods of life. Raised in England as a girl, Hall presented as a man to become a sailor, presented again as a woman to work as a lacemaker, and eventually became an indentured servant in Virginia as a man. Accused of performing an illicit sexual act with a female servant, the question before the Virginia Court was to determine whether Hall was male, and therefore guilty of fornication, or female, and therefore guilty of no crime, given that sexual activity between women was considered physically impossible. Unable to reach a conclusion, the court ordered Hall to wear a mix of men’s and women’s clothing.\textsuperscript{10} It is unknown whether Hall, who thereafter disappears from the historical record, complied.

Marquette and Louis Joliet," Wisconsin Historical Markers (blog), http://wisconsinhistoricalmarkers.blogspot.com/2013/04/jacques-marquette-and-louis-joliet.html; for California Missions, see "El Camino Real," http://missiontour.org/wp/related/el-camino-real.html. Other indigenous and colonial locations include: the area around Yuma, Arizona along the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, where on December 7, 1775 a member of the group described “effeminate men” among the Yuma; the Stones of Kapaemahu on Kuhio Beach, Waikiki, Hawai‘i, which commemorate the arrival of the gender variant mahu; Fort Caroline National Memorial that commemorates the founding of Fort Caroline in 1564, an event that brought Europeans into contact with gender-variant Timucua Indians; and the Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home, residence of Chief Plenty Coups who, in the late 1880s, told federal Indian Agents to leave the reservation after they tried to make the two-spirit bote dress in male clothing. The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) was created in 1990; Fort Caroline National Memorial was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated a National Memorial on January 16, 1953; the Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home at 1 Pryor Road, Pryor, Montana was added to the NRHP on October 6, 1970 and designated an NHL on January 20, 1999.

\textsuperscript{10} H. R. Mcllwaine, ed., \textit{Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-76} (Richmond, VA: Colonial Press/Everett Waddey, 1924), 194-195; the court convened twice yearly at the colonial capital in Williamsburg. For an insightful discussion of the Hall case, see Mary Beth Norton, \textit{Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society} (New York: Vintage, 1997), 183-202. The Williamsburg Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on October 9, 1960.
In 1652, Joseph Davis of Haverhill, Massachusetts was presented to the Court of Strawberry Banke (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), and charged with “putting on women's apparel and going from house to house in the night time with a female.” In 1677, Dorothie Hoyt of Essex County, Massachusetts was summoned to the Salem Court “for putting on man's apparel;” Hoyt failed to appear, having “gone out of the county.” These and other such cases, such as Mary Henly’s appearance in the Middlesex County Court in 1692 to face a charge of wearing men's clothing, undoubtedly contributed to Massachusetts Bay Colony’s passage of an anti-cross-dressing law in 1696. Of significance here is the kind of spaces and institutions within which gender variant people become visible in the colonial period: primarily in courts, attesting to the perception of gender variant practices as problems of social order. These lives leave traces on the physical landscape, shaping the laws and spaces designed to regulate gender and sexuality.

It is often not possible to determine what motivated the behavior of people who entered the historical record centuries ago for wearing clothing not typically worn by people of their apparent sex. Sometimes, even when it is, the reasons have nothing to do how we now typically understand transgender identity. In 1776, the former Jemima Wilkinson, from a prominent Philadelphia Quaker family, had a transformative religious experience in which she believed Christ entered her body during a serious illness. Wilkinson thereafter claimed to be neither female nor male, adopted a unique manner of dress, took the non-gender-specific name The Publick Universal Friend, began to preach, and attracted a devoted following. The Friend’s followers eventually built a separatist religious community they named Jerusalem, on the shores of Keuka Lake in Upstate New York, in the 1790s. The community’s buildings, whose architecture reflected the celibate and communal lifestyle of its adherents

11 Strawberry Banke was added to the NRHP on June 20, 1975.
12 All examples of seventeenth-century cross-dressing are taken from Elizabeth Reis, Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 2009), 15.
(and thus their atypical ideas about gender and sexuality), are still extant and many are registered historic sites in Yates County, New York.¹³

It would be remiss to interpret the perception of cross-dressing by others as an expression of transgender identification by the person thus dressed. Deborah Sampson, for example, born December 17, 1760 in Plympton, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, assumed the identity of her deceased brother Robert to enlist in the Continental Army, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, in which she participated in combat. After the

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war she resumed life as a woman, married, mothered children, lectured publicly on her years passing as a man, and received a government pension as a veteran of the Revolutionary War. While she certainly engaged in transgender practices during one period of her life in order to participate in activities denied to women, there is no evidence she expressed a transgender identity. That she cross-dressed only temporarily for a patriotic cause, and did not ultimately challenge the stability of gender categorization, goes a long way towards explaining how Sampson could be celebrated as a heroine in her own day, and remembered positively in the present (Figure 2).\(^\text{15}\)

This is in contrast to Albert Cashier, an Irish immigrant given the name Jennie Hodgers at birth, who saw combat in the Civil War as a member of the 95th Illinois Infantry. Cashier had been sent out by his impoverished parents to work as boy from an early age; he changed his name and began living as a man upon arrival in the United States in 1862. After being honorably discharged at the end of the war, Cashier continued to live as a man without incident in the small town of Saunemin, Illinois, where he worked as a farmhand and jack-of-all-trades. In 1910, Cashier’s employer accidently hit him with a car, badly breaking his leg, whereupon the employer arranged for Cashier’s admission to the Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Home in Quincy, Illinois. By now an old man, Cashier developed dementia and needed to be moved to the Watertown State Hospital, where his biological sex was discovered.\(^\text{16}\) No longer able to assert his sense of being a man, the staff dressed Cashier in women’s clothes and housed him in the women’s ward. The federal government attempted to revoke his military pension, claiming fraud, until Cashier’s former infantry comrades rallied on his behalf and testified about his commendable


\(^{16}\) The Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Home (now the Illinois Veterans’ Home) is at 1707 North Twelfth Street, Quincy, Illinois. Watertown State Hospital, now operating as the East Moline Correctional Center, is located at 100 Hillcrest Road, East Moline, Illinois.
service. When he died in 1915, Cashier was buried back in Saunemin, under his male name and military rank. Although Cashier has been characterized as a woman who went to war—and the name on his gravestone subsequently changed by well-intentioned feminist historians—his persistent presentation as a man both before and after his military service suggests that it would be more accurate to characterize Cashier as a transgender man. The persistence of his masculine presentation, his quiet insistence on it as a daily reality, is precisely what enabled the government to accuse him of fraud, of being someone other than he claimed to be.17

At a time when transgender people are only now being allowed to serve openly in the US military, stories of long-gone transgender veterans like Cashier illustrate the ever-shifting historical dimensions of transgender experience, and show that not every change counts as “progress.”18 His story illustrates as well the ongoing importance for transgender history of such built environments as cemeteries, care facilities, mental hospitals, and prisons, which are often sex-segregated, or sex-specific. These physical institutions where practices of nonconsensual gender-ascription play themselves out can survive for decades or even centuries. The presence of hard-to-classify transgender people in them poses a challenge to the spatial organization of such places, and to the cultural assumptions that undergird them. The troubling of gender norms can leave traces in the historical record that can be recovered long afterward. As early as

1799, for example, a person named Samuel (a.k.a. Sarah) Johnson was discovered to be a female “who had accustomed herself to wear men’s cloaths for several years” after being arrested for housebreaking in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania and sentenced to three years in Philadelphia’s Walnut Street Prison—the first modern penitentiary. Johnson was incarcerated with women, but was allowed to continue dressing as a man. His presence there helps historians today better understand how gender was conceptualized more than two centuries ago.

The life of Joseph Lobdell, christened Lucy Ann at birth, ended in 1912, at age eighty-three, in the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York. Born in 1829 on the outskirts of Albany, New York and raised around Long Eddy in the Delaware River Valley, Lobdell rebelled against feminine expectations from an early age. Lobdell won fame as an excellent hunter and marksman, and published an autobiography that doubled as an impassioned feminist denunciation of inequality between the sexes. He changed name and gender presentation in his mid-twenties, lived in various locations on the western fringes of white settlement in Minnesota and Western New York, and entered into a decades-long cohabiting relationship with Marie Louise Perry. Prone to fits of mania by middle age, Lobdell’s siblings had him declared legally insane, told his common-law partner that he had died, and locked him away for the rest of his long life under his former name and gender. A psychiatrist’s report on Lobdell’s case, which emphasizes his physical sex rather than his gender identity, is among the earliest uses in the US medical literature of the term lesbian, and exemplifies a growing forensic interest in gender variance.

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19 Jen Manion, Liberty’s Prisoners: Carceral Culture in Early America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 164; Johnson’s case is noted in the Walnut Street Prison Sentence Docket Book on December 4, 1799. The Walnut Street Prison was located on a lot on Walnut Street, bounded by Locust and Sixth Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The prison was razed following its closure in 1835.

20 The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane, Ovid, New York was added to the NRHP on June 7, 1975.


Lobdell's story represents two important trends in nineteenth-century US transgender history: the development of new medical and scientific ideas that increasingly reframed transgender behavior as illness (discussed immediately below), and a relationship between gender nonnormativity and westward migration (discussed further below). During the late nineteenth century, the fledgling life sciences vastly expanded knowledge about basic biological processes, and medicine began to gain unprecedented social power. Some transgender people found ways of working within this emerging biomedical nexus, such as the early radiologist Alan Lucill Hart, a Stanford-educated doctor who began life with the name Alberta Lucille Hart. Hart used the eugenic argument that “inverts” such as himself should not be allowed to reproduce, and thereby was given a hysterectomy, making him the first known person in the United States to request a surgical procedure for the purpose of expressing his gender identity.23

Typically, this new medicolegal configuration of power and knowledge was harnessed to the task of shoring up legal distinctions between people in order to maintain hierarchies between races and sexes. It enabled arguments that blacks were biologically inferior to whites, and women inferior to men.24 People with transgender feelings increasingly became targets of medical intervention precisely because they represented problems of biopsychosocial classification, as well as opportunities for


demonstrating the power of medicolegal and social-scientific knowledge. Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore played a central role in the development of these new conceptual frameworks starting in the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, its Brady Urological Clinic, under the direction of Hugh Hampton Young, became closely linked to the development of genital reconstructive surgeries, and it played a pioneering role in the development of endocrinology. Working there in the 1950s, Lawson Wilkins and his student John Money developed the modern treatment protocols for medically managing intersex conditions. In later decades, as an extension of Money’s earlier work on intersex, Johns Hopkins became home to the first surgical sex-reassignment clinic in the United States, in 1966.

As discussed above, transgender expression significantly predates its medicalization, and as Lobdell’s case makes clear, people who expressed their gender differently sometimes wound up on the margins of settler culture, both socially and geographically. Peter Boag has noted, in his history of gender variance in areas opened to settlement in North America from the 1850s forward, that “cross-dressers were not simply ubiquitous, but were very much part of daily life on the frontier and in the West.” The relative anonymity and transience to be found in mining camps, lumber towns, and new “instant cities” such as Denver and San Francisco proved fertile ground for people whose gender identity or expression made geographical movement seem necessary or desirable. Gender ambiguity was so prevalent that one of the most popular souvenirs of the early California Gold Rush was a daguerreotype purporting to be of a “girl

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25 On the development of genital surgeries at Hopkins, see Hugh Hampton Young, *Genital Abnormalities, Hermaphroditism, and Related Adrenal Diseases* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1937); on the development of endocrinology as a field, see Chandak Sengoopta, *The Most Secret Quintessence of Life: Sex, Glands, and Hormones, 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). The Johns Hopkins Hospital Complex, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Maryland was added to the NRHP on February 24, 1975.


27 Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America’s Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), is an invaluable source for directing researchers to western US newspaper accounts, 1850s-1920s, documenting the lives of scores of individuals who were publicly discovered to be presenting as one gender while having the anatomy usually associated with the other.
“Girl Miner” dressed in male attire; that the androgynous figure later turned out to be a long-haired young man named John Colton only highlights the extent to which gender ambiguity was a common feature in the settlement of the West (Figure 3). Moreover, the post-Civil War years witnessed a marked upsurge in cross-dressing within many forms of popular entertainment, with historians of the theater noting that cross-dressing stage performances were first popularized by the so-called “wench roles” in blackface minstrelsy. Cross-dressing, particularly female-to-male cross-dressing, was also quite common in early cinema. Until the 1920s, theatrical and cinematic cross-dressing was typically considered “respectable” entertainment, and was not associated with social perceptions of “deviance.” Consequently, the spectacle of cross-dressed bodies was a familiar sight on stage and screen, in theaters, vaudeville houses, and cinemas throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Gender variance played a different role in the movements of communities of color into the United States than it did for whites. Asian

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immigrants to the West Coast faced social conditions that cast them all as gender variant vis-à-vis white gender norms.\footnote{See Sueyoshi (this volume).} The skewed sex ratios among Chinese immigrants—the female percentage of the total Chinese population in the United States ranged between three and seven percent in the second half of the nineteenth century—skewed white perceptions of Chinese gender roles and sexuality.\footnote{Sucheng Chan, \textit{This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).} White settlers in the West repeatedly commented on their inability to distinguish Chinese men and women, and disparagingly feminized Chinese men for wearing their hair in long queues, and performing labor such as laundering that was considered “women’s work” when done by whites.\footnote{Sears, \textit{Arresting Dress}, 34-35, 83-84, 113-114, and passim.} The celebrated Western writer Ambrose Bierce drew on these sociological conditions in his first published short story, “The Haunted Valley,” which appeared in \textit{Overland} magazine in 1871. Bierce described an interracial love triangle transpiring in a mining camp between two white men and a Chinese person named Ah Wee, who is initially understood to be a man (thus imparting homoerotic overtones to the story), but is later revealed to be a woman who works as a man.\footnote{See “Civilizing Violence: ‘The Haunted Valley,’” Ambrose Bierce Project, Pennsylvania State University website, \url{http://www.ambrosebierce.org/journal2lee-keller.html}.}

Scholars of slavery have noted that enslavement involved a stripping away of many elements of gender—not just of the cultural dimensions of what it meant to be a man or a woman in particular African societies, but a brute reduction of enslaved people to unsexed laboring bodies.\footnote{Hortense Spillers, “Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe: An American Grammar Book,” \textit{Diacritics} 17, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 64-81.} Females escaping slavery sometimes disguised themselves as men or boys to evade capture, as was the case with Ann Maria Weems, who posed as a male carriage driver on her flight north from Maryland to Canada in 1855.\footnote{See “Ann Maria Weems,” National Park Service website, \url{https://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/vignette_details.htm?ID=4073143}.} Blacks often had to assert their belonging in gender categories in
ways that whites took for granted, as Sojourner Truth’s famous “Ain’t I a Woman?” speech to her white abolitionist sisters makes clear.36

The life of Johanna or John O., which is known only through the account in Magnus Hirschfeld’s 1913 casebook *The Transvestites*, exemplifies the relationship between gender variance and white settler migration. Assigned male at birth in the Tyrolean Alps in 1862, Johanna had grown up feeling girl-identified. When it became evident that her family would not support her plans to live as a woman, she did so anyway—running away as a teenager to Switzerland, and later France, before immigrating to the United States in 1882. Often it was the discovery of her biological sex, or on-the-job sexual harassment that compelled Johanna to move and to change jobs. She worked as an embroiderer in a Jersey City clothing factory, as a milkmaid on a dairy farm in upstate New York, and as a camp cook on a cattle trail in Montana. In 1885, she settled in San Francisco, where she supported herself as an itinerant bookseller and kept house for a group of sex-workers in the city’s red-light district. Increasingly, her life became confined to those social spaces reserved for activities deemed deviant and illicit that are so often erased from history, memory, and from the physical fabric of our living places. As she aged, Johanna felt it became more difficult to be seen as a woman by others than when she was young and considered herself pretty. Fearing arrest, she reverted to dressing as a man in public, while continuing to dress as she pleased at home, without ever changing her persistent feelings of being a woman.37

Johanna’s fear of arrest was not unfounded. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a wave of anti-cross-dressing legislation swept the United States, including San Francisco, along with dozens of other urban, suburban, and small-town municipalities.38 Typically, these laws forbid

36 See “Sojourner Truth,” National Park Service website, https://www.nps.gov/wori/learn/historyculture/sojourner-truth.htm. Sojourner Truth gave her “Ain’t I a Woman” speech at the 1851 Women’s Rights Convention held at the Old Stone Church, corner of North High and Perkins Streets, Akron, Ohio. See also Harris (this volume).
38 See also Stein (this volume).
anyone to appear in public “in a dress not belonging to his or her sex.” They had the effect of regulating how the expression of gender variance was geographically spatialized. On the one hand this created the public appearance of greater gender normativity than was actually the case. On the other, this largely confined nonnormative gender expression to the private sphere, or to urban red-light districts set aside (either tacitly or overtly) for various sorts of criminalized activities such as gambling, prostitution, or consuming drugs and alcohol. Given the high degree of employment and housing discrimination faced by people who expressed their gender in nonnormative ways, urban districts that functioned for most people as destinations for late-night vice-tourism functioned for many transgender people as residential ghettos. Most late nineteenth and early-to-mid-twentieth century US cities harbored such districts, with some of the more well-known being the Tenderloin neighborhoods of New York City and San Francisco, New Orleans’ Storyville and French Quarter, Seattle’s Pioneer Square, Philadelphia’s Northern Liberties, Boston’s Combat Zone, and the neighborhoods in Los Angeles’s historic downtown core around Pershing Square, Bunker Hill, and the old Main Street Theater District.

A number of building types in such red-light and nightlife districts are historically associated with transgender and gender-variant people, including bars, brothels, theaters, dance halls, nightclubs, and single room occupancy (SRO) hotels. Many SRO hotels in red-light districts catered

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primarily to transgender clientele, such as the El Rosa and Hyland Hotels in San Francisco (Figure 4). Lucy Hicks Anderson, an African American transgender woman from Oxnard, California, was a Prohibition-era bootlegger who ran a boarding house and brothel on the city’s waterfront. Many clubs—such as the Garden of Allah in the basement of the Arlington Hotel in Seattle’s Pioneer Square, the Club My-O-My in New Orleans, or Finocchio’s in San Francisco’s North Beach neighborhood—developed long-standing reputations for hosting “drag” entertainment.

Figure 4: Sign for the El Rosa Hotel, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jeremy Brooks, 2009.42

42 License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/jeremybrooks/3384379905
43 The El Rosa Hotel was located at 166 Turk Street, San Francisco, California, and the Hyland Hotel at 101 Taylor Street, above the Compton’s Cafeteria site.
Drag, distinct from the forms of gender impersonation that enjoyed mainstream acceptance, connoted cross-dressing with a campy or ironic homosexual aesthetic. Urban homosexual *demimonde* clubs featuring risqué forms of drag certainly existed in New York City by the late nineteenth century, and historian George Chauncey suggests that “threads of continuity” might, with care, be traced between such venues and the “molly houses” of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century London. This gay subculture, in which cross-dressing slyly signified homosexual desire through the transposition of gender signifiers, first came to greater public attention during the so-called “Pansy Craze” of the 1920s, through the scandalous publicity given to lesbian masculinity in Mae West’s notorious play *The Captive*, and through the popularization of psychological and sexological theories of sexual inversion.46 In subsequent decades, theatrical cross-gender dressing would become associated primarily with homosexual and transgender subcultures and subcultural venues.

In *Autobiography of an Androgyne* (1919), Ralph Werther, who also used the names Jenny June and Earl Lind, described one such “resort for sex perverts,” colloquially known as Paresis Hall, on Fourth Avenue a few blocks south of 14th Street in New York City, that exemplifies an entire genre of such establishments (Figure 5).47 According to Werther, “In front was a modest bar-room; behind, a small beer-garden. The two floors began as the Wonder Bar just after the end of Prohibition. In 1936, the owner asked for an injunction against police raids on the club, which featured female impersonators. Refused an injunction on the grounds that the club was a menace to morals, the owner moved the bar (renamed the Wonder Club) to pilings extending into Lake Pontchartrain on the Jefferson-Orleans parish line. The goal was to get as far away from the police as possible. In the late 1940s, Club My-O-My took over the business. Rebuilt after a fire in 1948, the club was destroyed by fire in 1972. See John Kelly, “1972: Fire destroys Club My-O-My on Lakefront,” *Times-Picayune*, September 5, 2010, [http://www.nola.com/living/index.ssf/2010/09/1972_fire_destroys_club_my-o-m.html](http://www.nola.com/living/index.ssf/2010/09/1972_fire_destroys_club_my-o-m.html); see also “Club My-O-My: New Orleans Vintage Drag,” YouTube video, posted by NewOrleans Historical, September 13, 2012, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2U_jvJLROdw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2U_jvJLROdw).


47 Paresis Hall, more formally known as Columbia Hall, was located at 32 Cooper Square (a continuation of Fourth Avenue), New York City, New York.
above were divided into small rooms for rent,” and drag performances were frequently staged in the evenings. In 1895, Werther was invited by other patrons of the Hall to join “a little club” called the Cercle Hermaphroditos, which rented one of the upstairs rooms. It admitted “only extreme types—such as like to doll themselves up in feminine finery,” and its purpose was “to unite for defense against the world's bitter persecution.” The Cercle Hermaphroditos is the first known quasi-formal association of transgender people. Its rationale for existing seems to have drawn not just on a desire for sociability, but also on nascent notions of social justice for gender variant people. The formation of the club at Paresis Hall attests to the importance of such subcultural spaces for members of marginalized communities, where the cultivation of social bonds can plant seeds that may ripen into political activism and social movements.

The second known quasi-political association of transgender people was the short-lived American Society for Equality in Dress, which began

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Susan Stryker

publishing the journal Transvestia in 1952.\textsuperscript{50} It took root across the continent and a world away from the seedy urban environs of Werther’s Paresis Hall, amidst the decentralized, semi-suburban sprawl of Los Angeles. Both the society and journal were spearheaded by Virginia Prince, neé Arnold Lowman, one of the most influential and divisive figures in mid-twentieth-century transgender history. Prince, a secret cross-dresser since childhood who gradually started coming out to others in her late thirties, eventually lived full time as a woman but remained adamantly opposed to genital surgery, and helped draw still-current distinctions between transsexuals, heterosexual transvestites, and homosexuals. She went on to found the first long-lasting organizations for cross-dressers, notably Full Personality Expression (1962), which later became the Society for the Second Self (Tri-Ess).\textsuperscript{51}

Prince was born in Los Angeles in 1912 and raised on the 100 block of South Hobart Avenue, in a fashionable upper-middle-class neighborhood near Beverly and Western Avenues, until age eight, at which time the family relocated to the 800 block of Victoria Avenue in the even more fashionable Hancock Park neighborhood. Her father was a prominent orthopedic surgeon, and her mother a successful businesswoman with a penchant for real estate. Prince herself went on to earn a PhD in Pharmacology from the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) by 1939, specializing in the development of new medicines. She later worked for several different pharmaceutical companies, which helped support her unpaid transgender activism in later decades.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50} Transvestia published only two issues in 1952, at which time the American Society for Equality in Dress seems to have folded; after a hiatus, publisher Virginia Prince’s Chevalier Publications began issuing the journal again, 1960-1979, from a post office box in Tulare, California.


\textsuperscript{52} Docter, From Man to Woman, 19, 26.
The UCSF campus on Parnassus Heights, particularly the Langley Porter Psychiatric Clinic located there, is an important site in the history of transgender medicalization and community formation. It was there, on a post-doctoral fellowship in the early 1940s, that Prince met Louise Lawrence, a San Francisco resident who, like her, was a life-long cross-dresser born in 1912. Lawrence had started corresponding with other transvestites whom she contacted through personal ads in various magazines as early as 1937, and her contact list of more than fifty individuals became the first subscription list for Prince’s Transvestia magazine. Unlike the still-closeted Prince, however, Lawrence had started living full time as a woman by 1942, and spoke regularly at Langley Porter to help educate medical professionals about people like herself. Her longtime residence would become an informal way station for transsexual women seeking medical services for gender-transition in the 1950s and 1960s. The clinic was directed by Dr. Karl Bowman, a former president of the American Medical Association who had written extensively on homosexuals as well as individuals we would now call transgender or

53 Langley Porter Psychiatric Hospital and Clinics are located at 401 Parnassus Avenue, San Francisco, California.
54 “Journal,” Louise Lawrence Collection, Series II D Folder 2, Archives of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Bloomington, Indiana.
55 Lawrence lived at 11 Buena Vista Terrace, San Francisco, California (now demolished).
transsexual. Through UCSF, people like Prince and Lawrence came in contact with sexuality researchers such as Alfred Kinsey (who ran the famous Institute that bore his name at the University of Indiana in Bloomington) and Harry Benjamin (a German American doctor with private practices in New York and San Francisco), who in turn began to study, treat, and write about people in Prince’s and Lawrence’s networks (Figure 6).

Transgender topics burst into spectacular mass media visibility in 1952 through the unprecedented coverage given to Christine Jorgensen, the first truly global transgender celebrity. Jorgensen, of Danish-American heritage, had been born in 1926 to working-class parents in the Bronx. She had had transgender feelings since early childhood, and by the late 1940s had educated herself about the possibilities for using hormones and surgery to change her body. The body-shaping effects of the so-called “sex hormones” had been discovered only in the 1910s, synthesized only in the 1920s, and widely commercially available only in the 1930s and 1940s. Genital plastic surgeries had actually been practiced in the United States since the 1840s, but these procedures were carried out on people born with anomalous genitals, and were not available to people with apparently normal genitals who wished them to resemble the genitals usually associated with another social gender. The concept of “transsexualism” (though not the term itself), began to take shape in

56 Virginia “Charles” Prince, *The Transvestite and His Wife* (Tulare, CA: Chevalier Publications, 1967), 5; Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 181-186. Harry Benjamin’s New York Offices were located at 728 Park Avenue; his San Francisco offices were at the Medical-Dental Building, 450 Sutter Street, but he also sometimes saw patients at his suite at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel (450 Powell Street, San Francisco, California), where he made his residence during his annual summer practice. In New York City, Dr. Benjamin lived in the Flatiron District. The 450 Sutter Street building was listed on the NRHP on December 22, 2009.


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Europe as early as 1906—that is, that by medically operating on individuals to transform their bodies through surgery, and later hormones, such individuals could be granted a new legal and social identity that matched their innate sense of self. Such practices were well established at Magnus Hirschfeld’s Institute for Sexual Science by the early 1930s, but these ideas did not take root in the United States until after World War II—largely in response to the Jorgensen story. Although Christine Jorgensen was by no means the first transsexual, she became the person who popularized the concept for mass audiences after she set sail for her ancestral Scandinavia, and news of her surgical and hormonal transformation there leaked to the press.

Jorgensen did not imagine that media coverage of her genital conversion surgeries in Copenhagen would make headlines around the world, but it did. Through her the idea of medical “sex-change” became part of common knowledge for anyone old enough to read a newspaper in the 1950s. Jorgensen, who had aspired to be a photographer and filmmaker before becoming a celebrity, capitalized on her newfound fame by developing a successful night club act and traveling the globe, staying in the media spotlight for more than a decade and earning a comfortable living. She bought a retirement home for her parents, with whom she continued to live until their deaths, in Massapequa, Long Island, New York; she later lived at various locations in Southern California, including the Chateau Marmont Hotel in Los Angeles, the home of friends in Riverside, and various apartments in Hollywood; for many years she owned a home in Laguna Niguel.

59 On the development of a “transsexual discourse,” see Meyerowitz, How Sex Changed, 16-28; and Reis, Bodies in Doubt, 45-54. For the earliest known case of a person requesting medical transformation to support a change in legal and social gender, see the case of Karl (né Martha) Baer, director of the Berlin B’nai B’rith in Berlin until his emigration from Germany in 1938; Baer wrote a somewhat fictionalized autobiography under a pseudonym which has recently become available in English translation with a scholarly preface: Sander L. Gilman, preface, and Hermann Simon, afterword to Memoirs of a Man’s Maiden Years by N. O. Body, trans. Deborah Simon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

60 Jorgensen’s father also built the family’s home in the 100 block of Pennsylvania Avenue, at the corner of Ocean Avenue, in Massapequa, New York. The Chateau Marmont Hotel is located at 8221 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.
The world in which Jorgensen achieved her fame was changing rapidly with regard to transgender issues. For many white people, the 1950s scene was still characterized by places like Casa Susanna, a secretive resort in New York’s Catskill Mountains for closeted heterosexual cross-dressers in the mold of Virginia Prince.\(^{61}\) Other transsexual women, many of them women of color, began to live much more publicly in (and as) what Africana and gender studies scholar C. Riley Snorton has punitively called “Jorgensen’s shadows.”\(^{62}\) These women made tabloid headlines of their own, including Delisa Newton, an African American Chicago cabaret singer, and belly dancer Bessie Mukaw, who billed herself as “the first Eskimo sex-change.”\(^{63}\) Of all those who followed in Jorgensen’s wake, only Charlotte McLeod, another white transsexual woman who came to public attention within months of Jorgensen’s sudden celebrity, initially came close to matching her level of fame, but McLeod’s star faded with brutal quickness.\(^{64}\) Jorgensen’s success also brought attention to a longstanding transgender presence in vernacular entertainment venues such as carnival sideshows, circuses, and strip clubs, as well as in traveling song-


\(^{63}\) On Newton and Mukaw, see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 86.

\(^{64}\) After her moment in the media spotlight, McLeod married, adopted her husband’s two children, and retreated from public life. A native of Dyersburg, Tennessee, she returned home to care for her aging and infirm mother in the mid-1960s, and remained to run a convalescent home until her own retirement. She died in 2007. As the child of a prominent local family, a headstone bearing her given name, Charles, had been erected in the family plot in Fairview Cemetery, at the time of her birth. McLeod took great satisfaction, after all her older relatives had died, in purchasing a plot in the same cemetery under her chosen name, and leaving the grave set aside for “Charles” permanently empty. See oral history interview by the author with Aleshia Brevard Crenshaw, GLBT Historical Society, OHC Number 97-040, recorded August 2, 1997. The author visited McLeod in May 2002, and was shown both grave sites.
and-dance revues. Comic entertainer Rae (or Ray) Bourbon moved for decades in such milieus. A person of apparently mixed Anglo-Latino heritage from south Texas, sometimes claiming Rámon Ícarez as a birth name, Bourbon had a fascinating career in cross-dressed silent film acting, vaudeville, and nightclub performance that spanned the Pansy Craze of the 1920s, as well as the post-Jorgensen fascination with transgender representation in the 1950s. Bourbon claimed (probably spuriously) to have had genital conversion surgery, and humorously recounted these supposed experiences on comedy albums such as Let Me Tell You About My Operation.

Urban inner-city neighborhoods that had long provided homes for more marginalized, racially and ethnically mixed transgender communities began showing signs of social unrest by the later 1950s. In 1959, patrons at Cooper Do-Nut, a late-night hangout in downtown Los Angeles popular with street queens, gays, and hustlers, resisted arrest en masse when police made a “street sweep” to round up people accused of loitering, vagrancy, or public lewdness. In Philadelphia in 1964, patrons of Dewey’s lunch counter conducted a successful informational picket and sit-in protest, resulting in three arrests that challenged the management’s...
discrimination against “youth in unconventional attire.”

And in 1966, patrons at Compton’s Cafeteria, in San Francisco’s Tenderloin, rioted against a police raid aimed at arresting the transgender women and street queens who frequented that establishment (Figure 7). They smashed windows, demolished a police car, set the corner newsstand on fire, and fought with police up and down the surrounding streets.

The disturbance there preceded by three years the much larger and better-known resistance to police oppression of gay and transgender people that took place at New York’s Stonewall Inn in 1969.

In the aftermath of the Compton’s riot, San Francisco’s Tenderloin became a national hub for early transgender activism and social services. Its many SRO hotels were home to hundreds of transgender people. Glide Memorial Methodist Church, a neighborhood institution, hosted the first

Figure 7: Amanda St. Jaymes, then known as Mandy Taylor (in the center, with the up-do) and other transgender women standing outside Compton’s Cafeteria, San Francisco, California, circa 1965. Screen grab from Silverman and Stryker, Screaming Queens. The original, a personal possession of Amanda St. Jaymes and filmed with permission of the owner for the film, is no longer extant (lost/destroyed at the time of Amanda’s death).

68 Marc Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245-246. There was more than one Dewey’s location; the sit-in and arrests took place at the location near Seventeenth Street and Locust.

69 There were several Compton’s locations; the riot took place at the Compton’s Cafeteria located at 101 Taylor Street, at the corner of Turk and Taylor. See Raymond Broshears, “History of Christopher Street West—San Francisco,” Gay Pride Quarterly 1 (San Francisco, 1972), n.p. for the best firsthand account; for fuller contextualization see Susan Stryker, Transgender History (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 63-75; and Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005), a documentary film that includes first-person interviews.

70 Stonewall, the site of the Stonewall Riots at 51-53 Christopher Street and the surrounding streets and Christopher Park, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999, designated an NHL on February 16, 2000, and designated the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.
gay and transgender street youth organization, Vanguard, starting in 1966, as well as the first transsexual support group, Conversion Our Goal, starting in 1967 (Figure 8). The Tenderloin is adjacent to the Polk Street neighborhood, where a unit of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, called the Center for Special Problems, offered some of the nation’s first social services for transgender people, as well as to fashionable Union Square, where Harry Benjamin sometimes saw transsexual patients in the suite of rooms at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel where he lived during his annual summer visits. The Tenderloin was also home to the National Transsexual Counseling Unit (NTCU), one of many efforts funded by the wealthy female-to-male transsexual Reed Erickson. The Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF), based in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, provided crucial support not only for the NTCU, but for publication of The Transsexual Phenomenon, Harry Benjamin’s paradigm-defining book on medical treatment protocols for transgender people. The EEF also supported the first wave of clinical “sex-change” programs at Johns Hopkins, Stanford, UCLA, University of Minnesota, and elsewhere.

71 Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009.
72 The Center for Special Problems was located at 1700 Jackson Street; the NTCU was in the 200 block of Turk Street; the Sir Francis Drake Hotel is at 450 Powell Street, all in San Francisco, California.
73 The Erickson Education Foundation office in Baton Rouge was located in what is now a private residence on Moreland Drive. Locations of early “sex change” programs include: Johns Hopkins University, Hopkins Hospital, 1800 Orleans Street, Baltimore, Maryland (from 1965 to 1979); Stanford University, Stanford Medical Center Gender Identity Clinic, 300 Pasteur Drive, Stanford, California (from 1968 to 1980, when the Clinic became a non-profit foundation not associated with the University); Northwestern University, Feinberg School of Medicine, 303 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; University of Texas Galveston, UT Galveston Medical Branch, 301 University Boulevard, Galveston, Texas (1966-1980); University of Michigan, Transgender Services, 2025 Traverwood Drive, Ann Arbor, Michigan; University of Minnesota Hospital, 505 East Harvard Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Oregon Health and Science University Hospital, 3181 SW Sam Jackson Park Road, Portland, Oregon; Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, 2109 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, Ohio; and Integris Baptist Medical Center, Gender Identity Foundation, 3300 NW Expressway, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (1973 to 1977). Rachel Witkin, “Hopkins Hospital: A History of Sex Reassignment,” The Johns Hopkins News-Letter, May 1, 2014, http://www.jhunewsletter.com/2014/05/01/hopkins-hospital-a-history-of-sex-reassignment-76004/; Dawn Levy, “Transsexuals Talk About Stanford’s Role in their Complex Lives,” Stanford News Service website, May 2, 2000, http://news.stanford.edu/pr/00/sexchange53.html; Brandon Wolf, “Galveston’s Invisible LGBT History,” Out Smart Magazine, July 1, 2016, http://www.outsmartmagazine.com/2016/07/galvestons-invisible-lgbt-history/; Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 259; Meyerowitz, How Sex Changed. Johns Hopkins Hospital Complex was added to the NRHP on February 24, 1975. The Ashbel Smith Building, part of the UT Galveston Medical Branch, was added to the NRHP on October 28, 1969.
The pace of transgender social change activism quickened in the later 1960s. In Los Angeles, Sir Lady Java, an African American trans-feminine performer at the Redd Foxx nightclub, helped overturn police rules that criminalized cross-dressing, and Angela Douglas founded TAO, the Transexual Activist Organization. In New York City, the support groups Transsexuals and Transvestites (TAT) and Labyrinth, the first group dedicated to transsexual men, formed along with STAR, the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries. STAR House, founded by Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, provided free shelter, food, and peer support for marginalized transgender street youth of color (Figure 9). Another New York group, the Queens Liberation Front, published Drag magazine, which reported on political happenings all across the country. In Philadelphia, the Radical Queens collective worked to integrate transgender concerns into multi-issue social change activism, often in collaboration with the radical lesbian collective DYKETACTICS. Fantasia Fair, an annual gathering on Cape Cod that catered to the sort of people who once would have attended Casa Susanna, began in 1975, and is now the longest-running

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74 License: CC BY 2.0. [https://www.flickr.com/photos/ajturner/2380763433](https://www.flickr.com/photos/ajturner/2380763433)
75 Redd Foxx’s nightclub, often referred to simply as “Redd’s,” was located on La Cienega Boulevard, opening in 1959. Joe X. Price, Redd Foxx, B.S. (Before Sanford) (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1979), 1. For numerous locations for the peripatetic Angela Douglas, who was living in a trailer in Sneads, Florida at the time of her death, see her self-published 1982 autobiography, Triple Jeopardy; a copy is held at the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, California.
76 STAR House was located at 640 East 12th Street, Apartment C, New York City, New York (now demolished).
77 The Queens Liberation Front, founded in 1969, was closely associated with Lee Brewster; it, and Drag Magazine, were largely run out of Lee’s Mardi Gras Boutique, a transgender emporium located in the Meatpacking District at 400 West 14th Street, New York City, New York. The Meatpacking District, as the Gansevoort Market Historic District, was added to the NRHP on May 30, 2007.
transgender event in the world.\textsuperscript{78} It was organized by Ari Kane and Betty Lind, both of Boston’s Cherrystone Club, a transgender social club.

By the end of the 1970s however, many of the advances of recent years had been undone. Setbacks included federal cutbacks to social service funding as well as new ideas in gay and feminist communities that began to characterize transgender people as less liberated than themselves, or even as dangerous or mentally ill people trying to infiltrate progressive movements. The 1980s were an especially difficult decade for transgender people, who were largely excluded from other social justice activism, even as they faced new levels of pathologization. In 1980, “Gender Identity Disorder” appeared for the first time in the DSM-IV, the fourth revised version of the \textit{Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders}, published by the American Psychiatric Association. That same year a new organization was formed for medical and psychotherapeutic service providers who worked with transgender populations, the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (later renamed the \textit{World Professional Association for Transgender Health}). Perversely, this official pathologization did not make medical treatment more accessible for transgender people who needed it. Health insurance providers classified sex-reassignment procedures as “experimental” or “cosmetic”

\textsuperscript{78} Fantasia Fair is held in multiple locations in Provincetown, Massachusetts, usually during the third week in October. The Provincetown Historic District was listed on the NRHP on August 30, 1989.
\textsuperscript{79} License: Public Domain. \url{https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SylviaRiveraWay.jpg}
and thus ineligible for coverage. Most counseling for transgender people seeking medical services was provided from within the community itself, notably the organization J2PC, named for its founders Jude Patton and Joanna Clark (now Sister Mary Elizabeth), in San Juan Capistrano, California.

One of the most significant developments of the 1980s was the formation of a national network of female-to-male transsexuals, primarily through the efforts of Louis G. Sullivan. Born and raised in the Milwaukee suburb of Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, Sullivan had transgender feelings from a very early age, which confused him because he was also attracted to men. Sullivan eventually realized that he was a gay transsexual man—that is, attracted to men as a man, in spite of starting life with a female anatomy. He not only helped medical professionals understand that people like him existed, but worked to educate and bring together all sorts of masculine-identified female-bodied people through publications such as Information for the Female-to-Male Cross-Dresser and Transsexual and The FTM Newsletter. Sullivan, who moved to San Francisco in the later 1970s, was sexually active there in the gay men’s community at a time when HIV was already circulating but before the AIDS epidemic had become visible. Like many other gay men of his generation, Sullivan became infected, and eventually died of HIV-related illnesses in 1991.80

The AIDS epidemic transformed transgender politics in the 1990s. Transgender women of color who shared needles for hormones and engaged in survival sex-work were among the most vulnerable to, and at risk for, infection.81 Transgender people became involved in AIDS-activist organizations such as ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) in New

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81 David Valentine, Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007) describes, in part, how the introduction of the term “transgender” itself in HIV/AIDS prevention activism remapped the relationship between particular kinds of gender variant people, new forms of public health surveillance and service provision, and the geographical territory in which gender nonconforming sex-work and black and Latino/a street socializing took place in lower Manhattan in the first half of the 1990s.
York and Queer Nation in San Francisco, and with other militant protest groups like the Lesbian Avengers. The word “transgender” itself (rather than some other term for gender variance) was popularized around this time through the publication of Leslie Feinberg’s 1992 pamphlet Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come. Groups such as Transgender Nation in San Francisco and Transexual Menace in New York brought a new style of confrontational, in-your-face activism to transgender politics that drew on queer militancy’s punk sensibility. The Women’s Building in San Francisco hosted many transgender-related events in the 1990s, including, ironically, the first-ever International FTM

Figure 10: The Women’s Building, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jeremy Weate, 2011.

82 License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/73542590@N00/6200289674
83 ACT UP and Queer Nation were both founded at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York. Lesbian Avengers also met at the center, following their founding meeting held at the home of Ana Maria Simo in New York City’s East Village neighborhood. ACT UP and Queer Nation had chapters across the country. In San Francisco, both groups met at the Women’s Building at 3543 Eighteenth Street. In New York, transgender activist Riki Wilchins was an active member of Lesbian Avengers; in San Francisco, the first activist organization to use the term “transgender” in its name, Transgender Nation, began as a special-interest focus group of Queer Nation in 1992.
84 At the time of Feinberg’s death in 2014, Feinberg, who used gender-neutral pronouns, was living with long-term partner and spouse, Minnie Bruce Pratt, in Syracuse, New York.
Susan Stryker

(Female-to-Male) Conference in 1995 (Figure 10). It was also during this time that the Tom Waddell Health Center, a branch of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, began offering “Tranny Tuesday,” the first low-cost health clinic run specifically for transgender clients. It adopted a harm-reduction rather than trans-pathologization model of health care provision, providing services that transgender people needed to live self-directed lives rather than diagnosing them with Gender Identity Disorder and medically managing their transitions.

Two flashpoints brought heightened awareness of transgender activism during these years. In 1991, organizers of the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival expelled transsexual attendee Nancy Burkholder from the lesbian-run women-only event because they did not consider transsexuals to be women. Burkholder’s expulsion inspired the creation of Camp Trans, which gathered each year across the road from the music festival to engage in dialog with attendees and help change transphobic attitudes in some quarters of the lesbian and feminist communities. In 1993, the murder of Brandon Teena, a transgender youth who lived and died in rural Nebraska, inspired vigils outside the courthouse where his killers were eventually convicted. In Houston, the country’s first openly transgender elected judge, Phyllis Randolph Frye, hosted the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy for several years beginning in

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86 The Tom Waddell Health Center, opened in 1993, was at 50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, California. On the clinic, see Transgender Tuesdays: A Clinic in the Tenderloin, directed by Mark Freeman and Nathaniel Walters-Koh (San Francisco: Healing Tales Productions, 2012). Freeman, a medical service provider, was instrumental in establishing the Tranny Tuesday clinic; note that the original name of the clinic used a slang term then considered to evoke a familiar, welcoming, insider, community-oriented sensibility, which has sense fallen into disfavor by a younger generation of transgender people; the title of Freeman’s film bows to these newer sensibilities.
87 Hart Township, Oceana County, Michigan, adjacent to privately held festival property known as “The Land.”
88 Brandon Teena’s murder inspired the Academy Award-winning film Boys Don’t Cry, directed by Kimberly Peirce (Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2000) for which Hilary Swank won best actress for playing Brandon; the house in which Brandon and others were murdered is located on the outskirts of Humboldt, Nebraska. Transsexual Menace organized vigils outside the Richardson County Courthouse in nearby Falls City, Nebraska, 1700 Stone Street, during the murder trial. The Richardson County Courthouse was listed on the NRHP on July 5, 1990. For an account of this activism, see Riki Wilchins, Read My Lips: Sexual Subversion and the End of Gender (New York: Riverdale, 2013). For more information on Brandon’s life, see J. Jack Halberstam, In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives (New York: NYU Press, 2005).
1992, which laid the foundation for a new generation of legal activism in the decades ahead.\textsuperscript{89} Houston’s Transgender Foundation of America, founded in 1998, hosted the Transgender Archive, the only publicly-oriented, walk-in, research collection in the United States dedicated to transgender history, until losing its lease in the rapidly gentrifying Montrose neighborhood in 2015.\textsuperscript{90}

By the later 1990s, several US cities had passed ordinances protecting transgender people from discrimination, which influenced where transgender people might choose to live and work. Fledgling transgender lobbying groups like GenderPAC were finally beginning to draw funding from major philanthropic foundations. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks in 2001, issues that had long concerned transgender people took on a new sense of urgency, particularly those that involved obtaining state-issued identification documents that accurately reflected a person’s current gender. Heightened levels of security and surveillance, tightened border controls, and fears of terrorism deepened existing difficulties for transgender people who could have difficulty proving to others that they really were who they said they were. Civil liberty concerns about the expansion of the national security apparatus after 9/11 led military intelligence analyst Chelsea (néé Bradley) Manning to divulge classified documents detailing US spying—the so-called “Wiki-Leaks” case—resulting in the most high-profile legal proceedings against a transgender person in

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\textsuperscript{89} The first conference was held at the Hilton Hotel, 6780 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas, on August 28, 1992. For more information, see Phyllis Randolph Frye, “History of the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy, Inc.,” Transgender Legal website, 2001, \url{http://www.transgenderlegal.com/ictlephis1.htm}.

\textsuperscript{90} The Transgender Foundation of America, including the Transgender Archive, has occupied several locations in Houston’s Montrose and Heights neighborhoods; most recently it was located at 604 Pacific Street, until its 2015 closure. Though not legally incorporated until 1998, the TFA it is an outgrowth of Gulf Coast Transgender Community (GCTC), which traces its roots to 1965.
US history, and in Manning’s eventual conviction and incarceration at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Figure 11).\footnote{Manning is incarcerated at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Transgender populations in the United States experience incarceration rates more than twice that of the cisgender population. Most of those incarcerated are trans women of color who are incarcerated in men’s facilities; see Eric A. Stanley and Nat Smith, eds., Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011).} The first professionally staffed transgender advocacy organizations took shape during these tense early years of the War on Terror and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, including the Transgender Law Center in San Francisco and the Sylvia Rivera Law Project in New York (both founded in 2002), the National Center for Transgender Equality in Washington, DC (founded in 2003), the TGI (Transgender, Gender-Variant, and Intersex) Justice Project in San Francisco (founded in 2004), and, Global Action for Trans* Equality (GATE) in New York in 2009.\footnote{Long located in the historic Flood Building, 870 Market Street in San Francisco, the Transgender Law Center was, like many nonprofits, priced out of the city’s real estate market by the high-tech boom. It is currently located at 1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California. The Sylvia Rivera Law Project is located at 147 West 24th Street, New York City, New York, in the Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice, which also houses four other LGBTQ social justice organizations; the National Center for Transgender Equality is located at 1400 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC; TGI Justice is located at 1372 Mission Street, San Francisco; GATE, a virtual international organization, operates online, with no physical office space.}

In 2007, openly gay Democratic Congressman Barney Frank landed on the wrong side of history when he cut transgender protections from the federal Employment Non-Discrimination Act in an ultimately futile attempt...
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to enact that landmark piece of legislation. That was the last time, as of this writing, that transgender issues were sacrificed to a larger gay and lesbian liberal agenda. Under the Obama administration, the transgender movement is becoming thoroughly mainstreamed, and has made advances unthinkable only a few short years ago. Particularly since the Supreme Court ruled conclusively on the constitutionality of same-sex marriage in 2015, transgender issues have come to be considered a cutting edge of the civil rights agenda, and seem unlikely to retreat in the foreseeable future. These gains remain unevenly distributed, with transgender women of color still facing extreme levels of violence, poverty, and incarceration not usually experienced by their white counterparts.

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, transgender people and topics have become ubiquitous in the mass media as well as on social media. The appearance of transgender actress Laverne Cox on the cover of Time magazine in 2014, and the wall-to-wall tabloid and reality-television coverage of Caitlyn Jenner in 2015, were breakthrough moments comparable in scale to Christine Jorgensen’s celebrity in the 1950s. The critically acclaimed show Orange Is the New Black features positive representation of transgender people, while Transparent employs numerous transgender people as writers, directors, producers, crew members, and on-camera talent. Sense8, directed by the transgender siblings Lana and Lilly Wachowski, achieves an unprecedented level of creative control for a big-budget project that expresses transgender sensibilities, but it is only one of many recent media productions that allow for greater transgender self-representation; other notable works include Tangerine, about two trans women in Los Angeles, and Drunktown’s Finest, the debut feature of Sydney Freeland, the first Native American transgender film director to gain a mainstream movie distribution deal. Perhaps even more significant than transgender representation in commercial media is the explosion of transgender content in user-generated social media, much of it produced and circulated by transgender youth such as Leelah Alcorn, a transgender teen who committed suicide in 2014 after posting her suicide note on Tumblr. Such
nonprofessional media production can play an important role in providing
emotional support and creative outlets, as well as “how to” information for
individuals seeking gender transition.

Although the most conservative estimates of transgender adults in the
United States place their numbers around one and a half million people,
those same techniques now place the number of transgender-identified
youth somewhere between four and ten million.94 Clearly, we are in the
midst of a sea change in how our culture understands gender, and
accepts gender variance. This unprecedented wave of change is provoking
a political backlash, particularly obvious in the wave of “bathroom bills”
that have swept the country since the defeat of the Houston Equal Rights
Public toilets, locker rooms, and other sex-segregated built environments,
particularly when they are located in public schools that receive federal
funds, have become the latest architectural sites of importance in the
transgender history of the United States. That this history is unfolding all
across the country, in the most banal and intimate structures imaginable,
attests to the truly fundamental level of change our society is undergoing.
It’s not just that the long-standing presence of transgender people in our
national life is finally becoming more visible; it’s that gender itself is
changing radically in ways we can now scarcely comprehend.

94 Andrew Flores, Jody Herman, Gary Gates, and Taylor Brown, “How Many Adults Identify as
Transgender in the United States,” Williams Institute, UCLA Law School, June 2016;
http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/How-Many-Adults-Identify-as-Transgender-
in-the-United-States.pdf. On transgender youth population estimates, see Jody Herman, Christy Mallory,
and Bianca Wilson, “Estimates of transgender populations in states with legislation impacting
transgender people,” Williams Institute, UCLA Law School, June 2016. In this report, the authors cite
other scholars who, based on a review of multiple local probability samples and national convenience
samples, found that between 1.3 and 3.2% of all youth are transgender; in other words between four
and ten million youth.
On July 1, 2015 the Respect After Death Act (California Assembly Bill 1577) took effect in California enabling transgender people to record their chosen gender on their death certificates. At least three Asian queers stood at the center of the passage of this bill. When Chinese and Polish American Christopher Lee who identified as a transgender man killed himself in 2012, the coroner listed him as female on his death certificate. Troubled by their friend’s misgendering, Chinese Mexican Chino Scott-Chung, also a transgender man, brought the death certificate to the attention of the Transgender Law Center, which initiated and lobbied for the passage of AB 1577. Three years later, Japanese American Kris Hayashi stood at the helm of the Transgender Law Center as its executive
director when the organization celebrated the passage of the bill.¹ Yet
when CBS reported on the victory, they lauded Masen Davis as the
organization’s executive director. A statement from Davis, rather than
Hayashi, evocatively defined the historic moment, “It brings us one
significant step closer to making sure that all transgender people are able
to live – and die – authentically in accordance with who they really are.”²

Notably, Asian Pacific Americans have also played central roles in what
many political scientists mark as the two most important issues in gay
politics of the twenty-first century—the repeal of
“Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” and
the fight for marriage
equality.³ Korean American
Dan Choi embodied the
movement to repeal “Don’t
Ask Don’t Tell”⁴ when he
came out on the Rachel
Maddow Show in 2009
and a year later
handcuffed himself to the
White House fence in
protest of the law that
disallowed gays and lesbians from serving openly in the military (Figure
1).⁵ Stuart Gaffney, whose mother is Chinese American, was one of

![Figure 1: Lt. Dan Choi, 2014. Photo courtesy of Dan Choi.](image)

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¹ “Remembering Christopher Lee as Respect After Death Act Takes Effect,” Transgender Law Center
Transgender Law Center is located at 1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California.

² Jan Mabry, “Respect After Death’ Act Takes Effect Giving Transgenders Right to Have Chosen
Gender on Death Certificates,” CBS San Francisco, July 1, 2015, accessed July 30, 2015,
[http://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2015/07/01/respect-after-death-act-takes-effect-giving-transgenders-right-to-have-chosen-gender-on-death-certificates](http://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2015/07/01/respect-after-death-act-takes-effect-giving-transgenders-right-to-have-chosen-gender-on-death-certificates). Masen Davis had in fact been the
previous executive director whom Hayashi succeeded.

³ Stephen M. Engel, “Development Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Politics: Fragmented Citizenship

⁴ “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” is formally known as Department of Defense Directive 1304.26. It was issued
on December 21, 1993 and was in effect from February 28, 1994 through September 20, 2011.

⁵ A West Point graduate, an Arabic linguist, and an Iraq war veteran, Choi remains dishonorably
discharged from the military even though “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” has been repealed. He handcuffed
Breathing Fire: Remembering Asian Pacific American Activism in Queer History

several plaintiffs in the 2008 lawsuit that held that California’s ban on same-sex marriage was unconstitutional. Gaffney would invoke the legal ban on interracial marriage and how it affected his own parents’ white and Asian union in advocating for marriage equality.\(^6\) Despite these and many more instances of queer Asian Pacific American (APA) activism and engagement, their existence remains largely invisible.\(^7\)

Structural operations of homophobia and racism have diminished if not erased the significance of queer APA genders and sexualities. Foundational writings in Asian American studies explicitly derided same-sex sexuality in the 1970s establishing a less than queer friendly beginning to the movement and the field.\(^8\) Whiteness in queer studies too, has stunted the growth of publications on the queer APA experience.\(^9\) In fact, the professional field of history for nearly a century perceived sexuality broadly as a private matter and not worthy of intellectual inquiry.\(^10\) In the midst of forces that deny the existence of LGBTQ Asians and Pacific Islanders in history however, queer intimacies most certainly existed in even the earliest APA communities in the United States. And, since the 1980s queer Asian Pacific Americans have become increasingly “out and proud,” engaging in activism at the intersection of race, gender,

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7 I use the term Asian Pacific Americans to signal people who are in the United States who come from or have ancestors from Asia or the Pacific Islands. Because of the history of APA migration, the queers documented here before 1965 are largely Chinese and Japanese. I include in a more abbreviated form Koreans, Filipinos, Indonesians, Vietnamese, Native Hawaiian, Okinawan, Samoan, and Indian activism mostly after 1965.
Amy Sueyoshi

and sexuality. APA queers have often occupied the leading wave of social transformation within the Asian Pacific American community.

**Early Queer APA History**

Likely, countless queers came to America during the first wave of Asian migration in the nineteenth century. Historians though have rendered their stories invisible through a heteronormative recounting of history. Chinese men languished painfully in “bachelor societies” in cities such as San Francisco and New York. The miniscule number of women immigrants existed only as prostitutes to serve these men deprived of “normal” heterosexual contact.¹¹ In nearly all of the existing literature, “queer” Chinese in America existed only as a discursive device in public health records and leisure culture that painted them as morally deviant in the 1860s and 1870s.¹² Same-sex intimacies and sex acts themselves seemed completely absent in early Asian American history.

Yet, same-affairs did exist among Asians and Pacific Islanders in America or in territories later to become part of the United States even as those engaged in these intimacies may not have had a gay, lesbian, or bisexual identity. White missionaries and imperial zealots wrote often of the prevalence of same-sex intimacies in the Pacific, as they sought refuge from the stigma of their own same-sex proclivities at home. In a letter to Walt Whitman, writer Charles Warren Stoddard who had become famous for his travel logs from the 1870s described the Pacific Islands as a sexual utopia that not even “California where men are tolerably bold” could


provide. Stoddard became disappointed when one of his young lovers from Hawai‘i named Kahele came to San Francisco for a visit and immediately began to “sow his heterosexual oats.” Days after his arrival, Kahele deserted Stoddard to move to Los Angeles with his new Mexican wife. Pacific Islander men rendered faceless by authors who merely penned them as “savages” crucially informed how white men came to understand their sexuality through widely popular travel publications on the “South Seas.” According to literary critic Lee Wallace, Pacific Islander same-sex sexualities so powerfully informed nineteenth-century western imaginings of masculinity that “male homosexuality as we have come to understood it... was constituted in no small part through the collision with Polynesian culture.”

For the unlucky ones, the criminal court system etched their illicit activities into historical record. In the 1890s, authorities in San Francisco arrested a number of Chinese men impersonating women to attract fellow countrymen for sex work. Across the bay in Oakland, Chin Ling in 1908 dressed as a “handsome Chinese maiden of the better class” in hopes of obtaining his husband. Ten years later in downtown Sacramento, California, two South Asian men, Jamil Singh and Tara Singh, separately sought out male intimacy from two men in their late teens, one white and the other Native American. So threateningly did reports of South Asian men sexually pursuing young white men loom in the American imagination that criminal courts in the 1910s and 1920s began to blame “Oriental depravity” for promoting degeneracy among America’s transient white

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14 Austen, Genteel Pagan, 92.
Alaskan canneries at which Japanese and Chinese immigrants labored also became productive sites of business for male sex workers, most often Chinese, African American, or Portuguese in the 1920s and 1930s. Sex workers divided their earnings equally with cannery foremen who occasionally “pimped” for them. These early immigrant men and their pursuit of frequently interracial same-sex affairs sheds a different light upon existing historical narratives that presume compulsory heterosexuality and little racial mixing between Asian immigrant men.

Chinese immigrants accustomed to homosocial spaces in their homeland may have actively enjoyed all-male spaces and forged meaningful same-sex relationships as they gathered for mahjong or benevolent association events as “bachelors” in America. Without the imposition of a western lens that assumes heterosociality as the ideal, men from China, steeped in a tradition of same-sex social interaction, may not have been as deprived as more insistently heteronormative histories have declared. In fact, male gold seekers during the

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1850s in the Southern Mines of California—including Chinese—created multiracial families of cooperation and consent as they forged new forms of cross-ethnic male intimacy. The influx of white women in the 1860s and its accompanying valorization of “civilized” families—code for white heterosexuality—would later fuel the formation of rigid racial hierarchies.23

In some cases, individuals did identify themselves as explicitly queer. In 1899, Kosen Takahashi, an illustrator for Shin Sekai 24 one of San Francisco’s earliest Japanese American newspapers, declared himself an “utmost queer Nipponese” to journalist Blanche Partington.25 Takahashi who had earlier shared kisses with fellow issei Yone Noguchi missed him sorely when Noguchi went tramping from San Francisco to Los Angeles (Figure 2).26 Noguchi, a poet in his own right who would later become better known as the father of acclaimed Asian American artist Isamu Noguchi, had struck up an affair with the aforementioned writer and one-time lover of Kahele, Charles Warren Stoddard.27 At the turn of the century, Noguchi would collect bouquets of wild flowers in California’s Oakland Hills and blow kisses to Stoddard’s “bungalow” on M Street in Washington, DC.28 When Noguchi heard that Stoddard took walks atop Telegraph Hill in

25 Sueyoshi, Queer Compulsions, 83.
27 Yone Noguchi was the father of Asian American artist Isamu Noguchi. He carved his name in Japanese into the wall of the Carmel Mission during his tramp to Los Angeles. Sueyoshi, Queer Compulsions, 54. The Carmel Mission, also known as Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo, is located at 3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on October 9, 1960.
San Francisco, he raced there to look for his footprints. Charles Warren Stoddard, touted as San Francisco’s first gay writer, cofounded the Bohemian Club, an elite fraternal order that former President Richard Nixon later declared in 1971 as, “the most faggy goddamned thing you could imagine with that San Francisco crowd.” At the same time that Noguchi was writing letters of love to Stoddard, he impregnated editor Léonie Gilmour and became engaged to journalist Ethel Armes who herself preferred relationships with women rather than men.

Noguchi would not be the only Asian in America hobnobbing with well-known whites in queer circles long before the 1970s. Western writer Joaquin Miller particularly favored hosting Japanese “boys” whom he referred to as “brownies” as live-in domestics in his home in California’s Oakland Hills. Miller attracted such a following that, shortly after his death in 1913, Yone Noguchi—who had since returned to Japan—sailed back to the United States and organized a group of Japanese men to pay their respects at his home. Miller, also an active member of the San Francisco Bohemian Club, frequently declared his love of men, even as he remained married to a woman.

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29 Austen, Genteel Pagan. The Bohemian Club Clubhouse was located at the northeast corner of Post Street and Grant Avenue. Bohemian Club, Certificate of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws and Rules, Officers, Committees, and Members (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1904). For Richard Nixon’s quotation see Sueyoshi, Queer Compulsions, 149.


31 Miller’s residence address is listed as “Upper Fruitvale” in the 1899 Oakland Directory. His home is located within Joaquin Miller Park at 3590 Sanborn Drive, Oakland, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962.

32 When Miller first met Noguchi he called him a “beautiful Japanese flower,” see Sueyoshi, Queer Compulsions.
In 1899, the same year Kosen Takahashi pined away over Yone Noguchi’s absence as he tramped to Los Angeles, Ah Yane gave birth to her first child, Margaret Chung, in Santa Barbara, California. By the 1920s, Chung would become a successful physician, the first American surgeon of Chinese descent (Figure 3). Chung, known for wearing mannish attire, drove a sleek blue sports car around San Francisco and led many of her contemporaries, including lesbian poet Elsa Gidlow, to speculate that she might be a lesbian. Gidlow actively courted Chung, drinking bootleg liquor at a local speakeasy of Chung’s choosing in San Francisco’s North Beach, an Italian community neighboring Chinatown. Later in the 1940s, Chung may have had an intimate relationship with actor Sophie Tucker as Chung hosted grand parties in her home for soldiers traveling through San Francisco during World War II. Chung served as “Mom Chung” to American soldiers by inviting them into her home while they were on leave in San Francisco. She also raised funds for the war and

34 Wu, Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards.
35 In 1942 Chung’s home was in the Telegraph Hill neighborhood of San Francisco; from 1943 to 1945 she is listed as living in what is now the Lone Mountain neighborhood, according to the city directory. Her medical practice was located at 752 Sacramento Street, in San Francisco’s Chinatown. See Polk’s Crocker-Langley San Francisco City Directory, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945 (San Francisco, CA: R. L. Polk and Co.).
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supported the formation of the Women’s Army Corps (WAC). In order to join the US Navy herself, Chung initiated and lobbied congressional legislation to establish the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services (WAVES). Ironically, after the establishment of WAVES, government officials would never accept Chung’s application to join due to her race as well as rumors about her lesbianism unearthed by the Naval Intelligence Service. In 1943 the Professional Women’s Club of San Francisco asked Chung to resign from their membership under suspicions around her sexuality.36

Meanwhile, more than seven hundred miles away in the Utah desert, the United States government had incarcerated issei Jiro Onuma in the Topaz War Relocation Center—not for the crime of being a homosexual, but for being an “enemy alien.”37 Authorities forcibly removed Onuma and 120,000 other Japanese Americans who had made homes along the Pacific coast to desolate camps in the nation’s interior during the 1940s. Government officials claimed that Japanese living along the West Coast posed a threat to national security as the nation embarked on a war with Japan.38 Throughout his life, Onuma had collected homoerotic kitsch. And, while Japanese Americans could only bring what they could carry into the incarceration camps, Onuma made it a point to pack the patriotic 1942 “Victory Issue” of male physique magazine Strength and Health and a medal of completion awarded by Earle Liederman, a professional muscle man who ran a popular twelve-week mail-order bodybuilding school

36 Wu, Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards.
37 The Topaz War Relocation Center, also known as the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz), was built in 1942 in Millard County, Utah. It was listed on the NRHP on January 2, 1974 and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007.
throughout the 1920s and 1930s.\textsuperscript{39} While incarcerated at Topaz, evidence suggests that Onuma had a lover named Ronald.\textsuperscript{40}

Clearly queers among Asian Americans existed in early Asian American history. As they sought out same-sex intimacies, they too contributed to the changing face and social dynamic of America. A number of them more specifically shaped American modernism, the US military, and Hollywood. Nearly all interacted with whites in unexpectedly intimate ways. They have also only recently appeared as queer or possibly queer due to the work of largely LGBTQ scholars attuned to forging a history relevant to their own lives. While many may perceive Asians in America as “closeted” in this earlier part of APA history, historians who privilege heterosexuality and whiteness more likely rendered them irrelevant and therefore invisible in America’s past.

Literary critic Andrew Leong has proposed an “epistemology of the pocket” as opposed to queer theorist Eve Sedgwick’s “epistemology of the closet” for those in America unable to afford their own room with a closet. Leong describes the pocket as a smaller space that “due to its proximity to the body, ought to be more ‘private,’ but because of its placement on the body, is subject to public view.” It accommodates only partial concealment, since “you can hide a body in a closet but not in a pocket.” Leong added, “For propertied, Anglo-American men with rooms of their own, the closet might be an appropriate figure for the possession of a hidden identity. The pocket might be more fitting for the countless others with more precarious relationships to individual property and identity: colonized peoples who have had their property taken from them; people who have been treated as property; aliens ineligible for citizenship; migrant workers....”\textsuperscript{41} For queer Asians who sought to keep their desires private particularly before

the rise of a nationally visible LGBTQ movement, Leong’s pocket serves as a useful metaphor for their all-too-small shelter which more likely exposed rather than concealed their indiscretions from their contemporaries.

Being “out” would always be complicated for APA as for other queers of color. Political scientist Cathy Cohen has detailed how, in the late twentieth century, gay African Americans have also been out in less public ways to not risk losing their ethnic communities in racist America. APAs too would not have felt at liberty to be out in a society that already villainized and marginalized them for their race. Ironically, even when obviously queer Asians such as Yone Noguchi and Margaret Chung initiated significant action alongside history-making whites, their activities still remain barely visible in history.

Radicalism on the Rise

In the mid-1950s when Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the first lesbian civil and political rights group in the United States formed, Filipina Rose Bamberger played a crucial role in gathering a handful of women including Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon who would later become known as the founders. Bamberger invited a group of six women including Martin and Lyon to join her and her partner Rosemary Sliepen for drinks and dinner at their home in San Francisco on Friday, September 21, 1955. A second planning meeting took place on October 5 again at Bamberger’s home, at which time the group decided that she along with her partner Sliepen would bring fried chicken to the first official DOB meeting to be held two weeks later. Yet, the purpose of DOB—a secret group of women gathered for private events versus a public organization pushing for political reform—divided the group. Bamberger left DOB in early 1956, refusing to be a part of an organization that hoped to welcome men and


heterosexual women working publicly towards legislative changes. No doubt, an outward facing DOB would increase the possibility that her own lesbianism would become more public.44

Bamberger had reason to protect herself from instability that public knowledge of her sexuality might bring. During the 1950s she had a different job nearly every year as a machine operator, brush maker, or factory worker and additionally changed residences at least five times. Without job security and little residential stability, the consequences of coming out for Bamberger would have likely been unfathomable to bear.45 Ironically, as DOB grew during the 1950s, a number of the officers including Phyllis Lyon, one of the original founders who pushed for the group to be more public, in fact used pseudonyms in their newsletter called The Ladder to protect their identities.46

Ten years after Bamberger left the group, Chinese American Crystal Jang attended a few San Francisco DOB meetings in search of other lesbians and still found the group, as well as the lesbian bars she frequented, to be “all white.” When she turned to leftist groups working for Third World liberation, the broader Asian American movement seemed “very male.”47 Jang would not be alone in her sense of alienation. Activist Gil Mangaoang described himself as being in state of “schizophrenia” during the 1970s, trapped between his involvement in a homophobic Asian American political community and his intimate life in a racist LGBTQ community.48 He matriculated into the City College of San Francisco in 1970 after being discharged from the US Airforce. On campus Mangaoang joined the Filipino Club, became an officer on the student council, and worked with other student groups of color to establish an ethnic studies

44 Gallo, Different Daughters, 8.
45 Polk’s San Francisco City Directories, 1950-1959 (San Francisco, CA: R. L. Polk and Co.)
46 Gallo, Different Daughters, 31.
program. He and other student activists negotiated with the administration to ensure that courses in Filipino history and Tagalog be included in the curricula.\textsuperscript{49} Mangaoang, impatient for change within the college, soon after began doing volunteer work at the International Hotel (I-Hotel), a low-income residence hotel at the corner of Jackson and Kearny Streets in San Francisco, which housed many \textit{manong} or elderly Filipino men.\textsuperscript{50} It stood as the last bastion of the San Francisco’s Manilatown before the city tore it down in 1979 as part of urban renewal.\textsuperscript{51}

Countless other Asian gay and lesbian activists and writers such as Daniel Tseng, Kitty Tsui, and Helen Zia have reported on how people of color and queer progressive spaces remained unable to accommodate queer people of color in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{52} In 1974, at the Third World People’s Solidarity Conference in Ann Arbor, Tseng vividly remembers a group of largely African Americans growing angry over antigay sentiments expressed at the podium by “otherwise radical leaders.” The most incendiary comments ironically came from Angela Davis who mocked founding father George Washington for his “sissy shoes” decades before she would come out.\textsuperscript{53} The rise of the Asian American movement as well, owed much of its ideological origins to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist beliefs that devalued same-sex sexuality as a product of bourgeois decadence and

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{50} The International Hotel was home to thousands of seasonal Asian laborers in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly Filipinos. It was added to the NRHP on June 15, 1977.
\textsuperscript{51} The demolition took place despite a fight that began in 1968 and continued for more than a decade between the residents of the hotel and the city. See Estella Habal, \textit{San Francisco’s International Hotel: Mobilizing the Filipino American Community in the Anti-Eviction Movement} (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007).
\textsuperscript{53} Tseng, “Slicing Silence,” 228.
believed homosexuality would be eliminated with the eventual demise of capitalism.\textsuperscript{54}

Still, APA queers remained committed to social justice and forged their own paths for community engagement. In the 1960s, Crystal Jang and her women friends began a petition at the City College of San Francisco calling for women students on campus to be allowed to wear pants and successfully changed the dress code. On their way to and from City College and their homes in Chinatown, they also defiantly rode cable cars hanging off the side when the law still mandated women to sit safely inside.\textsuperscript{55} In 1978, Jang publicly spoke against the Briggs Initiative to a news reporter who interviewed her at her workplace, the schoolyard of Benjamin Franklin Middle School.\textsuperscript{56} The Briggs Initiative would have legalized the firing of all LGBTQ teachers and those who supported them.\textsuperscript{57} When she appeared in the local newspapers as a result, she became one the faces of the anti-Briggs Initiative movement, participating in a rally with the United Educators of San Francisco even as she feared losing her job.\textsuperscript{58} For Jang, self-acceptance of her same-sex desires came through her investigations in the stacks at the public library. In 1960 at the North Beach branch, Jang, still an eighth grader, read about the Kinsey Scale just seven years after sexologist Alfred Kinsey published \textit{Sexual Behavior in the Human Female}.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{54} Wat, \textit{The Making of a Gay Asian Community}, 93.
\textsuperscript{55} Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California.
\textsuperscript{56} Ocean Campus, the main campus of the City College of San Francisco, is located at 50 Phelan Avenue, San Francisco, California. In May 1965, Mona Hutchin, a student at the University of California, Berkeley, more formally challenged the unofficial ban against women standing on the “outside step” of cable cars. Associated Press, “Women Start Riding ‘Outside Step’ of Frisco’s Old Dinky Cable Cars,” \textit{Ocala Star Banner}, May 13, 1965, 8.
\textsuperscript{57} Benjamin Franklin Middle School is located at 1430 Scott Street, San Francisco, California.
Gil Mangaoang too forged a space where he could be both queer and Asian in his activism for social change. Through his work at the I-Hotel, Mangaoang became a member of the Kalayaan Collective, and would become one of the early members of Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP), memorialized as the first revolutionary Filipino nationalist group in the United States. Headquartered in Oakland, California, KDP appeared to be the only organization within the Asian American movement that accepted queer members. At least ten lesbians and two gay men comprised the membership and leadership of the organization.60

On the East Coast, bar patrons at New York City’s Stonewall Inn in 1969 fought back against police harassment, marking what many historians cite as the beginning of the gay rights movement. Yet, three years earlier in 1966 in San Francisco’s Tenderloin District, sex worker and activist Tamara Ching of Native Hawaiian, Chinese, and German descent fought back against police harassment with other street queens at Compton’s Cafeteria. The twenty-four hour restaurant on the corner of Turk and Taylor streets had attracted a regular late-night crowd of drag queens, hustlers, and runaway teens. One weekend night in August, the management called the police to expel a particularly noisy crowd of queens lingering too long at one table while spending little money. When a police officer grabbed the arm of one of the queens to drag her away, an insurrection ensued. Dishware and silverware flew through the air, tables and chairs were upended, and patrons pushed the police out into the street. The Compton’s Cafeteria revolt in which Ching and other queens participated, initiated new transgender advocacy programs within the San Francisco Police Department and the city’s Department of Public Health.61

61 Susan Stryker, Transgender History (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 63-66, 74, 75. The uprising at Compton’s Cafeteria, 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco was the first known militant action by LGBTQ
In the wake of Stonewall too, queers in New York and soon after across the nation organized to form the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) to demand sexual liberation for all people. As GLF branches popped up across the country, Japanese American Kiyoshi Kuromiya cofounded the Gay Liberation Front–Philadelphia on May 29, 1970 when a group of approximately fifty people met at Gazoo, a gay collective at 230 South Street.62

In the arts as well, Asian lesbians took to the stage in the form of a feminist Asian women’s performance group in 1979 called Unbound Feet. Kitty Tsui, Merle Woo, and Canyon Sam formed three of the six women. Their very presence as performers proved radical due to the fact that few, if any, Asian American women appeared on stage at the time.63 Tsui and Sam had previously met at Asian American Feminists, an Asian women’s rap group initiated two years earlier by Doreena Wong and Canyon Sam.64

Unbound Feet’s first show took place at the James Moore Oakland Museum Theater and proved to be immediately successful. As the group continued to perform over the next two years, audiences of up to six hundred flocked to their shows. While the performances of Tsui, Sam, and Woo did not address lesbianism, the program explicitly stated their sexuality. Unbound Feet thus exposed prominently and without shame the
real existence of lesbians within the Asian American community and drew a significant Asian lesbian following.\footnote{Ordona, “Coming Out Together,” 134-135.}

After performances, women crowded into the home of Zee Wong which became a popular gathering place and for meeting lesbians of color generally. Wong, a master of party planning with a wide network, later initiated a series of Asian lesbian potlucks in which large groups of women would gather to share food and build community for the first time. Wong simultaneously began organizing multiracial BBQs. While the potlucks took place in Wong’s home, the BBQs ironically convened at Joaquin Miller Park, a public space upon which Joaquin Miller, the lover of “brownies,” had hosted countless young Japanese men in his home. By 1982 Wong had over seventy women on her list of people to invite. A year later, Lisa Chun who had earlier in 1978 cofounded Asian Women, an Oakland-based nonpolitical support group for Asian lesbians, combined her list of contacts with Wong’s and the number of APIs grew to 112.\footnote{Ordona, “Coming Out Together,” 142; Stephen Stewart, \textit{Positive Image: A Portrait of Gay America} (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1985), 181.}

In 1981, Unbound Feet would disband over one member Merle Woo’s grievance against University of California, Berkeley’s refusal to renew her contract as a lecturer in Asian American Studies. Woo hoped Unbound Feet would publicly support her position when she

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Figure 4: Unbound Feet Three, 1981. Left to right: Nellie Wong, Kitty Tsui, Merle Woo. Photo by Cathy Cade, courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.}
\end{figure}

\addcontentsline{toc}{section}{References}
charged that the university had discriminated against her as a lesbian and for her radical political ideology.67 The group, unable to come to an agreement on whether they should make a public statement, splintered. Half of the members stood opposed to using Unbound Feet as a platform for workplace grievances that would put them in direct conflict with the Asian American community. Four years later in 1985 when three of the original members regrouped as Unbound Feet Three, they more actively brought lesbian content to the stage (Figure 4).68

In the same year that Unbound Feet, in its original grouping, drew audiences to their radical performances, queer Asians from across the nation gathered in Washington, DC, at the first National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference. The conference, organized by the National Coalition of Black Gays, took place at Howard University in October 1979.69 According to poet Michiyo Cornell, the meeting was “the first time in the history of the American hemisphere that Asian American gay men and lesbians joined to form a network of support.”70 Cornell, who would later change her last name to Fukaya, would go on to organize Vermont’s first queer pride celebration called “Lesbian and Gay Pride” in 1983.71

Asian lesbian and bisexual women organized the first West Coast Asian Pacific Lesbian Retreat in Sonoma, California in 1987 drawing eighty people, mostly from the San Francisco Bay Area. Five months later in October, fifty Asian lesbian and gay men from across the nation gathered to form the first Asian contingent at the 1987 March on Washington for

67 After a two-year legal battle, in 1984, the University of California, Berkeley reached a settlement with Woo of $73,584 and two years’ reinstatement. See Stewart, Positive Image, 115.
69 Tseng, “Slicing Silence,” 231. Howard University is located at 2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC.
71 Shervington, A Fire is Burning, It is in Me, 145; Chuck Stewart, ed., Proud Heritage: People, Issues, and Documents of the LGBT Experience (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2015), 1208.
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Gay Rights on the National Mall. As a national network of Asian lesbians solidified, the Asian/Pacific Lesbian Network (APLN) sponsored their first national retreat titled “Coming Together, Moving Forward” in Santa Cruz, California September 1-4, 1989. The event drew over 140 API lesbians from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom.72 For Asian lesbians, the 1980s marked a time of momentous community building. A burgeoning network of individuals created newsletters, held potlucks, and formed softball teams, coalescing into what sociologist Karin Aguilar-San Juan characterized as a “movement.”73

What might be the first Asian American lesbian newsletter, Phoenix Rising, began in the mid-1980s, its title referring to these women’s resilience and beauty, rising out of the ashes that racism, sexism, and homophobia might otherwise leave behind.74 Their mailing list at one point counted eighty-seven women.75 For Helen Zia, who as a community organizer hid her lesbianism, Phoenix Rising served as a lifeline while she lived in New Jersey, a vibrant symbol of how her all her identities as a woman, Asian, and lesbian could coexist.76

Unbound Feet also laid the groundwork for Kitty Tsui to publish her poetry four years later in 1983.77 Her book, The Words of a Woman Who Breathes Fire, has inspired countless queer Asian women across two

73 Karin Aguilar-San Juan, “Landmarks in Literature by Asian American Lesbians,” Signs 18, no. 4 (Summer 1993): 37.
74 For additional details on community discussions on the naming of the newsletter see Ordona, “Coming Out Together,” 151-153. Phoenix Rising maintained a post office box in Oakland for correspondence and met in people’s homes.
75 Phoenix Rising mailing list, Private Collection of Crystal Jang.
decades. While Kitty Tsui was the first Chinese American lesbian to come out with a book, Korean American Willyce Kim broke significant ground as the first published Asian American lesbian with *Eating Artichokes*, printed by the Woman’s Press Collective nine years earlier in 1972. In the 1980s, however, more than a handful of poets and writers including Merle Woo and Chea Villanueva began publishing their own single-authored books—a trend that continued into the 1990s. In addition to publishing with established feminist publishers like Firebrand Books, the Women’s Press Collective, and Spinsters Ink, queer writers of color also initiated their own printing houses, including Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, founded in 1980 by Black lesbians Barbara Smith and Audre Lorde.

Tsui, known not just for her poetry, additionally took up bodybuilding and won bronze in 1986 and gold in 1990 at Gay Games I and II, held respectively in San Francisco and Vancouver. Her muscled body also prominently appeared in the renegade lesbian erotica magazine *On Our*
Tsui may have been the first Asian lesbian to appear on the cover of both publications. In 1995, she published *Breathless*, a book of SM erotica in which sex mingled with fermented bean curd, beef tendons, and bitter melon. Tsui created intense scenes of pleasure, pain, and Chinese food, and won the Firecracker Alternative Book (FAB) Award for *Breathless* in 1996. The fact that Tsui wrote of explicitly desiring Asian lesbians became content worth noting to a white lesbian community.

During the 1980s, many queer Asians sought to find each other. In New York City, two mixed heritage Asians, Katherine Hall and Chea Villanueva, formed Asian Lesbians of the East Coast in 1983. In Los Angeles, queer Asian American activists formed Asian Pacific Lesbians and Gays (A/PLG) in 1980, the first organization of its kind in Southern California (Figure 6). The group would later become overrun with “rice

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83 *On Our Backs* was located at 526 Castro Street in San Francisco. See *On Our Backs* 5, no. 1 (Summer 1988); *On Our Backs* 7, no. 2 (November-December 1990).
87 A/PLG was established in the home of Morris Kight in Los Angeles. An early gay rights activist, Kight cofounded the Los Angeles branch of the Gay Liberation Front, the Stonewall Democratic Club, and the Gay and Lesbian Community Service Center of L.A., now known as the Los Angeles LGBT Center. Well known for his “love” of Asians, Kight initiated the formation of A/PLG due to concern that his Asian partner Roy Z. would not have Asian friends and would not have community after the older Kight passed. Karen Ocamb, “Morris Kight, 1919-2003,” *The Advocate* 884 (March 2003): 16; Wat, *The
queens”—a term used to describe white men interested in relationships with Asians based largely on their ethnicity.88 Four years later in 1984, Steve Lew and Prescott Chow formed the Gay Asian Rap Group (GARP) in Long Beach, California. Though GARP did not initially form in direct response to the A/PLGs internal divisions—debates around whether it should be a space that nurtures gay Asian leadership or serve primarily as a social network for white men to meet Asian men, early members of GARP organized the group to avoid what they perceived as mistakes in A/PLG. As more gay API men within A/PLG defected to GARP, the two organizations became distinctly different. GARP would later become the Gay Asian Pacific Support Network (GAPSN) in 1989 to create a space specifically for API men.89 David Hong hosted many of the meetings in his home in West Hollywood. Monthly rap sessions took place at the Chinatown Service Center Annex in Los Angeles.90

Queer South Asians contributed significantly to the explosion of queer API community groups in the 1980s. In 1985 and 1986, queer South Asians first in Brooklyn, New York, and then second in the San Francisco

89 Wat, The Making of a Gay Asian Community, 166-167. Chow and Lew later moved back to the San Francisco Bay area, where they helped to form important Asian Pacific Islander groups for gay men, including Gay Asian Pacific Islanders (GAPA) and the GAPA Community HIV Project (GCHP).
90 David Hong’s home was located just off Santa Monica Boulevard in West Hollywood, California. The Chinatown Service Center Annex was located at 300 West Cesar E. Chavez Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Alex Fukui, e-mail message to author, January 7, 2016.
Amy Sueyoshi

Bay Area formed two different groups, Anamika and Trikone respectively, to address the specific needs of LGBTQ people of South Asian descent from countries such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Myanmar (Burma), and Tibet. The two organizations would be part of a half dozen groups that emerged in the following years across North America, the United Kingdom, and India.91

Other queer Asian Pacific Americans played key roles in community organizations not specifically queer as well as queer groups not exclusively APA. Mini Liu who worked extensively in the New York-based Organization of Asian Women (OAW) and the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAAV) pushed hard to include sexuality in the organizations’ mission and priorities. She sought to bring a more intersectional approach to existing racial justice activism.92 In San Francisco, Donna Keiko Ozawa cofounded the first and still largest queer youth organization called the Lavender Youth Recreation & Information Center (LYRIC). A dance at the Women’s Building celebrated their formation in 1988.93 In 1991, the group transitioned from an autonomous collective to a service provider with financial support from the San Francisco Mayor’s Office, and two years later purchased their permanent home at 127 Collingwood Street in the Castro District of San Francisco.94 Lia Shigemura of Okinawan and Japanese heritage too played a foundational role in establishing the Asian Women’s Shelter (AWS) in 1988 to provide services for limited and non-

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English speaking refugee and immigrant survivors of domestic violence in the San Francisco Bay Area. Two years later in 1990, AWS implemented its Lesbian Services Program to increase accessibility.95 From 1989 to 1992, South Asian American LGBTQ activist and attorney Urvashi Vaid served as the executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) now known as the LGBTQ Task Force. Filipina American activist Melinda Paras, former founder and national leader of the KDP, also served as the organization’s executive director from 1994 to 1996.96

The 1980s simultaneously marked mass devastation for the gay male community due to the US government’s non-response to the AIDS epidemic.97 Populations of color found themselves in a particular public health crisis due to disparate funding for services and education as well as presumptions within their own communities that HIV/AIDS was only a “white disease.”98 Queer activists of color across the nation quickly organized to provide support. On the West Coast, Asian American Recovery Services (AARS) in San Francisco established the Asian AIDS Project (AAP) in 1987, the first organization to target APIs for HIV/AIDS prevention.99 In the same year, AARRS would call Asian American city leaders to initiate the Asian AIDS Taskforce (AAT), a group committed to mobilizing community-wide resources in the fight against AIDS. The Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California hosted these early meetings in Japan Town.100 The following year, the Gay

99 The Asian American Residential and Recovery Services (AARRS) project housed the Asian AIDS Project when it first began in 1987. AARRS’ office was at 2041 Hayes Street, San Francisco, California.
100 The Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California was located at 1840 Sutter Street in San Francisco. Letter from Davis Y. Ja, July 14, 1987, Folder Meeting Minutes:
Asian Pacific Alliance (GAPA) implemented an informal support group for HIV-positive gay Asians later called GCHP. Chinese American Steve Lew, served a critical role in these early efforts as a key organizer, educator, and role model for other HIV-positive men. In 1990 when Vince Crisostomo left New York and traveled across the country with his Jewish boyfriend to live in San Francisco, he found community and family with GAPA, the Asian AIDS Project, and particularly Steve Lew. Crisostomo’s boyfriend who had AIDS could also access the organization’s services and AAP offered Crisostomo a job in their theater program after he had applied for seven other jobs without success.

Asian Pacific Americans also took formative roles in AIDS activism in other parts of the United States as well as the world. In 1989, just two years after the formation of the Asian AIDS Project in San Francisco, Kiyoshi Kuromiya who earlier formed the Philadelphia branch of Gay Liberation Front, founded Critical Path, one of the earliest and most comprehensive resources available to the public for treating General, 1987, Carton 1, Asian/Pacific AIDS Coalition 96-14, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California.

101 The support group often met at the Metropolitan Community Church located at the time at 150 Eureka Street in San Francisco or people’s private homes. M. J. Talbot, e-mail message to author, November 23, 2015. The group would later grow to include women and youth and grow into what is today the Asian & Pacific Islander Wellness Center (A&PI Wellness Center). The center is located at 730 Polk Street, San Francisco, California. “History,” A&PI Wellness Center website, accessed August 1, 2015, http://apiwellness.org/site/history.

102 Stoller, Lessons from the Damned, 64.

103 Crisostomo had already been volunteering for AAP as a peer counselor before he was hired. Interview with Vince Crisostomo conducted by Toby Wu, November 13, 2013, San Francisco, California.
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HIV. Crisostomo, who was Chamorro, would also become the first publicly out HIV-positive Pacific Islander at World AIDS Day in 1991 and become directly involved in bringing increased HIV/AIDS awareness and education to Guam. In 2000, Crisostomo would return to Guam to become the executive director for the first funded community-based organization to do AIDS work in the Pacific. GAPA board member George Choy would collaborate with OCCUR, Japan’s first gay rights group that would successfully bring a discrimination suit against the Tokyo city government in 1990 (Figure 7). In the same year, Chinese American Choy had also persuaded the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to pass Project 10, a teen youth counseling program within the San Francisco Unified School District.

AIDS organizing in the 1980s and 1990s both gathered and nurtured countless community-minded APA activists committed to promoting Asian Pacific American health and well-being in the queer and transgender communities as well as eradicating broad-based fear based on gender, sexuality, or HIV status. Tamara Ching from the Compton’s Cafeteria revolt worked as an AIDS education outreach worker for the AAP and oversaw a support group for the API transgender community for GCHP as the “God Mother of Polk [Street]” (Figure 8). Transwoman Nikki Calma, better

105 Interview with Vince Crisostomo, conducted by Toby Wu, November 13, 2013, San Francisco, California.
107 Choy was also a member of ACT UP and organizer for GCHP. Just two years later, in 1993, Choy died of AIDS. George Choy Papers, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California. The three most important prevention and service organizations for APAs at the time in Northern California were the GAPA Community HIV Project, Asian AIDS Project, and Filipino Task Force on AIDS, all run by gay or bisexual men. See Stoller, Lessons from the Damned, 66.
known as “Tita Aida,” who also worked at the Asian AIDS Project in 1990s became a community icon through her advocacy work, a host to countless fundraisers, as well as one of three women to be featured in the first API transgender public service announcement in 2008. Transman Willy Wilkinson who was active in HIV work with Inner City Community Health Outreach and served as a founding board member of GCHP would go on to become a leading transgender public health advocate in San Francisco.

Historian Marc Stein has characterized the outpouring of community engagement in response to the conservatism of the 1980s as a “renaissance.” Queer cultural productions and community activism flourished in the fight against AIDS and moral condemnation of LGBTQ people. The 1980s, however, was also a time of mounting anti-Asian sentiment and violence as the US automobile industry crumbled in the face of Japanese car manufacturers. The Vincent Chin case became a

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112 License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/sfslim/8734532068
flashpoint for organizing against Asian American violence, regardless of gender and sexual identities. On June 19, 1982 in Highland Park, Michigan, two white autoworkers with a baseball bat bludgeoned to death twenty-seven-year-old engineer Vincent Chin after hurling racial epithets at him and accusing him of taking away their jobs.  

Chinese American lesbian Helen Zia, who was a community organizer at the time and would later become an award-winning journalist and editor of *Ms. Magazine*, cofounded and led the fight for justice for Vincent Chin as the president of American Citizens for Justice (ACJ), the first explicitly Asian American grassroots community advocacy effort with a national scope. Indeed, an explosion of the Asian literary and arts culture as well as community groups in the 1980s becomes particularly notable as queer Asian Pacific Americans came together during a time of extreme socioeconomic repression, moral conservatism, and anti-Asian sentiment.

On April 6, 1991 on Broadway in New York City, queers of color, leftist Asian Americans regardless of sexual orientation of gender diversity, antiracist white gays, bisexuals, and lesbians, and the Actors’ Equity Association joined hands with Asian Lesbians of the East Coast (ALOEC) and Gay Asian and Pacific Islander Men of New York (GAPIMNY) to protest two LGBTQ institutions’ use of Cameron Mackintosh’s musical *Miss Saigon* as their annual fundraiser extravaganza. ALOEC and GAPIMNY had long been in conversation with the two hosts—Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund and New York City’s Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center—to cancel their fundraiser at this musical that promoted damaging images of submissive “Orientals” and the use of yellow face in the casting.

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113 While prosecutors charged the murderers Ronald Ebens and Michael Nitz with second-degree murder, the father and stepson pair pleaded to manslaughter. The judge, Charles Kauffman in March 1983, sentenced the two men to a three-year probation and a fine of $3,780. A federal trial the following year determined that the murder had been a hate crime, convicting only Ebens of violating Chin’s civil rights. However, a retrial in 1987 acquitted Ebens and both men would never spend a day in jail for their crime. Robert S. Chang, *Disoriented: Asian Americans, Law, and the Nation State* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). See also Henry Yu and Mai Ngai eds., “The Politics of Remembering,” special issue, *Amerasia Journal* 28, no. 3 (2002).

of one of the actors.\textsuperscript{115} While the fundraiser took place as scheduled, the protest marked the formation of an incredible coalition of various communities publicly denouncing racism, misogyny, and Orientalism. Organizer Yoko Yoshikawa remembers, “James Lee taped a neon pink triangle to his leather jacket, emblazoned with the words: ‘San Francisco-born Gay Man of Korean Descent.’ On any other night, he could have been bashed for that. But that night, his back was covered. Gray-haired Japanese American wives and mothers and brash young white men from Queer Nation marched side by side. Dykes in dreads, campy queens, leftists of all persuasions: we owned Broadway.”\textsuperscript{116}

Queer API publications too flourished through the 1990s. Asian Pacific Islander lesbians and bisexual women produced \textit{The Very Inside}, an anthology of over one hundred pieces edited by Sharon Lim-Hing in 1994.\textsuperscript{117} Lim-Hing began thinking about producing the book in the summer of 1990 as she walked home in Somerville, Massachusetts in defiant anticipation of the local teenagers calling her “Chink.”\textsuperscript{118} At the time, except for \textit{Between the Lines}, a short anthology of Asian American lesbian writing that was out of print and hard to obtain, Asian women’s writings had only appeared in small numbers as part of women of color anthologies or as tokens towards diversity in white anthologies.\textsuperscript{119} Lim-Hing sought to create something as large as Gloria Anzaldúa’s and Cherrie Moraga’s \textit{This Bridge Called My Back} to speak to Asian Pacific bisexual and lesbian women’s strength, beauty, creativity, and rage so that these


\textsuperscript{116} Yoshikawa, “The Heat is on Miss Saigon Coalition,” 55.


\textsuperscript{118} After arriving home, in the heat of her apartment and with the neighbor’s dog barking incessantly, Lim-Hing in her discomfort decided that Asian and Pacific Islander lesbians should have a book of their own.

\textsuperscript{119} C. Chung, A. Kim, and A. K. Lemeshewsky, \textit{Between the Lines: An Anthology by Pacific/Asian Lesbians of Santa Cruz, California} (Santa Cruz, CA: Dancing Bird Press, 1987).
women would be more than just “a blip on the graph at the intersection of ‘race’ and sexual preference, nor... the hub of triple oppressions.”

Six years later, Quang Bao and Hanya Yanagihara published *Take Out*, an anthology produced with the support of the Asian American Writer’s Workshop in New York that brought gay Asian men into a growing number of works that largely featured queer women. More artistry and less activism motivated their publication, which the editors hoped would force readers “to reevaluate [their] conceptions of gay Asian America.” The collection comprised mostly of men since the editors decided to not “worry too much about gender equity” since it was “far better to sacrifice quantity for quality.” With the editors’ less than feminist impulse, *Take Out* might serve as the cap to a literary movement started by radical Asian lesbians thirty years earlier.

The most widely read queer API writing of the 1990s, however, was Olympic medalist Greg Louganis’ autobiography titled *Breaking the Surface* in which he publicly came out as HIV positive after nearly a decade of rumors in professional sports that he was gay. Louganis, who is of mixed Samoan and white

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120 Lim-Hing, *The Very Inside*, Introduction.
122 Bao and Yanagihara, *Take Out*.
123 LicenseL CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 [https://www.flickr.com/photos/generalmills/26161871682](https://www.flickr.com/photos/generalmills/26161871682)
ancestry, endured a childhood of racial and homophobic persecution and name-calling. He went on to win four gold medals in diving—the three-meter springboard and the ten-meter platform in 1984 and 1988 (Figure 9). *Breaking the Surface* became a New York Times #1 Best Seller in 1995, initiating his public persona as a gay rights activist. As the first prominent athlete to come out as gay, Louganis faced tremendous challenges in professional sports that impacted him emotionally and lost him millions of dollars in endorsements.124

Other activists published landmark texts on not exclusively queer APAs. In 1991, mixed heritage Lani Ka`ahumanu co-edited *Bi Any Other Name* with Loraine Hutchins and the anthology has become recognized as the “Bi-ble” of the bisexual movement.125 When Ka`ahumanu and Hutchins could only submit their book in the “lesbian anthology” category of the Lambda Literary Awards, BiNet, an umbrella organization for a network of bisexual communities, protested and initiated the creation of a “bisexual” category in the book awards.126 Ka`ahumanu had long been recognized as the mother of the bisexual movement with her role in the founding of BiPOL in 1983, the first and oldest bisexual political organization.

The 1990s further marked an expansion of queer Asian American activism with the development of the Internet. A swell of South Asian queer groups formed outside of California such as SALGA in New York City, Khush in Washington, DC, Trikone in Atlanta, MASALA in Boston, as well as internationally. Online forums such as KhushList, SAGrrls, DesiDykes,

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125 Ka`ahumanu was born Lani Farrell and took the last name Ka`ahumanu in 1979 at the suggestion of her mother. Trinity Ordona details Ka`ahumanu’s heritage as the following, “[her] maternal grandmother was part Native Hawaiian, her maternal grandfather was Eurasian. Her mother Minerva Helani, was born in Japan and raised in Japan and later Hawaii. Her father, a man of Irish and Polish ancestry, married her mother in Hawaii where they met.” Ordona, “Coming Out Together,” 292. See also Hutchins (this volume).

GayBombay, and Khushnet.com multiplied as the web become more accessible.\textsuperscript{127} A queer Vietnamese American support group in Southern California called Ô-Môi also took advantage of the Internet to grow significantly from its initial six members in 1995 to fifty-four members by 2000.\textsuperscript{128}

Organizations within the ethnic mainstream also increasingly recognized LGBTQ members within their communities. In 1990, when much of the nation feared to even breath the same air as gay men because of the AIDS epidemic, the San Fernando, California chapter of the Japanese American Citizens’ League (JACL) elected Takenori “Tak” Yamamoto as president. Yamamoto became the first openly gay president in any chapter of the JACL and played a critical role in the organization’s endorsement of gay marriages at their national convention four years later in Salt Lake City.\textsuperscript{129} In 1994, as AIDS became the leading cause of death for Americans between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four, Pine United Methodist Church in San Francisco, one of America’s earliest Japanese American churches, became the first reconciling or queer-friendly Asian American church in America.\textsuperscript{130} In the same year Cherry Blossom Festival organizers in San Francisco invited more than one hundred LGBTQ women and men to march in the April parade, after hearing that a similar contingent had just marched in San Francisco’s Chinese New Year’s parade in February. Vice President at Union Bank and community leader June Sugihara led the Cherry Blossom contingent declaring, “It is so very

\begin{itemize}
\item Mala Nagarajan, “Queer South Asian Organizing in the United States,” \textit{Trikone Magazine} 28, no. 1 (Summer 2014): 4-7.
\end{itemize}
important to recognize and support the lesbian and gay people in our Japanese American community.”

The 1990s also marked a period when more API parents publicly vocalized support of their gay, lesbian, and bisexual children. In 1990, two years after their daughter came out to them as gay, Okinawan American Harold and Ellen Kameya became actively involved in Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) as the first known Asian parents in America to publicly advocate for their gay children. They first began attending PFLAG meetings at the Westwood United Methodist Church and the two informally functioned as an API PFLAG for more than a decade as the only Asian parents they knew in PFLAG. In 2012, the Kameyas along with other API parents would more formally cofound the first API PFLAG chapter in the San Gabriel Valley. In Northern California, the API-PFLAG Family Project, later known as API Family Pride, formed in 1996. Filipina lesbian Trinity Ordona played a central role in collaboration with the API-PFLAG Family Project to produce the first documentary film of Asian parents discussing their queer children titled Coming Out, Coming Home. In 1997, Al and Jane Nakatani in collaboration with writer Molly Fumia, published Honor Thy Children, a memoir of the loss of their three sons, two of whom were gay. The oldest and youngest of the Nakatani sons died from AIDS-related illnesses and the middle son died from a gunshot wound in an altercation. The father, Al Nakatani, later attributed his middle son’s inability to walk away from the fight to his own mandate to maintain an inflexible prideful masculinity in raising him. Though the father had pushed his oldest son out of their house at the age of fifteen

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when he found out he was gay, after the death of his second son, he and his wife came to actively support their youngest son in his final struggle against AIDS. These early works laid the groundwork for a flurry of publications and memoirs by queer APIs or their parents in the decades that followed.

Queer Asian America continues to grow tremendously in the twenty-first century. Countless blogs from queer Asians fill the Internet expounding upon the importance of community engagement and queer empowerment. Artists and community organizations have initiated the recognition of queer and transgender APAs for their historic activism, further shedding light on their previously hidden presence.

Christopher Lee, the Asian American FTM whose death certificate motivated the Respect After Death Act was

Figure 10: Christopher Lee (right) with Shawna Virago and Senator Mark Leno. Christopher and Shawna were the first transgender Grand Marshals in the San Francisco Pride parade, 2002. Photo courtesy of Alex Austin.


Amy Sueyoshi

also cofounder of the San Francisco Transgender Film Festival in 1997 and was elected as the first openly transgender man to be Grand Marshal in the 2002 San Francisco Pride Parade (Figure 10).136 The aforementioned Tamara Ching, who revolted against police at Compton’s Cafeteria in 1966, won a number of honors including the Community Service Award from the Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club in 2006.137 In 2012, artist Tanya Wischerath recognized her and other transwomen activists of color in a mural along Clarion Alley in San Francisco (Figure 8).138 In 2013, San Francisco Pride honored retired school teacher Crystal Jang as Grand Marshal in recognition of her contributions to the LGBTQ community as the first openly gay Asian lesbian teacher within the San Francisco Unified School District. Not only had Jang first spoken out publicly against the Briggs Initiative, decades later in the early 1990s officials appointed her the middle school coordinator for the Office of Support Services for Sexual Minority Youth and Families, the first office of its kind in the nation. For the following ten years, she assisted in creating K-12 curriculum for district wide staff trainings to address issues of bullying, antigay discrimination, safe schools, and sensitivity to alternative families.139 More recently in 2014, San Francisco AIDS activist George Choy was honored with a sidewalk plaque in the Castro District’s Rainbow Honor Walk, memorializing twenty “heroes and heroines of LGBT history.”140 Countless other activists such as Native Hawaiian Kumu

136 “Remembering Christopher Lee as Respect After Death Act Takes Effect.”
139 Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California; Crystal Jang, e-mail message to author, October 17, 2015.
Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu have been transforming people’s lives daily without formal recognition by teaching love, honor, and respect for indigeneity and gender diversity in classrooms, workshops, and public spaces.141

In universities across the nation, queer and Asian student groups are cropping up. In the San Francisco Bay Area alone, four institutions of higher education—University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State University, San Jose State University, and Stanford—all have student-run organizations by and for LGBTQ Asian Pacific Americans.142 More recently in 2014, the University of Pennsylvania formed its first queer and Asian student group called Penn Q&A.143 Larger numbers of APAs in California as well as perhaps a more open attitude to diverse sexualities set the stage for more robust queer APA organizing in the West than other parts of the United States.144 Most notably, a younger generation of queer APIs are taking interest in the histories of their LGBTQ predecessors. In the past three years, chapters of the queer advocacy organization API Equality in both Northern and Southern California have initiated oral history projects (the “Pioneers Project” in Los Angeles and “Dragon Fruit Project” in San Francisco) and have sponsored educational workshops on API queer
history as well as Wikipedia Hackathons. At the GLBT History Museum in San Francisco as well, the first of its kind in the nation, curators have mounted four exclusively queer APA exhibits since its opening in 2011. Queer APA organizing and community engagement has consistently occurred at the intersection of race and sexuality even as much of the mainstream LGBTQ movement attempts to erase the significance of their race and ethnicity in what many Americans believe to be a post-racial America. For these APA activists, sexual freedom, economic justice, and gender and racial equity are inextricably intertwined in their fight for a more compassionate and inclusive world.

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LATINA/O GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Deena J. González and Ellie D. Hernández

Introduction

Gender and sexuality among US Latina/o populations encompass a continuum of experiences, historical, cultural, religious, and lived. Gender and sexuality varied by culture or ethnicity and by era across the many different Latino populations descended from Latin Americans. Latino national histories, born inside the thirty-three different Latin American countries in existence today, are united in one irrefutable link to the conquest, by Spain. The Spanish and Portuguese warred against many indigenous empires, towns, and communities encountered in 1519, and the wars continued subsequently into the 1800s, during the colonization of the Americas by other countries, including the United States.
When in 1519 the Spaniards landed on the Veracruz shore and made their way into what was the most populated city in the Americas, Tenochtitlan, and in the two years it took for them to lay claim to what would become México City and its environs, gender and sexuality played a key role among people who survived the conquest and those who as conquerors remained in México as well as in Central and South America to create nations across three centuries of time (from 1521 to 1898). A primary example is Malintzin Tenepal (Malinche or Doña Marina as the Spanish called her), the mistress and lover of the conqueror, Hernán Cortés, who had two children with him (Figure 1). From the outset this racial and ethnic mixing of people known as mestizaje shaped gender and sexuality, because it imbued the outcomes of these unions, many of them

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1 License: Public Domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_Malinche_statue.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_Malinche_statue.jpg)
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violent, with legal, economic, and sexual consequences. Gender and sexuality were foundational in the story of Malinche and Cortés because the woman was memorialized as the mother of the first mestizo children of the Americas, which was not the case, but also as the supreme betrayer of the Mexicans. Malinche’s sexuality in the form of her relationship to the Spanish conqueror subsequently became a metaphor for loss, by women, against the more powerful Europeans, or men. Many contemporary theorists argue that the relationship was also a metaphor for rape, immortalized in Mexican lexicons by use of the term for someone who suffers rape, “la chingada.”  

These constant and persistent references in Mexican essays, movies, and folklore indeed suggest the considerable strength a metaphor based on someone as prominent as Malinche carries across time; few hail her interpretive abilities, her diplomatic status, her multilingual facility. Instead, she—a woman—became equated with treachery and a loss of trust. In this reflection of a less-than-glorious Mexican past, men are never blamed for the loss to the Spaniards: Cuauhtémoc, the underprepared nephew of the deceased ruler, Moctezuma, actually surrendered the city, but is rarely assigned blame or shame. Malinche escapes no such special treatment.

Race and ethnicity, like gender and sexuality, complicated the story of women’s centrality in the conquest, much of it similarly assigned for the wrong reasons. That is, women generally were not considered central as powerful agents in the conquest, but rather as its by-product, or their mixed-race children were. In some regions of Latin America, over seventeen different terms classified race or ethnic status, from mestizo to mulatto to lobo and coyote.  

These were not simple obsessions of a race-conscious state, but derived from Catholic and European legal codes seeking control over labor and most certainly over women and children.

2 For the most cited example, see Octavio Paz, “Labyrinth of Solitude” (New York: Grove Press, 1961).
3 See, for example, Barbara L. Voss, The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).
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The institutional apparatuses of the empire, including the Catholic Church, and later, the nation-state, conspired to sustain a hierarchy driven by fear and terror. Women could not venture far from home, or out on their own, even in urban areas. In the rural areas where the majority lived, working for bare subsistence dictated dependencies on men, children, and if possible, on fathers and families of origin. From the powerful Catholic and hierarchical traditions imposing God, disciples, and the Pope or priests over parishioners, men, and households, with women and children at the bottom, and far below only African descent peoples and Native peoples, the controlling effects of such persistent views and legal codes provided the basis upon which an empire was created. Church and state helped craft laws that ordered life in relationship to economies of production, work, and an occasional celebration around the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, or marriage. There were few opportunities for women’s autonomy in a social or legal sense, and only activities hidden from public scrutiny or juridical sight allowed women to act in their own defense or protection. Native people similarly endured harsh treatment, subject to their employer’s whims, forced to work on ranches, in mines, and later, in factories simply because they were thought not to possess the talent, skills, or values to do more. Labor’s link to gender and sexuality existed in the interplay between those with economic power (European men), and those without it (women, children, Native Peoples, mixed-race people, and Latinos of African descent).

Against this past, gender and sexuality today have achieved a different status in a lived Latino/a reality, that is, they pose new and exciting challenges for historic and cultural traditions, but based on modern ideas about the utter necessity of women’s equality to men and access to opportunity for all. They also require new conceptualizations of what we mean by gender and what we mean when we define sexuality, including a re-reading of the past.

While many imagine that the world is divided into male and female, masculine and feminine, or men and women, research in the past half
century undermines the supposition that there are only two genders, only
two sexes, or that what is normal in one community is normal across all
others. Sexual fluidity is very much a characteristic of the historical record
as it is contemporarily. In the nineteenth-century United States, pink was
considered a masculine color and boys as well as girls wore dresses and
kept their hair long until they reached age seven.4 The historical record
provides an exceptional vantage point for looking at the dynamics of a
multiplicity of experiences among Latina/o people. Many Native traditions
across the Americas recognized (and continue to recognize) multiple
combinations of gender and sexuality that intersected in different ways
with social roles and responsibilities. Each of these groups had different
categories and roles, as well as words to name them; from 1990, many
Natives have adopted the umbrella term, two spirit.5 Spanish chroniclers
described two spirit people using their own ideas of sexuality and gender,
for example as men “feminized” into women’s roles. Women in war were
known to have passed their lives as men and/or soldiers, in the conquest
era and late into the twentieth century during the Mexican Revolution.6
These examples are not necessarily given to prove that homosexuality or
bisexuality have existed in the Americas for many centuries, which
evidently they did, but rather to illustrate that what we think of as modern
concepts of sexuality might have a longer history than is accorded
traditionally.

As varied and diverse as the histories of the Latino people, so are their
expressions of gender and sexuality. Most obvious is the understanding
that gender and sexuality share some similarities with the larger
experience of being human, in other words, we all have and express our
gender and our sexuality, but at the same time, not all genders are the
same, and not all expressions of sexuality and sexual identity share the
same qualities. Gender and sexuality are also influenced largely by the
specific parameters established by religion, culture, ethnicity, nationality,

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5 For a detailed treatment, see Roscoe (this volume).
6 On the soldaderas of the Mexican Revolution, see Elizabeth Salas, Soldaderas in the Mexican
and race or class distinctions. This chapter discusses Latina/o gender and sexual experiences within a broad historical context to focus as well on a contemporary Latina/o context because present understandings, like historical ones, enrich our analysis of how men and women defined one another and lived their lives as the gender codes organizing their behaviors changed over time.7

Conquest and Colonialism

From the nascent beginnings of the Americas, the period known as the Conquest followed by the colonial period is normally considered as the origin that led to the formation of Latina/o people. The blending of races through mestizaje and miscegenation created regional and national distinctions. Within that landscape, the indigenous and Spanish advanced new bi- and multiracial configurations. In the areas we identify as the US Southwest and the Caribbean, various indigenous and native groups blended racially with European conquistadors. Concomitant to the era of conquest and colonization (1492-1800) the period was distinguished by the force and domination of a new cultural, European system distinct from the indigenous, with the eventual rule of Spanish and Catholic dominance in the three continents—North American, Central American, and South American—known as Latin America today. In this vast geographic terrain, a dynamic people and dynamic societies developed.

Given the large territories, countries, and continents that comprise Latin America, it is impossible to trace a true chronological sequence or periodization of Chicana or Latina history or of a singular role gender and sexuality played in that past or geography. This is because chronology and periods are the purview of tidily organized, written historiographical studies, of which Latina/o history remains defiant. Much resistance, for

example, to domination or conquest was erased because few written or recorded documents detailed successful efforts to overcome the conquerors. Although court records and church records attest to many efforts against Spanish control, the truth is that those who collected the written record had a vested interest in securing one side of the story, despite the findings in recent decades of historians who are working to cast the wars and political picture in ways that account for both sides of the story. Archeologists have worked for centuries to assist the written record and are making progress in detailing how native communities and Spanish-Catholic ones shaped their pasts.

The best way to illustrate an important element related to where our story should begin is to ask when Latina/o or Chicano/a history began. There is no agreeable answer. Was it 1519 when the Spaniards arrived on the coast of México? Was there even a geographic identification that could be called México? We know that the country named Spain existed because the Pope and a king and queen authorized it to set off to new lands. México, on the other hand, was a constellation of over two hundred different indigenous communities, federations, and cities or towns that did not identify as a country, nation, or nation-state. Mexico City (Tenochtitlan) was the oldest city in the Americas, was its largest city up until the middle of the seventeenth century, and boasted a multiethnic, multi-caste, and multi-class society. Out of this varied history or past, it is impossible to trace effectively the meaning of gender and sexuality across time for any one group, and less so for as multiethnic and racial a group as Mexicans, Latinos, or Chicano/as of today. Some general understanding of the events and cultural artifacts, however, provide clues about the significance or meaning of gender and sexuality across time.

Inherent to the Spanish Empire’s domination of the regions of the United States and Caribbean, the experiences of sexuality were less determined by the pleasures of sexuality we normally ascribe in today’s modern world; rather sexuality was determined by need and survival, as this was foreign terrain for the Spanish and a new experience for the
indigenous people native to the land. For the indigenous groups who endured the wrath of conquest and occupation, sexuality became a means of domination over their various indigenous traditions, especially the women and children. Many of the early inhabitants of the “New World” lived in tribal cultures that relied on nature and their surroundings for survival, and this organized their understandings of sexuality and of sexual expressiveness. The Spanish thought differently and codified as heretical or criminal many native understandings of the human body; some native groups were bare breasted or exposed chests and legs as the climate allowed. The Spanish were draped in cloth from neck to their feet, if not in armor or leather, and considered native dress codes promiscuous or offensive.

Native sophistication and what today would be labeled a modern way of life (nudity or frequent sexual partners, for example), were considered anti-Catholic and illegal. The anxiety of the Spaniards extended beyond the body. Many cities in Native America had developed sophisticated agricultural techniques, relied on scientific knowledge to feed and organize their cosmopolitan way of life (Mexico City especially), and organized their life according to an understanding of the cosmos, including mathematics and theology. The early conquistadores were mostly military men removed from the homeland and if in families came to the New World to conquer the land and to force indigenous populations to submit to the twin goals of installing religious and state imperatives, Catholicism, and loyalty to the king.

The post-structuralist theoretician, Tzvetan Todorov, notes that the Mexican conquest is distinct from all other forms of empire building. He asked how a vast number of inhabitants could have fallen supposedly so easily. The singular direction of the Spanish to seek gold and valuables along with advanced weaponry made it possible to win battles, but the truth also lies in the rapid spread of diseases that within twenty-five years of the arrival of the Spanish witnessed the demise of more than 90 percent of the native populations. Smallpox, measles, influenzas, and
infections assisted the Spanish more than brilliant maneuvers on the battlefield. An ill population could not resist an onslaught. On the day Cortés finally laid claim to the ancient city of Tenochtitlan, those suffering from diseases or dead in their beds because they could not reach their water supply created a visible reminder of weakness and surrender. Had the Aztecs or Mexicanos not been so badly infected, their struggle to fortify and evacuate the city would have provided a different outcome.8

Some of these aspects of Mexican history, and of the histories of other regions in Central and South America which repeated the pattern after 1521, created obtuse rules and established the assertion of laws about gender and sexuality, some of which are still in existence today. Laws easily dictated the cultural practices of the early Latina/os. Of this, the most recognized figure of the conquest of Mexico has also become synonymous with the modern nation state. The public and widely mythologized history of Doña Marina or Malinztin Tenépal or La Malinche, mentioned above, situates one of the main elements of historiographical attitudes about the role of women in the New World and as its emblem of domination.9 The early conquistadores used force in the early encounters with the Native Indians. Within a short amount of time, a matter of 150 years, the Spanish church and state institutionalized their rules of governance through the issuances of law and religious codes. Masculinity and femininity were institutionalized as oppositional rather complimentary aspects of gender and sexuality as the Spanish Crown created a division of labor according to gender and this was seen clearly in the adjudication of specific sets of laws. The Laws of Burgos of 1512 or Las Leyes de Burgos, for example, established a set of laws (and in actual practice,

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guidelines) on the treatment of the Native people in the first island conquered, Hispaniola.¹⁰

The laws constituted the first attempt to outline specifically conduct in matters of marriage and raising children; however, the law code made some attempt to regulate the treatment and conduct of the Spanish settlers and their encounters with the native Indians. The laws specifically created a family (tribal) structure and instructed priests to instill Catholic teachings and convert the Natives to Christianity. Las Leyes de Burgos was an attempt by the Spanish Crown to attend to the many abuses of the Native peoples in the decades after the conquest but failed on many levels because they were disempowered with the conversion into a system of labor, which was the primary goal of the law, and Catholicism which was their second goal. Another attempt to create laws for the treatment of the natives came in 1542 with the Leyes Nuevas (New Laws) under Charles V. Once again, these laws sought to provide for the mistreatment of the

¹¹ License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/rogerhoward/8797111980/. For more about Judy Baca, see Burk (this volume).
native people but only reinforced the *encomienda* system of labor, an assignment often in perpetuity of a person’s labor or work, and offered little protection for the Indians in the end.

The seventeenth century added to the major legal apparatus with the *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reinos de Indias*, a copious and pedantic sequence of laws enacted in 1681 to supplant the previous two codifications that were deemed ineffectual on a local level and excluded the many regions overtaken by Spanish rule over the next century. One of the main accomplishments of the *Recopilación* was to standardize the Spanish Law over the vast and enormous territories under Spanish occupation and encompassing the areas of the Southwest, including Tucson, Los Angeles, Santa Fe, Laredo, and Albuquerque, and extended as far as the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico (Figure 2).¹²

The law’s geographic reach established a wide sweep for the legal and religious codes whose influences can be found in today’s attitudes and economic trade relationships. The most distinctive of these codes was girded by a supreme understanding of the division of labor. Men and women became separated in their lived and working experiences and were bound by the separate spheres that divide men and women into private and public.

But the order and regulation of sexuality fell under the purview of the dreaded and somewhat fickle Spanish Inquisition. Few think or believe that the Spanish Inquisition pertained to México or the New World, but recent historical excavation supports that the Inquisition did in fact regulate sexual behaviors and served more as a regulatory system in the New World than in Europe. Inquisitional repression also included many offenses that pertained to sexuality such as bestiality, rape, and sodomy (male and female) as well as other forms of stated heresy against the

church. Phillip II established the Inquisition officially in Mexico in 1569.\textsuperscript{13} By 1662, accounts of homosexual behavior led the Duke of Albuquerque to indict over a hundred people and execute a substantial number of them.\textsuperscript{14} Within the colonial period and heritage, the laws and codes of conduct began to shape the codification of proper sexuality situating it within the domain of heterosexuality and the church and state as purveyors of the law guiding it.

Naturally, people began to assume heterosexuality not only as the “natural” order of things, but as the only one. It would become clear through their actions that the church and state became more interested in regulating behaviors and associating morality with the regulation of sexual behaviors and were far less interested in heresy. The Inquisition in Spain did not actively pursue the persecution of sodomy as it would in the Americas and the New World.\textsuperscript{16} Most of the active persecution of sodomy by the Inquisition belonged to the New World.\textsuperscript{17}

According to historian Richard C. Trexler, the arena of conquest placed sexuality and gender clearly within the paradigm of the victor or vanquished where rape became an “insult” of war for both

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 319.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
men and women. Sexual and gender identity were not based on individual rights, pleasure or desires, or even on group rights. The role and function of gender and sexual identity pertained to the natural order or biological basis of reproduction and conquest.

Anthropologist June Nash observes the distinctive roles men and women played in the transition under Spanish Colonialism. Nash observes that “while women continued to have important roles in the domestic economy, they were [ultimately] excluded from the predatory economy.” In another location, historian Antonia Castañeda associates the “entrada” or “incursion” of the Spanish soldiers and priests with sexual violence of women and girls in Alta California (Figure 3). Castañeda recognizes that limited information on the subject of gender and sexuality exists, but nevertheless found similar findings as many others have noted previously that the subordination of women did in fact lead toward sexual violence and many other abuses that are well documented in the former Spanish Borderlands.

In the centuries where the origin of the Americas lies, multi-continental, and especially for the United States, the predicament of the Spanish Conquest left behind an arcane system of laws and religious codes without the benefit of a cultural Renaissance or a Protestant Reformation as had been experienced in Europe, but instead continued as facets of canonical and state law that would carry over into the United States expansion through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Just as the Spanish language that is spoken today in many regions of the Americas is an arcane vestige of the Old World, so, too, is the legal apparatus and cultural view of gender and sexuality residing within the remnants of a culture of conquest.

20 Ibid, 67.
The nineteenth century brought about expansion and new frontier attitudes through changes precipitated by United States expansion. These culminated in an ever denser context for gender and sexuality among Latina/o people as they came under US domination, physically in the former Mexican northern territories, and economically toward the end of the nineteenth century as the United States extended its reach toward the natural resources that Latin America provided, including its labor force.

While it is common to view the impact of the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-1848 as a training ground for US soldiers later engaged in the Civil War, and common to overlook the US invasion of Mexico beyond the border formed by the Rio Grande, gender and sexuality proved powerful agents in the hands of the US takeover as Mexican lands were acquired and gender and sexual politics shaped the dynamics of acquisition. Historian Deena González concludes that the centrality of such figures as Doña Gertrudis Barceló, who operated businesses in Santa Fe, was its wealthiest citizen for over three decades, and who was maligned by the invading Euro-Americans as a common whore or a madam, is the best example of the centrality of gender in the US colonization of the Mexican north. When Euro-Americans crossed illegally first into Texas, and later into New Mexico, they argued that the people were “as barren as the land,” “lazy,” and “ugly.” These undocumented merchants, soldiers, and vagabonds used such rhetoric to denounce the local population making it easier to occupy their land and achieve domination over the work force.

After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 resolved the armed conflict between the two countries, if not the bitter feelings between locals and imposers, women who had owned property as allowed under Spanish law were at a loss in a court system that did not allow women to adjudicate differences. Because women outlived men and tended to own property, land, houses, and livestock, they lost more than men when the Euro-Americans went to court to establish ownership under pretext. The

Widow Chaves of Santa Fe best exemplified how even wealthy women were duped by agents of the state, in this case a lawyer and claims surveyor who managed to conspire to produce a will in English that was not a translation of her wishes rendered in the original Spanish.23 Such occurrences were far from rare and the colonizers, who cast women as gullible or dependent, managed to exert legal influence to such an extent that many resident Spanish-Mexican people of the southwest endured land and property losses without recourse.

Because the northern Mexican territories figured so critically in US history, particularly after the California Gold Rush and the need for a transcontinental railroad, and because Latino/as played such an important role in the growth of the territories west of the Mississippi, it is clear why Spanish Borderlands history and writers, historians, and artists reference consistently the roles of women. Especially prominent are the stereotypes of women as virgins or martyrs, as saloon keepers or as pious maternal figures then and later in the twenty-first century concluding that a pattern of loss, of intimidation, and of violence characterized memory and life through to the present. While it is the case that abuses of power and of gender codes occurred and continue, the most recent focus on response and resistance, on defiance of assigned roles, whether racialized, sexualized, gendered, or classed, underscores new directions in our views of sexuality and male/female roles or patterns across time and geography. For that reason, we examine next the contemporary application of some previously mentioned gender codes and roles where sexuality and sexual expressiveness most endure as agents of political action as well as of derision. In understanding these dynamics, and through them, we find a great deal of hope for a future less determined by limitation and misunderstanding.

23 Ibid, 86.
Throughout the twentieth century, moral codes about gender and sexuality underwent a tumultuous period characterized by inconsistencies and scattered progressions. For Latina/os, the triumph of the United States over the Southwest transferred the focus from a Spanish system to an Anglo-European and Protestant perspective or at least the uneasy coexistence of both. One of the main areas that transformed perspectives...
on gender and sexuality has been the gender codes. With modernization came a new industrialized labor force that brought women out of the confines of the home. This carried over to other American sensibilities that gave new arrangements for identity and self-expression (Figure 4).

One of the enduring influences shaping Latino/a gender and sexuality since the era of the Spanish conquest is the Catholic Church which has taken a strong and influential stance on sexual conduct and gender attributes. In the sacrament of marriage, also called matrimony, for example, the covenant describes a partnership to be exclusively between a man and woman, and until just recently, women were asked to assent to a life as “man and wife.”25 A man thus retained his gender, but a woman’s was filtered through her marital identity as the wife of someone. The requirement of the covenant of marriage in Catholicism requires that the two partners be a man and a woman in fulfillment of the Catholic religion’s holy sacraments and as the only acceptable place, marriage, for sex and procreation.26

Until very recently, the laws of a nation, municipal and state, followed religion’s canonical law and recognized the partnership of marriage in accordance with those of religious practices. In June 2015, the United States Supreme Court decision Obergefell v. Hodges guaranteed same-sex couples across the country the fundamental right to marry.27 The movements for same-sex marriage initiatives and for civil unions that preceded the decision were met with a backlash that views them as part of a “liberal agenda” or a conspiracy against heterosexuality.28 Heterosexual marriage still enjoys a privileged position in the majority of Latina/o communities. Heterosexual privilege signifies a public recognition and support for an intimate relationship between a man and woman, and is recognized and supported by different social networks, such as the

27 The text of the decision is available online at http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/14pdf/14-556_3204.pdf.
28 See the resources at The Williams Institute website, http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu.
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workplace, governmental bodies, educational institutions, housing, health care, and, of course, acceptance and recognition by many religious organizations. It is a privilege often enjoying the status of a “right” and only in the past half century has it been challenged as inaccurately reflecting people’s lives, romantic interests, or the real lived experiences of gays and lesbians as well as bisexuals and transgender people. A later section of this essay gives examples of specific Latino and Latina-based challenges to heteronormativity or the belief that everyone is and must be heterosexual.

The expression of a male or female identity thus becomes embedded in institutions that support a masculine identity for men and feminine one for women. Another way of making this point is that masculinity and femininity express what it means to be a heterosexual male or female in a court of law, in hospitals, schools, or in churches, that is, in institutions that sanctify those privileges. The more obvious Latino expression of heterosexual masculinity is located in the term macho, which is defined as a strong, often exaggerated sense of masculine pride. To be macho has mixed meanings in the US context. Its meaning could be both positive and negative in connotation. Male athletes are considered a proper role model of masculinity.29 The more negative aspect is that of the stereotype of a macho as someone who is aggressive and demonstrates excessive dominance over women through male chauvinism. Most gay men, in traditional Latino/a thinking, would be considered less masculine and not sufficiently macho (Figure 5).30

The counterpart to the macho or male figure is to be found in the concept of Marianismo. Marianismo derives from the worship or following of the Virgin Mary (Maria) and her central role in active Catholicism. It is

29 See Schweighofer (this volume) for a discussion of masculinity in sport.
an ideal of true femininity that women are supposed to embody, that is, to be modest, virtuous, and sexually abstinent until marriage and then faithful and subordinate to their husbands. *Marianismo* serves as the female companion to "machismo," or hyper-masculinity, and originated as its counterpoint during the time of the Spanish conquest. It began as a

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direct response to the overused machismo and was intended to explain a female phenomenon in Latin America in which women were either depicted as saints or as whores. Female superiority was at the heart of Marianismo but its opposite also accounts for how easily, in this dichotomous construction, women could also be seen as overly and overtly sexual, that is, as super-sexed. Beginning in 1973, scholars have located the concept across many Latino/a cultures, meaning that it is a gender construction shared across national borders. Since the 1980s, however, other scholars introduced into the lexicon of femininity and womanhood more feminist-based ideas, including mujerismo or woman-centeredness which locates women’s power and struggles within a Catholic context, but one that engages religious equality and social liberation for all. A mujerista theology was also a response to male-constructed notions of how women should behave in social and religious contexts; in this case, the message was directed toward the traditional Catholic hierarchy.32

Other characteristics of machismo that are often hidden include an ostensibly valorous and chivalrous code of protection that extends into the Spanish and Latin-derived romantic virtues of sexual potency and prowess. Less obvious is the mujer passiva (or, la mujer abnegada) who negates herself for the love of her husband and children and sacrifices her individualism for the benefit of the family. This traditional role orients women toward home life and religious dedication. Gender and sexuality have their own unique expressions within Latina/o communities.

In the most basic sense, gender refers to the biological identity assigned at birth, usually, boy or girl, and depending on the circumstances of birth because some newborns on rare occasions have genitalia that might be male and female at once.33 In western culture, male and female

predominate as the primary assigned or prescribed gender categories. For Latina/os this expression of gender identity is unique. As a cultural facet of every Spanish-speaking nation across the Americas shaped by unique traditions, religious influences, and laws, most gender codes of conduct in the vast Latina/o experience emphasize femininity for women and masculinity for men. Ideally, these gender codes of masculinity and femininity have served as the basis of heterosexuality and with them, support the formation of the family social structure as a central basis for constructing gender and sexual identities.

Latinas experience negative stereotyping as frequently as their male counterparts. The virgin/whore complex refers to the way Latinas are situated between two completely opposite views: the virgin and the whore or the martyr and the witch are ideals embedded in cultural practices, religious or spiritual values, and in social life and they require women to behave and position themselves as either celibate (virginal) or as sacrificing themselves for the good of the family, the community, or the collective (martyr). Like the terms suggest, the virgin is the idealized woman in Latina/o culture, while the term witch refers to the maligned aspects of a woman who shows too much independence. Sexual promiscuity is central to the virgin/whore or martyr/witch dichotomies. To be “virginal” suggests an attitude of moral refinement and right action, and, to be labeled a whore or prostitute refers to someone who exhibits sexual autonomy and freedom, including the possibility of prostitution. Mainstream culture exploits this notion in advertising and the media, underscoring Latinas’ hypersexuality, or availability for sex. Popular culture focuses on Latinas’ bodies and eroticizes them on the basis of a traditional regard that Latinas had more children (meaning they had more sex) than white women. While attitudes about sexuality have changed

34 See Roscoe (this volume) for a discussion of multiple genders recognized by Native American societies.
36 For a review of the Spanish Mediterranean origins of these concepts, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).
during the last five decades, some of these attitudes about Latina/o men and women remain despite efforts to move away from cultural prescriptions and established preconceptions.\textsuperscript{37}

Now regarded as a socially constructed set of rules and behaviors, orthodox assumptions about heterosexuality and the view that men were superior and women inferior are being challenged. The belief that heterosexuality was the only option for sexual behavior no longer dominates Latina/o perspectives. Heteronormativity, the belief that heterosexuality is the only acceptable way of expressing and enjoying sexuality in the human experience, is further challenged by science, psychology, religious, and cultural mores. The belief that heterosexuality is

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Lukas_Avendaño-Mario_Patinho-Performance_Art-Arte_de_en_accion-Mexico-14.jpg}
\caption{Lukas Avendaño, contemporary Zapotec Muxe from Mexico. Photo by Mario Patinho, 2015.\textsuperscript{38}}
\end{figure}

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\textsuperscript{38} License: CC BY-SA 4.0. \url{https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lukas_Avendano-Mario_Patinho-Performance_Art-Arte_de_en_accion-Mexico-14.jpg}
“normal” and all other forms of sexuality outside of heterosexuality are abnormal, deviant, and disordered has given way to an understanding of the complexity of human gender and sexual expression including homosexuality, bisexuality, asexuality, and gender variation from those who are genderqueer to those who are transgender.\(^{39}\) Examined by many academics and activist political organizations, the focus on seeing sexuality as complex has expanded because there are more persuasive arguments, including scientific information, that support variety in human expression and behaviors, and to a great extent among mammals and other animals. These but reinforce the idea that sex and sexuality are not simple concepts and to be understood simply as uniformly or divinely ordained.\(^{40}\) Many Native American cultures recognized sexual and gender variations that go beyond the male/female understandings of Western European cultures.\(^{41}\) In the Americas for example, the Zapotec of Mexico recognize a third gender category, the Muxe (pronounced Mu-SHAY), who are identified as male when they are born, but who dress and live as women (Figure 6). Muxe are generally accepted by the Zapotec Indian culture and are not viewed negatively as they might be in western industrialized cultures. Muxe are not necessarily homosexual and do not fit neatly into identity categories one may find in US LGBTQ communities.

Gender identity and sexual orientation are related, but distinct cultural identities. There are many people in the United States who do not identify with the gender they were identified as at birth. Some people find that they identify opposite to the gender they were identified as; others may feel that they exist somewhere on the continuum between the two binaries, or as some gender not represented by male or female, or as no gender at all (agender). In sexuality and sexually-fluid identities the terms used are expressly significant. The same is the case in ethnic identity where a recent trend is to use Latinx to be inclusive of Latino/a, or of all self-identified people of Latin American origins. Most broadly, the term

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\(^{39}\) See Meyer, Stryker, and Hutchins (this volume).


\(^{41}\) For details about cultures within what is now the United States, see Roscoe (this volume).
transgender encompasses all those who do not identify with the gender they were identified with at birth; the terms gender fluid and gender queer are also used by people to describe themselves.\textsuperscript{42} Sexuality is defined as the expression of one’s sexual desire and may or may not include a certain partner. It is no longer widely seen as being limited to conventional terms of marriage and heterosexuality.\textsuperscript{43}

There are many different ways that people in the LGBTQ community and beyond it identify, depending on how they perceive their sexual and gender identities and how they express them. The terms used to describe these various attractions and identities have varied over time.\textsuperscript{44} After the 1950s, when for example, lesbian referred to women’s attraction for other women, and gay referred to men who expressed desire and partnership with each other, the sexual revolution following these understandings changed the way we describe contemporary sexual identity. The Latina/o LGBTQ communities emerged to claim spaces in the larger queer movements of the past decades from experiences in the sexual and feminist political debates, including those addressing civil rights and the rights of minorities, including sexual minorities. In sum, they drew from contemporary legacies, including civil rights, federal and state debates, and student movements that changed how minorities viewed their position in society.\textsuperscript{45}

History and Activism of Latina/o Sexual Politics

Latinas/os had been situated at the margins in queer political movements, often overlooked in major historical moments, their political,

\textsuperscript{42} For more on transgender identities, see Stryker (this volume).
\textsuperscript{43} The breadth of examples and of influence about the entire topic of Latina literary narratives, to name just one, can be traced in Katherine Sugg, “The Ultimate Rebellion: Chicana Narratives of Sexuality and Community,” \textit{Meridians: Feminism, Race, and Transnationalism} 3, no. 2 (2003): 139-170.
\textsuperscript{44} For a list of popular definitions and terms, see Fedwa Malti-Douglas, ed., \textit{Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender} (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2007).
cultural, social, and sexual aktivisms intertwined with radical economic and demographic changes to underscore gay rights issues (Figure 7). The general influence of queer Latinas/os became more prominent during the 1980s and 1990s and visibility and representation posed less of a challenge. During these decades, the marginalized role queer Latinos played within some of the larger LGBTQ political movements continued to permeate issues and organizations. Several pivotal and historical factors contributed to the emergence and visibility of Latinas/o queers. In these early decades, the plight of AIDS and Latina feminism transformed the  

Figure 7: The interior of the Circus Disco, 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, August 2011. Circus Disco was opened in 1975 as a place for gay Latinos. Like African Americans, Latinos were discriminated against by many in the white LGBTQ community. They were discriminated against at white gay clubs in the area by bouncers who required multiple forms of identification from people of color, while white patrons only had to show one form of ID. Not just a social venue, Circus Disco played an important role as a place of community development and political organizing; in 1983, César Chávez addressed approximately one hundred members of the Project Just Business LGBTQ coalition at the bar. In his address, he discussed strategies for coalition fundraising and organizing boycotts. Circus Disco closed in January 2016. Slated for demolition, the developer has agreed to preserve several historic elements of the club. Photo by Tony Nungaray.46 

issue of visibility as Latinos sought to transform their cultural “outsider” status—being ethnic and political minorities—often sidelined as contributing leaders and players in the larger spheres of LGBTQ politics (Figure 8). Since the 1950s and even in today’s politics of self-representation, the use of the terms such as “Latino,” “Latina,” and “queer” transformed their pejorative meanings into a positive reflection of Latinidad, a label of consciousness about Latin American roots, and in the case of embracing a queer Latinidad, a politicized and political identity.47

The same thing occurred in the 1960s in the Chicano movement; as women claimed their stake and interests in struggles for equality, access to education, and farmworker’s and other laborers’ rights, the pejorative flavor of the word Chicano (meaning perhaps Mexicano pronounced in the original Nahuatl language as Me-SHEE-cano) slipped into popular acceptance. Today, three established PhD programs in Chicana/o Studies indicate the widespread acceptance of the concept of selfhood, of naming oneself and of embracing an identity for varied political, cultural, or socially-acceptable reasons.

Until the most recent census, as the invisibility of Latino/as pervaded among the majority population as a whole, recognizing one’s homosexuality amidst racial disenfranchisement made it even more difficult to be proud of any identity at all. In the Latina experience, misogyny and homophobia created complications because lesbian women were often single parents, unpartnered or disowned by their families of origin. The popular term used until the 1960s was “homosexual.” “Gay” only began to gain legitimacy in later decades as gays and lesbians openly declared and reclaimed their sexual identities. “Gay” was often used to refer to gay men’s experience and women began to use “lesbian” alongside “gay” to contrast the gender distinctions. Only in the 1990s was the term “queer” used to encompass all groups from a wide range of

47 See Latino Studies Journal 1, no. 1 (March 2003).
gender and sexualities. AIDS activism radicalized lesbian and gay men’s movements in the early 1990s, and their leaders continued a quest to elect local sympathetic officials, found or run businesses, and create families within this expanding display of sexual desires and sexuality. Some resisted the idea of “flamboyance,” while others were proudly flamboyant. Most gay and lesbian politicians and social activists argued strenuously for the inclusion of all sexual expression, no matter how disdainful some would find them, citing First and Second Constitutional Amendments as rights given to any American citizen without regard for their sexuality. Others also used “queer” to formulate artistic, artistic,

Figure 8: “El SIDA también es un problema para los hispanos” (AIDS is a problem for Hispanics too), from the US Centers for Disease Control’s America Responds to AIDS campaign, circa 1990-1994. A translation of the text (from the English version of the poster) reads, in part, “It’s difficult for our families to talk about drugs and AIDS. And it is not our nature to openly discuss issues like teen sex, homosexuality and bisexuality. We were brought up with traditional values. Even among our immediate family we don’t talk...we want to, but it’s just not that easy. AIDS is serious. We need to talk about it openly.” Several Latino/a community-based health organizations emerged during the AIDS crisis, including Community United in Responding to AIDS/SIDA (CURAS) and Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (which operated from 1993 to 2005), who worked to reduce the spread of HIV in communities of color. Known for their innovative community engagement, the mission statement of Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (PCPV) read: “Proyecto ContraSIDA is coming to you—you joto, you macha, you vestigial, you queer, you femme, you girls and boys and boygirls and girlboys de ambiente, con la fé and fearlessness that we can combat AIDS, determine our own destinos, and love ourselves and each other con dignidad, humor, y lujuria.” This mission statement embraces many different sexualities and genders, and PCPV worked with transgender people for ten years before the organization shut its doors due to lack of funding. In 2006, several of those who had been involved with PCPV created El/La Para TransLatinas to continue HIV outreach, community services, and advocacy for transgender Latinas. Both PCPV and El/La Para TransLatinas had offices at 2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California. Image courtesy of the Wellcome Library, London.48


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political, and social initiatives particularly in the urban centers of the country.\textsuperscript{49}

The pre-Stonewall period, before 1969, is often cited as an era marked by closeted life for many gays and lesbians, though there were those who worked publicly for LGBTQ civil rights.\textsuperscript{50} It was incredibly difficult to be open about homosexuality, and this proved to be a fearful time where little to no acceptance about any gay/lesbian lifestyle pervaded. Senator Joseph McCarthy’s witch hunts included searching for homosexuals in the early 1950s, blacklisting actors who might have had even an affiliation with known or suspected gay actors and actresses; the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover was discovered to have been obsessed about locating the secret lives of many left-leaning, supposedly communist-sympathizing Americans.\textsuperscript{51} Adding to that experience of marginalization, racial politics and especially anti-Latino sentiment across the United States hardly encouraged honesty or open declarations. Despite such marginalization and erasure from the larger historical picture, Latinas/os played a role in the nascent gay liberation movements that were forming and founded.\textsuperscript{52} The summer of 1969 ushered in a new perspective on sexuality for gays and lesbians. On June 28, 1969, a group of gay and lesbians, many of them Latina/o and of color, rebelled against police harassment at the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village in New York City.\textsuperscript{53} During the Stonewall riots and in its aftermath, several Latina/o activists were critical players in forming the vocabulary and understanding of what was to

\textsuperscript{49} For sensationalizing media coverage of early gay rights marches, see as examples, Sex and Love Editor, “Will the gay rights movement make for fabulous history?” \textit{Creative Loafing}, July 25, 2011, \url{http://cltampa.com/dailyloaf/archives/2011/07/25/will-the-gay-rights-movement-make-for-fabulous-history} or for primary sources designed to develop lesson plans for gay and lesbian studies, see Media Construction of Social Justice, Teacher's Guide, Unit 7: Gay Liberation at \url{http://www.projectlooksharp.org/?action=justice}.

\textsuperscript{50} See Springate, Civil Rights (this volume).


\textsuperscript{52} Tim Retzloff, “Elding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined,” \textit{CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies} 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 140-161.

\textsuperscript{53} Stonewall, including the Stonewall Inn (51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York) and the area in the street and Christopher Park where the riots took place was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999, designated an NHL on February 16, 2000, and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.
become the “gay liberation” movement. Before the Stonewall riots, many of the queer political movements were limited to organizations such as the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis and were focused primarily on fighting discrimination. These organizations believed in assimilation over marginalization and difference, but the agenda of these groups emphasized Anglo-American values, middle-class interests, and the desire to blend in with mainstream society, despite the fact that each group contained gays and lesbians of color.

Despite the Anglo, middle-class values of the earliest LGBTQ or Queer movements, some Latino activists clearly and cleverly resisted the assimilationist models that predominated a pre-civil rights era. In San Francisco, for example, José Sarria rejected the secrecy of the Mattachine Society and founded instead the League for Civil Education in 1960, which sought to educate queer and straight people.

56 See also Sueyoshi and Harris (this volume).
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...communities about homophobia and especially police abuse. The group worked to find a solution to the police raids of gay bars and harassment that was pervasive at the time (Figure 9). Sarria would move on and subsequently founded the Royal Court System in 1965, which now serves as the collective body for over sixty-five local chapters worldwide, each of which organizes drag-related fundraisers for queer charities.

Latina Sylvia Rivera was born Ray Rivera in New York City to Puerto Rican and Venezuelan parents, and took the name Sylvia while still a child. Rivera was present at Stonewall during the 1969 Stonewall Riots. Told through testimony, Rivera purportedly threw out one of the first bricks at the police during the riot. She also played an important role in the organization of other queer organizations, among them the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and another offspring of the GLF, called the Gay

Figure 10: Sylvia Rivera was among the Gay Liberation Front and members of the Gay Student Liberation group who demonstrated in 1970 outside New York University’s Weinstein Hall after the university cancelled and then refused to allow gay dances on campus. Other protesters simultaneously occupied the basement of the building. Protesters dispersed when the Tactical Police Force arrived. Frustrated by the refusal of the group to defend itself against the police, Rivera and others formed the more radical Street Transvestites for Gay Power, later to become the Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries. Weinstein Hall is located at 5 University Place, New York City, New York. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs, b14442517).
Activists Alliance (GAA) (Figure 10). These organizations were active primarily from 1970 to 1974 and included Latino/as. Rivera would also move on to co-found, with Marsha P. Johnson, the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which focused on providing social services to those we would now identify as transgender and queer youth, and to offer a safe space for transgender political voices to speak.

In response to many instances of erasure and lack of consideration, many Latina/o queers began setting up their own representational organizations such as the Third World Gay Revolution in New York the Gay Liberated Chicanos of Los Angeles, or the Gay Latino Alliance (GALA) of San Francisco (Figure 11). In yet another example of representational political efforts, a New York-based Latino gay men's group, described as a coalitional group from several countries in Latin America, published a pamphlet in Spanish, AFUERA ("Out").61 Focused on the politics of “coming out,” the booklet examined leftist ideas drawing from Third World liberation, Marxist thought, and challenged patriarchy, as one scholar of Latino gay rights notes.62 In 1974 in Puerto Rico, inspired by the 1969 Stonewall Riots, LGBTQ Puerto Ricans

Figure 11: Esta Noche, the first gay Latino bar in San Francisco, was located at 3079 Sixteenth Street. The bar was founded in 1979 by openly gay community members Anthony Lopez and Manuel Quijano and initially had close ties with the Gay Latino Alliance (GALA). Esta Noche was a safe place for LGBTQ Latinos/as to meet, socialize, and form community. Like other people of color, Latinos/as often experienced racism and discrimination at predominantly white bars and clubs. The group, Gay American Indians, also founded in response to discrimination in white LGBTQ spaces, often met at Esta Noche. The bar closed in 2014. Photo by Sean Hoyer, 2008.60

60 License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/flavor32/2283576978
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founded the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Figure 12). They published *Pa’fuera!* and offered educational and community services out of the second floor space in a residential neighborhood. Of major significance to the coming out process were the public events and social celebrations such as parades, pageants, and political activism. Understanding that “coming out” and public visibility were important to LGBTQ rights, organizations such as Comité Homosexual Latinoamericano, or the Latin American Homosexual Committee attempted to march in New York’s annual Puerto Rican Day Parade (Figure 13). Denied participation, activists were successful in drawing attention to gay realities in Puerto Rican communities, a move that one scholar believes presaged later battles over St. Patrick’s Day Parades which ended in the United States Supreme Court.64

Figure 12: The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), at 3 Saldaña Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico, was the home of the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico. Inspired by the Stonewall Riots in New York City, the group was founded in 1974, and was Puerto Rico’s first gay liberation organization. They occupied this building from 1975 to 1976. Casa Orgullo was listed on the NRHP on May 1, 2016. Photo by Santiago Gala, 2015, courtesy of the Puerto Rico State Historic Preservation Office.

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63 The Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico was founded on August 4, 1974 at a meeting held at the San Juan Unitarian Fellowship, 53 Sevilla Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico. In 1975, they rented their own space, the Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo) at 3 Calle Saldaña, San Juan, Puerto Rico. The group lasted until 1976.

64 Hurley v. Irish-American Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Group of Boston, 515 U.S. 557 (1995), is a landmark decision regarding the right to assemble. Much to the dismay of gay rights groups, the court ruled that private organizations, even if they were planning on and had permits for a public demonstration, were permitted to exclude groups if those groups presented a message contrary to the one the organizing group wanted to convey. Organizers of the St. Patrick’s Day event were under no obligation to include gays, lesbians, and transgender people in the annual parade. In 2015, LGBTQ people were allowed to march in St. Patrick’s Day parades in Boston, Massachusetts and New York City, New York for the first time. See David Gibson, “Catholic Debate over Gays in St. Patrick’s Parades Roils Irish on Big Day,” *Huffington Post*, March 17, 2015, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/17/st-patrick-day-parade-lgbt_n_6880892.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/03/17/st-patrick-day-parade-lgbt_n_6880892.html).
Many issues have come to impact the LGBTQ communities regarding access and adequate care and representation. One of the most difficult aspects of being “out” is the working through the homophobic attitudes against LGBTQ people. They often have faced discrimination in legal matters, and life-threatening decisions in areas of health care and immigration. These concerns over homophobia in the legal system became the basis of many legal disputes with cases related to child custody, immigration, and survivor benefits. Mariana Romo-Carmona underwent such legal battle over the custody of her son, she notes.

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https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ricky_Martin_at_the_National_Puerto_Rican_Day_Parade.jpg
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“Sometimes our own families act in collusion with the state to deprive us of the right to raise our own children.”

Issues with immigration also surfaced as lesbian or bisexual and transsexual women seeking asylum into the United States have been denied entry. Ironically, many LGBTQ people were among the thousands of Cubans allowed to come to the United States as part of the Marielito boatlift, sent out of Cuba as the nation drained the undesirables. Until recently, immigration laws have generally excluded LGBTQ people from entering the United States and other nations also do not offer considerations for LGBTQ refugees. It has only been since the 2015 Supreme Court decision regarding same-sex marriage that spouses of LGBTQ people have been eligible for immigration privileges and death benefits. Elba Cedeno’s life partner was killed in the World Trade Center attacks on September 11, 2001. Her efforts to access survivor benefits from the Federal Victim’s Compensation Fund were denied. After denial of her claims, she sought representation from the Lambda Legal Defense Fund.

Homophobia in one of the largest industries in the United States, health care, discourages gays, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender people from access to adequate medical care. This is exacerbated by cultural and financial barriers that discourage Latino/as in general from seeking health care. While some changes in the health care industry have developed,

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67 See Capó (this volume).
68 The seven buildings of the World Trade Center were located in Lower Manhattan, New York City. They were destroyed by terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.
like increasingly noting sexual preference and preferred name and gender pronouns in a chart so that accurate information can be conveyed, health care in the United States continues to practice heteronormativity. Suzanne Newman, producer of *Nuestra Salud*, discusses lesbian health issues. Newman notes, “Many Latinas believe that you only go to the OB-GYN when you’re sick or dying ... And that when you do go, you always get bad news.”  

Conclusion: Contemporary Sites of Political Organizing

Latina lesbian organizations that emerged during the 1990s and later included Latina Lesbians United Never Apart (LLUNA, Boston); Ellas en Acción (San Francisco); Las Buenas Amigas (New York City); Entre Ellas (Austin, Texas); and Amigas Latinas (Chicago). Chicago LGBTQ activists are often overlooked by LGBTQ historians, but a number of notables can be found in the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame, including Latinas Mona Noriega and Evette Cardona. Latino/a LGBTQ organizations more broadly are increasingly found across the country, including the Association of Latinos/as Motivating Action (ALMA) in Chicago; Latino LinQ in Atlanta; the Austin Latina/Latino Lesbian and Gay Organization (ALLGO) in Austin; the Latino Pride Center in New York City; AGUILAS in San Francisco; the Unity Coalition in Florida; and from 1987 to 2004, the National Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ). The Latino
GLBT History Project works to preserve LGBTQ Latina/o history (Figure 14).  

Lesbians have made significant inroads in local community politics and serve social justice causes in critical ways. In San Antonio, Texas, Graciela Sánchez and a group of young feminists with visions of ending discrimination founded the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center (Figure 15). When homophobic interests sought to cut the center's funding, Esperanza sued and won. In Los Angeles, attorney and housing advocate Elena Popp helped elect Antonio Villaraigosa to a seat on the Los Angeles City Council. She was expected to run for lesbian Jackie Goldberg's seat in the California State Senate. In Washington, DC, attorney Mercedes Marquez served as deputy general during the National March for Lesbian and Gay Rights in Washington, DC, and had their headquarters in DC. See “National Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) Records, 1987-2004,” Texas Archival Resources Online, University of Texas Libraries website, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00273/lac-00273.html; and Patrick Saunders, “New organization tackles Latino LGBT needs in Georgia,” Georgia Voice, August 21, 2015, http://thegovoice.com/new-organization-tackles-latino-lgbt-needs-in-georgia.

The Latino GLBT History Project was founded in Washington, DC, by Jose Gutierrez in 2000. See the organization’s website at http://www.latinoglbthistory.org.  

See Esperanza vs. the City of San Antonio at http://esperanzacenter.org. The Esperanza Peace & Justice Center is located at 922 San Pedro Avenue, San Antonio, Texas.
counsel for fair housing at the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. In 1993, with the help of Ellas in Acción, Susan Leal was appointed to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Olga Vives, a Cubana, served as vice president of action for the National Organization for Women (NOW) until her death in 2012. She said that in NOW she could focus on a mix of issues that affected her life as a “Latina, immigrant, mother, and lesbian from the Midwest.”76 Ingrid Durán works in the national political arena through the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute. She has served as a social justice broker and change agent, mitigating homophobia in Latina/Latino political organizations and countering racism in LGBTQ organizations.77

Other rich forms of activism manifest in lesbian and feminist cultural representations. During the 1990s, Tatiana de la Tierra, a Colombian writer, activist, and librarian (now deceased), published three Latina lesbian magazines: Conmoción, Esto No Tiene Nombre, and Telaraña.79 In Los Angeles, Tongues is a Latina lesbian group and publication that grew out of VIVA, a 1980s LGBTQ Latina/Latino arts group. Members included artist Alma López, whose controversial re-imagination of Our Lady caused

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77 For examples of Ingrid Durán’s work in Washington and with elected officials, see http://www.dpcreativestrategies.com/#/ingrid-duran/w83no.
78 License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/jennherrera/4759590950
79 A previous website could be found at http://delatierra.net.
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a furor in New Mexico in 2001.80 MACHA Theatre (Mujeres Advancing Culture, History, and Art), led by Cuban American Odalys Nanin, produces plays with lesbian content.81 Laura Aguilar is a Los Angeles-based Chicana photographer whose images examine body image and cultural identity.82 A long list of Latina and Latino LGBTQ writers, activists, and other notables can be found on the Lesbian History Project Web site thereby suggesting how enduring this legacy of both activism and presence or visibility has been, but also what a leading role in gender and sexuality studies such writers and researchers, artists, and others have played in deriving contemporary feminist standing, including among gay Latino men as well as heterosexual allies.

Many theories today argue that the hegemonic narratives of identity politics (said to be grounded in nationalist or religious identities) are an essentialist error, but some Latina lesbians argue that identity politics have been their survival strategy. In other words, possessing an identity politics grounded on gender and sexuality allows a person to sustain a strong politics of identity. Emma Pérez has written that “strategic essentialism is practiced resistance against dominant ideologies that silence and/or model marginalized groups.”83 Regardless of theoretical and political disruptions, straight, lesbian, and bisexual Latina feminists who began exploring gender and sexuality as important elements of their human condition maintained a standpoint of resistant consciousness and created important movements of interaction with familia, cultura, and the larger society. For a unique moment, historically speaking, such consciousness existed apart from patriarchal reach or male visions of women’s proper roles. In this way, the new Latina feminisms of the

81 See the MACHA Theatre website at http://www.machatheatre.org.
contemporary era also shed light on men’s gender roles and encourage their re-examination as well. Such accomplishment attests to the significance of an understanding about the varied, central roles gender and sexuality have played in Latino/a life.¹

“WHERE WE COULD BE OURSELVES”: AFRICAN AMERICAN LGBTQ HISTORIC PLACES AND WHY THEY MATTER

Jeffrey A. Harris

Introduction

My first forays into African American LGBTQ history were purely for self-edification. As an out African American man, I sought out whatever information I could find, from novels, to anthologies, to biographies, to documentaries. In many ways, I was looking for a sense of community, and a sense of belonging as an LGBTQ African American through the information I sought. Yet, it wasn’t until I started working in historic preservation that I began asking different questions, and seeking new information. Though I began my work in history by following the traditional academic path, historic preservation proved to be a revelation for me. I began to understand more fully the power and importance of visiting
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historic places. I took note of the impact on people that historic sites had. I also saw how academic history and historic preservation could work in tandem to broaden our overall understanding of the past.

I remember visiting Montpelier, the home of our fourth president, James Madison, and I had something of an epiphany.¹ As a docent conducted our tour of the grounds, she spoke of the praise the Madison family received regarding the beauty of their estate. As I looked toward the mountains in the distance, and did a visual sweep of the manicured lawns, I turned around and looked at the home itself (it was in the midst of a major renovation at that time). Then, it hit me, as though I was struck by lightning, that everything I was taking in had been the work of the enslaved Africans who were owned by the Madison family. I understood that the praise the docent mentioned earlier needed to be directed toward those who actually did the work to make Montpelier beautiful. I began to swell with pride at THEIR work. I looked at my surroundings again, imagining what it would have looked like back when James and Dolley Madison were living, and I felt a sense of ownership of Montpelier on behalf of those who were forced to work there, and on behalf of the descendants of those who worked there. I realized, for myself, that there was no need to feel shame over slavery, something that many people do feel (along with anger and sadness). Instead, I offered congratulations, silently, to those spirits who did that work, and did it well. If no one in their lives offered genuine thanks for THEIR work, I wanted to do it those many years later, and I did.

I shared that anecdote, because I wanted to convey the impact that visiting an historic site can have on a person. I felt a similar sense of pride, when I moved to the Logan Circle neighborhood of Washington, DC, in the mid-2000s.² Occasionally, I would walk around the surrounding neighborhoods looking for the residences of noted African Americans, and

¹ Montpelier, near Orange, Virginia, was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.
² There are two historic districts in the Logan Circle neighborhood: the Logan Circle Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 30, 1972; the Fourteenth Street Historic District was added to the NRHP on November 9, 1994.
Where We Could Be Ourselves”: African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter

I took special care to look for the homes of African American LGBTQ Washington residents. I hoped to build on the legacies that they left behind, because I was following in their footsteps. That is why I accepted the opportunity to participate in this LGBTQ theme study. I recognized the deep need for the African American LGBTQ community not only to know where our predecessors made their history, but also to identify places that are still available for us to visit, even if that visit constitutes standing outside of a door, or driving by a building where something incredible happened. And it certainly is important for historic places associated with African American LGBTQ history to be recognized as places worthy of inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Though I will focus more attention on some of these historic sites within the body of this study, I wanted to share a partial list of the few African American LGBTQ-related historic sites that either are National Historic Landmarks (NHL) or are currently listed on the NRHP. Two NHL sites that have African American LGBTQ historic relevance are: The residence of writer Claude McKay in Harlem, New York, and Villa Lewaro, the estate of Madame C. J. Walker, the hair straightening and beauty products magnate, and her daughter, A’Lelia, in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.3 Six sites on the NRHP that have African American LGBTQ historic relevance include: The residence of writer Langston Hughes, the Apollo Theater in Harlem, the apartment complex where Countee Cullen lived (the Dunbar Apartments), as well as the residence of civil and LGBTQ rights activist Bayard Rustin, all of which are in New York City; the residence of Gertrude “Ma” Rainey in Columbus, Georgia; and Azurest South, the Petersburg, Virginia home of architect Amaza Lee Meredith.4

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3 The Claude McKay Residence (Harlem YMCA) at 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976. Villa Lewaro is located on North Broadway (US 9), Irvington, New York. It was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 11, 1976.

4 The Apollo Theater is located at 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on November 17, 1983. The Langston Hughes House in Harlem, New York was listed on the NRHP on October 29, 1982. The Dunbar Apartments in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City, New York were listed on the NRHP on March 29, 1979. The Bayard Rustin Residence in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016. The Ma Rainey House (now the Ma Rainey House and Blues Museum) is located at 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia; it was
these, only the Bayard Rustin site has as express African American LGBTQ narrative highlighted in its nomination. Of course, as scholars and researchers discover new information, or revisit existing information and find missed LGBTQ context clues, then the number of these sites will grow.5

It was during my tenure as program coordinator of the African American Historic Places Initiative at the National Trust for Historic Preservation that I learned of Azurest South (Figure 1). Located on the campus of Virginia State University, a historically black university, Azurest South was the home of architect Amaza Lee Meredith. The home itself, completed in 1939, is an example of the International Style in architecture, and Meredith was, at that time, one of the nation’s few African American female architects. Though trained as a teacher, Meredith explored her artistic expression through architecture, and she designed homes for family and friends. Meredith also dabbled in real estate development, with the creation of Azurest North, an African American resort community in Sag Harbor, New York. Azurest South was listed on the NRHP in 1993, particularly for its architectural distinction. However, as I read through the National Register nomination, I noticed that Dr. Edna Meade Colson, a former dean of the university’s School of Education, was identified as

Figure 1: Azurest South, Ettrick, Virginia, 1987. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

5 For a list of the ten LGBTQ-associated properties currently listed on the NRHP and designated NHLs, see Springate, Introduction (this volume).
Meredith’s “companion.” The nomination also provided a description of the second bedroom in the home, a room identified as Dr. Colson’s. Meredith preceded Colson in death, and in the two years before Colson passed away, the university co-owned Azurest South with Colson. It was clear to me that I’d stumbled upon an African American LGBTQ historic place that was listed on the NRHP, but wasn’t identified expressly as such. Meredith and Colson likely did not live in a LGBTQ vacuum, meaning that there likely was a LGBTQ community at Virginia State, no matter how clandestine it may have been, to which they belonged. But at Azurest South, they were able to create a space where they could be themselves.

Purpose of the Chapter

This chapter is part of a longstanding effort to identify African American historic places that should be considered for listing on the NRHP. But it is, more specifically, an examination of African American historic places that are directly related to the African American LGBTQ experience. The historic places that will be highlighted are currently are listed on the National Register, but without specific mention of their LGBTQ historical ties, unlisted historic places that are extant, and African American LGBTQ historic places that have been lost. As Gail Dubrow, author of “Deviant History, Defiant Heritage” notes, there are those who view sexual orientation as a private matter: “Corollary thinking suggests that we have no business ‘outing’ closeted gay people and that sexual orientation is largely irrelevant to the interpretation of the past....” In spite of that concern, it is of particular importance that the African American LGBTQ community be represented openly through its sites of historic significance. The African American community as a whole had experienced efforts at historical erasure in the past. Through scholarship, however, historians

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6 Azurest South now serves as the home of the Virginia State University Alumni Association.
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and preservationists have enriched the American historical narrative, and have identified historic places tied to African Americans, including historic places that many would not automatically consider African American historic places. The White House and the US Capitol Building are great examples. Historical erasure has also been experienced by the African American LGBTQ community both in broader LGBTQ history and African American history. This study will help to move the needle in the direction not only of combatting that erasure, but also in gaining national recognition for African American LGBTQ historic places.

The African American LGBTQ community, for the most part, and unlike the broader white LGBTQ community, was integrated into, and has remained within, broader African American historic communities. Even following the Stonewall rebellion, and the growing acceptance and visibility of the LGBTQ community as a whole, there have not been significant movements to create African American LGBTQ enclaves or for LGBTQ African Americans to leave African American communities for LGBTQ-identified communities. Racism and economic disparities, both social and structural, have certainly contributed to this circumstance. As Professor of Rhetoric Charles Nero noted in his study tracing the development of the Faubourg Marigny neighborhood of New Orleans into a “gay ghetto,” this racialized social and physical segregation was often by design: “Exploiting personal and friendship networks that had been established because of shared sexual—and racial and gender—identities was crucial...in the Marigny.” African American LGBTQ people were excluded from home ownership in the neighborhood “because they were neither a part of their formal networks of middle class gay men nor were they employed in the low wage service sector of gay owned businesses.” As a result, the gay enclave of Faubourg Marigny is largely white. These circumstances are not unique to Faubourg Marigny. In his study of

8 The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC, was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. The United States Capitol building, Capitol Hill, Washington, DC, was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.
10 Ibid., 234.
Harlem’s African American gay male community, anthropologist William Hawkeswood notes that, “...given the relative social and economic marginalization experienced by most residents of Harlem...that apart from organized religion’s traditional dogma against homosexuality, gayness does not in itself draw condemnation from others in the community.” Historian Timothy Stewart-Winter, in his study on gay politics in Chicago, notes that African American LGBTQ life was a visible component of the broader African American community in the city, which definitely was not the case for Chicago’s white LGBTQ community. It is not surprising that many African American LGBTQ people have historically remained within African American communities and that therefore the vast majority of African American LGBTQ historic places are located there.

There is no question that the vast majority of the earliest LGBTQ historical studies focused primarily on the experiences of white males, largely reflecting the experiences of their authors—themselves predominantly white men. Historian Kevin J. Mumford notes that “[m]any of the best and most important studies have avoided further investigation into the meanings of race for the gay past.” Despite the avoidance of race, almost every general LGBTQ history covering the early twentieth century features information about Harlem and/or the Harlem Renaissance. This, I believe, is a testament to the power and visibility of Harlem’s African American LGBTQ community and the willingness of Harlemites to provide spaces for interracial interactions rarely allowed

13 In his important work on the history of LGBTQ New York City, The Gay Metropolis, 1940-1996, Charles Kaiser stated the following, regarding his focus: “Some of the ordinary and extraordinary citizens who nurtured the spectacular growth of that larger metropolis are the main subjects of this book. While the women I have written about are among the most compelling characters in this saga, men gradually became my principal focus—because their story is also mine.” See Charles Kaiser, The Gay Metropolis, 1940-1996 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), xii.
14 “As more researchers engage the queer turn, wholly new sexual landscapes promise to emerge, and yet one methodological flaw that limits both the older and recent scholarship has been inattention to questions of diversity and prejudice.” See Kevin J. Mumford, Not Straight, Not White: Black Gay Men from the March on Washington to the AIDS Crisis (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 2.
elsewhere during this period. In part, this was helped by the vice industry that had established itself in Harlem (keeping the vice out of places like the white LGBTQ enclave of Greenwich Village), so “Harlem clubs... continued to mix straight and gay, thereby providing homosexuals with a proportionally greater number of gathering spots than were available in the more uptight downtown white world.” Because white members of the LGBTQ community could make the trip uptown to “slum” among the Harlemites, they too could be themselves—even if for an evening. As a result, early chroniclers of LGBTQ history found many references to Harlem in the archives and papers that they mined.

Harlem Renaissance Era

Harlem has a special place in African American LGBTQ history. Not only was there a concentration of African American LGBTQ folk there, but their presence was visible and documented—uncommonly so in the early twentieth century. The participants of the Harlem Renaissance left an historical record, from Richard Bruce Nugent’s “Smoke, Lilies and Jade,” the first known African American literary work with an explicit gay theme, to the various drag balls that were attended (and chronicled) by interracial audiences. The Harlem African American LGBTQ community, which included people from across the country, left an indelible mark on African American, LGBTQ, and American history. But not without limits; as George Chauncey noted, though LGBTQ people “were casually accepted by many

15 Harlem was also something of a vice district, so there was a greater tolerance by the city for the salacious and licentious behavior. As historian George Chauncey noted in his book Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940: “The ascendency of Harlem’s nightlife...also owed much to the willingness of city authorities to look the other way as the largely white-controlled ‘vice industry’ took shape in a poor black neighborhood.” George Chauncey, Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940, 3rd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 247.


17 According to Jack Dowling, who was interviewed by Charles Kaiser for The Gay Metropolis, 1940-1996, he and his friends used to patronize the Harlem club, Lucky’s. “It was a big bar where the waiters and waitresses would sing, and the patrons would sing, and people would come and listen to jazz. It was a straight bar, but there were a lot of gay people from downtown, and there were a lot of Black gay guys there.” Kaiser, 122. Lucky’s Rendezvous was located at 773 St. Nicholas Avenue and 148th Street, Harlem, New York City, New York. See Ulysses, “REMEMBER: Lucky’s Rendezvous,” Harlem + Bespoke (blog), June 11, 2012, http://harlembespoke.blogspot.com/2012/06/remember-luckys-rendezvous.html.
poor Harlemites and managed to earn a degree of begrudging respect from others, they were excoriated by the district’s moral guardians.”

Cultural Studies scholar, Shane Vogel, notes that many of the more famous artists of this era, members known as the “Cabaret School,” “rejected the narratives and logics of normative racial uplift and sexual respectability that initially guided the Harlem Renaissance.”

Scholars and preservationists of African American LGBTQ history owe much to the “Cabaret School” of the Harlem Renaissance.

Decades after the Harlem Renaissance, its LGBTQ history survived in stories told across the generations: “Many stories abound about the legendary figures of the Harlem Renaissance. There is the ‘Langston Hughes chair’ in one gay bar, the apartment where Countee Cullen and Harold Jackman played out their long-term affair, the solicitation of young college students by the eminent Alain Locke, and tales of the restroom and park sex of Richard Bruce Nugent and Wallace Thurman.”

These oral histories mention places that researchers may be able to find, like the specific apartment of the Cullen/Jackman affair, or which park Nugent and Thurman enjoyed. African American women certainly weren’t excluded from these sorts of recollections. “Harlemites might ridicule stereotypic bulldaggers or drag queens, but in the twenties especially, bisexuality had a certain cachet in sophisticated circles, and in the world of show biz the rumored lesbianism of such favored entertainers as Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Alberta Hunter and Ethel Waters tended to be ignored as irrelevant.”

The historical scholarship focused on the era of the Harlem Renaissance, as well as gay life in the 1920s and 1930s, has been

18 Chauncey, 253.
20 Hawkeswood, 154.
21 “A lesbian subculture seems to have developed earlier in Harlem than elsewhere, probably because blacks, knowing the pain of being treated as outsiders, had developed an attitude toward homosexuality relatively more tolerant than was characteristic of white heterosexual circles....” See Duberman, 42.
particularly helpful in identifying African American LGBTQ historic places.\textsuperscript{22} LGBTQ literary luminaries like Langston Hughes and Claude McKay have residences that are currently listed on the NRHP; McKay’s residence has also been designated an NHL.\textsuperscript{23} The Dunbar Apartments were home to Countee Cullen, and the complex is listed on the National Register.\textsuperscript{24} In addition to historical research, the literary canon of the Harlem Renaissance itself provides the names of LGBTQ writers and the places associated with them. Unfortunately, one of the most significant historic places tied to African American LGBTQ literature, the “267 House,” was demolished in 2002, and a new building was built in its place.\textsuperscript{25} The “267 House” (also referred to as “Niggerati Manor” by its residents) was a rooming house where Zora Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, Wallace Thurman, and Richard Bruce Nugent all used to live. It was here where Wallace Thurman sought contributions from other young artists for a publication made for them, as opposed to being targeted to an outside audience. The 1926 publication was *Fire!!*, and included the aforementioned “Smoke, Lilies and Jade” short story from Richard Bruce Nugent.\textsuperscript{26} Thurman would go on to use the “267 House” as a primary locale in his novel, *Infants of the Spring* (1932). Despite its historical significance, the building was not landmarked before its demolition.

\textsuperscript{22} Historian David Levering Lewis and his works on the Harlem Renaissance and W. E. B. Du Bois have been particularly helpful in their detail.  
\textsuperscript{23} Langston Hughes residence on East 127th Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on October 29, 1982. The Claude McKay Residence (also known as the Harlem YMCA) is located at 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976.  
\textsuperscript{24} The Dunbar Apartments Complex is located along West 149th and West 150th Streets between Frederick Douglass and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Boulevards, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on March 29, 1979.  
\textsuperscript{25} “This used to be the home and hangout of...so many of the literary luminaries of the Harlem Renaissance. Their former rooming house stood here until 2002, when New York City sold the peaked roofed brownstone, one of six in a matching row, to an investor in Rye, N.Y. The home came down, and a new one, no bigger, was built in its place, its most distinguishing feature being a driveway.” See Matt A.V. Chaban, “Much to Save in Harlem, but Historic Preservation Lags, a Critic Says,” *New York Times*, February 29, 2016. The “267 House/Niggerati Manor” (now demolished) was located at 267 West 136th Street, New York City, New York.  
\textsuperscript{26} There was only one volume published, and there were only a few copies sold prior to a fire that destroyed the majority of the publication’s copies. “‘Fire!!’ marked the first appearance in print of one of the most interesting minor characters of the Renaissance. Twenty-one year old Richard Bruce Nugent was a self-conscious decadent who had shortened his name to Richard Bruce to allay maternal embarrassment about his homosexuality.” David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (Australia: Penguin Books, 1997), 196.

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Another important site for African American LGBTQ history was “The Dark Tower,” named after Countee Cullen’s poem “From the Dark Tower.” 27 This was the home and salon of A’Lelia Walker, the daughter of Madame C. J. Walker. Walker was not only an ally of LGBTQ Harlemites, but her “romantic partiality to accomplished women was an open secret in Harlem....” 28 “The Dark Tower” was demolished in 1941. Surviving is Walker’s Irvington-on-Hudson estate, Villa Lewaro, which is an NHL (1976) (Figure 2). The narrative for the National Landmark designation, in light of the evidence of Walker not only being a strong supporter of the LGBTQ community (publicly), but also being a member of the LGBTQ community herself (privately), could be updated to include that information. 29

The losses of “The Dark Tower” and the “267 House,” were genuine blows to African American LGBTQ history, but are not the only such places in Harlem to have been lost. The Rockland Palace, which hosted some of the most legendary of drag balls during the Harlem Renaissance, is gone. 30

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27 David Lewis noted that it was Richard Bruce Nugent who suggested naming the salon after Cullen’s poem “The Dark Tower.” Ibid., 168-69. The Dark Tower (now demolished) was located at 108-110 West 136th Street, New York City, New York. This is now the location of the Countee Cullen Branch of the New York City Public Library.


29 Villa Lewaro was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 11, 1976.

30 The Rockland Palace (now demolished) was located at 280 West 155th Street, New York City, New York.
So too are places that were integrated (heterosexual/homosexual) gathering spaces, like the Savoy Ballroom and Harry Hansberry’s Clam House, where the drag king Gladys Bentley held court (Figure 3). Despite these losses, there remain places from the Harlem Renaissance era that have been identified as historically significant, but efforts at designations either have stalled or haven’t begun. There are efforts to improve the pace of designations in Harlem generally, but they remain slow going.

Harlem was not the only African American community where LGBTQ denizens felt a sense of freedom. Many urban communities “provided Black gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, who might have been closeted in small towns or other cities, an opportunity to meet one another in clubs, or street corners, and in storefront churches.” And there has been a

Figure 3: Plaque commemorating the Savoy Ballroom, Harlem, New York City, New York, 2013. Photo by Lukeholladay.

License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Savoyplaque_large.jpg

The Savoy Ballroom (now demolished) was located at 596 Lenox Avenue; Harry Hansberry’s Clam House (now demolished) was located at 146 West 133rd Street, both in New York City, New York. See Springate, Archeology (this volume) for a discussion of the archeological potential of places where standing structures are no longer extant.

According to New York City’s Landmarks Preservation Commission, as of February 2016, approximately seventeen percent of properties in Harlem have protections through designations. That’s in comparison with other Manhattan neighborhoods that have at least sixty percent of properties protected. Chaban, Ibid.
marked increase in interest in the history of the African American LGBTQ folks in various communities across the nation. Historians, anthropologists, and local organizations have been scouring sources, conducting oral histories, and identifying historic sites in an effort to expand our knowledge and understanding of the lives of LGBTQ African Americans. For example, even though he wasn’t a Harlemite, Howard University professor Dr. Alain Locke, the nation’s first African American Rhodes Scholar, was central to the Harlem Renaissance. Not only did Locke seek to identify writers and artists with potential for success during his travels, but he also encouraged those he met who weren’t living in Harlem to move there to have more direct access to the various publications (like *The Crisis* from the NAACP or *Opportunity* from The Urban League) and publishing houses. Langston Hughes was one who followed Locke’s suggestion to move from Washington, DC, to Harlem. It’s likely that the combination of Hughes’ talent and good looks greatly influenced Locke’s interest in him; after all, “Professor Locke had a

Figure 4: The Georgia Douglas Johnson house, Washington, DC, 2010. Photo by AgnosticPreachersKid.

34 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1461_S_Street.JPG
35 Dr. Locke was chair of the Philosophy Department at Howard University. Locke Hall, 2441 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC, is named in his honor. Locke’s home on R Street NW, Washington, DC, is a contributing resource to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 9, 1994. When in New York City, Locke often stayed at the Hotel Olga, 42 West 120th Street.
36 Places associated with Langston Hughes include the Harlem YMCA (now the Claude McKay Residence), 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York, added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976; his residence on East 127th Street, New York City, New York, added to the NRHP on October 29, 1982; his residence on S Street NW, Washington, DC, is a contributing resource to the Dupont Circle Historic District, added to the NRHP on January 21, 1978 (boundary increases February 6, 1985 and June 10, 2005); the 267 House on West 136th Street in New York City, New
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weakness for his male students and for intelligent males in general.”37 Locke was also a part of Washington, DC’s literary and artistic community. He participated in the famed “Saturday Nighters” salons in the home of the writer Georgia Douglas Johnson in the period before the start of the Harlem Renaissance (Figure 4).38

Just as there are places associated with African American intellectuals from the Harlem Renaissance, expanding historical research is also highlighting places associated with African American LGBTQ entertainers—where they lived, and where they performed.

Blues/Jazz Era African American LGBTQ Entertainment

The field of entertainment has long served as a safe haven for the LGBTQ community, including African Americans. From the rise of the bawdy blues performers, to the proliferation of drag balls, to the emergence of jazz era entertainers hiding in plain sight, to the performances on the disco stage to the house club, the African American LGBTQ community has made its presence in entertainment known. In many ways, ragtime/jazz artist Antonio “Tony” Jackson, and blues artists Gladys Bentley and Gertrude “Ma” Rainey were pioneers in visibility and openness.

It was during the era of the Great Migration that Jackson moved from the Storyville community of New Orleans (the original home of jazz) to the

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37 Lewis, When Harlem Was in Vogue, 87.
38 “In the living room of [Johnson’s] S Street house..., a freewheeling jumble of the gifted, famous, and odd came together on Saturday nights. There were the poets Waring Cuney, Mae Miller, Sterling Brown, Angelina Grimke, and Albert Rose. There were the artists Richard Bruce Nugent and Mae Howard Jackson. Writers like Jean Toomer and Alice Dunbar-Nelson (former wife of Paul Laurence Dunbar), and philosopher-critic Locke came regularly to enjoy the train of famous and to-be-famous visitors.” Ibid, 127. Johnson’s home is located on S Street NW, Washington, DC.
Bronzeville community of Chicago. According to the famed jazz musician Jelly Roll Morton, a contemporary of Jackson, Jackson made the move because he believed that both his music and his sexuality would be better appreciated in Chicago. It was rumored that his 1916 song “Pretty Baby” originally referred to one of Jackson’s male lovers. Gladys Bentley also was known in Bronzeville for her tuxedo-clad performances and suggestive lyrics that alluded to bisexual tastes, but she really made her mark in Harlem. Rainey, who maintained her base primarily in her hometown of Columbus, Georgia, hid in plain sight, using her lyrics to suggest certain truths.

Rainey, like Jackson, performed as blues emerged at the turn of the twentieth century. Beginning her career in Columbus, and following her marriage to Will “Pa” Rainey, Ma Rainey toured with her husband’s company, the Rabbit Foot Minstrels. She was one of the earliest blues artists to record her performances, earning her the title of “Mother of the Blues.” On a trip to Chattanooga, Tennessee, Rainey discovered a young Bessie Smith, who later would become the “Empress of the Blues.” Though it was research that revealed Rainey’s bisexuality (and that of her protégé, Smith), her bisexuality was in her lyrics for anyone to hear.


42 Cabello, “Queer Bronzeville.” Bentley performed at venues across the country, including Harry Hansberry’s Clam House, 133rd Street, Harlem, New York City, New York; Rockland Palace (now demolished), 280 West 115th Street, New York City, New York; the Ubangi Club (now demolished), 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York; Joaquin’s El Rancho, Vine Street, Los Angeles, California; and Mona’s Club 440, 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California. Nan Alamilla Boyd, Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 76.

43 Ma Rainey’s home, now a museum honoring her legacy, is located at 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia.
Rainey’s song “Prove It on Me Blues” “speaks directly to the issue of lesbianism. In it, she admits to her preference for male attire and female companionship, yet she dares her audience to ‘prove it’ on her.”44 Rainey was able to be explicit on stage and on her records, while maintaining her intimate relationships with women in private spaces. Rainey’s successors, including Bessie Smith, Alberta Hunter (a student of Tony Jackson), Josephine Baker, and Ethel Waters followed her lead in their subsequent relationships with women, adopting heterosexual public personas [like Rainey], most favoring a ‘red hot mama’ style. Bentley and comedienne Jackie “Moms” Mabley were notable exceptions who were much more open with their sexuality.45

That several of these female entertainers donned men’s clothing during their performances was not surprising, considering that drag balls (and smaller performances with female/male impersonators) in the African American community were quite popular in the first half of the twentieth century. Independent of the annual drag balls, “in cities with high black populations some nightclubs featured female impersonators. New York’s 101 Ranch, Detroit’s Uncle Tom’s Cabin, and Chicago’s Joe’s Deluxe Club were among biggest.”46 Langston Hughes recalled his time attending the Hamilton Club Lodge Ball at the Rockland Palace with

45 Ibid. Many of these performers, including Bessie Smith, “Moms” Mabley, and Ethel Waters, performed at the Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. The Apollo was added to the NRHP on November 17, 1983. Like Bentley, Mabley performed at the Ubangi Club (now demolished), 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York. In 1962, Mabley performed at Carnegie Hall, 881 Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York (added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962). Alberta Hunter got her big break performing at the Dreamland Café, 3518-3520 South State Street, Chicago, Illinois. In addition to the Apollo, Ethel Waters also performed at Edmond’s Cellar, Fifth Avenue and 132nd Street, New York City, New York; she lived in the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn, New York. Both Josephine Baker and Ethel Waters performed at the Plantation Club, Broadway and 50th Streets, New York City, New York. See Aberjhani and Sandra L. West, Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance (New York: Facts on File, 2003); Jonathan Gill, Harlem: The Four Hundred Year History from Dutch Village to Capital of Black America (New York: Grove Press, 2011).
46 Gregory Conerly, “Swishing and Swaggering: Homosexuality in Black Magazines during the 1950s,” in The Greatest Taboo, 389. The 101 Ranch (now demolished) was located at 101 West 139th Street, New York City, New York; Joe’s Deluxe Club (now demolished) was located at 6323 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois.
“Where We Could Be Ourselves”: African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter

A'Lelia Walker: “[I]t was fashionable for the intelligentsia and social leaders of both Harlem and the downtown area to occupy boxes at this ball and look down from above at the queerly assorted throng on the dancing floor, males in flowing gowns and feathered headdresses and females in tuxedos and box-back suits.”47 *Ebony* magazine published a report of a New York drag ball: “Harlem’s annual drag ball at the Fun Makers Social Club was a hit in 1944. The men who don silks, satins and laces for the yearly masquerades are as style conscious as the women of a social club planning an annual charity affair or a society dowager

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selecting a debutante gown for her favorite daughter.”48 Back in the 1930s, years before Jet and Ebony magazines existed, Finnie’s Club in Chicago hosted drag balls, eventually becoming so popular that they had to move them to the Pershing Hotel’s Ballroom (Figure 5).49 In the 1950s, Ebony did a feature on Harlem Renaissance era drag king and lesbian, Gladys Bentley. By that time Bentley had moved to the West Coast, and had a fairly successful performance career in California;50 she later demonized lesbianism in her retirement.51 It’s clear that the drag ball scene was all the rage in the early twentieth century. Unfortunately, very few drag ball sites from that dynamic era remain extant. One that does remain is New York City’s Webster Hall which hosted bohemian masquerade balls and drag balls in the 1910s and 1920s.52

The openness of the 1920s and 1930s eventually gave way to the struggles of the Great Depression, which certainly affected many African Americans. Though popular magazines like Ebony and Jet featured stories on LGBTQ events, the overarching scene was becoming more underground. By the time jazz composer and pianist Billy Strayhorn was hitting his creative stride with Edward “Duke” Ellington in the late 1930s and into the 1940s, the quiet acceptance of and tolerance toward the African American LGBTQ community was beginning to wane.

Strayhorn was one of the few openly gay jazz men, yet his sexuality seemed to not be much of an issue—perhaps because he allowed Ellington to be the public face of their many collaborative efforts. Strayhorn composed “Take the ‘A’ Train,” one of the most recognized

48 Kaiser, 40-41. Gregory Conerly, in his essay “Swishing and Swaggering,” focused his research on the mid-twentieth-century powerhouses of Ebony and Jet magazines. Generally, they focused their coverage on Halloween and Thanksgiving events that were held in Chicago and New York City.
49 Conerly, 387. The Pershing Hotel (now demolished) was located at 6400 Cottage Grove, Chicago, Illinois.
50 In San Francisco where she played at the lesbian venue Mona’s Club 440 during World War II, Bentley was “[a]dvertised as ‘America’s Sepia Piano Artist’ and the ‘Brown Bomber of Sophisticated Songs.’” Nan Alamilla Boyd, Wide-Open Town, 76. Mona’s Club 440 was located at 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California.
51 “Bentley, at the time of the article written in 1952, was ‘happily married and living a normal existence.’ But, she claimed, ‘I am still haunted by the sex underworld in which I once lived. I want to help others, who are trapped in its dark recesses by telling my story.’” Conerly, 391.
52 Webster Hall and Annex are located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York.
songs of Ellington’s orchestra. He also composed “Something to Live For” and “Lush Life.”53 During this prolific period, Strayhorn was partnered with Aaron Bridgers, another openly gay pianist and composer, and they lived together in the Hamilton Heights neighborhood of Manhattan from 1939 until Bridgers moved to France in 1948.54

As with other African American LGBTQ historic places from the Harlem Renaissance, many of the places associated with African American LGBTQ entertainers from the early decades of the twentieth century have been lost, or not been considered for historic designation. The Apollo Theater, listed on the NRHP was an important performance venue for almost every African American LGBTQ entertainer throughout the twentieth century—an aspect of its history omitted from its nomination.55 Important places that survive include the home of Billy Strayhorn and Aaron Bridgers, where Strayhorn composed some of his most recognized work and the home of singer and actress Ethel Waters. Further research may provide information for places associated with Jackie “Moms” Mabley and Gladys Bentley (who moved to California in the 1930s), who were open lesbians in the 1920s and 1930s, or for places associated with more private African American LGBTQ entertainers, like Josephine Baker and Alberta Hunter.

Middle/Late Twentieth-Century African American LGBTQ Activism and Activists

Though there have been continual efforts to ensure full equality and freedom for African Americans since the nation’s founding, the mid-


54 Kevin Henriques, “Aaron Bridgers,” Guardian, December 21, 2003. The home of Strayhorn and Bridgers was located within the Hamilton Heights Historic District, listed on the NRHP on September 30, 1983. Strayhorn’s Childhood Home (now demolished) was at 7212 Tioga Street, Rear, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

55 The Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on November 17, 1983.
twentieth century represented a high water mark for organizational and activist success. This same time period also proved to be a watershed for the LGBTQ community.\footnote{See Springate, Civil Rights (this volume).} Despite the fact that African American LGBTQ individuals played important roles in both movements, it was not until 2016 that places associated with them as African American and LGBTQ people were nationally recognized. An increasing scholarship is not only helping to identify and/or confirm African American LGBTQ participants, but is also revealing associated historic places that can be considered for possible future historic designations. It is important to note that the nation’s first LGBTQ civil rights organization, the Society for Human Rights founded by Henry Gerber in Chicago, had an African American president, John T. Graves. Beyond Graves’ dealings with Gerber at the Henry Gerber House, there are no known extant places associated with Graves. Perhaps continued research on the Society for Human Rights and Gerber will reveal relevant places for this important figure in African American LGBTQ history.\footnote{The Henry Gerber House was designated a NHL on July 21, 2015. See Tammye Nash, "Henry Gerber: The Gay Rights Pioneer You Probably Never Heard of," \textit{Dallas Voice}, February 17, 2015, accessed July 30, 2016, \url{http://www.dallasvoice.com/henry-gerber-gay-rights-pioneer-heard-10190163.html}.}
Currently, there is just one known National Register listing for an African American LGBTQ participant in the civil rights movement: the Bayard Rustin Residence (Figure 6). Rustin, an openly gay, yet discreet, man is perhaps best known as the principal organizer of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. He was also the person who introduced nonviolence as a key principle for the civil rights movement, helped to usher in direct action protest tactics, and he restored the legitimacy of mass protesting. Because of Rustin’s sexuality, he was asked to step back from public work in the civil rights movement, and he was nearly erased from public memory. Fortunately, the LGBTQ community has helped to ensure that that erasure was not successful, and there has

Figure 7: Pauli Murray mural, Durham, North Carolina, 2014. “True Community is based upon equality, mutuality, and reciprocity. It affirms the richness of individual diversity as well as the common human ties that bind us together.” Photo by Connie Ma.

58 License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/ironypoisoning/15472932724
59 Bayard Rustin’s residence in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.
been a resurrection of Rustin's name as a significant civil rights and gay rights activist.  

Pauli Murray was a contemporary of Rustin. Both were members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and participated in efforts to test the 1946 Supreme Court ruling that deemed segregation in interstate bus travel unconstitutional (predating the Freedom Rides by almost twenty years). Murray, who was gender nonconforming, was open about her relationships with women, but she never identified as a lesbian, and offered critiques of both society and the civil rights movement for their discrimination based on gender (Figure 7). She coined the term “Jane Crow,” and noted that “Black women faced with these dual barriers, have often found that sex bias is more formidable than racial bias.” Murray went on to become one of the cofounders of the National Organization for Women. There is currently an effort to have Murray’s childhood home in Durham, North Carolina designated an NHL.

Writers James Baldwin and Lorraine Hansberry used their pens and their voices to advance civil rights. Baldwin, who was openly gay, followed in Richard Bruce Nugent’s footsteps when he wrote a gay protagonist into his novel, Giovanni’s Room (1956). In 1957, Baldwin was given an opportunity to report about the South for the Partisan Review. It was through his reporting that he became a national voice of both the civil rights movement and the broader African American community. Hansberry, in her play, A Raisin in the Sun, articulated the struggles of African American families striving for upward mobility. An activist from her time as a student at the University of Wisconsin, Hansberry continued that activism into the civil rights era. A 1963 meeting of Attorney General Robert Kennedy with

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61 See, for example, D'Emilio, Lost Prophet.
63 The Pauli Murray Childhood Home is located at 906 Carroll Street, Durham, North Carolina. It was named a National Treasure by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 2015, and is currently being developed as the Pauli Murray Center for History and Social Justice, with a planned opening to the public in 2020. See “National Treasures: Pauli Murray House,” National Trust for Historic Preservation website, https://savingplaces.org/places/pauli-murray-house; “Pauli Murray Project,” Duke Human Rights Center at the Franklin Humanities Institute website, Pauli Murray Project, http://paulimurrayproject.org/becoming-involved.
civil rights activists, including Baldwin and Hansberry, that came in the aftermath of brutal police attacks on peaceful demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama, became contentious when Hansberry challenged Kennedy to use his authority (and that of President Kennedy) more forcefully to protect African American demonstrators—or risk those demonstrators resorting to violence in frustration. “This memorable moment of emotionality, radical refusal and principled resolve,” writes historian Kevin Mumford “ought to be seen as a signal beginning of modern black gay activism.”64

Neither Baldwin nor Hansberry has National Register listed or NHL designated places associated with them, despite the survival of several locations. Two places survive in New York City associated with Baldwin: his apartment in Greenwich Village where he wrote *Another Country* and his home on the Upper West Side that he owned until his death in 1987, and where he wrote *Tell Me How Long the Train’s Been Gone*.65 Hansberry spent her first years living in Chicago’s South Side; in 1937, her parents purchased a home in an all-white neighborhood. They were sued for violating the restrictive covenant preventing African Americans from moving there. The case went to the United States Supreme Court (Hansberry v. Lee), which decided in favor of the Hansberrys. 66 However, it was in New York City’s Greenwich Village, where Hansberry wrote *A Raisin in the Sun*, and it is also where she lived as she more fully explored her interests in women.67

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64 Mumford, 12-13.
66 The Hansberry home on Chicago’s South Side (now demolished) was at 5330 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The home purchased by Lorraine’s parents in 1937 was in Chicago’s Woodlawn neighborhood. It has been designated an historic site at the local level. Alison Shay, “Remembering Hansberry v. Lee,” *Publishing the Long Civil Rights Movement* (blog), November 12, 2012, https://lcrm.lib.unc.edu/blog/index.php/tag/hansberry-v-lee.
67 Her Greenwich Village residence was on Bleecker Street, New York City, New York. She also lived on Waverly Place, New York City. Though she did not live to see the Stonewall riots of 1969, Lorraine
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With its listing on the NRHP in 1999, the Stonewall Inn was the first explicitly LGBTQ historic site to gain historic designation specifically for its central place in American LGBTQ history.\(^{68}\) The bar was a place where minorities could be patrons without encountering the levels of racism found at other gay bars. According to historian Martin Duberman, the Stonewall bouncer, Ed Murphy, reportedly “had a soft spot in general for Hispanics... and also for blacks; indeed, later gay bar owners who employed Murphy would worry that he would ‘turn the club black’ and—since racism has always been alive and well in the gay world—frighten off white clientele.”\(^{69}\) The Stonewall Inn was also a place where transgender and gender nonconforming patrons felt safe to be themselves without judgment from those in the LGBTQ community who disapproved of their appearance. Kevin Mumford offered this assessment of Duberman’s approach to the subject of the riots: “In Duberman’s telling, the 1969 police raid of a gay bar signaled not only the usual violent repression, but also an emergent coalition of the respectable activist, the street drag queen, and the bar fly, alongside black and Hispanic gays.”\(^{70}\) Scholarship, as well as the personal recollections of Stonewall participants, like Miss Major and the late Marsha P. Johnson, reveals that the first designated LGBTQ historic site is also an African American (and Hispanic) LGBTQ historic site.

The activism of writer and poet Audre Lorde straddled the era of the Stonewall Riots; she published her first work of poetry, *The First Cities*, in 1968. But it was in the post-Stonewall era, and with the rise of the black power, women’s, and gay liberation movements that Lorde gave voice to the intersections that defined the experiences and perspectives of African American lesbians. In her works, like *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*

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\(^{68}\) National Register of Historic Places, Stonewall, New York, New York County, New York, National Register #99000562. Stonewall, 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument on June 24, 2016.

\(^{69}\) Duberman, 183.

\(^{70}\) Mumford, 89.
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(1982) and Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches (1984), Lorde offered searing critiques of these liberation movements from a black lesbian feminist perspective. Lorde also influenced the work of activist Barbara Smith, who cofounded the Combahee River Collective in 1974 (see below) and, in 1980 (at the suggestion of Lorde), Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, the nation’s first publishing company dedicated solely to works by women of color. Writer Joseph Beam, disillusioned not only with the racism of the broader LGBTQ movement, but also with the invisibility of African American gay male voices, “predicted that ‘black gays are soon to follow the lead of black lesbians; our voices, from a whisper to a scream,’ would soon be recorded, collected, and published.”71 It was Beam who took on that project (with mentoring from Barbara Smith), resulting in In the Life: A Black Gay Anthology. The publication was the first of its kind: all of the contributors were African American gay men writing about their experiences for an African American gay male audience.72

There are places associated with Lorde, Smith, and Beam that are extant. For example, the home Lorde shared with her partner, Dr. Frances Clayton and where she wrote Zami and Sister Outsider is located on Staten Island, New York. There are several places in Boston and New York City associated with Smith, who among the three is the only one still living, which may be good candidates for NRHP or NHL nomination. Beam was based in Philadelphia, and his home in the Rittenhouse Square neighborhood where he produced In the Life, remains extant. As with Rustin, Murray, Baldwin, and Hansberry, these African American LGBTQ activists and artists (and this is far from a complete list) have had national impacts on American and LGBTQ history.

71 Mumford, 140.
72 In this way, In the Life: A Black Gay Anthology (Boston: Alyson Books, 1986) is reminiscent of Wallace Thurman’s Fire!!, which gave young Harlem Renaissance writers a place to produce art by and for themselves.
In the flurry of LGBTQ activism that arose post-Stonewall, many members of the African American LGBTQ community found themselves and issues important to them excluded or not represented. Finding racism in the existing LGBTQ organizations and homophobia in existing African American organizations, they organized among themselves.73 Several of these organizations were the first of their kind in American history.74

The nation’s oldest African American lesbian organization, the African Ancestral Lesbians United for Social Change (AALUSC) has a somewhat labyrinthine origin story. Having begun as the Black Lesbian Caucus of the Gay Activists Alliance (which itself formed from the splintering of the Gay Liberation Front), in 1974 the organization became the Salsa Soul Sisters, Third World Wimmin Incorporated Collective. In 1990, they changed their name to the AALUSC.75 1974 was also the year that the Combahee River Collective (CRC), another African American feminist lesbian organization, was established. They began as the Boston chapter of the National Black Feminist Organization with the express purpose of providing a space where African American feminist lesbians could be themselves wholly, without having to sublimate any aspect of their identities.76 The members of the CRC “held seven retreats in the northeast between 1977 and
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1980.” The Combahee River Collective Statement, written by members Barbara Smith, Demita Frazier, and Beverly Smith in 1977, came out of the first retreat. The statement highlights the importance of the intersecting identities of African American women (particularly around race and sexual orientation) in feminist organizing. The subsequent retreats afforded the CRC opportunities to build upon principles established in its statement.

The nation’s oldest national African American LGBTQ organization, the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays, was founded as the National Coalition of Black Gays (NCBG) in Columbia, Maryland in 1978 by bisexual activist ABilly S. Jones (now ABilly S. Jones-Hennin), Darlene Garner, and Delores Berry. The First National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays was organized by the NCBG at the former Harambee House Hotel at Howard University (now the Howard Center) the following year, with approximately 450 conference attendees, and in conjunction with the first National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The NCBG also organized the 1986 National Conference on AIDS in the Black Community, the first national conference on HIV/AIDS focused specifically on the African American community.

The National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays was a catalyst for the creation of the Lambda Student Alliance (LSA) at Howard

78 See also Springate, Intersectionality (this volume).
University in 1979. Interested students like Sidney Brinkley worked with faculty member James Tinney to establish the organization. In the January 1980 issue of Blacklight, the LSA’s publication, Bill Stevens noted the challenges not only in publicizing the organization but also in gaining official recognition from the university. The organization initially advertised using posters under the (incorrect) assumption that African American LGBTQ students would recognize “Lambda” as being synonymous with gay. The uphill struggle for the LSA to gain university recognition was exacerbated by vocal opposition to the group, including the interruption of an LSA meeting by Muslim students. In 1981, the LSA became the first LGBTQ student organization recognized by a historically black college or university. Their publication, Blacklight, was the nation’s first African American LGBTQ publication.

In 1986, as the HIV/AIDS crisis was raging, Rev. Charles Angel established Gay Men of African Descent (GMAD) to meet the holistic needs of African American gay, bisexual, and same gender loving men. “The organization represented the largest constituency of black gay men on the East Coast, and is the nation’s largest and oldest black gay organization dedicated exclusively to the welfare of black gay men.” Though it wasn’t created as an HIV/AIDS organization, it became one because of the need for an African American male-identified organization. Sadly, Rev. Angel himself succumbed to complications from HIV/AIDS in 1987.

This is far from an exhaustive listing of African American LGBTQ organizations, but the goal was to highlight those that may have national historic relevance. And with the emergence of the HIV/AIDS crisis, the LGBTQ community responded with the creation of organizations that had historic impacts in the various cities and states where they were

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81 Howard University is located at 2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC.
83 Mumford, 157.
84 GMAD was located at 540 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.
established, like GMAD, and those organizations and their founding sites can be researched for NRHP and/or NHL designation.

Black Pride

Black Pride events have proliferated across the United States providing African American LGBTQ communities the opportunity to celebrate both of their identities simultaneously. The first Black Pride event (though it was not called Black Pride at that time) was held Memorial Day weekend in 1975 at a bar called the Clubhouse. The event was called the “Children’s Hour,” which is a play on words: “Children” is often used in the African American LGBTQ community as a euphemism for themselves. The “Children’s Hour” events were held annually at the Clubhouse from 1975 to 1990, when the venue closed its doors. Inspired by the Children’s

Figure 8: Banneker Field is part of the Banneker Recreation Center complex, Washington, DC. Photo by Smallbones, 2011.

87 The Clubhouse was located at 1296 Upshur Street NW, Washington, DC.
Hours, in 1991, Welmore Cook, Theodore Kirkland, and Earnest Hopkins organized the first DC Black Pride event to use that name as an HIV/AIDS fundraiser. It was held at Banneker Field, and served as the model for subsequent Black Pride events (Figure 8). The locations of other cities’ Black Pride events may also be considered significant. For example, Los Angeles held its first Black Pride event, called “At the Beach” in 1988; New York City had its first Black Pride in 1997.

African American LGBTQ Cruising/Sexual Engagement Sites

Clandestine liaisons, anonymous couplings, and sexual partner searches in public and/or partially private spaces have been central to the LGBTQ experience. Entertainment venues and bars—including the Stonewall Inn and Julius’, both of which have been designated historic sites—have long been places where the LGBTQ people gather and socialize. In both cases, however, their historic designation rests primarily on the central role they played in the modern LGBTQ civil rights movement, not about their roles as places of cruising/sexual engagement. Of course the possibility of cruising/sexual engagement drew patrons to these bars; however, could that aspect of an LGBTQ site’s history contribute to its significance?

There is precedence for places of sexual engagement being listed on the National Register. The Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch in Fort Laramie, Wyoming served not only as a community center of sorts,

89 Banneker Field is part of the Banneker Recreation Center, 2500 Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It was added to the NRHP on April 28, 1986.
91 Stonewall and Julius’, both in New York City, are listed on the NRHP. See note 66 for information on Stonewall. Julius’, at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York, was listed on the NRHP on April 21, 2016.
92 For discussions of the importance of places associated with cruising and sexual engagement to LGBTQ history, see, for example, Hanhardt, Johnson, Baim, and Gieseking (this volume). See also Dubrow (this volume) for a discussion regarding pushback to having LGBTQ places added to the NRHP and designated NHLs.
providing patrons with access to alcohol and entertainment, but as a bordello, it also served as a site of [hetero]sexual engagement.\textsuperscript{93} The Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch “was one of the very few military bordellos left in the western United States at the time of its nomination to the National Register of Historic Places,” in 1975.\textsuperscript{94} The role of this place as one of sexual engagement was partially determinative in its designation. In 1973, Portland, Oregon’s Hotel Alma building became home to the Club Baths bathhouse and a restaurant catering to a gay clientele; it continuously hosted gay bathhouses under several names until 2007 when the building was sold. While the Hotel Alma was listed on the NRHP with a period of significance of 1911, when it was built, the nomination does not shy away from the building’s history as a gay bathhouse, and places it into the context of both LGBTQ life in Portland, as well as the post-Stonewall era more broadly.\textsuperscript{95}

One of the most significant African American LGBTQ historic sites related to cruising/sexual engagement is the Mount Morris Turkish Baths in Harlem.\textsuperscript{96} The bathhouse was in operation from 1893 to 2003, and it was the only bathhouse in New York City that specifically catered to African American men (beginning in the 1930s). Primarily an African American LGBTQ space, it was also patronized to a much lesser extent by non-African American gay and bisexual men, and straight men of various races and ethnicities: “Harlem royalty like Joe Louis and Sam Cooke used to sweat here years ago, and it [was] nothing to see French tourists, straight businessmen and Hasidic Jews perspiring in the steam room side by side....”\textsuperscript{97} Mount Morris Baths was one of the very few bathhouses

\textsuperscript{93} The Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch, located outside Fort Laramie, Wyoming was added to the NRHP on April 23, 1975.
\textsuperscript{95} Hotel Alma (now the Crystal Hotel), 1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, Oregon was added to the NRHP on September 9, 2009. John M. Tess, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Hotel Alma (Washington, DC: National Park Service, July 2009). For more on the importance of periods of significance, see Springate and de la Vega (this volume).
\textsuperscript{96} Mount Morris Turkish Baths were located at 28 East 125th Street, New York City, New York.
across the country that were not closed down during the AIDS panic of the 1980s; instead of closing, they provided public outreach and education about the disease. In 2003, organizations dedicated to HIV/AIDS education were conducting educational tours of the bathhouse. The site currently is an apartment building with street level retail space.

There are many other potentially significant sites of cruising and sexual engagement to the African American LGBTQ community. For example, in Washington, DC, Meridian Hill Park, a National Historic Landmark, was an infamous site of cruising/sexual engagement prior to the park’s restoration; Marcus Garvey Park and the West Side Piers in New York City have storied places in the histories of African American same-gender loving men. The Wentworth, a bar located adjacent to the Apollo Theater, was in fact two bars: a straight bar in front, and then behind it, with a separate side entrance, a black lesbian bar. It is likely that sites of cruising/sexual engagement related to African American same-gender loving women, outside of lesbian bars, will be the private homes of African American women: Villa Lewaro, the New York estate of the Harlem Renaissance era figure A’Lelia Walker, and the no longer extant “Dark Tower” home in Harlem, are two examples. Other examples could

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98 With the arrival of HIV/AIDS, it is not a surprise that Mount Morris moved beyond its role as a site of cruising/sexual engagement, and became a site of education for men in the LGBTQ community. “[S]peakers from advocacy groups like the Gay Men’s Health Crisis and the Minority Task Force on AIDS discuss topics of particular interests to gay men. There are lectures on being gay in high school and on gay men raising families.” Ibid.


100 Marcus Garvey Park, formerly Mount Morris Park, 18 Mount Morris Park West, New York City, New York is part of the Mount Morris Park Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 6, 1973, boundary increase May 24, 1996. The West Side Piers, individual piers, are located along the Hudson River, Greenwich Village, New York City, New York.

101 Duberman, 42.

102 Lesbian dancer Mabel Hampton recalled Walker’s “funny parties,” “…the more intimate gatherings at The Dark Tower, [that] illustrate the extent to which the millionaires was willing to participate in Harlem’s sexual bohemia.” Devon W. Carbado, Dwight A. McBride, and Donald Weise, eds., “1900-1950: The Harlem Renaissance,” in Black Like Us: A Century of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual African American Fiction (New York: Cleis Press, 2002).
include the Georgia home of Ma Rainey, the Detroit home of LGBTQ activist Ruth Ellis, or the New York home of Ethel Waters.

Gail Dubrow wrote that “[q]uestions of morality...tend to come into play when the landmarks of GLBT history are proposed for designation, with queer folks claiming we need role models and homophobes arguing against the government legitimizing deviant lifestyles.” Therefore, it is understandable that the possibility of nominating African American LGBTQ historic sites related to cruising/sexual engagements may invite controversy. The impact of these places in creating community and in the lives of the African American LGBTQ community members, however, cannot be underestimated. Both the Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch and the Hotel Alma are examples of places on the NRHP with explicit reference to their importance as places of cruising/sexual engagement; the inclusion of a similar African American LGBTQ site would not be breaking new designation ground.

Planning for Future African American LGBTQ Historic Places

With regard to the preservation of African American LGBTQ historic places, let the historic African American gay bar, Washington, DC’s Nob Hill serve as a cautionary tale (Figure 9). Nob Hill was the oldest gay bar in Washington, DC, and one of the nation’s oldest African American gay bars. Like so many other African American LGBTQ historic places, Nob Hill was part of the African American community of Columbia Heights. It opened in 1957. Significantly, it was an African American gay bar that was owned by gay African Americans until it closed in 2004 and passed out of African American gay ownership. None of the other gay bars that

103 Gail Dubrow, ”Deviant History, Defiant Heritage.” See also Dubrow (this volume).
104 Nob Hill was located at 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC.
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catered to African Americans in DC was African American owned. When Nob Hill closed, the former middle-class African American neighborhood of the 1950s was known as an “up and coming” neighborhood for “urban pioneers” seeking to revitalize a Columbia Heights that went into decline following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the subsequent riots in 1968. The Wonderland Ballroom opened in the space a few months after Nob Hill’s 2004 closing, and it is a vibrant community bar to this day. The new owners are not interested in having the building nominated.

There are many African American LGBTQ historic persons and places that were not included in this chapter. This should not be taken as a judgment against the significance of any of those persons or places, but instead a reflection of the limitations of space and current research. It is important that the African American LGBTQ community expand the discussion of historical legacies to include historic preservation. As noted throughout this study, historical research, scholarship, and local interest in African American LGBTQ historic places can be a boon for identifying individuals, organizations, and places that are historically important. But there also should be active consideration for what has happened in the more recent past, as well as what is happening currently in the African American LGBTQ community. For example, what is the status of the home of the late “Queen of Disco,” Sylvester? What are the important addresses of Essex Hemphill, Marlon Riggs, and E. Lynn Harris, and have there been discussions around preparations for seeking historic designation for their
homes? Who is prepared to ask Angela Davis or Alice Walker which places associated with them should be considered the most historically relevant to them? What are the historic preservation-related plans that will highlight the late Rep. Barbara Jordan’s ties to the LGBTQ community? HIV/AIDS organizations like the Black AIDS Institute (Los Angeles) or Us Helping Us (Washington, DC) have been vital to the African American LGBTQ community, but what’s being done to make sure that they will receive the historic recognition they deserve?106 What about the location of Jewel’s Catch One night club, now that it is closed (Figure 10)?107 These are just a handful of the questions that should be addressed when considering the historic preservation-based legacies of the African American LGBTQ historic places.

106 The Black AIDS Institute was founded in 1999 as the African American AIDS Policy Training Institute. It is currently located at 1833 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California. Us Helping Us was founded in 1985 by Rainey Cheeks and the support of African American gay and bisexual men to provide holistic support for those affected by HIV/AIDS. They met at the Clubhouse (1296 Upshur Street NW, Washington, DC) until it closed in 1990, when they began meeting in Rainey’s DC apartment. Their first formal location was a rented house near the Washington Navy Yard in DC’s Southeast. See “About Us,” Black AIDS Institute website, https://www.blackaids.org/about-the-institute; “About Us,” Us Helping Us, People Into Living, Inc. website, http://www.uhupil.org/#!/about/cttm.

107 Jewel’s Catch One, 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California was the nation’s first black gay and lesbian disco, opened in 1972 by Jewel Thais-Williams. When the club closed in 2015 with Jewel’s retirement, it was the last black-owned gay club in the city.
Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I made it a point to highlight African American LGBTQ-related historic places that have been lost. So many of these historic places are located in African American neighborhoods across the country that are experiencing tremendous changes both physically and demographically, whether through revitalization (that does not explicitly acknowledge the African American LGBTQ historical relationship) or demolition, that the historic places that remain are under direct threat. These include historic places from the Harlem Renaissance to the more recent past. With continued scholarship, there even may be opportunities to identify African American LGBTQ historic places preceding the twentieth century.108 Though so many have already been lost, we have the opportunity to develop strategies to preserve African American LGBTQ historic places, including nominating them to the NRHP or for designation as NHLs. Though there are sure to be more places that will be lost, we have the chance now to help validate those places where members of the African American LGBTQ community could be themselves.

The chapters in this section take themes as their starting points. They explore different aspects of LGBTQ history and heritage, tying them to specific places across the country. They include examinations of LGBTQ community, civil rights, the law, health, art and artists, commerce, the military, sports and leisure, and sex, love, and relationships.
As LGBTQ people have been invisibilized, criminalized, and outcast, they have created ways to respond specific to their geographies. Like the injustices they have suffered, their tactics of resilience and resistance and their spaces and places are similar to but unique from other marginalized groups. Since sexuality is not always visible in a person’s appearance, certain types of places and spaces have developed as key environments for LGBTQ people to find one another, develop relationships, and build community. Due to unjust laws and social mores, socialization among LGBTQ people focused on sex and relationships or was limited to small groups until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. LGBTQ people created social and political spaces in order to share face-to-face contact and find community. The physical landscape of LGBTQ lives, therefore, plays a special role in this group’s history. This chapter looks at a range of LGBTQ spaces and places to provide a broad context for thinking about them as they are discussed in other chapters.

While LGBTQ people are discussed here as a group, each sexual identity—lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer—is specific not only to that group, geography, and period, but also to the individuals
themselves. Gay and lesbian spaces are a longtime part of the American landscape, but queer places are more recent. The reclaiming of the derogatory “queer” in the 1980s and 1990s as part of LGBTQ activism relates to the act of “queering space”—developed from queer theory—which envisions a space as in flux rather than fixed.¹ There are few specific bisexual or transgender physical spaces, as these groups often navigate between straight, lesbian, and gay spaces, and cisgender (gender conforming) and gender nonconforming spaces.² As such, the meanings of spaces and places discussed here also shift over time, just as spaces and places change and grow through history.

Since at least the 1920s, the association between LGBTQ people and spaces in the popular and LGBTQ media, as well as in scholarly research, is often reduced to three geographies: the city, the neighborhood, and the place of the bar.³ With greater acceptance and tolerance toward LGBTQ people in recent decades, the understandings around and recognition of LGBTQ spaces and places are also increasing to encompass more diverse places, including bookstores, community centers, and public spaces. This essay pays special attention to LGBTQ environments from a geographic perspective, including those at the scale of the individual as well as temporary places and places of memorialization.

The Space of the Body, Bodies Making Space

For some LGBTQ people, sexuality is at the core of their being; more

recently, some LGBTQ people claim their sexual identity is tangential and identify as “post-gay.” Regardless, behaviors of LGBTQ people often link their spaces to practices related to their sexuality, ranging from the political or social, economic or cultural, to sexual acts or being in relationships.

The visibility and recognition of LGBTQ people changed drastically throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, affording a public LGBTQ presence. Since the late 2000s, scholars across the disciplines have made further attempts to take an intersectional approach to LGBTQ studies and preservation. Intersectionality recognizes that identity is not singular to one dimension (gender or race or class) but that each person is all identities at once.

The visibility of LGBTQ spaces is heavily related to the dynamics of private and public spaces. Since the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century, most gay, bisexual, and queer men were largely unable to occupy private spaces alone together with the result that their “privacy could only be had in public.” Such practices of meeting in public venues for sex, friendship, and conversation still continue today. Women and transgender people are more often associated with private spaces like the home or indoor gathering spaces as the persistent male gaze and claim to public space limit their options. The claims of women and transgender

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7 See Springate on nominating properties to the NRHP and NHL (this volume).
people to public spaces are more transient and ephemeral, such as the use of softball fields (Figure 1). Age and generation also matter: an individual who made their sexuality known to others (many would use the term “came out”) during the McCarthy era of the 1950s or the AIDS crisis of the 1980s will have a very different outlook than someone who comes out today. For example, young people today now see positive representations of themselves in the media and have greater legal supports so that they feel more confident and well adjusted.

Race and class are key factors in the production of LGBTQ spaces that are often linked and always reveal the stark limits placed on people of color and the poor. The extra policing and more extreme regulation of people of color make clear that not all public spaces are made equally. An example of this is the treatment of gender nonconforming and LGBTQ youth of color on the streets of New York City who are more heavily policed and harassed.

Figure 1: As a member of Dykes on Bikes, Woody Woodward of Boston, Massachusetts often led New York City’s Gay Pride Parade. Woodward passed away on June 13, 2009. Photo by David Shankbone, June 2007.

References


13 License: CC BY-SA 3.0.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:A_Dyke_on_a_Bike_by_David_Shankbone.jpg
than gender conforming youth of color. Even today, the role of class also plays out in the harassment, violence, and rape common for LGBTQ steel workers in northeastern Indiana. People of color make less and have less access to resources, which means that their ability to make or retain spaces is often drastically decreased; dynamics of racism, sexism, transphobia, and classism often divide different groups into more segmented communities. The role of religion and cultural beliefs across races, classes, and ethnicities deeply affects the types of LGBTQ spaces and places that individuals can and will frequent. Context and intersectionality must always be considered to account for this group’s “situated knowledges,” or the place- and identity-specific experiences of actual individuals that define a place.

City, Suburb, Rural

This section addresses the scale of geographic settings: large cities, small cities, vacation towns, suburban areas, and the rural. Special attention is made to reject stereotypes around LGBTQ people in these settings to provide a more comprehensive, complicated view of American LGBTQ environments. Each city, town, suburb, or rural environment relates to the context of its state and region; however, rarely is research conducted at the level of the state, region, or nation state. Identities and communities including LGBTQ develop differently in different places. All

cities, suburbs, and rural settings have included LGBTQ people, whether or not they are visibly read as such.17

LGBTQ people have always existed in America’s urban areas.18 Cities are territories of dense populations, often with large varieties of difference among people, which serve as trading hubs, marketplaces, and cultural centers. Studying San Francisco in the early 1990s, anthropologist Kath Weston wrote that “The result is a sexual geography in which the city represents a beacon of tolerance and gay community.”19 Some researchers, activists, and biographers have contended that the city is the most viable home for LGBTQ people because of the cover of anonymity and for social interaction across differences it affords.20 It is essential to note that LGBTQ identities, cultures, and politics do not develop in cities and then “diffuse” to suburban and rural locales, rather each environment produces its own, which are connected via media and social networks.21

Yet this sense of urban promise was, and is, both myth and fact. The clustering of gendered workforces in cities in World War II, especially the likes of San Francisco, and increased job opportunities and pay for women radically altered the possibility for many lesbians and gays to build and afford lives together.22 Soon thereafter, anti-urbanism, racist, and antihomosexual projects of the federal, state, and local governments of the suburbanizing 1950s went hand-in-hand with increased urban immigration of LGBTQ people.23 In other words, LGBTQ people found an

17 See Emily Kazyak, “Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality,” Gender & Society 26, no. 6 (December 1, 2012): 825-848.
increased refuge in cities just as they were decimated, while the heterosexual families of the suburbs were heralded as “normal.” LGBTQ poor and people of color especially were driven out of cities by waves of gentrification. Other numbers of the same group were unable to move out of cities or rural areas as they were most limited in their ability to choose where they could live.

The white flight to the suburbs in the mid-twentieth century induced a re-norming of the heterosexual family which often made it necessary for LGBTQ people to move into cities and cluster. The LGBTQ movement and spaces began to become more publicly visible in the 1970s and 1980s, just as the United States saw massive funding cuts and the breakdown of

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Figure 2: Pride at the Idaho State Capitol Building, 700 West Jefferson Street, Boise, Idaho. Photo by Kencf0618, 2011.24
most city infrastructures. Since then, US cities have experienced a renaissance with many Americans leaving rural and suburban environments to dwell in cities. In the late twentieth century and at the turn of the twenty-first century most especially, LGBTQ people played an important role in the gentrification of cities across the United States. This process is addressed further in the next section.

San Francisco and New York City are the two most well-known American cities associated with LGBTQ politics, culture, business, and history. All cities and towns are just as essential to the LGBTQ movement, and most key activism took place in urban centers. For example, the first gay rights organization, the Society for Human Rights, was founded by Henry Gerber in his Chicago home in 1924, and the more well-known homophile or gay rights organization, the Mattachine Society, was founded by Harry Hay and others in his Los Angeles home in 1950. A number of in-depth histories of everyday, urban LGBTQ lives in US cities have been written since the 1980s. There is a recent and vast in-migration of

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27 See Herczeg-Konecny, Shockley, and Watson and Graves (all this volume).
28 Marc Stein, Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement (New York: Routledge, 2012). The Henry Gerber House is the second NHL designated for its association with LGBTQ history. It was designated a NHL on June 19, 2015.
straight residents into cities identified closely with LGBTQ communities as varied as San Francisco or Ogunquit, Maine. Along with the often steep increases in property values and mortgage loads, there is much debate over whether these gay villages have assimilated, or are being “de-gayed” through processes of gentrification.30

LGBTQ experiences in smaller cities and towns, such as Reno and Boise, have been largely overlooked by researchers (Figure 2).31 In contrast, much has been written on vacation towns and places frequented by LGBTQ visitors. With limited resources and places to gather through the twentieth century, LGBTQ people desired an elsewhere to go and be among like-minded people. Towns like Northampton and Provincetown, Massachusetts; and Cherry Grove and Fire Island Pines, New York have been LGBTQ oases in the vast national sea of homophobia from the 1930s through the present.32 Other vacation towns include Asheville, North Carolina; Ogunquit, Maine; Saugatuck, Michigan; Guerneville, California; and Key West, Florida. Other LGBTQ tourist venues that are more transient as well: Pensacola Beach, Florida, on Memorial Day; Gay Days at Walt Disney World Resort and Disneyland Park in Orlando, Florida,
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and Anaheim, California, respectively. Tourist places privilege the middle and upper classes in that they can afford the travel, time away, and costs associated with such trips. The towns, especially, catered to white LGBTQ populations who possessed the privileged ability to move more freely about the United States and congregate without police agitation. Also, given men’s increased incomes, LGBTQ tourism has primarily targeted gay men. Locations once shared by word of mouth became part of the central advertising focus of the increasingly visible LGBTQ media outlets of the 1990s and this still continues today.

Heteronormativity, or the privileging of male and heterosexual identities and relations while casting all others as deviant or lesser than, became the norm post-World War II, the same period of mass suburbanization. As a result, LGBTQ people were often discouraged from finding a way to make a home in the suburbs through the 2000s. However, many suburbs are seeing a rise in LGBTQ populations as increased legal protections and social tolerance allows for a greater range of living options. Karen Tongson’s recent work on Los Angeles suburbs upsets the rural/urban dichotomy. She pays special attention to the growing body of LGBTQ people of color in suburban landscapes, indicating a profound shift in these areas. Tongson especially brings to light the experience of LGBTQ people of color in suburbs as these areas diversify racially across the United States.

After decades of media and popular culture painting the rural as backwards or hateful, understandings of rural queer life have begun to shift in the public eye. Historically, LGBTQ people remained closeted in rural environments or relied on upper-class status and white privilege to

35 See Doan, Queering Planning.
bend gender and sexual norms. Until recently, conservative politics largely sided with anti-same-sex marriage bills by claiming LGBTQ people are deviant or undesirable in small tightly-knit communities, namely as a push against cosmopolitanism. The violent murders of Brandon Teena in 1993 in his home in Humboldt, Nebraska, and of Matthew Shepard in 1998 in Laramie, Wyoming—as well as the films, television specials, and plays developed from their stories—brought national attention to the experiences of LGBTQ people in rural environments. As shows like “Queer Eye for the Straight Eye” took off to national acclaim only a few years later in 2003, the American tendency toward cosmopolitanism as “chic” and rurality as “backward” became profound.

Of course, many LGBTQ people have made happy homes in rural environs. Unlike cities that afford visible difference, processes of kinship and community override private sexual practices in longtime rural, working-class communities. The internet, social media, and mobile apps developed into a means of connection, support, and education for these more dispersed, rural populations, just as they have for urban residents. LGBTQ people in non-urban communities also use and appropriate the resources they have available to them: anthropologist Mary Gray writes of white, working class LGBTQ youth in rural Kentucky embodying their genders and sexualities by performing drag in their local Wal-Mart in the 2000s. The documentary “Small Town Gay Bar” (2006) charts the dispersed, close-knit, and mid-sized community of LGBTQ people in rural

Mississippi. In many of these studies and histories, gender plays out differently in these areas, and masculinity in both men and women is generally accepted. In all of these examples, however, most attention is paid to white experience and paints rural LGBTQ people of color still having less support and infrastructure to claim and enact physical space.

Neighborhoods and Territories

Throughout the twentieth century, LGBTQ people have developed physical enclaves in the form of territories in suburban or rural settings or ghettos and/or neighborhoods within cities. These spaces afford more navigable areas within those larger landscapes from which to create and share community, culture, politics, rituals, and economies. LGBTQ neighborhoods hold an iconic place in literature and popular media as a

Figure 3: Harlem United provides help and advice for people in the community with HIV/AIDS. Since 1988 it has provided health and housing related services in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City, New York. Photo taken at New York City Pride by Tadekk, 2008.  

45 Kazyak, “Midwest or Lesbian?”

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space (real or imagined) of total community, collectivity, and prosperity.\textsuperscript{47} It is essential that any study of a LGBTQ neighborhood, ghetto, territory, or enclave be situated within the cultural, political, and economic context of the city in which it is located. For example, for gay men in New York City at the turn of the twentieth century: “the emergence of gay speakeasies and drag balls...can be understood only in the context of and more general changes in the social geography of the city,” so that while neighborhoods like the West Village and Harlem (Figure 3) afforded spatial community, these changes related heavily to the spirit of the city itself.\textsuperscript{48} The best-known American LGBTQ neighborhoods are the Tenderloin and Castro Districts in San Francisco (Figure 4), Washington, DC’s Dupont Circle, and the Greenwich Village and Chelsea neighborhoods of New York City, all of which are often used as a measure of what is or is not a LGBTQ neighborhood; as always, context matters. Other well-established LGBTQ neighborhoods include Los Angeles County’s West Hollywood (California), Philadelphia’s Gayborhood (Pennsylvania), Chicago’s Boystown (Illinois), Houston’s Montrose (Texas), San Diego’s Hillcrest (California), Midtown Atlanta (Georgia), Miami Beach (Florida), and San Jose’s St. Leo neighborhood (California).

\textsuperscript{47} Brown, “Gender and Sexuality II.”
\textsuperscript{48} Chauncey, Gay New York, 1994, 28.
Since the 1920s, LGBTQ spaces have been understood as being neighborhoods or territories. A neighborhood is “dominated by residential uses,” “walkable” in scale, and has a (physical) territory that is often conflated with the (social) communities that live within it. LGBTQ neighborhoods are also referred to more globally as “gay villages” or, in the United States, under the colloquial term “gayborhoods.” These neighborhoods grew as key public establishments, public meeting grounds and centers, businesses, and residences were knit together through LGBTQ people’s repeated gathering in these spaces over time. These neighborhoods form, shift, and dissolve as political economies and social and commercial networks change over time. Similar to the dissolution of other ethnic enclaves such as Chinatowns or Little Italys, the intensified gentrification, tourism, and financialization in San Francisco, for example, has rendered the Castro unrecognizable to many long-term residents and more a tourist hub.

LGBTQ people in the 1970s, primarily white and middle class, developed more formal spatial concentrations in urban residential areas which eventually coalesced as “gay ghettos.” The term “ghetto” evokes both the broader public sense of unwanted enclaves of LGBTQ people and the margins on which they lived in society; despite this, the term has become common parlance within LGBTQ discourse as a term of recognition of overcoming such marginalization. The term “gay neighborhood,” in contrast, evokes white individuals in cities, mimicking idyllic small-town life. Manuel Castells argued that gay men in San Francisco’s Castro District were living not in a ghetto but in a neighborhood based on the confluence of their unique production of

50 Chauncey, Gay New York, 1994; and Weston, “Get Thee to a Big City.”
52 Brown, “Gender and Sexuality II.”
53 Boyd, “San Francisco’s Castro District.”
culture, economy, and physical spaces. Still today the common narrative of the LGBTQ neighborhood is a utopian one: those LGBTQ people who lived in or used these spaces often experienced a reprieve from isolation and grew communities from which to work toward social and political gains. The term LGBTQ-friendly neighborhood, in comparison, refers to areas where LGBTQ business and people are in the minority, but openly welcomed, or are areas that target LGBTQ tourists. The use of “ghetto” or “neighborhood” usually changed over time but also relates to an LGBTQ person’s connection with that area relative to when the change in terminology happened. In more recent years, the idea of a “creative class” extols the role of LGBTQ people and artists in “improving” the conditions of cities. Yet, this viewpoint is narrow. As early as the 1970s, it was clear that LGBTQ people’s territorial gains at society’s “margins” were at the expense of a loss of space for working-class people and people of color—including LGBTQ people, making LGBTQ people key players in processes of gentrification.

Due to their decreased economic and political power, it is much more difficult, if not impossible, for people of color, the poor, and women to sustain formal LGBTQ neighborhoods. Gay and queer men’s bars and informal territories often dissipate and then come together again through intermittent instances of hate crimes and practices of cruising, respectively. This dissolve-rebuild pattern can be seen, for example, in communities of Latino and South Asian men in the Jackson Heights.

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61 Hanhardt, Safe Space.
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neighborhood in Queens, New York.62 Perhaps the only neighborhoods to lay claim to the title “lesbian neighborhoods” are Park Slope in Brooklyn, New York, Andersonville in Chicago, Illinois, and the Mission or Valencia of San Francisco, California.63 Unlike gay men’s neighborhoods or cruising grounds, lesbians and queer women possess “spatial concentrations” because they are rarely known to possess and retain urban territories.64

This distinction is based largely on the ever persistent gender pay gap and women’s lesser power and authority, which leads them to rent longer and buy later as house prices continue to climb.65 Lesbians’ sexual practices also do not require or claim public cruising spaces like those of gay men, which also adds to their invisibility.66 Most invisible are lesbians and queer women of color whose neighborhood-like areas may be intentionally less visible in neighborhoods of color.67 An expectation that LGBTQ people are able to territorialize and own their spaces privileges the viewpoint of elite, white capitalist society. As a result, special attention must be paid to those spaces which may not have been owned by LGBTQ people.

Scholars have noted that gentrifiers who possess less wealth—namely women and people of color—are eventually economically displaced by later,

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64 Rothenberg, “And She Told Two Friends”; Doan, Planning and LGBTQ Communities.
more economically stable waves of gentrification. Much has been made of the 2000 and 2010 census data on the location of same-sex couples which has been interpreted as showing the waning of LGBTQ neighborhoods throughout the United States. As many LGBTQ people do not have the means to form full neighborhoods, some LGBTQ people are grouping together in smaller enclaves or clusters of residences rather than full neighborhoods with commercial and residential elements. Still, across races and classes, LGBTQ neighborhoods matter to people across gender

Figure 5: The Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits march in the San Francisco Pride Parade. Photo by InSapphoWeTrust, 2013.

68 License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/skinnylawyer/9214887596
and sexual identities—who see these spaces as a place to meet, mingle, and mark history.\(^71\)

The concept of territories is best applied to areas carved out by LGBTQ people in urban public spaces or within rural spaces. From the 1890s through the 1920s, gay men in New York City claimed the most remote and unwanted spaces of the city as cruising grounds for public sex, friendship, conversation, and recognition. Cruising grounds included public spaces the likes of waterfronts, beaches, bathrooms, bathhouses, and parks such as the Ramble in Central Park in Manhattan and Riis Beach in Queens, New York.\(^73\) Such areas are still used today by men and transgender people across races and classes, despite intensified policing and gentrification that have made them difficult to sustain.\(^74\)

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\(^72\) License: CC BY 2.0. [https://www.flickr.com/photos/alan-light/1929106169](https://www.flickr.com/photos/alan-light/1929106169)

\(^73\) Chauncey, “Stud”. Central Park was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on May 23, 1963. Riis Beach, part of Jacob Riis Park, is part of the Jamaica Bay Unit of the NPS’s Gateway National Recreation Area. Jacob Riis Park Historic District was listed on the NRHP on June 17, 1981. Other cruising spaces include The Block (bounded by First, Franklin, Main, and Foushee Streets in Richmond, Virginia) a gay cruising area in the 1940s; and Pershing Square (South Olive Street, Los Angeles, California), known from the 1920s-1960s as “The Run,” a cruising place for men that included the Central Library (listed on the NRHP on December 18, 1970), bathrooms in the Subway Terminal Building (Hill and Olive Streets; listed on the NRHP on August 2, 2006; now used as residences), and the bar at the Biltmore Hotel (506 South Grand Avenue).

\(^74\) Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue*; and McGlotten, “A Brief and Improper History of Queerspaces and Sexpublics in Austin, Texas.”
In rural environments, LGBTQ people have created their own loosely-knit residential communities. On reservations, and beyond, Native Americans who identify as two-spirit organize and gather (Figure 5). Other rural territories have been established driven by gender separatism and a need to escape the mass of city denizens and social expectations. In the 1970s, lesbian feminists created their own Lesbian Nation, territories away from mainstream patriarchal society in the form of “women’s land” or the “landdyke movement.” These territories include Sugarloaf Women’s Village in the Florida Keys, Florida, and the Wisconsin Womyn’s Land Co-op in Monroe County, Wisconsin. Fewer women are

Figure 7: Judith Casselberry singing "Amazon/Rise Again" at the opening celebration of the final Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival in 2015. Pictured in the background (left to right) are the following Amazons: Shelley Nicole, Gina Breedlove, Cree Breedlove McClellan, Gretchen Phillips, Hanifah Walidah, Bitch, Cris Williamson, Allison Miller (drums), and Aleah Long. Photo courtesy of photographer MJ Stephenson.

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moving to these lands and with few children and a refusal to permit men on the land, many of these matriarchal communities, including the Alapine Village in northeastern Alabama, are starting to fade.78 Men also have created separate spaces for themselves in rural areas. While now a multigender group, the Radical Faeries have been practicing rituals of men-loving-men in eleven rural “sanctuaries” across the United States (Figure 6).79 In 1979, the Radical Faeries had their first gathering at Sri Ram Ashram Ranch, located outside Benson, Arizona. The Camp Trans campground in Monroe County, Wisconsin, was formed in opposition to and outside of the women-born-women-only policy of the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival, and affords a space for people across genders who support and respect transgender people. The MichFest, as it was informally known, ran for forty years from 1976 to 2015 and afforded freedom and security for tens of thousands of cis-gendered women in rural Michigan that they previously could not imagine (Figure 7).

A Range of LGBTQ Places

Across cities, suburbs, and rural settings, and within and beyond territories and neighborhoods, LGBTQ places evoke the practices that define this group and vice versa. Contrary to the idea of place as merely fixed coordinates on a map, place is dynamic; it is always becoming.80 Attachments to and memories of place contribute to forming identities and navigating experiences.81 In this section, places are examined by the primary practices that form them. Because LGBTQ people often have fewer resources and access to capital, many LGBTQ places are impermanent and temporary—for example, rented, or borrowed spaces for

79 Morgensen, Spaces between Us.
meetings. This impermanence, however, does not necessarily lessen the importance of these places.

Since the 1920s, one type of space, bars, has been most closely associated with LGBTQ communities by both society at large and LGBTQ individuals. Bars were the only spaces that afforded socializing and “prepolitical” gatherings in the 1930s to 1960s, places where those of varying genders, sexualities, and races could mix. These were predominantly working-class establishments. While smaller cities and towns have fewer places where all LGBTQ people can gather, LGBTQ bars in cities are often highly segregated by race and class because greater numbers of people allowed for places where specific groups can congregate.

In a recent study of transgender people’s experience of LGBTQ place, female-to-male transgender people often are not welcome or feel unwelcome in women-only lesbian or male-only gay bars, and seek out queer bars instead, which welcome a broad spectrum of genders. Male-to-female transgender people and drag queens more

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82 Image in public domain.  


84 Kennedy and Davis, Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold; see also D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities.

85 Nash, “Trans Experiences in Lesbian and Queer Space.”
Often find community in gay men’s bars.\(^8\) Intensifying gentrification and rising rents and property values have played a role in the closing of many LGBTQ bars today; the last lesbian bars in San Francisco (the Lexington Club) and in Washington, DC (Phase One) closed early in 2015, and the oldest continuing black LGBTQ bar in New York City, the Starlite Lounge, closed in 2011 after fifty-two years in business.\(^7\)

In addition to bars, LGBTQ people are often associated with political spaces and spaces of protest because of the strong visibility of the LGBTQ movement. Bold activist protests have been hallmarks of the movement. In 1966, a group of LGBTQ hustlers and drag queens refused to acquiesce to police brutality at Compton’s Cafeteria in the Tenderloin District of San Francisco and, for the first time in recorded history, fought back against police (Figure 8).\(^8\) This event and others paved the way for a spontaneous riot against police brutality of LGBTQ individuals on June 27, 1969, at the Stonewall Inn, a predominantly gay bar with a smaller clientele of lesbians, transgender people, and bisexuals in New York City’s Greenwich Village.\(^9\)

Since 1970, the Stonewall Riot has been marked and celebrated annually and internationally as the Pride March and Pride celebrations. Inspired by these uprisings and the radical movements of the 1960s and 1970s, a public gay and lesbian movement grew alongside and often in solidarity with other movements, often occupying homes, workplaces, campuses, and antiracist, anarchist, labor, and Marxist meeting spaces.\(^9\)

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\(^7\) Jen Jack Gieseking, “On the Closing of the Last Lesbian Bar in San Francisco: What the Demise of the Lex Tells Us About Gentrification,” *Huffington Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jen-jack-gieseking/on-the-closing-of-the-las_b_6057122.html. The Lexington Club was located at 3464 Nineteenth Street, San Francisco, California; Phase One was located at 525 Eighth Street NE, Washington, DC; and the Starlite Lounge was at 1213 McDonald Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.


\(^9\) Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*; and Hanhardt, *Safe Space*. 

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include the first Latino/a LGBTQ rights organization, Gay Latino Alliance, founded in San Francisco in 1975, as well as the Community Building in Washington, DC.91

The eruption of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s incited the growth of national and international in-your-face activist actions, confronting issues such as healthcare, childcare, harassment, racism, violence, and the gender pay gap.92 These groups took the fight to those who ignored their cries for help; the group ACT UP laid down during the archbishop’s mass at St. Patrick’s Cathedral on Fifth Avenue in New York City to protest the Vatican’s dismissal of AIDS research and rejection of LGBTQ people in 1989 (Figure 9).93 At the same time, thousands of small local organizations formed in cities, towns, colleges, and high schools across the country to address local injustices. In the 1990s, large rounds of defunding of the federal government led to the outgrowth of a nonprofit industrialization complex, absorbing nascent organizations into official nonprofit status and often dampening radical trajectories.94 In the 2000s, the mainstream LGBTQ movement began to focus almost exclusively on obtaining same-sex marriage rights and overturning “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policies in the military.95 Conversations around “respectability politics,” laying claim to being part of already dominant social norms like marriage, are now at the center of many LGBTQ debates and will likely define many


The key period of significance for the Community Center was 1971 to 1981. In the 1960s and early 1970s, this location, known as the Community Building, was a center of counterculture and antiwar activity. The site housed Earthworks and Lambda Rising and organized the first Gay Pride in 1975. The building also housed the Gay Switchboard, “Blade,” “off our backs,” Bread and Roses, The Black Panther Defense League, and other organizations. It was located at 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC.

92 Laraine Sommeila and Maxine Wolfe in *Queers in Space*, 407-438; and Hanhardt, *Safe Space*.

93 Sommeila and Wolfe, *Queers in Space*, 407-438. St. Patrick’s Cathedral was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976.


95 Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 20.
LGBTQ spaces in the future.  

Practices of socialization are a central element of all LGBTQ spaces and take many forms, ranging from churches to coffee shops, Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA) games to Pride parades, community centers to music festivals. The sexual openness of the late 1910s and 1920s afforded a wider but still small swath of places with which to find one another. As the twentieth century progressed, LGBTQ individuals and communities—and therefore their spaces—became more

Figure 9: ACT UP demonstration, “Storm the NIH,” at the National Institutes of Health on May 21, 1990. These demonstrations included various ACT UP groups from different parts of the United States; this photo shows the Shreveport, Louisiana ACT UP group. Photo from the Branson Collection, NIH.

97 License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.  
and more visible. In recent decades, this turning sociopolitical tide has included religious spaces.\textsuperscript{100} Founded by Reverend Troy Perry and others in 1969 in his private residence in Huntington Park, California, the now international Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) gave many LGBTQ people a home when other churches rejected them.\textsuperscript{101} By the late twentieth century, LGBTQ leisure spaces maintained specific roles “as sites of safety, community, political power and identity formation.”\textsuperscript{102} For example, WNBA games across the United States are particularly welcoming spaces for lesbians.\textsuperscript{103}

Cultural institutions including museums, universities, archives, libraries, and theaters have traditionally provided spaces for LGBTQ people to gather and express themselves. Artists pushed boundaries and brought to light difficult issues. In 2010, gay artist David Wojnarowicz’s artwork was removed from a National Portrait Gallery show in Washington, DC after the second outcry about its profanity; the first negative responses came in 1989 when the work was first shown.\textsuperscript{104} This event also recalled the 1989 debates over gay artist Robert Mapplethorpe’s art not being shown at the Corcoran Gallery of Art after it was shown, along with Wojnarowicz’s work, at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{105} LGBTQ archives have become cutting-edge research sites located across the country. Some examples include: the ONE National Gay & Lesbian

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\item For more information on the role of religion in LGBTQ spaces, see Bourn (this volume).
\item Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, “Lesbian Visibility.”
\item Judith Tannenbaum, “Robert Mapplethorpe: The Philadelphia Story,” \textit{Art Journal} 50, no. 4 (December 1, 1991): 71–76; The Corcoran Gallery, which closed in 2014, was located at Seventeenth Street NW at New York Avenue, Washington, DC. It was listed on the NRHP on May 6, 1971 and designated an NHL on April 27, 1992. For more information on this topic, see Burk (this volume). See also Helen Molesworth, \textit{This Will Have Been: Art, Love, and Politics in the 1980s} (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 369-373.
\end{enumerate}
Archives at the University of Southern California and older LGBTQ archives like the Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives now at SUNY Buffalo; the Black Queer Studies Collection at the University of Texas at Austin; the June Mazer Lesbian Archives; the Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America at the University of Missouri-Kansas City; the Transgender Archives at the Transgender Foundation of America; and the Lesbian Herstory Archives. Some of the archives remain in private holdings in private homes, although many have become part of public archives.

Queer economies are as complicated and diverse as the people themselves. The concept for LGBTQ people to “Buy gay!” emerged from Harvey Milk’s 1977 campaign in San Francisco’s Castro District as a response to the heterosexuals who would not sell to LGBTQ people. LGBTQ publicly-owned and run businesses like restaurants, cafes, food cooperatives, bars, bookstores, and sex toy stores have played an essential role in the survival and community of this group. Like most LGBTQ businesses—once a central part of the American urban landscape from the 1970s through the 2000s—LGBTQ bookstores (and presses and publishers) are steadily disappearing. Like other key businesses before them, one of the oldest and best-known bookstores, Women & Children First serves as a hub for Chicago’s LGBTQ neighborhood of Andersonville.

106 See Ann Cvetkovich, An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); and Rachel Wexelbaum, ed., Queers Online: LGBT Digital Practices in Libraries, Archives, and Museums (Sacramento, CA: Litwin Books, 2015). The ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives are located at 909 West Adams Boulevard, Los Angeles, California; the Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives are located at 1300 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York; the June Mazer Lesbian Archives are located at 626 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, California; the Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America is at 800 East Fifty-First Street, Kansas City, Missouri; the Transgender Archives are located at 604 Pacific Street, Houston, Texas; the Lesbian Herstory Archives was founded and housed for many years in the apartment of Joan Nestle on 92nd Street before moving to 484 14th Street, Brooklyn, New York.

107 For more information on archival preservation, see Koskovich (this volume).


and Charis Books and More serves as a hub for the Candler Park neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia.\(^{110}\) LGBTQ communities and areas built up around certain places.\(^{111}\) Much of LGBTQ culture and many LGBTQ spaces have been commodified because of what is read as their cosmopolitanism or through processes of gentrification.\(^{112}\) The country’s first LGBTQ bookstore, Giovanni’s Room recently reopened as a thrift- and bookstore.\(^{113}\) This change in business focus is due to processes of gentrification as well as the shift to online book buying. At the same time, many LGBTQ people seek to fight against capitalist practices that work hand-in-hand with patriarchal, racist, colonial, and heterosexist oppressions by producing more diverse and less hierarchical economic practices.\(^{114}\)

While many view home as a refuge, many LGBTQ people have experienced unsafe circumstances, domestic violence, and/or being unwelcome in their family homes (Figure 10).\(^{116}\) In the early twentieth century, some upper-class women lived together in

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\(^{110}\) Women & Children First is located at 5233 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois; Charis Books and More is located at 1189 Euclid Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia.

\(^{111}\) For example, Hula’s Bar and Lei Stand, 2103 Kuhio Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai’i. The opening of this bar in the 1970s drew other gay businesses to the area. The district (known as the Kuhio District) was redeveloped in the late 1990s, with one developer noting that the removal of the area’s “alternative-type places” would improve the economic viability of the area. Hula’s moved to the Waikiki Grand Hotel.

\(^{112}\) Chasin, Selling Out; Boyd, “San Francisco’s Castro District.”

\(^{113}\) Giovanni’s Room is located at 345 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.


\(^{115}\) License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gay_Liberation_Monument.jpg

what were called “Boston marriages.” Whether these women were physically intimate together is often unknown, but their relationships were described as “romantic friendships.”117 Meanwhile, gay men in the late twentieth century redefined gender stereotypes while claiming spaces of domesticity.118 Home ownership—a key component of the American dream—is an unreachable goal for many LGBTQ people. In general, women earn less money than men; people of color earn less and have higher unemployment rates than whites; and transgender people are disproportionately out of work.119 It is, therefore, important to consider an individual’s identity as well as their geography, education, and occupation when considering the possibilities of their access to different types of spaces.

Spaces of sex and sexuality are not limited to public places like parks or to private residences, but also include those associated with the study of sexuality at places like the Kinsey Institute in Indiana; performances of drag shows and burlesque; and private or semi-private places for sex like sex parties, dark rooms, peep booths, and backrooms.120 Public displays of affection, like kissing and hand-holding, still mark LGBTQ places, and in many areas are still perceived as acts of resistance.121

Preservation, memorialization, and monumentalization are more unusual than common in LGBTQ spaces and history. Only recently are LGBTQ histories, spaces, and places being honored and remembered

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117 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*.
rather than attacked or excluded (Figure 11).\textsuperscript{122} One powerful example is the Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. Conceived of and first housed at the Jose Theater Building in San Francisco, the quilt was first displayed in its entirety in October 1987 on the National Mall in Washington, DC.\textsuperscript{123} Now too large to be seen at once, with over 48,000 panels and 94,000 names, the quilt tours in parts throughout the United States. While not a specifically LGBTQ space, the State of Pennsylvania commemorates the Annual Reminders at Independence Hall, indicating that many key spaces of preservation are not wholly permanent.\textsuperscript{124} LGBTQ people often recall and share their history with walking tours, which can be found in places including Washington, DC, San Francisco and Los Angeles, California, and New York City.

We cannot talk about LGBTQ spaces and places without noting their absence. Scholars suggest that LGBTQ people also experience a sense of placelessness that occurs when they feel intense pressures and expectations to disavow their true selves.\textsuperscript{125} Some placelessness is rooted in larger patterns of inequality; some in isolation; and some in a mismatch between personal and official identity. For example, both gay men and lesbians often experience an “absence” of more permanent physical places.\textsuperscript{126} Isolated queer white men in the mid-twentieth century in the Midwest required and were able to make use of their mobility and travel to

\textsuperscript{122} Stonewall Inn and the Henry Gerber House are the only NHLs at the time of writing this chapter.
\textsuperscript{123} Peter S. Hawkins, “Naming Names: The Art of Memory and the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt,” \textit{Critical Inquiry} 19, no. 4 (July 1, 1993): 752–779. The Jose Theater Building is located at 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, California. The National Mall in Washington, DC was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966; it was incorporated into the NPS’s National Mall and Memorial Parks Unit in 1965.
\textsuperscript{124} Independence Hall in Philadelphia is part of Independence National Historical Park, a unit of the NPS created on June 28, 1948. The park, including Independence Hall, was designated an NHL District on October 15, 1966.
\textsuperscript{126} Rothenberg, “‘And She Told Two Friends’: Lesbians Creating Urban Social Space”; Knopp, “Ontologies of Place, Placelessness, and Movement”; and Gieseking, “Queering the Meaning of ‘Neighbourhood’”.

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find one another. In situations ranging from natural disasters to everyday bathroom usage or crossing borders or boarding planes, LGBTQ people often have no place to turn, particularly transgender people whose identification documents may not “match” their gender presentation. The difficulty in memorializing such absences speaks to the challenge of preserving and commemorating LGBTQ spaces. Further, while there is an excitement to marking history, preservation efforts may also lead to the unintentional and problematic effects of increasing gentrification and tourism that have eaten away at LGBTQ neighborhoods. The work toward

preserving LGBTQ history requires recognition of all of these peoples, places, and spaces.

**Summary**

The invisibilization of LGBTQ spaces and places has often required workarounds to laws, policies, mores, and attitudes that would otherwise restrict their behavior and identity. By addressing LGBTQ people through the lens of the geographic scale of their spaces and places—area, neighborhood, place—this document provides a working document with which to understand the range and import of LGBTQ spaces and places.
Introduction

In the summer of 2012, posters reading "MORE GRINDR=FEWER GAY BARS" appeared taped to signposts in numerous gay neighborhoods in North America—from Greenwich Village in New York City to Davie Village in Vancouver, Canada.¹ The signs expressed a brewing fear: that the popularity of online lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) social media—like Grindr, which connects gay men based on proximate location—would soon replace the bricks-and-mortar institutions that had long facilitated LGBTQ community building. The owner of Quest, a popular gay bar that hosted drag nights in Baltimore’s Highlandtown neighborhood

for almost fifteen years, blamed the bar’s closure in 2014 on, among other changes, the popularity of gay “hook up” apps like Grindr.\(^2\) There are no studies that definitively prove what, if any, role online technology has played in the number of LGBTQ bars still remaining. But the concern that one social environment would replace the other points not only to the continued growth of LGBTQ virtual life—which has been an important means of exchange across boundaries of geography, accessibility, and age since the 1990s—but also to the historically significant role of bars and other sites of leisure in fostering LGBTQ sociality and of the key role of communication networks in the history of LGBTQ community formation.\(^3\)

Historian John D’Emilio was among the first scholars to theorize the origins of self-identified lesbian and gay community. In his famed 1983 essay “Capitalism and Gay Identity,” D’Emilio contended that the rise of a system of wage-based labor had allowed for individuals to detach from their prescribed roles within heterosexual families.\(^4\) By the middle of the twentieth century, the continued growth of the industrial city and the rise of single-sex environments central to wartime economies, would together help to provide the conditions of possibility to transform the often isolated experiences of same-sex sex and desire into lesbian and gay collective identities. Each decade that followed would bring about the continued birth and loss of bars, clubs, workplaces, parks, community centers, parade routes, commercial markets, protest sites, and other institutions formal and not, that would be claimed—and, at times, disavowed—in the name of LGBTQ community.

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\(^2\) Kevin Rector, “Looking Out: Quest Bar in Highlandtown to Close This Weekend After Last Hurrah,” \emph{Baltimore Sun}, August 7, 2014. Quest Bar was located at 3607 Fleet Street, Baltimore, Maryland near Brewer’s Hill and was popular with regulars from there and the nearby suburb of Dundalk. See Michael Farley, “Leaving the Gayborhood,” \emph{City Paper}, June 10, 2014.


Social theorist Miranda Joseph has critiqued the concept of community as one that universalizes difference and thus obscures the power dynamics of social relations. She argues that claims to community are often romanticized, and that this dynamic risks masking conflict and minimizing the role of the marketplace. These claims can also assume that visions of community are shared when they often are not. Joseph grounds her analysis in a case study of Theatre Rhinoceros in San Francisco, a nonprofit association dedicated to theater by and about gay people that was founded in 1977. She shows how some members of the theater company used the terms of "community" in ways that excluded or marginalized other members, in particular people of color, bisexuals, and transgender people. 5

Today Theatre Rhino (as it is best known) describes itself as “the world’s oldest continuously producing professional queer theater.”6 From 1981 to 2009, the theater was located in the Redstone Building, also known as the San Francisco Labor Temple, which has housed many labor and nonprofit groups and was the first home to the San Francisco Bay Area Gay and Lesbian Historical Society (now the GLBT Historical Society).7 The Redstone Building was landmarked by San Francisco in 2004 for its role in that city’s labor history, including for its status as a key site of organizing for the 1934 General Strike.8

The commemoration of the Redstone Building’s role in labor history combined with Joseph’s analysis of how internal social hierarchies can be legitimized reminds us that any claims to community—be that by Theatre Rhino or by historic preservation—can actually be quite vexed. The process of “making community” in US LGBTQ history, in neighborhoods and homes,

5 Miranda Joseph, Against the Romance of Community (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
7 The Redstone Building is located at 2926-2948 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California.
in bars and parks and on softball fields, in community centers and via newsletters, and in ever-expanding online networks is always in process and changing over time and place. And the ideal of community is defined not only by whom it includes, but also by whom it leaves out; by shifting definitions of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer identity; and by conflicts over the best or appropriate use of place and of the value of LGBTQ visibility. In this chapter, other aspects of identification and difference including race, gender, class, ability, and location are also understood to shape the form and the function of the diverse places in which sexual and gender minorities have made, asserted, and challenged collective identities.

Neighborhoods

It is no accident that the signs announcing the doom promised by online sites like Grindr would be posted in so-called gayborhoods—areas that are known as historically home to a large number of LGBTQ residents and/or businesses. These include well-known areas of major cities such as New York’s Greenwich Village (especially the part known as the West Village), San Francisco’s Castro District, and Chicago’s East Lakeview (also called Boystown). There are also the gay-identified neighborhoods of other cities, such as Hillcrest in San Diego (California), Dupont Circle in Washington (District of Columbia), Midtown in Atlanta (Georgia), Old Towne East in Columbus (Ohio), Montrose in Houston (Texas), the French Quarter in New Orleans (Louisiana), plus whole towns unto themselves like Northampton and Provincetown in Massachusetts, Rehoboth Beach in Delaware, and West Hollywood in California. In these places, the

presence of rainbow flags, public displays of same-sex affection, same-sex parent families, and businesses catering to LGBTQ markets are all seen as among the signs that mark an area as welcoming to LGBTQ people.

While some of these areas have longstanding reputations as popular amongst lesbian and gay people, the concept of a gay enclave as it is best known today—as a place of LGBTQ residence, leisure, and business—is a product of the late 1960s and 1970s. Prior to then, sexual and gender minorities were most associated with those places also home to a mix of other social outsiders, be that in bohemian or artist districts (such as New York’s Greenwich Village or San Francisco’s North Beach) or in the seedy streets of those cities’ vice districts and so-called skid rows (such as New York’s Times Square or San Francisco’s Tenderloin). By the late 1960s, things began to change, and gay tenants—in particular white and middle-class ones—were increasingly seen as desirable tenants.10

This corresponded with the growth of a mass movement following the Stonewall uprisings (discussed later in this chapter) that put the goal of lesbian and gay visibility further into the mainstream, and, in turn, neighborhoods were increasingly seen to be a primary expression of collective identity and pride. Here, lesbian and gay claims to place—as sites of residence and business and communal public life—would replace ideas of neighborhood based in uses deemed illegal or illicit or assumed private. As one journalist explained in late 1969, vice districts that were associated with public and commercial sex could not be called gay

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neighborhoods, since their “gay legions are transient rather than permanent.”¹¹

In the 1970s and 1980s, the idea of lesbian and gay community in gay enclaves would, at least in part, begin to consolidate into what would become by the 1990s a niche market. Historic preservation efforts led by gay men were variably touted as, on the one hand, leading to the improvement of neighborhoods in decline while providing community for those often exiled from family, or, on the other hand, as a kind of vanguard for the profit-driven redevelopment of areas abandoned by the state and capital years before.¹² In this context, shops, restaurants, and clubs catering to lesbians and gay men increasingly helped to transform certain consumer practices into community claims (and community expressions into consumer goods).¹³ In some places, such as San Francisco, this corresponded with political redistricting that facilitated the election of gay-identified politicians in areas with significant gay populations. Among the most famous example was in San Francisco’s Castro District, where Harvey Milk—one of the country’s first out, gay politicians—played a key role in making that neighborhood into a vibrant gay enclave.¹⁴ His camera shop, Castro Camera—where Milk worked prior to election, and then later based his campaigns—functioned as a kind of community center, where gay men, some lesbians, and many of their political and personal allies would gather for both social and political action.¹⁵

¹² For more detailed analysis of the history of and debates about gay neighborhood growth, see Christina B. Hanhardt, Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013). See also Dubrow (this volume).
¹⁴ The first ever openly gay or lesbian candidate to win political office in the United States was Kathy Kozachenko who was elected to city council in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1974.
¹⁵ For a history of the neighborhood that emphasizes its function in gay political community formation see Manuel Castells, “City and Culture: The San Francisco Experience,” in The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 97-172; for one that also considers the role of Harvey Milk, see Timothy Stewart-Winter, “The Castro:
Although inclusive in many ways, not all LGBTQ people were treated as a part of the “imagined community” of these new gay neighborhoods, and conflicts about who belonged on their streets—as well as within their local businesses, homes, and institutions—would be debated then and for years to come. For example, in the late 1970s and early 1980s gay “safe streets” patrols walked the boundaries of many gay neighborhoods providing protection from anti-gay threats; nonetheless, at times, activists’ sense of who was or was not LGBTQ would trade in stereotypical assumptions that correlated LGBTQ identity with whiteness and middle-
class status (Figure 1). Moreover, during these years, transgender people remained most identified with vice districts and other areas associated with practices still considered illicit. By the 1990s and 2000s, real estate in gay enclaves such as the West Village, Castro, and Boystown had reached such high market values, that wealthy residents (gay and not) increasingly targeted nonresident LGBTQ youth of color who socialized in these areas, calling them undesirable outsiders, and undermining young people’s claims to these neighborhoods as historically gay havens. Throughout all of these years, one of the most contested sites of belonging would also be one of the most celebrated places in LGBTQ community history: the bar.

Bars and Clubs

Since before the emergence of formal gay neighborhoods, bars and nightclubs have played an important role in building LGBTQ community and in some places functioned as an anchor for later residential concentration. Indeed, long before the LGBTQ movement had taken form, bars provided a place where LGBTQ people could openly express affection, socialize with friends, and network with others without fear of punishment or shame. For all of these reasons and more, many scholars argue that gay bars should be considered among the first LGBTQ activist spaces, emphasizing that their patrons and owners often advocated on behalf of the most stigmatized and despised. For example, historian Nan Alamilla Boyd tells the story of places like the Paper Doll and the Black Cat, both in San Francisco, where the development of a shared language and culture helped to forge community. As she describes:

..., [they] functioned as community centers where gay, lesbian, and transgender people could make friends, find lovers, get

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18 Hanhardt, Safe Space. This was also a feature of the popularity of the so-called “clone look” among white gay men, that cast those with different styles and aesthetics as outsiders. See Martin P. Levine, Gay Macho: The Life and Death of the Homosexual Clone, ed. Michael S. Kimmel (New York: New York University Press, 1998). Safe streets patrols picked up again in the very late 1980s and early 1990s; examples include the San Francisco Street Patrol, Pink Panthers in New York, and Q-Patrol in Seattle. 19 Hanhardt, Safe Space.
information, or plan activities. As a result, San Francisco’s queer bar-based community was able to pool its resources, strengthen its ties, and ultimately, develop a foundation for its own brand of political mobilization.\textsuperscript{20}

This was by no means restricted to San Francisco, and scholars have shown this to also be the case in bars from the Midwest to the South, which provided protection along with pleasure (Figure 2).\textsuperscript{21}

But as was the case in gay neighborhoods in later years, nightlife leisure reflected many of the dominant divisions clearly visible during

Figure 2: The Nu-Towne Saloon in Phoenix, Arizona opened in 1971. A fire in 2010 gutted the interior; the owners restored it, and the bar reopened a year later. It remains in business. Photo by Don Barrett, 2014.\textsuperscript{22}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Nan Alamilla Boyd, \textit{Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco} to 1965 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 61. The Paper Doll was located at 524 Union Street; the Black Cat at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat Club is a contributing element (but not for LGBTQ history) to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.
\item License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. \url{https://www.flickr.com/photos/donbr/14687483338}. The Nu-Towne Saloon is located at 5002 East Van Buren Street, Phoenix, Arizona.
\end{enumerate}
daylight hours. For example, during the first half of the twentieth century in New York City, the Oak Room at the Plaza Hotel was popular with “respectable” white gay men who would quietly gather among other businessmen, while the various Automats in the Times Square area were known as raucous environments enjoyed by self-identified “fairies” whose gender expressions and behaviors were often stigmatized by other gays as too feminine or sexual. The Supreme Court ruling that prohibited formal racial discrimination in Washington, DC, restaurants in 1953 did not stop the tacit whites-only policy of places like the Lafayette Chicken Hut; instead, bars like Nob Hill enjoyed great popularity among African American patrons for many years. (In fact, when it closed in 2004, Nob Hill had been the city’s oldest, continuously running gay bar.) Moreover, both Chicken Hut and Nob Hill catered to more middle-class patrons; black working-class gay men and lesbians as often socialized in mixed bars or at house parties, held in people’s homes.

Men dominated the scene of early gay bar culture more than women for many reasons. These included men’s greater financial access to the public sphere and independence from domestic obligation as well as their stronger sense of safety on the streets, especially after business hours. But lesbian and bisexual women, too, found community in bars, sometimes sharing space with gay men, other times in places of all-women. Sometimes one type of bar would become the other; for example, A. Finn Enke describes how owner Emmet Jewell had opened the Town House in St. Paul, Minnesota as a straight bar in 1969, but by 1970 had converted it into a gay bar and by 1975 the Town House was known as “the women’s bar” of that region. The fact that it had its roots in a bar of

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24 Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*. The Lafayette Chicken Hut (now demolished) was located at 1720 H Street NW, Washington, DC. Nob Hill, at 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC, opened in 1953. Since 2004, this has been the location of the Wonderland Ballroom.


mixed clientele is significant. In fact, many working-class lesbians socialized in what Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis have called “street bars,” that catered to those active in a range of criminalized economies.27 That is not to say that there were no women-only bars; for example, Detroit’s Sweetheart Bar opened in 1939 and had a special back room that catered to lesbians in particular; it was followed ten years later in that city by the Palais, which not only served drinks, but also hosted the kinds of community-making events that women in same-sex relationships were often excluded from or denied by their biological families, like birthday parties and wedding celebrations.28

The important role played by bars in early LGBTQ community formation also accounts for their significance in early LGBTQ activism. In 1966, members of the first, nationwide gay organization (then known as a “homophile” organization), the Mattachine Society, staged a “sip in” at Julius’ Bar in New York City, protesting laws that prohibited serving liquor to homosexuals.29 A year earlier, in 1965, transgender women were among those who fought back against police harassment at Compton’s Cafeteria, a late-night hangout in San Francisco’s Tenderloin District.30 Philadelphia and Los Angeles also saw high profile bar- and cafeteria-based conflicts that predated what would become the most famous of them all—the three-day riot outside the Stonewall Inn, New York City.31 The

28 Roey Thorpe, “The Changing Face of Lesbian Bars in Detroit, 1938-1965,” Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997). The Sweetheart Bar was located at 3928 Third Street, Detroit, Michigan. Opened in 1939, it has since been demolished. The Palais was located at 655 Beaubien Street, also in Detroit; it was open from 1949 through 1975.
29 John D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities. Julius’ Bar is located at 159 West 10th Street, New York City. It was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.
30 See Susan Styker, Transgender History (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008) and Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria, directed by Susan Stryker and Victor Silverman (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005). Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The building is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.
31 On Philadelphia, see Marc Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). On Los Angeles, see Faderman and Timmons, Gay L.A. The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City. Stonewall, which includes the area in front of 51-53 Christopher Street and Christopher Park where the riots took
protests were in response to the police raid of Stonewall—then a regular occurrence at gay bars—and they helped to further radicalize the LGBTQ movement and bring it greater visibility and militancy in the years following.32

Even in what is often referred to as the post-Stonewall period, bars played an important role in galvanizing community action, especially in smaller, less well-known contexts, and continued police attacks on bars were often understood as direct assaults against the gay and lesbian community in general. For instance, in 1979, police beat patrons and smashed the windows of the Elephant Walk, a bar in the Castro District in San Francisco, in retaliation for gay activist protests against the manslaughter (rather than murder) verdict given to Dan White, who had killed Harvey Milk (Figure 3).34 Earlier that year, police had also reportedly assaulted two lesbians leaving Amelia’s, a women’s bar in San Francisco’s Mission District; soon after,

Figure 3: Activists at the San Francisco Civic Center Plaza during the White Night riots, May 1979. Burning police cruisers are in the background. Photo by Daniel Nicoletta.33

place from June 28 through July 3, 1969 was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

32 On Stonewall, see Martin Duberman, Stonewall (New York: Plume, 1993).
33 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:White_Night_riots.jpg. The San Francisco Civic Center Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.
34 Randy Shilts, The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1988). The Elephant Walk, a mixed gay and lesbian bar open from 1974 through 1996, was located at 500 Castro Street, San Francisco, California; this is currently the location of Harvey’s, a gay bar and restaurant that opened in 1996. The police violence was part of the White Night riots.
women gathered to organize against police violence more generally. In 1982, over eleven hundred people organized in response to the police raid of Blue’s, a historically black and Latino gay bar in New York’s Times Square. This conjoined the continued harassment of lesbian bars in New York, which were targeted for removal by city administrative strategies; both the Duchess and Déjà Vu, the latter of which had a large clientele of women of color, were denied liquor licenses despite a lack of official complaints in this same period. Activists also protested police sweeps that profiled transgender women of color for suspected prostitution in Greenwich Village, especially near the piers at the end of the historic Christopher Street and up along the west side of Manhattan to the Meatpacking District (itself part of the Gansevoort Market Historic District).

During the 1980s and 1990s, LGBTQ activists protested multiple ID door entry and other policies that limited access to bars by their owners; many of these actions were coordinated by organizations such as Black and White Men Together (in cities all across the country; now part of the National Association of Black and White Men Together, which also includes the groups Men of All Colors Together and People of All Colors

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35 Hanhardt, Safe Space. Amelia’s, one of the nation’s first woman-only bars, opened in 1978 at 647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California. It closed circa 1991, when it was replaced by the Elbo Room.


37 The Duchess was located at 101 Seventh Avenue South, New York City.

38 See Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, Open Letter/Undated Statement (circa 1983), DARE File, Lesbian Herstory Archives, Brooklyn, NY. The Gansevoort Market Historic District was added to the NRHP on May 30, 2007. For more information on the Meatpacking District, see the web page of the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation: http://www.gvshp.org/_gvshp/preservation/gansevoort/gansevoort-main.htm. Pier 45 has long been a meeting place and refuge for gay men, LGBTQ youth, transgender women, and many members of the mostly African American ballroom community. Tragically, the body of transgender activist Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the waters off Pier 45 in the early 1990s. The Zoo, at 421-425 West 13th Street, New York City, opened in 1970 and was the first gay nightclub to open in the Meatpacking District. It is within the Gansevoort Market Historic District.
Together) and by Dykes Against Racism Everywhere and Salsa Soul Sisters in New York, among other groups. Racial segregation and class divisions not only shaped who went where due to explicit or subtle practices of exclusion, but were also influenced by the broader political and economic geography. The presence of bars with large LGBTQ clientele in black neighborhoods meant that some African Americans avoided these places, since they had a higher risk of exposure to family and neighbors who might pass by or drop in. Vacation communities, such as Cherry Grove on New York’s Fire Island, could provide anonymity and seclusion, but were mostly accessible only to the intimate circles of the middle-class and wealthy men and women who could afford to own homes. As a result, public spaces—parks, playgrounds, beaches, and other waterfront spaces—among many others, have served as key spaces of informal and free community building, especially for the most marginalized of LGBTQ people.

Parks and Fields and Open Spaces

For some LGBTQ people, bars have held too many risks of exposure, or have not been accessible because of de facto or de jure racial segregation, hostility to women, or exclusions based on ideas of appropriate class, gender, or sexual expression. Although forgotten in the telling of many, much of the energy behind the famed riots at Stonewall was fueled not only by bar patrons but also by LGBTQ street youth, who hung out at Christopher Park (also known as Sheridan Square), across the street from


40 Esther Newton, “The ‘Fun Gay Ladies’: Lesbians in Cherry Grove, 1936-1960,” in Creating a Place for Ourselves; Esther Newton, Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America’s First Gay and Lesbian Town (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, [1993] 2014). The Carrington House in Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on January 8, 2014. The Cherry Grove Community House and Theater, 180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 4, 2013. Both of these locations were listed for their importance in the creation of Cherry Grove as an early LGBTQ haven.
the bar at the intersection of Christopher, Grove, and West 4th Streets, right off of Seventh Avenue.41 Many youths participated in sexual economies—due in mixed measures to circumstance and choice—and as a result, their role has been played down in popular histories.42 But it is exactly those kinds of unrecognized—and, more importantly, unregulated—spaces of collective gathering and exchange that have played a key role in bringing the broadest mix of LGBTQ people together. And, as scholars Michael Warner and Lauren Berlant have argued, most, if not all, formal gay institutions are at least somewhat indebted to a history of sexual commerce, be it in the form of sex work, public sex, or sex-themed shops (from video stores to peep shows).43

Indeed, it has often been outside—on the street, in the park, in a public field—sometimes under different auspices than assumed and at other times under the cover of foliage that LGBTQ people have found each other. As scholars have shown, the search for what is often called public sex should not be considered simply some kind of furtive means of fulfilling bodily urges, but an effective mode of building social networks for supportive and sometimes lasting purposes. Some of these places were well known—often because they were patrolled by the police and arrests then publicized in the press—and others were only made familiar through hushed word of mouth and an often tacit acceptance by authorities.

These places have included Lafayette Square in NW Washington, DC, with a history extending back at least to the 1890s; the so-called Meat Rack on Fire Island (that connects the Pines and Cherry Grove areas); and the Ramble in New York City’s Central Park; it also has included rest stops along highways, such as Roadside Park No. 75 along US Highway 45 and

42 By sexual economies, I refer to a variety of modes by which both sexual services—from sex acts to sexual entertainment—are exchanged for money or other resources, legally or not.
various other parks along Interstate 59 in Mississippi. But it also includes places that are semipublic: toilets and changing rooms in those same parks but also in schools and department stores. It might also include bathhouses, from the Turkish Baths in lower Manhattan in the early twentieth century, to the St. Marks Baths in that city’s East Village in the middle of that century, the latter of which conducted voter registration, public health education, and held holiday parties (Figure 4).45

As historian John Howard shows, some of the places most associated with anti-gay and lesbian sentiment—such as churches or schools—would

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44 On the Ramble, see Lisa W. Foderero, “In Central Park, a Birders’ Secluded Haven Comes with a Dark Side,” New York Times, September 13, 2012. On Mississippi, see Howard, Men Like That, 111. Central Park was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on May 23, 1963.


46 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crew_Club_-_Washington,_D.C._JPG. The Crew Club is located at 1321 Fourteenth Street NW, Washington, DC. The building is a contributing property to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 9, 1994.
also host some of the most sustained and intimate forms of gay sexual communion. In these contexts, sex became far from a private practice, but became an act that could be explicitly partnered with education (such as about public health) and facilitate the distribution of collective community resources (i.e. housing information). This is also the argument writer Samuel Delany has made about the theaters of Times Square in New York City. He shows how informal sexual exchanges between men from a wide range of race and class backgrounds in Times Square constituted social contact that provided short-term and lasting interpersonal and material benefits. But as Delany also points out, not all of the sexual exchanges were gratis and some involved the exchange of sex for money. In fact, places of public and commercial sex have not always been separate, and often coexist within a local community or economy.

One example is along waterfronts—piers, ports, and docks—where numerous economies, be they maritime, industrial, or sexual, have flourished alongside each other. George Chauncey describes the rich mix of activities at the Newport, Rhode Island Army and Navy YMCA in the early twentieth century, a place that functioned as a kind of gay “headquarters” for sexual and social exchanges throughout the seaport town. One of the better-known sites is the waterfront alongside New York City’s west side of Manhattan, especially the stretch of piers that extend from what today is Battery Park to the sections north of the Chelsea neighborhood. In the 1970s and 1980s, deindustrialization had led to the abandonment of warehouses in the area as well as parts of the piers themselves, which then became active sites of public and commercial sex. The geography of sexual and social communities was often divided not only along lines of commerce, but also race and gender; white gay men

47 Howard, Men Like That.
49 George Chauncey, “Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identity and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War One Era,” Journal of Social History 19, no. 2 (1985): 189-211. The Army-Navy YMCA was located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.
often gathered in the areas at the end of Christopher Street, and transgender people of color gathered north, closer to the Meatpacking District (Figure 5).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the increased policing of other public spaces in New York, such as Washington Square Park, moved informal social gatherings of LGBTQ people of color, many youth, to the waterfront, which had been neglected for years. During this time, a community of transgender women also made a home amongst the city’s parking and storage area for salting trucks (used in the winter for de-icing); their efforts to maintain dignity and a viable life are captured by the documentary *The Salt Mines*. By the start of the twenty-first century, the area at the end of the famed Christopher Street had become an active gathering place for LGBTQ people of color and an active investment site for real estate. The eventual redevelopment of the derelict piers into a public park brought into sharp focus debates between residents (gay and straight, renters and homeowners) and nonresident users of the area, drawn to it for its historic role as a community gathering place, that are still ongoing today.

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50 *The Salt Mines*, directed by Susana Aikin and Carlos Aparicio (San Francisco: Frameline, 1990.)
51 See Hanhardt, *Safe Space*. Hanhardt notes here that the historic preservation of the Stonewall Inn and its environs (listed on the NRHP in 1999 and designated an NHL in 2000) was invoked by residents in order to block expansion of exits from the PATH train which connects the historically black and Latino working-class cities of Newark and Jersey City (in New Jersey) to the neighborhood.
For lesbians, the geography of known spots for public sex between women has been sparser, but places like Riis Beach in New York’s Rockaways most certainly have been charged erotic sites where people would often find companionship for a lifetime, or just one night (Figure 6). As Joan Nestle wrote of waiting for the bus on Flatbush Avenue to make the final public transportation leg to the beach in “Lesbian Memories 1: Riis Park, New York City, ca. 1960,” “There were hostile

Figure 6: The area of Jacob Riis Park in Queens, New York near the abandoned tuberculosis hospital has traditionally been where the LGBTQ community has congregated. Photo by David Shankbone, 2013.

License: CC BY 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abandoned_Tuberculosis_Hospital_Jacob_Riis_Beach_Rockaways_New_York_2013_Shankbone.JPEG. Jacob Riis Park is part of the Gateway National Recreation Area, a unit of the NPS. It was established on October 27, 1972.

Joan Nestle, “Restriction and Reclamation: Lesbian Bars and Beaches of the 1950s,” in Queers in Space: Claiming the Urban Landscape, eds. Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter (New York: Bay Press, 1997). Jacob Riis Beach Historic District was listed on the NRHP on June 17, 1981. It was incorporated into the Gateway National Recreation Area, a unit of the NPS, on October 27, 1972. Here it is worth noting that women sex workers include lesbian and bisexual women, and that the public sites available for sexual exchanges with men are considerably more plentiful.
encounters, the usual stares at the freaks, whispered taunts of faggot, lezzie, is that a man or a woman, but we did not care. We were heading to the sun, to our piece of the beach where we could kiss and hug and enjoy looking at each other.” She continues to describe a scene as rich with desire as it is self-aware of its vulnerability, and committed to finding protection in community.54

Lesbians also have pursued other forms of collective physical activity. Softball was one popular sport; in Oakland, California the group Gente was an all-woman-of-color softball team that included lesbian poet Pat Parker. They organized in part in response to the racism of white lesbian bars, but they also saw softball as a way to affirmatively forge community that might extend far beyond the softball field. In an interview with the lesbian magazine the Tide, the members of Gente said:

There’s a lot of third-world sisters out there that don’t have anything to do with sports. But it’s going to come time when we’re going to hook up with each other. The only way we can do that is to get together when we can on some common ground. Right now the common ground is softball. But we’re not going to be limited by that.55

In fact, it was common that the public spaces of softball teams might facilitate political activity; in other examples from that same period, the softball team the Wilder Ones in Minneapolis was explicitly identified as lesbian feminist, and the socialist feminist Chicago Women’s Liberation Union’s outreach group (called “Secret Storm,” also the name of their newsletter) was forced to address issues of sexuality as they coordinated political work alongside softball games in public parks in Chicago like Horner and Kosciuscko Parks.56

56 Enke, Finding the Movement.

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But, as many scholars have noted, gender, race, and class have stratified different LGBTQ people’s access to both public and private space, and tracing the sites of community building can be difficult for those who have limited access to private property or for whom visibility on the street can correlate with an increased risk of violence. As a result, spaces were also more ephemeral—a favorite stoop on which transgender women would hang out, a home in which lesbians held regular potlucks, or a rotating set of bars, clubs, and houses that would host parties that might be used as a way to raise money for that month’s rent or a communal need or collective project. Many of these places cannot be recorded in the history of community preservation, but some, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, would begin to formalize in the form of community centers.

Community Centers

Since 1971, the Women’s Building in San Francisco—located first on Brady Street and then soon after (and ever since) at 3543 Eighteenth Street—has been a community center that served as political meeting hall, switchboard, etc.
collective meeting site, shelter, and organizational home to many lesbian and LGBTQ-centered efforts. The Pacific Center for Human Growth in Berkeley, California soon followed in 1973 and was also well known in the area for its therapy services and self-help groups (Figure 7).\(^5\) All across the country small and large community centers have provided vital services and social gathering places for a diverse cross section of the LGBTQ community—from HIV testing to social dances, from meetings for Alcoholics Anonymous to those for ACT UP direct action planning, from crafts clubs to youth groups. Some have been held in church basements and municipal recreation halls; others have worked collectively to buy buildings, incorporating as nonprofit (and, even, on occasion for-profit) organizations (Figure 8).\(^5\)

Today the biggest LGBTQ center is in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles LGBT Center dates its origins to services first provided in 1969; it now spreads out over no fewer than six locations in the region, and is run by 450 employees and over 3,000 volunteers who, the organization self-reports, “provide services to more LGBT people than any other organization in the world.”\(^6\) Opened in 1970, the Pride Center of the Capital Region in Albany,

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\(^5\) The Pacific Center for Human Growth is located at 2712 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, California.

\(^5\) Enke maps an impressive variety of formal and informal gathering places in *Finding the Movement.*

\(^6\) License: Public Domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MilwaukeeLGBTCommunityBuilding.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MilwaukeeLGBTCommunityBuilding.JPG). The community center was located at 315 West Court Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

\(^6\) See “About,” Los Angeles LGBT Center website, accessed August 14, 2015, [http://www.lalgbtcenter.org/about](http://www.lalgbtcenter.org/about). For a critical look at the vexed history of the center’s inclusions and exclusions, see Jane Ward, *Respectably Queer: Diversity Culture in LGBT Activist Organizations*
New York is the oldest LGBTQ community center in the United States still operating from their original location.\textsuperscript{62} Other large LGBTQ community centers include the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center (The Center) in New York City which also hosts health services, a coffee shop, archive, and computer services; the San Francisco LGBT Center, which provides services as diverse as financial, housing, and health, and also includes a gallery with rotating exhibits; the Phillip Rush Center in Atlanta which provides meeting spaces for LGBTQ-themed groups in that city; the Montrose Center in Houston, Texas which provides support groups and health services alongside cultural and social events; this is also the case for the Q Center in Portland, Oregon. In fact, the list is much longer than many would expect, and includes centers in places as diverse as Pocatello, Idaho; Missoula, Montana; White Plains, New York; Wichita, Kansas; Highland, Indiana; and Port St. Lucie, Florida.\textsuperscript{63}

Bookstores, Newsletters, Magazines, and Online Networks

Although the list of locations with LGBTQ community centers is much longer than that of the aforementioned cities, it is also the case that in smaller places the idea of a community center can take a wide variety of forms. In smaller municipal and rural regions and even in some urban neighborhoods, places with other official purposes can take on dual identities, with local businesses functioning as de facto centers for members of the LGBTQ community, broadly defined. These include the
backrooms of cafes, school groups for LGBTQ students and their allies, barbershops and beauty salons, or a range of self-help or neighborhood-based tenant groups. This was certainly the case with Harvey Milk’s camera shop mentioned earlier in this chapter. The 1991 documentary *DiAna’s Hair Ego* shows how a South Carolina hairdresser made her salon into an open space to discuss HIV-AIDS and sexuality in general among a wide variety of clients; over a decade earlier, the Chelsea Gay Association was a neighborhood group that provided support to lesbians and gay men in New York before the founding of that city’s community center.\(^64\) It is also worth noting that today many LGBTQ centers or large LGBTQ organizations have marketed themselves into the commercial landscape of neighborhoods. The organization the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) has stores in Provincetown, Massachusetts and San Francisco, California that sell clothing and other merchandise adorned with the HRC logo and/or rainbow flags, in essence using the market place as an explicit way to build community claims.\(^65\)

This is despite the fact that the rainbow flag, now considered by many an international symbol of LGBTQ community and flown by businesses, community centers, and activists alike, was designed by artist Gilbert Baker in San Francisco as part of that city’s 1978 Gay Freedom Day Parade (Figure 9).\(^66\) To be sure, artists have been central to the process of LGBTQ community-making—be that in the shared love for certain musical anthems (say, the popularity of the song *You Make Me Feel* [*Mighty Real*] by the gay disco singer and songwriter Sylvester, also from 1978);\(^67\) the

\(^{64}\) *DiAna’s Hair Ego*, directed by Ellen Spiro (New York: Women Make Movies, 1990); on the Chelsea Gay Association, see Hanhardt, *Safe Space*.

\(^{65}\) The two existing stores can be found at 209-211 Commercial Street in Provincetown and 575 Castro Street (previously the location of Harvey Milk’s Castro Camera) in San Francisco (see: [http://shop.hrc.org/hrc-store-locations](http://shop.hrc.org/hrc-store-locations)). There previously had been a store located at 1633 Connecticut Avenue NW in Washington DC, but it has since closed. For a more detailed discussion of the marketing of identity and growth of LGBTQ-themed niche markets see Chasin, *Selling Out*.


long legacy of gay theater and the varied venues in which performances are staged, from Theatre Rhino (named in this chapter’s introduction) to the feminist WOW Café Theatre in New York;\(^68\) the wide mix of comedy clubs, drag show performances, and cabaret lounges (such as the former Valencia Rose and Josie’s Cabaret and Juice Joint in San Francisco from the 1980s and 1990s, Club Heaven in Detroit during that same time, or the various East Village bars and clubs that hosted Kiki and Herb performances in New York in the 1990s and 2000s);\(^69\) or the galleries, exhibit spaces, and other sites that cross, challenge, and reconstruct the


One of the most common types of businesses to function as community center has been the gay, lesbian, and LGBTQ bookstore. Be that A Different Light in San Francisco and West Hollywood, Washington DC’s Lambda Rising, New York City’s Oscar Wilde Bookshop, or Outwrite in Atlanta—all of which are now gone—or Giovanni’s Room in Philadelphia—which was recently threatened with closure—these bookstores have served as meeting places for reading groups and activist organizations and as social hangouts before and after events, or while shopping or browsing (Figure 10). This practice has been particularly strong in the history of lesbian feminist community building around women’s bookstores. Women’s bookstores have functioned as incubators for activism, research, and writing, as networks for interpersonal support,
and as a place to distribute feminist theories and ideas. Many women’s bookstores were explicitly or tacitly lesbian in their focus; this included Mama Bears Bookstore in Oakland, which closed in 2003 after twenty years; Old Wives Tales in San Francisco, which lasted for almost twenty years before closing in 1995; and Charis Books and More, which is still operating in Atlanta, having first opened in 1974.

Today people express concerns about the disappearance of LGBTQ bookstores much like they do bars, especially since, in earlier years, bookstores had provided some of the first formal gathering places for otherwise loose structures of community identity and affiliation. As historian Martin Meeker contends, among the earliest ways a unified “gay community” was forged was via the printed word. He traces the history of the publications of the early homophile movement in the 1940s-1960s, demonstrating how the exchange of newsletters—like the Mattachine Society’s ONE Magazine or the Daughters of Bilitis’ The Ladder—helped lesbian and gay people know that their experiences were not singular, and they were not alone. The gay-owned Pan Graphic Press facilitated the distribution of many of these specific publications; gay presses also were key to the availability of pornography, pulp fiction, and dime store novels that created community through networks of readers. This was particularly the case among lesbian feminists: Naiad Press, Diana Press, Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, Persephone Press, Firebrand Books, and Seal Press are but a few examples. And as the national LGBTQ

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73 Mama Bears Bookstore was located at 6536 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California from 1983 through 2003. Old Wives Tales in San Francisco opened on Hallowe’en day 1976 at 532 Valencia Street. In 1978, the shop moved to 1009 Valencia Street, where it remained until it closed in 1995.


movement gained momentum by the late 1980s, magazines, newsletters, and journals continued to be key forums in which individuals at the center of and at the margins of the mainstream movement communicated with each other—magazines like *The Advocate*, *Out*, and *Curve* found their way onto mainstream bookstore shelves while newsletters like *ONYX* and *Azalea*, both written by and for lesbians of color, created an alternative record of their experiences and ideas, often distributed by mail, by hand, or in local bookstores and with strikingly different kinds of commercial and personal ads.

By the 1990s, chat rooms and, later, blogs, social media, and other online networks, would supplement and even replace some of these publishing networks. Moreover, they would serve multiple purposes—as tools of dating, socializing, activist organizing, education, and much more. These would also be some of the main platforms on which new identities in the so-called alphabet soup of LGBTQ identity would be crafted and cultivated. As scholar Mary Gray shows, the Internet has played a key role in providing a sense of community belonging and knowledge among young people, especially in rural areas.77

But counter to the fears described in the introduction to this chapter, the Internet has functioned not only as a substitute for but also as a supplement to in-person interaction, both for dating and activism. One great example has been the use of digital applications for LGBTQ walking tours that guide people through the places of LGBTQ history to forge

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community across generations.\textsuperscript{78} Another example is the use of social media to reach out to LGBTQ communities for direct action activism; in fact, Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi, the three women who founded #BlackLivesMatter, explicitly name queer politics as a part of their vision.\textsuperscript{79}

In sum, the form of a community is less significant than the individuals who comprise it and ideals that motivate it. Be it online or on-the-ground, sustainable communities have been forged through the collective labor and love of those who consider themselves to be a part of them, even in the face of changing and challenging political, economic, and cultural forces. These contexts can provide opportunities for some as they foreclose chances for others, and what might seem like a time of progress might also include the repeal of already assumed wins. This dynamic can be seen in campaigns to challenge police raids of the Atlanta Eagle leather bar in November 2009, the threat of closure faced by Giovanni’s Room Bookstore in 2013, the incrimination of those with HIV/AIDS, or the poverty and violence that so many transgender women of color continue to face, to name but a small handful of examples.\textsuperscript{80}

Although the places and spaces of LGBTQ community formation are sure to shift, there is no doubt that they will still be found in physical and


virtual spaces across scales, and in practices official and not. In this way, the landmarks of LGBTQ history will still remembered in parade routes down Christopher Street in New York City or memorials held along with the AIDS Quilt on the National Mall in DC, but they will also continue to be made in the informal gathering spots and stoops in central cities well known to LGBTQ youth before the police ask them to “move along” and in the small town institutions and rural economies that thrive even as they also remain marginal to so many national LGBTQ imaginaries. And people will both gather under and reject, remake, and debate banners that read homosexual, gay, lesbian, bisexual, femme, butch, queer, same-gender loving, transgender, nonbinary, aggressive, asexual, polysexual, intersex, leather, and so much more. It is in these collective efforts—artistic, activist, and every day, sometimes rife with conflict and often with internal contradictions—that LGBTQ community is and will continue to be made.

81 See Hanhardt, Safe Space for a discussion of the demands to “move along” in Greenwich Village; other examples of this dynamic can be found in Gallery Place in Washington, DC, and Boystown in Chicago. The National Mall in Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. It is part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks unit of the NPS, established in 1965. The urban focus on LGBTQ history is manifested by both the shape and content of this chapter and the study itself, thus marking a crucial direction for future research. Nonetheless, excellent work in LGBTQ rural studies already exists, and includes the previously mentioned John Howard, Men Like That and Mary Gray, Out in the Country, as well as new works, such as Colin Johnson, Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013); Mary L. Gray, Brian J. Gilley, and Colin R. Johnson, eds. Queering the Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies (New York: NYU Press, 2016); Martin Manalansan, Chantal Nadeau, Richard T. Rodriguez, Siobhan Somerville, “Queering the Middle,” special issue of GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 20, no. 1-2 (2014): 1-12, as but a few examples.

82 For a study of the spatial influence of “post-gay” identities, see Amin Ghaziani, There Goes the Gayborhood?
As the field of gay and lesbian studies first began to take shape in the 1980s, writer and activist Dennis Altman called attention to the central role that commercial enterprises played in the development of LGBTQ communities. “One of the ironies of American capitalism,” he observed, “is that it has been a major force in creating and maintaining a sense of identity among homosexuals.” While other minority groups depended on home and religious institutions to support their social and cultural practices, Altman observed that “for homosexuals, bars and discos play the role performed for other groups by family and church.”¹ As numerous historians have since demonstrated, LGBTQ communities first coalesced and became visible to themselves and the larger society in the early twentieth century largely in bars, rent parties, diners, bathhouses, and other commercial establishments.²

Commercial enterprises played a key role in the development of LGBTQ communities at both the local and national level. It was in such commercial establishments that gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender patrons could find lovers, make friends, form communities, and learn to navigate in a hostile environment. As historian Nan Boyd argues, such commercial spaces “facilitated the development of a shared public culture, a new language and lexicon of sexual meanings.” When such important sites of community building became contested, raided, or otherwise closed to the LGBTQ community, they became important sites of community resistance to authority. Boyd calls them “politicized community center[s].” Indeed the most iconic moment in LGBTQ history—now commemorated annually in LGBTQ Pride festivals all over the world—was the June 28, 1969 riot at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City’s Greenwich Village. It was the first LGBTQ site to be designated a National Historic Landmark.

Hundreds of commercial sites figure prominently in the history of LGBTQ community formation and deserve recognition. Because of the regularity of police raids and crackdowns on such spaces, especially in the early twentieth century, many were short-lived. This essay will discuss those most iconic types of LGBTQ businesses that have gained recognition at the national scale, paying great attention to those that were the first of their kind, most enduring, or were the site of noteworthy events in LGBTQ history. Favoring the oldest LGBTQ sites, this essay primarily highlights pre-Stonewall/pre-1969 sites rather than the much larger number of places that eventually proliferated in the wake of gay and lesbian liberation. I will look at five types of businesses of historic significance to LGBTQ community formation: bars and rent parties; diners and cafeterias; bathhouses; book and clothing retailers; and media companies.

3 Boyd, Wide-Open Town, 61–62.
4 David Carter, Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004). Stonewall at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016. Because The Stonewall Inn has already been designated an NHL, it is not detailed here.
Because the sites focused on here are commercial enterprises, they reflect the inherent biases of a capitalist economy. Both the founders and patrons of these businesses tended to be people with financial means; they were more often male than female and much more often white than they were people of color. Although I have attempted to be inclusive, documenting the history of commercial spaces tends necessarily to privilege white men. Gay bars in particular—like many drinking and eating establishments in the mid-twentieth century United States—often adhered to informal codes of racial exclusion. Lesbian-centered businesses tended to develop later than those targeting or founded by gay men. So while these commercial establishments fostered community, it was not always an inclusive one.5

The history of LGBTQ-centered businesses follows a fairly uniform trajectory. Early in the twentieth century, most such businesses were straight-owned sites that became important to the LGBTQ community through a process of spatial appropriation. Certain straight-owned bars, for example, became well-known sites where LGBTQ people gathered and socialized. After World War II, LGBTQ entrepreneurs began to open their own bars, bathhouses, magazines, and bookstores to cater to this growing market. In many cities, these businesses encouraged the formation of LGBTQ neighborhoods.6 The postwar rise of LGBTQ entrepreneurs represented a clear manifestation of community empowerment, parallel to and often supportive of the community’s political involvement. The story of Harvey Milk’s political campaign to become an openly gay San Francisco city supervisor from his Castro Camera storefront perhaps most clearly embodies this process.7 With increasing visibility, the gay market was discovered by mainstream advertisers, who began special niche marketing campaigns. As large corporations become more gay-friendly and as the LGBTQ community has won basic legal protections, such as marriage equality, there has been a decline in many LGBTQ-centered businesses

6 See Hanhardt (this volume).
7 Castro Camera was located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.
due to a perceived process of assimilation. The historic ebb and flow of LGBTQ commercial enterprises underscores the need to commemorate such sites.8

Bars and Rent Parties

Bars have played a more central role in LGBTQ community formation than perhaps for any other social group.9 Like the immigrant saloon or the African American barbershop, the gay bar created a sense of camaraderie and provided a space not only for personal intimacy but also to share gossip and exchange information. Ricardo J. Brown recalled what an important social setting the gay bar Kirmser’s was to life in 1940s St. Paul, Minnesota, typical of bars across the nation. Run by a straight German couple, the working-class bar served as “a refuge, a fort in the midst of a savage and hostile population.”10 As a patron of Maud’s summarized about her experience at the lesbian bar that closed in 1989 after over twenty years of business in San Francisco, “It was just home.”11 As a longtime bartender at Chicago’s Lost and Found, a lesbian bar that served the community for over fifty years explained, “Everything happened here. It was the only place.”12 The 2006 documentary Small Town Gay Bar

9 See Gieseking (this volume).
10 Ricardo J. Brown, The Evening Crowd at Kirmser’s: A Gay Life in the 1940s (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 7. Kirmser’s was located at 382 North Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
demonstrated the continuing vital role bars hold for LGBTQ citizens, particularly in rural America.\textsuperscript{13}

Before the advent of an organized political movement, such sites were one of the few places where LGBTQ people came together in public and began to develop a common sense of community. Even the early gay organization, the Mattachine Society, recognized their importance. When Mattachine established a press in the 1950s, the first novel it published was \textit{Gay Bar}, the memoir of a straight owner of a bar on Los Angeles’s Melrose Avenue and how she protected her gay male clients. Mattachine leaders hoped it would change the public’s perception of gay bars as seedy pockets of immorality and see how they functioned as sanctuaries of support.\textsuperscript{14} Such bars were not only important sites where mostly working-class gay men and women “pioneered ways of socializing together” but also where they began the struggle for public recognition. For example, in the years long before same-sex marriage was legal, they were sites for informal same-sex wedding ceremonies. As Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis showed in their study of Buffalo lesbian bars, they acted as “a crucible for politics.”\textsuperscript{15}

The first bars with an identifiable gay clientele date from turn-of-the-century New York City and were often associated with the world of 

\textsuperscript{13} Small Town Gay Bar, directed by Malcolm Ingram (Red Envelope Entertainment, 2006).
\textsuperscript{15} Kennedy and Davis, \textit{Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold}, 3, 29.
prostitution. One of New York City’s earliest commercial gathering spots for gay men was The Slide, a Greenwich Village basement dive bar popular in the 1890s with “fairies” and male prostitutes. The penny press derided it as “one of the most vile, vulgar resorts in the city.” Waiters with rouged cheeks and falsetto voices would entertain guests with “filthy ditties.” 16 A few blocks away was Columbia Hall, better known as “Paresis Hall” (paresis was a slang term for insanity associated with syphilis). Known as “the principal resort in New York for degenerates,”17 it featured a small bar room, a back beer garden, and rooms to rent upstairs. Fairies would wait tables, entertain, and sometimes solicit customers. Owned by gangster James “Biff” Ellison, this was one of the few places working-class men attracted to other men could be themselves. Some of the fairies who frequented Paresis Hall formed a club called the Cercle Hermaphroditis “to unite for defense against the world’s bitter persecution.”18

With the nationwide repeal of Prohibition in 1933, bars catering exclusively to gays and lesbians could be found in most major American cities. San Francisco’s touristed vice district of North Beach was home to Mona’s 440, an early lesbian nightclub that featured female waiters in tuxedos and entertainment by male impersonators, including noted African American lesbian blues singer Gladys Bentley (Figures 1 and 2). One of the first and most popular lesbian bars in the country, Mona’s advertised itself as a place “where girls will be boys.” Its success encouraged similar bars to open in the neighborhood, which became a well-known lesbian enclave.19

16 Chauncey, Gay New York, 39. The Slide was located at 157 Bleecker Street, New York City, New York. Slide was a slang term used by prostitutes for an establishment where male homosexuals dressed as women and solicited men.
19 Boyd, Wide-Open Town, 63–76. From 1935 to 1938, Mona’s Barrel House was located at 140 Columbus, San Francisco, California. In 1938, she opened Mona’s 440 at 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California. It remained in business into the 1940s.
In the same North Beach neighborhood, the Black Cat attracted a large gay male clientele, who came to watch host and drag entertainer José Sarria, whose banter with the crowd always assumed everyone was queer. Sarria instilled a sense of cultural pride in gay patrons by ending the night with an audience rendition of “God Save us Nelly Queens,” a parody of “God Save the Queen.” Beat poet Allen Ginsberg described it as “maybe the greatest gay bar in America.” As one woman patron recalled, “The Black Cat was not a bar. It was family. They were my friends. They took me in. They took care of me.” When the Black Cat lost its liquor license for being a “hangout for homosexuals,” straight owner Sol Stoumen took the decision to court. In 1951, in one of the first legal gay rights victories, the California Supreme Court found that homosexuals had

Figure 2: Mona’s 440 Broadway, San Francisco. Photo courtesy of (Wide Open Town History Project Records 2003-05), Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

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20 The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat had enjoyed a reputation as a gathering spot for bohemians and other nonconformists in the 1910s, but it was the post-1933 location at 710 Montgomery that became predominately gay. It is a contributing property to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.


23 Boyd, Wide-Open Town, 121-122; Stoumen v. Reilly 234 P.2d 969 (Cal 1951).
the right to assemble in bars and restaurants. Sarria used his notoriety from the Black Cat to launch a run for San Francisco city supervisor in 1961, becoming the first openly gay candidate for public office. Garnering six thousand votes, Sarria succeeded in getting LGBTQ citizens to think of their identity in political terms. Under continual harassment by state and local authorities, who used undercover police officers to entrap patrons, the Black Cat closed in 1964. Sarria went on to found the International Imperial Court System, one of the largest LGBTQ organizations in the world. Court events raise money for charities while building community relationships.24

In the wake of World War II, gay and lesbian bars proliferated, becoming the primary gay social institution in cities of all sizes. As gay men like Ricardo Brown returned home from the war, they were pleased to discover that cities such as St. Paul, Minnesota, had their own gay bars.25

The first underground gay bar guide from 1949 listed over seventy bars in cities from Albany to Seattle.26 By the 1960s, the first commercial guides to gay bars boasted over one hundred pages of entries. As with any growing commercial market, bars began to specialize, with the opening of bars to serve African Americans, the leather community, and others.27

They also began to organize. As Boyd argues, “The bar was the space where queers learned to resist police harassment and to demand the right to public assembly.”28 After a particularly devastating 1961 police raid at the Tay-Bush Inn, an after-hours club that served a mixed clientele, bar owners organized to form the Tavern Guild, the first gay business association in the United States.29

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25 Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser’s*.
29 The Tay-Bush Inn (now demolished) was at 900 Bush Street, San Francisco, California. The Tavern Guild met at Suzy-Q, a gay bar at 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, California. Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 213-216, 223-227.
In Washington, DC, black gay entrepreneur James E. Jones opened the Nob Hill in 1953 in the Columbia Heights neighborhood, not far from Howard University.\(^30\) An upscale private dinner club, the Nob Hill opened as a public bar a few years later and continued to be patronized by middle-class African American men. Because in the early years jackets and ties were required for admittance, it earned the nickname “Snob Hill” by more working-class men. The oldest African American gay bar in Washington, and one of the oldest in the country, by the 1960s the Mattachine Society of Washington leafleted the bar to diversify its membership. By the 1970s it was offering a popular Sunday evening Gospel Hour featuring local singers. It remained a center of black gay life and a well-known drag performance space for fifty years, until its closure in 2004.\(^31\)

For white gay men in the postwar years, the Chicken Hut located just two blocks from Lafayette Square (a well-known cruising area) was Washington DC’s most popular bar.\(^32\) On the second floor above Leon’s restaurant, it was owned by a straight Italian couple and known affectionately as “the Hut.” Gay patrons came to drink beer and sing along to pianist Howard Cooper and his renditions of show tunes and ballads with campy lyrics. Howard would close out the night with a rendition of the Yale “Whiffenpoof Song,” with lyrics that invoked the solace of convivial drinking among a group of friends at their favorite watering hole. The owners kept a watchful eye on patrons, who could neither walk around the bar with a drink in hand nor dance. They hired only female servers, fearing gay male servers might lead to disreputable behavior. They turned away African American patrons by using “reserved” signs on tables.\(^33\) Within

\(^30\) Nob Hill opened at 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC. It was replaced by the Wonderland Ballroom.


\(^32\) The Chicken Hut (now demolished) was located at 1720 H Street, Washington, DC, from 1948 until 1970.

several blocks of the Chicken Hut, other bars catered to a lively gay and lesbian clientele, including the men’s bars in the Mayflower and Statler Hotels, and a lesbian bar known as the Redskin Lounge.34

Julius’ is one of the oldest, continuously operating gay bars in New York City and the site of a groundbreaking confrontation between the organized LGBTQ community and the New York State Liquor Authority.35 In the heart of Greenwich Village, Julius’ had developed a large gay male following in the 1950s and 1960s, but its liquor license was suspended in 1965 when an undercover police officer arrested a patron for solicitation—part of a periodic police crackdown. To avoid being closed as a “disorderly house,” the management forced all patrons to face the bar, claiming it was state law. In 1966, members of the local Mattachine Society, inspired by the black civil rights movement, staged a “sip-in” at Julius’ after several thwarted attempts at other locations. They wanted to assert that the assembling of homosexuals in a bar was a civil right, rather than evidence of a “disorderly house” subject to closure. “We are homosexuals and want service,” declared the Mattachine representatives as the bartender began to pour. At their declaration, the bartender put his hand over the glasses and denied them service. Their protest received coverage in the New York Times and support from the city’s Commission on Human Rights. Mattachine New York challenged the law in court, which ruled that homosexuals had the right to peacefully assemble—voiding the State Liquor Authority’s contention that the mere presence of homosexuals was “disorderly.” Julius’ got their liquor license reinstated, establishing the precedent that gay bars were legal. Mattachine New York was also successful in getting the New York City police to stop entrapping gay men. This demonstrated how gay people were increasingly willing to defend

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34 Redskin Lounge (formerly the Jewel Box and the “Maystat”) was at 1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC, midway between the Mayflower Hotel at 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW and the Statler Hotel (now the Capital Hilton) at 1001 Sixteenth Street NW. The Mayflower Hotel was added to the NRHP on November 14, 1983.
35 Julius’ Bar remains in business at its original location at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.
their right to assemble in bars and helped encourage legitimate business owners—rather than the mafia—to invest in such establishments (Figure 3). 36

In Chicago, The Gold Coast, America’s first and longest running leather bar, was also one of the first gay bars owned and operated by gay men.37 Physique photographer Chuck Renslow owned Kris Studio, which he operated with his lover Don Orejudos, a physique artist. Connected to a growing population of gay men interested in leather, Renslow and Orejudos sought to create a place where the community could socialize.

Figure 3: Julius’, 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York, 2015. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.


37 The original Gold Coast (1130 North Clark Street) later moved to 1110 North Clark Street and 2265 North Lincoln, but its longest location (1967-1993) was 501 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.
They started meeting on weekend nights at bars without an established clientele, moving around the city until, by 1959, they found The Gold Coast Show Lounge, where the straight Italian owner welcomed their business. After Renslow and several partners bought it, Orejudos, (who painted under the name Etienne) decorated it with murals of leather men and women. Thursday night featured a spaghetti buffet and Sunday nights were highlighted with a film screening. On weekends, customers had to adhere to a strict leather dress code to descend into The Pit, which featured a second bar, a small leather shop, and catacombs. Renslow hired attractive gay bartenders—both black and white—and was known for providing health insurance and other benefits to his employees. By 1972 the bar was host to the Mr. Gold Coast contest, until it outgrew the bar space. It has since become the International Mr. Leather contest, which continues to attract thousands of leather men and women to Chicago every year in one of the largest LGBTQ events in the country. After relocating several times, the bar closed in 1988, by which time Renslow
had expanded his businesses to include a gay bathhouse, disco, and newspaper (Figure 4).  

Beyond the bars described here, whose popularity and longevity is well documented, hundreds of other bars are worthy of historic recognition. Among the more notable are Café Lafitte in Exile (dating back to the early 1930s and still in operation) and the UpStairs Lounge (site of a tragic anti-LGBTQ arson in 1973), both in New Orleans’ French Quarter. New York City’s East Side in the 1950s was home to several bars known collectively as the “Bird Circuit” (the Blue Parrot, the Golden Pheasant, and the Swan). The Atlantic House in Provincetown, Massachusetts has had a gay following since the 1950s and remains in operation. Many major disco palaces from the 1970s, such as Studio One in Los Angeles and The Lost & Found in Washington, DC, also deserve attention.

Not all men and women attracted to members of their own sex found solace in bars. For many African Americans and poorer members of the community (including many women, who made less money than men), rent parties, house parties, or “buffet flats” served a similar purpose. Because of both racial discrimination and the need for discretion,

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39 Café Lafitte in Exile is one of the oldest LGBTQ bars in the United States. It is located at 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Café Lafitte in Exile is located within the Vieux Carre Historic Landmark District, designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Frank Perez and Jeffrey Palmquist, *In Exile: The History and Lore Surrounding New Orleans Gay Culture and Its Oldest Gay Bar* (Hurlford, Scotland: LL-Publications, 2012).


43 Studio One/The Factory is located at 661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. Studio One opened in 1975 and closed in 1988 after a decline in popularity after allegations of racism, sexism, and homophobia were made. The building is currently home to The Factory. The Lost and Found was located at 56 L Street SE, Washington, DC. It opened in 1971, and was almost immediately picketed by the newly formed Committee for Open Gay Bars because of their carding policies designed to keep out African Americans, women, and people in drag. They closed in 1990.
socializing in private homes has had a long tradition in black culture. These were often all-night or all-weekend affairs in private homes where admission was often charged and food and drinks were sold. After the bars closed, many patrons would join the festivities. And like gay bars, such parties often caught the attention of the police. This is another example of the community taking responsibility for creating its own social life despite the dangers involved.44

Diners and Cafeterias

In many cities, certain cafeterias and diners became well-known LGBTQ hangouts because of their cheap prices, late hours, and proximity to nearby cruising areas or bars. These sites were particularly important for persons too young or too poor to socialize in gay bars that served alcohol and often had restrictive entrance policies. They also served as places to socialize once the bars closed. Sometimes the campy clientele turned the place into a tourist attraction, while other times managers found LGBTQ patrons an objectionable nuisance. In New York City, Childs cafeteria chain was a favorite place to socialize, especially the outlet on Columbus Circle, known campily as “Mother Childs.” Another Childs in the Paramount Theater Building on Times Square was generally taken over by hundreds of gay men after midnight.45 As one Childs patron explained, he and his gay friends would “sit and have coffee and yak-yak and talk til three and four and five o’clock in the morning . . . that was the social thing to do.” One 1930s guide to New York said it “features a dash of lavender.”46 In Chicago, Thompson’s Cafeteria on Michigan Avenue at

44 Kennedy and Davis, Boots of Leather, 42-43; 123-131; Chauncey, Gay New York, 250. The locations of such parties has been lost to history.
45 The Columbus Circle Childs (“Mother Childs”) was located at 300 West 59th Street, New York City, New York. The Paramount Theater Building in Times Square was located at 1501 Broadway, New York City, New York.
46 Chauncey, Gay New York, 164-66.
Ohio Street served a similar function, becoming the most popular commercial rendezvous spot for young gay men.47 Dewey’s was an all-night Philadelphia-based restaurant chain frequented by gay, lesbian, and transgender people in the Rittenhouse Square neighborhood.48 In April 1965—four years before the Stonewall Riots—the management started to deny service to customers they perceived to be gay or gender nonconforming. One Sunday, LGBTQ patrons organized a protest, and after 150 people had been denied service, a group of teenagers refused to leave and were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. The Janus Society, Philadelphia’s homophile organization, began several days of leafleting the restaurant with fliers protesting the treatment.49 At a subsequent sit-in the next Sunday, no arrests were made and the Janus Society claimed victory and an end to discriminatory practices at Dewey’s. Drum magazine called it “the first sit-in of its kind in the history of the United States.”50 Although overshadowed in historical memory by the Mattachine-led picket in front of Independence Hall down

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48 Dewey’s was located at 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the location is now occupied by Little Pete’s Restaurant.
49 The Janus Society was based for many years at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
50 Drum, August 1965, 5–6.
the street that same year, this sit-in represented the claiming of public space by a younger and more gender nonconformist queer group (Figure 5).51

Compton’s Cafeteria, a twenty-four hour eatery, was part of a large San Francisco chain owned by Gene Compton.52 Situated in the Tenderloin neighborhood of gay bars and bathhouses, Compton’s was frequented by transgender people and young street hustlers, but not always welcome by the management, who increasingly harassed them. Vanguard, a group of street youths organized through the nearby Glide Memorial Methodist Church, picketed Compton’s for discriminating against drag queens and hustlers.53 Late one night in the summer of 1966, the management called the police on a particularly unruly table. When confronted by the police, one transgender customer threw her coffee in his face, and soon “general havoc was raised in the Tenderloin”—the fifty to sixty customers turned tables, smashed windows, fought the police, and burned a newsstand to the ground. It was one of the first transgender-led instances of militant queer resistance.54

The Dewey’s protest and Compton’s Cafeteria uprising demonstrate that LGBTQ direct action did not begin with Stonewall, nor was it centered only around bars. Such diners and cafeterias served as important sites of community formation and were fiercely defended by their LGBTQ patrons both before and after Stonewall. More recent scholarship is beginning to uncover similar stories in smaller cities with less well documented LGBTQ

52Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Turk Street, San Francisco, California. This building is a contributing element (but not for its LGBTQ history) to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.
53Glide Memorial Church at 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California is a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009.
54Susan Stryker, Transgender History (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008); Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).
histories, including a sit-in at the Denny’s in downtown Tampa, Florida, led by the Metropolitan Community Church in 1972.\textsuperscript{55}

Bathhouses

Of the many commercial settings in which LGBTQ persons gathered in the early twentieth century, bathhouses were among the most important to gay men. According to historian George Chauncey, bathhouses were “the safest, most enduring, and one of the most affirmative” of such spaces. Initially opened for tenement-living immigrant communities in large American cities, Turkish bathhouses became sites that gay men appropriated. As the first exclusively gay private commercial spaces, they affirmed same-sex desire and offered an environment free from threat of blackmail or harassment. For legal reasons, most operated as private membership clubs. Even the occasional police raids themselves became part of gay folklore.\textsuperscript{56}

One of the earliest known bathhouses with a substantial gay following was New York City’s Ariston Hotel Baths.\textsuperscript{57} A 1903 police raid resulted in numerous arrests ranging from disorderly conduct to sodomy, and a series of sensational trials. It was the earliest known raid of a gay bathhouse in the United States and twenty-five of those arrested were sent to prison. Another early twentieth-century bathhouse was The Lafayette, frequented by composer Charles Tomlinson Griffes and painter Charles Demuth—who painted a watercolor of himself and other patrons—until the locale was


\textsuperscript{57} The Ariston Hotel, with the baths in the basement, was located at 1732 Broadway, New York City, New York.
raided and closed in 1916. The Mount Morris Turkish Baths in Harlem catered to black men who would have been denied entry to similar establishments elsewhere in New York City. Opened in 1893, the Mount Morris baths began attracting a gay and bisexual clientele in the 1930s, and continued to do so until 2003, having escaped the AIDS panic of the mid-1980s that resulted in most of New York City’s bathhouses being forced to close. But it was The Everard, in the heart of the city’s Tenderloin entertainment district, which became the most popular gay bathhouse in New York City. Founded as a Turkish bath in 1888 by financier James Everard in a former Romanesque revival church building, The Everard was known as the “safest” such establishment—rumor was that it was owned by the Patrolman’s Benevolent Association. It served a worldwide gay male clientele—including luminaries Gore Vidal, Truman Capote, and Rudolph Nureyev—from World War I into the 1970s. Writer and frequent patron James McCourt was amazed that in its post-World War II glory days, “a whole culture’s mating, food-finding, navigational and social behavior should

Figure 6: The Everard, 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York, 2015. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

58 The Lafayette was located at 403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).
60 The Everard Turkish Bathhouse was located at 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York. The Romanesque façade of the building largely survives.
converge at a single point on West 28th Street in New York City.”61 Featured in classic gay novels *Dancer from the Dance* by Andrew Holleran and *Faggots* by Larry Kramer, the legendary Everard deteriorated in the 1970s and was almost destroyed by fire in 1977, when nine customers were killed. It reopened, only to be closed by the city of New York in 1986 in the midst of the AIDS crisis (Figure 6).62

In San Francisco, the first bathhouse to open specifically to cater to a gay clientele was The Club Turkish Baths in the Tenderloin, down the street from Compton’s Cafeteria and a host of queer bars. A 1954 Mattachine Society convention guide to the city called it “plush.” Referred to affectionately as “the Club Baths” in the 1968 Broadway play *Boys in the Band*, its name became an iconic symbol of gay male sexual culture.63 In 1965, Jack Campbell and several partners purchased an old Finnish bathhouse in downtown Cleveland determined to bring the luxury and reputation of this San Francisco bathhouse to the rest of the country. Called The Club Baths, it included amenities such as a television room, Jacuzzi, and free weeknight buffets.64 At the peak of its expansion in the 1980s, Campbell’s Club Baths chain operated over forty bathhouses in the United States and Canada with several hundred thousand card-carrying members. After moving to Miami, Campbell became a leader in local LGBTQ politics and helped lead the charge against Anita Bryant’s Save Our Children crusade to overturn a local gay rights ordinance.65 With his considerable fortune, he supported not only the Miami LGBTQ community but national organizations such as the Metropolitan Community Church, the Gay Games, The National Gay and Lesbian Task

64 The original building of the Club Baths at 1448 West Thirty-Second Street, Cleveland, Ohio is gone, but Club Cleveland, in a new building at 3219 Detroit Avenue, sits on the same block. See *Ciao!* January–February, 1974, 10, and the Club Cleveland website, accessed June 29, 2015, [http://theclubs.com/page.cfm?location=Cleveland](http://theclubs.com/page.cfm?location=Cleveland).
65 See Capó (this volume).
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Force, and the Human Rights Campaign. Later, during the AIDS pandemic, he was a vocal advocate of turning bathhouses into health clubs that could educate members about safe sex.

In 1968 in New York City, Steve Ostrow opened The Continental Baths and Health Club in the historic Ansonia Hotel building. The Baths were a modern pleasure palace featuring an Olympic swimming pool, color TV, rooftop sundeck, reading room, café, cabaret entertainment, and art exhibitions. Rather than exploit customers, like many mafia-run LGBTQ businesses, Ostrow, a bisexual man, was determined to give his patrons a clean, full-service entertainment experience. Boasting nearly a thousand lockers, the Continental Baths offered a daily VD clinic and religious services on Friday and Sunday nights. The disco featured DJ Frankie Knuckles, who developed what became known as house music, while the cabaret acts featured then-unknown performers including Bette Midler and Barry Manilow. Gay Activists Alliance leaders Vito Russo and Arnie Kantrowitz considered the place a home away from home. During her first campaign for Congress in 1970, Bella Abzug, one of the first candidates to openly seek the gay vote, made a campaign stop at the Continental Baths. Growing popularity convinced Ostrow to admit straight customers which alienated the gay male clientele and led to its close in 1975.

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67 Steve Endean, Bringing Lesbian and Gay Rights into the Mainstream: Twenty Years of Progress, eds. Vicki Eaklor, Robert R. Meek and Vern L. Bullough (New York: Routledge, 2012), 244; “Saunas, Sex & Steam,” The Vital Voice, September 1, 2012, accessed June 29, 2015, http://thevitalvoice.com/saunas-sex-a-steam; Campbell continues to own an interest in several bathhouses, such as Club Cleveland on the site of the original bathhouse that created his empire.

68 The Continental Baths and Health Club were located at 2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, New York. The Ansonia Hotel, where they were located, was added to the NRHP on January 10, 1980.

As gay male bathhouses were closing, lesbians began opening women-only communal bathhouses. Among the first and most long-lasting was Osento, a Japanese-style spa located along Valencia Street in San Francisco’s Mission District. It was founded and operated by lesbian-feminist Summer Kraml who opened its doors in 1980. Osento was located in a Victorian townhouse with no sign outside—you had to know about it to find it. Inside was a large communal hot pool, two relaxation rooms, a bathroom, and a small kitchen. In the backyard were a showerhead, two small saunas, a cold plunge, and a deck that was secluded enough to permit nude sunbathing. Unlike men’s bathhouses, such lesbian enclaves often discouraged sexual contact and emphasized social bonding. Because its women-only policy excluded transgender women who had not had sexual reassignment surgery, Osento became the target of boycotts. Other lesbian-feminist businesses on Valencia included Old Wives’ Tales Bookstore and Amelia’s, a lesbian bar.

Bookstores and Book Clubs

Literature by and about LGBTQ people has been integral to the history of community formation. “The gay revolution began as a literary revolution,” argues Christopher Bram, pointing to a slew of post-World War II books, such as Gore Vidal’s *City and the Pillar* and James Barr’s *Quatrefoil.* While largely dependent on mainstream presses to publish these books, gay men and lesbians developed their own ways of selling

70 Osento closed in 2008 when the owner retired. The building is now a private residence.
and distributing them, first through mail-order book services and later through brick-and-mortar bookstores. Both helped demonstrate the market for LGBTQ literature and connect readers. Bookstores featured book signings, community bulletin boards, reading groups, and other activities that helped turn them into informal community centers. They served as resources for activists fighting for LGBTQ rights and anchors for burgeoning gay neighborhoods. Unlike gay bathhouses and some bars, LGBTQ bookstores were the most integrated of spaces across gender, sexuality, race, and class. The focus on literature and knowledge afforded LGBTQ people a space to unite in understanding themselves as a community with a shared history and culture.

The man who founded both the first gay bookstore and the first gay mail-order service in the United States was Edward Sagarin, author of The Homosexual in America, the first nonfiction, insider account of the American LGBTQ community. Writing under the pseudonym Donald Webster Cory, he was one of the first to proclaim that gay people constituted a minority group similar to African Americans and Jews. His book politicized so many young men and women who went on to become LGBTQ activists that Cory has been dubbed the “father of the homophile movement.” Leveraging the names and addresses of the thousands of men and women who wrote praising his book, Cory founded the Cory Book Service in 1952, the first independent business devoted exclusively to selling books on LGBTQ topics. By identifying, reviewing, and selling gay fiction and nonfiction, the Cory Book Service not only encouraged and popularized LGBTQ literature, it was one of the first national LGBTQ organizations. Its mailing list was instrumental in the founding a year later, of ONE magazine, the major homophile periodical of the 1950s. In April 1953, Cory expanded his successful mail-order service to open The Book

74 In 1936, Sagarin married Gertrude Liphshitz; together they had a son. As Cory, Sagarin pursued same-sex relationships as well as working for gay rights.
76 The Cory Book Service first operated out of 58 Walker Street, New York City, New York.
Cellar, the first bookstore tailored to the gay market.77 Gore Vidal and other gay authors occasionally did book signings at the bookstore. Cory described it as a “small but very personal place” that he hoped would become both a local and national destination.78

While The Book Cellar lasted only a few years, the Cory Book Service developed a wide and loyal following, reaching more than five thousand subscribers under its successor organization, The Winston Book Club.79 It inspired over a dozen similar LGBTQ mail-order book services, including the Guild Book Service (by H. Lynn Womack), the DOB Book Service (by the Daughters of Bilitis), and the Dorian Book Service (by Hal Call).80 Hal Call of the San Francisco-based Mattachine Society was the first to turn his Dorian Book Service into a successful storefront bookstore. In March 1967, Call partnered with Bob Damron and Harrison Keleinschmidt (a.k.a. J. D. Mercer) to open the Adonis Bookstore in San Francisco’s Tenderloin neighborhood, around the corner from the Club Turkish Baths and Compton’s Cafeteria.81 It featured books, magazines, paintings, physique art, gay greeting cards, records, sculptures, novelties, and gifts. Promotional material touted it as a “gay supermarket.”82

When Craig Rodwell opened the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore in New York’s Greenwich Village on Thanksgiving weekend in 1967, he

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77 The Book Cellar was located at 237 East 56th Street, New York City, New York.
79 Elsie Carlton, interview by Martin Duberman, September 1, 1996, Duberman Papers, New York Public Library; Winston Book Club circulars, Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (Toronto), The Winston Book Club was located at 250 Fulton Avenue, Hampstead, New York.
81 Adonis Bookstore opened at 350 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California.
envisioned it as an arm of the homophile movement. Touted as “the first shop of its kind in the United States,” what set it apart from previous gay bookstores (such as Adonis in San Francisco) was that Rodwell carried only literature he considered serious and gay affirming. He refused to offer physique magazines or pulp fiction he considered exploitative, at least until economic pressures convinced him otherwise. Rodwell began with only twenty-five titles, gay slogan buttons, and free literature from gay organizations. It was from this “bookshop of the homophile movement” that he encouraged people to “Buy Gay” and launched a newsletter attacking mafia control of gay bars. Over the years, the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore (and its later incarnation, the Oscar Wilde Bookshop) suffered bomb threats, break-ins, and homophobic graffiti, but thousands of gay, lesbian, and questioning customers came to find literature, advice, and check out the bulletin board of movement events (Figure 7).

As a gay businessman, Rodwell hoped his store would inspire others to open businesses serving the LGBTQ community to “help build the gay dollar” and thus “gay power.” One of those he inspired was Harvey Milk, a former lover of Rodwell’s and a frequent customer, who, after his move in 1972 from New York City to San Francisco, opened Castro Camera, which also became an informal community center. Other LGBTQ bookstores across the country followed in the footsteps of Adonis and Oscar Wilde. In 1973, Ed Hermance opened Giovanni’s Room in

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83 The Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore opened at 291 Mercer Street, New York City, New York. In 1973, as the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, it moved to 15 Christopher Street, New York City, New York where it stayed in business until 2009.

84 Rodwell began the organization Homophile Youth Movement in Neighborhoods (HYMN) out of his bookshop. In February 1968, in the first issue of the group’s newsletter *Hymnal* Rodwell protested mafia control of gay bars, calling out the Stonewall Inn specifically. David Carter, *Stonewall: The Raids that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004), 78, 80, 98.


87 Shifts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*; Duberman, *Stonewall*, 165. Castro Camera was located at 575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California, and served as campaign headquarters for Milk’s runs for city supervisor; Milk lived in an apartment above the store.
Philadelphia’s Rittenhouse Square neighborhood. L. Page “Deacon” Maccubbin opened the Lambda Rising bookstore in Washington, DC’s Dupont Circle neighborhood in 1974 and sponsored the city’s first gay and lesbian pride celebration, then just a block party in front of the store. By the 1980s, Maccubbin had opened additional stores and founded the Lambda Book Report and the Lambda Literary Awards to recognize the best in LGBTQ literature. In 1979 Canadian businessmen George Leigh

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88 License: CC BY-NC SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/emory/3321249085
89 Giovanni’s Room opened in 1973 at 232 South Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It moved to 345 Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, located within the Washington Square West Historic District, added to the NRHP on September 20, 1984.
90 The original Lambda Rising began as a selection of LGBTQ publications at Earthworks, Maccubbin’s craft shop in the Community Building at 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC. In 1974, Maccubbin rented another space in the Community Building and opened Lambda Rising. In 1979, Lambda Rising moved to 2001 S Street NW and in 1984 moved to 1625 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It closed in 2009. The Community Building was also home to the Gay Switchboard, the Blade newspaper, off our backs magazine, and the Black Panther Defense League among other counterculture and antiwar organizations. Sue Levin, In the Pink: The Making of Successful Gay-and Lesbian-Owned Businesses (New York: Haworth Press, 1999), 9. Both the S Street NW and the Connecticut Avenue NW locations were within the Dupont Circle Historic District, listed on the NRHP on July 21, 1978.
91 Other Lambda Rising stores could be found in Baltimore, Maryland (1984-2008); Rehoboth Beach, Delaware (1991-2009); and Norfolk, Virginia (1996-2007). The Lambda Literary Awards and the book
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and Norman Laurila opened A Different Light bookstore in Los Angeles’ Silver Lake neighborhood and soon expanded to locations in San Francisco and New York as well as a second Los Angeles location.\textsuperscript{92} After serving the community for decades, most of these independent bookstores had closed by 2010, largely due to competition from major bookstore chains and online retailers. Deacon Maccubbin saw it as a sign that his initial goal of getting LGBTQ literature into mainstream stores had succeeded.\textsuperscript{93}

![Figure 8: Lammas Women’s Shop advertisement.](image)

Although such bookstores served gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians, lesbians and feminists often felt their interests were being underserved


and formed their own specialty stores. Leslie Reeves and Judy Winsett founded Lammas in 1973 as a handmade jewelry and craft shop, but soon carried books and became a veritable lesbian community center (Figure 8). In 1979 Ann Christopherson and Linda Bubon opened Women & Children First on Chicago’s North Side, which continues to feature author book signings, reading groups, and other community events. At the height of the feminist bookstore movement, over one hundred such bookstores sustained lesbian, feminist, and antiracist community building efforts through nonhierarchical cooperatives that were bound together through \textit{Feminist Bookstore News}, before it ceased publication in 2000.

\section*{Clothing Retailers}

If gay and lesbian bookstores served as important early LGBTQ businesses and sites of community empowerment, so too did clothing stores. Together these retail establishments often served as anchors for LGBTQ urban neighborhoods. The first gay retail outlet in what would become West Hollywood was Ah Men, a men’s clothing store founded in 1962 by Jerry Furlow and Don Cook. Known nationwide for its sexy mail-order catalogue, Ah Men employed innovative marketing techniques, such as all night sales, fashion shows with live models, and an Ah Man of the Year contest. Specializing in body conscious swimwear, posing straps, and underwear, it became known as a gay fashion trendsetter. By 1967 its

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94 Lammas Crafts and Books opened at 321 Seventh Street SE, Washington, DC. In 1989, they moved to the Dupont Circle neighborhood at 1426 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC (located within the Dupont Circle Historic District, added to the NRHP on July 21, 1978). It was at the later location that Loraine Hutchins did much of her research for the pathbreaking book about bisexuality, \textit{Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out}, co-edited with Lani Ka’ahumanu (Boston: Alyson, 1991).

95 Women & Children First is located at 5233 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois. Sold by the original owners in 2013, the store remains open. See Cheryl Corley, “One Way for an Indie Bookstore to Last: Put Women 'First,'” NPR All Things Considered, October 27, 2013 \url{http://www.npr.org/2013/10/27/239710557/one-way-for-an-indie-bookstore-to-last-put-women-first}.


97 Ah Men was originally located at 8933 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. In 1972 it relocated to the corner of Santa Monica and San Vincente, West Hollywood, California, now a Citibank.
\end{flushleft}
catalog featured campy books, such as *The Gay Cook Book* and *Summer in Sodom*, and its photo spreads appeared in physique magazines, demonstrating the integration of the growing gay consumer culture network. With a manufacturing plant, mail-order department, and sales staff, Ah Men employed over fifty people. By 1972, the success of Ah Men allowed Cook to buy the building at the intersection of Santa Monica and San Vincente, open a second store in nearby Silver Lake, and a franchise in Houston. Encouraged by the success of Ah Men, other gay entrepreneurs, such as Gene Burkard, founder of International Male in San Diego, entered the gay mail order business. International Male’s popular mail-order catalog appealed to generations of gay men well into the twenty-first century.

In San Francisco, The Town Squire was also instrumental in creating a gay business corridor and gay enclave along San Francisco’s Polk Street. Founded by gay couple August Territo and Terry Popek in 1960 The Town Squire was soon joined by Casual Man. As the area’s white, blue-collar patrons left the city in the 1960s, many bars cultivated a new gay male clientele. It was at Suzy-Q, a gay bar on Polk Street, that a group of gay bar owners and bartenders established the Tavern Guild of San Francisco in 1962, which became an important force in protecting gay bars and shaping local politics. Because of its large number of gay businesses, Polk Street was the site of San Francisco’s first pride parade in 1970 and remained a thriving LGBTQ neighborhood into the 1980s. Not far away

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100 The Town Squire was located at 1318 Polk Street; Casual Man at 2060 Polk Street; and Suzy-Q at 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, California.

in San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, bisexual Peggy Caserta opened a clothing boutique in 1964 called Mnasidika as a store for “gay girls.” Meant as a signal to local lesbians, the name was a literary reference to Bilitis’ young lover in Pierre Louÿs’s nineteenth century *Songs of Bilitis*. The store soon became popular not only with lesbians but with the growing counterculture, including singers Janis Joplin and Jerry Garcia. It was after a visit to Mnasidika that journalist Herb Caen coined the term “hippie.”

Gay Commercial Media

While gay bars, bathhouses, bookstores, and clothing stores were all initially local enterprises, the first truly national LGBTQ businesses were media companies that could sell magazines, books, or music to a national audience. Lesbian media companies and publishing houses developed much later than those of gay men and were often rooted in 1970s feminist and gay liberation political activism. In 1973, two lesbians living outside Kansas City, Missouri, formed Naiad Press to publish and distribute lesbian literature. It was led by Barbara Grier, longtime editor of *The Ladder*, the homophile publication of the Daughters of Bilitis, and her librarian partner Donna McBride. At the time, mainstream publishers and bookstores carried little material that explored lesbian lives outside of exploitative lesbian pulp fiction, and in its early years, Naiad Press relied heavily on mail order. Utilizing the mailing list of the recently defunct *Ladder*, they published out-of-print lesbian fiction and new emerging authors such as Sarah Schulman, Katherine V. Forrest, and Pat Califia. Over thirty years, Naiad published over five hundred books and spawned

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102 Mnasidika was located at 1510 Haight Street, San Francisco, California. It closed in 1968.
105 Although originally founded in Bates City, Missouri, from 1980 to 2003, Naiad was headquartered in Tallahassee, Florida.
many more publishing houses specializing in lesbian content. As journalist Victoria Brownworth argues, “Grier built the lesbian book industry.”

It was also in 1973 that members of The Furies, a lesbian separatist collective in Washington, DC, created Olivia Records, the first woman-centered recording company. Although controversial within the lesbian feminist community, the idea was to create a woman-only business that would use the medium of music to promote feminist consciousness-raising and affirm lesbian relationships. Organized as a nonhierarchical collective where workers were paid according to need, Olivia Records by 1978 had a paid staff of fourteen that produced four women’s music albums per year. Distributed through a local network of grassroots volunteers and a growing mailing list, Olivia Records produced popular albums by Meg Christian, Cris Williamson, Teresa Trull, and Linda Tillery. In 1977 they produced Lesbian Concentrate in response to Anita Bryant’s anti-gay crusade in Miami. By 1988 a series of fifteenth anniversary concerts led to a new line of business—sponsoring lesbian cruises and vacation packages as Olivia Travel. In producing albums, concerts, and cruises, they created safe space for lesbian culture to flourish.

Gay men began publishing their own magazines in the 1950s, taking advantage of a tradition of exchanging bodybuilding and artistic studies of the male body. Physique magazines circulated widely throughout the pre-

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107 The Furies Collective operated largely out of a row house in Washington, DC’s Capitol Hill neighborhood. The Furies Collective House was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016. In 1975, Olivia Records moved to a warehouse at 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California.

Stonewall period, with circulation figures ten times of those of the first gay and lesbian political magazines, *Mattachine Review*, *ONE*, and *The Ladder*. Art historian Thomas Waugh called physique magazines the “richest documentation of gay culture of the period.”\(^{109}\) For countless men growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in rural areas, their first recognition of gay culture came from purchasing a physique magazine from their local newsstand. Because of their clear homoerotic content and intended audience, local censorship groups and the US Post Office considered these magazines obscene and tried to shut them down.\(^{110}\)

The first and most long-lasting physique studio was Bob Mizer’s Athletic Model Guild, founded in 1946. It operated out of its original location, just

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outside downtown Los Angeles, for over forty years.\textsuperscript{111} As his magazine \textit{Physique Pictorial} and his related mail-order business flourished, Mizer expanded his compound to include a pool, rooftop stages, and a bunkhouse for models. It became a major destination for gay men visiting Los Angeles and was featured in his magazine and films, providing a sense of homoerotic camaraderie to thousands of customers. His feisty editorials against the forces of censorship politicized his readers and urged them to organize and fight for their rights (Figure 9).\textsuperscript{112}

If the Athletic Model Guild was the first of the major gay physique studios, Lynn Womack’s Guild Press was the largest. In 1952, Womack purchased a small company called the Guild Press. By 1960, the Guild Press was publishing several physique magazines, including titles that Womack had purchased from other publishers. In addition to developing a veritable gay physique magazine empire of over forty thousand subscribers, Womack expanded his business to include the Guild Book Service, a directory of gay bars, a bookstore chain (Village Books), a gay cinema, pen pal club, and a clothing line. In 1964, he purchased a large publishing plant in Washington, DC, to house the Guild Press (Figure 10).\textsuperscript{113} When the Postmaster General banned distribution of several Guild Press periodicals as obscene, Womack took the case to the US Supreme Court. He argued that gay men had an equal right to view images which were no more explicit than those found in magazines aimed at

\\[\textsuperscript{111} \text{The Athletic Model Guild (AMG) was located at 1834 West Eleventh Street, Los Angeles, California. Mizer died in 1992. AMG’s archives was eventually purchased by Dennis Bell, who formed the Bob Mizer Foundation to advocate for the preservation of gay physique photography. See Bob Mizer Foundation website, http://bobmizerfoundation.org/foundation.}\]
\\[\textsuperscript{113} \text{The Guild Press printing plant at 507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC, which operated from 1964 to 1970, survives as the Shakespeare Theatre Company Education and Rehearsal Studios.}\]
Figure 10: Guild Press customer letter showing their location at 507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC where it operated from 1964 to 1970. Image courtesy ONE Archives at the USC Libraries.
heterosexuals. In 1962 in MANual Enterprises v. Day, the Supreme Court found in Womack’s favor, arguing that homosexuals enjoyed equal protection under the First Amendment.114

In 1963, Womack was joined by another gay press, Directory Services, Inc. (DSI) in Minneapolis that grew to offer a similar line of physique magazines, books, toiletries, and clothing to a nationwide mailing list of fifty thousand customers.115 In 1965, the owners of DSI, Lloyd Spinar and Conrad Germain, challenged American censorship laws by publishing an issue of Butch magazine that featured photographs of full-frontal male nudes. A “Publisher’s Creed” in the same issue asserted, “Those concerned with freedom have the responsibility of seeing to it that each individual book or publication, whatever its contents, is given the freedom of expression granted to it by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.”116 In 1967, DSI was raided by postal inspectors, US Marshals, and other law enforcement officials, and Spinar and Germain were brought up on obscenity charges. DSI won their court case, US v. Spinar and Germain. With full-frontal nudity deemed legal, physique magazines (which had featured “posing straps”) became less popular. The court victories of DSI and Guild Press ushered in an era of open homoeroticism in the gay press and paved the way for gay publications that proliferated in the 1970s, such as The Advocate, Queen’s Quarterly, Fag Rag, Mandate, Drummer, and Christopher Street.117


115 DSI’s offices were located at 2419 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota.


It was not until the development of desktop publishing in the 1980s that lesbians began to mass-produce their own commercial magazines with openly sexual content. *Bad Attitude* was a grassroots publication produced by lesbians through the leftist *Gay Community News* in Boston, while the more commercial erotica publication *On Our Backs*—a parody of the radical feminist publication *off our backs*—emerged from workers in San Francisco’s thriving adult industry.  

*On Our Backs* was the first woman-owned and run erotica magazine in the United States, and the first featuring lesbian erotica specifically for a lesbian audience. Such publications played a central role in the “sex wars” of the 1990s over the complicated relationship between women, sex, and pornography. Many feminist bookstores refused to carry such openly erotic magazines, considering them objectifying and exploitative pornography. Their founders saw them as women-centered periodicals where lesbians took control of their own sexuality.

Generally excluded from coverage and consideration in the gay and lesbian press, bisexuals began publishing their own periodicals that addressed issues of importance to them (including the phenomenon of bisexual erasure). In 1990, the Bay Area Bisexual Network began publishing *Anything That Moves: Beyond the Myths of Bisexuality*. The name referenced the common assumption that bisexual people have indiscriminate intimate relationships. Over time, the tag line changed; in

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120 Bisexual erasure occurs when people in same-sex relationships are assumed to be/labeled homosexual and those in opposite-sex relationships are assumed to be/labeled heterosexual, thus erasing the possibility that someone is bisexual. See Hutchins (this volume).
1999, the magazine was called *Anything That Moves: The Magazine for the Family Bisexual*. The last issue of *Anything That Moves* was published in 2002.

**Conclusion**

By the 1990s, corporate America discovered the LGBTQ market. Companies such as Absolut Vodka, AT&T, and Ikea offered some of the first national print and television advertisements targeting an LGBTQ audience. But history shows that by the time such mainstream corporations picked up on the trend, the gay market was decades old and had already played a prominent role in the development of a distinct LGBTQ community. It was largely through patronage of bars, diners, bathhouses, bookstores, physique studios, record companies, and other businesses that LGBTQ communities first coalesced and became visible. In opening their own bars, bookstores, and other businesses, LGBTQ entrepreneurs helped LGBTQ-friendly neighborhoods to flourish and facilitated the formation of social service organizations, Pride celebrations, and other community institutions. And it was also through such commercial enterprises that the community first began to organize and fight for its rights. Indeed, many of the first LGBTQ protests were about the right to assemble in commercial spaces. And many of the first legal victories for gay rights were to secure the right to assemble in bars or circulate gay literature. For LGBTQ activists, “gay power” has long meant not only electoral and political clout but also economic muscle.

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121 Gluckman and Reed, *Homo Economics*. 
SEX, LOVE, AND RELATIONSHIPS

Tracy Baim


The history of sex, love, and relationships among the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, two spirit, and otherwise sexual and gender minority communities in the United States is as varied and complex as that of their mainstream peers. And yet, LGBTQ people are defined primarily by their sexuality and gender expression. It is in terms of these identities that “we mark ourselves as different from the dominant society—
and are marked by others as a deviant and marginalized social group.”¹ Because of this, many historians have consciously and unconsciously chosen to elide, erase, or ignore the lives and experiences of sexual and gender minorities even when evidence of them was present. This means that to write about LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships, we need to refocus our lens to see what has been obscured. We also have to be very clear about how LGBTQ define these terms, and be aware that these definitions may differ or may even not apply for every lesbian, gay man, bisexual, transgender, or queer person.

We do know that same-sex love and gender nonconformity have been with us throughout US history and during pre-European contact and colonial times. But how those have been defined and documented has shifted considerably in recent decades, causing modern-day historians to struggle with labeling people who mostly shunned such labels, or who had different or more secret ways to define themselves. We also must be alert for the many code words that LGBTQ people used among themselves, as well as the epithets that others used against them: “confirmed bachelor,” “Friend of Dorothy,” “freak,” “batting for the other side,” “third sex.” Author Larry Kramer in his novel The American People uses the phrase “hushmarked” to define the hidden world of homosexual American colonists and pioneers.² It is as good a word to start with as any.

Kramer and others have rightfully pointed out the lunacy of the contortions some historians have gone through to avoid giving their subjects a hint of what British Lord Alfred Douglas called “the love that dare not speak its name.”³ They in effect are rewriting history by leaving out important aspects of their subjects’ lives, or outright denying key facts. They try to mask things in historical “context” by explaining away grown

¹ Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk, Gay by the Bay: A History of Queer Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1996), 5.
³ Lord Alfred Douglas, “Two Loves” (poem), The Chameleon 1, no. 1 (December 1894), accessed April 15, 2016.
men sleeping together in the same bed for years, as with Abraham Lincoln and Joshua Speed who shared a home in Springfield, Illinois before Lincoln became President. They dismiss as gossip the intimate nature of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt’s long relationship with journalist Lorena Hickok; the two traveled extensively together, but did not cohabit. They also dismiss the relationships of women living decades under the same roof.
and sharing everything together, as with Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith at Hull House in Chicago, Illinois.\(^7\)

In some cases, the subjects themselves did not want the scrutiny of history on their relationships. Men thought to be homosexual could be put to death, subjected to corporal punishment, or in the very least, ostracized and shunned from society. Lesbians in some places may not have been publicly prosecuted (same-sex relationships between women were not necessarily a state crime or considered a crime against nature), but lesbians, gender nonconforming people, and bisexuals did endure extralegal punishment, including rape, to set them “straight.” The social stigma associated with same-sex love and gender nonconforming behavior led to thick closet doors throughout much of the history of the United States. In some cases, letters, photos, and other physical evidence were destroyed. Poet Emily Dickinson never married, but letters from her to her sister-in-law Susan Huntington Dickinson are clearly romantic, passionate, and erotic (even though portions of the letters have been literally cut out, and there have been suggestions that editors of her writings changed some of her pronoun use from female to male; Figure 1). Susan’s letters were destroyed upon Emily’s death—perhaps by her husband, Emily’s brother, Austin—and so the full story of their relationship can never be known.\(^8\) In other cases, relationships were straight-washed or not mentioned, and people even married opposite-sex people (a type of marriage of convenience known as lavender marriages) to conform to a strict moral code enforced by family, neighbors, police, and the courts.\(^9\)

\(^7\) Hull House is located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

\(^8\) Ellen Louise Hart and Martha Nell Smith, eds., *Open Me Carefully: Emily Dickinson’s Intimate Letters to Susan Huntington Dickinson* (Ashfield, MA: Paris Press, 1998); Alix North, “Emily Dickinson 1830–1886,” Isle of Lesbos website, accessed April 16, 2016, [http://www.sappho.com/poetry/e_dickin.html](http://www.sappho.com/poetry/e_dickin.html). The home where Emily Dickinson lived and worked, the Dickinson Homestead, is located at 280 Main Street, Amherst, Massachusetts. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962. It, and The Evergreens—the home next door that belonged to Susan and Austin Dickinson—comprise the Dickinson Historic District, listed on the NRHP on August 16, 1977.

\(^9\) There are also terms for those who have married homosexuals or who accompany them on “dates” to hide their homosexuality: women with gay men have been known as “beards;” men with lesbians have been known as “purses.” Not all LGBTQ opposite-sex marriages are marriages of convenience; many are for love, companionship, to raise children, for financial security, or for any of a myriad of
Actor Rock Hudson, leading man and heartthrob of postwar America was one of many semi-closeted gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians in Hollywood (insiders knew who was gay, but the general public did not). In 1955, Hudson married his agent’s secretary, Phyllis Gates, just as Confidential magazine threatened to publicly expose Hudson’s homosexuality. They divorced three years later. When Hudson revealed in July of 1985 that he had AIDS, he was the first public figure to do so; he died less than three months later. His disclosure sparked an immediate national discussion about AIDS and HIV—something that had, until then, been missing.10

This chapter looks at LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships—both hidden and not—in the United States since its formal founding in the 1700s, but there is evidence of same-sex love and intimacy, as well as what we now understand as transgender or differently-gendered people among the Native Americans, among the colonists and pioneers, among immigrants, and among Africans trafficked through slavery. If we want to fully incorporate LGBTQ people into the history of the United States, we cannot reinforce the mistaken notion that they sprang fully glittered from Greenwich Village at the Stonewall Inn in June 1969.11

Defining “Sex,” “Love,” and “Relationships”

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, sex, love, and relationships have many different meanings and expressions in LGBTQ lives—just as they do for non-LGBTQ people. The difference has been other reasons. Bisexuals who marry someone of the opposite sex are often “read” as straight, despite their bisexual identity.

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11 Stonewall, the site of the Stonewall Riots in June 1969, is located at and around 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.
largely how those sexual intimacies and desires, loves, and relationships have been policed and fought for.

Historian David Halperin argues not only that the category of homosexuality is a social and cultural construction of the modern period, but that the distinction between homo- and hetero-sexuality is also recent: “If contemporary gay or lesbian identity seems to hover in suspense between these different and discontinuous discourses of sodomy, gender inversion, and same-sex love, the same can be said even more emphatically about homosexual identity as we attempt to trace it back in time.” This modern emergence of homosexuality as a category, he argues, limits our understanding of homosexual relationships by taking attention away from aspects of these relationships—like power dynamics, monogamy (or not), and gender identity—that are not related to the fact that the partners are of the same-sex. In other words, relationships are much more nuanced in how they play out in people’s lives.

There has long been a debate about just how many people might be included under the LGBTQ rainbow. The definitions can be just as fluid as a person’s sexuality, changing over the course of decades, and is very much dependent on self-reporting. It helps to at least get a sense of the numbers for any discussion of sexuality. Unfortunately, the counting of bisexuals and transgender individuals has only recently begun. In 1993, the authors of Sex in America gave three primary reasons why the LGBTQ community is hard to define and track, even by today’s standards. First, some people change their behaviors during their lifetime; second, there is “no one set of sexual desires or self-identification that uniquely defines homosexuality. Is it sexual desire for a person of the same gender, is it thinking of yourself as homosexual, or is it some combination of these behaviors that make a person a homosexual?” A third reason, they wrote, “is that homosexual behavior is not easily measured...Even though the

13 Halperin, How to Do the History, 106.
recent struggles of gay men and lesbians to gain acceptance have had an effect...the history of persecution has a lasting effect both on what people are willing to say about their sexual behavior and on what they actually do.”

Sexologist Alfred Kinsey also emphasized “that there is no single measure of homosexuality and that it is impossible to divide the world into two distinct classes—homosexual and heterosexual” (Figure 2). He reported that 37 percent of the white men he interviewed had had at least one sexual experience with another man; of these, 10 percent had only homosexual experience for any three-year period of their lives between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five. Four percent of those who had at least one sexual experience with another man had homosexual encounters exclusively from adolescence onward. Among women, Kinsey said 13 percent had at least one homosexual experience to orgasm. Kinsey’s number of exclusive homosexuals was 4 percent.

Historian John D’Emilio wrote that the “publication of the Kinsey reports of male and female sexual behavior, in 1948 and 1953, offered scientific evidence conducive to a reevaluation of conventional moral

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15 Michael et al., Sex in America, 172-173.
17 Michael et al., Sex in America, 173.
18 Michael et al., Sex in America, 173.
attitudes... Of all of Kinsey’s statistics, none challenged conventional wisdom as much as his data on homosexuality.” Kinsey wrote that “Persons with homosexual histories are to be found in every age group, in every social level, in every conceivable occupation, in cities and on farms, and in the most remote areas of the country.”

The authors of *Sex in America* did their own national survey sample of adults eighteen to fifty-nine, focusing on three aspects of homosexuality: “being sexually attracted to persons of the same gender, having sex with persons of the same gender, and identifying oneself as a homosexual.” They found that 5.5 percent of women thought having sex with a woman was appealing, 4 percent were sexually attracted to women, and less than 2 percent had sex with a woman in the past year. About 4 percent had sex with another woman after age eighteen. For men, 6 percent were attracted to other men, 2 percent had sex with a man in the past year and a little over 5 percent said they had homosexual sex at least once after age eighteen. When asked about sexuality, 1.4 percent of women said they thought of themselves as homosexual or bisexual, and 2.8 percent of men. A recent study of changes in American adults’ reported same-sex experiences and attitudes found that, by 2014, the number of US adults who had at least one same-sex partner since the age of 18 had increased to 8.7 percent of women and 8.2 percent of men. Those reporting having both homosexual and heterosexual relationships in 2014 had risen to 7.7 percent. These increases were accompanied by increasing acceptance of same-sex sexuality: “By 2014, 49% of American adults believed that

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21 Michael et al., *Sex in America*, 174-176.
same-sex sexual activity was ‘not wrong at all,’ up from 11% in 1973 and 13% in 1990.”

The National LGBTQ Task Force and National Black Justice Coalition conducted the first analysis of black lesbian and gay households using the 2000 national census, finding that 14 percent of all same-sex couples were African American. Though it was unsurprising that most couples were located in the South where more black people live, the data showed that a majority of these couples lived in smaller towns in the rural South. Using 2010 data, Williams Institute researcher Gary Gates estimated that 390,000 out of nearly one million same-sex couples are married, and that 93 percent of US counties have self-reported same-sex couples. The geographic breakout shows 35 percent live in the South, 20 percent in the Midwest, 19 percent in the Northeast, 17 percent in the Pacific, and 8 percent in the mountain states. Based on ethnic breakdown, 63 percent of those are white, 15 percent African American, 18 percent Latino/a, and Asian/Pacific Islander 2 percent. “The analyses suggest that there are more than 8 million adults in the US who are LGB, comprising 3.5% of the adult population. This is split nearly evenly between lesbian/gay and bisexual identified individuals, 1.7% and 1.8%, respectively. There are also nearly 700,000 transgender individuals in the US. Given these findings, it seems reasonable to assert that approximately 9 million Americans identify as LGBT.”

Some researchers have assumed that the distinction between casual and deep relationships in LGBTQ communities is how long they last. In a study of the lesbian community in Buffalo, New York, researchers found

that this was not the case: “We have come to understand ... that this judgment derives from a heterosexual mode. Which assumes that we will all have one serious relationship—marriage—in a lifetime, or if we are lucky, two. Such an approach does not take into account that some lesbians tend to have longer relationships and others shorter, yet both groups tend to judge their relationships as equally important. ... This variation in the longevity of lesbian relationships has led us to designate the important relationships in people’s lives as ‘committed’ rather than ‘long-term.’”

This distinction is important when one looks at the laws, stigma, and other factors that have historically worked against the success of long-term LGBTQ relationships.

The Documentation

What evidence we do have about LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships in early Native American, colonial, and American history into the early twentieth century comes largely as negative discourse—from Christian Europeans’ accounts of what they perceived as Native American sexual deviancy, from court and medical records, and from sensational newspaper coverage.

Many Native American nations recognize complex and nuanced sexual and gender categories that are not easily understood by Western categories of male/female or heterosexual/bisexual/homosexual. What follows is just one example: on December 7, 1775, Franciscan Father Pedro Font was one of 240 colonists led by Juan Bautista de Anza from what is now Arizona, through Mexico, and north through California, settling in what is now San Francisco. On describing the Quechan (Yuma) that the group encountered, Font wrote the following: “Among the women I saw some men dressed like women, with whom they go about regularly, never


27 For detailed discussion about Native American two spirit people and the colonial encounter, see Roscoe (this volume); for a broader legal context, see Stein (this volume); and for more about LGBTQ “deviance” in a medical context, see Batza (this volume).
joining the men. The commander called them *amaricados*, perhaps because the Yumas call effeminate men *maricas*. I asked who these men were, and they replied that they were not men like the rest... From this I inferred they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices.”

This judgment of the Quechan two-spirit people is one repeated throughout documents of colonial encounters. In some cases, this judgment led to violence and murder.

On the east coast, in a seventeenth-century European settlement in Virginia, Thomas/Thomasine Hall was charged with cross-dressing (in this case, a man wearing women’s clothing). The court in Jamestown ruled that Hall was both a man and a woman, and required them to dress in both men’s and women’s clothing. During the Civil War, we know of several women who dressed in men’s clothing in order to serve in the Union and Confederate armies. In the decades to follow, other women would dress as men to obtain work. Missing from these negative sources are the everyday lives and loves of sexual and gender minorities in our past. And

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28 Herbert E. Bolton, trans., *Anza’s California Expeditions, Volume IV, Font’s Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition Translated from the Original Spanish...*(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 105. The Quechan lived and continue to live along the lower Colorado River in what is now Arizona and California. The second expedition of de Anza founded both the Presidio of San Francisco and the Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores). The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) was designated in 1990. The Presidio of San Francisco is part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL on June 13, 1962, and incorporated into the NPS system on October 1, 1994. The Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores) at 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972.


this is where much of history occurred, hidden from prying eyes. Or, in some cases, hidden in plain sight, especially in letters between lovers.32

It was not until the late nineteenth century that ideas of homosexuality and sexual inversion as identities became increasingly incorporated into how Americans thought of each other and themselves. In this era of classification and taxonomy, scientists coined Latinate words to identify individuals through their sexual practices: heterosexual, homosexual, sadomasochist, polygamous, and other terms (the term “lesbian” had been used to refer to female homosexuals even earlier, and the debate over “what is a lesbian?” continues).33 “The word ‘homosexual’ itself was not coined until the late nineteenth century, and it is admittedly difficult to conceptualize Americans being something without having a word for it.”34

In colonial America, though there is evidence that there was homoerotic or homosexual activity, there is no indication that these people thought of or described themselves as homosexual.35 While much of the evidence of these early relationships come from court cases and medical records, not all people engaging in same-sex relationships are represented in these documents: “Throughout the American colonial period and well into the early years of the Republic, the penalty for sodomy was death, so it is not surprising that men who sought other men as sexual partners did not advertise their activities, and left behind little evidence which might be used against them in a court of law. But evidence—however obscured—does exist. The problem arises with

32 Many people have looked at nineteenth-century photographs of men, seeing homosexual desire and relationship in the physical closeness. While some of these may certainly show men who were in intimate relationships with each other, it was not uncommon in the nineteenth century for men—straight and otherwise—to be physically close, intertwined, and lounging next to each other. See, for example, David Deitcher, Dear Friends: American Photographs of Men Together, 1840-1918 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001).


interpretation.” Historian Rachel Hope Cleves describes the relationship between New Englanders Charity Bryant and Sylvia Drake as a “marriage.” Then there is what to make of the lengthy correspondence between Rebecca Primus and Addie Brown, African American women who referred to each other as “beloved sister” and “loving friend.” Archivist William Benemann focuses on male-male sexual relationships in early America, which he places in three categories: romantic friendships between white men of similar age and social class which usually ended with the marriage of one or both men to women; romantic mentorship, when there was a large age gap between partners; and “erotic employment” between men of very unequal social status, where one was employed by the other, for example as valet or paid companion, which also had a sexual component.

For enslaved African men, on the other hand, the same-sex desires of their owners and masters were enacted upon them as a means of exerting power and control over black male bodies that at the time were viewed with both desire and horror—both beastly, and hypersexual. While some slave owners or masters might have considered a relationship to be mutual, enslaved men were in no position to resist or refuse. Violence for refusal included beatings, death, and separation from family. Often forcibly living apart from their families and working in sex-segregated

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36 Benemann, Male-Male Intimacy in Early America, x.
37 Rachel Hope Cleves, Charity and Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
39 Benemann, Male-Male Intimacy in Early America, xvi.
environments, enslaved men formed strong homosocial bonds with each other for companionship, survival, and resistance against their enslavers. As Historian Maurice O. Wallace argues, the New World [white] American man was invented “not merely by a desperate repudiation of the feminine ... but equally ... by the homosocial counter-construction of black male savagery. At no point in the history of the New World, that is, has race not constituted a defining feature of our national manhood.”

The shame associated with the historical legacy of interracial male rape combined with stigma against homosexuality threatened the lives and careers of many African American men. “Artistic” gay men such as Harlem Renaissance writers Claude McKay and Alain Locke, or the self-employed black historian Carter G. Woodson, might be politely overlooked by Negro Society. But an arrest for public sex could not be ignored. Augustus Dill, mentored by W. E. B. Du Bois, was considered a threat to Du Bois and to the NAACP newspaper, The Crisis. Some civil rights leaders and pacifists feared the participation of Bayard Rustin, advisor to A. Philip Randolph, A. J. Muste, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., because it made their movements vulnerable to harassment by Hoover’s FBI.

Leading by example

Certainly, homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender nonconformity were not limited to the lesser-knowns of history. In fact, the desire to fit in, and excel, is a frequent trait among outsiders of all kinds, whether immigrants, homosexuals, bisexuals, or the transgender community. They have something to “prove,” that they are “normal.” As a result, rights leaders frequently enforce the politics of respectability, shunning those members...
who are too “out” or “flamboyant” while embracing those whose lives and beliefs support what they consider to be the best ideals of American citizenship.

So who are those early LGBTQ people in the United States, those “founding fathers,” the pioneer leaders, the women who fought for suffrage, the people who fought against slavery, the women who founded higher educational institutions and social justice services, the leaders in the Revolutionary War and Civil War?

Figure 3: Reenactors at Valley Forge National Historical Park give a sense of the conditions there the winter that von Steuben trained the troops. Photo by Valley Forge National Historical Park.45

Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730–1794) stands out as one of the more documented examples of a homosexual in charge. He was a major general in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, and he is widely viewed as a key tactician who led to the success of the war. Arriving at Valley Forge early in 1778, he imposed order both on the camp and on

the soldiers, drilling them in fighting together as a unit (Figure 3). He was also General George Washington’s chief of staff near the end of the war. And under today’s definitions, von Steuben would be considered homosexual because he had documentable relationships with men including his aides, Captains Benjamin Walker and William North; he left his estate to both men.46

President Abraham Lincoln’s sexuality is hotly debated. Awkward around women, Lincoln had several intense relationships with men. While some of these were likely chaste, there are suggestions of sexual intimacy between Lincoln and at least two of these men: Joshua Fry Speed and later, Lincoln’s bodyguard, Captain David Derickson. Before his presidency, Lincoln shared a home and bed with Joshua Fry Speed in Springfield, Illinois from 1837 through 1841. The nature of the relationship between Lincoln and Speed has been debated. In 1926, Lincoln biographer Carl Sandburg described both Lincoln and Speed as each having “a streak of lavender” and “spots soft as May violets”—euphemisms for effeminacy and homosexual behavior.47 Speed himself said, “No two men were ever so intimate.”48 During his presidency, Lincoln was known to share a bed with his bodyguard, Captain David Derickson, when Mrs. Lincoln was out of town. Contemporary reports describe the Captain wearing the


There are many places associated with von Steuben—including the Revolutionary War battlefields where he fought—on the NRHP and designated as NHLs. Some of these include: Valley Forge National Historical Park near King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL Historic District on January 20, 1961, and designated a National Historical Park (an NPS unit) on July 4, 1976; Mount Gulian in Fishkill, New York (listed on the NRHP on November 19, 1982) which served as von Steuben’s headquarters at the end of the Revolutionary War and was the place where he was instrumental in founding the Society of the Cincinnati; and the Steuben House in River Edge, New Jersey (listed on the NRHP on December 18, 1970), which served as General George Washington’s headquarters for several days in 1780, and following the war, was given to von Steuben who occupied it from 1783 through 1788. For more information on von Steuben’s sexuality see Estes (this volume).


President’s nightshirts.49 While many historians have explained these men sleeping together as “innocent” and a result of a lack of mattresses (which may have explained Speed and Lincoln as Lincoln was establishing his law practice, but certainly not after that, and was certainly no obstacle for a sitting president), other researchers like C. A. Tripp find Lincoln most comfortable in homosexual relationships.50

One lover of men, Walt Whitman (1819–1892) had a profound impact on the cultural landscape of this new country. A journalist and poet, Whitman’s Leaves of Grass was once called obscene because it featured sensuality between men, as with these two lines: “Wherever he goes men and women accept and desire him / They desire he should like them, touch them, speak to them, stay with them” (Figure 4).52 Among the men that Whitman was reportedly intimate with were Peter Doyle, a bus conductor, and author Oscar Wilde. Doyle and Whitman met in the mid-1860s, and were

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50 Tripp, The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln.

51 License: CC BY 4.0. http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0010042.html

52 From the poem, “Song of Myself.” Whitman edited and revised Leaves of Grass extensively over his lifetime. The final, “deathbed” (1892) version of “Song of Myself” that contains the quoted lines is available online at http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/174745, accessed April 15, 2016. The final version of Leaves of Grass was written during the last days of Whitman’s life in his home at 330 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, New Jersey. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962. During the Civil War, Whitman, along with Dr. Mary Walker, nursed the injured at the Old Patent Office, now the National Portrait Gallery, at Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.
inseparable for many years; Wilde met Whitman in 1882 and later reported that the two had kissed.53

Among key women of the early United States, there are many stories of lasting relationships, of “Boston marriages,” and of lifelong bonds. Boston marriages were frequently used to describe relationships between women living together without the financial support of a man, during the 1800s and early 1900s. These “female friendships” were mostly ignored or tolerated through much of the nineteenth century as we have seen in the relationship between Emily Dickinson and her sister-in-law, but in the second half of the century, the category of “lesbian” (then also called the female sexual invert) was formulated by the medical profession and then moved into popular discourse.54 This changed how society viewed intimate relationships between women; they “took on an entirely different meaning.…. They now had a set of concepts and questions (which were uncomfortable to many of them) by which they had to scrutinize feelings that would have been as natural and even admirable in earlier days.”55 In response, women could claim that their attachments to other women were not like “real lesbians”; they could repress their sexuality; they could live in the closet, leading a double life—lesbian in private and heterosexual in public; or she could accept the definitions of sexologists and define herself as a lesbian.56

The rise of women’s colleges contributed to these relationships, as white women had more access to education, independent living, and employment choices. At the time, marriage and a professional career were seen to be incompatible; this meant that women who preferred to live with other women could pursue academics and careers and have the social

55 Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 2.
56 Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 3.
license to therefore live with other women. Historian Lillian Faderman notes the disproportionate number of women who attended women’s colleges who never married. “Perhaps the most important element in encouraging young college women in their escape from domesticity was a new form of what had been termed romantic friendship which came to be called in college life ‘smashes,’ ‘crushes,’ and ‘spoons.’” In the 1920s, sociologist Katharine Bement Davis studied 2,200 females, with 50.4 percent admitting to intense emotional relations with women, and half of those were “either accompanied by sex or recognized as sexual in character.” The women viewed these as rare, however, reporting their expectations to eventually marry men.

Two prominent women who had long-term relationships with other women are Jane Addams, founder of the Hull House Settlement in Chicago and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, and M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. There are many other examples of powerful women in relationships with each other; surely there were also many examples of less prominent women in same-sex relationships whose stories have not yet been uncovered.

Jane Addams’ first romantic partner was Ellen Starr, who she met when they were students at Rockford Female Seminary in Illinois. In 1889, they visited Toynbee Hall in England together, which served as the model for Hull House. When they returned, they bought a house in an immigrant neighborhood in Chicago and founded Hull House together. Later, Addams met Mary Rozet Smith, who contributed financial support for Hull House. They were together for four decades until Mary’s death in 1934, and they “always slept in the same room in the same bed, and when they traveled Jane even wired ahead to be sure they would get a hotel room with a

double bed.” Addams wrote to Smith in 1899: “Miss you dreadfully and am yours ’til death.”

After attending Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, M. Carey Thomas was denied a graduate education at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Undeterred, she and her “devoted companion” Mamie Gwinn moved to Europe, and in 1882 Thomas received her PhD from the University of Zurich. On their return to the United States, they were hired to teach at Bryn Mawr. Thomas was soon appointed dean, and the women moved into an on-campus residence that became known as the Deanery (Figure 5). During this time, Mary Garrett, a prominent and wealthy suffragist and philanthropist, fell in love with Thomas. Garrett promised Bryn Mawr she would give the college a fortune if they would make Thomas the school’s president, which they did in 1894. In 1904, Mamie Gwinn left Thomas for a married man and Mary Garrett moved in to the Deanery with Thomas, where she lived until her death in 1915.

Figure 5: M. Carey Thomas addresses students from the porch of the Deanery, 1905. Photo by Bryn Mawr College.

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62 Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 26. From 1885 until 1933, Thomas lived in “the Deanery” on the Bryn Mawr College campus, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. The Deanery, formerly located at the end
Faderman also includes details of an intimate relationship between anarchist Emma Goldman and fellow anarchist and union organizer, Almeda Sperry. From surviving letters exchanged between the two during 1912, when Goldman lived in a tenement apartment in New York City’s East Village, the relationship was largely one-sided. Sperry wrote several emotional letters to Goldman detailing her (mostly) unrequited love. One letter, however, makes it clear that their relationship did have a sexual component; Sperry writes: “If I had only had courage enuf to kill myself when you reached the climax then—then I would have known happiness, for at that moment I had complete possession of you.”63 From her East Side tenement, which she lived in from 1903 to 1913, Goldman conducted much of her activist work, including publication of her Anarchist journal, Mother Earth. Emma Goldman was outspoken in her criticism of homophobia and prejudice against lesbians and gay men, German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld described her as “the first and only woman, indeed the first and only American, to take up the defense of homosexual love before the general public.” An American citizen, she was nevertheless deported to Russia with about 250 other radicals.64

Another high-powered female couple were Katherine Lee Bates and Katharine Coman. Bates (1859–1929) is best known for her anthem “America the Beautiful.” Born in Fairmouth, Massachusetts, Bates lived with Katharine Coman, founder of the Wellesley College School of Economics department, for twenty-five years, until Coman died in 1915.65

of what is now Canaday Drive on the Bryn Mawr campus, was demolished in 1968 for the construction of the Canaday Library.


65 Their home was located just off Weston Road, north of Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.
They were among the millions of people who visited the 1893 World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago (also called the Chicago World’s Fair), after which Bates continued west to Colorado Springs, Colorado for a summer teaching job. It was on this trip that she was inspired to write “America the Beautiful.”

The 1893 Chicago World’s Fair provided over twenty-seven million people a glimpse into other worlds, and afforded a certain freedom to a lot of homosexual and bisexual people who were working at or visiting the fair. Prior to the fair, Chicago sculptor Lorado Taft and his students (many of them women, at a time when women sculptors working professionally was almost unheard of) worked on sculptures and architectural elements for the fair’s horticultural and other buildings. Married twice to women, some authors note that Taft also engaged in homosexual relationships. One of Taft’s great works is his monumental Fountain of Time installed in Washington Park on Chicago’s South Side (Figure 6). Completed in 1920, the rear of the sculpture includes a self-portrait of Taft holding hands with one of his workmen “with whom he was intimate.”

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67 The World’s Columbian Exposition, also known as the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, took up both Jackson Park and the Midway Plaisance in Chicago’s South Side. The Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance were added to the NRHP on December 15, 1972.


69 Washington Park was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Daniel H. Burnham. It was listed on the NRHP on August 20, 2004. Taft’s Midway Studios were located at 6016 South Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. They were added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Taft was working out of this studio space during the creation and installation of the Fountain of Time. Several of Taft’s sculptures are listed on the NRHP: The Black Hawk Statue/Eternal Indian in Lowden State Park near Oregon, Illinois was added to the NRHP on November 5, 2009; Lincoln the Lawyer/Young Lincoln in Carle Park, Urbana, Illinois was added to the NRHP on March 10, 2004; The Crusader/Victor Lawson Monument and Eternal Silence/The Dexter Graves Monument are both contributing elements to Chicago’s Graceland Cemetery Historic District, listed on the NRHP on January 18, 2001; The Soldiers’ Monument is a contributing element to the Oregon Commercial Historic District in Oregon, Illinois, added to the NRHP on August 16, 2006; and the Columbus Fountain in Columbus Circle, Washington, DC, added to the NRHP on April 9, 1980.

70 Baim, Out and Proud in Chicago, 18.
Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) and Alice B. Toklas (1877–1967), both born in the United States, were very public about their relationship both here and in France. They were quite an unusual pair for their era, or any era, and Stein documented their Paris years in the fictional book *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, written in her partner’s voice.72

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72 Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933). Gertrude Stein’s birthplace and childhood home (1874-1877) is located in the Allegheny West Historic District on Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania’s north side. It was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 1978. Stein’s family moved to Oakland, California in 1880 where they lived on a ten-acre property surrounded by farms. When Stein returned to the area (now near the intersection of Thirteenth Avenue and Twenty-Fifth Street, Oakland) the rural landscape had been replaced by dozens of houses. In her 1937 book, *Everybody’s Autobiography* (New York: Random House, 1937) she recounted the visit, lamenting that there was “no there there.” On at least one trip to New York City, Stein and Toklas stayed at the Algonquin Hotel, 59-61 West 44th Street.
While there were certainly those in American history who would fit our modern definition of transgender, many women dressed as men for economic survival and safety. Ellen Craft escaped enslavement in Georgia by posing as a white man, accompanied by his “slave,” her husband William. “Stagecoach” Mary Fields was an African American woman who had been born a slave in Tennessee circa 1832. In 1894, she was ordered to leave the convent she worked in after a confrontation with a male employee. Then in her early sixties, she was able to find paid work dressed in male clothing driving a stagecoach for the US Mail—the first African American woman to do so. She quit driving the mail in 1901. In the early years of the twentieth century, Native American Ralph Kerwinieo (née Cora Anderson) lived and worked for thirteen years as a man. Exposed as a woman by his second wife, Kerwinieo was subsequently ordered by law to revert to wearing women’s clothing. He responded, stating that “This world is made by man—for man alone....Do you blame me for wanting to be a man—free to live as a man in a man-made world? Do you blame me for hating to again resume a woman’s clothes?” It was with this same feminist awareness that Kerwinieo described marrying his two wives, as a way to protect them from the male-dominated and sexist world. Men tended to cross-dress for different reasons, including for entertainment value, as a way to express their varied gender expression, or as an indication of what would later be categorized as being transgender.

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77 See, for example, Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress*. 

17-24
In New York City, the 1920s and 1930s saw the growth of Harlem as a tourist destination, and a haven for black cultural entrepreneurs—among them, many gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender writers and performers. Some authors of the Harlem Renaissance wrote fiction that closely mirrored the reality of their lives, giving a window into the world of gay marriages, drag balls, and an open sexuality. Jamaican-born bisexual writer Claude McKay was among those who wrote about the era, sometimes indicating the ambivalence about homosexuality in Harlem. Bisexual blues phenomenon Gladys Bentley began her New York City career in the 1920s dressing in men's clothing (leading some to refer to her as a male impersonator) and reports marrying a woman in a New Jersey civil ceremony (Figure 7). Bessie Smith, the “Empress of the Blues” also had women lovers, her mentor, “Ma Rainey” refers to female

Figure 7: Detail of Manhattan: 7th Avenue-131st Street, showing Harlem’s Ubangi Club where Gladys Bentley performed, 1934. Photo by P. L. Sperr, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

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78 Lindsay Tuggle, “‘A Love So Fugitive and So Complete’: Recovering the Queer Subtext of Claude McKay’s Harlem Shadows, The Space Between 4, no. 1 (2008): 64.
lovers in several of her recorded songs. Tolerance in Harlem “extended to such a degree that black lesbians in butch/femme couples married each other in large wedding ceremonies, replete with bridesmaids and attendants. Real marriage licenses were obtained by masculinizing a first name or having a gay male surrogate apply for a license for the lesbian couple. Those licenses were actually placed on file in the New York City Marriage Bureau.”

Fiction and poetry are often where LGBTQ people found their true stories, and their relief from social pressures. Fiction writers and poets from the late 1800s and early 1900s provided a lifeline, and many of those writers themselves were LGBTQ authors. Among these are Walt Whitman, Oscar Wilde, Alice Dunbar Nelson, Angelina Weld Grimké, Virginia Woolf, Radclyffe Hall, and Gertrude Stein. More recent authors have created works of genealogy and personal history, writing their own lifelines. For example, in the bull-jean stories, poet Sharon Bridgforth weaves a history out of her own desire to know the lives of her 1920s ancestors: “rural/southern working-class Black bulldaggas/who were aunty-momma-sister-friend/pillars of the church ... these are the stories they didn’t tell me, the ones I needed most.”

Although there were novels in the 1930s that dealt with lesbian relationships, the advent of the “dime novel” allowed pulp fiction dealing with homosexuality to flourish in the 1950s and 1960s—much of it written by closeted gay and lesbian writers. Pulp lesbian novels were larger moneymakers than the gay male pulps because of the crossover audience of heterosexual men. These books featured lurid covers and titles, and usually ended with suicide or other untimely deaths for the LGBTQ

80 Bessie Smith was among several African American LGBTQ performers at the Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. The Apollo Theater was listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983. After her singing career, Ma Rainey moved to a home at 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia. It is open to the public as the Ma Rainey House and Blues Museum.
81 Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 69-73.
82 Sharon Bridgforth, the bull-jean stories (Austin, TX: RedBone Press, 1998), xi.
characters. Death was also a theme in higher-brow literature and drama, such as Lillian Hellman’s *The Children’s Hour*. Despite this, they still stirred the passions of their readers looking for some validation of their feelings.\(^84\)

Gay men especially had a soft-core way to enjoy the male physique, as muscle magazines proliferated in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Strapping young men in skimpy swimsuits modeled for a wide range of publications, which had a significant number of gay male subscribers.\(^85\) Publishers went aggressively after the gay market, and some became publishing barons, including Clark Polak of Philadelphia’s *Drummer* magazine and Chuck Renslow with his various magazines from Chicago, as photographed in his Kris Studios. These magazines provided a sexual release for their readers, and a connection to a “community” in faraway cities. Yet possession of these “pornographic materials” was a felony under most state laws. In 1960, Smith College professor Newton Arvin was arrested by the state of Massachusetts for having physique magazines and was forced to resign.\(^86\) Women could peruse *Playboy* for its soft-core images of scantily clad women. Gay male pulp fiction also had an audience, among both gay and bisexual men and straight women. These books included reprints of mainstream titles with gay content (such as Gore Vidal’s *The City and the Pillar* and *Myra Breckinridge*), or original titles (like George Viereck’s *Men into Beasts*).

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\(^85\) For a broader discussion of physique magazines, see Johnson (this volume).

By World War I, with few legal or “legitimate” places to congregate, gay men were regularly cruising the streets of certain neighborhoods like Riverside Drive in New York City, as well as parks like Lafayette Park in Washington, DC, and the Presidio in San Francisco, looking for sex, companionship, and community (Figure 8). Public bathhouses and certain YMCAs also became areas where gay men gathered. For African Americans during this time, drag balls became popular in Harlem.

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87 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, 12. Lafayette Square in Washington, DC, has been a popular cruising spot since at least 1892, when several men were arrested for having sex in the park. The Presidio in San Francisco is located within Golden Gate National Recreation Area (a unit of the NPS); it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 13, 1962. In the post-Stonewall era, Arlington Ridge Park in Arlington, Virginia was a popular place for gay men to meet at night. The park is known colloquially as Iwo Jima Park because it is the site of the United States Marine Corps War Memorial/Two Jima Memorial. It has been the location of several crackdowns on gay men in the park, including the arrests of over sixty men in late 1971 that triggered a cold, January 1972 protest by the Gay Activist Alliance. Those charged with felony sodomy lost their jobs and security clearances. Arlington Ridge Park was listed on the NRHP on September 4, 2009. It is within the boundaries of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, an NPS unit. See Marc Stein, Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement (New York: Routledge 2012), 102; “Gay Activists Alliance members protest US Park Police,” LGBT History Archives @lgbt_history website, http://lgbt-history-archive.tumblr.com/post/139108239762/gay-activists-alliance-members-protest-us-park. See also Barry Reay, New York Hustlers: Masculinity and Sex in Modern America (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

88 YMCAs with public LGBTQ histories include those in Boise, Harlem, and Newport. It was at the Boise YMCA, Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho that, in 1955, the “Boys of Boise” sex scandal broke. The Claude McKay Residence (Harlem YMCA) at 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York was where, from at least 1932, young men—including Langston Hughes and Claude McKay—could find a place to stay. The Claude McKay Residence was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976. In 1919, the Army-Navy YMCA at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island was targeted for surveillance after reports of it being home to a network of homosexual Navy men and civilians. The Army-Navy YMCA was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988. Many cities had bathhouses that catered to a gay clientele. For example: the Olympic Baths (now demolished) were open from 1977 to 1985 at 1405 H Street NW, Washington, DC; Men’s Country Bathhouse at 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois opened in 1972 and was the site of a lot of community medical outreach including HIV testing and information dissemination; the Ariston Hotel Bath in the basement of the Ariston Hotel at Broadway and 55th Street, New York City was the site of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in the United States in 1903; Mount Morris Turkish Baths at Madison Avenue and 125th Street opened in 1898 and survived the closures brought by the AIDS panic, closing in 2003; Club Portland Bath, 303 SW Twelfth Avenue, Portland, Oregon was open from 1987 through 2007. Bette Midler was rumored to have performed here during her bathhouse performance tour of the 1980s; Jeff’s Gym/Club Baths operated from 1972 through 1986 at 700 West 1700 South, Salt Lake City, Utah; Topkapi was a short-lived bathhouse open from 1972 to 1973 at 6818 Richmond Highway, Alexandria, Virginia; the Club Turkish Baths opened at 130 Turk Street, San Francisco in the 1930s and operated under this name and the Bulldog Baths through 1983; vacant for the next thirty years, entrepreneurs have opened the Bulldog Baths Dog Resort in the building, naming their pet care enterprise to honor the historic bathhouse. While most bathhouses were for men, Osento, a women’s bathhouse, operated out of what is now a private residence in the Mission neighborhood of San Francisco, California from 1980 through 2008.
Gatherings of lesbians and bisexual women who were part of faculties at all-women’s colleges, settlement houses, and professional associations also flourished.\textsuperscript{89}

Despite changes in sexual mores during the 1920s, LGBTQ people still experienced repression. Future President Franklin Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, oversaw a purge in the US Navy from 1919 to 1921 in Newport, Rhode Island.\textsuperscript{91} A similar purge, in 1920 at Harvard University, was uncovered decades after it happened by a researcher for \textit{The Harvard Crimson} newspaper. The school secretly put a dozen male students on trial and then “systematically and persistently tried to ruin their lives.” Several of these students committed suicide.\textsuperscript{92}

The Second World War disrupted the lives of millions of American men and women. In the armed services, men and women who might have felt

\textsuperscript{89} Examples of these places include Webster Hall, Wellesley College, Hull House, and the Charleston Museum. Webster Hall and Annex, 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York, famous in the 1910s and 1920s for the lavish masquerade balls held there. By the 1920s, Webster Hall was hosting African American drag balls. Katherine Lee Bates, author of “America the Beautiful,” attended Wellesley College and then later returned to teach there. It was at Wellesley that she met her partner of twenty-five years, Katherine Coman. Mary Rozet Smith was Jane Addams’ partner both professionally at Hull House (800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois) and personally for over forty years. Hull House was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. In 1920, Laura Bragg was the first female director of the Charleston Museum, since 1980 located at 360 Meeting Street, Charleston, South Carolina. Bragg lived with her partner, Belle Heyward, near the historic William Gibbes House in Charleston, South Carolina.

\textsuperscript{90} License: CCBY-SA 3.0. \texttt{https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Presidio_of_San_Francisco_from_the_air_in_2008.jpg}

\textsuperscript{91} The Old Army-Navy YMCA was located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

“different” now found other people who also had different desires. Women moved into the wartime workforce as industrial “Rosie the Riveters,” in the new women’s military auxiliary forces, and in federal offices in Washington DC. “Even for those gay men who slipped by psychiatrists [trying to screen out homosexuals], the experience brought their sexuality into bold relief. ... The sex-segregated nature of the armed forces raised homosexuality closer to the surface for all military personnel.” Big-city YMCAs were a special hotbed of same-sex sexual activity during World War II, and the Women’s Army Corps “became the almost quintessential lesbian institution.” Many people had their first same-sex liaisons as a direct result of the gender segregation of America’s population during the war. “World War II was a transformative event in the history of modern queer communities and identities. It not only changed the personal lives of countless thousands of individual men and women, it also shifted the role of sexuality in American public life and altered the social geography of urban centers like San Francisco.”

Lesbians, bisexuals, and gay men during this period socialized (and often still do) very differently from one another. Lesbians tended to meet in private homes, both for privacy and safety, but also because women generally had less free money to spend going out, and so were unable to sustain large numbers of women-only commercial spaces. Some women formed close-knit communities away from populated areas for a different kind of privacy and safety. One example of this is Druid Heights, a community of influential thinkers and writers founded among the redwoods of Mill Valley, California by poet Elsa Gidlow in 1954. Her 1923 book, *On a Grey Thread*, was the first book of explicitly lesbian poetry published in North America. These types of private spaces have been described as particularly important during Prohibition, when the bar scene

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94 D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 26-27. For more information on LGBTQ in the military, see Estes (this volume). For examples of YMCAs with documented LGBTQ activity, see note 79.  
95 Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*, 29.  
was driven underground. Men, particularly white men who have appeared “traditionally” masculine, have generally enjoyed the right to occupy public space. Though public cruising could lead to violence, arrest, and chance encounters with non-gay acquaintances, men of color and effeminate men were more at risk than a “straight-appearing” white man. Gay bars were a place where men could drop “the pretension of heterosexuality” while socializing with friends and searching for sexual partners.

Professor and tattoo artist Samuel Steward kept a “Stud File”—“a whimsically annotated and cross-referenced 746-card card catalog in which Steward documented his sex life in its entirely from the year 1924 through 1974.” One of his “studs” was author Thornton Wilder, who he would meet at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago. After detailing their encounters, Steward notes that “I became his Chicago piece, possibly his only physical contact in the city....[Besides] he could never forthrightly discuss anything sexual; for him the act itself was quite literally unspeakable. His Puritan reluctance was inhibiting to me as well.”

Steward had “studs” in many cities, including New York City. He tended to avoid Greenwich Village which he characterized as being populated by “screaming,” effeminate men—a “type” to which he was not attracted. Instead, he traveled to Harlem, where he would visit his friend Alexander Gumby, a postal clerk who lived in a large studio apartment on Fifth Avenue between 131st and 132nd Streets. Gumby’s literary salon events were popular with Harlem’s artistic and theatrical elites. Steward

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99 Transgender women, often mistaken for effeminate men, are also at high risk.
100 D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 32-33.
102 Spring, *Secret Historian*, 52. When it was built in 1927, the Stevens Hotel was the largest in the world. After the Stevens family lost their fortune in the Great Depression, the hotel was bought by the US Army to house soldiers, and then by the Hilton Family. It is now known as the Hilton Chicago, and is located at 720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
described one of these as “an evening of ‘reefer, bathtub gin, a game of truth, and assorted homosexual carryings-on.’”

In the 1940s, Otis Bigelow was part of “the silver-and-china queens,” so named by playwright Arthur Laurents to describe wealthy homosexuals “who played squash and were raunchy after dinner.” They were a type of gay man “from way back that was always as right-wing as possible, out of a desperate desire to belong. And they haven’t changed. It’s like the gay couples who try to emulate heterosexual couples. Nothing could be more stupid. I mean that one is sort of the husband and the other is sort of the wife and they have to have fidelity and all this kind of nonsense—instead of seeing how lucky you are if you’re two men and have freedom.”

During these years, soldiers and sailors were often returning to or embarking from New York City, and “gay men pursued them with abandon. Tennessee Williams loved to cruise Times Square with Donald Windham in the forties.”

The Purge

The burden of legal, medical, and familial scrutiny has been heavy, and sometimes too much to bear. These things absolutely had an effect on sex and relationships. There is higher documented substance abuse in the LGBTQ community, and lack of familial support and legal recognition has had a negative impact on relationships of all kinds. Some people have stayed in violent relationships because resources for same-sex survivors of domestic violence were not geared to their needs. Some people have lived on the “down low,” getting married to opposite-sex partners, having children, and living their gay life—or their transgender life—in secret on the

104 Spring, Secret Historian, 22.
side. This was a high price to fit in, and meant that the potential cost of coming out was high, including domestic violence, divorce, loss of financial security, and loss of their children. The rates of suicide and attempted suicide are higher among lesbian, gay, and bisexual people than the general population, and higher still among transgender people.\textsuperscript{109}

Especially traumatic were the victims of people who struggled so much internally with their sexuality that they killed others rather than face their truth. This includes men who have attacked other men in gay bashings, as documented by filmmaker Arthur Dong in \emph{Licensed to Kill}.\textsuperscript{110}

In 1950, a short time after World War II ended, the US State Department began its purge of “sexual perverts.” Over the course of several years, thousands of employees lost their jobs. Frank Kameny, who lost his government job, and Barbara Gittings were among those who began to fight federally sanctioned discrimination against homosexuals in federal jobs and the military. The threat of the “homosexual menace” was a theme in American politics throughout the McCarthy era; these purges were ironically instigated by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, and Roy Cohn, who worked with Senator McCarthy. Both of these men have been identified as having same-sex relationships.\textsuperscript{111} The forcing of gay men and

\textsuperscript{109} Reported rates of LGBTQ suicide and suicide attempts vary, but there is no argument that rates among LGBTQ individuals are higher than for their straight peers. Lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth are from two to four times as likely to have attempted suicide as their peers; almost 50 percent of transgender youth have seriously considered taking their own life; up to 25 percent of transgender youth have reported suicide attempts. See “Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health: LGBT Youth,” Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website, \url{http://www.cdc.gov/igtbealth/youth.htm}; “Facts About Suicide,” The Trevor Project website, \url{http://www.thetrevorproject.org/pages/facts-about-suicide}.

\textsuperscript{110} \emph{Licensed to Kill}, directed by Arthur Dong (DeepFocus Productions, Inc., 1997)

women from the military took a large toll, and then as in more recent years, African American women were more likely to be identified as “homosexual.” Several bases performed witch hunts, resulting in people being forced to name other names, and a string of interconnected discharges, including at Keesler Air Force base in Biloxi, Mississippi; Lackland Air Force base in San Antonio, Texas; and Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio. Private industry was inspired by this government action—perhaps 20 percent of the labor force were forced to undergo loyalty security clearances.

This widespread labeling of homosexuals as menaces, perverts, psychopaths, and national security risks, with articles and rumors planted by the FBI and circulated in the popular press, set the tone for the 1950s. Across the country, local police forces harassed and cracked down—often brutally—on LGBTQ communities. The crackdowns and raids often seemed unpredictable. While in public, men and women were arrested in bars and men arrested while in cruising areas, people were not immune from police harassment and vice squads raiding and arresting them in their own homes. This societal pressure and condemnation seeped into the psyche of homosexuals of this era, and caused many to internalize the homophobia. “Whether seen from the vantage point of religion, medicine, or the law, the homosexual or lesbian was a flawed

Barbara Gittings and her partner Kay Lahusen lived in during the 1960s, at Twenty-First and Locust Streets, Philadelphia.

112 Until the abolition of the Pentagon’s policy of “don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue,” African Americans were disproportionately punished, “even if they are not gay or lesbian, apparently there are cases where men have accused women who refuse unwanted sexual advances of being lesbians, or because the women are successful and some men do not want to serve under them.” See Jamilah King, “Black Women Win in Repeal of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell': Studies show that soldiers of color were disproportionately impacted by the policy,” Colorlines, December 22, 2010, https://www.colorlines.com/articles/black-women-win-repeal-dont-ask-dont-tell.

113 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, 45-46.


115 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, 49. Betty K’s (now demolished), a gay bar at Seventeenth and Central in Indianapolis, Indiana was commonly raided by police in the mid-1960s for men dancing with other men. On September 8, 1954, Tommy’s Place at 529 Broadway Street, San Francisco, California was the site of the first police raid on a lesbian bar in San Francisco; the Twenty-Second Street Beach in Miami, Florida was the site of several raids in the 1950s, including two high-profile ones in 1954 and 1956 (see Capó, this volume).
individual, not a victim of injustice. For many, the gay world was reduced
to a setting where they shared an affliction."\textsuperscript{116}

This gay world was permeable, and with that permeability came risk:
when found out, people risked violence, blackmail, and loss of job and
family. For some men, anonymous sex was an answer, disconnecting
desire from the possibility of a sustained relationship. Paid sex with
hustlers, known as "trade" seemed preferable to the social stigma and
police harassment. Getting caught meant scandal, and several high-profile
sex scandals targeted gays (and in some cases, lesbians).

One of the worst scandals arose in Boise, Idaho in 1955, after an
arrest of three men escalated quickly to include more than one hundred
men and teen boys alleged to be part of a sex ring. Fifteen men were
eventually sentenced in the case, including for sex with
another consenting adult, some with life sentences.\textsuperscript{118}
In Florida, there was a
campaign against
homosexuals in the teaching
profession, led by Senator
Charley E. Johns. Officially
the Florida Legislative
Investigation Committee, the
body which worked to
remove LGBTQ teachers from
the profession from 1956-
1965 was nicknamed the
Johns Committee. Dozens of
professors and students at

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{James Baldwin, Marlon Brando, and Charlton Heston at the Civil Rights March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 1963. Photo by the US Information Agency, Press and Publications Service.\textsuperscript{117}}
\end{figure}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{116} D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, 53.
\item \textsuperscript{117} License: Public Domain.
\item \textsuperscript{118} John Gerassi, The Boys of Boise: Furor, Vice and Folly in an American City (New York: MacMillan, 1966). The Boise YMCA is located at Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho.
\end{itemize}
public universities were caught up in the witch hunt, one of many “Lavender Scare” attacks of the era.\textsuperscript{119}

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was among the most public enemies of homosexuals during his time at the agency. His agents investigated organizations and individuals, and declassified FBI files can provide great insight into the pre-Stonewall homosexual world. One of Hoover’s high-profile targets was African American gay author James Baldwin, especially after his 1962 and 1963 books, \textit{Another Country} and \textit{The Fire Next Time} and his attendance at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (Figure 9).\textsuperscript{120} “The bureau was never so obviously fixated on Baldwin’s sexual tastes as when it undertook to determine whether or not \textit{Another Country}’s homoeroticism and scenes of interracial sex transgressed general obscenity laws.” “Isn’t Baldwin a well-known pervert?” Hoover wrote in one memo.\textsuperscript{121}

\section*{Liberation}

The fledgling homosexual movement of the 1950s and 1960s, sometimes called the homophile movement, may have been relatively small, with activist Barbara Gittings putting the number at “scarcely 200” people across the entire country, but it was mighty. People banded together for safety and companionship, as well as to agitate and fight for their rights to same-sex desire, intimacy, and relationships.\textsuperscript{122} Harry Hay sparked the formation of the Mattachine Society in 1950 in Los Angeles,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{121} Wallace, \textit{Constructing the Black Masculine}, 138. Baldwin wrote \textit{Another Country} while living in an apartment in New York City’s Greenwich Village. He lived in the apartment from about 1957 through about 1963. The Greenwich Village Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 19, 1979.
\item\textsuperscript{122} Tracy Baim, \textit{Barbara Gittings: Gay Pioneer} (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2015), 47.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
which led soon to ONE, Inc. in San Francisco. In 1955 in San Francisco, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyons joined with other lesbian couples in launching the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian group. Their publication, *The Ladder*, was distributed nationally in a brown paper envelope.

While many of the people who participated in these new groups were there for safety and social reasons, some wanted to fight back against police harassment, bias from the medical and psychiatric professions, and discrimination in military and federal employment. There were protests against police harassment in 1959 at Cooper’s Donuts in Los Angeles, at the Dewey’s Lunch Counter in 1965 in Philadelphia for its treatment of young queers, and in 1966 at Compton’s Cafeteria in San Francisco after police tried to arrest transgender women, most of them women of color, because they were listed as “male” on their identification. In Philadelphia, Annual Reminder Days (also known as Fourth of July

123 Stuart Timmons, *The Trouble with Harry Hay: Founder of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson, 1990). Harry Hay is associated with several locations, including the Sri Ram Ashram Ranch outside Benson, Arizona where the first gathering of the Radical Faeries—of which Hay was a founder—took place in 1979. Hay was a founder of the Mattachine Society, which was founded and held early meetings in Hay’s homes in the Hollywood Hills and Silver Lake neighborhoods of Los Angeles. In a stormy meeting of the Mattachine Society in 1953 at the First Universalist Church, at the corner of West Eighth Street and Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, Harry Hay and other “radicals” were removed from the leadership of the society, changing the course of the organization.

124 Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007). In May 1960, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) hosted the world’s first conference on lesbians at the Hotel Whitcomb, 1231 Market Street, San Francisco, California. The Mattachine Society and the DOB both had offices from the 1950s through the 1960s in the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. The longest-running chapter of the DOB ran from 1969 to 1999; they had their offices at the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts (listed on the NRHP on April 13, 1982). Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin lived together at their home in the Noe Valley neighborhood of San Francisco.

125 The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

126 Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006). 1. Cooper’s Donuts was located between 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California. Novelist John Rechy witnessed the Cooper’s Donuts riot; he went on to write *City of Night*, which broke many literary inhibitions about portraying the lives of gay hustlers. John Rechy’s home is in El Paso, Texas.


demonstrations) took place every July 4 at Independence Hall from 1965 to 1969, the last one just days after the Stonewall rebellion in New York City.129

The activists responsible for these public pushbacks against authority ranged from ragtag youth and transgender individuals to more conservative, slightly older gay men and lesbians, as well as concerned clergy. Some of the pioneers of this era that are remembered today include Frank Kameny, Barbara Gittings and her longtime partner Kay Lahusen, Reverend Troy Perry, Ada Bello, William B. Kelley, Randy Wicker, José Sarria, Sylvia Rivera, and Marsha P. Johnson.130

The Burning Cauldron

The post-Stonewall movement witnessed a splintering of organizations inspired by the passions, priorities, and politics of their members. Sexuality and freedom from gender roles were common denominators of the early “lavender liberation” movement, but those could only loosely hold things together. There were many divisions along axes of race, class, gender, religion, and geography. Bisexuals have been ostracized from the community, and the transgender leadership was disrespected and ignored; Sylvia Rivera, who was at the Stonewall riot, was not allowed to speak at

129 Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves; Martin Duberman, Stonewall (New York: Dutton, 1993), 113. Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, designated an NHL on October 15, 1966. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000.

130 Places associated with these individuals include homes, places of protest, places of worship, places of activism and organization, and places of violence. Those not mentioned elsewhere in this chapter include: Ada Bellow, who was born in Cuba and immigrated to the United States, becoming active in LGBTQ rights in Philadelphia, including participation in the Annual Reminders at Independence Hall; William B. Kelley was a Chicago attorney active in LGBTQ rights from the late 1960s until his death in 2015; Randy Wicker, an activist since the late 1950s in Austin, Texas and New York City; José Sarria, a drag entertainer who used the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California as a home base for his act and for his 1961 campaign for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors—the first gay person to run for public office; Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson were transgender women of color and active gay rights pioneers in New York City. As founders of the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, they hustled on the streets so they could pay rent for an apartment where young queers could stay safely without having to turn their own tricks. Sylvia Rivera was at Stonewall in 1969. The body of Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the Hudson River off Pier 45 in the 1990s. From at least the 1970s, Pier 45 has been a meeting place and refuge for members of New York City’s African American ballroom community.
the first “gay pride” gathering in 1970, organized to mark the event. Men and women faced massive schisms, with women believing—often unfairly—that gay men were only involved to find their next sexual conquest. And while some wanted to rely on a “born this way” genetic disposition to sexuality, others saw freedom of sexual expression, gender identity, and household composition as an empowering spectrum of choices. Nature vs. nurture arguments continue to be debated today.131

Many new people were taking charge, in some cases shunning the older movement pioneers in favor of new ideas. Some wanted a single-issue focus on “gay rights,” while others wanted multi-issue organizations to align with other causes. Black lesbian poet and activist Audre Lorde responded, “There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle, because we do not live single-issue lives.”132

Gay capitalism also flourished, as hundreds of new organizations, publications, businesses, and bars for gay people and owned by gay people (rather than heterosexual and/or Mafia owners) opened. Bar ownership in California and other states, marked a fundamental shift in law. Liquor licenses were at risk if regulators deemed an establishment a “homosexual hangout.” The Tavern Guild, founded in San Francisco in the early 1960s, fought the state alcohol control board in court for the right of gays and lesbians to patronize bars and other establishments that served liquor. Another kind of battle occurred in Washington, DC, where alcohol could only be served in restaurants. To discourage people from “soliciting”—which the District’s liquor board considered unseemly—Pier Nine installed phones at every table so that patrons could call one another

Tracy Baim

without violating the liquor laws that prevented people from standing or walking with a drink.133

The women’s movement, in which lesbian-feminists were prominent in the 1970s, was ripped open in the last year of that decade by the “sex wars.” Activists split over the causes of violence against women. Led by Andrea Dworkin (who called herself a “political lesbian”) and law professor Catherine McKinnon (who did not disclose her sexual identity) a vocal group of feminists denounced rape and pornography. Other feminists agreed that rape, domestic violence, and sexual harassment were some of the tools patriarchy used to instill fear in all women, but thought that sex could be a source for women’s liberation, as long as it was self-determined. 134 Lesbians were front and center for a lot of these battles, on both sides of the debate.

The schism between pro-sex, anticensorship activists and more hardline lesbian feminists created animosities that still divide the movement. It also put some antipornography feminists in alliance with right-wing antifeminists. US Attorney General Edwin Meese, as ordered by President Ronald Reagan, created a commission on pornography that traveled the country seeking testimony on the topic, and eventually released a 1,960-page report in 1986.135

With all this newfound and radical sexuality, many lesbians, bisexual women, and transgender people turned to “sexperts” for advice, including Susie “Sexpert” Bright and Pat Califia. Califia, who now identifies as a bisexual transgender man, started first as a writer of lesbian sex advice, and later explored more boundaries of sex, including gender identity, BDSM, and more. Bright, meanwhile, considers herself a “sex-positive


feminist,” writing numerous columns and books on sexuality. In 1984, Bright began working at On Our Backs, the first women-produced sex magazine, a takeoff on the more political off our backs feminist publication. Shortly thereafter, she became the editor.136

These experts were necessary because the traditional advice columnists in mainstream newspapers were still quite biased against homosexuals and gender nonconformists, even though the American Psychiatric Association had removed homosexuality from its list of mental diseases in 1974.137 The LGBTQ community often wrote letters to the editor and picketed advice columnist “Dear Abby” (Abigail Van Buren) because of her antigay views; her real life twin, Ann Landers—also an advice columnist—changed her views sooner. This was long before the in-your-face columns of Dan Savage, an openly gay man, were run in mainstream publications, giving advice not just to gay men, but to all readers, all kinks, fetishes, and types of sexuality.

The need to know more about their own sexuality and bodies also led to a groundbreaking book, 1971’s Our Bodies, Our Selves, and in 2014, Trans Bodies, Trans Selves. 1977’s The Joy of Gay Sex, by Dr. Charles Silverstein and Edmund White, a critical early book for men learning about their true selves, and later The Joy of Lesbian Sex, by Emily L. Sisley and Bertha Harris and What Color is Your Handkerchief: A Lesbian S/M Sexuality Reader by Samois added to the dialogue. Loving Someone Gay, by Don Clark, first published in 1977, also was a helpful guide to those outside the LGBTQ community.138

This was a community growing in large numbers, and people needed a roadmap in trying to understand who they were. They were looking for nonjudgmental advice from people who lived similar lives, and in the 1970s, they finally found it. This can’t be underestimated in its power to build self-esteem and healthier lives. Just as the Kinsey reports had educated a previous generation of Americans, these 1970s and 1980s publications provided the breadcrumbs critical in the pre-Internet age. Libraries were not always safe, movies were often biased, but publications by LGBTQ people about LGBTQ people were a lifeline.

Additional schisms have occurred in the LGBTQ movement along gender identity lines. There were high-profile battles between feminists and transgender activists in New York City in the early 1970s, and a decades-long battle with the definition of women and who could attend the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival. While the transgender movement is enjoying an unparalleled visibility and acceptance in this century, there is still a lot of education to do within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and feminist communities about issues of gender identity and transgender equality.

Lesbians, gays, bisexuals, queer, and transgender people are found in all ethnic and social groups. The forced segregation by race in the United States has meant that society’s discrimination filtered down to the ways LGBTQ people interacted over generations. Many white gays did cross color lines to go to “black and tan” and other clubs catering to the primarily black community, but most gay bars were as racially segregated


The Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival (Michfest) was founded in 1976. In 1982, they moved to a 650-acre site near Hart, Michigan. The summer of 2015 was the last Michfest. Camp Trans was a response of transgender women to their exclusion from the festival; it was set up outside the festival from approximately 2006 through 2011.
Segregation has been enforced through “tradition” of who goes to what bars, but also through discriminatory identification policies. The Circus Disco in Los Angeles, opened in the 1970s, was one of the few bars that openly welcomed white, Latino, and African American patrons.

Before the Internet, phone apps, and personal ads, how did LGBTQ people meet in safe environments? Gay men, with more personal freedom and more leeway to occupy public spaces, have always had a wider set of options. There were visual clues that could be read in a glance on the streets including certain kinds of clothing and colored accessories. These accessories, like color-coded bandanas, could be used to distinguish “those in the know” from police who were trying to entrap bar patrons into agreeing to illegal sex, as well as indicating at a glance someone’s interests.

While a lot of cruising happened on the streets and in cars (the direction the car was parked was one way to indicate sexual preference), gay bars were a major place where people met for sex or to find love. Pre-Stonewall, many gay bars were owned by the Mafia, which paid protection money to avoid police raids. With laws against homosexuals gathering, dancing, and even people wearing clothing “not appropriate” to their gender, bars needed protection. But payoffs did not guarantee anything,

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140 Jewel’s Catch One at 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California was the nation’s first black gay and lesbian disco. Opened in 1972/73, when it closed in 2015 it was the last black-owned LGBTQ club in Los Angeles. Nob Hill, 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC, opened in 1953. When it closed in 2004, it was the oldest African American gay bar in the country. It served as an organizing center for DC’s black gay community as well as a popular drag performance venue. Esta Noche, 2079 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California opened in 1981. A predominantly Latino bar in San Francisco’s Mission neighborhood, it may have been the first of its kind. They closed in 2014. El Faro, the first Latino gay and lesbian club in the Adams Morgan neighborhood of Washington, DC, at 2411 Eighteenth Street NW, was a popular venue that was also the focus of homophobic attacks, including the murder of lesbian Ana Marie Morales in 1993. The bar closed in 1995.

141 The Lost and Found at 56 L Street SE, Washington, DC, was opened in 1971. Almost immediately they were picketed by the newly formed Committee for Open Gay Bars because of their identification policies designed to keep out African Americans, women, and people in drag. The bar closed in 1990. In 1984, members of Black and White Men Together, an interracial group for gay men, sued the owner of The Torch (opened in 1983 at 411 East Thirty-Second Street, Baltimore, Maryland) and another bar for racial discrimination. African American patrons were asked for multiple pieces of identification to enter the bar, while white patrons received less scrutiny. Black and White Men Together won the suit.

142 The Circus Disco was located at 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.
and gay bars across the country experienced raids throughout the decades prior to Stonewall, and many LGBTQ establishments continued to be harassed and scrutinized by local police.

Gay bars were as diverse as straight bars. Some featured drag, others were seedy corner bars with covered windows, some were pool halls, some had back rooms for sex, and some were lesbian butch/femme haunts. In the 1970s and 1980s there were big discos with high-energy patrons, and in the 1990s, circuit parties were popular. As the visible LGBTQ community grew much larger post-Stonewall, separation within the community meant a new kind of self-segregation was possible. The National Association of Black and White Men Together, Asians and Friends-Chicago, the Radical Fairies, Adodi African-American men’s retreats, groups for “chubby chasers,” the International Mr. Leather contest founded by Chuck Renslow and Dom Orejudos, the Miss Continental Contest founded by Jim Flint, and various “bear” and other communities have thrived. For lesbians, bars were key for a portion of the population, but there were also women’s music festivals and later women’s boat cruises, protest marches, plus sports, and especially parties in private homes. The transgender community was welcome in certain gay bars, but not all, so transgender-specific organizations formed, and there were separations within that community along various divisions, including cross-dressers, drag queens, transsexuals, male-to-female, female-to-male, gender nonconforming, femmes, butches, masculine-of-center, and more. The disabled rights community pushed for acceptance, with organizations, art, and literature, including groups and services for the hearing impaired and blind.

Another place where LGBTQ people of all kinds could feel free, in both the pre- and post-Stonewall eras, was resort communities, places colonized to be free away from the prying eyes of family and colleagues back home. These places include Cherry Grove on Fire Island, New York; Key West, Florida; Provincetown, Massachusetts; San Francisco and Guerneville, California; Saugatuck, Michigan; and Rehoboth Beach,
Delaware (Figure 10). Some pioneering LGBTQ people even established their own communes.

Figure 10: PrideFest, Key West, Florida. Photo by Chuck Coker, 2010.143

Though some claim that lesbian communities are too poor to support women-owned businesses, there were towns where some lesbians lived almost separately from men, even gay men. From the 1970s through at least the late 1980s, Iowa City, Iowa was one such place. With publications such as the nationally distributed “Ain’t I A Woman?”, “Better Homes & Dykes” (a play on the other Iowa-produced magazine), and Common Lives/Lesbian Lives, lesbians established a national voice in lesbian politics. The Iowa City Women’s Press, run as a lesbian collective, had its own series of publications, including manuals on carpentry and auto repair for women; it also printed books for Naiad Press.144 Naiad was known mainly for its dozens of modern “pulp” lesbian fiction, but also for Pat Califia’s early controversial and explicit 1980 book Sapphistry: The

143 License: CCBY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/caveman_92223/4701107607
144 Iowa City Women’s Press, the publications collective of the Women’s Liberation Front, operated out of what is now a private residence on South Gilbert Street, Iowa City, Iowa.
From 1977 to 1981, the Gilbert Street building also housed the feminist bookstore, Plainswoman Books, and in 1978, after Grace & Rubies closed, a Womyn’s Coffeehouse. Iowa City had three lesbian softball teams, of varying talents, one sponsored by the Women’s Resource and Action Center and another by the Emma Goldman Clinic for Women (one of the first abortion clinics to open after Roe v. Wade). Three annual potluck picnics at Brown Street Park, open to the community, monthly lesbian dances at the Wesley Church, too many political campaigns to count, and other events created an entire lesbian world, for a brief while.

In his 1978 book *Faggots*, Larry Kramer wrote about the sex orgies and cruising of those pre-AIDS years on the beaches outside New York City. His satire is ruthless, and in hindsight, many have viewed his book as a warning for the coming plague. “There are now 53,492 faggots on the Fire Island Pines-Cherry Groves axis.” Most will end up at The Meat Rack: “Not everyone was into leather. Jeans and work boots. T-shirts tucked into jeans’ back pockets. Skin. Flesh....Everyone and everything ready.”

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Meanwhile Audre Lorde and a generation of lesbian writers were also telling their truths through poetry and fiction (Figure 11). Lorde “celebrates lesbian love, and specifically lesbian eroticism, in her influential essay ‘The Uses of the Erotic,’” writes Lillian Faderman in Chloe Plus Olivia. She sees lesbian sexuality “as a source of great potential power for women.”149

A Plague Among Us

Given the newfound freedom of sexuality that was pervasive in the 1970s among many people, not just gay men, when a disease struck in the early 1980s that seemed to be targeting one group based on their “lifestyle,” many did not want to believe it was happening. There was so little medical or scientific evidence in the beginning, it was easy to bury one’s head in the sand and continue to push against constraints that had long been conquered. In the early 1980s, there were few people willing to confront the gay status quo, and those who did, like Kramer, were often ostracized by their own community.150 Because the Centers for Disease Control identified gay men as the population most affected by HIV, many of the classifications and descriptions of symptoms for AIDS-defining illnesses were geared towards men. As a result, women went largely undiagnosed. “Women didn’t get AIDS,” said Barb Cardell, Chair of the Positive Women’s Network, “they just died from it.”151

What started as a few dozen diagnosed cases of what became known as HIV/AIDS in the early 1980s soon became tens of thousands and then millions of people around the globe. Because the medical establishment tied the disease to the sexual “lifestyle” of gay and bisexual men in the


United States, it took much longer for the political and medical communities to treat it seriously.

The equating of sex with death caused great trauma in the gay community. There were fights over what safe sex was and what safer sex was. Battles raged over use of condoms and educational materials about HIV/AIDS were censored because they were deemed pornographic. A major debate divided cities like San Francisco and New York over whether to close the bathhouses for health reasons. Some argued that the sex would occur regardless, and having safer-sex information and condoms available at the bathhouses would prevent the spread of the disease. The baths were closed down in San Francisco and in New York City, while other cities allowed the baths to remain open. People in the 1980s were sometimes dead within days or weeks of diagnosis. Some were shunned as lepers within their own community. Even in death, there was discrimination: early in the epidemic, many churches and funeral homes refused their services to those who died of AIDS-related complications.

But mostly, the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender communities responded by helping their own—not just by fighting back through ACT UP and other groups, but by providing services, delivering food, walking dogs, and helping people pay rent and funeral costs. When families of origin were ignoring their sons and daughters, the LGBTQ community stepped forward to help people with HIV, whether they were gay, bisexual, injection drug users, hemophiliacs, Haitians, or straight women. The LGBTQ community created a new template for how to fight a plague—with public pressure and private help.

152 Man’s Country Bathhouse, 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, was one of the bathhouses that stayed open through the AIDS epidemic, providing safer sex information and HIV testing to community members. The Mount Morris bathhouse in Harlem likewise escaped being shut down by authorities.

153 The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home, 2254 Market Street, San Francisco, California, was one of the few funeral homes at the beginning of the epidemic that would take in bodies of those who died from AIDS.

154 San Francisco General Hospital, 1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, California had the first hospital units (Ward 5A or 5B) in the world dedicated to the treatment of AIDS; theirs became the international model for AIDS care. Brewer’s Hotel, 3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
In the United States, the African American gay and bisexual male and transgender female communities have been disproportionately affected by HIV and AIDS. Charles I. Nero, writing in a 1992 new edition of the late poet Essex Hemphill’s Ceremonies, pointed to this devastation: “The silence about the extent to which AIDS has wreaked havoc on black communities calls to mind another holocaust in our history—the Middle Passage,” where tens of millions of Africans suffered during the Atlantic slave trade. In an eloquent poem for fallen gay writer Joseph Beam, “When My Brother Fell,” Hemphill writes: “When my brother fell / I picked up his weapons / and never once questioned / whether I could carry / the weight and grief / the responsibility he shouldered.”

The ravages and stigma of HIV/AIDS made it important for LGBTQ people to establish and build on their own families of choice. Legal contracts helped some avoid losses of home and possessions when a partner died, but the courts were often homophobic in rulings when it came to relationships. A high-profile case in Minnesota spurred a movement for more formal recognition of relationships, this time in the case of lesbian couple, Karen Thompson and Sharon Kowalski. Kowalski was severely disabled when her car was struck by a drunk driver in 1983, and her family fought Thompson for custody and won in lower courts. Kowalski’s family prevented Thompson from visiting her. It took eight years of court battles following the car accident for Kowalski and Thompson to be reunited. During that time, Thompson toured the country warning people to get their legal paperwork in order, because without marriage, same-sex partners would continue to be treated unevenly in the served as an unofficial AIDS hospice in the 1980s and 1990s. Popular with gays who wanted to keep drinking after the dance clubs closed. As people lost their housing because of discrimination against those with HIV/AIDS, the Brewer’s Hotel opened their rooms to the sick so they could die with dignity and not on the street. Local nurses volunteered their time to visit the sick. For more information on AIDS/HIV, see Batza (this volume).

156 Hemphill, Ceremonies, 35.
Tracy Baim

court system. This was a lesson for many of the people living with HIV/AIDS as well.

As certain LGBTQ communities gained more political clout, hate-crime cases received more mainstream media coverage. These also called attention to the relationships same-gender couples had, putting a face to the community. In one murder, two women were stalked while hiking, and in a hail of bullets, Rebecca Wight was killed, while her injured partner, Claudia Brenner, survived and went for help. Their case, like the later murders of gender nonconforming Brandon Teena, college student Matthew Shepard, and the murders of many transgender people, especially transgender women of color in subsequent years showed America the darker side of bias and hate, sparking a broader conversation about hate crimes and anti-LGBTQ violence. Almost two dozen transgender people, predominantly transgender women of color, were murdered in 2015—more than in any other year. In response, the Congressional

158 Rebecca Wight was of Iranian-Puerto Rican heritage; she met her partner Claudia Brenner while both were students at Virginia Tech. They were hiking the Appalachian Trail in the Michaux State Forest in Pennsylvania when the attack happened in May 1988.
159 Brandon Teena was murdered in the home he was staying at on Route 105, Humboldt, Nebraska on December 31, 1993. His murder led to the award-winning film, Boys Don’t Cry. On October 6, 1998, Matthew Shepard was attacked and left to die on a fence at Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, just outside Laramie, Wyoming. His death spurred action towards hate crimes legislation. The twenty-three transgender people murdered in the US in 2015 are: Papi Edwards, Louisville, KY, 1/9/15; Lamia Beard, Norfolk, VA, 1/17/15; Ty Underwood, Tyler, TX, 1/26/15; Yazmin Vash Payne, Van Nuys, CA, 1/31/15; Taja DeJesus, San Francisco, CA, 2/3/15; Penny Proud, New Orleans, LA, 2/10/15; Bri Golec, Akron, OH, 2/13/15; Kristina Grant Infiniti, Miami, FL, 2/15/15; Keyshia Blige, Aurora, IL, 3/7/15; Mya Hall, Baltimore, MD, 3/30/15; London Chanel, Philadelphia, PA, 5/18/15; Mercedes Williamson, Rocky Creek, AL, 6/2/15; Ashton O’Hara, Detroit, MI, 7/14/15; India Clarke, Tampa, FL, 7/21/15; KC Haggard, Fresno, CA, 7/23/15; Shade Schuler, Dallas, TX, 7/29/15; Amber Monroe, Detroit, MI, 8/8/15; Kendis Capri, Phoenix, AZ, 8/11/15; Elisha Walker, Johnston County, NC, 8/15/15; Tamara Dominguez, Kansas City, MO, 8/15/15; Kiesha Jenkins, Philadelphia, PA, 10/6/15; and Zella Ziona, Montgomery County, MD, 10/15/15. In 2016, by June 9, an additional eleven transgender people had been murdered in the US: Monica Loera, North Austin, TX, 1/22/16; Jasmine Sierra, Bakersfield, CA, 1/22/16; Kayden Clarke, Mesa, AZ, 2/4/16; Veronica Banks Cano, San Antonio, TX, 2/19/16; Maya Young, Philadelphia, PA, 2/20/16; Demarkis Stansberry, Baton Rouge, LA, 2/27/16; Kedarie/Kandicee Johnson, Burlington, IA, 3/2/16; Kourtney Yochum, Los Angeles, CA, 3/23/16; Shante Thompson, Houston, TX, 4/11/16; Keyonna Blakeney, Rockville, MD, 4/16/16; Reese Walker, Wichita, KS, 5/1/16; Mercedes Successful, Haines City, FL, 5/15/16; and Amos Beede, Burlington, VT, 5/29/16. See Samantha Michaels, “More Transgender People Have Been Murdered in 2015 Than Any Other Year on Record,” Mother Jones, November 20, 2015, accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2015/11/more-transgender-people-have-been-murdered-2015-any-other-year-record; “#SAYHERNAME / Black Lives Matter event, October 17, 2015 @ 2:00 pm – 3:00 pm,” Black Lives Matter website, http://blacklivesmatter.com/event/sayhername-
LGBT Equality Caucus formed a nine-member, bipartisan group dedicated to transgender equality. Two of the members, Representative Mike Honda (D-California) and Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-Florida) have transgender family members. In June 2016, forty-nine individuals, most of them Latino/a, were murdered in the Orlando, Florida LGBTQ club Pulse. This is the deadliest targeted murder of LGBTQ people after the 1973 UpStairs Lounge fire where thirty-two people died. It is also one of the deadliest instances of mass murder by gunfire in US history.

What Makes a Family?

New definitions of family were formed in the 1970s, with lesbians who had children from heterosexual marriages re-forming new bonds with women and raising their children together. The increased availability of artificial insemination freed up even more women to create families of choice, and a “gayby” boom began in the 1980s. There were some high-profile custody cases where ex-husbands of lesbians, ex-wives of gay men, exes of transgender people, and in some cases even grandparents were given custody over LGBTQ birth parents. In 1974, after losing custody of her own children after coming out as a lesbian, Rosalie Davies created Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (CALM). The organization provided free legal services to women in danger of losing custody of their children because of their sexuality. Occasionally men would use surrogates or adopt to have children, but because of legal restrictions on co-parent adoptions (meaning that children could not be legally adopted by both

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161 Pulse, 1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, Florida, was hosting a Latino Night when the attack took place. The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

162 In 1982, the Oakland Feminist Women’s Health Center began to grant open lesbians and single women access to banked and screened sperm. Previously, women had to obtain sperm from other sources; see Katie Batza, “From Sperm Runners to Sperm Banks: Lesbians, Assisted Conception, and the Fertility Industry, 1971-1983,” Journal of Women’s History, forthcoming. Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers operated out of 1425 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
parents), the real baby boom didn’t occur for gay men until the 2000s when state laws began to change.¹⁶³

Thus, over the years, LGBTQ people have created different types of families: families of choice with no legal definitions through domestic partnerships in the 1990s, civil unions in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and now, as of June 2015, through full marriage equality throughout the United States.¹⁶⁴

While not all LGBTQ people believe that marriage equality was the right path to LGBTQ civil rights, when same-sex marriage became legal through the country, it affected hundreds of other laws. These laws, which used legal marriage in defining how and when they were to be enforced (or not) included: hospital visitation rights and medical decisions, income tax calculations, inheritance, immigration, health coverage, and employee and federal benefits including pensions, military and veteran benefits, and others.

Before it was legal, people subverted marriage laws to form their families. For example, in order to create a legal bond between them, civil rights activist Bayard Rustin adopted his lover, Walter Nagle, as his son.¹⁶⁵ Religious institutions have been performing same-sex marriages for decades—though they were not recognized by the civil authorities. Reverend Troy Perry, at the time a Pentecostal minister, is said to have performed his first official same-sex marriage in 1968 in his home; he later founded the Metropolitan Community Church.¹⁶⁶ In 1975, a Boulder


¹⁶⁶ Reverend Troy Perry’s home was located in Huntington Park, part of greater Los Angeles, California. The first Metropolitan Community Church building was at West Twenty-Second Street and South Union, Los Angeles, California. The congregation moved into the building in March 1971; the church was
City, Colorado clerk married same-sex couples before she was stopped by authorities; and a mass wedding was held by the Metropolitan Community Church at the 1987 National March on Washington for Gay and Lesbian Rights. These were just some of the acts of subversion that LGBTQ people did to engage in the very traditional institution of marriage.

In the end, it was the stories of individual LGBTQ couples in the media and in the state and circuit courts that changed the hearts and minds of the public, and most importantly of the United States Supreme Court. In both the Edie Windsor case in 2013, which took down a key portion of the Defense of Marriage Act, and the 2015 Jim Obergefell case, which resulted in full marriage equality in all states, the people challenging the law were the surviving partners in long-time committed partnerships where one partner died (Thea Spyer and John Arthur, respectively), and the other lived to fight in their name to get their relationships fully legal in the eyes of the court.

In the 5-4 Obergefell ruling, the majority opinion reads in some ways as a summary of same-gender sex, love, and relationships:

Well into the 20th century, many States condemned same-sex intimacy as immoral, and homosexuality was treated as an illness. Later in the century, cultural and political developments allowed same-sex couples to lead more open and public lives. Extensive public and private dialogue followed, along with shifts in public attitudes. Questions about the legal treatment of gays and lesbians soon reached the courts, where they could be discussed in the formal discourse of the law. In 2003, this Court overruled its 1986 decision in Bowers v. Hardwick, 478 U. S. 186, which upheld a Georgia law that criminalized certain homosexual acts, concluding laws making same-sex intimacy a crime ‘demea[n] the lives of homosexual persons.’ Lawrence v. Texas, 539 U. S. 558,
575. In 2012, the federal Defense of Marriage Act was also struck down. *United States v. Windsor*, 570 U.S.

The court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment required states to issue licenses to same-sex couples. The ruling continues:

The first premise of this Court’s relevant precedents is that the right to personal choice regarding marriage is inherent in the concept of individual autonomy. This abiding connection between marriage and liberty is why *Loving*\(^167\) invalidated interracial marriage bans under the Due Process Clause. ...

A second principle in this Court’s jurisprudence is that the right to marry is fundamental because it supports a two-person union unlike any other in its importance to the committed individuals. ... Same-sex couples have the same right as opposite-sex couples to enjoy intimate association, a right extending beyond mere freedom from laws making same-sex intimacy a criminal offense. ...

A third basis ... is that it safeguards children and families and thus draws meaning from related rights of childrearing, procreation, and education. ... Without the recognition, stability, and predictability marriage offers, children suffer the stigma of knowing their families are somehow lesser. They also suffer the significant material costs of being raised by unmarried parents, relegated to a more difficult and uncertain family life. The marriage laws at issue thus harm and humiliate the children of same-sex couples. ... This does not mean that the right to marry is less meaningful for those who do not or cannot have children. ...

Finally, this Court’s cases and the Nation’s traditions make clear that marriage is a keystone of the Nation’s social order. ... States have contributed to the fundamental character of marriage by

\(^{167}\) *Loving v. Virginia*, 388 US 1 (1967)
placing it at the center of many facets of the legal and social order. There is no difference between same- and opposite-sex couples with respect to this principle, yet same-sex couples are denied the constellation of benefits that the States have linked to marriage and are consigned to an instability many opposite-sex couples would find intolerable. It is demeaning to lock same-sex couples out of a central institution of the Nation’s society, for they too may aspire to the transcendent purposes of marriage.

The success at the Supreme Court is not the end of the road for the LGBTQ fight for equality, just as Loving v. Virginia eased, but did not eliminate challenges for interracial couples or the African American civil rights movement. But it is a major victory—a victory that will hopefully contribute to the dismantling of societal homophobia, familial homophobia, and perhaps most importantly, the internalized homophobia that plagues people within the LGBTQ community.

Conclusion

Summarizing the sex, love, and relationships of any one community would not be possible even in one book, much less a chapter in one. But the LGBTQ community presents even more unique obstacles, because there are so many variations in each letter of that acronym—and even within each individual across their lifetime. There are definitions placed on people by society, and self-identities that can conflict with those labels. There are also multiple and shifting identities and definitions across the centuries.

For the LGBTQ community, the ability to self-identify individually, as families, and as communities has been key to self-preservation and survival. Who we love, how we love, and how we represent ourselves as lovers, partners, wives, husbands, family, and community are foundational to the understanding of just what the LGBTQ community was, is, and will become.
The evolution of our present understanding of civil rights is deeply tied to our collective story and represents the highest aspirations and deepest tragedies that followed the adoption of our national charter. It is wholly within the mission of the National Park Service to locate, evaluate, recognize, preserve, and interpret nationally significant sites associated with the many threads of the civil rights story.\textsuperscript{1}

The stories of LGBTQ America are, in large part, stories of civil rights—rights denied, fought for, fought against, won, lost, won again, and threatened. Broadly, civil rights are understood as freedoms of life, safety, thought and conscience, speech, expression, the press, assembly, and movement as well as the right to privacy and protection from discrimination. These struggles have touched almost every facet of LGBTQ life, and mention of them can be found in every chapter of this theme study.\textsuperscript{2} It is not possible to identify people as LGBTQ just by looking at them; it is through the political act of coming out—claiming an LGBTQ


\textsuperscript{2} See in particular Stein (this volume).
identity—or through the effects of state regulation that members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer communities are identifiable. This chapter explores not just battles for LGBTQ civil rights, but also touches on the role of LGBTQ Americans in other civil rights struggles.

Organizationally, this chapter is divided into several periods. Many of these are identified by the National Park Service’s Civil Rights Framework (Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th century-1776; An Emerging Cause, 1776-1865; Reconstruction and Repression, 1865-1900; Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941; Birth of the Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1954; and The Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1964). The periods following diverge from the Civil Rights Framework after 1964 and include periods associated with LGBTQ civil rights that bring us to the present day. These are: Militancy and Backlash, 1964-1981; The Second Revolution: The Age of AIDS, 1981-1993; and Battle for Federal Rights, 1993-2016.

3 Examples of state regulation include raids, arrests, and charges for violating morality laws. One example includes the arrests of Naval personnel at the Old Army-Navy YMCA, 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island in 1919 (listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988). In many cases, the names, addresses, and places of employment of those rounded up in raids on bars, cruising locations, and other places have been published in the media without any charges being laid. In all cases, being outed through arrest or other legal proceedings has resulted in people losing their jobs, families, housing, and lives. See, for example, Margot Canaday, The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth Century America (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Emily K. Hobson, “Policing Gay LA: Mapping Racial Divides in the Homophile Era, 1950-1967,” in The Rising Tide of Color: Race, State Violence, and Radical Movements Across the Pacific, ed. Moon-Ho Jung (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014); and John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998), 294. Though less frequent than in the past, bar raids continue; see, for example, “Six Police Officers Fired, Nine Disciplined over Botched Raid of Atlanta Gay Bar,” LGBTQ Nation, July 10, 2011, http://www.lgbtqnation.com/2011/07/six-police-officers-fired-nine-disciplined-over-botched-raid-of-atlanta-gay-bar. The Atlanta Eagle is located at 306 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia.

4 Periods in the Civil Rights Framework extend only to 1976, the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence. Due to the number and importance of civil rights struggles in the United States since 1976, I have extended the periods through June 2016. NPS, Civil Rights in America.

The path has not been a smooth one; civil rights of gender and sexual minorities have been explicitly taken away through law and infringed without penalty by violence, including gay bashing and murder, and exclusion from housing, employment, and public accommodation. Even civil rights recognized and gained have been taken away. Neither have we all traveled together on the road to civil rights. The first LGBTQ civil rights organizations, including the Society for Human Rights and Mattachine, were for gay men only; bisexuals and lesbians were largely excluded either by design or by groups focusing exclusively on men’s experiences. Women later founded their own organizations, including the Daughters of Bilitis.

Respectability politics has played varying roles in LGBTQ quests for civil rights, including the assimilationist policies of the early Mattachine Society and push for respectability by the later marriage equality battles. More radical, anti-assimilationist groups, including Queer Nation, have demanded that all LGBTQ people, regardless of whether they are acceptable to mainstream society, deserve both civil rights and respect. Bisexuals and others attracted to more than one gender were (and continue to be) very often excluded from the agendas of earlier groups, and in the late twentieth century organized to fight for their civil rights.

Figure 1: Places associated with LGBTQ civil rights have become places of pilgrimage and remembrance. This photo of an impromptu memorial at the Stonewall Inn, New York was taken on June 12, 2016 after forty-nine people were murdered at Latino Night at the Pulse nightclub, 1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, Florida. An organized memorial took place the next night. Photo courtesy of Daniel Smith.

6 Bisexuals have been active in LGBTQ civil rights struggles from the beginning. Despite this, they remain largely invisible in both the popular understanding of discrimination and in case law. A recent study, however, shows that bisexuals face considerable discrimination as bisexuals, including in the workplace. This disconnect can be attributed to bisexual invisibility—that when someone is in a
Transgender people, likewise, were (and continue) to be excluded from many LGBTQ civil rights agendas except in name only. The intersecting oppressions experienced by LGBTQ ethnic minorities, including African Americans and Asians and Pacific Islanders, have not traditionally been acknowledged or addressed by predominantly white LGBTQ civil rights groups. Feeling both unwelcome and unrepresented, people in these ethnic minorities have begun their own community-building and activist organizations. While many gains have been made in LGBTQ civil rights, there remain challenges both from within the LGBTQ communities and from those working to strip us of our rights (Figure 1). When considering the battle for civil rights, it must be remembered that securing LGBTQ civil rights does not mean an end to oppression and discrimination for all LGBTQ people. Deeper forms of inequality will continue to affect LGBTQ people and others who share marginalized identities including homeless youth, immigrants, and nonwhites.

A social movement can be defined as an “organized, collective, and sustained effort to produce, prevent, or reverse social change.” Using this definition, struggles for gay and lesbian civil rights did not become movements until the 1940s and 1950s (Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941), with movements for bisexual, transgender, and queer civil rights coalescing later. The roots of all of these LGBTQ civil rights movements, however, can be traced back at least as far as the sixteenth century (Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th century-1776), when explorers and colonists encountered Native American two-spirit people.
1. Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th Century-1776

Explorers and early European settlers that came to what is now the United States encountered Native American two-spirit people as early as the sixteenth century. Judging Native American cultures based on their own European ideals, explorers and colonists perceived two-spirit people as engaging in same-sex sex, a practice deemed immoral. They reacted in various ways, ranging from curiosity to disgust. In many cases, two-spirit individuals, like the forty who were thrown to the dogs by Vasco Núñez de Balboa in Panama in 1513, met with violence and death.

During this same period, colonists and slaves with same-sex desires or alternative gender expressions were subject to harsh penalties spelled out under colonial law, ranging from fines to exile to execution. And yet, few colonials were charged under these laws, and few received harsh penalties. Even within this context of religious condemnation and harsh laws, some people found ways to express their love and sexual desires. Those cases that were brought to trial often involved the use of force or abuse of minors.

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9 Native American two spirits were male, female, and perhaps intersexed individuals who combined behaviors of both men and women with traits and social roles unique to their status. While these are often understood by those outside Native American cultures as third and fourth gender roles, within their own cultures, two-spirit identities are often more complex. See Roscoe (this volume) for a more in-depth discussion of two-spirit people.

10 An early account comes from Spaniard Hernando de Alarcón who encountered a Yuman two-spirit person, who he described as “something amazing,” during his travels up the Colorado River in 1540. On the other side of the continent in 1564, René Goulaine de Laudonnière and Jacques Le Moyne established Fort Caroline in Florida and claimed the region (home of the Timucua people) for France. Le Moyne, an artist, portrayed several Timucuan two-spirit people carrying provisions, corpses, and stretchers of injured people. In his writing, Laudonnière described at least two encounters with two-spirit Timucua: one offering water to his party during a forced march, and later, another serving as emissary for a Timucuan leader. Will Roscoe, Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 4, 12, 143-144, 170-171; Stein, Rethinking, 14-15. The Fort Caroline National Memorial was established on January 16, 1953 and listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1866. The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve in Florida was established and listed on the NRHP on February 16, 1988.

Exploration, colonization, and the resulting cultural contact between Europeans and indigenous people in what we now call the United States continued through the nineteenth century. Homosexual acts continued to be viewed as immoral throughout this period, as evidenced in the writing of a member of Captain James Cook’s expedition to Hawai‘i from 1776 to 1780. The Cook expedition had several encounters with Hawaiian two-spirit people during their trip. During one of these, at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai‘i in January 1779, a two-spirit served as emissary for the local chief. Reacting in disgust to the two-spirit Hawaiians, the expedition member described them as “disagreeable...and odious to a delicate mind.”

2. An Emerging Cause, 1776-1865

The preamble to the Declaration of Independence states “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” This is the first assertion of American civil rights. In 1788, with the ratification of the Constitution of the United States (and subsequent amendments), additional rights were granted to US citizens to “promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty...” These rights, however, originally applied only to a small segment of the population living in the early republic: white men with property. Many of the civil rights struggles throughout American history have had at their core, an argument that everyone—regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, ability, property ownership, or sexual orientation—are included in the protections of the Constitution.

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13 NPS, Civil Rights in America, 4.
Civil rights movements during this period included abolition and women’s rights. Anti-slavery groups proliferated in the United States beginning in the 1830s, and the First Women’s Rights Convention was held in the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848.\(^\text{14}\) While there were people with same-sex attractions and relationships—like Mary Grew and Margaret Burleigh—who were active in both the abolition and women’s rights movements, there was not yet a movement for the rights of sexual and gender minorities that we now consider under the LGBTQ umbrella.\(^\text{15}\) Colonial-era laws making sodomy punishable by death were by and large carried over into the early years of the republic. By the turn of the nineteenth century, punishment for same-sex sex in most places had been reduced to lengthy prison terms and large fines, though it was not until the late 1860s that North and South Carolina removed the death penalty. This was also a time when cross-dressing became explicitly prohibited.\(^\text{16}\) For example, in 1851 in Chicago, legislation was passed criminalizing people who “appear in a dress not belonging to his or her sex.”\(^\text{17}\) Laws were also passed against indecent behavior, prohibiting obscene publications, and the performance of immoral plays.\(^\text{18}\) In these ways, the lives of LGBTQ individuals were limited and restricted by laws, in ways that the lives of heterosexual people were not.\(^\text{19}\)

\(^\text{14}\) Among the organizers of the First Women’s Rights Convention was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who later formed a close (some argue intimate) relationship with Susan B. Anthony. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, where she lived from 1847 through 1862, is located at 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. The Wesleyan Chapel is located at 126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on August 29, 1980. Both of these places are part of the Women’s Rights National Historical Park, established December 28, 1980.

\(^\text{15}\) Mary Grew and Margaret Burleigh, well-known activists in both the abolition and women’s rights movements, made no secret of the fact among friends that they were also a couple, sharing a home and a bed. Lillian Faderman, *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done For America – A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 20-21.

\(^\text{16}\) NPS, *Civil Rights in America*.


\(^\text{18}\) See Stein (this volume).

\(^\text{19}\) Laws against sodomy and cross-dressing could also be used against heterosexual people, but have generally been enforced only among LGBTQ people. For a discussion of the historical variability of sexual regulation, see George Chauncey, “What Gay Studies Taught the Court: The Historians’ Amicus Brief in Lawrence v. Texas,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 10, no. 3 (2004): 509-538.
3. Reconstruction and Repression, 1865-1900

Following the Civil War, in response to efforts to restrict the rights of newly-freed African Americans and maintain the plantation system, Congress passed the Thirteenth through Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution as well as the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875. The Thirteenth Amendment (ratified in 1865) abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 defined US citizenship and affirmed that all US citizens were equally protected under the law. This was followed in 1868 by the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, which provided a broad definition of United States citizenship, prohibited state and local governments from depriving people of life, liberty, or property without due process, and required states to provide equal protection under the law to all people under their jurisdiction. It has been the Fourteenth Amendment that has been the basis of many LGBTQ civil rights victories (and those of other civil rights cases). The Fifteenth Amendment (ratified in 1870) prohibits federal and state governments from denying a citizen the right to vote based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude. These are collectively known as the Reconstruction Amendments. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 guaranteed African Americans equal treatment in public accommodations, public transportation, and prohibited exclusion from jury service.20

The enfranchisement of African American men by the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments essentially created a gender-based definition of citizenship in the United States and caused a rift among those working for women’s rights. Some felt that guaranteeing only black men the right to vote was a necessary compromise following the Civil War;

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others felt betrayed by the exclusion of women. Women’s suffrage became the focus of women’s rights work. One of the most well-known activists for women’s suffrage is Susan B. Anthony, who tirelessly traveled the country advocating for women’s right to vote. She worked closely with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had been one of the organizers of the 1848 First Women’s Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. While Anthony never married, her letters make it clear that she had deeply meaningful, flirtatious, and affectionately loving—if not intimate—relationships with other women, including Stanton, Anna Dickinson, and Emily Gross. The demands and restrictions on the lives (and property) of married women and mothers during this time made it much more likely that movements like suffrage, temperance, and abolition would be led by unmarried, “single” women who were more likely to be in loving, supportive, and intimate relationships with other women.

In the Jim Crow decades following Reconstruction, both Republican and Democratic parties traded away these hard-won civil rights in exchange for white southern votes. In addition, the 1883 US Supreme Court ruled that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment applied only to state activities, and not those of individuals. In the 1896 case Plessy v. Ferguson, the US Supreme Court affirmed separate but equal public facilities, sanctioning segregation. As a result of these decisions, businesses, real estate agents, bankers, and others could legally refuse service to or fire African Americans, and public transportation, schools, and housing were segregated.

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21 NPS, Civil Rights in America.
22 Faderman, To Believe, 22-30. The Susan B. Anthony House is located at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. Stanton lived at the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House in Tenafly, New Jersey from 1868 through 1887, her most active years working towards women’s suffrage. This house was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 15, 1975.
The civil rights gains during this period were not equally shared. Women and Native Americans remained disenfranchised; Chinese were forbidden to immigrate to the United States after 1882, and other nonwhites allowed to immigrate were forbidden from becoming citizens. Additional laws criminalizing LGBTQ acts and identities were passed following the Civil War. These included the federal Comstock Act of 1873, which prohibited the mailing of obscenity, and was used (in concert with state and local laws it inspired) to censor LGBTQ speech and expression.24 Recent studies have focused on “passing women” during this time (women who dress and live as men), as well as the experiences of those that we would now consider transgender.25 In addition, same-sex attraction became increasingly medicalized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; those who were caught engaging in same-sex sex or who admitted same-sex attraction were commonly sent to mental institutions like the Willard Asylum, where they remained indefinitely (and often permanently) incarcerated.26 It was the continued constricting of freedoms and rights through legislation like the Comstock Act, the perception of homosexuality as a danger to society, and new forms of punishment like medical institutionalization that laid the groundwork for the first glimmers of the LGBTQ civil rights movement that began during the Rekindling Civil Rights period, 1900-1941.

4. Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941

Driven by the social reforms of the Progressive Era, the upheavals of World War I, and the impact and responses to the Great Depression,

24 The Comstock Act was passed as the Act for the “Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use.” It prohibited the US Postal System from being used to send erotica, contraceptives, abortifacients, sex toys, or any information about them. Vicki L. Eaklor, Queer America: A People’s GLBT History of the United States (New York: New Press, 2008), 48; Molly McGarry, Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 95-96, 114-115.

25 See, for example, Clare Sears, Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Stryker, Transgender History; Stryker (this volume).

26 For more on the medicalization of LGBTQ identities, see Batza and Stryker (this volume). The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975.
American society and government underwent significant change in the early years of the twentieth century. The Progressive Era brought with it the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving some women the right to vote (poor women and African American men and women remained disenfranchised by discriminatory identification, literacy, and residency laws until much later). World War I and New Deal programs following the Great Depression led many to hope for equality in hiring and jobs.²⁷

As more and more people moved away from rural towns to urban centers for work, LGBTQ people began to find each other in greater numbers. Gay bars, like the Double Header, the White Horse Inn, the Crown Jewel, the Horseshoe, and Café Lafitte in Exile opened in the 1930s (as did lesbian bars, like Galante’s and the Howdy Club).²⁹ Other bars, like Ralph Martin’s, San Remo, and the Rendezvous Room at the Hotel Muehlebach hosted a

²⁷ NPS, Framework.
²⁸ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/teaniltkl/4577581840
²⁹ The Double Header, 407 Second Avenue, Ext. S, Seattle, Washington opened in 1934; it closed its doors on December 31, 2015. The White Horse Inn, at 6651 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California, opened immediately following the repeal of Prohibition in 1933 and remains in business. The Crown Jewel, 932 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished) had a clientele largely of businessmen who gathered discreetly after work in the 1930s and 1940s. “Less desirables” were kept out by the management’s insistence on patrons producing a driver’s license for entry. The Horseshoe (now demolished), located behind the Mayflower Hotel at Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC, was popular with both gay men and women in the 1930s. Café Lafitte in Exile, 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana opened in 1933, and remains open. It is within the Vieux Carré Historic District, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. In the 1930s, Galante’s at 109 Wilkerson Street, Buffalo, New York (now demolished) was the premier gathering place for Buffalo’s lesbians. The Howdy Club (now demolished), at 17 West 3rd Street, New York City, New York, was a lesbian bar open from the 1930s to 1940s.
Megan E. Springate

mixed gay and straight clientele. LGBTQ people also congregated in other types of establishments, including eateries like the Stewart Cafeteria; social halls like Webster Hall; and bathhouses like the Club Turkish Baths, the Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths, and the Mount Morris Turkish Baths. It was also in an urban setting that, in the 1930s, Dr. Harry Benjamin began helping transgender individuals with their transition. The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s included many open and semi-closeted gay, lesbian, and bisexual artists and luminaries, including Richard Bruce Nugent, Langston Hughes, Gladys Bentley, and Billy Strayhorn. This concentration of LGBTQ people in urban spaces made

30 Ralph Martin’s, 58 Elliott Street, Buffalo, New York (now demolished) catered to a broad demographic of mixed genders, orientations, and races from 1934 to 1951. San Remo on the northwest corner of Bleecker and MacDougal Streets, New York City, New York was, beginning in 1925, a watering hole popular with gay and straight bohemians. The Rendezvous Room at the Hotel Muehlebach, Twelfth and Baltimore, Kansas City, Missouri was a gay-friendly bar from the 1930s until the hotel closed in the 1980s.

31 The Stewart Cafeteria, 116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, New York opened in 1933 and quickly became popular with LGBTQ patrons. It closed in the mid-1930s and was replaced by the Life Cafeteria, equally as popular with the LGBTQ community. Webster Hall and Annex are located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York. It was the site of masquerade and drag balls from 1910 to 1930. The Club Turkish Baths, 132 Turk Street, San Francisco, California opened in the 1930s and had a reputation as a safe place for gay men; they closed in 1983. The building is within the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP February 5, 2009. The Mount Morris Turkish Baths, 1944 Madison Avenue in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City, New York catered to black men. They opened in 1893 and began attracting a gay and bisexual clientele in the 1930s. They closed in 2003. The Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths, 1426 G Street NW, Washington, DC, opened in 1913. Until 1929, they were male only, but after 1929 a women's section was opened. They closed in 1946. Gladys Bentley performed at the Ubangi Club, 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, Harlem, New York City, New York (now demolished). Musician Billy Strayhorn grew up at 7212 Tioga Street, Rear, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (now demolished), where he was teased for being a “sissy.” Later moving to New York City, he was part of the Harlem Renaissance. In 1939, he moved to an apartment with his lover, jazz pianist Aaron Bridgers in the Hamilton Heights neighborhood of New York City, New York. He wrote many of his famous tunes here, including “Take the A Train.” The building is within the Hamilton Heights Historic District, listed on the NRHP on September 30, 1983.

32 From 1930 through about 1955, Dr. Harry Benjamin operated his practice out of an office in the Medical-Dental Building at 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. The building was listed on the NRHP on September 30, 2003.

33 Richard Bruce Nugent met Langston Hughes at the S Street Salon, a literary salon run by Georgia Douglas Johnson in her Logan Circle neighborhood home in Washington, DC. It was one of the most important literary salons of the Harlem Renaissance. The building is a contributing property to the Greater U Street Historic District, added to the NRHP on December 31, 1998. The Langston Hughes House in Harlem, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on October 29, 1982. Gladys Bentley performed at several venues, including the Ubangi Club and the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 18, 1971. See Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
them more visible and easier targets of persecution, but also laid the groundwork for the developing LGBTQ civil rights movement (Figure 2).34

Eleanor Roosevelt was also active in social justice work and advocating for civil rights during this period. Married to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Eleanor also had a decades-long intimate relationship with reporter Lorena Hickok.35 The two met in 1928 when Hickok interviewed Eleanor for the Associated Press, and their relationship blossomed when she covered the soon-to-be First Lady during Franklin Roosevelt’s presidential campaign.36 Eleanor was also friends with other female couples active in civil rights struggles of the time. These included writer Esther Lape and lawyer Elizabeth Read, influential suffragists, political reformers, and founders of the League of Women Voters, and suffragists and educators Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman, co-owner and vice-principal (respectively) of the Todhunter School.37 Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman built the Stone Cottage at Val-Kill with Eleanor, and lived there

34 The Black Rabbit at 183 Bleecker Street, New York City, New York was a gay bar raided in 1900 by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The Ariston Baths, in the basement of the Ariston Hotel, 1732 Broadway, New York City, New York, were opened as early as 1897. This was the location of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in the United States, conducted in 1903. The Everard Turkish Bathhouse, 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York opened in 1888 as a health/fitness spa for the general public, with an increasing gay clientele as bathhouses became safer places for gay men to congregate. The Everard was raided for lewd behavior, with nine arrests; in 1920, another raid resulted in fifteen arrests. It closed in 1985. The Gangway, at 841 Larkin Street, San Francisco, California, was the target of a same-sex raid in 1911, though it did not become a primarily LGBTQ bar until the 1960s.
37 The Todhunter School was a school for girls in New York City that provided solid preparation for college at a time when few women pursued post-secondary education. The close relationships that Eleanor had with lesbian couples was particularly ironic, given the solidification of anti-gay policy under her husband; see Canaday, The Straight State.
until 1947. With Caroline O’Day, they founded the Val-Kill Furniture Shop in 1927, providing supplemental income for local farming families.\(^{38}\)

Despite the advances of the era, the establishment of equal rights under the law remained unmet. Minorities, including African Americans and Latino/Latinas began to organize and litigate for their civil rights: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in 1909, and the Congress of Spanish Speaking People formed in 1939.\(^{39}\) In the military, gay men continued to be the targets of unequal treatment and harassment. In World War I, they were perceived as both dangerous and ineffective fighters. In 1919, the year after the war ended, the US Articles of War categorized sodomy as a felony. Then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt authorized an investigation of reported homosexual activities at the Newport, Rhode Island YMCA. Seventeen sailors were court-martialed, many sentenced to years in the brig.\(^{40}\) Many of the first inmates at Alcatraz, which opened as a federal maximum security prison in 1933, were there on charges of sodomy—including Frank Bolt, Prisoner Number 1.\(^{41}\) From the early years of the twentieth century, homosexuals began to be explicitly excluded from immigration to the United States under “moral turpitude” statues, a process that became coded into law in the 1950s. The result was an exclusion of LGBTQ immigrants at ports of entry, or the deportation of


\(^{40}\) See Estes (this volume); Canaday, *The Straight State*, 72-75; and Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 15-16. The YMCA, now known as the Old Army-Navy YMCA, is located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

\(^{41}\) Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary, San Francisco, California was added to the NRHP on June 23, 1976 and designated an NHL Historic District on January 17, 1986. It became part of the NPS, incorporated into the Golden Gate National Recreation Area on October 27, 1972.
immigrants already on American soil. Sexual psychopath laws, which were passed in twenty-six states and DC between 1937 and 1967, called for the indefinite civil commitment of sex offenders—a category that, at the time, included consensual same-sex encounters between adults.

The early stirrings of a gay and lesbian movement began during this period, despite police harassment. These early stirrings were fueled, in part, by communities forming in urban areas. In 1924 Chicago, World War I veteran Henry Gerber and a small group of other men founded the Society for Human Rights. Operating out of Gerber’s rooming-house residence, this was the first chartered gay rights group in the United States, working in part to combat the criminalization of homosexual acts. While the Society for Human Rights ceased following police harassment in 1925 (Gerber and others were arrested but not charged, and the organization’s files seized and not returned) Gerber remained active in homosexual and homophile movements into the 1960s, providing a connection across the twentieth century.

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42 Canaday, *The Straight State*. Perhaps the most well-known port of entry into the United States is Ellis Island located in Upper New York Bay, New York and New Jersey. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated the Statue of Liberty National Monument on October 15, 1965.


44 Gerber signed the application for a nonprofit charter for the Society for Human Rights as secretary; the Reverend John T. Graves signed as president. The document lists five other directors, including Vice President Al Meninger, who was married, despite the fact that the organization did not allow bisexual members. The Society for Human Rights published the first American gay civil rights publication, *Friendship and Freedom*. The rooming house where Henry Gerber lived (now known as the Henry Gerber House) is located within the Old Town Triangle Historic District (listed on the NRHP on November 8, 1984), Chicago, Illinois. The Gerber house was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

45 Farr et al., *Gerber House Nomination*. 

Farr et al., *Gerber House Nomination*. 

18-15
5. Birth of the Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1954

Social change accelerated with the start of World War II. Women and minority men served in the military and worked in industry, and thousands of African Americans left the South, moving to the North where they could vote and find work. The ability to vote led both political parties to solicit African American support in elections. Direct action (strikes and protests) and threats of it led to changes in government policy, including the creation of the Federal Employment Practices Committee which both exposed discrimination against African Americans and Hispanics in employment, and helped minorities find work in the North. Women were also increasingly working outside the home, including serving in high-level government posts.46

At the same time that civil rights were once again becoming a national conversation, groups of people in the United States were having their rights infringed and revoked. Even though minorities served in the military, racial discrimination backed by federal law persisted. In 1942, President Roosevelt authorized the clearing of civilians from places designated as military zones. Almost 120,000 people of Japanese descent, as well as thousands of people with Italian and German ancestry were removed to internment camps scattered across the country. Many of these people were United States citizens, and many were LGBTQ.47 Jiro Onuma, a gay man from the San Francisco Bay Area, was one of many Japanese immigrants to be rounded up. He was interred at the Topaz War Relocation Center in Millard County, Utah (Figure 3).48

46 NPS, Civil Rights Framework.
48 Jiro Onuma was a first generation Japanese immigrant who lived in the Oakland and San Francisco, California area for twenty years. Before World War II, he lived in a rooming house at 769 Brush Street, Oakland, California (since demolished). In 1943, he was sent to Topaz. In 1956, Jiro became a United States citizen. At that time, he was living at 1492 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California (now}
Although technically banned from military service and excluded through psychiatric screening and categorization, gays, bisexuals, and lesbians still successfully enlisted or were conscripted. After the war, they fought to have their dishonorable discharges for sexual orientation reclassified as honorable; many gay and lesbian veterans went on to become active in the struggle for LGBTQ civil rights. The homophile and later LGBTQ civil rights movements also drew heavily from those who had, before the Lavender Scare, been influenced by Marxism. In 1948, the

Figure 3: Aerial view of the Topaz War Relocation Center, Utah. Gay man Jiro Onuma was among those who were interred here. Photo by Francis Stewart, War Relocation Authority, 1943.


49 License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Topaz,_Utah._A_panorama_view_of_the_Central_Utah_Relocation_Center_taken_from_the_water_tower._-_NARA_-_536975.jpg

50 A dishonorable discharge meant that veterans were ineligible for programs like the GI Bill. In New York City, the Veterans Benevolent Association, founded in 1945, fought to have dishonorable discharges overturned. Lillian Faderman, The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 55. See also Stein, Rethinking, 44-45; Eaklor, Queer America, 72; Estes (this volume). World War II veterans who went on to become active in LGBTQ civil rights include José Sarria, the first openly LGBTQ person to run for public office. For more discussion of gay men and lesbians in World War II, see Allan Bérubé, Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two (New York: Free Press, 1990).

Kinsey Report, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* was published, suggesting that there were millions of men in the United States who were attracted to other men.\(^5^2\) In 1950, the US State Department identified homosexuals as security risks, leading to dismissal of government employees suspected of being gay as well as politically motivated police raids on gay bars.\(^5^3\) The Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) of 1952 excluded people formerly associated with the Communist Party, and required that immigrants be of “good moral character,” effectively preventing LGBTQ individuals from immigrating to, or even visiting, the United States.\(^5^4\) Bar raids during this time may be the most significant aspect of LGBTQ life in this era, as well as street arrests for men and gender nonconformists. This was the backdrop against which the homophile movement emerged. The Mattachine Society was the first national homophile movement organization in the United States, founded in 1950 by Harry Hay and a small group made up predominantly of men.\(^5^5\) Early meetings of the Mattachine Society took place in Los Angeles at the residence Hay shared with his wife and daughters, overlooking the Silver Lake Reservoir.\(^5^6\) There were eventually Mattachine Society chapters in cities across the country, including Washington, DC; Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York (Figure 4).\(^5^7\)

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\(^5^2\) Faderman, *Revolution*, 54. The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is located at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana.


\(^5^4\) Canaday, *The Straight State*.

\(^5^5\) A small number of women were involved with Mattachine at the beginning, but eventually stopped coming to meetings as discussions focused largely on male homosexuality. See Faderman, *Revolution*, 58.

\(^5^6\) Harry Hay married Anita Platky in 1938, and they adopted two daughters. She always knew he was gay. Following the founding of Mattachine, however, which would lead to public disclosure of his homosexuality, Anita divorced Harry and was awarded sole custody of their daughters. See Faderman, *Revolution*, 53-59.

\(^5^7\) In 1952, the same year they were incorporated, Mattachine moved into their first offices at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The Mattachine Society moved their headquarters to the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California in 1954. Their national offices (along with those of other organizations, including the Daughters of Bilitis and Pan Graphic Press) were located in in the Williams Building into the 1960s and later moved to the former Japanese YWCA, 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. The founding meeting of the Detroit Chapter of the Mattachine Society, the first LGBTQ organization in Michigan, was in 1958 at the Fort Shelby Hotel, 525 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan (listed on the NRHP on November 25,
Through discussion groups, members of the Mattachine Society talked about homosexual rights and oppression, and worked against police harassment. In 1953, there was an internal revolt, and Harry Hay and other “radicals” were removed from leadership, replaced by Hal Call as the new president.59 While still focusing on civil rights for homosexuals, the Mattachine Society began emphasizing assimilation as a means to acceptance and gaining civil rights.60 Other groups formed at this time; ONE, Inc. was founded by a group of men who initially met at Mattachine. In 1953, they began publishing their magazine, One, the first widely-distributed homosexual publication in the United States.61 The following year, the United States postmaster in Los Angeles declared One obscene


59 The meeting where Hay was ousted took place at the First Universalist Church, northwest corner of West Eighth Street and Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. From 1960 to 2000, Hal Call lived in the Nob Hill area of San Francisco, California.

60 This assimilation approach, also used by many of the other homophile groups that sprang up around the country, emphasized that LGBTQ people were no different than straight people. It fostered a respectability politics that excluded drag queens, feminine men, masculine women, transgender people, and very often people of color, the working classes, and other “marginal” groups.

61 The first gay publication in the United States was Friendship and Freedom, published by the Society for Human Rights in 1924-1925. The Society for Human Rights was founded by Henry Gerber. The first known lesbian publication in the world was Vice Versa, published in 1947 and 1948 by Edith Eyde under the pen name of Lisa Ben (an anagram of lesbian). She produced the publication during her shifts at RKO Studios (now CBS Paramount Television) at 780 N. Gower Street, Hollywood, California. Stein, Rethinking, 45.
and banned it from the mail. ONE, Inc. sued, the case made its way to the Supreme Court, and eventually Mattachine won the landmark First Amendment case, ONE, Inc. v. Oleson.\(^{62}\)

Another landmark court case of this period was the 1951 California Supreme Court ruling in Stoumen v. Reilly. Ruling for Stoumen, the owner of the Black Cat in San Francisco, the court found that it was not illegal for a public restaurant or bar in California to serve homosexuals; in order for a liquor license to be revoked, proof of illegal or immoral activity was required.\(^{63}\) Although it was still illegal under sodomy laws to engage in same-sex acts, this recognition of the right of public assembly for gay men and lesbians represented an important civil rights advance. Despite this legal recognition, however, bar raids continued with great frequency across the country.

6. The Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1964

During this period, African Americans pushed for national constitutional equality and an end to segregation. In addition to presidential executive orders, this era saw the passage of three Civil Rights Acts. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 legislated voting rights and imposed penalties for infringing upon them. This era also saw the federal government’s first military enforcement of civil rights law: in 1957, the governor of Arkansas mobilized the state’s National Guard to prevent black students from entering Little Rock Central High School after Brown v. Board of Education

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\(^{62}\) ONE’s original law suit was rejected in the district courts, and they lost their case (ONE, Inc. v. Olesen) in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court overturned the appeals court ruling, establishing that the magazine (and therefore descriptions of homosexuality) were not intrinsically obscene. The Ninth Circuit trial unfolded at the James R. Browning United States Court of Appeals Building, northeast corner of Mission and Seventh Streets, San Francisco, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 14, 1971 and designated an NHL on October 16, 2012. See also Whitney Strub, *Obscenity Rules: Roth v. United States and the Long Struggle over Sexual Expression* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2013).

\(^{63}\) Stein, *Rethinking*, 48; Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*. Sol Stoumen, the straight owner of the Black Cat Club at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California, fought repeated court battles against police harassment of his customers in the 1950s. The Black Cat Club is a contributing resource of the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. See also Graves and Watson (this volume).
declared “separate but equal” segregation a violation of the Constitution. In response, President Eisenhower deployed the 101st Airborne Division to Arkansas and federalized that state’s National Guard.⁶⁴

These years were filled with highly publicized collective actions to achieve civil rights for African Americans—bus boycotts, sit-ins, and freedom rides. These led to the well-known March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, where Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech. The march took place on the National Mall on August 23, 1963.⁶⁵ One of the key organizers for the March on Washington and Martin Luther King, Jr.’s early civil rights career, was gay man Bayard Rustin.⁶⁶ Between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand people attended the March on Washington, which led in part to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.⁶⁷ The successes of the African American civil rights movement during this period inspired other groups to employ similar tactics.

During this period, the homophile movement grew to include the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the first national lesbian organization. In 1955, San Francisco Filipina Rose Bamberger invited a group of eight women, including Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, to start the DOB as a social

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⁶⁵ The National Mall was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. It is part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks unit of the NPS, established in 1965.

⁶⁶ Bayard Rustin’s apartment, where he lived with his partner Walter Naegel during the planning of the March on Washington, is located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016. See John D’Emilio, Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin (New York: Free Press, 2003).

alternative to lesbian bars (which were subject to police harassment). Shortly after its founding, the focus of the DOB shifted to lesbian civil and political rights and support for those afraid of coming out. Like the early Mattachine Society, the early DOB was assimilationist, and discouraged masculine appearance in their members. In 1956, the DOB began publishing their newsletter, The Ladder. Publications like The Ladder, ONE, Inc.’s One, and Mattachine’s Mattachine Review served to build community across the country and advise people about their rights.

In 1961, Dr. Franklin E. Kameny, who had received his PhD in astronomy in 1956, co-founded Mattachine DC. Kameny was radicalized after being fired from his job at the Army Map Service in Washington, DC, and barred from further federal employment for failing to disclose his sexual orientation. He appealed his firing to the United States Supreme Court, who turned down his petition for judicial review (certiorari). Kameny remained active in LGBTQ rights for the rest of his life, and was instrumental in having DC’s sodomy laws overturned; having homosexuality reclassified as no longer a mental disorder in the American Psychiatric Association’s Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders in 1973 (Figure 5). Kameny’s influential work has been widely commemorated. In addition to his house being listed on the NRHP, a portion of Seventeenth Street NW in Washington, DC, has been named Frank Kameny Way and Minor Planet 1999 RE44 was renamed (40463) Frankkameny in his honor by the International Astronomical Union.

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68 Bamberger left the organization shortly after its founding. See JoAnne Myers, Historical Dictionary of the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movements (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 127. Two of the cofounders of the Daughters of Bilitis, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin were living together at their home in San Francisco’s Noe Valley neighborhood when the organization was founded. They continued to live together in their home in Noe Valley until Del passed away in 2008. The national office of the Daughters of Bilitis was located at 165 O’Farrell Street, San Francisco, California. The DOB’s journal, The Ladder, was published by Pan Graphic Press at the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. See also Marcia M. Gallo, Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement (New York: Carrol & Graf Publishers, 2006).

69 Gallo, Different Daughters, 24.

70 Dr. Franklin Kameny’s Residence in northwestern DC was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011, shortly after his death on October 11, 2011.

71 Minor Planet (40463) Frankkameny was discovered in 1999 and named in honor of Kameny on July 3, 2012.
The same year that Frank Kameny cofounded Mattachine DC, in San Francisco, José Sarria became the first openly gay LGBTQ person to run for American public office, and perhaps the first in the world. Returning to San Francisco in 1947, following his military service, Sarria began studies to become a teacher. His hopes of teaching were derailed when he was arrested on morals charges at the St. Francis Hotel. In the 1950s

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73 The St. Francis Hotel (now the Westin St. Francis) is located at 335 Powell Street, San Francisco, California. Bullough, Before Stonewall, 377; Michael R. Gorman, The Empress is a Man: Stories from the Life of José Sarria (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1998), 139.
and 1960s, Sarria performed as a popular drag queen at the Black Cat Café, noted especially for his parodies of operas and torch songs. As well as entertainment, his performances had an activist flavor, as he encouraged the LGBTQ patrons to come out of the closet: “united we stand, divided they catch us one by one.”\(^74\) In 1961, Sarria ran for a position on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, using the Black Cat as his informal campaign headquarters.\(^75\) Though he did not win, the number of people who voted for him made it clear that LGBTQ people held clout in city politics: “From that day on, nobody ran for anything in San Francisco without knocking on the door of the gay community.”\(^76\) In 1962, Sarria and others formed the Tavern Guild, the first US gay business association. The Guild raised money to help bar owners coordinate against police harassment and to help those arrested at gay bars.\(^77\) He continued to be active in LGBTQ rights (see next section). In 1964, transman Reed Erickson founded the Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF) from his home in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. In operation for twenty years, the foundation funded research and activism in support of transgender people and LGBTQ rights. ONE, Inc. was one of the largest recipients of EEF funding.\(^78\)

Like Bayard Rustin, other LGBTQ people including Pauli Murray, James Baldwin, and Lorraine Hansberry also continued civil rights and social justice work in other contexts.\(^79\) Pauli Murray was a civil rights activist, women’s rights activist, attorney (the first black person to receive a JD degree from Yale Law School), author, and the first black woman to be

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\(^74\) Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 52.
\(^75\) The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. It is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP November 18, 1971. The Black Cat lost its liquor license in 1963 after years of police pressure. Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*; Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 347; Shilts, *Mayor of Castro Street*, 57.
\(^76\) Ozturk, “United We Stand.”
\(^78\) A. H. Devor, “Reed Erickson and The Erickson Educational Foundation,” University of Victoria website, last revised September 18, 2013, [http://web.uvic.ca/~erick123](http://web.uvic.ca/~erick123).
\(^79\) NPS, *Civil Rights Framework*. 

18-24
LGBTQ Civil Rights in America

ordained as an Episcopal priest. In 2012, Murray was named an Episcopal Saint. Especially known in law for her pioneering work on gender discrimination, her book, States’ Laws on Race and Color was referred to by Thurgood Marshall as the “bible” of the civil rights movement. Murray struggled with gender identity and sexuality. Attracted to women, Murray did not describe herself as homosexual. Instead, she wrote of feeling more like a man attracted to women, and described herself as having an “inverted sex instinct.” James Baldwin, whose book, Giovanni’s Room (1956) caused controversy because of its homoerotic content, is also known for Another Country and Tell Me How Long the Train’s Been Gone. Baldwin was also active in the civil rights movement, touring the South for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and gracing the cover of Time magazine in May 1963 as the face of civil rights activism. Lorraine Hansberry was the first black woman to write a Broadway play. Her work, A Raisin in the Sun deals extensively with the lives of black Americans in Chicago during racial segregation. Hansberry grew up in a house on Chicago’s south side from 1930 to 1938. In 1938, her parents bought and moved into a home in the all-white Woodlawn neighborhood of Chicago. They were sued by a member of the home owners’ association for violating the restrictive covenant that prevented black people from buying property in that part of the city. The case, Hansberry v. Lee, made its way to the United States Supreme Court, which ruled in 1940 that the 54 percent of the association members who agreed to the restrictive covenant did not represent the 46 percent who had not – an important

80 Pauli Murray, Song in a Weary Throat: An American Pilgrimage (New York: Harper and Row, 1987); see also Kenneth W. Mack, Representing the Race: The Creating of the Civil Rights Lawyer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Patricia Bell-Scott, The Firebrand and the First Lady: Portrait of a Friendship: Pauli Murray, Eleanor Roosevelt, and the Struggle for Social Justice (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016). The home that Murray grew up in, to open as the Pauli Murray Center for History and Social Justice, is located at 906 Carroll Street, Durham, North Carolina. In 1967 and 1968, Murray was vice president of Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina; the Benedict College Historic District was added to the NRHP on April 20, 1987. She celebrated her first Eucharist as a priest at the Chapel of the Cross, 304 East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill, North Carolina on February 13, 1977; the church was added to the NRHP on February 1, 1972.

81 Carol Polsgrove, Divided Minds: Intellectuals and the Civil Rights Movement (New York: Norton, 2001), 94-99, 155-156. Baldwin wrote Another Country while living in an apartment in New York City’s West Village that he rented from 1957-1963. The building is located within the Greenwich Village Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1970. In 1965, Baldwin purchased a row house on New York City’s Upper West Side; while at this location, he wrote Tell Me How Long the Train’s Been Gone. He died in 1987.
step in these restrictive covenants being declared unconstitutional.\textsuperscript{82} In 1951, Lorraine moved to Harlem and fought against evictions and for other civil rights issues, including being involved with CORE. Married in 1953, she and her husband Robert Nemiroff separated in 1957, eventually divorcing, but remaining amicable. Hansberry identified as a lesbian; she wrote about feminism and homophobia, and contributed two letters to \textit{The Ladder}.\textsuperscript{83}


The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It also ended the disenfranchisement of citizens through unequal voting registration requirements, and ended racial segregation in schools and in public accommodations. As gains were made during this period towards African American civil rights, an expanding array of new social movements and civil rights constituencies mobilized for similar protections.

These other social movements included homophile groups throughout the country, who continued to become more militant. They protested and worked against police entrapment, strove to educate professionals, including health professionals, about homosexuality, and fought against discrimination in government employment that had become entrenched during the McCarthy era (McCarthy linked Communism and homosexuality).\textsuperscript{84} Militant protests and pushback against police


\textsuperscript{83} The residence that Lorraine grew up in from 1930 to 1938 was located at 5330 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Illinois (now demolished). From 1953 to 1960, Hansberry and her husband/ex-husband lived in a Bleecker Street apartment in New York City’s West Village. She wrote \textit{A Raisin in the Sun} at this location. In 1960, Hansberry and Nemiroff moved to a Greenwich Village apartment, where Hansberry met Dorothy Secules. The two women remained together until Hansberry’s death in 1965. See “Lorraine Hansberry House,” Chicago Landmarks, City of Chicago website, \url{http://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/landmarkdetails.htm?lanId=13024}; Lyonette Louis-Jacques, “Lorraine Hansberry: Her Chicago Law Story,” \textit{Law News from the D’Angelo Law Library}, University of Chicago Law website, March 6, 2013, \url{http://news.lib.uchicago.edu/blog/2013/03/06/lorraine-hansberry-her-chicago-law-story}.

\textsuperscript{84} NPS, \textit{Civil Rights Framework}. 
harassment increasingly brought the struggle for LGBTQ rights into the streets and visible to wider America.

Militant protests by homophile groups began in the mid-1960s. These pickets included those at the Pentagon and the White House. In April 1965, Frank Kameny and Mattachine DC picketed the White House in one of the earliest public protests for LGBTQ rights.\(^85\) Perhaps the most iconic, however, are the pickets in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia that took place every Fourth of July from 1965 to 1969.\(^86\) These Annual Reminders were organized by members of the New York City and Washington, DC, chapters of the Mattachine Society, Philadelphia’s Janus Society, and the New York chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis, organized under the collective name, East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO).\(^87\) With a “respectable” dress code in effect (suits and ties for men, dresses for women), members of ECHO marched in front of Independence Hall carrying signs that read, “Homosexuals Should Be Judged As Individuals” and “Homosexual Bill of Rights,” reminding onlookers that the Declaration of Independence had not brought freedom to all Americans.\(^88\)

Taking cues from the successes of the African American civil rights movement, like the one on February 1, 1960 at the Greensboro, North Carolina Woolworth store, LGBTQ activists also staged sit-ins and sip-ins to protest their lack of rights of assembly and access to public accommodation. On April 25, 1965, three teenagers (two men and a woman) staged a sit-in at Dewey’s Restaurant in Philadelphia, protesting the establishment’s refusal to serve homosexuals and people wearing “non-conformist” clothing. When the police arrived, the protesters and

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\(^{85}\) NPS, *Civil Rights Framework*. The Pentagon Office Building Complex in Arlington, Virginia was listed on the NRHP on July 27, 1989 and designated an NHL on October 5, 1992. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.

\(^{86}\) Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, created June 28, 1948. It was designated an NHL District on October 15, 1966.


their legal representative were arrested for disorderly conduct. The Janus Society, Philadelphia’s homophile organization, paraded in front of Dewey’s for days and distributed thousands of leaflets in protest. A week later, another sit-in occurred, and the police were again called, but refused to arrest anyone, saying they had no authority to ask peaceful protesters to leave. The owner of Dewey’s changed his policy on serving queers, and the protest was considered a success.89

In New York City the following year, members of the New York City Mattachine Society staged a sip-in to try to force the New York State Liquor Authority to stop raiding and revoking licenses and otherwise harassing establishments that served homosexuals. Sitting at the bar of Julius’ Bar on April 21, 1966, the activists ordered drinks. As they were being served, they handed the bartender a note reading, “We are homosexuals. We are orderly. We intend to remain orderly, and we are asking for service.” In response, the barkeep stopped serving them, saying that the State Liquor Authority forbade him from serving homosexuals. The Mattachine Society sued, and the New York State Appellate Court ruled that the Constitution protected the rights of peaceful assembly, even for homosexuals, and that the State Liquor Authority could no longer prohibit people from congregating in gay bars. The Sip-In at Julius’ cleared the legal path for openly gay bars in New York City, though police harassment and raids continued.90

Impromptu riots against police harassment include those at Cooper’s Donuts (Los Angeles), Compton’s Cafeteria (San Francisco), the Zephyr Restaurant (Washington, DC), and the Stonewall Inn (New York City) were often started by queens and other gender-variant people, hustlers, and people of color. Tucked in between two gay bars in Los Angeles, Cooper’s Donuts was a popular hangout for queers. In May 1959, police arrested two hustlers, two queens, and a young man who was cruising other patrons. Customers and others in the area, tired of police harassment, rioted in response. Several of them were beaten and others arrested. In August 1966, young queens and queers at Compton’s

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91 Novelist John Rechy was among those at Cooper’s Donuts the night of the riot. Rechy, a Mexican American, is best known for his novel, *City of Night*, which broke literary inhibitions in portraying the life of young gay hustlers. His home is in El Paso, Texas. Evan Moffitt, “10 Years Before Stonewall, There Was the Cooper’s Donuts Riot,” *Out Magazine*, May 31, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, [http://www.out.com/today-gay-history/2015/5/31/today-gay-history-10-years-stonewall-there-was-coopers-donuts-riot](http://www.out.com/today-gay-history/2015/5/31/today-gay-history-10-years-stonewall-there-was-coopers-donuts-riot). Cooper’s Donuts was located at 554 or 557 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California.
Cafeteria, a twenty-four hour hangout popular with the gay community, also rebelled following police harassment.92

In June 1969, patrons of the then mafia-run Stonewall Inn in New York City’s Greenwich Village, fought back against police harassment. Instead of acquiescing to police demands, the queens, hustlers, gay men, and lesbian patrons—many of whom, including queens Marsha P. “Pay it No Mind” Johnson and Sylvia Rivera, were working class and people of color—fought back, forcing the police to retreat.93 This event is generally recognized as the birth of the Gay Liberation Movement, and continues to be remembered by LGBTQ Pride celebrations and protests across the country (and internationally) that take place in June (Figure 6). These pride celebrations, which began as street protests for LGBTQ rights simultaneously in New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago were an abrupt break from the Annual Reminders that had taken place in Philadelphia from 1965 through 1969.94

The Gay Liberation Front formed in New York City almost immediately following the Stonewall Riots, and groups with similar names quickly

92 Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. Many of the youth at Compton’s were members of Vanguard, the first LGBTQ youth organization in the United States. From 1965 to 1967, they operated out of Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California. Both buildings are contributing elements to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009. Stryker, Transgender History; Christina Hanhardt, Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

93 According to Stormé DeLarverie, the only female member of The Jewel Box Review, and who was at Stonewall the night of the revolt, “It was a rebellion, it was an uprising, it was a civil rights disobedience—it wasn’t no damn riot.” Kristi K., “Something Like a Super Lesbian: Stormé DeLarverie (In Memoriam),” The K Word, May 28, 2014, accessed October 27, 2015, http://thekword.com/2014/05/28/something-like-a-super-lesbian-storme-delarverie-in-memoriam. The body of Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the waters off of Pier 45 (also known as the Christopher Street Pier) in New York City in 1992. Since the 1970s, the Pier has been a meeting place and refuge for gay men, drag queens, and other members of the African American ballroom community and culture. Susan Stryker, Transgender History (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 82-86; Tim Retzloff, “Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in US LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined,” CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies 19, no. 1 (2007): 140-161.

formed across the country, including Los Angeles, Washington, DC, Iowa City, Buffalo, New York, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. They advocated for direct action and the sexual liberation of all people. In December 1969, just months after the founding of the GLF, some New York City members split off to form the Gay Activists’ Alliance (GAA) (Figure 7). The split was in reaction to the perceived chaos and obstructionism of the GLF, and its commitment to multi-issue, multi-movement, coalition politics—the GAA instead wanted to focus on gay rights. While some members of the GLF worked to distance themselves from drag queens and other gender-variant people, the GAA actively began to exclude transgender people, including making fun of them and not allowing them to speak at public rallies, including the 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Rally, during which Sylvia Rivera took over the stage.

95 The Gay Liberation Front did not have “chapters;” each of the groups were independent from one another. In 1970 and 1971, the New York City group met at the Church of the Holy Apostles, 296 Ninth Avenue, New York City, New York. The building was added to the NRHP on April 26, 1972. In 1969 in Los Angeles, Morris Kight, Harry Hay, and others founded the GLF chapter at Morris Kight’s House in the Westlake neighborhood of Los Angeles. They opened the first gay coffee house, held several “gay-ins” at Griffith Park (4730 Crystal Springs Drive, Los Angeles, California), and were involved in establishing LA’s first gay pride parade, as well as the city’s first gay community center at 1612-1614 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California (now demolished), which has become the Los Angeles LGBT Center, 1625 North Schrader Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. In Washington, DC, members of the GLF rented a house on S Street NW from 1971 to 1974, from where they offered meeting space, published a newsletter, and hosted support groups. They held newcomer and youth group meetings at the Quaker House, 2121 Decatur Place NW, Washington, DC—a location that also hosted lesbian organizations like Rising Women’s Coffee House and in the 1980s, a coffeehouse where people living with HIV/AIDS could meet. The GLF of Rochester, New York operated out of 201 Todd Union at the University of Rochester, River Station, Rochester, New York from 1971 to 1973 and published the Empty Closet newsletter. They became the Gay Alliance of the Genesee Valley in June 1973. In April 1974, the University of Iowa’s GLF and Gay People’s Liberation Alliance from Iowa State University (which formed initially as the GLF in 1971) co-organized the first Midwest Gay Pride Conference, held at the Iowa Memorial Union, 125 North Madison Street, Iowa City, Iowa. The GLF also organized at SUNY Buffalo and at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in 1970.

96 Arthur Bell, Dancing the Gay Lib Blues: A Year in the Homosexual Liberation Movement (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971); Faderman, Revolution, 258-259. The GAA had their New York City headquarters at the Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York from 1971-1974, when arsonists set fire to the building. This served as a mailing address for the New York City chapter of the Radicalesbians in the early 1970s. The GAA Firehouse is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and as a NHL on June 29, 1978.

The Queens Liberation Front (QLF) was founded in 1969 by drag queen Lee Brewster and heterosexual transvestite Bunny Eisenhower. With a membership of drag queens, transvestites, and others that we would now describe as transgender, they formed in response to their erasure from the policies and agendas of the GLF, including attempted exclusion from the 1970 Christopher Street Liberation March, the first event to commemorate the Stonewall Riots. Stonewall was not the end of riots against harassment. In August 1970, a gay liberation student group occupied New York University’s Weinstein Hall in protest of the university’s refusal to allow gay dances on campus. The students broke off their sit-in when the Tactical Police Force arrived. Frustrated by the refusal of the group to defend itself against the police, the more radical Street Transvestites for Gay Power was formed (later to become Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries). On November 28, 1970, members of the GLF, in town to attend the Black Panthers’ Revolutionary People’s Constitutional

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99 “We are not quite sure what you people really want. IF you want Gay Liberation then you’re going to have to fight for it. We don’t mean tomorrow or the next day, we are talking about today... If you’re ready to tell people that you want to be free, then your ready to fight. And if your not ready then shut up and crawl back into your closets. But let us ask you this, Can you really live in a closet? We can’t,” Street Transvestites for Gay Power, Statement on the 1971 NYU Occupation, in Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, 18; Nothin, Queens, 9; Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, two women of color, were instrumental in STAR. Weinstein Hall is located at 5 University Place, New York City, New York. See “An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose: The Occupation of NYU’s Weinstein Hall,” Researching Greenwich Village History website, December 14, 2011, https://greenwichvillagehistory.wordpress.com/tag/weinstein-hall.
Convention, were refused service at the Zephyr Restaurant in Washington, DC. In the ensuing riot, twelve GLF members, who became known as the DC Twelve, were arrested.100

Lesbian feminism, likewise, grew out of this period. Angry at the exclusion of lesbians (described as a “lavender menace” by National Organization of Women President Betty Friedan in 1969) from both the First and Second Congresses to Unite Women in 1969 and 1970, a group of lesbians planned an action for the opening session of the Second Congress.101 Dubbing themselves the Lavender Menace, the group turned off power to the auditorium just as the first speaker arrived at the microphone. When the power was turned back on, about seventeen

100 The Zephyr Restaurant was located at 4912 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC; All Souls Unitarian Church is at 1500 Harvard Street NW, Washington, DC.
101 The opening session of the Second Congress was held at Intermediate School 70, 333 West 18th Street, New York City, New York.
women wearing Lavender Menace t-shirts lined the auditorium (Figure 8). They passed out copies of their manifesto, “The Woman-Identified Woman,” and spoke about their anger at being excluded from the women’s movement. Many of the woman involved in the Lavender Menace “zap” at the Second Congress to Unite Women continued their lesbian feminist work, including the founding of Radicalesbians. With independent chapters across the country, they were among the first groups to challenge the heterosexism of the women’s movement. The Lavender Menace action and the work of the Radicalesbians bore fruit in lesbians’ inclusion in the broader women’s rights movement. In 1971, the National Organization for Women passed a resolution stating “that a women’s right to her own person includes the right to define and express her own sexuality and to choose her own lifestyle.” They also stated that forcing lesbian mothers to stay in marriages or live in the closet in order to keep their children was unjust, and committed to offer legal and moral support in a legal test case involving the child custody rights of lesbian mothers.

In 1971, the Furies Collective, a group of a dozen women, moved into a house in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC. Over the next two years, they published The Furies and an issue of motive (a youth

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103 Radicalesbians, “The Woman Identified Woman,” in The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory, ed. Linda Nicholson (New York: Routledge, 1997), 153-157; Susan Brownmiller, In Our Time: Memoir of a Revolution (New York: Dial Press, 1999). In 1972, motive (a publication of the United Methodist Church) printed a list of lesbian organizations across the country. Many of the addresses were c/o other organizations; others were stand-alone addresses, often private residences. Some locations of Radicalesbians listed in motive include: c/o the Gay Activists Alliance, 31 West Woodruff, Chicago, Illinois; c/o the Women’s Center in the Lower Garden district of New Orleans, Louisiana; Bloomington Radicalesbians, 415 East Smith Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana (now demolished); c/o the Women’s Center, 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts; c/o the Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York; Radicalesbians of Cornell University, 24 Willard Straight Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; a residence in the Weinland Park neighborhood of Columbus, Ohio; and c/o the Women’s Center in the Cedar Park neighborhood of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
106 The Furies Collective House was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.
magazine of the United Methodist Church). In these publications, the Furies “firmly placed lesbian feminism within the women’s movement and legitimized the needs and priorities of lesbians on a national scale... Their ideological and intellectual roles in leading lesbianism and feminism, as they defined themselves and confronted issues of sexism, male supremacy, economic difference and oppression, racism, and gender identity, were significant, far-reaching, and continue to the present.”

Feminist bookstores across the country were important places for lesbians and bisexual women to meet, explore and share ideas, and to organize.

It was also during this time that lesbians of color organized among themselves, as their needs and concerns were not being met by the white feminist movement. In 1974, the Combahee River Collective formed in Boston, Massachusetts after several women attended the first regional meeting of the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) in 1973 in New York City. With a more radical vision for social change than the NBFO, the women organized as the CRC, with a commitment to address the needs of black lesbians as well as black feminists. Their work, as well as those of Latina/Chicana feminists and others were instrumental in

108 The number of women’s and LGBTQ bookstores are declining. In the mid-1990s, there were approximately 120 feminist bookstores in the United States; ten years later, there were less than 70, and in 2014, an article described only 13 self-described feminist bookstores remaining in existence. Lesbianism could also find feminist community at LGBTQ bookstores. Lesbian feminism has a history of excluding bisexual women; see Hutchins (this volume). See Kristen Hogan, The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Anjali Enjeti, “The Last 13 Feminist Bookstores in the U.S. and Canada,” Paste, May 9, 2014, https://www.pastemagazine.com/blogs/lists/2014/05/the-last-13-feminist-bookstores-in-the-us-and-canada.html; Kathleen Liddle, “More than a Bookstore: The Continuing Relevance of Feminist Bookstores for the Lesbian Community,” Journal of Lesbian Studies 9, no. 1-2 (2005): 145-159; and Anne Enke, Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). See also Hanhardt, Gieseking, and Johnson (this volume).
109 The first regional conference of the NFBFO was held at the end of 1973 at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Amsterdam Avenue between West 110th and West 113th Streets, New York City, New York. The Cathedral has other LGBTQ associations, including the site of funeral services for James Baldwin and Audre Lorde, as well as a memorial service for Eleanor Roosevelt.
framing and understanding intersectionality both in civil rights and more broadly: “we attempt to bridge the contradictions in our experience. We are the colored in a white feminist movement. We are the feminists among the people of our culture. We are often the lesbians among the straight. We do this by bridging by naming ourselves and by telling our stories in our own words.” In 1977, a group of multiracial, multi-class women joined together and founded Astraea, a grant-making organization designed specifically to address the lack of funding for women and women’s projects, particularly for lesbians and women of color. The Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, which grew from a lesbian feminist vision, continues its “commitment to feminism, progressive social change, and an end to all forms of exploitation and discrimination.”

In 1971, a group of feminist women founded San Francisco’s Women’s Centers as a place where women’s projects in the Bay Area could start out. In 1979, the group purchased their current home in San Francisco’s Mission District. The founding director was lesbian Latina activist, Carmen Vazquez. The building has provided a home and meeting space to many lesbian feminist and LGBTQ organizations (as well as those whose mandates encompass LGBTQ people), including Ellas en Acción (an organization for lesbian and bisexual Latinas); La Casa de Las Madres, a women’s shelter founded in 1976; Lava Mae, providing mobile toilets and showers for the homeless (homeless youth are disproportionately LGBTQ); the Lavender Youth Recreation & Information Center (LYRIC), the oldest queer youth organization in the United States, cofounded in 1988 by Donna Keiko Ozawa; “Becoming Visible,” a conference of African American lesbians; ACT UP, and Queer Nation.


113 The Women’s Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.
Several important LGBTQ civil rights groups were formed during this period. These include the Society for Individual Rights (discussed above), Lambda Legal, and the National Gay Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force). The Society for Individual Rights (SIR) was formed in San Francisco in 1964, positioning itself as a more open, democratic, and community-based organization than the homophile groups that preceded it. Among its founders was José Sarria. In April 1966, SIR opened the SIR Center, the first LGBTQ community center in the United States. In 1969, the Committee for Homosexual Freedom was formed by activists who found SIR to be too conservative.

Feeling alienated as Latinos from the white LGBTQ communities, politics, and organizations and alienated as gay men from their Latino communities, in 1975 Rodrigo Reyes, Manuel Hernandez Valadez, and Jesus Barragan cofounded the Gay Latino/a Alliance (GALA). The first meeting of about twenty men was held at Valadez' home in San Jose, California. The second meeting, considered by many to be the founding meeting of the organization, was held at the SIR Center and attended by up to sixty men and women. From the beginning, GALA combined social and political activities, engaging with race, sexuality, and culture: “Politics and dancing mutually supported one another; the funds GALA raised through the dances and other social events underwrote political

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115 Stein, *Rethinking*, 66; Faderman, *Revolution*, 178-179. The SIR Center was located at 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, California. For more examples of organizing in San Francisco, including the formation of the Bay Area Gay Liberation group in response to police harassment in San Francisco, see Graves and Watson and Hanhardt (this volume).

Throughout their existence, GALA walked a tightrope between meeting their constituents’ needs as LGBTQ people, and their needs as Latino/as—a balancing act that often unavoidably led to decisions that alienated other groups. Within the group, Latina women felt unwelcome, and this schism within the group remained unresolved. GALA folded in 1983.118

The Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund (Lambda Legal) was formed by gay attorneys in 1973. They had tried to incorporate in 1971, but were denied as the organization was deemed contrary to public policy. The denial was overturned by the New York Court of Appeals in 1973.119 Since its inception, Lambda Legal continues to work towards full legal protection for LGBTQ Americans through drafting laws, meeting with lawmakers, and bringing cases to trial—including People v. West 12 Tenants Corp. in 1983 that helped establish that it was, under disability laws, illegal to discriminate against people with HIV and Lawrence v. Texas, the United States Supreme Court decision in 2003 that made same-sex sexual activity legal throughout the United States.120

Declaring that “gay liberation has become a nine-to-five job,” a group of men and women interested in bringing gay liberation into the mainstream of American civil rights announced the formation of the National Gay Task Force in New York City in October 1973. This was in response to the noisy protests of direct action groups like the GAA. From the beginning, the NGTF was intended to be a professional group; “off the street and into the boardrooms.”121 The group focuses on national issues, seeking to bring gay liberation into the mainstream of American civil rights.122

117 Ramirez, That’s MY Place!, 241.
118 Ramirez, That’s MY Place!
120 Lambda Legal, History.
121 Faderman, Revolution, 260.
122 The National LGBTQ Task Force headquarters are at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC.
In 1974, the first civil rights bill to prevent discrimination based on sexual orientation was introduced in Congress. It, and the others that followed, were rejected.\textsuperscript{123} While the civil rights bill failed, advances in federal employment came slowly.\textsuperscript{124} In 1973, the federal Civil Service Commission announced that homosexuality was no longer enough to determine someone as unsuitable for hire; in 1975, the Commission dropped “immoral conduct” as a reason for disqualification. In 1975, decorated Air Force Sergeant Leonard Matlovich came out publicly in protest of the military ban on homosexual service. The Air Force discharged him, and he appeared on the cover of \textit{Time} magazine.\textsuperscript{125} In 1981, the US military tightened restrictions on service with the policy that “Homosexuality is incompatible with military service.”\textsuperscript{126}

The first local protections against discrimination based on sexual orientation were passed in East Lansing and Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1972. In 1973, the District of Columbia banned discrimination in all employment based on sexual orientation. At the state level, in 1975, Pennsylvania became the first state to ban public sector employment discrimination based on sexual orientation,\textsuperscript{127} and in 1982, Wisconsin was the first state to ban sexual orientation discrimination in both the public and private sectors. Since then, twenty-one states plus the District of Columbia have enacted bans on employment discrimination based on sexual orientation. These hard-won advances in LGBTQ civil rights met with increasing conservative backlash from 1976 through 1981.

\textsuperscript{123} See Stein (this volume).
\textsuperscript{125} “I am a Homosexual,” \textit{Time}, September 8, 1975. Matlovich died in 1988, and is buried in Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC. The epitaph on his headstone reads, “When I was in the military, they gave me a medal for killing two men and a discharge for loving one.” Congressional Cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011.
\textsuperscript{126} See Estes (this volume).
\textsuperscript{127} Eskridge, Gaylaw, 130.
It was in this social climate that, in January 1974, Kathy Kozachenko was elected to the Ann Arbor City Council, becoming the first openly LGBTQ candidate to win a seat in the United States. In November of that same year, Elaine Noble was the second openly LGBTQ candidate to win a seat, and the first to win a seat in a state legislature.128 In 1972, Harvey Milk arrived in San Francisco, and became active in city politics. In 1973 and 1975, he ran for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, using his Castro Camera storefront as a campaign headquarters.129 In 1976, City Mayor George Moscone appointed Milk to the Board of Permit Appeals, a position which lasted only five weeks before Milk announced he was running for California State Assembly—a race which he narrowly lost.130 In 1977, sixteen years after José Sarria ran for the same position, Milk won a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. In response to an increasing number of death threats, Milk made a recording of his thoughts about politics, LGBTQ people and the power of being visible, and who he would want to succeed him if he were killed. In the recording, he says, “If a bullet should enter my brain, let that bullet destroy every closet door.”131 One of the first things Milk did in office was to sponsor a bill that outlawed discrimination in the city of San Francisco based on sexual orientation. It passed, with only a single no vote—that of Supervisor Dan White, who Milk had alienated by voting against him.132 On November 28, 1978, Dan White snuck a gun past city hall security and shot and killed both Mayor Moscone and Harvey Milk.133 Tens of thousands of people

129 Milk lived in an apartment above his shop, located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.
132 Hinckle, Gayslayer!, 48; Shilts, The Mayor of Castro Street, 199.
133 The Times of Harvey Milk, directed by Rob Epstein (San Francisco: Telling Pictures, 1984); Stein, Rethinking, 141. San Francisco City Hall is located at 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place, San Francisco, California. It is a contributing element to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.
spontaneously gathered in the streets for a peaceful candlelight vigil that moved from the Castro to city hall.\textsuperscript{134} In May 1979, when White was acquitted of first degree murder charges and found guilty of voluntary manslaughter, people again took to the streets—this time in angry protest. Police and protesters clashed in the Castro and outside city hall in what became known as the White Night riots.\textsuperscript{135}

Perhaps no one embodies the conservative backlash against LGBTQ civil rights of the late 1970s more than Anita Bryant. A runner-up in the Miss America Beauty Pageant, she was a household name in 1970s America as a million-seller singer (including Paper Roses) and as a spokesperson for Coca-Cola, Tupperware, Kraft Foods, and the Florida Citrus Commission.\textsuperscript{136} In late 1976, Dade County, Florida, commissioners were working to include homosexuality in the county’s nondiscrimination ordinance. The ordinance, adding “affectional or sexual preference” to the nondiscrimination ordinance passed by a vote of five to three.\textsuperscript{137} Leveraging her national platform, Bryant founded the organization Save Our Children, and began collecting signatures calling for the repeal of the ordinance. Only 10,000 signatures were needed to add the repeal of the ordinance to the upcoming ballot; Bryant and her colleagues collected 64,304. At election, the nondiscrimination amendment was overturned by a margin of more than two to one.\textsuperscript{138} Following her success in Florida, Bryant took her campaign on the road, opposing antidiscrimination measures across the country. In Florida, State Senator Peterson sponsored two bills: one prohibiting homosexuals from adopting children, the second making the prohibition on same-sex marriage explicit in the

\textsuperscript{136} Faderman, \textit{Revolution}, 329-330.
\textsuperscript{137} Faderman, \textit{Revolution}, 333.
law. Both bills passed with minimal opposition. In California, spurred by Anita Bryant’s successes, legislator John Briggs sponsored California Proposition 6 (more commonly known as the Briggs Initiative) which would have banned gays and lesbians from working in the state’s public schools. It was the first attempt to restrict the rights of gays and lesbians using a statewide ballot measure.

LGBTQ people across the country mobilized in response to Bryant’s campaign. Gay bars across the country stopped serving orange juice, and LGBTQ activists, as well as heterosexuals who disliked the anti-sex tone of Bryant’s crusade, protested her appearances and performances bearing slogans like “Save Our Children: Defend Lesbian Mothers” and “A Day Without Rights is Like A Day Without Sunshine.” In the entertainment world, the punk band Dead Kennedys mocked her in their song, “The Moral Majority” and actor Jane Curtin satirized her regularly on Saturday Night Live. Opposition to the Briggs Initiative came from those including Harvey Milk, California Governor (and future President) Ronald Reagan, and President Jimmy Carter. The Briggs Initiative, on the California State ballot of November 7, 1978, was soundly defeated.

Bryant’s opposition to LGBTQ rights brought communities throughout the United States together. Richmond, Virginia’s first gay rights rally took place on October 8, 1977 at Monroe Park following an Anita Bryant concert. At the Indiana State Fairgrounds in Indianapolis, eight hundred

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139 Faderman, Revolution, 354-356. Florida was not the first state to pass a law defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman. That dubious distinction goes to Maryland, who passed such a law in 1973. See Stein, this volume for more details on the laws surrounding marriage and domestic partnerships.


143 Monroe Park, located on West Main Street, Richmond Virginia, is a contributing resource to the Monroe Park Historic District, listed on the NRHP on July 5, 1984.
people came together in October 1977 to protest an Anita Bryant rally in support of a state bill that would criminalize sodomy. The protest galvanized the city's LGBTQ community to political action; “Anita Bryant was probably the best thing that happened to the gay community,” recalled a protestor.\textsuperscript{144} In St. Louis, Missouri, a mass rally took place at the local Metropolitan Community Church to protest Bryant’s Save Our Children campaign.\textsuperscript{145}

The October 14, 1979 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights was organized in part as a response to Bryant’s campaign, in part in response to the November 27, 1978 assassination of Harvey Milk in California, and in part as a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Stonewall Riots.\textsuperscript{146} The first community meeting was held at the Beit Simchat Torah Synagogue in New York City in spring of 1979; the first national planning meeting for the march took place at the Friends Meeting House, Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{147} Organizers of the march demanded a national lesbian and gay rights bill, the repeal of all anti-lesbian and gay laws, the end to discrimination in gay-parent custody cases, and protections for gay and lesbian youth.\textsuperscript{148} Over one hundred thousand people marched and gathered on the National Mall. Banners at the march remembered Harvey Milk as a hero, tweaked Anita Bryant (“Eat Your Heart Out, Anita!”), and came out of the closet as mothers (“My Son Is Gay, And That’s Okay”) and


\textsuperscript{145} Stephen L. Brawley, “CWE Tour,” Saint Louis LGBT History Project website, accessed October 18, 2015, http://www.stlouislgbthistory.com/about/services/tours/cwe-tour.html. Now a private residence, the Metropolitan Community Church was located in the Central West End neighborhood of St. Louis, Missouri.

\textsuperscript{146} Eaklor, \textit{Queer America}, 173.


as military veterans (“I Served My Country as a Gay American USN 1969-1973 / I Demand My Rights”). While the 1979 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights did not lead to any direct progress in Washington, it served an important role in the growing movement for LGBTQ rights, including bringing people together from across the country, including from small towns and cities.\footnote{Faderman, Revolution, 413-414.} Held the same weekend as the 1979 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights was the First National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays organized by the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays and held at the Harambee House Hotel at Howard University. Among the speakers was Audre Lorde. The conference was a key event in organizing by LGBTQ people of color.\footnote{\cite{18-44} The Harambee House Hotel was located on the 2200 block of Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC. One of the key organizers was A. Billy S. Jones (now Jones-Hennin), a bisexual African American man. See Harris and Hutchins (this volume) for more information.}


The disease that would be identified as AIDS was first reported in June 1981.\footnote{\cite{18-44} Centers for Disease Control, “Kaposi’s Sarcoma and Pneumocystis Pneumonia Among Homosexual Men – New York City and California,” Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report 30, no. 25 (1981): 305-307. Research has shown that HIV had infected humans as early as 1959, as evidenced by the presence of the virus in a preserved tissue sample of a Congolese man. See T. Zhu et al., “An African HIV-1 Sequence from 1959 and Implications for the Origin of the Epidemic,” Nature 391, no. 6667 (1998): 594-597. In May 1969, sixteen-year-old African American teenager Robert Rayford died at what is now the Washington University Medical Center, S. Euclid and Forest Park Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. Later testing of his preserved blood and tissue detected a virus very closely related or identical to HIV-1. See R.F. Garry et al., “Documentation of an AIDS Virus Infection in the United States in 1968,” Journal of the American Medical Association 260, no. 14 (1988): 2085-2087.} Originally identified in the gay male community, it was referred to in the press as Gay Related Immune Deficiency (GRID) or gay cancer. In July 1982, it became formally known as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).\footnote{\cite{18-44} Unmesh Kher, “July 27, 1982: A Name for the Plague,” Time, March 31, 2003.} Gay men became the targets of increased discrimination in health care, employment, housing, and other areas of everyday life, as people feared getting the disease even via casual contact. Those who became ill were evicted, denied medical treatment and
insurance, and were excluded from funeral homes and cemeteries.\textsuperscript{153} The federal government was either dismissive or, in the case of President Ronald Reagan, silent, about the disease—it was not until halfway through his second term that President Reagan publicly uttered the word “AIDS.”\textsuperscript{154} Federal policy, influenced by conservative religious values, meant that abstinence-only HIV-prevention was promoted to the exclusion of proven approaches like sex education, needle exchange, and condom distribution through the worst years of the epidemic.\textsuperscript{155}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{ACT_UP_PWAC_card}
\caption{AIDS awareness card depicting ACT UP/PWAC (People With AIDS Coalition), 1993. Courtesy of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{153} The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home at 2254 Market Street, San Francisco was one of the few funeral homes who would provide funeral services for those who died from AIDS. Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, \textit{Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco} (San Francisco: City and County of San Francisco, October 2015), 293-294.

\textsuperscript{154} Herbert N. Foerstel, \textit{Toxic Mix? A Handbook of Science and Politics} (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2010), 99.

\textsuperscript{155} Foerstel, \textit{Toxic Mix}, 137.
On March 10, 1987, activist Larry Kramer (who in 1982 had helped form the Gay Men’s Health Crisis) gave an impassioned speech at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (The Center) in New York City, addressing the lack of response by the government to the escalating AIDS crisis. Shortly thereafter, a group of people met at the Center and formed ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power. Like Mattachine and GLF earlier, dozens of groups across the country formed under the banner of ACT UP in a shift to militant AIDS activism (Figure 9). Protests included die-ins; protests against hospitals for denying care; protests against those who profiteered from the disease; education against AIDS-phobia; and protests against government inaction.

156 Stein, Rethinking, 158; Faderman, Gay Revolution, 427-428. The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (known as The Center) is located at 208 W. 13th Street, New York City, New York. It is located in the Greenwich Village Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1979. The Gay Men’s Health Crisis (GMHC) was founded at 318 West 22nd Street, New York City, New York in 1982 in response to the nascent AIDS epidemic in New York City. See also the LGBTQ Health chapter by Katie Batza (this volume) for more details on HIV/AIDS.


158 On March 24, 1987, ACT UP staged their first demonstration against Wall Street profiteering from the epidemic. This protest took place at Trinity Church, 74 Trinity Place, New York City, New York. A year later, activists met again here to protest profiteering; they marched from Trinity to the intersection of Broadway and Wall Street. Trinity Church was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976.

159 In 1988, the Jackson Brewing Company at Folsom and Eleventh Streets in San Francisco, California (listed on the NRHP on April 8, 1993) was the location for filming of the NBC drama, Midnight Caller. A planned episode revolved around a bisexual man murdered by a woman after deliberately spreading HIV. Protesters from ACT UP-San Francisco and other groups protested the filming, citing the encouragement of AIDS-phobia. ACT UP-San Francisco held their weekly meetings at the Women’s Building of San Francisco in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Women’s Building is located at 3542 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

160 On October 11, 1992, ACT UP incorporated the actual physical remains of the deceased in a protest. The flyer for the ASHES protest read, “Bring your Grief and Rage About AIDS to a Political Funeral in Washington D.C. ... On October 11th, we will carry the actual ashes of people we love in funeral procession to the White House. In an act of grief and rage and love, we will deposit their ashes on the White House lawn. Join us to protest twelve years of genocidal AIDS policy.” Quoted in Deborah B. Gould, Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP’s Fight against AIDS, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 230. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It
While they were perhaps the premier AIDS direct action group formed during this period, they were not the only one. Other groups included Stop AIDS Now or Else (SANOE) in San Francisco.\footnote{161}

In June 1987, overwhelmed by the number of dead to AIDS, activist Cleve Jones and others met in a San Francisco storefront and formed the NAMES Project Foundation, home of the AIDS Memorial Quilt.\footnote{163} The Quilt, was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. On April 6, 2012, ACT UP San Francisco threw ashes of a deceased member of the group onto the steps of Mission Dolores Basilica in a demonstration marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of ACT UP. David Duran, “ACT UP tosses ashes at SF Church,” \textit{Bay Area Reporter}, April 12, 2012, accessed October 16, 2015, \url{http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=67605}. Mission Dolores (also known as the Mission San Francisco De Asís), located at 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California, was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972.

\footnote{161} On January 31, 1989, SANOE held a sit-in on the Golden Gate Bridge, blocking morning rush hour traffic as they handed out flyers insisting that AIDS was a concern to everyone. This was the only sit-in to take place on the bridge. In 1990, Congress passed a law making it a felony to block traffic on the bridge.

\footnote{162} License: CC BY-SA 2.0. \url{https://www.flickr.com/photos/perspective/7531448426}

\footnote{163} See “The AIDS Memorial Quilt,” NAMES Project Foundation website, accessed October 12, 2015, \url{http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-aids-memorial-quilt}. The organizers of the NAMES Project Foundation met at the Jose Theater, 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, California. This building became the home of the NAMES Project from its founding in 1987 until 2001, when the Quilt was moved to a warehouse in Atlanta, Georgia.
then comprised of 1,920 panels that took up space larger than a football field, was displayed for the first time on the National Mall in Washington, DC, during the 1987 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The Quilt has continued to grow, and is currently made up of more than forty-eight thousand panels commemorating the life of someone who has died of AIDS (Figure 10). The Quilt is so large that the last time it was displayed in its entirety was in October 1996, when it covered the entire two-mile long National Mall.164

The second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights took place on October 11, 1987, bringing unprecedented press coverage for the movement. It was fueled in part by government apathy to the spread of AIDS as well as the US Supreme Court ruling in Bowers v. Hardwick in 1986 that upheld the constitutionality of state sodomy laws that criminalized sex between two consenting men.165 The event included several days of planned events, including acts of civil disobedience at the Supreme Court building protesting Bowers v. Hardwick and a mass wedding and protest at the Internal Revenue Service.166 The march of approximately 750,000 who convened from around the country was led by Cesar Chavez, Jessie Jackson, Whoopi Goldberg, and others (many of whom gave speeches when protesters convened on the National Mall), followed by people with AIDS and their supporters. Demands of the organizers included legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships; the repeal of all laws making sodomy between consenting adults a crime; the

164 Names Project Foundation, AIDS Memorial Quilt.
165 These same issues fueled the founding of several LGBTQ philanthropic and grant-making organizations during this period. Unlike later groups, many of these focused on regional, rather than national-scale, funding. These organizations include the Horizons Foundation founded in 1985 in the San Francisco Bay area; and the Pride Foundation founded in Seattle in 1985; and the Stonewall Community Foundation founded in 1990 in New York City. See “Our History,” Horizons Foundation website, http://www.horizonsfoundation.org/about/our-history; “Our History,” Pride Foundation website, http://www.pridefoundation.org/history; “Strategic Impact Over Time,” Stonewall Community Foundation website, https://stonewallfoundation.org/about/history.
166 Marc Stein, “Memories of the 1987 March on Washington – August 2013,” OutHistory, August 2013, accessed October 15, 2015, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/march-on-washington/exhibit/by-marc-stein. The United States Supreme Court Building is located at 1 First Street NE, Washington, DC. It was designated an NHL on May 4, 1987. The Internal Revenue Service Building is located at Twelfth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It is part of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, designated on September 30, 1965 and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.
passage of a lesbian and gay civil rights bill; an end to discrimination against those with (or perceived to have) HIV/AIDS; and an increase in funding for AIDS education, research, and care. In protest of the exclusion of transgender community from the platform of the march, transgender attorney Phyllis Frye called on the transgender contingent she was marching with to stop, halting the parade. At the next march, in 1993, the transgender community was explicitly included.\textsuperscript{167} As a result of the 1987 march, many participants returned home and started local ACT UP chapters. National Coming Out Day was established a year later in commemoration of the march.\textsuperscript{168}

In the atmosphere of the AIDS epidemic, the pushback against LGBTQ civil rights continued. In 1986, the United States Supreme Court upheld Georgia’s sodomy law in their decision in Bowers v. Hardwick. Their language “ridiculed and renounced the notion that same-sex love, intimacy, and sex were protected by the US Constitution.”\textsuperscript{169} Acting out of fear of the spread of AIDS, bathhouses across the country were closed in the 1980s, limiting the number of places that gay men could socialize.\textsuperscript{170} Gay bashing and other attacks on LGBTQ people increased. In 1991, California Governor Pete Wilson vetoed Assembly Bill 101 (AB101), a bill that would have guaranteed statewide protection from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation by private employers. Angered by the betrayal of a governor who had generally been seen as supportive of the LGBTQ communities, fifty thousand people protested in the streets of San


\textsuperscript{168} Ghaziani, Dividends of Dissent. Marc Stein, Memories of the 1987 March on Washington.

\textsuperscript{169} Stein (this volume).

\textsuperscript{170} A very few bathhouses escaped closure. Among these were the predominantly African American Mount Morris Turkish Baths, 1944 Madison Avenue, Harlem, New York City, New York and Man’s Country, 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, owned by politically-connected Chuck Renslow.
Francisco in what became known as the AB101 Veto Riots. The future of LGBTQ civil rights seemed bleak.

Frustrated by the increase in gay bashing, homophobia, and an anti-sex ethos that followed on the heels of the AIDS pandemic, and angered by what they perceived as the commercialization of the LGBTQ rights movement, the direct action group Queer Nation was founded on March 20, 1990 at a meeting at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Services Center (The Center) in New York City. One month after their founding in New York City, Queer Nation San Francisco formed, meeting weekly at the Women’s Building. Other Queer Nation chapters quickly sprang up across the country, including in Michigan, Georgia, Massachusetts, Virginia, Illinois, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, Florida, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Tennessee, and the state of Washington (Figure 11). Queer Nation used similar direct action methods to ACT UP, and there was an overlap in membership. The group rejected assimilationism and a politics of respectability, chanting “We’re Here,

Figure 11: Promotional material used by Queer Nation Houston.

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173 Eaklor, Queer America, 177, 205.

We’re Queer, Get Used to It!” and “Out of the Closets and Into the Streets” during their protest actions.\textsuperscript{175} While they did not spearhead the use of outing as a political strategy, Queer Nation did approve of (and use) outing of those who were in the closet, and yet actively working against the rights of LGBTQ people.\textsuperscript{176}

Just as Queer Nation was faltering in 1992, Transgender Nation in San Francisco and the Lesbian Avengers in New York City were forming.\textsuperscript{177} Transgender Nation formed following the publication of Sandy Stone’s 1991 “The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto” and Leslie Feinberg’s \textit{Transgender Liberation} pamphlet in 1992. This new transgender liberation rejected transgender assimilation, just as Queer Nation had rejected assimilation and respectability politics.\textsuperscript{178} In 1993, Transgender Nation staged a protest at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association that resulted in the arrest of three protesters. They also provided courtroom support for transgender women arrested on charges of prostitution, and insisted that lesbian, gay, and bisexual groups in San Francisco make their positions known regarding transgender inclusion, “thereby demonstrating whether those groups were part of the new queer movement or the old gay and lesbian movement.”\textsuperscript{179} Although short-lived, Transgender Nation was among those at the leading edge of transgender visibility and inclusion in LGBTQ groups and politics. In 1994, transgender people played a large role in the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorations of Stonewall (albeit relegated to the “alternative” march and rally), and by 1995, many formerly gay and

\textsuperscript{175} Stein, \textit{Rethinking}, 186.
\textsuperscript{177} Stein, \textit{Rethinking}, 184.
\textsuperscript{179} Stryker, \textit{Transgender History}, 136.
lesbian and gay, lesbian, and bisexual organizations were beginning to add the “T” (for transgender) to their names.180

These were also the years that saw the birth of the Dyke March. In May 1992, several women met at the home of Latina Ana Maria Simo for the first organizing meeting of the Lesbian Avengers.181 Shortly thereafter, the group recruited members at the June 1992 New York City Pride Parade by handing out flyers. Like so many New York City groups before them, they held their first meeting at The Center. A direct action group in the tradition of Queer Nation, the Lesbian Avengers focused on issues vital to lesbian survival and visibility, rather than on issues like AIDS and abortion which were perceived as less relevant. Frustrated with lesbian invisibility and misogyny in the LGBT community, the Lesbian Avengers took to the streets.182 At the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, Lesbian Avengers and members of the ACT UP Women’s Network brought together twenty thousand women, marching without a permit. The Dyke March, as it came to be known, has become a tradition across the country, traditionally taking place a day or two before Pride celebrations in cities across the country and around the world.183

Citing racism and a lack of attention to the intersectional politics of ethnicity and LGBTQ civil rights and HIV/AIDS programs, this period was also one of people of color organizing among themselves.184 Disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS, and yet often excluded from

180 Stryker, Transgender History, 137.
181 Simo’s home was located in the Bowery neighborhood of New York City.
prevention and health care programs, organizing among people of color became a matter of life and death, and organizing focused predominantly on prevention and education rather than direct action/street activism. For example, formed from meetings held during the 1987 March on Washington, the Latina/o Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) worked to organize and network Latina/o LGBTQ people, including mobilizing community efforts in HIV prevention both within the United States and abroad until they folded in 2004. In the 1990s, there was an increase in queer Asian American activism that included an upsurge in the number of South Asian queer groups around the country. This included groups in California, New York, Washington, DC, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Boston, Austin, and Seattle as well as online. By the 1990s, Native American two-spirit organizations had also formed as places of community and HIV/AIDS-related services. Likewise, African Americans, feeling excluded from the broader movement, founded their own African American Gay Pride festival in Washington, DC. Organized in 1991 to raise funds for HIV/AIDS support in the African American community, the first African American Pride festival in the nation was held on May 25, 1991 at Banneker Field. A crowd of 750 to 800 people attended the first event, raising nearly $3,000 for local AIDS organizations. The Black Lesbian and Gay Pride event continues to be held annually in DC over Memorial Day weekend.


186 See Amy Sueyoshi (this volume).

187 See Roscoe (this volume).

Bisexuals also worked during this period to increase their visibility and representation in the quest for gender and sexual minority civil rights. In 1985, the East Coast Bisexual Network (later the Bisexual Resource Center) was formed in Boston, Massachusetts. They worked to provide resources and support for those attracted to more than one gender. In 1990, more than four hundred people attended the First National Bisexual Conference in San Francisco, which led to the founding of the North American Bisexual Network (now BiNet USA). This, along with the publication in 1991 of *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out* (edited by Loraine Hutchins and Lani Ka‘ahumanu) spurred an upsurge in bisexual activism.

The 1993 March on Washington included both transgender people and bisexuals in their call for civil rights (though transgender was voted out of the name of the march). Officially called the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, participation estimates ranged from eight hundred thousand to over one million for the march and the gathering afterwards on the National Mall on April 25, 1993. The demands of the organizers included: the passage of a lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender civil rights bill and an end to discrimination by state and federal governments including the military and repeal of all anti-sodomy laws; a massive increase in funding for AIDS education, research, and care and universal access to health care; legislation to prevent discrimination in areas of family diversity, custody, adoption, and foster care; full and equal inclusion of lesbians, gays,
bisexuals, and transgender people in the educational system; and an end to discrimination and violent oppression based on actual or perceived sexual orientation, identification, race, religion, identity, sex and gender expression, disability, age, class, or AIDS/HIV infection.\textsuperscript{193} Speakers and performers at the 1993 March included Melissa Etheridge, RuPaul, Eartha Kitt, Urvashi Vaid, and Jesse Jackson. A week of events in and around DC took place around the march, including demonstrations in support of same-sex marriage.\textsuperscript{194}


Much of the last generation of the LGBTQ civil rights movement has focused primarily on winning federal rights, including protection from discrimination in military service and marriage equality. Though these are federal rights, many of these battles have been fought at the local level, with activists and groups—including LGBTQ philanthropic organizations—mobilized in communities and states across the country.\textsuperscript{195} The battle for same-sex marriage, in particular, has been more of a state-fought battle.


\textsuperscript{194} Updated List of Events Scheduled During the Week of the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, Queer Resources Directory website, accessed October 16, 2015, \url{http://www.qrd.org/qrd/events/mow/mow-events.FINAL}.

than a federal one, though the ultimate resolution of the issue came from the United States Supreme Court.\footnote{The battles for open LGBTQ service and same-sex marriage have relied heavily on assimilation and respectability politics; that lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender people are no different from heterosexuals, and therefore deserve to have the same civil rights.}

From 1970 through the 1990s, many veterans pushed to have the ban on gays, lesbians, and bisexuals serving in the military overturned.\footnote{For more details, see Estes (this volume).} In 1993, with the passage of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” it became illegal to ask about a troop’s sexual orientation; but it remained legal to dishonorably discharge them if they disclosed or were found out. Don’t Ask Don’t Tell was repealed in 2010 with the passage of the Military Readiness Enhancement Act. Since 2011, gay, lesbian, bisexual, and queer military personnel have been able to serve openly.\footnote{Estes, \textit{Ask & Tell}, 210-254; Nathaniel Frank, \textit{Unfriendly Fire: How the Gay Ban Undermines the Military and Weakens America} (New York: Macmillan, 2010). See Estes (this volume).} As of June 30, 2016, transgender Americans have been able to serve openly in the US military.\footnote{Sunnivie Brydum, “Pentagon on Trans Troops: ‘These Are the Kind of People We Want,’” \textit{Advocate}, June 30, 2016, \url{http://www.advocate.com/transgender/2016/6/30/breaking-pentagon-ends-ban-transgender-service-members}.}

Despite the pall cast over LGBTQ civil rights by the US Supreme Court in their 1986 Bowers v. Hardwick decision upholding the illegality of sodomy, it did not last; individual states, either through court cases or legislative action, continued to eliminate their sodomy statutes. Bowers v. Hardwick was overturned in 2003 by the US Supreme Court in Lawrence v. Texas, which, by making same-sex sexual activity legal throughout the United States, provided the legal foundation for the subsequent rulings United States v. Windsor (2013) and Obergefell v. Hodges (2015). The movement towards civil marriage rights for same-sex couples in the United States has its roots in the 1970s.\footnote{In 1971, the Minnesota Supreme Court ruled in Baker v. Nelson that denying marriage licenses to same-sex couples did not violate the United States Constitution. Andrew Gumbel, “The Great Undoing?” \textit{Advocate}, June 20, 2009, accessed October 15, 2015, \url{http://www.advocate.com/news/2009/06/20/great-undoing}. For more details on the fight for same-sex marriage, see Stein and Baim (this volume).} It reached the national political stage in 1993, when the Hawai’i Supreme Court ruled in Baehr v. Miike
(originally Baehr v. Lewin) that the state’s prohibition of same-sex marriage might be unconstitutional.\textsuperscript{201} This led to actions at the federal level (including the passage of the Defense of Marriage Act, denying federal recognition of same-sex marriages, signed into law on September 21, 1996) and at state levels where legislative action and ballot initiatives made explicit the restriction of marriage to male-female couples. On November 18, 2003, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled in Goodridge v. Department of Public Health that denying same-sex marriage violated the state constitution. On May 17, 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to issue same-sex marriage licenses.\textsuperscript{202} Like the Hawai’i decision, the change in Massachusetts brought reaction from opponents, and additional states banned same-sex marriage. A key opponent was President Bush, who called for a constitutional amendment limiting marriage to one man and one woman.\textsuperscript{203} These prohibitions were fought in the courts and in legislatures in states across the country. Cases eventually found their way to the United States Supreme Court. In June 2013, in United States v. Windsor, the US Supreme Court struck down the law barring federal recognition of same-sex marriage.\textsuperscript{204} On June 26, 2015 in Obergefell v. Hodges, the US Supreme Court made same-sex marriage legal in all fifty states, ruling that the right to marry was


\textsuperscript{203} Belluck, “Massachusetts Arrives.”

guaranteed to same-sex couples by the Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.205

Other organizing on the local level, unprecedented in years previous, has been the formation of thousands of Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs) in schools across the country. These organizations, found mostly in high schools and post-secondary institutions, are founded to help provide a safe, supportive environment for LGBTQ youth and their straight allies.207 The first GSA was founded in 1988 at Concord Academy by history teacher Kevin Jennings and a female student; the number of them increased

206 License: CC BY 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Concord_Academy,_MA.jpg
207 Some GSAs have changed their name from Gay Straight Alliance to Gender and Sexuality Alliance to be inclusive of bisexual and transgender people. The specific inclusion of straight allies distinguishes GSAs from earlier student-led groups.
dramatically in the following years (Figure 12). Although established locally, the existence of GSAs is a matter of federal civil rights. In 1998, the Salt Lake City Board of Education struck dozens of “non-curricular” student clubs from their list of clubs approved to meet on school property. Three civil rights groups, the American Civil Liberties Union, Lambda Legal, and the National Center for Lesbian Rights, sued the board of education alleging that the sole purpose of the cuts was to prevent a single group, the GSA, from meeting on school property. In 1999, the US District Court for the District of Utah ruled that denying access to a school-based GSA was a violation of the Federal Equal Access Act. Despite the court’s ruling, some schools continue to try to block the formation of GSAs.

While transgender people continued to be erased and excluded from movements relying on respectability politics during this period, especially surrounding marriage equality, the years after 1993 have been a time of increased national organizing, visibility, and legal victories.

The International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy (ICTLEP) held their first meeting in Houston, Texas in 1992. In

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208 Jennings went on to found the Gay, Lesbian Straight Education Network (GLSEN), an organization to end discrimination and bullying based on sexual orientation and gender identity in K-12 schools, online at http://www.glsen.org. GLSEN’s national headquarters are at 110 William Street, New York City, New York. See “GLSEN Founder Stepping Down,” Advocate, January 18, 2008. Concord Academy, an independent college preparatory school, is located at 166 Main Street, Concord, Massachusetts.


212 The International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy was founded by transgender attorney, Phyllis Frye and others. The first through third conferences were held at what is now the Hilton Houston Southwest, 6780 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas. Phyllis Frye was in law school and living with her wife in the Westbury neighborhood of Houston, Texas when she began transitioning to female in 1976. As early as 1973, she had been reaching out to attorneys, schools, and organizations to advocate for transgender rights and visibility. Despite harassment and discrimination, Frye went on to be a successful attorney. In November 2010, she was sworn in as an
1993 at the Second ICTLEP, also in Houston, the organization published an “International Bill of Gender Rights,” “Health Law Standards of Care for Transsexualism,” and “Policy for the Imprisoned, Transgendered.” Among other goals, the ICTLEP worked with other organizations including the National Lesbian and Gay Law Association to have transgender protections included in the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA)—a fight that they ultimately lost during the mid-1990s battles for ENDA, as other lesbian and gay rights organizations, including the Human Rights Campaign fought against them.213 Other transgender organizations founded after 1993 have been instrumental in changing the legal landscape for transgender people, both at the state and federal levels. These organizations include the National Transgender Advocacy Coalition;214 the Sylvia Rivera Law Project;215 the Transgender Law Center;216 and the National Center for Transgender Equality in Washington, DC.217


214 The National Transgender Advocacy Coalition was in existence from 1999 to circa 2008. Working for transgender rights, they also sought inclusion of gender identity and expression protections in ENDA. Early on, they operated out of a PO Box in Free Union, Virginia before changing to a PO Box in Washington, DC.

215 The Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP) was founded in New York City in 2002 by Dean Spade. The mission of the SRLP is to guarantee that everyone is free to self-determine, without facing harassment, discrimination, or violence, their gender identity and expression, regardless of race or
Despite increased visibility of transgender people and changing laws, transgender people are often targets of violence. Over twenty transgender people, mostly women of color, were murdered in the United States in 2015. By July 2016, there had been at least an additional fifteen transgender murders. The National Transgender Discrimination Survey (conducted in 2008) found that transgender and gender nonconforming people also face pervasive discrimination in almost all aspects of their lives: in childhood homes, education, employment, doctor’s offices, in the legal system, housing, and public accommodations including shopping, dining, etc. For people of color, anti-transgender bias combined with structural and interpersonal racism, is “especially devastating.”

Transgender activists and allies have made some advances in securing transgender rights, though there remains a long way to go. In 2012, the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruled that discriminating against someone because they are transgender is discrimination based on sex, and violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 2014, the US Attorney General announced that the US Department of Justice will follow suit. Also in recent years, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) announced that discrimination against transgender tenants and income. They work from an understanding that this goal is inextricably intertwined with racial, social, and economic justice. The SRLP is named in honor of transgender activist Sylvia Rivera. See “About SRLP,” Sylvia Rivera Law Project website, http://srlp.org/about. The SRLP is located in the Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice, 147 West 24th Street, New York City, New York.


home buyers based on their gender identity may be illegal sex discrimination per the Fair Housing Act. They have also told homeless shelters that they cannot discriminate based on gender identity or nonconformity. In early 2015, the Obama Administration issued guidance on transgender students’ access to school bathrooms. These areas of law continue to evolve. While many states are pushing back against these changes, the American Civil Liberties Union hopes to see courts rule that gender expression is protected both by the First Amendment and the Due Process Clause of the US Constitution, which establishes rights to liberty, privacy, and autonomy.220

Going Forward

The road of LGBTQ civil rights has been long and twisting, and despite the groundbreaking civil rights advances at the highest levels of government and the law, there is still no federal law protecting LGBTQ people from discrimination. As well, there continue to be attempts to abrogate the rights of LGBTQ people in the United States.221 Civil rights issues that continue to affect LGBTQ people, particularly those of color and transgender individuals, include: increased incidence of violence; employment discrimination including on-the-job harassment, not being hired, or being fired; poverty—LGBTQ people are more likely to live below

the poverty line; and in the provision of appropriate health care. Much work remains to be done.

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The American historical landscape is filled with sites where people who engaged in same-sex sex and transgressed gender binaries struggled to survive and thrive. In these locations, “sinners,” “deviants,” and “perverts” often viewed law as oppressive. Immigrants, poor people, and people of color who violated sex and gender norms had multiple reasons for seeing law as implicated in the construction and reconstruction of social hierarchies. Over time, however, people who identified or were classified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) increasingly came to see law as a potential resource for protecting, defending, and improving their lives. In these contexts, law was a complicated and multifaceted resource, simultaneously freeing, limiting, and producing human sexes, genders, and sexualities. This chapter offers an introduction to historical
landscapes and landmarks of US LGBTQ law, beginning with the European colonization of the Americas and concluding with developments in the 1970s and 1980s.¹

Colonial and Early US Laws

When Europeans first invaded the Americas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they did not generally recognize or respect Native American understandings of sex, gender, sexuality, or law. Unlike Native American societies, the colonies established by Europeans typically criminalized same-sex sex and gender-crossing acts. They did so in the context of broader restrictions on non-marital and non-procreative sex and general bans on deception and disguise. In most cases, Dutch, English, French, and Spanish laws initially applied in their territories overseas, but colonial statutes soon supplemented and superseded European laws. For example, sodomy was made a capital crime by Virginia (1610), Plymouth (1636), and Massachusetts (1641), followed by most of England’s other colonies. These laws generally applied to anal intercourse, sometimes punished other forms of non-procreative sex, and tended to be used to police same-sex sex, sexual violence, and sex with minors. Of the early English colonial statutes, New Haven’s (1656) was unique in referring to acts committed by women, though women in other colonies were occasionally arrested for having same-sex sex. Prosecutions for same-sex sex were relatively rare, but several people were executed for committing same-sex sexual acts.²

¹ In this chapter I use gender and sexual terms that are generally favored today (including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) as well as historical terms (such as “deviant” and “pervert”) that are generally rejected today. I use analytic terms such as “same-sex sex” and “gender-crossing acts” to address behaviors rather than identities or communities. I use “queer” to reference same-sex and gender-crossing desires, behaviors, and identities. I refer to “LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities” when discussing the larger chronology of US history, though I do not mean to imply that LGBTQ identities existed in North America before the late nineteenth century or are relevant in all of the twentieth or twenty-first century contexts that are discussed.

² Other early sodomy and buggery laws were passed by Connecticut (1642), Rhode Island (1647), New York (1665), New Jersey (1668), Pennsylvania (1676), New Hampshire (1679), South Carolina (1712), Delaware (1719), Maryland (1776), and North Carolina (1778). Early prosecutions for same-sex sex have been documented in Virginia (1624), Massachusetts (1629, 1642, and 1712), New Hampshire (1635 and 1663), Plymouth (1637, 1642, and 1649), New Netherland (1646, 1658, and 1660), New
Historical Landmarks and Landscapes of LGBTQ Law

In colonial America the criminalization of sexual transgression intersected with the criminalization of gender transgression. In 1629, for example, Thomas/Thomasine Hall, a resident of Warrosquyoake, Virginia, was accused of inappropriately wearing women’s clothing, but one of the things that prompted these accusations was a rumor that Hall was having nonmarital sex with a woman, which was a more serious offense if Hall was a man. After intrusive investigations of Hall’s body, Virginia’s General Court at Jamestown decided that Hall was a man and woman and required Hall to dress in partially male and partially female clothing, which was a form of public humiliation.3

Beginning with a brief experiment in the late seventeenth century, capital punishment for sodomy, buggery, and other “crimes against nature” was replaced by less extreme penalties, including castration, whipping, life imprisonment, and lengthy prison terms. Pennsylvania removed its death penalty for sodomy in 1682, but restored it for “negroes” in 1700 and everyone else in 1718. The Continental Army began court-martialing soldiers for sodomy in 1778. In 1786, Pennsylvania more permanently eliminated its death penalty for sodomy; it was followed by New York and New Jersey in 1796, Rhode Island in 1798, and other states in the early nineteenth century. Maryland in 1793 and Virginia in 1800 eliminated the death penalty for sodomy for free people but not slaves. North and South Carolina did not remove their

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death penalties for buggery until 1868-69. By this time most states criminalized sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature and punished these offenses with lengthy prison terms. Three Ohio cities—Cincinnati (1819), Dayton (1842), and Columbus (1848)—were among the first to pass laws against indecent behavior. Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio (1849) and Chicago, Illinois (1851) were among the first to prohibit obscene publications and immoral plays. Early state laws against obscenity, which previously had been a common law offense, were passed by Illinois (1845), California (1858), and Pennsylvania (1860). Laws against buggery, crimes against nature, immorality, indecency, obscenity, and sodomy targeted multiple gender and sexual transgressions, but tended to be used to police same-sex sex, public sex, sex work, sexual violence, and sex with minors.4

Before the mid-nineteenth century, state and local governments banned cross-dressing as part of the broader criminalization of deception and disguise. Beginning in the 1840s, however, various cities began to more specifically prohibit men from wearing women’s clothing and women from wearing men’s clothing. Some of the earliest to do so were Columbus, Ohio (1848), Chicago, Illinois (1851), and Wilmington, Delaware (1856).5 These laws joined the broad array of prohibitions on non-normative sex, gender, and sexuality that existed in the pre-Civil War era.

4 Other laws against indecency were passed by Chicago, IL (1851), Louisville, KY (1853), Cleveland, OH (1854), New Orleans, LA (1856), Springfield, IL (1856), Memphis, TN (1857), Newark, NJ (1858), Toledo, OH (1858), Charleston, SC (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), Houston, TX (1861), St. Louis, MO (1864), and Wilmington, DE (1865). Laws against obscene publications and/or immoral plays were also passed by New Orleans, LA (1856), New York, NY (1856), Springfield, IL (1856), Memphis, TN (1857), Charleston, SC (1858), Newark, NJ (1858), Toledo, OH (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), and St. Louis, MO (1864). Before these laws were passed, indecency and obscenity were treated as common law offenses (crimes designated as such by judges rather than legislators). See Katz, Gay American History, 38; Katz, Gay/Lesbian Almanac, 66-133; and Eskridge, Gaylaw, 338-341.

5 Other early examples were Springfield, IL (1856), Newark, NJ (1858), Charleston, SC (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), Houston, TX (1861), Toledo, OH (1862), Memphis, TN (1863), San Francisco, CA (1863), and St. Louis, MO (1864). See Eskridge, Gaylaw, 338-341; Clare Sears, Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 3-6, 23-77; and Susan Stryker, Transgender History (Berkeley, CA: Seal, 2008), 32-33.
Post-Civil War Federal, State, and Local Laws

After the Civil War, federal, state, and local governments responded to the increased presence and visibility of gender and sexual transgression with new laws that criminalized LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. One of the most powerful was the 1873 Comstock Act, enacted by the US Congress, which prohibited the mailing of obscenity. Over the next century the Comstock Act and the laws it inspired were used to censor LGBTQ speech and expression in publications, plays, photographs, and films (Figure 1). In 1882, 1891, and 1917, Congress passed restrictive immigration statutes that targeted (among other groups) individuals convicted of crimes of “moral turpitude” and those who were “constitutional psychopathic inferiors.” In 1916, Congress prohibited assault with intent to commit sodomy in the US military; four years later Congress made sodomy itself a crime in the military and broadened its definition to include anal or oral copulation between men or between a man and a woman. In 1921, new army regulations provided for the rejection of recruits based on “sexual

Figure 1: The Nassau-Beekman Building (formerly the Morse Building), office location of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, led by Anthony Comstock. Photo by Jim Henderson, 2010.

perversion,” “sexual psychopathy,” and bodies that exhibited signs of the “opposite sex.”

State and local governments also passed new laws that targeted LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. The best estimates are that by the early twentieth century, thousands and perhaps tens of thousands of individuals were arrested each year for violating these laws. The last three states to pass laws against sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature were Wyoming (1890), Iowa (1892), and Washington (1893). Beginning with Pennsylvania (1879), New York (1886), and Massachusetts (1887), most states updated their sex laws to make it clear that they applied to oral sex and sex between women. These were supplemented by new laws against disorderly conduct, immorality, indecency, lewdness, loitering, solicitation, and vagrancy. These ambiguously-defined statutes, used more frequently than laws against sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature, provided local authorities with broad discretion to arrest individuals for various reasons. People of color, poor people, immigrants, and people who violated gender norms were distinctly vulnerable. Public indecency statutes, for example, were passed by San Francisco, California (1866), Little Rock, Arkansas (1868), Portland, Oregon (1868), and Indianapolis, Indiana (1869). The earliest states to ban public indecency were Massachusetts (1860), California (1872), Washington (1875), Illinois (1877), and New York (1890). Some of the earliest laws against lewd solicitation were adopted by San Jose (1882) and Los Angeles, California (1883), Columbia, Missouri (1883), and Portland, Oregon (1883).

Meanwhile more cities passed laws against obscene publications and immoral plays. Some introduced bans on indecent films—among the earliest were San Diego, California (1899), Chicago, Illinois (1907), Detroit, Michigan (1907), Seattle, Washington (1907), and Sioux Falls, South Dakota (1908). Additional cities prohibited cross-dressing. Some states, beginning with California (1909), Iowa (1911), and Oregon (1917), authorized the sterilization of convicted “perverts” and “degenerates.” Building on a 1911 Massachusetts law that permitted indefinite sentencing for “mental defectives,” Michigan (1935), Illinois (1938), California (1939), and Minnesota (1939) authorized indefinite confinement in mental institutions for sex offenders. In 1898, New Jersey provided immunity for the murder of individuals attempting to commit sodomy.8

State and local liquor laws also targeted LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. Before national alcohol prohibition was enacted in 1919, many municipalities required liquor licensees to demonstrate “good character” and not serve “disreputable persons,” both of which were used to discriminate against LGBTQ people. After prohibition was repealed in 1933, states began to regulate the sale of liquor and many, led by New York and New Jersey, required licensees to exhibit “good moral character,” maintain “orderly” premises, and avoid serving “degenerates” and

8 Other early examples of states that updated their sodomy, buggery, and related statutes are Ohio (1889), Wyoming (1890), North Dakota (1895), Louisiana (1896), and Wisconsin (1897). Other early examples of cities that passed ordinances against public indecency are Detroit, MI (1870), Lincoln, NE (1870), Salt Lake City, UT (1872), Atlanta, GA (1873), and Grand Rapids, MI (1873). Early post-Civil War laws against cross-dressing were passed by Atlanta, GA (1873), Minneapolis, MN (1877), Oakland, CA (1879), Dallas, TX (1880), and Salt Lake City, UT (1880). Other states that passed sex offender sterilization laws are Washington (1921), Utah (1925), Idaho (1925), North Dakota (1927), Nebraska (1929), and Oklahoma (1935). See Eskridge, Gaylaw, 17-56, 338-341, 354-355; Eskridge, Dishonorable Passions, 49-59, 388-407; and Robertson, “Shifting the Scene of the Crime.” Some of the more significant local and regional studies of anti-LGBTQ policing in this era focus on Long Beach, CA [Sharon Ullman, “‘The Twentieth Century Way’: Female Impersonation and Sexual Practice in Turn-of-the-Century America,” Journal of the History of Sexuality 5, no. 4 (1995): 573-600]; Los Angeles, CA [Daniel Hurewitz, Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007)]; New York, NY [Chauncey, Gay New York]; San Francisco, CA [Nan Alamilla Boyd, Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) and Sears, Arresting Dress]; the Pacific Northwest [Peter Boag, Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003)]; the West [Peter Boag, Re-Dressing America’s Frontier Past (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) and Nayan Shah, Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011)].
“female impersonators.” Over the next several decades, these laws were used to target hundreds of commercial establishments frequented by LGBTQ people.9

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, federal, state, and local officials policed LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities through legal, quasi-legal, and extra-legal means. In many locations, for example, local police and state liquor control officials demanded payoffs from LGBTQ bar owners to avoid raids and closures. Law enforcement officers routinely committed acts of physical and sexual violence against LGBTQ people (and especially people of color, poor people, and people who transgressed gender norms). Many judges, lawyers, bail bondsmen, and police participated in blackmail and extortion schemes that targeted LGBTQ people. Undercover police also entrapped LGBTQ people, persuading them to engage in illegal sexual acts that they might otherwise have not committed.10

Resistance to anti-LGBTQ laws took many forms in the pre-World War II era. Millions disobeyed these laws without penalty and many who were arrested or detained denied that they had broken the law. Some began to challenge the criminalization of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities more directly. In 1866, feminist dress reformer Eliza DeWolf successfully appealed her conviction for violating San Francisco’s law against cross-dressing by arguing that California had not given the city the power to regulate dress. In 1890, after Dick/Mamie Ruble was arrested for violating the same law, Ruble told the judge: “I’m neither a man nor a woman and I’ve got no sex at all.” Ruble was declared insane and committed to the Stockton Asylum. In 1903, Milton Matson unsuccessfully challenged his arrest for cross-dressing in San Francisco by arguing that he was a man; he was sentenced to sixty days in the city’s jail for women. Anarchist Emma Goldman regularly denounced the criminalization of

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9 Eskridge, Gaylaw, 45-49. See also the local studies listed in note 7.
10 See the local studies listed in note 7.
homosexuality during her national lecture tours in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.\textsuperscript{11}

There were other notable challenges in Illinois and New York. In 1924, Henry Gerber established the Society for Human Rights in Chicago to “ameliorate the plight of homosexuals” (Figure 2). In 1925, however, after Gerber and the group’s other leaders were arrested, charged with sex crimes, and threatened with obscenity prosecutions, they abandoned their efforts.\textsuperscript{12} In 1927, Mae West denounced the criminalization of homosexuality while unsuccessfully defending productions of her play Sex in New York City; her play Drag in nearby Bridgeport and Stamford, Connecticut, and Paterson and Bayonne, New Jersey; and Edouard Bournet’s play The Captive in New York City. West was sentenced to ten days in prison on obscenity charges.\textsuperscript{13} In 1929, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) cofounder Morris Ernst successfully defended Pascal Covici and Donald Friede when they were charged with violating New York’s obscenity law for publishing Radclyffe Hall’s novel The Well of Loneliness.\textsuperscript{14} In 1940, Gloria Bar and Grill, a New York City gay bar, unsuccessfully challenged its license revocation by asserting, “There is no rule or regulation...which provides that a sex variant may not be served.”\textsuperscript{15} These and other actions challenged the criminalization of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities.

\textsuperscript{11} Sears, Arresting Dress, 74-75, 142-146. The Stockton State Hospital, at 612 East Magnolia Street, Stockton, CA, closed in 1996 and is now occupied by the Stockton Center at California State University, Stanislaus. San Francisco’s Women’s Jail, also called the Ingleside Jail, was damaged in the 1906 earthquake; the property is now occupied by the City College of San Francisco across from Balboa Park. On Goldman, see Terence Kissack, Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917 (Oakland, CA: AK, 2008). Goldman lived from 1903 to 1913 in New York City’s East Village.

\textsuperscript{12} Marc Stein, Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement (New York: Routledge, 2012), 37-40. Gerber’s home in the Lincoln Park neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

\textsuperscript{13} Chauncey, Gay New York, 311-13. Sex was performed at Daly’s 63rd Street Theatre (22 West Sixty-third Street, New York City, NY); the building was demolished in 1957.


\textsuperscript{15} Chauncey, Gay New York, 339. Gloria’s was located near the intersection of Third Avenue and 40th Street, New York City, New York.
LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities were subjected to increased legal repression in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, but there was also increased LGBTQ legal resistance. In 1941, just before the United States entered World War II, the US military adopted new policies that rejected the enlistment of homosexuals. One year later, new rules stipulated that those who “habitually or occasionally” engaged in homosexual acts were unfit for service, as were men with “feminine” characteristics. In 1943-44, some of these policies were relaxed or revised in the context of wartime military needs, but in 1945 US officials reaffirmed the ban on homosexuals in the military and the Veterans Administration announced that individuals discharged because of homosexuality were ineligible.
for veterans’ benefits. The best estimate is that these policies resulted in five thousand recruitment rejections and nine thousand discharges during World War II. In 1950, Congress provided a five-year prison term and dishonorable discharge for service members convicted of sodomy. Ten years later, the US Army formally deemed transsexuals ineligible for enlistment. In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the US military discharged more than fifty thousand individuals based on allegations of homosexuality (Figure 3).18

17 License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:All_WAAC_Military_Band,_Third_WAAC_Training_Cente,_Ft._Oglethorpe,_Ga.,_near_Chattanooga,_Tenn._%286843436993%29.jpg
In the early years of the Cold War, the federal government introduced new anti-LGBTQ laws. In 1947, President Harry Truman established a loyalty security program for federal civil servants; among those targeted for exclusion and termination were homosexuals. In 1951, Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover initiated a project that targeted “sex deviates.” In 1953, President Dwight Eisenhower issued an executive order that explicitly named “sexual perversion” as grounds for exclusion and dismissal from federal government jobs. More than five thousand federal government workers lost their jobs because of these policies in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 provided for the exclusion and deportation of noncitizens who were “afflicted with psychopathic personality” or had committed “crimes of moral turpitude,” both of which were interpreted to apply to LGBTQ people. In 1965, Congress more explicitly barred the admission of “sexual deviates.”

State and local governments also introduced new anti-LGBTQ laws. In 1948, Congress criminalized sodomy in the District of Columbia; five years later Congress banned indecent sexual proposals (in private or public) in the district. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, California increased its maximum penalties for sodomy, oral copulation, lewd vagrancy, and loitering around a public toilet. By 1961, twenty-one states had revised their laws against lewdness and indecency to cover private as well as public acts. Meanwhile, new laws were passed against lewd solicitation in Houston, Texas (1942), Sioux City, Iowa (1943), Norfolk, Virginia (1944), Orlando, Florida (1952), Miami, Florida (1955), and New Orleans, Louisiana (1956). New laws against cross-dressing were adopted by Detroit, Michigan (1944), Indianapolis, Indiana (1951), Miami, Florida (1952 and 1965), Denver, Colorado (1954), and San Diego, California (1966). By 1961, twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia had

passed sexual psychopath laws that provided for indefinite detention. In 1941, California authorized the castration of convicted sex perverts and in 1947 the state began requiring convicted sex offenders to register with local police after their release from prison. Other states that adopted sex offender registration laws were Arizona (1951), Nevada (1961), Ohio (1963), and Alabama (1967). The passage of these laws was accompanied by more aggressive legal, quasi-legal, and extra-legal policing, which disproportionately affected LGBTQ communities and especially immigrants, people of color, and poor people within these communities. The best estimate is that more than 300,000 individuals were arrested in the 1940s, 1950s, or 1960s for violating the country’s anti-LGBTQ laws. Countless others suffered because the legal system did not recognize their relationships, their families, and their parental rights.20

Other new state and local laws affected employment rights and rights of assembly. In 1951-52, for example, California supplemented its ban on immoral conduct for teachers with a law requiring school districts to be notified when teachers were arrested for sex crimes. New laws also authorized the state board of education to decertify teachers convicted of sex crimes and prohibited school districts from employing convicted sex offenders. In 1958, Florida’s Legislative Investigation Committee began a

six-year campaign of repression against teachers and students at primary, secondary, and postsecondary schools. In 1959, Florida authorized the revocation of teaching certificates based on moral misconduct. California and Florida were among many states that authorized the denial and revocation of licenses for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals based on immoral conduct. As for rights of assembly, in 1954 Miami, Florida, made it illegal to sell alcohol to, employ, or allow the gathering of two or more homosexuals in licensed bars. In 1955, California authorized liquor license revocations for bars that served “perverts.” In 1961, Illinois passed a new law that increased the ability of Chicago’s mayor to close LGBTQ bars. In many cities, including New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, the owners of LGBTQ bars and other commercial establishments were distinctly vulnerable to raids and closures if they did not make payoffs to local police, politicians, and other officials. The best estimate is that tens of thousands of individuals lost their jobs and hundreds of businesses were harassed, raided, and closed by the police because of anti-LGBTQ laws in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.21

Notwithstanding these developments, there were signs of increased support for sex and gender law reform in these decades. These efforts were championed by the LGBTQ movement, which consisted of groups such as the Mattachine Society, ONE, the Daughters of Bilitis, the Janus Society, the Erickson Educational Foundation, and the Society for Individual Rights.22 LGBTQ activists supported reform with educational, lobbying, and litigation campaigns, but also engaged in direct action. They challenged police practices, for example, with protests at Cooper’s Donuts


22 Stein, Rethinking, 41-78. Mattachine was initially based at Harry Hay’s residences in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles, California. ONE was based at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The Daughters of Bilitis was based for many years at 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. Janus was based for many years at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Erickson Educational Foundation was based for many years at Reed Erickson’s home near the Hundred Oaks area of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The Society for Individual Rights was based for many years at 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, California.
Historical Landmarks and Landscapes of LGBTQ Law


Influenced by these and other developments, in 1955 the American Law Institute (ALI) called for the decriminalization of private sex acts by consenting adults. The ACLU, which had long defended individuals accused of gender and sexual crimes, adopted policy statements on the rights of homosexuals in 1957 and 1967. In the 1960s, the Playboy Foundation began to support homosexual law reform. Two early LGBTQ

23 Stein, Rethinking, 63-78. Cooper's Donuts was positioned between two gay bars, the Waldorf and Harold’s, which were located at 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California (both now demolished); see Faderman and Timmons, Gay L.A., 1-2. California Hall was located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California; see Boyd, Wide Open Town, 233-235. Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California, a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009; see Stryker, Transgender History, 63-75. The Black Cat was located at 3909 W Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California; see Faderman and Timmons, Gay L.A., 154-157. The Patch was located in the Wilmington neighborhood of Los Angeles, California; see Faderman and Timmons, Gay L.A., 157-158. The Whitehall Street Induction Center was located at 39 Whitehall Street, New York City, New York; see Martin Duberman, Stonewall (New York: Dutton, 1993), 80-82. Dewey's was located at 219 S Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; see Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves, 245-246. Independence Hall is located at 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; it is part of Independence National Historical Park, created June 28, 1948, and designated an NHL District on October 15, 1966; see Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves, 231-232, 248-249, 253-254, 273-274, 291-295, 292, 299, 317. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, DC; it was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. The US Civil Service Commission was based in Washington, DC. The State Department is located in the Harry S. Truman Building at 2201 C Street NW, Washington, DC. The Pentagon is located on Jefferson Davis Highway in Arlington, VA; it was listed on the NRHP on July 27, 1989 and designated an NHL on October 5, 1992. The United Nations Building is located at 405 East 42nd Street, New York City, New York.
legal advocacy groups were the Homosexual Law Reform Society (HLRS), founded in Philadelphia in 1966, and the National Legal Defense Fund (NLDF), founded in San Francisco in 1967.24

Some liberal reforms were achieved through legislative and executive action. In 1950, California created a misdemeanor option for oral copulation. New York in 1950, Minnesota in 1967, and Utah in 1969 reduced consensual sodomy to a misdemeanor. In 1969, when Kansas decriminalized heterosexual deviate sexual intercourse, it reduced its homosexual counterpart to a misdemeanor. More significantly, in 1961 Illinois became the first state to decriminalize sodomy; Connecticut was second in 1969. In 1961, California replaced its vagrancy law, which had often been used against LGBTQ people, with a law against disorderly conduct. In 1967, New York repealed its prohibition on the depiction of “sex degeneracy or sex perversion” in plays. In the 1960s, Illinois, Arizona, and Louisiana were among the first states to permit changes of sex on birth certificates and drivers’ licenses; by 1965 eleven states permitted changes of sex on birth certificates. At the federal level, in 1966 the US Civil Service Commission announced in a letter to Mattachine activists that individuals who engaged in homosexual conduct were not automatically barred from all federal government jobs; only those who publicly revealed their homosexuality and those whose homosexual conduct became publicly known were excluded.25

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24 On the American Law Institute (ALI), see John D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 112, 144; Eskridge, Dishonorable Passions, 121-124; Marie-Amelie George, “The Harmless Psychopath: Legal Debates Promoting the Decriminalization of Sodomy in the United States,” Journal of the History of Sexuality 24, no. 2 (2015): 225-261. On the ACLU, Playboy, HLRS, and NLDF, see Marc Stein, Sexual Injustice: Supreme Court Decisions from Griswold to Roe (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 139-170, 246-248. The ALI was located at and continues to have offices at 4025 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The ACLU was based at the Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York. The Playboy Foundation was based in the Palmolive Building at 919 N Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, listed on the NRHP on August 21, 2003. HLRS was based at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The National Legal Defense Fund was based at Glide Memorial Church at 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California, a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

25 Eskridge, Dishonorable Passions, 124-127, 144, 161-165, 388-407; Stryker, Transgender History, 121; Eskridge, Gaylaw, 126-127; Johnson, The Lavender Scare, 202-207; and Meyerowitz, How Sex Changed, 243.
Reformers and activists also pursued law reform through court-based litigation. In 1952, when Dale Jennings, a founder of the Mattachine Society, was arrested and charged with lewd behavior in Los Angeles, he acknowledged his homosexuality but denied that he had propositioned an undercover police officer. After the jury deadlocked, Mattachine celebrated its first legal victory. There were also victories in police entrapment cases in Washington, DC, in 1952, 1956, and 1960; warrantless bathroom surveillance cases in California in 1962; a transsexual name change case in New York City in 1968; and a teacher decertification case in California in 1969. The Supreme Court declined to consider appeals of convictions for sodomy in Mansfield, Ohio in 1964 and 1966, lewd solicitation in New York City in 1966, and lewd conduct in Los Angeles in 1968, but homophile lobbying and negative publicity about these cases helped

Figure 4: Julius’, New York City. Photo by Americasroof, 2008.

26 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Julius-bar.jpg
27 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, 70-71. Mattachine’s early meetings took place at Harry Hay’s homes in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles, CA.
28 Stein, Rethinking, 48, 54, 75, 104; Johnson, The Lavender Scare, 174-178; and Meyerowitz, How Sex Changed, 208-209, 241-247. The DC cases were Kelly v. United States (1952), Guarro v. United States (1956), and Rittenour v. District of Columbia (1960). The California cases were Bielicki v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County (1962), Byars v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County (1962), Britt v. Superior Court of Santa Clara County (1962), and Morrison v. State Board of Education (1969). The New York case was In Re Anonymous (1968). Kelly was arrested in Franklin Park (now Franklin Square), Washington, DC. Guarro was arrested at Cinema Follies, formerly located at 37 L Street SE, Washington, DC.
convince New York City’s police commissioner to curtail entrapment practices.29

Reformers and activists also challenged police practices that targeted sites associated with LGBTQ cultures. In 1959, Mel Heifetz unsuccessfully pursued a federal civil rights complaint after police raided his Philadelphia coffeehouse.30 In 1968, the Supreme Court refused to consider Richard Inman’s challenge to Miami’s ordinance against serving or employing homosexuals in bars.31 In California, however, the Black Cat in San Francisco (1951) and Mary’s First and Last Chance Bar in Oakland (1959) won state supreme court rulings that rejected liquor license revocations for bars that served homosexuals who were not engaging in immoral or indecent acts.32 In 1966, Mattachine activists staged a successful “sip-in” at Julius, a New York City gay bar (Figure 4). They announced they were homosexuals, were denied service on that basis, and then filed suit, winning a 1967 state court ruling that constrained the ability of the State Liquor Authority to revoke the licenses of gay bars unless there was evidence of indecent behavior.33 Also in 1967, HLRS supported litigation that yielded a New Jersey Supreme Court ruling upholding the rights of “well-behaved” homosexuals to assemble in bars.34

29 The Mansfield cases were Poor v. Mayer (1964) and Chamberlain v. Ohio (1966). The New York case was Robillard v. New York (1966). The Los Angeles case was Talley v. California (1968). The Florida case was Franklin v. State (1971). In the Los Angeles case, Charles Talley and Benny Baker were arrested for kissing on New Year’s Eve at the Black Cat Tavern, 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. See Joyce Murdoch and Deb Price, Courting Justice: Gay Men and Lesbians v. the Supreme Court (New York: Basic, 2001), 135-147.
30 Heifetz v. Rizzo (1959); Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves, 155-176. Heifetz’s coffeehouse, the Humoresque, was located at 2036 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Note that the alternative spellings are intentional.
31 Inman v. City of Miami (1968).
32 Stoumen v. Reilly (1951); Vallerga v. Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control (1959); Boyd, Wide Open Town, 121-123; 206-207. The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The building is a contributing element to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP November 18, 1971. Mary’s First and Last Chance was located at 2278 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California.
33 Duberman, Stonewall, 114-117. Julius is located within the Greenwich Village Historic District (listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1979) at 159 West Tenth Street, New York City, New York. Not currently individually listed on the NRHP, the New York State Historic Preservation Office has determined Julius eligible.
Reformers and activists also had some success in challenging anti-LGBTQ censorship. In 1955, Bob Mizer, the Los Angeles-based founder of the Athletic Model Guild and publisher of *Physique Pictorial* magazine, successfully appealed his conviction for selling indecent literature.\(^{36}\) Two years later, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, the owner of City Lights Bookstore in San Francisco, was found not guilty of obscenity for selling Allen Ginsberg’s homoerotic *Howl and Other Poems* (Figure 5).\(^{37}\) In 1962, Dorian Book Service in San Francisco successfully challenged restrictions on the importation of homoerotic books by US Customs.\(^{38}\) Five years later, Directory Services in Minneapolis, a gay-oriented mail-order business, was

 addressed Val’s, which was located on New York Avenue in Atlantic City, New Jersey; Murphy’s Tavern, which was located at 135 Mulberry Street in Newark, New Jersey (now demolished); and One Eleven Wines and Liquors, location unknown.

\(^{35}\) License: CC BY-SA 3.0. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:City_Lights_Bookstore.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:City_Lights_Bookstore.jpg)


\(^{37}\) D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 177-182. City Lights Bookstore is located at 261 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, California.

\(^{38}\) Stein, *Rethinking*, 75. Dorian Book Service was based out of the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California.
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acquitted on charges of mailing indecent literature.\(^{39}\) Two particularly significant victories occurred when the Supreme Court overturned the US Postal Service’s censorship of ONE magazine in 1958 and invalidated the Postal Service’s censorship of physique magazines in 1962.\(^{40}\) In this period federal, state, and local authorities continued to use obscenity laws to censor LGBTQ speech and expression and in so doing they effectively destroyed Guild Press in Washington, DC, and the Janus Society, HLRS, and Trojan Book Service in Philadelphia.\(^{41}\) Nevertheless there were also notable successes in challenges to anti-LGBTQ censorship.

Activists and reformers also had a mixed record of success when using litigation to invalidate or circumvent other federal laws and policies. Military service members were rarely successful when they challenged anti-LGBTQ policies. In 1960, however, Fannie Mae Clackum and Grace Garner, who had been involuntarily discharged from the US Air Force, won a US Court of Claims decision that awarded them back pay. While the court did not challenge the military’s anti-homosexual policies, it ruled that the women should have been given the court martial they requested.\(^{42}\)

Noncitizens generally failed in their challenges to anti-LGBTQ immigration laws, which tended to be enforced when the Immigration and Naturalization Service learned that a legal or nonlegal resident had been charged with or convicted of a sex crime. Sara Quiroz, a Mexican woman living in El Paso, Texas, was deported for “looking like a lesbian” in 1961. Clive Boutilier, a Canadian man living in New York, was ordered deported after he revealed an earlier sodomy arrest on his application for US


\(^{40}\) ONE v. Olesen (1958); Manual Enterprises v. Day (1962); Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 27-50, 65-83. ONE’s offices were located at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The offices of Manual Enterprises and Guild Press were located at 807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC.

\(^{41}\) Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 82; Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 299-302; Stein, *Rethinking*, 78.

citizenship; he lost his Supreme Court appeal in 1967. However, George Fleuti, a Swiss national who lived in Ojai, California, won his 1963 Supreme Court appeal on a legal technicality, even though he had been arrested and convicted multiple times for homosexual offenses. As for federal employment discrimination, future homophile movement leader Frank Kameny, who had been fired by the Army Map Service in 1957, lost his final round of appeals in 1961 (Figure 6). In 1965, however, the DC Circuit Court ruled in an appeal by Bruce Scott that the Civil Service Commission could not fire an employee based solely on vague allegations about homosexual conduct. In 1969 the same court ruled in an appeal by

Figure 6: The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House, Washington, DC. Photo by Farragutful, 2011.

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https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dr._Franklin_E._Kameny_House,.DC.jpg

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Clifford Norton that homosexual conduct alone was not sufficient reason to fire a federal government employee.\(^45\) With this victory, which was announced just a few days after the 1969 Stonewall riots in New York City, LGBTQ reformers won one of their most important courtroom victories.

Federal, State, and Local Laws in the 1970s and 1980s

A massive upsurge in LGBTQ activism after the Stonewall riots contributed to more substantial legal reforms in the 1970s and 1980s. The riots, which began when patrons of the Stonewall Inn resisted arrest and fought back during a police raid, were influenced by the radicalization of LGBTQ activism in the second half of the 1960s and by several years of African American urban rebellions. In the aftermath of the riots, LGBTQ activists joined other disenfranchised communities to challenge police repression and fight for law reform.\(^46\)

Much of this was driven by grassroots local organizing. In the early 1970s, for example, New York City activists formed the Gay Liberation Front, Gay Activists Alliance, Queens Liberation Front, Radicalesbians, Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, and Third World Gay Revolution. Similar groups formed in other US cities and many organized political demonstrations and lobbying campaigns to promote legal and police reform. Some of the most significant national organizations were the National Gay Task Force (founded in New York City in 1973, renamed the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in 1985 and the National LGBTQ Task Force in 2014), Gay Rights National Lobby (founded in Washington, D.C.), and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (founded in New York City in 1973).

\(^45\) Stein, Rethinking, 72-74; Johnson, The Lavender Scare, 179-192, 202-208; and Murdoch and Price, Courting Justice, 51-64. Kameny’s home in Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011. Scott was denied employment based on a 1947 arrest in Lafayette Park (now Lafayette Square), DC. Norton lost his job with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration because of a 1963 sexual encounter in Lafayette Park (now Lafayette Square), DC. The Lafayette Square Historic District was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on August 29, 1970.

\(^46\) Duberman, Stonewall; David Carter, Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution (New York: St. Martin’s, 2004); Stein, Rethinking, 79-142. The Stonewall Inn is located at 53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Stonewall was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared a National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.
Historical Landmarks and Landscapes of LGBTQ Law


At the local and state levels, LGBTQ law reformers achieved many significant goals in the 1970s and 1980s. Twenty states joined Illinois and Connecticut in repealing their sodomy laws in the 1970s. Wisconsin joined them in 1983 and courts in New York and Pennsylvania invalidated their sodomy laws in 1980.48 Litigation succeeded in limiting police surveillance

47 See Stein, Rethinking, 81-142, 151. The National LGBTQ Task Force is located at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Gay Rights National Lobby was based in Washington, DC. The National Coalition of Black Gays was based in Baltimore, Maryland and Washington, DC. The Human Rights Campaign is based at 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The ACLU was based at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York. The Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund was based at the Daily News Building, 220 East Forty-Second Street, New York City, New York (listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1982, and designated an NHL on July 29, 1989). Gay Rights Advocates was based in San Francisco, California. The National Center for Lesbian Rights is based at the Flood Building, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, California. Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders is based at 30 Winters Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund was based at a private residence in Seattle, Washington. Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (CALM) was based at 1425 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

of public bathrooms in California (1973) and invalidating bans on crimes against nature in Florida (1971), loitering to solicit deviate sexual intercourse in Colorado (1974), lewd and indecent acts in Washington, DC (1974), lewd vagrancy in California (1979), and lewd solicitation in Pennsylvania (1980) and New York (1983).49 Activists also used litigation to overturn a Miami, Florida, law against serving or employing homosexuals in bars (1972); more generally there was a major decline in police harassment of LGBTQ bars in this period.50 Several of the earliest parental custody cases won by openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual parents took place in the early 1970s in California, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, and Washington.51 There were also successful court-based challenges to cross-dressing laws in Chicago, Illinois; Cincinnati, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio; Denver, Colorado; Detroit, Michigan; Fort Worth and Houston, Texas; Miami, Florida; New York City, New York; and St. Louis, Missouri.52 By 1990, twenty states and the District of Columbia permitted legal changes of sex on birth certificates and drivers’ licenses.53

Meanwhile, more than eighty cities and ten states revised their civil rights laws or used executive orders to prohibit specific types of sexual orientation discrimination. Among the first cities to ban public employment discrimination based on sexual orientation were Ann Arbor and East Lansing, Michigan in 1972. Among the larger cities that followed were New York and San Francisco, in 1972; Washington, DC, and Seattle, Washington, in 1973; Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1975; Los Angeles, California, in 1977; Detroit, Michigan, in 1979; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1980. In 1978, California voters defeated the Briggs

50 Stein, Rethinking, 87, 102, 129.
51 Stein, Rethinking, 106, 130-131; and Rivers, Radical Relations, 53-79.
52 Stein, Rethinking, 87, 103, 127; and Eskridge, Gaylaw, 111.
53 Stryker, Transgender History, 121.
Initiative, which would have disqualified for public school employment anyone who advocated, encouraged, or promoted homosexuality, inside or outside the classroom. Conservative campaigns to repeal antidiscrimination laws failed in Seattle, Washington (1978); Austin, Texas (1982); Davis, California (1986); and St. Paul, Minnesota (1988). In 1975, Pennsylvania became the first state to prohibit sexual orientation discrimination in state employment; it was followed by California (1979), Wisconsin (1982), New York (1983), Ohio (1983), and five other states in the 1980s. Many of these laws also barred sexual orientation discrimination in housing and public accommodations and some city laws, including those passed by Minneapolis, Minnesota (1975); Champaign (1977) and Urbana, Illinois (1979); Los Angeles, California (1979); Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (1983); and Seattle, Washington (1986), covered gender identity and expression. Twelve states and several cities passed hate crimes laws that addressed crimes motivated by anti-homosexual prejudice. In 1984 and 1985, Berkeley and West Hollywood, California, approved limited domestic partner benefits for city employees; similar policies were adopted by Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and other municipalities. The passage of antidiscrimination, hate crime, and domestic partner benefits laws signaled more powerfully than had been the case before that law could be a tool of LGBTQ empowerment.54

There were also significant legal reforms at the federal level. In 1979, Surgeon General Julius Richmond announced that the US Public Health Service no longer viewed homosexuality as a mental illness and therefore would not provide the medical certificates required to exclude or deport noncitizens based on homosexuality. One year later, the Immigration and Naturalization Service adopted a new policy under which noncitizens

would not be questioned about their homosexuality but would be subject to exclusion or deportation if they unambiguously acknowledged their homosexuality. This policy remained in force until 1990, when Congress repealed the ban on immigrants with “psychopathic personalities” and “sexual deviations.”  

In 1980, the Federal Bureau of Prisons agreed to stop restricting prisoner access to gay and lesbian publications. The federal government also adopted new civil service rules and regulations. In 1973, the Civil Service Commission announced that federal agencies could not find individuals unsuitable for employment based solely on homosexuality; only those whose homosexuality affected their job performance could be excluded or terminated. Two years later the commission dropped “immoral conduct” as a basis for disqualification. In 1978, Congress prohibited civil service discrimination based on conduct that did not adversely affect job performance.

Another significant achievement in the 1970s and 1980s was the election of openly-LGBTQ candidates as local, state, and national lawmakers. In earlier periods of US history there had been many elected and appointed officials who were rumored to be LGBTQ; these included US presidents, cabinet and sub-cabinet officials, presidential advisors, Supreme Court justices, senators and representatives, state governors, and city mayors. Early unsuccessful efforts by openly-LGBTQ candidates to win election to public office included José Sarria’s bid for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1961, Frank Kameny’s campaign for the US House in 1971, and Alan Rockway’s campaign for Florida’s Dade County Board of Commissioners in 1971. In 1973, Nancy Wechsler and Jerry DeGrieck came out while serving on the Ann Arbor City Council in Michigan. In 1974, Kathy Kozachenko was elected to Ann Arbor City Council as an openly-lesbian candidate. Elaine Noble, publicly identified as a lesbian, won a seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in

55 Stein, Rethinking, 132-133, 172-173; Stein, Sexual Injustice, 285; Canaday, The Straight State, 249-254; and Eskridge, Gaylaw, 132-134.
56 Stein, Rethinking, 128.
57 Eskridge, Gaylaw, 126-128; Johnson, The Lavender Scare, 202-211; Stein, Rethinking, 105, 131; and Murdoch and Price, Courting Justice, 189-193.
1974. In the same year Minnesota State Senator Allan Spear came out as gay. In 1977, Harvey Milk was elected as an openly gay candidate to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. After Milk was murdered in 1978, Harry Britt, who was openly gay, was appointed to replace him and Britt won election to the board in 1979. In Wisconsin, Jim Yeadon was elected to the Madison Common Council in 1978. Gerald Ulrich was elected the mayor of Bunceton, Missouri, in 1980 and continued to serve as the city’s mayor until 2006. US Representative Gerry Studds of Massachusetts came out as gay in 1983, as did US Representative Barney Frank of Massachusetts in 1987.58

Notwithstanding these achievements, there were also setbacks and limitations during the 1970s and 1980s. Christian Right and New Right activists campaigned against LGBTQ law reform and much of the US public blamed gay men for the AIDS epidemic. Most of the legal reforms discussed above only applied in particular cities or states. In most jurisdictions and most aspects of private and public life, discrimination based on sexual orientation was legal; in even more it was legal to discriminate based on gender identity or expression. Most states did not permit changes of legal sex on birth certificates and drivers’ licenses. Conservatives defeated proposals for new civil rights laws in many cities and states and campaigned successfully for the repeal of antidiscrimination laws in Boulder, Colorado (1974); Dade County, Florida

58 See David Rayside, “Electoral Politics,” in ELGBT, 1: 336-339; and Stein, Rethinking, 73, 107, 133, 174, 198-199. Ann Arbor City Hall is located at 301 E Huron Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The Massachusetts State House is located at 24 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts; it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. The Minnesota State Capitol is located at 75 Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard, St. Paul, Minnesota; it was listed on the NRHP on February 23, 1972. Milk lived and worked at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. San Francisco City Hall was and is located at 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place; it is a contributing element to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District (listed on the NRHP on October 10, 1978, and designated an NHL District on February 27, 1987). The Madison Common Council meets at the Madison Municipal Building, 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, Madison, Wisconsin. City Hall in Bunceton, Missouri, is located at 103 E Main Street. Studds is recognized as a leader in the creation of the Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area, established in 1996. The Congressman Barney Frank Archives Collection is housed at the Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, located at 285 Old Westport Road, North Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Two Supreme Court justices who were rumored to be gay were Frank Murphy, who served in the 1940s, and Abe Fortas, who served in the 1960s. On Murphy, see Craig Loftin, “Frank Murphy,” in ELGBT, 2: 280-281; Murdoch and Price, Courting Justice, 18-21. On Fortas, see Stein, Sexual Injustice, 11-12.
(1977); Eugene, Oregon (1978); St. Paul, Minnesota (1978); Wichita, Kansas (1978); and other cities. In 1978, Oklahoma passed a law that permitted local school districts to fire teachers who publicly advocated, encouraged, or promoted homosexuality (this was overturned by the US Supreme Court in 1985). Litigation challenging anti-LGBTQ employment discrimination failed in Arizona, California, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Meanwhile, the pace of sodomy law reform slowed in the 1980s and by the end of the decade sodomy thus remained a crime in half of the states, various US territories, the US military, and US prisons. Some states, including Montana and Texas in 1973, Kentucky in 1974, Arkansas, Missouri, and Nevada in 1977, and Tennessee in 1989, joined Kansas in creating new distinctions between same-sex sodomy, which was criminalized, and cross-sex sodomy, which was not. In 1975, Virginia increased its penalty for sodomy from three to five years in prison. In 1974, Cincinnati passed a new law against cross-dressing. Most states that repealed their sodomy laws in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s passed new laws against loitering to solicit sodomy. Police in some locations, including Denver, Colorado, used these and other laws to increase their arrests of LGBTQ people after sodomy law repeal. People of color, sex workers, and others who pursued sex in public places were distinctly vulnerable to discriminatory policing. LGBTQ bars and bathhouses continued to be harassed by the police. In thirteen sodomy and sodomy-related convictions that were appealed to the US Supreme Court from 1980; Duluth, Minnesota (1984); Houston, Texas (1985); Irvine, California (1989); Athens, Georgia (1989); and Tacoma, Washington (1989).


There were other legal setbacks and limitations at the state and local levels. In 1970 and 1971, same-sex couples in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Seattle, Washington, attempted to obtain marriage licenses; when they were rebuffed by local officials, they unsuccessfully appealed to the courts. The Supreme Court rejected the Minneapolis appeal in 1972 and declined to review a challenge to a deportation order that was based on a Boulder, Colorado, same-sex marriage in 1982.\footnote{Stein, \textit{Rethinking}, 87, 105, 130, 168-169, 171; Murdoch and Price, \textit{Courting Justice}, 163-173, 220-225. The Minneapolis case was Baker v. Nelson (1972); the Boulder case was Adams v. Howerton (1982). There were attempts by same-sex couples to marry legally in Los Angeles, CA; Louisville, KY; Milwaukee, WI; New York, NY; Phoenix, AZ; and other locations.} Partly in response to these cases, in 1973 Maryland became the first of many states to pass a law defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman.\footnote{Other states that defined marriage as the union of a man and woman in the 1970s and 1980s were Texas (1973), Colorado (1973), Louisiana (1975), Montana (1975), Oklahoma (1975), Nevada (1975), North Dakota (1975), Virginia (1975), Illinois (1977), Minnesota (1977), Utah (1977), Florida (1977), California (1977), Wyoming (1977), Arizona (1980), Kansas (1980), and Indiana (1986). See Peggy Pascoe, “Sex, Gender, and Same-Sex Marriage,” in \textit{Is Academic Feminism Dead?}, ed. Social Justice Group (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 86-129.} The absence of legal protections for same-sex partners became painfully evident in 1984 when a Minnesota judge selected Sharon Kowalski’s father, rather than her partner Karen Thompson, to serve as her guardian after a disabling 1983 car accident. Kowalski’s father subsequently blocked Thompson’s access to her partner. After years of litigation, including a failed 1986 appeal to the Supreme Court, Thompson won visiting rights in 1989 and guardianship rights in 1992.\footnote{Stein, \textit{Rethinking}, 169; Murdoch and Price, \textit{Courting Justice}, 260-270.} As for parenting, while it became possible for openly LGBTQ parents to win custody cases in the 1970s and 1980s, judges continued to discriminate against them on grounds unrelated to the welfare of the children. Even when judges granted rights to LGBTQ parents, they often imposed conditions that required the
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parents to distance themselves from their partners, friends, and communities.66 In 1977 Florida became the first state to ban adoptions by gays and lesbians. In 1985, Massachusetts took the lead in all but banning gays and lesbians from serving as foster parents. In 1987, New Hampshire prohibited gays and lesbians from adopting or fostering children.67

Federal law reform was also limited. Beginning in 1974 the US Congress considered but rejected proposals to pass a federal law against sexual orientation discrimination. After the Civil Service Commission barred sexual orientation discrimination in general, it permitted exceptions for the Central Intelligence Agency, Department of Defense, Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Security Agency, and jobs requiring security clearance. When the Federal Bureau of Prisons agreed to stop censoring gay and lesbian publications in 1980, it made an exception for sexually explicit materials; when the Supreme Court ruled in 1989 that federal prison officials could not deny inmates access to sexually explicit materials, it made an exception for homoerotic materials. In 1982, the Department of Defense issued new regulations that reaffirmed the ban on LGBTQ people in the military and abandoned the more flexible rules that had emerged as a result of several court rulings in the 1970s. In 1986 the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) announced that it would not fund “offensive” AIDS education materials. One year later, Congress prohibited the use of federal funds for AIDS education materials that promoted homosexuality. In 1989, Congress banned National Endowment for the Arts funding for homoerotic projects. While Congress repealed the ban on gay and lesbian immigration in 1990, it permitted the CDC to exclude immigrants and visitors based on HIV/AIDS.68

The most significant legal setback for LGBTQ law reform occurred in 1986, when the US Supreme Court upheld Georgia’s sodomy law in

66 Stein, Rethinking, 106, 130-131; Rivers, Radical Relations, 53-138.
67 Stein, Rethinking, 139, 170.
Bowers v. Hardwick and did so with language that ridiculed and renounced the notion that same-sex love, intimacy, and sex were protected by the US Constitution. By the end of the 1980s, LGBTQ law reformers had achieved some of their goals, but gender and sexual discrimination continued to be entrenched in the US legal system and the future prospects of LGBTQ law reform remained highly uncertain.  

Crime and Punishment

As the previous discussion has indicated, LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities have been linked with crime in multiple ways. Until recently, the US legal system defined LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities as criminal. In addition, popular beliefs long regarded LGBTQ people as predisposed to engage in other types of criminal activity, including murder and rape. In some cases, these beliefs have contributed to social panics in which LGBTQ people and cultures have been blamed for crime and violence they did not commit. At the same time, social attitudes about sex, gender, and sexuality have rendered LGBTQ people distinctly vulnerable to criminal offenses, including arson, assault, and homicide, and the criminal justice system has often failed to respond fairly and fully to anti-LGBTQ crimes. In many times and places, this has been especially true for immigrants, people of color, poor people, transgender people, and women.

Violence against those who transgress gender and sexual norms has been ubiquitous in US history and it has often been difficult for its victims to secure justice. In 1866, for example, an African American woman named Frances Thompson testified before a US congressional committee at the Gayoso House Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee, that she had been raped by four white men during a recent race riot. Ten years later, after Thompson was arrested and convicted for cross-dressing as a woman (a charge based on the authorities’ classification of her as a man), her earlier

69 Bowers was later overturned by Lawrence v. Texas (2003), which in turn provided the foundation for the Supreme Court’s favorable decisions on same-sex marriage in United States v. Windsor (2013) and Obergefell v. Hodges (2015). On Bowers, see Stein, Rethinking, 164; Stein, Sexual Injustice, 286-289; and Murdoch and Price, Courting Justice, 271-354.
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testimony was discredited and her prior claims were denounced. In 1869-70, two female rivals for the affection of Annie Hindle, a professional male impersonator who had performed at Broome’s Variety Theater in Memphis, attacked each other with knives at the Overton Hotel. Memphis was also the site of Alice Mitchell’s 1892 murder of her lover Freda Ward. After Mitchell was judged insane, she was committed to the Western State Mental Hospital in Bolivar, Tennessee. Other well-documented LGBTQ and anti-LGBTQ crimes in this period include the 1876 murder of Jeanne Bonnet in San Miguel, California; the late nineteenth-century rape and murder of Native American Amatkwisai Masahai at Fort Mohave, Arizona; and the 1924 kidnap and murder of Robert Franks by Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb in Chicago, Illinois. In general, lesbian “butches,” gay “fairies,” and other gender “inverts” were distinctly vulnerable to violence, as were individuals who made unwanted sexual advances or advances that were simultaneously wanted and unwanted.

In the next several decades, public discourse continued to associate LGBTQ people and others who engaged in LGBTQ acts with crime and violence. For example, LGBTQ people (and people perceived to be LGBTQ)

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70 On Thompson, see Hannah Rosen, “‘Not That Sort of Women’: Race, Gender, and Sexual Violence during the Memphis Riot of 1866,” in Sex, Love, Race, ed. Martha Hodes (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 267-292. The Gayoso House Hotel was located at 130 South Front Street, Memphis, Tennessee. It burned down in 1899. The site is now occupied by the Gayoso House Apartments. On Hindle, see Lisa Duggan, Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 142-148. Broome’s Variety Theater was located at 37 Jefferson Street, Memphis, Tennessee. The Overton Hotel was located at 255 N Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee. The site is now occupied by the Memphis Cook Convention Center. On Ward and Mitchell, see Duggan, Sapphic Slashers. Mitchell lived at 215 Union Street (now demolished) and was tried at the Shelby County Criminal Court (201 Poplar Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee). The Western State Mental Hospital at 11100 Old Highway 64, Bolivar, Tennessee is currently operating as the Western Mental Health Institute. Duggan discusses similar narratives of late nineteenth and early twentieth century “sapphic slashers” in Pocomoke City, MD (128-135); Los Angeles, CA (136-139); Mobile, AL (139-140); Indianapolis, IN (166-167); Chicago, IL (174-175); and Philadelphia, PA (175).

71 On Bonnet, see Sears, Arresting Dress, 64, 74, 142-144. Bonnet was murdered at the San Miguel Saloon in San Miguel, CA (the saloon no longer exists). On Masahai, see Robin Jarvis Brownlie, “Amatkwisai Masahai,” in ELGBT, 2: 232-233. On Leopold and Loeb, see Saralyn Chestnut, “Violence,” in ELGBT, 3: 226-230. They murdered Robert Franks in a car in Chicago and dumped his body near Wolf Lake in Hammond, Indiana. They were tried in Chicago’s Courthouse Place (also known as the Cook County Criminal Court Building, listed on the NRHP on November 13, 1984) and imprisoned in Joliet Prison, which was originally known as the Illinois State Penitentiary and later as the Joliet Correctional Center; it closed in 2002 and is now open as a museum at 1127-1299 Collins Street, Joliet, Illinois. They were later incarcerated at Stateville Penitentiary (now Stateville Correctional Center) in Crest Hill, Illinois, where Loeb was murdered in 1936.

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were disproportionately classified as sexual psychopaths, disproportionately blamed for serial murders, and disproportionately attacked as pedophiles.\textsuperscript{72} Mainstream newspapers in Philadelphia, for example, linked homosexuality with violence in their coverage of at least thirteen local murders that took place from 1949 to 1969.\textsuperscript{73} In Jackson, Mississippi, two Air Force cadets on trial for killing John Murrett in 1955 claimed they attacked him after he made sexual advances in the bed they shared.\textsuperscript{74} Three years later, Airman John Mahon, charged in the murder of Jack Dobbins in Charleston, South Carolina, defended himself by claiming that Dobbins, whom he had met in a gay bar, had made sexual advances.\textsuperscript{75} In 1968, Mexican American film star Ramon Novarro was murdered by two male hustlers whom he had invited to his Los Angeles home. One year later, Howard Efland was beaten and kicked to death by Los Angeles police officers during an antigay raid on the Dover Hotel.\textsuperscript{76}

While public discourse commonly associated LGBTQ individuals and acts with crime and violence, it also frequently erased the LGBTQ identities and histories of crime victims. Perhaps the best example of this


\textsuperscript{73} Stein, \textit{City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves}, 118-120, 218, 268-269. Ellis Simons (1949) was killed at the home of his murderer in Overbook, Philadelphia; Robert Prado (1950) in his apartment in Center City, Philadelphia; John Simpson (1950) in the Woodlyn Hotel at 430 South Fortieth Street, Philadelphia (now demolished); Richard Rosen (1950) in the Congress Hotel at 1334 Walnut Street, Philadelphia; Edgar Clymer (1953) in his apartment in Northern Liberties-Fishtown, Philadelphia; Elmer Schroeder (1953) in his apartment at the Garden Court Apartments (now Garden Court Plaza) at Forty-seventh and Pine Streets in Philadelphia; John Dopirak (1954) at the home of his killer at Hazel and Keystone Avenues in Upper Darby, PA (Dopirak lived at the Seamen’s Church Institute, 211 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, now demolished); Charles Ferro (1958) in an apartment in Center City, Philadelphia; John Green (1967) at Ye Olde Tobacconist on Pier 37 at Poplar Street, Philadelphia; William Thompson (1967) in his apartment in Lower Merion, Pennsylvania; George Casey (1968) in his apartment at Broad and Stiles Streets in Philadelphia; and Joseph Costello (1969) at the Family Theater, 1311 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (demolished in the 1990s).

\textsuperscript{74} Howard, \textit{Men Like That}, 129-142. Murrett was murdered at the Hotel Heidelberg, which was demolished in 1977.


\textsuperscript{76} On Novarro and Efland, see Faderman and Timmons, \textit{Gay L.A.}, 161. Novarro was killed in his home in the Studio City neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. The Dover Hotel was located at 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished).
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is Kitty Genovese, who was stabbed to death outside of her home in Queens, New York, in 1964. Genovese’s death received extensive media attention because of widely-reported claims that more than thirty of her neighbors witnessed the attack and did nothing in response. For decades, however, the mainstream media ignored the fact that Genovese was a lesbian and was murdered outside the home she shared with her partner.78

Criminal violence against LGBTQ people continued in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Although it is difficult to select a small set of examples to represent the large number of hate crimes, one of the best known criminal attacks on LGBTQ people was the 1978 murder of San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk (along with Mayor George Moscone) by ex-Supervisor Dan White at San Francisco City Hall (Figure 7). Charlie Howard


died in 1984 after he was thrown over the State Street Bridge into the Kenduskeag Stream in Bangor, Maine. Rebecca Wright was killed and her partner Claudia Brenner was shot while they were camping in the Michaux State Forest in Pennsylvania in 1988. In 1993, Brandon Teena was raped and killed by two men in Humboldt, Nebraska, after they decided that he was a cross-dressing woman; his story was the basis of the 1999 Academy Award-winning film *Boys Don’t Cry*. Matthew Shepard was tortured, tied to a fence, and left to die near Laramie, Wyoming, in 1998. After his death inspired a wave of art and activism that targeted anti-LGBTQ violence, the US Congress passed and President Barack Obama signed the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act in 2009.79

Individuals have not been the only targets of anti-LGBTQ crime and violence; sites that are associated with LGBTQ communities and cultures have also been attacked. For example, after the LGBTQ movement gained greater visibility in the 1970s, arsonists responded by setting fires at various LGBTQ sites.80 Although not all of these were necessarily the result of arson, fires destroyed bars in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1972); San Francisco, California (1973); Springfield, Massachusetts (1973); Phoenix, Arizona (1974); Boston, Massachusetts (1975); Las Vegas, Nevada (1978); and St. Louis, Missouri (1979).81 There were destructive fires at LGBTQ community centers and organizational offices in Phoenix, Arizona (1970); Buffalo, New York (1973); New York City, New York (1974);

79 Chestnut, “Violence”; and Karen Foss, “Harvey Milk,” in *ELGBT*, 2: 265-266. For San Francisco City Hall, see note 52. Wright and Brenner were attacked in Cove Shelter outside Duncannon, Pennsylvania, during a hiking trip on the Appalachian Trail. Teena was killed at the home where he was living on Route 105 in Humboldt, Nebraska; he is buried as Teena Brandon in Lincoln Memorial Park Cemetery (6800 South Fourteenth Street, Lincoln, Nebraska). Matthew Shepard was left to die near the intersection of Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, Laramie, Wyoming.


81 The examples include the Mystique in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Toad Hall at 482 Castro Street and the Exit in San Francisco, California; the Arch Café in Springfield, Massachusetts; the Hiding Place in Phoenix, Arizona; Twelve Carver and Herbie’s Ramrod Room at 12 Carver Street in Boston, Massachusetts; Le Café at 4817 Paradise Road, Las Vegas, Nevada; and More or Les at 4135 S Grand Avenue in St. Louis, Missouri.
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Seattle, Washington (1976); and Boston, Massachusetts (1982).\(^8^2\) There was also a series of fires that damaged or destroyed Metropolitan Community Churches (MCCs) in San Francisco, California (1972 and 1973); Los Angeles, California (1973); and Nashville, Tennessee (1973).\(^8^3\) One of the most devastating fires occurred in 1973, when more than thirty people died as a result of a firebomb that destroyed the UpStairs Lounge in New Orleans, Louisiana. Two other destructive fires occurred in 1977, when nine people died at the Everard Baths, a gay bathhouse in New York City, and nine died at the Cinema Follies, a gay porn theater in Washington, DC.\(^8^4\)

Beginning in the 1950s, LGBTQ activists responded to crime and violence in multiple ways: they publicized crimes and violence against LGBTQ people; supported LGBTQ survivors and victims; criticized the police and criminal justice system; and challenged popular prejudices and stereotypes about LGBTQ crime and violence. While some joined “law and order” campaigns that targeted poor people and people of color, others formed coalitions with other marginalized communities that were negatively affected by crime and violence. Many LGBTQ groups addressed these issues, but two early ones that focused on crime and violence were Citizens Alert and Vanguard, both founded in San Francisco in 1965. In the 1970s, the Lavender Panthers, the Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade, and Lesbians Against Police Violence were active in San Francisco, while the Society to Make America Safe for Homosexuals (SMASH) was established in New York City. The strategies used by these and other antiviolence groups varied greatly, ranging from vigilante activism, street patrols, and self-defense workshops to hotlines, litigation,

\(^8^2\) The examples include ONE’s gay clubhouse in Phoenix, Arizona; the Gay Services Center in Buffalo, New York; the Gay Activists Alliance’s headquarters (the Firehouse) at 99 Wooster Street, New York City (located within the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL District on June 29, 1978); Seattle’s Gay Community Center at 1726 Sixteenth Avenue East, Seattle, Washington; and Gay Community News at 22 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

\(^8^3\) The MCC in San Francisco was located at 1074 Guerrero Street. The MCC in Los Angeles was located at 2201 South Union Avenue.

\(^8^4\) Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 174-187. The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Everard Baths was located at 28 West Twenty-Eighth Street, New York City. Cinema Follies was located at 37 L Street SE, Washington, DC.
and lobbying, but they shared a strong sense that the criminal justice system did not respond fully and fairly to the problems of anti-LGBTQ crime and violence.85

**Prisons and Jails**

Throughout US history many people have been incarcerated in prisons, jails, and other institutions because of their real or perceived participation in LGBTQ acts, their real or perceived LGBTQ identities, or their real or perceived involvement in LGBTQ communities. At the same time, many LGBTQ people have been imprisoned for other reasons; many have participated in LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities while incarcerated; and many have experienced abuse, discrimination, and violence in the criminal justice system.87

Prison officials, prison reformers, prison doctors, and prisoners themselves have long expressed concern about same-sex sexual acts and gender-crossing behaviors in

![Figure 8: Charles Street Jail, Boston, Massachusetts. Photo by Daderot, 2009.](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CategoryCharles_Street_Jail_-_IMG_3873.jpg)

85 Christina Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013). Citizens Alert and Vanguard were based at Glide Memorial Church, 322-330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California (a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009). The Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade was based at 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, California (now demolished).

86 License: Public Domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CategoryCharles_Street_Jail_-IMG_3873.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CategoryCharles_Street_Jail_-IMG_3873.jpg)

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penal institutions. In the 1820s, for example, Reverend Louis Dwight, who founded the Boston Prison Discipline Society and influenced the design of the Charles Street Jail, denounced the “sin of Sodom” in US prisons and jails (Figure 8). In an 1883 medical journal article on a “case of sexual perversion,” Dr. P. M. Wise of the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in New York State reported on inmate Lucy Ann Lobdell, who was also known as Rev. Joseph Lobdell (Figure 9). Anarchist Alexander Berkman’s 1912 prison memoir sensitively discussed the intimate friendships, erotic relationships, and sexual coercion that he witnessed and experienced in Pennsylvania’s Western Penitentiary in the late nineteenth century. In 1913, psychologist Margaret Otis exposed and critiqued interracial sexual “perversion” and racialized female masculinity at the New Jersey State Reformatory for Women. One year later, an investigation at the New York

Figure 9: Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane, Seneca County, New York. Photo by Jerrye and Roy Klotz, MD, 2008.88

State Reformatory for Women in Bedford, New York, discovered and criticized similar dynamics.\textsuperscript{89}

Prison officials responded to same-sex sex and gender-crossing behaviors in diverse and complex ways. Some responded compassionately and sympathetically. Some did not concern themselves with what came to be termed “situational homosexuality.” Some had consensual or nonconsensual sex with prisoners. Some used the promise of sex and the threat of sexual violence to promote order and discipline. And some adopted other repressive strategies, including punishment for sex and gender offenses, withholding of privileges, segregation of inmates, solitary confinement, and medical “treatment” (including castration and electroshock “therapy”). In turns, prisoners used sex and gender in diverse and complex ways, with some deploying sex and gender as forms of self-expression, some developing intimate and loving relationships, some using sex and gender for material gain and physical protection, and some using sex and gender as tools of exploitation and oppression.

In the 1930s, public interest in prison sex and gender grew with the publication of Joseph Fishman’s \textit{Sex in Prison: Revealing Sex Conditions in American Prisons}, Louis Berg’s \textit{Revelations of a Prison Doctor}, and Samuel Kahn’s \textit{Mentality and Homosexuality}. These books and a public scandal in 1934 brought distinct attention to “sex perversion” in the male and female penitentiaries on Welfare Island in New York City. More attention followed in the 1940s with the release of Donald Clemmer’s

\textsuperscript{89} Jennifer Terry, \textit{An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 80-119; Regina Kunzel, \textit{Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 27-57. On Lobdell, see Bambi Lobdell, \textit{“A Strange Sort of Being”: The Transgender Life of Lucy Ann/Joseph Israel Lobdell, 1829-1912} (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011). On Berkman, see Kissack, \textit{Free Comrades}, 101-125. The Charles Street Jail (also known as the Suffolk County Jail) was located at 215 Charles Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The building is now the Liberty Hotel; it was listed on the NRHP on April 23, 1980. The Ovid Asylum for the Chronic Insane was located at 7116 County Road 132 in Willard, New York; it was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975. Western Penitentiary now operates as the State Correctional Institution – Pittsburgh and is located at 3001 Beaver Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The New Jersey State Reformatory for Women (also known as the Clinton Correctional Facility for Women and Clinton Farms) now operates as the Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women and is located at 30 Route 513, Clinton, New Jersey. The New York State Reformatory for Women (also known as the Westfield State Farm) now operates as the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility for Women and is located at 247 Harris Road, Bedford Hills, New York.
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book *The Prison Community*, which was based on research at Southern Illinois Penitentiary, and in the 1950s with the publication of Gresham Sykes’s book *The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison*, which was based on research at the New Jersey State Prison. Meanwhile, influential prison reformer Miriam Van Waters, whose longtime partner was Geraldine Thompson, served as the superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women from 1932 to 1957.90

In the 1960s and 1970s, new studies brought unprecedented attention to prison sex and gender in women’s prisons. These included David Ward and Gene Kassebaum’s *Women’s Prison: Sex and Social Structure*, which examined California’s Frontera; Rose Giallombardo’s *Society of Women: A Study of a Women’s Prison*, which explored the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, West Virginia; Sara Harris’s *Hellhole: The Shocking Story of the Inmates and Life in the New York City House of Detention for Women*, which discussed the New York Women’s House of Detention; and Esther Heffernan’s *Making It in Prison: The Square, The Cool and The Life*, which addressed the District of Columbia’s Women’s Reformatory.91

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91 Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 111-148. Frontera (previously the California Institution for Women at Corona) now operates as the California Institution for Women and is located at 16756 Chino Corona Road in Corona, California. The Federal Reformatory for Women (now Federal Prison Camp, Alderson), the first federal penitentiary for women, is located on Route 3, South of Greenbrier River, in Alderson, West Virginia; see Historic American Buildings Survey WV-113. The Women’s House of Detention, located at 10 Greenwich Avenue, New York City, was demolished in 1973-1974; the site is now the Jefferson Market Garden; see the nearby Third Judicial District Courthouse, formerly the Jefferson Market Courthouse and now the Jefferson Market Branch of the New York Public Library, which was added to the NRHP on November 9, 1972, and declared an NHL on December 22, 1977. The District of Columbia’s Women’s Reformatory was part of the Lorton Reformatory (formerly known as the Occoquan Workhouse) in Laurel Hill, Virginia. Closed in 2001, it is part of the DC Workhouse and
The US military has a long history of incarcerating service members who violate rules against LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities and there is a long history of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities among those who have been incarcerated by the military. Beginning in the 1920s, many soldiers and sailors who were convicted on sodomy charges were confined in the US Disciplinary Barracks in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Portsmouth Naval Prison on Seavey Island in Kittery, Maine. In the 1930s, several members of the armed forces who had served in Hawaii or Panama were imprisoned on Alcatraz Island after they were convicted on sodomy charges. During World War II, when the US military incarcerated thousands of Japanese Americans, future gay liberationist Kiyoshi Kuromiya was born at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming and Jiro Onuma, a “dandy gay bachelor,” was interned at the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz) in Utah. Kuromiya and Onuma remind us that the US military has incarcerated LGBTQ people for reasons that extend beyond gender and sexuality.

A new era in public discussions about prison sex and gender began in 1968 when a young man told a local judge that he had been sexually assaulted in a Philadelphia sheriff’s van. After the judge ordered an

Reformatory Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 16, 2006. The Workhouse Arts Center is located at 9601 Ox Road, Lorton, Virginia.

92 Bérubé, Coming Out Under Fire, 128-137. The US Disciplinary Barracks (formerly the United States Military Prison) is located at 1301 N Warehouse Road, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. While some of its buildings were torn down in 2004, ten of the original structures still stand. The Portsmouth Naval Prison, commonly referred to as “Alcatraz of the East,” is located on Seavey Island in Kittery, Maine, and was in use until 1974.


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...one of the country’s first in-depth studies of prison sexual violence. Influenced by Davis’s report, in 1971 the Pennsylvania Prison Society, supported by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, sponsored a national conference on prison homosexuality in Philadelphia. One year later, Peter Buffum of the Pennsylvania Prison Society published *Homosexuality in Prisons.*

In the late 1960s and 1970s, while reformers focused more attention on prison sex and gender, LGBTQ inmates and their allies organized multiple protests against prison conditions, challenged the treatment of those who were incarcerated, and advocated on behalf of LGBTQ prisoners. In 1967, the ten-person editorial board of *Eastern Echo*, a periodical produced by prisoners at Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, resigned when their institution’s superintendent censored an issue that addressed homosexuality in prison. LGBTQ activists demonstrated at the Women’s House of Detention in New York in 1970, the Manhattan House of Detention in New York in 1971, the Charles Street Jail in Boston and the Sybil Brand Institute in Los Angeles in 1972, and the Cook County Jail in Chicago in 1973. Gay and bisexual activist Stephen Donaldson helped draw attention to prison sexual violence by speaking about the rapes he experienced in a Washington, DC, jail after his 1971 arrest at an antiwar demonstration; he later became a leader of Stop Prison Rape, an organization founded by Russell Dan Smith in 1980. In 1972, Join Hands, a San Francisco collective, began doing advocacy work on behalf of LGBTQ prisoners and the MCC began ministering to LGBTQ and other prisoners in California. Also in 1972 the *Advocate* published an article that denounced the medical “treatment” of LGBTQ prisoners at California’s Atascadero State Hospital. Condemning the use of lobotomies, electroshock therapy, and castration, the article referred to Atascadero as “Dachau for Queers.” In 1974-75, lesbian feminists rallied

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Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 268; and Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 149-156. One of the main sites of Davis’s research was the Philadelphia Detention Center, 8201 State Road, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Prison Society (founded in 1787 as the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons) was and is located at 245 North Broad Street, Philadelphia.
around the case of Joan Little, an African American inmate in Beaufort County, North Carolina, who was acquitted on murder charges after she killed a white male guard who had committed multiple sexual assaults. In 1975 Gay Community News, published by the Bromfield Street Educational Foundation in Boston, founded the Prisoner Project (Figure 10). Led by Mike Riegle until he died in 1992, the project facilitated pen-pal relationships, circulated reading materials, provided other forms of assistance, and educated nonprisoners about prison issues. Another early and influential advocacy group was Men Against Sexism, which was founded in 1977 by gay and allied prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla. These and other groups established an important foundation for more recent manifestations of LGBTQ prison activism, which continues to address sex and intimacy, gender and sexual segregation, physical and sexual violence, political and sexual censorship, medical care and legal assistance, reproductive and sexual health, and transgender rights and freedoms.97

Figure 10: Former location of the Bromfield Street Educational Foundation, 20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Photo by M2545, 2012.96

96 License: CC0 1.0, Public Domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2012_BromfieldSt_Boston_Massachusetts_4761.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2012_BromfieldSt_Boston_Massachusetts_4761.jpg)
97 Kunzel, Criminal Intimacy, 191-224. On Eastern Echo, see Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves, 284. On Atascadero, see Eskridge, Dishonorable Passions, 96. Eastern State Penitentiary is located at 2027 Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. It closed in 1971 and is now operated as a museum. For the Women’s House of Detention, see note 81. The Manhattan House of Detention for Men (one of a collection of New York City jails referred to as The Tombs), built in 1941, was located at 125 White
Conclusion

After the Stonewall riots of 1969, LGBTQ activists adopted the countercultural expression “we are everywhere” to convey their sense of expansive and expanding LGBTQ geographies. This chapter has attempted to convey a similarly expansive and expanding sense of LGBTQ landmarks and landscapes of US law. Because of the powerful influences of law on the history of gender and sexuality in the United States and the powerful influences of gender and sexuality on the history of US law, these landmarks and landscapes are potentially everywhere. In that context, the chapter necessarily has been selective in focusing on particular historical moments and sites. Some are distinctly important, but others are better understood as representing and symbolizing countless other moments and sites where US law has interacted with LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. Recognizing and respecting these landmarks and landscapes can play a positive role in promoting diversity and democracy in the United States.
Eric Alva was raised in a military family in San Antonio, Texas. His grandfather had served in the army in World War II and Korea. His father served in Vietnam. When Alva graduated from high school in 1989, he joined the Marine Corps. He was deployed in Somalia in the 1990s and rose gradually through the enlisted ranks to become a staff sergeant. During Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003, Alva was leading about a dozen men in a supply convoy near Basra when he stepped on a landmine. “The explosion was so powerful,” he remembered, “it blew me to the ground about ten feet away and took off part of my right leg.”¹ Alva was the first American serviceman seriously wounded in Iraq. He would receive a Purple Heart and a prosthetic leg. The President and First Lady visited him in the hospital, and he was interviewed by dozens of magazines and television news programs. Alva was a military hero. He was also gay. Many of his fellow marines knew, but this wasn’t part of his public story in 2003. By 2006, Alva was no longer willing to hide his sexuality.

Alva’s courage under fire and willingness to sacrifice for his buddies and his country placed him in a long line of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) US military personnel. Until “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” was lifted in 2011 most LGBTQ troops served in secrecy and silence. In fact, thousands of them did serve and had served since the founding of this nation. By the 2000s, increasing numbers of queer troops were opening up about their sexuality to comrades and even superiors, despite the potential risk to their military careers. This essay chronicles the long history of queer military service with an emphasis on the twentieth century when modern queer identities emerged.2 With this overview of queer American military history, the National Park Service and local historians can better preserve and promote historical sites related to LGBTQ military service and sacrifice (Figure 1).

Before there was a United States, before there was even a gay identity, there were men who loved men, and some of them served with the Continental Army under General George Washington. We know that men had sex with men in General Washington’s army because such sex was illegal, as it would be for two more centuries in the United States. As with other aspects of queer history, we need to find indirect evidence of these soldiers, sailors, and officers who were intimate with other men. Sadly,

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2 Throughout this essay, I use the term “queer” to refer historically to individuals who had or acted on same-sex desires and those who did not fit into historically defined gender norms. Before the second half of the twentieth century, the military focused much of its regulation on homosexual activity and not “identity” per se. This is, in part, why it is harder for the earlier period to distinguish between the various queer categories that we identify today. This is particularly true—even in the current era—for bisexual individuals. In writing this essay, I have had difficulty doing justice to bisexual military personnel. Although a few of my oral history interviews with veterans for the Library of Congress Veterans History Project address this issue, there is not enough information in them to draw broad conclusions or link to specific historical places.
much of this evidence comes from records of legal proceedings and military courts martial.

At the end of a brutal winter at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania in 1778, an ensign in the Continental Army claimed that he saw Lieutenant Gotthold Fredrich Enslin having sex with Private John Monhart in the officer’s cabin. Enslin had only been in America since 1774. Much of his time in the country had been spent in the American military during the Revolutionary War. Though Lieutenant Enslin denied the charges against him, Lieutenant Colonel Aaron Burr found the junior officer guilty of sodomy in a court-martial trial. General George Washington ordered that Enslin be “dismissed with Infamy” and “drummed out of the Camp.” That was the end of Enslin’s military career, but he was apparently not the only officer serving with Washington at Valley Forge that winter who had intimate relations with other men.

Two weeks before Enslin’s court martial, a German officer had arrived at Valley Forge to help drill the soldiers under Washington’s command. Benjamin Franklin had invited Baron Frederich Wilhelm von Steuben, a Prussian nobleman with experience in his country’s esteemed military, to help the struggling American rebellion. Von Steuben might not have come to the Americans’ aid if not for rumors of homosexual behavior that dogged him in his homeland. One 1777 letter suggested that the Prussian officer’s affection for younger men was of the sort “which the law forbids and punishes severely.” Whether or not General Washington knew of these rumors, he was impressed with von Steuben’s military skill and the professionalism he brought to the Continental Army. Unlike American officers, von Steuben drilled the enlisted men himself at Valley Forge, and his drills ultimately formed the foundation of military training for the entire

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3 The battlefield at Valley Forge was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL District on January 20, 1961. It was designated Valley Forge National Historical Park, becoming a unit of the NPS, on July 4, 1976.


5 Ibid., 7-11.
Continental Army. Von Steuben rose to the rank of major general, serving for the duration of the war and commanding an American division at the battle of Yorktown. His sexuality did not apparently affect his service. In fact, von Steuben would spend the rest of his life in his adopted country, which named the frontier Fort Steuben after him. A replica of Fort Steuben draws visitors to Steubenville, Ohio to this day.

The experiences of Enslin and von Steuben suggest the two different ways that the American military dealt with queer troops from 1776 to 2010. When servicemen (and later women) could plausibly deny their same-sex desires or when their skills proved vital for combat success, the military would often look the other way and retain their service. But when there was “proof” of homosexual activities, the military could and often did punish and discharge LGBTQ individuals. The difficulty for historians then is that the best records of gay military service highlight individuals who ran afoul of military justice, not those who escaped scrutiny as they contributed to American military victories.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that men with same-sex desires fought for both the Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War, and the first women with queer sensibilities also served during this period until their gender and sexuality were discovered. As women were prohibited from military service (particularly combat service) in this period, the only way for them to serve was to pretend to be men. General Philip Sheridan found two such women serving under his command in the Fifteenth Missouri Regiment during the Civil War. The women had gotten drunk and nearly drowned. When rescued by fellow soldiers, the women’s true identities were revealed. Sheridan immediately sent the women back from the Civil War battlefront, noting that “an intimacy had sprung up between them.”

6 General Von Steuben’s Headquarters at Valley Forge National Historical Park was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on November 28, 1972.
7 One of General von Steuben’s closest comrades in the Continental Army was Washington’s aide Alexander Hamilton. Randy Shilts and others have suggested that Hamilton himself was gay. The letters between Hamilton and another Washington staffer named John Laurens suggest a passionate and intimate friendship, but reading such letters through a twenty-first century lens potentially distorts the historical record of a time when men’s correspondence exhibits effusive emotional outpouring rarely seen in the modern era.
According to Sheridan’s report, one of the women was so masculine as to easily pass as a man, while the other seemed more feminine.8

The Civil War also saw the first service by a gender transgressive female doctor. Dr. Mary Walker challenged gender norms by earning an MD and practicing surgery in the mid-nineteenth century, but she was also a social activist, arguing against women’s corseting and often outfitting herself in men’s clothing (though never disguising herself as a man). Rejected when she first attempted to enlist in the medical corps of the Union Army, Dr. Walker volunteered her services as an assistant surgeon in Northern Virginia and Washington, DC.9 Finally, in March 1864, Walker was hired as a contract surgeon attached to the Fifty-Second Ohio Volunteers. She was the only female surgeon working for pay with the Union Army during the Civil War. As was her custom, she wore men’s clothing during the war—a modified version of the male doctor’s uniform that she argued allowed better flexibility to treat patients than traditional female dress. Walker saw patients at Bull Run, Chickamauga, the Battle of Atlanta, and several smaller skirmishes, as well as tending to wounded soldiers alongside Walt Whitman at a hospital set up at the US Patent Office in Washington, DC.10 She was held captive for four months at Castle Thunder Prison in Richmond, Virginia, after being accused of spying on Confederate military positions.11 After the war, Walker became the only

8 Shilts, Conduct Unbecoming, 14-15.
9 During her time in Washington in the early 1860s, she lived various places, but two that we know of are a rooming house at 52 Morton Street and a residence at 374 Ninth Street, both now demolished.
10 The Old Patent Office was located at Ninth and F Streets NW, in the District of Columbia. The building currently houses the National Portrait Gallery. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.
11 Castle Thunder was located in Richmond’s Tobacco Row, along the James River. It burned to the ground in 1879. Details of Dr. Walker’s capture were printed in the Richmond Sentinel on April 22, 1864: “The female Yankee surgeon captured by our pickets a short time since, in the neighborhood of the army of Tennessee, was received in this city yesterday evening, and sent to the Castle in charge of a detective. Her appearance on the street in full male costume, with the exception of a gipsey hat, created quite an excitement amongst the idle negroes and boys who followed and surrounded her. She gave her name as Dr. Mary E. Walker, and declared that she had been captured on neutral ground. She was dressed in black pants and black or dark talma or paletot. She was consigned to the female ward of Castle Thunder, there being no accommodations at the Libby for prisoners of her sex. We must not omit to add that she is ugly and skinny, and apparently above thirty years of age.” See Angela M. Zombek, “Castle Thunder Prison,” Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities website, last modified June 7, 2011, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Castle_Thunder_Prison
woman in US history to receive a Congressional Medal of Honor for Meritorious Service, and she continued to speak out for feminist causes until her death in 1919. With her dress, professional ambitions, and medical publications, she challenged gender norms for the rest of her life.¹² Walker is buried in the Union Village Rural Cemetery in Oswego, New York.

Although it is likely that gay male troops served in most American conflicts before the twentieth century, the historical record is strongest for the modern era, when the military, state, and emerging profession of psychiatry began to codify arguments against same-sex relationships and military service. World War I was the first major American military conflict that saw an explicit crack down on gay male military service, and World War II saw the emergence of queer veterans who “came out under fire” and then returned to the home front to build communities and fight for their rights.

As the Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the Great War, a young Franklin Delano Roosevelt authorized an investigation of homosexual activities in March 1919 at the Newport, Rhode Island YMCA, which was frequented by both gay civilians and sailors from the nearby Naval Training Station.¹³ Roosevelt was certainly not alone in his concerns about homosexual conduct and the military. As we are “recruiting the elements which make up our invincible army, we cannot ignore what is obvious,” a San Francisco psychiatrist wrote in 1918. “The homosexualist is not only dangerous, but an ineffective fighter.”¹⁴ The following year, the US Articles of War categorized sodomy as a felony for the first time, and it was in this context that Roosevelt authorized naval investigators to go undercover soliciting sex from sailors in Newport, specifically at the YMCA. The investigation led to the court-martial of seventeen sailors, many of whom

¹² Sharon M. Harris, Dr. Mary Walker: An American Radical, 1832-1919 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 31-74.
¹³ The YMCA, now known as the Old Army and Navy YMCA, is located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.
were sentenced to several years in the brig. According to journalist Randy Shilts, the Newport investigation was the first recorded “attempt to purge an installation of homosexuals.”

In contrast to World War I, the Second World War has come to be seen as a largely positive turning point in modern queer history. Official military policy continued to demonize queer individuals and further articulated why they were “unfit” for service, but the uneven application of these policies as a result of personnel needs allowed for the recruitment and retention of many queer troops. Historian Allan Bérubé wrote that during World War II, thousands of queer service personnel were “coming out under fire,” as they left their small towns, saw the wider world, met new comrades, and sometimes fell in love. Gay-friendly (or tolerant) establishments like San Francisco’s Top of the Mark, Black Cat Café, and Mona’s, became meeting spots for queer service personnel, as did New York City’s Astor Bar, Howdy Club, and Sloane House YMCA. As Bérubé argues, the US military often treated homosexuality as a medical problem instead of a criminal one during World War II, a shift that allowed the military to retain thousands, if not tens of thousands, of queer troops whose skills were needed during wartime. This was particularly true of lesbians in the Women’s Army Corps (WACs), a military auxiliary service that restricted married women’s participation, and thus became something of a haven for lesbian and bisexual women looking to serve their country. After the war, queer service personnel returned to big cities (particularly debarkation points like New

15 Ibid.

16 Addresses: Top of the Mark, 999 California Street, San Francisco, California; the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California; the Black Cat Club is a contributing property (though not for its LGBTQ history) to the Jackson Square NRHP District, listed November 18, 1971; Mona’s Club 440, 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California; Astor Bar, Broadway between Forty-Fourth and Forty-Fifth Streets, New York City, now demolished; Howdy Club, known as a predominantly lesbian bar, 17 West Third Street, New York City, now demolished; and the Sloane House YMCA, 356 West Thirty-Fourth Street, now demolished. See also Nan Alamilla Boyd, Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 56-62, 68-83 and Allan Bérubé, Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two (New York: The Free Press, 1990).
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York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles) where they created or built upon urban queer communities.17

After World War II, the military and the US government once again cracked down on queer service personnel not only with legal and medical arguments, but also based on national security concerns during the Cold War. Ironically, what historian David K. Johnson has called the “lavender scare” was primarily a domestic phenomenon during the Cold War. When the United States engaged in military actions abroad during this period, as in Korea, gay male soldiers were often allowed to serve. “It was a nightmare here in the States,” Korean War veteran Ric Mendoza-Gleeson recalled. “I mean if you were gay here, it was over, Grover... but once you got overseas, the commanders looked the other way.” One gay sailor who served honorably during the Korean War era was New York native Harvey Milk, who would go on to be one of the first openly-gay elected officials in the United States when he joined the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in the late 1970s (Figure 2).18

During the Korean War, the number of gay service personnel discharged because of their sexuality was relatively small, but by the mid-

to-late 1950s, the government was firing thousands of gay troops and civilian defense workers every year under the assumption that their sexuality placed them at risk of being blackmailed by communist agents during the Cold War. Annual discharges of queer troops doubled over the course of the 1950s, and David K. Johnson estimated that approximately five thousand gay and lesbian civilian employees of the federal government lost their jobs during what he dubs the “lavender scare.”

Frank Kameny was one of those gay civilian employees that lost his job because of his sexuality. A veteran of the US Army in World War II, Kameny earned a PhD from Harvard and then worked for the US Army Map Service in Washington, DC, as a civilian. In 1957 the government fired Kameny because he was gay, inspiring his lifelong fight against discrimination. He co-founded the Washington branch of the gay rights organization known as the Mattachine Society in 1961 and picketed various government buildings, demanding “First Class

Citizenship for Homosexuals” from the 1960s until the 2000s. Before Kameny died in 2011, he had become a gay rights hero in Washington, with a street named in his honor and his protest signs accessioned as part of the permanent collections at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History (Figure 3).

By the time Frank Kameny was demanding equal rights for gay citizens, the United States was getting involved in another Cold War military conflict in Vietnam. The Vietnam War divided gay communities just as it divided America. While many queer Americans volunteered for service or answered the call of the draft, others vehemently opposed the war. For instance, Sylvia Rivera (born “Ray” and of Puerto Rican and Venezuelan descent) was a transgender New Yorker active in the antiwar movement. When Rivera was drafted in 1969, she showed up dressed as a woman and proclaimed that although she had been born a man, she identified as a woman and loved men. After the military rejected her, Rivera continued her antiwar activism and was also a participant in the Stonewall Riots and the gay liberation movement. Even though gay liberation and antiwar activism were often intertwined, military service and gay rights activism during the Vietnam era also came together in LGBTQ veterans who followed in Frank Kameny’s footsteps to demand the freedoms and rights that they had fought to defend in the military.

21 The Washington, DC, branch of the Mattachine Society was run largely out of Kameny’s home in the northwest of the District. It was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.
22 Kameny was actually fired for refusing to answer questions about his sexuality after the government learned he had been arrested on sex-related charges in San Francisco years earlier. For more on the Kameny’s life and political struggles, see Johnson, Lavender Scare, 179-208. See also Martin Weil and Emily Langer’s obituary: “Kameny Dies” Washington Post, October 11, 2011.
23 Rivera was later an active member in the Gay Liberation Front and Gay Activists Alliance, as well as the Street Transvestite (later Transgender) Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which she co-founded in 1970 with Marsha P. Johnson. STAR worked to help homeless young drag queens and transgender women of color. In November 2005, New York City named a Greenwich Village street in honor of Sylvia Rivera. Stonewall was the first NHL designated for its association with LGBTQ history (February 16, 2000) and the first National Monument dedicated to recognizing LGBTQ history (June 24, 2016). For more on Rivera, see Susan M. Glisson, The Human Tradition in the Civil Rights Movement (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 323-325 and Tim Retzloff, “Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined,” CENTRO Journal 19 (1): 141-161.
Perhaps no single veteran represents this struggle better than Air Force Sergeant Leonard Matlovich. The son of a veteran, Matlovich was born in Savannah, Georgia. He volunteered for three tours of duty in Vietnam and won two Air Force Commendations for Bravery, the Bronze Star, and a Purple Heart among other awards and citations. In 1975 the Air Force discharged Matlovich when he came out publicly as a gay man to challenge the military’s ban on homosexual service. After several years of court challenges, Matlovich agreed to an out-of-court settlement, but he never stopped fighting for gay rights. He spent his final years living mostly in the San Francisco Bay Area, where he fought to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS and ultimately succumbed to the disease himself.\textsuperscript{24} Matlovich’s fight to lift the ban on gay service personnel in the 1970s landed him on the cover of \textit{Time} magazine and made him an icon of the gay rights movement. Both San Francisco and Chicago have small memorial plaques

![A Gay Vietnam Veteran](image)

Figure 4: Leonard Matlovich wanted his grave in the Congressional Cemetery (Washington, DC) to become a monument to gay and lesbian military service. Gay veterans and activists gather at the grave on Veteran’s Day to commemorate Matlovich’s service and the service of all LGBTQ veterans. Photo courtesy of Patsy Lynch, photographer.

\textsuperscript{24} Matlovich lived on Eighteenth Street in San Francisco, California.
dedicated to Matlovich. The most significant memorial by far, however, is his grave in Washington, DC’s Congressional Cemetery, which has become a site of demonstrations and Veteran’s Day celebrations by gay rights groups. “When I was in the military,” Matlovich’s epitaph reads, “they gave me a medal for killing two men and a discharge for loving one” (Figure 4).25

Partly in response to Matlovich’s challenge, the US military tightened restrictions on gay service in 1981 with a new policy that bluntly stated: “Homosexuality is incompatible with military service.” One of the first challenges to this policy came from another Vietnam veteran named Perry Watkins, who was discharged from the army in 1984. As Perry Watkins argued in court, he had never lied to the army about who he was. When Watkins had been drafted in 1968, he answered the question about whether he was homosexual in the affirmative. The army inducted him anyway and sent him to serve in Vietnam. Watkins made the military a career and would later perform drag shows for his army buddies under the name Simone. After the military strengthened the gay ban in the early 1980s and with a growing conservative backlash as a result of the AIDS crisis, the army decided Watkins was no longer fit for duty. Although the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ordered the army to reinstate Watkins, his case, like Matlovich’s, did not overturn the wider ban on gay service. From 1984 until his death in 1996, Watkins lived and worked in Tacoma, Washington. He continued to speak out against the military ban. As an African American, he was also a vocal critic of racism within the gay rights movement, arguing that white veterans were often asked to testify and speak instead of minority veterans.26

25 “I am a Homosexual,” Time, September 8, 1975; Leonard Matlovich Papers, GLBT Historical Society (housed in the San Francisco Public Library Special Collections); and http://leonardmatlovich.com, accessed May 26, 2015. Congressional Cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011. Several LGBTQ pioneers are buried there, particularly in the “gay corner” anchored by Matlovich’s grave.
From the 1970s through the 1990s, a dedicated cohort of gay and lesbian veterans sought to end the ban through legal challenges and public demonstrations at the same time that the politics of gay rights were gaining steam. Vernon Berg, Miriam Ben-Shalom, Dusty Pruitt, Joe Steffan, Keith Meinhold, Zoe Dunning, and Grethe Cammermeyer all chipped away at the ban without overturning it outright. Like Perry Watkins, many of these activists won individual courtroom victories, gaining reinstatement in the military. However, the courts limited the scope of these decisions to remedies for the individual plaintiffs, continuing to defer to the military on the broader personnel policies restricting LGBTQ service.27 The election of Bill Clinton as president in 1992 seemed a harbinger of real change as the Democratic candidate had promised to lift the ban. Once in office, however, Clinton faced stiff opposition from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Congress, and the religious right. The compromise that emerged in 1993 was “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” a policy that was supposed to end inquiries into troops’ sexual orientation, while

continuing the discharge process for service members whose same-sex attractions or activities became known (Figure 5).28

The “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy (1993-2011) ironically amplified the debate on LGBTQ military service. The compromise, which was intended to silence critics of the ban, ended up generating more publicity about gays and lesbians (although not bisexuals and transgender people) in the military than ever before. On the one hand, media scrutiny and political controversy heightened tensions over sexuality within the military that accompanied increased anti-gay violence in the forces.29 On the other hand, the mainstream media finally began to acknowledge LGBTQ heroism as part of the story of American military history, and the hypocrisy of the policy brought new focus to its inconsistencies and unfairness.30

While the tension within the military about sexuality boiled over into violence in the 1990s, violence involving homosexuality and military personnel was nothing new. On Halloween night in 1958, a young airman named John Mahon, who was stationed in Charleston, South Carolina, went home with Jack Dobbins after meeting at a local gay bar called Club 49.31 The next morning, Dobbins was found brutally murdered. Mahon had used a candlestick to bludgeon the Charleston man to death. The airman did not deny killing Dobbins. Instead, he claimed self-defense and was acquitted of all charges. As the local paper explained, Mahon was a “normal,” patriotic young serviceman, simply fending off the aggressive

31 Before it was demolished, Club 49 was located at 368 King Street, Charleston, South Carolina. Dobbin’s home still stands.
advances of Dobbins, who was euphemistically described as “artistic” by the local paper.32

By the 1990s, the so-called “gay panic” defense was rarely successful in court, but violence against LGBTQ individuals spiked as gay visibility in politics and popular culture increased. This was, in part, the context for the murder of Barry Winchell. A nineteen-year-old private stationed at Fort Campbell, which straddles the border between Kentucky and Tennessee, Winchell was beginning to explore gay life in nearby Nashville in 1999. Rumors circulated that he had a transsexual girlfriend and went to gay bars on the weekends. “Pretty much everybody called him derogatory names,” Sergeant Michael Kleifgen later told a reporter. “They called him a faggot, I would say, on a daily basis.” As a friend, Kleifgen even filed a formal complaint about the harassment, and Winchell told his superior officer about the rumors and slurs. “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” actually suppressed such reports of harassment, because such claims could lead the military to investigate the sexuality of the people being harassed or doing the reporting. In Winchell’s case, even the formal complaints of the harassment by a heterosexual buddy had no effect. The captain just told the young men harassing Winchell to “knock that shit off.” At a keg party outside the barracks on the Fourth of July, Winchell and another private named Calvin Glover got into a fistfight, which Winchell won. Other guys teased Glover mercilessly for losing to “a fucking faggot.” Later that night, Glover beat Winchell with a baseball bat as the gay private slept in the Fort Campbell barracks. Winchell died at Vanderbilt Hospital in Nashville the following day.33

Yet gay bashing was not the only problem with “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.” As Melissa Herbert argued in her book, Camouflage Isn’t Only for Combat, lesbians and bisexual military women had to camouflage their sexuality

just as men did.\textsuperscript{34} Even before “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell,” the ban on homosexual service placed \textit{all} military women in a Catch-22, leaving them open to (hetero)sexual harassment in order to “prove” that they were not gay to peers and superior officers. Like anti-gay violence, sexual blackmail was particularly problematic in the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” era as lesbianism became more visible in popular culture. Lifting the ban would not end sexual harassment, of course, but it would eliminate a regulation that exacerbated the problem.

A resurgence of gay-related discharges in the late 1990s also suggested that there were serious problems underlying the military’s “Don't Ask, Don't Tell” policy. Liberals pushed to add anti-harassment regulations and diversity workshops to official military training in order to deal with homophobia in the ranks. Meanwhile, LGBTQ activists in Washington, DC—particularly the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN), but also American Veterans for Equal Rights (AVER), Transgender American Veterans Association (TAVA), and ultimately, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) —fought to lift the ban entirely in the 2000s. As this activist campaign began to pick up steam, the political environment surrounding military policy changed once again in the wake of the 9/11 attacks and subsequent military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. As the armed forces struggled to meet recruitment targets during these military conflicts and as more queer veterans began to come out, politicians and military leaders began to reconsider the ban on queer service.\textsuperscript{35}

After Eric Alva became the first American serviceman seriously wounded in Iraq, the thing that scared him most about the deluge of media coverage was the potential public revelation that he was gay. “To be honest,” Alva wrote, “each time I was commended on my courage, I couldn’t help but remember how scared I was that I would be found out as


In 2006, Alva joined the staff of the HRC and became their spokesperson in the campaign to lift the ban on openly gay service personnel. Alva testified before Congress in 2008, telling the Congressional Committee members that although he was not publicly out to the Marine Corps, several of his straight comrades knew that he was gay, and did not care. Their response to finding out was, “So what?” Contrary to the arguments of military policy makers that open acknowledgement of sexuality would undermine unit cohesion, knowing that Alva was gay did not break the connection he made to the band of brothers in his unit. In fact, Alva became the godfather to three of his buddies’ kids. “My experiences in the military demonstrate that ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ is a solution looking for a problem,” Alva concluded (Figure 6).36

Alva was not alone in coming home from Iraq to challenge the ban. In the 2000s, a flood of veterans from flag officers to enlisted personnel, came out publicly as gays and lesbians, arguing that “Don’t Ask, Don’t

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"Tell" was hurting military effectiveness. Decorated combat veterans spoke out. Brian Hughes, a Yale-educated army ranger from California, who served in both Iraq and Afghanistan, came out after he left the military in 2004. Robert Stout, an army sergeant from rural Ohio who had been wounded in Iraq, did so in 2005. Along with Alva’s testimony, the stories of gay servicemen and women suggested what the military had long known, but been unwilling to acknowledge—namely, that queer Americans had served honorably for more than two centuries of US military history.38

Finally, the political opportunity to repeal “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” caught up with polls suggesting that the majority of Americans no longer supported banning gays and lesbians from the military. As one of Congress’ last acts in 2010, it voted to repeal “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.” President Barack Obama, who had promised during his campaign to lift the ban, quickly signed the Military Readiness Enhancement Act into law. Since 2011 gay, lesbian, and bisexual military personnel have been able to serve openly alongside their straight comrades. The ban on transgender Americans serving in the military was lifted on June 30, 2016. Military personnel were no longer discharged for being transgender, and by the end of 2017, all branches of the US military accepted transgender recruits.39 As this essay illustrates, queer servicemen and women have long defended liberty, justice, and equality for all Americans.

38 Estes, Ask & Tell, 210-254.
39 Sunnivie Brydum, “Pentagon on Trans Troops: ‘These are the Kind of People We Want,’” Advocate, June 30, 2016.

20-18
Introduction

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once observed that eleven o’clock on Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in the United States. But segregation goes beyond a separation between black churches and white churches. There is a tremendous variety of religious communities in the US - Hindus, Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Pagans, and others. The history that led to this variety within the US, however, is not innocent.

Religious practices of contemporary Native American people are indelibly marked by the devastation of colonialism; the Black church grew out of a nightmarish legacy of mass kidnapping and enslavement; and myriad other forms of religious practice were brought to these shores by immigrants - some of whom left their homelands under duress and some of whom met with discrimination, humiliation, and violence upon arrival. The variety of religious communities that exists in the United States is inextricably bound up with the history of power and its abuses through such guises as colonialism, imperialism, slavery, and globalized capital.

LGBTQ people know something about power and its abuses. On the one hand, they have been systematically singled out and threatened or attacked when they have violated norms of gender and sexuality. But as the Combahee River Collective, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and other theorists of intersectionality remind us, many LGBTQ people have also simultaneously been on the other side of power for a range of reasons: having white skin, not being Native, being documented US citizens, being temporarily able-bodied, or moving through the world as male. Thus, the place of LGBTQ people in the United States is complicated—and religion provides an illustration of how those complications can play out.

Certainly religion has been used in homophobic ways. One need only think of Anita Bryant’s 1977 “Save Our Children” campaign, or of conservative preachers like Steven Anderson of the Faithful Word Baptist Church who rally for the mass executions of gay people, or the work of “ex-gay” campaigns both Christian (like Exodus International) and Jewish (like

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JONAH). Given these destructive realities, it is little wonder that many LGBTQ people have fled the religious communities in which they were raised.³

Yet homophobia does not tell the whole story of LGBTQ people and religion in the United States. There are many LGBTQ people who are drawn to religious communities and practices. Some remain resolutely within the traditions in which they were raised, and others enter into traditions different from the ones they knew—if they knew any—in childhood. However they arrive, the place of LGBTQ people in religious communities can be ambivalent. For a variety of reasons, some LGBTQ people seek nothing more than to survive and maintain low profiles within religious communities that can be virulently homophobic. But at other times, LGBTQ people demonstrate an amazing resourcefulness and creativity in transforming and creating forms of religious life that loudly proclaim their dignity and humanity.

This points to an important consideration when approaching the subject of LGBTQ people and religion—the question of authority and accountability. In the religious communities that are examined in this chapter, there is tremendous variation in terms of who determines the appropriate forms of religious life. Some LGBTQ people are committed to remain within religious communities in which they directly confront their co-religionists over questions about the authority to interpret LGBTQ experiences, while other LGBTQ people work within communities where

their authority is less contested. This chapter will focus on the work done in religious communities to affirm LGBTQ people and their lives.4

Early Organizing

Public advocacy for LGBTQ people in the United States has largely arisen in the period following World War II. Nearly every example discussed in this chapter deals with work done in the late 1960s or afterwards. However, a few earlier exceptions are worth noting.5

Former Roman Catholic seminarian George Augustine Hyde, along with John Augustine Kazantks, a former bishop in the Greek Orthodox Church who had been forced to leave Greece when he was “outed” as a gay man, established an independent church with a special outreach to gay people in 1946 in Atlanta, Georgia. The church initially convened at the Winecoff Hotel (Figure 1) and eventually took the

Figure 1: The Winecoff Hotel (now the Ellis Hotel), Atlanta, Georgia was the original home of the Orthodox Catholic Church of America. Photo by Eoghanacht, 2007.6

name “Orthodox Catholic Church of America.” The church counted over two hundred members by the end of the following year. Later, Hyde supported Rev. Robert Clement in New York City in establishing another church with a special outreach to gay people. Founded in 1969, the Eucharistic Catholic Church, with a local congregation known as the Church of the Beloved Disciple, later had as many as five hundred members.

In 1964 in Mill Valley, California, Methodist minister Ted McIlvenna convened a conference of Methodist, Episcopal, Lutheran, and United Church of Christ clergy and local gay and lesbian leaders. The conference led to the founding of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, the purpose of which included advocacy for gay and lesbian people within religious communities. The council held a fundraising event on January 1, 1965 at California Hall in San Francisco which was raided by the police. Seven ministers held a press conference the following day to express their outrage at the abuse of police power—an unprecedented public show of support by religious leaders for LGBTQ people.

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7 The Winecoff Hotel (now the Ellis Hotel) is located at 176 Peachtree Street NW, Atlanta, Georgia. It was listed on the NRHP on March 31, 2009.
10 The conference was held at the Ralston L. White Retreat Center, located at 2 El Capitan Ave, Mill Valley, California.
11 California Hall is located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California.
Native American Religion

Native American history is addressed at length elsewhere in this study. Here it suffices to note the recent emergence of a pan-Indian identity based on same-sex desire or gender variation, which was galvanized with the founding of Gay American Indians (GAI) in San Francisco in 1975. Organizing around the country was further catalyzed when the term “two-spirit” (based on an Anishinaabemowin term) was coined at a Native conference in Winnipeg, Canada in 1990. Since then, Native organizing, informed by religious practices, has mobilized around two-spirit identity, resulting in a proliferation of local groups across the country. These include: the East Coast Two Spirit Society in New York City, the Tulsa Two Spirit Society, the City of Angels Two Spirit Society in Greater Los Angeles, the Two-Spirit Society of Denver, the Texas Two Spirit Society, and the Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits (BAAITS) in Northern California.

Christianity

Broadly speaking, world Christianity can be divided into three major streams—the Roman Catholic Church, Protestantism, and the Eastern Church.
Roman Catholicism

DignityUSA is an international nonprofit organization of LGBTQ Catholics and allies. It began in 1969 when a priest, Father Patrick Nidorf, began organizing meetings of LGBTQ Catholics for pastoral care in San Diego and Los Angeles. Nidorf called the project Dignity, and similar groups soon sprung up across the country. Members of local chapters provide each other support and advocate for change of church doctrine, which currently maintains that same-sex desire is “objectively disordered.” Offshoots include Defenders of Dignity, which formed in New York City in 1981 and now has additional chapters in San Francisco, Chicago, Washington, DC, and Dayton, Ohio, catering to members of the leather community; and the Conference for Catholic Lesbians, which formed in 1982. In 1986, the church’s doctrinal leadership issued “On the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons,” which resulted in Dignity being barred from meeting on church property in many cities - a situation that continues to the present. Dignity has engaged in outreach specifically to LGBTQ Latino/as, including its Grupo Latino in Washington, DC.

In 1976, with consent from the Vatican, Jesuit John McNeill published *The Church and the Homosexual*. In 1988, however, he was ordered by the Vatican to end his pastoral outreach to gay Catholics. He disobeyed the order, in spite of it resulting in his expulsion from the Jesuits.

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16 “Catechism of the Catholic Church: Part Three, Section Two, Chapter Two, Article Six,” The Holy See, accessed December 5, 2015, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p3s2c2a6.htm#2357](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p3s2c2a6.htm#2357). Dignity Center is located at 721 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC.
In 1977 in Washington, DC, a Catholic priest and nun, Father Robert Nugent and Sister Jeannine Gramick, established New Ways Ministry, a national advocacy and pastoral outreach program for LGBTQ Catholics based on workshops they had been conducting at the Quixote Center, a Catholic social justice organization in Maryland. In 1999, Father Nugent, who had recently been ordered by the Vatican to discontinue pastoral outreach to LGBTQ Catholics, spoke out against religious homophobia at a public forum at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts alongside Surina Khan of Al-Fatiha and Rabbi Steve Greenberg.

Mary Hunt, a Catholic theologian who supports Dignity and who, in 1983, co-founded the Women’s Alliance for Theology, Ethics, and Ritual (WATER)—an ecumenical project to explore the possible confluences of feminism, religion, and social justice work—has focused her scholarship, in part, on bisexuals and religion.

In 2014, LGBTQ members of the Church of Saint Paul the Apostle in New York City launched a project to document their experiences and advocate for their fuller participation in the church. They have released a
documentary, *Owning Our Faith*, which includes the testimony of transgender Catholics Hilary Howes and Mateo Williamson.23

**Protestantism**

This includes a wide range of denominations, including Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, and others. Their forms of organization and internal authority vary widely, as do their policies and doctrines regarding LGBTQ people.24

i) **Episcopalians**

Integrity USA is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ Episcopalians and allies. In 1974, Episcopal layperson Louie Crew founded Integrity while on the faculty of Fort Valley State University, a historically black university in Georgia. Crew began publishing a newsletter that later led to a national convention in Chicago in 1975 and the establishing of a national headquarters in Georgia.25 Also in 1975, Rev. Carter Heyward joined the faculty of the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts; she would eventually spend many years teaching and publishing lesbian feminist theology, such as her 1989 book, *Speaking of Christ: A Lesbian Feminist Voice*.26 In 1977, Ellen Barrett was the first openly lesbian minister ordained in the Episcopal Church.27 That same year, Rev. Malcolm Boyd came out publicly as a gay man—a journey

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25 “A Brief History,” *Integrity*, accessed December 5, 2015, [http://www.integrityusa.org/doc_download/10-integrity-a-brief-history-2013](http://www.integrityusa.org/doc_download/10-integrity-a-brief-history-2013). The national headquarters of Integrity USA was at 701 Orange Street, Fort Valley, Georgia.
he recounted with the publication the following year of his autobiographical work, *Take Off The Masks* and which he would revisit in his 1986 book, *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey*. In 1989, Robert Williams was the first man to be ordained as an Episcopal priest who had been openly gay prior to ordination. That same year at All Saints Episcopal Parish in Hoboken, New Jersey, Episcopal Bishop John Shelby Spong began Oasis, an official ministry within the Episcopal Church for LGBTQ members; Rev. Robert Williams served as its first leader. In 2003, Rev. Gene Robinson, an openly gay priest, was elected to serve as bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire; he wore a bulletproof vest to the ceremony of his consecration (Figure 2). Six years later, he delivered the invocation at the inauguration of President Barack Obama.

In 2004, Integrity USA provided support for the creation of TransEpiscopal, an informal group of transgender Episcopalians. Together, Integrity USA and TransEpiscopal collaborated in the creation of the documentary “Voices of Witness: Out of the Box,” which was released in 2012.

At the 2012 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, almost all of the resolutions proposed by Integrity were adopted as official church policy.

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29 All Saints Episcopal Parish is located at 707 Washington Street, Hoboken, New Jersey.


ii) Methodists

In Dallas, Texas in 1971, Rev. Gene Leggett came out as a gay man, and was subsequently defrocked. The following year at the United Methodist General Conference, Leggett met another openly gay minister, Rick Huskey, and the two began outreach to other gay Methodists. Together in Evanston, Illinois in 1975 they convened the United Methodist Gay Caucus, which was soon re-named the Gay United Methodists (GUM). Following the 1976 United Methodist General Conference, GUM was re-named again as Affirmation; Peggy Harmon and Michael Collins were instrumental in establishing its national organizational structure.

Figure 2: The Whittemore Center Arena, University of New Hampshire, Durham where Gene Robinson was consecrated Bishop. Photo by John Phelan, 2013.

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https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Whittemore_Center,_UNH,_Durham,_NH.jpg

In 1983, Affirmation launched Reconciling Congregations to encourage local congregations to support LGBTQ members. After the 1984 United Methodist General Conference prohibited the ordination of openly gay clergy, individual congregations began joining the Reconciling Congregations network in defiance. Affirmation and Reconciling Congregations split in 1989; the former continued to operate independently of the church while the latter was re-named Reconciling Ministries in 2000 and continued to act, in part, as a network of Methodist congregations, campus ministries, and others that affirmed LGBTQ people.

In 1992 at the University of California Los Angeles, the Wesley Foundation became the first Reconciling congregation on a college campus, drawing national attention to the ongoing work of Reconciling Congregations. In 1996, Open Hands, the newsletter of Reconciling Congregations, released a special issue entitled “Transgender Realities.” United Methodists of color gathered in 2000 to address homophobia, which resulted in the founding of United Methodists of Color for a Fully Inclusive Church (UMOC). The following year, Union United Methodist Church in Boston, Massachusetts became the first predominantly African American UMC to become part of the network of Reconciling churches. In 2007, the year after he disclosed that he was transgender, Rev. Drew Phoenix was confirmed to remain as pastor at Saint John’s UMC in Baltimore, Maryland. United Methodist clergy who have been among the vocal advocates for LGBTQ Methodists include Rev. Frank Schaefer, Rev.

35 The Wesley Foundation at the University of California, Los Angeles is located at 580 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
37 “Our History,” Union United Methodist Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://unionboston.org/about/history. Union United Methodist Church is located at 485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.
iii) Lutherans

ReconcilingWorks is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) and their allies. Rev. Jim Siefkes received a grant from the American Lutheran Church (which later joined other Lutheran bodies to form the ELCA) to convene a national gathering of gay and lesbian Lutherans. Siefkes gathered five people together in 1974 at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, leading to the founding of Lutherans Concerned for Gay People (LCGP). Other chapters were subsequently established throughout the country. The first national meeting was held in 1978, where LCGP’s name was changed to Lutherans Concerned.

The organization continued to grow, formally expanding its advocacy to bisexuals and transgender people in 2003 and changing its name again in 2012 to ReconcilingWorks. That same year an offshoot group from


40 The University of Minnesota is located at 100 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Lutherans Concerned, TransLutherans, was founded.\textsuperscript{41} Also in 2012, Bishop Mark Hanson addressed a national gathering of Lutherans Concerned at Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington, DC; this marked the first time that a presiding bishop addressed the organization.\textsuperscript{42} The following year, Guy Erwin, a Native American of the Osage Nation, became the first openly gay bishop to serve the ELCA when he was elected to serve the Southwest California Synod.\textsuperscript{43} ReconcilingWorks continues to advocate for LGBTQ people at the national institutional level while cultivating support at the level of local congregations through its Reconciling in Christ program.\textsuperscript{44}

iv) Presbyterians

More Light is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ members of the Presbyterian Church (USA) and their allies. At the 1974 Presbyterian General Assembly in Louisville, Kentucky, David Bailey Sindt gathered other gay people and founded the Presbyterian Gay Caucus, which was later re-named Presbyterians for Gay Concerns, and then re-named again as Presbyterians for Lesbian and Gay Concerns (PLGC). The following year, Bill Silver, an openly gay man, became a candidate for ministry in New York City. Local Presbyterian ministers, uncertain of whether Silver's status as an openly gay man affected his eligibility for the ministry, appealed to the national General Assembly for guidance. The General Assembly set a precedent by allowing Silver to serve, as it declared he met the qualifications for the ministry. Riders to prevent gay ministers from serving were removed from Presbyterian church bylaws the following year. More Light continued to advocate for LGBTQ equality within the Presbyterian Church (USA) and beyond.


\textsuperscript{43} Antonia Blumberg, “Bishop Comes Out as Gay After ‘A Lifetime of Denying’ The Truth,” \textit{Huffington Post}, July 30, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, \url{http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/lutheran-bishop-comes-out-as-gay-after_55b6637ce4b0074ba5a54ac5}. The Southwest California Synod (ECLA) has its offices at 1300 East Colorado Street, Glendale, California.


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Assembly formed a task force that subsequently declared that being openly gay should not disqualify a candidate for ministry. This decision resulted in a backlash. The 1978 General Assembly propounded a homophobic theology and denied ordination of openly gay clergy, which in turn resulted in some congregations taking action by publically welcoming gay members in defiance, starting in 1978 with the West Park Presbyterian Church in New York City.45 This network of defiant congregations formed the More Light Churches Network (MLCN) in 1992. In 1998 this network combined with Presbyterians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns, forming More Light Presbyterians.

Presbyterians who advocate for LGBTQ people have also engaged in direct action to protest their denomination’s policies. At the 1991 General Assembly in Baltimore, Maryland, at which homophobic policies were again reaffirmed, a major demonstration was held by a group calling itself Presbyterian ACT UP—an organization started by the openly gay Rev. Howard Warren that modeled its tactics on the direct action advocacy group, AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT UP). In

45 West Park Presbyterian Church is located at 165 West 86th Street, New York City, New York.
46 License: CC BY-SA 4.0
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BRICK_PRESBYTERIAN_CHURCH_COMPLEX_ROCHESTER_MONROE_COUNTY.jpg
1993, the Downtown United Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York enlisted openly lesbian Rev. Janie Spahr to advocate for LGBTQ people within the Presbyterian Church; she traveled nationally in her outreach work (Figure 3).Susan Halcomb Craig, retired pastor at United University Church on the University of Southern California campus, has been an outspoken advocate and writer whose work has included a focus on bisexuals.

v) Baptists

Perhaps the most visible organizing of LGBTQ Baptists has occurred within the denomination of the American Baptist Churches USA (ABCUSA). In that denomination, American Baptists Concerned for Sexual Minorities was founded during the 1972 national American Baptist convention in Denver, Colorado. At the 1986 ABCUSA Biennial in Pittsburgh, ministers Howard Moody, David Bartlett, and Edwina Hunter were among those who formed “Professional Church Leaders Concerned” to work with American Baptists Concerned in advocating for LGBTQ members of the denomination. At the 1991 ABCUSA Biennial in Charlestown, West Virginia, Rev. Michael Easterling facilitated a meeting of over fifty people to develop a network of pro-LGBTQ ABCUSA congregations. The following year, Nadean Bishop was called to serve as minister at the University Baptist Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota—possibly the first openly

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lesbian minister to serve a Baptist congregation.\textsuperscript{50} In 1993, the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists was formed during the ABCUSA Biennial in San Jose, California. The two organizations merged in 2003.\textsuperscript{51}

Beginning in 2002, local congregations that affirmed LGBTQ people but that were based in conservative regions of the American Baptist Convention were allowed to disavow membership within their region and instead apply for membership in other geographic regions of the church that were less conservative. This decision sometimes made the administration of local congregations in the context of the larger denomination complicated, but which appeared to offer compromise instead of schism. By 2015, one hundred Baptist congregations had affiliated with the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists, including Old Cambridge Baptist in Cambridge, Massachusetts—which had declared itself welcoming to LGBTQ people as early as 1983.\textsuperscript{52}

vi) United Church of Christ

In 1972, members of the United Church of Christ (UCC) formed the Gay Caucus, later re-named the Open and Affirming Coalition. That same year, Rev. William R. Johnson was ordained to serve as minister at the Community UCC in San Carlos, California, becoming the first openly gay

\textsuperscript{50} “Pastors,” University Baptist Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, \url{http://www.ubcmn.org/about-us/our-history/pastors}. University Baptist Church is located at 1219 University Avenue SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota.


In 1977, Rev. Anne Holmes was ordained as the first openly lesbian UCC minister. The UCC’s 1985 General Synod urged member congregations to welcome lesbian, gay, and bisexual members; a similar statement was later made regarding transgender members. The General Synod had no authority to require this of congregations, and the UCC’s national office did not provide funding for support. In 1987, Rev. Ann Day and Donna Enberg spearheaded a program called Open and Affirming (ONA) to provide that support to congregations by raising money from individuals, congregations, and foundations. The first UCC church to be designated Open and Affirming was Riverside Church in New York City (Figure 4). In 2004, openly transgender Rev. Malcolm Himschoot was ordained at Washington Park UCC in Denver, Colorado. The following year, the UCC produced a documentary about his life and career, “Call Me Malcolm.” Also in 2005, openly lesbian UCC minister Rev. Rebecca Voelkel became

Figure 4: Riverside Church, New York City. Photo by travellingcari, 2015.

License: CC BY-NC 2.0 https://www.flickr.com/photos/travellingcari/16677977385
55 Riverside Church is located at 490 Riverside Drive, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on December 12, 2012.
executive director of the Institute for Welcoming Resources (IWR), an ecumenical organization of LGBTQ-affirming congregations across many denominations that had been founded three years earlier. During Rev. Voelkel’s tenure, IWR expanded its operations by affiliating with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the oldest national LGBTQ advocacy organization in the country.57

vii) Protestant New Religious Movements

“New Religious Movements” within US Protestantism are relatively recent in their origin and frequently embrace forms of doctrine or practice that might appear unorthodox to more established denominations.

These movements have also given rise to LGBTQ-affirming organizing. One example is Affirmation, a group for gay and lesbian members and former members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known as Mormons. Affirmation was founded in Salt Lake City in 1977 under the leadership of Stephan Zakharias. Although this founding group lasted only until 1978, Affirmation was resurrected in Los Angeles in 1980 under the leadership of Paul Mortensen. Other Affirmation groups were subsequently founded throughout the United States. Members of Affirmation continue to advocate for LGBTQ Mormons in opposition to the church’s continuing condemnation of same-sex sexuality and relationships.58 Emergence International formed after national


58 R. Phillips, Conservative Christian Identity & Same-sex Orientation: The Case of Gay Mormons (New York City, NY: Peter Lang, 2005); Ronald L. Schow and Wayne Schow, Peculiar People: Mormons and
conferences of Christian Scientists in Chicago in 1983 and 1985. In 1978, Craig Rodwell, who was also the founder and owner of the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, was a co-founder of Gay People in Christian Science (GPICS). Perhaps the largest group of LGBTQ Christian Scientists is the New York City Christian Science Group, which meets at New York’s Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center. Gay men in the Seventh-day Adventist Church met in 1976 in Palm Desert, California after posting an announcement in the gay news magazine, The Advocate. Adopting the name “Kinship,” additional members soon enrolled from San Francisco.

viii) Anabaptists

In 1976, the Brethren/Mennonite Council for Lesbian and Gay Concerns (BMC) was founded, and two years later, in 1978, the Rainbow Boulevard Mennonite Church of Kansas City, Kansas announced that it would welcome gay and lesbian couples as members. The BMC was initially invited to participate in a 1983 conference that brought together the two largest Mennonite bodies in North America (the General Conference Mennonite Church, or GC, and the Mennonites in North America, or the MC). The participation of the BMC was controversial, and in the years following, the GC and MC increasingly hardened their stance against lesbian and gay membership and leadership. The opposition to LGBTQ members and leaders has continued since the 2002 merger of the

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two bodies into the Mennonite Church USA. Nevertheless, at the local level, some Mennonite congregations openly welcome LGBTQ members.61

iv) Quakers

LGBTQ members of the Religious Society of Friends, also known as Quakers, began organizing in the 1970s as the “Friends Committee for Concern.” In August 1972, attendees at the Friends General Conference meeting, held at Ithaca College, drafted a formal statement on bisexuality. Published in the Advocate, this may be the first declaration by a religious group in the United States in support of bisexuals.62 The Friends Committee for Concern group was re-named Friends for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Concerns (FLGBTQC) during a 2003

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63 License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/22711505@N05/9542784668
meeting at the Ghost Ranch in Abiquiú, New Mexico, and has become national in scope (Figure 5). Diane Pasta is a member of the Salmon Bay Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Seattle, Washington whose writing has included a focus on bisexuality and religion.

v) Unitarians

The Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) has been one of the earliest and most vocal denominations to champion LGBTQ people. Rev. James Stoll, a Unitarian minister, may have become the first openly gay ordained minister when he came out during a conference in 1969 at the La Foret Conference Center and Retreat Center in Colorado. Stoll was instrumental in the UUA’s adoption of a gay rights resolution the following year. The UUA headquarters, located in Boston, established an "Office of Gay Affairs" in 1973—the first such agency within a national religious organization in the United States. In 1984, the UUA adopted a resolution to perform commitment ceremonies for same-sex couples. The first openly transgender minister was ordained in 1988, and in 2002, the first transgender UU minister called to serve a congregation, Rev. Sean Dennison, began his ministry at the South Valley Unitarian Universalist Society, in Utah. Rev. Ann Schranz, of the Monte Vista Unitarian

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64 The Ghost Ranch Education and Retreat Center is located at 280 Private Drive 1708, Abiquiú, New Mexico. Ghost Ranch was designated a National Natural Landscape in 1976 (a program similar to NHL, but for outstanding natural features. The NNL program is also administered by the NPS).
66 The La Foret Conference and Retreat Center is located at 6145 Shoup Road, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Two structures on the La Foret property are listed on the NRHP: Ponderosa Lodge was listed on August 29, 2008 and the Taylor Memorial Chapel was listed on April 15, 1999.
67 UUA headquarters was then located at 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
68 The South Valley Unitarian Universalist Society is located at 6876 South Highland Drive, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Universalist Congregation in Monte Vista, California, has focused on bisexuals and religion in her writing.69

vi) Metropolitan Community Church

The Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), also sometimes called the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, was established as a gay denomination. It began when Troy Perry, who had served as a pastor for Pentecostal congregations before coming out as a gay man, placed an announcement in The Advocate for a religious gathering of gays that led to a small meeting in his Huntington Park, CA home in 1968. Membership quickly grew, with Perry overseeing same-sex commitment ceremonies as early as 1970. The congregation met in a variety of locations before acquiring their first building in Los Angeles, California in 1971.70 The second MCC church convened in San Francisco in 1970 in California Hall, where the Council on Religion and the Homosexual had held the New Year’s Ball five years before; over eight hundred people participated at an inaugural service at which Troy Perry preached.71

In 1973, thirty-two people died in an arson attack at the UpStairs Lounge, a gay bar in New Orleans, Louisiana; the New Orleans MCC had previously conducted services in the building and many who were killed in the fire were members of the congregation, including MCC pastor Rev. Bill Larson and assistant pastor George Mitchell.72


70 The original MCC was located at 2201 South Union Avenue, Los Angeles, California. The building burned in 1973—possibly the result of arson.


72 Helen Freund, “UpStairs Lounge Fire Provokes Powerful Memories 40 Years Later,” Times-Picayune, June 22, 2013, accessed December 3, 2015,
In spite of hostility, national interest in the church grew quickly, and the first national conference was held in 1970, drawing delegates from eight cities. The MCC has since continued to grow into an international denomination with over two hundred congregations. A Dallas MCC congregation commissioned openly gay architect Philip Johnson to design their building, and affiliated with the United Church of Christ in 2006. As the Cathedral of Hope, with roughly four thousand members, it is perhaps the largest liberal Christian congregation with a primary outreach to LGBTQ people (Figure 6).74

Figure 6: Cathedral of Hope, Dallas, Texas. Photo by PTMurphus, 2015.73


The Cathedral of Hope is located at 5910 Cedar Springs Road, Dallas, Texas. Architect Philip Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 18, 1997.

73 License: CC BY-NC 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/murphus/17513221388
vii) The Black Church

Within Protestantism, “the Black Church” can refer to (a) historically African American denominations such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, (b) predominantly African American congregations within otherwise largely white denominations such as the United Church of Christ, and (c) independent African American congregations that are not affiliated with any denomination. The affirmation of LGBTQ African Americans can be found in each of these parts of the Black Church, as well as in the work of independent Black theologians and scholars.75

Union United Methodist Church is one of Boston’s oldest African American congregations.76 Beginning in 2000 under the leadership of Rev. Theodore Lockhart, the church made an unprecedented move among

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76 Union United Methodist Church is located at 485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.
black Methodist congregations to unequivocally support LGBTQ members and offer support for those affected by HIV.78

Bishop Yvette Flunder was raised within the Church of God In Christ (an historically African American Pentecostal denomination) and established the predominantly LGBTQ African American congregation City of Refuge in San Francisco in 1991. Services were held for a period at 1025 Howard Street in San Francisco (Figure 7) until the congregation re-located to Oakland in 2013. In 1995, City of Refuge formally became part of the United Church of Christ. City of Refuge gave rise to Transcendence, possibly the first transgender gospel choir.79 Flunder, who is openly lesbian, also founded the Fellowship of Affirming Ministries in 2000, a

Figure 7: City of Refuge, 1025 Howard Street, San Francisco, California. Photo by Cary Bass-Dechenes, 2010.77

77 License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/bastique/5102053237
coalition of approximately forty congregations of different denominations, many of which are predominantly African American and/or led by LGBTQ ministers.80

Carl Bean, an entertainer who attended the Metropolitan Community Church’s Samaritan College, established the Unity Fellowship Church in 1982 in Los Angeles as a church for LGBTQ African Americans. Meetings were held in members’ homes before holding public services at the Cockatoo Inn in Hawthorne, California, then at the Ebony Showcase Theater, and later at the Carl Bean Center, both in Los Angeles, California.81 The congregation has since expanded into the Unity Fellowship Church Movement with congregations throughout the country. Charlene Jacqueline Arcila-Ecks was a transgender activist who served as minister at Unity Fellowship of Christ Church in Philadelphia until her death in 2015.82

In 2012, Pastor Romell Weekly co-founded The Sanctuary, a non-denominational church with connections to both the North American Baptist Conference and the Evangelical Free Church of America. Currently located in Kirkwood, Missouri, the mission of the church is to be a multiracial, LGBTQ-affirming congregation.83

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81 Cockatoo Inn was located at 11500 Acacia Avenue, Hawthorne, California. The Ebony Showcase Theater was at 4718 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The Carl Bean Center is located at 5149 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.
Other LGBTQ-affirming African American congregations are not affiliated with a major denomination. One example is Faith Temple, founded by Pentecostal minister James Tinney in Washington, DC, in 1982. Another example is Inner Light Ministries—also in Washington, DC. Founded by Rev. Kwabena Rainier Cheeks in 1993, it initially was part of the Unity Fellowship Church Movement before becoming independent in 2002. Another example comes from the work of Alex D. Byrd, who conducted Bible study sessions with LGBTQ people before holding services as the Living Faith Church of the Full Covenant at the Wyndham Garden Hotel in Dallas, Texas in 2000. The church’s name was later changed to Living Faith Covenant Church.

Other openly LGBTQ African American religious leaders have not always been the pastors of regular congregations. Rev. Peter Gomes served as minister at an American Baptist congregation in Plymouth, Massachusetts before being appointed in 1970 as senior pastor at Harvard University’s non-denominational Memorial Church and a member of Harvard’s faculty.

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86 Wyndham Garden Hotel is located at 2645 Lyndon B. Johnson Freeway, Dallas, Texas. “Church History,” Living Faith Covenant Church website, accessed December 5, 2015, [http://www.livingfaithdfw.org/AboutUs/ChurchHistory.aspx](http://www.livingfaithdfw.org/AboutUs/ChurchHistory.aspx).
When he came out as a gay man in 1991, his position at Harvard gave him a national platform to advocate for LGBTQ people, which he did until his death in 2011. Rev. Irene Monroe, a PhD candidate at Harvard, served as pastor of a predominantly black Presbyterian church before becoming a syndicated religion columnist and contributing writer in the national media. Her writings regularly include a focus on the role of religion in the lives of LGBTQ African Americans. Rev. Roland Stringfellow, an American Baptist minister, is director of ministerial outreach at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies in Religion and Ministry and

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87 License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/digitizedchaos/3523667077
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coordinator of the African American Roundtable at the Pacific School of Religion—an ecumenical seminary in Berkeley, California. In addition to his writings in national media, Rev. Stringfellow has served as director of the Umoja Project, a project assisting African American pastors and church leaders in supporting LGBTQ congregants. Renee L. Hill has taught and been a consultant at a number of institutions, including Drew University in Madison, New Jersey and Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Chicago.

Other African American LGBTQ clergy and lay leaders have created online networks among Black Church members across denominational lines. These include Senior Minister Camarion D. Anderson, Pastor Raymond Walker II, Yeshua Aaron Holiday, Minister Felicia Harris, Minister Louis Mitchell, and Rev. Yunus Coldman, of the TransSaints network; and Rev. Cedric A. Harmon, Rev. Candy Holmes, Rev. Dr. Pamela Lightsey, and others involved in the Many Voices network.

Some pastors of black congregations do not necessarily identify as LGBTQ but have been strongly vocal in their support of LGBTQ people—sometimes losing significant numbers of members from their congregations as a result. These include Rev. Dennis Meredith of Tabernacle Baptist Church and Rev. Kenneth Samuel of Victory Church, both in the Atlanta, Georgia area.


Other major black public intellectuals have also been vocal in calling upon the Black Church to affirm its LGBTQ members, including scholars of religion Cornel West and Anthony Pinn, as well as sociologist Michael Eric Dyson, who is also an ordained Baptist minister.95

viii) Latino/a Protestants

Many Latino/as in the United States are Catholic; as mentioned above, Dignity has been involved in outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as. But many Latino/as also come from Protestant—especially evangelical—backgrounds.96

The Metropolitan Community Church has long engaged in outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as, including the creation of La Fundadora Iglesia de la Comunidad Metropolitana in 1992 as part of Founders MCC in Los Angeles, California.97 The MCC in San Antonio, Texas, began offering Spanish-language services in 2009.98 The MCC of Washington, DC, has partnered with the local chapter of Dignity in doing outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as.99 Pursuing a broader pro-active outreach among MCC


97 “Comunidad Latina (Iglesia de la Comunidad Metropolitana),” Founders MCC website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.mccla.org/community/comunidad-latina-iglesia-de-la-comunidad-metropolitana. The Founders MCC is located at 4607 Prospect Avenue, Los Angeles, California.


congregations was the focus of a 2014 conference at Resurrection MCC in Houston, Texas—a meeting that involved approximately thirty MCC leaders, including Rev. Dr. Nancy Wilson and Rev. Hector Gutierrez.100

As with African Americans, there have been Latino/a religious leaders who advocated for LGBTQ Latino/as, including leaders who do not serve as pastors of regular congregations. Rev. Dr. Miguel A. De La Torre, a Southern Baptist minister who teaches at Iliff School of Theology in Denver, Colorado, spoke out in favor of marriage equality.101 Rev. J. Manny Santiago, an American Baptist minister and former pastor of University Baptist Church in Seattle, has written in national media as an advocate of LGBTQ rights.102

ix) Soulforce

Soulforce, a Texas-based interdenominational social action organization, was established in 1998 by Mel White, a former evangelical pastor who ghostwrote for conservative televangelists, including Jerry Falwell, before White came out as a gay man in 1994. White switched his affiliation to the MCC and devoted himself full-time to advocating for LGBTQ people—particularly in response to religious homophobia.
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Soulforce’s work has included campaigns to support LGBTQ members of Christian colleges and servicemembers in the US military.103

The Eastern Church

The Eastern Church includes Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox churches, such as the Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, and Coptic Orthodox churches. Closely associated with these are Eastern Catholic churches in full communion with Rome, such as the Byzantine and Armenian Rites. Axios is an organization for LGBTQ persons affiliated with any of these Eastern Churches. It was founded in Los Angeles in 1980, and subsequently established chapters throughout the United States, including Boston, Washington, DC, and Chicago. Chapter members are laypersons who meet for support, research, and engagement with Eastern clergy.104

Judaism

Among the major Jewish religious movements—Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, and Renewal—recognition of and advocacy for LGBTQ members has varied widely.105

Orthodox Judaism

Orthodox Rabbi Steven Greenberg came out as a gay man in 1999. Two years later, Sandi Simcha DuBowski released his documentary *Trembling Before G-d*, which portrayed the lives of gay and lesbian Orthodox Jews. These events elicited strong reactions from Orthodox Jews in the United States and Israel. In 2010, “Torah View on Homosexuality,” a statement by a group of rabbis who serve as roshei yeshiva or deans of Yeshiva University in New York City, the most influential Orthodox seminary in the United States, broadly condemned gay sexual activity while cautiously extending limited accommodations to gays in Orthodox Jewish life.

Both in the United States and in Israel, some organizations have been created to provide support to LGBTQ Orthodox Jews, including two New York-based organizations: JQYouth, which began meeting in 2001, and Eshel, a broad-based advocacy and support organization for LGBTQ Orthodox Jews, which was established in 2012. In 2010, Orthodox rabbis Nathaniel Helfgot, Aryeh Klapper, Yitzchak Blau and others drafted the “Statement of Principles on the Place of Jews with a Homosexual Orientation in Our Community,” which was subsequently signed by many other Orthodox rabbis and educators in the United States and elsewhere. While not affirming same-sex desire nor relationships, it does call for the fullest possible inclusion of openly gay people in Orthodox life and discourages pressuring gay Orthodox Jews to enter into ostensibly

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heterosexual marriages.110 In the late 1990s, Israeli Beth Orens came to New York City to transition from male to female; she subsequently returned to Israel before moving back again to the United States, where she began the Dina email list for other transgender Orthodox Jews.111 In 2008, Joy Ladin became the first openly transgender person to serve on the faculty of an Orthodox institution of higher learning, Stern College for Women of Yeshiva University in New York City.112

Conservative Judaism

In 2006, the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Rabbinical Assembly (CJLS), which serves as the professional organization of Conservative rabbis, lifted most prohibitions on gay sexual activity. It also declared that openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual rabbis and cantors could be ordained and affirmed that same-sex unions could be recognized.113 Accordingly, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, a Conservative seminary, began admitting openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual rabbinical candidates the following year; and the celebration of same-sex

unions was established in 2012. In 2003, CJLS determined that sex reassignment surgery could officially change a person’s gender under Jewish law.

Reform Judaism

Beth Chayim Chadashim, a Reform synagogue, was founded in West Los Angeles in 1972 as the first synagogue specifically for lesbians and gay men. Three years later, in 1975, Congregation Or Chadash was founded in Chicago, a Reform synagogue for lesbians and gay men that began as a support group. The group began holding religious services in 1976, moving to share space with the Second Unitarian Universalist Church in 1977. Also in

Figure 9: Congregation Sha’ar Zahav, San Francisco, California. Photo by Ed Bierman, 2010.


116 License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/edbierman/4487893209

117 “History,” Beth Chayim Chadashim website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.bcc-la.org/about/history. The congregation of Beth Chayim Chadashim bought its own building in 1977, located at 6000 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. This may have been the first synagogue owned by an LGBTQ congregation.

1977, the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), which is the national organization of Reform rabbis, determined that Reform organizations should actively oppose discrimination against gay and lesbian members.\textsuperscript{119} That same year, Congregation Sha’ar Zahav was founded in San Francisco as a Reform synagogue with a particular outreach to lesbians and gay men (Figure 9).\textsuperscript{120}

In 1990, the Union for Reform Judaism (URJ), the national body that supports Reform synagogues, determined that gay and lesbian Jews were fully members of the Reform community, and CCAR took the position that all rabbis should be treated equally regardless of sexual orientation. CCAR also declared in 1998 that rabbis could officiate at same-sex commitment ceremonies.\textsuperscript{121} The URJ extended these positions in 2003 to include bisexuals and transgender people, and made a stronger resolution to support transgender members of the congregation in 2015.\textsuperscript{122} In 2009, Congregation Sha’ar Zahav published a complete \textit{siddur}, or prayer book—


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the first to address the lives and experiences of LGBTQ Jews. In 2010 in Los Angeles, Reuben Zellman became the first openly transgender ordained Reform rabbi. Denise Eger became the first openly lesbian rabbi to serve as president of CCAR in 2015.

Reconstructionist Judaism

The Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Wyncote, Pennsylvania (Figure 10) is the only Reconstructionist rabbinical school. Its administration determined in 1984 that the seminary would accept openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual students. This led the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation (the national body of congregations) to declare full support of gay and lesbian rights. In 1985, Congregation Sha’ar Zahav was located at 290 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California.

126 License: CC BY-SA 3.0 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RRC.JPG
127 Reconstructionist Rabbinical College is located at 1299 Church Road, Wyncote, Pennsylvania.
Deborah Brin may have become the first openly lesbian rabbi when she was ordained by the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College. That same year, Congregation Bet Haverim was established as a gay and lesbian Reconstructionist synagogue in Atlanta, Georgia. Work by lay leaders, rabbis, and others resulted in the 1993 report “Homosexuality and Judaism: The Reconstructionist Position,” which was the basis for designating certain congregations as kehilah mekabelet, or officially welcoming of gay and lesbian people.

The Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association elected Rabbi Toba Spitzer, an open lesbian, as president in 2007 and subsequently elected Rabbi Jason Klein, an openly gay man, as president in 2013. That same year, Rabbi Deborah Waxman, an open lesbian, was elected president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College. In 2015, openly transgender Jacob Lieberman graduated from the college; while a student, he collaborated with faculty member Rabbi Jacob Staub to create a transgender/genderqueer committee at the college, which has performed outreach and advocacy work with the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association. The scholarship of Rabbi Rebecca T. Alpert, former dean of

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students at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, has included a focus

Renewal Judaism

Within the Jewish Renewal Movement, Fabrangen Havurah was founded in Washington, DC, in 1971 and would go on to become an LGBTQ-welcoming religious community.\footnote{138 “Key Dates in Fabrangen’s History,” Fabrangen website, accessed December 5, 2015, \url{http://www.fabrangen.org/about-us/fabrangen-history}. The first meeting was held at 2158 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, DC.} Eli Cohen, who may have been the first openly gay Jewish Renewal rabbi, was ordained in 2005.\footnote{139 “Rabbi’s Corner,” Chadeish Yameinu website, accessed December 5, 2015, \url{https://sites.google.com/site/cysantacruzorg/rabbi}.} In 2011, openly bisexual Debra Kolodny was ordained. Bisexuality has been a focus of Kolodny’s writings and activism.\footnote{140 Debra Kolodny, “Profile: Debra Kolodny,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, modified October 15, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, \url{http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=48}.}

Other Jewish Congregations

Some LGBTQ-focused synagogues have been established without formal affiliation with any of the major movements in Judaism. Congregation Beit Simchat Torah was founded in New York City in 1973 and first met in the Church of the Holy Apostles, an Episcopal church. Since 1975, they have gathered at rented space in the Westbeth Artists Community in New York City. In 2011, the congregation purchased a
permanent home near Madison Square Gardens and have begun renovations in order to relocate there. Beit Simchat Torah claims to be the largest LGBTQ synagogue in the world.\textsuperscript{141} Bet Mishpachah was founded in Washington, DC, in 1975 as the Metropolitan Community Temple Mishpocheh. The following year, they hosted the First International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews. They spent their first years meeting in rented spaces around Washington, DC. In 1980, they adopted the name Beit Mishpachah and, at the Third International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews, they co-founded the World Congress of Gay and Lesbian Jews. In 1997, the congregation moved to the newly-restored Washington, DC Jewish Community Center.\textsuperscript{142}

Broad-based organizations have been created to advocate for LGBTQ Jews. In addition to the World Congress of Gay & Lesbian Jews (also sometimes called Keshet Ga’avah), these include Nehirim and Keshet (not to be confused with Keshet Ga’avah).\textsuperscript{143}

\textit{Islam}

The Al-Fatiha Foundation was established in 1997 by Faisal Alam, a Pakistani-American. Also playing a leadership role was Daaylee Abdullah,


\textsuperscript{142} “About Us: Our History,” Bet Mishpachah website, accessed November 7, 2015, \url{http://www.betmish.org/index.php/about-us/who-we-are/our-history}. The DC Jewish Community Center is located at 1529 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC.


21-41
Drew Bourn

an openly gay African American imam in Washington, DC. Multiple local chapters were founded and annual conferences were held until Alam stepped down in 2005 and the organization folded.144

In 2007, Ani Zonneveld and Pamela Taylor founded Muslims for Progressive Values (MPV), based in Los Angeles.146 Among its ten principles: “We endorse the human and civil rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI) individuals.”147 With support from the Human Rights Campaign (a national LGBTQ civil rights organization),


145 License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 https://www.flickr.com/photos/betsian/3701121867


MPV commissioned openly transgender Muslim Tynan Power to adapt material by Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle (a scholar of Islam who teaches at Emory University). The result was the 2010 document “Sexual Diversity in Islam: Is There Room for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Muslims?” MPV has also partnered with Daayiee Abdullah to produce an online LGBTQ lecture series.

With support from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Muslim Alliance for Sexual and Gender Diversity (MASGD) was established at the 2013 Creating Change conference in Atlanta, Georgia.

Ibrahim Farajajé, who described himself as “a gay-identified bisexual Black theologian,” explored Islamic mysticism and taught about Islam at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California (Figure 11).

Some LGBTQ Muslims have sought to portray their own lives through a variety of projects. A Jihad for Love is a 2007 documentary featuring LGBTQ Muslims in the United States and elsewhere. Coming Out Muslim: Radical Acts of Love is a play that premiered at the 2014 Fresh Fruit Festival in New York City.

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151 Elias Farajajé Jones, “Breaking Silence: Toward an In-The-Life Theology,” in Black Theology: A Documentary History, 139-159. Ibrahim Farajajé passed away in February 2016. The Graduate Theological Union is located at 2400 Ridge Road, Berkeley, California.

Hinduism

There is little organized presence of LGBTQ Hindus in the United States. The Gay and Lesbian Vaishnava Association has existed in online formats since 2001, and includes members primarily from the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) and other Vaishnava traditions from the United States and abroad.¹⁵³

Trikone is a social organization for LGBTQ people of South Asian descent—including Hindus and Muslims—founded by Arvind Kumar and Suvir Das in Northern California in 1986. Other chapters have developed elsewhere in the country. A newsletter of the same name has published articles on religion in the lives of LGBTQ South Asians.¹⁵⁴

Buddhism

Buddhists in the United States are usually immigrants and their descendants who have brought Buddhist traditions from home countries, or converts. The latter are almost exclusively white people who refer to themselves as “Western Buddhists” and who, unlike Buddhist lay persons in Asia, tend to focus on meditation and doctrine.

Some LGBTQ Buddhists have emerged as teachers and leaders. Enkyō Pat O'Hara is an openly lesbian Soto (Japanese) Zen teacher in New York City.¹⁵⁵ Soeng Hyang is also openly lesbian, and is a Jogye (Korean) Zen teacher at the Kwan Um School of Zen in Cumberland, Rhode Island.¹⁵⁶ Caitriona Reed is a transgender woman and a Thiền (Vietnamese) Zen teacher based in Southern California. Sarika Dharma was an openly

¹⁵⁶ The Kwan Um School is located at 99 Pound Road, Cumberland, Rhode Island.
Struggles in Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in US History

Lesbian monk of Vietnamese Zen and head of the International Buddhist Meditation Center in Los Angeles, California; she also oversaw a lesbian Buddhist group in Los Angeles. Issan Dorsey was an openly gay man, Soto Zen teacher, and former abbot at the Hartford Street Zen Center in the Castro district of San Francisco (Figure 12). Dorsey also established in San Francisco the Maitri Hospice for people with AIDS. Zenju Earthlyn Manuel is an openly bisexual African American Soto Zen teacher in East Oakland, California.

Some forms of LGBTQ Buddhist organization have emerged, especially in the form of meditation practice groups. Examples include the Queer Dharma Meditation group at the Shambhala Meditation Center of New

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157 License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hartford_Street_Zen_Center.jpg
York and the Gay Buddhist Fellowship in San Francisco. The East Bay Meditation Center in Oakland, California states that its mission involves intentionally creating a “welcoming environment for people of color, members of the LGBTQI community, people with disabilities, and other underrepresented communities.”

Some Western Buddhists practice “socially engaged Buddhism,” i.e., Buddhist teachings applied to community organizing and activism. Turning Wheel, a magazine dedicated to socially engaged Buddhism, ran a special issue in fall 1992 on LGBTQ activism.

Pagans and Wiccans

Leo Martello was a gay man and Wiccan in New York City who engaged in LGBTQ activism following the Stonewall riots in 1969. He wrote widely about witchcraft and Wicca in the LGBTQ press and about LGBTQ issues in the Pagan press. Like Leo Martello, Arthur Evans was a gay activist in New York. After moving to San Francisco, Evans published Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture in 1978, claiming that gay men were among the victims of the witch hysteria in early modern Europe.

Two associates of Martello’s, Eddie Buczynski and Herman Slater, were a gay couple who founded The Warlock Shop, a New York City occult

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164 Arthur Evans, Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture: A Radical View of Western Civilization and Some of the People it has Tried to Destroy (Boston: Fag Rag Books, 1978).
Buczynski also founded the Minoan Brotherhood in 1975, a group for gay and bisexual men interested in Wicca who may have felt excluded from the heterosexual assumptions of other established Wiccan traditions. Multiple groves, or groups, of the Brotherhood now exist in cities throughout the United States and internationally.

As gay men were developing new forms of community drawn from Pagan and Wiccan sources, so too were lesbians. Beginning in the 1970s, writers such as Margot Adler, Luisah Teish, Mary Daly, Judith Plaskow, and Carol P. Christ offered visions of feminist and/or Goddess-centered religion for women. In this context, openly lesbian Z. Budapest developed female-only Dianic Wicca, starting with Susan B. Anthony Coven #1, founded in Venice, California in 1971.

Bisexuals and those attracted to multiple genders have also had a high profile in Pagan and Wiccan communities. Starhawk published the best-selling book *The Spiral Dance: a Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* in 1979; she was later involved in the founding Reclaiming (a Wiccan organization) and collaborated with the Covenant of Unitarian Universalist Pagans (CUUPS). Shamanic practitioner Raven Kaldera is an intersex female-to-male activist, author, priest, and Pagan organizer in central Massachusetts. Sherry Marts is a feminist Wiccan who has been affiliated with the Open Hearth Foundation, a Pagan community center in

165 The Warlock Shop was located at 300 Henry Street, Brooklyn Heights, New York City, New York.
Radical Faeries and the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence

In 1979, three gay activists—Don Kilhefner, Mitch Walker, and Harry Hay—organized a “Spiritual Conference for Radical Fairies.” Held at the Sri Ram Ashram near Benson, Arizona over Labor Day weekend, the gathering drew approximately two hundred men. Similar to some earlier forms of gay Paganism and Wicca, participants envisioned a distinctively gay male spirituality that celebrated drag, sexuality, and nature. A second conference was held in 1980 at the town of Estes Park near Boulder, Colorado followed by the establishment of Radical Faerie rural communes throughout the United States. Although the focus has remained on cis-gender gay men, some Radical Faerie communes, events, and networks have come to include other genders and sexual orientations. Black

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170 The Open Hearth Foundation is located at 1502 Massachusetts Avenue SE, Washington, DC.
Leather Wings was borne out of the Radical Faeries; those involved draw on the inspiration of Radical Faerie gatherings and rituals to explore leather sexuality.\textsuperscript{173} The Billy Club is a gay men’s group that is similar to the Radical Faeries but with less emphasis on drag and camp; the Billys held their first gathering in Northern California in 1988 and have remained concentrated in Northern California.\textsuperscript{174}

Figure 13: Sister Sistah, Sister Dana Van Iquity and Sister Kitty Catalyst O.C.P. at the NAMES Project office, 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, California working on the Nuns of The Above AIDS memorial quilt squares, honoring those Sisters who have died from AIDS. Photo by Rink Photo, ca. 1990s.\textsuperscript{175}

On Easter weekend in 1979, in an act of spontaneous public theater, gay activists Ken Bunch, Fred Brungard, and Baruch Golden donned nun’s garb and, leaving the small home that they shared together, went on a


\textsuperscript{175} License: \texttt{https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sister_Sew_and_Sew_and_Sew.jpg}
spree through San Francisco. They later made further public appearances dressed as nuns. Two other activists who became involved early on, Agnes de Garron and Bill Graham, had attended the 1979 Spiritual Conference for Radical Fairies, where they found more men drawn to the notion of an order of gay male nuns. Four of these early participants (Ken Bunch, Bill Graham, Fred Brungard, and Agnes de Garron) were among those involved in establishing the order as the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence with a mission to “promulgate universal joy and expiate stigmatic guilt.” The Sisters developed into an international organization for fundraising and community service with new “houses” established throughout the United States and abroad. Although the Sisters remain primarily comprised of cis-gender gay men, their ranks now include all genders and sexualities (Figure 13). The Sisters vary widely in terms of their religious convictions; some are Catholic, but others are Jewish, Sikh, Pagan, Wiccan, and atheist. As such, some Sisters have sometimes described their order as being non-religious.

Coda

This chapter has offered a brief overview of religious communities in which LGBTQ people have sought to affirm the value of their lives.

The differences in structure and organization among these communities is illustrated by the ways in which LGBTQ people sometimes clash with their co-religionists over the authority to interpret the meaning of LGBTQ lives. Chapters of Dignity, for example, are sometimes prohibited from meeting within the same Catholic churches where their members

176 The home they shared was in the Mission District of San Francisco, California. Fred Brungard became Sister Missionary Position, now known as Sister Soami or simply as “Mish.” Ken Bunch originally took the name Sister Adhanarishvara, then Sister Vicious Power Hungry Bitch, and is now known as Sister Vish-Knew or “Vish.” Barouk (Bruce) Golden did not remain heavily involved in the order. A fourth founding member who joined them at their second manifestation is Agnes de Garron, known as Sister Hysterectoria. Later in 1979, these four moved to an apartment in San Francisco known as The Convent, located near the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park (Melissa Wilcox, personal communication).

celebrate mass. Furthermore, Catholic priests and members of Catholic religious orders who advocate for LGBTQ people can face disciplinary action. In contrast, LGBTQ members of Unitarian congregations can expect that their relationships will be recognized and valued, and that the church will mobilize to confront forces that seek to demonize or diminish LGBTQ people.

In spite of the differences in the workings of authority from one community to another, and despite the variety of ritual, language, and religious meanings, there is a commonality to the work discussed in this chapter. In every instance, LGBTQ people have sought to re-work, re-imagine, and re-interpret the stories, symbols, rituals, and meanings that they have inherited, adopted, or invented. Although expressions vary from one religious community to another, they all seek to assert the dignity and humanity of LGBTQ people.
Introduction

Debates over what constitutes health and sickness have shaped LGBTQ history, identities, community building, and political activism in the United States since at least the nineteenth century. Deployed by mainstream medicine and utilized by sexual and gender minorities, “health” has fueled, reinforced, and challenged ideals of sexuality and gender, particularly as they have intersected with perceptions of race, class, ability, morality, and citizenship. In LGBTQ history, health has always meant more than simply charting rates of various illnesses and treatments, as the concept has been so crucial in defining and redefining LGBTQ people and communities. Consequently, a catalogue of LGBTQ health-related historic places extends far beyond the typical confines of health sites so that prisons and asylums, bars and bathhouses, city streets and parks, hotels and conference centers, government buildings and corporate headquarters prove equally important to the map of LGBTQ health history as do clinics, hospitals, and laboratories.

To provide some structure to this menagerie of sites as well as a corresponding timeline, I have devised three sections for this chapter:
Sites of Discrimination, Sites of Protest, and Sites of Service. Sites of Discrimination will examine the various ways and places in which “health,” sickness, and medicine have worked counterproductively against gender and sexual minorities to create pathologies and treatments that legitimized stigmatization and discrimination. Over time, members of LGBTQ communities resisted their medical classifications and the resulting mistreatment, sites of which I will explore in the Sites of Protest section. Sites of Service will document places where members of the LGBTQ community and allies within the medical field offered health care and services to LGBTQ individuals and where LGBTQ individuals have made significant contributions to medicine and health. While these categories allow for a roughly chronological historical narrative that showcases the full range of possible historic sites and illustrates the complexity of the relationship between health and LGBTQ histories, the categories are somewhat arbitrary and also fluid. For example, while I may list and explore a LGBTQ clinic in the Sites of Service section, it could also easily fit into the Sites of Protest section. Similarly, I list some places as Sites of Discrimination even as they were clearly Sites of Service because they illustrate the type and degree of discrimination common for LGBTQ individuals and communities in different periods. These sections will provide a brief historical overview of when, how, and why discrimination, protest, and service molded LGBTQ history, as well as an examination of related historic sites. While far from exhaustive, this approach should provide a strong orientation for future research on LGBTQ historic health sites.

In each of the following sections, as in LGBTQ history more generally, the concept of health works in two distinct, but overlapping ways: as it relates to LGBTQ communities as a group/groups and as it relates to individuals. From almost the first instances of medical research on sexual and gender minorities, which occurred in the late 1800s, doctors and scientists labeled them “deviant,” “pathological,” and “unnatural.” These medical designations then bolstered social stigma, legal persecution, and discrimination against the newly defined minorities. Consequently, early
definitions of normal sexual “health” excluded and ostracized gender and sexual minorities as a group/groups so much so that many avoided possible diagnoses of sexual or gender “deviance” for fear of the consequences that included incarceration, job loss, and social ostracism. This group experience of “health,” or perhaps more accurately “sickness,” had serious implications for health on the individual level as well. Individuals fearful of a possible sexual or gender “deviant” diagnosis avoided doctors to such an extent that, when they finally did go to the doctor about an unrelated health concern, gender and sexual minorities would often have illnesses more advanced and difficult to treat than their “normal” counterparts. This scenario continues to play out even today as members of the LGBTQ community still report higher mortality rates than heterosexuals for many illnesses, including various cancers.¹ Those individuals already classified as sexual or gender minorities found their personal experiences in doctor’s offices frustrating and counterproductive as many doctors focused on treating their perceived deviance rather than their actual illnesses. Understandings and definitions of health, both group and individual experiences of it, changed within and among the LGBTQ communities over time, but it has remained a consistently important factor in LGBTQ identity formation, community building, and politics.

Sites of Discrimination

While legal and social discrimination certainly predated medical research of gender and sexual minorities, the terminology and pathology that resulted from the work of early sexologists, a new subfield of scientific research that emerged in the late 1800s to study sex and sexual practices, legitimized, perpetuated, and compounded this mistreatment. Inspired in part by Social Darwinism, eugenics, and the new interest in taxonomies, scientists and doctors of the 1880s began to study and categorize sexual

behaviors and gender nonconformity. In creating new medical categories and identities, these scientists changed the social understanding of homosexuality and gender nonconformity by interpreting sex acts and gender presentations as indicative of identity. Previously, for example, homosexuality did not exist as an identity; instead, people participated in homosexual activities and society viewed those acts, not necessarily the people who committed them, as perverse. With these new medical identities and the pathologies, diagnoses, and treatments that soon followed, doctors of the late 1800s and early twentieth century emerged as incredibly powerful regulators of gender and sexual expression as well as arbiters of sickness and health.

Diagnoses of “deviance,” “sexual inversion,” and “transvestism,” all common medical terminology by the early twentieth century, had the potential to ruin lives, or at least drastically alter them, causing many, like Murray Hall, to attempt living undetected. Born “Mary Anderson” in Scotland in 1840, Hall immigrated to the United States where he began living as a man, married two women over the course of his life, and eventually became a well-known politician at Tammany Hall in New York City. Only after his death from breast cancer in 1901 did Hall’s female biology become widely known, sparking a national scandal and much intrigue. Though publicized as unique and shocking, Murray Hall was far from the first woman to assume a male identity during a time when men had much greater privileges economically, socially, and politically. He was certainly not the only to die, in part, from his fear of a doctor discovering his gender nonconformity or sexuality. Yet fear and avoidance of medical treatment were hardly the only operative factors in this period.

Medicine worked much more as a criminalizing and penalizing force for many gender and sexual minorities during the first half of the twentieth century.

3 “Amazed at Hall Revelations,” Chicago Tribune, January 19, 1901.
century than as a healing one. \(^4\) Doctors and sexologists’ work extended far beyond the hospital and doctor’s office as they became expert witnesses, like sexologist Dr. James Kiernan in Chicago, at the criminal trials of gender and sexual minorities, or medical examiners of immigrants at Ellis Island where they regularly denied entry to immigrants suspected of homosexuality, or consultants to the government, like those at the Menninger Clinic and Sanatorium in Topeka, Kansas on how to use Rorschach tests to identify homosexuals in the military and in the State Department during World War II. \(^5\) Those diagnosed as “deviant” faced a wide array of possible responses ranging from temporary acceptance of behavior attributed to a short phase of sexual development to state-mandated commitment to criminal insane asylums for indeterminate sentences. \(^6\) The individual’s race, class, gender, immigration status, ability, and family often, though not always, informed their experiences post-diagnosis. \(^7\)

Certainly gender presentation, lack of family support, and poverty shaped the life of Lucy Ann Lobdell, an unemployed widow from Delaware County, New York who wore men’s clothing and went by the name “Joe” for much of his adulthood. In 1876, Joe was imprisoned after his wife’s uncle discovered he was a female. Reunited with his wife upon his release many months later, Joe became impoverished and then, at the urging of the almshouse keeper, committed to the Willard Asylum for the Chronic

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Insane (Figure 1) where he eventually died in 1890 after nearly ten years of “treatment.” The Willard Asylum, like many asylums of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, frequently housed gender and sexual “deviants” for indeterminate sentences because medicine at the time had determined their “deviancy” possibly contagious and a danger to society, a view that also fueled the sexual psychopath laws of the mid-twentieth century that incarcerated thousands in prisons for indeterminate sentences.

Throughout the twentieth century, medicine—particularly the field of psychology—slowly evolved its understanding of sexuality and gender so that new “treatments” began to emerge, all of which generally left patients physically or psychologically scarred and mistrusting of medicine. Even as asylums and prisons transitioned from places that quarantined the criminal and mentally ill to places of potential “rehabilitation” during the middle decades of the twentieth century, concomitant “treatments” that included hormonal castration, lobotomy, and psychoanalysis often did more harm than good.

With the new psychological theories of the esteemed


Dr. Joseph Wolpe at Temple University and the nurturing of the well-regarded researchers at the Masters and Johnson Institute, the 1960s witnessed the widespread adoption of aversion therapy, a new outgrowth of the flourishing field of psychology. Aversion therapy delivered unpleasant physical experiences (often in the form of electric shocks) to men and women who showed arousal at homoerotic images. The theory behind aversion therapy hypothesized that after treatment, patients would associate homosexual arousal with pain and unpleasantness, train themselves to shun homosexual thoughts, and thus cure themselves of homosexuality. While widely accepted and practiced in the 1960s, this treatment coincided with shifting sexual norms, budding gay political activism, and a growing minority of psychiatrists that questioned the validity of homosexuality’s classification as a mental illness. These changes caused the removal of homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association’s Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1973.

Despite the important 1973 reclassification of homosexuality as no longer pathological, mainstream medicine remained a source of discrimination for many gender and sexual minorities for the remainder of the twentieth century. For one, numerous other diagnoses specific to gender nonconformity and some sexual practices remained classified as mental illnesses, ensuring that stigma endured for a large number of LGBTQ people and even making diagnoses of mental illness a prerequisite

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for hormones or surgery for trans* individuals desiring those services.\textsuperscript{12} Second, the removal of homosexuality from the DSM did not bring an end to treatment programs for homosexuality. Conversion therapy, encompassing a broad range of treatments including strict policing of gender roles, guided visualization, and practices common in aversion therapy, still remains common practice at the fringes of psychology, despite the disapproval of the American Psychological Association, the overwhelming body of evidence proving its ineffectiveness, and bans against it in a growing number of states.\textsuperscript{13} Additionally, the medical disentangling of homosexuality from mental illness did not equate to quality medical care for LGBTQ patients. While a growing number of doctors no longer viewed their LGBTQ patients as innately sick, they rarely knew how to ensure their health as few received any medical training on LGBTQ-specific health issues or treatment.\textsuperscript{14} Lastly, changing the medical classification did not erase the larger social stigma and discrimination against LGBTQ individuals that almost a century of medical research helped to build and support.

The AIDS crisis of the 1980s showcased the full and lasting extent of this discrimination. First reported in June 1981, the new and fatal illness disproportionately affected gay men from the outset, a fact emphasized by doctors, researchers, and the media to such an extent that doctors initially and informally called it Gay-related Immune Deficiency (GRID).\textsuperscript{15} Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) became the formal name of the disease in July 1982 at a Washington, DC meeting of gay community

\textsuperscript{12} Trans* is an inclusive umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of gender nonconforming people that might also identify as transgender, transsexual, transvestite, genderqueer, and/or other terms. I use it here to be as inclusive and accurate as possible. Dean Spade, "Mutilating Gender," in eds., Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle The Transgender Studies Reader (New York: Routledge, 2006).


leaders, government, and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) officials, where gay leaders argued against GRID’s inaccuracy and stigma, but the association remains intact today. Consequently, homosexual men as a group, whether infected or not, experienced extreme forms of discrimination in health care, employment, and everyday life as the public feared contracting the deadly disease that no one, at the time, understood. For those infected, the stigma and fear surrounding AIDS translated into tragic injustices ranging from denial of hospital service, eviction, job loss, ejection from public spaces such as pools and schools, and even rejection from funeral homes and cemeteries. The Brewer’s Hotel (Figure 2), a dilapidated hotel often a site for paid sex work above a long-standing blue-collar gay bar in Pittsburgh, exemplifies the consequences of this discrimination. During the AIDS crisis, the hotel became an informal AIDS hospice for people who had lost their homes to housing discrimination and money to ineffective and expensive treatments, literally providing them with a place to die as volunteer nurses tended to them. The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home in San Francisco was one of the few funeral homes to accept the bodies of those who died from AIDS in the earliest months and years of the epidemic. This discrimination expanded in the 1980s to also affect bisexuals and men who had sex with men. AIDS hysteria became so fever-pitched that the federal government made public health history in 1988 when it sent the informational pamphlet “Understanding AIDS” to every household in the United States, totaling approximately 126 million copies, to raise awareness and quell fear. The harsh realities of the early AIDS crisis expanded the list of historic sites of medically-related LGBTQ discrimination exponentially in number and scope but also created unprecedented in-depth education around LGBTQ health and sex more broadly that had positive

17 The Brewer’s Hotel is located at 3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
18 The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home is located at 2254 Market Street, San Francisco, California. In 2014, a developer filed plans to demolish and redevelop the property.
repercussions on the health of people both in and beyond LGBTQ communities.

Sites of Protest

While manipulating definitions of health proved a useful tool of discrimination against LGBTQ people and communities starting in the 1880s, it also sparked various forms of protest. In creating sexual and gender minority identities, medicine also inadvertently helped create communities of people who shared those new identities, including experiences of fear, discrimination, and mistreatment, as well as a desire for change. That same change had, in fact, been the intention of some of the earliest sexologists. Those whose work introduced “sexual inversion,” “transvestism,” and “deviance” into the scientific lexicon and legitimized existing social stigmas actually intended to create more understanding.
and acceptance of sexual and gender minorities. While doctors in the United States in the early twentieth century mostly embraced the more discriminatory aspects of sexological taxonomies, some “deviants” clung to their potential use for social acceptance. In December 1924, inspired by the work of German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, Bavarian immigrant Henry Gerber and African American pastor John T. Graves cofounded the oldest documented homosexual rights organization in the United States, the Chicago-based Society for Human Rights. Though they faced police harassment and the organization only survived a few months, the charter “to promote and protect the interests of people who by reasons of mental and physical abnormalities are abused and hindered in the legal pursuit of happiness,” makes clear the importance of medical diagnosis in the organization’s origins.

In the mid-twentieth century, activists changed tactics, challenging the medical diagnoses themselves rather than trying to harness their potential to create more social acceptance—as the Society for Human Rights unsuccessfully had. The 1948 and 1953 medical research studies from the Kinsey Institute in Bloomington, Indiana that suggested homosexuality was much more common than previously thought and Evelyn Hooker’s 1957 findings at the University of California at Los Angeles that questioned the categorization of homosexuality as an illness bolstered this perspective. Local chapters of the midcentury homophile organization the Mattachine Society approached the questions of diagnosis and illness

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21 The Henry Gerber residence is located within the Old Town Triangle Historic District (listed November 8, 1984) in Chicago, Illinois. It was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.
23 Institute for Sex Research and Alfred C. Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953); Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell Baxter Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948); and E. Hooker, "The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual," *J Proj Tech* 21, no. 1 (1957). The Kinsey Institute for Research on Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is currently located at the University of Indiana, Morrison Hall 302, 1165 E Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana. When established in 1947, it was located in Biology Hall (now Swain Hall East); in 1950, the institute moved to Wylie Hall (on the NRHP as part of the Old Crescent Historic District, listed on September 8, 1980; in 1955 relocated to Jordan Hall, and in 1967 moved to its current location (The Kinsey Institute website, “Chronology of Events” at http://www.kinseyinstitute.org/about/chronology.html). Evelyn Hooker’s office was located in the Psychology department at the University of California, Los Angeles.
differently with Frank Kameny insisting “Gay is Good” as he led the Washington, DC chapter in its fight against the federal government’s post-World War II policy to identify and terminate all homosexual employees.24 The New York City chapter saw the questions around homosexuality and health produce infighting and eventual fracture of the group, with one side wanting to accept but de-emphasize their classification as mentally ill and the other challenging the diagnosis.25 From this perspective, medicine and health played a central and crucial role in kick-starting the earliest LGBTQ political activism and also in shaping the ways that activism evolved over time.

The flow of influence was multidirectional and LGBTQ political activism in turn, shaped medicine. Beginning in 1970, LGBTQ individuals, mostly former patients of psychiatrists who no longer accepted the validity of homosexuality as a mental illness, began protesting the American Psychological Association’s (APA) annual meetings, first at the San Francisco Civic Auditorium in 1970 then at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington DC the following year. In 1972, as the APA met in the Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center, a man donning a paper sack to hide his identity and calling himself Dr. Anonymous appealed to his colleagues when he spoke of the challenges he faced as a psychiatrist who was also gay.26 The protests proved effective when, in 1973 at the Sheraton Waikiki Hotel, members of the APA voted to remove

25 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities.
26 Ronald Bayer, Homosexuality and American Psychiatry: The Politics of Diagnosis (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Jack Drescher and Joseph P. Merlino, American Psychiatry and Homosexuality: An Oral History (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2007). The San Francisco Civic Auditorium, now known as the Bill Graham Civic Auditorium, is located at 99 Grove Street, San Francisco, California. The Sheraton-Park Hotel, now known as the Washington Marriott Wardman Park Hotel, is located at 2660 Woodley Road NW, Washington, DC; it was listed on the NRHP on January 31, 1984. The Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center, now known as the Kay Bailey Hutchison Convention Center, is located at Canton and Akard Streets, Dallas, Texas.
homosexuality from the DSM, from which its members drew diagnoses. However, the 1973 vote did not mark the end of sexual and gender minorities’ struggles with medicine or the APA. Just seven years later in 1980, members of the trans* community found their identities and lives pathologized with the new addition of Gender Identity Disorder in the DSM, not only linking them to mental pathology but also making them reliant upon the diagnosis of mental illness to gain access to hormone and surgical options. Multiyear protests again resulted in the APA amending the DSM, replacing the longstanding Gender Identity Disorder with the less stigmatizing, though still problematic, diagnosis of Gender Dysphoria at their 2011 annual meeting held at the Hawai‘i Convention Center (Figure 3).

Protest played a central role in LGBTQ health history with the emergence of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. For most of the 1980s, doctors and the public struggled to understand AIDS, how it was transmitted, who was susceptible, and how to treat those infected. Fear informed policy.

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27 American Psychological Association, "Memo Regarding the Status of Homosexuality as a Mental Disorder," in *Walter Lear Personal Collection* (Philadelphia1973). The Sheraton Waikiki Hotel is located at 2255 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
28 Spade, "Mutilating Gender."
29 Kenneth J. Zucker et al., "Memo Outlining Evidence for Change for Gender Identity Disorder in the DSM-5," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 42, no. 5 (2013): 901-914. The Hawai‘i Convention Center is located at 1801 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
30 License: CC BY 2.0. [https://www.flickr.com/photos/andreajames/3510437558/in/photolist-6mcUMu-6oCPAA-6pQCaH/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/andreajames/3510437558/in/photolist-6mcUMu-6oCPAA-6pQCaH/)
Educated guesses drove research. Desperation fueled treatments. Community spaces such as gay bars and bathhouses became battlegrounds as health commissioners and mayors sought to shutter sites they saw as contributing to the epidemic, and gay community members fought to maintain the community hubs as sites for possible education and intervention. Until 1987, there were no Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved treatments, and even then those patients on the medication AZT fared almost as poorly as those receiving nothing. Not until 1996, with the discovered efficacy of a “cocktail” of approved medications did HIV-positive people in the United States see their prospects for daily quality of life and life expectancy improve. However, access to these new antiretroviral (ARV) therapies varied widely across class and race. Disproportionately affected by the disease and the discrimination related to it, members of the LGBTQ community used protest to educate the public and doctors, demand research funding, insist upon humane treatment in medical settings, and fight widespread homophobia exacerbated by fear of the illness. Protests took many forms from quilting to kiss-ins, from spreading the ashes of loved ones to dispensing condoms, and from illegally importing treatments from abroad to speaking before legislators.

While groups protesting AIDS discrimination are far too numerous to enumerate here, highlighting the work of a handful of organizations demonstrates both the scope of the crisis and the creativity employed in fighting it. The group ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) began in March 1987, meeting in the basement of what is now the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, 208 W 13th Street, New York City, New York, hosted New York ACT UP for many years. Tamar W. Carroll, Mobilizing New York: AIDS, Antipoverty, and Feminist Activism, Gender and American Culture Series (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); and Deborah B. Gould, Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP’s Fight against AIDS (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).
Bisexual and Transgender Community Center in New York City, and inspired chapters to start around the world. This group employed creative and disruptive tactics in direct action protests to draw attention and spur action on many fronts of the AIDS crisis (Figure 4). With a massive protest in October 1988, the group successfully shut down the FDA offices in Rockville, Maryland, drawing national media coverage and highlighting the slow and ineffective policies of the institution in administering drug trials and approving medications. A “die-in” protest against drug profiteering at the New York Stock Exchange a year later proved pivotal in forcing Burroughs Wellcome, the pharmaceutical company that developed and released AZT, to drop the medication’s annual cost from approximately $10,000 per patient to $6,400 per patient. The 1990 protest of the National Institutes of Health brought hundreds of activists and dozens of protest posters in the shape of gravestones to the campus lawn to challenge the slow paces of research and drug approval (AZT was the only approved drug after a full decade of the epidemic and more than one billion of research funding spent) as well as the lack of racial diversity in medical trials. A map of the ACT UP protests is diverse, ranging from the White House lawn to the Trinity Church in New York where organizers gathered for an early ACT UP protest on Wall Street and from the CDC in Atlanta to the FDA in Rockville.34

ACT UP, while among the most vocal and aggressive in their protests, was far from the only group protesting AIDS and memorializing those claimed by the disease. The Names Project, first conceived by San Francisco activist Cleve Jones in 1985, encouraged friends and family members of those who succumbed to the disease to create commemorative quilt panels. The organization then arranged for display of the quilt, and later pieces of the quilt, at cities around the world to heighten AIDS awareness. The last display of the entire quilt occurred in

34 The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Trinity Church is located at 74 Trinity Place, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP and as an NHL on December 8, 1976. The Centers for Disease Control (1980-1992), now the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, is located at 1600 Clifton Road, Atlanta, Georgia. The Food and Drug Administration is located at 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland.
October 1996, when it filled the National Mall in Washington, DC. Founded in 1985 and displaying a completely different strategy to fight AIDS, amfAR, the Foundation for AIDS Research, has pushed research in new directions through funding initiatives and service programs directly. The works of these organizations expands the map of LGBTQ health history sites into sewing circles and living rooms across the country, hundreds of city parks and buildings, and into the labs of over the three thousand amfAR funded research teams.

LGBTQ people of color and working-class people faced another layer of complexity and discrimination that required protest. Frequently pushed to the margins by the predominantly white and middle-class protesters within and beyond the LGBTQ communities, they often struggled to be heard by existing groups or built their own to highlight the health impacts of compounding forms of discrimination.35 The annual Black Lesbian and Gay Pride event, held from 1991-1999 at Washington, DC’s Banneker Field was one such event that proved incredibly successful in fundraising for HIV/AIDS-related services for the black community.36 Regardless of which group organized the actions, the vast majority of protests were directed at sites of service, either to draw attention to

36 Banneker Field is associated with the Banneker Recreation Center at 2500 Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Banneker Recreation Center was listed on the NRHP on April 28, 1986.
inaction, ineffectiveness, or discrimination, or to raise awareness and money for them.

The ripple effects of the protests during the early AIDS crisis emanated into changing public attitudes toward people with AIDS, the LGBTQ communities more broadly, and in health policy. Most immediately for the AIDS crisis of the 1980s, protests led to the FDA streamlining its drug approval process in 1987, shaving 2-3 years off of the standard time period required for drug approval. However, the impact of AIDS activism and the more sympathetic society it created translated into health policy that, by the end of the twentieth century, began to examine health disparities of sexual and gender minorities beyond mental health, substance abuse, and sexual health for the first time in American

Figure 5: Volunteers staff the first gay caucus booth at the American Public Health Association’s annual meeting in 1975. Founded by Walter Lear, the American Public Health Association’s gay caucus was one of the first of any professional medical association in the country and furthered LGBTQ issues within the public health profession and also improved the public health of the LGBTQ community at large. Within a decade, nearly all major medical professional organizations had a similar caucus, each working to make its specific field more welcoming to LGBTQ colleagues and better serve the LGBTQ community. Photo by Walter Lear and gifted to author.
history. Other developments that resulted in policy shifts predated AIDS, most notably the creation of LGBTQ caucuses within all the major medical professional organizations between 1973 and 1981 (Figure 5). From their inception, these caucuses proved pivotal in propelling research, garnering support within the medical profession, and shaping LGBTQ health policy. Changing health policy is only as effective as its implementation and another battle that began in the 1970s, but continues today, seeks to make LGBTQ health a more prominent component of medical school training, expanding the map of LGBTQ history sites into medical schools across the country.

Sites of Service

Even as “health” was a source of discrimination and protest for much of LGBTQ history, gender and sexual minorities also found or created sites of service throughout the twentieth century in an effort to obtain needed health care. These sites, like those of discrimination and protest, include an unusual variety of venues and illustrate the true diversity of LGBTQ health needs. With the distrust produced by the stigma and consequences of diagnosis being so extreme for much of the twentieth century, many of these health sites appear in places or areas where members of the LGBTQ community already felt comfortable, such as bars or gay enclaves. These sites also had to serve an impressive array of health needs ranging from general care to research and from hormone therapy to fertility services. The sites of service exemplify the ingenuity of the LGBTQ communities to receive and provide health care in what was often an otherwise unwelcoming medical landscape. They also symbolize the literal growth and transformation of the LGBTQ’s relationship to health.


38 Marie Murphy, “Hiding in Plain Sight: The Production of Heteronormativity in Medical Education,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (2014).
The documentation of early twentieth-century sites of service is sparse, suggesting that most gender and sexual minorities either never disclosed their practices or simply avoided medical interactions altogether. However, the Portland, Oregon office of Dr. J. Allen Gilbert is an exception. Here in 1918, Dr. Gilbert treated “H” (Alberta Lucille Hart) who transitioned to Alan Hart and went on to use x-rays in diagnosing tuberculosis in Boise, Idaho, a revolutionary screening method that saved thousands of lives. Dr. Harry Benjamin’s New York and San Francisco offices also provided treatment for transgender patients starting in the 1940s and was the basis for research for his Transsexual Phenomenon, a foundational text of transgender care published in 1966. Benjamin’s work also proved pivotal in the development of sexual reassignment surgery (SRS), a topic Susan Stryker discusses at great length in her chapter in this volume. While few in number, these sites show how members of the LGBTQ community occasionally found medical allies and built networks in the first half of the twentieth century.

The vast majority of service sites emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, as liberation politics combined with shifting sexual norms and the changing medical understanding of sexuality. The government support of community health clinics in the 1970s and the AIDS crisis of the 1980s also factored heavily in the development of many of these service sites. Equally important in mapping these spaces, the definition of service also expanded during this time period to include social services for those infected with diseases, preventative care and public health initiatives, and research that addressed the gaps in medical knowledge left by a medical profession focused, for nearly a century, on treating gender and sexual

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39 Dr. J. Allen Gilbert’s office was located at 601 SW Alder Street, Portland, Oregon.
41 Harry Benjamin, The Transsexual Phenomenon (New York: Julian Press, 1966). Harry Benjamin’s offices were located at 728 Park Avenue, New York City, New York and 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. 450 Sutter Street was added to the NRHP on December 22, 2009.
“abnormalities” rather than the actual illnesses that gender and sexual minorities faced.

Each site of service set its own parameters of intended clientele and services, reflecting its capabilities, interest, and the needs of LGBTQ individuals and communities. Some, like the Gay and Lesbian Community Centers in Memphis, Washington, DC, New York, and dozens of other cities that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, provided services for an expanding range of LGBTQ identified people. Others, like the Tom Waddell Health Center in San Francisco that opened in 1993, limited their focus to addressing the specific and poorly-attended health needs of low-income trans* identified people. These different approaches illuminate logistical limitations but also speak to a larger and more complicated reality. Increasingly over the last four decades, the LGBTQ communities have aspired for unity and equality across all gender and sexual minorities but have also repeatedly, though often unintentionally, marginalized and underserved members of the trans* community, women, people of color, and low-income individuals. From this perspective, the spectrum of health services that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s illustrate the real health consequences of structural racism, sexism, transphobia, classism, and ableism that operate within LGBTQ communities as much as they do in every other segment of the population.

The services offered in these sites cumulatively recast the relationship between health and LGBTQ communities, paving the way for greater trust of the medical community among LGBTQ individuals, and ultimately improved health care and quality of life. While far from complete today, this shift toward positivity in the relationship between “health” and LGBTQ

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43 The Memphis Gay and Lesbian Community Center is located at 892 S Cooper Street, Memphis, Tennessee. In 1975, the Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Washington, DC was located at 1469 Church Street NW, Washington, DC. It closed (two locations later) in 1990. Founded in 1983, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center is still at its original location, 208 W 13th Street, New York City, New York.

44 The Tom Waddell Health Center was originally located at 50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, California. In 2013, it was renamed the Tom Waddell Urban Health Center and many services, including the transgender clinic, were relocated to 230 Golden Gate Avenue.

45 Brier, Infectious Ideas; Cohen, The Boundaries of Blackness; and Susan Stryker, Transgender History, Seal Studies (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008).
communities started with seemingly small service offerings that began in the second half of the twentieth century that would expand, or replicate elsewhere. The Homophile Health Services in Boston, Massachusetts, which began offering affirming, rather than pathologizing, mental health counseling to gays and lesbians in 1971, gave space to an emerging activism and branch of psychology that would lead to the removal of homosexuality from the DSM just a few years later. The Man’s Country Bathhouse in Chicago, Illinois initiated, in 1974, a VD Van program that traveled between various gay nightclubs to provide free venereal disease testing. Communities in other cities copied the program and transformed bars and bathhouses from sites of transmission to sites of potential education and treatment (a concept much discussed and debated in the early AIDS crisis a decade later). The Sperm Bank of Northern California, when it began as a side project of the Oakland Feminist Women’s Health Center in 1982, granted lesbians and single women access to banked and screened sperm for alternative insemination for the first time, providing a new and influential pathway to lesbian motherhood. Each of these sites, and the medical services they offered, altered the landscape for LGBTQ health in deeply impactful ways.

Research also propelled the improved relationship between health and LGBTQ communities during the waning decades of the twentieth century, expanding the sites of service to include medical labs and research facilities. Medical researchers’ century-long focus on gender expression and sexuality as illnesses left a dearth of research on how LGBTQ individuals experienced actual illnesses and diseases or how gender and sexuality informed health experiences more broadly. While midcentury researchers like Kinsey and Hooker blazed a path into this kind of

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46 Homophile Health Services was located at 112 Arlington Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
47 Man’s Country opened in 1972 and remains in business. It is located at 5017 N Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.
research, medical researchers, many of them identifying as LGBTQ, took up this vein of research in earnest in the 1970s and 1980s. Responding to the 1978 research conducted by the Women’s Clinic of the San Francisco General Hospital on the medical disparities lesbians experienced in traditional health settings (some of the earliest research in the United States to focus solely on women’s health), Lyon-Martin Health Services opened in 1980, building upon more than a decade of feminist health clinics and activism across the country.\(^5^0\) Dr. Fred “Fritz” Klein of San Diego, California founded the American Institute of Bisexuality in 1998 to research the largely unstudied experiences of bisexuals, improving and broadening understanding of their medical needs.\(^5^1\)

LGBTQ activists and medical professionals also played a key role in the early identification and understanding of AIDS. Founded in 1982, the Gay Men’s Health Crisis in New York City sought to connect those infected with willing service providers, but also initiated connections between researchers, doctors, and activists.\(^5^2\) Also opening that year, the San Francisco AIDS Foundation offered the first national AIDS hotline and has been instrumental in educating San Francisco residents and officials, advocating on behalf of people with AIDS, and providing direct medical and social services to local people touched by the disease for over thirty years.\(^5^3\) Community health clinics specifically serving the LGBTQ communities, like the Fenway Community Health Center in Boston or the Howard Brown Health Center in Chicago, also did this work while simultaneously conducting research into treatments and modes of

\(^5^0\) San Francisco General Hospital is located at 1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, California. Lyon-Martin Health Services is located at 1748 Market Street, San Francisco, California.


\(^5^2\) The Gay Men’s Health Crisis was founded at 318 W 22nd Street, New York City, New York.

\(^5^3\) The San Francisco AIDS Foundation, originally called the Kaposi’s Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation, opened at 520 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.
transmission and serving as medical first responders to the first people with AIDS.\(^{54}\)

AIDS research took many different forms from understanding modes of transmission to developing treatments, and even possible cures, for those infected. After identifying the specific retrovirus, later called HIV, that causes AIDS in 1984, AIDS researchers developed a screening test for the virus and then moved on to manufacturing treatments and prophylactics. Some researchers focused on designing treatments that would kill or render harmless the virus once inside the body, others honed in on preventing the virus from ever being transmitted, others still sought to develop a vaccine. Treatment development and government approval proved painfully slow and many well-conceived ideas proved ineffective or impossible to execute. However, these, and countless other AIDS research efforts have combined to provide a much better understanding of LGBTQ health as well as effective transmission prevention methods within and beyond the LGBTQ community.

LGBTQ scientists and doctors also shaped the medical field around them, both within and beyond the subfield of LGBTQ health. Just as Alan Hart had made great strides in tuberculosis treatment methods, Sara Josephine Baker played a pivotal role in improving fetal health, reducing infant mortality, and curbing Typhoid fever in the early twentieth century.\(^{55}\) In the 1960s and 1970s, pioneering LGBTQ doctors like Walter Lear and Howard Brown fought to make the medical profession more accepting of LGBTQ practitioners.\(^{56}\) Doctors Kenneth Mayer and David Ostrow conducted extensive and important research in the final decades of the

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\(^{54}\) The Fenway Community Health Center, today known as Fenway Health, was founded in 1971 at 16 Haviland Street, Boston, Massachusetts. It currently has several locations in Boston, with the original one being the Haviland Street location. The Howard Brown Health Center began in a room above the grocery store across from Chicago’s Biograph Theater in 1974. On October 4, 1997, they moved into their current facility at 4025 N Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois.

\(^{55}\) Sara Josephine Baker lived much of her adult life with her female companion, novelist Ida A. R. Wiley. They eventually retired to a farm in Skillman, New Jersey.

\(^{56}\) Walter Lear’s residence was located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and in it he held regular meetings of LGBTQ health professionals and organized the creation of LGBTQ caucuses in many professional organizations. Howard Brown was a New York City Health Services Administrator before coming out and founding the National Gay Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force) in 1973.
twentieth century on LGBTQ health regarding sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS treatments, and creating inclusive medical services. The work of these, and many other LGBTQ doctors and scientists, expands the map and scope of LGBTQ health-related historic sites.

Conclusion

Few forces have shaped LGBTQ history to the extent that health and medicine have. The relationship between medicine and gender and sexual minorities has been complex since doctors first initiated it in the late nineteenth century, fueling extreme discrimination, harming countless individuals with physical and emotionally painful “treatments,” yet also providing the basis for LGBTQ community building and spurring political activism that factor prominently in our national history. The history told by the sites outlined here is equal parts adversity and redemption, sickness (of both society and individuals) and health, tragedy and hope, and discrimination and service. Each of the LGBTQ health-related sites reflect individual experiences of suffering that can be traced back to the first doctors who set gender and sexual minorities apart and classified them as “other” and “deviant.” The lasting legacy of that stigma is what unifies these sites, makes them noteworthy and, in fact, made many of them necessary at all.

This history continues to mold our present and future. The sites of discrimination presented here only scratch the surface of a reality that suggests that nearly every site that offered any sort of medical assessment or interaction (doctor’s offices, hospitals, court rooms, prisons, immigration entry points, etc.) before the 1970s was also very likely the site of discrimination for gender and sexual minorities. The sites of protest demonstrate the power of oppressed and vilified people, but also reflect their suffering and frustration with a medical system, society, and government that failed them. The temptation to view the sites of service

57 Kenneth Mayer’s office is located at the Fenway Health Clinic on 1340 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts, with the clinic’s main office originally being on 16 Haviland Street. David Ostrow’s office was located at the Howard Brown Health Center in Chicago, Illinois.
as proof of progress and redemption exists, but the fact that so many of
these service sites still exist to fill the gaps in medical treatments,
research, and social services that LGBTQ people need, but can’t find
elsewhere, speaks to the lasting effects of gender and sexuality-based
discrimination today. The future of LGBTQ health looks bright, but only in
contrast to the darkness of its history. LGBTQ individuals still face
discrimination in medical settings on a regular basis and LGBTQ
communities still bear stigmas ascribed by a society informed by
stereotypes and misunderstandings. Today’s LGBTQ health statistics
reflect these realities as fear of medical interactions, additional stress
from structural discrimination, and uninformed medical professionals
contribute to LGBTQ individuals experiencing more incidents of late
diagnoses, more advanced disease, and death from a wide array of
illnesses.58 While this LGBTQ health-related history illustrates great strides
already taken, there is much yet to do.

Though unfinished, the broader impact and significance of the struggle
for LGBTQ health extends far beyond the LGBTQ communities. Through the
experiences outlined here, LGBTQ health initiatives and research have
improved broader understandings of sex, sexuality, and sexual
transmission of disease in ways that benefit people across the full
sexuality spectrum. They have illuminated another important dimension of
the health consequences of structural discrimination that adds greater
depth and nuance to research and services designed for those who
experience racial, age, economic, and ability-based discrimination. The
fights for and debates over LGBTQ health have, in fact, shaped
understandings of health for all Americans and transformed aspects of

58 Kenneth H. Mayer et al., "Sexual and Gender Minority Health: What We Know and What Needs to be
Thompson, and Julie A. Cederbaum, "Multisystem Factors Contributing to Disparities in Preventive
(2006): 393-402; Karen I. Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., "The Health Equity Promotion Model:
Reconceptualization of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Health Disparities," American
Journal of Orthopsychiatry 84, no. 6 (2014): 653; and Sean Cahill and Harvey Makadon, "Sexual
Orientation and Gender Identity Data Collection in Clinical Settings and in Electronic Health Records: A
Katie Batza

health policy, medical research, pharmaceutical practices, government oversight, expectations of medical privacy, and interactions with individual care providers that regularly benefit individuals and society at large.
This chapter focuses on LGBTQ art and artists in the United States. Due to the scope of this essay the content is necessarily limited. These locations provide a sampling of LGBTQ contributions to broader social milieus and artistic movements. I have attempted to provide content that is representative in terms of region, diversity, and historical scope. Artworks range from performance to the visual arts; places range from murals to theaters to community centers. Two key characteristics have shaped the histories of the places listed in this chapter: multiple identities and historical context. Although the historical scope of this essay is limited to the twentieth century, there are examples of LGBTQ arts in the United States as far back as the eighteenth century.


2 In the collection of the New-York Historical Society, *Portrait of an Unidentified Woman* (c.1700-1725) has long been identified as a likeness of Edward Hyde, who served as Governor of New York and New Jersey from 1702-1708 and was known to appear in public wearing women’s clothing. Pre-twentieth century artists of note who engaged in homoerotic themes include the photographers F. Holland Day, Frances “Fannie” Benjamin Johnston, and Alice Austen, and the painter Thomas Eakins. The Fred Holland Day House is located at 93 Day Street, Norwood, Massachusetts; it was listed on the NRHP on April 18, 1977. Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House, is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island.
The umbrella term “LGBTQ” actually encompasses many identities. In other words, the experiences of individuals who identify with components of this acronym are widely diverse. This impacts the ways in which their art has been created and seen. Most disparities are grounded in uneven social and material conditions based on gender, race, and class discrimination. Male artists, historically and today, benefit from more exhibition opportunities and higher art values than women artists. There have been shifts in this dynamic since the advent of social liberation movements in the late 1960s-1970s. Underrepresented artists have taken it upon themselves to create exhibition opportunities including community art centers and cooperative galleries, some of which are explored in this study.

Due to the fact that until recently it was socially unacceptable to be LGBTQ in the United States, the ways in which we understand and categorize the history of LGBTQ art in the US are different from other art histories. Issues of social discrimination – homophobia as well as racism – have impacted the actual form and content of LGBTQ art. There was a time in the United States when LGBTQ individuals experienced intense pressure to remain "in the closet," meaning one's sexual proclivities and/or identity were kept separate from other aspects of professional, familial, and religious life. Actions of censorship such as the Hollywood

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3 For most of the twentieth century, LGBTQ Americans could not disclose their sexual identity in the public sphere without fear of persecution including religious persecution, police brutality, violence, and discrimination in employment (see footnote 3). This climate had ramifications in art: until the 1970s there were no art movements centered on the promotion of LGBTQ concerns and most LGBTQ artists did not create art intended for public exhibition with overt homoerotic content. After the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s and 1970s there was an effort by artists, art historians, and gallery owners to collect and publish histories of LGBTQ participation in the arts. One of the earliest examples of this is Vito Russo’s *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981).

4 The first long-lasting homosexual political organizations, known as homophile groups, began in the 1950s: the Mattachine Society, founded in the Silver Lake neighborhood of Los Angeles in 1950, and the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian organization founded in San Francisco in 1955 which had their headquarters at 165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco. Areas in which LGBTQ people were persecuted include government employment; for example in 1953 President Eisenhower issued an executive order that made disclosure of homosexuality grounds for termination of employment for any federal employee, an order that stood until 1993. Besides employment discrimination, LGBTQ people faced physical assault in gay bashings, some of them carried out by law enforcement officials. Until 1973,
Production Code (which banned depictions of "sex perversion" from films made and distributed in the United States between 1932 and 1968) and the Culture Wars (an attempt by conservatives to eliminate funding of controversial art in the 1980s and 1990s, many by LGBTQ artists) have impacted the development of LGBTQ art in the US. Before the gay liberation movement of the early 1970s when many people "came out," artists for the most part did not express their sexuality outright. Instead, under various mantles of modernism, artists found ways to indirectly express their sexual difference within countercultural art movements. Similarly, gay men developed “camp talk” in the decades before gay liberation, to safely communicate in public by referring to one another using women’s names or pronouns, in order to protect their personal and sexual lives. In fact, particularly before the advent of gay liberation in the

the American Psychiatric Association considered homosexuality a mental illness, which contributed to discrimination against LGBTQ people. In the 1970s, gay activists pushed for anti-discrimination laws and successfully defeated anti-gay initiatives such as the 1978 effort to ban LGBTQ people from teaching in California public schools. In 1986 in Bowers v. Hardwick the US Supreme Court upheld the right of states to criminalize sodomy, even including consensual and private sexual behavior.

5 For more on homosexuality and the Hollywood Production Code see Russo, Celluloid Closet and Patricia White, Uninvited: Classical Hollywood Cinema and Lesbian Representability (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999). The “Culture Wars” of the 1980s-1990s consisted of ideological battles between conservative and liberal Americans in religious and political contexts. The touchtone issues besides the censorship and defunding of federally funded controversial art included battles over reproductive rights (specifically abortion), homosexuality, the appropriate expressions of patriotism, the separation of church and state, and school curricula. For more information about the Culture Wars as they pertained to LGBTQ artists, see Richard Bolton, Culture Wars: Documents from the Recent Controversies in the Arts (New York: New Press, 1992), Steven C. Dubin, Arresting Images: Impolitic Art and Uncivil Actions (New York: Routledge, 1992), and Richard Meyer, Outlaw Representation: Censorship and Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century American Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

6 Many LGBTQ artists made LGBTQ art for private display, and stuck to conventional themes for the art market. There are notable exceptions including Domingo Orejudos (1933-1991), known as Etienne, who was an artist who created large-scale murals and illustrated storybooks featuring heavily muscled men in homoerotic and sadomasochistic contexts. Along with Chuck Renslow, his lover and business partner, Etienne opened the first leather bar in the country, the Gold Coast, in Chicago in 1958. At 501 North Clark Street, the second location of the Gold Coast, Etienne painted large-scale murals depicting members of the leather community that are now permanently installed in the Leather Archives and Museum in Chicago (6418 North Greenview Avenue). Renslow and Etienne published male physique photography out of their Kris Studios, founded in 1950 in Chicago.

7 For example, as Michael Bronski explains, “If one man were to be overheard at a public dinner table saying to another, ‘you’ll never guess what Mary said on our date last night,’ nothing would be thought of it.” Bronski is cited in Lord and Meyer, Art and Queer Culture, 17. Despite the predominance of coding as a mode of public survival for gay men and lesbians during the mid-twentieth century, there were some artists for whom gay sentiment was an unequivocal part of their aesthetic, such as Paul Cadmus and George Platt Lynes. For examples of visual coding, see Jonathan D. Katz, “Agnes Martin: The Sexuality of Abstraction,” in Agnes Martin, eds. Lynne Cooke and Karen Kelly (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012) and Meyer, Outlaw Representation.
1970s, many LGBTQ people engaged in varying degrees of censorship for self-protection. This relates to an important fact of queer art history: the archive of LGBTQ art necessarily includes conventional fine art but it also includes works intended for private and underground circulation, such as scrapbooks, cartoons, anonymous photographs, and bar murals.\(^8\) It is not a coincidence that cities have historically been centers for the development of vanguard art as well as places for LGBTQ people to live a life out of the closet. While rural locations are mentioned in this chapter, urban sites are particularly well represented because of these factors. These places date primarily from the latter half of the twentieth century, which reflects the shift in which LGBTQ art is more often celebrated than censored.\(^9\) However, issues of discrimination persist. I do not wish to establish a narrative towards progress that ends with the unproblematic celebration of LGBTQ individuals and communities and their assimilation into mainstream US society. Many LGBTQ artists maintain a position of marginality in order to critique dominant social norms, and use art as a means to document marginalized communities and promote subversive messages.\(^10\) The sites that follow reflect these factors and include a range of urban places including a community center, a contemporary art museum, a public art mural, and a theater, as well as rural locations (a studio/house and a college).

**Royal Theater**

The Royal Theater (Figure 1) in Philadelphia opened in 1920 and closed in 1970.\(^11\) During that period it was a premiere location for African

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\(^8\) For an anthology of queer visual art in these terms, see Lord and Meyer, *Art and Queer Culture*.

\(^9\) While censorship was the rule in mainstream US art contexts, LGBTQ art circulated and was displayed through alternative networks and exhibition venues including bars, magazines, and private collections. Some examples include the Gold Coast bar in Chicago, *Physique Pictorial* in Los Angeles (founded by Bob Mizer in 1951 as the first all-nude, all-male magazine), and the phallic gay art collection of Charles Leslie, a founder of the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art in New York City (26 Wooster Street).

\(^10\) Examples include Robert Mapplethorpe, Ron Athey, Vaginal Cream Davis, and Catherine Opie.

LGBTQ Art and Artists

American entertainment. It is an important site because it provided opportunities to LGBTQ artists of color during a period of segregation in the United States. Located at 1522 South Street, the Royal was the first theater in Philadelphia to feature an all-black staff, and was touted as “America’s First Colored Photoplay House” since it screened films featuring black actors. Some of the most prominent African American performers of the period performed at the Royal, including Bessie Smith (1894-1937), who moved to Philadelphia from the American South in the early 1920s. The iconic blues singer, who engaged in sexual relationships

theater designer William H. Lee completed an art deco interior. The Royal Theater was listed on the NRHP on February 8, 1980.
Tara Burk

with men and women, lived in proximity to the Royal and often performed there in the 1920s and early 1930s, during the prime of her career.\textsuperscript{12} Smith’s trajectory reflects the Great Migration, a period in which African Americans relocated from the southern to the northern United States in the first half of the twentieth century to escape racial oppression and to gain economic opportunity. One result of the Great Migration was a flourishing arts movement in Harlem as well as in Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{13} The theater was part of a corridor of African American culture on South Street that flourished during the early-to-mid twentieth century. The Royal, among other locations on this South Street corridor, was featured in the 1996 film by Cheryl Dunye, \textit{The Watermelon Woman}, which is notably the first US feature film directed by a black lesbian.\textsuperscript{14} Today the building is vacant and there are development projects in the works, with a plan for the historic facade to be preserved.

\section*{Black Mountain College}

Open from 1933 to 1957, Black Mountain College (BMC) was a progressive arts and educational institution located in the remote hills of Black Mountain, near Asheville, North Carolina. The college, founded by


\textsuperscript{13} Philadelphia is an important, although lesser known, center for African American history and culture during the period of the Great Migration, which engendered greater political and social activism among African Americans and promoted cultural production as well. The most famous example is the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, wherein the wealthy middle-class African American community of Harlem in New York City produced some of the most talented cultural figures in the nation, such as Langston Hughes, a poet known to have same-sex relationships, and Gladys Bentley, a cabaret singer and pianist who performed a tuxedo at the Clam House. Bentley drew black lesbians and gay men, as well as white sightseers, to the venue because of her gender-bending style (short hair and tuxedo) and her provocative attitude (she would flirt with women in the audience and improvise lewd lyrics to popular songs). See Bonnie Zimmerman, ed., \textit{Encyclopedia of Lesbian Histories and Cultures} (New York: Routledge, 1999) and A.B. Christa Schwarz, \textit{Gay Voices of the Harlem Renaissance} (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003). Langston Hughes spent some time living at the Harlem YMCA, now known as the Claude McKay Residence, at 180 West 135th Street, New York City. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976. Hughes also spent time writing at Yaddo, an artists’ retreat in Saratoga Springs, New York that was designated an NHL on March 11, 2013. Among the venues that hosted Gladys Bentley was the Ubangi Club, 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City (demolished in 2013).

\textsuperscript{14} In 2005 under the auspices of the Philadelphia-based Mural Arts Program, artist Eric Okdeh memorialized Bessie Smith and others in a mural on the exterior of the Royal.
John Rice, was never accredited and its experimental pedagogy and welcoming environment attracted many of the most influential artists and writers of the day.\textsuperscript{15} The school was, in many ways, a do-it-yourself effort: a farm on campus provided the food and students and faculty both helped construct the school’s buildings, designed in Craftsman and International Style. These two architectural styles, one American in origin and one associated with the development of modernism in Germany, reflect the school’s diverse and international community of students and faculty.\textsuperscript{16} Today, BMC is well regarded for the subsequent influence of its students and instructors, many of whom engaged in same-sex relationships, on countercultural arts in the United States. It was added to the National Register of Historic Places on October 5, 1982.\textsuperscript{17}

Amidst the social stigmas of the period, BMC was a training ground for gay artists: a beacon for men who had personal, professional, and artistic relationships with other men. In 1952, John Cage, a composer who was known to have same-sex relationships, staged the first "happening" in the dining room at the college. This multidisciplinary event combined sound, performance, visual art, and audience participation in a manner that challenged the ways in which different types of media had traditionally been kept separate in the arts. Happenings were a precursor to the now-common form of art known as “performance art” and are an important American Avant-garde art form, later developed in New York by Cage’s

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\textsuperscript{15} Mary Emma Harris, \textit{The Arts at Black Mountain College} (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987). In memoirs and interviews many former students and visitors to Black Mountain College detail the same-sex relationships they had there. Many of these BMC alums became major artistic figures in the US. They include the poet Robert Duncan, the writer Michael Rumaker, the composer John Cage, the choreographer Merce Cunningham, and the visual artists Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg. See Martin Duberman, \textit{Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community}, Reprint (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, (1972) 2009) and Michael Rumaker, \textit{Black Mountain Days}, Reprint (Brooklyn, NY: Spuyten Duyvil Press, (2003) 2012).

\textsuperscript{16} During World War II, the school became a beacon for Jewish intellectuals fleeing Europe including former faculty members at the Bauhaus school in Germany; this was an important connection that influenced the development of modern art at the college. The school was at the forefront of racial integration at a time in US history when education was segregated.

\textsuperscript{17} The college moved in 1941 from its original site at Blue Ridge Assembly to a nearby campus at Lake Eden. Today it is Camp Rockmont, a Christian summer camp for boys, and the site of the Lake Eden Arts Festival (375 Lake Eden Road, Black Mountain, North Carolina). \textit{Leap Before You Look: Black Mountain College 1933-1957}, organized by Helen Molesworth and on view at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston from October 2015 through January 2016, is the first major museum exhibit to explore the legacy of Black Mountain College.
student Allan Kaprow.\textsuperscript{18} Cage and his life partner and frequent collaborator Merce Cunningham were both affiliated with BMC early in their careers, as were Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, and Cy Twombly; all were men who had relationships with men.\textsuperscript{19}

The Kinsey Institute

The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction (commonly known as the Kinsey Institute) is located on the campus of Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana.\textsuperscript{20} Formerly the Institute for Sex Research, Inc., it was founded in 1947 by the pioneering American sexologist Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey (1894-1956). Kinsey and his staff collected over fifty thousand erotic images (including painting and photographs) beginning in the late 1930s, many having to do with homosexual and transgender subject matter. The collection of these images challenged the public morality and obscenity laws of the time. In 1957 the US Federal Court ruled in favor of the institute for its right to import erotic photographic material for research purposes. These images are now part of the collection of the Kinsey Institute’s Library and Special Collections. The Kinsey Institute has been exhibiting and publishing selections from its erotic art and archives since 1990; many of these objects depict LGBTQ subjects.

Kinsey's research and impact on American culture changed the way Americans thought and talked about sex. Specifically, his research introduced bi- and homosexuality into popular American discourse. His 1948 study, \textit{Sexual Behavior in the Human Male}, was based on thousands of sexual history interviews. It was in this publication that he introduced to American audiences the idea of a continuum of human sexuality rather than discrete categories of heterosexuality and

\textsuperscript{19} See Jonathan D. Katz, “John Cage’s Queer Silence or How To Avoid Making Matters Worse,” Queer Cultural Center website, \url{http://www.queerculturalcenter.org/Pages/KatzPages/KatzWorse.html}
\textsuperscript{20} The Institute is currently located in Morrison Hall, on campus at 1165 East Third Street. Other campus locations have included Biology Hall (now Swain Hall East), Wylie Hall, and Jordan Hall.
homosexuality. Kinsey asked interviewees to place themselves on a scale, between zero (exclusively heterosexual) and six (exclusively homosexual). His findings indicated that at least twenty percent of the adult male population fell between three and six on the scale. He and his researchers also recognized asexuality. His bestselling books *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953) were precursors to the national conversations about sexuality that characterized the 1960s and 1970s.

**Six Gallery**

San Francisco was a key location for the development of a countercultural artistic milieu during the conservative climate of the 1950s, one that was distinct from the abstract expressionist painting movement that developed simultaneously in New York City. This countercultural movement included the development of beat poetry; many Beat Generation poets, including Allen Ginsberg, had same-sex relationships. In 1952, gay visual artist Jess (a.k.a. Burgess Collins) founded King Ubu Gallery in a former auto repair shop at 3119 Fillmore Street, San Francisco. In 1954 King Ubu was renamed Six Gallery and was facilitated by Jess’ lover, the poet Robert Duncan. Six Gallery is best known for the first public manifestation of the Beat Generation, a bohemian group of writers who gained influence in the 1950s through their pessimistic writings on life in America. Many Beat-affiliated writers engaged in same-sex relationships with each other. At Six Gallery, the first manifestation of the Beat movement occurred at a poetry reading in the upstairs room of the gallery on October 7, 1955, which was attended by 150 people. The gallery promoted the reading as “a remarkable collection

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22 The name “Six” Gallery was in reference to its six founders: Wallace Hedrick, Deborah Remington, John Ryan, Jack Spicer, Hayward King, and David Simpson.
of angels on one stage reading their poetry.”23 This was the first public reading of the 1955 poem “Howl” by the gay poet Allen Ginsberg, now considered one of the significant poems in the American lexicon. Today, a plaque and podium outside the former gallery commemorate the October 1955 reading. It was dedicated in 2005 by San Francisco town supervisor Michela Alioto-Pier and Lawrence Ferlinghetti of City Lights Bookstore.24

The Jewel Box Lounge

The Jewel Box Lounge in Kansas City, Missouri, located at 3219 Troost Avenue, was open from 1948 to 1982.25 The Jewel Box Lounge featured cabaret acts with female impersonators called “femme-mimics,” who recalled earlier vaudeville performances of the early twentieth century and was distinct from the drag performances that exist today in their emphasis on musical and comedy numbers rather than runway.26 In the 1950s and 1960s it was a successful bar despite the conservative climate in which police enforced laws against cross-dressing.27


24 City Lights Bookstore itself was an important location for the dissemination of Beat poetry—in fact, it was its associated publishing company, City Lights Publishers, which published Howl and Other Poems in 1956. City Lights Bookstore is located at 261 Columbus Avenue at Broadway, San Francisco, California. Ferlinghetti was charged with obscenity for selling Howl, and the case went to court. The judge decided that books with “the slightest redeeming social importance” were guaranteed First Amendment protection. This opened the way for previously banned publications, including D.H. Lawrence’s Lady Chatterley’s Lover and Henry Miller’s Tropic of Cancer, to be published in the United States. Philips, Beat Culture and the New America; Raskin, American Scream. For an account of queer identity in the East Coast Avant-garde scene of the 1950s, see Ann Gibson, “Lesbian Identity and the Politics of Representation in Betty Parson’s Gallery,” Journal of Homosexuality 27, no. 1-2 (1994): 245-270.

25 In 1972 the venue changed locations, to Main Street and Thirty-First Street in Kansas City, Missouri.


27 David W Jackson, Changing Times: Almanac and Digest of Kansas City’s Gay and Lesbian History (Kansas City, MO: The Orderly Pack Rat, 2011). The Jewel Box Lounge was distinct from the internationally known travelling variety show called the Jewel Box Revue, founded in 1939 in Miami by Danny Brown and Doc Benner, who were business and romantic partners. The Revue consisted of predominantly female impersonators and was the first racially integrated drag show in the United States, playing to mixed-race audiences in venues such as the Apollo Theater in Harlem, New York.
Harmony Hammond Studio

Harmony Hammond (b. 1944 in Chicago) is an artist and art writer who lives and works in Galisteo, New Mexico.28 From her home and studio in New Mexico, where she has lived for the past thirty years, Hammond has become a prominent figure in national feminist, lesbian, and queer art communities. Galisteo itself is a small town (with a population of only 265 in the 2000 census) that is known for its artist residents. Located a half-hour drive south of Sante Fe, Galisteo became a mecca in the 1970s for prominent artists such as Agnes Martin (a minimalist painter and discreet lesbian), and the feminist art writer and critic Lucy R. Lippard, who has been a champion of lesbian artists.29 Hammond’s residential structure in Galisteo is a converted nineteenth-century adobe sheep barn. Before living in New Mexico, she moved to New York from the Midwest in 1969 and came out as a lesbian in 1973. She was integral to the creation of a feminist art movement in the 1970s and is particularly significant for her tireless advocacy for the particular concerns of lesbian art and artists. Hammond was a cofounder of the A.I.R. Gallery (Artists in Residence, the first women’s cooperative art gallery in New York City) as well as Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics (founded in 1977 in New York City).30 Hammond’s first solo exhibition was at A.I.R. in 1973. Since then she has had over forty shows. As an artist Hammond is well respected for her contribution to queering the legacy of modernist abstraction, a

One of the most famous of the performers was Stormé DeLarverie (1920-2014), a biracial lesbian master of ceremonies, singer, and male impersonator who is rumored to have thrown the first punch at the Stonewall Rebellion in New York in 1969. The Apollo Theater is located at 253 West 125th Street, New York City; it was listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983.

28 Other places associated with Harmony Hammond include: the New York Feminist Art Institute located at 325 Spring Street, New York City, New York from 1979 to 1985, and at 91 Franklin Street, New York City, New York from 1985 to 1990, where she taught; the 112 Greene Street Workshop (now private residences) in New York City’s SoHo neighborhood where she curated A Lesbian Show in 1978; and the Women’s Building, 1727 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, California, where she was one of the featured artists in the 1980 Great American Lesbian Art Show.

29 The Harwood Museum of Art, 238 Ledoux Street, Taos, New Mexico is home to the permanent Agnes Martin Gallery dedicated to her work.

historically male-dominated art form, by challenging audiences to think about issues of identity. Her large-scale, abstract and often monochrome compositions, as well as a large body of prints and sculpture, have pushed the ideas of what queer art can be. Rather than work in a documentary idiom, aiming to represent marginalized subjects, Hammond works in nonfigurative abstract mode, prompting viewers to think of “queer art” in terms of form as well as content. In 2000, after years of research and interviews, Hammond’s book *Lesbian Art in America: A Contemporary History* was published. This is the first publication to look exclusively at lesbian art in the United States, and remains a principal text in the field.

The History of California

Judith Baca (b. 1946) identifies as a Chicana lesbian feminist artist. She works in a figurative style of muralism that recalls the political golden age of the 1930s in the United States and Mexico. She is best known for the 1976 public art mural *The History of California*, popularly known as *The Great Wall of Los Angeles* in Los Angeles. The large (13 feet x 2,754 feet) mural covers six city blocks, and is one of the largest in the world. It is located on Coldwater Canyon Avenue between Oxnard Street and Burbank Boulevard at the eastern edge of the Los Angeles Valley College campus in the San Fernando Valley area of Los Angeles. It is used in the curriculum of the college and other local schools. The Army Corps of Engineers commissioned the mural from Baca as a beautification project and painting began in 1978. It was completed in 1984 with the help of over four hundred volunteers, many of whom came from impoverished or disenfranchised backgrounds and were coordinated by the community.

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32 While lesbian artists such as Hammond and Louise Fishman explored abstract strategies of art, Tee A. Corinne was one of the few artists of the 1970s who grappled with the problem of how to represent lesbian sexuality in photographs that range from explicit to sexually symbolic. Other artists associated with lesbian feminism include the documentary photographer Joan E. Biren (JEB). Tee A. Corinne and Louise Fishman were among the featured artists at the 1980 *Great American Lesbian Art Show* at the Women’s Building, 1727 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, California. JEB was part of the Furies Collective who, from 1971 through 1973, operated out of their home in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC. The Furies Collective was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.
center Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) in Venice, which Baca founded in 1976.33

The mural is significant because it tells the history of California from the perspective of women and minorities. The social realist style harkens back to the US government-funded Works Progress Administration murals of the 1930s as well as to the visual traditions of Mexican muralism by artists such as David Alfaro Siqueiros. Social justice movements that emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s, including labor rights, feminism, gay liberation, and indigenous rights were important influences on The Great Wall of Los Angeles. The mural is significant because it includes the history of LGBTQ identified people as well as Native Americans in California. Its chronological scope moves from the time of dinosaurs through the 1950s, and there are current plans to update it through the present-day and to make it more accessible with the addition of a bike path and restoration.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center

The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (known as The Center) is located at 208 West 13th Street, in the historically gay West Village neighborhood of Manhattan, New York. Since opening in 1983, The Center has been a beacon for many in New York City. The Center is important because it demonstrates the notion of art as activism and/or a means to build LGBTQ community. The Center is located in a large brick building that formerly housed the Food and Maritime Trades High School; it was purchased from the City of New York for $1,500,000 in 1983. The New York Times made note with the headline “Sale of Site to Homosexuals Planned.” Gay and lesbian advocacy groups had already been using the building as a site for health, counseling, and social services—particularly urgent needs in the early years of the HIV/AIDS

33 SPARC is located at 685 Venice Boulevard, Venice, California.
crisis. Then New York City Mayor Ed Koch was quoted at the time discussing the significance of the sale as one of “a number of steps to be taken by the city to combat AIDS and other health problems that have particularly affected the gay and lesbian community.”

From the beginning, The Center promoted a vision of LGBTQ community that prioritized both art and politics. In 1985 The Center initiated the “Second Tuesdays” program, a lecture series bringing notable figures in the arts (including Audre Lorde, Fran Lebowitz, and Quentin Crisp) to speak directly to the LGBTQ community. On March 10, 1987 activist, author, and playwright Larry Kramer used his platform as a “Second Tuesdays” lecturer to address the government’s unresponsiveness to the escalating AIDS crisis. This meeting led to the formation later that month of ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power. ACT UP meetings were held each Monday at The Center. Many artists were participants in ACT UP and the group became well known for its striking use of visual graphics on placards, t-shirts, and posters designed to bring awareness and action to the AIDS crisis (Figure 2).

Besides agitprop, The Center facilitated other important responses to HIV/AIDS such as support groups. The Center also housed the New York

Figure 2: Silence=Death, 1987. Color lithograph by ACT-UP, The AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power.

35 Creative Commons License (BY-NC-ND 4.0).
http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0052822.html
36 Audre Lorde (1934-1992) was a Caribbean-American writer, lesbian, and civil rights activist. From 1972 through 1987 she lived with her children and her partner Frances Clayton on Staten Island. She was one of the speakers at the Lincoln Memorial at the second National March on Washington in 1987. Fran Lebowitz (b. 1950) is a lesbian American author and public speaker. Quentin Crisp (1908-1999) was a gay English writer.
Memorial Quilt, a participatory art therapy project completed at The Center Quilt Workshop, events held from February to July 1988 that were part of a national effort to contribute panels in memory of people who died of AIDS for the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. The New York Memorial Quilt was displayed on the Great Lawn in Central Park in June 1988. The impact of HIV/AIDS on gay art was immense. Many queer artists of the 1980s were HIV positive or were friends or lovers of those who were. They responded with intensity to the AIDS crisis through the production of fine art as well as agitprop, guerilla street theater, and a direct-action protest movement in the form of ACT UP and later, Queer Nation (founded in 1990). Paradoxically, at the same time the mainstream art world began to deal with the topic of gay art in exhibitions, the HIV/AIDS crisis nearly decimated a generation of gay artists.

These connections were explored in 1989 at The Center in two important art exhibitions: Imagining Stonewall and The Center Show. Imagining Stonewall was a commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the June 27, 1969 occasion when LGBTQ people fought back against a typical police raid of the Stonewall Inn, located at 53 Christopher Street (in the same neighborhood as The Center). Imagining Stonewall was an important exhibition because it provided an example of defiant activism to

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37 Central Park was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on May 23, 1963.
38 Some of the most important LGBTQ art institutions today emerged in the context of the HIV/AIDS crisis in the 1980s, for example Visual AIDS and the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art. Visual AIDS was founded in New York in 1988 as a contemporary arts organization committed to raising AIDS awareness, assisting artists living with HIV/AIDS, and preserving the work of artists lost to the disease. It operates from offices at 526 West 26th Street, New York City, New York. The Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art began in 1969 with the private showing of art from the personal collections of Charles Leslie and Fritz Lohman in New York City. During the 1980s, Leslie and Lohman committed to preserving works of art that were being thrown away; after artists' death from AIDS their homophobic families discarded all of their belongings, including art. In 1987 they founded the nonprofit organization Leslie/Lohman Gay Art Foundation, Inc. The Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art is located at 26 Wooster Street, New York City, New York. The exhibition Art AIDS America, co-organized by Jonathan D. Katz and Rock Hushka and on view at the Tacoma Art Museum, 1701 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, Washington from October 2015 to January 2016, was the first major museum exhibition to explore the impact of HIV/AIDS on American art.
39 Extended Sensibilities: Homosexual Presence in Contemporary Art was the first museum exhibition in the United States to explore the relationship between art and homosexuality, a decade after the impact of gay liberation and its visibility mandates. The exhibition, organized by Dan Cameron, was on view at the New Museum of Contemporary Art, 235 Bowery, New York City, New York, from October through December, 1982.
contemporary LGBTQ AIDS activists and it also gave LGBTQ artists the opportunity to come out in their work and display it in a specifically LGBTQ environment. Many pieces combined personal and political content, such as Thomas Lanigan-Schmidt’s *Mother Stonewall and the Golden Rats*, installed in the stairwell in the back of the building as well as the roof, which included text featuring the artist’s own memories of the 1969 Stonewall riots.\(^{40}\) *The Center Show*, which opened on June 1, 1989 commissioned fifty artists to make site-specific installations throughout The Center. Curated by Rick Barnett and Barbara Sahlman, *The Center Show* featured established and emerging artists who dealt with gay sexuality directly in their work including the sculptor Arch Connelly (1950-1993), the AIDS activist art collective Gran Fury (1988-1995), and the painter Keith Haring (1958-1990).

Keith Haring was one of the most famous artists of the 1980s. He was integral to the Downtown or East Village art scene of the 1980s, which included many LGBTQ artists such as Peter Hujar, David Wojnarowicz, Nan Goldin, Mark Morrisroe, Greer Lankton, and Martin Wong.\(^{41}\) Haring began his artistic career as a street artist drawing in chalk in the New York City subways. Haring chose a second floor men’s bathroom at The Center for his installation, a mural entitled *Once Upon a Time* (Figure 3). He painted

\[\text{Figure 3: Detail, Once Upon A Time, mural by Keith Haring at the LGBT Center, New York City, New York, 2015. Photograph by Tara Burk.}\]

\(^{40}\) Reed, *Art and Homosexuality*.
\(^{41}\) Peter Hujar lived for a time at 189 Second Avenue, New York City, New York. Works by David Wojnarowicz were included in the 1985 *Graffiti Show* at the Whitney Museum of Modern Art, 99 Gansevoort Street, Lower Manhattan, New York City, New York. A location associated with Mark Morrisroe is the Pyramid Club, 101 Avenue A, New York City, New York where he and Stephen Tashjian founded the drag duo, the “Clam Twins.” Greer Lankton was a featured artist in the important *New York/New Wave* exhibit at PS 1 (now MoMA PS1), 22-25 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, New York.
this mural just nine months before he died of AIDS in 1990. The mural itself is a celebration of gay sex and is rife with phallic imagery; it is particularly suited for its location, as men’s public bathrooms have historically been places where men who have sex with other men have found each other. Called “A Joyful Mural, Born in a Time of Shame and Fear” by the New York Times, it promoted sex positivity—that sex could be pleasurable and empowering—at a time when the gay community was focused largely on HIV/AIDS prevention measures ranging from abstinence to condom use. The room housing Once Upon a Time was later converted to a meeting room, and today is devoted exclusively to the Haring installation.42

The Center is also home to the LGBT Community Center National History Archive and Pat Parker/Vito Russo Center Library, which contain many arts-related objects.43 The building has undergone several major renovation projects since the 1980s including in 1998 and in 2013.44 Today, The Center remains an important meeting spot, particularly for queer youth of color.

Club Uranus

Jerome Caja (1958-1995) was an artist who represents the radical queer scene that developed in San Francisco in the 1980s and 1990s, which he participated in as a visual artist, a drag queen, a go-go dancer, and a contributor to the nascent “queercore” zine movement. Caja cultivated a nontraditional drag persona that eschewed glamorous

42 John Gruen, Keith Haring: The Authorized Biography (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991). Because Haring intended it as a temporary site-specific installation, he did little to prepare the bathroom walls for his mural; he just covered the existing paint job, some of which was flaking in parts. In 2011-2012, conservator Harriet Irgang Alden restored the mural. The newly restored mural was unveiled with a special reception and programming and March 2012 was dedicated to celebrate the mural and Haring’s legacy, with partnership participation from the Brooklyn Museum among other institutions.
43 Founded in 1991 to promote LGBTQ literature, the library was named after Pat Parker (1944-1989), a prominent lesbian poet and author of Movement in Black, and Vito Russo (1946-1990), gay film historian best known for his 1981 book, The Celluloid Closet, which was released as a motion picture in 1996.
44 For its facade renovation in the early 1990s, the building, along with architect Françoise Bollack, was honored with several awards including the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Certificate of Merit and the New York Landmarks Conservancy Lucy G. Moses Preservation Award.
mimicry of conventional femininity and instead embraced a haggish persona represented in part by ripped lingerie and messy makeup. Caja’s art reflected the influence of his Catholic upbringing in its references to saints and iconography. He drew upon art history as well, and broke the rules of conventional subject matter and taste to create a distinctly queer aesthetic. Caja worked on a small scale, utilizing drag materials such as glitter, lace, and nail polish to create tiny portraits that combined traditional concerns with transgressive subject matter. Caja received an MFA from the San Francisco Art Institute in 1986. Afterwards he achieved national attention, including exhibitions at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and inclusion in In a Different Light, the groundbreaking lesbian and gay art exhibition co-organized by Lawrence Rinder and Nayland Blake in 1995 at the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive of the University of California, Berkeley. Caja died from AIDS complications in 1995, at age thirty-seven, shortly after completing interviews for the Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

A series of clubs (Club Chaos, Club Screw, and Club Uranus) in San Francisco opened in the late 1980s and early 1990s and were notable for mixed-gender and gender-bending crowds that gathered for performances, dancing, and live art events. These bars were also favored hangout places of Queer Nation and ACT UP activists, as well as local queer musicians and cultural producers. Importantly, the patronage of these clubs reflected a queer sensibility—women, men, and transgender people were encouraged to attend. Whereas in previous decades the gay community tended to remain separated along gender lines, due to the urgency of the AIDS crisis, men and women came together and “queer” became a favored self-designation which reflected a more expansive and fluid notion of sexual identity. Club Uranus was primarily located at The EndUp, in the South of Market district at 401 Sixth Street and Harrison. The EndUp opened in

45 The San Francisco Museum of Modern Art is located at 151 Third Street, San Francisco, California. From 1970 through 2014, The UC Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive was located at 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley, California. Citing structural and seismic deficiencies in the iconic Brutalist structure, the UC Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archives moved out. Their new location at 2120 Oxford Street, Berkeley, California opened to the public in January 2016.
1973 and was a gay disco open seven nights a week, and today is renowned as a center for House music. Club Uranus began at The EndUp on December 10, 1989. Caja was one of the master of ceremonies for the first Miss Uranus contest (judged by a San Francisco Examiner art critic, a sex magazine editor, and a San Francisco Arts Commission Gallery Director). Caja was a frequent attendee of Club Uranus and detailed his performances there in his interview with the Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

The Corcoran

The Corcoran is an important location in LGBTQ history as the site where the late-1980s controversy over the erotic art of gay American artist Robert Mapplethorpe (1946-1989) reached its apex. This controversy has become a touchstone of the US Culture Wars—debates in the 1980s and 1990s—that played out predominantly between conservative politicians and religious leaders and liberal artists and academics. Among the Culture War battlefields were debates about artistic freedom and funding for controversial artworks, including those with sexually explicit themes.

Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment was a retrospective of the American photographer, who died from AIDS complications in 1989 and was as famous for his still life photographs of flowers as he was for his similarly composed homoerotic photographs of nude black men. Janet Kardon of the Institute of Contemporary Art at the University of Pennsylvania organized the exhibition, which was mounted at the university in December 1988 to acclaim by critics and audiences alike, before it traveled to the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago early in

46 The Corcoran Gallery at 500 Seventeenth Street NW in Washington, DC was founded in 1869 by William Wilson Corcoran. Architect Ernest Flagg designed the Beaux-Arts building and, for over a century, the private museum housed one of the most significant collections of American art in the United States. The building was added to the NRHP on May 6, 1971 and was designated an NHL on April 27, 1992.
1989.47 Despite the popular and critical acclaim, the show was cancelled two weeks before it was to open at the Corcoran. Director Christina Orr-Cahall, under conservative pressure from several of the museum’s trustees as well as Republican United States Senate Representatives Jesse Helms (North Carolina) and Dick Armey (Texas), cancelled the show amid threats that the Corcoran (and other institutions showing controversial art) would lose funding from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). Opponents claimed that Mapplethorpe’s work, particularly his X Portfolio of sadomasochistic imagery, were obscene.48

Orr-Cahall’s decision not to show Mapplethorpe’s work was controversial, and several artists cancelled exhibits they had scheduled for the Corcoran. The Coalition of Washington Artists organized protests including rallies attended by hundreds of people outside the Corcoran, and on June 30, 1989, they projected slides of Robert Mapplethorpe’s work onto the façade of the building. Orr-Cahall resigned from the Corcoran as a result of the controversy. In July and August of 1989, the nonprofit arts organization, Washington Project for the Arts, hosted the Mapplethorpe exhibit in DC.49 Senator Helms and others followed up on their threats, and in 1990, Helms introduced a Senate bill to deny NEA funds to artwork considered “obscene.” The bill did not pass.50 Today, Mapplethorpe is well respected, and has had a tremendous influence on other artists including the gay artist Glenn Ligon and has been written about in influential articles by the gay art historian Richard Meyer, the gay art critic Douglas Crimp, and the gay art theorist Kobena Mercer.51 In

49 In 1989 the Washington Project for the Arts was located in the Jenifer Building in the 400 block of Seventh Street NW, Washington, DC.
50 Meyer, “The Jesse Helms Theory of Art”
2014 the Corcoran Gallery closed and its collection was transferred to the National Gallery of Art.

The groundswell of hostility to transgressive culture was nowhere more evident than in the controversy that surrounded Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment. However, the fallout of the Culture Wars was enormous. In July 1989, one month after the Mapplethorpe exhibition was cancelled at the Corcoran, Senator Helms called for an amendment prohibiting the use of public NEA funds for works of art including depictions of homoeroticism among other taboos. All 1990 NEA grant recipients were required to sign this anti-obscenity pledge. In July 1990, John Frohnmayer, the head of the NEA, vetoed four grants by the lesbian, gay, and feminist performance artists Karen Finley, Holly Hughes, Tim Miller, and John Fleck for being too politicized. The artists filed suit when their appeal was rejected, and three years later they settled the suit, winning reinstatement of the grants and challenging the constitutionality of the “decency” pledge required by NEA guidelines in the wake of Helm’s amendment. In retrospect these controversies served to raise important issues: who decides what is art? Is ‘quality’ a relative, socially determined word, like ‘obscenity’? The decency clause remains in effect to this day, and NEA grants to individual artists were discontinued in the 1990s. There are continuing effects of the Culture Wars on the creation, funding, and distribution of contemporary art.


Karen Finley performed some of her early works in places like Mabuhay Gardens, 443 Broadway, San Francisco, California and Club Foot, a live-music venue just east of the Greyhound Bus Station on Fourth Street, between Brazos Street and Congress Avenue, Austin, Texas (now demolished). Holly Hughes performed early work at Women’s One World Café (WOW). From 1981 through about 1984, WOW was located at 330 East 11th Street, New York City, New York; since circa 1984, they have been located at 59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, New York. In 1980, Tim Miller co-founded Performance Space 122 (PS 122), a performance art space at 150 First Avenue, New York City, New York.

As recently as 2010, Culture Wars over homosexuality and religion in art flared up in the responses to the exhibition *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*, which was the first major museum exhibition to explore LGBTQ themes in portraiture. It was on view from October 30, 2010 to February 13, 2011 at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, DC. The show engendered protests from conservative Christian organizations, who called for the removal of a video entitled “A Fire In My
Conclusion

It is necessary to understand that due to social stigma, for the majority of the twentieth century LGBTQ artists created art in a national climate of censorship. Especially after the gay liberation movement that followed the Stonewall Riots of 1969, there was a shift in LGBTQ identity in the United States. Many more artists came out as gay, bisexual, or lesbian and began to make art that reflected those experiences and for that reason the amount of LGBTQ art and artists, as well as institutions devoted to them, dramatically increased after 1970.\textsuperscript{54} In many forms, then, the influence of LGBTQ individuals on American art has been constant, significant, and ubiquitous.

Within the art world, recent years have witnessed a variety of approaches to the topic of LGBTQ art: a dialogue between the affirmation of difference on the one hand and the disavowal of difference on the other. Many artists who have same-sex relationships do not identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or queer because social stigmas remain and they are wary that being out as LGBTQ might hinder their careers as artists. Others have created networks based on queer cultural alliances, leading to new collaborations and exhibitions. In fact, some have taken up “queer” as a label that is accommodating of gays, lesbians, transgender and bisexual artists as \textit{well} as heterosexual ones who engage in sexually radical or perverse themes in their art. Whereas figurative art remains a clear method of queer representation, artists have embraced conceptual and abstract aesthetic strategies as well. For many artists, the politics of sexuality cannot be divorced from other identities including gender, race, and class. Today, there is no clear definition of LGBTQ art, yet the field of...

\textsuperscript{54} For example, while many of the artists active before the 1960s discussed in this essay were known to engage in same-sex relationships, few of them actually identified as LGBT or Q. In contrast, after the 1970s many artists felt emboldened to come out as LGBTQ as well as to make art about their sexuality and create institutions to support it.
artistic production and scholarship regarding LGBTQ themes continues to expand. Many artists from the history of LGBTQ art remain under-recognized and this study aims to contribute to the promotion and recognition of LGBTQ achievements in American art.
The history and ongoing engagement of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) Americans in sport and leisure cultures is varied and diverse, and often reflects the ebbs and flows of openness to gender and sexual diversity in mainstream culture. Though interrelated and shaped by similar cultural forces, institutional sports (professional and semiprofessional leagues, school-based athletics, and community sports programs) and leisure have very different places in LGBTQ life. LGBTQ athletes and sport participants frequently sought a place in mainstream athletic cultures, and occasionally created their own. Particularly in professional and top-level sports, LGBTQ athletes have struggled with being publicly gay and/or transgender, and how that fit into mainstream sport culture. This has resulted in very minimal historical presence of out LGBTQ athletes, as the majority of examples happened since the late 1980s. Meanwhile in non-sport leisure cultures, LGBTQ individuals and communities often formed their own unique forms of leisure and entertainment outside the mainstream gaze. As such, these

1 In this essay, “queer” is primarily used to describe those who embrace a nonnormative relationship to gender. Some queer people understand their gender as fluid (shifting between masculine and feminine points), while others reject binary (masculine or feminine) understandings of gender.
two histories will be addressed individually and through specific examples that highlight the ways in which LGBTQ identity shaped individual experiences and community cultures.

Sports

1975: David Kopay, a recently-retired National Football League (NFL) running back notices his hands trembling as he picks up the phone to call a Washington Star newspaper reporter. The Star had run a column about whether gay men played professional sports that relied upon rumors and unofficial reports. With that phone call, Kopay became the first professional American athlete to publicly come out as gay. His autobiography, The David Kopay Story: An Extraordinary Self-Revelation, shared the story of his relationships with other players who remained closeted and had a major impact in helping Americans rework their stereotypes of gay men as weak, effeminate “sissies.” Though his story was compelling and was primarily well received by the American public, Kopay’s openness did not change the highly homophobic culture of the NFL and football in general.

2006: A Nike ad campaign capitalized on the popularity of several Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA) stars, including six-time WNBA All-Star Sheryl Swoopes, who had recently come out as a lesbian. In one ad, Swoopes pushes her toddler in a playground swing when she is approached by three young girls. Wearing boys’ basketball attire, this swaggering little pack starts heckling Swoopes, declaring that her jump shot “needs work.” Their aggression, trash talk, and masculine appearance invoke stereotypes of African American butch lesbian basketball players—ironic given that Swoopes, a publicly out lesbian, is portrayed as a rather feminine mother figure. The ad plays on stereotypes

3 “Nike WNBA Little Rascals 3,” YouTube video, posted by tv commercials, September 7, 2006, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WAfjN03aZGE.
about lesbian athletes while softening Swoopes’ image through her motherhood.⁴

2015: In a highly publicized interview with Diane Sawyer, 1976 Olympic gold medal decathlete formerly known as Bruce Jenner revealed her transgender identity, and later, her new name, Caitlyn. In her interview, Jenner explained her athletic success as resulting from her “total obsession” to prove her masculinity to herself and the world.⁶ Sawyer and others in the media struggled to balance Jenner’s years as the muscled warrior and the “world’s greatest athlete” with her feminine appearance and identity. While there were detractors, Jenner’s announcement was received by many as courageous and highlighted transgender issues in the United States. Sports talk shows, which often mock anything unusual, even

Figure 1: William “Bill” Tilden was a tennis phenomenon, holding the top world ranking from 1920-1925 before rumors of his homosexuality destroyed his career. Photo by Agence ROL, 1921; from the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁵

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⁴ When Swoopes publicly came out in 2005 as a lesbian, she specifically stated she was not bisexual (she had previously been married), and after the ending of that 2005 relationship, has in recent years been engaged to a man. Publicly, Swoopes seems most content with a fluid understanding of her sexuality. See The Linster, “Sheryl Swoopes’ comes out as NSGAA (not so gay after all),” AfterEllen, July 5, 2011, http://www.afterellen.com/people/89989-sheryl-swoopes-comes-out-as-ngsa-not-so-gay-after-all.


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brought on experts to explain concepts around being transgender and used Jenner’s preferred name and pronouns.

These three snapshots from LGBTQ history reveal the complex and changing public response to gender, sex, and sexuality in sport cultures. Sports hold an important place in American culture, and are primarily shaped by our expectations of gender and ability. These dynamics are always altered by race, class, economics, and even the media and marketing of sports and athletes. For example, the WNBA has directly embraced its LGBTQ fans and is forthright about its lesbian and bisexual players in a league dominated by African American players and supported by a racially-diverse fan base looking for family-friendly events. This positive engagement with LGBTQ fans and players continues a long history of African American community support for women athletes despite their challenges to gender roles, and reveals a unique intersection of sports, gender, and race. Meanwhile, tennis’ white upper-class roots have made the sport extremely inhospitable for out gay men. The rumors of Bill Tilden’s homosexuality in the 1940s cost him his career, and the expectations of a game still shaped by racialized and classed standards of decorum continues to make elite men’s tennis unwelcoming for gay and bisexual athletes (Figure 1). Because of the homophobia and transphobia woven throughout sport, LGBTQ athletes, coaches, and fans have historically found shifting and uneven access to athletic cultures. While doors continue to open as mainstream US culture increasingly embraces gender and sexual diversity, some aspects of sporting culture remain hostile to LGBTQ participants. For example, nearly all of the top men’s professional sports (football, basketball, baseball, and hockey) have seen players come out after retirement, but very few during their playing years. Meanwhile at the amateur level, a 2015 study of nearly ten thousand gay and straight people found 78 percent believed youth sports were not safe

for gay people and over 80 percent of gay men and lesbians had experienced verbal slurs in sports settings.8 LGBTQ presence in sports at all levels and in all roles continues to challenge such obstacles, and in some cases offers opportunities to reimagine the potential of sports in community and culture building.

Addressing the history of LGBTQ sports presents certain complications. First, mainstream sports history is LGBTQ sports history; people with same-sex sexual partners, those who challenge gender roles, and individuals who understand themselves as somehow different from the heterosexual mainstream have always existed and participated in all forms of American culture, including sports. Second, scholars have demonstrated that homosexual identity—understanding a lesbian or a gay man as a particular type of person instead of seeing homosexuality as a deviant sexual act—is a very recent concept stemming from the historically-specific confluence of medical sexological studies, the appearance of antisodomy and cross-dressing laws, and the rise of early queer subcultures in the first decades of the twentieth century. The solidification of bisexual and transgender identities happened even later. Therefore LGBTQ sport history can only begin with the origination of these concepts, addressing those individuals who understood themselves as having an LGBTQ identity. This eliminates the histories of athletes who participated in sexual activity that today would be read as gay, bisexual, or lesbian but did not identify that way. For example, historian George Chauncey explains that in the early 1900s, men who had sex with effeminate male “fairies” would not have understood themselves as gay or bisexual, given their dominant role in the sexual exchange.9 Even after homosexual identity began to solidify, cultural norms around homosocial spaces, including single-sex locker rooms, sports facilities, camps, and branches of the military often permitted quiet sexual activity between men free from the stigma of homosexuality, ostensibly because of the absence

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of women. This “boys will be boys” attitude muddies the line between histories of homosexuality and histories of sexual identity. Meanwhile, women often benefitted from the queer possibilities in same-sex environments such as military Women’s Army Corps (WAC) units and boarding schools. The permissiveness granted women’s friendships allowed greater physical and emotional intimacy and simultaneously presumed impossible any sort of sexual activity between women, allowing many lesbian relationships to go unnoticed.

In light of legacies of homophobic persecution, many athletes who did understand themselves as lesbian, gay, or bisexual did not disclose this for their own protection. Further complicating these limitations, individuals who may have understood their own desires and identities as bisexual may have chosen to exclusively be seen in heterosexual relationships as a protection from homophobic stigma, leaving even fewer out bisexuals in the sporting record. A similar pattern exists with gender expression: athletes who might have been inclined to transgress gender norms for personal identity or sexual pleasure would not have done so publicly, to protect themselves from censure. Given these limitations, this essay focuses on the histories of notable athletes and sport cultures that directly and openly identified as LGBTQ, knowing that for each out athlete there are many others who were and are unable or unwilling to be so. As many of the stories below attest, the choice to be out about one’s queer identity caused some athletes to lose their jobs, end up in jail, lose sponsorships and earnings, and endure shame, ridicule, and media harassment. More recently, other athletes have fared far better, and discovered post-playing

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careers in LGBTQ advocacy or connected with partners, communities, and social support systems as a result of announcing their sexual identity. Beyond the top caliber athletes, there have been millions of everyday LGBTQ athletes who did not rise to the top levels of sport and made individual decisions about whether or not to share their sexual identity with their teammates. They too, made choices about the pros and cons of disclosing their sexual and gender identities with teammates, friends, family, and communities, and may have had to weigh their love of sport against a desire to live openly.

The history of LGBTQ sport cannot be separated from the gendered norms in US culture, nor from the operation of gender in mainstream sport cultures. American gender norms presume people with male bodies develop large muscles and pursue activities centered on competition, aggression, power, and even violence. Meanwhile, those with female bodies are expected to remain quiet and docile, engaging in caring and nurturing activities. Sport cultures embrace the masculine attributes, valorizing aggressive, muscled, and powerful athletic men demonstrating strength, physical skill, and emotional stoicism. While our culture has made some space for female athletes, these women often walk a careful line between athletic prowess and the limits of feminine respectability. In earlier eras, the image of a “mannish lesbian athlete” haunted women athletes of all sexual identities and discouraged women from participation. Ironically that same conflagration of masculinity, lesbianism, and sports also meant possibilities for women who embraced that image.13

The masculinity of American sport cultures is enmeshed with sexually dominant forms of heterosexuality, meaning that “real” male athletes are attracted to women and are sexual aggressors. Linking athletic masculinity with a particular form of heterosexual practice results in homophobia, as those men who do not meet the gender or sexual standard are denigrated and harassed. This shaming and ostracism can

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be destructive for LGBTQ athletes even when the athlete isn’t out to
teammates. Bruce Hayes, a top-ranked University of California, Los
Angeles (UCLA) swimmer in the 1980s, wondered if his self-destructive
training regimen was a way to “compensate for his homosexuality through
athletics, proving to himself and the world that he was a real man.”
Some sporting cultures are not just homophobic, but characterized by a
heightened paranoia about gender and sexuality called “homohysteria,”
which sports historian Eric Anderson defines as a “homosexually-panicked
culture in which suspicion [of homosexuality] permeates.” Anderson
argues that the 1980s and 1990s were a period of homohysteria in the
United States, marked by purges of LGBTQ athletes and coaches,
terminated careers, and emotional terror, all of which have shaped today’s
sport environments. Furthermore, male and female athletic bodies are
intensely sexualized, put on display and desired as ideal forms, investing
further focus on bodies and desires. Given these elements, gender and
sexuality are inseparable from US sport cultures and LGBTQ sport
histories.

**Golf**

A good place to start in LGBTQ sport history is with the legendary Babe
Didrikson Zaharias, born in 1911 in Port Arthur, Texas. Her story reveals
how gender and sexuality are heavily policed within sports, particularly for
women. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Babe was a track and field
champion, winning two gold and a silver medal at the 1932 Olympics in
Los Angeles. Simultaneously, she led her Amateur Athletic Union (AAU)
basketball team to a 1931 National Championship and set AAU records in
track and field at the 1932 national championships. She took up golf
and quickly became a top player, even competing in a men’s Professional

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14 Young, _Lesbians and Gays_, 109.
15 Eric Anderson, “The Rise and Fall of Western Homohysteria,” _Journal of Feminist Scholarship_ 1
16 See the section below on Penn State University women’s basketball under Coach Rene Portland, for a
prime example of the destructive effects of homohysteria.
17 Babe was a leader on the famous “Golden Cyclones” team of AAU athletes from Dallas, Texas, who
dominated AAU competition in their era. See Robert W. Ikard, _Just for Fun: The Story of AAU Women's
Basketball_ (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2005).
Golfers’ Association (PGA) tournament, the first woman to do so.\textsuperscript{18} Zaharias dominated women’s golf for the next twenty years, and became a founding member of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA).\textsuperscript{19} Yet Babe was mocked in the press for her “mannish” features and “tomboyish” behavior until she married pro wrestler George Zaharias.\textsuperscript{20} Though they remained a celebrity couple until her death from cancer in 1956, Babe’s real relationship was with fellow golfer Betty Dodd, who lived with Babe and George.\textsuperscript{21} Scholars agree the marriage was a cover for Babe’s lesbianism, and posthumously Babe has been recognized for contributions to LGBTQ culture.\textsuperscript{22} Since Babe’s groundbreaking career, women’s golf has somewhat embraced other openly lesbian players, including Sandra Haynie, Muffin Spencer-Devlin, Patty Sheehan, and Rosie Jones, even if these women generally kept their personal lives off the greens.\textsuperscript{23} Lesbian fans helped turn the Dinah Shore LPGA tournament in Palm Springs into an annual lesbian party weekend, to the chagrin of LPGA officials who remain committed to portraying their athletes as normatively feminine, mothers, and above all, heterosexual.\textsuperscript{24}

\section*{Baseball}

Baseball has celebrated its players who made America’s game more inclusive by breaking racial barriers. Less attention has been given to

\begin{itemize}
\item Babe competed in the Los Angeles Open in 1938, held at the Los Angeles Tennis Club, 5851 Clinton Street, Los Angeles, California.
\item The LPGA is currently headquartered at 100 International Golf Drive in Daytona Beach, Florida.
\item Cahn, “From the ‘Muscle Moll’ to the ‘Butch’ Ballplayer,” 351.
\item Babe died in Galveston, Texas.
\item “Tee Party,” Guardian, May 6, 2001, \url{http://observer.theguardian.com/osm/story/0,,482447,00.html}. It should be noted that the Dinah Shore tournament no longer holds that name, but is still colloquially referred to as the “Dinah Shore.” The tournament is held at the Mission Hills Country Club, 34600 Mission Hills Drive, Rancho Mirage, California.
\end{itemize}
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Glenn Burke, who was the first player to be out to his teammates (but not the public) during his career. An African American outfielder for the Los Angeles Dodgers and the original source of the high five hand slap, Burke was pressured by the Dodgers to get married and was traded when he refused—evidence of how team managers and officials felt about his sexual identity.25 Though he struggled with drug use and eventually succumbed to AIDS, Burke was undeterred, saying, “My mission as a gay ballplayer was to break a stereotype... I think it worked.”26 Burke’s legacy paved the way for Billy Bean, an outfielder who played from 1987-1995 to come out in 1999.27 Though both Bean and Burke came out to the public after retirement, they made it possible for players like rising Minor League player David Denson to come out while still playing. In his role as MLB’s “Ambassador for Inclusion,” Bean was able to support Denson in his 2015 coming out to his team and the Milwaukee community.28

Major League Baseball (MLB) has few out gay umpires: longstanding National League umpire Dave Pallone was forced to resign in 1988 when rumors of his homosexuality surfaced; meanwhile umpire Dale Scott, who has worked in the American League since 1986, came out in 2014 and remains the only out umpire in the MLB.29

25 Young, Lesbians and Gays, 63-65. The Dodgers play at Dodger Stadium, 1000 Elysian Park Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
27 Bean played for the Detroit Tigers, briefly for the LA Dodgers, and finished his career in San Diego with the Padres; in San Diego he felt so much pressure to remain in the closet he played a 1995 spring training exhibition game just hours after his partner died of AIDS. See Kevin Baxter, “David Denson, pro baseball’s first openly gay player, has help on his journey,” Los Angeles Times, August 22, 2015, http://www.latimes.com/sports/la-sp-denson-gay-baseball-20150822-story.html.
28 See Baxter, “David Denson, pro baseball’s first openly gay player, has help on his journey,” Denson has moved between the Brewers and their lower-level farm teams, including the Timber Rattlers (Appleton, Wisconsin) and the Helena Brewers (Helena, Montana). The Milwaukee Brewers play at Miller Park, located at One Brewers Way, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
29 Pallone was born in Waltham, Massachusetts and currently lives in Colorado with his partner Keith; see Pallone’s website at http://davepallone.com; Scott was born in Eugene, Oregon where he was inducted into the Sheldon High School Hall of Honor.
Softball

While baseball has generally not allowed for the openness of gay players, softball suffers from a split consciousness. On one hand, the top collegiate and national caliber women players struggle with an environment similar to elite women’s basketball—there are a number of lesbian players, but heterosexual feminine appearances are the norm. At the same time, recreational softball is an important community-building tool for the lesbian community, a tradition that reaches back to the 1940s (Figure 2). A women’s softball game provided a guaranteed lesbian crowd in places where no gay bar or other public space was available, and proved vital to women trying to meet others. Where there were gay bars available, they often sponsored teams as a way of expanding the community being built within their institutions. For many gay women, softball teams offered a safe, vibrant, and supportive community that provided a counterbalance and even resistance to the homophobic mainstream in which they lived and worked. Softball as a lesbian institution continues in today’s LGBTQ softball leagues and built the Gay

Figure 2: Gay Activists Alliance Softball Team. Photo by Kay Tobin, ca. 1969-1974, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

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Softball World Series into the cornerstone of the North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance.32

**Tennis**

Tennis’ openly LGBTQ history rests predominantly on the women’s side, and is tied to a series of players in the 1970s and early 1980s. Three matches in American tennis history have been dubbed the “Battle of the Sexes,” but the most famous was the exhibition match between Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs in 1973 (Figure 3).34 Riggs felt women’s tennis was a joke and he boasted that he could beat the top players despite being fifty-five years old. Billie Jean King, who had been ranked Number 1 in the world in 1966 and had won ten Grand Slam titles since, took his sexist challenge and beat him in three straight sets, as a television audience of fifty million watched. King had been romantically involved with women for years but did not come out publicly until 1981, when a lawsuit from her ex-girlfriend hit the news.35 King is considered the first professional female athlete to publicly

![Figure 3: Tennis champion Billie Jean King playing in Phoenix, Arizona in 1978. In 1973, she beat male opponent Bobby Riggs in the famous “Battle of the Sexes” tennis match. Photo by Mitchell Weinstock.33](https://www.flickr.com/photos/schlepper/5304275555)


33 License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/schlepper/5304275555

34 The match was played at the Houston Astrodome, located at 8400 Kirby Drive, Houston, Texas. The Astrodome was added to the NRHP on January 15, 2014.

announce her lesbianism while still playing. Since then, she has worked for women’s tennis and LGBTQ organizations.36 King’s current partner, South African-born Ilana Kloss, was also a top player in the 1970s, and is one of few Jewish women in professional tennis.37

Even before the Battle of the Sexes, Renée Richards used tennis to challenge America’s understanding of sex and gender. Richards was a champion men’s tennis player with a lethal backhand at Yale and in the Navy before she transitioned to living as a woman in 1975. Hoping to continue competing in the game she loved, she tried to enter the US Open in 1976, but was barred when she refused a chromosome test given to all women athletes.38 She sued for her right to play, setting off a media frenzy, and in 1977 was granted entrance into the tournament held in Forest Hills, Queens, New York. During the next four years, Richards saw major successes, including winning the 1979 35-and-over singles title, despite media mockery and competitors cancelling.39 In 1981, she retired and turned to coaching and medical practice in her hometown of New York City. In 2013, Richards was one of the inaugural inductees into the National Gay and Lesbian Sports Hall of Fame.40

36 See her autobiography, Pressure is a Privilege: Lessons I’ve Learned from Life and the Battle of the Sexes (New York: LifeTime Media, 2008).
38 The 1976 US Open was held at the Highlands Course of the Atlanta Athletic Club in Duluth, Georgia at 1930 Bobby Jones Drive, Johns Creek, Georgia; Renée Richards, No Way Renée: The Second Half of My Notorious Life (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007).
39 Since 1978, the US Open has been held at the USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center in Flushing Meadow-Corona Park, Flushing, New York. The Arthur Ashe Stadium, opened in 1997, is located within the USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center. It was named after Arthur Ashe, a world-ranked tennis player who was the first African American selected for the US Davis Cup team and the only black man to win singles titles at Wimbledon, the US Open, or the Australian Open. Ashe contracted HIV in the early 1980s, likely from a blood transfusion (in the years before blood banks began screening blood donations for HIV). He announced his illness in 1992 and founded the Arthur Ashe Foundation for the Defeat of AIDS, an educational non-profit to educate others about AIDS and HIV. As one of only a few straight athletes to come out publicly about his HIV status, he helped challenge stereotypes of AIDS as exclusively a “gay disease.” He died from AIDS-related pneumonia on February 6, 1993.
Another famous out LGBTQ player from this era is Czech American Martina Navratilova, who held record-length top rankings in singles and doubles, the most singles and doubles titles in the open era, and is considered one of the top women players of all time. Her long rivalry with Chris Evert produced years of exceptional play. Yet like other LGBTQ tennis champions, Navratilova faced public scrutiny and painful gossip when her personal life spilled into the tabloids and onto the courts. Today she is an advocate for LGBTQ rights. Other lesbian players have also dominated the tennis elite. Helen Jacobs, who won multiple singles championships in the 1930s, had several women partners and broke tradition by wearing men’s tennis shorts on the court. Included in her victories were a string of US Open singles titles from 1932-1935, all won at the West Side Tennis Club. Puerto Rican-born Gigi Fernandez was a top player in the 1980s and 1990s and now has children with Jane Geddes, a former LPGA champion. Between 1996 and 2012, Lisa Raymond earned a number one ranking in women’s doubles (2000) and eleven Grand Slam titles, during which she was open about her relationship with her doubles partner, Australian Rennae Stubbs.

41 The “open era” refers to the 1968 decision allowing professional players to compete with amateurs at major tennis tournaments like the Grand Slam. Navratilova and Evert traded victories in several tournaments at the Amelia Island Plantation (Beachwood Road, Fernandina Beach, Florida) but it was their 1985 French Open Final that is considered one of the best women’s tennis matches of all time, which Navratilova lost. Navratilova ended up topping Evert in the career titles and in their head-to-head matches. Navratilova now lives in Sarasota, Florida.

42 Navratilova initially came out as bisexual in a 1981 interview, but has since identified herself as lesbian. See Johnette Howard, The Rivals: Chris Evert vs. Martina Navratilova Their Epic Duels and Extraordinary Friendship (New York: Crown Archetype, 2005), 181.

43 Jacob's partners include her lifelong companion Virginia Gurnee, and an earlier relationship with Henrietta Bingham, daughter of US Ambassador to England Robert Bingham. See her obituary, Susan B. Adams, “Helen Jacobs, Tennis Champion in the 1930's, Dies at 88,” New York Times, June 4, 1997; and also Bingham’s biography; Emily Bingham, Irrepressible: The Jazz Age Life of Henrietta Bingham (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 223-266. The West Side Tennis Club is a longstanding US Open venue, located at One Tennis Place Forest Hills, Queens, New York.


45 See Lisa Raymond website at http://www.lraymondweb.com, for Raymond’s professional history. For personal history, see Linda Pearce, “Rennae out of closet, in your face,” Sydney Morning Herald, January 7, 2006. Since their success on and off the court in the early 2000s, Stubbs and Raymond have ended their personal and professional relationships. Raymond was born in Norristown, Pennsylvania and played for the University of Florida’s Gators tennis team at Linder Stadium (Gainesville, Florida) where she helped her team win its first NCAA championship.
Few professional tennis players on the men’s circuit have been out about their homosexuality. Perhaps the most famous is William Tilden. A native Philadelphian and alumnus of Germantown Academy prep school, located in the Philadelphia suburb of Fort Washington, and Peirce College, “Big Bill” Tilden is often considered one of the greatest men’s players of all time, winning seven US Championships (1920-1925, 1929) and holding the number one world ranking from 1920-1925. Tilden’s tennis dominance did not protect him from antisodomy laws and homophobic culture, however; the end of his playing career was hastened as Tilden was plagued by rumors, arrests for soliciting minors, and jail. These charges left Tilden broke, unable to teach lessons, and shunned from his home club, Philadelphia’s Germantown Cricket Club. Tilden’s athletic dominance posed a direct challenge to expectations tying masculine athleticism with heterosexuality, and ultimately resulted in the destruction of his athletic career and life.

**Football**

Despite baseball’s title as “America’s pastime,” it is American football that is the juggernaut of sport dollars, viewership, and collegiate athletics in the United States. As a result, definitions of masculinity are closely woven in and around the gridiron game. Despite the huge number of collegiate and pro players, there are very few who have ever come out as gay, and even fewer who have done so while playing. As sports scholar Mariah Burton Nelson argues, football offers a homosocial environment in which men can express emotion, touch one another, and enjoy male bodies on display, but does so by perpetuating an understanding of sex that is violent, misogynist, and unrelentingly homophobic. Although

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46 Tilden lived luxuriously for a while from his victories, even keeping a suite at the famous Algonquin Hotel at 59 West 44th Street, New York City, New York.


pioneer David Kopay came out in 1975 after finishing his NFL career in Green Bay a few years earlier, his contemporaries who were widely known to be gay, did not. The few who did often experienced years of misery beforehand trying to come to terms with their homosexuality or bisexuality. Roy Simmons, a guard for the New York Giants (1979-1982) and Washington Redskins (1983-1985), contracted HIV and struggled with drug addiction and homelessness after his career fell apart. Ed Gallagher, a University of Pittsburgh offensive tackle, was so distraught by his homosexuality he attempted suicide in 1985 and was left a paraplegic. After the suicide attempt, Gallagher devoted the rest of his life to advocating for disabled and gay rights.

Football players who have come out as gay recently include Esera Tuaolo (NFL rostered 1991-1999, primarily Minnesota Vikings 1992-1996), Wade Davis (NFL practice

![Figure 4: Michael Sam celebrates a win at his last game for the University of Missouri. Sam played defensive end for the University of Missouri, and then became the first openly gay player to be successfully drafted in the NFL draft when he signed with the St. Louis Rams in 2014. Photo by Marcus Quertyus, 2013](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Michael_Sam_final_Mizzou_home_game.jpg)
squad member 2000-2003, ending with the Washington Redskins), Kwame Harris (NFL 2003-2010, primarily with the San Francisco 49ers, 2003-2007), but these professional players each waited until after retirement. Meanwhile college players Brian Sims (Bloomsburg University, 1997-2001), Alan Gendreau (Middle Tennessee State University, 2008-2011), and Conner Mertens (Willamette University, 2013-present) felt comfortable coming out as gay or bisexual while still playing, evidence of the divide between the NFL and NCAA sports cultures, and possibly a generational shift.\textsuperscript{53} Michael Sam was drafted by the St. Louis Rams after being a collegiate All-American, and is considered the first openly gay player to be successfully drafted into the NFL (Figure 4).\textsuperscript{54} Sam was later cut from the Rams and now plays in the Canadian Football League; some have argued that Sam’s experience and those of other openly gay players send a clear message about the NFL’s inability to change its underlying homophobic culture.\textsuperscript{55}
Rugby

Rugby’s British roots and similarity to American football create a unique position in US sports culture. The intense physicality of the game has meant an opportunity for women, traditionally excluded from football, to play a contact sport. For men, rugby has offered a contact sport for those disinterested in or marginalized from American football, including gay and bisexual men. The game has for decades drawn women already interested in pushing past gender norms, and cultivated a deep history among lesbian and bisexual women. In 1987, the US Women’s National Team (the Eagles) was formed, and in 1991 won the inaugural Women’s World Cup. Beginning in the 1990s, gay men’s rugby teams began to form, eventually uniting as the International Gay Rugby league. One of the most famous gay rugby players (ruggers) is Mark Bingham who was one of the passengers on United Airlines Flight 93 that was hijacked by terrorists on September 11, 2001. Bingham led several fellow passengers in an uprising against their hijackers, preventing the plane from being used to attack US cities. Media coverage of Bingham’s personal sacrifice often mentioned his leadership in founding a gay rugby team, the San Francisco Fog. This attention reveals America’s unfamiliarity with the game of rugby, as well as the existence of gay rugby teams, but also points to the homophobic assumption that gay men couldn’t embody the strength, courage, and selflessness that Bingham modeled. His legacy is memorialized in the gay rugby league’s world cup tournament, as well as a memorial at the University of California at Berkeley, his alma mater.

57 Flight 93 was forced down in a field just off Lincoln Highway, Stoystown, Somerset County, Pennsylvania. The Flight 93 National Memorial is a unit of the NPS, established on September 24, 2002.
Hockey

Hockey’s rough and tough image presents a similar challenge for its gay athletes, at least on the men’s side. Brendan Burke, son of the former general manager of the Toronto Maple Leafs and the US Olympic hockey team, was a student manager for the Miami University RedHawks men’s ice hockey team when he came out in order to combat homophobia in hockey.59 When Burke was killed in an accident several months later, his family began the You Can Play Project, a campaign dedicated to ending homophobia in sports.60

Caitlin Cahow played on two US women’s Olympic hockey teams (2010 Vancouver and 2006 Turin) and in the Canadian Women’s Hockey League (CWHL), and now works in CWHL administration.61 She is one of a handful of women’s hockey players to publicly discuss her lesbian identity.62 In 2014 she was chosen by President Obama to represent the United States as part of the official Sochi Winter Olympics delegation. The selection of Cahow and Billie Jean King was considered a challenge to Russia’s antigay policies, specifically a 2013 prohibition on gay “propaganda” available to minors and increasingly homophobic cultural norms promoted by President Putin.63

Like other popular sports in America, basketball’s LGBTQ history was for a long time about closeted secrecy. The sport may recently have entered a period of change, with athletes coming out as gay, lesbian, and transgender to relatively positive reception. Still, the complex dynamics of sexuality, race, and class within basketball culture create a challenge for those players wishing to be open and honest about their sexual identities.64

Women’s basketball history includes decades of semipro leagues, a well-organized physical education system in schools and universities, and the Amateur Athletic Union.65 Each of these offered safe spaces for straight, bisexual, and lesbian female athletes to participate in highly competitive athletics, despite varying gendered expectations for women throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Since the 1970s, however, women’s collegiate basketball created a more difficult environment for lesbian and queer women players, despite rumors of many players and coaches themselves being lesbian. In the 1980s and 1990s, the pressures of cultural gender norms were heightened by the media spotlight on the new pro league (founded 1996), the Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA). This produced an extreme level of homophobic gender policing in which female athletes’ behavior, dress, and mannerisms were carefully groomed to not appear overly masculine.66 Emblematic of this was Penn State women’s head coach, Rene Portland, whose twenty-seven-year career was overshadowed by her ban on lesbian


players and the hostile environment she fostered, prompting nearly half of her players to transfer or quit.\textsuperscript{67}

Despite this uneven history of acceptance, the archives of women's basketball still boasts many women who have openly been in, or are in, relationships with other women. Early players include Sue Wicks (Rutgers University 1984-1988, New York Liberty 1997-2002), Sheryl Swoopes (Texas Tech University 1993, Houston Comets 1997-2007, six-time WNBA All-Star and four-time WNBA Champion 1997-2000), Michele Van Gorp (Duke University 1997-1999, Minnesota Lynx 2001-2004), and Sharnee Zoll-Norman (University of Virginia 2004-2008, European leagues, Chicago Sky 2013).\textsuperscript{68} More recently, younger players like Glory Johnson (University of Tennessee 2008-2012, Tulsa Shock/Dallas Wings 2012-present) and superstar Brittney Griner (Baylor University 2009-2013, Phoenix Mercury 2013-present) have also been upfront about their lesbian identity, even when their dramatic relationships became tabloid fodder.\textsuperscript{69} The 6'8” Griner linked her size and lesbianism in recalling childhood experiences of ostracism: “It was hard. Just being picked on for being different. Just being

\textsuperscript{67} Training Rules: No Drinking, No Drugs, No Lesbians, directed by Dee Mosbacher and Fawn Yacker (San Francisco, CA: Woman Vision Films, 2009). Penn State Lady Lions basketball is played in the Bryce Jordan Center at 127 Bryce Jordan Center, University Park, Pennsylvania.

\textsuperscript{68} Sue Wicks came out as a lesbian in 2002, see Lena Williams, “Wicks's Statement Stirs Little Reaction,” New York Times, July 7, 2002. Sheryl Swoopes came out as a lesbian in 2005, but is now married to a man and hasn't chosen to publicly label her sexuality, see Cyd Ziegler, “Sheryl Swoopes is not a lesbian, now engaged to marry a man” Outsports, July 14, 2011. Michele Van Gorp said she'd “never been in the closet” but still caused a stir when she was interviewed by a gay and lesbian magazine in 2004, see Jim Buzinski, “Van Gorp Out and Proud,” Outsports, July 13, 2004. Sharnee Zoll-Norman was open with teammates about being married to a woman, but hadn't seen her lesbian identity as relevant to her as a basketball player until she shared her sexual identity with the media in 2013, see Ross Forman, “Lesbian Chicago Sky player set to attend her first Pride Parade,” Windy City Times, June 27, 2013. The Phoenix Mercury play at the Talking Stick Resort Arena (201 East Jefferson Street, Phoenix, Arizona); the New York Liberty play at Madison Square Garden (New York, New York), with a brief stint (2011-2013) at the Prudential Center in Newark, New Jersey; the Houston Comets played for most of Swoopes’ reign at the Summit, renamed the Compaq Center, and now comprises the Lakewood Church Central Campus, an evangelical church (3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas); the Minnesota Lynx play at the Target Center (600 First Avenue North, Minneapolis, Minnesota); the Chicago Sky play at the Allstate Arena (6920 Mannheim Road, Rosemont, Illinois); the Tulsa Shock played in the Bank of Oklahoma (BOK) Center (200 South Denver, Tulsa, Oklahoma) but relocated to become the Dallas Wings in 2016, playing in the College Park Center (601 South Pecan Street, Arlington, Texas).

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bigger, my sexuality, everything.” Griner continues to challenge expectations of what a female athlete can accomplish, being one of only three WNBA players to dunk and holding a National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) career block record for all players, male and female (Figure 5). In 2013, she was even asked to try out for the National Basketball Association’s (NBA’s) Dallas Mavericks.

In the last decade, elite men’s basketball has begun to follow in the steps of the women’s game with several players openly affirming their gay and bisexual identities, even if mostly after their playing careers. They included Will Sheridan (Villanova University 2003-2007, Italian leagues), who came out to teammates as gay while playing and publicly after retiring in 2011; and Travon Free (Long Beach State University 2008-2011) who shared his bisexuality in 2011. Most visible was Jason Collins, a collegiate All-American who played for thirteen seasons in the NBA, including the 2014 season, after he had publicly come out as gay and became a free agent. Collins is the first publicly gay

71 The Mavericks play at the American Airlines Center, 2500 Victory Avenue, Dallas, Texas.
74 Jason Collins, “Parting Shot: Jason Collins announces NBA Retirement in his own words,” Sports Illustrated, November 24, 2014. Collins’ coming out was the cover story on the May 6, 2013 issue of
athlete to play in any of the “Big Four” major North American pro sports leagues (NBA, NFL, National Hockey League [NHL], and MLB). Collins has already inspired other athletes, including Derrick Gordon (University of Massachusetts, Seton Hall University) to come out.75 Collins chose to wear number 98 with the Brooklyn Nets in honor of Matthew Shepard, a gay teen killed in 1998 in Wyoming.76

Further challenging gender and sexual norms in basketball, George Washington University women’s basketball player Kye Allums broke new ground when he came out as transgender in 2010 first to his team, and then publicly.77 Allums received notable support from his team and coach, and despite personal struggles now educates audiences on transgender identities and sports.78

Soccer

American soccer’s LGBTQ presence has also recently seen a positive shift toward more lesbian and gender-alternative-friendly publicity, greatly aided by the 2015 World Cup victory of the US Women’s National Team in Canada, led by publicly out lesbian players Megan Rapinoe and Abby Wambach.79 Rapinoe’s precision on the field earned her a Goal Olimpico at the 2012 Summer Olympic Games in London, the only player in the world, male or female, to have done so that year.80 Wambach holds the

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Sports Illustrated. The game after his announcement was the Nets against the LA Lakers, played at the Staples Center at 1111 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, California.
80 A Goal Olimpico is a goal scored off a corner kick untouched by any other player.
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world record for international goals scored for both men and women, two Olympic gold medals (Greece 2004, London 2012), and shared captain duties for the 2015 World Cup winning American team. These two are part of a longer tradition of lesbian and bisexual women’s soccer players: Joanna Lohman has played professionally since 2001 and has developed opportunities for girls to play soccer in India. She is open about her marriage to National Women’s Soccer League (NWSL) teammate Lianne Sanderson. Several other out lesbians play at soccer’s highest levels: Lori Lindsey has made the national team pool since 2005 and came out in 2012; Natasha Kai is a national team player who also played for the national women’s rugby union sevens team; and Keelin Winters plays professionally in the United States and Australia.

On the men’s side, fewer players have been open about their homosexuality or bisexuality, particularly while still actively playing, testament to the power of heteronormative masculinity in soccer. Yet a few gay men have chosen to challenge this norm. David Testo came out in 2011 after ending an eight-year professional career with the Montreal Impact, and Robbie Rogers came out as gay during a retirement in 2013 from playing in Britain but then returned to the United States to play for the Los Angeles Galaxy.

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83 Shira Springer, “Breakers have only gay couple in pro sports,” Boston Globe, June 1, 2014. The Boston Breakers play at Jordan Field at 65 North Harvard Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.
85 For Keelin Winters, see player interview in Let it Reign (Seattle, WA: LEVYfilms, 2013); Winters was born in Cleveland, Ohio and played collegiate soccer for the University of Portland Pilots (Portland, Oregon).
Bodybuilding and Boxing

The sport of bodybuilding has a complex relationship with gay male culture. The physique magazines popular in the 1940s and 1950s displayed bodybuilders in nude and seminude poses, offering a culturally acceptable way for men to admire male bodies. The magazines also became a coded way for gay men to make connections, whether in person or through pen pal and hobby directories.\(^8^6\) Yet because of gendered expectations, bodybuilding remains a sport misunderstood as exclusively heterosexual, despite the visible presence of lesbian, gay, and bisexual bodybuilders.

Bob Paris came out in 1989 as gay while still competing as a bodybuilder, one of the first professional athletes in any sport to do so.\(^8^7\) The result was a major hit to his career, including death threats and lost bookings and endorsements.\(^8^8\) Jim Morris competed as an openly gay African American champion bodybuilder (1973 Mr. America) from the 1970s through the 1990s (1996 Mr. Olympia Masters Over 60). Morris took to the Internet in 2011 as a seventy-six-year-old to challenge stereotypes of the elderly and encourage others to increase their fitness.\(^8^9\)


\(^8^6\) See Martin Meeker, Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); later, homophile magazines like DRUM would incorporate physique photography as part of their appeal to gay male readers, see Marc Stein, “Birthplace of the Nation: Imagining Lesbian and Gay Communities in Philadelphia, 1969-1970,” in Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 253-288. See also Johnson (this volume).


Other notable gay male bodybuilders include Chris Dickerson, the first openly gay Mr. Olympia title holder (1982) and the first African American Mr. America (1970). He competed from the mid-1960s until the 1990s, came out as gay in the late 1970s, and now spends his retirement coaching in Florida.\textsuperscript{90} Morris and Dickerson received different responses to being gay bodybuilders than Paris, perhaps shaped by the timing and manner of their outing (Paris on Oprah in the late 1980’s versus Dickerson and Morris quietly in the 1970s) or Paris’ public advocacy for gay marriage. Their experiences would also have been shaped by race, as Dickerson and Morris struggled against the racism that kept African Americans out of the championship circles until their arrival in the 1970s. In women’s bodybuilding, Shelley Beattie was an openly bisexual woman who also was deaf, and after her professional bodybuilding career (early 1990s), she sailed on the all-women’s America’s Cup sailing team (1994-1995) and competed on the American Gladiators television show (1992-1996), though her bisexuality was not discussed in those contexts.\textsuperscript{91}

Women’s boxing joined the Olympic offerings in 2012, evidence of the growing popularity of women’s fighting. American boxer Pat Manuel won multiple women’s national championships until a 2012 shoulder injury gave him time to officially move to the men’s division as part of his gender transition. Based out of Los Angeles, Manuel now uses his sport as a platform for advocating LGBTQ and women’s equality while working on his own career in the men’s USA Boxing amateur circuit.\textsuperscript{92} The rise of Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) style fighting, including the 2013 start of Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) matches for women, have given athletes like

\begin{itemize}
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lesbian UFC fighter Liz Carmouche a chance to shape their own emerging sport cultures. Carmouche faced off against fellow lesbian fighter Jessica Andrade in July 2013 at the KeyArena in Seattle, Washington for the first lesbian-lesbian UFC fight.

**Rodeo**

In 1975, Phil Ragsdale, a Reno, Nevada businessman, suggested a gay rodeo as a community fundraiser. Initially struggling to secure a site and animals, the rodeo finally took place at Reno’s Washoe County Fairgrounds in October 1976. The event was a hit, and by the early 1980s had grown into a multiday event raising thousands of dollars for charity. The idea spread and by 1985, the International Gay Rodeo Association (IGRA) was founded to unite local Gay Rodeo Associations. IGRA events include traditional rodeo competitions, like bull riding and calf roping, as well as special gay rodeo events, including the Wild Drag Race (cowboys help a person in drag mount a wild steer) and Goat Dressing (put underpants on a goat). Events are open to all participants regardless of gender, unlike other rodeo associations, which are often marked by hostile cultures toward homosexuality and gender deviance.

Gay bars in the West and Midwest are an important part of IGRA advertising and Charlie’s Bar in Denver provided notable support for the Colorado Gay Rodeo Association and the IGRA. Major figures in gay rodeo include cowboy Greg Olson, a seven-time IGRA All-Around

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95 The Washoe County Fairgrounds are located at 1001 Wells Avenue in Reno, Nevada. For more information about the Gay Rodeo, see Auer (this volume).


97 Rebecca Scofield, “Too Legit to Quit: Gay Rodeo, Camp, and the Performance of Gender in Reagan’s America,” in Riding Bareback: Imagining American Gender, Sexuality, and Race through Rodeo, PhD diss. in American Studies, Harvard University, November 2015. Charlie’s also provided support to other LGBTQ recreation groups, including social dancing groups like the Denver Country Cloggers and the Mile High Squares. Charlie’s is located at 900 East Colfax Avenue, Denver, Colorado.
Katherine Schweighofer Champion, IGRA’s historian Cowboy Frank Harrell, and gay rodeo producers Wayne Jakino (Colorado), John King (Colorado), Linn Copeland (Kansas), Al Bell (California), and Terry Clark (Texas).

Diving

Occasionally the disclosure of an athlete’s sexuality invoked other fears. Greg Louganis was America’s top diver for most of the 1980s, and was widely considered the best ever in his events (Figure 6).

After having won two gold medals, five world championships, and many other international events, Louganis found himself at the Seoul Summer

98 Olson was born in Erickson, Nebraska, and was a bartender and regular at Charlie’s in Phoenix, Arizona where he lived most of his adult life. Charlie’s is located at 727 West Camelback Road, Phoenix, Arizona. See “IGRA Hall of Fame: Greg Olson,” IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/OlsonGreg.htm.

99 Jakino was born in Durango, Colorado but spent most of his adult life in Denver, Colorado, where he owned Charlie’s bar, helped raise thousands for local AIDS charities, and served as a consultant to the local police department, see “IGRA Hall of Fame: Wayne Jakino,” IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/JakinoWayne.htm. King grew up on a farm in Iowa, was involved in starting Charlie’s bars as well as gay rodeo in Denver, Phoenix, and Chicago, see “IGRA Hall of Fame: John King,” IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/KingJohn.htm. Copeland owned Our Fantasy Club (3201 South Hillside Street, Wichita, Kansas), Wichita’s oldest gay and lesbian bar, which closed in 2015, and was a founding member of the Kansas Gay Rodeo Association, see “IGRA Hall of Fame: Linn Copeland,” IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/CopelandLinn.htm. Bell founded Floyd’s, a Long Beach, California gay country western bar with his partner, which served as the home for the Golden State Gay Rodeo Association, see “IGRA Hall of Fame: Al Bell,” IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/BellAl.htm. Patricia Nell Warren, The Lavender Locker Room (Beverly Hills, CA: Wildcat Press, 2006), 276. Simonton, Texas was host of the first Texas gay rodeo event organized by Terry Clark, in November of 1984, see “Texas Star Page A1, November 9, 1984,” IGRA website, http://gayrodeohistory.org/1984/1984-11-09-TexasStarA1.htm.

100 License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/public_diplomacy/16572760405
Olympics in 1988, looking to repeat his previous double gold victory. During a preliminary round Louganis hit his head on the springboard, and with the spectators and television viewers aghast, got out of the pool clutching his head. Fortunately, he only needed a few stitches, and returned to win his third and fourth gold medals. Louganis retired after Seoul, and then revealed that he was gay and HIV positive. His announcement touched off a wave of panic given the bleeding head injury. When questioned about not disclosing earlier, he explained the terror he faced despite the minimal risk he posed to others. “At the time, if people in Seoul knew I was HIV-positive, I would never have been allowed into the country,” Louganis said, “I was paralyzed by fear.”

Other divers were inspired by Louganis. Patrick Jeffrey competed for the United States in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics as openly gay, as did diver David Pichler who went on to become the US Diving Team Captain for the 2000 Sydney Olympics. Both Pichler and Jeffrey attended Ohio State University and competed for the Buckeyes dive team.

**Figure Skating**

In sports like figure skating, the gendered expectations are already far from dominant understandings of masculinity. Despite these athletes’ incredible physical abilities, male figure skaters are derided for participating in a sport that demands grace, artistic sensibility, and


102 “David Pichler,” Gay Swimmers website, May 2008, [http://www.gayswim.co.uk/pages/david_pichler.htm](http://www.gayswim.co.uk/pages/david_pichler.htm); Jim Buzinski, “Moment #93: David Pichler, Patrick Jeffrey compete as openly gay in Olympics,” *Outsports*, July 11, 2011. Jeffrey currently coaches at Stanford University and owns the Stanford Diving Club, operating out of the Avery Aquatic Center at 235 Sam McDonald Mall, Stanford, California. The Atlanta Olympics held their diving events at the Georgia Tech Aquatic Center, 750 Ferst Drive NW, Atlanta, Georgia. A pipe bomb explosion at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics resulted in two deaths and over one hundred injuries. The same man responsible for that bomb also detonated bombs at the Otherside Lounge, a lesbian bar at 1924 Piedmont Road, Atlanta, Georgia in 1997 and at two abortion clinics in 1997 and 1998 before his capture.

103 The Buckeyes dive at McCorkle Aquatic Pavilion, 1847 Neil Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
costumes. In response to these pressures, figure skating’s history includes written and unwritten gender rules covering everything from performance wear to particular moves, including particular spins and difficult jumps; for example, male skaters often find not just their skating but their manhood questioned if they don’t perform a quadruple jump, and women skaters are expected to display emotion, not power, in their performances.105 In line with this gender policing, figure skating has not been hospitable to its LGBTQ skaters, and those who flaunt these rules have paid deep personal costs. Ronald “Ronnie” Robertson left his mark on skating in the 1950s through his spinning techniques, but was often passed over for gold medals and was posthumously outed by a vindictive coach.106 Rudy Galindo was a Mexican American skater in the mid-1990s who came out as gay while still skating, and struggled with the death of his brother and coach from HIV. Galindo revealed his own HIV-positive status not long before he won the men’s title at the 1996 US Championships at the San Jose Arena in legendary late career performance in front of his elderly

mother.107 Brian Boitano, who won gold at the 1988 Calgary Olympics and several world championship medals, came out in 2014 when angered by Russia’s homophobic policies brought to light by the Sochi Olympics.108 The recent rise of young Johnny Weir and his wildly flamboyant, gender-queer performances in the 2010 Vancouver Olympics forced skating to reconsider its gendered assumptions. As homophobic media and skating world comments were countered by a younger generation of skating fans through social media, Weir continued to declare that his sexuality was unrelated to skating and called for a change of sexist and homophobic attitudes. Weir officially came out as gay in his 2011 memoir and, after retiring in 2013, joined skating broadcasting with NBC’s Olympic coverage (Figure 7).109

Other Sports

Other sports have seen one or two athletes come out of the closet in the past decades. Professional lacrosse goalie Andrew Goldstein came out while attending Dartmouth College and was out during his professional career playing for the Long Island Lizards in the mid-2000s, and now works to undo homophobia in his beloved game.110 Even the conservative world of stock car racing saw its first out gay driver in 2003, as Stephen Rhodes joined the national touring circuit.111

Even new sports continue to move uncertainly into an era of LGBTQ acceptance. The newly-developed sport of CrossFit merges aerobic endurance, weightlifting, and gymnastics. Based primarily in local gyms, CrossFit includes an international competition in which men and women

107 Ibid. Galindo was born in San Jose, California where he lives today. The San Jose Arena (now renamed the SAP Center) is located at 525 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose, California.
108 Ibid.
110 Cyd Ziegler, “Why I'm increasingly frustrated with closeted pro athletes,” Outsports, September 1, 2015. The Long Island Lizards of Major League Lacrosse play at the James M. Shuart Stadium on Hofstra University’s campus at 900 Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, New York.
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compete in multipart events over several days. Though some of its early CrossFit Games champions in the women’s division were out about their lesbianism, the organization’s media coverage carefully avoids discussion of athlete sexuality and continues to promote highly gendered workout apparel and heterosexist culture. Yet cities like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles now boast LGBTQ-friendly CrossFit gyms and organizations like OUTWOD, which bring LGBTQ CrossFitters together in a merging of community building, 
gay male cruising cultures, and this new model of fitness. The erasure of LGBTQ participants at the national level while LGBTQ connections flourish at the local level suggests the moment of transition that CrossFit and many other sports drawing a younger audience are currently experiencing.

**Gay Games**

In response to the extreme homophobia and closeting that elite sports and particularly the Olympic Games seemed to foster, one man dreamed of a different athletic culture. Tom Waddell knew he was gay at an early age, and found friends through sports while growing up in the 1940s and 1950s. A tireless decathlete, he finally made the US Olympic team in 1968. There, Waddell, who is white, worked in solidarity with the African American athletes who made Black Power statements, earning the ire of the US Olympic Committee. After the games, Waddell was inspired to organize a Gay Olympics festival. Despite the US Olympic Committee’s lawsuit over the name “Olympics,” the first event held in San Francisco in

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114 Tom Waddell lived in a home in the Mission District of San Francisco, California from 1975 until his death in 1987.

115 Young, Lesbians and Gays.
1982 was a huge success. The Gay Games, as it is now called, emphasizes sportsmanship, personal achievement, and inclusiveness over competitiveness or nationality (Figure 8). Events were open to anyone interested, and alongside traditional Olympic sports the Gay...
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Games currently offers darts, cheer, and scheduled for future games, wheelchair rugby and roller derby.119

Beyond a basic operating model that removes the hostility and aggressive competition that underlies mainstream sports, the Gay Games also celebrate LGBTQ culture through physical movement. Beginning in 1990, the Pink Flamingo has been an “aquatic spectacle” involving teams of swimmers competing via a costumed, choreographed skit and synchronized swimming routine. Wildly popular among spectators and participants alike, the Pink Flamingo mixes histories of drag and camp into sports, essentially upsetting what “sports” can be.120 By doing so, this particular Gay Games tradition continues to directly challenge mainstream heteronormative and gender-normative sport cultures.121

LGBTQ sports and recreation organizations have continued to expand as more and more individuals are comfortable with their gender and sexuality and seek others who also enjoy physical and outdoor activity. The North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance oversees a range of LGBTQ recreational sport leagues. Across the United States, LGBTQ sports and leisure groups formed between 1970 and 2015 include running clubs, volleyball teams, hockey leagues, equestrian groups, wrestling teams, and gyms. The New York Sundance Outdoor Adventure Society is a gay hot air ballooning group; the Tarheel Outdoor Sports Fellowship offers gay and lesbian canoeing camaraderie; Unusual Attitudes Flying Club is a Southern California LGBT pilots association; OutRiders is a Boston-based LGBT bicycling club; the Houston Outdoors Group organizes LGBTQ hiking and

camping trips; and the Ruby Red Flippers, the Village Dive Club, and the Sea Squirts are all LGBT dive clubs.¹²²

Various LGBTQ dance groups arose when straight dance clubs would not permit dancing in same-sex pairs. This was the motivation for the formation of the International Association of Gay Square Dance Clubs (IAGSDC) in 1983.¹²³ The Boston Gay and Lesbian Folk Dancers operated from 1977 through 1985. The Lavender Country and Folk Dancers began as the South East Gay and Lesbian Country Dancers in 1987, changing their name to the LCFD in 1992. The LCFD has hosted dances at the First Church in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts since 1988.¹²⁴ Founded in 1980, Greg’s bar in Indianapolis, Indiana hosted regular gay line dancing lessons and events from the late 1990s until recently.¹²⁵ These groups and others like them allowed, and continue to allow, safe and fun ways to meet partners, socialize, and learn new skills for everyday LGBTQ people.

The highly competitive world of sports writing and journalism has not been an easy place for LGBTQ journalists. Yet sports writers LZ Granderson and Christina Kahrl have come out as gay and transgender, respectively, and been able to have successful careers (Figure 9). Kahrl is best known for her work on the MLB and BaseballProspectus.com, and currently lives in Chicago. Granderson is a native Detroiter and has worked for both ESPN and CNN. These individuals and even Chicago Cubs superfan Jerry Pritikin, who is open about his homosexuality, help

¹²² Sundance Outdoor Adventure Society headquarters, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York; Unusual Attitudes is based out of Signal Hill, California and can be found at http://www.unusualattitudes.org; OutRiders website http://www.outriders.org/contact.html; Houston Outdoor Group website http://www.houstonoutdoorgroup.org/contact.html; Flippers are based in Portland, Oregon, http://www.rubyredflippers.org/RubyRedFlippers/Home.html; The Village Dive Club is in New York City, New York, see website at http://www.villagediveclub.org; The Sea Squirts are headquartered in Greensboro, North Carolina, see website at http://www.sea-squirts.net.
¹²³ See the IAGSDC website at https://iagsdc.org.
¹²⁴ See “Chris Ricciotti’s History of the JP Contra Dance,” Lavender Country and Folk Dancers website, December 2013, http://lcfd.org/ip/JPContraDanceHistory.html. The First Church of Jamaica Plain is located at 6 Eliot Street, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts. It was added to the NRHP on July 15, 1988 and is a contributing property to the Monument Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on October 11, 1990.
¹²⁵ Greg’s/Our Place is located at 231 East Sixteenth Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Katherine Schweighofer

normalize the vocal presence of LGBTQ fans and press.\textsuperscript{126} LGBTQ sports and activity organizations expand the world of physical recreation and sports to include a diversity of sexualities and genders while remaining separate from the dominant sports culture, both for protection and for community building. As such, these spaces held fewer social costs and greater rewards for their participants. They also reflect the ethos of many LGBTQ leisure spaces—separate and specifically created to celebrate LGBTQ cultures—explored in the next section.

Leisure

While America’s top LGBTQ athletes struggled against gender and sexual norms that dominated mainstream sport cultures, leisure activities and cultures produced a different history. Rejected by so many


\textsuperscript{127} License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christina_Kahrl_2009.jpg
mainstream leisure communities and cultures, LGBTQ individuals and communities formed their own places and forms of leisure and entertainment. LGBTQ contributions to mainstream and alternative literary, art, music, and performance cultures in particular are too numerous to be addressed here. Instead this section addresses the uniquely LGBTQ leisure histories of drag and ballroom cultures, resort communities, and women’s music festivals.

**Drag**

Woven throughout urban-based LGBTQ leisure cultures, in particular bar and club scenes, is a rich history of performance including cabaret, burlesque, and drag. Within the contemporary LGBTQ context, drag often refers to male-bodied performers in highly feminized clothing and makeup, often performing in bars or cabaret settings. Yet drag and cross-dressing entertainment histories reach back into the late 1800s, and have often been associated with gender and sexual deviance. In
particular, a popular trend in mainstream music houses and variety shows of the 1920s was the male impersonator, a female-bodied performer who dressed as a man and often sang songs and performed short skits. The pleasure of these acts was in heterosexual and non-gender transgressing audiences’ confusion over whether they were “real” men. Annie Hindle (1868-1886, New York City), Ella Wesner (1860-1880s, traveling vaudeville), Gladys Bentley (1920-1930s, Harlem, New York), and Stormé DeLarverie (1950-1960s, New York City and touring) were all successful performers from the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth century who wore male attire in their acts (Figure 10). Yet these forms of gender-transgression and gender play have particular meaning within LGBTQ communities. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, gay clubs began more regularly including female impersonators, some of whom preferred the newer term “drag queen.” Performers might lip-synch, sing, dance, or otherwise entertain a crowd in glamorous or sexy dresses and makeup. Though there has been some conflict between drag and transgender communities over whether drag’s gender play is positive or negative for transgender representation, there is also crossover between

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131 Hindle had previously married a man who was also a performer, but divorced, and later married her dresser Annie Ryan in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Wesner scandalously eloped to Europe in the early 1880s with Josie Mansfield, mistress of multiple wealthy New York men. Bentley was open about her lesbianism until she met and married Charles Roberts at age twenty-eight. Bentley rose to stardom at the famous Harry Hamberry’s Clam House at 133rd Street between Lenox and Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York. DeLarverie was MC of the Jewel Box Revue, North America's first racially-integrated drag revue, which regularly played the Apollo Theater in Harlem, New York, and lived much of her adult life immersed in New York City’s butch lesbian and LGBTQ communities, including taking part in the Stonewall Riots in 1969 at the Stonewall Inn. The Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on November 17, 1983. Stonewall, 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000.


133 For more on 1960s and early 1970s drag cultures, see Esther Newton, Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).
the two—some drag queens identify as transgender women, though they are not necessarily the same.\textsuperscript{134} In 1979, the Pyramid Club opened in New York City.\textsuperscript{135} This club played a key role in nurturing a new style of drag performance that was politically and socially conscious, including performers Lady Bunny, Lypsinka, and RuPaul, whose first New York City show was at the Pyramid Club in 1982. RuPaul brought drag culture to mainstream television in 2009 with a competition show, RuPaul’s Drag Race. Other famous drag queens include José Sarria, Vaginal Davis, Chi Chi LaRue, Divine, Shangela, Miss CoCo Peru, Hedda Lettuce, The Lady Chablis, and Harvey Fierstein. Famous drag clubs of the past few decades include Lucky Cheng’s (New York City), Hamburger Mary’s (Los Angeles), and the Stud Bar (San Francisco)\textsuperscript{136} among many, many others.

Parallel to these primarily white performers and audiences arose a similar form of entertainment and community building rooted in African American and Latino LGBTQ communities known as ballroom culture or ball culture, for short. Contemporary ball culture also traces its roots back to the late-1800s music hall performances, and particularly to the Balls of the Harlem Renaissance, but reworks some of this gender play with a contemporary twist.\textsuperscript{137} Ball performances may involve cross-gender clothing, or dressing in a manner that mocks the heteronormativity of gender roles. Influenced by 1970s and 1980s music, fashion, and cultures of resistance, performers “vogue” or strike poses as a fashion model on a catwalk. Ballroom culture extends beyond performances to include Houses, organizations led by an accomplished performer that serve as a family, and may include shared living spaces. Famous early

\textsuperscript{134} For example, see Zack Ford, “The Quiet Clash Between Transgender Women and Drag Queens,” \textit{ThinkProgress}, June 25, 2014, \url{http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2014/06/25/3449462/drag-queens-trans-women}.

\textsuperscript{135} In 1979, the Pyramid Club opened at 101 Avenue A, New York City, New York. This club has played a key role in nurturing a new style of drag performance that was politically and socially conscious, including those of Lady Bunny, Lypsinka, and RuPaul, whose first New York City show was at the Pyramid Club in 1982.

\textsuperscript{136} Lucky Cheng’s was at 24 First Avenue, New York City, New York. Hamburger Mary’s was located at 8288 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. The Stud Bar is located at 399 Ninth Street, San Francisco, California and hosted the Trannyshack regular drag show in the early 2000s.

\textsuperscript{137} Early twentieth century drag balls were held at venues like the Webster Hall and Annex, 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, NY and Rockland Palace, 280 West 155th Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).
houses in Harlem, New York include the House of LaBeija (founded 1970), the House of Pendavis, and the House of Xtravaganza (founded 1982), though the tradition extends back into the early 1960s. Houses extend balls from entertainment into a family and community structure that supports poor and homeless LGBTQ youth of color. The excitement and energy of ball culture was captured in the award-winning 1990 documentary *Paris Is Burning*. Post-Stonewall, drag’s gender play helped build lesbian and feminist communities. Drag kings are women who dress and perform as males, often to skewer heteronormativity and patriarchal definitions of masculinity. The International Drag King Community Extravaganza (IDKE) is an annual gathering of troupes and individuals for workshops, performances, and networking, and the San Francisco Drag King Contest, first organized in 1994 by Nancy Kravitz and Katherine Murty, claims itself the oldest drag king contest in the world. Though many of the longest-running drag contests and organizations are in coastal cities with large LGBTQ populations, drag exists from coast to coast. Recent work has uncovered the histories of equally thriving drag cultures in the 1990s and 2000s in the South, Midwest, and rural America.

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140 For more on drag king histories, see Judith Jack Halberstam and Del LaGrace Volcano, *The Drag King Book* (London: Serpent’s Tale, 1999). The SF Drag King Show is currently held at Oasis, 298 Eleventh Street, San Francisco, California. For more SF Drag King history, see the SF Drag King Contest website at [http://www.sfdragkingcontest.com/aboutus.htm](http://www.sfdragkingcontest.com/aboutus.htm).
Women’s Music

In the 1970s, urged by lesbian feminist desires to celebrate music that spoke to women’s specific struggles, a network of women’s music festivals arose to promote artists and offer women an opportunity to build community with one another. Though often labeled as “for women,” these events became synonymous with lesbian culture. Women’s music festivals in particular emphasized “women-only” space, which led to decades long struggles over whether transwomen should be included. The Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival (MichFest), the largest and one of the longest-running women’s music festivals, was a famous site of this conflict. MichFest was founded in 1976 as a women-only space to share knowledge, build community, and support women’s music. It continually operated for forty years, bringing thousands of women together each summer for a communal living and working experience in the woods of rural Michigan. \(^{142}\) MichFest was one of many women’s music festivals that began in the early 1970s, including the first one held in 1973 at Sacramento State University, the first National Women’s Music Festival (Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, 1974), and the Midwest Wimmin’s Festival (Kaiser, Missouri, late 1970s). \(^{143}\) Performers included women of diverse racial and class backgrounds, as well as a host of musical genres; Cris Williamson, Holly Near, Alix Dobkin, The Indigo Girls, Tribe 8, Melissa Ferrick, Bikini Kill, Le Tigre, Betty, Bitch, Toshi Reagon, Staceyann Chin, Marga Gomez, and many others took the stage at MichFest over the years. The festival was limited to “women-born-women” which led to incidents of transwomen being harassed or turned away, and an ongoing media battle over the inclusion of transwomen. Between 1991 and 2011 both cisgender and transgender activists frequently formed a protest camp across the road from MichFest called Camp Trans, and called for full

\(^{142}\) For more on women’s music festivals in general and MichFest in particular, see Bonnie Morris, *Eden Built By Eves* (Boston: Alyson Books, 2000).

\(^{143}\) See Midwest Wimmin’s Festival website at [http://midwestfestival.weebly.com](http://midwestfestival.weebly.com).
inclusion. In 2015, festival founder and organizer Lisa Vogel announced the fortieth festival in 2016 would be the last MichFest.\textsuperscript{144}

The interest in women’s music also contributed to a thriving women’s music industry in the mid and late 1970s in which women worked to gain control of all aspects of the music industry, from songwriting to producing and marketing. Olivia Records was originally founded with such a mission in 1973 by Judy Dlugacz and several friends and former members of the Furies Collective in Washington, DC. The group soon relocated to California to gain better access to the music industry.\textsuperscript{145} Olivia Records was also the site of a notorious conflict over women-only policies. In 1978, an Olivia sound engineer named Sandy Stone was outed as a transgender woman by those who did not believe that transwomen are “real” women. Sandy Stone left Olivia Records but went on to help found the field of Transgender Studies with the publication of her famous essay “The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto.”\textsuperscript{146} Meanwhile, Olivia Records floundered as they failed to keep up with a changing music industry in the 1980s, and finally by 1988 reworked their business model into a women’s travel and cruise line. Olivia Travel continues to cater to lesbian and bisexual women by offering women-only cruises and events with performances by popular lesbian musicians, artists, athletes, comedians, and activists.\textsuperscript{147}

\textit{Resort Communities}

With the rise of urban LGBTQ communities came a desire to escape the city in the summertime, particularly among those who could afford a

\textsuperscript{144} Trudy Ring, “This Year’s Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival Will Be the Last,” Advocate, April 21, 2015, http://www.advocate.com/michfest/2015/04/21/years-michigan-womyns-music-festival-will-be-last.
\textsuperscript{145} From 1975 to 1988, Olivia Records operated out of offices at 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California. The Furies operated out of a home in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC, from 1971-1973. The Furies Collective was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 2016.
\textsuperscript{146} For the manifesto itself as well as historical context provided by the editors, see Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds., \textit{The Transgender Studies Reader} (New York: Routledge, 2006), 221-235.
\textsuperscript{147} Founded in Washington, DC, in 1973, Olivia Records was an important publisher of women’s music. They stopped publishing albums in 1988, and founded the Olivia cruise line that same year.
vacation. Yet most mainstream resort areas were dominated by heterosexual families and didn’t offer the privacy or safety lesbian, bisexual, and gay vacationers desired. Thus within driving distance of many urban LGBTQ centers, there arose particular towns, islands, and spas known for their LGBTQ community.149 While many of these resort towns were predominantly made by and for white, middle- and upper-class urban gay and bisexual men, lesbians and LGBTQ people of color have also been part of the development of queer vacation destinations.

Figure 11: Provincetown, Massachusetts has a long history as an LGBTQ vacation spot, including the Atlantic House, known as a safe spot for gay and queer people as early as the start of the 1900s. It has been an openly LGBTQ bar since the 1950s. Photo by Mararie, 2014.148


149 At the turn of the century, there were also resorts and spas that historians have uncovered as having certain queer tendencies, not clearly fitting in our contemporary understanding of heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual. For a unique examination of several such resorts, see Kevin D. Murphy, “Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century American Resort,” Winterthur Portfolio 43, no. 2/3 (2009): 185-228.
One of the most thorough histories of a gay resort town is Esther Newton’s study of Cherry Grove, a small town on Fire Island, a barrier island off Long Island, New York.150 A short trip from Manhattan, the wind-swept dunes were originally the summer spot of gay men in the theater and entertainment industries.151 Lesbians later played an important role in the development and protection of Fire Island’s LGBTQ institutions. Other east coast resort towns include Ogunquit, Maine; Asbury Park on the New Jersey shore; Rehoboth Beach, Delaware; and Provincetown at the tip of Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Beginning with the alternative culture of an 1899 artists’ colony, Provincetown’s LGBTQ history includes drag and other gay events throughout the first half of the twentieth century.152 By the 1970s, the town was known for its gay culture, and has since developed an extensive LGBTQ event schedule, drawing thousands each year (Figure 11).153

The Midwest’s gay resort areas include the sister towns of Saugatuck and Douglas, Michigan, who like Provincetown, benefitted from the early presence of an artists’ colony in the early 1900s, drawing a liberal and often gay, bisexual, and lesbian vacation crowd to mingle with locals, who had already quietly formed networks and gay beach spots.154 In the 1960s and 1970s, Saugatuck was home to one of the Midwest’s earliest gay bars, the Blue Tempo House of Music, which served openly gay patrons in violation of state liquor laws of the time.155 Today Saugatuck and Douglas

150 Esther Newton, Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America’s First Gay and Lesbian Town (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).
151 The Carrington House, Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on January 8, 2015; the Cherry Grove Community House and Theater, 180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 4, 2013.
152 For more on the Provincetown artists’ colony and the Cape Cod School of Art, see Nyla Ahrens, Provincetown: The Art Colony - A Brief History and Guide, rev. ed. (Provincetown, MA: Provincetown Art Association and Museum, 2000). The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989.
153 For more on Provincetown’s history, see Karen Christel Krahulik, Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort (New York: NYU Press, 2007).
155 Ibid. The Blue Tempo was located on Lake Street in Saugatuck but burned to the ground in 1976; much of Saugatuck-Douglas’ LGBTQ history is chronicled at the Saugatuck-Douglas Museum (in the
boast many LGBTQ-owned and operated businesses, as well as parades, special events, and other attractions for LGBTQ tourists.\footnote{See Gay Saugatuck Douglas website at \url{http://gaysaugatuckdouglas.com}.}

The South has its gay resort history as well: Both Fort Lauderdale and Key West, Florida, have long histories of LGBTQ resident and tourist culture. Asheville, North Carolina and Eureka Springs, Arkansas are also home to gay bed and breakfasts, artists’ colonies, gay beach parties, and annual summer swarms of gay, lesbian, and bisexual and men and women. Eureka Springs originally began its resort town identity in the 1880s with the arrival of the railroad, and today continues that tradition, marketing itself as a “microcosm of San Francisco” with dozens of LGBTQ owned and operated businesses, three Diversity Weekends (Pride-like celebrations), beautiful Victorian homes, charming narrow streets, and a welcoming and affirming environment for LGBTQ residents and visitors.\footnote{See Out in Eureka website at \url{http://www.gayeurekasprings.com}.}

The West Coast’s most famous gay and lesbian resort towns include Palm Springs and Guerneville, California. Guerneville was first a popular mainstream resort town in the late nineteenth century, but shifting transportation patterns and destructive flooding in the 1960s left it run down.\footnote{Catherine Cole, “How Did Guerneville Get to Be So Gay?” \textit{The Bold Italic}, June 22, 2014, \url{https://thebolditalic.com/how-did-guerneville-get-to-be-so-gay-the-bold-italic-san-francisco-c1abf89c0566#.rkjkcrmqt}.} The inexpensive real estate, proximity to San Francisco, and the efforts of a handful of individuals, including gay Philadelphian Peter Pender who bought a riverside hotel and named it Fife’s, started the rebirth of Guerneville into an LGBTQ gay vacation hotspot.\footnote{Ibid. Fife’s struggled with a 1995 flood (see Michael Dougan, “Many are digging out in Guerneville; Fife’s may be lost,” \textit{San Francisco Examiner}, January 23, 1995, \url{http://www.sfgate.com/business/article/Many-are-digging-out-in-Guerneville-Fife-s-may-3159623.php}) and was eventually sold and renamed Dawn Ranch Lodge and no longer operates as an LGBTQ-focused business (16467 River Road, Guerneville, California).}

LGBTQ leisure spaces have varied and uneven histories in the United States, often formed as spaces of safety, resistance, and community.
building outside of mainstream venues. As a result, some forms of LGBTQ leisure hold great importance to the LGBTQ community, as sites where relationships and lifelong connections are made, sites where gender and sexuality are in play, and sites where creativity and fun flourish. These environments sometimes sit at odds with the history of LGBTQ sporting cultures; instead of advocating for separate spaces, LGBTQ athletes usually push for acceptance in mainstream sports. As a result, the possibilities in community building and gender play available in LGBTQ-specific leisure spaces are often not available to LGBTQ athletes. Female athletes in particular face a particularly challenging set of gender obstacles, as athletic masculinities in women remain tied to homophobic accusations of lesbianism.

LGBTQ Americans are both central to our American culture, and yet still often outsiders from mainstream norms. When it comes to sport and leisure histories, LGBTQ Americans are everywhere and also sometimes nowhere—the lasting effects of our gender and sexual norms has meant many LGBTQ stories will go untold. Those who have the talent and abilities to gain sport or entertainment celebrity and then also are unabashed about their LGBTQ identities forge a connection with everyday LGBTQ Americans who struggle with the same homophobic, transphobic, and sexist cultural norms. Bringing more of these stories to light strengthens all our sport and leisure cultures, whether professional sport leagues and long-running television shows or backyard ballfields and quiet sunny beaches. LGBTQ sports and leisure history is America’s sport and leisure history.
PLACES

Unlike the Themes section of the theme study, this Places section looks at LGBTQ history and heritage at specific locations across the United States. While a broad LGBTQ American history is presented in the Introduction section, these chapters document the regional, and often quite different, histories across the country. In addition to New York City and San Francisco, often considered the epicenters of LGBTQ experience, the queer histories of Chicago, Miami, and Reno are also presented.
San Francisco is internationally recognized as a magnet and place of pilgrimage for LGBTQ people and a critical proving ground for advancements in queer culture, politics, and civil rights. The city has also pioneered efforts to identify, document, and preserve LGBTQ historic sites, and San Francisco was the site of foundational efforts to bring LGBTQ concerns into the preservation agenda. Those efforts are the focus of this chapter, as we outline our experience of preparing a citywide historic context statement for LGBTQ history in San Francisco, which was carried out from 2013 to 2016. We conclude with a summary of some of the key themes in San Francisco’s LGBTQ history and examples of historic properties associated with those themes. It is our hope that this chapter may inspire other towns and cities throughout the country to develop LGBTQ heritage preservation programs, as well as serve as an example of
how the documentation of sites associated with LGBTQ heritage can be organized from conceptualization to implementation.

San Francisco’s first LGBTQ landmark, Harvey Milk’s residence and Castro Camera store, was designated in 2000.¹ The following year, the first national conference on LGBTQ historic preservation was organized in San Francisco by the grassroots LGBTQ preservation group Friends of 1800, the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) Historical Society, and the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center of the San Francisco Public Library.² In 2004, the Friends of 1800 sponsored the nation’s first historic context statement for LGBTQ history, titled Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979, authored by Damon Scott.³ Sexing the City was groundbreaking as the first LGBTQ heritage documentation report in the country. It was, however, intended to be a framework for future research, not a broad and inclusive study.

In 2013, we secured funding to develop a more comprehensive historic context statement for San Francisco’s LGBTQ history, spanning the Native American period through the AIDS epidemic in the 1990s. The Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer History in San Francisco presents historical background on nine historic themes and pays particular attention to incorporating the place-based histories of underdocumented groups within

¹ Harvey Milk’s residence and Castro Camera were located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. Since 2000, two more San Francisco buildings have received local recognition for their LGBTQ significance: the Jose Theatre/Names Project Building at 2362 Market Street and the Twin Peaks Tavern at 401 Castro Street. In 1996, the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park was designated a National Memorial.
² The conference, Looking Back and Forward: Significant Places of the GLBT Community, was held June 21-22, 2001 at the Hotel Bijou (111 Mason Street, extant) and the San Francisco Public Library (100 Larkin Street, extant).
³ Damon Scott with Friends of 1800, Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979 (San Francisco: Friends of 1800, 2004). The study can be accessed online at http://www.friendsof1800.org/context_statement.pdf. The Friends of 1800 is a nonprofit organization dedicated to preserving the architectural heritage of San Francisco with a special interest in the identification and recognition of issues and sites important to LGBTQ history and culture. The Friends of 1800 was founded to prevent the demolition of the Fallon Building at 1800 Market Street, an 1894 Victorian that embodies many layers of San Francisco history. The group was successful in preventing the demolition, and the Fallon Building was incorporated into the construction of the LGBT Center (1800 Market Street).
the LGBTQ communities, including lesbians, bisexuals, transgender people, and LGBTQ people of color. In 2015, San Francisco’s Historic Preservation Commission formally adopted the context statement; the final version of the report, including revisions responding to public comments, was accepted by the San Francisco Planning Department in March 2016 and is available online.

Crafting a Citywide LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Context statements are place-based research documents that identify historic resources within a specific theme, geographic area, and/or time period, providing a foundation for future planning and development decisions that affect cultural heritage. Until recently, context statements and historic designations in San Francisco have generally focused on architectural characteristics such as building type or style, or a geographic target such as a neighborhood, rather than a thematic focus on aspects of social or cultural history. To date, three citywide historic context statements have focused on some of the social and cultural aspects of


5 The GLBT History Museum (4127 Eighteenth Street) in the Castro neighborhood has been curating and exhibiting LGBTQ history in San Francisco since its opening in 2010. San Francisco has a long history of interpretive projects honoring significant LGBTQ individuals and events including: interpretive plaques at the Black Cat Café (710 Montgomery Street), Compton’s Cafeteria (101 Taylor Street), the home of gay veteran and activist Leonard Matlovich (along Eighteenth Street in the Castro neighborhood); renaming of streets and parks to honor gay-rights pioneer José Sarria (José Sarria Court), founder of the Gay Games Dr. Tom Waddell (Dr. Tom Waddell Place), transgender performer and activist Vicki Marlane (Vicki Mar Lane), lesbian businesswoman and activist Rikki Streicher (Rikki Streicher Field), and the Pink Triangle Park in the Castro neighborhood, a memorial to honor LGBTQ people who were persecuted, imprisoned, and/or killed during and after the Nazi regime; and the creation of the Rainbow Honor Walk in the Castro neighborhood, a series of sidewalk plaques honoring LGBTQ individuals.
San Francisco’s diverse past, including African American, LGBTQ, and Latina/o histories.

The preparation of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was supported by an extraordinarily talented and diverse advisory committee made up of academics, preservation professionals, independent scholars, and community activists. These individuals reviewed document drafts and shared specific areas of expertise. They also offered advice on strategies to tap community-based knowledge in order to create a document that recognizes the diverse and intersectional experiences of LGBTQ people in San Francisco. Even with the richness of San Francisco’s LGBTQ archives, the majority of primary sources reflect the experiences of white, gay, and middle-class men. Connecting with people who had important knowledge of underrepresented communities was an essential task and included numerous individual interviews. This research into otherwise underrepresented members of San Francisco’s LGBTQ communities must be ongoing.

Creating a framework for the plethora of potential themes in San Francisco’s LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was the first task and prompted discussions with archivists and key advisors on organizing important topics, events, sites, and periods into a cohesive and comprehensive document. The overarching theme of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is the development of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco. The structure of the historical narrative is roughly chronological and is organized around the following nine subthemes:

- Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (Nineteenth Century to 1950s)

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6 See Graves and Watson for the list of advisory committee members.
7 Toward the end of the project, Graves and Watson established a partnership with the national oral history collecting project, StoryCorps, which has a recording station at the main branch of the San Francisco Public Library at 100 Larkin Street. A workshop called “Our Stories” gathered video interviews with elders and youth. One of the challenges presented was how to utilize and share these recorded interviews. Digital technologies have reduced barriers to gathering people’s memories in audio and video format—but without expertise and funding to edit the recollections and a platform to share them, the potential of these resources is yet to be tapped.
San Francisco: Placing LGBTQ Histories in the City by the Bay

- Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early Twentieth Century to 1960s)
- Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to 1960s)
- Homophile Movements (1950s to 1965)
- Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods (1960s to 1980s)
- Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to 1990s)
- Building LGBTQ Communities (1960s to 1990s)
- LGBTQ Medicine (1940s to 1970s)
- San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 1990s)

In addition to a growing library of secondary sources, historians of LGBTQ San Francisco have two invaluable local archives from which to draw: the GLBT Historical Society (established in 1985) and the James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center at the San Francisco Public Library (established in 1996). These archives provided crucial information for tracing the social and physical history of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco. Material at these repositories includes hundreds of oral history interviews, a database of over thirteen hundred sites associated with LGBTQ history, historic photographs and documents, collections related to individuals and organizations, and ephemera associated with sites throughout the San Francisco Bay Area.

Establishing a public presence and lines of communication between the project team and the LGBTQ communities was essential in launching the endeavor. We created a project email address, an informational page on the City’s Planning Department website, and used a Facebook page, “Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California,” to create a space for people

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8 The GLBT Historical Society is located at 989 Market Street. The James C. Hormel Center is located at 100 Larkin Street. Other important LGBTQ archives in California include the ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives at the University of Southern California and the June Mazer Lesbian Archives at UCLA and in West Hollywood.

9 Some of the materials in these archives were compiled and donated by scholars and historians such as Allan Bérubé, Nan Alamilla Boyd, Martin Meeker, Susan Stryker, and Don Romesburg, whose articles, books, and exhibitions were also critical resources for development of San Francisco’s LGBTQ Historic Context Statement.
Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson

to offer their knowledge, share research findings, and ask questions of community members.\textsuperscript{10} Social media and press helped us inform the community about the project and invite questions and information about LGBTQ sites. We also conducted in-person outreach at events, meetings, and conferences of neighborhood associations, LGBTQ groups, preservation organizations, and historical societies.\textsuperscript{11}

San Francisco’s LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was written and organized to be as reader-friendly as possible, guide nonpreservationists through the process of nominating properties for designation as local, state, and federal landmarks, and support future place-based educational and interpretive projects. The report begins with an illustrated narrative history, and concludes with a “Step-by-step Guide to Evaluating LGBTQ Properties in San Francisco,” which presents directions for evaluating, documenting, and designating historic LGBTQ properties.

One of the challenges the San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement addresses is that local, state, and national registers of historic places have historically privileged well-maintained buildings or high-style architecture, commonly associated to middle and upper-class individuals, usually white and male, who could afford to live, work, and socialize within them. Buildings with rich histories but poor integrity have often been overlooked or rejected for landmarking. The importance placed on integrity—requiring that the structure retain a substantial amount of original physical fabric related to its historical significance—can present major obstacles when trying to designate sites associated with marginalized communities such as LGBTQ. Many aspects of LGBTQ history unfolded in San Francisco’s less privileged neighborhoods, or in areas that

\textsuperscript{10} Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California can be found at https://www.facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory.  
\textsuperscript{11} The project team organized two community workshops to introduce the project and gather information. The first workshop drew approximately sixty community members who enthusiastically shared their memories in small working groups, facilitated by note-taking volunteers. A subsequent workshop, called “Our Stories,” had two purposes: to capture information about sites important to elders in underdocumented communities, including people of color and people who identify as bisexual or transgender; and to foster intergenerational dialogue with youth from the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center (LYRIC) summer internship program.
were in flux or slated for redevelopment. In many cases, the physical spaces are no longer extant or have undergone major changes. Important events or organizational meetings were often held in restaurants, bars, or storefronts that continually changed over time due to shifting economic and cultural realities in a dynamic city. All of these factors have led to diminished integrity of physical spaces, which historically has left properties vulnerable to substantive change or demolition and therefore ineligible for formal recognition or for historic preservation tax credits.

We assert that loss of integrity should not affect determination of a property’s historical significance if that significance is rooted in cultural or social, rather than architectural, histories. The San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement presents a strong argument and suggestions for recognizing properties that have poor integrity but significant histories. Properties no longer extant or that have undergone physical change can still retain powerful meaning for communities and remain important cultural sites.

In addition to suggesting designation of more individual landmarks and historic districts associated with LGBTQ histories, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement acknowledges that preservation of buildings alone is not sufficient in conveying this important aspect of San Francisco’s history. The report’s recommendations discuss the importance of interpretation and education at LGBTQ historic sites, and supporting critical aspects of San Francisco’s existing LGBTQ communities, such as historic LGBTQ businesses that are still in operation, and ongoing community events such as the annual San Francisco Pride Celebration & Parade, the Dyke and Trans Marches, and the Pink Triangle memorial on Twin Peaks. San Francisco is pioneering strategies to protect such manifestations of what is known as “intangible cultural heritage,” including exploring the creation

of a “Legacy Business Program” intended to preserve longstanding neighborhood-defining commercial and nonprofit establishments, and a new historic preservation element of the city’s general plan that incorporates “cultural heritage assets.”\textsuperscript{13}

By creating a broader and more inclusive picture of the development and establishment of the LGBTQ communities in San Francisco, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement will help community members, city planners, and elected officials make better-informed decisions regarding the protection and stewardship of physical and intangible LGBTQ cultural resources. Furthermore, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was adopted in the midst of a period of rapid redevelopment in San Francisco and a seemingly constant stream of proposals to demolish socially and culturally significant places. The more than three hundred properties documented in the context statement now stand a chance of being protected under California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) laws related to historic preservation, which mandate municipalities to consider the impacts of redevelopment on historic properties. And perhaps most importantly, state historic preservation laws afford tremendous power to public opinion during environmental review processes, providing LGBTQ communities an opportunity to use their collective voice to oppose projects that would destroy the historic fabric of San Francisco’s LGBTQ enclaves.

Sampling of Historic Themes in the San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement and Associated Properties

The sections that follow illustrate several of the key themes covered in San Francisco’s LGBTQ Historic Context Statement and a sampling of the types of historic properties associated with them.

Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (Nineteenth Century to the 1950s)

Recognizing early expressions of what we now term LGBTQ identities was an important part of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, even though documentary sources are scarce and our insights into previous lives is limited by our current understanding of sexual identity. The narrative history begins in the Native American period when two-spirit people lived among the San Francisco Bay Area indigenous groups, the Ohlone.14 When Europeans arrived in California in the 1700s to establish presidios (military garrisons), Catholic missions, and pueblos (secular townships), their contact with two-spirit people was often cruel and punishing.15 At Mission Santa Clara, a former Ohlone settlement, Spanish soldiers imprisoned two-spirit people, stripped their clothes, and humiliated them by forcing them to sweep the plaza (traditionally women’s work).16

15 San Francisco’s mission (Mission San Francisco de Asís, also known as Mission Dolores) and presidio were constructed in 1776. An important remnant of the Spanish period in California is the extensive manuscripts left by the early explorers and later the Franciscan missionaries and military governors. Firsthand accounts by soldiers and missionaries make it clear that the Spanish wanted to eradicate two-spirits among the indigenous people. The Mission San Francisco de Asís, listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972, is located at 320 Dolores Street. The presidio, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL on June 13, 1962, and incorporated into the NPS—part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area—on October 1, 1994, is at the northern tip of the San Francisco peninsula.
When gold was discovered in California’s mountains in 1848, the state’s nonindigenous population exploded and San Francisco grew from a tiny village into an “instant city.”

17 *Californios* (the Spanish-speaking descendants of the Spanish and Mexican colonizers, now American citizens), Sonoran Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, French, Chinese, Americans, and others flooded into San Francisco before heading to the goldfields. The disparity of men to women (12.2 to 1 in 1850) was extraordinary and opened a space for men to form homosocial and (likely) homosexual relationships.  

18 Early forms of non-Native LGBTQ expression in California were born in this period, including cross-dressing and cross-gender entertainment. During the Gold Rush and subsequent decades when women continued to be scarce, men wore traditionally female clothing to play the role of women at all-male parties known as stag dances. During the same period, men performed in cross-gender roles in San Francisco’s minstrel and vaudeville theaters. One of the city’s famous early female impersonators was Ah Ming, who in the 1890s had a contract at a Chinatown theater and was making $6,000 a year (the

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19 Historians generally describe three primary motivations for cross-dressing during this period: cross-gender identification (before the concepts of transgender and transsexual existed); cross-dressing for comfort or for access to gender-restricted work; and cross-dressing as a form of entertainment. When discussing cross-gender identities in the nineteenth century, historians caution against applying labels such as gay, lesbian, and transgender because it is difficult to know if the men and women identified in these ways, especially in a period before the terminology existed and before the social roles in question were clearly distinguished from one another. See Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America’s Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
20 A stag dance held on July 4, 1849, on the *Panama*, a ship bound for San Francisco, featured a “fancy dress ball” for which some of the young men dressed in calico gowns. See Boag, *Re-Dressing America’s Frontier Past*, 64.
21 Male-to-female cross-dressers were more common than their female-to-male counterparts, but women performing as men also appeared in minstrel troupes. In August 1863, famous American stage performer Adah Isaacs Menken played a Tartar prince in *Mazeppa* at Maguire’s Opera House, Washington and Montgomery Streets (now demolished). The show drew a huge audience that waited outside for hours on opening day and filled the theater every night of the series. Newspapers described Menken’s performances as venturing “out of the common run” and creating an “idealized duality of sex,” see Ben Tarnoff, *The Bohemians: Mark Twain and the San Francisco Writers Who Reinvented American Literature* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2014), 57. In the 1860s, Salle Hinckley of the Buislay Troupe performed as “Don Guzman” at San Francisco’s Metropolitan Theatre, Montgomery and Washington Streets (now demolished). Grace Leonard, billed as “Stageland’s Most Artistic Male Impersonator” and “The Ideal American Boy,” performed at the Empress, 965 Market Street (now demolished) in 1912. Information on Hinckley and Leonard from various advertisements and articles in the *San Francisco Call*.  

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equivalent of $159,000 in 2016). Ming’s obituary notes, “As a female impersonator... Ming led all of his countrymen” and was rumored to have performed for the “crowned head of China.” In the bawdy saloons and dance halls of entertainment districts such as the Barbary Coast on Pacific Avenue, female impersonators performed on stage but also engaged in the sex trade. One of the most documented early cases of cross-gender performers engaging in homosexual sex occurred at the Dash, one of the largest dance halls built after the 1906 earthquake. In 1908, the Dash became notorious when it was reported that male patrons could purchase sex from cross-gender performers for a dollar. These early cases of cross-dressing and cross-gender entertainment formed what theater historian Laurence Senelick calls a “queer and transgender demi-monde,” an early underground LGBTQ community that was able to thrive because of its connection to mainstream cross-gender entertainment. In the Barbary Coast and later the Tenderloin, explains historian Nan Alamilla Boyd, “female impersonators transported the language and gestures of a

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22 San Francisco Call, November 27, 1892.
23 For more on LGBTQ history in the Barbary Coast, see Nan Alamilla Boyd, Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). The Barbary Coast was San Francisco's principal entertainment district from the Gold Rush through the 1910s, stretching west along Pacific Avenue from the waterfront to Montgomery Avenue (now Columbus) with branches down Kearny Street and Broadway. The streets were lined with saloons, concert and dance halls, gaming houses, and brothels. The Barbary Coast was home to a mix of races with American, Irish, German, and African American saloonkeepers and patrons of many nationalities. The area also was a draw for soldiers stationed at the Presidio and merchant marines arriving at the port of San Francisco. As San Francisco neighborhoods continued to develop to the south and west through the end of the nineteenth century, the Barbary Coast and other northern environs were neglected and cut off from the major street-car lines leading to the Market Street hub, adding to the district's reputation as a desolate wasteland.
24 The Dash was located at 574 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, California. The building is extant and is a contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971, and the San Francisco Article 10 Jackson Square Historic District.
25 The Dash was short-lived and closed soon after opening. The Dash is often called San Francisco's “first gay bar,” but likely it was one of many early examples of a typical entertainment-district saloon featuring female impersonators engaging in homosocial or homosexual activity—either with the intention to deceive or to meet a demand for nonnormative sex. “Dive Men Officials for Cook,” San Francisco Call, Vol. CIV, no. 142, October 20, 1908; cited in Boyd, Wide Open Town, 25.
nascent queer culture to the popular stage,” and “enabled audiences to negotiate the boundaries of a changing sexual landscape.”

Other subthemes presented in the first chapter of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement are: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Sex Laws and Policing; Progressive Era Women’s Reform Movements; and Bohemianism. Some of the highlights from these early histories include a highly publicized police sting in 1918 known as the Baker Street Scandal, which uncovered an underground gay community in San Francisco involving dozens of servicemen and civilian men;28 pioneering female architect Emily Williams and metal artist Lillian Palmer, who shared a life together in the home that Williams designed for them in 1913;29 Charles Warren Stoddard, one of the first writers in the United States to speak relatively openly about his homosexuality, who in 1903 published an autobiographical novel with homosexual themes set in San Francisco;30 and lesbian poet and San Francisco resident Elsa Gidlow, who in 1923 published On a Grey Thread, a book of lesbian-centric poems that literary historians recognize as the first book of openly lesbian poetry published in North America.31

27 Ibid.
28 The Baker Street Scandal was centered on a residence along Baker Street near the Presidio (the building is partially extant at the rear).
29 The residence in the Nob Hill neighborhood of San Francisco is extant. Williams and Palmer met in 1898 and lived together at various residences until Williams’ death in 1942. They are buried together in Los Gatos Memorial Park Cemetery in San Jose, California. For more on Emily Williams, see Inge S. Horton, Early Women Architects of the San Francisco Bay Area: The Lives and Careers of Fifty Professionals, 1890-1951 (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Publishers, 2010).
31 Elsa Gidlow lived at 150 Joice Street (now demolished) near Chinatown in San Francisco for thirteen years (c. 1924-1937). After that, she moved to the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, first to 1158 Page Street (now demolished) and later a few blocks away, also on Page Street (extant). Gidlow lived for thirteen years in a former summer cottage in Fairfax, Marin County, before moving to Druid Heights in Muir Woods. Druid Heights is now part of the Muir Woods National Monument, added to the NPS on January 9, 1908 and listed on the NRHP on January 9, 2008. Gidlow died at Druid Heights in 1986.
Early Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early Twentieth Century to the 1960s)

The central place of bars and sex-commerce establishments to LGBTQ history in both public memory and scholarship is well established.\(^{32}\) This important aspect of LGBTQ history was included in San Francisco’s LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, particularly for more recent decades when people could share their memories of places in which they gathered for social life, community organizing, and intimacy.

The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 was a watershed in LGBTQ history, and LGBTQ bars and nightclubs subsequently opened all over the country.\(^{33}\) Queer spaces thrived in San Francisco in large part because of the highly lucrative tourism industry based on sexualized and racialized nightclub performances.\(^{34}\) The post-Prohibition nightclub provided a space in which San Francisco’s historic cross-gender entertainment model was revived, and the city’s tourism industry, which thrived on exoticized entertainments, encouraged the renaissance.\(^{35}\)

From 1933 through 1965, the North Beach neighborhood was one of San Francisco’s most popular tourist destinations, with over twenty venues catering to LGBTQ communities opening during this period.\(^{36}\) The sexually charged cross-gender performances at nightclubs such as Finocchio’s, Mona’s 440 Club, and the Black Cat Café drew huge crowds and allowed San Francisco’s nascent LGBTQ communities to blend easily with tourists and develop seemingly under the radar.\(^{37}\)

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\(^{32}\) See chapters by Gieseking, Baim, Hanhardt, and Johnson (all this volume) for a broader discussion.

\(^{33}\) Little documentation exists about queer spaces in San Francisco during and prior to Prohibition, but certainly there were spaces frequented by the nascent LGBTQ communities. Finocchio’s, discussed later in this section, started out as a speakeasy and after Prohibition became famous for its cross-gender performances.

\(^{34}\) For a detailed explanation of how and why queer spaces thrived in San Francisco as part of a tourist economy after Prohibition, see Nan Alamilla Boyd’s *Wide Open Town*.

\(^{35}\) Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 15.

\(^{36}\) Ibid., 245. A substantial number of LGBTQ spaces opened in the Tenderloin during the same period, including the Old Crow at 962 Market Street (extant), opened c. 1935, and the Silver Rail at 974 Market Street (partially extant), opened c. 1942.

\(^{37}\) Ibid.
One of the earliest known LGBTQ spaces in San Francisco was Finocchio’s nightclub in the North Beach neighborhood. Finocchio’s female-impersonation shows began during Prohibition and later featured some of the country’s most famous female impersonators, such as Walter Hart, billed as the “Male Sophie Tucker,” and Lucian Phelps, the “Last of the Red Hot Papas.” Finocchio’s was popular with both tourists and members of the city’s LGBTQ communities. Since many of the Finocchio’s performers were LGBTQ, gay men, especially, were drawn to the nightclub and viewed the drag queens as heroines because of their overt and unabashed queerness.

San Francisco’s first lesbian nightclub was Mona’s 440 Club in North Beach (Figure 1). Open from 1938 through 1952, Mona’s was known for its cross-gender entertainment featuring tuxedoed male-impersonating performers. As the only lesbian-centric space in San Francisco through World War II, Mona’s became famous throughout the country as a fun, safe, and welcoming space where women could find love and friendship.
One of the most well-known performers at Mona’s was African American singer Gladys Bentley, billed as the “Brown Bomber of Sophisticated Songs.”

The Black Cat Café opened in 1933 in Jackson Square near the former Barbary Coast. Early patrons were a broad mix of bohemians, intellectuals, dockworkers, and North Beach residents. The bar always attracted a clientele described as a cross-section of class, race, and sexuality, but the Black Cat became a popular gay hotspot in the 1950s when it began hosting politically infused drag operas starring gay rights pioneer José Julio Sarria. The Black Cat was at the center of an

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43 Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 76. For more on Gladys Bentley, see Boyd.
44 The Black Cat Café building at 710 Montgomery Street remains extant. It is a contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. Austrian holocaust survivor and libertarian heterosexual Solomon “Sol” Stoumen purchased the Black Cat in 1945 and operated the bar until it closed in 1963. For more on the history of the Black Cat Café, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 56.
45 Gerald Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, November 30, 1989 and January 23, 1990, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. José Sarria was born in San Francisco to a Colombian mother and a Nicaraguan father. Sarria also co-founded several homophile organizations,
important court case in 1951 when owner Sol Stoumen, after having his liquor license repeatedly revoked for catering to homosexuals, appealed to the Supreme Court of California and won. The decision in Stoumen v. Reilly essentially legalized gay and lesbian bars in California—the first state in the country to do so, and at the peak of McCarthyism and antihomosexual policy making. In 1961, the Black Cat served as headquarters for José Sarria’s campaign for city supervisor, the first time an openly gay candidate anywhere in the world ran for public office.

Highlights of other important LGBTQ bars, nightclubs, and restaurants documented in San Francisco’s LGBTQ Historic Context Statement include the Old Crow in the Tenderloin, one of the first gay-friendly bars to open after Prohibition and one of the longest-running LGBTQ bars in the city (open c. 1935-1980). The Paper Doll in North Beach (open 1947-1961) was one of the first restaurants catering to the queer community in San Francisco and provided a public alternative to nightclubs and bars. Popular with both gay men and lesbians (and presumably bisexual and transgender people), the Paper Doll was one of the earliest spaces in San Francisco that functioned as an informal community center where “gay, lesbian, and transgendered people could make friends, find lovers, get information, or plan activities.” The Beige Room in North Beach (open 1951-1958) was a lower-budget, but decidedly queerer version of Finocchio’s, famous for its female-impersonation shows by performers such as Lynne Carter, a white man known for impersonating African American drag queens.

including the League for Civil Education, the Tavern Guild, and the Society for Individual Rights. In 1964, he founded the Imperial Court System, which became an international association of charitable organizations and the second largest LGBTQ organization in the world.

47 Had he won, Sarria also would have been the first Latino to win a supervisor’s seat in San Francisco, see Boyd, Wide Open Town, 60.
48 The Old Crow at 962 Market Street (extant) and another gay bar, the Silver Rail at 974 Market Street (extant at front, demolished at rear), were located in the same building at the corner of Market, Turk, and Mason Streets, an area known as the Meat Market, a hot spot for gay hustling and prostitution. Turk Street from Jones to Mason was one of the main drags for cruising and hustling from the 1940s to the 1980s. The Old Crow and the Silver Rail were known gay hustler pick-up spots.
49 The Paper Doll was located at 524 Union Street (extant).
50 Boyd, Wide Open Town, 61.
American singers Pearl Bailey and Josephine Baker. Unlike Finocchio’s, which followed a stringent hiring process, the Beige Room was more of an “underworld operation...with a lot more freedom in [whom] they hired.” Many of the performers were openly queer, giving the Beige Room an “insider’s appeal,” according to Nan Alamilla Boyd. “Female impersonators at the Beige Room both legitimized queer culture and set the standard for flamboyant drag performance ... the Beige Room was the place where San Francisco’s drag culture flourished.”

Bathhouses, streets, parks, restrooms, beaches, and other public spaces where cruising and hustling took place allowed vast, but discreet, sex-based communities to develop in San Francisco. “Because all sex acts between men were ... illegal,” writes historian Allan Bérubé, “gay men were forced to become sexual outlaws ... experts at stealing moments of privacy and at finding the cracks in society where they could meet and not get caught.”

One of San Francisco’s longest-running gay bathhouses was Jack’s Turkish Baths, open from the mid-1930s through the 1980s in the Tenderloin. Jack’s was popular with gay servicemen during World War II and was known to be more upscale than other gay bathhouses. Another important sex and community space in San Francisco was the Sutro Bath House, open from 1974 through the 1980s in the Mission-Valencia and

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51 The Beige Room was located at 831 Broadway (extant).
53 Boyd, Wide Open Town, 130
54 Ibid., 130, 132.
55 The experiences of gay men and transgender women are the focus of this section; for a variety of reasons, those populations were more inclined to seek sex in public and to form communities around sexual activity.
57 Jack’s Baths opened at 1052 Geary Boulevard near Van Ness Avenue in the mid-1930s, according to San Francisco city directories; the building is extant. In 1941, Jack’s Turkish Baths moved one block away to 1143 Post Street, where it remained until it closed in the 1980s (extant).
South of Market neighborhoods. Sutro was one of the only sex clubs that welcomed lesbians and bisexuals. Equally significant was Osento, opened in Mission-Valencia in 1980, the only bathhouse in San Francisco that catered exclusively to women.

Beginning in 1984, as the number of San Franciscans with AIDS grew to unprecedented numbers, bathhouses began to close, primarily a result of loss of business as patrons began to fear contracting AIDS. The City of San Francisco ordered bathhouses to close later that year. Osento survived the bathhouse closures and operated until 2008, presumably because it prohibited sex of any kind: “Unlike the men's bathhouses, [Osento] really was a place for bathing.... [T]he rules were no sex (not even with yourself), and privacy was respected. But if you couldn’t touch, you could look: it was a place to experience the myriad beauty of real women.”

Two of the earliest gay cruising and hustling areas in San Francisco were lower Market Street, as early as the 1920s, and the Tenderloin, a center for gay and transgender sex beginning in at least the 1930s. The Tenderloin intersection of Mason, Turk, and Market Streets became known as the “Meat Market” for the amount of gay hustling that took place there. Other popular public sex spaces throughout the twentieth century were Union Square; the northeast waterfront, especially at the Embarcadero YMCA; the Presidio of San Francisco, with ties to a gay sex
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scene as early as the 1910s;66 and all of the city’s parks, especially Golden Gate Park, Buena Vista Park in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood and Dolores Park in the Mission District.67

Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to the 1960s)

The history of antihomosexual and antitransgender hostility, including manifestations in policing and harassment, is crucial to understanding LGBTQ history and essential to documenting the rise of places of queer resistance. While new queer spaces continued to appear in San Francisco in the 1940s and 1950s and communities coalesced around them, governmental agencies became intent on reversing the progress. Policing of queer people intensified during this period for a confluence of reasons. World War II brought hundreds of thousands of young men and women to the Bay Area, prompting the military to set boundaries as a form of social control. McCarthyism and the federal antigay witch-hunt known as the Lavender Scare cast a pall on all things related to “sexual deviancy.” New state legislation in the 1950s and homophobic politicians radically changed the way queer people and places were policed in California. Consequently, increased negative media coverage of queer people led to growing public pressure to crack down on queer communities.

Throughout World War II, the armed forces went to great lengths to control the enormous population of military personnel in San Francisco.68 Military and local police joined forces to monitor queer spaces and people

66 Stryker and Van Buskirk, Gay by the Bay. In the 1930s, gay rights pioneer Harry Hay was involved in a gay sex network associated with the Presidio. Hay describes a guardhouse off of one of the Geary-side gates (likely the Presidio Gate) that was headquarters for the network. See Harry Hay, “Gay Sex before Zippers,” interview with Chris Carlsson (San Francisco: Shaping San Francisco, 1995), https://archive.org/details/ssfHAYBDCT. Part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (as of October 1, 1994), the Presidio of San Francisco was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 13, 1962.
67 Golden Gate Park, located on the west side of the city, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 2004.
in the city. Policing intensified after World War II when Governor Earl Warren oversaw sweeping changes to California’s sodomy laws and punishments for sex crimes, essentially allowing for a conviction for homosexual acts to result in life in prison.69 This led to an uptick of homosexual-related arrests in San Francisco in the mid-1950s.70 Dozens of bars were permanently shuttered or had their liquor licenses repeatedly revoked. Countless LGBTQ people were harassed, arrested, imprisoned, institutionalized, and had their lives permanently altered or destroyed by harassment and oppression.

One of the most publicized police raids in San Francisco history occurred on September 8, 1954, when officers raided Tommy’s Place/12 Adler Place in North Beach—at that time the only queer space in the city owned and operated by lesbians.71 The bars and restaurant were run by entrepreneur Eleanor “Tommy” Vasu, along with her girlfriend, Jeanne Sullivan, and bartenders Grace Miller and Joyce Van de Veer. Police arrested Miller and Van de Veer on suspicion of supplying narcotics to minors. The next morning, photographs of the two women leaving jail appeared in the newspaper under the headline “Arrested.”72 Their ages and home addresses were included in nearly every article reporting on the case. After a long and very public legal battle, the jury found Grace Miller guilty of selling alcohol to minors and sentenced her to serve six months in the county jail. Media attention and public pressure in the wake of the Tommy’s/12 Adler raid forced the two bars to close.73

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70 Boyd, Wide Open Town, 92.
71 Tommy’s Place and 12 Adler Place were located in the same building with addresses at 529 Broadway Street and downstairs at the rear at 12 Adler Place (both extant). For detailed discussion of the raid on Tommy’s Place/12 Adler Place, see Boyd, Wide Open Town, 91.
73 “2 Girls Tell Visits to Tommy’s Place,” San Francisco Examiner, December 2, 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, Wide Open Town.
The largest raid of an LGBTQ establishment in San Francisco occurred in August 1961 at a late-night coffee house called the Tay-Bush Inn.\footnote{The Tay-Bush Inn (now demolished) was located at 900 Bush Street at the corner of Bush and Taylor Streets between Union Square and Nob Hill.} Over one hundred people, mostly lesbians, were arrested for disorderly conduct and taken to jail.\footnote{Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 97.} The Tay-Bush Inn raid is significant not only for the number of patrons arrested, but also because the media coverage of the Tay-Bush raid, unlike previous raids, was somewhat sympathetic toward the men and women arrested. The resulting spirited public dialogue about the rights of gay men and lesbians to congregate in bars marked a turning point in San Francisco citizens’ perception of gay and lesbian spaces.\footnote{Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 213-215.}

**Homophile Movements (1950s to the 1960s)**

San Francisco is a site of national and international significance for its role in the rise of mid-twentieth-century homophile movements. The homophile groups that organized in the United States in the 1950s were the radical first phase of the gay and lesbian rights movement.\footnote{John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 3. For a detailed history of homophile movements in San Francisco, see D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* and Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).} By publishing newsletters and organizing national conferences, homophile organizations educated LGBTQ communities and the public about what it meant to be gay or lesbian in mid-twentieth-century America—and by doing so made significant steps toward LGBTQ people achieving fundamental rights as citizens.\footnote{San Francisco’s first homophile organizations were generally focused on lesbians and gay men. Bisexual and transgender organizing was largely separate and started in the 1960s.} Some of the country’s most influential and enduring homophile organizations were founded in San Francisco in the 1950s and 1960s.
The country’s first nationwide homophile group, the Mattachine Society, was founded in 1950 by Harry Hay and others in Los Angeles. The founding premise of the Mattachine Society was to instill a positive “group consciousness” in homosexuals, urging members to take pride in their minority status and “forge a unified movement of homosexuals ready to fight against their oppression.” The organization educated members through meetings, conferences, and a newsletter, the Mattachine Review. Within a few years, the organization had expanded to include chapters throughout California, almost exclusively consisting of white, middle-class gay men. While women were welcome in name, their participation was limited, with the group focusing predominantly on men’s issues. The first Mattachine Convention was held in San Francisco’s

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79 The group was originally called the Mattachine Foundation and had their first meetings in the homes of Harry Hay and his mother in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles. The first homophile group in the United States was the Society for Human Rights, founded by Henry Gerber and others in Chicago, Illinois in 1924.
80 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities, 58, 65-66.
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Japantown in 1954.\textsuperscript{81} After a series of schisms and shifts, the Mattachine Society reorganized and by 1957 had established its national headquarters in San Francisco’s Williams Building in the South of Market area (Figure 2).\textsuperscript{82}

The Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the nation’s first lesbian-rights organization, was founded in San Francisco in 1955. Similar to the Mattachine Society, DOB membership was comprised predominantly of white and middle-class women. The first meetings were attended by a group of lesbian couples at the home of Filipina Rose Bamberger and Rosemary Sliepan in the Bayview neighborhood. Two of the co-founders were gay rights pioneers Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon. The DOB was initially a lesbian social organization, but the group’s focus soon shifted to LGBTQ advocacy and education with a focus on women’s issues. The DOB’s first national headquarters was established in 1956 in a space shared with the Mattachine Society in the Williams Building.\textsuperscript{83} That same year, the organization began publishing the first national lesbian newsletter, \textit{The Ladder}. The DOB hosted the first of many biennial conventions in San Francisco in 1960 at the Hotel Whitcomb.\textsuperscript{84} It was the largest public gathering of lesbians in the country up to that point. The DOB expanded to include local chapters in cities throughout the country. By the mid-1970s, there were twenty chapters throughout the United States. The San Francisco chapter of the DOB closed in 1978.

The Society for Individual Rights (SIR), which eventually became the largest homophile organization in the country, was formed in San

\textsuperscript{81} The first Mattachine Convention was held at 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, built originally as the Japanese YWCA in 1932. By 1954, it had been removed from Japanese American control and was being leased by the Quaker organization, American Friends Service Committee.

\textsuperscript{82} The Williams Building, located at 693 Mission Street in the South of Market neighborhood is extant. The Mattachine Society stayed at the Williams Building through c. 1967 when the organization moved to Adonis Books at 348 Jones Street. Meeker, \textit{Contacts Desired}, 53. The Williams Building was also the location of offices of the Daughters of Bilitis and Pan Graphic Press, one of the first small gay presses in the US, responsible for publishing issues of both the \textit{Mattachine Review} and \textit{The Ladder}.

\textsuperscript{83} Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, \textit{Lesbian/Woman} (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1972), 11.

\textsuperscript{84} The Hotel Whitcomb is extant at 1231 Market Street. See “1st National Convention (1960) - San Francisco,” Box 7, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin Papers, 93-13, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.
Francisco in September 1964. SIR was started during the period when gay and lesbian activism was becoming more militant and more inclusive of all members of queer communities. In April 1966, SIR opened the first LGBTQ community center in the country in the South of Market area. Services offered by SIR included job referrals, legal aid, financial advice, and health and wellness. The organization ceased operations in the late 1970s.

The Council on Religion and the Homosexual (CRH), the first homophile organization in the United States with religious affiliation, was founded in San Francisco in 1964. In 1962, Glide Memorial Methodist Church in the Tenderloin hired clergymen to staff and operate the Glide Urban Center, a pioneering community organizing center that operated out of the church. Glide hired Reverend Ted McIlvenna to oversee a young-adult program focused on the Tenderloin neighborhood’s growing population of homeless youth. Soon after arriving at Glide, McIlvenna discovered that many of the program’s youth were young gay men “driven to street hustling by the hostility and ostracism of their parents and peers.” Because McIlvenna was heterosexual and unfamiliar with LGBTQ issues, he turned to local homophile organizations for help. In late May 1964, McIlvenna, with sponsorship from the Glide Urban Center, organized a three-day conference attended by twenty Protestant clergymen and over a dozen members of the homophile movement, including representatives from the DOB, Mattachine Society, SIR, and the Tavern Guild. For many of the ministers in attendance, the “face-to-face confrontation” with the homophile activists was “the first time they had ever knowingly talked with

86 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities, 190.
87 The building is extant at 83 Sixth Street and, although no longer a queer space, continues to operate as a community center.
88 Glide Memorial Methodist Church is extant at 330 Ellis Street.
89 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities, 192.
90 Ibid, 191-192.
91 The retreat was held at the extant Ralph D. White Memorial Retreat at 2 El Capitan in Mill Valley, California. The retreat center is a residence designed by Bay Area architect Willis Polk, See Agee, The Streets of San Francisco, 103; and Marcia Gallo, Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers), 105.
a homosexual or a lesbian.”92 Del Martin wrote of the retreat: “San Francisco was the setting for the historic birth of the United Nations in 1945. And again, in 1964, San Francisco provided the setting for the rebirth of Christian fellowship ... to include all human beings regardless of sexual proclivity.”93 The CRH was founded as an outgrowth of the conference. It was the first organization in the country to have “homosexual” in its name.

The CRH sponsored one of the most significant events in LGBTQ history in San Francisco: the Mardi Gras Ball on January 1, 1965, at California Hall.94 Organized as a fundraiser for the newly founded CRH, over five hundred guests purchased tickets for the event. CRH leaders anticipated some form of police harassment and negotiated with city officials to obtain the proper permits. In spite of this, the police turned out in full force, illuminating Polk Street with klieg lights and photographing everyone who entered the event (Figure 3). After a scuffle with police, six attendees were arrested, including two attorneys retained to prevent harassment. The following morning at a press conference, CRH

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92 D’Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities, 193.
93 Gallo, Different Daughters, 106.
94 California Hall is extant at 625 Polk Street and is a San Francisco Article 10 Landmark.
clergymen called to end police harassment of gay and lesbian communities in San Francisco, marking one of the first times in US history that religious leaders spoke publicly for LGBTQ rights. The ministers’ outrage provoked unprecedented public support and homophile groups mobilized to combat police oppression.

While the New Year’s Mardi Gras Ball incident later came to be known as San Francisco’s “Stonewall,” a much closer parallel event to the 1969 New York rebellion occurred in 1966, in what became known as the Compton’s Cafeteria Riot. For several days in August 1966, transgender women, drag queens, and young male hustlers demonstrated militant resistance in the face of police harassment at a favorite late-night Tenderloin establishment, Gene Compton’s Cafeteria. Part of a local chain, Compton’s Cafeteria at the corner of Turk and Taylor Streets was considered a relatively safe space for transgender women, who often scraped together a living by working as street prostitutes. Cheap residential hotels in the Tenderloin were among the very few places that would rent rooms to them. Protests in San Francisco such as the Compton’s Riot, as well as others by CRH and Vanguard, the first queer youth group founded in 1966, illustrated a new era of gay radicalism that preceded the now far better-known events at New York’s Stonewall Inn of June 1969.

**LGBTQ Medicine (1940 to the 1990s)**

San Francisco became an important center for the study of gender and sexuality in the 1940s and 1950s through the work of the Langley Porter Clinic at the University of California San Francisco (UCSF). Opened in 1941 as a joint venture creating California’s first psychiatric institute where several specialties in medicine, especially neurology and neurosurgery, would collaborate in a true multi-discipline approach to mental illness. Mariana Robinson, The

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95 Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 108.
96 Gene Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street (extant). A smaller, but similar “riot” occurred in 1959 at Cooper’s Doughnuts in Los Angeles. See Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1. Neither event received wide press coverage, which has contributed to the erasure of these events from popular understanding of LGBTQ history. See Stryker (this volume).
97 The UCSF Medical School and the California Department of Institutions, which oversaw the state’s psychiatric hospitals, founded the clinic in 1941 as a joint venture creating California’s first psychiatric institute where several specialties in medicine, especially neurology and neurosurgery, would collaborate in a true multi-discipline approach to mental illness. Mariana Robinson, *The
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March 1943, the clinic’s founding director, Dr. Karl Bowman, had taught and practiced psychiatry in New York City. During World War II, Bowman conducted research on gay men held in the psychiatric ward of the US Naval Hospital on Treasure Island in the San Francisco Bay after their sexuality had been discovered while in uniform.98

One of Bowman’s key collaborators was Louise Lawrence, who had been living full-time as a transgender woman since 1942. Lawrence lectured on transgender topics at UCSF and created an expansive international network of transgender people, some of whom stayed with her at her home in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, a residence Susan Stryker describes as a “waystation for transgender people from across the country who sought access to medical procedures in California.”99 Lawrence’s carefully compiled data supported medical research and treatment by the most prominent doctors dealing with transgender issues, including Alfred Kinsey, Karl Bowman, and Harry Benjamin.100 Benjamin was a German-born endocrinologist who popularized the term transsexual and publicly defended homosexual rights and the rights of such individuals to medical support rather than psychiatric “cures.”101 New York-based Benjamin kept a medical office in San Francisco during summers from the 1930s to the 1970s.102

Later, San Francisco’s international reputation as a place that challenged gender norms made it the birthplace of the first intersex rights organization. Cheryl Chase, who had been designated male at birth, was later raised as a girl after doctors changed their decision and performed

98 Susan Stryker, Transgender History, Seal Studies (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 41-42.
99 Ibid., 44.
100 Stryker, Transgender History, 44.
102 Benjamin organized Magnus Hirschfeld’s tour of the United States in 1930, see Meyerowitz, How Sex Changed, 44. His office was located at 450 Sutter Street, extant. The building was added to the NRHP on December 22, 2009.
surgery on her at the age of eight.\textsuperscript{103} Her discovery as an adult of these childhood manipulations of her gender identity led Chase to move to San Francisco and form the Intersex Society of North America in 1993.\textsuperscript{104} In its early years, the Society operated out of Chase’s home in the Twin Peaks neighborhood, and early meetings were held at the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, where Chase was a student.\textsuperscript{105} Within a few years, the organization was providing peer support to approximately four hundred people around the world, educating medical providers about treating people with ambiguous genitalia, and providing education about intersexuality to the general public.\textsuperscript{106}

**Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to the 1990s)**

New York’s Stonewall Inn is often cited as the “birthplace” of the gay rights movement in the United States, yet San Francisco and other cities such as Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Boston played major roles in advancing civil rights for LGBTQ people. Scholars Elizabeth Armstrong and Suzanna Crage argue that the focus on the Stonewall rebellion in 1969 as the starting point of LGBTQ liberation has obscured earlier key moments in LGBTQ history, including the Mardi Gras Ball.\textsuperscript{107} The San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement used archival materials and interviews of participants active in San Francisco during the 1960-1980s to identify sites associated with the myriad organizations and events that shaped queer politics, culture, and identity in those pivotal decades (Figure 4).

\textsuperscript{105} Bo Laurent (formerly Cheryl Chase), electronic communication with Donna Graves, July 23, 2014. The Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, founded in 1976, is located at 1523 Franklin Street.
\textsuperscript{106} Cheryl Chase, “Surgical Progress is Not the Answer to Intersexuality” in Intersex in the Age of Ethics, Alice Domurat Dreger ed. (Hagerstown, MD: University Publishing Group, 1999), 147. Susan Stryker, Transgender History, 138. The Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) closed in 2006 and turned its mission over to Accord Alliance, see [http://www.isna.org](http://www.isna.org).
The radical youth movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s shaped gay liberation organizations that emerged after the homophile period. Bay Area activist Carl Wittman’s “A Gay Manifesto” (1970) was an influential and widely distributed essay that linked the fate of gays and lesbians to other oppressed groups and viewed sexual liberation “as merely one aspect of a broader social transformation.”

Wittman described San Francisco as “a refugee camp for homosexuals. We have fled here from every part of the nation, and like refugees elsewhere, we came not because it is so great here, but because it was so bad where they are.” Historian John D’Emilio writes that within a few years of the Manifesto’s publication “San Francisco had become, in comparison with

Figure 4: San Francisco Pride Parade 1982, view east down Market Street to the Ferry Building. Photograph by Greg Day. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

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the rest of the country, a liberated zone for lesbians and gay men. It had the largest number and widest variety of organizations and institutions.”110

Younger people shifted the terms and tactics of the movement for gay rights; as Charles Thorpe, the keynote speaker at the 1970 National Gay Liberation Front Student Conference held at the SIR Community Center noted, “it is the young that are aware and aware is synonymous with desperate. That means a new culture, a new society, and a new education. This has scared the don’t-rock-the-boat older gays.”111 San Francisco’s Bay Area Gay Liberation (BAGL, 1975–1978) was among the groups who advocated a radical agenda for gay rights (Figure 5).112 Organizational meetings and special events were held at the SIR Community Center and at the gay community centers that followed in San Francisco’s Civic Center neighborhood.113 BAGL activities included protests supporting the Gay Teachers Coalition; against

Figure 5: Poster for the Bay Area Gay Liberation’s “Revolutionary Drag” Costume Party, 1976. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

police repression on Polk Street, an area that housed a concentration of gay-owned and oriented businesses; and against The Club Bath’s practice of turning away customers who were effeminate, elderly, or African American.¹¹⁴

By the mid-1970s, the sheer numbers of LGBTQ people in San Francisco allowed for the emergence of groups organized along various axes of race, ethnicity, and sexual/gender identity. In 1967, transgender women activists formed Conversion Our Goal (COG), which has been described as “probably the first formal organization of self-defined transsexuals in the world.”¹¹⁵ COG met twice monthly at Glide Memorial Church to offer mutual support to its members and call publicly for freedom from police harassment, legal rights to medical care for transition, job opportunities, and fair housing.¹¹⁶ Bisexual rights pioneer Marguerite “Maggi” Rubenstein helped to found The Bisexual Center, the nation’s first specifically bisexual organization in 1976. The Center offered counseling and support services to Bay Area bisexuals and published a newsletter, the Bi Monthly, from 1976 to 1984.¹¹⁷

Recognizing that their concerns were often not reflected in groups dominated by white gay men, LGBTQ people of color formed new organizations beginning in the mid-1970s. The Gay Latino Alliance was founded in 1975 with approximately fifty men and women attending its second meeting at the SIR Center. The same year, Randy Burns and Barbara Cameron founded Gay American Indians, the first reported organization for queer Native Americans. The Black Gay Caucus organized in 1976 and met every two weeks at the Gay Community Center on Page Street. Gay Asian Support Group, formed in 1977, which appears to be the first formal Asian Pacific Islander American organization for LGBTQ people, also held bimonthly meetings at the Page Street community center “to rap,

¹¹⁴ The Club Baths was located at 201 Eighth Street (extant).
¹¹⁵ Meyerowitz, How Sex Changed, 230.
¹¹⁶ Ibid.
¹¹⁷ Clare Hemmings, Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 156. The Bisexual Center operated first out of offices at 544 Market Street and later from the North Panhandle neighborhood home of co-founder David Lourea; initial Bisexual Center meetings were held at Rubenstein’s home just south of Glen Park.
socialize, do outreach work, get into politics, develop ourselves more, make new friends and/or develop relationships.”

Many lesbians also began to see the gay liberation movement as reproducing oppressive patterns that privileged men’s voices and issues. Del Martin voiced the objections of lesbians who had felt sidelined or condescended to by gay activists in an influential manifesto titled “If That’s All There Is” that appeared in the October 1970 issue of Vector. “I’ve been forced to the realization that I have no brothers in the homophile movement,” Martin wrote; “Fifteen years of masochism is enough.” Lesbians of color stood in complex relation to both the women’s movement and gay and lesbian rights organizations. Bay Area lesbian writers Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa helped shape discussion of these issues with their influential 1981 anthology This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color. The Latina, African American, Asian American, and Native American writers represented in the book—many of them from San Francisco—challenged claims of sisterhood made by white feminists and explored the links between race, class, feminism, and sexuality.

Although not an exclusively lesbian organization, The Women’s Building in the Mission District is one of the anchors of the history of women, feminists, lesbians, and queer and progressive groups more generally in San Francisco (Figure 6). In 1978, a core group of women from the San Francisco Women’s Centers, an incubator for women’s rights organizations, began looking into purchasing a building. A sympathetic realtor pointed them towards the Sons of Norway’s Dovre Hall, built in

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119 Josh Sides, Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 114. She expanded on this observation in Lesbian/Woman, coauthored in 1972 with her partner Phyllis Lyon, and originally produced by the publications arm of Glide Memorial Church.
121 The Women’s Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.
Negotiations moved forward, and The Women’s Building opened in the fall of 1979.123 Within a year, the building held a memorial service for assassinated leader Harvey Milk, meetings of Lesbians Against Police Violence, a slide lecture by Allan Bérubé that benefited the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, and “Becoming Visible” a conference of African American lesbians. Since then, a remarkable number and range of events and meetings important to LGBTQ history have been held at The Women’s Building, which continues to function as a community space.124

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122 License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. [https://www.flickr.com/photos/wallyg/3922017349](https://www.flickr.com/photos/wallyg/3922017349)
124 Many organizations initially supported by The Women’s Building went on to form their own nonprofits, such as Lesbian Visual Artists, the San Francisco Network for Battered Lesbian and Bisexual Women, Older Lesbian Organizing Committee, and the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center.
San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles were the first American cities to face the AIDS crisis; a pathologist at UCSF identified the first diagnosis of Kaposi’s sarcoma in April 1981. Two months later, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) released a report describing an alarming new disease in a handful of gay and bisexual men. Within a few weeks of the CDC's announcement, clinicians, public health officials, and other medical professionals in San Francisco realized the potential tsunami. The San Francisco Department of Public Health quickly established a system for reporting and registering cases; the reporting network grew over the years to include major hospitals and private clinics.

In December 1981, the San Francisco Sentinel published an article in which Bobby Campbell became the first Kaposi’s sarcoma patient to publicly announce his illness. Declaring himself the “KS Poster Boy,” Campbell convinced Star Pharmacy, a drugstore in the heart of the Castro neighborhood, to allow him to put up posters in their storefront windows warning about the “gay cancer.” Campbell’s physician, Dr. Marcus Conant, shared his alarm and in 1982 approached activist Cleve Jones about creating an organization to mobilize the gay community and pressure the government for additional funds. The resulting Kaposi’s Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation (later renamed the San Francisco AIDS Foundation) initially operated from folding tables covered with flyers and leaflets at the corner of Eighteenth and Castro Streets. Within a few months, it opened the first agency specifically addressing the new disease. In October 1983, the KS/AIDS Foundation offices

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125 Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On; People, Politics and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2007), 60.
126 Sides, *Erotic City*, 177. The Department of Health was headquartered at 101 Grove Street (extant).
127 Ibid., 10-108. Star Pharmacy was located at 498 Castro Street (extant).
received national attention when a Florida hospital flew a critically ill AIDS patient to San Francisco and had him dumped at the organization’s front door.\textsuperscript{129}

By 1984, San Francisco’s rate of infection was the highest per capita in the nation. Community members, doctors, public health workers, and others debated their concerns over public health and civil liberties for over a year; in the meantime, nearly a third of the city's twenty bathhouses had closed, primarily because business was down as a result of patrons’ fear of contracting AIDS.\textsuperscript{130} The City of San Francisco ordered bathhouses to close in October 1984. One bathhouse, the 21st Street Baths refused to comply but ultimately gave in and closed in 1987 when threatened with a lawsuit by the city. It was the last licensed gay bathhouse in the city.\textsuperscript{131}

The first dedicated inpatient AIDS ward in the world, at San Francisco General Hospital’s Ward 5B, opened in July 1983 with an innovative program of integrated treatment, care, and support services for patients, partners, friends, and family members.\textsuperscript{132} In addition to pioneering patient care, San Francisco was the location for a number of important studies of AIDS prevention and treatment. San Franciscans also established the field of organized end-of-life AIDS care. In 1987, the defunct convent of Most

\textsuperscript{132} Andriote, \textit{Victory Deferred}, 116; and Carol Pogash, \textit{As Real As It Gets: The Life of a Hospital at the Center of the AIDS Epidemic} (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1992), 21. San Francisco General Hospital is located at 1001 Potrero Avenue. Pogash describes AIDS treatment at SF General starting in the seven-story main building constructed in the 1970s and moving to an older brick structure late in 1982.
Holy Redeemer Church in the Castro became Coming Home Hospice, reportedly the first AIDS hospice in the nation. Because public funds to combat AIDS were so scarce, the widely heralded “San Francisco model” of AIDS care developed based on volunteer labor and charitable giving. A plethora of local community groups emerged, made up of individuals who cared for the sick, researched treatment options, raised funds, and pressured government agencies to do more. Because these organizations usually formed as small, grassroots efforts and evolved with the crisis, their space needs and locations shifted over time. Much of the focus of early AIDS organizations was on the Castro, a neighborhood that was predominately white and relatively wealthy. LGBTQ people of color argued that they needed to develop services within their communities that were not being met by the more mainstream organizations such as the San Francisco AIDS Foundation and Shanti Project. From the mid-1980s on, LGBTQ people of color formed numerous HIV/AIDS organizations to serve their communities and to advocate on their own behalf.

As the numbers of the dead grew with no cure on the horizon, many San Franciscans turned their anger and frustration into direct action protests and civil disobedience. In May 1983, thousands walked from the Castro to the Civic Center behind a banner “Fighting for Our Lives,” in the AIDS Candlelight March—the first major demonstration against AIDS. Under Mobilization Against AIDS, this event grew to become an annual, international vigil of protest and commemoration. In what has been described as the first use of civil disobedience against the AIDS epidemic

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134 Stryker and Van Buskirk, Gay by the Bay, 93.
135 The Civic Center Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.
136 Mobilization Against AIDS brochure, 1986. Mobilization Against AIDS file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Other ephemera in this collection indicate that the first meeting of MOB was held at 647-A Castro Street, and by 1986 offices were located at 2120 Market Street, Suite 106.

San Francisco is the birthplace of two of the nation’s most visible and enduring memorials to AIDS: the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt and the National AIDS Memorial Grove. Conceived by longtime San Francisco gay rights activist Cleve Jones in November 1985, the project rallied volunteers to a storefront along Market Street.\footnote{The NAMES Project first met, and had their first home at 2362 Market Street (extant, San Francisco Landmark No. 241).} First shown as forty panels at the 1987 Lesbian & Gay Freedom events in San Francisco, the project soon began accepting a growing flood of panels contributed from across the country. It became an international tool to illustrate the devastating impact of AIDS and to humanize its victims.\footnote{The quilt had grown to nearly two thousand panels when it was displayed four months later on the National Mall in Washington, DC, during the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The NAMES Quilt was nominated by Representative Nancy Pelosi for a Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, the same year that San Francisco filmmakers Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman won an Academy Award for the documentary film, Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt (San Francisco: Telling Pictures Films, 1989). Cleve Jones with Jeff Dawson, Stitching a Revolution: The Making of an Activist (San Francisco: Harper One, 2000).} In 1988, another group of friends began discussing the creation of a public memorial garden in San Francisco to the victims of the AIDS epidemic. Beginning in 1991, monthly workdays brought together diverse Bay Area residents affected by the pandemic who reclaimed a former derelict site in Golden Gate Park. In 1994, the City of San Francisco signed a ninety-nine year lease with The AIDS Memorial Grove, and two years later it was designated the only national AIDS memorial authorized by Congress and the president.\footnote{By 1990 the Grove Steering Committee had received Recreation and Parks Department permission to use de Laveaga Dell in Golden Gate Park. Volunteers who reclaimed the formerly derelict site saw it as a metaphor for resilience and the power of community. See Bruner Foundation, National AIDS}
Conclusion

The Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History in San Francisco is the most comprehensive research yet conducted on LGBTQ historic sites in an American city. Yet it is by no means complete. The project points to the need for intensive and detailed studies to fill in the gaps in queer histories, as well as the promise of creative approaches to documentation and interpretation. Our intention is that this information will not only provide a platform for better recognition of LGBTQ heritage in San Francisco, but serve as a guide and inspire similar efforts and nominations across the country.

For over two decades, New York City has been in the forefront nationally in the historic preservation of LGBTQ historic and cultural sites. Beginning in the early 1990s, a number of historic preservationists, historians, and artists began documenting LGBTQ history and worked on projects to bring official commemoration and public awareness of significant LGBTQ sites.

Given that New York is the largest American city and has a dense urban building fabric, and also that the various New York LGBTQ communities have been so prominent in LGBTQ rights and other social movements, and all aspects of American arts and culture, it is no surprise that there are many notable sites. New York City is also extraordinarily fortunate in the fact that it has had strong historic preservation protections since 1965, and many neighborhoods and sites associated with LGBTQ history are extant through historic district designations, even if their LGBTQ histories
have often not been officially recognized. Greenwich Village, in particular, one of the first neighborhoods in the city that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence in the early twentieth century, resulting in its emergence as an early, nationally significant LGBTQ enclave, has multiple historic districts that have thus far protected many sites.

A number of strategies have been employed to bring these “hidden histories” to light: identifying previously unknown sites and reinterpreting historic sites through maps, guidebooks, walking tours, public talks, online guides, and street-marking projects; weaving LGBTQ history into documentation of individual landmark and historic district designations; and using a variety of tools to advocate for official recognition of significant representative sites. Unlike the City of San Francisco, for instance, which recently commissioned a four-year long project to produce a context statement for its LGBTQ history and associated sites, New York City has not had an officially sanctioned overall survey of LGBTQ sites, despite extensive documentation within city landmarks designation reports. The currently-evolving, independent New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, founded in 2014, will do this through a comprehensive survey, documentation, and evaluation of LGBTQ-associated properties in all five boroughs of the city. Below is a chronology of these efforts over the past two decades, as well as a case history of Greenwich Village.


In 1992, Andrew S. Dolkart in Guide to New York City Landmarks, the official guidebook to the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission’s designated landmarks and historic districts, included for the first time several LGBTQ sites, including the Stonewall Inn. Also

beginning that year, staff members of the commission’s research department began to include LGBTQ history, where appropriate, in official designation reports for projects to which they were assigned.\textsuperscript{2} The commission did not undertake an effort to locate significant LGBTQ historic sites, so that this staff effort was rather random and in no way reflected an ordering of the most important LGBTQ sites or the diversity of the city in terms of boroughs or race or other criteria. However, as a result of these staff efforts and research, New York City has far more official landmark designation reports that document LGBTQ history and specific extant sites than any other American city. New York lagged behind at least five other cities in designating landmarks specifically for their LGBTQ associations. In June 2015, after years of staff and public advocacy, the commission designated the Stonewall as New York City’s first landmark recognized for its LGBTQ history.\textsuperscript{3}

Many of the LGBTQ-related sites documented by staff and designated by the commission were in the greater Greenwich Village area of Manhattan [see case study below], though there were some chance or surprise discoveries in the rest of the city. On occasion, there was the opportunity to introduce an LGBTQ context in a discussion of, for instance, a building type. The Wilbraham is a prime example of a bachelor flats building, a type of residential hotel that developed in the late nineteenth century exclusively for men. At that time, nearly half of men over the age of fifteen in the city were unmarried, and housing options were severely limited for single men, who were seen as a threat to marriage and traditional gender roles. Historian George Chauncey, in his pioneering book \textit{Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay}

\textsuperscript{2} This was led primarily by Jay Shockley and Gale Harris.

\textsuperscript{3} Jay Shockley began to publically advocate for the Stonewall to be designated as an individual NYC landmark in 2009 when he was invited to speak on LGBTQ preservation by the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation (GVSHP). Under Andrew Berman, GVSHP became a political force for LGBTQ preservation after the loss in 2012 of the building at 186 Spring Street, which had been home to a number of early LGBTQ rights leaders. The Stonewall, located at 51-53 Christopher Street, was designated as part of the Greenwich Village Historic District (GVHD) on April 29, 1969, just months before the uprising. It was the first LGBTQ site listed on the NRHP (June 28, 1999), the first LGBTQ NHL (February 16, 2000), and the first LGBTQ National Monument (June 24, 2016). It was designated an NYC Landmark on June 23, 2015.
Jay Shockley

*Male World, 1890-1940*, recognized these apartments as significant early private spaces for some upper-middle-class/professional gay men.⁴

Another Landmarks Preservation Commission research staff effort has been the re-interpretation of already designated landmarks and buildings in historic districts all over the city from an LGBTQ perspective, via slide shows posted on the commission’s official website for Pride Month in 2013 through 2015.⁵ The variety of such sites chosen, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, allowed for a greater diversity, including associations with African Americans, women, and the boroughs other than Manhattan:

**Bethesda Fountain, Central Park**

Sculptress Emma Stebbins (1815-1882) designed her masterpiece Angel of the Waters in the 1860s while living in Rome with her lover Charlotte Cushman, a leading actress of the American and British stages. Stebbins was but one of a number of lesbian artists who formed a circle around Cushman. This fountain is the earliest public artwork by a woman in New York City and was the only sculpture sanctioned as part of the early design and construction phase of Central Park.⁶

**“Clear Comfort” (Alice Austen House)**

Alice Austen (1866-1952) lived for much of her life in this early family farmhouse on Staten Island. A photography pioneer most active from the 1880s to the 1920s, she produced about eight thousand images. Among these are Austen and friends dancing together, embracing in bed, and

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⁵ This was done by Jay Shockley, Gale Harris, and Christopher D. Brazee.

⁶ Central Park was designated an NHL on May 23, 1963, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NYC Scenic Landmark on April 16, 1974.
cross-dressing, photographs that were unique for their time and have become iconic for the LGBTQ community (Figure 1). In 1899, Austen formed an intimate relationship with Gertrude Amelia Tate (1871-1962), who came to live here from 1917 until the property was lost to foreclosure in 1935 and the women were forced to separate. The house became a public museum in 1975, though for decades the real story of the owners’ lives was actively discouraged in the museum’s interpretation. In recent years, the Historic House Trust has reversed this policy.7

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7 The Historic House Trust Newsletter (Fall 2010) included contemporary re-creations of several of Alice’s images by photographer Steven Rosen. The Austen House is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island. It was designated an NYC Landmark on August 2, 1967, added to the NRHP on July 28, 1970, and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993.
Oliver Smith House

This Brooklyn Heights residence was purchased in 1953 by Oliver Smith (1918-1994), one of the most famous theatrical designers of his day and a twenty-five time Tony Award nominee. He created the original sets for such Broadway shows as Guys and Dolls, West Side Story, My Fair Lady, The Sound of Music, Hello Dolly!, and such ballets as Rodeo and Fancy Free. Smith was associated with an influential group of gay writers, artists, and intellectuals, and perhaps influenced by his time at February House (a noted gay commune that once stood at 7 Middagh Street, since demolished), he established his own home as a center of gay culture in Brooklyn. From around 1955 to 1965, he rented the garden apartment to Truman Capote (1924-1984).³

Paul Rudolph Apartments

Paul Rudolph (1918-1997), architect and chairman of the Department of Architecture at Yale University, began renting an apartment in 1961 by the East River in Midtown. After purchasing the building in 1976, he converted it into apartments and added a remarkable, sculptural penthouse completed in 1982. This work is emblematic of the architectural contribution of the LGBTQ community to American architecture and Rudolph’s acclaim as one of America’s most innovative twentieth-century architects. From 1922 to the early 1950s, this had been the home of “First Lady of the Theater” Katharine Cornell and her husband, director-producer Guthrie McClintic, who had one of the most famous Broadway “lavender marriages” of their day.⁹

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³ Capote supposedly wrote portions of Breakfast at Tiffany’s (published 1958) and In ColdBlood (published 1966) while living here. The Smith House is located in the Brooklyn Heights Historic District, which was designated an NHL on January 12, 1965, designated by NYC on November 23, 1965, and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.
⁹ The term “lavender marriage” usually refers historically to a marriage between a gay man and lesbian, often done for social and professional reasons. The Rudolph Apartments was designated an NYC Landmark on November 16, 2010.
Audre Lorde House

The acclaimed black lesbian feminist writer/activist Audre Lorde (1934-1992) resided on Staten Island from 1972 to 1987 with her partner, psychology professor Frances Clayton. During her time here, Lorde held professorships at Hunter and John Jay Colleges and wrote several books of poetry and essays, as well as her renowned autobiographical works, The Cancer Journals (1980) and Zami: A New Spelling of My Name (1984).10

Lesbian Herstory Archives

Celebrating its fortieth anniversary in 2014, the Archives houses the world’s largest collection of materials by and about lesbians and their communities. Established in the Manhattan apartment of Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel, the Archives moved in 1993 to Brooklyn. A combined research facility, museum, and community center, it owns a vast library of books and journals, subject and organizational files, unpublished papers, conference proceedings, reference tools, audio-visual materials, art, and ephemera.11


In 1994, the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion in New York City, a group of eight historic preservationists and one architect participated in the short-lived Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD) and produced one of the first known public attempts in the city to introduce the issue of LGBTQ preservation

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10 The Lorde House is located in the St. Paul’s Avenue-Stapleton Heights Historic District, Staten Island, designated by NYC on June 22, 2004.
11 The Archives is located at 484 14th Street in the Park Slope Historic District, Brooklyn, designated by NYC on July 17, 1973, and added to the NRHP on November 21, 1980.
Jay Shockley

and historic sites. One of the group’s members, Ken M. Lustbader, had recently broached this topic in his Columbia University historic preservation thesis “Landscape of Liberation: Preservation of Gay and Lesbian History in Greenwich Village.” OLGAD’s map “A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks” (Figure 2) was intended as a sampling of LGBTQ-related sites, with walking tours of Greenwich Village, Harlem, and Midtown, displaying a wide range of extant buildings. These included well-known landmarks, such as hotels and theaters, listed for their LGBTQ connections, as well as bars and social meeting places, residences of notable people, and gay rights movement locations. This map led the Municipal Art Society and others to begin sponsoring LGBTQ walking tours.

Many of the sites were located in Greenwich Village, which had the largest map. In Harlem, one of New York’s most significant African American neighborhoods, just one of the significant sites featured is the famous Apollo Theater, where nearly every important African American entertainer played during its heyday as a showcase for black performers from the 1930s into the 1970s. Gay, lesbian, and bisexual luminaries such as Bessie Smith, Alberta Hunter, Ethel Waters, Jackie “Moms”

Figure 2: Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers, “A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks” map (1994).

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12 Joan C. Berkowitz, Don L. Dinkel, Jr., Andrew S. Dolkart, Gale Harris, Mary Jablonski, Ken M. Lustbader, Tom Reynolds, and Jay Shockley.
Mabley, Little Richard, Johnny Mathis, Alex Bradford, and James Cleveland appeared there. During the 1960s, a popular attraction was the drag Jewel Box Revue, America’s first traveling troupe of gender impersonators featuring a racially integrated cast of twenty-five men and one woman, Master of Ceremonies Stormé DeLarverié.¹⁴

The OLGAD map was not the only project that sought to recognize important LGBTQ sites as part of Stonewall’s twenty-fifth anniversary. REPOHistory, an activist group of visual and performance artists, writers, filmmakers, and historians who sought to publicly repossess aspects of history that had generally been ignored, undertook a Queer Spaces project. They designed pink triangle signs giving the LGBTQ history of nine Manhattan locations, which they then erected on street signposts.¹⁵ George Chauncey’s Gay New York, also published that year, was an immensely important contribution to raising awareness of the incredibly rich history of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century New York City. Two subsequent guidebooks that listed many LGBTQ sites in New York in 1997 were The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites and Stepping Out: Nine Tours Through New York City’s Gay and Lesbian Past.¹⁶

Effort to Have the Stonewall Declared a National Historic Landmark (1994)

In connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of Stonewall, OLGAD members worked to have the Stonewall Inn (Figure 3) declared a National Historic Landmark (1994).¹⁴ The Apollo Theater is located at 253 West 125th Street. It was designated an NYC Landmark and NYC Interior Landmark on June 28, 1983, and listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983. Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD), “A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks” (1994); LPC website, Pride Month slide show (PMSS), 2014, http://www.nyc.gov/landmarks.

¹⁴ These included the site of the first ACT UP demonstration at Trinity Church, 74 Trinity Place, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976; Everard Baths, 28 West 28th Street; Julius’ Bar, 159 West 10th Street; and a headquarters of the Daughters of Bilitis.

Historic Landmark (NHL). The designation did not happen at this time for two reasons: the lack of building owner support which was necessary in order to proceed, and the lack of precedence. Since there had never been any prior LGBTQ NHL historic context or theme study developed, the Department of the Interior deemed it impossible to determine the Stonewall’s significance. Further, the successes of the gay rights movement were seen as too recent and too limited at that point; a street riot was questioned as the most worthy site for commemoration; Stonewall was not considered a defining moment or event for the LGBTQ community’s “basic humanity” to be demonstrated (or commemorated) to American society; and written gay history was misinterpreted as too “lacking” to provide sufficient historical background.


Just four years later, the Stonewall nomination became a priority, facilitated by openly-gay John Berry, who was serving as Assistant Secretary for Policy, Management and Budget, Department of the Interior. Sponsored by the Greenwich Village Society for Historic

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17 This effort was led by OLGAD member Gale Harris.
18 Memorandum, March 4, 1994, NPS, Department of the Interior.
Preservation, the nomination was fast-tracked for listing on the New York State Register and then the NRHP in 1999, and the Stonewall became an NHL in 2000.\textsuperscript{20} The nomination focused solely on the significance of the Stonewall to LGBTQ history, since the building was already part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, and included the surrounding streets and Christopher Park where the Stonewall Rebellion took place. This expansion of the site to include the park and streets was promoted by Kathleen LaFrank, of the New York State Historic Preservation Office, who suggested Civil War battlefields as a boundary precedent. In order to address the issue of the NRHP fifty-year threshold, the nomination extensively quoted from contemporary newspapers and journals, personal reminiscences, scholarly books, and historians’ statements, which established Stonewall’s “exceptional significance” due to its impact on the history of civil rights both nationally and internationally. The Stonewall was the first and only specifically LGBTQ-related listing on the NRHP until the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added in 2011, and was the only LGBTQ NHL until the Henry Gerber House was designated in 2015.\textsuperscript{21}

New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project (2014-2015)

In 2011, three former OLGAD members, Jay Shockley, Andrew S. Dolkart, and Ken M. Lustbader, wishing to raise the discussion of LGBTQ historic preservation on a national level, led the session “Beyond Stonewall: Recognizing Significant Historic Sites of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community” at the National Trust for Historic Preservation Conference in Buffalo. When the Department of the Interior, in 2014, announced the National Park Service Historic Preservation Fund

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\textsuperscript{20} The nomination was written by Andrew S. Dolkart with Jay Shockley, using in part research later published in: David Carter, Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004).
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\textsuperscript{21} The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence, in the Palisades neighborhood of Northwest Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011. The Gerber House, in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.
\end{flushleft}
Grants to Underrepresented Communities, for projects that would assist in broadening the diversity of sites on the NRHP and as NHLs, the three men submitted an LGBTQ grant application through the New York State Historic Preservation Office. The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project was awarded a federal grant of $49,999, and subsequently leveraged additional foundation support.

The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, initially conceived as a two-year project, is currently surveying, documenting, and evaluating previously unknown and undocumented properties in all five boroughs of the city associated with LGBTQ historic and cultural themes, as well as those already locally designated or listed on the NRHP, flagged for LGBTQ connections. A publically accessible, online map of sites will be created, using outreach and input from professionals, organizations, archives, and community members. Although New York City has been a national leader in the LGBTQ rights movement, no survey or comprehensive documentation currently exists of sites associated with LGBTQ history. The project provides context and baseline documentation for New York City’s LGBTQ history and extant sites; establishes a resource for future scholarship and preservation efforts; and will produce new NRHP nominations, amended NRHP listings, and local designations. The first NRHP nomination by the project was Julius’ Bar, which was listed on the New York State Register in March 2016 and on the NRHP in April 2016.22

Greenwich Village: An LGBTQ Historic Preservation and Cultural Case History

Within greater Greenwich Village, including the East Village and also a few sites in the immediately adjacent SoHo and Union Square neighborhoods, there are numerous, disparate extant sites representing the history of the LGBTQ community from the 1850s to the present. These include bars, popular meeting places, cultural institutions, housing

22 Julius at 159 West 10th Street, New York City was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.
accommodations, theaters, residences of noted persons, and sites associated with LGBTQ civil rights. Greenwich Village was one of the first neighborhoods in New York City that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence, which resulted in its emergence as an early and nationally significant LGBTQ enclave. The following discussion is not meant in any manner as a definitive history of the LGBTQ community in New York, or the various communities within the larger community. It represents a partial site-based narrative of New York’s first “gay” neighborhood that emerges based solely on documented and extant sites drawn from the various projects mentioned in this chapter above. In particular, many of these sites are documented in official city landmark designation reports, a fact which is unique nationally. New York City is fortunate in the fact that so many LGBTQ-associated sites are protected by historic district designations, within Greenwich Village alone by six historic districts.

**Early Known Gay and Lesbian Life from the 1850s to the 1890s**

The period from the 1850s to the 1890s is the first recorded emergence in New York of what would now be regarded as LGBTQ spaces, a number of which are extant. The earliest currently known is Pfaff’s, operated from 1859 to 1864 by German-born proprietor Charles Ignatius Pfaff, which was a Rathskeller-like beer/wine cellar restaurant in the Coleman House Hotel, extending into the sidewalk vaults (basement area below the sidewalk). It became a favorite haunt of the Bohemians of the 1850s, including artists, writers, and actors. Walt Whitman, iconic in the United States and Europe as one of the first people to openly express the concept of men loving men via his poetry, was a central figure among this group from 1859 to 1862. During his Pfaff’s period, around 1859, Whitman wrote twelve famously homoerotic “Calamus” poems that were included in the 1860 edition of Leaves of Grass. A portion of Pfaff’s was known as a place for men looking for other men. Although Pfaff’s vault
space has been destroyed, the basement, along with the rest of the hotel, survives.23

In Gay New York, Chauncey identified the 1890s as one of the earliest periods in the city when one very specific, and “notorious,” aspect of the emerging gay male community—the subculture of flamboyantly effeminate “fairies”—became noticed by a wider public. He posited that this subculture was more fully and publicly integrated into working-class than middle-class culture.24 While the Bowery, Lower East Side, and Tenderloin were the most notorious New York centers for “commercialized vice” and “homosexual rendezvous” at this time, there were also such spots on Bleecker Street in Greenwich Village. Upper middle-class men, in particular, and some women, were attracted to downtown, in part to witness the “depravity” of the lower classes and thus to be scandalized or titillated (or both). For example, The Slide (Figure 4) was popularly identified by 1890 as “New York’s ‘worst dive’ because of the fairies ... gathered there.”25 A “slide,” in prostitutes’ jargon of the time, was “an establishment where male homosexuals dressed as women and solicited men.”26 Contemporary newspapers, purporting to defend the public’s

23 The Coleman House Hotel, 645-647 Broadway, is located in the NoHo Historic District, designated by NYC on June 29, 1999. LPC, PMSS, 2014. The only other known extant New York City location associated with Whitman is his house in Wallabout, Brooklyn, where he completed an early version of his Leaves of Grassin 1855.
24 Chauncey, Gay New York, 34.
26 Ibid, 68. Chauncey suggested that The Slide, in a rowhouse basement, was so named to specifically announce its character, even though its “fairies” did not in fact dress as women.
morals, spotlighted the most sensational aspects of this underworld. The Slide was closed by police in 1892 and the proprietor convicted of keeping a “disorderly house.”27 Another “dive,” the Black Rabbit, was personally raided in 1900 by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Of this establishment, he fumed “that he has never before raided a place so wicked, and that ‘Sodom and Gomorrah’ would blush for shame at hearing to what depths of vice its habitués had descended.”28

On the opposite side of the social spectrum were a number of LGBTQ individuals who operated within the spheres of upper New York society, politics, and culture. The Victorian lesbian power couple Elsie de Wolfe, often credited as America’s first professional interior designer, and Elisabeth Marbury, one of the world’s leading, and pioneering female, theatrical producers (Figure 5), lived in a house near Union Square between 1892 and 1911. They first met in 1887, and their relationship lasted nearly forty years. Their Sunday afternoon salons

28 “Black Rabbit Club is Closed Forever,” New York Herald, March 15, 1899, 12; and “Raid on ‘The Black Rabbit,’” New York Times, October 6, 1900, 2. The Black Rabbit was located at 183 Bleecker Street in the SVHD.
29 From Elisabeth Marbury, Reminiscences by Elisabeth Marbury (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1932).
here were attended by notables connected with the worlds of the arts, society, and politics. By coincidence, the house next door was, according to a 1914 biography, a place where the great gay Irish wit and writer Oscar Wilde lodged while touring America in 1882.30

Murray H. Hall (1840-1901) was a Tammany politico who lived as a man for over thirty years but after death was revealed to have been a woman, creating an international press furor and attracting the attention of pioneering sexologist Havelock Ellis. In 1872, Hall married Cecilia Florence Lowe, a school teacher, and by 1874 Hall had established an employment agency chiefly representing domestic help. The couple moved several times but remained close to the Jefferson Market Police Court since Hall was also a bail bondsman. Hall’s last home/office was an apartment on Sixth Avenue. As a Tammany figure, Hall played poker and pool with city and state officials and other political leaders and was often able to secure appointments for friends.31

The Gay and Lesbian Presence in the 1910s and 1920s

After a period of decline as a desirable residential neighborhood, Greenwich Village was becoming known, prior to World War I, not only for its historic and picturesque qualities and affordable housing, but also for the diversity of its population and their social and political ideas. In the 1910s, gay men and lesbians frequented the many cheap Italian restaurants, cafeterias, and tearooms that the Village became known for. After the war and increasingly in the 1920s, they appropriated their own spaces, despite some opposition from fellow Villagers. This represented the first instance in New York City of covert middle-class gay and lesbian commercial enterprises, and started the Village’s reputation as its most famous gay neighborhood. As Chauncey wrote, “the Village...came to

30 LPC, East 17th Street/Irving Place Historic District Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 1998), researched and written by Gale Harris and Jay Shockley; and LPC, PMSS, 2013.
31 According to one source, Hall (née Mary Anderson) was born in Scotland and at about age sixteen began dressing as a man, taking the name John Anderson. Anderson married young, but had a roving eye and an angry wife who disclosed Anderson’s gender to the police. Fearing arrest, Anderson fled to America in 1870 and assumed the name Murray H. Hall. “Murray Hall Fooled Many Shrewd Men,” New York Times, January 19, 1901, 3; GVHD; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.
represent to the rest of the city what New York as a whole represented to
the rest of the nation: a peculiar social territory in which the normal social
constraints on behavior seemed to have been suspended and where men
and women built unconventional lives outside the family nexus.”32

In 1914, the block of MacDougal Street just south of Washington
Square emerged as a cultural and social center of the Bohemian set, with
the Liberal Club, radical feminist Heterodoxy Club, and Washington Square
Bookshop. The next-door Provincetown Playhouse from 1916 to 1929 was
a serious amateur theater, and though most famous in this period for
playwright Eugene O’Neill, it was also associated with figures prominent in
the gay and lesbian community including Edna St. Vincent Millay, Djuna
Barnes, Katharine Cornell, Tallulah Bankhead, and Eva Le Gallienne.33
Washington Square Park was by the early twentieth century a popular
cruising ground for gay men, and its west side became known as the
“meat rack.”34 While West 3rd and 4th Streets had housed some of the
speakeasies and tearooms run by and/or catering to New York’s
burgeoning lesbian and gay community after the war, this block of
MacDougal became an important LGBTQ nucleus, especially after a series
of police crackdowns on spots elsewhere in the Village in 1924 and 1925.

One such place on this block was “Eve Addams’” Tearoom, a popular
after-theater club run in 1925 and 1926 by Polish-Jewish lesbian emigre
Eva Kotchever (Czlotcheber), with a sign that read “Men are admitted but
not welcome.” A Village columnist in 1931 reminisced that her club was
“one of the most delightful hang-outs the Village ever had.”35 After a
police raid, Kotchever was convicted of obscenity (for Lesbian Love, a
collection of her short stories) and disorderly conduct, and was

32 Chauncey, Gay New York, 237, 243-244.
33 Washington Square Bookshop was located at 135 MacDougal Street, the Liberal and Heterodoxy
Clubs at No. 137, and the Provincetown Playhouse at No. 139. Of these locations, only a portion of the
facade of the playhouse survives.
34 GVHD; OLGAD.
deported.36 The Black Rabbit (unrelated to the earlier Bleecker Street establishment with the same name), another of “the Village’s gay stamping grounds,”37 was closed by the police around 1929 and became the Minetta Tavern in 1937.

Webster Hall, one of New York’s most historically and culturally significant large nineteenth-century assembly halls, has been the venue for countless events including conventions and political and union rallies, particularly for the working-class and immigrant populations of the Lower East Side. In the 1910s and 20s, it became famous for its Bohemian masquerade balls (Figure 6). It was significant as a gathering place for the city’s early twentieth-century lesbian and gay community, who felt welcome to attend the balls in drag, and then sponsored their own events by the 1920s. Among the many notables who attended events here at this time were artist Charles Demuth and writer Djuna Barnes.38

The Village attracted a large number of artistic and socially progressive residents, among them many like-minded gay men and lesbians. One of the most notable and enduring Village cultural institutions is the Little Red School House, often considered the city’s first progressive school, founded by lesbian reform educator Elisabeth Irwin (1880-1942). As early as 1912, Irwin worked at revising public school curriculum, and started her progressive “Little Red School House” curriculum in 1921. With the threat of public funding cuts, she was urged to found her own private, independent primary school. In 1932, the school moved to Bleecker Street and a high school (now Elisabeth Irwin High School) was added in 1940.39

37 Chauncey, Gay New York, 241. The Black Rabbit was located at 111 MacDougal Street in the SVHD.
38 Webster Hall is located at 119-125 East 11thStreet. LPC, Webster Hall and Annex Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 2008), researched and written by Jay Shockley.
39 The Little Red School House is located at 196 Bleecker Street in the SVHD. The Irwin High School is located in the Charlton-King-Vandam Historic District, designated by NYC on August 16, 1966, and added to the NRHP on July 20, 1973.
Irwin continued to direct the school until her death. Her partner of thirty years was Katharine Anthony, a social researcher and feminist biographer. They lived nearby and were members of the Heterodoxy Club.41

Author Willa Cather, then an editor at McClure’s Magazine, lived on Washington Square from about 1908 to 1913, with her partner Edith Lewis. Edna St. Vincent Millay was the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for poetry (1923), and “Vincent” had a number of relationships with women before her marriage. One of Millay’s many Village residences was on Bedford Street in 1922-1923.42

40 License: Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Drag_Ball_in_Webster_Hall--1920s.jpg
41 Their house on Bank Street is in the GVHD; Martinac, 112-113.
42 Cather’s apartment was at 82 Washington Place West. This building and Millay’s residence are in the GVHD. OLGAD.
From the 1930s, and particularly after World War II, the area of Greenwich Village south of Washington Square continued as the location of many known bars and clubs that catered to, welcomed, or merely tolerated, the LGBTQ community. Reflecting the not wholly hospitable climate of the post-war period, even in this neighborhood, many of these bars (largely lesbian) were located in the shadow of the elevated train that ran along West 3rd Street. Louis’ Luncheon (1930s-1940s) was a hangout popular with gay men and lesbians, writers, and chorus girls. Tony Pastor’s Downtown (1939-1967) had a mixed clientele of lesbians and tourists, some gay men, and female impersonators. Raided on morals charges in 1944 for permitting lesbians to “loiter” on the premises, Pastor’s survived apparently with mob backing. The New York State Liquor Authority, however, revoked its liquor license in 1967 because, in the homophobic language of the agency, it had “become disorderly in that it permitted homosexuals, degenerates and undesirables to be on the license premises and conduct themselves in an offensive and indecent manner.” Among the numerous other lesbian bars nearby were Swing Rendezvous (c. 1940-1965), also a jazz club, Ernie’s Restaurant/Three Ring Circus (c. 1940-1962), mostly heterosexual but also attracting working-class lesbians, Mona’s (c. late 1940s-early 1950s), and Pony Stable Inn (c. late 1940s-1968), remembered by African American lesbian poet Audre Lorde in Zami Sister Outsider Undersong. The San Remo Cafe (c. 1925-1967) was a working-class bar that became a famous Bohemian hangout that attracted in the late 1940s and early 1950s, among its most prominent patrons, many gay artists and writers. These included Tennessee Williams, Gore Vidal, James Baldwin, Allen Ginsberg, William Burroughs, W. H. Auden, Harold Norse, John Cage, Larry Rivers, Frank O’Hara, and Merce Cunningham. The Music Box (c. 43 “Liquor License is Revoked at Tony Pastor’s Night Spot,” New York Times, March 18, 1967, 15. 44 Louis’ Luncheon was located at 116 MacDougal Street. Tony Pastor’s Downtown was located at 130 West 3rd Street. Swing Rendezvous was located at 117 MacDougal Street. Ernie’s Restaurant/Three Ring Circus was located at 76 West 3rd Street. Mona’s was located at 135 West 3rd Street. All of these buildings are in the SVHD.
1950-1972) was one of the places listed in a 1955-1956 FBI investigative report of “notorious types and places of amusement” in the Village that stated “A majority of the bars and restaurants in this area cater to lesbians and homosexuals, quite a few of whom reside in the area and are not inhibited in the pursuit of their amorous conquests. In the bars and restaurants there will also be found a segment of the tourist trade who go to the Village to observe the lesbians and queers at play and to enjoy the atmosphere of the ‘gay life.’”

Farther west in the Village, the Stewart (later Life) Cafeteria opened in 1933, quickly became a popular haunt for lesbians and gay men. Its plate-glass windows allowed visitors to the Village to gawk at the homosexuals inside, frequently attracting crowds. In today’s East Village, the Mafia-controlled 181 Club (1945-1953), called “the homosexual Copacabana,” was one of the

Figure 7: Apartment building, 171 West 12th Street, New York City, New York. Photo by John Barrington Bayley, c. 1965. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

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45 FBI, “Notorious Types and Places of Amusement” (April 1956), cited by the OutHistory website, October 2013, [http://www.outhistory.org](http://www.outhistory.org). The San Remo was located at 93 MacDougal Street, and the Music Box at 121 West 3rd Street. Both buildings are in the SVHD.
46 The Stewart Cafeteria was located at 116 Seventh Avenue South, in the GVHD. OLGAD.
most luxurious gay and lesbian clubs in the United States and featured lavish shows of female impersonators.47

Greenwich Village continued to attract many notable LGBTQ residents. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt had key associations with Village women beginning in the 1920s. An apartment building on West 12th Street (Figure 7) housed many influential women between 1920 and 1950, including lesbians of note: Communist Party leaders Grace Hutchins and Anna Rochester, political radical Polly Porter, Democratic Party leader Mary Dewson, artist Nancy Cook, and educator Marion Dickerman, who organized the Todhunter School on the Upper East Side, and the Val-Kill furniture factory in partnership with Roosevelt, on her property near Hyde Park, New York. From 1933 to 1942, Roosevelt rented an apartment “haven” in the East 11th Street house of two close friends, writer Esther Lape and attorney Elizabeth Read. The couple, who lived here for over two decades, were influential suffragists, political reformers, and founders of the League of Women Voters. Roosevelt maintained her own apartment on Washington Square in 1942-1949.48

Photographer Berenice Abbott (1898-1991) and her partner Elizabeth McClausland (1899-1965) lived and worked in two flats they shared in a Village loft building from 1935 to 1965. An influential art critic and historian, McClausland wrote the text for Abbott’s classic photographic series Changing New York, published in 1939. Djuna Barnes was a longtime resident of a modest rowhouse on Patchin Place after the publication of her lesbian novel Nightwood in 1936.49 St. Luke’s Place with its stately houses has long been a favored address for leaders in the arts and entertainment industry. Among its famous residents were painters Paul Cadmus (1904-1999) and Jared French (1905-1988), lovers

47 The 181 Club was located in the former Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater, 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 1993), researched and written by Jay Shockley; and LPC, PMSS, 2014. The building was listed on the NRHP as the Yiddish Art Theatre on September 19, 1985.
48 The apartment building at 171 West 12th Street, house on East 11th Street, and apartment building at 29 Washington Square West are located in the GVHD: OLGAD.
49 Abbott and McClausland resided on Commerce Street. This building and Patchin Place are located in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014; OLGAD.
when they moved there in 1935. French married artist Margaret Hoening in 1937 and they continued to share their home with Cadmus, who was joined by a new lover, painter George Tooker (1920-2011). In 1948, their friend George Platt Lynes photographed them here. Another close friend, British author E. M. Forster, was their houseguest in 1947 and 1949, and other visitors included Tennessee Williams, Cadmus’s brother-in-law Lincoln Kirstein, and Andy Warhol.50

In the 1950s, the celebrated African American authors, civil rights activists, friends, and early gay-rights pioneers James Baldwin (1924-1987) and Lorraine Hansberry (1930-1965) moved to the Village. Baldwin was openly gay and many of his works centered on gay or bisexual characters and frankly explored issues of identity, race, and homosexuality.51 Calling himself a “transatlantic commuter” he lived much of his life abroad while maintaining a series of residences in New York. From around 1957 to 1963 he rented a Village apartment. Hansberry, meanwhile, joined the Daughters of Bilitis homophile organization in 1957 and penned several essay-length letters about such topics as sexual identity, feminism, and homophobia to its publication, The Ladder. She moved into an apartment on Bleecker Street in 1953, shortly after she married Robert B. Nemiroff. In 1960, using a portion of the profits from her wildly successful play A Raisin in the Sun (1959), the couple—who later divorced amicably—purchased a residence near Washington Square. Hansberry became involved with one of the building’s tenants, Dorothy Secules, and the two remained partners until Hansberry’s premature death from cancer.52

50 The Cadmus-French-Tooker residence is located in the GVHD. Playwright-screenwriter-director Arthur Laurents (1917-2011) also bought a house on St. Luke’s Place around 1960 and resided there until his death in 2011, for most of the time with his partner Tom Hatcher (d. 2006). Over that long period, Laurents wrote the screenplays for The Way We Were (1973) and The Turning Point (1977) and won Tony Awards for his book for Hallelujah, Baby!, his direction of La Cage aux Folles (1984), and a revival of Gypsy (2009). LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014; OLGAD.
51 These included his second novel Giovanni’s Room (1956), Another Country (1962), and Tell Me How Long the Train’s Been Gone (1968).
52 Baldwin’s apartment on Horatio Street, and Hansberry’s residences on Bleecker Street and Waverly Place are all located in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2014.
The LGBTQ community has had a disproportionately significant and immeasurable impact on the cultural life of Greenwich Village and all of New York City, particularly in its theaters, which have featured the work of LGBTQ actors, directors, playwrights, and the various associated professions, as well as performers in its cafes and clubs, and as patrons of all of these venues. In the 1950s, Greenwich Village and the East Village became the cradle of what became the off-Broadway and off-off Broadway theater movements. The former Jaffe Art Theater, one of the most tangible reminders of the heyday of Yiddish theater in twentieth-century New York, was particularly renowned as the Phoenix Theater from 1953 to 1961. Founded by Norris Houghton and T. Edward Hambleton, it featured the work of directors including Tony Richardson and such performers as Montgomery Clift, Will Geer, Farley Granger, Eva Le Gallienne, and Roddy McDowall. Actress-manager Julie Bovasso, in 1955, established and directed the Tempo Playhouse in the East Village, where she is credited with the American premieres of works by Jean Genet, including The Maids, as well as Gertrude Stein’s In a Garden and Three Sisters Who Are Not Sisters.

53 The Phoenix Theater was located at 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report.
54 The Tempo Playhouse was located on St. Mark’s Place. In 1964 this location also became a venue for the showing of early Avant-garde “underground” films by the Film-Makers’ Cooperative under Jonas Mekas, then film critic of The Village Voice and editor-publisher of Film Culture magazine. The work of the Kuchar Brothers was introduced here, including the premiere of Lust for Ecstasy. The district...
Caffe Cino (Figure 8) is widely recognized as the birthplace of off-off Broadway theater and is also significant as a pioneer in the development of gay theater. In 1958, Joe Cino (1931-1967) rented a ground-story commercial space, originally intending to operate a coffee shop with a small exhibition space for concerts, poetry readings, and art exhibits. He then allowed patrons to stage small Avant-garde theatrical performances. His partner Jon Torrey worked as electrician and lighting designer. Many of its early productions featured gay characters or subject matter. The staging of Lanford Wilson’s The Madness of Lady Bright in 1964 was both the Cino’s breakthrough hit and an early play to deal explicitly with homosexuality. Caffe Cino provided an important platform for newly emerging gay playwrights such as Doric Wilson, H. M. Koutoukas, Bob Heide, Bill Hoffman, Lanford Wilson, Tom Eyen, Jeff Weiss, David Starkweather, Charles Stanley, and Robert Patrick. The coffeehouse itself also became an important gay meeting spot, offering an alternative to bars and bathhouses. It closed in 1968, a year after Cino’s suicide following Torrey’s accidental death.\(^{55}\) Judson Memorial Church on Washington Square, with an activist congregation, had begun sponsoring Avant-garde exhibits and performances in the 1940s and playwright/minister Al Carmines staged his own works here after 1958.\(^{56}\)

1960s – Early 1970s – the Early LGBTQ Rights Movement and Cultural Influence

Inevitably, Greenwich Village has many of the sites most associated with the struggle for LGBTQ rights in New York City, and nationally, over the decades. Julius’ Bar by the 1950s attracted a gay clientele, despite

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\(^{55}\) Caffe Cino was located at 31 Cornelia Street. LPC, *Greenwich Village Historic District Extension II Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2010), researched and written by Olivia Klose Brazee, Marianne Percival, and Virginia Kurshan; and LPC, PMSS, 2013.

\(^{56}\) Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square South, was designated an NYC Landmark on May 17, 1966, and listed on the NRHP on October 16, 1974. OLGAD.
the treatment they received. With the New York State Liquor Authority’s (SLA) regulations against serving liquor to “disorderly” patrons, and its interpretation that homosexuals were per se in that category, the bar’s management pursued a policy of not encouraging the presence of gay men. On April 21, 1966, members of the New York Mattachine Society staged a “sip-in” at Julius’ to challenge SLA regulations. The tactic was that men would enter the bar, declare their sexual orientation, and order a drink—knowing that they would be turned away. The group then filed a complaint of discrimination with SLA, and the publicity attracted favorable public support and the attention of the New York City Commission on Human Rights. This was a hugely significant pre-Stonewall assertion of LGBTQ rights and paved the way for the right of gay people to peacefully assemble and the legalization of gay bars.57 That same year, a mass protest against the Lindsay administration’s attempt to “clean up” Washington Square was staged from Judson Memorial Church, which was used in the 1960s-70s for lesbian and gay political gatherings.58 In 1967, gay activist Craig Rodwell opened the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop on Mercer Street, which was the nation’s first lesbian and gay book store. It became a community meeting center as well.59

The Stonewall Inn is considered one of the most significant sites associated with LGBTQ history in New York City and the entire country. In June 1969, a routine police raid on this bar resulted in active resistance, setting off days of confrontation and demonstrations, with unprecedented cries for “gay pride” and “gay power.” The Stonewall Rebellion sparked the next phase of the gay liberation movement, which involved more radical political action during the 1970s, and also inspired the LGBTQ pride movement. The first anniversary of the uprising was commemorated in June 1970 as Christopher Street Gay Liberation Day, the main event being a march from Greenwich Village to Central Park.

57 Julius’ Bar, which remains in operation, is located at 159 West 10th Street, in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014. It was listed on the NRHP on April 21, 2016.
58 OLGAD.
59 The first location of the shop was in the apartment building at 291 Mercer Street. From 1973 to 2009, the shop as the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, was located at 15 Christopher Street, in the GVHD. OLGAD; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.
In the immediate aftermath of Stonewall, one of the earliest organizations formed was the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). Though of brief duration, the Gay Community Center was located (c. 1970-1971) on West 3rd Street (formerly Tony Pastor’s Downtown). GLF had Sunday meetings and dances here, and this was also the headquarters of Radicalesbians, spun off of the male-dominated GLF in 1970, and the meeting place of Gay Youth, for GLF members under the age of eighteen.60 A former firehouse in SoHo served as the headquarters of Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) (Figure 9) in 1971-1974. Formed in 1969 when a number of members broke away from the more radical GLF, GAA was primarily a political activist organization whose exclusive purpose was to advance LGBTQ civil and social rights. It lobbied for the passage of local civil rights laws, banning police entrapment and harassment, the creation of fair employment and housing legislation, and the repeal of sodomy and solicitation laws. Many of the group’s activities were planned at the Firehouse, including sit-ins and picket lines. Perhaps the most famous GAA tactic was the “zap,” a direct, public confrontation with a political figure regarding LGBTQ rights designed to gain media attention. The Firehouse also served as an

Figure 9: Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York. Photo by John Barrington Bayley, circa 1972. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

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60 The Gay Community Center was located at 130 West 3rd Street, in the SVHD.
important community center and hosted numerous social events, particularly Saturday night dance parties and Firehouse Flicks, a movie series selected by activist and film buff Vito Russo.61

During the 1960s, the influence of the LGBTQ community on off- and off-off-Broadway theater continued as strongly as before. The Provincetown Playhouse, in a later incarnation, housed Edward Albee’s first play The Zoo Story (1960).62 The Cherry Lane Theater, formed in 1924-1926 as an experimental theater by Edna St. Vincent Millay with friends, developed a close association with Albee in the early 1960s, presenting The American Dream, The Sandbox, and The Death of Bessie Smith. In 1969, the theater featured a retrospective look at the life and career of Lorraine Hansberry, To Be Young, Gifted and Black.63 La Mama Experimental Theatre Club in the East Village was founded in 1961 by Ellen Stewart and opened in its current location in 1969. Today it is widely considered the oldest, most influential, and most prolific of all the off-off-Broadway stages. Though commercial theater has never been its focus, a number of La Mama plays achieved success on Broadway, including Harvey Fierstein’s Torch Song Trilogy, and its resident director, Tom O’Horgan, later produced the influential hit Hair. Among the many notable playwrights and directors associated with La Mama have been Jean-Claude van Itallie, Tom Eyen, Lanford Wilson, William Hoffman, Charles Ludlam, Terrence McNally, Joseph Chaikin, John Vaccaro, Marshall Mason, and Meredith Monk.64

1970s to the Present

While the LGBTQ bar and social scene in Greenwich Village had emerged around MacDougal Street in the 1910s-1920s and remained

61 The Firehouse, at 99 Wooster Street, was designated as part of the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District by NYC on August 14, 1973, while GAA still occupied the building and their lowercase lambda symbol was displayed on the facade. The district was designated an NHL on June 2, 1978, and listed on the NRHP on June 29, 1978. LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014.
62 SVHD.
63 The Cherry Lane Theater, at 38 Commerce Street, is in the GVHD. OLGAD.
64 La Mama is located at 74 East 4thStreet. LPC, Aschenbroede|Verein (later Gesangverein Schillerbund/now La Mama Experimental Theatre Club) Building Designation Report(New York: City of New York, 2009), researched and written by Jay Shockley.
centered in the South Village through the 1960s, there was also a migration northwest, to venues on Greenwich Avenue in the 1950s. Christopher Street became one of the best-identified LGBTQ locations in the world after Stonewall, and the popularity of the thoroughfare was sustained in the 1960s and 1970s by many gay-owned and gay-friendly bars and businesses. Gay men had traversed to the western terminus of Christopher for decades, to the piers along West Street for sexual encounters. By the early 1970s, the western end of Christopher Street and adjacent blocks along West Street, long established with seamen-oriented waterfront taverns, had become a nucleus for bars catering to a gay clientele. Six of the fourteen buildings that comprise the Weehawken Street Historic District have housed gay bars from that time to the present.65

North of Christopher Street, in the meatpacking district (today’s Gansevoort Market Historic District), another type of LGBTQ nightlife—very late and usually sexual—emerged (Figure 10). The New York Times in 1995 described its varied activities: “nightspots lie scattered, often tucked away, among the frigid warehouses of beef, pork, veal and poultry...The meatpacking district runs around the clock, and throughout, there are marked shifts in what goes on...Burly men in stained white overalls often unload meat trucks in the predawn hours just as club kids and bikers emerge from late-night hangouts...The district has always had a vibrant gay and lesbian night scene.”66 The first of the new businesses (other

65 These included West Beach Bar & Grill, 388-390 West Street (c. 1970-1980); Choo Choo’s Pier, 392-393 West Street (c. 1972); Peter Rabbit, 396-397 West Street (c. 1972-1988); Ramrod, 394-395 West Street (c. 1976-1980); Sneakers, 392-393 West Street (c. late 1970s-1999); Badlands, 388-390 West Street (c. 1983-1991); and Dugout/RockBar, 185 Christopher Street (c. 1985-present). LPC, Weehawken Street Historic District Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 2006), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

than clubs) in the district was Florent Restaurant opened in 1985 by Florent Morellet in a 1949 diner, which became quite popular as an all-hours spot and performance venue.\(^{67}\)

Two of New York’s most famous LGBTQ clubs opened in the East Village. The Pyramid Club (1979-present) became a defining venue in the 1980s for Avant-garde music and “politicized” drag performers such as Lypsinka, Lady Bunny, and RuPaul, and sponsored early benefit concerts for AIDS. The Saint (1980-1988), owned by gay entrepreneur Bruce Mailman and located in the former Commodore Theatre (later Fillmore East), was one of the most spectacular and expensive dance clubs the city had ever seen.\(^{68}\)

Numerous LGBTQ notables in the arts have continued to reside and work in the Village. The Merce Cunningham Dance Studio, one of

\(^{67}\) It was located at 69 Gansevoort Street, in the Gansevoort Market Historic District (GMHD).

\(^{68}\) The Pyramid Club is located at 101 Avenue A, and the Saint was located at 105 Second Avenue. LPC, *East Village/ Lower East Side Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2012), researched and written by Christopher D. Brazee.
America’s most influential dance companies, was located in a penthouse of Westbeth Artists’ Housing (former Bell Telephone Laboratories) along the Hudson River waterfront from 1971 until 2010.69 Star chef James Beard and his partner, architect Gino Cofacci, purchased a house on West 12th Street in 1973. The ground-floor interior was re-designed for the kitchen, site of Beard’s famous classes and cooking demonstrations, and the building later became the James Beard Foundation.70 After the front portion of the Jaffe Art Theater was converted into apartments, residents included Jackie Curtis, drag “superstar” in Andy Warhol films, photographer Peter Hujar (1975-1987), and artist David Wojnarowicz (1980-1992).71 The last apartment of iconic artist Keith Haring (1958-1990) was on LaGuardia Place. Author/playwright Paul Rudnick, who lived in the 1990s in the former apartment of actor John Barrymore, wrote the play I Hate Hamlet (1991), which was set in this apartment and featured the ghost of Barrymore.72

As New York’s longest-established gay neighborhood, the Village remained the location of a number of significant institutions. From 1975 to 2016, Congregation Beit Simchat Torah, the city’s first LGBTQ synagogue (established 1973), worshiped at Westbeth, led by Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum since 1992.73 The Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center (now Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center) was organized in 1983 and took title to a former school building in 1984. A focal point for LGBTQ activities in the metropolitan area, each year the Center welcomes more than three hundred thousand visitors and is used by over four hundred community groups to host meetings, social and cultural events, and health-based programs. The Center witnessed the

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69 The Cunningham Dance Studio was located at 55 Bethune Street. LPC, Bell Telephone Laboratories Complex Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 2011), researched and written by Jay Shockley. Bell Telephone Laboratories was listed on the NRHP on May 15, 1975. It was listed again as Westbeth on December 8, 2009.

70 The James Beard Foundation, at 167 West 12th Street, is in the GVHD. OLGAD.

71 The former Jaffe Art Theater is located at 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report.

72 Haring’s and Rudnick’s apartments were located in the SVHD.

73 The synagogue was located at 57 Bethune Street. LPC, Bell Telephone Laboratories Complex; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.
founding of GLAAD (formerly Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, 1985) and ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, 1987). The important community service group SAGE (Services & Advocacy for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender Elders) also met here for over twenty years. In 1988, it housed the Quilt Workshop to create panels for the Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. For Stonewall’s twentieth anniversary in 1989, the Center presented Imaging Stonewall, a site specific installation of fifty artworks that included a mural by Keith Haring in the second floor men’s room (restored 2012). In 1990, the LGBT Community Center Archive was established under the curatorship of Rich Wandel and now houses thousands of papers, periodicals, correspondence, and photographs donated by individuals and organizations. Today, the Center remains a major forum for politicians and gathering place for political groups, an important center for cultural events, and a gathering place for the LGBTQ community in times of trouble and celebration. The former Rectory of St. Veronica’s Roman Catholic Church was selected by the Catholic Church to become a hospice for homeless AIDS patients and the facility opened in December 1985. From 1993 to 2003, the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project and Empire State Pride Agenda were located in the meatpacking district.

Finally, one former restaurant location has taken on historic significance in light of the path-breaking Supreme Court decision in United States v. Windsor in 2013. Portofino (c. 1959-1975) was an Italian restaurant in the South Village that was a discreet meeting place frequented on Friday evenings by lesbians. The case that overturned the federal Defense of Marriage Act had its roots in the date here in 1963 of Edith S. Windsor and Thea Clara Spyer. The couple eventually married in

74 The Center is located at 130 West 13thStreet, in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2014.
75 The Rectory of St. Veronica’s Roman Catholic Church was located at 657 Washington Street. LPC,
researched and written by Jay Shockley. The Anti-Violence Project and Empire State Pride Agenda were
located at 647 Hudson Street, in the GMHD.
Canada in 2007 and Windsor challenged the act after receiving a large tax bill from inheriting Spyer’s estate.\textsuperscript{76}

Summary

New York City, the largest American city, has played a prominent role in the LGBTQ rights and other social movements, and is recognized as one of the most important centers for all aspects of American arts and culture. There are many known extant historic and cultural sites of import to the LGBTQ community and nation. Since the early 1990s, various efforts towards their documentation, recognition, and commemoration have placed New York in the forefront nationally in LGBTQ historic preservation. Greenwich Village is an example of an historic “gay” neighborhood that can be analyzed for its significant sites. However, much work remains to be done in New York—such as further research and evaluation of known sites, uncovering currently unknown ones, and, above all, representing the great diversity of all of the communities within the greater LGBTQ community of the city. The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, among many other efforts, will hopefully accomplish these tasks and continue to provide inspiration for other projects around the nation.

\textsuperscript{76} Portofino was located at 206 Thompson Street, in the SVHD.
In the wee hours of a summer night in 1954, several Dade County deputies raided a handful of bars and nightspots throughout Miami and Miami Beach in what had popularly become known as their “pervert roundup.” Local law enforcement arrested nineteen “suspected perverts” that August night. Police, politicians, and those connected to the courts often used the term “pervert” to reference those thought to be homosexual or those who challenged gender norms, particularly by wearing clothes traditionally associated with the opposite sex. They raided those places that night just as they had in the past and would continue to do in the future. This was, by no means, an anomalous occurrence. “We don’t want perverts to set up housekeeping in this county,” claimed Dade
Julio Capó, Jr.

County Sheriff Thomas J. Kelly. “We want them to know that they’re not welcome.”

Fast-forward sixty years to 2014, when the same county, by then renamed Miami-Dade County to capitalize on the namesake of its internationally-recognized major city, prohibited discrimination based on gender identity and expression. On December 2, 2014, the Miami-Dade County Commission voted eight to three to extend legal protections to transgender individuals in the realms of employment, housing, and public accommodation. County residents filled the County Hall in downtown Miami and offered over four hours of crucial debate on the matter. Once the commissioners announced their majority vote in favor of adding the anti-discrimination clause, many of those eagerly anticipating the decision in the chambers celebrated with booming cheers and applause—even as a sizeable part of the audience expressed disappointment. In many ways, this moment represented unfinished business of a local political movement that started in earnest in the 1970s. Indeed, a lot had changed in Miami since its “pervert roundup” days.

As this reveals, Miami has a long and rich queer history. That is, the city has a complex relationship with those whose gender and sexual identities, expressions, and behaviors have somehow been seen as different or against established norms. These queer representations are fluid and change over space and time. As such, these histories include “unsavory” vagrants, female and male impersonators, “mannish” women, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender individuals, as well as many others.

Here I present a cohesive narrative of Miami’s queer past that is by no means exhaustive. Rather, I seek to concisely capture snapshots of the

2 The Stephen P. Clark Government Center, or County Hall, is located at 111 NW First Street, Miami, Florida. It was built in 1985.
area’s diverse queer communities while remaining true and faithful to the historical record. While I highlight some better-known moments, I also seek to shed light on histories that have largely been erased from this narrative. Throughout this essay, I stress two themes that best represent Miami’s significance in regional, national, and even international queer history. The first concerns questions of public struggle and visibility. In particular, this perspective factors how Miami’s queer community negotiated its space in the city’s social, cultural, political, and economic realms. My other major intervention highlights Miami’s status as a city of the Americas. Shifting attention to Miami and its rich immigrant cultures—especially as the city’s distinct ethnic groups gained greater political power in the urban center—helps reframe the general narrative of US queer history. It reveals this queer past is far less bound or dictated by national borders and far more racially and ethnically diverse than mainstream narratives generally ascribe.

One brief caveat: like many other metropolitan areas in the United States, the space generally perceived as “Miami” is often imprecise or misleading. In actuality, the metropolitan area of Miami represents a constellation of distinct municipalities, including Miami Beach, Coral Gables, Hialeah, and so forth. When applicable, I refer to these distinct municipalities. Otherwise, I refer to both Miami proper and Miami. The former refers to the actual City of Miami, while the latter includes parts of incorporated and unincorporated Miami-Dade County.

Incorporated in 1896 with the votes of less than 350 residents, Miami proper is, relatively speaking, a very new city. The majority of the city’s early power brokers—those who controlled the city’s newspapers, law enforcement, courts, and real estate—were primarily white men, and a few women, from the US Midwest, Northeast, and South. These early settlers often built their empires by exploiting the social and cultural customs of the day, particularly Jim Crow racial segregation and discrimination.4 A lot

of Miami’s early laborers were “native” blacks who migrated to Miami from north and central Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina.⁵

Equally important were the migrants who came from the Caribbean and worked building the city’s infrastructure and Miami’s growing agricultural and service industries. Unlike other metropolitan areas in the United States, Miami never attracted a great number of immigrant-laborers from eastern or southern Europe. Instead, Miami’s early labor force was largely made up of black migrants from the then-British colony of the Bahamas.⁶

Indeed, one of Miami’s greatest sources of distinction—true in both the nineteenth century and today—was its connection to the Caribbean. Miami’s early labor needs found hundreds of black Bahamian men traveling to Miami in search of work during the early 1900s. Their migration was further motivated by struggling local economies in the Bahamas; the product of falling global prices on pineapples and sisal, natural disasters, drought, and a general sentiment of discontent among laborers who learned they could earn higher wages abroad.⁷

In addition to the gendering of the city’s construction and agricultural work as male, US immigration policy restricted many black Bahamian women from entering Miami. The reasons for this were often sexualized, as immigration officials suspected many unmarried or single Bahamian women of being prostitutes. This unbalanced immigration policy meant that many transient Bahamian men lived in “bachelor” cultures and spaces in their new, often temporary, adoptive city. Such spaces often facilitated same-sex intimacy, including sexual acts. At this time, however, women and men did not yet organize or understand their lives the way we do today; that is, those who engaged in same-sex sexual behavior did not

understand themselves as either “homosexual” or “heterosexual,” as neither identity yet had formal currency. This shift did not occur fully until about World War II. Meanwhile, this gender-imbalanced migration also facilitated female-dominated spaces on several of the islands in the Bahamas, particularly those in the north such as Abaco, Bimini, and Cat Island.

This history, then, locates Miami’s early harbor as an important site of the city’s queer and migrant history. In the early 1900s the port was located between Sixth and Ninth Streets on Biscayne Bay and, due to the harbor’s shallow waters, new channels were dredged to allow larger vessels to pass. Some of these vessels carried Bahamians trying to enter the new city. While many “sexually suspect” Bahamian women were excluded, the city’s dire labor needs demanded male laborers. In particular, Miami entrepreneurs looked for young and able-bodied men to do physically demanding work. The city’s early criminal records show that Miami’s law enforcement policed black Bahamian migrants far more stringently than other residents; arresting them for varied crimes such as vagrancy and cohabitation. Several of the Bahamian men were charged with committing same-sex crimes, such as sodomy or a crime against nature. All of these charges marked them as sexually “perverse,” transgressive, and unnatural.

While the Bahamians represented a critical part of the city’s early black, ethnic, and working-class sexual life, Miami’s white male elites also carved out their own queer spaces in the early city. It is important to note that the city’s early power brokers segregated black residents—including the Bahamians—away from their neighborhoods and into a part of the city then called “Colored Town” (today, it is known as historic Overtown, a neighborhood just northwest of downtown Miami) through Jim Crow laws

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9 Julio Capó, Jr., “Welcome to Fairyland” (manuscript in progress).
11 Capó, Jr., *Welcome to Fairyland.*
and discriminatory housing policies.\textsuperscript{12} White women and men often frequented these black, working-class spaces. In fact, they proved to be eager clients and participants in the early city’s sexual economy, which thrived in Miami’s Colored Town during the first few decades of the twentieth century. These white residents often “slummed” in these racialized spaces because they believed them to be more titillating and subversive; but since it occurred “over there,” they upheld a pretense of security and respectability.\textsuperscript{13}

One of the early city’s elite queer spaces was the Italian-style palazzo Vizcaya located on the shores of Biscayne Bay in the Coconut Grove neighborhood.\textsuperscript{14} James Deering, an agricultural equipment tycoon from Chicago, chose Miami—then mostly a barren swampland—as the site for his winter villa. He ordered the villa built and ultimately lived there from

![Figure 1: West Parterres of the Villa Vizcaya, circa 1934. Frank Bell Photographic Collection, courtesy of Vizcaya Museum & Gardens, Miami, Florida.](image)

\textsuperscript{12} Connolly, \textit{A World More Concrete}.
\textsuperscript{13} “Segregation for Lewd Women is Asked by Jury,” \textit{Miami Daily Metropolis}, November 29, 1918.
\textsuperscript{14} Villa Vizcaya is located at 3251 South Miami Avenue, Miami, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on September 20, 1970 (boundary increase November 15, 1978) and designated an NHL on April 19, 1994. It is currently a museum.
late 1916 until his death in September 1925. The property, which remains in pristine condition today, defined extravagance and excess (Figure 1). In addition to its fine tropical gardens, “the interior of Villa Vizcaya is the repository of a wonderful collection of art objects, antique statuary, brocades, velvets, carpets, and hangings, which centuries ago were precious possessions in Venetian palaces,” noted one contemporary.\textsuperscript{15} Much like the working-class lodges and boarding houses many Bahamians and other black and ethnic laborers lived in, Vizcaya was a predominantly male space in its early days.

All sorts of stories—many unsubstantiated or untrue—persist about Vizcaya’s queer history. Rumor, perhaps closer to folklore, suggests that Deering hosted queer parties during his time there. Many take it a step further and describe Saturnalia where queer men would unleash their sexual inhibitions. None of this is substantiated by the available evidence. While there is no documentary evidence that Deering had sexual relationships with other men, that association somehow stuck with him over time. He was, for instance, often referred to in the historical record as a “bachelor”—a common euphemism for a contemporary queer, or potentially queer, man. Decades after his death, this association had spread so widely that a 1961 newspaper referred to Deering as “the prissy bachelor who preferred bourbon to women.”\textsuperscript{16} Perhaps this explains the origins of that unfounded rumor. Meanwhile, the evidence does reveal one of Vizcaya’s other early residents maintained a homosexual relationship at the villa. Artist, interior decorator, and architect Paul Chalfin—who proved central to Vizcaya’s aesthetic—lived openly with his male lover, Louis Koons, in the mid-1910s and early 1920s.\textsuperscript{17}

The rendering of Vizcaya as a queer space, particularly with lavish gay parties, is more likely connected to Miami’s White Party. The event was first conceived in 1984 as a modest gathering to raise funds for a local

HIV/AIDS organization known as Health Crisis Network (today, Care Resource), a social service organization responding to the AIDS crisis founded in 1983 by members of the local queer community. Thousands of local LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) and allied women and men are joined every year by thousands from across the nation and abroad. Attendees dress in white, often scantily, for a number of dance parties and celebrations. Over the years, Miami’s White Party has raised millions of dollars to help provide local services with people living with HIV/AIDS, a disease that devastated the queer community. Villa Vizcaya served as the site for this massive weeklong party until 2010 (Figure 2). In this and several other ways, the site has long held an important place in Miami’s queer imaginary. Or, put another way, its significance to the queer community transcended the evidence substantiated in the historical archive and took on new meaning through a sort of local folklore that highlighted queer visibility and resilience.

Figure 2: The main event at the 26th annual White Party Week was held at the Vizcaya Villa on November 28, 2010. Photograph by Michele Sandberg/ZUMApress.com.

By the late 1930s and 1940s, Miami had an elaborate nightlife that prominently featured both male and female impersonators. During the World War II era, with the infusion of a rich African American and Caribbean culture—including that corresponding to the aforementioned Bahamians—Miami’s Colored Town became known as the “Harlem of the South.” Particularly along northwest Second Avenue, the area gained a reputation for housing one of the nation’s most vibrant scenes for entertainment, nightlife, and music. This included female impersonators and a growing queer culture.19

One drag revue, the Jewel Box, was particularly successful, renowned, and influential in disseminating queer culture in Miami, as well as throughout the nation and parts of North America. Performances began in 1938, perhaps even earlier, at the Embassy Hotel in Miami Beach.20 The Jewel Box Revue was formally established the following year. Danny Brown and Doc Benner, reported to be lovers, owned and ran the show, which featured over two dozen female impersonators and one male impersonator. By 1946, the two men had opened up their own club space, the Jewel Club, on the Miami side of Venetian Causeway.21 By then, the revue had grown in popularity with its incredibly successful tour throughout North America, from Juárez, Mexico to Chatham, Ontario in Canada.22 By this period in history a growing queer community—represented by groups of people who now largely identified as lesbian and gay, for instance—had become visible in Miami. The city’s queer community had carved out their own spaces in Miami: popular nightspots where they worked or starred in revues, lesbian and gay bars, or areas near the beach where they could meet others like them. Indeed, a queer culture thrived in the city, despite efforts to suppress it.

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21 The Jewel Club was located at 512 NE Fifteenth Street, Miami, Florida (now demolished).
While the Jewel Box Revue only featured one regular male impersonator, women in Miami often pushed gender norms to the limits. As local politicians grew increasingly worried with what became known as the “homosexual problem” in the city, commissioners passed new laws that prohibited men from impersonating women or from wearing clothes unbecoming of the masculine ideal. Miami proper, for instance, passed such an ordinance in 1952—just as the city’s queer culture had become more public and visible. In January 1953, one of the most popular local entertainers and dancers, Joanne Gilbert, identified and exploited a loophole in the 1952 legislation: it did not apply to women. Swapping out her scanty burlesque costume for a pair of masculine britches and a shirt, Gilbert tongue-in-cheekily went on stage and thrilled her audience at the famous Clover Club. Such resistance led commissioners to change the law in 1956 to include both women and men from being “in a state of nudity or in a dress not customarily worn by his or her sex.” Meanwhile, Miami’s growing lesbian community and its queer women’s culture—including several bars and nightspots, such as one called Goggie’s—was featured in several pulp fiction novels and magazines during the 1950s and 1960s.

In addition to frequenting bars and nightspots throughout the city, Miami’s queer communities also established their own territory on the area’s public beaches. The city’s queer communities congregated by the sands of Twenty-Second Street in Miami Beach (Figure 3). By the early 1950s, that part of the beach attracted “men with girlish-looking hair-dos and flimsy, Bikini-type tights,” as well as queer women. Police records

23 City of Miami Commissioners Meeting Minutes, September 15, 1954, City of Miami Clerk's Office, Miami, Florida.
24 “Miami Mish-Mash,” Miami Daily News, January 1, 1953, 7B. The Clover Club was located at 118 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami, Florida.
reveal that those who transgressed gender norms were particularly susceptible to arrest and harassment.

As that suggests, in part, this increased visible queer culture led to more aggressive and violent police crackdowns. For instance, the beach parties on Twenty-Second Street helped fuel the “pervert roundup” described in the introduction to this essay. Another major manifestation of this was the state-run body called the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, better known as the “Johns Committee.” Named after its first chairman, former State Senator and Governor Charley E. Johns, the body was created to suppress contemporary social upheaval. In particular, its origins were in dismantling successes for black civil rights. From 1956 through 1965, however, the Johns Committee also targeted...
homosexuals. This culminated in its investigation of suspected homosexual professors and students in the state university system. The state-instituted oppression on homosexuality had a massive ripple effect on Miami, as Florida investigators worked closely with Miami’s politicians, law enforcement, and civic leaders to purge suspected lesbians and gays from their posts at local schools and colleges.

Despite these raids and forms of state oppression, these beaches, bars, and other spaces proved critical to creating community, combating isolation, and served as a precursor for future mobilization and political organizing. In January 1953, California-based activists who were part of the early homophile movement launched a magazine titled ONE to serve as a “forum where the gay minority could present its views to the public and to other homosexuals.” A few months after its founding, ONE had a readership of over two thousand. This included several in Florida. The homophile movement combated queer Miamians’ sense of isolation and depression while simultaneously forging community. Homophiles often worked as a “watchdog” for homosexual oppression throughout the country. In January 1954, ONE published a piece titled “Miami Junks the Constitution” that condemned the recent police crackdown in the city. In addition to detailing the discriminatory practices of Miami’s law enforcement, it reminded readers of their constitutional rights pertaining to arrest, detainment, and harassment. Make no mistake, Miami’s queer culture registered in the national imagination. For some, this was a badge of shame or notoriety. For many others, it was part of the city’s appeal.

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As much of the above suggests, transgender individuals and gender expressions considered to be against the norm have always been central to Miami’s queer history. For example, Miami residents closely followed one of the most sensational news stories of the 1950s: when an “ex-G.I.” underwent sex reassignment surgery and debuted in the press as the “blonde beauty,” Christine Jorgensen. Upon learning about Jorgensen’s transition, Charlotte F. McLeod (née Charles E. McLeod) underwent surgery in 1953. She too told the world about the “army of people who live deeply depressed, under circumstances we cannot control,” a reference to how her anatomy did not represent her gender identity as a woman. “I always thought, felt, and reacted like a woman,” she explained. Despite her pleas for understanding, transsexuals like McLeod were thrust into the era's Cold War debates on science and psychiatry. McLeod got entangled with contemporary anxieties over nuclear warfare and homosexuality. In fact, some conservatives and traditionalists even considered transsexuality a possible solution to the growing “homosexual problem.”

McLeod moved to Miami a few years after the initial reports about her transition. She lived in relative obscurity in an apartment near Biscayne Bay. McLeod found herself back in the spotlight—or under the microscope, as most contemporaries probed her as a curious scientific experiment—in 1959. That year, the local press reported that she had married a man at a local Baptist church. Within a month, word got out that McLeod, described in some reports as “he,” had married a man. Her marriage caused some in Miami to erroneously claim that the city had condoned same-sex marriage and prompted the city’s first real public debate on the matter.

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37 John Connors, “Nothing in Law Here to Make It a Crime,” Miami Herald, November 13, 1959, 2A.
The marriage debate changed drastically over the next five decades. Floridians banned same-sex marriage in 2008. In 2014, however, Florida judges ruled the ban unconstitutional. A stay placed on the ruling was enacted, but then lifted, and on January 5, 2015, Miami-Dade County began issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples. Just a few minutes after she ruled to lift the stay, Judge Sarah Zabel wed Karla Arguello and Catherina Pareto in her chambers at the Miami-Dade Courthouse (Figure 4). The two women had been partners for fourteen years. Just a few months later, on June 26, the US Supreme Court ruled that the US

Figure 4: Karla Arguello (right) and Catherina Pareto (left) leaving the Miami-Dade County Courthouse shortly after Judge Sarah Zabel lifted the stay prohibiting same-sex marriages in the state. The women were the first same-sex couple to legally wed in Florida following the decision. AP Photo/Wilfredo Lee, January 5, 2015.

Constitution guarantees the right to same-sex marriage. With this historic decision, Florida’s same-sex marriages would be legal and recognized throughout the rest of the nation.39

Across Biscayne Bay in 1972, the Miami Beach Convention Center became a critical site for queer activism.40 By the early 1970s, years of homophile and gay liberation activism—both at the local and national level—had started to galvanize Miami’s queer community. Miami became a hotbed for national politics in 1972 when the convention center hosted both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. Gay liberationists, along with many leftists, anti-war protestors, second-wave feminists, and others, had high hopes that change was possible under the

![Figure 5: Protestors outside the Democratic National Convention, held at the Miami Beach Convention Center, in July 1972. On the far left, you can see signs that read “God loves gays,” “Gay Activists Alliance,” and “Glad to be gay.” Photo courtesy of the State Archives of Florida (JB00259, John Buckley Collection).](image)

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40 The Miami Beach Convention Center is located at 1901 Convention Center Drive, Miami Beach, Florida.
proposed leadership of George McGovern (D-SD), the Democratic Party’s presidential nominee. McGovern’s campaign became the first to court lesbian and gay votes throughout the country. There were plans to include an ambitious gay rights platform at the July convention (Figure 5). In the end, the platform was rejected as too radical.\footnote{Julio Capó, Jr., “Echoes of Miami Beach in Charlotte,” \textit{Miami Herald}, September 2, 2012.} Democratic delegates, however, had the opportunity to hear activists Jim Foster and Madeline Davis speak on behalf of the minority plan on sexual orientation. Their speeches were televised, which helped spread the word on gay liberation throughout the country.\footnote{Bruce Miroff, \textit{The Liberals’ Moment: The McGovern Insurgency and the Identity Crisis of the Democratic Party} (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 215–218; Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, \textit{Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America} (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), chap. 9.} The following month, the Republicans endorsed incumbent Richard Nixon in the same venue. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender activists attended that convention, too, staging a protest outside that resulted in at least twenty arrests.\footnote{“At Least 20 Gays Arrested in Protests at GOP Conclave,” \textit{Advocate}, September 13, 1972, 3.}

In the coming years, Miami became a popular site for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender tourism. For instance, the community-building, political activism, and general momentum of the 1972 presidential election led to Miami’s first gay pride activities that June. The events brought many queer activists from throughout the country to the city. As part of the gay pride celebration, activists demonstrated on Lincoln Road Mall in Miami Beach, just a few blocks away from where the conventions were held.\footnote{Lincoln Road Mall is located at 400-1100 Lincoln Road from Washington Avenue to Alton Road in Miami Beach, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on May 16, 2011.} They protested local ordinances that barred gender nonconformity, particularly female impersonations. Several noted that this demonstration was, in part, an effort to make transgender visitors more comfortable in the city.\footnote{“Gay Pride in Miami: Dancing, Demonstrating,” \textit{Advocate}, July 5, 1972, 3.} In the coming years, particularly in the 1990s, Lincoln Road and other parts of South Beach attracted thousands of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender tourists from across the country and abroad. South Beach became the site of countless queer beach
parties, bars, and nightclubs.\textsuperscript{46} The massive growth and popularity of Miami’s White Party, for instance, was similarly a product of this.

Meanwhile, back in the late 1970s, Miami became the battleground site for a new national movement that sought to reverse predominantly lesbian, gay, and bisexual political advancements in the area. Miami housed several political organizations then, such as a Gay Activists Alliance and a Lesbian Task Force (through the National Organization of Women). One openly gay activist named Jack Campbell co-founded a new organization in 1976 called the Dade County Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays. Its main objective was political reform, particularly through the ballot box. One of the politicians the group endorsed was Ruth Shack, who won a seat on the Metro-Dade County Commission. Shack followed through with her promises and on January 18, 1977, the commission passed an ordinance she spearheaded that barred discrimination based on “affectional or sexual preference” in employment, housing, and public accommodation.\textsuperscript{47} The commission voted three to five at the historic Dade County Courthouse (today, the Miami-Dade County Courthouse).\textsuperscript{48} These protections mirrored the language employed by civil rights legislation in the previous decade.\textsuperscript{49} The 2014 amendment that extended legal protections to include gender identity and expression in the county was, in many ways, tending to unfinished business from this ordinance.

The bold 1977 ordinance was met with massive resistance from conservatives throughout Miami and the nation. Many of the opponents at the hearing before the vote had been bused in “from fundamental Christian churches.”\textsuperscript{50} New coalitions linked to the New Right—a conservative and moralist political movement that attacked liberal

\textsuperscript{47} Morton Lucoff, “Metro Bans Bias Against Gays,” \textit{Miami News}, January 18, 1977, 1A.
\textsuperscript{48} The Miami-Dade County Courthouse is located at 73 West Flagler Street, Miami, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on January 4, 1989.
\textsuperscript{50} Lucoff, “Metro Bans Bias Against Gays,” 1A.
reforms—challenged many of the advances the queer community had made or sought to make. No person was more visible in this movement against the ordinance and what it represented than Anita Bryant, a locally-based, national celebrity and Florida orange juice spokeswoman. She felt particularly betrayed, as she too had personally supported Shack in her bid for the commission seat. Bryant launched her “Save Our Children” campaign to overturn the measure. In the end, she and her supporters rallied enough community opposition to the ordinance to bring the matter to referendum. On June 7, 1977, county residents ultimately rescinded the progressive ordinance that shielded lesbians, gays, and bisexuals from discriminatory practices. They were, once again, susceptible to formal and legal inequity.52

Despite that, this affair mobilized the queer communities—both within Miami and around the United States—in unprecedented ways and ushered many out of the closet and into the streets and voting booths. That is, while Miami’s queer community lost a battle on June 7 when the ordinance was overturned, it eventually won the war. Many who once felt apathetic to or separate from political debates concerning their sexualities galvanized to face-off against Anita Bryant and her supporters. Jack Campbell, who co-founded the 1976 organization that helped fund politicians amenable to lesbian and gay rights, reached out to those who passed through his business. He was the founder of a national chain of gay bathhouses, Club Baths. He expanded his empire further by opening Club Miami near Coral Gables. The bathhouse became a key site for community building, organizing, and fundraising, as substantial portions of

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53 Club Miami was located at 2991 Coral Way, Miami, Florida. It is under new ownership as a gay sauna called Club Aqua Miami.
the profits went to fighting Bryant and the “Save Our Children” campaign.54

All of this prepared Miami’s queer community to come to the assistance of their “sisters and brothers” from Cuba who sought to make the city their new home.55 Thousands of Cubans had made Miami their new home both prior to, but especially after, the island’s 1959 Revolution.56 Since then, members of Miami’s Cuban community have added richly to the city’s growing queer culture. At the same time, in 1977 some conservative Cubans also worked against the queer communities. Many of the city’s Cuban residents voted in support of Anita Bryant’s referendum and celebrated the repeal of the ordinance as evidence, at least in part, of their arrival in urban politics.57

The Mariel boatlift of 1980—a massive exodus of Cubans that proved to be one of the most controversial waves of immigration in US history—complicated these tensions. This new wave of Cuban immigration found roughly 125,000 Marielitos—as they became known, since they left from the Port of Mariel—in the United States from April to October 1980. Cuban leader Fidel Castro referred to them as the “lumpen-proletariat,” or the dregs of society who would never become an integral part of the island’s revolutionary project. This “criminal” and “undesirable” population included several hundred women and men who identified as lesbian or gay, or engaged in homosexual behaviors on the island, or who expressed themselves in gender nonconforming ways.58

With the arrival of the Marielitos, some contemporaries noted that “cruising,” or the act of finding a casual sexual partner, and a growing transgender community became more visible throughout the city. Many observed how some Marielitos who had been assigned male at birth often dressed in women’s clothing in public spaces or offered fashion or preening advice in department stores.59 Two of the most significant sites for this urban transformation were the Miami Orange Bowl in the Little Havana neighborhood and the area located under the Interstate 95 overpass near downtown by the Miami River that became known as “Tent City” (Figure 6).60 Miami’s overlapping queer and Cuban communities came to the assistance of these Marielitos. The Cuban immigrants received access to many donations, such as mounds of clothing some used to transgress gender norms or to represent their gender identities. In


60 The Miami Orange Bowl was located at 1501 NW Third Street, Miami, Florida. It was demolished in 2008.
addition, Miami’s queer and Cuban communities raised funds and launched sponsorship programs to help the Marielitos find homes, jobs, and learn English. They also offered them legal advice on how to navigate the immigration process in the United States.

The Marielitos proved critical to a massive change in US immigration reform. Officially since 1952—and, through other measures, as early as 1917—the United States maintained a policy of barring homosexual foreigners from entering the country. The queer Marielitos, however, posed a significant conundrum to the United States because they fled Cuba, a communist nation. In the midst of a heated Cold War, wherein the United States became a refuge for those fleeing communism and did so as an effective foreign policy tool, the US Government amended its immigration policy in part to accommodate and admit the incoming Marielitos. In this way, the United States’ anti-communist imperative trumped its longstanding anti-gay immigration policy. From 1980 to 1990, the United States implemented a policy to only exclude homosexual foreigners from entering the United States upon a “voluntary submission by the alien that he or she is homosexual.” In this way, the queer Marielitos proved instrumental to affecting change for many future queer migrants. The Immigration Act of 1990 statutorily removed homosexuality as a ground for exclusion from entering the United States, even though queer foreigners continued to be excluded or discriminated against at the border in other ways. Despite the state’s continued sexual anxieties at the border, in the coming decades Miami became a refuge for many other queer migrants—particularly from Latin America and the Caribbean.

For many of these queer immigrants, the freedom they thought they had found in their new home was complicated by an unforeseeable plague: HIV/AIDS. The disease, of course, did not only affect queer immigrants. Soon after the disease was “discovered” in 1981, many members of

62 Capó, Jr., “Queering Mariel,” 96; and Capó, Jr., “It’s Not Queer to Be Gay”.
Miami’s queer community became infected with the mysterious disease, inexplicably showing symptoms such as lesions on their skin, and were desperate for answers and medical attention.63

Hundreds of gay, bisexual, and queer men, in particular, found themselves in Jackson Memorial, the county’s public hospital.64 So too did sympathetic queer and allied women, serving as caretakers and advocates for their sick or dying friends. One newspaper reported, “AIDS victims have poured into Jackson Memorial over the past two years, and many have died there.”65 Jackson Memorial Hospital opened up its South Florida AIDS Network (SFAN) in 1986, the first county-run organization to provide services to people infected with HIV or living with AIDS. Despite the dire need for treatment and service providers, lack of resources and funds forced SFAN to only open a few short hours a week at first.66 Even as late as 1988, new adult AIDS patients waited an average of three to four months before being seen at the hospital’s AIDS clinic. So many who were gravely ill often could not wait that period of time and, instead, had to seek treatment at the hospital emergency room.67

As in other cities, many people in Miami grew increasingly hostile towards and discriminated against those infected, or those suspected of being infected, with the deadly disease. One of the greatest distinctions of this urban space, however, was the city’s large Haitian community, which endured some of the most egregious forms of discrimination. From the beginning of the epidemic, Haitians were listed as a high-risk group for the disease. In a July 1982 report, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) revealed that twenty Haitians residing in Miami had shown evidence of

64 Jackson Memorial Hospital is located at 1161 NW Twelfth Avenue, Miami, Florida.
65 Strat Douthat, “Miami Hospital Is a Haven for AIDS Victims,” Gainesville Sun, September 20, 1985, 8A.
67 Michael Lasalandra, “New AIDS Patients Waiting Months for Jackson Clinic,” Miami News, January 8, 1988, 1A, 4A; and The Day It Snowed in Miami, Directed by Joe Cardona (Miami Herald/WPBT2, 2014), DVD.
“opportunistic infections.” 68 Haitians, including some whom engaged in same-sex acts, became erroneously associated with what had become known as—also erroneously—a “gay disease.” This spread the misconception that Haitians were somehow naturally prone to HIV and, as a result, many were refused work, a place to live, or admission to schools. Meanwhile, consistent with the city’s longstanding history with the Caribbean—particularly the Castro regime in Cuba—some Miami lesbian and gay activists openly criticized the Haitian government’s treatment of its own queer communities. 69

In the following years, new immigrant groups—including Nicaraguans, Colombians, Venezuelans, and Brazilians—entered Miami in large numbers and added greatly to its vibrant queer community. 70 By the 1990s, Miami had become known as a refuge for queer exiles throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. 71 These Latin American and Latina/o communities played integral roles in new LGBTQ political campaigns. On December 1, 1998, Miami-Dade County commissioners prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation, and again, as in 1977, there was an effort to repeal the ordinance. Many in Miami feared that overturning the amendment would have grave effects on the city’s lucrative LGBTQ tourism industry. Local politicians and celebrities, such as Cuban-born singer Gloria Estefan, voiced their pro-gay rights stance and their opposition to repeal. Miami-Dade County’s Cuban American Mayor Alex Penelas voiced his commitment to upholding the anti-discriminatory measure: “We’re trying to build an image of international metropolis, a bridge among cultures, but we would be saying ‘By the way, it’s OK to

discriminate based on sexual orientation.”72 On September 10, 2002, fifty-three percent of those who showed up at the polls voted to uphold the amendment, marking a pivotal achievement for the LGBTQ community nearly thirty years in the making.73 It took over a decade longer for the commission to include gender identity and expression in the anti-discrimination statutes.74

Miami’s geography and social makeup offer a distinct—and important—narrative of the United States’ rich and diverse queer past. It is a borderland at the intersection of numerous identities: it is both south of the US South and, as Ecuadorian President Jaime Roldós Aguilera noted in 1979, the “capital of Latin America.”75 This overview barely scratches the surface of the city’s long and textured relationship to those whose gender and sexuality did not conform to contemporary standards or established norms. Since its inception, queer individuals and communities carved out their own spaces in this international city. They have left an indelible mark and transformed the city in most significant ways.

74 Mazzei and Hanks, “Miami-Dade Commission Bans Discrimination Based on Gender Identity.”
75 Raymond A. Mohl, South of the South: Jewish Activists and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); and “Cuban Victory in Miami Example for Other Cities,” Milwaukee Sentinel, November 15, 1985, 18.
Introduction

Researchers of LGBTQ history in the United States have focused predominantly on major cities such as San Francisco and New York City. This focus has led researchers to overlook a rich tradition of LGBTQ communities and individuals in small to mid-sized American cities that date from at least the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. From Buffalo to St. Louis and beyond, there are many examples of small but thriving communities from this time period.¹ In the midst of these overlooked and under-researched places stands Reno,
Nevada. Reno has historically prided itself on being different from other cities in the United States especially since becoming the divorce capital of the US in the 1910s and legalizing gambling in 1931 when it was illegal in every other state in the Union.²

People with minority sexual and gender expressions lived in the American West well before European colonization. Native American two-spirit people lived and continue to live in the American West.³ Written accounts from California in the 1700s describe two-spirit people’s interactions with colonists and missionaries.⁴ Ethnographic accounts give several terms used by the Northern Paiute (who currently and historically have lived in the Reno area) to describe two-spirit people.⁵ As recently as the mid-1990s, a two-spirit person who grew up in the area found it largely intolerant.⁶

With the California Gold Rush of 1849 came an explosion of growth into the far western states through the early 1860s. During this time, western states were not involved in heavily regulating the behavior of their citizens, as was increasingly the case in the east. With this lack of regulation came more opportunities for same-sex relationships and dress-based gender transgressions. In the days following the Gold Rush, there were often significantly more men than women in the west. For example, the ratio of men to women in California in 1860 was twenty-three to one; in Colorado at the same time, it was thirty-four to one.⁷ This imbalance led

² Alicia Barber, Reno’s Big Gamble: Image and Reputation in the Biggest Little City (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008).
³ See Roscoe (this volume) for more information on two-spirit people and history.
⁷ More information about LGBTQ activity in the West can be found in Susan Lee Johnson, Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush (New York: WW Norton, 2000); Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks, eds., Woman and Gender in the American West (Albuquerque: University of New
to men engaging in same-sex dancing, men dressed as women dancing with other men in masculine dress, women dressing as men, and speculation of same-sex sexual activity as well. Early European inhabitants of the Reno, Nevada area had appeared as early as the 1850s. In 1868, with the coming of the transcontinental railroad, the city was established.8

References to individuals that we would now think of as LGBTQ appear as early as 1882 in the local paper, the Reno Evening Gazette, which warned men that a Nevada statute banning cross-dressing would be enforced from that point forward by automatic arrest.9 As Peter Boag writes, “the adoption and popularizing of a law prohibiting men from donning female attire on the streets suggests that the practice had become noticeable.”10 As the American West was increasingly settled and its cities grew, the freewheeling attitude of the past gave way to a tightening mindset leading western states to implement stricter regulations of same-sex sexuality and cross-dressing. This included anti-sodomy laws targeted predominantly as a means to punish homosexual behavior in the context of both Chinese Exclusion and the rapid state-building that was underway.11 In 1863, San Francisco was granted powers by the state to curb what was seen as “problem bodies.”12 The groups by the city at this point were: “cross-dressers, prostitutes, disabled beggars, and Chinese immigrants.”13 Nevada’s growth as a state during the late 1800s and early 1900s fueled considerable legislation that focused on reigning in what was seen as transgressive racial and gendered behavior.

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8 Barber, Reno’s Big Gamble, 14.
10 Boag, Same-Sex Affairs, 67.
13 Sears, Arresting Dress, 67.
For example the Nevada Territorial Legislature was the first law banning whites and “Chinese” from marrying in 1861.14

Reno has long prided and promoted itself as a city distinct from others. First it was as a western railroad town and then, during the 1910s and 1920s, it became known as the “divorce capital of the world,” due to its lax residency laws. Gradually, Reno developed a worldwide image and reputation as a city that did not (and does not) abide by more broadly accepted moral codes. By 1931, with the Great Depression and the city in financial crisis, Reno turned to legalizing gambling.15 This helped cement Reno’s identity as a city where “anything goes,” and where people could escape the social, gender, and sexual-normative pressures common in other, older cities. Much of this was an image promoted to draw tourists versus reality for those living day to day; however, Reno has a long standing history of live-and-let-live libertarianism that has allowed more space for those who chose (and choose) to live outside society’s norms.16

From the 1940s through the 1990s, Reno’s LGBTQ community and geography shifted from isolated places of performance and audience to more permanent places of business and tourism. Reno as a city has remained relatively small but has an outsize reputation in relation to its actual size. Its moniker, “The Biggest Little City in the World,” actually does reflect people’s perceptions of Reno. Yet Reno, like many small cities, does not have as large an LGBTQ population as that found in big cities. As a result, these smaller cities tend to have had, and continue to have, more integrated LGBTQ communities.

Reno, like Nevada, has a long history in the twentieth century of not being ethnically diverse. Some of this is a result of the extreme policing and segregation that went on in the state before the casinos deregulated

15 Barber, Reno’s Big Gamble.
16 For an in-depth analysis, see Don W. Driggs and Leonard E. Goodall, Nevada and Politics: Conservatism in an Open Society (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).
in 1960.\textsuperscript{17} According to the 1960 census, only 3,466 (4.1 percent) of metropolitan Reno’s 84,743 residents were black and otherwise nonwhite.\textsuperscript{18} A decade later, the proportion of white to nonwhite residents had barely shifted: 5,144 (4.2 percent) of the city’s 115,924 residents were enumerated as black and otherwise not white.\textsuperscript{19} These African American and other nonwhite populations include people living in Reno’s Chinatown and the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony which is located in the center of the city.\textsuperscript{20} These demographics are consistent with other smaller to midsize cities in the West, and resulted in these cities having overwhelmingly white LGBTQ communities at the time.\textsuperscript{21}

A longtime resident of the city, Keith Ann Libby, who moved to Reno in 1962, recalls different racial and ethnic groups being accepted in the Reno gay bars. He did remember issues related to transphobia and some discrimination against lesbians, but he countered that the gathering places were always about the bottom line; ultimately those groups were served, even if not welcomed, at the bars. In general, Libby’s memories are of Reno’s LGBTQ community being mixed in all senses of the word: racially and ethnically, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender, and queer people as well as some Straights mixing and socializing together, with no major problems.\textsuperscript{22}

Historically, Reno is part of a larger geographic and cultural area that includes Lake Tahoe and San Francisco. From its earliest days, it has been a transportation hub connecting the West to the Midwest and East. First, it was a growing stop on the transcontinental railroad, and later became an important city along Interstate 80 that connects San Francisco and New York City. The growth of Reno’s LGBTQ community was fueled in part by its proximity and easy transportation to San Francisco, which after World War

\textsuperscript{19} Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas.
\textsuperscript{20} Reno-Sparks Indian Colony website, accessed September 29, 2015, \url{http://www.rsic.org}
\textsuperscript{21} Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas.
\textsuperscript{22} Keith Ann Libby, in phone interview with the author, September 21, 2015.
Il saw an explosion in LGBTQ residents. This chapter looks at the history of Reno’s LGBTQ communities through its performance spaces, bars and baths, events, groups, and organizations.

Performance Spaces

Performances in Reno from the 1930s through the 1980s were the first inklings of a highly visible presence of cross-dressing, drag queens, and transgender members in the community. From the first show in a small out-of-the-way saloon in 1935 to a major show at a casino in 1975 the performances that took place in Reno helped bring a wider queer visibility to Reno.

Belle Livingstone’s Cow Shed

Emerging out of 1920s and 1930s New York City were “Pansy Craze” theatrical cabaret shows. Performers pushed gender boundaries by dressing as different genders, and by singing songs and making jokes about homosexual life. These shows were so popular that, as George Chauncey notes, “In 1930-1931, clubs with pansy acts became the hottest in town.” This movement gained national importance: it was the first time in American history that LGBTQ people participated in the broader American culture by appearing on cabaret stages in large numbers.

In the early 1930s, police began to crack down on these performances especially in places such as New York City, where city leaders became

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23 To see how San Francisco, and Reno by extension, was situated spatially and temporally in the American West, see Nan Alamilla Boyd, Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
more conservative as the Great Depression wore on. As a result of this crackdown, performers took their shows on the road to escape the harassment. In 1935, famed cross-dressing performer Ray/Rae Bourbon (stage name of Ramón Ícarez) played at Belle Livingstone’s Cowshed (Figure 1). The Cowshed was located on a small ranch, and offered a casino and live entertainment. Despite its reputation as the emerging divorce capital during the 1910s, Reno was very small in population and was not part of the vaudeville circuit where there was a long history of cross-dressing performances. By the 1920s and into 1932, Reno’s population was growing, and venues—working to draw customers from the

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26 For example, George Chauncey covers this period of time and the crackdown in New York City, Gay New York, 331-354.
28 Kling, Biggest Little City, 9.
John Jeffrey Auer IV
divorce trade—expanded their performance options in nightclubs and casinos. Despite an exhaustive search of nightlife advertisements, the first cross-dressing performance or pansy act in Reno appears to have been by Bourbon in 1935, despite the fact that the Nevada papers covered the pansy craze performances in New York in the 1930-1932 period.

From Bourbon’s 1935 performance on, Reno has had a history of cross-dressing acts appearing in casino showrooms. By 1937, the Black Derby in Reno featured a young female impersonator named Billy Givens who earned rave reviews; her act did not follow Bourbon’s older, more risqué style. Bourbon’s performance rises to national significance level as an example of “Pansy Craze” acts featuring members of the LGBTQ communities appearing and spreading across the country into smaller and midsize cities in the 1930s. Bourbon’s performance is similarly groundbreaking at the state level as one of the first “pansy craze” performances in Nevada. The Cowshed was in business on and off from 1931 through 1937. It subsequently burned down, and is currently the site of a shopping mall.

Riverside Hotel and the Jewel Box Revue Controversy: First Controversy over Drag Acts in the State of Nevada

The Riverside Hotel (Figure 2), located along the banks of the Truckee River, was built in 1927 to cater to the booming divorce trade that emerged in Reno in the 1900s. Divorce hotels, divorce apartments, and divorce ranches have a long association in community lore with lesbians. As places where women lived for up to six months at a time in order to

29 The Black Derby was located at 1410 East Fourth Street in Reno, Nevada.
30 “Black Derby Has New Show for Coronation Week,” Nevada State Journal, May 8, 1937. Ray Bourbon was noted for his especially vulgar shows. They were so risqué that he was banned from playing the famous Garden of Allah female impersonator club in Seattle the 1950s. See Don Paulson and Roger Simpson, An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 38.
31 Kling, Biggest Little City, 110.
32 There is very little written on these places and their association with lesbians. For an article on the general divorce trade in Reno, see Mella Rothwell Harmon, “Getting Renovated: Reno Divorces in the 1930s,” Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, Spring 1999. The Riverside Hotel is located at 17 South Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada.
meet residency requirements for their divorces, strong networks of women developed. The mythology of these places has over time become powerful in national lesbian feminist networks.  

In February 1962, the Riverside had scheduled a performance of Doc Benner’s and Danny Brown’s touring Jewel Box Revue, which had its home base in Miami, Florida. The Jewel Box Revue was a popular cabaret act of female impersonators that began in 1939, just as “pansy craze” shows were changing their billing to female impersonator or drag shows.” By the 1950s, amid Cold War homophobia, transphobia, and “sex panics,” these shows faced an increasing police clampdown. Pressure grew

Figure 2: Riverside Hotel, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

33 The film, Desert Hearts, directed by Donna Deitch (Los Angeles: Samuel Goldwyn Company, 1985), is set in 1959 Reno, and is an example of this.
34 See Capó (this volume).
specifically on city and state leaders to ban cross-dressing performances.\footnote{Senelick, \textit{The Changing Room}, 382-384.}

The Revue opened its run at the Riverside, but from the beginning there was trouble. The Reno City Council cited calls from people complaining about the show as a reason for closing it. On February 26, 1962, the council passed an ordinance that made it unlawful for establishments with liquor licenses to present floor shows featuring impersonations of the opposite sex.\footnote{“Council Holds Stand to Ban Local Revue,” \textit{Reno Evening Gazette}, February 26, 1962.} This fit into national patterns of LGBTQ retreat from the public sphere during the Cold War.\footnote{For example, during this time, the federal government was engaging in periodic purges of homosexual men and lesbians from civil service jobs. See David K. Johnson, \textit{The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).} Clearly, Cold War restrictions “trickled down” to the state and local levels, playing out dramatically in venues driven by aggressive tourism and bold entertainment. The Cold War in Nevada accelerated the military presence in the state especially with the opening of the Nevada Test Site in 1951, which would be the site of atomic bomb testing throughout the Cold War.\footnote{A. Constandina Titus, \textit{Bombs in the Backyard: Atomic Testing and American Politics}, Nevada Studies in History and Pol Sci (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2001).} Nevada Senator Patrick McCarran was an active Cold War participant who played a key role in passing a bill in 1952 that banned homosexuals from immigrating to the United States.\footnote{Eskridge, \textit{Dishonorable Passions}, 102.}

\textit{Harrah’s Casino – Frisco Follies – First Major Drag Show at Major Nevada Casino}

In 1974 William Harrah, owner of Harrah’s Casino (Figure 3), saw the “Frisco Follies Grand Illusion” drag show starring Jamie James in San Francisco.\footnote{Harrah’s Casino is located at 219 North Center Street, Reno, Nevada.} Harrah opened his first casino in Reno in 1937. Over the decades he expanded his operation, and the growth of his casino along with other entertainment venues including the Riverside, brought celebrities and audiences in increasing numbers to town from the 1930s
through the 1940s. Unlike neighboring states such as California, which banned gambling, Nevada embraced it. By 1974, Reno had become a gambler’s paradise with top-notch entertainment.

Harrah was so impressed with the Follies that he brought them to his casino at Lake Tahoe in January 1975.\textsuperscript{42} The show was so well received there that Harrah booked them into his Reno location the following month.\textsuperscript{43} The Follies was popular with casino patrons and ran at the Reno casino through 1981. Many members of Reno’s white gay male community performed in the show along with straight female chorus girls. The men in the show identified as gay men in drag.\textsuperscript{44} Symbolically, the

\textsuperscript{44} Jack Edwards, in phone interview with the author, September 30, 2015.
success of the Follies indicates a revived acceptance of cross-dressing in Reno after the many years of its prohibition since the Jewel Box Revue controversy of the early 1960s. This shift was part of a larger transition away from the Cold War homophobia of the 1950s and 1960s and the forcing of drag shows off of main stages in the late 1930s and 1940s.\textsuperscript{45}

The success of the Frisco Follies at Harrah’s indicates a gradual reversal and redirection of attitudes toward the LGBTQ community. By 1974, Frisco Follies’ popularity led to its booking in a prime theater of one of the major casinos in Reno, putting the act on a national stage. Frisco Follies became the first transgender act to be booked in a leading casino in Nevada.\textsuperscript{46} Frisco Follies is a trendsetter among the many new heralded mainstream drag shows appearing throughout the United States in the 1970s. It brought added attention to and appreciation of Nevada and Reno as the first celebrated mainstream drag show to play a major casino in the state. This is important as the event of Frisco Follies took place at Harrah’s Casino in Reno.\textsuperscript{47}

Bars and Baths

Reno bars were the nucleus of social networks for the LGBTQ community in Reno from the 1960s through the 1990s. It wasn’t until the 2000s that non-bar based social organizations were formed in the city. Bars and baths were both incredibly important, providing relatively safe places for meeting and socializing at a time when the broader community was hostile towards the LGBTQ community.

\textsuperscript{45} For the trajectory of drag show bookings, see Senelick, The Changing Room.
\textsuperscript{46} Although it would have been considered a drag act from the point of view of the casino and audiences, many of the performers that worked shows like this in the 1970s and 1980s would now be considered transgender.
\textsuperscript{47} Jonnie Clasen, “Among the Stars,” Harrah-Scope, January 1976, 12; and Edwards.
The Reno Bar – Oldest Mixed Bar in Reno

Known today as Abby’s Highway 40 (Figure 4), in the 1960s and 1970s this was the Reno Bar. The building was originally constructed in 1900 as a single-family home. By 1964, it housed a mixed bar that served mostly heterosexual people during the day and an LGBTQ clientele of predominantly gay men in the evenings. It was referenced in 1970 as being the oldest gay bar in Reno. In 1970, two gay men traveling from San Francisco to Reno described the Reno Bar as “... an old bar and clean.”

Figure 4: Former location of the Reno Bar, now Abby’s Highway 40, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

48 The bar is located at 424 East Fourth Street, Reno, Nevada.
49 “Real Property Assessment Data,” Washoe County website, accessed April 1, 2015, http://www.washoecounty.us/assessor/cama
50 Don Collins, “Doing Reno on $17,” Vector, March 1970, 19. The Reno Bar is consistently listed in gay guides of the time as a “mixed” bar. Due to prevailing sexism and racism during the 1960s and 1970s, gay guides rarely specifically mention the presence of nonwhite, transgender people, or lesbians in their listings. The only times they are referenced is if the place is uniquely patronized by that group. For example, lesbians are listed as a clientele for Kaye’s Happy Landing in Phoenix in Barfly ’73 (Los Angeles: Advocate Publications, 1973).
But it has a certain charm all its own. In addition to being the only gay bar in Reno to have a pool table, we also found it to be the campiest. When the dancing on the bar started, there was LeRoy dodging glasses with the best.”\textsuperscript{51} This location has housed a straight bar since the 1980s.

Before the 1960s, it was rare to find bars in America outside major cities such as New York that catered exclusively to an LGBTQ clientele.\textsuperscript{52} Until the 1970s, most bars in the United States that served LGBTQ communities did so as gay-friendly, but predominantly heterosexual bars. LGBTQ constituents chose bars to patronize in small groups, pretending to be straight and fitting in with whatever circumstances and prudence required of them. These became known as “mixed” bars.\textsuperscript{53} As the 1960s progressed, more and more mixed bars appeared in urban areas around the country; influenced by the emerging gay liberation movement, an increasing number of these began to be patronized exclusively by LGBTQ people.\textsuperscript{54} The Reno Bar is a good example of “mixed” bars in the pre-gay liberation era, and is of national importance as a representative of such bars in smaller American cities as well as state and local importance as the oldest “mixed” bar in Reno and one of the earliest in the state.

\textit{Club Baths}

The Club Baths (Figure 5) opened on May 17, 1964.\textsuperscript{55} Owned by local gay man Dale Bentley, the Club Baths was the first exclusively gay bathhouse in Reno. Opened at a time when sex acts between men were illegal in every state in the Union except Illinois,\textsuperscript{56} this place provided a

\textsuperscript{51} Collins, Ibid.
\textsuperscript{53} This is explained in detail in James Lord, \textit{My Queer War} (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010).
\textsuperscript{56} Eskridge, \textit{Dishonorable Passions}, 124-127.
safe environment for gay men to meet each other away from straight society, and an alternative to public cruising which could (and did) lead to arrest and harassment. Beginning in the 1970s, Club Baths advertised in gay publications including the magazines *California Scene* and *Data Boy*, and in the 1979 program for the Reno Gay Rodeo.57

Commercial bathhouses first appeared in American cities in the 1890s and provided the general populace—who otherwise may not have had access to bathing facilities—a place to bathe in a safe, gender-segregated environment. Shortly after bathhouses appeared, some became known as covert meeting grounds for men seeking sex with one another. Which became sites of same-sex encounters and which ones did not seemed to rest purely on the whims of whether or not the owners and management

of the baths decided to look the other way or to tolerate this activity to gain revenue. By the 1920s and 1930s, many gay bathhouses were permitting sex “in closed and locked cubicles.”

The Club Baths was located in what was previously a single-family residence. For the first decades of existence it looked like a single-family home. Why Bentley chose to open the bathhouse in a private residence is unknown. One likely scenario is that at the time, the house was not within the city limits of Reno and thus fell under the relatively lax policing of the county sheriff and not the more stringent policing by the city police. During the 1980s, a new roof and siding changed the façade of the building to its current, more industrial appearance.

The bathhouses at this location have always operated as private clubs. This designation allows more activities and less strict clothing requirements than if it was a public business. This is a common legal strategy for “alternative” businesses that would otherwise get shut down for indecency. The club allowed men to register as members using false names to help protect their privacy in a climate where being known (or thought) to be gay was grounds for loss of jobs, housing, and children, among other forms of discrimination. While bathhouses (and bars) offered some protection from discrimination and harassment on one hand, they themselves were also sites of exclusion and discrimination. In the 1970s and 1980s, gay bathhouses and bars around the country were sites of protest for their racial and gender discrimination (requiring men of color and effeminate men/transgender men to provide more identification than other patrons, or excluding them altogether). There are no written records of these kinds of protests against the Club Baths. On trips during the 2000s there were a wide mix of race/ethnicities patronizing the place as

59 A similar pattern appeared elsewhere, as in Los Angeles, where the unincorporated area of West Hollywood emerged as a gay enclave as it was policed by the county sheriff. See Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians (New York: Basic Books, 2006).
well as effeminate/transgender people being represented as opposed to their being absent at Los Angeles bathhouses during the same period.60

Club Baths was renamed Jeff’s Gym in 1989, and became Steve’s (no “gym”) in the early 1990s.61 Advertisements for Jeff’s Gym and Steve’s are found in the local Gay Life Reno magazine, the Reno Gay Rodeo Programs from 1980-1984, and Nevada-based Bohemian Bugle.62 The bathhouse remains in business as Steve’s, and is the second oldest still-operating gay bathhouse in the United States.63 Club Baths is also the first exclusively gay bathhouse in the state of Nevada and in the local Reno area.

Dave’s VIP – The Longest Operating LGBTQ Bar in the State of Nevada

Located at 3001 West Fourth Street, Dave’s VIP was a motel and gay bar complex (Figure 6). In 1950, a motel was built at this location; at the time, what is now West Fourth Street was part of US 40, the main highway connecting Reno and Las Vegas.64 The motel catered to the increasing number of tourists traveling by car by offering affordable lodging options. The development of Dave’s at this location is part of the growth of gay tourist destinations in the West in general but also general tourism in the western United States.65

In 1962, construction started on Interstate 80, which pulled traffic off of US 40 and caused many businesses along it (including the motel) to decline and fail. In 1965 Dave Kirkcaldy and Rex Allen reopened the motel

60 Based on informal conversations between author and patrons between 2005 and the present.
61 Bob Damron’s Address Book.
63 Based on a survey of bathhouses listed online as of October 18, 2015.
64 “Real Property Assessment Data”.
65 For a broader context regarding the growth of non-LGBTQ tourism in the American West in the twentieth century, see David Wrobel and Patrick Long, eds., Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001); and Susan Sessions Rugh, Are We There Yet? The Golden Age of American Family Vacations (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008).
as the Westside Motel, specifically as a place for gay and other same-sex seeking men to stay on their travels.\textsuperscript{66} This was part of a larger trend in the United States that began in the 1960s.\textsuperscript{67} In 1966, they opened a mixed bar for gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, drag queens and others, and called the complex Dave’s VIP Resort.\textsuperscript{68} They advertised in gay travel guides and in gay magazines including the popular San Francisco publication, \textit{Vector}.\textsuperscript{69} It was Reno’s first gay-owned and operated hotel.\textsuperscript{70}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{ Former location of Dave’s VIP, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.}
\caption{Former location of Dave’s VIP, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{67} For a history of this phenomenon, see Amin Ghaziani, \textit{There Goes the Gayborhood?} (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).
\textsuperscript{68} While Dave’s VIP was ostensibly open to all members of the LGBTQ community, there are accounts of discrimination against lesbians and transgender people in the 1960s and 1970s. A transgender man who was a patron during this time had harsh words for the co-partner Rex Allen, who he characterized as disliking lesbians and transgender people yet they would be allowed entry because he always wanted to keep the business afloat and couldn’t turn away customers. He also remembers Dave’s being racially mixed as all other places, specifically that he would attend Dave’s with a group of Native American friends. Keith Ann Libby, in interview with the author, July 3, 2015.
\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Bob Damron’s Address Book}; and \textit{Vector} issues March – December 1967. Bob Damron Guides played an important role in gay tourism from the 1960s-1990s. During this period, LGBTQ travelers
A 1969 article references Dave’s “famous V.I.P. room,” and describes the expansion of the business: “The motel, long popular with the Reno crowd and visitors from Northern and Southern California, is taking on the appearance of a resort.”\textsuperscript{71} Amenities included a disco, a pool, and a Jacuzzi. By 1975, Dave’s had expanded to include a bathhouse on premises, and was promoting itself nationally in advertisements in the glossy gay magazine, \textit{Mandate}.\textsuperscript{72} It was also profiled that year in the new gay travel magazine, \textit{Ciao}, as “The Number One spot.”\textsuperscript{73} The profile describes the clientele as, “All types – butch cyclists, queens, gals, drags, cowboys, gamblers and the like. The average age is about 22. Although it isn’t a large bar, it can get very crowded at night...Incidentally, some of the friendliest and most beautiful people in Reno go here.”\textsuperscript{74}

By 1988, Dave’s VIP Resort had been sold and reconfigured. While the motel continued to let rooms to LGBTQ travelers, the bar, renamed Visions, became the focus of the business. They continued to receive national attention, and in 1989 national gay glossy magazine \textit{In Touch} described Visions as having “a very nice bar and good size dance floor. But it also has a nice comfortable ‘living room’ section to have a quiet drink, and an outdoor pool where parties are held in warm weather.”\textsuperscript{75} The motel closed in the 1990s, and units were turned into private apartments. The bar went through many owners and name changes until, known as Reflections, it closed in 2009. At that time it was the oldest continuously-open gay-owned and operated bar in Reno.

Dave’s VIP made it possible for the gay male community to stay safely when travelling in and around Reno, which in turn, encouraged the growth faced outright discrimination when travelling and needed information on safe places to go, and the Damron Guides filled this role, much as the Green Guides did for African American travelers from the 1930s through the early 1960s.


\textsuperscript{71} “Dave’s Reno,” Vector, July 1969, 25.
\textsuperscript{72} Mandate, October 1975, 68.
\textsuperscript{73} Bill Josephs, “Gay Reno,” Ciao, June 1975, 16.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{75} Ron Thomas, “Reno: Biggest Little City,” In Touch, 88.
of gay male tourism in the area. It was one of the early members of the San Francisco-based Tavern Guild, the first gay business organization that formed and bound together to combat police corruption in Northern California and Northern Nevada. This place is a national reminder of how LGBTQ tourism began to prosper in the United States during the 1960s. Further, it stands as one of the first three gay-owned and operated LGBTQ bars in the state of Nevada, and as the very first gay-owned and operated LGBTQ bar in the history of Reno.

**Club 99 – The Second-Longest Operating Gay Bar in the State of Nevada**

Club 99 (Figure 7) opened in 1971. During this period, which followed the Stonewall Riots, many mixed clubs of previous generations, like the Reno Bar and low-profile gay bars like Dave’s VIP, were replaced by higher-visibility venues bars in urban areas. Club 99 was one of these, located on Virginia Street, one of downtown Reno’s main thoroughfares. This location in the heart of the Midtown District reflected a newly-confident, much less-guarded LGBTQ community starting to socialize openly in public places. During this transition to more visible clubs after Stonewall, many bars across the country became more gender specific in their clientele, geared towards gay men or women, and were more likely to exclude gender nonconforming people. In Reno, this separation of clientele did not occur until the 1990s.

graphic lettering on the windowless sides of the building and a sign hanging from a nearby utility pole. In 2010, the author visited Club Ten99, which appeared to have not changed much, if at all, since 1989. Dark and enclosed inside, the club had no windows open to the outside. This is not unusual for early bars that had covered windows and discreet entrances to help protect their clientele from gawkers and harassment. In 1972, the Twin Peaks Tavern in San Francisco became the first gay bar to have open plate glass windows. In 2011, the Ten99 Club closed, and was replaced by straight bar called Chapel. Renovations by Chapel included open windows and a patio.

This location was an LGBTQ bar for forty years, making it one of the longest-operating gay/LGBTQ bars in the state of Nevada. When it closed

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80 Thomas, Ibid.
in 2011, it was the oldest continuously-available such bar in Reno. It warrants national note as an example of the increasing LGBTQ visibility sweeping larger and smaller cities across the United States post-Stonewall.

5 Star Saloon – Oldest Continuously Operating Gay/LGBTQ Bar in the State of Nevada

The 5 Star Saloon (Figure 8) is the oldest continuously operating LGBTQ bar in the state of Nevada. It opened in 1974 as a mixed bar called Paul’s Lounge. Originally built in 1919 as a retail space, its use as a gay bar beginning in the 1970s further exemplifies the spread of high-visibility bars in the post-Stonewall 1970s. Paul’s Lounge was located downtown, close to the tourist areas of the casinos, and across the street from the First United Methodist Church. This level of visibility would have been unthinkable five years earlier but shows how gay/LGBTQ public presence, in Reno and in general, was becoming more accepted, even expected, in urban environments. Paul’s Lounge proved so popular that it expanded in 1980 from a bar to a full disco, open twenty-four hours a day. In 1984, it was sold to a group of five owners and, accordingly, renamed the 5 Star Saloon. It has retained this name for over thirty years.

The 5 Star Saloon remains open as an LGBTQ club, and consistently wins local awards for being the best gay bar in Reno. In 2005, the Saloon appeared to have not upgraded any of its décor since the 1980s. In 2006, the bar changed ownership, and upgrades to the interior were made. With an aggressive marketing campaign geared towards a younger demographic, the Saloon became the primary gay bar in Reno

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83 The 5 Star Saloon is located at 132 West Street, Reno, Nevada.
84 “Washoe County Real Property Assessment Data”.
85 The first mention of Paul’s Lounge appears in an advertisement in the 1974 Apollo’s Swinger’s Guide, which was a magazine devoted to gay male personal ads. No publisher or page number available, clipping of ad in possession of the author.
87 Visits by the author, 2005 and 2006.
over the next couple of years. It is open to different classes and races as well as having activities centering on drag.88

The 5 Star Saloon is one of the nation’s most persistent LGBTQ bars founded in the immediate post-Stonewall era. Many others failed financially during the Great Recession of 2007-2008.89 Statewide and citywide, the Saloon remains the oldest LGBTQ post-Stonewall bar still in operation.

Figure 8: The 5 Star Saloon, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

89 Based on survey of bars listed in Reno Outlands and Reno Out magazines from 2007-2009.
Bad Dolly’s (Figure 9) was Reno’s first lesbian bar. The building opened in 1930 and was a popular local grocery store from the 1940s through the 1960s. By 1992, local lesbian Shelly Palmer, who had moved to Reno in the 1980s, opened a lesbian bar called Bad Dolly’s in the space. Until then, Reno’s LGBTQ community was unable to support a fully lesbian bar, so lesbian and bisexual women went to more gender-mixed LGBTQ bars. One reason given for this delay was that Reno’s lesbian community wasn’t ready for a visible public presence like the one in San Francisco.

Bad Dolly’s became an important site not just for socializing, but political mobilizing as well. For example, in January 1994 a statewide anti-gay initiative was proposed that would have made it legal to deny housing...
or to fire someone based on their sexual orientation. Bad Dolly’s hosted a rally against the initiative attended by then-governor Bob Miller and Las Vegas Mayor Jan Jones. Unlike the mixed and gay bars which had long histories, Bad Dolly’s closed by 1999. It was not until 2001, when the Blue Cactus Bar and Nightclub opened that Reno had another lesbian bar. The history and struggles of Bad Dolly’s are representative of those faced by lesbian bars in many small to mid-sized American cities.

Events, Groups and Organizations

LGBTQ Events and organizations in Reno ran the gamut from the first stirrings of gay consciousness raising on the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR) campus in 1969, through the move of the publication of the national lesbian organization, the Daughters of Bilitis to the area, through the success of the Reno Gay Rodeo. All of these were important as they not only brought awareness of the LGBTQ community in Reno to a national level, but an international one.

*University of Nevada Reno – “Sex Week” Inclusion of Talk on Lesbianism and Formation of the Gay/Queer Student Union*

In 1969, from October 6 through 9, the Associated Women Students at UNR sponsored an event called “Sex Week.” This was during the broader sexual revolution, which played an important role in the history of the modern LGBTQ rights movement. “Sex Week,” which was such a groundbreaking event that it brought the university international attention, featured a discussion about lesbianism by Rita LaPorte, a local out lesbian,

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92 A far right extremist group called the Oregon Citizens Alliance tried to get the initiative on the November ballot. They failed to gain the number of petition signatures to make this happen, and political leaders were broad based in their condemnation of the initiative. For more, see Maria L. LaGanga, “Anti-Gay Initiative Fails to Make Nevada Ballot,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1994.
94 The Blue Cactus was located at the former site of Dave’s VIP.
and then-president of the Daughters of Bilitis.97 “Sex Week” at UNR is an event of national, state, and local import as an example of how the sexual revolution was enacted across the country.98

Sixteen years later, in 1985, the Gay Student Union was formed at UNR, both despite and in response to the conservative national politics and “culture wars” of the 1980s. The Gay Student Union became the Queer Student Union during the 2000s and remains active on campus. UNR’s Queer Student Union is part of a broad trend, especially in smaller cities, of institutions of higher learning as sites for LGBTQ activism in the 1980s.99 During this same period, LGBTQ groups at larger universities, which had formed in the 1970s, were expanding in size.

The experience of students in Nevada’s two largest cities, Reno and Las Vegas, showcase the inclusion and visibility for LGBTQ college and university students, as well as faculty and their allies—an important development in the last four decades that most contemporary observers likely take for granted as unexceptional. Educational institutions help not only create an informed citizenry but also serve as valuable sites for community formation and diversity.

The Ladder – First Nationally-Distributed Lesbian Magazine

The first nationally distributed lesbian magazine in the United States, The Ladder, was published by the Daughters of Bilitis. Founded in San Francisco in 1955, the Daughters of Bilitis was the first American

98 For a good comparison of how the sexual revolution at the University of Kansas played out, see Beth Bailey, Sex in the Heartland (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
99 For another Nevada example, the University of Nevada, Las Vegas was the site of even earlier LGBTQ organizing, including the formation of the Gay Academic Union in 1983; see Dennis McBride, “Gay Academic Union,” OutHistory.org, accessed September 30, 2015, http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/las-vegas/articles/gau.
organization working for lesbian civil rights. They began publishing *The Ladder* in October 1956.\(^{100}\)

In the 1960s, members of the Daughters of Bilitis were split between those who wanted the organization to embrace a more radical feminism and those who were still operating in the older mode of acceptance by conformity, which had been the cornerstone of groups formed in the 1950s.\(^{101}\) The founders Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin quit being involved in the group in 1966 as a result of the turmoil within the organization.\(^{102}\) The internal differences came to a head at the 1968 national Daughters of Bilitis convention in Denver. It was here that, unlike previous conventions, only about twenty members showed up.\(^{103}\) As a result, final decisions on formal issues were tabled until the 1970 convention in New York City. At the 1968 convention, San Francisco-based lesbian activist Rita LaPorte was elected president, and Kansas City-based member Barbara Grier was elected editor of *The Ladder*.\(^{104}\) With these elections there would be a major shift in the focus of the organization and *The Ladder* towards more radical feminism.

Marguerite Augusta LaPorte was born September 30, 1921 in New York City.\(^{105}\) Her parents were Cloyd LaPorte and Marguerite Roeder. Her father was a successful lawyer who was elected president of the New York Bar in 1956.\(^{106}\) In 1943 she enrolled in the army in Philadelphia, as a Women’s Army Corps Aviation cadet.\(^{107}\) By the 1960s she was a vocal and out lesbian activist living in San Francisco going by the name Rita.


\(^{101}\) The gay men’s Los Angeles-based organization, ONE, followed a similar trajectory as the Daughters of Bilitis, as chronicled in C. Todd White’s *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

\(^{102}\) Gallo, 142.

\(^{103}\) Gallo, 143.

\(^{104}\) Gallo, 143.


\(^{106}\) *American Bar Association Journal* 42, no. 61 (July 1956): 674.

In the spring of 1970, LaPorte and Grier decided to take the mailing addresses and printing plates for *The Ladder* to suburban Reno, where LaPorte was living with her girlfriend. They planned that, by taking *The Ladder* out to San Francisco and away from the interference of the old guard of the organization, they could represent a more radical form of lesbian feminism. Many members of the Daughters of Bilitis saw this as a major betrayal; despite this, the magazine continued being published. The magazine launched bimonthly publication out of Reno in June/July 1970 and continued publication until a lack of funding caused production to cease in 1972. Rita LaPorte passed away in San Francisco on October 28, 1976.

**Washoe County Fairgrounds – Site of the Reno Gay Rodeo**

The Washoe County Fairgrounds (Figure 10) was the location of the Reno Gay Rodeo from 1976 through 1984. The rodeo was created by Philip Lane Ragsdale, a native of California, who grew up on farms there and loved participating in rodeos. He moved to Reno in the early 1970s and, strongly motivated to serve others, worked for such organizations as the Muscular Dystrophy Association, and various other local charities. While volunteering at a Thanksgiving dinner in 1975, he was inspired, imagining rodeo as a way to bring pride to the gay community, and to combat negative stereotypes about gay men—all while raising money for charities. Although created primarily as a small men’s event with 150

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108 They lived at 154 Stanford Way, Sparks, Nevada (now demolished).
people attending in 1976, lesbians and both men and women in drag were included by 1977.\textsuperscript{113}

The rodeo quickly became an international event, drawing LGBTQ people as audiences and participants from all over the globe by 1980.\textsuperscript{114} Approximately ten thousand people attended the rodeo that year, and forty thousand showed up for nightlife festivities.\textsuperscript{115} The popularity of the event provoked a homophobic backlash by the Reno City Council and various elected officials, who tried to shut it down in 1981.\textsuperscript{116} On March 16, 1981 newly elected Washoe County Commissioner Belie Williams said during a caucus meeting that “he did not want the annual Gay Rodeo to

\textsuperscript{113} Gary Pedersen, “Frivolity Reigns at Gay Rodeo,” \textit{Nevada State Journal}, August 21, 1977, 40. The rodeo can be seen as a reflection of the hypermasculinity embodied by gay men beginning in the 1970s. This includes the “Castro Clone,” a style of dress that played up images of masculinity. See Michael Flood et al., eds., \textit{International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities} (New York: Routledge, 2007).

\textsuperscript{114} Mark Crawford, “Gay Rodeo: The Competition is Just as Tough,” \textit{Nevada State Journal}, August 4, 1980. An assessment of pictures, from the Gay Rodeo History website, of the 1979 and 1980 rodeos shows a majority male and white audience with a few, if any, people of color.

\textsuperscript{115} “The History of Gay Rodeo”.

\textsuperscript{116} The attack on the Reno Gay Rodeo in 1981 was started by a councilman; it was covered in newspapers state-wide, including the \textit{Reno Evening Gazette} and the \textit{Las Vegas Sun}.
be held in Reno and would review its contract with Nevada State Fair officials.”¹¹⁷ He continued, “I personally don’t condone the acceptance of the thing. It may be good for business, but I don’t think it’s business our community needs...I think they [homosexuals] have their rights, but I don’t think our community needs to endorse those rights.”¹¹⁸ Fairgrounds general manager David Drew responded that he would confer with the fairgrounds attorneys.¹¹⁹

The Reno Gay Rodeo weathered the storm, and had its best year in 1982 in terms of finances and number of attendees. The rodeo of that year was so popular that comedian Joan Rivers served as a grand marshal; 22,000 people attended the rodeo itself.¹²⁰ More trouble was not far off. In 1983, people argued that government property (the fairgrounds) should not be used for a gathering that would lead to the spread of AIDS.¹²¹ Unable to survive the economic recession of the early 1980s and increasing AIDS hysteria, the last Reno Gay Rodeo was held in 1984.¹²²

The Reno Gay Rodeo was a pioneering transnational LGBTQ event that brought the idea of a “gay” rodeo to the American mainstream. It was the first rodeo created by and participated in by LGBTQ individuals in both Reno and Nevada, and is significant for the controversies surrounding the rodeo’s use of government space. Not only did the Reno Gay Rodeo lead to the international expansion of a gay sport as a recreational and philanthropic enterprise, but it founded the gay rodeo circuit that continues on an international scale.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.
¹¹⁹ Ibid.
¹²² “Unpaid Bill May End Gay Rodeo,” Las Vegas Review Journal, November 6, 1984, 2B. A comeback was attempted in 1988, but was unsuccessful.
Conclusion

This overview of Reno, Nevada highlights the contributions that it, and other smaller cities and tourist destinations have made to broader LGBTQ history. Many of the places of local, state, and national significance in and around Reno remain extant, and some, including Steve’s Bathhouse and the 5 Star Saloon, are still in operation. While serving as a case study of small and mid-sized American cities, Reno’s laws around divorce and gambling have uniquely shaped its LGBTQ history.
Chicagoans live at the crossroads of America. As an urban center, the city has drawn people from all over the Midwest, the country, and the world. It is a city of many firsts in national LGBTQ history.¹ The city has a long history of people who experienced same-sex desire and gender transgression who lived—and live—all over the city, from Bronzeville to Boystown, and in neighborhoods within what grew to 234 square miles. This is a story of everyday people making their lives: fighting discrimination

and homophobia, coming together for pleasure and protest, and creating communities. These are sites of resistance, pain, celebration, community building, or all of the above. This chapter is not encyclopedic, but offers assistance in the issues involved when thinking about completing a nomination for a Chicago-based historic site, as well as highlighting places important in the LGBTQ history of the Windy City.

Queer History is Chicago History

Since the nineteenth century, people have immigrated from all over the world and migrated from all over the country (especially from the South and Midwest) into Chicago. Cities like Chicago provided space for people to explore different expressions of sexuality and gender identity, freer from familial and/or religious oversight. The city allowed for increased anonymity, but also enabled people to find each other, come together, and develop communities of people like themselves. In 1851, the city’s Common Council enacted a number of laws to police behavior, especially “offenses against public morals and decency.” Ordinances included rules prohibiting swimming in the river, gambling, and public nudity. One of the ordinances criminalized people who “appear[ed] in a dress not belonging to his or her sex, or in an indecent or lewd dress.” Laws such as these were part of morality campaigns across the country; Chicago was one of the first cities with a ban on cross-dressing, but not the only. The fine was to be “not less than twenty dollars nor exceeding one hundred dollars.” Twenty dollars is approximately equivalent to $600 and $100 is

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3 City Council of Chicago, Records of Ordinances vol. 2 7/0030/01, Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Northeastern Illinois University, 51.

4 Ibid. 51-53.

approximately equal to $2,300 in 2014 dollars. This punitive fine well exceeded the average for the time which was five dollars.

Between 1850 and 1920, the *Chicago Tribune* reported hundreds of sensationalized stories of gender crossers and people whose experiences might be understood through a transgender lens had they been alive today: male-bodied people who dressed and/or lived as women, female-bodied people who dressed and/or lived as men, and others who violated normative gender categories. People expressed their gender identity differently from their sex for a variety of reasons, and according to historians Jennifer Brier and Anne Parsons, the newspaper articles provided “a sense that the actions taken by transgender people were deliberate and often strategic.” The actual sites of these so-called “transgressions” may not ever be known, and the people who were arrested were taken to different jails and different courts throughout the city. Without knowing the locations, can we situate the people and events on a map? One way to remember these histories might be to talk about them at City Hall at 121 North LaSalle Street (completed in 1911). Since 1853, this location has marked the boundaries of the sites of all city halls and a courthouse. At this place, we can talk about a history of policing

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10 David Garrard Lowe, “Public Buildings in the Loop,” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Jannice L. Reiff, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), [http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1019.html](http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1019.html). See also *AIA Guide to Chicago*, third edition, eds. Alice Sinkevitch and Laurie McGovern Petersen, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 74. Many other important events in Chicago’s queer history have taken place at City Hall, especially ones involving political activists. For example, on December 21, 1988, the City Council passed the Chicago Human Rights Ordinance to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation in areas such as employment and housing. It was amended in 2002 to include the phrase “gender identity.” The 2012 ordinance reads, in part, “that behavior which denies equal treatment to any individual because of his or her race, color, sex, gender identity, age, religion, disability, national origin, ancestry, sexual orientation, marital status, parental status, military discharge status, source of income, or credit history (as to employment only) undermines civil order and deprives persons of the benefits of a free and open society.” City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations, “Chicago Human Rights Ordinance,” in *Ordinances Administered by the City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations*, 2012, PDF at 7.
and the state in Chicago, as well as the importance of bodies, comportment, and clothing in LGBTQ history.

The police and court system continued to play a large role in regulating gender and social norms throughout the twentieth century. In January 1943, Evelyn “Jackie” Bross and Catherine Barscz were arrested and brought to the Racine Avenue police station (Figure 1).11 Nineteen-year-old Bross (of Cherokee descent) worked as a machinist at a World War II defense plant. On her way home from work, police arrested Bross for dressing as a man. At the Women’s Court, Bross informed the judge that she wore men’s clothing because it was “more comfortable than women’s clothes and handy for work.” The judge ordered Bross to see a court psychiatrist for six months. As a result of the case, the Chicago City Council amended the 1851 ordinance to exclude those people who did not intend to use clothing to conceal their sex. According to the Tribune, Alderman William J. Cowhey proposed an amendment to the city ordinance as a direct result of this case.12 Police practice of arresting gender crossers persisted through the rest of the post-World War II period, and the ordinance against cross-dressing was finally repealed in 1973.13

https://www.cityofchicago.org/content/dam/city/depts/cchr/AdjSupportingInfo/AdjFORMS/OrdinanceBooklet2012. City Hall has also been the site of protests such as the one in November 1989. One hundred demonstrators led by ACT UP/Chicago leader Danny Sotomayor marched from the Daley Center to City Hall. They staged a sit-in to protest Mayor Richard M. Daley’s slow response to the AIDS crisis and fifteen activists - including Sotomayor - were arrested. “15 arrested at City Hall during gay rights sit-in,” Chicago Tribune (Chicago, IL), Nov. 22, 1989, D2.

11 731 North Racine Avenue; site only.
12 “Council Group Urges an O.K. on Women’s Slacks,” Chicago Daily Tribune (Chicago, IL), Jan. 21, 1943, at 3. Rita Fitzpatrick, “Parity in Pants Issue Stirs Up Feminine Ire,” Chicago Daily Tribune (Chicago, IL), Jan. 8, 1943. Fitzpatrick described Bross as “A petite, dark-haired miss, whose placidity was inherited from a full-blooded Cherokee father” and also described her “mannish haircut.” The Women’s Court was located at 1121 South State Street.
Figure 1: Evelyn “Jackie” Bross (left) and Catherine Barscz (right), Racine Avenue Police Station, January 1943. Courtesy of The Chicago History Museum (Chicago Daily News negatives collection, ICHi-63143).
At first glance, places of entertainment such as bars and clubs may appear only to be about recreation. However, these gathering spaces had profoundly political impacts that shaped the course of LGBTQ struggles against homophobia and for equality. In the first half of the twentieth century, queer residential and commercial life thrived in the working-class neighborhoods that ringed Chicago’s central business district known as the Loop: the neighborhood known as Bronzeville on the South Side, the West Side, and the Near North Side. During the 1920s and 1930s, the neighborhood around Rush and Clark Streets on the Near North Side was called Towertown, named for the nearby city Water Tower. It was an area full of rooming houses: single units for workers living and sometimes loving together. In this district was Washington Square Park, also known as “Bughouse Square”; “bughouse” was slang referring to mental health facilities. The park was a popular spot for people to give radical speeches and also for cruising. During the Prohibition era Towertown emerged as a bohemian as well as a lesbian and gay enclave where politics and entertainment intermingled. Nearby was the Dill Pickle Club, in Tooker Alley off of Dearborn Street. The doorway had a sign: “Step High, Stoop Low, Leave Your Dignity Outside.” The club was founded in 1914, and by the 1920s, it had become a nightspot popular with writers, intellectuals, socialists, anarchists, poets, artists, gay men, and lesbians where lecturers spoke about diverse and taboo topics such as homosexuality and sexual freedom. The hotspot also held popular masked balls and anti-war dances. Crowds included hobos, gangsters,

15 Speakers included radicals such as Ben Reitman and Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld (who spoke specifically on homosexuality in 1931). Other lectures during the 1920s included “Is Monogamy a Failure,” “Nymphomaniacs in Modern Literature,” and Elizabeth Davis’s lecture, “Will Amazonic Women Usurp Man’s Sphere.” Information from the Newberry Library, Dill Pickle Collection, Box 1, Folder 71; Box 2, Folder 154; and Box 3, Folder 228.
prostitutes, and college students. Towertown held other attractions as well, including clubs catering to lesbians such as the Roselle Inn and Twelve-Thirty Club; both clubs were closed by the police in 1935. There were many more speakeasies and cabarets, such as the Ballyhoo Café, catering to gay men known as “pansy parlors” featuring effeminate men or female impersonators as entertainment.

Towertown drew the attention of social scientists including Ernest Burgess, a founder of the “Chicago School” of Sociology at the University of Chicago, and Alfred Kinsey from Indiana University. Burgess’s work on Towertown began in the 1920s. He charged his students to investigate social and sexual underworlds. The research provides invaluable glimpses into the intimate lives of Chicagoans. In June 1939, Kinsey met a gay man who introduced him to Chicago’s queer community in Towertown. During that and subsequent trips, Kinsey stayed at the Harrison Hotel and conducted sex-history interviews out of his room. The research in Chicago helped inform the research that led to Kinsey’s groundbreaking book, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948). The work of Burgess, Kinsey, and their research assistants documented stories about Chicago’s nightlife that otherwise might have been lost. They reported on citywide sexual subcultures whose members often crossed racial and class lines at

clubs, bars, and at parties. Their findings documented that Chicago was a significant haven for same-sex sexuality and revealed LGBTQ people as an underacknowledged American population, paving the way for other research that followed.

After World War II and into the 1960s, many queer people lived and socialized in the area further north of Towertown, centered at Dearborn and Division (dubbed “Quearborn and Perversion”). In the 1950s, a number of gay-friendly male spaces sprung up in the area including the Haig and the Hollywood Bowl, and the Lincoln Street Bath continued in popularity. In 1958, Chuck Renslow opened the country’s first known gay leather bar, the Gold Coast (Figure 2). The Gold Coast began holding the Mr. Gold Coast leather competition in the 1970s. In 1979, the competition was moved to a larger venue and renamed International Mr. Leather (IML). IML continues to draw thousands of people from around the world to Chicago each May.

City officials targeted this neighborhood on the Near North Side as part of the federal urban renewal programs. After World War II, federal policies (such as the development of the Interstate Highway System as well as the federal government providing favorable housing loans for white male heads-of-household), prompted the movement of many white, middle-class families out of American cities.

21 See, for example, Ron Pajak’s documentary Quearborn & Perversion (2009).
http://www.quearbornandperversion.com/
22 The Haig was located at 800 North Dearborn Street; the Hollywood Bowl at 1300 North Clark Street (See “2 Captains Face Quiz Today” Chicago Daily Tribune (Chicago, IL), Jan. 30, 1953, 1. Police testified in front of members of the City Council that the Hollywood Bowl “was full of male degenerates. They were sitting close and holding hands.”) The Lincoln Street Bath was built in 1918 at 1019 North Wolcott Street. There are too many notable bars and nightclubs to name in this essay, but two notable ones include Tiny and Ruby’s Gay Spot at 2711 South Wentworth Avenue during the 1950s. See the documentary Tiny and Ruby: Hell Divin’ Women (1989) by filmmakers Greta Schiller and Andre Weiss. Another South Side hot spot is the Jeffery Pub at 7041 South Jeffery Boulevard. See Kathie Bergquist and Robert McDonald, A Field Guide to Gay and Lesbian Chicago (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2006), 6 and 155.
24 White families increasingly lived in the suburbs that sprouted up alongside the government-funded interstate highway system. Federal housing policies further powered the explosive growth of suburbs.
Federal mortgage assistance through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) loaned money for new suburban construction that favored white, single-family homes for male-headed households. Buying oftentimes became less expensive than renting. Furthermore, during the 1950s and 1960s, FHA or VA financing helped in some way with almost half of all housing in the United States. Thomas W. Hanchett, “The Other ‘Subsidized Housing’: Federal Aid to Suburbanization, 1940s-1960s,” in From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century American, ed. John F. Bauman, et al. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 163-79. See also Kenneth T. Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 205 and 215. The federal government also provided subsidies for the construction of freeways through the Interstate Highway Acts of 1944 and 1956. The 1956 Act in particular provided that the federal government would pay 90 percent of the construction. In part President Eisenhower was keen to have the Federal Highway System in order to evacuate cities during an atomic attack. The federal government also subsidized suburban sewer construction and provided tax incentives for suburban homeowners and commercial development. Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier, 249. See also Hanchett, “The Other ‘Subsidized Housing,’” 163-79.

25 For more information about the Leather Archives and Museum at 6418 North Greenview Avenue, see their website at http://www.leatherarchives.org/. For more information about Chuck Renslow, see Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).
Cities such as Chicago decided against rehabilitating some existing neighborhoods and housing in favor of clearing them out and starting over. Officials hoped developments would protect business in the Loop, fight decentralization, and transform the city center into a safe and “family-oriented” area for white middle and upper classes. In partnership with private developers, city officials cleared spaces for public housing, but also middle-class housing such as Carl Sandburg Village (buildings date to 1960-1975). In a proposal for the Village, developer Arthur Rubloff and Company clearly spelled out the types of people they were building for: “If Chicago wants to attract middle income families with children back to the city, we must... create a beautiful environment of residential ‘neighborhood’ character.”

John Cordwell, one of the chief architects of the Village project and the director of planning for the Chicago Plan Commission (1952-1956), said “Sandburg Village was like a military operation...to go in there and push the enemy back. Coldly, like D-Day.” Once again, LGBTQ people of all races were caught in the crosshairs of this sweeping urban reorganization.

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26 The federal government used a 1949 urban redevelopment bill and 1954 urban renewal bill to clear the neighborhoods, but more often than not, did not provide for low-income housing for the people displaced. Roger Biles, “Public Housing and the Postwar Urban Renaissance, 1949-1973,” in From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century American, ed. John F. Bauman, et al. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 143-44. It should be noted, however, that many grassroots community groups were part of urban renewal programs as those in the Lincoln Park neighborhood. These projects renovated and revitalized housing stock in the name of historic preservation. As historian Amanda Seligman stated, after urban renewal, Lincoln Park had a “status as one of the city’s most appealing residential neighborhoods for young white professionals.” Amanda Seligman, Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago’s West Side (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 78.

27 The development area is bounded by North Avenue, LaSalle Street, Division Street, and the half-block east of Clark Street. Carl Sandburg Village entry in AIA Guide to Chicago, 3rd edition, ed. Alice Sinkevitch and Laurie McGovern Peterson (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 185. See Seligman, Block by Block, 77-78. An example of an Urban Renewal project for public housing was the Cabrini Green high rises. Cabrini Green was bounded by Clybourn Avenue, Larrabee Street, Chicago Avenue, and Halsted Street. Both the Cabrini Extension (built 1958, now demolished) and William Green Homes (built 1962, now demolished) were part of this development. Amanda Seligman, “Cabrini-Green,” in The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago, eds. Janice L. Reiff, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/199.html.


29 Steve Kerch, “Sandburg Village: Winning a Battle in Urban Renewal,” Chicago Tribune, Sept. 14, 1986, 01. The article stated that Cordwell’s vision was to separate the tony Gold Coast neighborhood from the Cabrini Green public housing development.
As the city’s urban renewal programs altered existing neighborhoods, such as the one demolished for Carl Sandburg Village, it pushed many LGBTQ people north into “New Town” in the 1970s and then further north into the Lakeview neighborhood, transforming part of it into what many Chicagoans call Boystown. As historian Curtis Winkle points out, “Urban planners shaped the Near North in ways that, probably incidentally, helped create opportunities for a thriving gay commercial area.” In November 1998, the city designated North Halsted Street as an official gay neighborhood; most likely the first district designated as such in the world. This was a controversial act. Many felt that it would be alienating or harm property values. Others believed it to be exclusionary because LGBTQ people lived all over the city, not just in one neighborhood. Regardless, the yearly Pride Parade and Northalsted Market Days events still draw crowds to the district.

Queers Mobilize Chicago

Struggles with the law continued to be a fact of life in LGBTQ communities throughout the mid-twentieth century. At bars and clubs, police targeted same-sex dancing and women who wore front-fly pants. When they could not arrest patrons for cross-dressing, officers twisted the slightest gestures of friendliness into charges of solicitation of prostitution. Raiding queer bars galvanized people in LGBTQ communities to start protesting for justice. For example, after a raid on a lesbian bar in February 1961, during which police arrested 52 people, Del Shearer started the Chicago chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis. In another

30 Boystown is officially marked as an area bounded by Lake Michigan, Diversey, Clark Street, and Irving Park Road.
32 Tracy Baim, “Halsted Gets Official,” in Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 201. Another major enclave is the neighborhood of Andersonville, even further north. It features the Women and Children First bookstore. This women-owned, queer-friendly feminist bookstore opened in 1979 and is now located at 5233 North Clark Street.
33 Marcia M. Gallo, Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007), 70-71. See also St. Sukie de la Croix,
incident, on April 25, 1964, Cook County sheriff’s deputies raided a bar just outside the city limits popular among gay men called the Fun Lounge and arrested 109 people. The following day the Chicago Tribune included the names (and in most instances addresses) of eight teachers and four municipal employees, among others.34 Many in the gay and lesbian community responded by organizing as part of the homophile and gay-rights group the Mattachine Society; the Chicago chapter was called Mattachine Midwest.35

Gay and lesbian Chicagoans started many different community centers for themselves throughout the second-half of the twentieth century. These functioned as gathering spaces for educational programs, lending libraries, helplines, and entertainment. One of these organizations was Gay Horizons. In 1973, Gay Horizons opened to provide mental health and social services to LGBTQ communities.36 The organization was renamed the Horizons Community Services in 1985. Horizons partnered with the Howard Brown Memorial Clinic (founded as the Gay VD Clinic in 1974; it later became the Howard Brown Health Center) to respond to the AIDS epidemic through the AIDS Action Project. This work included support groups and an AIDS hotline.37 In 2003 the organization became the Center on Halsted, and in 2007, it moved to its current location.38 Today, the center continues to offer community resources in a safe environment.


34 “Teacher, 1 of 8 Seized in Vice Raid,” Quits,” Chicago Tribune (Chicago, IL), Apr. 26, 1964, 1.


36 The 1973 location was 2440 North Lincoln Avenue. The group moved around many times during its history including to 3225 North Sheffield Avenue in 1979. The group was also located at 3519 ½ North Halsted Street (1974); 2745 North Clark Street (1975); 920 West Oakdale Avenue (1977). The group moved again to 961 West Montana Street in 1990. Information about Horizons from Tracy Baim, “The ‘Center’ of the Gay Community,” Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 104.


38 3656 North Halsted Street.
with a vision of “a thriving lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer community, living powerfully in supportive inclusive environments.”

Chicago hosted numerous sites of protest by the Chicago chapter of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) including a twenty-four hour candlelight vigil April 21-22, 1990, in a park across the street from Cook County Hospital (Figure 3). Two hundred and fifty national and local activists protested the Hospital’s Board and administration (in the words of demonstrator Debbie Gould) “for [their] inadequate response to the AIDS epidemic. We’re in a crisis.” On Monday, April 23, protesters marched through the streets of downtown Chicago. Demonstrators had the following demands: 1) expanded health care for people with AIDS at Cook County Hospital, including admittance of women to the AIDS ward, 2)

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Figure 3: Cook County Hospital, site of ACT UP protests in 1990. Photo by Jeff Dahl, 2008.

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40 License: CC By-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cook_County_Hospital.jpg
41 1835 West Harrison Street. It was added to the NRHP on November 8, 2006. In 1983, the hospital was the site of the Sable-Sherer Clinic, the first AIDS clinic in Chicago:
42 John W. Fountain, “AIDS group protests at County Hospital,” Chicago Tribune (Chicago, IL), Apr. 22, 1990, C2A.
national health insurance, and 3) for insurance companies to make health insurance more available to people with AIDS.\textsuperscript{43} ACT UP announced that one thousand people participated in the march. Women threw mattresses into the intersection of Randolph and Clark Streets to protest the exclusion of women from the AIDS ward. Others threw red paint and stuck stickers onto buildings. They marched to the Prudential Building, Blue Cross Blue Shield Association offices, and police arrested protesters during a “die-in” outside the American Medical Association headquarters.\textsuperscript{44} Demonstrators made it to the second floor of the Cook County Building and draped a banner over the balcony that said “We Demand Equal Healthcare Now!” The police arrested 129 activists in all.\textsuperscript{45} Activists made formal complaints against the police for excessive force. Shortly after the protests, Cook County Hospital did open the AIDS ward to women.\textsuperscript{46}

Around two hundred national and local members of ACT UP also protested a meeting of the American Medical Association outside the Chicago Hilton and Towers Hotel on June 24, 1991. A woman interrupted a speech by Vice President Dan Quayle by calling for national health care for people with AIDS; other activists spray painted “Fight the AMA” on mailboxes and storefronts.\textsuperscript{47} This protest faced police violence including excessive force and arrests.\textsuperscript{48} The city “paid tens of thousands of dollars

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\textsuperscript{44} The Prudential Building was located at 130 East Randolph Street, the Blue Cross-Blue Shield Association offices at 676 North St. Clair Street, and the American Medical Association headquarters at the corner of Grand and State Streets.
\end{flushright}
to settle a lawsuit brought by members of ACT UP... against the Chicago Police Department for brutality during this demonstration.”

Bronzeville and the South Side

Critical stories in the history of Chicago come out of the Great Migration. This movement of African Americans from the South into places like Chicago during most of the twentieth century dramatically changed life in the urban center. The black population in Chicago rose from approximately forty thousand in 1915 to more than one million by the 1970s.

Specifically relegated to the West and South Sides, African Americans created neighborhoods such as the one that came to be known as Bronzeville. Bronzeville was the home to many Prohibition-era African-American jazz clubs, blues clubs, cabarets, and drag balls where the lines of sexuality and gender were blurred. This music and entertainment scene provided social space for LGBTQ people as patrons but also as performers including people such as blues musicians Tony Jackson and Bix Beiderbecke and cabaret singer Rudy Richardson. LGBTQ themes began to be represented artistically such as in Gertrude “Ma” Rainey’s, “Prove It on Me Blues” and Jackson’s “Pretty Baby.” Hotspots included the Plantation Café, the Pleasure Inn, the Cabin Inn, Club DeLisa, and Joe’s Deluxe.

Chicago’s African-American press, notably the Chicago Defender and Johnson Publishing’s Ebony and Jet, reported positive accounts of gender

49 Deborah Gould, Moving Politics, 269.
51 State Street to Cottage Grove Avenue, along 43rd and 47th Street.
crossing and same-sex desire. The Defender began its coverage as early as the 1910s, and features in Ebony and Jet started in the late 1940s. African-American female impersonators entertained integrated audiences on the South Side as early as the 1920s into the 1960s. The Defender published many articles documenting Chicago’s long history of interracial drag performance at locations such as the Cabin Inn or Finnie’s Halloween Ball. Alfred Finnie staged his first ball in 1935 in the basement of a tavern on the corner of Thirty-Eighth Street and Michigan Avenue, and it was held in various places over the years. Ebony documented the 1953 ball which was held at the Pershing Ballroom. All of these places and sites can tell stories of people finding each other and coming together, but also reveal exclusions, especially in terms of race, class, and gender. After World War II, queer people of color continued to face discrimination on the North Side, such as demands to present many more pieces of identification than white revelers to gain entrance into a club.

Throughout the city’s history, Chicagoans have experienced de facto and de jure segregation along racial and class lines. Legal and cultural norms regarding housing affected LGBTQ people in Chicago in different ways. Important sites exist such as the home of Lorraine Hansberry, author of the play A Raisin in the Sun (1959), in the Woodlawn neighborhood on the South Side. The home had a covenant on it restricting ownership based on race. When Hansberry’s parents bought the home in 1938 and moved their family into the neighborhood, this action resulted in court cases that went all the way through to the United

States Supreme Court. The win in favor of the Hansberrys was important in changing segregation covenants toward open housing.57

Chicago's urban history is queer history. It's a history of individuals and communities and their relationship to the state, to their fellow Chicagoans, and to each other. There are sites of individual resistance at police stations, court houses, City Hall, and in their own homes. People enjoying themselves in Towertown and Bronzeville in the Prohibition era and exploring the political possibilities at the same time. Activists fighting discrimination and homophobia facing the AIDS epidemic. They make communities, coming together for pleasure and protest. Chicago, a queer crossroads at the heart of America.

57 The Supreme Court case was Hansberry v. Lee 311 U.S. 32 (1940). In 1950, after spending two years at the University of Wisconsin, Hansberry moved to New York City, where she married and worked as a writer. Hansberry drew on her family's experience fighting housing discrimination in her seminal play A Raisin in the Sun (1959), set in Chicago. A Raisin in the Sun won the Drama Critic’s Circle Award for best play; Hansberry was the youngest American, first woman, and first African-American to win this award. See Lorraine Hansberry House, Chicago Landmarks, http://webapps1.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/landmarkdetails.htm?lanId=13024. Steven R. Carter, “Hansberry, Lorraine Vivian,” in American National Biography Online, Feb. 2000; http://www.anb.org/articles/18/18-01856.html. In 1957, after separating from her husband, Hansberry began exploring same-sex sexuality. This same year she wrote to The Ladder, a periodical published by the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian-led organization with chapters in cities across the country. Her letter to the editor stated: “I'm glad as heck that you exist... I feel that women, without wishing to foster any strict separatist notions, homo or hetero, indeed have a need for their own publications and organizations.” See letters to the editor from “L.N.H.” in The Ladder 1:8 (May 1957) and 1:11 (August 1957).
People engage with history in many ways, not just through reading books and reports. The chapters in this section are designed as resources for NPS interpreters, museum staff, teachers, professors, parents, and others who do applied history work and who wish to incorporate LGBTQ history and heritage into their programs, lessons, exhibits, and courses.
The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) program are two of the many ways that historic places can be identified, remembered, and preserved. Both of these programs are overseen by the National Park Service (NPS), and to be added to these lists properties (sites, buildings, structures, objects,
districts) must meet certain criteria.\textsuperscript{1} This chapter provides an introduction to the NRHP and NHL programs as well as a discussion about evaluating and listing LGBTQ places that will be of use both to those interested in nominating properties as well as those in the various State Historic Preservation Offices, Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, and Federal Historic Preservation Officers who will be evaluating LGBTQ nominations. It does not replace registration requirements or any of the official guidance published by the NPS on nominating places to these programs.\textsuperscript{2}

The Effects of Designation and Listing

Many people have misconceptions about the implications of designating a property as an NHL or having it listed on the NRHP.

What the NHL and NRHP Do

The NHL program and the NRHP are preservation tools that help recognize and preserve significant places and stories. It is important to understand how these tools work, that is, the effects of NHL designation and NRHP listing.

The NHL program was established to identify potential historic units for inclusion in the National Park System; although still a part of its mandate, the scope of the program has since evolved. The NRHP was created as a reaction to urban renewal and Federal projects in the 1960s and to expand the Federal government’s role in historic preservation.\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{itemize}
  \item The term “property” is used when referring collectively to sites, buildings, structures, and objects, and is also used to refer generically to sites, buildings, structures, or objects. Other ways of recognizing historic places include site preservation, local or state historic markers, walking tours, public talks, museum and historical society exhibits, preservation of archival materials and artifacts, and publications.
  \item Information on the NPS website and bulletins published by the NPS contain much more extensive and complete information, and should be referred to when writing nominations or nomination amendments. https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/index.htm.
  \item For a full history of the National Historic Landmarks Program see Barry Mackintosh’s The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History, available online at https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/pubs/NHLHistoricSitesSurvey.pdf. For a history of both programs within the larger historic preservation movement see John H. Sprinkle, Jr., Crafting Preservation
\end{itemize}
Designation as an NHL ensures that stories of nationally important historic events, places, or persons are recognized and preserved for the benefit of all citizens. Designation may also provide the property's historic character with a measure of protection against any adverse effect by a project initiated by the Federal government; nominations serve as preservation planning documents. Additionally, NHLs may be eligible for grants, tax credits, and other opportunities to maintain a property’s historic character.

Listing in the NRHP provides formal recognition of a property’s historical, architectural, or archeological significance. There are many benefits that come with listing:

- Becoming part of the NRHP Archives, a public, searchable database that provides a wealth of research information;4
- Encouraging preservation of historic resources by documenting a property’s historic significance;
- Providing opportunities for specific preservation incentives, such as:
  - Federal preservation grants for planning and rehabilitation
  - Federal investment tax credits
  - Preservation easements to nonprofit organizations;
- International Building Code fire and life safety code alternatives;
- Possible state tax benefits and grant opportunities; and
- Involvement by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation when a Federally funded project may affect a historic property.5

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What the NHL and NRHP Do Not Do

Designation of a property as an NHL does not give ownership of the property to the Federal government in general or to the NPS in particular; nor does it require that the public have access. NHLs are owned by private individuals; by all levels of government (federal, state, and local); by tribal entities; by non-profit organizations; and by corporations.

Similarly, NRHP listing places no obligations on private property owners. There are no restrictions on the use, treatment, transfer, or disposition of private property. Listing does not lead to public acquisition or require public access. A property will not be listed or designated if, for individual properties, the private property owner objects; or for districts, if a majority of private property owners object. Listing on the NRHP does not automatically invoke local historic district zoning or local landmark designation.

Theme Studies

Theme studies can be thought of as tools to encourage the preservation of places of value to communities nationwide and our collective history. A theme study like this one provides the necessary historic context so that significance may be evaluated for properties that are related to a specific area of American history. Theme studies are thematically, geographically, and temporally linked and describe the patterns, themes, or trends in history by which a specific property is understood. In other words, historic contexts provide a basis for judging a property’s significance and eligibility under the relevant NRHP or NHL criteria, may provide important background information for other research efforts, and can be used to educate the public about the nation's heritage through interpretive and educational programs. Theme studies exist for a

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6 A theme study is a research document that can be used to help identify potential new NHLs and properties that may be eligible for listing on the NRHP as well as potential new units of the NPS.
broad range of themes in American history, including American Latinos, Japanese Americans in World War II, and Cold War defensive sites. Consulting with other, associated theme studies may be helpful if you are looking to nominate places with intersectional histories like the Hattie McDaniel House in Los Angeles (Figure 1), Fort Okanogan in Washington, or the Topaz War Relocation Center in Utah. Mention of

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9 In the early 1940s, Oscar-winning African-American actress Hattie McDaniel moved into this residence in the Sugar Hill neighborhood of Los Angeles. When white residents filed a lawsuit against McDaniel and other black residents of the neighborhood, where property deeds explicitly forbade sale to “non-Caucasians,” McDaniel organized her neighbors and they fought back. In 1945, a judge ruled in the defendants’ favor, and McDaniel was able to stay in her home. McDaniel had intimate relationships with both men and women. She was the first African American to win an Oscar, awarded for her role as Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*. She lived in this home until her death in 1952.

10 In 1811, Kutenai two-spirit *itiquattek* Quanpon Kamek Klauha (Sitting-on-the-Water-Grizzly) led a group of Europeans from Fort Astoria in what is now Oregon into the American interior. They founded Fort Okanogan at the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers that became an important
LGBTQ struggles for civil rights were included in the NPS publication *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites*.¹²

**Using This Theme Study**

Many theme studies use already-listed NHL and NRHP places to illustrate how properties associated with a particular theme can meet the various NHL and NRHP requirements. Because there are only ten NRHP and NHL properties listed for their association with LGBTQ history and heritage, this approach is not effective. Instead, this theme study models the different ways that LGBTQ history can be told using places and provides general information about linking those histories to the NRHP and NHL programs. While chapters in the theme study focus on various aspects of LGBTQ history, many places are repeatedly mentioned throughout. Use the index to search across the whole document; the list of places mentioned in the theme study, found in the Appendices, can also be helpful. Note that the places listed in this theme study are not the only places with LGBTQ history across the country; there are many, many more. This should not be considered a definitive list of important LGBTQ places but should be treated as a baseline.

**Nomination Concepts**

In order to successfully nominate a place to the NRHP or as an NHL, it is important to understand some key concepts. These include property

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¹¹ In 1942, Jiro Onuma, a first generation Japanese immigrant who lived in the Oakland and San Francisco area, was sent to the Topaz War Relocation Center (also known as the Central Utah Relocation Center) in Millard County, Utah. This was part of the mass internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Onuma was a gay man. The Topaz War Relocation Center was added to the NRHP on January 2, 1974, and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007.

type, significance, evaluation criteria, integrity, and the NPS Thematic Framework.

LGBTQ communities, like other minority groups, have historically been found in marginal and ephemeral places. For LGBTQ communities, this has meant places like the Meatpacking District in New York City (literally an area of slaughter houses and warehouses) or the Tenderloin in San Francisco (known as a place of transience and vice). It has meant that organizations met and formed community where they could: gay and bisexual men cruised public places like parks to find each other; organizations met in people’s homes and church basements, frequently changing location. It has meant that groups and organizations in the community, even when well-established, did not have permanent spaces as a result of bad landlords, rising rents, and redevelopment. It means that, when considering places for NRHP listing or NHL designation that places are not overlooked because they are marginal or ephemeral.

**Property Type**

There are five different kinds of property types that can be considered for NRHP listing or NHL designation. These are: buildings, structures, sites, districts, and objects. When preparing a nomination, you must indicate what type of property you are nominating.13

*Buildings* are created primarily to shelter any form of human activity. For example, they include houses, commercial establishments, churches, hotels, courthouses, and jails. A building associated with LGBTQ history

listed on the NRHP is the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington, DC. A building associated primarily with LGBTQ history designated an NHL is the Henry Gerber House in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois.

Structures are functional resources usually built for purposes other than creating human shelter. For example, they include bridges, railroads, roadways, grain elevators, dams, fortifications, and bandstands. There are currently no NRHP or NHL structures designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of structures that are associated with LGBTQ history are Pier 45 in New York City and the State Street Bridge over Kenduskeag Stream, in Bangor, Maine.

Figure 2: Christopher Park, the location of protests following the Stonewall Riots, New York City.

14 The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011. When Kameny moved into the house in 1962 it quickly became a meeting place, archives, and the headquarters of the Mattachine Society of Washington, DC. During his years here, Kameny organized the first regional gay conference, planned a picket against the American Psychiatric Association for including gay and lesbian as psychiatric conditions; ran for Congress as an openly gay man, and was generally instrumental in spear-heading the new militancy in the gay rights movement.

15 The Henry Gerber House was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. From his boarding house room at this location, Henry Gerber co-founded and ran the Society for Human Rights, the first gay rights society in the United States. The organization lasted from 1924 to 1925, and was suspended after an episode of police harassment. Afterwards, Gerber continued to work for LGBTQ rights, and influenced homophile activists of the 1950s and 1960s, including Harry Hay, one of the founders of the Mattachine Society.

16 License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ChristopherPark3358.jpg

17 Neither of these structures have been evaluated for inclusion on the NRHP or NHL designation; they are included here as examples only. Since the 1970s, Pier 45 has been an important meeting place and place of community for drag queens, transgender youth, and other members of New York City’s African-American ballroom community and culture (Mariah Lopez, Strategic Transgender Alliance for Radical Reform in correspondence with the author, 2014). On July 7, 1984, Charlie Howard and companion Roy Ogden were walking near the State Street Bridge when they were assaulted by three teenage boys. When Charlie fell, they threw him over the bridge railing into Kenduskeag Stream, where he drowned. This attack and death led to the founding of the Maine Lesbian Gay Political Alliance, now called EqualityMaine. Judy Harrison, “Events to Mark 1984 Slaying of Gay Man in Bangor,” Bangor
Nominating LGBTQ Places to the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks: An Introduction

Sites are the locations of significant events, prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a place where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value. For example, they include archeological sites, battlefields, and landscapes like gardens and cemeteries. Stonewall is a site associated specifically with LGBTQ heritage that is listed on the NRHP, designated an NHL, and has been designated a National Monument (Figure 2).19

![Stonewall Monument](image)

Figure 3: *Gay Liberation* (1980) by artist George Segal is located in Christopher Park, part of the Stonewall National Monument. It is the first piece of public art dedicated to LGBTQ rights. Photo by Raphael Isla, 2013.18

Objects are resources that are primarily artistic in nature or are relatively small in scale or simply constructed. Neither buildings nor structures, they are associated with a specific setting or environment. For example, objects include monuments, memorials, statuary, and fountains. A commemorative property is

![Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain](image)

Figure 4: *The Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain*, President’s Park, Washington, DC. Butt and Millet, who lived together and may have been romantically involved, perished when the *Titanic* sank in April 1912. Photo by Tim Evanson, 2012.20

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19 The Stonewall site includes 51-53 Christopher Street, Christopher Park, Christopher Street, Grove Street, Gay Street, Waverly Place, Greenwich Avenue, Sixth Avenue, and West Tenth Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Avenues South. It was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated a National Monument on June 24, 2016. This was the location of the Stonewall Riots, an event considered a turning point in the modern LGBTQ rights movement, when patrons fought back and protested in the streets in response to what had been a “routine” police raid at the bar.
eligible under Criteria Consideration F/Criteria Exception 7 if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has imparted it with its own national significance. If the resource is part of a historic district it does not need to meet this exception. There are currently no NRHP or NHL objects designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of objects that are associated with LGBTQ history include *Gay Liberation* in New York City, New York; the *Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain* in Washington, DC; and the statue of Thomas Hart Benton in St. Louis, Missouri (Figures 3 to 5).

**Districts** consist of a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects that are united by their history or aesthetically by planned or physical development. For example, they include neighborhoods, business districts, residential areas, farms, large forts, and estates. There are currently no NRHP or NHL *districts* designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of *districts* that are associated with LGBTQ history include the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District in San Francisco, California, and the

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22 None of these objects have been evaluated for inclusion on the NRHP or NHL lists; they are included here as examples only. The statue of Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri’s first senator, is located in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, Missouri. The first public monument in the state, it was completed in 1862 by artist Harriet Hosmer, who had a decades-long relationship with another woman. St. Louis LGBT History Project, 1860 Hosmer Statue, accessed April 9, 2016, [http://www.stlouisgbthistory.com/timeline/1800s/1860-hosmer-statue.html](http://www.stlouisgbthistory.com/timeline/1800s/1860-hosmer-statue.html).
Washington Square West Historic District in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Figure 6).23

**Significance**

In the context of the NRHP and NHL programs, significance refers to a property’s ability to illustrate or interpret the heritage of the United States. In addition, the property must retain a level of integrity of place (there has to be a “there there,” to paraphrase Gertrude Stein) as well as historic fabric. While both NRHP and NHL properties must have value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States and a level of integrity, for the NHL the standard is of exceptional quality and a high level of historic integrity. The NRHP and NHL programs have detailed frameworks for evaluating a property’s significance. These are laid out in the Evaluation Criteria and Integrity sections, below.

A property’s period of significance refers to the span of time during which significant events and activities occurred. Most properties have a clearly definable period of significance, which can range from a single day to many years. The period of significance for the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence is 1962 to 1975, when Dr. Kameny was living in the house and active in significant historical events. The period of significance for

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23 Neither of these districts have been evaluated for their NRHP significance regarding their LGBTQ history and heritage; they are included here as examples only. The Tenderloin has a long LGBTQ history. Compton’s Cafeteria, location of an August 1966 riot against police harassment, is listed as a contributing resource to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, though the district nomination itself is not for the area’s LGBTQ history. Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The Uptown Tenderloin Historic District was listed on the NRHP on February 9, 2005. Philadelphia’s LGBTQ community, known locally as “The Gayborhood” is bounded approximately by Walnut, Juniper, Pine, and Quince Streets. It is encompassed by the Washington Square West Historic District, though the district nomination does not mention the LGBTQ history of the area. The Washington Square West Historic District was listed on the NRHP on September 20, 1984.

Stonewall spans six days, from June 28 to July 3, 1969, encompassing the original riot and the protests that took place in the days after.

**Evaluation Criteria**

For a property to be considered eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL, it must meet at least one of the criteria for inclusion provided by each program. Though similar, these evaluation criteria are slightly different for the NRHP and NHL programs. Criteria for Evaluation for listing on the NRHP are lettered A through D; for designating NHLs are numbered 1 through 6. Properties can be eligible for listing or designation under multiple criteria.25

Most LGBTQ properties will be eligible under the following criteria: those associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of American history (Criterion 1/Criterion A) and association with the lives of people important in American history (Criterion 2/Criterion B). Some will be eligible for their architectural significance (Criterion 4/Criterion C). The significance of historic districts is evaluated using Criterion 5/Criterion C. The significance of archeological sites, including those at sites where structures remain standing, is evaluated under Criterion 6/Criterion D.

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years are not eligible for listing or designation. Officials in the NRHP and NHL programs know that some properties that would normally be excluded from listing or designation are eligible under certain circumstances. The NRHP program calls these “Criteria Considerations;” the NHL program calls these “Criteria

25 Researchers are directed to the appropriate bulletins for complete details on the criteria for evaluation for both the NRHP and NHL programs. See, for example, Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/.
Exceptions.” If you are nominating places to the NRHP or as NHLs and using Criteria Considerations or Criteria Exceptions, you must describe the circumstances that support them.

Several of the places listed on the NRHP and designated as NHLs for their association with LGBTQ history have invoked Criteria Consideration G/Criteria Exception 8 because they achieved their significance within the past fifty years. For example, Stonewall is designated an NHL under *Criterion 1 and Criteria Exception 8*. The significant events at the Stonewall Inn took place less than fifty years before its designation. However, the historical significance of the events is important enough to warrant NHL designation. The Edificio Comunidad Orgullo Gay in San Juan, Puerto Rico, was listed on the NRHP under *Criterion A and Criteria Consideration G*. The importance of the place as the home of the organization that spearheaded the gay liberation movement in Puerto Rico did not require the passage of fifty years to evaluate. Researchers looking to nominate one of the many religious properties associated with LGBTQ history (i.e. as places of protest, refuge, and/or community) would address Criteria Exception 1/Criteria Consideration A.

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26 The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), at 3 Saldaña Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico, was the home of the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico. The group was founded in 1974, inspired by New York City’s Stonewall Riots, and was Puerto Rico’s first gay liberation organization. They occupied the building from 1975 to 1976. Casa Orgullo was listed on the NRHP on May 1, 2016.
The NHL program only recognizes exceptional, national significance. The NRHP program recognizes local and statewide significance, as well as national significance (Figure 7). Part of the evaluation for both programs is to determine significance in relation to other resources. For NHLs the basis of comparison is other nationally prominent properties; for the NRHP, comparative properties may be located within a single city, town, or state. Examples of comparative properties must be included in your nomination to help reviewers evaluate significance.

**Integrity**

The NRHP and NHL programs are both place-based; there needs to be a place, a “there,” in order for properties to be considered. This sense of “there” is evaluated using the seven qualities of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Although considered separately, these seven qualities also influence each other. Integrity is always related to the period of significance of a property; in other words, to be listed on the NRHP with a period of significance from 1950 through 1970, a building should have design elements, setting, feeling, etc. from that period.

**Location** is where the historic property was built or where the significant events took place. To be listed on the NRHP or designated an NHL, properties have to be located within the United States and its possessions. To have integrity of location, they must be in their original place.

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27 The Carrington House, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York, was listed on the NRHP for its association with the early establishment of Cherry Grove, New York, as a gay enclave, a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history at the local level. It was also listed on the NRHP for its architectural significance. The Carrington House was therefore listed as having local significance under Criteria A and C. It was added to the NRHP on January 8, 2014. The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico was listed on the NRHP for its statewide significance under Criterion A. It was added to the NRHP on May 1, 2016. The Bayard Rustin Residence in the Chelsea neighborhood in New York City was listed on the NRHP for its association with a person nationally significant in our past. Throughout his life, Rustin impacted many campaigns for social and economic justice, including pacifism, civil rights, economic injustice, and human rights, including organizing and leading the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. The Bayard Rustin Residence was therefore listed under NRHP Criterion B. It was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016.
Design refers to the historic structure and style of a property, including how space was organized, proportion, how it was built (technology), and materials. To have integrity of design means these elements from the period of significance are still present.

Setting refers to the physical environment of a historic property. Integrity of setting means that the physical context of the property remains relatively unchanged. It also refers to how the property is positioned on the landscape and its relationship to surrounding physical features.

Materials are the physical elements of a historic property. Integrity of materials means that a property’s construction materials (including those associated with landscape features) and placement are consistent with the period of significance.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of craftsmanship associated with the period of significance. This quality is particularly important for architecturally significant properties.

Feeling is how the property expresses the aesthetic or historic sense of the period of significance. Integrity of feeling comes from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey historic character.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property has integrity of association if it is the place where the event occurred and can still convey that historic relationship to an observer. If association is merely speculative a property is not eligible for listing or designation. Mere association with historic events also disqualifies a property from consideration.

All seven qualities of integrity must be addressed in nominations to the NRHP and NHL, though not all carry the same weight in evaluating significance. This varies from property to property, depending on other
aspects of the evaluation of significance. Some aspects of integrity are weighted more heavily depending on the evaluation criteria used. For example, the integrity of workmanship is more important when evaluating a property for architectural significance (Criterion C/Criterion 4) than for significance associated with important events (Criterion A/Criterion 1). The integrity of the only property of its type, or the only surviving property of its type, will also be evaluated differently than the integrity of a property type where multiple examples exist.

The absence or loss of integrity of a building, structure, site, or other historic property aboveground does not mean that the place is no longer eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL. In many cases, evidence of the historic property remains belowground as archeological deposits. This can be significant on its own or can complement the evaluation of significance of standing structures. Archeological integrity is directly related to the potential for the property to contain historically significant information. In general, this requires intact archeological deposits – those that have not been disturbed through grading, extensive animal disturbance, additional construction, or other impacts. Intact deposits retain the patterning of artifacts and/or features (both above and belowground) that represent past uses and activities. Few properties exhibit wholly undisturbed archeological deposits; therefore, the evaluation of archeological integrity varies from property to property.

NPS Thematic Framework

The NPS Thematic Framework for History and Prehistory outlines eight major themes and ideas in American history that serve as a road map to identifying, describing, and analyzing the multiple layers of history that are present within each place. These concepts are best thought of as an interconnected system of social and cultural forces.

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The eight themes and examples of topics that are encompassed by each are:

1. Peopling Places: examining human population movement and change, family formation, community formation, colonization, health and disease, and different concepts of gender, family, and the sexual division of labor;
2. Creating Social Institutions and Movements: the diverse formal and informal structures like schools or voluntary associations through which people express their values and live their lives, including clubs and organizations, religious institutions, and recreational activities;
3. Expressing Cultural Values: expressions of culture as people’s beliefs about themselves and the world they inhabit including educational and intellectual currents, the visual and performing arts, literature, mass media, architecture and landscape architecture, popular culture, and traditional culture;
4. Shaping the Political Landscape: tribal, local, state, and federal political and governmental institutions that create public policy and those groups that seek to shape both policies and institutions, military institutions and activities, and political ideas, cultures, and theories;
5. Developing the American Economy: reflects the ways Americans have worked, including slavery, servitude, volunteer, and paid labor, as well as economic endeavors like extraction, transportation and communication, agriculture, production, exchange and trade, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. It includes workers and work culture, labor organizations and protests, government policies and practices, and economic theory;
6. Expanding Science and Technology: encompasses experimentation and invention, technological applications, scientific thought and theory, and the effects on lifestyle and health;
Megan E. Springate and Caridad de la Vega

7. Transforming the Environment: the variable and changing relationships between people and their environment and how the interplay between human activity and the environment is reflected in particular places; and

8. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community: diplomacy, trade, cultural exchange, security and defense, expansionism, imperialism, including immigration and emigration, and interactions among indigenous peoples, between the United States government and native peoples, and between the United States and other countries.

Individual places may represent multiple themes. For example, the Black Cat Club in San Francisco would fall under the themes of creating social institutions and of movements (as a community bar), expressing cultural values (the home of José Sarria’s drag show), shaping the political landscape (as the launching place of José Sarria’s political campaign and the owner’s repeated fights against legal harassment), and developing the American economy (as a long-running business).29

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of concepts important in nominating properties to the NRHP and NHL, including the NPS Thematic Framework, criteria for evaluating integrity, and establishing a period of significance.30 This information, as well as the historic contexts presented in the rest of this theme study, set the stage for the successful nomination, evaluation, and preservation of historic properties associated with LGBTQ history.

29 The Black Cat Club at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California, was one of the most popular bars in the city from the late 1940s until it closed in 1964. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was the home base of drag entertainer José Sarria. He rallied his audiences against police repression, and used the bar to launch his 1961 campaign for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors – the first time an openly gay person ran for elected office. Sol Stouman, the straight owner of the Black Cat, fought repeated court battles from the 1950s onward in an effort to keep the bar open during the Lavender Scare. The building is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

30 For details, see the National Register bulletins cited in footnote 1.
The National Park Service’s LGBTQ heritage initiative promises to raise awareness of LGBTQ history and preserve the sites related to this history. Hopefully, many of these sites will be not only designated but also interpreted to the public. In addition to these properties with their primary significance in LGBTQ history, many other historic sites, designated for primary reasons other than their LGBTQ connections, still have stories to tell on this topic. Still others may have been working with LGBTQ interpretation for some time, but seek new approaches for reaching wider audiences. With this chapter, I offer some suggestions for sharing LGBTQ stories with a public audience, while also respecting the nuances and diversity of these experiences. I begin by discussing the importance of this work, move on to exploring some conceptual issues, and conclude by providing some concrete first steps to interpretive planning.¹
Why Interpret LGBTQ History?

Evidence of same-sex love and desire, and of gender crossing, exists throughout the recorded history of North America (and elsewhere), and yet these topics are rarely included in discussions of US history, whether in classrooms, in mainstream media, or at museums and historic sites. This leaves a hole in our national narrative and erases part of the story. The most obvious reason for historic sites to share their LGBTQ stories is because doing so creates a more inclusive and accurate telling of the national past.

At the same time, the process of uncovering LGBTQ history is more than simply an exercise in inclusivity. Studying cultural outsiders not only reveals insight into their experiences, but sheds light too on the experiences of the mainstream. The question of what behavior is and is not considered normal in a particular historical era, the explanations given for those delineations, and the punishments meted out to those who violate these cultural boundaries, all reveal information to help us understand the unspoken assumptions and anxieties of a given age.

For example, historian John Murrin—observing that in the New England colonies, charges of sexual deviance were brought disproportionately against adolescent males, while charges of witchcraft were brought disproportionately against older, unmarried women—concluded that these accusations reveal an abiding Puritan anxiety about community members who lived outside of the control of the patriarchal family. Historian Siobhan Somerville has noted that a medical definition of homosexuality developed in an era—the turn of the twentieth century—when science and medicine were also actively seeking scientific proof of white superiority, and she has explored how these various delineations provided a sense of order for native-born white elites amid a rapidly changing society. More recently, in the 1970s, Anita Bryant’s anti-gay “Save Our Children” campaign coincided with the growing independence of American women as a result of second-wave feminism and a skyrocketing divorce rate. As
these examples illustrate, when we add LGBTQ experiences to our historical narrative, we gain a richer understanding, both by considering a greater range of experiences and by glimpsing new information about stories we thought we already knew.²

In addition, as historic sites expand their interpretation, they will likely expand their audiences. An inclusive approach to the past will draw attention. It sends a welcoming message to potential visitors who are accustomed to being spurned and who, in turn, may be less likely to venture to new places until they are clearly welcomed. Interpretation that includes LGBTQ stories also offers something new for all visitors; curiosity and the desire to learn new things will draw many to investigate your site.

LGBTQ historical interpretation may also improve your site’s fulfillment of its mission. Over the past three decades, the role of cultural organizations in US society has changed. Whereas previously these institutions positioned themselves as some of the main conveyers of knowledge, they now more often envision their missions to be about the facilitation of meaning making. This more democratic approach has repositioned historic sites and museums as places of community dialogue, where visitors can explore new topics and draw their own conclusions, as their comfort level allows.³ Given the current preponderance of LGBTQ issues in the news, sites can offer some historic context to current events and a forum for exploring these connections—by introducing the idea that different eras have understood love between same-sex individuals in different ways, for example. In the process of providing this historical

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context, these organizations prove their relevance and fulfill their role as sites of public exploration.4

Finally, interpreting LGBTQ history can serve as an act of reparation to a group who, until quite recently, has been slandered, ignored, and erased. Beyond a simple concern about visitor statistics, historic sites can perform a public service by restoring a past to people who quite often have been cut off from their historical identities.5 Often, as part of claiming an LGBTQ identity, people lose historic connections—to their families of origin, their hometowns, and their religious or ethnic communities. And while LGBTQ subcultures can replace some of these community connections, a desire to relate to the past may still be lacking. As Paula Martinac wrote in the late 1990s, “one thing that historic sites and travel guides never taught me was about a most important part of myself—my heritage as a gay person in this country.”6 Given these circumstances, to actually encounter “their” history included in an official historical narrative can be a profound and moving experience for LGBTQ visitors.

Conceptualizing the Story

While there are compelling reasons to engage with LGBTQ history, before beginning concrete interpretive planning, sites must lay some initial conceptual groundwork. As with any historical subfield, LGBTQ history carries its own peculiar circumstances that interpreters should be aware of before moving into this territory. Below are some considerations to reflect on in initial efforts to understand LGBTQ stories.

4 Guidance for navigating the relevance of past experiences to current events can be found through the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, www.sitesofconscience.org.
5 This process has similarities to previous efforts by historic sites to respectfully interpret the histories of other underrepresented groups, such as Native Americans and African Americans. As with LGBTQ history, these earlier efforts were aided by National Park Service theme studies.
Changing Understandings of Sexuality

Although the topic was hotly debated in the 1990s, scholars now generally agree that sexual identity is socially constructed—that is, it is influenced by time, place, and culture, rather than being immutable. This is an extremely important consideration when approaching same-sex desire and sexual activity in the past. The historical agents being studied may have understood their feelings, identities, and behavior quite differently than we would understand those same circumstances in our own era. Thus, historians need to evaluate source material within the context of the time in which it was created, rather than relying on their own (historically specific) assumptions of meaning.7

To take but the most obvious example: The concept of sexual orientation as a personal characteristic did not become firmly entrenched until the turn of the twentieth century. Same-sex sexual activity certainly existed before this, but in earlier eras the emphasis was on behavior, not psychology. Someone might engage in the *sin* or *crime* of sodomy, but that action did not indicate a particular type of person as it would beginning in the twentieth century.8

7 John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 30–31; Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 27–35; and Kenneth Turino and Susan Ferentinos, “Entering the Mainstream: Interpreting GLBT History,” *AASLH History News*, Autumn 2012. Staff at historic sites should understand, however, that although historians now agree that sexuality is socially constructed, the wider public—including interpretive guides—may find this to be a challenging notion. The concept warrants explanation, both in staff training and in interpretation. Indeed, establishing that different historical time periods understood sexual identity and expression differently may end up being one of your site’s main interpretive goals.

8 Thomas A. Foster, ed., *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 8–9; and Molly McGarry and Fred Wasserman, *Becoming Visible: An Illustrated History of Lesbian and Gay Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1998), 39. The emphasis before this shift most definitely was on sodomy—most often defined as male sexual penetration of another male. Women’s sexual activity with other women was largely off the radar of social commentators until the development of the medical model known as homosexuality.
As a result of these changing understandings, the historical record offers many tantalizing hints of activity that, if created in our own time, would seem to be evidence of gay, lesbian, or bisexual desire, behavior, identity, or relationships. The analysis is not that easy, however. These are contemporary labels, and we cannot facilely apply them retrospectively to a time period in which such concepts did not exist. For instance, intense, exclusive bonds between members of the same sex—mostly women but also sometimes men—were quite common in the nineteenth century. Known as “romantic friendships,” these relationships involved avowals of loyalty and love, pet names, and quite often physical affection. And yet, such bonds carried no stigma and did not preclude their adherents from also entering into marriages with members of the opposite sex. How are we to understand these relationships today? To call them “gay” or “lesbian” assumes a sexual consciousness that quite likely was not present. Such a label also seems somehow to disrespect those who have struggled with or proudly claimed that label in later times. As Victoria Bissell Brown notes when discussing the sexuality of reformer Jane Addams (Figure 1):

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9 License: Public domain. [http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004671949/](http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004671949/)
...I cannot use a word that has purposely erotic meaning in our era to describe the intimate experience of a woman who lived in a very different time. Too many people have fought too hard for modern lesbians' claim to a lusty, erotic life for me to daintily retreat to an ahistorical definition of “lesbian” that skirts the blood, sweat, and tears of erotic expression.11

At the same time, to completely deny the relevance of romantic friendships to LGBTQ history would also be misleading. Surely, these bonds lie somewhere on the spectrum of same-sex love and desire; it is the easy use of modern labels that strips these historical trends of their nuance and context.

Shifting the topic from “LGBTQ” to same-sex love and desire addresses some of these issues. This broader category moves away from contemporary labels as well as the modern emphasis on sexual practice and self-identification. Likewise, we can take a similar approach to conceptualizing transgender identity, by instead considering the topic of “variant gender expression.” Like its companion identities in the label of LGBTQ, transgender identity is a modern concept, with a relatively recent history as an identity distinct from sexual orientation.12 The past abounds with people who chose to live as a gender opposite to their biological sex. We can certainly speak to that fact, but it is more difficult to presume their motivation for doing so, unless they specifically addressed that question. Once again, it is the modern label, not the topic itself that is problematic.

Terminology is another issue to keep in mind when beginning to conceptualize the LGBTQ stories related to your site. In addition to the interpretive issues involved in using contemporary labels to describe historical circumstances, sites that interpret the twentieth century—after our modern labels had come into use—face decisions concerning appropriate vocabulary. There is no one universally agreed upon lexicon to describe variant sexuality and gender expression, with preferences varying by generation, subculture, geographic region, and personal inclination. Because of this, some sites choose to devote interpretive space to explaining the connotations and changing meanings of specific words. For instance, *Revealing Queer*, a temporary exhibit at the Museum of History and Industry (MOHAI) in Seattle, dedicated a corner of its 1,000-square-foot exhibit space to offering definitions of various labels and providing a space where visitors could record the words they use to identify themselves. Regardless of the vocabulary your site chooses to employ, sites should make this decision carefully and in consultation with local LGBTQ communities.13

**Intersectionality**

The idea of intersectionality argues that different aspects of one’s identity—such as race, class, sexual orientation, gender identity, geographic region, religion, etc.—intersect to create a particular worldview and thus we must approach historical agents as multifaceted beings whose experience of one condition—sexual orientation, for instance—is informed by all others. The concept is dealt with more fully in another chapter of this theme study. However, I mention it here because it is most certainly a factor in conceptualizing LGBTQ stories. There is not one LGBTQ community, one LGBTQ experience, one LGBTQ past—though we sometimes speak of all of these. To do true justice to the stories

Interpreting LGBTQ Historic Sites

contained in a historic place, interpreters must consider the intersectionality of identities.14

The Underrepresented Nature of Bisexual and Transgender Identities

Although the terms GLBT, LGBT, and LGBTQ have been in use for decades, they do not always deliver equal representation of the identities listed. Gay and lesbian experiences have received far more consideration, generally speaking, than bisexual and transgender experiences. While one could argue that this is a consequence of greater numbers and more surviving documentation in the historical record, the neglect of bisexual and transgender experiences is at least in part an oversight that warrants redress.

Western culture tends toward the binary. Most of us are quite accustomed to the heterosexual-homosexual binary, or the male-female binary, and significantly less comfortable with those who blur those borders, as do both bisexuals and transgender folk. Rather than grapple with the in-between, many choose simply to ignore those experiences that complicate the cultural framework. And yet, exploring the lives of those who destabilize cultural categories has the potential to provide new insight; by shifting perspective, we see assumptions that we did not necessarily know existed.

For instance, what are we to make of a heterosexually married person who also left evidence of same-sex desire and behavior?15 Traditionally,

15 One such person is Ogden Codman Jr., associated with the Codman House (The Grange), 34 Codman Road, Lincoln, Massachusetts, http://www.historicnewengland.org/historic-properties/homes/codman-estate. However, in the discussion that follows, I am not talking specifically about Codman, but hypothetically. For more on Codman, see Kenneth C. Turino, “Case Study: The Varied Telling of Queer History at Historic New England Sites,” in Ferentinos, Interpreting LGBT History, 135-136. The Grange was listed on the NRHP on April 18, 1974.
sites may have been inclined to use the fact of a marriage as a badge of heterosexual acceptability and simply ignore any evidence that suggested a broader range of interest. Now, I fear the pendulum may have swung too far the other way and sites might be too quick to assume this hypothetical historical agent was a closeted homosexual, using a socially acceptable marriage as nothing more than a shield against accusations of impropriety. But there is, of course, another possibility. Such a person may have sincerely felt desire for both men and women. In a similar vein, bisexuals have historically shared many of the same experiences as gays and lesbians—fighting for broader protection under the law, being arrested in gay bars, and losing jobs because of perceived “sexual perversion.” It might take a second look to find them, even when they are hiding in plain sight.

Figure 2: Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House Museum, 2011. Photo by Blindowlphotography.¹⁶

Along similar lines, transgender identities and same-sex love and desire exist in complicated relation with each other. Today, we understand sexual orientation and gender identity to be two distinct categories, but this has not always been the case. Traditionally, the categories have been conflated in societal understandings. As a result, when delving into the past, interpreters can find opportunities to talk about both same-sex love and desire and gender transgression.\textsuperscript{17} For instance, Alice Austen, a turn-of-the-twentieth-century photographer, challenged gender conventions in much of her work. She also spent fifty years partnered to another woman, Gertrude Tate. Both of these aspects are interpreted at her home, Clear Comfort, which is now a museum (Figure 2).\textsuperscript{18} In 2010, the Alice Austen House and its parent organization, the Historic House Trust of New York City, invited photographer Steven Rosen, working with the drag performance troupe Switch ‘n’ Play, to create contemporary interpretations of some of Austen’s more provocative works and thus explore changing attitudes about gender expression and sexual identity. The results were later displayed in an exhibit at the site. While this program was not strictly historical in nature, it does provide an example of museums incorporating innovative programming, highlighting the interrelationship of gender and sexual identity, and encouraging visitors to engage with the past by exploring parallels with (and differences from) their own era.\textsuperscript{19}

Considering the ways variant gender expression has overlapped with variant sexuality in different ways in different eras opens exciting interpretive avenues. But if we unconsciously favor gay and lesbian stories—those that fall neatly into the binary—we run the risk of neglecting other stories also present in historical sources. Staying consciously

\textsuperscript{18} Clear Comfort (The Alice Austen House) at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York, was listed on the NRHP on July 29, 1970 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993, www.aliceausten.org
\textsuperscript{19} Frank D. Vagnone, “A Note from Franklin D. Vagnone,” executive director, Historic House Trust Newsletter, Fall 2010; and Lillian Faderman and Phyllis Irwin, “Alice Austen and Gertrude Tate: A Boston Marriage on Staten Island,” Historic House Trust Newsletter, Fall 2010.
Susan Ferentinos

committed to finding bisexual and transgender stories, as well as gay and lesbian ones, can result in a fuller discussion of the range of ideas and experiences present.

Artifacts

What objects represent the LGBTQ elements of your site’s story? The answer will vary with each site, of course, as well as with the period of significance. When interpreting the mid- to late twentieth century, objects may more obviously represent queer experience—mementos from marches or gay bars, for example. Earlier eras may present more of a challenge and may require reviewing your site’s collection with new eyes—and possibly engaging the help of a specialist—to discover coded meanings not readily apparent.20

Moving Away from Standard Tropes

One could argue that recent efforts to obtain legal recognition for same-sex marriage have fed into a “Queer people are just like us!” mentality. Such thinking obscures the distinct subcultures LGBTQ people have forged. The most successful interpretive efforts will approach LGBTQ experiences on their own terms, as revealed in the surviving sources, rather than crafting a narrative that mimics heterosexual patterns. Indeed, in their role as sex and gender outsiders, many LGBTQ people have worked tirelessly to challenge cultural assumptions about what is and is not “normal,” “proper,” and “natural.” This societal critique—whether it occurred with words or deeds—deserves to be remembered.

A relevant example comes from the Out in Chicago exhibit at the Chicago History Museum.21 The museum convened two separate advisory panels, one comprised of people who identified as LGBTQ and the other comprised of people who identified as straight. Interestingly, when asked

21 The Chicago History Museum is located at 1601 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.
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what they hoped to get out of an exhibit on Chicago’s LGBTQ past, the straight committee said they sought to learn about the ways queer lives were similar to their own, while the LGBTQ committee hoped that their distinct experiences and subcultures would be documented, preserved, and presented to a wider audience. After grappling with the question of how to address the legitimate desires of both groups, the exhibit team decided in the end to privilege the wishes of the LGBTQ stakeholders, who had not had as great an opportunity as the straight stakeholders to see their experiences represented in museum settings.22

In addition to moving beyond heterosexual tropes, interpreters should also challenge the “progress narrative.” Most likely visitors are accustomed to historical trajectories that move unerringly toward “progress,” however defined—expanding democratic freedoms, growing economic strength, lives continually made better by technological innovation and increased access to consumer goods. This device seems particularly prevalent when discussing LGBTQ history, especially when those presentations focus on the question of civil rights.23

Historians now understand that, over time, the dangers and freedoms afforded to LGBTQ people expanded and contracted in ways that do not fit neatly into the idea of a steady march toward acceptance and freedom from fear. Examples abound. To take but one, in the revolutionary period and early nineteenth century, emotional and physical affection between men was seen as a sign of “sensibility,” a desired trait in the democratic ideal where empathy, compassion, and thoughtfulness were seen as necessary for exercising the rights of citizenry (at this time restricted to white men). By the twentieth century, however, the emotional range considered acceptable for men was greatly constricted, and male-male bonds of affection were derided and strictly policed for fear that they

Susan Ferentinos would receive the taint of the then-common taboo of male love for another male (regardless of sexual component).24

When conceptualizing the LGBTQ stories to be told, the issue of sexual content is likely to arise, and here, too, I encourage interpreters to challenge their assumptions about what is and is not appropriate. Many authors have written about the role of museums in enforcing heteronormativity—the assumptions that heterosexuality and the nuclear family are the societal “norm,” and hence do not need to be analyzed, while all other desires and social arrangements are “abnormal” and thus troubled.25 Heteronormativity can often slip into historical interpretation when LGBTQ experiences are deemed to be too “sexual” to discuss, while analogous heterosexual experiences are present. For instance, think how ubiquitous erotic female nudes (generally created by male artists) are in Western art. These pieces fill art galleries and historic homes and seldom receive any critical comments for being there. Would it be more challenging for staff and visitors if erotic depictions of men were displayed in the historic home of a lifelong bachelor? Likewise, the fact that Paul Revere fathered sixteen children with two wives is a regular part of the tour at the Paul Revere House. Yet this information is certainly no more or less sexual than the fact that author Willa Cather shared numerous

residences and thirty-eight years with her female companion, Edith Lewis.26

All of the tendencies described in this section are reasonable assumptions to make, given larger societal forces. Nevertheless, truly nuanced historical interpretation needs to push beyond societal assumptions in order to get ever closer to accurately documenting the realities of past experiences.

Accept that You Won’t Have All the Answers

Thus far, I have discussed numerous conceptual gray areas—the use of contemporary labels to describe historical experiences; the subtle connotations of language; the intersectionality of identity; the potentially nonbinary nature of bisexual and transgender identities; and historical nuance that doesn’t fit neatly into standard cultural tropes. It would be understandable if readers began to feel that uncovering the LGBTQ past were a moving target, one that eludes clear conclusions. And to some extent, such feelings would be correct. Historical inquiry quite often reveals more questions than answers. This is the core of its power. We don’t have to have all the answers in order to engage in a conversation about the past with visitors; the very fact that we don’t know everything we wish we knew invites the visitor to interact with the past as opposed to merely consuming a historical product. Yet, admitting uncertainty may be new territory for seasoned interpreters accustomed to taking a more definitive stance when sharing the past with visitors. While it may require a change of thinking, or perhaps additional training, this challenge once again points to the potential of this type of interpretation, revealing more clearly to a wide audience that history is not just a collection of known facts. It involves piecing together shards of evidence, grappling with conflicting points of view, and drawing conclusions as best we can. And in

particular, with regard to the queer past: ideas about sexuality change over time; previous prejudice against LGBTQ identities result in a dearth of surviving objects and documents in our own time; past eras were as complicated as our own, with competing interpretations and so very much that went unspoken.

In fact, within the field of public history, there is a growing trend to “pull back the curtain” and reveal historians’ work to visitors. Rather than presenting interpretation of established fact, this line of thinking encourages sites to reveal the historical process by presenting evidence and context to visitors and asking them to draw their own conclusions. Uncertainty itself can be an interpretive tool. The Jane Addams Hull-House Museum puts these ideas into practice in interpreting Addams’s sexuality. Although historians know that the reformer had an intense bond with her friend Mary Rozet Smith that spanned over thirty years, the couple’s correspondence was destroyed (at Addams’s request), so questions remain about the specific nature of their relationship. The museum interprets Addams’s personal life—including her bond with Smith—in the reformer’s bedroom, and is quite open about the fact that the evidence is unclear about Addams’s sexual identity. Visitors encounter the evidence that survives and a description of the relevant historical context—that the late nineteenth century saw many life-long pairings between educated, professional women and the historical circumstances that supported such behavior. However, the museum does not draw conclusions from the evidence, instead providing visitors the opportunity to perform their own analyses.

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28 Ferentinos, Lifting Our Skirts. The Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.
Interpretive Planning

At some point in the process of uncovering LGBTQ stories, it will be time to move from the conceptual to the concrete, to the specific steps of interpretive planning. While such steps are likely quite familiar to those who work in this area, below, I mention a few issues that either are particularly important when beginning LGBTQ interpretation or carry specific implications when approaching these populations.

Buy-In from Stakeholders

As is true of all interpretive efforts, buy-in from stakeholders—including funders—early in the planning process will help ensure that the effort goes smoothly. You might be surprised at how easy this is to achieve. Regardless of individual opinions about LGBTQ current events and legal protections, it would be difficult to find many people in the United States today who deny that LGBTQ people exist and have been productive members of society. As a result of this cultural shift, resistance to LGBTQ historical interpretation is becoming increasingly rare, when the information is based on historic evidence and avoids using modern labels to describe past circumstances. What’s more, in the last few years, there has been a sea change within corporate America. Many major companies in the United States have moved to the forefront of advocating for LGBTQ acceptance, a trend witnessed in the 2015 controversy in Indiana over the state’s Religious Freedom Restoration Act, where corporations such as Eli Lilly and Company, Angie’s List, Anthem, and Salesforce played a significant role in pressuring lawmakers to amend the law.29 These events suggest that many corporate funders would welcome the opportunity to support LGBTQ historical interpretation. Nevertheless, it is best to build donor, board, and staff support early in the planning process, rather than face unpleasant surprises later on.

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Solicit Input from Community Partners and Explore Partnerships

Seeking input on interpretive development from a wide range of community advisors will assist in creating programming that is relevant and respectful. Advisors can include straight stakeholders as well as representatives of LGBTQ communities, but in selecting advisors, sites should keep in mind that there is not one single cohesive LGBTQ “community.” Care must be taken to ensure gender, class, racial, and generational diversity, as well as representation of all the different categories within the LGBTQ label.

When cultivating relationships among LGBTQ advisors, site personnel should be prepared to encounter some distrust and resistance. Mainstream institutions have historically served as agents of oppression for LGBTQ people in this country. Laws criminalized their self-expression; police harassed them; doctors told them they were sick; popular culture portrayed them as depraved; educational materials denied their existence; the military gave them dishonorable discharges; and the federal government’s glacial response to the AIDS epidemic led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of gay and bisexual men and transgender women. These historical realities are fading, but they have created scars that lead many LGBTQ people to assume the worst about the powers that be. Within the museum world, this is most often seen as a reluctance to grant oral history interviews, share lived experiences, or donate material. Community advisors from relevant populations can serve as bridge builders, communicating the organization’s goals and objectives and serving as watchdogs against unintended gaffes in interpretation. Historic sites should be prepared, however, to exercise patience when building trust and legitimacy within this area.

In addition to specific individuals serving as community advisors, organizational partnerships can address similar issues, providing content expertise and advice on outreach. The Minnesota Historical Society had an established Summer History Immersion Program (SHIP) teaching first-generation college-bound high school students the skills of college-level
historical research. However, the organization partnered with the University of Minnesota’s Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies when looking to expand its program into the field of LGBTQ history. Similarly, the National Constitution Center and the William Way LGBT Community Center co-sponsored a special exhibit in summer 2015 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the “Annual Reminder” protests for gay and lesbian rights that were held each Independence Day from 1965 to 1969 at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. The key to creating solid partnerships is mutual assistance. Seek ways to support these organizations as a means of building trust and strengthening relationships.

To assist with these outreach efforts, the American Alliance of Museums is in the process of developing LGBTQ welcoming standards for museums, which it plans to unveil at its annual meeting in spring 2016. This document intentionally aligns with the organization’s National Standards and Best Practices for U.S. Museums and draws widely from resources on supporting LGBTQ individuals at work, school, and in community.

**Staffing and Sustainability**

Although familiarity with local LGBTQ realities provides an important perspective to LGBTQ site interpretation, historical and interpretive expertise is also important. Thus, choices about what staff to assign to the development of new interpretation should be made with an eye toward expertise rather than personal identification with the subject. While LGBTQ staff members will likely support the organization’s efforts in this area,

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In addition, the issue of sustainability is important to consider from the outset. Will the interpretative changes become part of permanent programming? Or will they be temporary (special events or occasional themed tours, for instance)? If the latter, how will you maintain the new visitors and audience enthusiasm your efforts are likely to produce? LGBTQ interpretation can send a message of welcome and inclusion; but this message will be met with expectations. How will the organization continue to create a welcoming environment for diverse audiences? How will it avoid tokenism?

Furthermore, Stacia Kuceyeski, director of outreach at the Ohio History Connection (which serves as an institutional partner to the Gay Ohio History Initiative) urges organizations to make LGBTQ projects and outreach a designated part of someone's job, rather than an unevaluated
labor of love for a particular staff member, performed above and beyond their assigned job duties. With responsibilities clearly assigned and part of articulated performance goals, Kuceyeski argues, LGBTQ interpretive efforts are protected from the vagaries of staff turnover or loss of momentum.32

Choosing Specific Interpretive Methods

Historic sites have introduced LGBTQ stories to visitors in a variety of ways. Beauport, the home of early-twentieth-century designer Henry Davis Sleeper, discusses Sleeper’s sexual identity in their standard visitor tour (Figure 3). They have also hosted lectures on queer-related topics and an evening reception and private tour specifically for a gay meet-up group.33 Staff at Rosie the Riveter/ World War II Home Front National Historical Park, realizing that they needed more documentation before beginning to interpret LGBTQ stories, launched an oral history project complete with a confidential phone line where people interested in learning more about the project could do so while still preserving their anonymity.34 The John Q Ideas Collective stages “discursive memorials”—which might also be described as historically informed site-specific theater—at sites throughout Atlanta that hold relevance to the LGBTQ past.35 The Gay Ohio History Initiative, in partnership with the Ohio History Connection, erected a

33 Turino, Case Study, 132-135. Beauport was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 27, 2003.
historical marker to author Natalie Clifford Barney, who was partnered with a woman (painter Romaine Brooks) for fifty years (Figure 4).\textsuperscript{36} Indianapolis and Minneapolis have each taken a city-wide approach to interpreting LGBTQ history, developing mobile phone apps that map and interpret relevant sites throughout their cities.\textsuperscript{37} And the California Historical Society is currently sponsoring a crowd-sourced Historypin project where the public can upload their memories and photos of LGBTQ-related sites throughout the state.\textsuperscript{38}

The relative newness of LGBTQ historical interpretation means that the field remains particularly open to new ideas and methods. Sites have engaged with this history using both established and experimental interpretive methods, and many sites unfolded their LGBTQ interpretation in stages, beginning with lectures or other one-time programming and eventually moving into more detailed interpretation. A combination of creative thinking and respectful consultation with stakeholders holds the possibility of producing meaningful and engaging content.

Prepare for a Range of Reactions

LGBTQ historical interpretation is still a rare enough phenomenon that many visitors likely will be encountering this subject matter for the first time. Some will be thrilled to find it; others will be challenged. As with any new interpretive effort, it is wise to prepare for a range of reactions. The literature on this subject contains numerous mentions of visitors crying; this can be a hard history to bear witness to. Visitors who have experienced violence, discrimination, and loss because of their LGBTQ identities may have such traumatic memories triggered by this interpretation. People may need a place to reflect and process what they've encountered. They may want to share stories. Some may be angry at encountering this topic; others may be frustrated that the interpretation does not go further. Consider a range of possibilities and prepare for them.

As part of planning for visitor reactions, sites may want to add participatory elements to their interpretation. Providing these kinds of opportunities—video booths or reaction boards, for example—gives visitors a chance to reflect on what they have encountered in an environment where they feel they will be heard. Another approach would be to invite audience members to take on the role of historian, “pulling back the curtain” and analyzing the evidence for themselves.

Ensuring that the nation’s historic sites represent a full and inclusive past is an ongoing challenge. As LGBTQ history permeates the national consciousness and becomes increasingly evident in official historical narratives, examples of LGBTQ interpretation at historic sites will increase. And, as with all historical topics, our understanding and interpretation will become more nuanced over time. The key at this moment is to begin.
Imagine a world in which students could visit not just Civil War battlefields that raise the profound issues of slavery and what it means for states to be united, but also buildings that housed places that came to feel like home to people marginalized because of sexuality and gender, places that were important enough to defend against onslaughts by the police. That is the possibility that teaching the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) past through historic sites offers. The houses where famous and less known lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people lived, the commercial establishments they patronized and defended, and even places that mark a history of discrimination and violence offer the opportunity to make LGBTQ history a part of US history in a way that makes a difference for students, wherever they are learning history.

A more inclusive history certainly matters to LGBTQ students, who suffer not just from bullying and other forms of discrimination but also from being deprived of a past. Many years ago, I was teaching an introductory US history course when I ran into a student from the class
Leila J. Rupp

who was working in the local gay restaurant. He told me that he had never heard of Stonewall until I talked about it in a lecture on social movement of the 1960s (Figure 1). He was so excited to hear a mention of the gay past in a history class that he told his roommate about it. He also came out, since they had never discussed their sexual identities, and then the roommate came out to him. The student described the moment as life-changing.

Robert King, a high school teacher interviewed by Daniel Hurewitz, tells a similar story about Jack Davis, a student in his class at Palisades Charter High School in Southern California. King included LGBTQ content in just one part of one day’s lecture on civil rights movements. After a discussion of Stonewall, Davis raised his hand and came out to the class. In an essay he published later, Davis wrote that he had been looking for a way to come out, and the mention of Stonewall opened a door. His classmates applauded, got up out of their seats, and hugged him. He described it as an amazing experience, and the class as “the most defining moment of my coming out.” Walking out of the classroom, he felt the weight of the world lifted from his shoulders.2

Figure 1: Stonewall Inn, site of the 1969 Stonewall Riots, New York City, New York. Photo by Diana Davies, 1969 from the collections of the New York Public Library (MssCol 732).1

2 Quoted in Daniel Hurewitz, “Putting Ideas into Practice: High School Teachers Talk about Incorporating the LGBT Past,” in Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman, eds., Understanding and
And it is not just LGBTQ students who benefit from a more complete history. I had another experience in a class I taught on the history of same-sex sexuality that made that clear. One straight male student, who must have signed up for the class simply because it was at a convenient time, started the course expressing strongly homophobic views based on the Bible. The main paper for the class was the analysis of an interview the students had to conduct with an LGBTQ individual, placing the interviewee’s story in the context of the history we had been learning. This student chose to interview a gay coworker, and just hearing about a gay man’s life and his struggles and his relationships and his views—including his religious views—completely transformed the student’s attitude. Research has shown that knowing a LGBTQ person can change someone’s position on political issues connected to sexuality, and in this case, a face-to-face conversation—simply seeing a gay man as a person—was transformative.

This essay addresses the ways that historic sites can be mobilized in the project of teaching about LGBTQ history in high schools, colleges, universities, or in other contexts. I begin by considering what can be gained by teaching courses on queer history or integrating queer history into US history courses. I then address some of the challenges involved in this project. In the bulk of the essay, I provide an overview of existing and potential historic sites that illustrate the main themes in the field, with suggestions for ways to bring LGBTQ history into the classroom. I end with a brief conclusion emphasizing why teaching LGBTQ history and heritage matters and what historic sites can bring to the project.

Why Teach LGBTQ History?

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history developed as a field within the historical discipline as a result of the LGBTQ movement. As

with African American, Asian American, Latina/o, Native American, and women’s history, it was social movement activism that stimulated a desire to learn and teach about people too often left out of the mainstream historical narrative and to incorporate those histories into a transformed and inclusive story of the past. In recent years, information about LGBTQ lives has moved into mainstream discourse, thanks to the inclusion of LGBTQ characters in film and television, the coming out of prominent public figures, and debate about, and the rapid change in public opinion on, the issue of same-sex marriage, culminating in the 2015 Supreme Court decision opening marriage to same-sex couples throughout the country. Yet there is little knowledge out there about queer history, so notions about the LGBTQ community exist in a vacuum. Official recognition of this state of affairs was behind California’s pioneering legislation, the Fair, Accurate, Inclusive, and Responsible (FAIR) Act, the nation’s first legislation requiring public schools to teach about LGBTQ history. The 2011 law amended the language of the state’s education code, adding “lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans,” as well as disabled Americans, to the list of those, including “men and women, Native Americans, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, European Americans . . . and members of other ethnic and cultural groups” whose contributions must be considered in classroom instruction and materials.\footnote{Quoted in Susan K. Freeman and Leila J. Rupp, “The Ins and Outs of U.S. History,” in Understanding and Teaching, 5. Some of this essay is drawn from our introduction to this volume. For more information, see the FAIR education website, http://www.faireducationact.com.} How pioneering this legislation is can be measured by the heated debate in the Tennessee legislature of the Classroom Protection Act, known as the “Don’t Say Gay Bill,” that, if passed, would have prevented teachers from discussing LGBTQ topics.\footnote{Shannon Weber, “Teaching Same-Sex Marriage as U.S. History,” in Understanding and Teaching, 306.}

So the first answer to the question of why teach LGBTQ history is that it makes for better history. Over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, history at all levels of education has moved from the story of wars and the men in power to a more complex depiction of the ways that

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3 Quoted in Susan K. Freeman and Leila J. Rupp, “The Ins and Outs of U.S. History,” in Understanding and Teaching, 5. Some of this essay is drawn from our introduction to this volume. For more information, see the FAIR education website, http://www.faireducationact.com.
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all the people of a society play a part in history. Black history, Native American history, Asian American history, Latina/o history, working-class history, women’s history, the history of disability—all of these fields of study within the discipline of history have transformed how we understand the US past. That is what the extensive literature on LGBTQ history has done as well. Cultural attitudes toward same-sex sexuality and gender transformation and expression tell us a great deal about the sexual and gender systems of Native Americans, European colonists, and the new “Americans.” Same-sex sexuality is part of the story of the evolution of regional differences and the growth of cities. Struggles over civil liberties and the role of government in the lives of individuals are central to LGBTQ history, and the collective resistance of sexual minorities is as much a part of US history as the struggles of other marginalized groups, whose histories intersect and overlap with queer history. We come to understand history differently when we recognize it not as the single story of a dominant group but as the convergence of multiple histories.

The second answer to the question of why teach LGBTQ history is that it matters to students, of whatever age, because of the widespread phenomenon of bullying, harassment, discrimination—or worse—of LGBTQ people. At the university level, the case of Tyler Clementi, the Rutgers University student who killed himself in 2010 after his roommate secretly videotaped him in a same-sex sexual encounter, attracted national attention. At the secondary school level, the Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network’s (GLSEN) 2013 National School Climate Survey documents the ways that a hostile school climate affects LGBTQ students. In 2011, the National Center for Lesbian Rights and the Southern Poverty Law Center, supported by the Justice Department, filed a lawsuit against the Anoka-Hennepin School District, in Minnesota, over a gag order forbidding discussion of LGBTQ issues after the suicides of four gay or bisexual students. The successful suit cited a California study that

showed that any mention of LGBTQ people or issues in the curriculum increased student safety and improved the climate for students. The GLSEN survey also shows that an inclusive curriculum, along with other resources, makes a difference. In high school, college, and university classrooms and in community centers and other places, there are students who have siblings or parents or children or friends or coworkers or neighbors who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer. Teaching an inclusive US history makes better history for all of them.

But It Isn’t Easy

Teaching LGBTQ history is important, but it is not always easy. The process begins with introducing students to the social constructionist perspective, which emphasizes that sexuality is historically contingent. That is, societies, through religion, law, science, medicine, and other institutions, shape sexual behavior and identities in very different ways across time and space. Given that the reigning assumption in our society is that sexuality is purely biological and the fact that, in part because it is an easier sell in the struggle for legal equality, the LGBTQ movement has tended to embrace the notion that people are born gay, it can be difficult to teach from a social constructionist perspective. Students tend to experience their sexual desires and identities as innate and to misread social constructionism as an indication that sexuality can be easily changed. So the first task in any class is to show the ways that sexual desire, behavior, and identities vary across time and in different cultures. Such an approach calls for looking carefully at the evidence we have of what people felt, did, and thought, and using language that refers to identities with sensitivity to the times. Historical evidence of different ways that sexuality has been organized can help students understand that experiencing desire for someone of the same sex or engaging in a sexual act with someone of the same sex did not always and everywhere mean that someone was gay or lesbian in the way we understand those terms.

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6 Freeman and Rupp, Understanding and Teaching, 6.
today. Even after reading about all the different ways that societies have shaped sexuality in the past, students often remain firmly convinced that, in Lady Gaga’s words, they were “Born This Way.” The challenge is to help them see that their desires and behaviors could have quite different meanings and consequences in other times and places.\(^7\)

As a result of this perspective, it can be difficult to identify who belongs in LGBTQ history. Although there are historians who argue that we can identify gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people in societies (including our own past) in which no such categories existed, most historians would insist that we cannot. As a result, the very question of what LGBTQ history includes is a complex one. Does Eleanor Roosevelt’s love for journalist Lorena Hickok make her part of LGBTQ history? In terms of historic sites, should the White House be included? And what about a complex figure such as J. Edgar Hoover, who used the FBI to target those suspected of homosexuality at the same time that he formed an intimate relationship with Clyde Tolson. Is Hoover a part of LGBTQ history?\(^8\) It is important in identifying sites not to convey the message that everyone associated with them can be identified as lesbian or gay or bisexual or transgender or queer in our contemporary sense.

Another challenge is attending to the intersections of multiple identities shaped not only by sexuality and gender but race, ethnicity, class, nationality, age, disability, and more. As the US history curriculum adds to the diversity of individuals and groups included as worthy of study, it is important that LGBTQ history not focus only on white people, or men, or the middle-class. Taking inspiration from the title of a classic work in black women’s history, *All the Women are White, all the Blacks are Men, But*

\(^7\) The concepts of essentialism and social constructionism, along with the poststructuralist concept of sexuality and gender as performative categories characterized by fluidity, are complex and beyond the scope of this essay. What is important is for students to grasp the notion that sexuality has a history.

\(^8\) For a sensitive and nuanced consideration of Roosevelt and Hoover in the context of LGBTQ history, see Claire Potter, “Public Figures, Private Lives: Eleanor Roosevelt, J. Edgar Hoover, and a Queer Political History,” in *Understanding and Teaching*, 199-212.
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*Some of Us are Brave*, we need to make sure that not all the lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender, and queer people are white and middle class.⁹

And then there is the challenge of transforming, rather than just adding a few queer individuals to, the curriculum. The language of the FAIR Act in California calls for the inclusion of the contributions of LGBTQ individuals. If all we can do is sprinkle in a few people who might have desired, loved, or had sex with others with biologically alike bodies, or who might have thought of themselves as a gender different from the one assigned to them at birth, then we will add little to our understanding of sexuality and gender in the past. What we should be after is a transformational approach that, through considering the forces that have structured the lives of LGBTQ people, opens up new perspectives on families, communities, social practices, and politics.¹⁰ As does ethnic, working-class, and women’s history, a transformational LGBTQ history changes what we know about the agency and impact of people not in the seat of power, and about how power operates in complex ways. It changes history.

**Teaching with Historic Sites**

Historic sites provide the opportunity to bring LGBTQ history alive for students of all ages. All over the country there are places—houses, commercial establishments, public spaces, neighborhoods, and locations of significant events—that connect to the kind of transformational history that integrates sexuality and gender into the story of the past. It is possible to connect lessons to local and nearby (at the very least, state-level) LGBTQ historic sites, making this history directly relevant to where students live.

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⁹ Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women’s Studies* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1982).

Teaching with these sites is not without its own challenges. For one thing, there is an unavoidable imbalance of recent history, given the more public nature of LGBTQ history in the last century. The national memorial with the earliest identified LGBTQ significance is the Fort Caroline National Memorial where René Goulaine de Laudonnière and Jacques Le Moyne in the 1650s described two-spirit Timucua Indians. In this case, they were male-bodied individuals who took on the dress and social roles of women, but there are also examples of female-bodied two-spirit people in the historical record (see Roscoe, this volume). The vast majority of LGBTQ historic places are associated with the twentieth century, and this has the potential to reinforce a view of LGBTQ history as an uplifting story of progress. Also, the difficulty, as discussed above, of determining who and what is legitimately part of LGBTQ history before the sexological definition of homosexuality and the emergence of the identities of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer makes it tricky to avoid an essentializing approach to some of these sites. For example, another early site, Kealakekua Bay in Hawai‘i, has a connection to LGBTQ history because a member of the James Cook expedition reported talking with a man named Palea who described himself as aikane, a term now interpreted as “friend” that may have then referred to a male sexual companion (see Roscoe, this volume). Were the two-spirit people in Florida transgender? Was Palea gay? These are questions that cannot be answered simply, as Native American understandings of two-spirit fall outside our Euro-American concept of a sex and gender binary. These questions require acceptance that what we can know about sexual subjectivity in the past is limited and recognition that we need to be sensitive about the use of contemporary terms to describe people in the past. And yet another challenge is that many sites, especially the homes of individuals, have the potential to stop at the contribution level of LGBTQ history that emphasizes what a few individuals did rather than moving on to a transformational approach that changes how we view history.

11 Fort Caroline National Memorial is located at 12713 Fort Caroline Road, Jacksonville, Florida. It was designated a National Memorial on January 16, 1953 and listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966.  
12 Kealakekua Bay is located along Napo‘opo‘o Road, Hawai‘i. It was listed on the NRHP on December 12, 1973.
But all of these challenges can be met head on, and a variety of different historic sites can help to breathe life into the study of the past. Whether or not students have the opportunity to visit sites in person, historic places can be brought into the classroom through photographs, and some can be linked to documentary films, oral histories, fiction, or community histories. Students can be encouraged to explore places in their own communities that have significance for LGBTQ history. The key to teaching with these sites is to connect them to the big themes of LGBTQ and US history.

So what might a class—either specifically on LGBTQ history, or a US survey incorporating LBGTQ history—that makes use of historical sites look like? I sketch out here some ways that different kinds of sites can evoke a complex and transformational history. Some of these places are already recognized as historical sites, a few by the National Park Service and some by local or state agencies. Some are recognized in connection to LGBTQ history, some for other reasons. Pre-twentieth century sites have the potential to open up a discussion of how we understand people’s desires and sexual acts and intimate relationships in different cultures and in times before the naming of homosexuality and to undermine a simple progress narrative of US history. This is the case for sites connected to European

Figure 2: A burial marker at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Montana. Photo courtesy of the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, 2015.
contact with two-spirit Native Americans and Hawai‘ian aikane, including (in addition to Fort Caroline and Kealakekua Bay), Fort Wingate in New Mexico, where a two-spirit Zuni named We’Wha was imprisoned in 1892. Another recognized site, the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument (Figure 2), includes a ledger drawing of Cheyenne two-spirits leading the victory dance after Custer’s defeat in 1876. Students might compare the role of two-spirits with the case of a female-assigned individual, Mary Henly, who wore men’s clothing and was charged in colonial Massachusetts with behavior “seeming to confound the course of nature.” Contrasting the acceptance of gender-nonconformity among some Native American cultures with the secret gender-crossing of individuals in European and American culture illustrates for students the ways that societies view gender in vastly different ways.

The homes of nineteenth-century women who lived with other women open up the question of how we think about the intense, loving, and committed relationships known as “romantic friendships.” Because of the sex-segregated domestic world of “love and ritual” in which white, middle and upper-class women lived, romantic friendships between women (and, although in a somewhat different way, between young men) flourished. As middle-class women gained entry to professions such as teaching and social work, romantic friends could choose to forego marriage and make a life with each other in what were known as “Boston marriages.” Hull House in Chicago, home to Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith, illustrates the role of settlement houses in fostering such Boston marriages (Figure 3). Likewise, Mary Dreier and Frances Kellor, active in the labor and social reform movements, lived together for fifty years in their New York

13 Fort Wingate Historic District was listed on the NRHP on May 26, 1978.
14 The Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument is located at 7756 Battlefield Tour Road, Crow Agency, Montana. It was first preserved as a US National Cemetery in 1879 and designated a National Monument on March 22, 1946. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. For more information on two spirit people, see Roscoe (this volume).
15 Quoted in Genny Beemyn, “Transforming the Curriculum: The Inclusion of the Experiences of Trans People,” in Understanding and Teaching, 115.
17 Hull House is located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.
Katherine Bates, feminist author of “America the Beautiful” and English professor, lived in Wellesley, Massachusetts with Katherine Coman, professor of history and economics and later dean of Wellesley College, for twenty-five years. Looking at the homes that women made together, students might consider how the ideology of separate spheres for women and men—with women assigned the domestic sphere of love and care and men the public sphere of work and rationality—created the conditions for romantic friendships. Boston marriages, in turn, provided women, freed from the necessity of marriage, the support to enter into the professions of social work and higher education.

The connection between romantic friendships and Boston marriages, on the one hand, and emerging lesbian subjectivity can be illustrated through such sites as Clear Comfort, the home of Alice Austen (1866-1952), who lived for fifty years with another woman, Gertrude Tate, and who photographed women dancing together, embracing in bed, and cross-dressing (Figure 4). Students might consider the persistence into the twentieth century of Boston marriages such as Austen’s and Tate’s, as well as relationships such as that of Eleanor Roosevelt with Lorena Hickok.

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19 Clear Comfort is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on July 28, 1970 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993.
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even as public awareness of the new category of “lesbian” grew.\textsuperscript{20} Austen’s photographs and Eleanor Roosevelt’s love letters to Hickok might be set against texts that warned against the danger of “schoolgirl friendships” or masculine “inverts” out to seduce innocent women.\textsuperscript{21}

A variety of homes of individuals can be used to illustrate LGBTQ lives in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The poetry of Walt Whitman (1819-1892), whose Camden home is a recognized historical site, calls attention to the complexity of male love and homoeroticism in the nineteenth century, since Whitman’s love for men did not lead him to claim an identity as homosexual.\textsuperscript{23} Equally important for LGBTQ history is the hospital where Whitman, along with Dr. Mary Walker, who dressed in

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Eleanor Roosevelt’s home at Val-Kill in New York State is an NPS property, part of the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site, established in 1977.
  \item \textsuperscript{22} License: CC BY-SA 4.0. \url{https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alice_Austen_House_08.JPG}
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Whitman’s Camden home was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962.
\end{itemize}
men’s clothing, lavished attention on soldiers wounded in the Civil War. The exuberance of Whitman’s appreciation of male friendship and American democracy in his poetry opens up for students the connections between masculinity and US industrial and urban growth in the nineteenth century. Students might consider his *Leaves of Grass* alongside photographs of men and letters written between male friends to bring alive a world in which male friendship was valued.

The Murray Hall Residence in New York City is where a gender crossing female-born New York City politician (ca. 1840s-1901) lived. His secret came out after twenty-five years when he developed breast cancer and his physician shocked the world by sharing the news of Hall’s anatomical sex. Students can follow the publicity about Hall and consider how people might have thought about him at the time. Outhistory.org, the premier source for LGBTQ history on the web, includes material about Hall as well as the memoir of Earl Lind, also known as Ralph Werther, also known as Jennie June, a person who considered themselves both male and female. The stories of Hall and Lind continue a consideration of how we think about gender nonconforming individuals in periods before the concept of transgender and the possibility of sex reassignment surgery. The transition to a period in which changing one’s bodily sex became possible is marked by the Dawn Pepita Simmons House in Charleston, South Carolina, the home of one of the first transsexual women in the United States. Gordon Langley Hall (1922-2000) had sex reassignment surgery at Johns Hopkins in 1968 and, as Dawn Pepita Simmons, lived in Charleston, where she married her much younger black male servant, John-Paul Simmons. Theirs was the first legal interracial marriage in South Carolina. Publicity about the case connects gender, sexuality, and race, 

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24 The site is the Old Patent Office Building, Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC. The building is now the location of the National Portrait Gallery. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.


26 The use of plural pronouns for gender-nonconforming individuals is one alternative to the use of gendered pronouns. On Earl Lind and Outhistory.org more generally, see Catherine O. Jacquet, “Queer History Goes Digital: Using Outhistory.org in the Classroom,” in *Understanding and Teaching*, 115.
raising issues for students to consider about the variety of ways in which legal and social restrictions have policed intimacy.

Historic sites also include commercial establishments catering to LGBTQ people, illustrating the emergence across time of queer communities and the struggle for the right to gather in public. The Ariston Hotel Baths in New York City, which men interested in sex with other men patronized as early as 1897, was the site of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in 1903.27 There are many other sites from the days before the emergence of gay liberation, ranging from Café Lafitte in Exile in New Orleans, operating as a gay bar since 1933; to Finocchio’s in San Francisco, from 1933 to 1999 a famous drag club and tourist destination; to the Jewel Box Lounge in Kansas City, opened in 1948 and Missouri home of the touring Jewel Box Revue that featured male and female impersonators, including the famous Stormé DeLarverie; to the Shamrock in Bluefield, West Virginia, opened in 1964 as a gay bar at night in what was a straight diner during the day.28 The variety of clubs and their spread across the country speaks to the importance of LGBTQ people having access to spaces where they were welcome. Students learning about the variety of LGBTQ commercial spaces—not just in New York and San Francisco—can come to understand how much industrialization and geographical mobility loosened the hold of the family and facilitated the emergence of new subcultures, both heterosexual and homosexual.

The importance of commercial establishments to the LGBTQ movement can be seen in the connections that developed between culture and politics. Bars and clubs both facilitated collective identity, which is the foundation of social movements, and served as central community spaces. A good example is Jewel’s Catch One, the country’s first black gay and

27 The baths were located in the basement of the Ariston Hotel, Broadway and 55th Street, New York City, New York.
28 Café Lafitte in Exile is located at 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana; it is located in the Vieux Carré NHL District, designated on December 21, 1965. Finocchio’s was located at 506 Broadway, San Francisco, California. The Jewel Box Lounge was located at 3219 Troost, Kansas City, Missouri (for the early days of the Jewel Box Revue, see Capó, this volume). The Shamrock was located at 326 Princeton Avenue, Bluefield, West Virginia.
Lesbian disco, opened in 1972, which was associated with a community center, nonprofit medical clinic, and the first residential home for homeless women and children with HIV/AIDS. Another example is Julius’s Bar, a straight bar where, in 1966, Mattachine members held a “Sip-in,” ordering drinks and announcing they were gay, in that way challenging the law against serving alcohol to homosexuals.

The connection between commercial LGBTQ spaces and resistance becomes even clearer when we consider the kinds of activism that preceded the iconic response to a police raid at the Stonewall Inn in New York City, traditionally considered the launch of the gay liberation cycle of the LGBTQ movement. In San Francisco, often considered the premier LGBTQ city, the sites of such protests include the Black Cat Club, where José Sarria, famous drag entertainer who ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1961, performed; California Hall, where activists responded to a police raid of a drag ball in 1964; and Compton’s Cafeteria, scene of a riot by young gay and

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29 Jewel’s Catch One was located at 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. It was the last black-owned gay club in Los Angeles when it closed in 2015.
30 Julius’s Bar is located at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.
31 License: Public domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plaque_commemorating_Compton%27s_Cafeteria_riot.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plaque_commemorating_Compton%27s_Cafeteria_riot.jpg)
32 The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.
transgender customers against police repression in 1966 (Figure 5).\textsuperscript{33} In Los Angeles, customers demonstrated against a police crackdown at Cooper’s Donuts in 1959 and the Black Cat Tavern in 1966.\textsuperscript{34} Many of these early protesters were people of color. Like the more genteel Mattachine “Sip-in,” these street protests show how important physical spaces were to diverse members of the LGBTQ community. The film \textit{Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria}, can be used to illustrate the impact of these pre-Stonewall protests and to raise the question of why certain events come to stand for the beginning of movements or the transition to a new historical period.\textsuperscript{35}

As the number of locations connected to resistance to police raid suggests, there are many historical sites that document repression and discrimination against LGBTQ people. The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York, one of the many institutions where gay, lesbian, and gender-nonconforming people were locked up under “sexual psychopath laws,” is already on the National Register of Historic Places.\textsuperscript{36} The YMCA in Boise, Idaho, gained national attention in 1955 for the arrest of sixteen men accused of homosexual activity.\textsuperscript{37} The home where transman Brandon Teena was murdered in Humboldt, Nebraska, in 1993 illustrates the widespread violence against transgender people, as does the site of the murder of African American transwoman Rita Hester in her apartment in Allston, Massachusetts in 1998. Her murder inspired the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance. The intersection of Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads in Laramie, Wyoming, is another site of violence as the place where gay youth Matthew Shepard was beaten and left to die in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33} The Black Cat Club is located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California; it is a contributing property (though not for its LGBTQ history) to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. California Hall is located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California. Compton’s Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California; this building is a contributing property to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Cooper’s Donuts was located at 553 or 557 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California between two gay bars. The Black Cat Tavern was located at 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.
\item \textsuperscript{35} \textit{Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton’s Cafeteria}, directed by Susan Stryker and Victor Silverman (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).
\item \textsuperscript{36} The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975.
\item \textsuperscript{37} The YMCA was located at Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho.
\end{itemize}
1998. A discussion of such cases can be set in the history of other forms of violence, such as the lynching of black people, as an extreme form of social control. Violence can also be linked to school bullying, not just of LGBTQ people but, for example, in the form of slut-shaming directed at women.

More empowering are the wide variety of sites that document the emergence of the homophile movement, gay liberation, and lesbian feminism in the early 1970s, and the bisexual and transgender movements in the 1980s and 1990s. The earliest, albeit short-lived, organization dedicated to gay rights was the Society for Human Rights, launched out of the Henry Gerber House in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago in 1924. The Harry Hay House overlooking the Silver Lake Reservoir in Los Angeles marks the spot where Hay and some friends launched the Mattachine Society, the first lasting organization committed to civil rights for homosexuals, in 1950. The Daughters of Bilitis headquarters in San Francisco illustrates the growth of the homophile movement as lesbians began to organize separately from gay men. The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of the District of Columbia is important because Kameny was a central figure in the emergence of homophile militancy in the 1960s, fighting the federal government after he was fired for being gay. Students are often astonished to learn that there was a social movement fighting for the rights of LGBTQ people in the 1950s, so teaching about the homophile movement contributes to a rethinking of the supposedly conformist and domestic post-Second World War period. Analyzing the factors that gave rise to the homophile movement—wartime geographic mobility, response to the postwar crackdown on homosexuals in government, the spread of information about gay men and lesbians—helps students to think broadly about the motor forces in history.

38 The Henry Gerber House was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.
39 The Daughters of Bilitis Headquarters were at 165 O’Farrell Street, San Francisco, California.
Frank Kameny was one of the figures who bridged the largely assimilationist homophile movement and the emergence of a more militant gay liberation movement. The Gay Liberation Front emerged in New York City shortly after Stonewall, and the Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse in New York City was the center for an important group that split from the Gay Liberation Front. A range of other sites throughout the country housed short-lived gay liberation organizations in the early 1970s. Castro Camera, the location of Harvey Milk’s shop, apartment, and campaign headquarters, is one of only a very few city-recognized LGBTQ historical sites in San Francisco, despite the city’s prominence in queer history (Figure 6). One site that marks the impact of HIV/AIDS on the LGBTQ movement in the 1980s is the Gay Men’s Health Crisis in New York City.

Emerging out of gay liberation and the resurgent women’s movement in the early 1970s, lesbian feminism is associated with a variety of places throughout the country. Its regional reach can be illustrated through such sites as the 31st Street Bookstore in Baltimore, a women’s bookstore with a strong lesbian feminist presence, which opened in 1973; the home of the newspaper Ain’t I a Woman in Iowa City, published out of an

40 License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castro_camera_exterior.jpg
41 The Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District (listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL District on June 29, 1978) at 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York.
42 Castro Camera was located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.
43 The Gay Men’s Health Crisis was founded at 318 West 22nd Street, New York City, New York.
apartment by the Women’s Liberation Front; the Furies Collective House in the southeast of the District of Columbia, home of the influential newspaper *The Furies*; and Olivia Records, founded by members and associates of The Furies Collective, which calls attention to the lesbian feminist goal of creating an alternative culture.44

For those close enough to visit, the Lesbian Herstory Archives, originally housed in founder Joan Nestle’s Upper West Side Manhattan apartment, is a valuable resource for the study of the lesbian past and illustrates the importance of history to the LGBTQ movement.45 Hesperia, Michigan, the site of the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival from 1977 to 1981, illustrates the strong connection between culture and politics in the lesbian feminist movement. The struggle over the policy of the festival to admit only “womyn-born womyn,” and the subsequent founding by transwomen of Camp Trans outside the festival gates, is illustrative of the ongoing tension about boundaries and belonging within the LGBTQ movement.

Learning about internal struggles over who belongs calls attention to a process at work in all social movements. Students can trace the addition of “lesbian” and then “bisexual,” “transgender,” and “queer” to “gay” in the name of the movement as a way to consider the expansion of boundaries. Marking that transition are sites connected to bisexual and transgender mobilization, such as the Bisexual Resource Center in Boston, founded in 1985, which grew out of the first national conference of bisexuals, who oftentimes met hostility from gay men and lesbians who assumed they were just avoiding coming out.46 The Erickson Educational Foundation in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was where transman Reed Erickson funded research and activism on behalf of transgender rights.

44 The 31st Street Bookstore was located at 425 East Thirty-First Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Olivia Records operated out of 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California. The Furies Collective operated out of a row house in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC. The Furies Collective house was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

45 The Lesbian Herstory Archives is located at 484 14th Street, Brooklyn, New York, within the Park Slope Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 21, 1980.

46 The Bisexual Resource Center is located at 29 Stanhope Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Pier 45 in New York City has been, since the 1970s, a gathering place for gay men, drag queens, transgender youth, and other members of the African American ballroom community. Illustrating the inclusion of those beyond what Gayle Rubin calls the “charmed circle” are sites including the Leather Archives and Museum in Chicago, documenting the leather community’s role within the LGBTQ world.

The history of the LGBTQ movement in all of its cycles can be easily connected to the story of the other social movements of the 1960s and beyond. Kurt Dearie, a public high school teacher in Southern California, organizes a unit on civil rights that compares the goals, strategies, and support for the civil rights, women’s, Native American, Latina/o, Asian American, LGBTQ, and disability movements. The students write a paper evaluating what they see as the most effective movement strategies. In this way, students learn about social movement processes in general and can apply what they learn to thinking about the contemporary issues they see in the news.

As the expansion of the letters in LGBTQ illustrates, a number of historic sites show the diversity of LGBTQ life. Bayard Rustin’s childhood home in West Chester, Pennsylvania, can be used in a discussion of the Quaker values that Rustin brought to the civil rights movement and the difficulties he encountered in that movement as a gay man. The A. Billy S. Jones Home in northwestern District of Columbia calls attention to Jones as the co-founder of the National Coalition for Black Lesbians and Gays and key organizer of the first LGBTQ people of color conference in association with the first Gay and Lesbian March on Washington in 1979. Black lesbian feminist poet and scholar Audre Lorde’s home with her partner, Frances Clayton, on Staten Island, New York, recalls the central

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47 The body of transgender and gay rights pioneer Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the waters off New York City’s Pier 45 in the 1990s.
49 See Daniel Hurewitz, “Putting Ideas into Practice: High School Teachers Talk about Incorporating the LGBT Past,” in Understanding and Teaching, 47-76.
role Lorde played in the movement. Identifying locations that mark the contributions of African Americans, Latinas and Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans to LGBTQ history beyond the ones mentioned here are a priority for celebrating a complete story of the LGBTQ past.

In all of these ways, then, recognized historic sites and those that might become part of our official heritage can be utilized to teach about LGBTQ history, either in discrete courses or as part of a survey of US history. Sites connected to just one individual or one event can be used to open up a broad consideration of the queer past, as I have pointed out above. And important developments in LGBTQ history, in turn, connect to themes that are part of the mainstream narrative of US history. The encounters between Native two-spirit people and European explorers and settlers, for example, provide insight into the deep impact of colonialism. Romantic friendships and Boston marriages illustrate the ways that economic structures and social organization shape intimate relationships. The flourishing of commercial establishments catering to people with same-sex desires ties in with the growth of cities and the importance of social spaces to the building of communities and movements. The history of the homophile, gay liberation, lesbian feminist, and contemporary LGBTQ movements add to the story of organizing to end discrimination and win basic civil rights in the post-Second World War period.

Conclusion

Recognizing LGBTQ history as one thread in the fabric of the US past makes for better history: better for all students, who can see how historically contingent sexuality is, and better because it is more complete and more complex. A variety of social justice and multicultural education organizations utilize the metaphor of mirrors and windows to describe the relationship between students and those who people the history they are studying. When history is about great white men, then elite white male students see themselves as in a mirror. Other students are looking through windows from the outside, viewing a history of which they are not
Teaching LGBTQ History and Heritage

a part. Our goal should be to provide mirrors and windows for everyone, so students learn about the histories of their families, communities, and worlds as well as those of others from different genders, races, ethnicities, classes, sexualities, and abilities. At the same time, we need to problematize the concept of mirrors, so that students—in this case, LGBTQ students—do not think that women who loved other women or men who had sex with other men or individuals who presented in a gender different than the one they were assumed to be at birth are just like them.

A history enriched by an understanding of how concepts of sexuality and gender, in conjunction with race, ethnicity, class, disability, age, and other categories of difference, have changed over time is a better history. Such a history fuels new ways of thinking about contemporary debates, including same-sex marriage; gay, lesbian, and transgender people in the military; immigration; and citizenship. What a historical perspective brings is a deeper understanding of why change has happened, why some things have not changed, and how change is not always progress. Legal, social, political, urban, and cultural history lend multiple dimensions to thinking about the LGBTQ past and present, and, in turn, the history of same-sex sexuality and gender nonconformity expands our understanding of all of these facets of history. The central narratives of US history speak to queer lives and, just as important, vice versa.

What teaching with historic sites can do is to help make the past come alive. Houses, official buildings, neighborhoods, commercial establishments, and the scenes of historic protests can make concrete the idea that there is a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer past, that what it means to have same-sex desires or to love someone of the same sex or to cross the lines of gender has changed over time, and that LGBTQ history is not a simple story of progress from the bad old days to the liberated new ones. From the representation of Cheyenne two-spirits leading a victory dance at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument to Hull House to the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane to Compton’s Cafeteria to Castro Camera, the places where diverse people
Leila J. Rupp

lived their lives and struggled and made history have the potential to enrich our understanding of the past. In a society in which bullying, hate crimes, homelessness, and suicides are all too common in the lives of LGBTQ youth, teaching about queer history embodied in historic sites can inspire young minds to imagine and work for a more open and accepting future society. That is my hope.
## APPENDIX A

Places Identified in the Text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
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<td>Congregation Ner Shalom</td>
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<td>Cow Palace</td>
<td>2600 Geneva Avenue, Daly City, CA</td>
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<td>Dash</td>
<td>574 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Daughters of Bilitis</td>
<td>165 O’Farrell Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>Burk; Koskovitch; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>David Hong Home</td>
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<td>David Lourea Residence</td>
<td>North Panhandle neighborhood, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>1000 Elysian Park Avenue, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Doheny Memorial Library</td>
<td>University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Koskovitch</td>
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<td>Dover Hotel</td>
<td>555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, LA</td>
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<td>Dr. Harry Benjamin Office</td>
<td>450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>East Bay Meditation Center</td>
<td>2147 Broadway, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>285 Seventeenth Street, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Ebony Showcase Theater</td>
<td>4718 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>El/La Para TransLatinas</td>
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<td>Esta Noche</td>
<td>2079 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Evelyn Hooker's Office</td>
<td>Psychology Department, University of California, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA</td>
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<td>Fallon Building</td>
<td>1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Fife's</td>
<td>16467 River Road, Guerneville, CA</td>
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<td>Finnegan's Wake</td>
<td>937 Cole, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Finnoccio's</td>
<td>406 Stockton Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Finocchio's</td>
<td>506 Broadway, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>First Universalist Church</td>
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<td>Founders Metropolitan Community Church</td>
<td>4607 Prospect Avenue, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Gangway</td>
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<td>Gay American Indians</td>
<td>1347 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Gay Community Center</td>
<td>32 Page Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>George Choy Plaque</td>
<td>In front of 468 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>Sueyoshi</td>
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<td>Gertrude Stein Home</td>
<td>Near Thirteenth Avenue and Twenty-Fifth Street, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>GLBT Historical Society</td>
<td>989 Market Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>GLBT History Museum</td>
<td>4127 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Glide Memorial Church</td>
<td>330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Clarion Alley, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Haight-Ashbury (LGBTQ Community)</td>
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<td>Hal Call House</td>
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<td>61 Hartford Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Harvey's</td>
<td>500 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Helen Zia Residence</td>
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<td><em>History of California (The Great Wall of Los Angeles)</em></td>
<td>Coldwater Canyon Avenue between Oxnard Street and Burbank Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Hotel Bijou</td>
<td>111 Maston Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Hotel Whitcomb</td>
<td>1231 Market Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Human Rights Commission Store</td>
<td>575 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality</td>
<td>1523 Franklin Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>International Buddhist Meditation Center</td>
<td>928 South New Hampshire Avenue, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>International Hotel (I-Hotel)</td>
<td>Corner of Jackson and Kearny Streets, San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 6/15/1977; Demolished</td>
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<td>Jack's Baths</td>
<td>1052 Geary Boulevard, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Jack's Baths</td>
<td>1143 Post Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Jackson Brewing Company</td>
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<td>James C. Hormel Gay &amp; Lesbian Center</td>
<td>San Francisco Public Library, 100 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>James R. Browning</td>
<td>Northeast corner of Mission and Seventh Streets, San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 10/14/1971; NHL 10/16/2012</td>
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<td>Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California</td>
<td>1840 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Japanese YWCA</td>
<td>1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Jiro Onuma Residence</td>
<td>769 Brush Street, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Jiro Onuma Residence</td>
<td>1492 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Joaquin Miller Home</td>
<td>3590 Sanborn Drive, Oakland, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962</td>
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<td>Vine Street, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Jose Theater</td>
<td>2362 Market Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail</td>
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<td>Julian Eltinge Residence</td>
<td>Silver Lake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>June Mazer Lesbian Archives</td>
<td>626 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA</td>
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<td>Kaposi's Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation</td>
<td>520 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters</td>
<td>4704 Shattuck Avenue, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters</td>
<td>526 Thirty-Second Street, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters</td>
<td>3600 Lincoln Way, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Kevin Bunch - Fred Brungard - Baruch Golden Residence</td>
<td>Mission District, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Langley Porter Clinic</td>
<td>401 Parnassus Avenue, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>La Peña Cultural Center</td>
<td>3105 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA</td>
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<td>Lavender Youth Recreation &amp; Information Center (LYRIC)</td>
<td>127 Collingwood Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Leonard Matlovich Residence</td>
<td>Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Lexington Club</td>
<td>3464 Nineteenth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Dubrow; González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>Liberty Baths</td>
<td>1157 Post Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Los Angeles Lesbian and Gay Community Center</td>
<td>1612-1614 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Los Angeles LGBT Center</td>
<td>1625 North Schrader Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Louise Lawrence Home</td>
<td>11 Buena Vista Terrace, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Washington and Montgomery Streets, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>401 Duboce Avenue, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Mama Bears Bookstore</td>
<td>6536 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Mary’s First and Last Chance</td>
<td>2278 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Maud’s</td>
<td>937 Cole, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Meat Market</td>
<td>Intersection of Mason, Turk, and Market Streets, San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>Graves and Watson</td>
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<td>Medical-Dental Building</td>
<td>450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>1074 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>10818 Dan Diego Mission Road, San Diego, CA</td>
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<td>3750 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Mission Hills Country Club</td>
<td>34600 Mission Hills Drive, Rancho Mirage, CA</td>
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<td>Mission San Antonio de Padua (Mission San Antonio)</td>
<td>Near Jolon, Monterey County, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 3/16/1972</td>
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<td>Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (Carmel Mission)</td>
<td>3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, CA</td>
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<td>Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores)</td>
<td>320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966</td>
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<td>Mission San Jose</td>
<td>43300 Mission Boulevard, Fremont, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 7/14/1971</td>
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<td>2201 Laguna Street, Santa Barbara, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966</td>
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<td>Mission Santa Clara de Asis (Mission Santa Clara)</td>
<td>500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966</td>
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<td>Mission Santa Ynez (Mission Santa Ines)</td>
<td>1760 Mission Drive, Solvang, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 3/8/1999; NHL 1/20/1999</td>
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<td>Mnasidika</td>
<td>1510 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Mobilization Against AIDS</td>
<td>647-A Castro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Mobilization Against AIDS</td>
<td>2120 Market Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Mona's Barrel House</td>
<td>140 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Mona's Club 440</td>
<td>440 Broadway, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Monte Vista Unitarian Universalist Congregation</td>
<td>9185 Monte Vista Avenue, Monte Vista, CA</td>
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<td>Morris Kight House</td>
<td>Westlake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Moscone Center</td>
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<td>National AIDS Memorial Grove</td>
<td>San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>NPS 1996</td>
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<td>National Transsexual Counseling Unit</td>
<td>200 block of Turk Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Oakland (LGBTQ Community)</td>
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<td>Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center</td>
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<td>298 Eleventh Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Ojai Valley Inn and Country Club</td>
<td>905 Country Club Road, Ojai, CA</td>
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<td>Old Crow</td>
<td>962 Market Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Old Wives' Tales</td>
<td>532 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>1009 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>2256 Venice Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>One National Gay and Lesbian Archives</td>
<td>University of Southern California, 909 West Adams Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>On Our Backs</td>
<td>526 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Pacific Center for Human Growth</td>
<td>2712 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, CA</td>
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<td>1798 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, CA</td>
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<td>Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (PCPV)</td>
<td>2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>2 El Capitan, Mill Valley, CA</td>
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<td>Reverend Troy Perry Home</td>
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<td>Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade</td>
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<td>Ritch Street Health Club</td>
<td>330 Ritch Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>RKO Studios (now CBS Paramount Television)</td>
<td>780 North Gower Street, Hollywood, CA</td>
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<td>Rosie the Riveter/World War II Home Front National Historical Park</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Francisco Buddhist Center</td>
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<td>37 Bartlett Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>San Francisco City Hall</td>
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<td>1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlet Place</td>
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<td>Contributor to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District, NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987</td>
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<td>Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein</td>
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<td>San Francisco Civic Auditorium</td>
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<td>99 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Batza</td>
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<td>San Francisco Department of Health</td>
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<td>1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>San Francisco Museum of Modern Art</td>
<td>151 Third Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>San Francisco Public Library</td>
<td>100 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Graves and Watson; Koskovich</td>
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<td>San Francisco Public Library, North Beach</td>
<td>850 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>San Francisco YMCA</td>
<td>121 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>San Jose Arena</td>
<td>525 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose, CA</td>
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<td>San Miguel Saloon</td>
<td>San Miguel, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>SF Fog</td>
<td>2370 Market Street, #232, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Shin Sekai</td>
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<td>SIR Center</td>
<td>83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Sir Francis Drake Hotel</td>
<td>450 Powell Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Six Gallery</td>
<td>3119 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Society for Individual Rights</td>
<td>83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Graves and Watson; Stein</td>
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<td>Society for Individual Rights</td>
<td>Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC)</td>
<td>685 Venice Boulevard, Venice, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sonoma State University</td>
<td>1801 East Cotati Avenue, Rhonert Park, CA</td>
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<td>South of Market (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Graves and Watson</td>
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<td>Southwest California Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America</td>
<td>1300 East Colorado Street, Glendale, CA</td>
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<td>Sperm Bank of Northern California (now Sperm Bank of California)</td>
<td>2115 Milva Street, Berkeley, CA</td>
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<td>Spinsters Ink</td>
<td>803 DeHaro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spinsters Ink</td>
<td>223 Mississippi, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Sueyoshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stanford Medical Center Gender Identity Clinic</td>
<td>300 Pasteur Drive, Stanford, CA</td>
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<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staples Center</td>
<td>1111 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Starr King School for the Ministry</td>
<td>2441 Le Conte Avenue, Berkeley, CA</td>
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<td>335 Powell Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>152 Church Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>González and Hernández</td>
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<td>St. Leo (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>San Jose, CA</td>
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<td>Gieseking</td>
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<td>Stockton State Hospital</td>
<td>612 East Magnolia Street, Stockton, CA</td>
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<td>StubHubb Center</td>
<td>18400 Avalon Boulevard, Carson, CA</td>
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<td>Stud Bar</td>
<td>399 Ninth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Studio One</td>
<td>661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subway Terminal Building</td>
<td>Hill and Olive Streets, Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>NRHP 8/2/2006</td>
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<td>Sutro Bath House</td>
<td>312 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Sutro Bath House</td>
<td>1015 Folsom Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Suzy-Q</td>
<td>1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sybil Brand Institute</td>
<td>4500 City Terrace Drive, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tay-Bush Inn</td>
<td>900 Bush Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Graves and Watson; Johnson</td>
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<td>Tenderloin (LGBTQ community)</td>
<td>San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>Part of the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009</td>
<td>Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Springate and de la Vega; Stryker; Sueyoshi</td>
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<td>TGI Justice</td>
<td>1372 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Toad Hall</td>
<td>482 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Tom Waddell Health Center</td>
<td>50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Batza; Stryker</td>
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<td>Tom Waddell Home</td>
<td>Mission District, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tommy’s Place</td>
<td>529 Broadway Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Baim; Graves and Watson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tool Box</td>
<td>Corner of Fourth Street and Harrison, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Dubrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Top of the Mark</td>
<td>999 California Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Town Squire</td>
<td>1318 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Transgender Law Center</td>
<td>1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker; Sueyoshi</td>
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<td>Trikone</td>
<td>60 Twenty-Ninth Street, #614, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Twin Peaks Tavern</td>
<td>401 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Auer; Graves and Watson</td>
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<td>Union Square</td>
<td>Bordered by Geary, Powell, Post, and Stockton Streets, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Graves and Watson</td>
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<td>United University Church</td>
<td>817 West Thirty-Fourth Street, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>University of California</td>
<td>University of California, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berkeley Art Museum</td>
<td>2120 Oxford Street, Berkeley, CA</td>
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<td>and Pacific Film Archive</td>
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<td>University of California Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>Village Health Foundation</td>
<td>4075 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virginia Prince Childhood Home</td>
<td>100 block of South Hobart Avenue, Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virginia Price Home</td>
<td>800 block of Victoria Avenue, Hancock Park neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waite Phillips Hall</td>
<td>University of Southern California, 3470 University Avenue (now Trousdale Parkway), Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Koskovitch</td>
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<td>Waldorf</td>
<td>527 South Main Street, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Wesley Foundation</td>
<td>University of California Los Angeles, 580 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Western Gay Archives</td>
<td>1653 North Hudson Avenue, Hollywood, CA</td>
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<td>Dubrow</td>
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<td>White Horse Inn (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>6651 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>William &quot;Bill&quot; Tilden Home</td>
<td>Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Westwood Methodist Church</td>
<td>10947 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<td>Williams Building</td>
<td>693 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Willie Walker Residence</td>
<td>Seventeenth Street near Sanches Street,</td>
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<td>Castro neighborhood, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>210 Stadium Rim Way, Piedmont, CA</td>
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<td>Women's Building of San</td>
<td>3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA</td>
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<td>Francisco</td>
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<td>Rights); Stryker; Sueyoshi</td>
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<td>Women's Press Collective</td>
<td>5251 Broadway, Oakland, CA</td>
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<td>Charlie's</td>
<td>900 East Colfax Avenue, Denver, CO</td>
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<td>Iliff School of Theology</td>
<td>2323 East Iliff Avenue, Denver, CO</td>
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<td>La Foret Conference and</td>
<td>6145 Shoup Road, Colorado Springs, CO</td>
<td>Ponderosa Lodge: 8/29/2008; Taylor Memorial Chapel 4/15/1999</td>
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<td>Retreat Center</td>
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<td>USA Rugby</td>
<td>2655 Crescent Drive, Lafayette, CO</td>
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<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<td>Washington Park</td>
<td>400 South Williams Street, Denver, CO</td>
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<td>United Church of Christ</td>
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<td><strong>Connecticut</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chelsea Piers</td>
<td>1 Blachley Road, Stamford, CT</td>
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<td>James Merrill House</td>
<td>107 Water Street, Stonington, CT</td>
<td>NRHP 8/28/2013</td>
<td>Springate</td>
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<td>Long Ridge Tennis Club</td>
<td>Long Ridge Road, Stamford, CT</td>
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<td>Mohegan Sun</td>
<td>1 Mohegan Sun Boulevard, Uncasville, CT</td>
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<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<td>Philip Johnson's Glass House</td>
<td>798-856 Ponus Ridge Road, New Canaan, CT</td>
<td>NRHP and NHL 2/18/1997</td>
<td>Bourn; Dubrow;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salt Meadow</td>
<td>733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, CT</td>
<td>National Wildlife Refuge</td>
<td>Springate;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stewart B. McKinney</td>
<td>733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, CT</td>
<td>7/20/1972</td>
<td>(Archeology)</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Wildlife Refuge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yale University</td>
<td>New Haven, CT</td>
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<td>Koskovich</td>
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<td><strong>Delaware</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lambda Rising</td>
<td>39 Baltimore Avenue, Rehoboth Beach, DE</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rehoboth Beach</td>
<td>Rehoboth Beach</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Introduction)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(LGBTQ Community)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>District of Columbia</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Billy S. Jones House</td>
<td>Northwest DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rupp</td>
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<tr>
<td>All Soul's Unitarian Church</td>
<td>1500 Harvard Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Banneker Recreation Center</td>
<td>2500 Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 4/28/1986</td>
<td>Batza; Harris;</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil</td>
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<td>Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain</td>
<td>President's Park, Washington, DC</td>
<td>In President’s Park, NRHP</td>
<td>de la Vega</td>
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<td>5/6/1980</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles E. Smith Center</td>
<td>600 Twenty-Second Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Warren Stoddard Home</td>
<td>300 M Street, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Sueyoshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chicken Hut</td>
<td>1720 H Street, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cinema Follies</td>
<td>37 L Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cloyd Heck Marvin Center</td>
<td>George Washington University, 800 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clubhouse</td>
<td>1296 Upshur Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbus Fountain</td>
<td>Columbus Circle, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 4/9/1980</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Building</td>
<td>1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congressional Cemetery</td>
<td>1801 E Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 6/23/1969; NHL 6/14/2011</td>
<td>Baim; Estes; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crew Club</td>
<td>1321 Fourteenth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Contributing building to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, NRHP 11/9/1994</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>DC Jewish Community Center</td>
<td>1529 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dignity Center</td>
<td>721 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Alain Locke House</td>
<td>R Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Contributing resource to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, NRHP 11/9/1994</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence</td>
<td>Northwest DC</td>
<td>NRHP 11/2/2011</td>
<td>Baim; Batza; Dubrow; Estes; Meinke; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr. Mary Walker Residence</td>
<td>52 Morton Street, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Estes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Mary Walker Residence</td>
<td>374 Ninth Street, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Estes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dupont Circle (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>Includes the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978</td>
<td>Gieseking; Hanhardt; Hutchins; Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earthworks</td>
<td>1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>El Faro</td>
<td>2411 Eighteenth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fabrangen Havurah</td>
<td>2158 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Faith Temple</td>
<td>1313 New York Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<td>First Congregational Church</td>
<td>Tenth and G Streets NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Frances Perkins House</td>
<td>Northwest DC</td>
<td>NRHP/NHL 7/17/1991</td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
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<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Franklin Park</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Furies Collective</td>
<td>Capitol Hill neighborhood, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 5/2/2016</td>
<td>Burk; Dubrow; Johnson; Meinke; Rupp; Schweighofer; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Washington, DC</td>
<td>1469 Church Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Batza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgia Douglas Johnson House</td>
<td>Logan Circle neighborhood, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Contributing resource to the Greater U Street Historic District, NRHP 12/31/1998</td>
<td>Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GLF House</td>
<td>S Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guild Press Printing Plant</td>
<td>507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guild Press</td>
<td>807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson; Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harambee House Hotel</td>
<td>2200 block of Georgia Avenue, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harry S. Truman Building</td>
<td>2201 C Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horseshoe</td>
<td>Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Howard University</td>
<td>2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Sueyoshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Howard University Divinity School</td>
<td>2900 Van Ness Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Howard University Philosophy Department</td>
<td>Locke Hall, 2441 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Human Rights Campaign</td>
<td>1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>González and Hernández; Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Human Rights Campaign Store</td>
<td>1633 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<td>Internal Revenue Service Building</td>
<td>Twelfth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; part of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, 9/30/1965</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. Edgar Hoover House</td>
<td>Forest Hills neighborhood, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jewel Box</td>
<td>1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jose Gutierrez Residence</td>
<td>S Street NW and Seventeenth Street, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lafayette Chicken Hut</td>
<td>1720 H Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Hanhardt; Johnson</td>
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<td>Lafayette Park/Lafayette Square</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>Part of the Lafayette Square Historic District, NHRP and NHL 8/29/1970</td>
<td>Baim; Hanhardt; Johnson; Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lambda Rising</td>
<td>1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt; Johnson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>District of Columbia (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lambda Rising</td>
<td>2001 S Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978</td>
<td>Hanhardt; Johnson</td>
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<td>Lambda Rising</td>
<td>1625 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978</td>
<td>Hanhardt; Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lammas Crafts and Books</td>
<td>321 Seventh Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Johnson</td>
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<td>Lammas Crafts and Books</td>
<td>1426 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978</td>
<td>Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln Memorial</td>
<td>National Mall, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NPS</td>
<td>Burk</td>
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<td>Lost and Found</td>
<td>56 L Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Baim; Johnson</td>
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<td>Luther Place Memorial Church</td>
<td>1226 Vermont Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<td>Manual Enterprises</td>
<td>807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matilda Coxe and James Stevenson House</td>
<td>1913 N Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Roscoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
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<td><strong>District of Columbia (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<td>Mayflower Hotel</td>
<td>1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 11/14/1983</td>
<td>Baim; Hutchins; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>Meridian Hill Park (also known as Malcolm X</td>
<td>2400 15th Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 10/25/1974</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<td>Park)</td>
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<td>National Center for Transgender Equality</td>
<td>1400 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker</td>
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<td>National LGBTQ Task Force</td>
<td>1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein</td>
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<td>National Mall</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; Part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks, NPS 1965</td>
<td>Batza; Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Hutchins; Roscoe; Springate (Civil Rights); Sueyoshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nob Hill</td>
<td>1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Office of the Mayor</td>
<td>1350 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Patent Office</td>
<td>Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 1/12/1965</td>
<td>Baim; Burk; Estes; Gieseking; Hutchins; Rupp</td>
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<td>Olympic Baths</td>
<td>1405 H Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Open Hearth Foundation</td>
<td>1502 Massachusetts Avenue SE, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<td>Phase One</td>
<td>525 Eighth Street NE, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pier Nine</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quaker House</td>
<td>2121 Decatur Place NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quality Inn</td>
<td>1900 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Roscoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Redskin Lounge</td>
<td>1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
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<td>RFK Memorial Stadium</td>
<td>2400 East Capitol Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<td>Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths</td>
<td>1426 G Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shakespeare Theatre Company Education and Rehearsal Studios</td>
<td>507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
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<td>Sheraton Park Hotel</td>
<td>2660 Woodley Road NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 1/31/1984 Batza</td>
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<td>Smithsonian Building</td>
<td>Jefferson Drive at Tenth Street SW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 1/12/1965 Roscoe</td>
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<td>Statler Hotel</td>
<td>1001 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Thomas' Parish Episcopal Church</td>
<td>1772 Church Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States Capitol Building</td>
<td>Capitol Hill, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NHL 12/19/1960 Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States Supreme Court Building</td>
<td>1 First Street NE, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NHL 5/4/1987 Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Us Helping Us</td>
<td>Washington Navy Yard neighborhood, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<td><strong>District of Columbia (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward Circle Building</td>
<td>American University, 3590 Nebraska Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington Convention Center</td>
<td>909 H Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington Project for the Arts</td>
<td>Jenifer Building, 400 Block of Seventh Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk</td>
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<tr>
<td>White House</td>
<td>1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td>NHL 12/19/1960</td>
<td>Batza; Dubrow; Harris; Hutchins; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Sueyoshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wonderland Ballroom</td>
<td>1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zephyr Restaurant</td>
<td>4912 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Florida</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Amelia Island Plantation</td>
<td>Beachwood Road, Fernandina Beach, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Castillo de San Marcos National Monument</td>
<td>St. Augustine, FL</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 10/15/1924</td>
<td>Roscoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte F. McLeod Residence</td>
<td>Near Biscayne Bay, Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clover Club</td>
<td>118 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capó</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Club Miami</td>
<td>2991 Coral Way, Miami, FL</td>
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<td>Capó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored Town (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denny's</td>
<td>102 Parker Street, Tampa, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Florida (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Embassy Hotel</td>
<td>2940 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, FL</td>
<td>Capó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida State University</td>
<td>Tallahassee, FL</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Department of English</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fort Caroline National Memorial</td>
<td>12713 Fort Caroline Road, Jacksonville, FL</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 1/16/1953</td>
<td>Roscoe; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fort Lauderdale (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Fort Lauderdale, FL</td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health Crisis Network</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Institute of Sexism and Sexuality</td>
<td>Wolfson Campus, Miami Dade College, 300 NE Second Avenue, Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jackson Memorial Hospital</td>
<td>1161 NW Twelfth Avenue, Miami, FL</td>
<td>Capó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewel Club</td>
<td>512 NE Fifteenth Street, Miami, FL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Capó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewel Box Revue</td>
<td>Miami, FL</td>
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<td>Burk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Key West (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Key West, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ladies’ Professional Golf Association (LPGA)</td>
<td>100 International Golf Drive, Daytona Beach, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln Road Mall</td>
<td>400-1100 Lincoln Road, Miami Beach, FL</td>
<td>NRHP 5/16/2011</td>
<td>Capó</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Linder Stadium</td>
<td>Gainesville, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark Silber House</td>
<td>Jefferson Street near South Sixteenth Avenue, Hollywood, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami Beach (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Miami Beach, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Florida (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Miami Beach Convention Center</td>
<td>1901 Convention Center Drive, Miami Beach, FL</td>
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<td>Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miami-Dade County Courthouse</td>
<td>73 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL</td>
<td>NRHP 1/4/1989</td>
<td>Capó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami Harbor</td>
<td>Between Sixth and Ninth Streets, Biscayne Bay, Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miami Orange Bowl</td>
<td>1501 NW Third Street, Miami, FL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Capó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naiad Press</td>
<td>Tallahassee, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pridelines Youth Services</td>
<td>9526 NE Second Avenue, Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pulse Nightclub</td>
<td>1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Springate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen P. Clark Government Center</td>
<td>111 NW First Street, Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stonewall National Museum and Archives</td>
<td>1300 East Sunrise Boulevard, Fort Lauderdale, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strozier Library</td>
<td>Florida State University, 116 Honors Way, Tallahassee, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Beach (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Miami Beach, FL</td>
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<td>Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve</td>
<td>FL</td>
<td>NRHP and NPS 2/16/1988</td>
<td>Roscoe; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-Second Street Beach</td>
<td>Miami Beach, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Villa Vizcaya</td>
<td>3251 South Miami Avenue, Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capó</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weekly News Offices</td>
<td>901 NE Seventy-Ninth Street, Miami, FL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Georgia</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Atlanta Athletic Club</td>
<td>1930 Bobby Jones Drive, Johns Creek, GA</td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Atlanta Eagle</td>
<td>306 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Hanhardt; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Candler Park (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centers for Disease Control</td>
<td>1600 Clifton Road, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Batza; Graves and Watson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charis Books and More</td>
<td>419 Morland Avenue, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charis Books and More</td>
<td>1189 Euclid Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Gieseking; Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Congregation Bet Haverim</td>
<td>2074 Lavista Road, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dallas Denny Home</td>
<td>Chisolm Court, Tucker, GA</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgia Tech Aquatic Center</td>
<td>750 Ferst Drive NW, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Integrity USA</td>
<td>701 Orange Street, Fort Valley, GA</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Q Ideas Collective</td>
<td>Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Ferentinos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ma Rainey House</td>
<td>805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, GA</td>
<td>Baim; Harris; Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Midtown (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Gieseking; Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Transgender Library and Archives</td>
<td>Chisolm Court, Tucker, GA</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otherside Lounge</td>
<td>1924 Piedmont Road, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Outwrite Bookstore and Coffeehouse</td>
<td>991 Piedmont Northeast, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<td><strong>Georgia (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Phillip Rush Center</td>
<td>1530 Dekalb Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA</td>
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<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winecoff Hotel</td>
<td>176 Peachtree Street NW, Atlanta, GA</td>
<td>NRHP 3/31/2009</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women’s Army Corps Training Center</td>
<td>Fort Oglethorpe, GA</td>
<td>NRHP 4/30/1979</td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Hawai’i</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawai’i Convention Center</td>
<td>1801 Kalakau Avenue, Honolulu, HI</td>
<td></td>
<td>Batza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hula’s Bar and Lei Stand</td>
<td>2103 Kuhio Avenue, Honolulu, HI</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kealakekua Bay Historic District</td>
<td>Nap'opo'o Road, HI</td>
<td>NRHP 12/12/1973</td>
<td>Roscoe; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kuhio Beach Park</td>
<td>Waikiki, HI</td>
<td></td>
<td>Roscoe; Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū ā Kapuni</td>
<td>Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, HI</td>
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<td>Roscoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sheraton Waikiki Hotel</td>
<td>2255 Kalakau Avenue, Honolulu, HI</td>
<td></td>
<td>Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Stones of Kapaemāhū</td>
<td>Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, HI</td>
<td></td>
<td>Roscoe; Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Idaho</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Boise YMCA</td>
<td>Eleventh and Idaho Streets, Boise, ID</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Rupp; Stein</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Alan Hart Home and Office</td>
<td>Boise, ID</td>
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<td>Batza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idaho State Capitol Building</td>
<td>700 West Jefferson Street, Boise, ID</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
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<td><strong>Illinois</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Albert Cashier House</td>
<td>Saunemin, IL</td>
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<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allstate Arena</td>
<td>6920 Mannheim Road, Rosemont, IL</td>
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<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Medical Association</td>
<td>Grand and State Streets, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Andersonville (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Illinois (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Association of Latinos/as Motivating Action</td>
<td>3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>González and Hernández</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ballyhoo Café</td>
<td>1942 Halsted Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Beaux Arts Café</td>
<td>2700 South State Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Black Hawk Statue/Eternal Indian</strong></td>
<td>Lowden State Park, Oregon, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 11/5/2009</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<td>Blue Cross-Blue Shield Association</td>
<td>676 North St. Clair Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boystown (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Within the Lakeview Historic District, NRHP 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986</td>
<td>Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bronzeville (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bughouse Square</td>
<td>Washington Square Park, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 5/20/1991</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burnham Park</td>
<td>5491 South Shore Drive, Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>Roscoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabin Inn</td>
<td>3119 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabrini Green</td>
<td>Bounded by Clybourn Avenue, Larrabee Street, Chicago Avenue, and Halsted Street</td>
<td>Cabrini Extension and William Green Homes portions demolished</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Sandburg Village</td>
<td>Bounded by North Avenue, LaSalle Street, Division Street, and the half-block east of Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Illinois (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Center on Halsted</td>
<td>3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chicago City Hall</td>
<td>121 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chicago Hilton and Towers</td>
<td>720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Baim; Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chicago History Museum</td>
<td>1601 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Ferentinos; Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Club DeLisa</td>
<td>5516 South State Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Congregation Or Chadash</td>
<td>5959 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cook County Building</td>
<td>118 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cook County Criminal Court Building</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 11/13/1984</td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cook County Hospital</td>
<td>1835 West Harrison Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 11/8/2006</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cook County Jail</td>
<td>2700 South California Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Crusader/Victor Lawson Monument</strong></td>
<td>Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Contributing to Graceland Cemetery Historic District, NRHP 1/18/2001</td>
<td>Baim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of History, University of Chicago</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dill Pickle Club</td>
<td>Tooker Alley off Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dreamland Café</td>
<td>3518-3520 South State Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Lakeview (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eternal Silence/Dexter Graves</td>
<td>Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Contributing to Graceland Cemetery Historic District, NRHP 1/18/2001</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monument</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eyncourt Press</td>
<td>440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Koskovitch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feinberg School of Medicine</td>
<td>Northwestern University, 303 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stryker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnie’s</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fountain of Time</td>
<td>Washington Park, South Side, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 8/20/2004</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frances Willard House</td>
<td>1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965</td>
<td>Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fun Lounge</td>
<td>2340 North Mannheim Road, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Activists Alliance</td>
<td>31 West Woodruff, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Horizons</td>
<td>3225 North Sheffield Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovitch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Horizons</td>
<td>2440 North Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<td>Gay Horizons</td>
<td>3519-1/2 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<td>Gay Horizons</td>
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<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<td>Gay Horizons</td>
<td>920 West Oakdale Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Illinois (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gerber/Hart Library</td>
<td>6500 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>1130 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>2265 North Lincoln, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>501 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Burk; Herczeg-Konecny; Johnson</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Haig</td>
<td>800 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harrison Hotel</td>
<td>Harrison Street at Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Gerber House</td>
<td>Old Town Triangle neighborhood, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NHL 6/19/2015</td>
<td>Batza; Dubrow; Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Harris; Herczeg-Konecny; Hutchins; Koskovich; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hollywood Bowl</td>
<td>1300 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horizons Community Services</td>
<td>961 West Montana Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Howard Brown Health Center</td>
<td>4025 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Batza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Illinois (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hull House</td>
<td>800 South Halsted, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965</td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Ferentinos; Rupp; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Introduction)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jackson Park</td>
<td>6401 South Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance NRHP 12/15/1972</td>
<td>Baim; Roscoe</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Kiernan House</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Batza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeanette Howard Foster Residence</td>
<td>Pleasant Avenue, Beverly neighborhood, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kokskovich</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeffrey Pub</td>
<td>7041 South Jeffrey Boulevard, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Joe's Deluxe</td>
<td>5524 South State Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe's Deluxe Club</td>
<td>6323 South Parkway, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joliet Prison</td>
<td>1127-1299 Collins Street, Joliet, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lakeview (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Portions within Lakeview Historic District, 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lakeview Historic District</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986</td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leather Archives and Museum</td>
<td>6418 North Greenview Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk; Herczeg-Konecny; Rupp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Illinois (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lincoln Street Bath</td>
<td>1019 North Wolcott Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Lincoln the Lawyer/Young Lincoln</em></td>
<td>Carle Park, Urbana, IL</td>
<td>NHL 3/10/2004</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lorraine Hansberry House</td>
<td>5330 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorraine Hansberry House</td>
<td>Woodlawn neighborhood, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Herczeg-Konecny; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost and Found</td>
<td>3058 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Man’s Country</td>
<td>5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midway Plaisance</td>
<td>South Side, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance NRHP 12/15/1972</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Midway Studios</td>
<td>6016 South Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Museum of Contemporary Art</td>
<td>220 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>Burk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Near North Side (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Halsted Street (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow; Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmolive Building</td>
<td>919 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 8/21/2003</td>
<td>Stein</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Hart House</td>
<td>North Pine Grove Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Illinois (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pekin Theater</td>
<td>2700 South State Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pershing Ballroom</td>
<td>6400 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris; Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pershing Hotel</td>
<td>6400 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plantation Café</td>
<td>35th Street and Calumet, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pleasure Inn</td>
<td>505 East 31st Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<td>Prudential Building</td>
<td>130 East Randolph Street, Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Racine Avenue Police Station</td>
<td>731 North Racine Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roselle Inn</td>
<td>1251 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Unitarian Universalist Church</td>
<td>656 West Barry Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Home</td>
<td>1707 North Twelfth Street, Quincy, IL</td>
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<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Soldiers’ Monument</td>
<td>Oregon, IL</td>
<td>Contributing to Oregon Commercial Historic District, NRHP 8/16/2006</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern Illinois Penitentiary</td>
<td>711 East Kaskaskia Street, Menard, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stateville Penitentiary</td>
<td>Crest Hill, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stevens Hotel</td>
<td>720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiny and Ruby’s Gay Spot</td>
<td>2711 South Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Illinois (cont'd)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Towertown (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twelve-Thirty Club</td>
<td>1230 Clybourn Avenue, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington Square Park</td>
<td>901 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td>NRHP 5/20/1991</td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Watertown State Hospital</td>
<td>100 Hillcrest Road, East Moline, IL</td>
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<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women &amp; Children First</td>
<td>5233 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking; Herczeg-Konecny;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Court</td>
<td>1121 South State Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wrigley Field</td>
<td>1060 West Addison Street, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Indiana</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betty K's</td>
<td>Seventeenth and Central, Indianapolis, IN</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Baim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloomington Radicaughters</td>
<td>415 East Smith Avenue, Bloomington, IN</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Greg's/Our Place</td>
<td>231 East Sixteenth Street, Indianapolis, IN</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kinsey House</td>
<td>Bloomington, IN</td>
<td>Contributing property to the</td>
<td>Baim; Hutchins; Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Vinegar Hill Historic District, NRHP 6/17/2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex,</td>
<td>Morrison Hall (previously Swain Hall East, Wylie Hall, and Jordan Hall), Indiana University, Bloomington, IN</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Batza; Burk; Gieseking;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender, and Reproduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovich;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolf Lake</td>
<td>Hammond, IN</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Iowa</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Brown Street Park (Happy Hollow Park)</td>
<td>800 Brown Street, Iowa City, IA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<td>Iowa (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grace &amp; Rubies</td>
<td>209 North Linn Street, Iowa City, IA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Iowa City (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Iowa City, IA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iowa City Women’s Press</td>
<td>South Gilbert Street, Iowa City, IA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iowa Memorial Union</td>
<td>125 North Madison Street, Iowa City, IA</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>University of Iowa</td>
<td>Iowa City, IA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iowa City (LGBTQ Community)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Menninger Clinic and Sanatorium</td>
<td>5800 SW Sixth Street, Topeka, KS</td>
<td></td>
<td>Batza</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Our Fantasy Club</td>
<td>3201 South Hillside Street, Wichita, KS</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Disciplinary Barracks</td>
<td>1301 North Warehouse Road, Fort Leavenworth, KS</td>
<td>Partially demolished</td>
<td>Stein; Stryker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Our Fantasy Club</td>
<td>3201 South Hillside Street, Wichita, KS</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Disciplinary Barracks</td>
<td>1301 North Warehouse Road, Fort Leavenworth, KS</td>
<td>Partially demolished</td>
<td>Stein; Stryker</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Barksdale Air Force Base</td>
<td>Near Bossier, LA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Café Lafitte in Exile</td>
<td>901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, LA</td>
<td>Within the Vieux Carre Historic District, NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965</td>
<td>Johnson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Club My-O-My</td>
<td>Lake Ponchartrain, on the Jefferson-Orleans parish line</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Stryker</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Erickson Educational Foundation</td>
<td>Run out of Erickson's home, near the Hundred Oaks neighborhood, Baton Rouge, LA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Faubourg Marigny (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New Orleans, LA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Louisiana (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Faubourg Marigny Art and Books (FAB)</td>
<td>600 Frenchmen Street, New Orleans, LA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>French Quarter (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New Orleans, LA</td>
<td>Vieux Carre Historic District</td>
<td>Hanhardt; Stryker</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>NRHP</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10/15/1966; NHL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reed Erickson House</td>
<td>Near the Hundred Oaks neighborhood,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights); Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baton Rouge, LA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Storyville (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New Orleans, LA</td>
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<td>Harris; Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>UpStairs Lounge</td>
<td>141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, LA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Bourn; Johnson; Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vicksburg National Military Park</td>
<td>Delta, LA</td>
<td>Established</td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<td>2/21/1899; NPS; NRHP</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women's Center</td>
<td>Lower Garden district, New Orleans, LA</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wonder Club</td>
<td>Lake Ponchartrain, on the Jefferson-Orelans parish line</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Maine</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Brick House Historic District</td>
<td>478 River Road, Newcastle, ME</td>
<td>NRHP</td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2/13/2009</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maine College of Art</td>
<td>Portland, ME</td>
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<td>Koskovich</td>
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<td>Moss Acre</td>
<td>Castine, ME</td>
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<td>Dubrow</td>
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<td>Ogunquit (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Ogunquit, ME</td>
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<td>Gieseking; Schweighofer</td>
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<td>Perkins Homestead</td>
<td>478 River Road, Newcastle, ME</td>
<td>NRHP as the Brick House Historic District</td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2/13/2009; NRHP/NHL</td>
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<td>8/25/2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portsmouth Naval Prison</td>
<td>Seavey Island, Kittery, ME</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
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<td><strong>Maine (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>State Street Bridge over Kenduskeag Stream</td>
<td>Bangor, Maine</td>
<td>Springate and de la Vega; Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Maryland</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>31st Street Bookstore</td>
<td>425 East Thirty-First Street, Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Rupp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diana Press</td>
<td>12 West Twenty-Fifth Street, Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<td>Food and Drug Administration (FDA)</td>
<td>5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, MD</td>
<td>Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johns Hopkins Hospital</td>
<td>601 North Broadway, Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>NRHP 2/24/1975</td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johns Hopkins University</td>
<td>Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Institutes of Health</td>
<td>9000 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, MD</td>
<td>Gieseking; Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Ways Ministry</td>
<td>4012 Twenty-Ninth Street, Mount Rainier, MD</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Primus Institute</td>
<td>Royal Oak, Talbot County, MD</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Baim; Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quest Bar</td>
<td>3607 Fleet Street, Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quixote Center</td>
<td>7307 Baltimore Avenue, College Park, MD</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saint John's United Methodist Church</td>
<td>2640 Saint Paul Street, Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torch</td>
<td>411 East Thirty-Second Street, Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<td><strong>Massachusetts</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adrienne Rich-Michelle Cliff House</td>
<td>Montague, Massachusetts</td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Atlantic House</td>
<td>4-6 Masonic Place, Provincetown, MA</td>
<td>Johnson; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beuport, the Sleeper-McCann House</td>
<td>75 Eastern Point Boulevard, Gloucester, MA</td>
<td>NRHP and NHL 5/27/2003</td>
<td>Dubrow; Ferentinos; Springate (Archeology)</td>
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<td>Bisexual Resource Center</td>
<td>29 Stanhope Street, Boston, MA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area</td>
<td>Boston, MA</td>
<td>NPS 1996</td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<td>Bromfield Street Educational Foundation</td>
<td>20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Street Jail</td>
<td>215 Charles Street, Boston, MA</td>
<td>NRHP 4/23/1980</td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections</td>
<td>University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 285 Old Westport Road, North Dartmouth, MA</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Codman House (The Grange)</td>
<td>34 Codman Road, Lincoln, MA</td>
<td>NRHP 4/18/1974</td>
<td>Ferentinos</td>
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<td>Combat Zone (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Boston, MA</td>
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<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Concord Academy</td>
<td>166 Main Street, Concord, MA</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Curry Student Center</td>
<td>Northeastern University, 360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, MA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deborah Sampson Gannett House</td>
<td>East Street, Sharon, MA</td>
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<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
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<td><strong>Massachusetts (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dickinson Homestead</td>
<td>280 Main Street, Amherst, MA</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962; contributing property to the Dickinson Historic District, NRHP 8/16/1977</td>
<td>Baim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Episcopal Divinity School</td>
<td>99 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fenway Community Health Center (now Fenway Health)</td>
<td>16 Haviland Street, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>Batza</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Church of Jamaica Plain</td>
<td>6 Eliot Street, Jamaica Plain, MA</td>
<td>NRHP 7/15/1988; contributing resource to the Monument Square Historic District, NRHP 10/11/1990</td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fred Holland Day House</td>
<td>93 Day Street, Norwood, MA</td>
<td>NRHP 4/18/1977</td>
<td>Burk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders</td>
<td>30 Winters Street, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Community News</td>
<td>22 Bromfield Street, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>Johnson; Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gibson House Museum</td>
<td>137 Beacon Street, Boston, MA</td>
<td>NRHP/NHL 8/7/2001; within the Back Bay Historic District, NRHP 8/14/1973</td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvard Memorial Church</td>
<td>1 Harvard Yard, Cambridge, MA</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvard University</td>
<td>Cambridge, MA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Herbie's Ramrod Room</td>
<td>12 Carver Street, Boston, MA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homophile Health Services</td>
<td>112 Arlington Street, Boston, MA</td>
<td>Batza</td>
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<tr>
<td>Human Rights Campaign Store</td>
<td>209-211 Commercial Street, Provincetown, MA</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Indian Hollow Campground</td>
<td>Chesterfield, MA</td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jordan Field</td>
<td>65 North Harvard Avenue, Boston MA</td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Katerine Bates and Katerine Coman Residence</td>
<td>Near Weston Road, Wellesley, MA</td>
<td>Baim; Rupp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Reformatory for Women</td>
<td>99 Loring Drive, Framingham, MA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts State House</td>
<td>24 Beacon Street, Boston, MA</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960; contributing resource to the Beacon Hill Historic District, NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights); Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northampton (LGBTQ community)</td>
<td>Northampton, MA</td>
<td>Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Cambridge Baptist Church</td>
<td>1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA</td>
<td>Baim; Bourn</td>
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<td>Plimoth Plantation</td>
<td>Plymouth, MA</td>
<td>Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<td>Plymouth Colony</td>
<td>Plymouth, MA</td>
<td>Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<td>Provincetown (LGBTQ community)</td>
<td>Provincetown, MA</td>
<td>Includes the Provincetown Historic District, NRHP 8/30/1989</td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology)</td>
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<td>Provincetown Historic District</td>
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<td>NRHP 08/30/1989</td>
<td>Dubrow; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Stryker</td>
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<td>Rita Hester Residence</td>
<td>Allston, MA</td>
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<td>Rupp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharon Lim-Hing Home</td>
<td>Somerville, MA</td>
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<td>Sueyoshi</td>
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<td>Smith College</td>
<td>Northampton, MA</td>
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<td>Baim</td>
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<td>Snell Library, Northeastern University</td>
<td>360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>Hutchins</td>
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<td>Taunton Green Historic District</td>
<td>Taunton, MA</td>
<td>NRHP 3/1/1985</td>
<td>Roscoe</td>
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<td>Town Clerk’s Office</td>
<td>Brookline, MA</td>
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<td>Hutchins</td>
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<td>Twelve Carver</td>
<td>12 Carver Street, Boston, MA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Union United Methodist Church</td>
<td>485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unitarian Universalist Association</td>
<td>25 Beacon Street, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wellesley College</td>
<td>Wellesley, MA</td>
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<td>Rupp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women’s Center</td>
<td>595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA</td>
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<td>Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Michigan</strong></td>
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<td>Ann Arbor City Hall</td>
<td>301 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, MI</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil Rights); Stein</td>
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<td>Blue Tempo</td>
<td>Lake Street, Saugatuck, MI</td>
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<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<td>Camp Trans</td>
<td>Outside the Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival</td>
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<td>Baim; Springate (Intersectionality); Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Club Heaven</td>
<td>19106 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, MI</td>
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<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Detroit Chinese Welfare Council Building</td>
<td>3153 Cass Avenue, Detroit, MI</td>
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<td>Sueyoshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<td>Michigan (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Douglas (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Douglas, MI</td>
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<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fort Shelby Hotel</td>
<td>525 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, MI</td>
<td>NRHP 11/25/1983</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Golden Star Restaurant</td>
<td>22828 Woodward Avenue, Ferndale, MI</td>
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<td>Sueyoshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labadie Collection</td>
<td>Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, 913 South University Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI</td>
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<td>Koskovitch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan Womyn's Music Festival</td>
<td>Near Hart, Michigan</td>
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<td>Baim; Dubrow; Springate (Intersectionality); Stryker</td>
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<td>Michigan Womyn's Music Festival</td>
<td>Hesperia, MI</td>
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<td>Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Rupp; Springate (Intersectionality)</td>
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<td>Palais</td>
<td>655 Beaubien Street, Detroit, MI</td>
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<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<td>Saugatuck (LGBTQ community)</td>
<td>Saugatuck, MI</td>
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<td>Baim; Gieseking; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology)</td>
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<td>Saugatuck-Douglas Museum</td>
<td>735 Park Street, Saugatuck, MI</td>
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<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweetheart Bar</td>
<td>3928 Third Street, Detroit, MI</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<td>Transgender Services, University of Michigan</td>
<td>2025 Traverwood Drive, Ann Arbor, MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<td>University of Michigan</td>
<td>Ann Arbor, MI</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koskovitch</td>
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<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minnesota American Indian Center</td>
<td>1530 East Franklin Avenue, Minneapolis, MN</td>
<td>Roscoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andersen Library, University of Minnesota</td>
<td>222 Twenty-First Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN</td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>David Irwin and Dick Hewetson Residence</td>
<td>Grand Avenue near Dale Street, St. Paul, MN</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>DSI</td>
<td>2419 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, MN</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay 90's</td>
<td>408 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, MN</td>
<td>Roscoe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Jay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies</td>
<td>University of Minnesota</td>
<td>Ferentinos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kirmser's</td>
<td>382 North Wabasha Street, St. Paul, MN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minneapolis AIDS Project</td>
<td>1400 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, MN</td>
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<td>Minnesota Historical Society</td>
<td>Minnesota History Center, 345 W. Kellogg Boulevard, St. Paul, MN</td>
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<td>75 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, St. Paul, MN</td>
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<td>Quatrefoil Library</td>
<td>1220 East Lake Street, Minneapolis, MN</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
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<td>Target Center</td>
<td>600 First Avenue North, Minneapolis, MN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Town House</td>
<td>1415 University Avenue West, St. Paul, MN</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>State</td>
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<td>1219 University Avenue SE, Minneapolis, MN</td>
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<td>University of Minnesota</td>
<td>100 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, MN</td>
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<td>University of Minnesota Hospital</td>
<td>505 East Harvard Street, Minneapolis, MN</td>
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<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>Keeslery Air Force Base</td>
<td>Biloxi, MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>Roadside Park No. 75</td>
<td>US Highway 45, MS</td>
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<td>Vicksburg National Military Park</td>
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<td>Bunceton City Hall</td>
<td>103 East Main Street, Bunceton, MO</td>
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<td>Missouri</td>
<td>Central West End (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>St. Louis, MO</td>
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<td>Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America</td>
<td>800 East Fifty-First Street, Kansas City, MO</td>
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<td>Hotel Muehlebach</td>
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<td>4910 Forest Park Boulevard, St. Louis, MO</td>
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<td>601 McKinley Avenue, Kirkwood, MO</td>
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<td>Thomas Hart Benton</td>
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<td>South Euclid and Forest Park Avenue, St. Louis, MO</td>
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<td>Chief Plenty Coups Home</td>
<td>Pryor, MT</td>
<td>NRHP 10/6/1970; NHL 1/20/1999</td>
<td>Roscoe; Stryker</td>
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<td>Flathead Post</td>
<td>Highway 200, one mile east of Thompson Falls, MT</td>
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<td>Rosebud Battlefield Site</td>
<td>Busby, MT</td>
<td>NRHP 8/21/1972; NHL 8/19/2008</td>
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<td>Brandon Teena House</td>
<td>Route 105, Humboldt, NE</td>
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<td>Baim; Rupp; Stein; Stryker</td>
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<td>Lincoln Memorial Park</td>
<td>6800 South Fourteenth Street, Lincoln, NE</td>
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<td>Cemetery</td>
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<td>1700 Stone Street, Falls City, NE</td>
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<td>Willa Cather Childhood Home</td>
<td>241 North Cedar, Red Cloud, NE</td>
<td>NRHP 4/16/1969; NHL 11/11/1971</td>
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<td>Bad Dolly's</td>
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<td>Belle Livingstone's Cowshed</td>
<td>2295 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV</td>
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<td>Black Derby</td>
<td>1410 East Fourth Street, Reno, NV</td>
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<td>Club 99</td>
<td>1099 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV</td>
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<td>Club Baths</td>
<td>1020 West Second Street, Reno, NV</td>
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<td>Dave's VIP</td>
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<td>Fruit Loop (LGBTQ Community)</td>
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<td>Harrah's Casino</td>
<td>219 North Center Street, Reno, NV</td>
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<td>Jeff's Gym</td>
<td>1020 West Second Street, Reno, NV</td>
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<td>Le Café</td>
<td>4817 Paradise Road, Las Vegas, NV</td>
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<td>Paul's Lounge</td>
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<td>Reno Bar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rita LaPorte Residence</td>
<td>154 Stanford Way, Sparks, NV</td>
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<td>Riverside Hotel</td>
<td>17 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV</td>
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<td>University of Nevada Las Vegas</td>
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<td>Washoe County Fairgrounds</td>
<td>1001 Wells Avenue, Reno, NV</td>
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<td>Westside Hotel</td>
<td>3001 West Fourth Street, Reno, NV</td>
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<td><strong>New Hampshire</strong></td>
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<td>Episcopal Diocese House</td>
<td>63 Green Street, Concord, NH</td>
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<td>Strawberry Banke</td>
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<td>Whittemore Center Arena</td>
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<td>All Saints Episcopal Parish</td>
<td>707 Washington Street, Hoboken, NJ</td>
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<td>Helen Zia Residence</td>
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<td>Murphy’s Tavern</td>
<td>135 Mulberry Street, Newark, NJ</td>
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<td>New Jersey State Prison</td>
<td>300 Second Cass Street, Trenton, NJ</td>
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<td>New Jersey State Reformatory for Women</td>
<td>30 Route 513, Clinton, NJ</td>
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<td>Sara Baker and Ida Wiley Home</td>
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<td>Steuben House</td>
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<td>Val’s</td>
<td>New York Avenue, Atlantic City, NJ</td>
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<td>Walt Whitman House</td>
<td>330 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, NJ</td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Hutchins; Meinke; Rupp</td>
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<td>Roscoe; Rupp</td>
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<td>Fort Wingate Historic District</td>
<td>Near Gallup, NM</td>
<td>National Natural Landscape 1976</td>
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<td>Georgia O’Keeffe Home and Studio</td>
<td>Abiquiu, NM</td>
<td>NHL 8/5/1998</td>
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<td>Ghost Ranch Education and Retreat Center</td>
<td>280 Private Drive 1708, Abiquiu, NM</td>
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<td>Harmony Hammond Home and Studio</td>
<td>Galisteo, NM</td>
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<td>Harwood Museum of Art</td>
<td>238 Ledoux Street, Taos, NM</td>
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<td>New Mexico State Records Center and Archives</td>
<td>404 Montezuma Avenue, Santa Fe, NM</td>
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<td>Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian</td>
<td>704 Camino Lejo, Santa Fe, NM</td>
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<td>101 Ranch</td>
<td>101 West 139th Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Harris</td>
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<td>112 Greene Street Workshop</td>
<td>SoHo neighborhood, New York City</td>
<td>Burk</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<td>171 West 12th Street</td>
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<td>267 West 136th Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>A Different Light</td>
<td>548 Hudson Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Ansonia Hotel</td>
<td>2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 1/10/1980</td>
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<td>Anti-Violence Project</td>
<td>647 Hudson Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
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<td>Apollo Theater</td>
<td>253 West 125th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 11/17/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ariston Baths</td>
<td>1732 Broadway, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Johnson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Laurents - Tom Hatcher House</td>
<td>St. Luke’s Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Writer's Workshop</td>
<td>16 West 32nd Street, Suite 10A, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sueyoshi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astor Bar</td>
<td>Broadway between 44th and 45th Streets, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Estes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice</td>
<td>116 East 16th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attic</td>
<td>669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audre Lorde and Frances Clayton House</td>
<td>Staten Island, NY</td>
<td>Baim; Burk; Dubrow; Harris; Rupp; Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Azurest North</td>
<td>Sag Harbor, NY</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Badlands</td>
<td>388-390 West Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<td>Bar</td>
<td>669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bayard Rustin High School</td>
<td>351 West 18th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bayard Rustin Residence</td>
<td>Chelsea neighborhood, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 3/8/2016</td>
<td>Baim; Bourn; Dubrow; Harris; Meinke; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Intersectionality); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beit Simchat Torah</td>
<td>57 Bethune Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Part of the Westbeth Artists Community, NRHP 12/8/2009</td>
<td>Bourn; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Beit Simchat Torah</td>
<td>130 West 30th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bellevue Hospital</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>Springate (Introduction)</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berenice Abbott - Elizabeth McClausland Residence</td>
<td>Commerce Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billy Strayhorn - Aaron Bridgers Residence</td>
<td>Hamilton Heights neighborhood, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Within the Hamilton Heights Historic District, NRHP 9/30/1983</td>
<td>Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Rabbit</td>
<td>183 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Rabbit</td>
<td>111 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blackwell Island Lighthouse</td>
<td>Roosevelt Island, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 4/16/1972</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blue's</td>
<td>264 West 43rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>González and Hernández; Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bob Mizer Residence</td>
<td>Brooklyn, NY</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bobst Library</td>
<td>New York University</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>Book Cellar</td>
<td>237 East 56th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boutillier Residence</td>
<td>Brooklyn, NY</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bowery (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives</td>
<td>1300 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caffe Cino</td>
<td>31 Cornelia Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carnegie Hall</td>
<td>881 Seventh Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<td><strong>New York (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Carrington House</td>
<td>Cherry Grove, Fire Island, NY</td>
<td>NRHP</td>
<td>Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega</td>
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<tr>
<td>Casa Susanna</td>
<td>Hunter, NY</td>
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<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Castle Williams</td>
<td>Governor's Island, NY</td>
<td>Part of Governor's Island, NRHP/NHL 2/4/1985; Governor's Island National Monument 1/19/2001</td>
<td>Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cathedral of St. John the Divine</td>
<td>Amsterdam Avenue between West 110th and West 113th Streets, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Park</td>
<td>Central Park, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP</td>
<td>Burk; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chelsea (LGBTQ community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking; Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cherry Grove (LGBTQ community)</td>
<td>Fire Island, NY</td>
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<td>Baim; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Introduction)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cherry Grove Community House &amp; Theater</td>
<td>180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, NY</td>
<td>NRHP</td>
<td>Dubrow; Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Introduction)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cherry Lane Theater</td>
<td>38 Commerce Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins; Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td><strong>New York (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Childs</td>
<td>300 West 59th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choo Choo’s Pier</td>
<td>392-393 West Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christine Jorgensen Family Home</td>
<td>Throgs Neck neighborhood, Bronx, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christine Jorgensen Family Home</td>
<td>100 block of Pennsylvania Avenue, Massapequa, Long Island, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christopher Park</td>
<td>Christopher Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking; Hanhardt; Springate and de la Vega</td>
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<tr>
<td>Church of St. Paul the Apostle</td>
<td>405 West 59th Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Church of the Beloved Disciple</td>
<td>348 West 14th Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Church of the Holy Apostles</td>
<td>296 Ninth Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 4/26/1972</td>
<td>Bourn; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Claude McKay Residence</td>
<td>180 West 135th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976</td>
<td>Baim; Burk; Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House</td>
<td>2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 7/28/1970; NHL 4/19/1993</td>
<td>Burk; Dubrow; Ferentinos; Rupp; Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clit Club</td>
<td>859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coleman House Hotel</td>
<td>645-647 Broadway, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbia Hall (Paresis Hall)</td>
<td>32 Cooper Square, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Johnson; Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbia Hall</td>
<td>392 Bowery, New York City, New York</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbia University</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koskovich; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence</td>
<td>55 Hester Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sueyoshi</td>
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<td>Congregation Beit Simchat Torah</td>
<td>57 Bethune Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 12/8/2009</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<td>Continental Baths and Health Club</td>
<td>2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 1/10/1980</td>
<td>Dubrow; Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cornell University</td>
<td>Ithaca, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cory Book Service</td>
<td>58 Walker Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Covici-Friede</td>
<td>79 West 45th Street, New York City, New York</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cunningham Dance Studio</td>
<td>55 Bethune Street, New York City, New York</td>
<td>NRHP 5/15/1975 and 12/8/2009</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cycle</td>
<td>835 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daly's 63rd Street Theatre</td>
<td>22 West 63rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dark Tower</td>
<td>108-110 West 136th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>Den</td>
<td>835 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Djuna Barnes House</td>
<td>Patchin Place, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Downtown United Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>121 North Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 3/12/1992</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duchess</td>
<td>101 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dugout</td>
<td>185 Christopher Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dunbar Apartments</td>
<td>Along West 149th and West 150th Streets between Frederick Douglass and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Boulevards, Harlem, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 3/29/1979</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.A. Custer Bookstore</td>
<td>107 East 59th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Village (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Burk; Hanhardt; Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edmond's Cellar</td>
<td>Fifth Avenue and 132nd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edna St. Vincent Millay Residence</td>
<td>Bedford Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Site (Val-Kill)</td>
<td>State Route 9G, Hyde Park, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 3/20/1980; NHL and NPS 5/27/1977</td>
<td>Dubrow; Hutchins; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<td><strong>New York (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eleanor Roosevelt Residence</td>
<td>East 11th Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow; Shockley; Springate (Intersectionality)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elisabeth Irwin-Katharine Anthony House</td>
<td>Bank Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy House</td>
<td>300 block, Bryant Street, Buffalo, NY</td>
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<td>Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ellis Island</td>
<td>Upper New York Bay, NY and NJ</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS as the Statue of Liberty National Monument, 10/15/1965</td>
<td>Batza; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elsie de Wolfe - Elisabeth Marbury House</td>
<td>Near Union Square, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emma Goldman Residence</td>
<td>East Village, New York City</td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Empire State Pride Agenda</td>
<td>647 Hudson Street, New York City</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<td>Ernie’s Restaurant</td>
<td>76 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Esther Lape - Elizabeth Read Residence</td>
<td>East 11th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley; Springate (Intersectionality)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethel Waters Residence</td>
<td>Crown Heights neighborhood, Brooklyn, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eve Addams' Tearoom</td>
<td>129 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
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<td>New York (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Everard Baths</td>
<td>28 West 28th Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Dubrow; Johnson; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Firebrand Books</td>
<td>141 The Commons, Ithaca, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt; Sueyoshi</td>
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<td>Fire Island Pines (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Fire Island, NY</td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; Hanhardt; Springate (Archeology)</td>
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<td>Florent Restaurant</td>
<td>69 Gansevoort Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fun Makers Social Club</td>
<td>Harlem, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Furnald Hall</td>
<td>Columbia University, Broadway and 116th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins; Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Galante</td>
<td>109 Wilkerson Street, Buffalo, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>Gansevoort Market Historic District</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Dubrow; Hanhardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Activist Alliance Firehouse</td>
<td>99 Wooster Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the SoHo Cast Iron Historic District, NRHP and NHL 6/29/1978</td>
<td>Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Community Center</td>
<td>130 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Liberation Front of Rochester</td>
<td>201 Todd Union, University of Rochester, River Station, Rochester, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Liberation Monument</td>
<td>Christopher Park, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking; Springate and de la Vega</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Men of African Descent</td>
<td>540 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay Men's Health Crisis</td>
<td>318 West 22nd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Batza; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gloria's</td>
<td>Near Third Avenue and 40th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Stein</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor's Island</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP/NHL 2/4/1985; Governor's Island National Monument 1/19/2001</td>
<td>Meyer and Sikk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greenwich Village (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>Part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP 6/19/1979</td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; González and Hernández; Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Harlem (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Burk; Gieseking; Harris; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harlem YMCA</td>
<td>180 West 135th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976</td>
<td>Baim; Burk; Harris</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Benjamin Office</td>
<td>728 Park Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Batza; Stryker</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Benjamin Residence</td>
<td>Flatiron District, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Hansberry's Clam House</td>
<td>133rd Street, Harlem, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hart Island</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Introduction)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvey Milk High School</td>
<td>2-10 Astor Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hutchins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hellfire</td>
<td>669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, New York</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heterodoxy Club</td>
<td>137 MacDougal Street, New York City, New York</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotel Olga</td>
<td>42 West 120th Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Howdy Club</td>
<td>17 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Estes; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intermediate School 70</td>
<td>333 West 18th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irwin High School</td>
<td></td>
<td>In the Charlton-King-Vandam Historic District, NRHP 7/20/1973</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ithaca College</td>
<td>953 Danby Road, Ithaca, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn; Hutchins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jackie 60</td>
<td>859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacob Riis Park</td>
<td>Queens, NY</td>
<td>Jacob Riis Beach Historic District, NRHP 6/17/1981; Gateway National Recreation Area, NPS 10/27/1972</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>James Baldwin Residence</td>
<td>Horatio Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP 6/19/1979</td>
<td>Baim; Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>James Baldwin House</td>
<td>Upper West Side, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Beard Foundation</td>
<td>167 West 12th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>James M. Shuart Stadium</td>
<td>900 Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jewish Theological Seminary of America</td>
<td>3080 Broadway, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>John V. Gridley House</td>
<td>37 Charlton Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J's Hangout</td>
<td>669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judson Memorial Church</td>
<td>55 Washington Square South, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 10/16/1974</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Julius</td>
<td>159 West 10th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 4/21/2016</td>
<td>Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Juniper Ledge</td>
<td>Briarcliff Manor, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 5/4/2006</td>
<td>Springate (Intersectionality)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keith Haring Residence</td>
<td>LaGuardia Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kensico Dam</td>
<td>1 Bronx River Parkway, Valhalla, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kitty Genovese Residence</td>
<td>82-70 Austin Street, New York City</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lafayette Baths</td>
<td>403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Dubrow; Johnson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Mama</td>
<td>74 East 4th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lambda Legal</td>
<td>120 Wall Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<td><strong>New York (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Langston Hughes House</td>
<td>East 127th Street, Harlem, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 10/29/1982</td>
<td>Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (The Center)</td>
<td>208 West 13th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP</td>
<td>Batza; Bourn; Burk; Hanhardt; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lesbian Herstory Archives</td>
<td>Apartment on 92nd Street, Upper West Side, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Park Slope Historic District NRHP 11/21/1980</td>
<td>Gieseking; Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lesbian Herstory Archives</td>
<td>484 14th Street, Park Slope, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Park Slope Historic District NRHP 11/21/1980</td>
<td>Gieseking; Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leslie Feinberg - Minnie Bruce Pratt House</td>
<td>Syracuse, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art</td>
<td>26 Wooster Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal Club</td>
<td>137 MacDougal Street, New York City, New York</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Life Cafeteria</td>
<td>116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Little Red School House</td>
<td>196 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Locker Room</td>
<td>400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lorena Hickok Residence</td>
<td>Near the United Nations, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lorraine Hansberry Residence</td>
<td>Bleecker Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lorraine Hansberry Residence</td>
<td>Waverly Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Louis’ Luncheon</td>
<td>116 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow; Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater</td>
<td>181-189 Second Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 8/19/1985</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<td>Lower East Side (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lucky Cheng’s</td>
<td>24 First Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lucky’s Rendezvous</td>
<td>773 St. Nicholas Avenue and 148th Street, Harlem, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lure</td>
<td>405-409 West 13th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison Square Garden</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manhattan House of Detention for Men</td>
<td>125 White Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marcus Garvey Park</td>
<td>18 Mount Morris Park West, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Part of the Mount Morris Park Historic District, NRHP 2/6/1973; boundary increase 5/24/1996</td>
<td>Harris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mardi Gras Boutique</td>
<td>400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marianne Moore Residence</td>
<td>35 West 9th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marion Dickerman-Nan Cook Residence</td>
<td>171 West 12th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow; Springate (Intersectionality)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary Dreier and Frances Kellor Residence</td>
<td>Near the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rupp; Springate (Intersectionality)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<td><strong>New York (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Meatpacking District (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Dubrow; Hanhardt; Shockley; Springate and de la Vega</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medico-Legal Journal</td>
<td>Apartment building on West 83rd Street near Central Park, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mike's Bar</td>
<td>400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mineshaft</td>
<td>835 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice</td>
<td>147 West 24th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Molly Dewson-Polly Porter Residence</td>
<td>171 West 12th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoMA PS1</td>
<td>22-25 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk</td>
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<td>Mona's</td>
<td>135 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Shockley</td>
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<td>Moravian Church</td>
<td>154 Lexington Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Bourn</td>
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<td>Morse Building</td>
<td>140-142 Nassau Street, New York City, NY</td>
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<td>Stein</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morton Street Pier</td>
<td>Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mount Gulian</td>
<td>Fishkill, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 11/19/1982</td>
<td>Baim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mount Morris Turkish Baths</td>
<td>Two addresses, same location: 1944 Madison Avenue, New York City, NY; 28 East 125th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Baim; Harris; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Murray Hall Residence</td>
<td>Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Batza; Rupp; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Music Box</td>
<td>121 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Museum of Contemporary Art</td>
<td>235 Bowery, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Burk</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New St. Marks Baths</td>
<td>6 St. Marks Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Dubrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New York Feminist Art Institute</td>
<td>325 Spring Street, New York City, NY and 91 Franklin Street, New York City, New York</td>
<td>Burk</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New York Infirmary for Indigent Women and Children</td>
<td>East 7th Street near Tompkins Square Park</td>
<td>Springate (Intersectionality)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New York Public Library</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New York State Reformatory for Women</td>
<td>247 Harris Road, Bedford Hills, NY</td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New York University</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Niggerati Manor</td>
<td>267 West 136th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Octagon</td>
<td>888 Main Street, Roosevelt Island, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 4/16/1972</td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>OK Corral</td>
<td>835 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>One World Café</td>
<td>330 East 11th Street New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>One World Café</td>
<td>59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop</td>
<td>291 Mercer Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt; Johnson; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Oscar Wilde Bookstore</td>
<td>15 Christopher Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt; Johnson; Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul Cadmus - Jared French - Margaret Hoening - George Tooker House</td>
<td>St. Luke's Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Paramount Theater Building</td>
<td>1501 Broadway, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Park Slope (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Brooklyn, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Rudolph Apartments</td>
<td>Near the East River, Midtown, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Performance Space 122 (PS 122)</td>
<td>150 First Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Rabbit</td>
<td>396-397 West Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix Theater</td>
<td>181-189 Second Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pier 45</td>
<td>Foot of Christopher Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Hanhardt; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>New York</strong></td>
<td><strong>(cont’d)</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantation Club</td>
<td>Broadway and 50th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaza Hotel</td>
<td>768 Fifth Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 11/29/1978; NHL 6/24/1986</td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portofino</td>
<td>206 Thompson Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Building</td>
<td>156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pride Center of the Capital Region</td>
<td>332 Hudson Avenue, Albany, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincetown Playhouse</td>
<td>139 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Mostly demolished</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyramid Club</td>
<td>101 Avenue A, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk; Schweighofer; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radicalesbians of Cornell University</td>
<td>24 Willard Straight Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY</td>
<td>NRHP</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio City Music Hall</td>
<td>1260 Sixth Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 5/8/1978</td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Martin's</td>
<td>58 Elliott Street, Buffalo, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramrod</td>
<td>394-395 West Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rectory of St. Veronica's Roman Catholic Church</td>
<td>657 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 6/17/1981</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riis Beach</td>
<td>Jacob Riis Park, Jamaica Bay Unit, Gateway National Recreation Area, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 6/17/1981</td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Riverside Church</td>
<td>490 Riverside Drive, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 12/12/2012</td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverside Drive</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>RockBar</strong></td>
<td>185 Christopher Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rockland Palace</strong></td>
<td>280 West 115th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Roy Simmons Home</strong></td>
<td>Bronx, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saint</strong></td>
<td>105 Second Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Saint Marks Baths</strong></td>
<td>6 St. Marks Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow; Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salsa Soul Sisters, Third World Wimmin Incorporated Collective</strong></td>
<td>Private residence near Washington Square Park, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Remo</strong></td>
<td>93 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Savoy Ballroom</strong></td>
<td>596 Lenox Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sewer</strong></td>
<td>669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shambhala Center</strong></td>
<td>118 West 22nd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Slide</strong></td>
<td>157 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sloane House YMCA</strong></td>
<td>356 West 34th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Estes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Smith House</strong></td>
<td>Brooklyn Heights Historic District, Brooklyn, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 10/16/1966; NHL 1/12/1965</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sneakers</strong></td>
<td>392-393 West Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SoHo (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Village (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Dubrow; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAR House</td>
<td>213 East 2nd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Springate (Introduction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAR House</td>
<td>640 East 12th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Stryker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starlite Lounge</td>
<td>1213 McDonald Avenue, Brooklyn, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>State University of New York Buffalo</td>
<td>Buffalo, NY</td>
<td>Koskovich</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stern College for Women</td>
<td>Yeshiva University, 245 Lexington Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart Cafeteria</td>
<td>116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stonewall</td>
<td>51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 6/28/1999; NHL 2/16/2000; Stonewall National Monument 6/24/2016</td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Estes; Gieseking; González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Harris; Hutchins; Johnson; Meinke; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stonewall (cont’d)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Springate (Intersectionality); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein; Stryker; Sueyoshi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick’s Cathedral</td>
<td>NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUNY Buffalo</td>
<td>Buffalo, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan B. Anthony House</td>
<td>17 Madison Street, Rochester, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Swing Rendezvous</td>
<td>117 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sylvia Rivera Law Project</td>
<td>147 West 24th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stryker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tempo Playhouse</td>
<td>St. Mark’s Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenderloin (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson; Stryker; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Ring Circus</td>
<td>76 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times Square (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todhunter School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Pastor’s Downtown</td>
<td>130 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townsend Hall</td>
<td>Buffalo, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>New York (cont’d)</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Church</td>
<td>74 Trinity Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td>NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976</td>
<td>Batza; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ubangi Club</td>
<td>131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Baim; Burk; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Square (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations</td>
<td>405 East 42nd Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States Military Academy at West Point</td>
<td>New York Route 218, West Point, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960</td>
<td>Meyer and Sikk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center</td>
<td>Flushing Meadow-Corona Park, Flushing, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villa Lewaro</td>
<td>North Broadway (US 9), Irvington, NY</td>
<td>NRHP/NHL 5/11/1976</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Visual AIDS</td>
<td>526 West 26th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walt Whitman House</td>
<td>Wallabout, Brooklyn, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warlock Shop</td>
<td>300 Henry Street, Brooklyn Heights, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Square Bookshop</td>
<td>135 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Square Park</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webster Hall and Annex</td>
<td>119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baim; Dubrow; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>New York</strong> (cont’d)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weehawkin Street (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dubrow; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weinstein Hall</td>
<td>New York University, 5 University Place, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>González and Hernández; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wesleyan Chapel</td>
<td>126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 8/29/1980; part of Women's Rights National Historical Park, NPS 12/28/1980</td>
<td>Springate (Intersectionality); Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Beach Bar &amp; Grill</td>
<td>388-390 West Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Park Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>165 West 86th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Side Tennis Club</td>
<td>One Tennis Place, Forest Hills, Queens, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>West Side Piers (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt; Harris; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Village (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk; Gieseking; Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitehall Street Induction Center</td>
<td>39 Whitehall Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitney Museum of Modern Art</td>
<td>99 Gansevoort Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbraham</td>
<td>1 West 30th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willa Cather-Edith Lewis Residence</td>
<td>82 Washington Place West, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ferentinos; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane</td>
<td>Ovid, NY</td>
<td>NRHP 6/7/1975</td>
<td>Batza; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winston Book Club</td>
<td>250 Fulton Avenue, Hampstead, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
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<td><strong>New York (cont’d)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Women's House of Detention</td>
<td>10 Greenwich Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary</td>
<td>126 Second Avenue, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Springate</td>
<td>(Intersectionality)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Trade Center</td>
<td>Lower Manhattan, New York City, NY</td>
<td>Demolished</td>
<td>González and Hernández</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOW Café Theater</td>
<td>333 East 11th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOW Café Theater</td>
<td>59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hanhardt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaddo</td>
<td>Saratoga Springs, NY</td>
<td>NHL</td>
<td>Baim; Burk; Harris</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Zodiac</td>
<td>835 Washington Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoo</td>
<td>421-425 West 13th Street, New York City, NY</td>
<td>In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007</td>
<td>Hanhardt; Shockley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>North Carolina</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Asheville (LGBTQ Community)</td>
<td>Asheville, NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gieseking; Schweighofer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaufort County Detention Center</td>
<td>210 North Market Street, Washington, NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stein</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Mountain College</td>
<td>375 Lake Eden Road, Black Mountain, NC</td>
<td>NRHP 10/5/1982</td>
<td>Burk</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chapel of the Cross</td>
<td>304 East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill, NC</td>
<td>NRHP 2/1/1972</td>
<td>Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pauli Murray Childhood Home</td>
<td>906 Carroll Street, Durham, NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Club Baths</td>
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<td>Club Cleveland</td>
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<td>Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Greater Cincinnati</td>
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<td>German Village Historic District</td>
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<td>McCorkle Aquatic Pavilion</td>
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<td>Natalie Clifford Barney Marker</td>
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<td>Dubrow; Ferentinos</td>
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<td>Bank of Oklahoma Center</td>
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<td>Integris Baptist Medical Center, Gender Identity Foundation</td>
<td>3300 NW Expressway, Oklahoma City, OK</td>
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<td>Harris; Springate (Introduction)</td>
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<td>Dr. J. Allen Gilbert's Office</td>
<td>601 SW Alder Street, Portland, OR</td>
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<td>Oregon Health and Science University Hospital</td>
<td>3181 SW Sam Jackson Park Road, Portland, OR</td>
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<td>4115 North Mississippi Avenue, Portland, OR</td>
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<td>Silverado</td>
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<td><strong>Pennsylvania</strong></td>
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<td>American Law Institute</td>
<td>4025 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anna Howard Shaw - Lucy Anthony House</td>
<td>Moylan, PA</td>
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<td>Arch Street Methodist Church</td>
<td>55 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>Barbara Gittings - Kay Lahusen House</td>
<td>Twenty-First and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>Bayard Rustin Childhood Home</td>
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<td>Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>7212 Tioga Street, Rear, Pittsburgh, PA</td>
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<td>Harris; Springate (Civil Rights)</td>
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<td>Brewer's Hotel</td>
<td>3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA</td>
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<td>Critical Path</td>
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<td>Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers</td>
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<td>Temple University Medical School, Henry Avenue, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>Dr. J. Richardson Parke House</td>
<td>Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>2027 Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965</td>
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<td><strong>Edgar Clymer Residence</strong></td>
<td>Northern Liberties-Fishtown neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td><strong>Family Theater</strong></td>
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<td>320 Arch Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>Forty-Seventh and Pine Streets, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>Broad and Stiles Streets, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td><strong>Germantown (Manheim) Cricket Club</strong></td>
<td>5140 Morris Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>NRHP and NHL 2/27/1987</td>
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<td>In the Allegheny West Historic District, NRHP 11/2/1978</td>
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<td>345 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>2036 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>Independence Hall</td>
<td>520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>Part of Independence National Historical Park NHL District 10/15/1966; NPS 6/28/1948</td>
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<td>245 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>1522 South Street, Philadelphia, PA</td>
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<td>Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo)</td>
<td>3 Saldana Street, San Juan, PR</td>
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<td>49 Club</td>
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<td>Asbel Smith Building</td>
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<td>NRHP 10/28/1969</td>
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<td>Austin Latina/Latino Lesbian and Gay Organization (ALLGO)</td>
<td>701 Tillery Street, Austin, TX</td>
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<td>1701 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, WA</td>
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